

**A Jewish Princedom
in Feudal France
768-900**

NUMBER TWO

**Columbia University Studies in Jewish
History, Culture, and Institutions**

**Columbia University Studies
in Jewish History, Culture
and Institutions**

**Edited under the auspices of the
Center for Israel and Jewish Studies
Columbia University**

Number Two

A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768–900

**A Jewish Princedom
in Feudal France
768-900**

Arthur J. Zuckerman

**Columbia University Press
New York and London**

1972

Publication of this volume was made possible by a grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and an additional grant from the Kohut Foundation.

Arthur J. Zuckerman is Adjunct Associate Professor of History and Director of the Hillel Foundation at The City College of New York and Professor of Medieval Jewish Civilization at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College.

Copyright © 1965, 1972 Columbia University Press
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 72-137392
ISBN: 0-231-03298-6
Printed in the United States of America

To

Jan

Anne Vivian (Haninah),

Judi, Jay, Yael, Jonathan,

Sharon,

Carla, Stanley, Amanda, Leslie, Todd,

Stephen

Foreword

Dr. Zuckerman's book is an act of daring. His major thesis relating to "the establishment of a Principate or Patriarchate of the Jews by the Carolingian rulers" and describing "the powers, possessions, and functions of this royal institution during more than a century" runs so sharply counter to the long-accepted notions among general and Jewish historians that it is certain to provoke much dissent. Although the phrase of a "roi juif de Narbonne" used in a medieval source has been known for several decades, modern scholars have usually considered it a hyperbolic description of a more than usually autonomous Jewish communal official, rather than that of an hereditary Jewish vassal prince of the Carolingian Empire.

Yet the author has definitely made a case for his alluring theory. After carefully reviewing all pertinent sources and the vast secondary literature which has accumulated over more than three generations, he has advanced his novel hypothesis with scholarly restraint and judicious reasoning. To be sure, the more or less contemporary chronicles referring to certain crucial episodes are available to us only in later copies which underwent much alteration not only as a result

of the usual copyists' errors, but also by conscious design. The *chançons de geste*, on the other hand, combine a few historical facts with much imaginative elaboration and include many ambiguous, even obscure verses. Nor are the few Hebrew sources relating to the Western developments of that period clear and unequivocal. Finally, to find a way through this jungle-like overgrowth of conflicting modern interpretations, often necessarily based on much guesswork, required a gargantuan effort, creditably performed by the author.

Professor Zuckerman's theory finds some indirect support from the apparent survival of many ancient traditions among the Jews of Narbonne and other parts of southern France. It has become increasingly clear that, despite the efforts of Rashi and the Tosafists to impose upon medieval French Jewry the undisputed dominance of the outlook and observances as formulated in the Babylonian Talmud, many divergent customs and homiletical interpretations, in part going back to the days of the ancient Roman Empire, could not be totally uprooted even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Nor is it a mere accident that the medieval kabbalistic speculation found its first European exponents in the southern French conventicles of devotees of the secret lore. All of these singular manifestations of uncommon behavioral patterns and lines of thought can best be understood against the background of a uniquely independent Jewish community, pursuing its chosen path apart from both the French and the dominant world Jewish cultural life—a community, moreover, which, after surviving the century-long sharp Visigothic persecution, emerged in a strategic position on the frontier between the warring world empires of Islam and Christendom.

In any case, whether or not, after a close examination of the evidence and arguments here presented, the specialists in this area will finally accept the author's thesis, they will all learn a great deal from his and their reexamination. It certainly is to be hoped that the publication of this book will give rise to an extended scholarly debate which will shed some much-needed new light on that dark period of Narbonnese Jewry in its transition from Roman, through Visigothic and Muslim, to French rule.

Preface

Students of medieval Jewry have long held the view that the Carolingian sovereigns were favorably disposed to the Jews in their realm to a remarkable degree. This scholarly impression was based primarily on three or four mandates of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire and the tracts of Bishop Agobard of Lyons. Other materials which might have given this view depth and vitality were disappointingly scarce. A few Hebrew sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and a contemporaneous Latin Romance provided suggestive details, but their astonishing content excited so much incredulity that rejection of them as fables soon erased an earlier tentative acceptance. Skepticism of the later sources has prevailed, in spite of unimpeachable evidence that the Carolingian kings granted to Septimanian Jewry a domain of considerable extent along the Mediterranean seacoast and on the borders of Spain.

The following study reexamines all the known materials which explicitly mention the Jews of the Carolingian Age and their leaders. In addition, it endeavors to salvage fragments of documents, especially royal and imperial diplomas, which can be shown to have once been

issued in behalf of the Jews and/or their prince. Long ago these were deliberately altered and interpolated. Fraudulent documents were forged therefrom and in this way diverted to other ends, often contrary to their original purpose. In the process of research the author has stumbled upon a hoard of widely known popular materials which, when used with considerable caution, may be exploited to yield additional information about Carolingian Jewry and its military and spiritual chiefs.

Some of the results of this study were altogether unanticipated. They have astonished the author no less than they may surprise the reader. Prominent personalities of that day appear in an altogether new light. Jews of the period emerge as active and involved in the decision making of the Carolingian period. Scholars began to suspect this decades ago while they still lacked the sources which this study uncovers and analyzes. Startling as the conclusions may be, the author requests for his study an open mind and the persistence to read a necessarily extensive argument through to its end. The results supplement, corroborate and add vivid details to, rather than contradict, present solid knowledge about Jewry in early medieval Europe.

This essay, which is the product of several years' labor, has benefited from the encouragement and guidance at critical moments of Professor Salo W. Baron, now Professor Emeritus of History at Columbia University. I am grateful for the opportunity of having studied under the Magister of Jewish history in our time and for the Foreword he has penned to this work. I wish to thank his immediate successor, Professor Gerson D. Cohen, who has taken the pains to read this study in great detail. He has indicated corrections and offered valuable suggestions, for all of which I express sincere appreciation to him. I also wish to thank Dr. Helene Wieruszowski, Professor Emeritus of History, The City College for her critique and many comments. The responsibility for what appears here is, of course, my own.

I wish to record my indebtedness to teachers of former years: to Professor Yitzhak Baer of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; and to those who have now passed on—to Professor Austin P. Evans of Columbia and to Professor Hans Hirsch and Professor Otto Brunner of the Österreichisches Institut für Geschichtsforschung in Vienna.

I greatly appreciate the many courtesies extended to me by the

Director and staff of the Columbia Libraries, of the Library of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and of the Union Theological Seminary, all in New York City. During a period of several months' archival research I have benefited from the assistance proffered by director and staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Archives Nationales in Paris, as well as of several *archives départementales* in France—namely, Haute Garonne (Toulouse), Pyrénées Orientales (Perpignan), Aude (Carcassonne), Hérault (Montpellier), Gard (Nîmes), Bouches-du-Rhône (Marseille), Vaucluse (Avignon), Rhône (Lyons), Aube (Troyes); and of the municipal archives and/or libraries in Troyes, Dijon, Lyons, Marseille, Lunel, Narbonne, and Carcassonne. The fruits of this archival research appear only in limited measure in this essay and must await analysis and elaboration in a later effort.

This essay refers to the son of Charlemagne as Louis le Débonnaire, Louis the Debonair and, less frequently, Louis the Pious. *Frankia* is the preferred term to designate the Kingdom of the Franks, an area approximating that of modern France. Only occasionally is *Frankland* employed in this sense, but more often for the limited area of northern France associated directly with the Franks.

I wish to express my grateful appreciation to the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation and to my uncle Samson Hittner for financial aid in the publication of this study; to the staff of the Columbia University Press for their continuing aid and advice during the extended period of the publication of this work; and to my secretaries Mrs. Anne Solomon Kliger and Mrs. Marley Goldberg. My gratitude to my wife Jan for her constant devotion, patience and assistance may be recorded here but never adequately expressed.

June, 1970

Arthur J. Zuckerman

Contents

<i>Foreword by Salo W. Baron</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
1. The Jews of Septimania until the Patriariate of King Pepin The Short, 754	1
2. The Surrender of Narbonne to the Franks in 759	36
3. The Prominence of Septimanian Jewry and Its Privileged Status after the Fall of Narbonne	47
4. The Establishment of a Jewish Principedom in Southern France by the Carolingian Rulers, 768	74
5. The Apocalypse <i>Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael</i> Proclaims King-Messiah for 768	102
6. The Jewish Principate Becomes a Permanent Institution in 791	112
7. The Nasi of Narbonne as Seigneur in the Town and Environs	146
8. The First Generations of the Jewish Principate: Makhir (Natronai)-Theodoric and His Son William, 791-	175

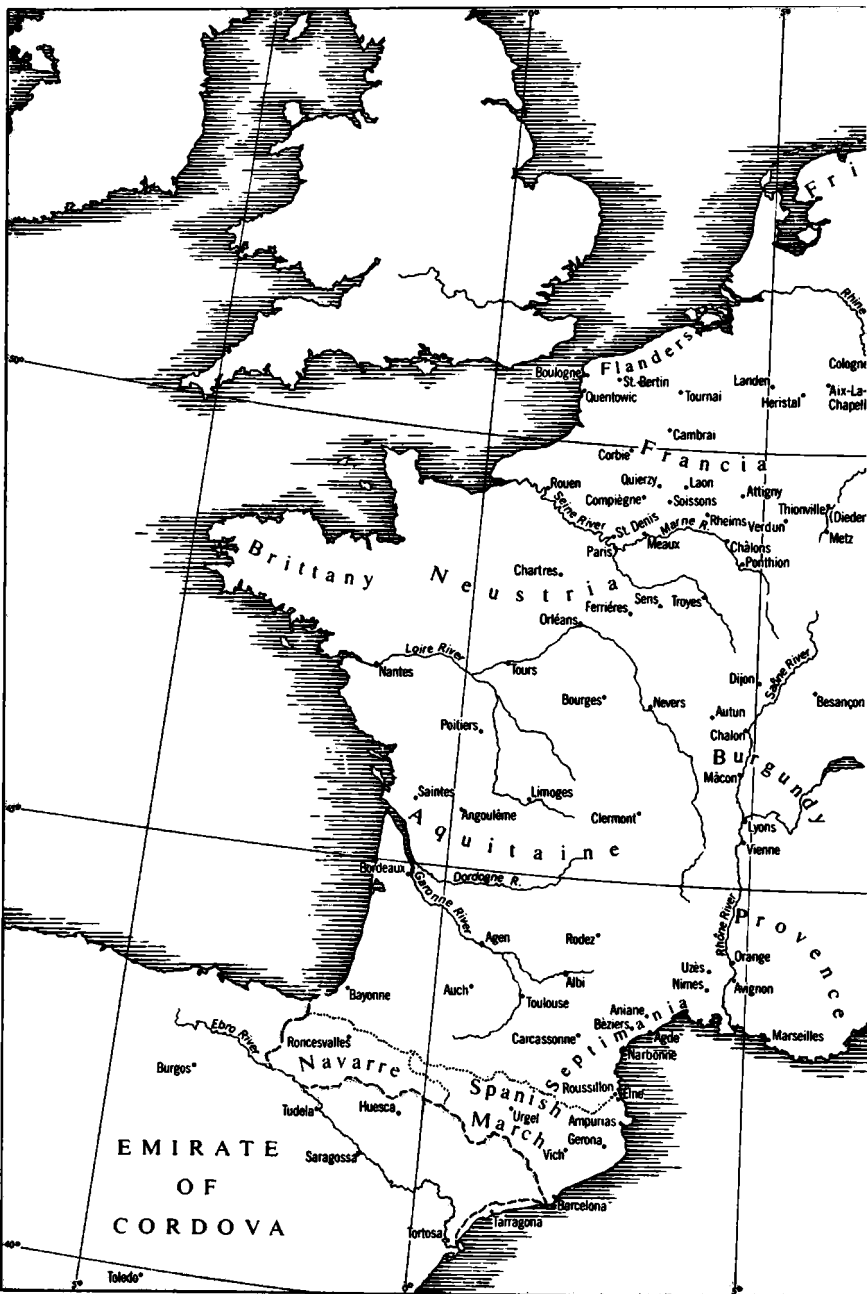
9. Bernard of Septimania, Nasi and Imperial Chamberlain	260
10. Aftermath of Bernard's Execution. Revision of Carolingian Policy. Council of Meaux-Paris. Tract of Amolo Bishop of Lyons <i>Against the Jews</i>	289
11. The Jewry of France 850-878. A New Branch of the Makhiri: The Marquis Solomon and His Son Bernard-Makhir	316
12. The Jewish Princedom in the Declining Carolingian Empire	354
13. Conclusion	372
<i>Appendices</i>	379
<i>Selected Bibliography</i>	393
<i>Index</i>	427

List of Abbreviations

AB	<i>Annales Bertiniani</i> , ed. G. Waitz
AD	<i>Archives départementales</i>
AdM	<i>Annales du Midi</i>
AfUf	<i>Archiv für Urkundenforschung</i>
AS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
BCAN	<i>Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de Narbonne</i>
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes</i>
BEHE	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études</i>
BRABLB	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona</i>
BRAH	<i>Buletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CHE	<i>Cuadernos de Historia de España</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EJ	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> , Vols. I-X, Berlin 1928–1935
HGL	Devic and Vaissete, <i>Histoire générale du Languedoc</i>
HJb	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>

- JE* *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vols. I-XII, New York 1901-1906
- JJLG* *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt on the Main
- JQR* *Jewish Quarterly Review* (New Series; o.s. after name indicates old series)
- JSS* *Jewish Social Studies*
- MA* *Le Moyen Age*
- MGH.SS* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum*
- MGWJ* *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
- MIÖG* *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
- MJC* *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, ed. Adolph Neubauer, I-II (Oxford 1887, 1895)
- PAAJR* *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
- PL* J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*
- RdHdF* *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet
- REJ* *Revue des études juives*
- RH* *Revue historique*
- RHDFE* *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*
- RHPhR* *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
- ShḲ* Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer haḲabbalah*, ed. A. Neubauer, *MJC*, I
- T.b.* *Talmud babli*
- T.j.* *Talmud jerushalmi* (Palestinian)
- UJE* *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
- ZfdKA* *Philologus; Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum*
- ZfKG* *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
- ZGJD* *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (New Series)
- ZRP* *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*
- ZSRG* g. a. *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte germanistische Abteilung*

**A Jewish Princedom
in Feudal France
768-900**



The Carolingian Empire
in the
Time of Charlemagne, A.D. 814



The Jews of Septimania until the Patriciate of King Pepin The Short, 754

The Jews of Carolingian France stood under the authority of a *nasi*, a prince or patriarch. This Jewish Patriarchate of the West was an institution comparable in its powers to the Exilarchate of Baghdad.

The Exilarchate in turn was an ancient Babylonian Jewish institution the origins of which a venerable tradition traced back to King Yehoiakhin, the exiled monarch of Judea in the sixth century B.C.E. According to the Bible, the Babylonian King Evil-merodakh released this scion of King David from prison, admitted him to his court and, elevating him above the other kings in Babylon, presumably designated him head of the Jews in his empire. Zerubbabel, a descendant of Yehoiakhin's, became satrap of Judea. There is supposed then to have followed a succession of such Jewish leaders within the same family throughout the subsequent Seleucid and Parthian rule of Babylonia.

The neo-Persian kings too conferred full authority on the exilarch (*Rosh-golah*, *Resh-galuta*, "Head of the Exile") by raising him to membership in their chief council of state. The semifederal nature of the Sassanid kingdom concentrated very broad powers in the exilarch and his officials stationed in local Jewries. The troubled close of the

fifth century C.E. however, led to a temporary suspension of the official character of the institution. At that time the Exilarch Mar Zutra II stirred his fellow Jews to rebellion and succeeded in establishing an independent Jewish kingdom and maintaining it for seven years. His execution ended the adventure; thereafter the Exilarchate went into eclipse.

The Arab conquest of Persia in 637 C.E. raised the Exilarchate to the pinnacle of its power. The Prince of the Exile functioned as the chief representative of the Jews in the Caliphate; together with the Nestorian Christian *Catholicos* and the highest dignitaries of the realm, he sat in the Caliph's cabinet, the *diwan*. He had the prerogative, probably exclusive still in the ninth century, to appoint judges who were his agents in all local and provincial Jewries. He could select and depose the heads of the academies; he exercised alone or through functionaries supreme jurisdiction over all Jews in the Caliphate. In short, he acted as the hereditary monarch of the Jewish nation centered on Babylonia. Always claiming Davidic descent, the *Resh-galuta* was elected for life at a public assembly of Babylonian Jewish representatives, presided over by the Geonim, the heads of the Academies of Sura and Pumbeditha. The election required confirmation by the Caliph, for which the Exilarch paid a princely sum. During the period of Arab expansion and consolidation, the Exilarchate attained unsurpassed heights and maintained its dominance into the ninth century. As late as the tenth century, according to Nathan the Babylonian, the Geonim appear to have deferred to the Exilarch's royal status by having the sacred Scroll carried to his seat in the synagogue in order for him to read a portion of the weekly Bible lesson. He had a town or area of his own in Babylonia where his palace was located.¹ Thus the preeminence of the Exilarchate coincided with the rise and rule of the Carolingians Charles Martel (717–41), Pepin (741–68), Charlemagne (768–814), and Louis le Débonnaire (814–40).

1. Cf. S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community, Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*, I, pp. 68–69, 145–55, 173–86; III, pp. 30–32, 39–43; *idem*, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, II (2nd ed.), pp. 195–98, 403. Albright identifies Zerubbabel as a grandson of Yehoiakhin; William F. Albright, "King Joiachin in Exile," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, V (1942), 50, 53. On Nathan the Babylonian, see *MJC*, II, p. 84; *ויש לו בבבל מקום ששם ביתו והוא ברשותו*, *ibid.*, p. 86.

A peer and rival of the Exilarch of Babylon was the Patriarch (*Nasi*) in Palestine who also claimed descent from David via the sage Hillel the Elder. Christian Rome as well as its pagan predecessor recognized the Patriarch as the supreme authority over Jews throughout the empire and designated him simultaneously a high official of the state. To Origen (in the third century C.E.) the Jewish Patriarch of Palestine appeared as not at all different from a king. It is noteworthy that his monarchical power was of a special, in fact, very remarkable kind in that it was not territorially limited but extended throughout the empire to all points where there were Jewish communities. The Jewish patriarchs were *reges socii* (associate kings). The patriarch was the supreme officer at the head of the hierarchy of Jewish officials. He appointed the religious functionaries of local communities and determined their competence. He was the supreme arbiter in religious questions. But his powers extended also to civil matters within the limits of the common law regulating Jews. It was his prerogative to collect the Jewish poll tax, *aurum coronarium* (*d'mei k'lila*). According to Jerome's report the Emperor executed a Roman of high standing for having violated the privacy of some papers belonging to the Patriarch Gamaliel (V?).²

Political and financial motives doubtless were a factor in Rome's recognition of the Patriarchate. Such an institution could be expected to mollify a recalcitrant people while fixing on their own leader the responsibility for keeping the peace. At the same time the patriarchs were the visible agents for the collection of Rome's onerous and insistent fiscal demands from all its Jews. In return the empire was willing to support the patriarch in the collection of revenue for the maintenance of his office and dignity, as well as for the upkeep of academies of learning and needy students. Thus the *aurum coronarium* was directed to the patriarch's treasury until the suppression of the Patriarchate about 425, whereupon it became an additional special Jewish tax to the empire, 429.³ Even before the Patriarchate in Palestine

2. J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, I, pp. 394-96. Israel Lévi finds that the claim of Davidic descent arose almost two centuries after Hillel and is devoid of an authentic basis, "L'origine davidique de Hillel," *REJ*, XXXI (1895), 211; XXXIII (1896), 143-44.

3. S. W. Baron, *History*, II (1952), pp. 192-95; 200-01; 205; 403. Adolph Posnanski lists 14 *Archipherekites* in Tiberias whom he considers to be successors of the

became extinct, there appeared Jewish chief officials in other parts of the empire designated by the same name *patriarchae* or else called *primates*. These were perhaps the heads of provinces where Jews were settled in the Dispersion, and probably were state officials as well as Jewish communal leaders.⁴

In Europe Jewish communities can be traced back to the early Middle Ages although information about the status and authority of their leaders is scarce. State-recognized leaders and officials also stood at the head of locally organized Jewish communities. When Emperor Constantine ordered that the Jews of Cologne were to fulfill curial duties he at once specified certain exemptions, namely, *hierci*, *archisynagogi*, and *patres synagogae* and other, unnamed, functionaries. In a second decree of December 331 Constantine directed that these officials were to be exempt from personal service.⁵

Evidence of a far less explicit archaeological nature points to possible Jewish settlements in southwest Germany also in the early Middle Ages. Indications of a dynasty of patriarchs in the Rhineland derive only from a much later period.⁶

patriarchs (540-740), *Schiloh ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre*. Erster Teil, p. 35. It appears, however, that the *archipherekites* enjoyed no special honor or status. In fact, after the extinction of the House of Hillel the Christian emperors did not permit the patriarchal office to pass to another family; J. Juster, *Les Juifs*, pp. 399-400.

4. *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 8, 1 (315); XVI, 8, 8 (392); XVI, 8, 29 (= *Codex Justinianus*, I, 9, 17) (426), eds. Mommsen and Meyer, I, p. 887.

5. *Ibid.*, XVI, 8, 3 (December 11, 321); XVI, 8, 4 (December 1, 331). Cf. *Germania Judaica*, I: Von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1238, eds. M. Brann, I. Elbogen, A. Freimann, H. Tykocinski (Breslau 1934), "Cöln a. Rh." pp. 69-70; 79-80, notes 22-27.

6. S. W. Baron, *History*, II (1952), p. 406. The "Rhineland" *Nesi'im* claimed descent from David while by-passing Bustanai and his Persian wife according to an account composed or copied in Palestine in 1041; A. Marx, "The importance of the Geniza for Jewish History," *PAAJR*, XVI (1947), 194. The text is published by G. Margoliouth, "Some British Museum Genizah Texts," *JQR*, o.s. XIV (1901-02), 303-07; see a very similar text edited by E. J. Worman, "Exilarch Bustani," *JQR*, o.s. XX (1907-08), 211-15. These *Nesi'im* were known as the *B'nai Marawatha* and resided in a district called Nams which Margoliouth suggests might be Germany (Saxony). Worman doubts this possibility and proposes the alternative of a Persian province on the basis of a variant reading. However, included among the *pares* of the Lyons Jewish community in whose behalf Emperor Louis addressed his mandate

In southern France individual Jews, at least, presumably accompanied King Archelaus into exile to Vienne in 6 C.E.; as was so with Herod's son, the Tetrarch Antipas, when he was banished to Lyons thirty-three years later. Claims for the early settlement of Jewish communities in France date their arrival at the time of the destruction of the Jewish state in 70 C.E. Lyons, Arles, and Bordeaux are said to have received an influx of Jews taken captive at that time in the war against Rome; borne across the seas in three rudderless ships they were cast upon these shores. The Jewish population in the Frankish realm was small. Jews seem to have come into France with the Roman legions, either as members of the armed forces or as traders. An organized Jewish community in remote Cologne has already been noted. Gauls and Teutons viewed them as but another variety of "Romans," part of the conquered population. The *Breviarium* issued by Alaric II in 506 from Toulouse specifically maintained their Roman status while reducing to ten the fifty-three provisions on Jews in the Theodosian Code, and adding three others. The *Lex Romana Burgundionum* also continued their Roman status while, in addition, it prohibited mixed marriages and fixed severe penalties for assaults by Jews on Christians. The growing reverence for custom reenforced the continued impact of the Roman system. An insertion into the *Edictum Theoderici* (after 512) safeguarded Jewish judicial autonomy and restored their self-government.⁷

The primary concern of the church councils meeting in France during the sixth century seems to have been the protection of Christians against Jewish influence rather than the restriction of Jewish rights as such. These decisions reflect the close social relations existing between Jews and Christians and a notably high status of the Jews in fact, if not in law. Mixed marriages were a frequent object of attack, so was conviviality generally between the two communities, which extended

ca. 825 was also a David "of the progeny of David," *David nunnun Davitis; Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH, Legum sectio V, Formulae Imperiales*, no. 31, p. 310.

7. S. W. Baron, *History*, III (1957), pp. 25, 47-50, 250, notes 58-62. Other versions of this legend place the landings in different places, including Italy and Africa; see G. D. Cohen, "The Story of the Four Captives," *PAAJR*, XXIX (1960-61), 81-82 and the bibliography there.

apparently also to the Christian clergy. Gregory of Tours accused a bishop of Clermont (ca. 551–71) of being unduly influenced by Jewish merchants. Several church councils report Jews even in judgeships and administrative posts. The Fifth Council of Paris 614, the largest of all gatherings of Merovingian bishops, demanded the baptism of any Jew exercising civil or military authority over Christians. Many church canons fixed severe penalties for conversion or circumcision of Christian slaves,⁸ which speaks for the permanent nature of their service rather than a transient relationship as, for example, in the slave trade. Reference to continued Jewish control of Christian slaves points to landed estates which Jews must have held if they required permanent servile labor. The influence of Pope Gregory I's views on the Jews extended far beyond his time because of the belief that he was divinely inspired. He observed, of course, the imperial prohibition against Jews owning Christian slaves. Following the more rigid requirements of the Eastern Empire and the Code of Justinian, he demanded immediate freedom for the pagan slave of a Jew who wished to be baptized. He made a distinction, however, between permanent ownership of a Christian slave and the permissible, temporary holding of them by slave dealers. Of great importance was another far-reaching distinction first made by Pope Gregory. He declared that the ban on holding Christian slaves did not fall on Jewish landlords who employed Christian *coloni* on their estates. Another act of Gregory's attests to the ownership of land by Jews specifically in the Merovingian realm, when he vigorously protested to the Frankish monarchs Theodoric, Theodebert, and Brunhild against the practice of allowing Jews to own Christian slaves (599). Clearly, in this instance he must have meant permanent ownership as opposed to temporary holding of Christian slaves to which, we have seen, he did not object. His position on the Jews may be summarized in his statement: "Since they are permitted to live in accordance with Roman law, it is but just that they should manage their own affairs as they think best, and let no man hinder them."⁹

Under the frontier conditions of sixth-century Frankish society there were of course flagrant violations of the law. A Jewish court jeweler

8. S. W. Baron, *History*, III (1957), pp. 35, 49–51, and notes.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 27–31 and notes.

and perhaps also mintmaster in the employ of Chilperic I, Priscus by name, was forced by the King into a religious disputation with Gregory of Tours and the monarch as a third party, 581–82. When the debate ended in a stalemate, the King angrily demanded the conversion of a number of Jews. Priscus refused to surrender his ancestral faith and was imprisoned. One of the recent converts killed him in jail. Other forced conversions of Jews are reported in the sixth century, in Clermont and in the dioceses of Arles and Marseilles. Pope Gregory remonstrated against the zeal of the baptizing bishops in the two last-named places. In this period the synagogue of Orléans was razed to the ground. In accordance with Roman precedents, the Jews expected to have this synagogue rebuilt at no cost to themselves, a hope which seems to have been frustrated. Matters reached a climax in Frankia when King Dagobert gave the Jews of his kingdom the choice of baptism or exile in 633. International events were making their impact here, in particular the panic-striking victories of the Persians and Arabs over the Christians, which also impelled Emperor Heraclius to exert pressure on the monarch in the West.¹⁰

On Jews in Septimania and Narbonne incontrovertible evidence goes back to the fifth century when an individual called Gozolas (his name betrays Germanic origin) *natione Judaeus* makes an appearance as a member of the entourage of a prominent Gallo-Roman. A letter of Gregory the Great protesting against Jewish ownership of Christian slaves points to the likelihood of their possessing landed estates around Narbonne. Acts of church councils of the sixth and seventh centuries give evidence of a Jewish group settlement in Narbonne and probably its environs.¹¹ A tombstone of 688–89 attests the possibly simultaneous passing of Justus, age 30, Matriona, age 20, and Dulciorella, age 9, offspring of *dominus* Paragorus and grandchildren of the late *dominus* Sapaudus, all probably residents of Narbonne or Septimania. The Latin inscription concludes with an invocation in Hebrew characters שלום על ישראל [י] (“Peace upon Israel”) and bears a five-branched candelabrum at the head.¹²

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–54 and notes.

11. J. Régné, *Étude sur la condition des Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 3–8.

12. T. Reinach, “Inscription juive de Narbonne,” *REJ*, o.s. XIX (1889), 75–83.

The year 587 marked the conversion of the royal house, previously Arian, to Catholicism and became the turning point in the destiny of Visigothic Jewry. Soon after taking this major step toward creating "one nation" Reccared issued a constitution oriented against the Jews (after 589). Therewith he inaugurated a series of laws which in a century reached a crescendo of frenzy unmatched until modern times. Since the Councils of Toledo which passed these regulations were at one and the same time church synods as well as state legislatures, the adopted canons were later held to be the considered opinion of leading churchmen and thus became major sources of universal canon law. The decisions alternated between banishment from the realm and attempts at peaceful coexistence. They imposed conversion on young and old, restrictions in trade, and confiscation of property and slaves and included a variety of other such decrees actually unenforceable *in toto*.¹³

The Jews of Septimania must have come to play an important role in the Visigothic Empire. Although residing within the same realm and subject to the same sovereigns, the Jews in Septimania appear not to have been victimized to the same extent as their coreligionists south of the Pyrenees. In fact, Spanish refugees sought asylum with their Jewish brothers to the north. The Seventeenth Council of Toledo (694), which ordered Jewish children from the age of seven removed from parental control and declared real and movable Jewish property confiscated, nevertheless exempted the Jewish settlements in Gaul and Septimania from these provisions.¹⁴ The Jews of these lands then continued to be owners of estates.

Perhaps the most surprising information on Septimanian Jewry in the pre-Carolingian period comes from Archbishop Julian of Toledo, offspring himself of converted Jewish parents, a supporter of the ruling dynasty in Spain, and a bitter antagonist of Judaism and its people. In his account of the rebellion of Duke Paul against King Wamba in

S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*, pp. 148-51.

13. S. W. Baron, *History*, III (1957), pp. 36-46.

14. J. Régné, *Étude sur la condition des Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 1-4, 7-8, 10-12; cf. S. W. Baron, *History*, III (1957), p. 46.

673, he accuses the rebel of being a "Judaizer"; he reports that a number of Christians in Septimania converted to Judaism and declares the Jews responsible for all of Wamba's difficulties in that insurgent land.¹⁵

The unrest in Septimania coincided with the start of the seventh century since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem 68-70 C.E. To Jews this apparently was a portent of the mystic "seventh millennium," the herald of the Messianic age. (Julian himself was impelled to write a treatise on this subject in refutation of the claims of the Jews in 686.¹⁶) These years witnessed the seemingly irresistible advances of Islam against Byzantine Christianity itself even in the Holy Land. The spectacle of a new empire toppling "Rome," the last kingdom of Daniel's apocalyptic vision, stirred Messianic visions among Jews who momentarily expected the end of Christian domination over them.¹⁷ Nor were these events without influence upon Christians too. Hilderic, Governor of Nîmes, joined by local associates, revolted against King Wamba of Spain (672-80). The Jews of Septimania took their stand with him against the monarchy which had so humiliated their people and their faith. According to a later version of the chronicle which is our source, Hilderic had recalled the nonbaptized Jews to Septimania in the teeth of statutes of the Gothic realm. King Wamba sent Duke Paul to quell the rebellion. Paul, however, pursued his own

15. See my note 18, p. 10. "Iulianus episcopus ex traduce Iudeorum," Isidore, Bishop of Seville, *Historia Gothorum Additamentum V*, *MGH*, Auctores Antiquissimi, XI, *Chronica Minora*, II ed. Th. Mommsen, p. 349: 18, 19; B. Blumenkranz, *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, p. 142, no. 127b.

16. Julian's *De comprobatione aetatis sextae* (published 686) intended to refute the Jewish polemic that Jesus cannot be the true Messiah because the years of his activity do not correspond to the Messianic Age of the seventh millennium fixed by the pattern of six days of creation followed by the Sabbath Day, of the six years of agricultural tilling followed by a Sabbath year for the soil, *PL* XCVI, cols. 545-56; the relevant passages in German translation in A. Posnanski, *Schiloh*, pp. 310-12. B. Blumenkranz does not tie up Julian's polemic with the start of the seventh century since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem ushered in by the year 668, *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, pp. 119-26.

17. Judah Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Ge'ulah* (Homilies of Redemption), 2nd ed. (Jerusalem-Tel Aviv 5714), pp. 162-70 and the bibliography there. For Rome as the Fourth Kingdom of Daniel, see *idem*, Introduction, p. 73 note 15.

aims and ambitions. He won over to himself, among others, the Duke of Tarragona and, when he controlled Narbonne, publicly renounced his loyalty to Wamba and had himself elected king. He exacted an oath of loyalty to himself as king. Now all of Gaul and part of Tarragona rose in revolt while Paul succeeded in attracting large numbers of Franks and Gallo-Romans. For means to maintain his rebellion Paul despoiled the churches of Septimania. In the end, he incited all of Septimania to insurrection against Wamba. The rebellion appears to have involved also a movement from Christianity to Judaism.

Alerted by the growing threat to his rule, the Visigothic King now led his army northward. He pacified Gascony and Catalonia, occupied the passes of the Pyrenees, and besieged and captured Narbonne. Paul retired to Nîmes to make his last-ditch stand against the consistently advancing and victorious Wamba. Nîmes fell. Wamba captured Paul, ordered his eyes gouged out, and sentenced the disgraced general and his accomplices to life imprisonment. He returned the sacred vessels to the churches. On the way back he spent some time in Narbonne, presumably for the purpose of pacification and the restoration of order. He then expelled from the Narbonnaise all the Jews.¹⁸

Under the Visigoths then, the Pyrenees did not constitute the northern boundary of the Kingdom of Spain which in actuality sprawled over into Gaul. At the same time the regions hugging the foothills on both sides of the mountain ridge demonstrated recurring surges to autonomy and quasi-independence from the rule to the south of them, whether

18. Julian Archbishop of Toledo, *Historia rebellionis Pauli adversus Wambam Gothorum regem*, PL, XCVI, cols. 763-807; reedited by W. Levison, *MGH, Scriptorum rerum Merov.*, V, pp. 501-26; *Insultatio*, pp. 526-29; *Iudicium*, pp. 529-35; summary in *HGL*, I (1872), pp. 713-28. After seizing the throne Paul referred to himself as *unctus rex orientalis* and to Wamba as *regi austro*, W. Levison *op. cit.*, *Epistola*, p. 500. Cf. F. X. Murphy, "Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain," *Speculum*, XXVII (1952), 1-27, for a summary of Paul's rebellion and the last years of the Visigothic Kingdom; S. Katz, *The Jews in . . . Spain and Gaul*, pp. 16-17, on involvement of Jews.

Allusion to a movement from Christianity to Judaism appears in Julian's impassioned address to Septimania; *Insultatio*, p. 526:16-17; 23-30. Cf. J. Parkes, *Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, p. 342; S. W. Baron, *History*, III (1957), pp. 45-46.

The editor of *HGL*, II, p. 728, sees in the Jews "the source of all of [Wamba's] troubles."

Goth or Muslim. Such restiveness and repeated reaching for self-rule are in fact characteristic of the political history of these lands.

Catalonia and Septimania both refused to recognize King Roderic, the last ruler of Visigothic Spain. Already at Wamba's coronation Septimania's representatives were conspicuous by their absence. In place of Roderic these lands pledged fealty to Aqila, son of Witiza. He opposed their integration into the triumphant Caliphate. But not for long. The treaty of Damascus 714 forced the renunciation of the crown by Witiza's three sons. While guaranteeing their patrimony it provided for the cession of their lands in Catalonia and the Narbonne to the caliph; whereupon these regions rose in rebellion and elevated Ardo to the throne. But this revolt was short-lived. The territories north of the Pyrenees attracted the attention of the Arab invaders soon after their conquest of Spain. According to one report it was Tarik ibn Ziyad himself who ordered the assault on Frankish Gaul (Ifrandja). Al-Samḥ's capture of Narbonne (720) put an end to Ardo's rule. When Al-Samḥ lost his life in battle with Eudo of Aquitaine at Toulouse in 721, the new wali, 'Anbasa ibn Suhaim 'al-Kalai, took Nîmes (725) and Carcassonne and, pursuing "peaceful conquest" by means of treaties of submission, he captured Autun, August 22, 725, and depopulated it. With the capture of Nîmes all of Septimania, the ancient province of Gothic Gaul, and now the final surviving remnant of the Visigothic Kingdom fell under Saracen control.

Septimania remained in Saracen hands from 720 until 759. The walis of Narbonne, however, in line with the tradition they inherited, continued to adopt a rather independent stance toward the Emir of Cordova. The Wali Munuz entered into a marriage alliance with Eudo of Aquitaine taking his daughter to wife in 730 after having broken with his Emir 'Abd ar-Raḥman al-Ghafiqi. Reprisals against Munuz led to his suicide and the capture of his beautiful wife who supposedly was dispatched to the caliph's harem in Damascus. Charles Martel's victory at Poitiers in October 732 brought Burgundy and Provence into the Carolingian realm, but not Aquitaine. The Duke of Aquitaine, semi-autonomous at the least, was entrusted with the mission of protecting the country against future Saracen incursions. The tradition of autonomy thus persisted.

The successor of Munuz in Septimania was Yusuf ibn 'Abd ar-

Rahman al-Fihri (734) who, like his predecessors, retained considerable autonomy but avoided rebellion. Arles and Avignon fell to the Muslim invaders, very likely with the aid of Count Maurontus. The Saracens however possessed Lyons by force of their arms; eventually they were stopped by Charles Martel. He retook Avignon and, with the aid of the Lombards (738), threw the Muslims back on Narbonne. Charles then laid siege to this fortress which, however, proved impregnable. Nevertheless he kept the Saracens on the defensive while he completed the conquest of Provence (739). The indigenous inhabitants of Septimania and the partisans of Maurontus resisted Charles. In reprisal, he inflicted severe punishment on Agde, Béziers, Maguelonne, and Nîmes, devastating these territories and decimating the population. In turn, the Emir Ukba, master of Narbonne, raided its environs and gave his prisoners the choice of Islam or death. Two thousand are reported to have converted. Confusion inside the Emirate of Cordova and a consequent weakening of the Saracen position in Septimania encouraged 'Abd ar-Rahman ben Alcamah el-Lahmi, wali at Narbonne, to rebellion in 747, which failed.¹⁹ This was a portent of a coming rapprochement between the enemies of the Emirate and Charles Martel's son Pepin the Short.

During the 740s and 750s Aquitaine stood in a loose relationship with the Frankish realm. As in Bavaria and Alamannia, a duke of its own nation ruled Aquitaine. The land's dependence on the Frank ruler was expressed only in an oath of fidelity sworn by duke and people. The substance of the loyalty consisted in regular tribute and gifts and the avoidance of unfriendly alliances, harboring enemies of the realm, and attacking the land. Aquitaine enjoyed such an extensive measure of de facto independence that when Charles Martel divided his realm among his sons he did not mention Aquitaine.²⁰ When King Chilperic asked Eudo of Aquitaine for aid against Charles Martel he recognized the Duke's independence.²¹

Narbonne now became the chief prize of the South and a coveted

19. Cf. *HGL*, I, pp. 771-809, 817-21; R. d'Abadal y de Vinyals, "El paso de Septimania del dominio godo al franco a través la invasión sarracena (720-768)," *CHE*, XIX (1953), 7-42.

20. H. Hahn, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs 741-752*, pp. 20-21.

21. "Chilpericus itaque et Ragamfredus legationem ad Eodonem ducem dirigunt, eius auxilium postulantes rogant, regnum et munera tradunt"; *Fredegarii Continua-*

symbol of Carolingian supremacy. In 752 Pepin acquired the towns of Nîmes, Maguelonne, Agde, and Béziers by alliance with Count Ansemond of Nîmes and a Septimanian-Gothic group of aristocrats. Pepin moved against Narbonne but his troops could take it only after a seven-year siege in 759.²²

Investigators of the status of the Jews in Frankland during the Carolingian age differ sharply about the theoretical foundations of their legal and social position, although they agree substantially on their condition de facto. J. E. Scherer²³ has fixed the status of Jews in the Frankish realm within the confines exclusively of the Teutonic law of aliens which treats foreigners as rightless. The alien could claim no legal standing in the territory of the people or tribe to which he did not belong since status in law resulted not from fortuitous residence in a land but rather from belonging to a certain tribe. Scherer sees Clovis' conversion to Catholicism, ca. 496, as the turning point in the condition of the Jews. The Franks, now Catholic, assimilated in time the previous Roman population and thereby, he claims, put an end to the need for Roman law. With its suspension Roman-Christian Jewry legislation also became obsolete. Yet the Jews remained, distinct and apart from the rest of the population. But there was no tribe whose law had application to them, while their own legal system lacked recognition as a folk or tribal law. Thereupon, the Jews, now aliens, came to be viewed as without rights of any kind, and they entered upon the condition of the unfree and the servile. However, there are extant at

tiones ed. Br. Krusch, *MGH*, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, II, § 107, p. 174; cf. T. Breysig, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches 714-741*, *Die Zeit Karl Martells*, pp. 30, note 2, 32-33, 61, 76-77, 101.

22. R. d'Abadal y de Vinyals, "El paso de Septimania," *CHE*, XIX (1953), 5-54; see the review by É. Ewig, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LXXVI (1956), 330-32, and cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I, pp. 14-15, 252.

G. Amardel dates a silver penny, struck in accordance with Frank usage, between ca. 715 to before 720. Since this coin bears no royal title he concludes that the Narbonnaise had no king in this period but a count as governor whom he identifies with Count Gilbert, "Le comte de Narbonne Gilbert," *BCAN*, VI (1900), 304-11.

23. Johannes E. Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-österreichischen Ländern* (Leipsic 1901). Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judenrechtes im Mittelalter. Vol. I, pp. 3-8, 62-69, 251-54.

See my note 24, p. 15, on Voltelini.

least four imperial documents of the first half of the ninth century which endow the Jews with extensive privileges; and it is agreed that these are but a remnant of many more such diplomas. Scherer explains the Jews' de facto privileged position as a consequence of their economic usefulness and the significant sums they paid to the royal treasury which enabled them to lessen or avoid the consequences of the *Fremdenrecht*. Furthermore, he insists, all regulations in their behalf were dependent on royal grace or favor; their legal status was altogether precarious, their special law always subject to recall, and they themselves liable to expulsion. Jews remained aliens, with respect to both religion and nationality, and were always treated as such.

Scherer finds evidence of the Jews' alien status in the very *privilegia* which the imperial chancellery accorded to them. He assumes that these were directed exclusively to the individual Jews named therein. Since the diplomas exempt these persons from trial by ordeal and flogging—a proof and a penalty, respectively, of the unfree—Scherer concludes that the nonprivileged Jews were denied these exemptions, hence treated as unfree. The imperial documents guarantee the privileged Jews protection of life and property and free disposition of their goods. For Scherer this is evidence that Jews in general in the Frankish realm lacked protection and legal standing. Since they were not included in the special act of guardianship, the king could freely dispose of them and their property as in the case of other aliens. These privileged Jews, on the other hand, owed certain services in return for their protection and proffered annual payments to the crown. The penalty of ten pounds gold *wergeld* for killing one of them was not paid, as among tribal members, to the relatives of the victim but to the guardian, the king, as with all aliens. One of the imperial capitularies, that of Aix-la-Chapelle dated 809, the authenticity of which Scherer does not question, places Jewish litigants at a distinct disadvantage in suits at law in that, depending on the amount involved, a Jew could prove his case against a Christian only by producing four or nine or seven (Christian) witnesses, while a Christian needed only three Christians and three Jews to corroborate his claim.

Scherer's formulation emphasizes therefore the contrast between the rightlessness of all Jews, in theory, and the significant social and legal status of certain privileged Jews, in fact. Their economic activity re-

quired their presence in Frankia under conditions favorable to their assigned tasks; their considerable payments to the crown made further privileges worthwhile to the king.

Scherer's strict formulation of the effect of the Teutonic law of aliens on the Jews drew sharp criticism from Max Eschelbacher who emphasized that precisely in the early Middle Ages, the period when the Teutonic alien law had maximum efficacy, the Jews were not treated as rightless aliens in fact. He attacked Scherer's interpretation that the imperial mandates of the ninth century were evidence for their unfree condition. Scherer had pointed to the penalty of flogging—restricted to the unfree—in support of his contention. Eschelbacher showed that this penalty could be meted out to Jews (according to the charter itself) only when their own court convicted them and their own law required it; otherwise, it was forbidden—a strong argument, on the contrary, for their freedom. He saw the period of Jewish rightlessness setting in not before the twelfth century when prejudice and arbitrariness became rampant and replaced law.²⁴ H. Graetz and G. Caro emphasized the de facto privileged status of the Jews in the Carolingian age and saw a progressive deterioration after the Crusades. Caro challenged Scherer's theory that the Jews were treated as aliens in Frankland after the conversion of Clovis. On primarily economic grounds W. Roscher has argued for essentially the same process of deterioration from an early dominant position.²⁵ Nevertheless, histo-

24. Max Eschelbacher, *MGWJ*, XLVI (1902), 388–94, in his review of Scherer's work. On the practice of flogging in medieval Jewish courts after the disappearance of the *malkot* of the Talmudic age, S. W. Baron, *History*, IV, p. 261, note 63. Hans v. Voltelini denies that Roman law lost its validity in Frankland. He also takes Scherer to task for separating so sharply Teutonic law from ecclesiastical law for the Jews; both, as well as Roman law, influenced the folk laws. See his review of Scherer in *MIÖG*, XXVI (1905), 145–48.

25. H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ed. S. Eppenstein, V, pp. 230–47. Graetz emphasizes the remarkable position of the Jews in the Carolingian realm; G. Caro, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden*, I, pp. 129–58, 459; Wilhelm Roscher, "Die Stellung der Juden im Mittelalter, betrachtet vom Standpunkt der allgemeinen Handelspolitik," *Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, XXXI (1875), 503–26; See T. Oelsner's summary and critique, "Wilhelm Roscher's Theory of the Economic and Social Position of the Jews in the Middle Ages," *YIVO Annual of Social Science*, XII (1958–59), 176–95.

rians of medieval law have accepted Scherer's rationale for the status of medieval Jewry.

G. Kisch takes up the argument against Scherer on the basis of legal theory and Jewry law.²⁶ He goes beyond Eschelbacher and insists that the modifications found in early medieval Jewry law were conditioned solely by the difference in the religion of the Jews. Yet their religious divergence did not keep them from settling in Christian lands while Saracens and heathens were excluded from certain areas.

The legal status of medieval Jewry, according to Kisch, exhibits traits *sui generis* in consequence of their incomplete integration into the medieval state because of religious differentiation. According to him the Jews did not exercise the faintest residue of political independence and had ceased to be regarded as a separate nation since the dissolution of the Jewish state. The predominant form of recorded law in the Middle Ages was the *privilegium*. The special law for the Jews followed the same pattern. Their religious divergence required rights or prerogatives deviating from the common law. Privileges were conferred first on individuals in the Carolingian age, then granted to specific Jewish groups from the eleventh century on and finally to all Jews in a given territory, such as the empire. The will and interest of those in power controlled policy, as did also the time, place, and special circumstances. These ever changing elements also determined the curtailment or abrogation of the rights and privileges previously granted.

The charters conferred by Emperor Louis the Pious established, according to Kisch, a direct protective relationship to the sovereign. The formula defining the Jews' required service to the crown is identical with the formula found in a similar document for non-Jewish merchants and is no evidence for their alien character: ". . . liceat eis . . . partibus palatii nostri fideliter deservire."²⁷

Kisch's three phases in the development of Jewry protection have already been noted. The earliest consists in the special rights granted to individual Jews. The extant Carolingian charters of protection take

26. G. Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany*, pp. 4-9, 131-39, 306-09, and notes.

27. *Formulae Imperiales* ed. K. Zeumer, no. 31, p. 310; no. 52, p. 325; no. 37, p. 315.

them into the special guardianship of the emperor after they had "commended" themselves to him. Such protection was extended also to churches, clerics, free men capable of bearing arms, women, and merchants. Nor do the grants vary in legal intent. The sole difference is of a religious nature, claims Kisch. Furthermore, both Jewish and non-Jewish beneficiaries are designated *fideles*, they pledge certain services or payments such as freemen can render. The charters effect no change in their personal status; lack of freedom need not be assumed beforehand nor servitude afterward. In fact, the free status of the Jews is evidenced by their possession of real property and slaves. Kisch concludes that no typical law of Jewry protection operated in the Frankish realm. The charters of protection for Jewish grantees constituted special laws for individuals, a *jus speciale* for privileged persons. They were not intended to regulate the status of an entire social group thereby creating a *jus singulare*. Even the now lost Capitulary of Emperor Louis the Pious could not refer to the entire body of Jews, since it contained only regulations of criminal procedure and was not of a general regulatory nature. The earliest phase of Jewry privilege, that limited to individuals, was the sole kind of *privilegium* issued to Jews in the Carolingian period.

Kisch's conclusion that religion alone differentiated Jews from others in the legislation of Carolingian Frankia he supports with the provision in the extant charters which allows them to live in accordance with their own law, for the Jews a religious law; they also required their own form of oath. The rest of his documentation is post-Carolingian. He does not make clear why the religion of the Jews should confer a privileged status on them while Islam or paganism entailed disability for their adherents. A special law was doubtless a requisite; but why a law of privilege for one and disability for the other? Blumenkranz tries to remedy this flaw by integrating Kisch's view into his own sharp emphasis on the continuation of the validity of Roman law which, in fact, had accorded Jewish religion the special preferred status of a *religio licita*.²⁸

In summary, both those scholars who view medieval Jewish status from the standpoint of Teutonic alien law and those who deny the

28. B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, pp. 297-304.

efficacy of *Fremdenrecht* for the legal condition of Jews agree, tacitly or expressly, that they possessed neither a territory of their own within the realm nor a political center or "homeland" outside of the Frankish Kingdom, to which they belonged. The "alien law" legists see in this condition the cause of their rightlessness *de jure* while acknowledging the privileged status of at least a few Jews *de facto* in consequence of their special economic tasks and monetary gifts. The other investigators differ widely in their explanation of the uncontested fact of privileged status for at least some, and perhaps all, Jews in the Carolingian Empire. They derive such status from a quasi-monopoly of economic life in the early period (Roscher), a religious differentiation as the factor that made for special, but privileged, treatment (Kisch, Blumenkranz), or the application of the principle of personality and ethnicity to Jews (Waitz). Such wide divergence of opinion suggests that a fresh start may be in order. This requires a reexamination of documents. It entails a test of the hypothesis that the Jews of the West also required (as did those of the East, out of which many of them had but recently migrated) a central figure who derived his authority to rule by way of descent from the royal House of David. He would legitimize their autonomous existence in Frankia under their own law by conferring his divinely-ordained authority on local leaders.

Virtually all students of the subject, with the notable exception of Blumenkranz,²⁹ accept Scherer's view that the Carolingian diplomas were granted for the benefit only of the individual Jews named therein. Their conclusion is all the more surprising in the light of the explicit statement in one of Louis le Débonnaire's mandates that it was issued for the three named Lyons Jews "and their peers."³⁰ Louis' mandate for Rabbi Domatus and his nephew Samuel was, like this document, also an *ad hoc* decision in the conflict that arose in Lyons over the action of Bishop Agobard.³¹ Nevertheless, it states explicitly that the

29. *Ibid.*

30. "... pares eorum"; *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 31, p. 310:8. The view of Zeumer who edited this formulary has been ignored, *ibid.*, p. 310, note 1.

31. For a discussion of the relation of these mandates to the quarrel over the Bishop's baptism of a Jewish slave, see A. J. Zuckerman "The Political Uses of Theology: The Conflict of Bishop Agobard and the Jews of Lyons," in John R. Sommerfeldt (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Culture*, III, 25-27, 32.

Emperor's command is intended for "other Jews" as well.³² The diploma for Abraham of Saragossa confers the rights granted to him also on "his men" dependent on him.³³ The sole extant imperial act in behalf of Jews that was restricted in its application to the persons alone who are named therein is that of Emperor Louis for Gaudiocus and his two sons.³⁴ That is so because it was intended to replace an earlier document of which they had been forcibly deprived. The original may perhaps have been of the same tenor as the *privilegium* for Abraham of Saragossa. Furthermore, the now lost Capitulary of Emperor Louis, although doubtless issued to one or more individuals, was clearly intended for all Jews of the empire, as the mandate for Lyons Jewry clearly states.³⁵ There is no reason to assume that it was limited to regulations of a criminal nature alone. In fact, the repetition of identical passages and phrases in the three *formulae* nos. 30, 31, and 52 just mentioned suggests that they may be drawn from a common source, perhaps this lost Capitulary.³⁶ The extant documents were selected from a considerable number of other such writs for inclusion in the imperial formulary because each represented a distinct type issued to the Jews: a *privilegium* (for Abraham), a mandate in behalf of a central Jewish official (for Rabbi Domatus) with at least one provision applicable to all Jews, a mandate in behalf of a local Jewish community (for Lyons) which could have been issued for any other Jewish community in a similar situation. The diploma for Gaudiocus and his two sons is a confirmation paralleled by no typical *formula* in the particular formulary that has come down to us. Special conditions led the chancellery to direct these acts to specific persons or groups but they could just as well have been issued in behalf of other Jews or Jewries. In

32. "... volumus ut neque vos ipsi praedictis Hebreis hoc ulterius facere praesumatis neque iuniores vestros *ullis* facere permittatis"; *ibid.*, no. 30, p. 309:25, 26.

33. "... adversus eum vel homines suos qui per eum legibus sperare videntur"; *ibid.*, no. 52, p. 325:27.

34. *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 97, col. 211-12, dated February 22, 839.

35. *Formulae Imperiales*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 31, p. 310:37, "... capitula quae a nobis eis (*sc.* Judaeis) observanda promulgata sunt"; Agobard, *Epistolae*, p. 183:9; see Zuckerman, "The Political Uses of Theology . . .," p. 26.

36. So also B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, pp. 301-02.

anticipation of this need they were included in the imperial formulary still extant. Viewed as a totality these documents make clear that there was no substantive differentiation in the legal status of all Jews in the Carolingian Empire of this period. They were all equally "privileged." Some, like Abraham of Saragossa and the three named in the Lyons mandate, were leaders or "patrons." Others were their "peers," as in Lyons, or their dependents as in the case of Abraham's "men." But they were all "privileged Jews."

There is no basis for the view that these imperial acts were intended for the benefit of only a few highly privileged individuals in return for their special services to the crown. The leaders or patrons entered into commendation with the sovereign, as did Abraham of Saragossa, and thereby became his vassals or *fideles*. But, as the *privilegium* for the same Abraham makes clear, these royal vassals shared their legal status with those dependent on them or who otherwise entered into a relationship with them. All members of "the Jewish nation" enjoyed substantially the same legal, though not necessarily the same social, status. Some wielded power of a political, and perhaps economic, character over others. Finally, all three of these documents speak of Jews as slave owners and/or slave traders and employers of free Christians in their service.³⁷ The letters of Agobard amply demonstrate that in the ninth century Jews owned cattle on the hoof and slaves, and employed Christians in their service; of similar import are the writings of Pope Stephen III in 768 (also vineyards) and Amolo Bishop of Lyons in 846 (pagan slaves).³⁸

Scherer recognized that in early medieval Europe the Jews enjoyed the status of Romans, but with the obsolescence of Roman law he assumed that the Jews became rightless and eventually slipped into the condition of aliens deprived of law. But Roman law continued into

37. *Formulae Imperiales*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 30, p. 309:14, 16, 21-23; no. 31, p. 310:20-23, 30; no. 52, p. 325:18, 19, 25, 26.

38. *MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi* V, 3, ed. Ernest Dümmler, p. 165:29-32; 42-44; cf. p. 182, top; p. 183:26-32; p. 184:26, 27; p. 181:6-10. On Stephen see this text, pp. 50-51; on Bishop Amolo see this text, pp. 304-305. For other evidence regarding Narbonne and environs see this text, pp. 146-74. On Jews' ownership of land (including vineyards) in the Saône and Rhone valleys in the 9th-11th centuries see immediately below pp. 25 ff.

the Frankish era. Waitz declared it was beyond doubt that Jews were free men in Frankland. He noted that the Teutonic laws did not include a *wergeld* for Jews and cautiously proposed that this might be so because they were counted among the Romans.³⁹ The *Interpretatio* of the Theodosian Code, indeed (which continued to apply Roman law in the barbarian successor states) assumes it is well known that all Jews are Romans. Emperor Theodoric confirmed, in a letter addressed by his minister Cassiodor to the Jews of Genoa (507-11), the privileges which the ancient laws decreed in behalf of their institutions. Gregory the Great adopted essentially the same position in 591, in a conflict involving a synagogue, when he declared that Jews were permitted to live by Roman law.⁴⁰ The Roman Visigothic law code which counted Jews as Romans remained in force in southern France after it lost validity in Spain and Visigothic Gaul, and extended even to Burgundy. In north Frankia Clovis' conquest altered less of the existing conditions there than anywhere else, which hardly accounts for any sudden change in the condition of Jews from Romans to aliens. In 585 they still enjoyed the right in Roman law of having their synagogues protected by the state and, in the event of violent destruction, as had happened at Orléans, of having it rebuilt at public expense; although in this instance King Guntram might be unwilling to enforce the law.⁴¹ In certain special instances involving Jews Roman law continued in use into the high middle ages. In the region of Nîmes a contract of sale for the Abbey St. Victor of Marseilles, dated January 27, 1040, was concluded by two Jews in accordance with Roman law.⁴²

As already noted, both Christian and Imperial Rome recognized the Jewish Patriarch of Palestine as the supreme authority of all Jews; and the pagan empire, at least, designated him a *rex socius* and high official

39. G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, II, pt. 1, p. 271.

40. *Codex Theodosianus*, *Interpretatio*, "Iudaei omnes qui Romani esse noscuntur", II, 1, 10. Cassiodorus, *Variae*, *MGH*, Auctores antiquissimi, XII, p. 128, no. XXXIII, "... priuilegia uobis debere seruari, quae Iudaicis institutis legum prouida decreuit antiquitas"; cf. *ibid.*, no. XXXVII, p. 163-64 (in 523-26). Gregorius, *Registrum*, *MGH*, Epistolae, I, no. II, 6, p. 105, "... sicut Romanis uiuere legibus permittuntur."

41. G. Caro, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, pp. 89-90.

42. B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, p. 299, note 15.

of the state. Before the Patriarchate of Palestine became extinct *ca.* 425 Jewish officials in other parts of the empire appeared, with the same title of *patriarchae* or *primates*, who doubtless served as visible evidence of the Jewish nation, although scattered and no longer in possession of the Palestinian homeland. The vitality of the Messianic hope for the eventual restoration to their land, attested by the rise of recurrent claimants to this title, kept alive among Jews their national consciousness and, among their neighbors, the awareness of their ethnic difference. The institution of the Jewish Exilarchate in Babylon and Persia, and the growth of its power under the caliphs, who conferred recognition of its authority, strengthened such awareness. In fact, G. Waitz sees in the imperial Jewry law of the ninth century, in particular the right to live by their own law, evidence of the principle of personality (that is, of ethnic nationality) applied to Jews.⁴³

S. W. Baron declines to follow Scherer in that he finds that the memories of the Jews' status as Gallo-Romans under the Theodosian Code and its derivatives were not completely expunged. Nevertheless, he sees in the new approach of the Carolingians striking resemblance to the legal concept governing the relations of aliens who, completely rightless under the primitive Teuton laws, were wont to seek the protection of local rulers in return for more or less regular payments. Despite their different origin and numerous variations in detail, the status of Jews and that of aliens were sufficiently alike to reinforce the conviction of the "alien" character of Jews.⁴⁴

None of the scholarly formulations, however, ventured the hypothesis that the Jews in the Frankish empire might have had a territorial center beyond its borders, in spite of the well-known role of the Exilarchate of Baghdad which functioned as such a center for all Jewish persons and communities within the Caliphate. Least of all has it been proposed that Jews within the Carolingian realm might have been assigned a territory, administered by their own chief, on the model of the Exilar-

43. G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III, p. 347, note 2. Karl G. Hugelmann sees a certain resemblance between the status of Jews and that of North Swabians in Saxon territory as late as the thirteenth century; "Studien zum Recht der Nationalitäten im deutschen Mittelalter," *HJb* XLVII (1927), 292; XLVIII (1928), 570, 580.

44. S. W. Baron, *History*, III (1952), pp. 48-50; IV, pp. 48-53; 262, note 66.

chate or as a survival of the Palestinian Patriarchate and its provincial *patriarchae*. Yet such principalities of alien peoples, non-Teutonic "tribes," were common in the time of Charlemagne. Their king or prince, *rex* or *princeps*, was a highly privileged personality, and the members of his "nation," although alien, were freemen; insofar as they helped him to govern his own people and territory, they were his "vassals" and perhaps also imperial officials, as he himself doubtless was.

The Carolingian rulers recognized as "kings" certain chieftains of foreign peoples within their empire, provided these "commended" themselves into the hands of the sovereigns. An act of commendation was in fact the accepted form by which foreign or semi-independent princes placed themselves under Carolingian suzerainty while, it may be assumed, they retained royal rank and status vis à vis their own people. Thus Witzin, prince of the Slavic Abodriti, retained the title "king" until his death in 795, while a vassal of Charlemagne. The same ruler granted peace to several Slavic kings in 789 after they had placed their lands under his dominion and commended themselves to him. So did Zaton, prefect of Barcelona, in 797, Harold King of the Danes, in 814, and Respogius Duke of Brittany, who retained virtually a separate realm after performing the act of commendation to his sovereign.⁴⁵

Precisely this act of *commendatio* describes the relationship between the Jew Abraham of Saragossa and Emperor Louis le Débonnaire in his *privilegium* of ca. 825:

... the Hebrew Abraham by name [the Emperor declares] inhabiting Saragossa has come into our presence and commended himself into our hands and we have accepted and retained him under the title of our protection Let him live quietly under our protection and defence and faithfully [literally, as a *fidelis*] serve our Palace However, if any cases should arise or take place against him or his men who derive their legal status through him, which cannot be decided within the land (*infra patriam*), without serious and unjust loss, let them be suspended and kept for our own presence until they can there receive definitive judgment according to law.⁴⁶

45. C. E. Odegaard, *Vassi and Fideles in the Carolingian Empire*, pp. 4-5, 61; 38-40; 61-63. See this text, pp. 91-92.

46. *Formulae Imperiales*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 52, p. 325.

Among the several significant items in this diploma is the reference to other persons upon whom Abraham can confer a certain legal status, presumably by their entering into some formal relationship with him. Some special significance may also attach to the meaning of Abraham's "fatherland," *patria*.

It is not necessary to assume that Abraham was the Jews' chieftain in the Carolingian Empire. In this instance the Emperor appears to be encouraging his immigration into the realm in a position of some authority over other persons. Hence, the commendation. Apparently, local leaders also were expected to enter into this formal relationship of homage before they were assigned to a specific area (*patria*) as their own.

The other extant documents of Louis in behalf of Jews are not formal *privilegia*. Hence they do not describe the establishment of this relationship of *commendatio* to the sovereign, although it may be implied as already in existence by the use of such terms as, "We have received and retained them under our defence." The imperial mandate for the community of Lyons also mentions their own "land," *patria*, repeating the exact phraseology of Abraham's diploma.⁴⁷ In their instance it must refer to a region that included the city of Lyons.

There can be no question that Jews owned property in the Carolingian Age. The aforementioned confirmation of Emperor Louis the Pious for the Hebrews Gaudiocus and his two sons describes realty holdings in Valerianis and Bagnilis (near Carcassonne) which they had inherited, including dwellings and other structures, cultivated and uncultivated lands, vineyards, meadows, pasture lands, waters and streams, mills and the approaches thereto. The named Hebrews have full power in accordance with the law of possession to dispose of their property as they see fit, sell it, give it away, or exchange it, and no one may disturb them in their possession.⁴⁸ Likewise, the imperial

47. For Rabbi Domatus and Samuel, "... sub nostra defensione suscepimus ac retinemus"; *Formulae Imperiales*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 30, p. 309:5; repeated exactly for Lyons, no. 31, p. 310:9; fully for Abraham, "... iste Hebrews nomine Abraham ... in manibus nostris se commendavit, et cum sub sermone tuitionis nostre recepimus ac retinemus," no. 52, p. 325:8-10; *infra patriam*, p. 310:30, cf. p. 325:28.

48. "... jubemus ut memorati Hebraei eorumque posteritas memoratas res cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus vel aspicientibus, id est cum domibus, ceterisque

mandate in behalf of Rabbi Domatus and his nephew Samuel refers to protection of "their own property." Moreover, they are permitted to enter into exchange of their own property and to sell it to whomsoever they wish.⁴⁹ Similarly, the act in behalf of Lyons Jewry offers protection to their property legitimately acquired and wherever held and permits them to exchange it with whomsoever they wish.⁵⁰ The *privilegium* for Abraham of Saragossa likewise extends protection to his property (presumably still to be acquired) and merchandise,⁵¹ but does not mention its sale or exchange explicitly.

Several traces of a "land" or "territory" of the Jews have come to light in the extant local documents, specifically, in the Chalonnais, Mâconnais, and Viennois of the south of France, referring to the period of concern of this study, and beyond it into the eleventh century. The earliest record, dated August 17, 842, locates a *terra Ebreorum* in the district of Vienne in the village of Broses (Brocianus Subterior); the next notice, of April 849, places a *terra Hebraeorum* within the walls of Vienne; a century later, 950-51, in Vernioz (Vernius) ten kilometers south of Vienne. In the tenth century there emerge in the

aedificiis, terris cultis et uncultis, vineis, pratis, pascuis, aquis aquarumque decursibus, molendinis, exitibus, egressibus et regressibus, absque cuiuslibet contrarietate aut detentione . . . teneant, possideant. Et quidquid de eis iure proprietario ordinare, disponere aut facere vendendo, donando vel commutando voluerint, liberam in omnibus habeant potestatem, neque quispiam eis de saepedictis rebus ullam calumniam aut inquietudinem generare audeat, sed liceat secure atque quiete . . ."; *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 97, col. 211-12.

49. ". . . iubemus ut neque vos . . . memoratos Hebreos . . . inquietare aut calumniam generare praesumat nec de rebus eorum propriis . . . aliquid abstrahere aut minuere . . . praesumatis . . . Similiter concessimus eis de rebus eorum propriis commutationes facere et proprium suum cuicumque voluerint vendere"; *Formulae Imperiales*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 30, p. 309:6-10, 12-13.

50. ". . . iubemus ut neque vos," etc. (as in note 49 above) ". . . nec de rebus eorum propriis, quae ex legitima acquisitione habere visi sunt, vel in quibuslibet locis . . . legaliter vestiti esse videntur," etc. (as in note 49). "Similiter concessimus eis de rebus eorum commutationes facere cum quibuslibet hominibus voluerint"; *ibid.*, no. 31, p. 310:10-14; 18-19.

51. ". . . iubemus ut neque vos etc. . . neque de rebus suis propriis vel negotio suo," etc. (as in note 49); *ibid.*, no. 52, p. 325:11-14. Apparently this is protection promised in advance for property which Abraham planned to acquire in Frankia.

documents of the same Viennois region references to *terrae* of individual Jews: the *terra Abboni* in the village Ambalent January 925, the *terra Durabile* and wife Columba *ebreis* in the village Castolatis 947-48, the *terra Asterii ebrei* in Vitrieu (Vitosco) 957-58, 966-67, 970-71, and August 937-93 within the walls of Vienne namely, "in the burg of the Hebrews"; and the *terra Ysahac ebreo* 958-59. Latouche dates this "Jews' town" (*burgus Ebreorum*) along the banks of the Rhône in Vienne back to 849.⁵²

North of Vienne, several references to a *terra Hebreorum* have been preserved in the Cartulary of St. Vincent of Mâcon. A vineyard situated in the village Bioux (Boscido) of the Mâconnais is described as bordering on the *terra Hebreorum* on one of its sides in the period 888-98. The same cartulary records an exchange of property at some time between 886-927 by the Jew Justus and the Bishop Gerald of Mâcon; that of the latter borders on the *terra Hebreorum*. Perhaps it is this *terra Hebreorum* which is entered in the same cartulary for the periods 954-62, ca. 972 (mentioned twice), 981-96, 987-96, 996-1018, followed by several other such references in the eleventh century.⁵³

Between Mâcon and Vienne the *terra Hebreorum* may be traced

52. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-André-le-bas de Vienne*, ed. Cyr Ulysse J. Chevalier, Appendix no. 2, p. 212; "... et determinet mansus qui est infra muros civitatis Vienne ... in subteriore fronte terra Hebreorum ...," Appendix no. 4, p. 214; no. 100, pp. 74-75 (950-51); no. 129, pp. 92-93 (January 925); no. 99, p. 74 (947-48); no. 63, p. 52 (957-58); no. 64, pp. 52-53 (966-67); no. 49, p. 43 (970-71); no. 91, pp. 68-69 (August 937-93): "Est autem et ipsa terra eorum adjacens monasterio Sancti Andree, infra muros urbis Vienne, in burgo videlicet Ebreorum, qui talibus cingitur terminis: a mane terra filiorum Levi, a medio die via veniens ad Hebreos" This exchange of properties is signed by five Hebrews, Juda, Lupus, Granellus, Salomon, Justus. Cf. Robert Latouche, "Le Bourg des Juifs (Hebraeorum Burgus) de Vienne (Isère) au x^e siècle," *Études médiévales* (Paris 1966), 194-96; *Cartulaire de ... Vienne*, no. 105, p. 77 (958-59 *terra Ysahac*).

53. *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon connu sous le nom de livre enchainé. Chartularium matisconense*, ed. Camille Ragut (Mâcon 1864), nos. 284, p. 169 (888-98); 122, p. 92 twice (886-927); 276, p. 165 (954-62); 46, p. 37 twice (ca. 972); 307, p. 180 (981-96); 273, p. 164 (987-99); 148, p. 104 (996-1018); and the eleventh-century references nos. 487, p. 282 (ca. 1004); 142, p. 101 (1018) "terra que olim fuit Hebreorum; terra Hebreorum"; 167, p. 113 (1018), 549, p. 324 (1074-96); as well as undated notations nos. 147, p. 103; 195, p. 125 (ca. 10th century), 278, pp. 166-67.

further. A land grant in the village Marcilliaco is described as bordering on the *terra Hebraeorum* in the period 994–1032. Similar notations are found in the records of the Abbey of Cluny located in the close neighborhood of Mâcon: in December 983 (*terra Ebraeorum*), 987–94 (*terra Hebraeorum*), and for the period October 20, 1004 to October 23, 1005 (*terra Hebraeorum*). A short distance west of Cluny and northwest of Mâcon stood the priory of Paray-le-Monial whose *cartulaire primitif* records in an undated notice “the territory which of old the Jews held in the village named *Curte Judaea*, with the vineyards and all appurtenances thereto.” A *terra Ebrei* is located in the Auvergne in the period 910–27 and in the vicinity of Lyons (*terra Hebraeorum*) 994–1032.⁵⁴

Blumenkranz plots the location of lands owned by Jews in the vicinity of Mâcon. He, Jeanton, and Déléage emphasize the concentrated nature of their holdings, specifically in the present Mâcon-Nord and Mâcon-Sud. In fact, five of the six records in the Cartulary of Mâcon which refer to property in Bioux treat of Jewish possessions. Déléage notes a similar concentration of Jewish property in the Chalonnais.

The remarkable expression “territory of the Jews” (*terra Hebraeorum*) has excited the attention and theorizing of scholars. Jeanton suggests that the frequent repetition of the term in these documents may be evidence of Jewish communal property analogous to *terra francorum*. Déléage sees therein the possession of a Jewish village, a Jewish quarter, or *the property of a territorial Jewish community* (italics added). Its indivisible character was preserved by the fact that the Jews stood under immediate royal authority. In addition their group was based on a family interrelationship which also promoted the indivisibility of their land. On the other hand, Blumenkranz ascribes no special significance to the term *terra hebreorum* although he counts

54. Claude-François Menestrier, *Histoire civile ou consulaire de la ville de Lyon*, (Lyons 1696), preuves, p. v; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, eds. Auguste Bernard Bruel and Alexandre Bruel, 6 vols. (Paris 1876–1903), I, nos. 1640, 1747; III, no. 2603. *Cartulaire du prieuré de Paray-le-Monial*, ed. Cyr Ulysse J. Chevalier (Paris 1870), p. 7, no. 6: “. . . terram quam antiquibus tenuerunt Judaei in villa dicta Curte Judaea cum vineis cunctisque pertinentiis”; *op. cit.* eds. A. B. Bruel and A. Bruel, I, p. 168, no. 178 (910–27 Auvergne); Cl.-F. Menestrier, *ibid.*

twenty-six acts in the cartularies of Cluny and Mâcon which treat of it (once *terra Israhelis*) and only six other acts omit such a reference and transmit solely the personal names of the Jewish parties to the action recorded. This remarkable terminology he thinks is merely a generalized expression for property of an individual Jew and is not that of the community; the difficulty which the notary or editor experienced in casting a Hebrew name into adjectival form led to this practice. However, it must be noted these texts do transmit names of Hebrews as adjectives, e.g., *terra Justone* for the land of the Jew Justus (Cartulary of Mâcon, no. 122 dated 886 to 927) and otherwise manage to express possession clearly as evidenced by the several such instances noted on p. 26 here. Furthermore, to impute such slipshod practice as the use of a generalized term for the holding of an individual is hardly warranted by the legal scrupulousness and concern for exactness which pervade these documents. The lucid reference to "the territory which of old the Jews held in the village named *Curte Judaea*, with the vineyards and all appurtenances thereto" supports our conclusion that *terra Hebreorum* refers to a communal, rather than an individual, possession.⁵⁵

It is not altogether clear that the term *terra Hebraeorum* designated in these several notices was a continuous stretch of land. But the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that we have here traces of a Jewish territory along the Saône and Rhone extending at least from Mâcon south to Vienne and Vernioz; in the north to the Chalonnais, and westward to the environs of Cluny and Paray-le-Monail.

Several villages and allodial properties in scattered parts of France and the March of Spain, designated *villa Judaei* or *Judaicis* or *villa Judaica*, indicate probably a contemporaneous or former Jewish settlement and the communal property of a Jewish group or the land of an individual. Some examples follow. On October 24, 886, Emperor

55. B. Blumenkranz, "Cultivateurs et vigneronns juifs en Bourgogne du IX^e au XI^e siècle," *Bulletin philologique et historique*, 1959 (1960), 130-31; 134-35; G. Jeanton, *Les Juifs en Mâconnais* (Mâcon 1919), pp. 4, 7-12 offprint of *Annuaire de l'Académie de Mâcon*, (1916-17), XX (1919); A. Déléage, *La Vie rurale en Bourgogne jusqu'au début du onzième siècle*, I (Texte), pp. 381-83. See quotation from Cartulary of Paray in note 54 here.

Charles III confirmed Germund in the possession of the villa *Judeis* in the district of Chartres, once granted to him by Charles II. A notation for the Auvergne is dated in the period 910–27 (*terra Ebrei*). King Lothar confirmed all the possessions of the church St. Croix of Orléans during 954–72, which included the fourth part of a village known as *Judeis*. A villa *Judaica* (Villajuiga) was located in the province of Gerona in 982, at one time part of the Spanish March. King Hugh Capet is reported to have died in his fortress *Judaeis* in 996.⁵⁶

The elevation of Pepin the Short to the throne of Frankland in 751⁵⁷ coincided with fundamental shifts of power in the structure of old world relationships. Among others, the 'Abbasid revolt had split the Islamic world in 750–51 so that Umayyad Spain, the hostile neighbor of Frankia, became also the mortal enemy of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. That made a Carolingian-'Abbasid rapprochement inevitable. At least as directly related to Pepin's ultimate ambitions was the decline of imperial power and authority in the West. Jerusalem had long since fallen into the power of Islam. Now the Emperor was unable to protect adequately the church at Rome from the incursions of the Lombards. The Exarchate of Ravenna was lost and with it the political influence of Byzantium in upper and middle Italy which hinged on that imperial territory.⁵⁸

The coronation of Pepin was especially distinguished by the "biblical" rite of anointing. This was apparently a deliberate attempt to suggest that the Frank monarchy was a replica, if not actually a continuation, of the biblical archetype. In phrases reminiscent of the Bible, Pope

56. *Die Urkunden Karls III 876–87*, ed. P. F. Kehr, *MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolorum*, II part 2, p. 228, no. 142. *Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix de Orléans (814–1300)*, eds. J. Thillier and E. Jarry, "Supplement" p. 521, no. 376; Hugh Capet reconfirmed this possession, *ibid.* p. 82, no. 39. B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, p. 30 (for Villa Juiga) and other references there. Richer of Rheims, *Historiarum Libri IIII*, ed. and transl. R. Latouche II, p. 330.

57. L. Levillain sets the *terminus ad quem* for the coronation and anointing of Pepin at the hands of Boniface in December 751, "L'avènement de la dynastie carolingienne et les origines de l'état pontifical (749–757)," *BEC*, XCIV (1933), 229; the anointing of Pepin, his sons, and wife by Pope Stephen he fixes for shortly after April 14, 754; *ibid.*, 295.

58. H. Büttner, "Aus den Anfängen des abendländischen Staatsgedankens. Die Königserhebung Pippins," *HJb*, LXXI (1951), 80–81.

Stephen II declared that Pepin had been chosen for royalty from his mother's womb, that the first of the apostles had elected him for his own possession out of all kings and peoples, that his right to royal sway was a gift of God; and he drew comparisons in particular between Pepin and David.⁵⁹

Still another significant act was associated with the establishment of the Carolingian monarchy. That was Pope Stephen's bestowal upon Pepin of the *Patriciatu Romanorum* in 754, thereby conferring this dignity upon the Frank kings for the first time. The Patrician was the representative of the Emperor and the bearer of the *imperium* in Italy. In his behalf the Patrician administered the Exarchate of Ravenna. In conferring this rank of imperial dignity Stephen was acting formally, Freeman has suggested, in the name of Emperor Constantine Kaprônymos but designedly to promote his own independence of Byzantium. He intended that in Italy the power of the Emperor should be as nominal as had been the power of the Merovingian king in Frankland. But as patrician, the Frank king became an honorary imperial official and assumed the role of protector of the church. His power in papal affairs was by no means inconsiderable. The pope was to inform Pepin of events in his realm; a permanent royal delegation was established

59. L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin*, pp. 132, 155-60, 259. How closely Pepin's anointing was intended to follow biblical models is evident from a Freisinger *Benedictio* of the turn of the eighth-ninth centuries, wherein Eichmann believes he can detect the formula of Pepin's consecration: "Unguantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetae, sicut unxit Samuel David in regem, ut sis benedictus rex in regno isto, quod dedit tibi Dominus Deus tuus super populum hunc ad regendum et gubernandum." E. Eichmann, "Königs- und Bischofsweihe," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, VI, 1928, pp. 29-33. Eichmann points out that the reference to David who took the place of the rejected Saul and the further reference to a monarchy based on a title of possession granted by God were for Pepin.

F. Kern sees in Stephen's anointing of Pepin and his sons in 754 a *quid pro quo* for the future grant of the Exarchate and Ravenna as a papal state and for firm opposition to the Lombard king's demands on Rome, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter* ed. R. Buchner, p. 78.

At the Assembly of Quierzy-sur-Oise in 754 the aristocracy confirmed Pepin's pact with Pope Stephen; L. Levillain, "L'avènement de la dynastie carolingienne," *BEC*, XCIV (1933), 270.

at the papal court. The pope professed to be always ready to obey Pepin's will and to follow the Patrician's wishes as his own. Papal recognition of the Frank king's Patriciate implied, according to J. Haller, acknowledgment of his right of lordship over the papal lands and the Roman church.⁶⁰

Pepin's entry into a status transcending that of a mere king and, though ambiguous, nevertheless reflecting imperial dignity⁶¹ would

60. L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . Pippin*, pp. 144–45. E. A. Freeman, "The Patriciate of Pepin," *EHR*, IV (1889), 684–713, emphasizes both the autonomous designs of the popes and the imperial aspect of Pepin's Patriciate which, he says, eventuated in the imperial coronation of Charlemagne.

J. Haller, "Die Karolinger und das Papsttum," *HZ*, CVIII (1912), 47–48. Protection by the Frank King involved an act of *commendatio* by the Pope; *ibid.*, 65–66. Pepin's expansionist, if not imperialist, ambitions are hinted at by the Pope who also states that the Franks enjoy God's special favor: "... gens sancta, regale sacerdotium, populum acquisitionis, cui benedixit dominus Deus Israel . . . Sed omnipotens Dominus . . . terminos vestros dilatet, subiciens . . . omnes barbaras nationes"; quoted *ibid.*, p. 60, note 3.

E. Caspar places in the foreground the intent of the popes: an initial goal of withdrawal from the Eastern Empire yielding to the immediate purpose expressed in the forged *Constitutum Constantini* of setting up a papal realm parallel to the empire but ruling in the West, "Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft," *ZfKG*, LIV (1935), 135–36, 150. The forgery of the Constitution of Constantine took place in this period. L. Levillain, "L'avènement de la dynastie carolingienne," 232, has dated the *Constitutum* in 753; E. Caspar, "Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft," 145, in 760, following Hartmann; W. Levison, in 757–67, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-Legende," *Aus Rheinischer und Fränkischer Frühzeit*, 390–91.

A. Hauck describes the state of papal power at the end of Hadrian's pontificate (d. December 25, 795) in terms of an ecclesiastical seignury enjoying immunity and endowed with certain aspects of sovereignty but situated politically within the Frankish realm of Charlemagne and subject to him as the *Patricius Romanorum*, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 6th ed., Part II, pp. 89–97.

61. The practical significance of Pepin's title Halphen declares to be a mystery. Yet he views the imperial coronation of Charlemagne on December 25, 800, as having for its prime objective the substitution of the clear title of Emperor for the ambiguous "Patricius Romanorum," L. Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien*, pp. 33, 130. Was one thought of as a step toward the other? In the ninth century Walafrid Strabo compared the pope to the caesars, the patriarchs to the *patricii* who were the first after the caesars; Libellus de exordiis et incrementis §32, *MGH*, Capitularia II, eds. Boretius, Krause, p. 515:17–18.

pave the way for negotiations between him and the Jewish leadership. Pepin's more than royal dignity opened up the possibility for a *nasi* or prince of the Jews to occupy a relationship to him similar to that of the Jewish Exilarch in relation to the Caliph-Emperor in Baghdad.

There is considerable disagreement among scholars regarding the actual imperial designs of the Carolingians. Ohnsorge is prepared to recognize the ambition of the Carolingians in the assertion of the equality of their dignity with the Emperors of Byzantium. However, he accepts at its face value Einhard's statement that Charles strongly opposed assumption of the imperial title. Ohnsorge sees the act of coronation as completely a papal project.⁶²

Fichtenau on the other hand views the events of December 25, 800, as the culmination of proceedings which Charles entered and agreed upon, and which his political counsellors fostered. He declares, "The idea of a papal *coup d'état* is out of the question." He explains Einhard's report of Charles' dissatisfaction as a criticism only of the manner in which Pope Leo III had acted and asserts that it could not possibly refer to the fact of the consecration itself. Thenceforth Charles considered himself a true emperor, not inferior to any Eastern sovereign of the past.⁶³ Easton and Wieruszowski summarize the conflicting views from Karl Heldmann to Louis Halphen. They find it possible to reconcile Charles' imperial ambitions and plans with Einhard's statement of disapproval by seeing in the latter Charles' resentment of Pope Leo's initiative and his opposition to the specific timing of the act of coronation.⁶⁴

P. Munz has identified four differing and, in part, conflicting points of view regarding Charlemagne's imperial role and status: that of Charles himself, of Alcuin, the Aix-la-Chapelle group and Pope Leo III. Central in Charles' own thinking was the idea that he was a

62. W. Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter* (Hildesheim 1947), pp. 16-23.

63. H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, pp. 73-75.

64. S. C. Easton and H. Wieruszowski, *The Era of Charlemagne*, pp. 42-44; Reading no. 8, pp. 127-29. Cf. F. L. Ganshof, *The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne*.

successor to the biblical kings of the Jewish people. He compared himself to them; he was prepared to assume toward his own subjects their duties vis-à-vis their people. The Carolingians were sensitive to the charge of the usurpation of the Crown and of having acquired authority through conquest. Succession to the biblical kings of old would legitimize their royal power. Charlemagne desired a status other than that of a Germanic *rex*, a king-usurper who ruled by right of conquest. Augustine had condemned the notion that conquest could confer lawful authority. Eventually, Charles was content to be considered the brother of the Byzantine Emperor Michael I Rangabe.

It was not within Munz' purview to indicate it, but Charlemagne's ideas were probably essentially those of his father Pepin's. Munz fails to point out, however, that substantiation of the claim to biblical succession (in actuality, a claim of divine sanction to rule) would require governance over the people of the Bible, the Jews, and at least nominal control of Jerusalem, the Holy City. The latter requirement might be met by the aid of the Jews who enjoyed a close relationship with the Caliph of Baghdad, the sovereign of Jerusalem. For God's people to become the trusted vassals (*fideles*) of the Carolingian monarchs, certain conditions would first have to be met.

Ideas such as these must have conflicted sharply with Alcuin's views as defined by Munz. Alcuin emphasized Charles' rôle as the ruler of an *imperium christianum*, very nearly co-extensive with the realm of the Franks; he pointed up his hold over the *populus christianus*, all Christians being subject to his leadership. In this connection one should note the claim that the Franks had become, in fact, as God's people the successors of ancient Israel.

Munz identifies as the Aix-la-Chapelle group certain unnamed advisers of Charles, a coterie of practical and sober statesmen. They were planning an empire that would center around Aix-la-Chapelle, free of Roman conceptions. In sharp contrast to Alcuin's position that the pope stood outside judgement by any man, this group held Charles up as a chief judge who could sit in judgement on the pope himself. Such a view is compatible with an old rabbinic position that the function of the monarch, and of King David, in particular, was to judge while he himself might not be judged except by God. At the council in Rome on the eve of the coronation, the Aix-la-Chapelle group presumably

held that Charles ought to assume the title of emperor since he was in possession of all the old seats of the ancient emperors—among which they must have included also Jerusalem.⁶⁵

Some of Charles' notions and those of the Aix-la-Chapelle group, identified by Munz, seem related to still other Jewish views, such as that the end had now come for the "boorish" (barbarian) nation which had had no divine sanction for government—apparently a reference to the Merovingian dynasty which had usurped "legitimate" Roman rule.⁶⁶ Conceivably, a new dynasty might now legitimately rise to power provided it was endowed with God's sanction for governance.

Munz does not make clear on what rational grounds Charlemagne might claim succession to the biblical kings of Israel. Clearly, however, intermarriage with one or more living descendants of Davidic lineage would supply the missing link. That would provide the basis for the assertion of divine sanction to governance on the part of the Carolingian dynasty.

In summary then, the lands on both sides of the Pyrenees, long before the middle of the eighth century, were noted for their rebellious nature and autonomous ambitions. The indigenous surge for self-dependence characterized both Arab wali and Christian count and duke who governed these territories. The ruler of the Franks held only tenuous control over Septimania and Aquitaine, while the constant threat from Spain regularly upset a precarious local stability and compelled the Carolingians to search for reliable allies. Pepin's assumption of royal dignity and his investiture with the patriariate further whetted his ambition for a status beyond that of a Germanic *rex*. He, as well as his son Charles, sought divine sanction for their rule by claiming succession to the indubitably legitimate kings of Israel. This requisite, and the need for at least nominal sway over holy Jerusalem, prompted a rapprochement with the Jewish community in Frankia and abroad, who alone were in position to enable the Carolingian kings to achieve both objectives.

65. P. Munz, *The Origin of the Carolingian Empire, passim*. Samuel Atlas, "The King May Neither Judge Nor Be Judged" (Hebrew), *Sinai* LXIII (1968), 100, 104.

66. See this study, p. 108.

This situation eventuated in the surrender of Umayyad Narbonne to the Franks in 759 and the cession, thereafter, by Pepin and his sons of a realm in southern Frankia to a prince of the Jews who traced his lineage to King David.

The Surrender of Narbonne to the Franks in 759

The fall of the mighty Saracen citadel of Narbonne to the Franks in 759 signaled the collapse of Umayyad power in Southern France and prepared the way for the unification of the Carolingian Kingdom under Pepin the Short and Charlemagne. "This victory marks . . . at least the end of the Musulman expansion in the West of Europe. Just as Constantinople resisted the great attack of 718, and thereby protected the Orient, so here the intact forces of Austrasia, the vassals of the Carolingians, preserved the Occident."¹

The role of the inhabitants of Narbonne during the siege of the fortress, 752-59, and their status thereafter, have long been obscure. Two sets of related sources sharply contradict each other: one succinctly ascribes to Goths within the walls the delivery of Narbonne to the Franks in return for a pledge of self-government, or, in a variant version, of rule (of the Town?). The other, a Latin romance, supported in part by Hebrew and papal documents, describes at length how the Jews delivered the fortress to the besieging Franks in return for a

1. H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, p. 157.

promise of government under their own king. Later French sources also refer to an early medieval ruler of the Jews and even delineate the prerogatives of a contemporaneous Jewish king in Narbonne.

Scholarly opinion has eyed the theory of a medieval Jewish "monarchy" in southern France with considerable skepticism. The prevailing view is that Goths, not Jews, were responsible for the fall of Narbonne from within as the price for self-rule.²

Knowledge of the political and diplomatic setting in the eighth century is fundamental to an understanding of the situation which led to the surrender of Narbonne from within to the besieging Franks outside. The salient fact, of course, was the penetration of the Arabs into Gaul and the resulting hostility between the Carolingian rulers of Frankland and first the 'Abbasid, then the Umayyad, dynasty based in Spain. The conflict naturally was concentrated on the border provinces where the Muslims had captured once Gallic Narbonne in 719-20, converted it into an impregnable fortress, and operated it as a military and supply center for almost four decades. However, the Muslim-Christian conflict soon lost its initial religious coloration, as internal dissension and revolt developed in both the Frankish Kingdom and the Arab Caliphate.

The Frankish mayors of the palace speedily became aware that their borderlands were threatened not merely by Muslim invaders pouring over the Pyrenees, but even more by collaboration with the enemy on the part of the local Christian nobility of Septimania and Aquitaine. In fact, these had never acquiesced with good grace to the ascendancy of the House of Arnulf. As early as 730, Eudo of Aquitaine married off his daughter to the Berber chieftain Munuz, presumably to strengthen his position against Charles Martel; and then called upon his new

2. The sources mentioned will be analyzed later. The prevailing view: Bruno Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* ed. Herbert Grundmann (8th ed., Stuttgart, Berlin 1954), I, p. 159, note 7; Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution*, II (Paris 1903) part I, p. 276. D'Abadal maintains that the Goths surrendered Narbonne in return for confirmation of Gothic law for Septimania, R. d'Abadal, "El paso de Septimania," *CHE*, XIX (1953), 43, 46. Pfister and Ganshof do not identify, except by implication, the residents of Narbonne who "massacred" the Arab garrison after having received assurance of the power to live by Visigothic law; *Histoire du Moyen Age*, I, part 1 (new ed. Paris 1940), p. 414.

relatives for military help. Count Maurontus of Marseilles turned over to the Muslim wali of Narbonne the towns of Arles, Avignon, and others in the neighborhood as compensation for assistance against the same mayor of the palace. Under Charles' son Pepin the Short defection continued with or without such foreign compacts. In 751, Waifar of Aquitaine sallied out to win Septimania for his domain and thus forced the young Pepin, soon to bear the crown, to move southward in order to protect the realm he had inherited together with his father's insurgent counts. In fact, the years 760 to 768 demanded most of the King's attention mainly in the suppression of Waifar who, during this period, was allied with the last scion of the overthrown Umayyad dynasty, 'Abd ar-Raḥman of Spain.

The Umayyads, once rulers of the vast Caliphate, had gone down to defeat and near extinction in their Syrian homeland at the hands of a new claimant to the succession, Abu'l 'Abbas, who overthrew the Caliph of Damascus in 750. A lone survivor, 'Abd ar-Raḥman, escaped to Spain, where his declaration of independence in 757 gave permanence to the Umayyad-'Abbasid split on the peninsula. Strange alignments deepened. Anti-Umayyad walis cast in their lot with the Franks, while anti-Carolingian Christian counts pressed their alliance with Umayyad supporters. As early as 752, the wali of Barcelona and Gerona acknowledged King Pepin the Short as his overlord; shortly afterward, Waifar of Aquitaine allied himself with the Umayyad refugee 'Abd ar-Raḥman. Thus the foundation was laid for a Carolingian-'Abbasid rapprochement.³

Neither the Mayor of the Palace, Charles Martel, nor the King of the Franks, Pepin the Short, could afford to ignore the challenge of these rebel vassals in the south. Each one led his troops to at least

3. On Saracen penetration of Frankia, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I, pp. 38 ff. and this work, Chapter I. F. W. Buckler characterizes Pepin as "the guardian of the 'Abbasid interests in Spain against the Umayyads," *Harunu'l-Rashid and Charles the Great*, p. 10; cf. pp. 3-14. The outstanding instance of 'Abbasid-Carolingian collaboration was, according to Buckler, the alliance between Sulaiman, wali of Barcelona, and Charlemagne, consummated at Paderborn in 777. Buckler says that Sulaiman was acting in behalf of the 'Abbasids when he helped to instigate the revolt of the Berbers in central Spain against 'Abd ar-Raḥman, *op. cit.* p. 11.

partial victory here. Each one in turn marched against Saracen-held Narbonne, the focus of defection and the outpost of Muslim power in Gaul. But Charles had to abandon the siege of the impregnable fortress, begun in 737, even though the Saracens failed to relieve Narbonne via Spain.

The dependence of Narbonne on support from Spain is evident from the circumstances of Charles Martel's siege of 737. In order to relieve the citadel Ukba, governor of Spain, sent troops by sea who, on disembarking, were defeated by the Franks. Yet Charles Martel had to lift the siege in order to counter the threat of Saxon and Frisian incursions in the north. During the investment of Narbonne by Pepin's forces, internal dissension in Spain prevented the dispatch of effective relief. Yussuf the governor was diverted from the crisis across the Pyrenees by the Umayyad refugee 'Abd ar-Rahman who, arriving in August 755, scored an initial victory over Yussuf in May 756. The two fought on until Yussuf was assassinated by his own men 759-60. In 759 Pepin's seven-year-long blockade of Narbonne ended with its fall.⁴

An examination of the sources in question is clearly called for. This discloses that the primary chronicle, whose report has always been accepted without question, namely, the *Annals of Aniane*, may be the least reliable even though the oldest of the extant sources. The *Chronicle of Uzès* is a fourteenth-century compilation which, for the most part, rewrote material from the *Annals of Aniane*, although it may have drawn also from a source common to both. The *Annals of Metz*,⁵ a second source, omits to mention any allies of Pepin within the walls and contains the startling error that Narbonne fell after a three-year siege. The *Chronicle of Moissac*,⁶ otherwise parallel with the *Annals of*

4. Cf. Devic and Vaissete, *HGL*, I, pp. 805-07, 851-52; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I, pp. 71, 73, 76. The *Continuatio Hispana* assigns to Narbonne a prime role in maintaining Saracen supremacy in the land during their occupation; *Chronica Minora*, II, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH*, Auctorum antiquissimorum XI (Berlin 1894), p. 358, col. b.

5. *Annales Mettenses priores* ed. B. v. Simson, p. 43; cf. W. Levison, "Zu den Annales Mettenses," *Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, pp. 9-21. The error may perhaps be accounted for as a copyist's misreading of the numeral VII wherein a faint slope of the V occasioned the error and resulted in reading III.

6. *Chronicon Moissiacense* ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH* Scriptorum I, pp. 280-81, 294.

Aniane, is mutilated and, for the period 717 through 777, suffers an inexplicable lacuna which is caused by the tearing out of several folios from the codex of the chronicle covering precisely the time of the siege and fall of Narbonne. The *Annals of Aniane*,⁷ extant only in an eleventh- (or twelfth-) century transcript, remains then, relatively, the oldest and, if the *Chronicle of Uzès* depends on it, in fact the primary source for the events of 759. It was compiled by a noted ninth-century Goth monk⁸ of the south, Saint Benedict (originally, Witiza) of Aniane, son of a Goth count of Maguelonne, or by a fellow monk. The *Annals of Aniane* states succinctly that the Goths of Narbonne rose up and killed the Saracens in the fortress of the town and delivered it to the Franks in return for a pledge that they would be permitted to "have their own law": "Anno DCCLVIII. The Franks besiege Narbonne. They swore to the Goths who were there, that if they should deliver the city to the side of Pepin, King of the Franks, they would permit them to have their own law. This was done; and the same Goths kill the Saracens who were in its citadel, and deliver the city itself to the side of the Franks."⁹

7. The complete text of the *Annals of Aniane* was acquired by Baluze and published by editors Martène-Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum historicorum ... Collectio*, V, cols. 884–916 from the MS Latin 5941 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, deriving originally from the Catalan monastery of Ripoll. This is a compilation of historical texts including the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* and the biographies of William of Gellone and Benedict of Aniane. The editors of *HGL* date this copy of the *Annales* in the eleventh century, *HGL*, II, preuves, cols. 2–3, note 2; Rudolf Beer, in the twelfth century, "Los Manuscrits de Santa Maria de Ripoll," *BRABLB*, V (1909), 349, note 1; cf. R. d'Abadal, "El paso de Septimania," *loc. cit.*, 17–18, note 19; 43. Löwe accepts tentatively d'Abadal's view of the *Annals of Aniane* as an independent work not derived from the *Chronicle of Moissac*, but based rather on a common source with the latter; and also d'Abadal's claim that the *Chronicle of Uzès* was based on that of Aniane or else drawn from a now lost source which served as the common origin of both; Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, III, pp. 347–48, notes 176–77. The lacuna in the *Chronicle of Moissac* resulted from the tearing out of several folios from the codex into which it had been transcribed. See Pückert's critical judgment of *Annals of Aniane* this text pp. 41–42.

8. *Chronicon Moissiacense*, *MGH*, SS, I, p. 297.

9. "Anno DCCLVIII. Franci Narbonam obsident, datoque sacramento Gotis qui ibi erant, ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pippini regis Franchorum, permit-

The *Chronicle of Uzès* expands significantly the rights ceded by Pepin to his allies within the citadel: *dimiterent eos regere*, that is, he agreed to allow them to rule (what territory?) as reward for surrendering Narbonne. Some details in this *Chronicle* derive from a very old source. The concession of the right "to rule" (exercise dominion) indicates that the *Chronicle of Uzès* may be in fact independent of the *Annals of Aniane*, which confers only the colorless right to "have their own law."¹⁰

However, Pückert has sharply attacked the credibility of the *Annals of Aniane* by charging that in Aniane history was written that deviated

terent eos legem suam habere: quo facto, ipsi Goti Sarracenos, qui in presidio illius erant, occidunt ipsamque civitatem partibus Franchorum tradunt." *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 7. On the basis of an Arab source Francisco Codera questions the actual transfer of authority over Narbonne from Saracens to Franks in 759, "Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona bajo la dominación musulmana," *Institut d'estudis catalans anualari MCMIX-X any III* (Barcelona 1911), pp. 198-99. L. Oelsner assembles the major references on the siege and capture of Narbonne, *Jahrbücher . . . unter König Pippin*, p. 340.

10. *HGL*, preuves, col. 26, anno 759, cf. col. 24, 551. The *Chronicle of Uzès* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Latin no. 4974) is written on the margin of a *Catalogus summorum pontificum* of Bernard Gui (fourteenth century) in a different but contemporaneous hand. The *Chronicle* covers 701 to 820. The author is unknown; nor can we say whether the notes constituted a unity before the fourteenth-century copyist wrote them on the margin. There are occasional references in the text to old *gesta* and documents in the archives of St. Theodore of Uzès from which the copyist drew. There is a close resemblance between this *Chronicle* and the *Annals of Aniane*. The latter may be its source, or, as d'Abadal surmises, a now lost original chronicle served as the common source for both; R. d'Abadal, "El Paso de Septimania," *loc. cit.*, p. 43, note 6. Dhuoda, wife of Bernard of Septimania, lived in Uzès; see this text, pp. 130, 174. The presence in Uzès, of the noted Bernard of Septimania, son of Count William of Gellone, increases the likelihood that some ninth-century historical chronicles were available for the original compiler of the *Chronicle of Uzès*. Another alternative may be that the *Chronicle of Uzès* and the *Chronicle of Moissac* both go back to a Carolingian source, always allowing for "corrections" by the fourteenth-century copyist, while, as Pückert insists, the Aniane work rewrites that of Moissac, altering and adding in order to promote the interests of Aniane at the expense of Count Williams' foundation and prestige; W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 106-10, 113, note 10 (the *Chronicle of Uzès* stands in direct relation to the historical work which is the source of the Moissac and Aniane chronicles). See also this study, p. 219, note 101.

from the truth. He declares that the *Chronicle* falsifies historical fact with astounding audacity wherever it expands its source, the *Chronicle of Moissac*, by adding interpolations from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and Ardo's *Life of Benedict*. All this was done with the intent of denigrating neighboring Gellone, founded by Count William, and enhancing Aniane, where Benedict-Witiza was active. The *Annals of Aniane*, according to Pückert, is a reworking of the *Chronicle of Moissac* with later interpolations. D'Abadal, unacquainted with, or ignoring, Pückert, claims that the *Annals of Aniane* is an independent work which parallels the *Chronicle of Moissac*, because both were drawn from a common source; likewise, that the *Chronicle of Uzès* was based on that of Aniane or else both had a common origin. Löwe hesitantly accepts d'Abadal's view while calling for a more rigorous investigation. We must recall that the *Chronicle of Moissac* is deficient precisely at the point of our concern because of the mutilation of the manuscript, so that no comparison is possible here.¹¹

Apparently, Pepin found friends behind the walls of Narbonne who admitted him to the town in return for a significant pledge. But were his allies Goths?

The extant information casts serious doubt on the claims of the chronicles in their present form regarding the decisive role of the Goths in the surrender of Narbonne. It is highly questionable whether, in the first place, there were any Goths at all in Narbonne during the Saracen occupation who could be expected to ally with the Franks. The same chronicles describe how, when the Saracens successfully stormed Gallic Narbonne, they massacred all the (Christian) male inhabitants, carried off the women and children to Spain, and established a considerable garrison of Saracen troops. D'Abadal also accepts a devastation of regions of Septimania in this period although he ascribes it to Charles Martel and Pepin. Conques, in the vicinity of Narbonne, was founded 819, "where Muslims had devastated almost the whole land."¹² The Goths who escaped the carnage took flight to

11. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 104-10. R. d'Abadal, "El paso de Septimania," *CHE*, XIX (1953), 17-18, note 19; 43. Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, III, pp. 347-48, notes 176-77; II, pp. 265-66.

12. Anno DCCXV. "Sema, rex Sarracenorum . . . Narbonam obsidet, obsesamque capit, virosque civitatis illius gladio perimi jussit, mulieres vero vel parvulos

the east, to the cities of Agde, Nîmes, and Uzès. Moreover, the character of Saracen Narbonne as a pivot for Arab military designs against Aquitaine and Septimania would preclude admitting to the city significant numbers of the former enemy, except perhaps as converts to Islam, a step which some in Septimania were apparently willing to take. However, such apostate Christians, if Narbonne actually harbored any, could hardly be expected to betray the town to the Catholic Franks. Indeed, one of the first acts of Pepin, on assuming power in Septimania, was to banish Islamized Goths from the country. Moreover, on the score of real support for Pepin's siege, the Goths were in fact bitterly antagonistic to the Franks or, at best, hopelessly divided. When Waifar went over to the Umayyads (who held the Narbonne bastion) the Goth Ansemund sided with his King Pepin in self-defense. To him Pepin entrusted the siege of the fortress while he endeavored to deal with Waifar himself. Thereupon, one of Ansemund's men, another Goth, murdered him in 753. During Nîmes' revolt against King Pepin shortly afterward, the Goth rebels executed Ansemund's widow, apparently in retaliation for his support of the Franks. Not until the Goths were subdued could the Franks assert their sway in Nîmes and Uzès. Dupont avers that this folk strongly disapproved of any Goth-Frank alliance; that, in fact, the Goths hated the Franks more than they feared the Saracens.¹³ We may conclude that the Goths certainly were not united in support of the Franks.

It is known that the embattled Franks made no progress around

captivos in Spaniam ducunt"; *Annals of Ariane*, HGL, II, preuves, no. 1, col. 1-3. Anno DCCXXXIII . . . "Quam dum obsideret, Oupa rex Sarracenorum ex Ispania Amoribinailet cum exercitu magno Saracenorum ad presidium Narbona transmittit"; *ibid.*, col. 6. R. d'Abadal i Vinyals, *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*, p. 97. On Conques and widespread devastation in eighth and ninth century Midi, see A. R. Lewis, *Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050*, pp. 33, 85.

13. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 268, 274, 277-78, 282, 284-86, 304, 390-92. R. d'Abadal also interprets the murder of Ansemund and the execution of his wife as evidence of Goth antagonism to the Franks, "El paso de Septimania," *loc. cit.*, 44-45. A. R. Lewis also stresses the fierce opposition of the Goth inhabitants of Septimania to rule by the Carolingians and their subsequent policy of introducing nonlocal, alien officials and basic changes, in fact, a "deliberate, sustained, and fundamental assault upon the pre-existing society and institutions," *Southern French and Catalan Society*, pp. 30-33.

Narbonne for seven long years. What new situation impelled the Goth residents—if any—to throw in their fate with the besiegers in the end? If the pledge to live by their own law was indeed the decisive factor why was this altogether normal policy not proffered sooner? It was accepted practice for an ethnic group to live by its own law at this time. Moreover, how inconsequential such a “reward” would be for surrendering mighty Narbonne may be seen from the capitulary which Pepin issued for Aquitaine in 768. Only after several strenuous campaigns against the rebel Waifar allied with the Umayyads, was Pepin able to conquer that land. Nevertheless, when he promulgated his Capitulary for Aquitaine he provided opportunity even for retainers of Waifar’s vassals to live by their own law (§ 10).¹⁴ Such a “privilege” appears to be hardly adequate recompense for the surrender of Narbonne. It can hardly be viewed as a new factor introduced only after several years of siege in order to change the Goths’ antagonism into cooperation. Even more significant, after the fall of the citadel nothing testifies to the Goths’ retaining a distinct cultural and political identity in Narbonne. On the contrary, they in fact disappeared. Frank, not Goth, counts (often complete strangers to the region) took over royal representation in Narbonne (when they appeared at all), and tended to become itinerant; while the Goth population was speedily banished by Pepin. Hardly a proper reward, this, for their imagined aid, or a fulfillment of the “pledge” for self-government, or (according to the *Chronicle of Uzès*) the right to exercise dominion (*regere*). Cauvet even sees a depopulation of Septimania, en masse, reducing it to a “wasteland” at this time. In fact so conspicuous is the absence of the anticipated Gothic control after 759 that Dupont and others feel impelled to reinterpret

14. “Ut omnes homines eorum legis habeant, tam Romani quam et Salici, et si de alia provincia advenerit, secundum legem ipsius patriae vivat”; *Capitularia regum francorum* ed. A. Boretius *MGH Legum sectio II* vol. I, p. 43; cf. also L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . unter König Pippin*, pp. 410–17. On the Capitulary for Aquitaine however see this text, pp. 83–85. For the same view that the Goths required no formal promise of the sovereign in order to live by Gothic law because the principle of the personality of law operated without any such formal pledge, see G. Caro, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden*, I, p. 472, “It remains altogether incomprehensible why just the Goth inhabitants of Narbonne . . . should have had a basically routine concession guaranteed to them in most formal manner.”

the annalists' reference to self-rule ("their own law"), or the exercise of governmental power, in such a way as to make it yield a promise to reinstate Visigothic law in the form of the Breviary of Alaric.¹⁵ In an attestation before Magharius (Magnarius), Count of Narbonne, dated December 5, 791, and dealing with the limits of the village of Caunes, "the time of the Goths" is spoken of as a period now past: "... ipsam villam eosdem habuisse limites tempore Gotorum."¹⁶ Clearly, Goth control was absent from the Narbonnaise at the time. As late as 797-98 there were only "remnants of the Goth folk" in Narbonne (pointing to their paucity) according to Theodulph¹⁷ Bishop of Orléans (himself a Goth), who visited Narbonne in that year and was joyfully greeted by his countrymen. The absence of Goth rule after the fall of Narbonne and, instead, their banishment and near-disappearance has embarrassed scholars for decades.¹⁸ Up until 817,

15. By implication, Dupont rejects Régné's assumption, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 22, that the first count, Milon, mentioned in Narbonne (782) after its fall was a Goth; and in like manner he negates Régné's contention that the numismatic evidence permits drawing the conclusion that there existed at the time self-dependent Goth rule in the Narbonnaise. Dupont emphasizes that the counts were usually Franks, strangers to the region and inclined to tyranny, *Les Cités*, pp. 390-92. D'Abadal also thinks that the Goths received confirmation of Gothic law for Septimania, "El paso de Septimania," *loc. cit.*, pp. 43, 46. A. de la Torre sees the inhabitants of Septimania passing voluntarily under Frank domination, 752-59, retaining their laws and organization and maintaining the character of Spaniards or Goths, "La reconquista en el Pirineo," in *La Reconquista española y la repoblación del país*, p. 11. Only A. R. Lewis gives adequate weight to the *Chronicle of Uzès* when he expands Pepin's promise to include "probably their own government" and, in another place, adds "perhaps their own native rulers," *Southern French and Catalan Society*, pp. 25, 31.

16. *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 10, cols. 57-58. For the reading Magharius in place of Magnarius, see this text, pp. 180-81.

17. Mox sedes, Narbona, tuas urbemque decoram Tangimus, occurrit quo mihi laeta cohors, Reliquiae Getici populi, simul Hespera turba [i.e. Spaniards] Me consanguineo fit duce laeta sibi." *Theodulfi versus contra iudices*, *MGH*, Poetae Latini, I, p. 497:137-39. Theodulph, born ca. 760, visited Narbonne in 797 or 798; cf. G. Monod, "Les mœurs judiciaires au VIII^e siècle d'après la *Paraenesis ad Iudices* de Théodulf," *RH*, XXXV (1887), 2. It is not necessary to rule out the assumption that a small number of Arabized Christians, "Mozarabs," remained in Narbonne after its fall to the Franks.

18. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 278-79, note 3.

no Goth count finds mention in the Narbonnaise. Not until well into the ninth century do Goths reappear in the environs of the town—and then only in consequence of an immigration from Spain deliberately fostered by the Carolingians. Not until 890, according to the *Chronicle of St. Paul*, is the ancient church within Narbonne's walls rebuilt; but now it is dedicated to the *Spanish* saints Justus and Pastor.¹⁹

It follows then that the annals' reference to Goths inside Narbonne as allies and, consequently, beneficiaries of King Pepin must be viewed with well-founded skepticism. Yet a number of families exercised very important comital functions in Septimania and the March of Spain, who do not appear in this role anywhere else. In fact, certain counties were reserved for them—Ampurias, Razès, Urgel, Carcassès, and others in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the rules of hereditary succession applied here more strictly than elsewhere in the Frankish realm.²⁰ But, if not Goths, who were Pepin's beneficiaries and allies in fact?

19. *Chronicle of St. Paul*: "Anno Domini DCCCXC fuit capta civitas Narbonae per Carolum Magnum. Eodem anno fuit aedificata et constructa ecclesia antiqua Narbonae," *HGL*, V, (Toulouse 1875), No. 9, p. 37. E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse des anciens pays de l'Aude*, pp. 117, 136-40.

20. Cf. J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IX^e-X^e siècle)*, (Brugge 1948), pp. 206-08. Following his predecessors, Dhondt merely assumes that these were Goth families. The Count of Maguelonne, father of Benedict (Witiza) of Aniane, is designated a Goth and conspicuously praised for his loyalty to the Franks, "Pater siquidem ejus (sc. Benedicti) comitatum Magdalonensem quoadusque vixit tenuit et Francorum genti fidelissimus totis viribus extitit, fortis et ingeniosus"; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis* ed. G. Waitz, *MGH*, SS XV, Part 1, p. 201:16-17.

The Prominence of Septimanian Jewry and Its Privileged Status after the Fall of Narbonne

The Saracen invasion of Frankish Gaul and their capture of Narbonne 719–20 was, beyond doubt, a turning point for the Jews of Septimania and northern Spain. Celestin Port states that the Saracens entrusted to the Jews custody of the town in accordance with their practice in Spain as one Visigothic fortress after another fell into their hands. Al-Makkari, in fact, describes how, after the capture of Cordova and the citadel of Granada, the Jewish residents were placed in charge there, and similarly in other places. Even Toledo, the capital, was entrusted by Tariq to the Jews. Al-Makkari generalizes: “Whenever the Muslims conquered a town, it was left in the custody of the Jews, with only a few Muslims, the rest of the army proceeding to new conquests; and where the Jews were deficient [in number] a proportionately greater body of Muslims was left in charge.”¹

1. C. Port, *Histoire du commerce*, pp. 168–69. Ahmed ibn Muhammad Al-Makkari, *History of Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, tr. Pascual de Gayangos, pp. 280–82; p. 531, note 18; cf. p. 511, note 15. The same practice was followed in Tripoli; A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects, A Critical Study*

Perhaps in consequence of this practice of placing Jews in charge of the civil administration, some settlements became all-Jewish towns temporarily, as in the case of Ausona (later Vich) north of Barcelona. In the middle of the ninth century Cordova, the capital, still had a Jewish majority. Barcelona had an equal number of Jews and Christians in the eleventh century, while Tarragona nearby was "a city of Jews." Early in the twelfth century Arabs still called Granada "Jewish Granada"; in 1150 Idrisi reported that Lucena Jews occupied the center of the city and did not allow the Muslims to penetrate into their quarter.² The absence of direct evidence prevents a conclusion of certainty that the Saracens proceeded in their usual fashion when they captured Narbonne in 719–20, although it appears very likely indeed. There seems no reason to doubt that the Jews occupied a most prominent position in Saracen-held Narbonne. The Arabs devastated Septimania, and this state of affairs is reflected in the documents as late as the early part of the ninth century. Their action against the

of the Covenant of 'Umar (Oxford University Press 1930), p. 94; and also in Syria, B. Z. Dinaburg, *Tol'dot Yisra'el. Yisra'el baGola* (History of Israel. The Diaspora) I, Part i (Tel Aviv 1926), pp. 6–7. The historicity of Al-Makkari on this point is accepted by H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, ed. S. Eppenstein, V, pp. 156–57; and concurred in by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, I, pp. 57f. For additional sources of the same import by Latin authors, José Amador de Los Rios, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, I (Madrid 1875), pp. 106–108 and notes. Ashtor finds that Al-Makkari's description of the role of the Jews in the Conquest derives from old, reliable sources, and is itself related to a valuable collection by an unknown author, the *Akhbar majmu'a; Korot haYehudim biSefarad haMuslimit* (History of the Jews in Muslim Spain), I, pp. ii, 9–10. For a discussion of the sources, see also S. Katz, *The Jews in . . . Spain and Gaul*, pp. 116–17. At Malaga no garrison was set up because no Jews could be found; Al-Makkari, *ibid.* *Ajbar Machmua* reports that Musa entrusted also the custody of Seville to the Jews after the Christians fled from this major city of Spain at the time; Cl. Sánchez-Albornoz, *La España Musulmana según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales*, p. 39, cf. p. 38.

2. Cf. *Teshubhot ge'oné mizrah u-ma'arabh* (Responen der Lehrer des Ostens und Westens) ed. J. Müller (Berlin 1888), no. 26, p. 9a; *Kebhutsat Hakhamim* (Respona Collection), ed. W. Warnheim, p. 110, translated in Winter and Wünsche, *Die jüdische Literatur*, II, pp. 23–24; A. A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain*, I, p. 164, on "Jewish Granada." S. W. Baron, "Yehudah Halevi," *JSS*, III (1941), 247. On Ausona (Al-Osona) see this text pp. 318–20.

Church was especially severe. In fact Dupont finds that Christian life was suspended in Narbonne during the Arab occupation.³ Landholdings outside the stronghold would normally be ceded together with custody of the town. This appears to be the meaning of the statement that the Saracen conqueror of Narbonne divided up the lands between the conquerors and the former inhabitants of the country.⁴ Jews would be certainly included among "the former inhabitants."

Scant fragments shed only a dim light on Narbonne Jewry during the four decades of Saracen occupation, until the actual surrender of the stronghold to the Franks. Celestin Port, relying on allusions to a Saracen as well as to a Jewish king in Narbonne, asserts that Jews and Saracens lived there on a plane of equality and shared the government of the city between them. Dupont denies the existence of any kingship but agrees that the Jews enjoyed a privileged position during the Muslim occupation and adds that they drew material benefits from the entire region. According to him, they were also the sole bearers of Frankia's trade with the East, which was centered in Narbonne: from here their caravans started out for the long trek by land across Spain and North Africa.⁵

After the surrender of Narbonne to the Franks, Septimanian Jewry emerges from the shadows into the limelight. In striking contrast to the Goths' virtual disappearance from the Narbonnaise immediately after 759, Septimanian Jewry stands out as a highly privileged body richly endowed with estates in freehold by act of the Carolingian kings. The immediate reaction was extreme agitation among the highest authorities in Christendom.

3. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 211-13, 287, 291-94. Such expressions as these eloquently describe the devastation: *de eremo traxere; loca deserta excludere; deserti squalor; eremi vastitas; ibid.*, p. 291. Between 688 and 768 Dupont finds no act or event that is evidence for a prelate here, p. 293.

4. *HGL*, I, pp. 783-84; 587. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 282-83.

5. C. Port, *Histoire du commerce maritime*, pp. 168-69. Port may have relied on the document dated 1364 referred to at the end of note 59, p. 171, this text. Port's opinion on the two kings merits no credibility according to A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 287, 292-93; for a description of Narbonne in this period by an Arab visitor, p. 299, *ibid.*

In 768, only about nine years after the fall of the town to Pepin's forces, Pope Stephen III bitterly condemned concessions of property by the Frankish kings to the Jews in southern France. In an epistle addressed "to Archbishop Aribert of Narbonne and to all the magnates of Septimania and Spain," the Pope stated that he was deeply distressed at the information supplied by Aribert, to the effect that certain laws (*praecepta*) of the Frankish kings, purchased for a price, had granted to the Jews allodial hereditary lands in towns and suburbs within the borders and territories of Christians; that, furthermore, Christians worked the vineyards and fields of these Jews; that Christian men and women lived in their homes within cities and outside, listened to their blasphemous talk day and night, and displayed every imaginable deference to them.

We have been distressed to the point of death (continues the Pope) . . . especially since the promises made to the ancestors of the Hebrews by their elect legislator Moses and his successor Joshua,—[how much the more] those concluded and entered into for these territories,—even though sworn to by God Himself and transmitted to these unbelievers and their wicked fathers, were rightly abrogated as punishment for the crucifixion of the Saviour . . . "What communion hath light with darkness: and what concord hath Christ with Belial? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?"⁶

6. *PL*, CXXIX (Paris 1879), col. 857, no. II (under "Stephen VI"); French translation in J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 28–29. For complete text see Appendix II, p. 382. The phrase *his conclusa et terminata finibus* appears to be out of place in the present context or else a few words supplied in [] have fallen out. Catel who edited this text reported that he copied it from an imperfect manuscript, G. de Catel, *Mémoires de l'histoire de Languedoc*, pp. 771, 776–77; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 27, note 3. However, the general sense is clear: If God Himself can, in consequence of the Crucifixion, abrogate promises made to the Jews touching on eternal matters, then assuredly a terrestrial king may well do so in mundane matters. This epistle is assigned to Pope Stephen III and dated 768–72, the years of his papacy, by P. Jaffé et W. Wattenbach (eds.), *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, I, p. 288, no. 2389 (no. 1830); cf. J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273*, no. 67, pp. 24–25. Devic et Vaissete, *HGL*, I, p. 1014; II, note 92, pp. 340–41 prove Stephen III's authorship of the epistle but erroneously start Aribert's episcopate after the death of Pepin, because they assumed that his complaint to Stephen

This letter of Stephen's compels Régné and Lévi (who could not see the Jews in the role of Pepin's allies) nevertheless to admit that Pepin must have confirmed the rights of Narbonne Jewry at the request of their chief following the capture of the fortress. Yet, neither one can account for Pepin's reward of the Jews in the face of their alleged support of his Saracen adversaries (while, on the other hand, he banished the Goths, his presumed allies). Aronius questions the conclusion of Devic and Vaissete that it was Pepin who first granted allodial rights to the Jews. He asserts that any such action must be credited exclusively to Pepin's sons, his immediate successors, who simply confirmed possessions that went back to the Saracen era. But Aronius does not explain the reason for such action by Pepin's sons in 768. Solomon Katz sees in Stephen's letter to Aribert evidence that the Jews owned fields and vineyards in eighth-century Gaul, and he emphasizes that they suffered no legal disabilities in land ownership. He assumes that Pepin found a large Jewish colony in Narbonne right after its capture and confirmed their ancient rights, notably hereditary allodial tenure, at the request of their chief or *nasi*, a survival of the Roman period. He too does not account for Pepin's motivation.⁷

followed upon a writ of confirmation by Carloman and Charles subsequent to Pepin's death. In their view, Pepin first granted to the Jews hereditary freeholds, which privilege his sons confirmed after his death, thereby precipitating Aribert's complaint. This is altogether possible and would in no way affect our argument. However, it is equally possible that Stephen is referring to all three kings in his statement *quaedam regum Francorum praecepta* as in his address to them directly after his consecration as pope on August 7, 768: "*Ad Pippinum, Carolum et Carlomanum, Francorum reges et patricos Romanorum . . .*" Jaffé and Wattenbach, *op. cit.* I, p. 285, no. 2376 (no. 1822). Cf. S. W. Baron, *History*, IV, p. 259, note 60.

7. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 27. I. Lévi, "Le roi juif," *REJ*, XLVIII (1904), 207. J. Aronius, *Regesten*, *ibid.* S. Katz, *Jews in . . . Spain and Gaul*, pp. 94-96, 162. In "Pope Gregory the Great and the Jews," *JQR*, XXIV (1933-34), 113-36, S. Katz indicated the role of tradition as motivation for Gregory's acts toward the Jews. Precedent would operate also here and impel Pepin to accede to the Jews' chief only if they had been his allies, not if they had sided with the Arabs and resisted Pepin's storming of Narbonne. In 839 three Jews of Septimania owned hereditary estates in the vicinity of Carcassonne, *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 97, col. 211. Their possessions included buildings, cultivated and uncultivated lands, vineyards, fields, meadows, streams, mills, and roads which, by imperial decree, they might sell or exchange, as they wished.

Stephen's epistle, however, rings like the reaction to a new and startling situation involving a recent cession of territories in free allodial tenure to South Frankia Jewry. How extensive this cession was is indicated in the Pope's address "To all the magnates of Septimania and Spain." The cause of his extreme anxiety ("to the point of death") does not appear to have been merely the confirmation of an existing situation,⁸ even though there can be no doubt that the Jews of Narbonne held considerable land in the Muslim period.

On the other hand, according to Dupont and Régné, Jews held landed property and salt flats even before the Arab period. The Saracen invasion of Gaul, as elsewhere, assumed the aspect of an anti-Christian crusade involving severe ravage of church property. While the Saracens confiscated all conquered lands, they returned selected portions of lay property to their former owners in return for a harvest tax of 20 per cent. Church estates, on the other hand, were not restored to ecclesias-

8. Failure to understand Pope Stephen's usage of the term *Kings of the Franks* sidetracks L. Duchesne who, in consequence, wishes to date the letter in the tenth century, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, I, p. 304, note 6. However, no Aribert held the See of Narbonne in the tenth century. The known archbishops of Narbonne in the tenth century were: Arnust until 912; Aguis (Agio) 912-26; Aimericus 927-77. Ermengaud succeeded the latter and was archbishop still on November 29, 990. The office then reverted to the possession of Guifred Count of Cerdagne, who placed his son Guifred in office as archbishop on October 6, 1019, at the age of ten; E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 242-43; A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 465-66. Dupont places Aribert on the See of Narbonne in 768, as soon as Pepin had definite control of Septimania, *ibid.*, p. 293, cf. p. 431. Lesne finds that the title "Archbishop of Narbonne" was not authorized before 813 at the earliest, and first for Nimfrid who was then Abbot of Lagrasse; E. Lesne, *La Hierarchie épiscopale*, p. 70.

Lesne's attack on the appearance of the title "archbishop" in eighth-century Narbonne, while justified, does not invalidate the letter itself in which no title at all is mentioned. There can be little doubt that Aribert did not reside within the walls of Narbonne, nor did his successor Daniel, who is described as "absent" from his see in 782. In fact, Daniel's remains were interred in the suburban church of St. Paul and not within the walls of Narbonne. Even Nebridius (Nimfrid) in the ninth century was abbot of Lagrasse and resident there while functioning as (arch)bishop of Narbonne. Throughout the eighth and ninth centuries the episcopate of Narbonne was in truth at a very low ebb; E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 93-94 (cf. *HGL* II, preuves, col. 54-57), 117, 106, Appendix II.

tical ownership, especially if the clergy had fled. Thus the area of uncultivated land increased considerably. It is possible that the Jews were among the beneficiaries of the land-redistribution policy of the Saracens especially if the conquerors had placed Narbonne in their custody (see this text, p. 48.) Charles Martel, Pepin's father, despoiled church property to an even greater extent than had the Saracens.⁹ Evidence that Pepin restored ecclesiastical estates to the church at Narbonne is spurious, or at the very least, suspect, although the tradition persisted that Boniface had extracted a promise from Pepin to restore one-half, or one-third, and later all ecclesiastical property to certain unnamed bishoprics.¹⁰ Most of the land abandoned by the Muslims during the Carolingian conquests was incorporated into the Frankish fisc or redistributed to the king's *fideles*.¹¹ This was the nature of the Frankish kings' cession to the Jews. The allodial character of these domains was of great concern to pope and prelate because it deprived the local churches of income from such lands. Even more significant, the pope seems to fear that the rather extensive grant to the Jews "within the borders and territories of Christians" may have included at least some former ecclesiastical domains; hence, his anxiety "to the point of death."

Such a cession of church property would be in line with the Carolingians' well-known policy of endowing their vassals with ecclesiastical possessions as the result of conquest and, especially, under the stress of military necessity. Well-known is Charles Martel's program of reacquisition and conveyance to his vassals of the church's patrimony in Burgundy secured through conquest and recapture from the Saracens. Clearly such secularization could not pass unnoticed. In consequence of pressure from Saint Boniface the sons of Charles Martel, now mayors of the palace, undertook certain obligations at the Frankish councils of 742 (*Concilium Germanicum*), 744 (in Estinnes, now in

9. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 211-13, 290-95, 297, notes 1, 2; Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 172.

10. *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, p. 1: "Pippinus, monente sancto Bonifacio, quibusdam episcopatus vel medietates vel tertias rerum (reddidit) promittens in postmodum omnia restituere"; *idem*, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III (2nd ed.; Berlin 1883), p. 68, note 1.

11. E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 93-94.

Belgium), and 744 or later (in Soissons) concerning church lands. In the first, Carloman declared that he restored the wrongfully alienated patrimony to the churches. At the next council the same Prince claimed military emergency for retaining a portion of church property, although only temporarily. Each grantee (who received land from the Prince) was to hold the domain in *precarial* tenure (thereby safeguarding the churches' proprietary rights). Furthermore, he had to pay a quit-rent (*censum*) from these domains over to the church or monastery, specifically, one shilling for each hide (*casata*). At the grantee's death the estates were to revert to the church. However, if (military) need required it, the Prince might order the agreement of *precarium* to be renewed and rewritten (for a new grantee). In any case ecclesiastical institutions were to suffer no penury or poverty, else the property was to be restored in entirety. The Council of Soissons, held in the absence of Boniface but under his influence and presided over by Pepin the Short, agreed to restore the confiscated patrimony insofar as required for the support of the monasteries. From the balance (of the still alienated lands) there was to be paid a quit-rent. On October 31, 745, Pope Zachary accepted these council decisions in a letter to Boniface. Then, around 751, Pepin carried through a new confiscation, the *divisio*. Thereby the major part of church domains were granted by the King to his vassals in the form of life-benefices in accordance with the terms of the councils of 742 and 744. As compensation Pepin made obligatory the payment of tithe by all inhabitants of his kingdom.¹²

12. *Capitularia*, I, ed. A. Boretius, no. 10, § 2, p. 25:7-8; no. 11, § 2, p. 28:8-17; no. 12, § 3, p. 29:23-25. Reprinted in *Concilia aevi Karolini*, I ed. A. Werminghof, no. 1, p. 3; no. 2, p. 7; no. 4, p. 34. For discussion of these decisions, F. L. Ganshof, "Notes sur les origines de l'union du bénéfice avec la vassalité," *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne*, 173-80; *idem*, *Feudalism*, pp. 17-18 (also for date 744 of council in Les Estinnes). Between 756-68, perhaps 765, Pepin made the tithe obligation into a law of the realm, a state-imposed duty. This was renewed and developed further under Charlemagne in the Capitulary of Herstal, March 779, which instituted a second tithe (*nona*) payable to the church by vassals who had received former ecclesiastical lands as benefices. Tithe was the price they paid; U. Stutz, "Der karolingische Zehntgebot," *ZSRG* g. a., XXIX (1908), 197, 198, 224. Following the Saxon conquest the general obligation of Christians was expressed in terms of giving back to God a portion of that which He gave to each Christian; *Capitularia* I, ed. A. Boretius, p. 669.

The institution of precarial tenure and the setting of a quit-rent or tithe for the benefit of the church marks a significant amelioration over the practice of Charles Martel. He had ceded to his vassals former ecclesiastical domains without any compensation to the church, when they were included in the lands he conquered or recaptured from the Saracens, disposing over them altogether as the spoils of victory. Perhaps the fact of conquest accounts for the difference. Thus only a few years preceding the Frankish kings' grant of 768 to the Jews, Arab-held Narbonne fell to Pepin in 759 through the collaboration of the residents of that town. Thereby Pepin gained possession of not only this focal garrison city but apparently also of a considerable territory in the vicinity of the Pyrenees. This seems to have been included in the area which the Carolingian kings granted to the Jews as allods of hereditary character. A military concern motivated their cession no less than in the case of the other Carolingian grants of former ecclesiastical property to their vassals. But the conveying of ecclesiastical patrimony to the Jews in hereditary ownership and as allods charged with no quit-rents or other dues contravened the decisions of the Frankish councils just analyzed, certainly in the form they have come down to us. For this kind of cession, in contrast to the *precarial* and dues-owing tenure fixed by the councils, implied permanent and free possession. The available evidence indicates, as will be seen, that this was the case in fact. Little wonder that Pope Stephen was plunged into anxiety "to the point of death."

An explanation for this brash return to the policy of Charles Martel may lie in the rights conferred by conquest. If the ecclesiastical authorities fled or refused to reside in the area, abandoning their churches and lands to the Arabs¹³ and playing no role in the reconquest, then the King and his warriors and allies might claim full right of possession through capture. In such an instance conquest entailed not "con-

13. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 268-70, 290. King Pepin extended to conquered Aquitaine in the same year 768 the policy of "secularizing" ecclesiastical property, according to E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, II, fasc. 1, p. 64. However, The Capitulary of Aquitaine in its present form, which provides the basis for this conclusion, requires the lay holders of church domains to accept *precarias* (§ 11) for them, while omitting to mention a payment to the church; *Capitularia*, I ed. A. Boretius, no. 18, pp. 42-43.

fiscation" or "secularization" but a restoration of crown property, over which the sovereign could dispose as he wished. Therefore, even the Pope himself did not claim these domains as the church's patrimony but only as "within the borders and territories of Christians."

In the vicinity of Narbonne and perhaps as part of the rather extensive grant described in Pope Stephen's communication, several domains actually appear as the hereditary possessions of Jews. Thus a confirmation dated February 22, 839, issued by Emperor Louis the Pious for the Hebrews Gaudiocus and his two sons Jacob and Vivacius describes immovable property in Valerianis and Bagnilis (near Carcassonne) which they had inherited from their fathers, comprising buildings, cultivated and uncultivated lands, vineyards, fields, meadows, streams, mills, and roads.¹⁴

Analysis of the chronological order of the events which precipitated Pope Stephen's sharp reaction makes it likely that the land grant under discussion took place during the lifetime of Pepin, who died September 24, 768. The expression "Kings of the Franks," found in Stephen's missive, is that which the same Pope employed in referring to Pepin and his sons Carloman and Charles (later Charlemagne) shortly after his consecration in August 768. Also, by April 12, 769, Aribert himself was no longer in office, since a certain Daniel is recorded already at a council in Rome as Bishop of Narbonne on that date. In any event there was a lapse of time between the vacating of the see by Aribert and the election of Daniel, who voyaged to Rome; and, on the other hand, between the dispatch of Aribert's complaint from Frankia and the dictation of Stephen's reply, which was still addressed to Aribert as (Arch)bishop of Narbonne, and hence written no later than between August 768 (Stephen's consecration) and April 769. It appears then that Aribert warned the pope (Stephen III or his predecessor) of this distressing cession to the Jews undertaken by the Carolingian kings very likely in Pepin's lifetime, that is, before September 24, 768.¹⁵

The grant of considerable areas in allodial *hereditamenta* was contrary to the policy of the Carolingians. Dhondt maintains that in

14. *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 97, col. 211.

15. On the dating of Stephen's epistle see also note 6, p. 50 above and the references there. On Daniel in Rome, E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 91-92.

Septimania the cession *ad proprium* was unusual. He says that the Carolingian kings' utilization of vast areas of confiscated ecclesiastical property was the point of departure for the strengthening of royal power, enabling the sovereigns to recruit a force of vassals altogether beyond that of any magnate of this period. They were careful however not to cede property in full possession. The transfer of land to a vassal was primarily for the purpose of military service. The grant of freeholds to Septimanian Jewry as reflected in the papal epistle serves to underscore the prominent status of this Jewry and its chief, precisely because of its unusual character in this period.¹⁶

H. Dubled has identified one of the most frequent characteristics of land called *allodia* as the power to be given or sold freely without previous authorization or right of preemption. Vineyards and fields may also be possessed *in allod*. *Allodium* is a genre of possession, a right, not a property. It is not benefice, or fief, or hereditary tenure, or tenancy on long lease but free property. It was a possession over which the owner had full and complete right limited by no one else's right, and with all privileges of use.¹⁷

What disposed the House of Arnulf so favorably to Septimanian Jewry as to confer on them this highly significant grant? Pope Stephen's epistle itself contains the answer. Pepin and his sons were fulfilling a pledge. The papal letter at this point is couched in obscure style, yet its intent is sufficiently clear: Just as divine promises to the Jews were abrogated as penalty for the Crucifixion, so may the Frankish kings' pledges be rescinded involving these lands (in Septimania and Spain).¹⁸ What pledges? This question leads back directly to the claim of the *Chronicles* that Pepin King of the Franks at the capture of Narbonne

16. J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 6-7, 14. He overlooked Pope Stephen's epistle and so it is absent from his table on p. 271. A. R. Lewis finds that the system of holding land allodially in full outright possession was much more common in the pre-Carolingian Midi but, unlike Dhondt, that it continued into Carolingian times; *Southern French and Catalan Society*, pp. 69, 80.

17. H. Dubled, "Allodium dans les textes latins du moyen âge," *Le Moyen Age*, LVII (1951), 244-46; cf. M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, pp. 171-72.

18. See Appendix II, p. 383 below beginning: "... praesertim cum hujusmodi patribus Hebraeorum promissa . . ." The address "To . . . all the magnates of Septimania and Spain" indicates also the territorial extent of the Carolingian grant.

pledged to his allies behind the walls self-rule or rule (of the area?) if they would surrender Narbonne. Is the cession of extensive territory by the Frankish kings, to which Pope Stephen objected so vehemently in 768, to be viewed as a fulfillment of the pledge of 759?

The pledge of Pepin and the grant of the Frankish kings find an echo in other sources as well. Hebrew sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, transmitting in some instances much older records, supplement Stephen's report of allodial possessions in the hands of the Jews and supply significant data on the prominence of Septimianian Jewry shortly after the surrender of Narbonne to the Franks.

The noted world traveller and chronicler Benjamin-of Tudela reports significant land holdings actually in the possession of the Davidic Nasi (Prince) of Narbonne as late as the middle of the twelfth century. Benjamin left Toledo on his famous journey between November 23, 1165, and February or March 1166. He came to Narbonne shortly afterward and, reporting very briefly about its leaders, summarized as follows:

Narbonne is an ancient city of Torah. From it Torah goes forth to all lands. Therein are sages, magnates and princes (*nesi'im*) at the head of whom is R. Kalonymos son of the great Prince R. Todros of blessed memory, a descendant of the House of David as stated in his family tree. He holds *hereditaments* and [other] landed properties from the rulers of the country and no one may dispossess him by force. Their chieftain is R. Abraham, head of the Academy, and R. Makhir and R. Judah and many other sages like them. Its population today is 300 Jews [householders?].¹⁹

Abraham ibn Daud, author of *Sefer Seder haQabbalah*²⁰ (*Book of the Order of Tradition*), completed his work in 1160–61, shortly before

19. ומשם שלשה ימים [לנירבונה והיא] עיר קדומה לתורה. ומשם יצאה תורה לכל סדרוס הארצות ובה חכמים ונדולים [ונשיאים] ובראשם רבי קלונימוס בן הנשיא הגדול ר' סדרוס מורע דוד מכונה ביהוסו. [ויש לו] נחלות וקרקעות מאת מושל העיר ואין אדם יכול להוציא ממנו בחזקה. ובראשם ר' אברהם ראש הישיבה ור' מכיר ור' יהודה ואחרים כנגדן הרבה תלמידי חכמים. ויש בה היום שלש מאות יהודים.

M. N. Adler, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," *JQR* o.s., XVI (1904), 459, 467, reading with the variant text *moshlé ha'arets*. See this text, p. 150, note 4; separate edition (London 1907), p. 1.

20. The title appears in *ShK* itself, and is so designated also by others; see G. D. Cohen, "Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*," pp. lxxi, 22, 118; *MJC*, I, p. 2:1.

Benjamin of Tudela visited Narbonne. A lengthy passage appended²¹ to his chronicle couples the fall of Narbonne with the subsequent settlement there of a prince of Davidic lineage, richly endowed with extensive estates by act of a Frankish king. According to the record which the chronicle transmits, "King Charles" requested the King of Babylonia (the Caliph) to send him a Jewish prince. He sent Makhir "of the seed of royalty of the House of David." The author associates with the aforementioned grant of land also a royal act declaring Makhir to be *ben ḥorin* "a freeman," "nobleman." Such an act of nobility, combined with the endowment of extensive territories involving broad authority over Jews and Christian servitors obviously would confer upon the "magnate and sage" the dignity and income of a quasi-independent prince:

Then King Charles sent to the King of Babylon [the Caliph of Baghdad] requesting that he despatch one of his Jews of the seed of royalty of the House

21. This "Appendix" or *Addendum* is found only in Adler's MS no. 2237 now in Jewish Theological Seminary of America; see E. N. Adler, *Catalogue*, p. 81; cf. A. Neubauer, "Documents inédits," *REJ*, X (1885), 100-03. A brief summary of the "Appendix" appears in A. Zacuto, *Sepher Yuḥasstin* (Book of Lineage), ed. H. Fillipowski, p. 84 (see this text, note 22, p. 60).

G. D. Cohen, *ibid.*, has described this Adler MS as having revised, abridged, corrected, and garbled *ShK* on virtually every line. It offers variants which are simplifications or "improvements" in style or else corrections of fact in accordance with "correct" traditions. It contains two major glosses published by A. Neubauer in *MJC*, I, p. 76, note 8, and pp. 82-84, the latter being the "appendix" under discussion here. Cohen brands this an effort to include the scholars of a region unknown to Ibn Daud. He identifies the Adler MS as the copy of a revised text of *ShK*, which in turn was copied and revised from a MS deriving from the sub-archetype of MSS belonging to the superior class of MSS of *ShK*. The script is of Provençal origin. See also G. D. Cohen, *The Book of Tradition (Sefer Ha-Qabbalah) by Abraham ibn Daud*, Hebrew introduction, pp. 10-11 where the water mark in the paper of the manuscript is dated in the eighth decade of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the text of this *Addendum* to *ShK* was composed before 1165, certainly before April 1195, which is the date of an infeudation bearing the signature in Hebrew of Kalonymos b. R. Todros who is referred to in the text as "still alive and a young student"; see this work notes 23-24, pp. 61-62.

Even though this "Appendix" is not of Ibn Daud authorship, G. D. Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 142, it will become clear immediately below that it derives from a source of Carolingian origin. It is remarkably free of Ibn Daud's tendentiousness and contains a wealth of objective fact, corroborated in part by other sources.

of David. He hearkened and sent him one from there, a magnate and sage, Rabbi Makhir by name. And [Charles] settled him in Narbonne, the capital city, and planted him there, and gave him a great possession (*aḥuzah*) there at the time he captured it from the Ishmaelites. And he [Makhir] took to wife a woman from among the magnates of the town; * . . . * and the King made him a nobleman (*ben ḥorin*) and designed, out of love for [Makhir], good statutes for the benefit of all the Jews dwelling in the city, as is written and sealed in a Latin (*lit.* Christian) charter; and the seal of the King thereon [bears] his name Carolus; and it is in their possession at the present time. This Prince (Nasi) Makhir became chieftain there. He and his descendants were close [*or, related*] to the King and all his descendants. Any one who came to molest him because of his hereditary land-holdings (*naḥalot*, i.e. *hereditates*) and his high office (*kavod*, i.e. *honor*) was himself molested by power of the King of France²²

22. *MJC*, I, p. 82; cf. summary in A. Zacuto, *Sepher Yuḥassin*, ed. H. Filipowski, p. 84. For full text see Appendix III, pp. 384–86 below. This passage contains two distinct traditions separated by perhaps as much as three centuries. The later tradition is found between the asterisks * . . . * placed in the text and reads as follows: "At the time of the capture of the city, the King divided it into three districts. One he gave to the viscount whom he placed [*or, who was there*] in the city, Don Aymeric by name; the second district to the [Arch]bishop of the city; and the third district he gave to R. Makhir." Evidence for the antiquity and authenticity of the rest of this passage is discussed above in the text. On the other hand, the tradition that, at the fall of Narbonne, the city (and perhaps its environs) was divided between Viscount, Archbishop, and Jews cannot be older than about the end of the eleventh century. For evidence, see this text, pp. 146–74.

Sambari recounts how the Fatimid ruler of Egypt sent to the Caliph of Baghdad in 984 (985) for a scion of the House of David to come and rule over the Jews of Egypt, *MJC*, I, p. 115; J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, I, pp. 251–52; cf. D. Neustadt, "Some problems concerning the *Negidut* of Egypt," (Hebrew), *Zion*, IV (1938–39), 126–49, and the comment by S. W. Baron, *History*, V, pp. 38, 308, on Neustadt's unduly negative conclusions. See this text note 18, pp. 81–82. With respect to Makhir-Natronai the availability of other, corroborative, materials warrants our taking the claims of the *ShK Addendum* far more seriously than the late comment of Sambari (seventeenth century).

Ibn Daud reports that a progenitor of his in the eleventh century, authorized as rabbi and *nasi*, was appointed by the Muslim ruler to high office in the caliph's household and palace where he served for about twenty years; G. D. Cohen, *The Book of Tradition*, pp. 59–60, cf. 70–71 (transl. 80–81, cf. 97–98). This position is not the least bit surprising in the light of the diplomatic role of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, and the military activity of Samuel haNagid and others; see this text pp. 130–31, 256–57.

That part of this passage which tells of the cession of "a great possession" directly after the fall of Narbonne is strikingly similar to the data in Pope Stephen's epistle. In addition the claim that this great endowment was in favor of a Jewish scion of royal lineage from Baghdad corresponds exactly to the description in the *Gesta*, to be discussed immediately herein. On these matters of vast possessions, power, and position, the papal epistle, the *Gesta*, and *ShK* confirm and supplement one another. The "Appendix" to Ibn Daud's chronicle must be dated before 1195, at which date or very soon thereafter Prince Ḳalonymos b. Todros (mentioned therein and by Benjamin of Tudela) was probably dead.²³ This source is then independent

I. Loeb reports a later account of a scholar-prince of Davidic descent settled in Narbonne and related (or, close) to the ruling house:

ואבותי נחישבו שם בעיר נרבונה עיר גדולה לאלהים בה נחישב רב נשיא מרע בית דוד קרוב למלכות.

I. Loeb, "R. Matitya Ha-Yiḥari," *REJ*, VII (1883), 154.

Although *Karobh lemalkhut* may mean "close to royalty," the expression here and the almost identical *ḵerobhim lamelekh* in the "Appendix" to *ShK* mean in these contexts "kinsman of," "related to," royalty. See the identical statement about Exilarch Bustanai, this text, p. 118 note 11, where the meaning indubitably is kinship.

23. Our text designates the Nasi Ḳalonymos, son of the Nasi Todros, as "still alive and a young student" והוא עוררו חי ובהור. His signature appears in Hebrew *Ḳalonymos b. R. Todros* קלונמוס בר טודרוס on an infeudation of two pieces of land to the Hospital St. John of Jerusalem in Narbonne dated in April 1195; G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, pp. 137-38, no. VIII; pp. 65, 70-71; cf. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 150, 181. The document records his name as Clarimoscius filius quondam Tauroscii and designates him seigneur direct. Kaufmann fixed the date of his death in 1194 because his associate Levi b. Moses alone is mentioned as nasi in Narbonne at that time by Judah b. Solomon alḤarizi who visited Narbonne; *Sefer Taḥkemoni* (Iudae Harizii Macamae) ed. P. de Lagarde, Ch. XLVI, p. 166:40; David Kaufmann, "Lettres de Scheschet b. Isaac . . . aux princes Kalonymos et Lévi de Narbonne," *REJ*, XXXIX (1899), 64. Levi b. Moses is the sole Hebrew signatory (לוי בר משה ער) as witness to a bond of indebtedness dated November 15, 1199, obligating Pons de Coursan and his wife to Bernard of Saragossa in the amount of forty shillings for which sum they mortgage the plot of land "quam habemus in termino Prati judaici super Clarimoscium et Bondiam" (Levi b. Moses). This Clarimoscius is probably the Nasi Ḳalonymos mentioned above. The absence of his signature here—or mention of permission from him—may point to his prior death; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 227-28, no. V. Since

of the *Gesta* compiled about the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁴

The authenticity and antiquity of this part of Ibn Daud's chronicle are evident from the following:

The phrase *hereditates et honor* (*nahalot v'khavod*) is found in documents of the eighth and early ninth centuries with exactly the connotation intended here, namely, "hereditaments and high office." Thus the *Capitulare missorum generale* of 802 fixes the punishment of a wayward prelate to be deprivation of his "office and hereditament," *honorem simul et hereditatem privetur*.²⁵ Honor in the Carolingian Age did not only mean the respect and consideration to which those of high rank and position in society were entitled; it designated a state office, a public function, lay or ecclesiastical. *Augustissimus honor* is the imperial office itself. Deprivation of *honor* was considered dire punishment. But before the end of the Carolingian age, *honor* lost this meaning and came to signify benefices of the more important kind, land granted by the king or some other lord for service not necessarily associated with public office.²⁶ By 1065, *honor* had the

the *ShK* "Appendix" designates *Qalonymos* as a young man (*bahur*) at the time of its composition, and he appears to have died ca. 1195, it may be dated rather close to the time of the composition of *ShK* itself in 1160/61; Appendix III, p. 385:38.

24. *Qalonymos*' father *Todros* headed the community of Narbonne at the time that Viscount Aymeri II was killed at Fraga July 17, 1134; *ibid.*; p. 385:25; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 64; *HGL*, III, p. 690. Benjamin of Tudela found *Qalonymos* at the head of Narbonne Jewry in 1165-66, "Itinerary," l.c., 459; separate ed., p. 2. The "Appendix," which designates him *bahur*, must be older than 1165. He appears as a landed proprietor May 13, 1163; G. Saige, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33, no. III; J. Régné, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81.

25. *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, I, ed. A. Boretius, p. 96:10; cf. p. 95:26 and *Index nominum, op. cit.*, II, pp. 639-40.

26. F. L. Ganshof, "Benefice and Vassalage in the Age of Charlemagne," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, VI, no. 2 (Cambridge 1939), 148. According to Dahn *honor* designates a municipal or state office in the Carolingian Age. *Honor noster* means every royal or imperial office. *Honor* may be used for the office of bishop and abbot as well as secular office. F. Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, VIII. Part 3, pp. 32-33. Cf. F. Lot who points out that in the ninth century a duke, a count, and a marquis were invested with *honores*, that is, public functions; Ferdinand Lot, "Les tributs aux Normands et l'église de France au IX^e siècle," *BEC*, LXXXV (1924), 67. Cf. also C. E. Odegaard, *Vassi and Fideles*, p. 140, note 254; M. Bloch, *La Société féodale*, XXXIV, pp. 271, 293-98. These facts points up the Latin and

meaning simply of landed property, possibly allodial in character. Thus on September 25 of that year, the Viscount of Narbonne gave to the monastery of St. Michael *ipsum honorem qui vocatur Urseias, ad proprium alodem*. Of similar nature was probably the *honor Judaicus* in the vicinity of Carcassone mentioned in 1162.²⁷ Although *honor* continued to mean also "office" (for example, *honores regni*), the combination of *hereditates (nahalot)* and *honor (kavod)* in the sense of "public office" as this phrase appears in *ShK*, corresponds to the Carolingian usage. In consequence, it becomes probable that this description of Makhir's high rank, status, and possessions originated in the Carolingian Age.

A. Dumège reported in 1829 the presence of a manuscript in the archives of the Abbey Lagrasse (near Narbonne) in prerevolutionary days, which told of a king of the Jews, a descendant of the House of the prophet Daniel, who ruled a district of the city of Narbonne during the reign of Charlemagne. According to Dumège, the document related that in 791 this Jewish king sent an embassy of ten Israelites led by Isaac, one of the richest Jews of the time, to King Charlemagne. These ambassadors offered him 70 marks silver in return for the privilege of maintaining a king of their own in Narbonne permanently. Charlemagne assented and ceded to them that portion of the city where they were settled.²⁸

Carolingian foundations of this portion of *ShK* while so much of Ibn Daud's chronicle is otherwise imbedded in an Arabic cultural matrix. Cf. this work p. 90.

27. *HGL*, V, preuves, col. 534, no. 272, September 25, 1065. *Honor Judaicus*, G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 78; cf. p. 63, note.

28. "Ces ambassadeurs offrirent à l'empereur soixante-dix marcs d'argent, et le prièrent de conserver à leur nation le privilège d'avoir toujours dans Narbonne un roi particulier." [Alexandre] Dumège, "Mémoire sur quelques inscriptions hébraïques découvertes à Narbonne," p. 340, note.

M. Tournal reports that under Charles Martel (error for Charlemagne?) one of the three quarters of Narbonne, designated the *Grande-Juiverie*, was set apart for the Jews and that they held the government there; *Catalogue du Musée de Narbonne* (Narbonne-Paris 1864), p. 50; cf. A. Neubauer, "Rapport sur une mission dans le Midi de la France à l'effet de cataloguer les manuscrits hébreux qui s'y trouvent, et en Italie . . ." p. 558.

In this document of Dumège's, S. Katz finds partial confirmation for the tradition that one-third of Narbonne was ceded to the Jews. He also deduces from its contents

Older than the date of composition of both *ShK* and the *Milhemet Mitsvah*, soon to be discussed here, is an address directed by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, to King Louis (VII) of France before 1143. In his attack on the Jews of his day for according recognition to a "king" of their own who "ruled" outside of Palestine, Peter derisively demanded of them, on the basis of Genesis 49:10, to produce a king of the House of Judah or, at the least, a duke. Continuing, he declared: "As for me, I will not accept that king (as something worthy of ridicule) whom some of you claim to have in Narbonne, the city in Gaul, others in Rouen. I will not accept a Jew as King of the Jews except (one) residing in and ruling the Kingdom of the Jews [namely, Palestine]." ²⁹ This document is older than either of the Hebrew sources just noted and also antedates the compilation of the *Gesta* by more than a century. Hence, it is independent of all of these. Nevertheless, by the twelfth century the Nasi of Narbonne had already surrendered most of the real power he possessed in the Carolingian Age.

Initiating the charge of ritual murder in 1144 against the Jews of Norwich, the Cambridge monk Theobald, a convert from Judaism, declared: "Wherefore the chief men" (*lit.* princes, *principes*) "and Rabbis of the Jews who dwell in Spain assemble together at Narbonne, where the Royal seed resides, and where they are held in the highest estimation . . ." (*lit.* and their glory asserts itself most vigorously, *et eorum maxime uiget gloria*). ³⁰

A thirteenth-century Hebrew document also associates the fall of Narbonne with a cession of land to Jews in the Narbonnaise and the

that under Charlemagne a "King of the Jews" owned a section of the city of Narbonne, a possession which Charlemagne confirmed in 791; *Jews . . . in Spain and Gaul*, pp. 159-60.

29. *Tractatus adversus Judaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, PL, CLXXXIX, 4, col. 560: "Produc igitur mihi de propagine Judae regem, aut si hoc non potes, saltem ostende duces. Sed non ego, ut aliquid ridendum ponam, regum illum suscipiam, quem quidam tuorum apud Narbonam, Galliae urbem, alii apud Rothomagum se habere fatentur . . . Non suscipiam Judaeum pro rege Judaeorum, nisi habitantem et regnantem in regno Judaeorum." Cf. I. Loeb, "Polémistes chrétiens et juifs en France et en Espagne," *REJ*, XVIII (1889), 45.

30. Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* ed. and tr. A. Jessopp and M. R. James, p. 94; see S. W. Baron, *History*, IV, pp. 135, 306.

grant of royal privileges. This is the *Milhemet Mitsvah* (*The War for Religion*) of Meir b. Simeon composed in 1245, a difficult time for the Jewry of Narbonne. Therein Meir b. Simeon addressed a petition to the King of France. He enumerated the injustices in proposed legislation directed against the Jews, and urged the King to respect the Jewry privileges granted by "King Charles" at the time of the capture of Narbonne. The *Milhemet Mitsvah*³¹ asserted at the outset the obligation of a king "to keep covenant and faith" even with those not of his religion:

Firstly we shall say that it is obligatory [for a king] to keep covenant and faith with every man even if he is not of the religion of the king.³² It is also the obligation of all his subjects to keep the covenant and faith with us which his forefathers observed with our ancestors. For our Israelite forebears came into his [Charles'] kingdom in consequence of a pledge to place us under a *security* [*havtaḥa*, i.e. *securitas*,³³ a charter of protection] guarding our person, our substance and hereditary land-holdings [*nahalot*]. We too, as did our ancestors, stood in that *security* a long time, from the days of King Charles until the present, during which time he and his successors conquered many lands all with the help of the Israelites who were with them in *fidelity*³⁴ [*be'emuna*, in the relationship of *fideles*, i.e. pledged to

31. A. Neubauer, "Documents inédits. XVI. Documents sur Narbonne," *REJ*, X (1885), 98-99, with translation. For complete text see Appendix IV, pp. 387-88.

For the date, *idem*, "Rapport sur une mission dans le Midi de la France," *loc. cit.*, 556.

32. Cf. this statement with the somewhat ambiguous preamble to the imperial mandate of February 22, 839, for three Jews of Septimania, *HGL*, preuves, col. 211, no. 97. See also this text, p. 177 note 4.

33. On *securitas* with the meaning *royal charter*, see *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, p. 77, Index, s. v. *securitas*, pp. 774-75; cf. Carolus du Fresne Du Cange (new edition by L. Favre), *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, VII (Paris 1937), p. 392 where *securitas* is equated with *emunitas* and *firmitas*; cf. III, p. 509 for meaning of *firmitas* = *privilegium*; cf. Previtè Orton, "Italian Cities," *Cambridge Medieval History*, V (Cambridge 1929), p. 218: *securitas* is a *privilegium*. For early Carolingian usage, G. Melchior, *Les Etablissements des Espagnols*, pp. 75 ff., 87.

34. This statement may contain a paraphrase of the oath of the Carolingian king's *fidelis*: "I shall be a faithful helper to you with counsel and with aid in accordance with my office and my person" "et consilio et auxilio secundum meum ministerium et secundum meam personam fidelis vobis adiutor ero." C. E. Odegaard, "Carolingian Oaths of Fidelity," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 293. Odegaard adds, "Here

royal service] with person and property so that they themselves entered into the thick of battle and sacrificed their lives to rescue kings and princes who were with them.

For it is a known fact and recorded in several places [in documents] which we possess and also in the *maison d'obédience*, that when King Charles captured Narbonne Town at the time of his war with the Ishmaelites who were there, his horse was killed at the gate and he himself fell to the ground. Had he come into their hands he would have been put to death. Of all his troops there with him not a single one wished to dismount from his own horse and place him upon it, out of fear of death, until a Jew who was there with them, a valiant warrior, dismounted from his horse and raised him up on it while he himself remained there on foot and died at the hand of the Ishmaelites. Afterwards, when he had captured the city [Narbonne], King Charles cherished that great [act of] *fidelity* and granted⁸⁵ to his [rescuer's]

is no mere oath of loyalty though loyalty is clearly embodied in the oath; much more is involved than in the subject's oath . . . This . . . carries in its contents a clear indication that the swearer must render service"; *ibid.*, p. 293. Meir b. Simeon seems to be emphasizing the same point of royal service which sets the Jews apart from ordinary subjects.

The earliest surviving oath of this kind dates from 858, sworn to Charles the Bald by his magnates (*fideles*) but similar oaths were sworn by the *fideles* both before and after 858. After 858, the oath of the *fideles* who served the king called for a promise of service with aid and counsel; *ibid.*, pp. 292-96. The magnate promised to be a faithful helper (*fidelis adiutor*) aiding with counsel and assistance (*concilio et auxilio*); his service naturally depended on his office and his person or status; *ibid.*, p. 293.

35. Aronius denies the historicity of any grant by Charlemagne to the Jews (or their chieftain) at Narbonne, because of a similar narrative related about Emperor Otto II. A member of the Kalonymos family saved the Emperor in a battle against the Saracens in 982 by giving him his own horse which swam the ruler to the safety of a passing vessel; J. Aronius, "Karl der Grosse und Kalonymos aus Lucca" *ZGJD*, II (1888), 82-87; cf. H. Bresslau, "Diplomatische Erläuterungen zu den Judenprivilegien Heinrichs IV," *ZGJD*, I (1887), 157-58. However, the historicity of Charlemagne's act clearly does not stand or fall with this tale related by Meir.

In *Le Charroi de Nîmes*, William rejects King Louis' offer of Berengar's fief. Berengar, who had fled to Louis because of an unatoned act of manslaughter, received that land from the king but later lost his life when Louis was unhorsed in battle with the infidels and Berengar offered him his own charger; ed. J.-L. Perrier vv. 335-63. The fact that the tale of the unhorsed king and the vassal-hero was widely known need not, *ipso facto*, invalidate a specific report, if corroborated by

children a great and honorable section in the city of Narbonne and its environs (the ancient tradition saying that he gave them one-third of the city and its environs) and he designed for all the Jews good and honorable statutes with the consent of the bishops and abbots who were there with him. Following him, the kings his successors kept faith with them until the present

On the status and role of the Jews at the moment of the fall of the fortress of Narbonne to the Franks we possess a lengthy account in the *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*. Compiled around the middle of the thirteenth century,³⁶ this historical romance describes in detail, and with considerable sympathy, the delivery of beleaguered Narbonne to the Franks encamped outside, by the Jews within the town.

According to the *Gesta*, the Jewry of Narbonne at this time constituted a self-dependent community ruled by their own king. They owed no allegiance to the Saracen governor, except for the obligation to render to him an annual payment for protection. The *Gesta* outlines the steps in the surrender of the stronghold as follows:

Apprised by their magic arts of an inevitable Frank victory, the Jews urged upon the Saracen ruler of Narbonne the futility of resistance. He, however, expecting momentarily help from Spain, refused to yield. The Jews informed him of their contrary conviction and then sent a delegation of eleven men to the leader of the besieging Franks (who, as in the *chansons de geste* generally, is here, too, assimilated to the heroic

other sources. A widespread tale may, in fact, stimulate emulation by later generations. Thus legend may induce reality. Each incident demands independent analysis and cannot be dismissed out of hand. See also this text, pp. 123-25; 360-61.

S. Stein includes brief summaries of portions of the as yet unpublished manuscript of Meir's work in "A Disputation on Moneylending between Jews and Gentiles in Me'ir b. Simeon's *Milhemeth Mišwah* (Narbonne, 13th century)", *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, X (1959), 45-61.

36. Ph. A. Becker, in a review of Schneegans' edition, corrects the date he suggests for the *Gesta*, since Abbot Bernard III who, both agree, ordered its composition must be dated 1237-55; *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XIX (1898), col. 147. He considers Philomena's notes a "fable." In his review, H. Suchier also dates the *Gesta* under Bernard III but places more weight on the historical features of Philomena; *op. cit.*, XXI (1900), col. 174-78.

figure of Charlemagne). The Jewish spokesman, Isaac, pleaded for mercy at the hands of the Frank warrior and proffered help in the capture of Narbonne. He presented "Charlemagne" with the munificent gift of 70,000 marks silver on behalf of their Jewish king, promising additional sums if desired and pledging that "whatever we have will be yours." Isaac explained their action was not treasonable because they were under no pledge of fealty or vassalage to the Saracen ruler of Narbonne, their sole obligation consisting in an annual payment for protection. He requested that they be permitted to have a king of their own people as was proper and "is so at the present time." (The last words are missing from the Provençal translation of the *Gesta*). "In his name we have come to you. He is of the stock of David and from Baghdad."

For his part, the *Gesta* relates, Charlemagne took the Jews under his jurisdiction and protection, affirming his pledge in the presence of an assembly of lords and barons, including the pope himself. When, in consequence of the Jews' aid, Narbonne fell, Charlemagne acceded to their request for a king and, in addition, gave them a third of the town. Another third he presented to the archbishop and the remaining third to Count Aymeri, one of his warriors.³⁷

The theme of the Jews as traitors who surrender Christian towns and fortresses to the Saracen enemy of Christianity occasionally appears in Carolingian chronicles.³⁸ By contrast, the thirteenth-century monk-author of the *Gesta* takes pains to explain away any such "traitorous" intent on the part of the Jews, whom he presents as owing no fealty to the Saracen ruler of Narbonne. Furthermore, he casts the Jews in the role of allies of the Christian King Charles against the Muslim wali of the town, contrary to the favorite position of the chroniclers. There are obviously legendary elements in this passage. There may be also embellishments that reflect the chivalrous age of the author-compiler.

37. *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*, ed. F. Ed. Schneegans, pp. 176-80; 186-90, lines 2327-69; 2429-89. For the full text see this work Appendix I pp. 379-81. This passage, through line 2466, is translated in J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 17-18, separate reprint from *REJ*, LV (1908), pp. 17-18. Lines 2466-89, which are added here, list the territories which Charlemagne allegedly ceded to Aymeri in the presence of a great multitude of nobles, a vast area comprising Septimania, the Toulousain, and the Spanish March.

38. *Annales Bertiniani*, anno 848, p. 36; anno 852, p. 41; pp. 313, 316 of this text.

However, the historicity of the entire account has been challenged, in particular that section ascribing responsibility to the Jews for the capture of Narbonne by the Franks.

Demaison has pointed to the chronicles discussed above, which attribute the fall of the town to the action of Goth residents within the walls, who rose up against the Saracens and delivered the citadel to the Franks on the condition that they be permitted to retain their laws and customs; or, (in a variant version) that they be allowed to rule. This led Demaison to the assumption that the compiler of the *Gesta* drew freely on his fantasy and substituted Jews for Goths.³⁹ F. Ed. Schneegans, who produced the definitive edition of the *Gesta*, has shown that this work is based on old literary and historical records of the south. The monk who was the author-compiler declared that he reworked a very old, almost destroyed *hīstōria* written by a chronicler of Charlemagne named Philomena. This record of Charlemagne's exploits came to light in his monastery of Lagrasse. However, on Jewry's role in the surrender of Narbonne, Schneegans too dismisses the *Gesta* although he recognizes that the account of Narbonne's fall is based on an independent source close to historical fact. He accepts Demaison's view even though he apparently no longer finds the assertion of the text that the Jews had a king of their own to be "senseless."⁴⁰

39. *Aymeri de Narbonne. Chanson de geste* ed. L. Demaison, *Introduction* pp. cxxxix, ccxxxix; cf. *HGL*, I, p. 827; II, *Notes*, pp. 211-12, note 85; p. 551, note 118; *preuves*, col. 7, 26.

40. *Gesta Karoli Magni* ed. F. Ed. Schneegans, *Einleitung* pp. 3-13, 32-37, 28. The *Einleitung* is published separately as *Über die Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam* with same pagination. Cf. also the same author's earlier study *Die Quellen des sogenannten Pseudo-Philomena*, pp. 33-34. It may be significant that Schneegans drops the expression "senseless" from his later study and more complete work, while still denying any role to the Jews in the surrender of Narbonne. Schneegans' view of the historical basis of parts of the *Gesta* is endorsed by K. Voretzch, *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature*, p. 82, against the skeptical position toward the historical value of all the *chansons de geste* adopted by J. Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, I, p. 423; IV, pp. 402, 420. For a discussion of the origins of the *chansons de geste* and the reliability in general of the historical information they contain, see U. T. Holmes, Jr., *A History of Old French Literature*, pp. 66-72; and especially R. Menéndez Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland y el neotradicionalismo* (origenes de la épica románica) (Madrid 1959).

Israel Lévi at first accepted the testimony of the *Gesta*, but then declared the *Gesta* and other relevant supporting Hebrew sources to be legendary and valueless as historical evidence. He offers the baffling suggestion that the *Gesta* may have substituted Jews for Goths because at the time of Charlemagne (Pepin's son) there were no more Goths in the environs of Narbonne. Régéné finds the *Gesta* account improbable. He declares that the Jews could not favor the capture of Narbonne by the Franks, because they had no interest in passing from benign Muslim rule to Catholic domination. Dupont follows his opinion.⁴¹

Such views can hardly be claimed to account adequately for the supposed deliberate act of a cleric substituting Jews for Goths in the sought-after role of allies of the Franks against "infidel" Muslims. Furthermore, it is of more than passing significance that Demaison, who first suggested that the author of the *Gesta* intentionally replaced the Goths by Jews, nevertheless sharply qualified his opinion. He raised the question whether the clerical author was not indeed influenced by a local tradition unfamiliar to the chroniclers. He then added that it appears more admissible that the author of the *Gesta* account of Narbonne Jewry's role may have put to use an historical source.⁴² This revised conclusion has lapsed into oblivion, perhaps because no one has found support for it.

Actually, the *Gesta's* dramatization of the submission of the Jewish delegation to Charlemagne reflects not thirteenth-century feudal procedures, which the monk of Lagrasse might have concocted, but rather

41. I. Lévi, "France," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V (1903) 445; "Le roi juif de Narbonne et le Philomène," *REJ*, XLVIII (1904), 205-07; XLIX (1904), 147-50. J. Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 22. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, p. 287. For a brief review of the state of research see S. Katz, *The Jews in . . . Spain and Gaul*, Appendix III, pp. 159-62. A somewhat less skeptical view of one or another of the traditions is taken by the older studies: H. Gross, "Meir b. Simon und seine Schrift Milchemeth Mizwa," *MGWJ*, XXX (1881), 449-50; C. Port, *Histoire du Commerce*, p. 168; G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, pp. 42-43. However, in *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 404-05, Gross emphasizes somewhat more the "legendary" aspects of the traditions.

42. "Faut-il voir ici l'influence d'une tradition locale, ou bien notre écrivain, en qualité de clerc lettré, connaissait-il une source historique qu'il aurait mise à profit? Cette dernière hypothèse nous semble la plus admissible"; *Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. L. Demaison, I, Introduction, p. ccxxxix.

seventh- and eighth-century conditions. The confrontation of Charlemagne and the Jewish deputies outside the gates of Narbonne recalls the negotiations entered into when invading Arabs made treaties with non-Muslim municipal authorities who surrendered their city *before* conquest. Such treaties were concluded also with reigning princes or the chief of a territory. In this manner, the Arabs established a number of protectorates. Where surrender took place without conquest, the non-Muslim inhabitants received protection and paid a stipulated money-tax, which could not be increased and which they collected themselves; and the landholders could sell or bequeath the land to one another. Their land was treaty ('*ahd*') not *kharāj* (tribute) land.⁴³

An illustration of such a procedure in Septimania is the action of Emir 'Anbasa ibn Suhain Kelbi who, as reward for the capitulation of Carcassonne, obligated himself to consider its residents "protected people" and to conclude a defensive-offensive alliance with them.⁴⁴ It appears that Pepin followed in essence this same practice in his offer to the besieged inhabitants of Narbonne. Admittedly, surrender of towns on conditions occurred during the *Reconquista* and the Crusades. This need not rule out the possibility that the thirteenth-century monk in Lagrasse had at his disposal a source describing the practice prevailing in the eighth century.

The *Gesta*, it has been noted, explicitly credits the Jews with the fall of Narbonne to the Franks and describes in some detail how this was achieved. As reward a delegation of Narbonne Jews requested a permanent kingship of their own, at the same time offering a princely gift of 70,000 marks silver to Charlemagne. He agreed to the terms and accepted the gift. Witness of the negotiations were the pope and many barons. At the fall of the town, Charlemagne fulfilled his pledge, "gave

43. D. C. Dennett, Jr., *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*. Dennett emphasizes that the settlements made in the conquests were not uniform, p. 12; but see the summaries on pp. 35, 36, 91, 118, and *passim*.

44. In exchange for peace the inhabitants of Carcassonne ceded to 'Anbasa ibn Suhain Kelbi half their territory, freed the Muslim prisoners together with the booty they had taken, paid tribute, and entered into an offensive-defensive alliance with the Muslims. Then 'Anbasa retired; Ibn el-Athir, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. E. Fagnan, anno 725, p. 57. D'Abadal affirms this practice was usual in Spain, "El paso," *CHE*, XIX (1953), 22.

them a king in accordance with their desire," and, in addition, ceded to them a third of Narbonne. Another third of the town he had already given to the Archbishop. Now he summoned Aymeri and gave him the remaining third, but then added vast territories as Aymeri's domain throughout Septimania and the Toulousain and across the Pyrenees to Gerona and Barcelona.⁴⁵

The Epistle of Pope Stephen III dated 768 (only nine years after Narbonne's surrender) emphasizes two critical features found also in the thirteenth-century *Gesta*. First is the gift of money.⁴⁶ Secondly, like the *Gesta*, Stephen also describes a cession of territory to (Narbonne) Jewry by act of the Frankish sovereign(s). Actually, the territory outlined by the Pope appears to be far more extensive than a third of a single city (Narbonne). He refers to allodial hereditaments granted to the Jews; these were situated both within towns and outside them and in the boundaries and territories of Christians; he speaks of Christian servitors cultivating the vineyards and fields of Jews and tells of others living in their homes both within and outside of cities. Obviously, this may also include one-third of Narbonne. But by comparison with this contemporaneous papal document, the claim of the *Gesta* for a cession of merely one-third of that town seems modest indeed. Even if we assume that under the stress of anxiety, the Pope exaggerated somewhat, his virulent complaint makes it clear beyond doubt that by 768 southern French Jewry or their chieftain held, by right of royal award, significant allodial possessions in the Narbonnaise. And perhaps beyond. This last possibility is suggested by the addressees to whom the papal epistle was a plea: "To Aribert Archbishop of Narbonne, and to all the magnates of Septimania and Hispania."⁴⁷ In fact the cession of land which the *Gesta* attributes to a hitherto unknown Aymeri as recipient—territories extending throughout Septimania and the Toulousain into Spain—seems to fit far more aptly (than merely one-third of Narbonne) the very extensive freeholds

45. F. Ed. Schneegans (ed.), *Gesta Karoli Magni*, pp. 176-90; see Appendix I, pp. 379-81 this text.

46. "... ei periculose mercati sunt"; *PL*, CXXIX, col. 857C.

47. "Stephanus papo Ariberto archiepiscopo Narbonae, et omnibus potentatibus Septimaniae et Hispaniae salutem"; *PL*, CXXIX, col. 857B.

ceded to the Jews, of which Pope Stephen complained so bitterly to "all the magnates of Septimania and Spain."

There is then evidence of Septimanian Jewry's prominent status shortly after the capitulation of Narbonne to the Franks, in contrast to the virtual disappearance of the Goths. The statement of the *Gesta* that the Jews in the citadel were Pepin's allies and responsible for the surrender of the fortress no longer appears so improbable. The testimony of the "Appendix" of *ShK*, almost half a century earlier than the *Gesta* and drawn from still older sources, anticipates the claim of the Latin romance that a Jewish descendant of King David settled in Narbonne as ruler of the Jews.

Such rule required an autonomous domain to provide the reality of dominion. Evidence that the Frank kings did cede a domain in fact is supplied by Pope Stephen's bitter complaint of 768.⁴⁸

48. A. Graboïs discusses the same documents analyzed here. However, he assumes *a priori* that they are all legendary and worthless as a source of historical information for the Carolingian Age. The significance of Pope Stephen's epistle escapes him entirely, although it provides incontrovertible evidence for the Frankish kings' grant of considerable territory in free allod to Septimanian Jewry and, in consequence, alerts attention to the fact that the *Gesta* and the Hebrew documents are rooted in historical reality. Rather, the determination of the historical information that may be still imbedded therein and the separating of fact from fancy not only in the documents just mentioned but also in the chronicles and in the other extant materials relevant to Carolingian Jewry, some of which have been hitherto uncritically accepted, is the concern of the present author. A. Graboïs, "Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans les textes hébraïques médiévaux," *Le Moyen Age*, LXXII (1966), 5-41. This essay appears in a Hebrew version in *Tarbiz*, XXXVI (1966), 32-58.

The Establishment of a Jewish Princedom in Southern France by the Carolingian Rulers, 768

The *Addendum* to *ShK* associated the fall of Narbonne with joint action of Frank king and Muslim caliph eventuating in the arrival of a Jewish scholar-prince of Davidic ancestry in that town. Royal act endowed him with noble status and extensive estates; he himself established a dynasty¹ of patriarchs or exilarchs (*nesi'im*) in the West. Pope Stephen's virulent attack in 768 on certain cessions in land by the Frank kings to the Jews raises the question whether these two documents are treating an identical series of events which transpired in that year.

Now the spring of the year 768 witnessed the completion of a successful diplomatic interchange between King Pepin and the 'Abbasid Caliph Al-Manşur of Baghdad. In 761 the 'Abbasids had undertaken an invasion of Umayyad Spain. The campaign ended in dismal failure.

1. "Furthermore, he (Makhir) and his dynasty were among the leaders of their time, rulers and judges in all the lands, virtual exilarchs shepherding Israel with faithfulness and skill." Several generations on two sides of Makhir's dynasty bore the title *nasi* (prince); Appendix III, pp. 384-85.

Intent on ruling Andalusia for Baghdad, 'Ali ibn-Mughith only lost his head following a disastrous defeat before Seville in 763. This stunning blow appears to have disposed² Caliph Al-Manṣūr now more than ever to let the Franks pull his chestnuts out of the Spanish fire. However, any such move for the future invasion of the peninsula from the north focused interest on Southern Frankia as its springboard. To Pepin, on the other hand, constantly challenged by the Umayyad ally Duke Waifar within his own realm, the rising Saracen star over the Pyrenees boded evil. The Spanish threat only pointed up the role and importance of strong frontier garrisons, and most prominent among these was Narbonne. The critical location of Narbonne now allowed appropriate action. However, any plan for action confronted Pepin's pledge of 759 to the Jews of that fortress, which clearly demanded prior redemption, of course within the framework of general Carolingian policy. In 765 Pepin summoned a general assembly of the realm to Attigny.³ The decisions of Attigny are unknown, although they may perhaps be deduced from Pepin's diplomatic activity at the time. For in the same year Pepin dispatched a mission⁴ to Baghdad which doubtless was concerned primarily with the Spanish peril and, unavoidably, with Narbonne. In the same year he sent off a legation to Byzantium. In the fall of 766 the Frank mission returned from Byzantium accompanied by a Greek delegation. Pepin now assumed the offensive against Waifar who, when defeated, was forced to perform vassal's homage and pay unusual tribute and gifts. Yet Aquitaine was still not pacified.⁵

Again in March 767 Pepin launched an invasion of Aquitaine but now from Narbonne. Presumably local troops, including Jewish forces, sallied out with him into Waifar's territory. There fell to the conquering Frank in turn Toulouse, Albi, Rodez, Gevaudan—the southern part of Aquitaine. After Easter he followed up these conquests with a successful

2. G. Weil, *Geschichte der islamitischen Völker von Mohammed bis zur Zeit des Sultan Selim*, p. 142; F. W. Buckler, *Harun-ul-Rashid and Charles the Great*, p. 9.

3. After Easter 765; L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . unter König Pippin*, p. 393.

4. It was received in friendly manner; L. Oelsner, *ibid.*, pp. 395-96; S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 289-90.

5. L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . unter König Pippin*, p. 399.

incurSION from the north and penetrated to the southern Limousin, Auvergne, and Rouergue. The King pressed his pursuit of Waifar, imposing his rule as far as Gascony.⁶ Such successes would obviously place Pepin in a distinctly advantageous position in any negotiations with Baghdad. These were now imminent.

Early in 768 Pepin's Baghdad mission returned to Marseilles after a three-year absence. His legation was accompanied by ambassadors of Caliph Al-Manṣur, laden with gifts. At royal command, they were conducted to Metz (where they spent the winter) and then to Selles on the Loire. Here Pepin received them during Easter on his return from the campaign against Waifar in Aquitaine, April 10, 768.⁷ The results of the negotiations are unknown, but their amicable outcome was underscored by the King's gifts which the Arabs carried back to their own country by sea. In any case, the anti-Umayyad and anti-Waifar intent of such deliberations appears self-evident.⁸

Once again Pepin resumed the war in Aquitaine. Duke Waifar took

6. L. Oelsner, *ibid.*, pp. 407-08, 410-12.

7. L. Oelsner, *ibid.*, p. 412; S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 289-90.

8. During all these East-West negotiations, the world ruler in Baghdad never regarded the Carolingian kings—even Charlemagne—as anything other than barbarian vassal sheikhs serving imperial interests, according to F. W. Buckler, *Harun'ul-Rashid*, pp. 8-10, 32-36. Cf. *HGL*, I, pp. 843-44: The Caliph was eager for a Frankish invasion of Spain as a means of bringing 'Abd ar-Rahman to his knees. "It is certain that these negotiations had begun a long time before." Gustave Weil also thinks that the negotiations of 765-68 dealt with a joint 'Abbasid-Carolingian adventure in Spain, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, pp. 75-76. This view is shared by L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher*, p. 396, cf. pp. 410-17, who sees in Charlemagne's war on Spain only the implementation of his father Pepin's plans; cf. also S. Abel and B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 289-90. The nature of the political relationships between East and West was such in the Carolingian period that Joseph Calmette sees the outlines of an *Aix-Baghdad axis* which led to an alliance of Charlemagne and Harun ar-Rashid; *Charlemagne. Sa vie et son œuvre*, pp. 150-54. "The diplomatic mission of 765 to Baghdad served to complete a circle of alliances ranging the Pope, the 'Abbasid Khalifah, and the king of the Franks against the Umayyads and Constantinople," F. W. Buckler, *ibid.*, p. 10. See also F. L. Ganshof, "Notes sur les ports de Provence du VIII^e au X^e siècle," *RH*, CLXXXIII (1938), 30. Cf. S. C. Easton and H. Wieruszowski, *Era of Charlemagne*, p. 47.

refuge in the forest of Périgord. The King divided his men into four columns, each led by a count. On the night of June 2, 768, Waifar was assassinated. The war came to an end. Pepin pressed to assure for himself the fruits of victory. He rebuilt fortresses, installed counts and judges. In Saintes he convened a council where, it is agreed, he issued those regulations which, while not mentioning Aquitaine, have come to be identified as the "Capitulary for Aquitaine."⁹

Is it only accident that the Frank kings' generous grant in 768 to southern Jewry of allodial hereditaments in Septimania and Northern Spain (as appears from Pope Stephen's letter) coincided in time with Pepin's final conquest of Aquitaine and the return of his legation from Baghdad? Or is there an interrelationship in fact between these events and the claims of the *Addendum* to *ShK* and the *Gesta* that the Frank King invited a member of the Jewish royal house at Baghdad to settle in Narbonne and, after his arrival, ceded to him significant territory: "a great possession" according to *ShK*; "one-third of Narbonne" according to the *Gesta*?

Interdependence of these events becomes probable indeed in the light of a report that in this same period a ruling Exilarch (*nasi*) of Baghdad was forced out of office; whereupon he left for the West.

Overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty and chaotic conditions that accompanied the early efforts of the 'Abbasids to entrench themselves in power caused upheavals also in Jewish-leading circles in Babylon. The conflict centered primarily on the person of the exilarch and erupted in a challenge directed against the right of one branch of the exilarchic family to exercise rule. The legitimacy question arose out of the following circumstances.

In the eighth century the exilarchs were all descendants of Bustanai (Ḥaninai) who is dated *ca.* 610–60. A wife of Bustanai was the Persian princess Izdundad (Dara-Izdadwar) daughter of King Khosroe (or of Yazdegerd III). The conquering caliph gave her to Bustanai and took her sister for his own wife. According to another report, the fourth Caliph 'Ali gave his son Ḥusein a Persian princess, daughter of Yazdegerd III and possibly the sister of Dara-Izdadwar. In this manner the exilarchic family became related to the Persian military aristocracy

9. L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . unter König Pippin*, pp. 412–13, 415.

(Izdundad's brother was the general Marzabana) and, in time, to the ruling 'Abbasid dynasty. However, doubt arose that Bustanai had actually manumitted and converted his royal wife before their sons were born. If he had not, her offspring were unfree and therefore disqualified from holding Jewish royal office.¹⁰

A general pro-Persian policy of the 'Abbasids early led to pressure on Jewish leaders for recognition of Izdundad's descendants as legitimate exilarchs. Thus Samuel b. R. Mar, Gaon of Pumbeditha 748-52, was already their protagonist. It is even possible that an exilarch Solomon, of the Persian line, was in power by 752 because in that year he appointed as Gaon of Pumbeditha his own brother-in-law whose patronymic was Persian, Natroi Kahana b. Mar R. *Ahunai*. Solomon's successor as exilarch (about 759) was Isaac b. Rosbihan b. Shahrijar (obviously a descendant of Izdundad), and at his passing, between 763-66,¹¹ the conflict became further complicated by a new factor. 'Anan, eldest son of David, brother of the ruling exilarch and a disciple of the outstanding scholar Yehudai Gaon, was next in line

10. S. W. Baron, *History*, III (2nd ed.), pp. 89, 270, note 20; cf. H. Tykocinski, "Bustanai the Exilarch" (Hebrew), *Debhir*, I, (1923), 145-79; S. Assaf, "Bostanai (ben Chaninai)," *EJ*, IV, 989-90; A. D. Goode, "The Exilarchate in the Eastern Caliphate 637-1258," *JQR*, XXXI (1940-41), 157. The exilarchs resided in Babylonia, usually in or near Baghdad, even before it became the 'Abbasid capital ca. 762. Cf. R. Levy, *A Baghdad Chronicle*, p. 20.

11. A. D. Goode, *loc. cit.*, and the same author's "Exilarch," *UJE*, IV (New York 1941), 208; cf. also the list of Geonim and their terms of office in S. Assaf, "Geonim," *EJ*, VII, 275-77. An Arab legend also suggests a change occurred in the exilarchic dynasty at the time of the extinction of the Umayyads. According to this tale Merwan, the last Umayyad caliph, found extreme displeasure in an act of the exilarch of his day. This Jewish prince is reported to have given his king a fragment of a magic mirror which revealed such offensive information to the Caliph that Merwan ordered the mirror discarded and the exilarch executed. But the same mirror came into the possession of the second caliph of the 'Abbasid dynasty, Al-Manṣur, who utilized it for the purpose of discovering the hiding-place of his rival, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullah of the family of 'Ali, whom he promptly put out of the way; I. Goldziher, "Renseignements de source musulmane sur la dignité de Resch-galuta," *REJ*, VIII (1884), 123-24. This tale may reflect the fall of the ruling Jewish house at the time of the collapse of Umayyad power in 750 and the rise of the Persian line with the ascendancy of their kinsmen, the 'Abbasids. Jewish sources report nothing of such events.

for the succession. However, because of his independence and possibly sectarian tendencies, 'Anan was passed over by the academies in favor of his younger and less assertive brother Hananiah. This selection was vigorously opposed by 'Anan, who in consequence was eventually imprisoned. He escaped execution (about 767) only by making formal declaration that he was the leader of a separate sect.¹²

In these years of challenge to the succession (763-66) two other aspirants came forward to claim exilarchic dignity and succeeded in gaining and holding office simultaneously if only for a short while. One was Natronai b. Ḥabibai (Ḥakhinai), also a disciple of Yehudai's and a scion of the "pure" Jewish line of descent from Bustanai; the other was Zakkai b. Aḥunai of the Persian branch, known also as Baboi in addition to his Hebrew name Judah.¹³ However, as the result of initiative by the Gaon Malka (who may have been close to court circles) Natronai was soon deposed by the two academies acting in concert with Judah (Baboi) Zakkai. Thereupon he emigrated to the West. The critical document describing this latest turn of events is a somewhat cryptic paragraph in Sherira Gaon's well-known *Epistle*: "After him there functioned [as Gaon of Pumbeditha] Malka b. Mar Rav Aḥa from 770. He [had] deposed Natronai b. Ḥabibai as Exilarch (nasi) in the conflict over Zakkai b. Aḥunai. He [Natronai?] had been exilarch for some years previously. But the two Academies assembled in joint session together with Exilarch Zakkai and deposed him. Malka died and the Exilarch Natronai went to the West."

Variant readings give Natronai's father's name as Ḥakhinai and Zabinai; and have *Tsarfat* (France) and *Sefarad* (Spain) in place of *lama'arabh* (to the West) of our text for Natronai's place of settlement.¹⁴ From the standpoint of Baghdad any one of these designations

12. S. W. Baron, *History*, V, pp. 210-11, 388-89.

13. H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, 4th ed., V, pp. 438-41; S. W. Baron, *History*, V, p. 9; B. M. Lewin, *Otsar ha-Geonim*, VII, p. 39, no. 93; p. 40, no. 94; A. Marx, "The Importance of the Geniza," *PAAJR*, XVI (1947), 194, note 51.

14. Sherira Gaon, *Iggeret* ed. B. M. Lewin, p. 104. For full text and variants see Appendix V of this work, and cf. L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, p. 19. For a probable *Responsum* of Natronai, see L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, p. 294. Lewin finds government intervention in this series of events involving Natronai, B. M. Lewin, *Otsar*

would fit mid-eighth-century Narbonne which until 759 was politically part of Spain and later was incorporated into the March of Spain as part of the Frankish realm.

More difficult may be the determination of the exact date of Natronai's term of office and emigration to the West. Some scholars have linked Natronai's departure with Malka's death (in 772) because Sherira appears to join these two. This need not be so. Malka's action against Natronai may even have preceded his appointment as gaon in 770. In any event, it would not be at all surprising if Sherira (who recorded these events two centuries after their occurrence), or his source, made an error of three or four years in their dating and chronology because of the great confusion in the order of exilarchic succession at this time.¹⁵

The Frank mission to Baghdad arrived just in the midst of this series of upheavals in the Jewish community. Its central concern was for possible joint action against Umayyad Spain. However, this inevitably involved the Jewry of Narbonne and Pepin's pledge for a ruler of their own. The Frank ambassadors must have carried with them instructions from their king in this matter. In 766-67 these directives might well appear to Muslim and Jewish leaders to run parallel with a permanent "solution" of the raging Jewish problem. A ready made answer to all interests seemed to be at hand in the establishment of the deposed Natronai as Exilarch of the Jews in the distant West; while the Caliph would secure a permanent and trustworthy liaison officer on the spot in the Kingdom of the Franks within the border areas of Spain.

In the year 768 the Frank mission returned from Baghdad accompanied by Al-Manşur's ambassadors laden with gifts. The delegation entered the realm of the Franks at Marseilles. Clearly they covered the last leg of their journey by sea although their point of embarkation is unknown. Now a report of Natronai's journey to the West tells of his

ha-Geonim, I, p. 20. Baron says that the new 'Abbasid ruler Al-Manşur appointed Zakkai bar Akhunai of the Persian line of exilarchs after 767, *History*, V, p. 9.

15. In dating Anan's schism Makrizi, drawing from an old source, differs from Sherira's date also to the extent of three to four years, his 758 corresponding to Sherira's 761-62. See H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, V, p. 439 who, however, follows Sherira.

arrival *bikefitsat haderekh*, in miraculously short time; and adds that he did not travel by caravan and no one caught sight of him on the way.¹⁶ In all likelihood then Natronai also came by sea and, to judge from subsequent events, the deposed Nasi of the Jews must have been a member of this joint Frank-Muslim mission from Baghdad.

Natronai is renowned for his scholarly achievements in the West. He is reputed to have written out the entire Talmud from memory for Western Jews.¹⁷ His settlement in the Kingdom of the Franks may be related to the claim that the Western exilarchs were of "purer" blood than those in the East who were descended from the captive Persian princess.¹⁸ Natronai's "exile" to the West may even have been at government order.

16. דובר ברור ומפורסם לאנשי ספרד ואשר מסורת בידם מאבותיהם כי מר נטרונאי גאון ז'ל בקפיצת הדרך בא אליהם מבבל ורבץ תורה וחזר וכי לא בא בשיירה ולא נראה בדרך... נטרונאי נשיא בר הכינאי והוא שכתב לבני ספרד את התלמוד משיו שלא מן הכתב. Quoted by J. Schor (ed.), *Sefer ha'Ittim* [Yhudah Barzilai Al-Barceloni, Introduction p. xi-xii, who identifies this Natronai with b. Zabibai; cf. p. 256. B. M. Lewin, *Otsar ha-Geonim*, I, p. 20. Natronai "Gaon" apparently is an error for Natronai Nasi.

17. See preceding note and cf. N. N. Coronel, *Zekher Natan*, pp. 134a, 152, 154; H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, 4th ed., V, p. 441, note 3; S. W. Baron, *History*, V, pp. 46-47; 258-59.

18. A Geniza text tells of a Davidic family, residing in a district called Nams, who are known as B'nai Marawatha. These are not of the family of Bustanai. They are called such because of the purity of their descent, the freedom of their family from "that blemish," their name signifying that they are princes descended from David. They are beloved in those parts while the people of Baghdad hate the family of Bustanai because of the blemish; George Margoliouth, "Some British Museum Geniza Texts," *JQR*, o.s. XIV (1901-02), 304-06. The name Marwan (Merwan) appears in the East in the ninth century and then in twelfth-century southern France, M. Steinschneider, "Introduction to Arabic Literature," *JQR*, o.s. XI (1899), 147; cf. B. Z. Benedict, "R. Moses b. Joseph [b. Merwan Levi] of Narbonne," (Hebrew), *Tarbiz*, XIX (1947-48), 19-34. An exilarch son of Marawatha Natronai Exilarch is recorded in communication with Kairouan in the ninth century:

הסדאי ריש גלותא בריה דמרותא נטרונאי ר'ג לרבנא נתן בריה דרבנא חנניה לכל תשובות *ha-Geonim*, ed. A. Harkavy, p. 389; cf. S. A. Poznański, "Men of Kairouan (Hebrew)," *Festschrift Harkavy*, p. 218. A. D. Goode lists an Exilarch Natronai and his son Hisdai for the years ca. 840-65, ca. 865-80, respectively, in Baghdad, *UJE*, IV, 208; *JQR*, XXXI (1940-41), 158-59. According to Sambari's *Chronicle*, a caliph's daughter in 984 (985)

There are also tales which may be associated with Natronai. A Natronai is reputed to be an avenger for the Jews against Rome. The eleventh-century Arab historian Ibn Hazm scoffs at the tradition that one of the Jewish sages travelled from Baghdad to Cordoba in a single day and horned an enemy of his people. Obviously, Natronai's advent in the West created a great stir among the Jews, as the arrival of a distinguished scholar-prince might well do. He is reported to have returned to the East.¹⁹

But if Natronai was the first Nasi of the West in the Carolingian Age, what of Makhir whom the "Appendix" to *ShK* identifies as the scholar-prince who immigrated from Baghdad?

It is well known that the exilarchs of Baghdad frequently had at least two names—a familiar Persian or Aramaic name (like Natronai) and a formal Hebrew-biblical name. Natronai's opponent Zakkai also bore the name Baboi while his Hebrew biblical name was Judah. For the Jewry of the West the Nasi's biblical name would be far more familiar and certainly more acceptable in a Christian environment which deliberately created biblical and classical names for prominent persons at court.²⁰ *Makhir* would emphasize the biblical lineage of *Natronai*. In time the biblical *Makhir* (assuming this was Natronai's Hebrew name) might completely supplant the less significant *Natronai* in the West, at least in Hebrew literature. This does not rule out his assumption of a local Latin (or Greek) or Frank name in addition.

Pepin apparently recognized Natronai-Makhir as Nasi of the Jews in his lands and, together with Charles and Carloman, allotted to him allodial²¹ hereditaments as his princedom in the South. This grant may

advised her Egyptian husband to institute in his capital the dignity of Nagid after the example of the Babylonian exilarch; E. N. Adler, "An Eleventh Century Introduction to the Hebrew Bible," *JQR*, o.s. IX (1897), 670; *MJC*, I, pp. 115-16; II, p. 129; A. Neubauer, "Egyptian Fragments," App. I, *JQR*, o.s. VIII (1896), 552; J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, I, 251-52; see D. Neustadt, "Some Problems concerning the 'Negidut', *Zion*, IV, 126-49, and the comment on Neustadt's unduly negative conclusions by S. W. Baron, *History*, V, 38, 308. See this text, note 22, p. 60.

19. *Pesikta Rabbati*, ed. M. Friedmann, 15; *Yalkut*, Shemot, 191. See this work, p. 81, note 16.

20. See this text, p. 120.

21. Allod is free property subject to none of the usual dues or restrictions at the

have taken place around Easter before the final pacification of Aquitaine. In that case its implementation was contingent on Natronai-Makhir's active and successful participation in the campaign. The execution of the grant may have been carried out only at war's end, at the time usually assigned by scholars for promulgation of the so-called Capitulary for Aquitaine.²² It is to be expected that in either case the Frank kings' cession would be properly recorded in an official document. None such has been preserved.

Yet even a cursory examination of the Capitulary for Aquitaine makes clear that it contains substantial privileges, hardly the kind of concessions that a conqueror like Pepin would be inclined to grant the stubborn Aquitaine folk after two generations of resistance to his father and himself. A more to be expected reaction was Charlemagne's; he is reported to have abolished the title Duke of Aquitaine in 769.²³

One provision of the Capitulary in particular excites suspicion. Article 8 guarantees unhampered right of appeal directly to the king: "Si aliquis homo ante nos se reclamaverit, licenciam habeat ad nos venire, et nullus eum per fortia deteneat." Oelsner has pointed out how widely this section departs from Salic law which penalizes the litigant who refuses to accept judgment of the court. The convicted person may appeal only on the claim of error. If he fails to prove his point he must give compensation.²⁴

By way of contrast two mandates of Louis le Débonnaire, of approximately 825, grant to the Jews the right of appeal to the emperor and, in fact, provide for unmediated imperial jurisdiction: "Moreover,

time of sale; cf. H. Dübeld, "Allodium dans les textes latins du moyen-âge," *MA*, LVII (1951), 241-46. See this work, p. 57, and p. 96, note 49.

22. *Capitularia regum francorum*, I, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH*, no. 18, pp. 42-43.

23. F. Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, VIII, Part 3, p. 117; cf. *idem*, *Urgeschichte*, III, 957.

24. L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . König Pippin*, pp. 417, 243-44. The only permissible instance of an appeal to the king in Germanic law is a case of injustice; "Ut si aliquis voluerit dicere, quod iuste ei non iudicetur, tunc in praesentia nostra veniant. Aliter vero non praesumat in praesentia nostra venire pro alterius iustitia dilatandum"; *Lex Baiuvariorum*. Capitularia ad legem Baiuvariorum addita ed. K. A. Eckhardt, *Die Gesetze des Karolingerreiches 714-911*, II p. 186, § 7.

if any cases at law against them concerning their property or slaves should arise or take place which cannot be decided locally without serious and unjust loss, let them be suspended or kept for our Presence where they may receive final sentence according to law."²⁵

Article 7 lays upon the convicted thief or robber the obligation to make threefold restitution "according to his own law." These concluding words seem to have little point here. On the other hand Emperor Henry IV's charter for the Jewries of Worms and Spire in 1090 (which had Carolingian origins), when granting application of their own law, punishes forcible expropriation of their property with twofold restitution plus a fine of one pound gold.²⁶ ~

Reminiscent of Carolingian diplomas for Jews is in fact the repetition in the Aquitaine Capitulary of the phrase "in accordance with his own law" (*secundum suam legem*) or the equivalent. Although such a privilege was by no means limited to Jews, this is a distinctive feature of Carolingian and later Jewry privileges. Another section of the Capitulary imposes the obligation upon the recipients of royal grants of land to provide for their proper cultivation under threat of losing possession (§ 5). It is clear that Pepin was concerned to encourage immigration into Frankia (§ 10) just as the *Milhemet Mitsvah* imputes to the Frank King.²⁷

Of special interest finally is the provision (§ 12) that the King's *missi* together with the seigneurs of the land may make final decisions in

25. "Quod si etiam aliquae causae adversum eos (sc. Hebreos) de rebus vel mancipia eorum surrexerint vel orte fuerint, que infra patriam absque gravi et iniquo dispendio definite esse nequiverint, usque in praesentiam nostram sint suspensae vel conservatae, qualiter ibi secundum legem finitivam accipiant sententiam"; *Formulae Imperiales*, ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH, Legum sectio V*, no. 31, p. 310:29-32; cf. no. 52, p. 325:26-30.

26. "Si quis vero contra hoc edictum aliquam violenciam eis intulerit, cogatur persolvere ad palatii nostri erarium sive ad cameram episcopi libram I auri, rem quoque, quam eis abstulerat, dupliciter restituat"; *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV* ed. D. v. Gladiss, *MGH, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, VI part 2, no. 411, p. 546:29, 31; no. 412, p. 548:33-35. On the Carolingian sources see *ibid.*, p. 544 and G. Kisch, "Jewry Law of Medieval Jewish Law Books," *PAAJR*, X (1940), 137.

27. See this text, p. 65.

matters military and religious concerning which no one may then challenge their judgment.²⁸

Suspicion seems well-founded that this Capitulary which has come down without superscription may not lie before us in its original form. F. L. Ganshof has pointed out that in fact no Carolingian capitularies have been preserved in the original or even in a copy of which one could be sure that it derives directly from the original.²⁹ In its present form the Capitulary of 768 may preserve echoes of a royal grant to the Jews of the South and their recently arrived Prince.³⁰

28. Pippini Capitulare Aquitanicum. 768. "Incipiunt capitula quas bone memorie genitor Pipinus sinodaliter [instituit] et nos ab omnibus conservare volumus.

"1. Ut illas ecclesias Dei qui deserti sunt restaurentur tam episcopi quam abates vel illi laici homines qui exinde benefitium habent.

"2. Ut illi episcopi, abbates, abbatissas sub ordine sancto vivant.

"3. Ut quicquid episcopi, abbates vel abbatissas vel reliqui sacerdotes de rebus ecclesiarum ad eorum opus habent, quieto ordine possideant, sicut in nostra synodo iam constitutum fuit; et si quis exinde postea aliquid abtraxit, sub integritate reddat.

"4. Ut ad illos pauperes homines magis non tollant nisi quantum legitime reddere debent.

"5. Quicumque nostrum beneficium habet, bene ibi labore et condigat; et qui hoc facere non vult, dimittat ipsum beneficium et teneant suas res proprias.

"6. Quicumque in itinere pergit aut hostiliter vel ad placitum, nulla super suum pare praendat, nisi emere aut praecare potuerit, excepto herba, aqua et ligna; si vero talis tempus fuerit, mansionem nullus vetet.

"7. Quicumque homo super suum parem, dum ad nos fuerit, aliquid abstraxerit aut exfortiaverit, secundum suam legem tripliter conponat.

"8. Si aliquis homo ante nos se reclamaverit, licenciam habeat ad nos venire, et nullus eum per fortia deteneat.

"9. De illis beneficiis unde intentio est volumus, ut ipsi eos habeant quibus antea dedimus.

"10. Ut omnes homines eorum legis habeant, tam Romani quam et Salici, et si de alia provincia advenerit, secundum legem ipsius patriae vivat.

"11. Ut omnes laici et seculares qui res ecclesiae tenent precarias inde accipiant.

"12. Ut quicquid missi nostri cum illis senioribus patriae ad nostrum profectum vel sanctae ecclesiae melius consenserint, nullus contendere hoc praesumat." *Capitularia regum francorum*, I, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH*, no. 18, pp. 42-43.

29. F. L. Ganshof, "Recherches sur les capitulaires," *RHDFE*, XXXV (1957), 71.

30. G. Caro considered it a likely assumption that a Carolingian king ("Karl") did in fact grant to Makhir landed property in association with a *privilegium* of protection. He sees in the act the origin of a Jewish allod near Narbonne known as

This may be the grant which provoked the virulent reaction of Stephen's communication "To Archbishop Aribert and to all the magnates of Septimania and Spain."³¹ The papal missive makes clear that the grant was far more extensive than merely one-third of Narbonne (as the *Gesta* claims) although it was hardly so vast as the *Gesta's* description of the cession to "Aymeri" which stretched from Lyons on the Rhone to Barcelona. Closer to the extent of territory apparently in the mind of Pope Stephen might be the borderlands comprising the Toulousain (Southern Aquitaine), Septimania, and the area to be known later as the March of Spain (approximately Narbonne to Barcelona). The Capitulary for Aquitaine may then perhaps reflect portions of the lost Carolingian *privilegium* of 768 which, while ceding this area as the domain of the Nasi of the Jews, defined their constitutional rights and status.

Establishment by the Carolingians of a Jewish principate or principedom in Southern Frankland within the borderlands of Spain and the coastlands of the Mediterranean must be seen also in its international diplomatic implications. For Narbonne or Spanish Jewry to resign themselves to Umayyad suzerainty meant to dam themselves off from the mainstream of Jewish cultural and spiritual life originating in the 'Abbasid Caliphate. Their natural orbit was about the center of gravity in Baghdad. 'Abd ar-Rahman's consolidation of power in Spain in 755 was as great a threat to Narbonne Jewry as to Pepin. Clearly they had reason to favor an East-West coalition, particularly since both Eastern as well as Western ("Roman" or "Frank") Jews were doubtless living together behind its walls. They could, although perhaps with some difficulty, maintain contact with both sides. As soon as a Carolingian-'Abbasid rapprochement might be effected, Narbonne Jewry, as loyal subjects of the Caliph and the Exilarch who sat in his council, were obligated to support their Muslim overlord's Western ally—the King of the Franks. The common enemy was clearly the Umayyad garrison within the citadel. Their "price" for the surrender of the fortress was a ruler of their own in the Southland. In return they

villa Judaica enclosing in its boundaries vineyards and salt pits, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 144, 473.

31. See this text, pp. 50-58 and Appendix II.

would have to assume the responsibility for a leadership role of an offensive-defensive nature in the borderlands of Spain. How should the major powers—the Caliph of the East and the King of the Franks—relate themselves to such an eventuality?

In return for the help of his loyal Jewish subjects, both those already in Narbonne and others who would soon immigrate there, the Caliph might well require of Pepin pledges of Carolingian aid against 'Abd ar-Rahman. In addition he could insure his lordship over certain conquered areas of Spain through the agency of his official, the Nasi, and the Jewish community in Frankia. Furthermore, a Carolingian-recognized Jewish prince in the Narbonnaise could be expected to effect diplomatic liaison as well as represent 'Abbasid interests in the distant West. At the same time he might succeed in drawing the Spanish Jewries from behind the Pyrenees into the orbit of Narbonne and the East to which they had but recently belonged.

Yet why should Pepin agree before 759 to a Jewish principality in the Narbonnaise under possibly common suzerainty of the world ruler in the East and himself? Truth to tell he had little choice. In 753 he stood helpless before Narbonne's impregnable walls, with Septimania in the rear out of control, Aquitaine in front seething in revolt, and 'Abd ar-Rahman awaited momentarily from across the Pyrenees with reinforcements for Narbonne which were likely to threaten the entire Southwest. Charles Martel's victory over the Saracens between Tours and Poitiers in October 732 had not prevented the invaders from sacking Avignon in 734 and pillaging Lyons in 743. In fact, at the death of Charles Martel in 741, the Muslims occupied all of Septimania: the former Visigothic March passed completely under Saracen tutelage. The apparently successful revolt of the Goths in Nîmes in 753 could have indicated to Pepin how precarious had become his position in Septimania. He would be relinquishing little that he actually held if he granted home rule in the Toulousain and Narbonnaise to a foreign Jewish prince, emissary of the caliph in the far-distant East.³² An equal

32. On Islamic expansion into Septimania, A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, pp. 270, 275, 282; cf. Harry W. Hazard, *Atlas of Islamic History*, Princeton Oriental Studies, XII, p. 8.

Narbonne, the keystone of Saracen occupation in southern France, was of course

division of Narbonne town would translate joint political power into topographical actuality.

The international dynamics required that the Jews of Narbonne favor a Carolingian-'Abbasid understanding and, once the rapprochement had become a reality, align themselves with the Frank ally of their caliph. In return they would be called upon to play a delicate diplomatic, military, and political role in the borderlands between Islam and Christianity. The circumstances called for a highly privileged constitutional status. This seems to be the background for the decision of the Jews and the action of the Carolingians which eventuated in the establishment, by Pepin and his sons in 768, of a Jewish principedom in the Southland along the coasts of the Mediterranean and on the borders of Spain.

The international situation helps to clarify the policy of Pepin and his sons which impelled them to establish a Jewish principate in

within the caliphate during the four decades preceding 759. Doubtless during that time the Exilarch of Baghdad held the distant Narbonne Jewry within the orbit of his power. In 750, the leader of the Jewish community in Fustat was also a Babylonian, Abu-'Ali Hasan of Baghdad; Israel Abrahams, "An Eighth Century Geniza Fragment," *JQR* o.s., XVII (1905), 426-30; cf. Jacob Mann, "The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim," *JQR*, VII (1916-17), 477; XI (1920-21), 433; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, p. 2. But cf. also J. Mann, "Responsa," *JQR*, X (1919-20), 361.

Toward the end of 759, after vanquishing Yussuf who had kept a second front alive in Spain, 'Abd ar-Rahman did indeed send an official into Frankland via Toulouse to rule as wali of Narbonne; Fr. Codera, "Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99. No doubt an army accompanied him. This attempt to relieve and hold Narbonne must have come too late. Narbonne had just passed into 'Abbasid-Jewish-Frank control.

The Arab writer al-Munim al-Himyari claims that Narbonne remained under Muslim domination until 330 AH/941-42. In the same year, other towns and strongholds [on the Spanish border] likewise were withdrawn from Muslim control; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, pp. 16-17.

In a colorful picture of the army of David riding out to battle against the Arameans the *Psalterium aureum*, a ninth-century illuminated Psalter of the Abbey St. Gall (MS no. 22) written throughout in gold ink, represents the Israelite battle standard as a fire-spouting dragon (or serpent) narrowing into an arrowhead tail; J. R. Rahn, *Das Psalterium Aureum von Sanct Gallen*, Plate X, corresponding to p. 140 of the manuscript. Rahn thinks this picture depicts actual ninth-century scenes; p. 33. The dragon's head and tail are ('Abbasid?) green, its body interlarded with red.

Southern Frankia that was politically aligned with the Caliphate of Baghdad. There remains to be analyzed the attitude of Pope Stephen III who attacked with such wrath the land grant and Jewish statutes of the Frank kings.³³

The employment of Christians in the service of Jews was hardly the major cause of the pontiff's vexation. It appears from Stephen's epistle that this may, in fact, have been going on for some time. The mere possession of landed property by the Jews of Narbonne doubtless antedated Bishop Aribert's charges. In the pre-Arab period the church at Narbonne had owned considerable land, which however was lost under Muslim rule: the church was destroyed, and all its realty in the environs divided up among Saracens and former residents, or else annexed to the realm. The Jews too, in all likelihood, were beneficiaries of this land-division policy. Yet, with the restoration of Frank control, Bishop Aribert and Pope Stephen must have hoped for the return of the *status quo ante* and the restitution of its former property to the church. Instead, both prelates had cause to lament that the Carolingian kings ceded to "rebels of God" hereditary freeholds in both "towns and suburbs," and this on a grand scale, "within the boundaries and territories of Christians," that is, presumably, even lands that had once belonged to the church.³⁴

This in itself may have been sufficient cause for dismay. But it is now clear that the Jews' hereditary allodial tenure over considerable areas was only the external feature of a highly privileged constitutional status. Is it possible that this Jewish status was, as well, the root cause for alarm? Such a conclusion may also help to explain the epistle's reference to the Jews' "blasphemous talk" in the presence of Christians.

The *Addendum* of *ShK* refers consistently to Makhir and his descendants as a dynasty of princes (*nesi'im*) whose power and position in Narbonne was virtually identical with that of the exilarchs of

33. See this text, pp. 50-58.

34. J. Régne has traced a *villa Judaica* in the Narbonnaise back to the sixth, and possibly even fifth, century; *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 172. Pepin evidently extended also to conquered Aquitaine the policy of secularization of church property. The Capitulary for Aquitaine of 768 is evidence for a "divisio" of ecclesiastical estates there in §§ 3, 1, 11; See this text, p. 85, note 28. E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, II, Part 1, 64.

Babylonia: "Furthermore, he (Makhir) and his dynasty were among the leaders of their time, rulers [an allusion to Gen. 49:10] and judges in all the lands, virtual exilarchs (*k'mo rashé galiyot*), shepherding Israel with faithfulness and skill."

Several generations on two sides of Makhir's dynasty bore the title prince (*nasi*). Moreover, "There were in Narbonne great scholars, Heads of the Academy, ordained [by] and obedient to the Principate (*lan'siut*), as were the Heads of the Academies in Babylon to the Exilarch (*Prosh hagolah*)."³⁵

This description of the power of the exilarchs of Babylonia fits the actual situation only until the tenth century, by which time the exilarchs' earlier very considerable power and authority over the *ge'onim* had been circumscribed. Caliph Al-Mamun's decree *ca.* 825 struck a blow at the exilarch's exclusive competence by permitting any ten Jews (also Christians or Magians) to elect their own religious head. The edict was considerably narrowed soon after; nevertheless the Gaon Samuel b. 'Ali assigns to the end of the ninth century the exilarchs' fall from monarchical power. In addition, the Academies of Sura and Pumbeditha (latter located in Baghdad by the end of the tenth century) began to challenge the far-flung authority of the exilarchs and, in time, wrested from them the right to appoint judges in specified provinces. In the end, the exilarchs retained control only in the Eastern Caliphate: over Jewries in Babylonia, Persia, Khorasan, Yemen, and regions in the Caucasus and Siberia.³⁶

But for the period from the middle of the seventh to the tenth century, when the exilarchs of Baghdad functioned in fact as hereditary monarchs of the Jewish nation throughout the Caliphate, the Jews emphasized at every opportunity the regal dignity and monarchical power of the exilarchic office. Michael Syrus remarks that Jews in the Caliphate called their chiefs "kings" and these enjoyed hereditary succession.³⁷ The exilarchs referred to themselves as kings. One boasted in the eighth century that he was the seventieth generation in direct descent from King David, and that his fellow Jews recognized the pre-

35. See Appendix III, p. 385:48-49, this work; *MJC*, I, pp. 82-83.

36. S. W. Baron, *History*, V, pp. 9-13.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

rogatives which his royal descent conferred. The elaborate pomp and studied splendor of an exilarchic election and inauguration convey the impression of a coronation. The chroniclers took especial delight in elaborating on these ceremonies which, like Nathan the Babylonian in the tenth century, they may have witnessed.³⁸ Preceding the exilarch's inaugural address in the synagogue, the precentor's introduction and blessing emphasized the monarchical aspects of his office: "Our King, our Prince, the great Prince, Head of the Dispersion of all Israel . . . May his throne be established in mercy and may he sit upon it in truth . . . Let their King pass before them . . . And a shoot shall spring forth from the stock of Jesse . . . Praised be He who delightest in thee to set thee upon Israel's throne . . . May He establish thee as King to do justice and the right."³⁹

In consequence, it would be most natural for the Jews of Narbonne in the eighth century to speak of their exilarch in Baghdad as King, and for the title *resh galuta* ("Head of the Exile," "exilarch") to be translated *rex Judeorum*. Moreover, that exilarch's son or other legitimate prince of the Davidic family in Baghdad, who should be invited to Narbonne in order to establish a principate here, would just as readily acquire the title prince or king; especially if he had power approximating that of the exilarch, as the "Appendix" in *ShK* claims for the Nasi of Narbonne. Moreover, it was no unusual practice for the Carolingian rulers to recognize as "kings" certain chieftains of foreign peoples within their empire, provided these "commended" themselves into the hands of the sovereigns.

According to Odegaard, an act of commendation was the accepted form by which foreign or semi-independent princes would place themselves under Carolingian suzerainty. Commendation assured loyalty to the sovereign and involved subjection only of an honorable nature. We may conclude that this permitted the foreign chieftain to retain his rank and status vis à vis his own subjects. Thus Witzin, prince of the

38. *MJC*, II, pp. 77-88; A. Epstein, "Sources for the History of the Geonim and the Babylonian Academies," Hebrew section, pp. 164-74; S. W. Baron, *History*, VI, 214; 430-31. I. Goldziher, "Renseignements de source musulmane," *REJ* o.s., VIII (1884), 125 (an exilarch of the seventieth generation since David).

39. S. Assaf, "Portions of a Benediction for the Exilarch Hisdai b. David," (Hebrew), *Ginzé Kēdem*, IV (1930), 63-64.

Slavic Abodriti, while in the service of Charlemagne retained the title king until the day of his death in 795: *vassum domni regis Wizzin regem Abotridarum*. In some sources, Witzin is entitled *princeps* or *dux*. In the course of a military expedition into Saxon territory in 789, Charlemagne granted peace to several Slavic kings after they had placed their lands under his domination and commended themselves to him. There is little doubt that they retained their titles afterward as in the instance of Witzin. Zaton, prefect of Barcelona, commended himself and his city to Charlemagne in 797. He doubtless continued to govern Barcelona in his former capacity, only now he was the *fidelis* of the Frankish King. Harold, exiled King of the Danes, commended himself into the hands of Louis the Pious in 814 and certainly retained his title for whatever it was worth. For another instance of a princedom within the empire, there is the act of Charles the Bald who permitted Respogius Duke of Brittany to retain what was virtually a separate realm, after he had performed the act of commendation to his sovereign. Throughout the period of Carolingian dominance in Gascony there ruled here the Aznars, a family of native dukes or princes (*principes*), who held authority over this region by hereditary right. In 850 and 852 Sánchez is called *dux* of Gascony. According to Lewis the office of count and especially duke (equivalent of prince) in the Midi of the Carolingians conferred the authority of a sub-king on its possessor.⁴⁰

Just such a relationship of commendation may have been entered into by the Jews of Narbonne with the Carolingians.⁴¹ The mandates

40. C. E. Odegaard, *Vassi and Fideles in the Carolingian Empire*, pp. 4-5, 61; on Witzin pp. 38-40 and notes; on the others pp. 61-63. On Gascony, A. R. Lewis, *Southern French and Catalan Society*, p. 104; on comital authority, pp. 53-55.

41. In the *Gesta*, Charlemagne says to the Jews "*ego vos recipio in mei jurisdictione et custodia*," p. 178, line 2350. According to Odegaard, *op. cit.*, pp. 5; 134, note 201; p. 137, note 224, a shortened expression like *suscipere* might be used in a technical sense to express the act of the seigneur when establishing the relationship of *commendatio* and *fidelitas*. Also, men who commended themselves for service to the king were commonly called *fideles*, *ibid.*, p. 56. Among these were various foreign princes who admitted their subservience to the Carolingian king, *ibid.*, p. 68. In a broad sense, *fideles* included all who were faithful to the church and to the king. In a more limited sense, the term designated a much narrower group of men who actually approached the king and served him. Many texts suggest a connection between royal service and *fideles*, *ibid.*, pp. 54-55, 292-96.

of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire ca. 825 in fact designate as *commendatio* the relationship between sovereign and Jews.⁴² There is an unanticipated consequence of the establishment of a Jewish princedom in southern Frankia in the eighth century, to which we must now turn. The anxiety of Bishop Aribert and Pope Stephen was probably directly related to the rise of such a domain in Septimania.

For theological reasons the Davidic ancestry and monarchical power of the exilarchs were of vital importance to Jews, especially in Christian lands. For they would point to the rule of a Jewish king as corroborative evidence that Messiah had not yet come. Thereby they could undermine the Christian claim for the Messiahship of Jesus. They derived such a conclusion from the traditional exegesis of Genesis 49:10. "The scepter (of royal power) shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet until Shiloh cometh." Jewish tradition referred the "scepter" to the monarchy of the Babylonian exilarchs, while the "ruler's staff" symbolized the quasi-royal sway of the patriarchs of Roman Palestine, both of whom claimed Davidic (Judaic) lineage. They were expected to yield up their rule only to King-

42. All the Jews who are the beneficiaries of the royal acts cited stand in the relationship of *commendatio* and are designated *fideles* in some form:

a) Abraham of Saragossa: "ad nostram veniens praesentiam, in manibus nostris se commendavit, et eum sub sermone tuitionis nostre recepimus ac retinemus . . . liceat illi sub mundeburdo et defensione nostra quiete vivere et partibus palatii nostri fideliter deservire"; *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 52, p. 325:9, 10, 16, 17.

b) Rabbi Domatus and his nephew Samuel: "notum sit, quia istos Hebreos, Domatum rabbi et Samuelem, nepotem eius, sub nostra defensione suscepimus ac retinemus . . . Et hoc vobis notum esse volumus, ut iam, quia suprascriptos Hebreos sub mundeburdo et defensione nostra suscepimus, quicumque in morte eorum, quamdiu nobis fideles extiterint . . ." *Ibid.*, no. 30, p. 309:4-5, 28; p. 310:1-2.

c) David, Joseph, and their peers in Lyons: "sub nostra defensione suscepimus ac retinemus . . . liceat eis sub mundeburdo et defensione nostra quiete vivere et partibus palatii nostri fideliter deservire . . . Et hoc omnibus vobis notum esse volumus [the rest is identical with the preceding formula]." *Ibid.*, no. 31, p. 310:9, 32-35.

The last two formulae are dated before 825.

Messiah ("Shiloh") when he should come.⁴³ Consequently, as long as a Jewish prince exercised monarchical power, the Jews could claim that Messiah had not yet come. In this way, they adduced a political reality as support for their rejection of Christianity. That political reality could also be utilized for any influence they might exert on the thinking of Christians.

Apparently referring to this doctrine, Jerome (340–420), who lived in Palestine and was acquainted with Jewish interpretation of Scripture, stated: "Jews say: The Lord swore that a leader or prince of the seed of David will not fail among them. [Claiming] this is now their Patriarchs, they say: Behold, unto this day has the Lord-kept His promise unto us."⁴⁴

Later Christian prelates were by no means so noncommittal about this Jewish claim in the light of its theological implications for the Messiahship of Jesus. Thus Isidore, Bishop of Seville (600–36): "With persistent and shameless effrontery, the Jews say that this Time is not yet fulfilled, claiming that a king (I know not whom) of the tribe of Judah possesses a kingdom in the far distant East." Similarly, Julian of Toledo, attacking the Jews in 686, repeated this statement almost verbatim.⁴⁵

43. The traditional exegesis of Genesis 49:10 in *Talmud babil* Sanhedrin 5a: « לא יסור שבט מיהודה » אלו ראשי גליות שבבבל שרודין את ישראל בשבט. « ומחוקק מנין » רגליו » אלו בני בניו של הלל שמלמדין תורה ברבים. For a similar passage, Horayot 11b; cf. A. Posnanski, *Schiloh*, I, pp. 28–34. The numerical value of the letters "Shiloh cometh" יבא שילה equals the *gematria* of "Messiah" משיח, namely 358.

44. "Iudaei dicunt, quod Dominus cum iuramento promiserit, ut de semine David non deficiat in eis dux sive princeps, quod nunc patriarchae eorum et dicunt: Ecce usque hodie custodit Dominus iuramentum suum nobis." Sancti Hieronimi presbyteri *Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos* . . . De Psalmo LXXXVIII, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III, 3 (ed. G. Morin), pp. 51–52.

45. Isidore of Seville in discussing Genesis 49:10 declares that the coming of Jesus coincided with the disappearance of native Jewish kings of Judah's tribe, *De fide catholica*, I, 8, 2, *PL*, LXXXIII, col. 464 (see editor's note here on Julian of Toledo). He then says: "Iudaei autem perveracia impudicae frontis dicunt nondum esse id tempus expletum, mentientes nescio quem regem ex genere Judae in extremis Orientis partibus regnum tenere." Julian of Toledo repeats the same arguments at somewhat greater length, *De comprobatione aetatis sexta contra Iudaeos*, I, 19–21, *PL*, XCVI, col. 552–54. S. Katz properly identifies this king as the Exilarch in Babylonia, *Jews in . . . Spain and Gaul*, pp. 77–78; cf. B. Blumen-

In the Carolingian Age Paschase Radbert, Abbot of Corbie until his death in 865, interpreted Genesis 49:10 as follows: "There shall not lack a prince of Judah nor a duke of his loins, until there comes he to whom it has been promised instead."

Attacking the Jews' claim of a king in the East substantially in the same words as did Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo, Paschase continues in an endeavor to refute any notion that a king of the Jews might have a genuine realm also closer to home and in his own time (Frankia ca. 790 to 856-59):

There remains then no room for thinking, [Paschase charges in his *Commentary on Matthew*], that in any part of the earth whatsoever they might now have a king of the tribe of Judah since the prophet (Hosea 3:4) when he promised *the children of Israel shall dwell without altar and without sacrifice* concluded thus *without king and without prince*. Let them therefore show us temple and sacrifice or altar, then we shall be able to believe them in certain measure that perhaps they may have a king. Otherwise they are merely drawing the darkness of blindness over the perverseness of their mind. Especially since even if any king should now exist of the tribe of Judah, as they feign, they cannot deny that at that time [of Jesus' birth] he did not Furthermore, if now, as they say, some one has been found of their people who might hold a realm somewhere or other (which moreover has not been proven) it stands manifest that at that time a duke did not exist of Judah.⁴⁶

kranz, *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, p. 92, note 28. From another angle Isidore Bishop of Seville endeavored to demolish the Jews' argument based on a Jewish monarchy by claiming that Domitian had massacred every descendant of David, *Chronicon*, *MGH*, Auctores Antiquissimi, XI, p. 457; cf. Fredegarius, (Pseudo-) *Chronicon*, II, p. 37, *MGH*, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, II, 61; B. Blumenkranz, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-02.

46. "Nullus igitur eis restat locus mentiendi, quod in quibusdam partibus terrae de tribu Juda nunc habeant regem, quia propheta, sicut pollicitus est, *Sedebunt filii Israel sine altari et sine sacrificio*, ita interminatus est, *sine rege ac sine principe*. Ostendant ergo nobis templum et sacrificium, aut altare: tunc eis quodammodo credere valebimus, quod fortassis habeant regem. Alioquin sibi obducunt pervicaci mentis ingenio caliginem caecitatis. Cum praesertim si aliquis nunc, ut ipsi fingunt, de tribu Juda rex existeret, negare non possunt, quod tunc defecerit . . . etiamsi nunc, ut aiunt, aliquis invenitur ex eis qui regnum teneat alicubi (quod penitus non probatur), manifeste constat tunc ducem ex Juda ideo defecisse." S. Paschasii

The implications of a Jewish principate as challenge for the Messiahship of Jesus explain the caustic remarks of Peter the Venerable of Cluny before 1143. In his attack Peter derisively demanded of them, on the basis of Genesis 49:10, to produce a king of the House of Judah or, at the least, a duke. Continuing, he declared: "As for me, I will not accept that king (as something worthy of ridicule) whom some of you claim to have in Narbonne, the city in Gaul, others in Rouen. I will not accept a Jew as King of the Jews except one residing in and ruling the Kingdom of the Jews [namely, Palestine]."⁴⁷

This document is older than any of the Hebrew sources discussed above and also antedates the compilation of the *Gesta* by more than a century. Hence, it is independent of all of these. Nevertheless, by the twelfth century the Nasi of Narbonne had surrendered most of the real power he possessed in the Carolingian Age.

Initiating the charge of ritual murder in 1144 against the Jews of Norwich, the Cambridge monk Theobald, a convert from Judaism, declared: "Wherefore the chief men (*lit.* princes, *principes*) and Rabbis of the Jews who dwell in Spain assemble together at Narbonne, where the Royal seed [resides], and where they are held in the highest estimation (*et eorum maxime uiget gloria*) . . ."⁴⁸

The Frank kings' cession of considerable allodial lands⁴⁹ to Frank-

Radberti, *Expositio in Matthaum*, Liber I, caput 1, *PL*, CXX, col. 57A-B. On Paschase see Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, III, 340-43.

47. *Tractatus adversus Judaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, *PL*, CLXXXIX, col. 560: "Produc igitur mihi de propagine Judae regem, aut si hoc non potes, saltem ostende ducem. Sed non ego, ut aliquid ridendum ponam, regum illum suscipiam, quem quidam tuorum apud Narbonam, Galliae urbem, alii apud Rothomagum se habere fatentur . . . Non suscipiam Judaeum pro rege Judaeorum, nisi habitantem et regnantem in regno Judaeorum." Cf. L. Loeb, "Polémistes chrétiens et juifs," *REJ*, XVIII (1889), 45.

48. Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, ed. and tr. A. Jessopp and M. R. James, p. 94; see S. W. Baron, *History*, IV, p. 135, 306.

49. D. McMillan notes a significant distinction between allodial land and the march. The former is frontier territory which stands outside the royal or imperial domain. The march, on the other hand, is frontier territory which constitutes the last bastion of the royal domain; *La Chanson Guillaume*, II, Notes critiques, p. 134. Cf. p. 82, note 21, this work.

land Jewry's nasi in 768 may be understood from a somewhat different viewpoint now. From the standpoint of bishop and pope, at stake here and the cause of their extreme alarm was not merely a grant of land however extensive and free of dues. Rather, the *theological implications* involved in establishing a Jewish principedom, to be ruled over by a member of the Jewish royal house, drove both prelates to distraction. This prince (*nasi*) upon whom the Jews conferred royal honors, and who now enjoyed noble rank and princely status by consent of the Carolingian sovereigns, was living evidence in the midst of Christian territory that the "scepter" had not indeed departed from Judah and hence Messiah was not yet come! It may be imagined how such "blasphemy" (promoted by act of the Frankish kings) would agitate any supervisory bishop and pope and cause extreme mortification as they saw Christians serving in Jews' homes and "polluted day and night with their words of blasphemy."⁵⁰

Now this exegesis of Genesis 49:10 reappears in a Hebrew work of the ninth century in a somewhat altered form which, however, has significance for our study. In place of the exilarchs of Babylonia and the patriarchs (*nesi'im*) of Palestine an unidentified Makhir emerges as the wielder of royal power whose arrival, moreover, has caused extreme anguish to the gentiles: "The scepter [symbol of royal power] shall not depart from Judah": *this refers to Makhir*. "Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet": [*Makhir*] *has come, and we will continue to prostrate ourselves before him* "until Shiloh cometh": *namely, King Messiah*. "And because of him there is gnashing (*yikhat*) of teeth among the peoples": [*Makhir*] *has come and causes gnashing of teeth* (*makhah*: "sets teeth on edge," a word-play on *yikhat*, but perhaps also on the name *Makhir*) *to the gentiles*.⁵¹

50. See this text, pp. 50-58.

51. « לא יסור שבט מיהודה » זה מכיר « ומחוקק מבין רגליו » שבא ונתחבט לפני רגליו « עד כי יבא שילה » זה מלך המשיח « ולו יקה עמים » שהוא בא ומקה שיניהם של אומות העולם. *Bereschit Rabba mit kritischem Apparat und Kommentar* ed. Ch. Albeck, III, Chapter XCVIII, 8, pp. 1185, 1258-59. The editor identifies this passage as a late comment taken from Midrash Tanhuma; cf. M. Margel, *Der Segen Jakobs*, p. 38. M. Lerner, *Anlage und Quellen des Bereschit Rabba*, offprint from *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Berlin 1882) discusses the role played by copyists who freely made additions, embellishments, and changes in the text.

L. Zunz dates the composition of the Tanhuma in the ninth century and locates

Students of the Midrash have been unable to understand this reference to Makhir. They have searched for a biblical personality but could make no sense of the comment, since no known biblical Makhir is identified as a descendant of King David.⁵² Yet the exegesis clearly claims for Makhir legitimacy as the heir of monarchical power. An individual must be intended who is contemporaneous with the author of this exegetical comment. Since the compiler of the Midrash Tanhuma, the source of this exegesis, is located in southern Europe in the ninth century, it is probable that we have here a reference to Makhir of Narbonne. The intent of the exegesis would then be the following: Genesis 49:10 may be interpreted as referring to Makhir who is the legitimate heir of monarchical power in Western Jewry in our day. To the end of time, we will ever be loyal to him and his descendants as our rulers.⁵³

its author in Greece or southern Italy. He describes the style of the author as similar to that of Meshullam b. Kalonymos, *Ha-Derashot beYisrael (Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden)* (2nd ed. [Frankfort 1892] edited and enlarged by Hanokh Albeck, 2nd ed. Jerusalem 1954), p. 111; cf. pp. 123-24.

On gnashing of teeth in the Messianic Age see Luke 13:28.

52. *Bereschit Rabba* ed. Ch. Albeck, *loc. cit.*

53. Genesis 49:10 was so understood in Arab Spain, where as late as 1011 it was the subject of debate between Samuel haNagid and the Arab theologian Ibn Hazm. Samuel claimed that the exilarchs still fulfilled the conditions of the verse, since they were of the lineage of Judah and wielded actual power. Ibn Hazm maintained (with greater accuracy for the eleventh century), that the power of the exilarchs was only nominal over Jews, let alone over anyone else; J. Schirmann, "Samuel Hannagid, the Man, the Soldier, the Politician," *JSS*, XIII (1951), 101-02; cf. A. Poznanski, *Schiloh*, pp. 105-06 and the references there. In the same century, Nissim of Marseilles repeated the traditional identification of exilarchic rule with Judah's scepter. He proceeded to declare the obligation of his generation to select a prince of the Davidic House as their ruler, to whose authority they must defer "so that he may have grandeur and government and no one may rebel against his words"; J. H. Schorr, "R. Nissim of Marseilles," *He-Ḥaluts*, VII (1865), 110. It may be doubted, however, whether this prince was the Babylonian exilarch. More likely, he was a regional potentate closer to home. The Jews had to make their peace with the reality that by the fateful eleventh century the *Rosh golah* in Babylonia exercised only a shadow authority, limited to the East. For the Jews of the West, the Biblical verse underwent a remarkable transformation. The "scepter" had not yet in fact departed from Judah, they maintained, because every Jewish head of a family was still a king in his own household.

His advent⁵⁴ has caused extreme anguish to the Christians. The last sentence of the exegesis recalls again the acrimony and mortification evident in Pope Stephen's epistle. But the passage as a whole reflects such intense loyalty and spontaneous satisfaction as to suggest that it may have been part of an address or poem chanted at the ceremony of inauguration of Makhir the Nasi of Western Jewry.⁵⁵

A probable basis then for the distraction pervading Stephen's communication was the autonomous domain and monarchical rank conferred upon the Nasi of the West by act of the Frank kings Pepin, Charles and Carloman. The theological implications of a Jewish monarchy, even that of a vassal princedom, alarmed and distracted bishop and pope especially in the face of active "blasphemous" Jewish claims.

In the following year, 769, a legate of Pope Stephen III, Sergius by

54. Cf. the undated Midrash to Genesis: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, this is kingship. Nor the ruler's staff, this is Nasi. Until when? Until Shiloh cometh, until Nasi comes and restores kingship to David."

« לא יסור שבט מיהודה » זה מלכות « ומחוקק » זה נשיא « עד מתי? עד כי יבוא שילה » « עד כי יבוא שילה » A. Jellinek, "Hagada zur Genesis," *Bet ha-Midrash*, IV (2nd ed.; [reprinted] Jerusalem 1938), p. 113. Kasher identifies this as a passage from the *Aggadat B'reshit*, M. M. Kasher, *Torah Shelema* (Complete Torah), Part VII, vol. 8 (Jerusalem 5698/1937-38), p. 1807, no. 145. A. Poznanski dates *Aggadat B'reshit* in the thirteenth century, *Schiloh*, I, p. 45; but the comment is doubtless older. Zunz assigns no specific date but places it later than the comment on Genesis 49:10 translated here, p. 97, note 51, *Ha-Derashot be-Yisrael* ed. H. Albeck, p. 124. The *Midrash B'reshit* of Moses haDarshan, who lived in eleventh-century Narbonne, lacks the comment referring to Makhir in his exegesis of Genesis 49:10; cf. *Midrash B'reshit Rabbati* nosad al sifro shel R. Moshe haDarshan ed. H. Albeck (Jerusalem 5700/1940-41), p. 239:5-9. However, all his comments have not been preserved and this one did not originate with him. Moreover, see this text, p. 164, on the Makhiri family in the eleventh century. See Judges 5:14.

55. May we detect here a Hebrew equivalent of the *laudes*, ceremonial acclamations called out alternately by leader and folk at an imperial coronation according to a fixed text, wishing the ruler, his family, and army well-being and victory? P. E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, I (2nd ed. rev.), 36; K. Heldmann, *Das Kaisertum Karls des Grossen*, pp. 262-69; formulae pp. 284-89. When coronations followed a fixed form, the *laudes* were voiced by one or two chanters, and the *schola* or choir responded; E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 84.

name, came into Frankia. Although it is reported that he accomplished his mission to perfection, the only item mentioned is permission from kings Charles and Carloman for several Frank bishops to attend a council in Rome.⁵⁶ One would expect a discussion of Stephen's complaint about the establishment of a principate for the Jews. Was Sergius told that his mentor's predecessor Stephen II had been advised of these plans? The *Gesta*, it will be recalled, reports papal consent and barons' approval of that institution.⁵⁷ Can it be that the Diet of Quierzy,⁵⁸ which in 754 approved of the Pepin-Stephen pact, also endorsed the proposed Jewish principedom in the Southland and its role for the conquest of Spain? Pepin's insistence on a principality for the Jewish exilarch in the Frankish realm might then in some way be related to his grant of a papal principality in the Exarchate of Ravenna. The forgery of the Constitution of Constantine took place in this period. The Constitution assigned to the successor of Peter in Rome first rank in the entire world, more especially in the West. He was the sovereign pontiff, the universal bishop, first of the bishops of the earth who decided all questions of Christian discipline and faith.⁵⁹ Is it pure coincidence that the plans to establish a principate in the West for a Jewish exilarch (who was to rule as the successor of King David over a spiritual realm that included all Western Jews) coincided with these ambitions in Rome?

There exists then some evidence for the conclusion that King Pepin and his sons set aside a domain in southern Frankia as a Jewish principedom in the year 768. Its ruler or governor (*nasi*, patriarch) was Natronai-Makhir, a former Exilarch of the Jews in Baghdad and a scholar-prince of the royal House of David. In this capacity he would

56. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . Karl dem Grossen*, I, 63.

57. "Et Karolus concessit eis omnia, que petierant, et recepit pecuniam . . . Et Karolus et dominus papa erant propter adventum Judeorum congregati et omnes alii barones de exercitu"; F. Ed. Schneegans (ed.), *Gesta*, p. 180:2363-64; 2367-69.

The testimony of the *Gesta* may, of course, be relegated to the realm of fantasy. But then we have to explain why a thirteenth-century monk should fabricate out of whole cloth papal assent to the establishment of a vassal Jewish principate in Narbonne.

58. L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . Pippin*, Chapter IX, pp. 129 ff.

59. See this text, pp. 30-31, notes 59-60, and references there.

legitimize the autonomous existence of Jews in Frankia living under their own law by conferring his divinely-ordained authority on local community leaders. Both Abbasid Caliph and Carolingian King collaborated in this project; and it is possible that a pope at Rome gave his assent. A later pontiff, Stephen III, unaware of, or objecting to, any such agreement reacted violently when apprised of the actual cession of allodial lands to the Jewish nasi, including perhaps former church possessions. Pope Stephen's thunderous response provides striking confirmation of these startling events in the year 768 in Frankia.

But now for quite another, yet related, reason the signs point to the year 768 as an extremely significant time for Jewry in the Frankish realm.

The Apocalypse *Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael* Proclaims King-Messiah for 768

The year 768 was significant from still another and surprising aspect: in 768, King-Messiah was expected! Jews had greeted the collapse of Byzantine power in Palestine and Syria before the onward rush of the Arabs¹ as the fall of *Edom* (Byzantine Rome), the "Fourth Kingdom"² of the Daniel apocalypse. The triumphs of monotheistic Islam released Palestine from *Edom's* sway; there were even rumored promises of the restoration of the Temple Mount to Jewish control. The Holy Land's conqueror 'Umar encouraged an influx of Jewish immigrants to Palestine and renewed former privileges: The "signs" pointed to the early redemption of Israel through the intervention of a benign, but of course only temporary, "fifth" kingdom. So the "Calculators of the End," in this instance the author of the *Book of Zerubbabel*,³ com-

1. On the Messianic signs and the hopes that were aroused with the end of Byzantine rule and the Arab conquest of Palestine, J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Ge'ulah* (Medieval Apocalypses), pp. 162-70, and the bibliography there. Cf. S. W. Baron, *History*, V, p. 141, 354-55.

2. J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Ge'ulah*, Introduction p. ה"ב, note 15.

3. The *Book of Zerubbabel*, *ibid.*, pp. 56-88.

puted and concluded that the year 638 was the long-promised and yearned-for date of Messiah. In this year shall be completed the "one day" (i.e. a thousand years; cf. Psalm 90:4 "a thousand years in Thy sight are as a day . . .") allotted for the sway of the Empires over Israel. Simultaneously shall end the 700 years assigned for *Edom's* rule (from the time Pompey occupied Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E.).

In fact, the apocalypse identifies the date of Messiah exactly: he will come at the end of 990 years since the rebuilding of the Second Temple under Zerubbabel, fixed by tradition in 352 B.C.E. This set the advent of Messiah in 638 C.E.⁴

The reestablishment of the Jewish monarchy under Bustanai the

4. The thousand years ("one day") of foreign domination were distributed as follows: Babylon held sway 70 years, Persia-Medea 52, Greece 180. This was rounded off to a total of 300, leaving 700 years for the Fourth Kingdom of *Edom* (Rome); J. E. Shemuel, *ibid.*, p. 66, note 66; p. 146.

Another calculation also yielded 700 years as the period of Rome's domination. This was found in Daniel's reference to "seventy weeks" of punishment and atonement (Daniel 9:24). The *Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael* interprets this number as the 700 years of *Edom's* hegemony of tribulation for Israel following the destruction of the Temple.

The thousand years "one day" calculation had no applicability after the middle of the seventh century, when its time ran out. However, the span of 700 years of *Edom-Rome's* sway was still held to be valid. The original *terminus a quo* of Babylonian domination had to be given up. The destruction of the Second Temple became available as a new *a quo*, set by tradition in 68 C.E. The date of Pompey's occupation of Jerusalem (63 B.C.E.) may also have been drawn upon as the start of Rome's domination, although the traditional date of the latter was 112 B.C.E., T. b. Sabbath 15a — ק"ם שנה עד שלא הרב הבית פשטה המלכות (הרשעה) על ישראל.

As each "end" came and went with no palpable result, a new "end" would be calculated when the "signs" appeared to warrant it. In consequence, with alteration of the "signs" and of the darkly hinted at calculations, a basic apocalyptic text could also serve a later generation. The 700 years in *Sefer Zerubbabel* may, in fact, be an interpolation of the eighth century, pointing to 768.

Another date manipulated to calculate the advent of Messiah is the period of 890 years, corresponding to the time from the Exodus to the destruction of the First Temple; G. D. Cohen, "Story of the Four Captives," *PAAJR*, XXIX (1960-61), 104, note 150, and bibliography there. As this period of time lapsed and Messiah still delayed, an additional century was successively appended, as in our text. Eventually, Bodo-Eleazar the proselyte awaited Messiah at the end of 1390 years, corresponding to 867-68 or 869-70 C.E.; see this text, p. 283, note 60.

Exilarch ca. 637,⁵ himself descended of King David, must have placed a solid foundation under such Messianic hopes. To be sure, if Israel is "meritorious," then Messiah ben David comes at once. Otherwise, Messiah ben Joseph, of whom the archetype is Zerubbabel, grandson of King Yekhonya (Yehoiakhin) of Judah and the first exilarch, rules until the destined hour, when Messiah ben David does in fact appear.⁶

The hopes for Messianic redemption in the seventh century were of course doomed to frustration. In place of the Temple, a Muslim shrine was erected on the Temple Mount.⁷ Instead of bringing an end to the Exile, the seventh century ushered in a period of annihilation for the Jews of the far West, of Visigothic Spain, and Frankish Gaul. The climax was reached under King Egica the Visigoth. He made it impossible for any but true Christians to carry on trade, or travel for commercial purposes. His call for the enslavement of the Jews of his kingdom (except for Septimania) was endorsed by the XVII Council of Toledo (694). Egica also ordered an enforced sale of their property to the state and an increase of taxes to make up for income lost in taxation as the result of the forced conversion of other Jews. He instituted the removal of Jewish children from the age of seven, who were to be placed in Christian homes and subsequently married to Christians.⁸

5. A. D. Goode, "The Exilarchate in the Eastern Caliphate 637-1258," *JQR*, XXXI (1940-41), 154, 169. The ascension of Bustanai in the very year that the dominion of the Fourth Kingdom was calculated to end was perhaps no accident.

6. The two Messiahs, ben Joseph (Ephraim) whose symbolic name is Neḥemiah ben Ḥushiel; and Messiah ben David whose symbolic name is Menaḥem ben 'Amiel, J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Ge'ulah*, pp. 71-72, 57-59, 75 (the meaning of the names), 77-78, 109, n. 1, and *passim*. But the names are not always strictly distinguished from one another, *ibid.*, p. 107 where Menaḥem ben 'Amiel is Messiah ben Joseph. A *piyyut* (liturgical poem) on the two Messiahs, *ibid.*, p. 108; cf. A. Posnanski, *Schiloh*, Part I, p. 124, note, and the references there, including Talmudic citations. Messiah ben Joseph will be killed by the enemies of Israel but Messiah ben David will resurrect him and all the dead, *Sefer Zerubbabel* in J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Ge'ulah*, pp. 83-84. The two-Messiahs theory also served the purpose of an anti-Christianity polemic since, at best, Jesus crucified is only ben Joseph and not the genuine ben David.

7. J. Even Shemuel, *ibid.*, p. 169.

8. S. Katz, *Jews in . . . Spain and Gaul*, pp. 20-21; J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, pp. 366-68, 385.

But then a sudden crumbling of Visigothic power opened the flood gates of the Muslim invasion. From 711 to 742 all of Spain and southern France beyond the Pyrenees as far as Lyons fell under Saracen domination.⁹ The Visigothic Kingdom was swept away; the Merovingians were a dynasty of "do-nothings." Was the end of *Edom* at hand, the Fourth Kingdom of Daniel?

An anonymous commentary on the Book of Daniel,¹⁰ the unending wellspring of inspiration for the "Calculators of the End," computed the year of redemption and arrived at the familiar 700th year of the rule of *Edom*. Although there may be doubt as to when to calculate the start of such domination, every eighth-century reader would understand this to mean the 700th year reckoned from the destruction of the Second Temple, and therefore pointing to only one date—768. Around 750, this date must have appeared most promising indeed. The Arab House of Umayyā went down to utter destruction (only later did 'Abd ar-Rahmān's escape become known). Nor was the successor House of 'Abbasid at all stable. With *Edom* passing and *Ishmael* tottering, the "signs" were apparent on all sides. Nor did a writer fail to arise with an apocalypse which revealed the date of redemption as the fated year 768.¹¹

The apocalypse entitled *Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael* opens with the *Tanna* Rabbi Ishmael reporting that he had set himself to determine the end! He laid his supplication before God, overcome by the taunts of the

9. The expansion of Saracen domination in Spain and southern France, H. W. Hazard, *Atlas of Islamic History*, p. 8; see this text, p. 87, note 32.

10. L. Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, p. 226, note 1 from Munich MS Codex 5, folio 214.

11. Among the "messiahs" who actually made their appearance at this time were Abu Isa in Isfahan (685–705); Serini ca. 720; Judgan, pupil of Abu Isa, first half of the eighth century. Pirké de R. Eliezer (composed ca. 700) supplies the name of Messiah. He is Yinnon (after T. b. Sanhedrin 98b) or else Menaḥem b. 'Amiel, and his advent was set for ca. 729 (ch. 32, 19, and 29). The Targum (Aramaic paraphrase composed ca. 800) to I Chronicles 3:24 implies that an exilarch may be King-Messiah, when it identifies 'Anani (the last descendant of the Exilarch Zerubabel listed in the Bible text here) as King-Messiah. The Tanḥuma to Genesis chapter 14 (ninth century) similarly identifies 'Anani as Messiah. A. Posnanski, *Schiloh*, p. 40; J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Ge'ulah*, p. 173; A. H. Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel*, pp. 55–56.

nations who scoff: Why has the Lord smitten Israel and cast them off from before Him? Only because of their mighty sin has He come to abhor them and reject them, nor will He restore them ever.

Then there came to Ishmael the comforting answer that the dominion of the gentiles was limited to but "one day," and that much only because of Israel's idolatry and rejection of God (not the reverse). Israel had been rebellious for seven hundred years under their kings and other leaders. The extent of their subjection would be equivalent to this period of time. Their princes would be killed, their kings destroyed as divine punishment. The prophecy of Hosea 3:4 will be fulfilled against them. In addition, Israel will be made bereft of their youths and stripped of their infants, while their elders bend low under the yoke. They will be handed over into the power of a "boorish nation," one which has no divine sanction to rulership.

Nevertheless, Ishmael relates, he received the assurance that the division of the nations (into conflicting religions) and their great hatred for one another (MS Munich: namely, *Edom* and *Ishmael*) will prevent the utter destruction of God's people Israel. God will also raise up against Israel a king whose edicts will be harsh as Haman's, yet will Israel return to Him (and thus show themselves worthy of redemption).

Now Rabbi Ishmael endeavored to calculate the End. He could not satisfactorily compute the years of *Edom's* sway, until in a trance he heard a Voice that the End was at the completion of seven hundred years of Temple ruin. Ishmael protested that he could find no scriptural basis for this calculation. But the Voice called again and he searched in Daniel (9:24) and discovered the prophecy that after seventy weeks (700 years) of atonement will come the redemption and restoration. So he now reveals that at the termination of seven hundred years of punishment for Israel and Jerusalem (i.e. of Exile and Temple ruin, namely in the year 768) will come Messiah and restore the Holy of Holies.¹² The visionary who composed and presumably broadcast this

12. The text of *Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael* is reprinted by J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Ge'ulah*, pp. 148-52. J. Even Shemuel tends to set the place of composition of apocalypses generally in Israel. In this instance, he has to admit that although the End is fixed for 768, the apocalypse lacks an Islamic background such as would be

apocalypse obviously expected the End in the year 768. But where and under what circumstances did he live?

The clues to this problem are the following:

(1) The taunts of the nations. These are typical of polemical Christian literature. The taunts of the Christians were fully expressed as early as Chrysostom (late fourth century) who summarized the views of his predecessors: God hates the Jews. Since their murder of Jesus He allows them no time for repentance. Their misfortunes are due to the wrath of God and His absolute rejection of them. God will never allow the Jews to rebuild their Temple or return to Jerusalem.¹³ Rabbi Ishmael's citations therefore point to a land of Christian culture as the background of his apocalypse. Furthermore, the passage Hosea 3:4,¹⁴ but especially the Daniel reference of "seventy weeks" to which our author refers so hesitantly, are treated at length by Julian Archbishop of Toledo in his polemical work against the Jews.¹⁵ He calculates the

expected of mid-eighth century Israel. His suggestion for an early seventh-century date of composition (at the end of the Byzantine period) is not warranted by the "signs" which he fails to identify, p. 147. A seventh-century date of composition, furthermore, would nullify the obvious intent of a propaganda piece which is to fix the End at a relatively short interval after the composition of the apocalypse.

13. J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 165, on Chrysostom; for anti-Jewish views from Tertullian through Augustine, see B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins*, pp. 9-181.

14. Hosea 3:4 is also used as a proof text by Isidore of Seville and many others, including Julian of Toledo (for whom see this study immediately below). Isidor of Seville (d. 636), *De fide Catholica contra Judaeos* I, 8 in *PL*, LXXXIII, col. 464; German translation in A. Posnanski, *Schiloh*, pp. 302-03.

15. The relevant sections from Julian of Toledo, *De comprobatione* (composed 686), *PL*, XCVI, col. 545-56; also in A. Posnanski, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-12 in German translation. Julian's work intended to refute the Jewish polemic that Jesus cannot be the true Messiah because the years of his activity do not correspond to the Messianic Age fixed by the pattern of six days of creation followed by the Sabbath, or the six years of agricultural activity followed by a Sabbath year for the soil. The *Seder Eliyahu Rabba*, following T. b. Sanhedrin 97b אה מחדש את ב'תק"ט (אין הקב"ה מחדש את ב'תק"ט), fixes the Ages of the World as follows: two thousand years chaos, two thousand years Torah, two thousand years Messiah. These six millennia will be followed by a thousand years of Sabbath for the world,

End to coincide, of course, with the birth of Jesus. Composed in 686, Julian's work must have enjoyed wide circulation by a half century or more later. The author of the apocalypse offers a "correction" of such calculations while promoting his own computations based on Daniel.

(2) The "boorish nation," which rules without divine sanction.¹⁶ Obviously Christian, as indicated by the name *Edom*, this designation appears to refer to the barbarians who usurped "legitimate" Roman rule.

(3) The king, harsh as Haman, whose decrees are summarized here. The description fits the Visigothic kings Receswinth (649-72), Erwig (680-87), but above all Egica (687-702). In turn, these rulers forbade the Jews to practice their religion and imposed forced baptism while, as indicated above, Egica reduced the Jews to slavery, tore their infants from them for placement in Christian homes and ultimate intermarriage, compelled them to sell their property to the fisc, and added to his already heavy tax levies. Yet many converts returned to Judaism while others kept the faith of their fathers in secret.¹⁷

(4) The hatred and conflict between peoples of divergent religions,

after which comes the Judgment. The seventh millennium (the "seventh day") is compared to the seventh year of release (*Shemittah*) for the soil:

וכשם שאנו עושים אחת לשבע שנים שמטה כך עתיד הקב"ה לעשות שמטה לעולם יום אחד שהוא אלף שנים... וזה יום השביעי לעולם.

Seder Eliyahu Rabba, ed. M. Friedmann (Vienna 1903-04), ch. 2. Cf. B. Blumenkranz, *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, pp. 119-26.

16. Apparently not counted among the seventy whose kings were assigned dominion over them at the time when the nations of the world were divided up following the Tower of Babel incident; J. Even Shemuel, *op. cit.*, p. 150. This may also be pro-Carolingian propaganda against the Merovingian barbarians whom Pepin displaced. Cf. T. b. Yebhamot 63b where the *goy nabhal* (boorish nation) is identified as the inhabitants of Barbary and Mauretania, primitives who appear naked in public. In T. b. Gittin, 80a the "unfit nation" is one that lacks script and language of its own.

17. J. Parkes, *The Conflict*, pp. 353-70; S. Katz, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-22; on the return of baptized Jews, pp. 50-51; the increased taxation under Egica, p. 104. On the king as harsh as Haman and Israel's repentance, cf. T. b. Sanhedrin 97b: הקב"ה מעמיד 97b: להם מלך שגורותיו קשות כהמן וישראל עושים תשובה ומחזירין למוטב תניא אידך רבי אליעזר אומר, אם ישראל עושים תשובה בגאלין.

making possible the rescue of Israel. The Saracen conquest of Spain saved the Jews from extermination under Visigothic rule. The prostration of Visigothic power could readily be interpreted to mean the end of Edom's domination, the drawing of the curtain on the Fourth Kingdom which presaged the advent of Messiah. In addition, the internal conflicts within the Caliphate after 750 would serve to pitch to great intensity the hopes for full freedom at the completion of 700 years of Temple ruin, namely in 768.

This analysis points to Spain or Septimania and the middle of the eighth century as the time and place of composition of the apocalypse *Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael*. Apart from its polemical barbs directed against the arguments of Christian ecclesiastics, the intent of the apocalypse was to prepare the Jews of the Far West for a highly significant event about to take place in the year 768. Its educational objective was perhaps as deliberate as its apocalyptic form.

It is not impossible that Pepin the Short was aware of these Messianic stirrings. In any event, he did not discourage or oppose them. It was apparently King Pepin who requested the Caliph of Baghdad to despatch a scholar-prince of the Davidic dynasty to Frankia (the *ShK Addendum* ascribes this request to "King Charles"). This scion of David seems to have arrived early in the year 768 together with the delegation from Baghdad. Pepin assigned them to winter quarters in Metz. During the winter and early spring delegations of Jews doubtlessly visited Natronai-Makhir and reported excitedly on the encounter. This is the period of composition of relevant sections of *Aggadat R. Ishmael*. Pepin received the legation in Selles on the Loire during Easter. In 768 Passover fell on Thursday and Friday directly before Easter Sunday. If now the "praecepta" of Pepin and his sons in behalf of the Nasi Natronai-Makhir were promulgated on or around Passover 768, their act would appear to be fulfilling the Talmudic dictum that on the day corresponding to the redemption from Egypt will come also the final deliverance.¹⁸ The cooperation of the Carolingians with Jewish aspira-

18. The Redemption at Passover, T. b. Rosh Hashana 11b:

רבי יהושע אמר, בניסן נגאלו בניסן עתידין ליבאלי. מנלן? אמר קרא ׀ ליל שמורים ׀,
ליל המשומר ובא מששת ימי בראשית.

In Kalir's piyyut "Bayamim hahem ubha'et hahi," J. Even Shemuel, *op. cit.*,

tions appears remarkable, although their motivation is somewhat obscure. To the Jews of the West, at any rate, those conditions would seem to be fulfilled which would allow them to acclaim their Nasi not merely King but King-Messiah: "Messiah ben Joseph," to be sure, according to the prototype of Zerubbabel, scion of David, the first Nasi; nonetheless, the precursor of final redemption. Consequently, there arose the startling exegesis of Genesis 49:10 cited above,¹⁹ wherein the verse fragment usually ascribed to Messiah is here attributed to Makhir: "[Makhir] has come and causes gnashing of teeth to the gentiles."

It may be understood how such claims²⁰ about the status of the

pp. 113-16, and in *Sefer Zerubbabel*, *ibid.*, p. 86, Messiah ben David makes his appearance on the eve of Passover.

19. See this text, p. 97.

20. The *Nistarot* (Mysteries) of Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai in J. Even Shemuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-98, cf. pp. 178-79, was also written about the middle of the eighth century. Graetz dates its composition between August 5 and October 750 because it carries Islamic history down to the annihilation of the House of Umayya and a few weeks beyond, *Geschichte*, 4th ed. by S. Eppenstein, V (Leipzig 1909), pp. 464-71, note 16. Graetz' conclusions were challenged by M. Steinschneider, who dated the apocalypse in the period of the First Crusade, "Apocalypsen mit polemischer Tendenz," *ZDMG*, XXVIII (1874), 626-59. B. Lewis concludes that the first section of Simeon b. Yoḥai's *Tefillah* ("Prayer"), based on the *Nistarot*, is to be dated in the middle of the eighth century, "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History," *BSOAS*, XIII (1949-50), 310. Cf. S. W. Baron, *History*, III (2nd ed., 1957), 274, note 27. J. Even Shemuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-75 upholds Graetz' interpretation. Later authors added freely to basic, older texts in order to have an apocalyptic framework for their own "signs".

In the present, apparently truncated, form of this apocalypse *Nistarot*, it is not clear whether the author expected the arrival of Messiah within a twelve-month, although this is entirely possible. It may also be that the twelve months hinted at are intended to stand for twelve years, and thus bring the foreseen End into relationship with the year 768, the 700th since the destruction of the Temple. This is suggested by the reference to the rule of a king of "brazen countenance" (after Daniel 8:23) for three months (three years?) followed by the "dominion of the wicked kingdom," which could only be *Edom-Rome*, for nine months (nine years?) after Micah 5:2 and T. b. Sanhedrin 98b:

אין בן דוד בא עד שתתפשט המלכות (חרשעה) על ישראל תשעה חדשים שנאמר * לכן יתנם
עד עת יולדה יולדה *

These considerations would move up the date of composition of the *Nistarot* to

Nasi of Narbonne, supported by official act of the Frankish kings, would distract the highest prelates in Christendom "to the point of death," as Pope Stephen declared in the same year 768. Perhaps too the Jews pressed their claims with some success on the field of propaganda against Christianity and in favor of conversion to Judaism.

after 755-56, that is, around the time of 'Abd ar-Rahman's successes in Spain and the split of the caliphate into two warring factions. The year 756 also corresponds to the date of the Carolingian-'Abbasid alliance and the plans to establish an Exilarchate of the West. Did the author have reason to hope that the new exilarch would reestablish Temple service in Jerusalem with the aid of the Carolingians?

The Jewish Principate Becomes a Permanent Institution in 791

The major responsibility of Makhir and the Jewry of Septimania-Toulousain was the guardianship of the Spanish frontier and of the maritime coast against Ummayyad Saracen raids. Even more important, when the necessary preparations had been made, they were expected to launch an invasion of the peninsula beyond the mountains. Both Frank and 'Abbasid forces were to be involved with them in these tasks.

The protection and expansion of the south-southwest border were certainly of supreme significance for the Carolingian state. Yet the "official" sources—the royal annals and the chronicles—supply only meager and sketchy information on these events. The focus of their interest is the personality and achievements of Charlemagne, while he appears to have left to others major responsibility for the watch in the south-southwest and its expansion. Even when he led an invasion like the disastrous expedition of 778 into Spain the annalists provide information most grudgingly. Yet, rather full description of these campaigns could not have been altogether lacking if one may judge from the locale and the heroes of the *chansons de geste*. These are of course "unofficial" and by no means reliable historical sources. Yet they are

almost the only materials extant which treat at length Carolingian military activity in the borderlands of Spain.

The difference in the judgment of scholars regarding the historical reliability of the *chansons de geste* runs to extremes. Becker¹ has declared that none of the actual works of Count William of Toulouse lives on in the cycle of songs which grew up about the epic figure of Count William of the Curved Nose, whom the *chansons* identify as the son of Aymeri. According to him the William epic is altogether unrelated to the significance of the historical Count William or to his acts in the Carolingian Age except for his founding the monastery at Gellone. Becker tilts with H. Suchier who produced the first critical edition of the first part of *La Chançon de Guillelme*. Suchier had compared in parallel columns certain of the events described in this oldest extant William song with the very similar facts recorded by the chroniclers, and emphasized their mutual correspondence in the first part of the *chanson* (vv. 1 to 930-38), which he designated *The Vivien Song*. He judged that the poet handled the epic tradition with restraint and an avoidance of whimsy; and that in *The Vivien Song* he preserved more historical features than most other jongleurs. Its continuation, the *Chanson de Rainoart*, on the other hand, Suchier deemed to be free invention.² On a broader basis Ferdinand Lot has challenged the

1. Ph. A. Becker, *Das Werden der Wilhelm- und der Aimerigeste*, p. 188.

2. H. Suchier (ed.), *La Chançon de Guillelme*, Einleitung, pp. LIII-LVIII and the references there; and especially "Vivien," *ZRP*, XXXII (1908), 734-42. Suchier dates the *Chançon* ca. 1080, Einleitung, p. XXXIX, and this is accepted by E. S. Tyler, "Notes on the Chançon," *Romanic Review*, IX (1918), 397, who dates the second part (from v. 1983 to the end) about thirty to forty years later and sees in this *Song* as a whole the oldest known account of the central events of the cycle of William.

Their dating is challenged by D. McMillan (ed.), *La Chanson de Guillaume*, II. McMillan refuses to date the *Chanson de Guillaume* before the last third of the twelfth century. He finds its language is more recent than that in *Couronnement de Louis*, *Charroi de Nîmes*, and even *Enfances Guillaume*; *ibid.*, p. 126. To McMillan, moreover, the *Chanson de Guillaume* is not a homogeneous work. One portion of the poem makes use of a vocabulary which is not found in any other *chanson de geste*, while another portion has freed itself of this stylized vocabulary; *ibid.*, p. 130 and note 1. Most of the critics, however, seem to agree that the *Chanson de Guillaume* represents the William cycle in its most primitive form.

fundamental thesis of Joseph Bédier regarding the origin of the *chansons* in general by endeavoring to demonstrate the residue of reliable historical fact in the oldest of these epics, namely the same *Song of William*, and its independence of the cloister.³

Nevertheless, the use of these literary creations for the recovery of historical data, except where supported by other sources, must remain a hazardous undertaking. Yet one may not overlook the oldest epics and historical romances completely unless he is willing to accept the dictate of silence which the "official" annalists have decreed and effected by their process of selection and editing of the chronicles now extant. It is difficult to assume that they lacked interest in these exploits on the Spanish border. Were there partisan motivations? Or was the original material inaccessible because written in a non-Western language? Demaison has shown that the historical documentation of the Carolingian period suffers from numerous lacunae. Only Einhard mentions Roland. Demaison thought he could detect in the *chansons* the memory of very real facts. In spite of their imaginary and legendary elements, he underscored the value of the historical reminiscence in certain epics because no other precise document is extant.⁴ Demaison went so far as to claim that Aymeri was a real person in the Carolingian Age even though he could not positively locate his name among the present records!⁵ The more recent studies of the *Chansons de Geste*,

3. F. Lot, "Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange," *Études sur les légendes épiques françaises*, pp. 239, 247 f., 250, 256, 259. He dates the *Song of William* in the last quarter of the eleventh to the first quarter of the twelfth century. Cf. D. McMillan, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 125-26, note 4.

Jonckbloet insisted on a more or less historical foundation for all branches of the William cycle of songs long before the discovery of the *Chançon de Willame*. He found that certain branches of the tradition were contemporaneous with the original hero whom he identified, however, as post-Carolingian; W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Guillaume d'Orange*, p. 168; he designates *chansons de geste* as historical poems, p. 185. For a summary of Lot's position, J. Monfrin, "Les études de Ferdinand Lot sur les légendes épiques françaises," *BEC*, CXIX (1961), 245 ff. especially p. 255.

4. L. Demaison (ed.), *Aymeri de Narbonne*. Vol. I. Introduction, pp. cxxiv f., cxxxiv-cxlii. H. Suchier thinks he can find additional references to Roland in contemporaneous records including a coin bearing his name, "Vivien," *ZRP*, XXIV (1905), 681, note 1.

5. Historically, the father of William of Gellone was Theodoric. P. Paris tried to

especially of the William cycle, have tended to be less and less skeptical of their historical residue while increasingly critical of Bédier's harsh judgments that they were the whimsical products of poetic imagination with barely a shred of historical fact. R. Louis finds that the *Chansons de Geste* retained recollections of events which stirred deep emotions in the people and concludes that the poets derived their historical themes from the events themselves. To him *Chanson de Geste* signifies *Chanson d'histoire*: William actually fought the Saracens in the north of Spain together with at least one of his sons, Herbert, and several of his kinsmen, all of whom descended from Charles Martel. After William passed from the scene the sons continued their father's tradition in the Spanish March regaining control of the Duchy of Barcelona and military command of the March. R. Louis pursues the history of the family for three or four generations and concludes that the descriptions in the *chansons* are not, as Bédier believed, a free invention of the poets but rather historical reality. In fact the William clan are found fighting on two fronts: in the north of Spain between Gerona and Barcelona against numerically vastly superior Saracens, awaiting re-enforcements from Emperor Louis which never came; and, on the other hand, at Court, against rebels of the same Emperor and those traitorous to him. The poets telescoped the deeds of Williams' descendants, especially those of his son Bernard of Septimania, and ascribed them to William. The *chansons* present Emperor Louis as weak, irresolute, wavering, slave of his entourage—the historical truth which the clerical chroniclers concealed and distorted presenting him instead as a great emperor, rival of Augustus, Constantine and Charlemagne. R. Louis takes to task the official court chroniclers whose silence and reticence concealed significant events, ineffectively, thanks to the poets. R. Menéndez Pidal reaches comparable conclusions in his minute analysis of the *Song of Roland*. "The *Chanson de Roland*," he declares, "is more truthful than the Court annals; the *Chanson de Roland* derived from poems contemporaneous with the disaster." In his lengthy conclusion Pidal heads a

reconcile the names Theodoric and Aimeric but Demaison follows Jonckbloet in deciding that one could not be substituted for the other; L. Demaison, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, I, Introduction, p. cxxx. In a poem of Spain Aymeri is called Benalmenique in imitation of Moorish names; *ibid.*, p. cccxix.

section with the devise, "In the beginning was History," which he proclaims as the new Gospel of modern traditionalism in the study of epic literature.⁶

The recovery in the epics of the residue of historical matter relevant to the military activity of Makhir and Septimianian Jewry must of necessity proceed in eclectic fashion and seek to dislodge isolated facts from the imaginative context created by the poet. The results can be no more than tentative and probable at this point.

The oldest of the William cycle of songs, *La Chançon de Williame*, first published under this title in 1903, contains a few solitary facts which appear to have relationship to our theme. The epic figure "William" absorbed into itself the acts of the historical William's father ("Aymeri"), of his most prominent son, Bernard of Septimania, and of Bernard's son, William. This would be likely in a *chanson* even if the song itself did not claim a fantastic three hundred and fifty years for William's life (v. 1334).⁷

According to the *Chanson* William lives in Barcelona (vv. 932-33). His wife is a former non-Christian princess who converted to Christianity on marriage to him (vv. 946-47, 1422, 2591) and assumed the (Christian) name Guiburc. Guischart her nephew (vv. 1034, 1038) was born in an Arabic land (Cordova, v. 1196), and when he was about to die in battle he denied (the Christian) God (vv. 1039-41), thereby presumably reverting to his former non-Christian faith. Guiburc's

6. J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, I; R. Louis, "L'épopée française est carolinienne", *Coloquios de Roncesvalles*, 327-460; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland*, pp. 209, 482.

7. D. McMillan discusses the various editions of the William Song which preceded his own complete version, *La Chanson de Guillaume*, I, Introduction, pp. xxiii-xxix. All references to specific verses of the *Song* in this study are to McMillan's edition. A translation into English verse has been made available by E. N. Stone, *The Song of William*.

Suchier points out that scholars have identified twelve different Williams whose exploits have come to be associated with the epic "William"; H. Suchier, "Vivien," *ZRP*, XXIX (1905), 661. Similarly, the epic cycle ascribes all events after Charlemagne's death to the reign of his son Louis; while all kings with the name Charles were incorporated into the epic figure "Charlemagne"; similarly, all non-Christians are likely to be called "Saracens"; H. Suchier, *loc. cit.*, 675. Suchier alters William's age to 150 in his critical edition, *La Chançon de Guillelme*, v. 1336.

brother Reneward (Renouart), the major hero after v. 2650, came from "beyond the sea" *de ultra mer* (usually identified with Spain), was of royal stock and never baptized (vv. 3358-79) until near the end of the epic (vv. 3483-3502), when he received the King's daughter, William's niece, as his wife.⁸ Guiburc addresses William in her own vernacular and he understands; in fact they converse in this tongue, "Romanz" (vv. 1331, 1421). In this dialect William addresses his high barons (v. 1568) and his own lower vassals (v. 1591). In the "Continuation" of the William Song, William is represented as able to address the Saracens too; specifically, he speaks Hebrew and Arabic (as well as Greek, German, English, and Armenian, vv. 2170-71). When his nephews Girart and Vivien converse (the latter is the major figure in the epic), they speak "their own tongue."

These scattered references seem to be an echo of the fact that William knew Hebrew, Arabic, and perhaps also another alien tongue current in his clan.⁹ Now, the marriage and conversion of Guiburc recall the

8. Like Reneward (Renouart), Bernard of Septimania the son of Count William came from (the March of) Spain, was born of royal stock *de stirpe regali* according to Thegan, a contemporary, *Gesta Domini Ludovici imperatoris* ed. Bouquet, ch. XXXVI. Bernard's wife Dhuoda claimed Emperor Louis (son of Charlemagne) for her brother when dating her *Manual*: "Anno obitus Ludovici quondam mei fratris," *Le Manuel de Dhuoda*, ed. E. Bondurand, pp. 249; 263-64. However L. Delisle has challenged this reading and has denied that Dhuoda was Charlemagne's daughter, "Le Manuel de Dhuoda," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, pp. 237-38. See this text, p. 122, and notes 18, 19, 20; p. 264.

9. D. McMillan, *La Chanson*, II, p. 182, follows Elizabeth Tyler's rendering of *Salamoneis* v. 2170 as "Hebrew," that is, the language of Solomon, E. S. Tyler, "Notes," *Romanic Review*, IX (1918), 414 and also in her edition of the *Song*. William can speak Arabic and other foreign languages also according to *Aliscans* (v. 1374) and *Folque de Candie* (Anlage IV, v. 549), as quoted by M. H. Stansbury, *Foreign Languages and Interpreters in the Chansons de Geste*, p. 43. In *Aliscans*, William, Guiburc and the Saracen Salatr  converse *en un langage*, *ibid.*, p. 45. Stansbury lists a surprising number of persons who, according to the *chansons*, knew Arabic. These include Charlemagne, Roland, Bueve de Hantone, Berengar, the traitor Gaufr s, Girart, et al., M. H. Stansbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 77. On the battlefield at Aliscans, William reverts to "Greek" (v. 1594), *idem.*, p. 66, which may mean Arabic in this context. The remarkable linguistic ability of the nobles in the early *chansons* is a noteworthy characteristic, to which the poets seem to call attention deliberately; *idem*, pp. 75, 84, 103.

report of the *Addendum* to *ShK* which relates¹⁰ the arrival of Makhir, his settlement in Narbonne, marriage with a daughter of one of "the magnates of the town," and elevation into the Frank nobility; and continues with King Charles' grant to the Jews of an important *privilegium* or capitulary. Intriguing is the statement that Makhir and his descendants were "close" or "related" to the King and all his descendants: *Ḳerobhim la-melekh u'lekhoh zar'o*. Since the Carolingians were frequently in conflict with one another—brother against brother, sons against father, uncle against nephew—the dynasty of the Makhiri obviously could not be "close" to antagonistic sides unless they were at odds among themselves. But they could remain always "related" as kinsmen. Only by marriage of course could Makhir become a member of the Carolingian royal family. This situation would parallel that of Makhir's ancestor Bustanai who married a Persian princess and became a kinsman eventually of the ruling 'Abassids.¹¹ To which faith did "William's" wife in reality convert? And was there perhaps an interchange of sisters or of daughters as spouses between the Makhiri and

10. *MJC*, I, p. 82f. For full Hebrew text see Appendix III, p. 384 of this work. For translation see above pp. 59–60.

11. Of Bustanai's sons it was said that they were tied to governors and royalty inasmuch as they were kinsmen of royalty, the brother of their mother being Marzabana (the Persian commander):

ואף איננו איתלו בשליטי ובמלכותא שהיו קרובים למלכות והיה אחי אמם מרזאבנא.

B. M. Lewin, *Otsar haGeonim* (Gaonic Thesaurus) Yebhamot, VII, p. 40 no. 94. The three sons of Bustanai by the Persian princess Izdadwar bore the same names as the sons of Khosroe II, namely: Shahriyar, Goranshah, Mardanshah; *EJ*, "Bostanai (Ben Chaninai)," IV, col. 989.

The virtually identical Hebrew expression describes the kinship of the Bustanaiads to the Persian aristocracy as is employed by *ShK* to denote the relationship of the Makhiri and the Carolingians: *ḳerobhim lemalkhut (lamelekh)*. A fifteenth-century writer also reports that there settled in Narbonne a nasi of the House of David who was "related" (*ḳarobh*) to the ruling sovereign:

ואבותי נתישבו שם בעיר גרבוזה עיר גדולה לאלהים בה נתישב רב נשיא מרע בית דוד קרוב למלכות; פירוש משנת אבות להר' מתתיה היצחרי.

I. Loeb, "R. Matitya Ha-Yichari," *REJ*, VII (1883), 154.

It cannot be determined that this document is independent of *ShK* although the writer's progenitors, as residents of Narbonne, might have known an independent tradition. *Ḳarobh lemalkhut* may denote actual family relationship of an exilarch to a ruling sovereign; M. Beer, "Exilarchs of the Talmudic Epoch," *PAAJR*, XXXV (1967), 65–66.

Carolingians?¹² In several other *chansons* "Aymeri's" daughter Blanche-fleur marries Emperor Louis, son of Charlemagne. In the romance *Macaire* Blanche-fleur, daughter of a king of Constantinople, is the wife of Charlemagne.¹³ This may perhaps be the meaning of the statement transmitted by the *Addendum* to *ShK* that Makhir married into the family of a local (Frank) magnate. Since in all likelihood Makhir

12. Marriages between cousins, although permitted by Jewish practice, were forbidden by canon law as incest. Repeatedly the church councils of the early Carolingian period condemned "incestuous" marriages; L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . unter K. Pippin*, pp. 241, 274 f., 461 ff., Excurs II on a ninth-century addition to the *Capitulare Vermeriense* of 756; pp. 306 f.; S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., p. 555 (year 786 for Italy). For pressure on converted Jews against their former practice of "incestuous unions," S. W. Baron, *History*, III (1957), p. 42; J. Parkes, *Medieval Community*, p. 55; *idem*, *Conflict*, p. 294. Attacks on "incestuous" persons in the ninth century may have been intended for Jews or Jews intermarried with Christian kinsmen.

While negotiations were proceeding for the marriage of Charlemagne and Desiderata, daughter of King Desiderius of Lombardy, Pope Stephen III forbade the wedding on the grounds that Charlemagne was already wed with Himeltrud. Himeltrud bore him a son who was declared illegitimate on the grounds that she was a concubine. Carloman, Charles' brother, was married to Gerberge, of unknown origin, whose second son had Pope Stephen for godfather; S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 82-84.

13. In the *Chanson de Guillaume* Aymeri's daughter, unnamed, is the wife of the Emperor, v. 2629; in *Le Couronnement de Louis* *Chanson de Geste* ed. E. Langlois, the sister of William (unnamed daughter of Aymeri) marries Emperor Louis (son of Charlemagne), v. 2686; the same relationship in *Aymeri de Narbonne* ed. L. Demaison, where in addition all Aymeri's five daughters marry into the high aristocracy, I, Introduction, p. cxxi; II, Text, v. 4673-74; 4677-79; 4684-86; cf. *idem*, I, pp. ccv f. for similar references in *Aliscans* and *Covenant Vivien*. For a summary of the extant Spanish version, a literal translation of the French *La Reine Sibille* where a daughter of Aymeri of Narbonne is the wife of Louis son of Charlemagne, see G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 393 f.; cf. also *Macaire*. *Chanson de geste*, ed. F. Guessard, vv. 18-22. In the *Chanson de Guillaume*, Guiburc's brother Reinouart (Reneward) accepts baptism and marries Ermentrud, the offspring of King Louis with William's sister, v. 3497.

Agobard reports that the Jews of Lyons flaunted robes which, they said, their wives had received from imperial kinsmen and ladies of the palace; "Ostendunt vestes muliebres, quasi a consanguineis vestris (sc. Emperor Louis) vel matronis palatinorum uxoribus eorum directas"; *De Insolentia Judaeorum*, Agobardi *Epistolae* no. 7, *MGH*, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, ed. E. Dümmler, V, 3, p. 184:30-31.

arrived with a wife and family from the East (or else they followed him soon after) his second marriage would have resulted in the establishment of two parallel lines of succession, unless such intermarriage continued. Marriage of cousins is allowed by Jewish practice but forbidden by canon laws of consanguinity.¹⁴ In any event one could hope that before long an offspring would appear (namely, Makhir's son, grandson, or nephew on the Frank side of the family) a scion not only of the House of Arnulf but also of the biblical House of David in whom there would flow together these two great and glorious dynastic streams. Thereby would be realized the Carolingian ambition of establishing their dynasty as the successor to the biblical kings of Israel, and, in consequence, legitimate beyond cavil having inherited the divinely-ordained right to rule.

In this context the designation of Charlemagne in the Frank court as *David* may not appear as pure whimsy alone. Alcuin often spoke of Charles as *David* dropping his Frank name altogether: "David in orbe decus; David amate Deo; O dilecto Deo David dulcissime."

Likewise Angilbert lauded Charlemagne as "David who loves poetry, honors the wise, devotes himself to investigation of Scripture, attracts learned masters to Court in order to renew knowledge and the arts."¹⁵

On arrival in the West, the members of Makhir's family as well as any other immigrants would have Eastern names—Aramaic, Persian, and Arabic—in addition to Hebrew. They would likely translate these into local equivalents. But in just one or two generations Frank names, especially those distinctive of the Carolingian family and the Frank aristocracy, would emerge among them exclusively. Two such non-Hebrew names reappear most frequently among the Makhiri even in Hebrew materials—*Todros* and *Ḳalonymos*. *Ḳalonymos* is perhaps best traced to South Italian, Greek origins. *Todros*, on the other hand, is the distinguished Theodoricus, a name very prominent in Merovingian

14. On church councils' condemnation of "incestuous," that is consanguineous, marriages in the Carolingian Age see p. 119 note 12 of this text.

15. P. Munz, *The Origin of the Carolingian Empire* pp. 1-3. P. Lehmann, "Das literarische Bild Karls des Grossen," in his *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, p. 157, where see other similar references to Charlemagne as *David*. E. H. Kantorowicz emphasizes the biblical outlook of the Carolingian kings in his *Laudes Regiae*, Chapter II.

Gaul. At the time Pepin admitted Makhir to the high Frank aristocracy he may well have dubbed him with a distinguished dynastic name. Theodoric suggests itself because of its frequent reappearance in later generations of the Makhiri.¹⁶ In the *chansons de geste* the most noted son of "Aymeri" is William "of the curved nose," central figure of the William cycle of songs. William identifies himself as the son of Theodoric and Alda and names his (eldest?) son Theodoric.¹⁷ Abel-Simson

16. Tauros the Hebrew is mentioned in a viscountal act of February 17, 1064; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 179. Cf. the Hebrew appeal from Spain regarding the (once-Christian) widow of David of the family of R. Todros of Narbonne; J. Mann dates this communication in the eleventh century, *Texts and Studies*, I, pp. 31 f. no. 2. The "Appendix" to *ShK* reports a R. Todros Nasi as descendant of Makhir; another prominent member of the same dynasty, R. Qalonimos, had a son named Todros who was a noted poet (*paytan*); Appendix III, p. 385. Qalonimos b. Todros affixed his signature in Hebrew to a document dated 1195; G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 139. Cf. D. Kaufmann, "Lettres de Scheschet," *REJ*, XXXIX (1899), 64 and note 1. Todros b. Moses the Nasi was the son of Moses brother of the Nasi Qalonimos the Great (ca. 1170). His signature appears in a Hebrew *responsum* of the "sages of Narbonne" טודרוס ב'ר משה; Aaron b. Jacob haCohen of Lunel, *Orhot Haim* (Paths of Life), I (Firenze 5510-1750), p. 23c no. 5. His son became the noted Nasi R. Moses; Appendix, *ibid.* his signature is appended to the same *responsum*: משה ב'ר טודרוס; see also *Sefer haEshkol* ed. Sh. and H. Albeck, *mabho* (Introduction), p. 2, notes 2 and 3.

On the south Italian origin of the Qalonymides of Lucca, see L. Ginzberg, *Gemizah Studies*, II, p. 620.

Makhir b. Abba Mari, compiler of the *Yalkut ha-Makhiri* on Psalms includes a R. Todros in his lineage as follows: "I, the compiler, Makhir b. R. Abba Mari b. R. Makhir b. R. Todros b. R. Makhir b. haRabh R. Joseph b. R. Abba Mari of sainted memory . . .," *Yalkut ha-Makhiri*, ed. S. Buber (Berditchev 1879), Introduction. Neubauer conjectures he was a descendant of Makhir of Baghdad apparently because of the frequent reappearance of the name Makhir among his ancestors, *JE*, IX, p. 169.

The *Gesta* reports that Charles did in fact alter, if only slightly, Aymeri's name: from Aymeri de Beaulande to Aymeri de Narbonne; ed. F. Ed. Schneegans, vv. 2022-25.

17. In his "grant" to Gellone dated 804 William names his parents, *HGL*, II, Notes LXXXVI no. 6 f. As the result of a detailed analysis of this document and other diplomatic materials related thereto, Tisset has demonstrated the extent to which such sources, including royal diplomas, have been tampered with, altered, substituted for now lost documents, or simply forged in order to promote partisan interests of a later age; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone au Diocèse de Lodève*, pp. 21-

and Calmette have identified Alda as a daughter of Charles Martel and sister of Pepin. Thereby Theodoric (Makhir?) becomes a brother-in-law of Pepin the Short while William emerges as cousin of Charlemagne. The Makhiri would then indeed be related by blood (*kerobhim* according to the *ShK* "Appendix") to the Carolingians. Another son of William bore the distinctive Carolingian name Bernard (of Septimania).¹⁸ A contemporary describes Bernard as "of royal stock" (*de stirpe regali*) and adoptive son of the emperor.¹⁹ Bernard was married in the imperial palace and his learned wife Dhuoda may have been a sister or sister-in-law of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire.²⁰

93. However, there seems no reason to challenge the fact (which Tisset also accepts) that Theodoric was in actuality the name of William's father. Tisset identifies William's mother Aude (Alda) as the daughter of Charles Martel and the sister of Pepin (*ibid.*, p. 24, cf. note 108). Also, F. Lot accepts Calmette's identification of Theodoric as William's father, *Études*, pp. 249 note 7; 252 note 2; 257. Tisset considers it possible that Theodoric was the same warrior identified as count, kinsman of the King (Charlemagne) *comes propinquus regis*, mentioned in the *Annales Regni Francorum . . . et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, pp. 61 f. (anno 782); P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 25, 27. Note the same designation for Theodoric in these *Annales* for the years 791 (p. 89) and 793 (p. 93). E. Hlawitschka denies that this Theodoric married Pepin's daughter Alda. But then he has to make of him a person at least 85 years old at the time of his death in battle, 793, "Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen," 77. See this text p. 181 and note 12.

The name Theodoric reappears among William's sons. Theodoric, the apparently childless brother of Bernard of Septimania, left his properties to his nephew William, which were located in Burgundy; *Le Manuel de Dhuoda* ed. Ed. Bondurand, ch. 72, p. 237, p. 38; and ch. 62, p. 214. He may have been the *missus* reported in 816, and was dead by 843 when Dhuoda wrote; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 32-33.

18. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, p. 12 note 8; *idem*, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, pp. 330-32; II, p. 305; J. Calmette, "La famille de Saint Guilhem," *AdM*, XVIII (1906), 146-48. Calmette points out the widespread practice in the Carolingian period to name the first-born after his grandfather. In Dhuoda's genealogical table William's son Theodoric, in fact, heads the list of William's offspring borne by his second wife Guiburc, *Le Manuel* ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 152; J. Calmette, *loc. cit.*, 153.

19. Thegani *Gesta Domini Ludovici imperatoris*, ed. Bouquet, *RdHdF*, VI, ch. XXXVI, p. 281: "dixerunt Judith reginam violatam esse a quondam duce Bernardo, qui erat de stirpe regali et domini imperatoris ex sacro fonte baptismatis filio;" cf. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 55, note 4.

20. The Paris MS Bibliothèque nationale latin 12293 of her *Manual* ends with the subscription *Incoatio huius libelli II^o anno obitus Lodovici quondam mei fratris*,

The *ShK* "Appendix" continues: "Makhir and his dynasty were among the leaders of their time, rulers [*mehokekim* an allusion to Genesis 49:10 and Judges 5:14] and judges in all the lands, virtual exilarchs shepherding Israel with faithfulness and skill."²¹

The form in which the *Addendum* to *ShK* transmits this information emphasizes the service of the Makhiri to their own people. However, a domain such as Makhir governed would require numerous officials and ministers. The "rulers and judges in all the lands" may refer to such governors or counts.

Meir b. Simeon's *Milhemet Mitsvah* has also preserved information of value to which attention has already been drawn.²² Therein Meir makes two claims: (1) that an early Carolingian ruler (presumably Charlemagne) invited Jews to settle in Frankia and gave them guarantees of protection for person, substance, and hereditary land-tenure; (2) these Jews participated personally with distinction and with economic resources in the wars of conquest of the Carolingians "in many lands" and contributed significantly to their successes; moreover, that early Carolingian policy fostered Jewish immigration into the Frankish realm defining and guaranteeing their rights in a written charter. Meir continues with a report of how a Jewish warrior saved the life of the

ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 249, note 3. Calmette rejects this statement out of hand because as a daughter of Charlemagne Dhuoda would have stood in a degree of consanguinity with Bernard which would have prevented their marriage by canon law; J. Calmette, "La famille de Saint Guilhelm," *AdM*, XVIII (1906), 162. However, Jewish practice permits the marriage of cousins. On other grounds Delisle had denied that Dhuoda was Louis' sister. He declared *quondam mei fratris*, as it appears in Mabillon's copy (Bibliothèque nationale MS latin 12293), to be a scribal error. However Mabillon published essentially the same statement as *condam mei fratris* also in *Acta Sanctorum* saec. IV pars. I (1677), pp. 750-57. Delisle relies on Baluze who says he saw *Ludovici condam imperatoris* in the manuscript of Pierre de Marca prepared from a copy in the Abbey Lagrasse, which Delisle identifies as the source of MS Bibliothèque nationale latin 12293; L. Delisle, "Le Manuel de Dhuoda," 236-39; cf. *Le Manuel* ed. Ed. Bondurand, pp. 7, 263-64. M. Chaume understands "brother" to mean brother-in-law, *Les Origines du Duché de Bourgogne*, I, p. 152.

21. ועוד היו הוא וזרעו ממנהיגי הדור וממחוקקים ושופטים בכל הארצות כמו ראשי גליות והם רעים אח ישראל באמונתם ובתבונתם כשיהם.

MJC, I, p. 82; see Appendix III this text.

22. A. Neubauer, "Documents sur Narbonne," *REJ*, X (1885), 98-99. For complete text see Appendix IV this work; for translation and date, pp. 64-67 this text.

king who became unhorsed in battle with the Saracens before Narbonne.²³

In point of fact, one of the *chansons* relates the rescue in battle of an unhorsed king ("Louis") by one of his knights who sacrificed his own life thereby. The *Charroi de Nîmes* tells that King Louis gave out fiefs but overlooked William in spite of numerous and valuable services. In particular, William became enraged over the case of Marquis Berengar of the Valley of Rivièrs. The Marquis had fled to the Emperor because of an unexpiated manslaughter. In return for service King Louis gave him a fief and a noble spouse. For a long time the Marquis served him well. Then in a fierce battle with the Saracens the King was thrown from his horse; he would never have been able to mount again, had Marquis Berengar not come along. Seeing his lord surrounded on all sides and in great danger, he galloped up to him brandishing his shining sword. He forced open a free space around the King and, dismounting from his horse, offered it to his lord. He held the stirrups while the King mounted and fled in trepidation. On that very spot Marquis Berengar was killed and cut to pieces and none could save him, vv. 335-64.²⁴

The lands of Berengar, inheritance of his orphan, Louis offered to William. He disdainfully rejected them declaring that he would never rob minors of their possessions. The King then offered William one-fourth of all the revenues of France, a fourth of its treasury, and a fourth of the entire realm, vv. 384-95, William refused. He wanted only some chateaux and marches, donjons and strongholds, v. 412. Specifically, he asked for the March of Spain with Tortolose and Portpailart-sur-mer, Nîmes, and Orange, vv. 480-88. Louis protested that these lands were not his to give away; they belonged to the Saracens, vv. 512-21. When William insisted, Louis granted him Spain

23. A. Neubauer, "Documents sur Narbonne," *REJ*, X (1885), 98-99; see pp. 64-67, 360-61 this text.

24. *Le Charroi de Nîmes* ed. J.-L. Perrier.

In 819 Berengar was Count of the Toulousain but, as Dhondt emphasizes, not of the Narbonnaise in Septimania; J. Dhondt, *Études*, p. 176. In 837 there was conflict between Berengar and Bernard over Septimania. When Berengar died Bernard son of William succeeded to maximum power there: *apud Bernhardum potestas Septimaniae quam maxima remansit; ibid.*, p. 184.

on condition that he not be obligated to bring William aid in time of need, vv. 580–88. They finally agreed on William's suggestion for aid once in seven years, vv. 590–91. Manuscript D of the *Charroi de Nîmes* specifically includes Narbonne in the fief.²⁵

We have noted that Meir b. Simeon claims documentary evidence in support of the contention that a Jewish warrior rescued the life of his unhorsed king, which evidence, he says, is in the public domain as well as in Jewish possession. Of course, the *Chanson* does not identify the warrior-hero as a Jew. May this indicate how material of authentic Jewish context came to lose its original coloration in the course of time especially when exploited in epics of "Christian" wars against the Saracens of Spain?

These circumstances suggest how carefully Narbonne Jewry treasured the records of its history. The report about a Jewish warrior-hero of the Carolingian Age, or a song based on it, must have been available to the poet of the *Charroi de Nîmes* at the time he composed his verses in the twelfth century. Meir b. Simeon, addressing his appeal to the King of France in 1245, states that the report in its original form was still extant in his day. It would not have been possible to fabricate out of whole cloth a pure fiction of this kind if it lacked a shred of historical truth, especially after the event had been written up in a popular *chanson* completely devoid of Jewish content.

The data supplied by Ibn Daud and Meir enable us to follow the course of events after 768. At the start of 769 rebellion broke out in Aquitaine led by a certain Hunald, perhaps the father of Waifar. Charles swiftly quelled the uprising with a few troops. He was now in even firmer control of Aquitaine than Pepin had been. Following his father's practice he entrusted the land's administration to local counts who, however, are not identified.²⁶ In the same year Sergius, legate of Pope Stephen III, came into Frankland as was indicated above p. 99.

By the year 777 preparations for an invasion of Spain (which had to proceed quietly) began to bear fruit. In that year a magnate of Saragossa, Ibn al-Arabi, came to the Diet in Paderborn and declared himself

25. E.-E. Lange-Kowal, *Das altfranzösische Epos vom "Charroi de Nîmes,"* v. 531.

26. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 42–49.

ready to accept Charles' overlordship for himself and the towns under his control. He was accompanied by a son and son-in-law of Yussuf, the chief opponent of Emir 'Abd ar-Raḥman. At the same time a governor of the Spanish eastern coast, the wali of Barcelona and Gerona, Suleiman ben Yoktan al-Arabi, also allied with Yussuf's clan, was won over for the Frank cause. A plan for the invasion of the peninsula was worked out and put into effect. Charles divided his forces in two sending one through the eastern Pyrenees while he led the other across the western mountains. In Christian Pamplona, which fell to the Frank King, another Arab magnate Abu Taurus (Taher) paid Charles homage for himself and the towns under him including Huesca. It seemed indeed that for a while Charles might conquer by treaty. Yussuf's son-in-law, 'Abd ar-Raḥman ibn Habib the Slav, landed on the coast of Tadmir (Murcia) and summoned the populace to support him against the Umayyads. At this critical juncture Suleiman inexplicably did not respond but instead he opposed the Slav and, when attacked, defeated him.

The forces which had come down the east coast joined up with Charles' men and together they laid siege to Saragossa. But the fortress would not yield. Meanwhile the Emir himself prepared to move against the invading Franks. Charles was forced to lift the siege and turn homeward. On the way back his rear guard was attacked in the passes near Roncesvalles, an event later immortalized in the *Song of Roland*. Suleiman was blamed for the failure of the enterprise. In chains he was brought back to Frankia. His son Issun had fled to Narbonne for asylum ("to the Franks" reports an Arab chronicler). When freed by Charles (perhaps on condition that he turn Saragossa over to the Franks), Suleiman returned to Spain and took Saragossa. But 'Abd ar-Raḥman laid siege to the town for two years. The citadel did not yield until Suleiman was assassinated. Thus ended in gruesome failure Charles' first attempt to extend his power beyond the Pyrenees. R. d'Abadal maintains that Charlemagne intended to set up a protectorate in Spain with the collaboration of certain Muslim allies; but that the Christians of Spain also responded with great enthusiasm to his expedition. The debacle at Roncesvalles he ascribes to an attack by Prince Lupo's Gascons from the Frank side of the Pyrenees. R. Louis properly points out, on the other hand, that Charlemagne found it

necessary to capture the Christian town of Pamplona on his invasion route and to destroy it on his retreat, hardly an indication of enthusiastic cooperation with him on the part of its inhabitants. In fact, he concludes, these Christians of Spain objected to Charlemagne's designs for a Frankish March since it threatened their own independence. The Basques and Navarros, aided by Gascons, ambushed his army. Menéndez Pidal thinks that Charlemagne's capture of Pamplona was non-violent, but maintains that he later destroyed the town's walls because of the hostility of its Christian residents, in order to prevent its use as a base for attack. He sees Christian Basques and Muslims in alliance at the catastrophe of Roncesvalles, August 15, 778.²⁷

Makhir and his adjutants were doubtless involved in this expedition. His effectiveness may be seen particularly in the readiness of the local walis across the mountains to subscribe to the Frank cause. Suleiman's defection at a critical moment and in fact the collapse of the entire enterprise must have been a severe personal blow to Makhir. The flight of Suleiman's son to Narbonne—"to the Franks"—for refuge where Makhir had his seat and the Jews were most prominent raises a question as to the nationality of his father Suleiman (Solomon) b. Yoqtan (an unaltered biblical name).²⁸

While Charles was on the Spanish campaign his wife bore twins, the elder of whom died. When his son Louis reached the age of three he entrusted the infant King of Aquitaine to a *baiulus* Arnold. In the *chansons* the father of Aymeri is Ernaut de Beaulande. The same name also appears in Dhuoda's list of the children of her father-in-law William. Deodat was Louis' chancellor, Abbo and Hildegair were notaries. Others who served as *ministri* are unnamed.²⁹ By 785 however Charles began to feel concern about the effect of strange and foreign

27. S. Abel, B. Simson, *ibid.*, I, pp. 290-307. R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La expedición de Carlomagno a Zaragoza, el hecho histórico," *Coloquios de Roncesvalles*, 64-69. R. Louis, "L'épopée française est carolingienne," *ibid.*, 402-03. R. Menéndez Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland*, 2nd ed., pp. 195-209.

28. Genesis 10:25, 26.

29. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 308-10; 398; *Praepone illi baiulum Arnoldum, Vita Hludowici*, § 4, MGH, SS, II, p. 609. *Le Manuel de Dhuoda* ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 152. For Deodat and Hildegair, see also L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 21.

customs on his son. He ordered him brought to court, leaving behind all the margraves of Aquitaine to guard the frontiers.³⁰

In Aquitaine Charlemagne undertook measures to assure the obedience of the populace and especially of the bishops, who appear to have become restive. He transplanted Aquitanians to Francia and perhaps Burgundy.³¹ He appointed several new counts and abbots and sent in royal vassals "of the people of the Franks whose sagacity and courage no one's cunning and no one's strength could safely oppose, and to them (Charles) entrusted the administration of the realm insofar as he judged it useful, the guarding of the borders and the provisioning of the royal villas on the land."

Nine of these counts are named. Among them were Haimo in Albi, Iterius in Arvernum (Auvergne), Abbo in Poitiers, Bull in Velay, and Chorso in Toulouse.³² Septimania or the Narbonnaise are not mentioned.³³ Was this reserved for Makhir?

30. *Vita Hludowici*, anno 785 § 4, p. 609:6-12.

31. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 10.

32. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., p. 310. The first three of these names are similar in the Hebrew: Haim, Itiel, Abba.

An Aymo (Haim?) is identified as the son of Aymeri in the *Life of Saint Honorat* composed ca. 1300 by Raimon Féraut. This hagiograph contains several reminiscences of the Carolingian epics mingled with legendary episodes of Honorat's life. The abridged *Vita* cites *Aymericus princeps Narbonensis* and *Aymo filius principis Narbonensis*. Féraut's MS mentions *Naymes, filh d'Aymeric, del prince de Narbona*; L. Demaison, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, I, pp. ccxl, ccxli, ccxlii note 2. *Bull* is the equivalent of the Hebrew *Shor*; cf. Gen. 49:6; Deut. 33:17. Joseph *Bekhor Shor* was the name of a Franco-German Bible commentator in the twelfth century. Is *Chorso* the Persian *Khosroe*? Bustanai's sons by the Persian princess Izdadwar had the same names as the sons of the former Persian King Khosroe; see p. 118 note 11 of this text.

33. Charlemagne probably continued his father Pepin's policy of granting ecclesiastical property in Aquitaine to his *fideles*. Specifically, when he set up these counts and (lay) abbots *per totam Aquitaniam necnon alios plurimos quos vassos vulgo vocant ex gente Vrancorum* (*Vita Hludowici*, § 3, *MGH*, SS, II, p. 608), he endowed them at least in part with church lands; E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, II, 1, p. 64 and note 4. Lesne thinks that the constitution of the *comitatus* is in fact only a particular aspect of the endowment of the *fideles* at the expense of ecclesiastical estates. The *comitatus* received a portion of church possessions because the sovereign assigned lands in benefice to his *fideles*, entirely indifferent as to

Meir b. Simeon claimed that the Jews fought for the Carolingians "in many lands" and with notable success. Now one of the most prominent warriors of Charlemagne was a certain Count Theodoric of whose personal relationships nothing is known except that he was a kinsman (*propinquus*) of the King, who granted him estates in the Rhineland.

When news of the outbreak of a fierce rebellion in Saxony reached Count Theodoric, who was in Ripuarian Francia (Rhineland) in 782, he immediately summoned as many troops as he could without waiting for Charles' action and hurried with them into Saxony. Theodoric met up with Charles' commanders Adalgis, Gailo, and Worad. He advised them to spy out the location of the Saxons and their military position and then, if the topography permitted, to launch a joint attack. This was agreed upon, and the armies moved forward. When they neared the enemy these commanders broke the compact. The annalist blames their personal ambition and jealousy of Theodoric. They feared that the glory of victory would go to him if he participated and therefore they joined the battle alone. They met disaster; in fact, almost total annihilation. Only a small remnant managed to flee back to Theodoric. Adalgis and Gailo met their death together with four counts and about twenty other prominent individuals. The news of the catastrophe caught Charles unprepared but he moved to the attack nevertheless and overcame the Saxons.³⁴

This incident reappears in the *Chanson de Guillaume* with William

whether they had been originally fiscal domain or ecclesiastical property; *ibid.*, p. 88.

This recalls Pope Stephen's charge that the Carolingian princes had included "Christian territories" in their grant of allodial estates to Jews in the vast complex Septimania-Spain; see pp. 50, 53 of this text and Hincmar's efforts to restore alienated lands in Aquitaine to his church at Rheims, A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 76 ff.

34. *Einhardi Annales* ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH*, SS I, anno 782, p. 163:32-34: "Quibus in ipsa Saxonica obviavit Theodericus comes, propinquus regis, cum his copiis quas audita Saxonum defectione raptim in Ribuarum congregare potuit." Cf. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 429-33, where the sources are assembled. Cf. also Abel-Simson, *ibid.*, II, p. 13, and L. Halphen, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*, pp. 163-67 for an exposition of this debacle.

substituted for Theodoric. The song relates that when the Saracens invaded southern France, word of the incursion was brought to Count Tedbalt of Bourges. He rejected Vivien's plea to summon his uncle William to help because, as Tedbalt's own nephew Estourmi pointed out, no sooner does William participate in an encounter than he gets all the glory, even if his own achievement be slight. Tedbalt and Estourmi decided to take on the enemy alone. But the battle was hardly joined when these two were the first to flee in most cowardly fashion. The Frank army was annihilated and Vivien killed.³⁵

G. Amardel, P. Tisset, and others have identified Theodoric as the father of Count William of Toulouse and the husband of Pepin's sister Alda. Amardel says that Theodoric yielded his office as Count of Narbonne to Milo in return for a more important post in Saxony, but furnished counts from among his descendants for a very large number of towns in the Midi. In 791 Duke Theodoric was still alive. In consequence, a grandson of Theodoric was Bernard of Septimania, whose wife Dhuoda resided in Uzès where were located "ancient books of Theodoric the Pious." Therein was reported that King Pepin offered his allies behind the walls of Narbonne the right to rule if they would surrender the fortress to him.³⁶ It seems that outside of Aquitaine and Septimania the name *Theodoric* was used almost exclusively and preferred.

It need occasion no great surprise that a scholar of such vast, almost incredible, learning as Natronai-Makhir (he is reported to have transmitted the entire Talmud orally to western Jews) should also be a

35. Tedbalt (Tebald) Tiébaud, a Saracen chief in the William Song, is the first spouse of Guiburec; see Index *s.v.* Tedbalt, D. McMillan (ed.), *La Chanson*, p. 146. Tedbalt in the same Song is also Tiébaud de Bourges, commander of the Christian armies which were vanquished at Archamp, *ibid.* The events described above in the text, *ibid.*, pp. 3:12-6:79.

36. G. Amardel, "Les derniers chefs des Goths de la Septimanie," *BCAN*, VI (1900-01), 579-81. Amardel even suggests an identification of Theodoric and Aymeri, p. 579. P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, p. 24. P. Paris sees a copyist's error in the name *Theodoricus* which he wishes to read *Aimericus*, *Les Manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, III, p. 123. For the relevant reference in the *Chronicle of Uzès* see p. 174, note 63 and p. 41, note 10 this text. On the other hand, E. Hlawitschka denies that this Theodoric was the husband of Alda; see this text p. 122, note 17.

military strategist. There are few such examples known from the early Middle Ages, although their number is likely to increase. Heretofore, the most distinguished representative of the Jewish scholar-army commander tradition was of course Abu-Ibrahim Samuel b. Joseph Halevi ibn Nagrela, 993–1056. He was the Nagid of the Jews centered on eleventh-century Granada, the highest official (vizier) of the kingdom, second only to the king himself, and commander-in-chief of the army, which he directed in the field several months each year.

Between 1038 and 1056 there were only two years during which Samuel haNagid did not lead the armies on a campaign. He experienced several narrow escapes in battle. Yet Arab historians make not a single allusion to the fact that the Jewish vizier commanded the state armies or even fought in the field. We would know nothing of Samuel as a military strategist except for one Hebrew source and the pains that the Nagid himself took to inform his contemporaries, and thereby posterity, of his exploits. At the same time Samuel was a scholar of note who wrote a kind of concordance to the Bible of a philological character, transcribed a faithful copy of the Hebrew Bible in his own hand, composed a monumental halakhic text, and headed a Talmudic academy. He was a prolific poet and a patron of poets and scholars. His son Joseph succeeded him in office.³⁷

Natronai-Makhir was the first of the noted dynasty of the Makhiri. It is even possible that, following Arabic usage, he came to be known familiarly as Ha-Makhiri or Al-Makhiri of Narbonne. Can we see therein perhaps the origin of the name of the otherwise "legendary" (because unidentified) Aymeri of Narbonne, contemporary of Charlemagne and central hero of several *chansons de geste*? The first historical personages known by this name in France were an abbot of Dèvre³⁸

37. J. Schirmann, "Samuel Hannagid, the Man, the Soldier, the Politician," *JSS*, XII (1951), 99–126; Y. Baer, *Jews in Christian Spain*, I, 32–35; 383, note 8; M. Margalioth, *Sefer Hilkhot Hannagid*, pp. 52–53; cf. G. D. Cohen, "The Four Captives," 126–29.

38. The date is established only with probability from a twelfth-century copy by G. Tessier (ed.), *Recueil des actes de Charles le Chauve*, I, no. 42, pp. 115, 117:12, 23, "eorum abbati nomine Aimerico." Dèvre was dependent on the church at Bourges. Otherwise, in France the name of Aymeri is associated only with Narbonne until the twelfth century.

in 844 (?), a bishop³⁹ of Narbonne 927–77, and Aymeri I, Viscount of Narbonne, 1080–1105. In Catalonian sources the names Eimeric, Aimeric, and so forth, appear in the period 879–996.⁴⁰ In the face of this early documentation, long before the oldest *chansons*, it is difficult

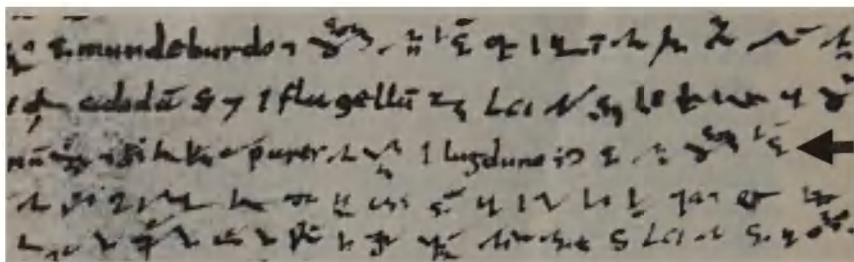


FIG. 1

Photograph of MS latin 2718, folio 76a, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, illustrating, in the line indicated, the reading by Carpentier and Rozières “et Ioseph atque Ammonicum, pares eorum,” as reported by Wilhelm Schmitz, *Monumenta tachygraphica codicis Parisiensis Latini 2718*, fasc. 1 (Hanover 1882), no. 31, p. 23, note 5. The *cum* and *pares* appear in longhand and serve to locate the text.

to see why Ferdinand Lot has declared himself persuaded that Aymeri I and his successors owe their name to the influence of the *chansons de geste*.⁴¹ Was Al-Makhiri of Narbonne, warrior for Pepin and his sons and beneficiary of their bounty, the historical prototype of the enigmatic “Aymeri of Narbonne”? This becomes a growing probability if the name of a Jewish leader in Lyons written in Tironian notes and read

39. *Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. L. Demaison, I, Introduction, cxxix; E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 127–31. At Bishop Aymeric's death the Viscount of Narbonne placed his own son on the see, p. 234; see p. 243.

40. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 63. M. C. Coll i Alentorn, “La introducció de les llegendes èpiques Franceses a Catalunya,” *Coloquios de Roncesvalles*, 146.

41. F. Lot, *Études sur les légendes épiques françaises*, p. 254, note 3. Demaison early took up position against this view, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, I, Introduction, pp. cxxviii–ix.

as *Ammonicum* by Carpentier and Rozières, and accepted by Bouquet, should turn out to be, more correctly, *Aimericum*.⁴²

In the summer of 782, at the time that Theodoric was off in the East fighting his king's battles, a count by the name of Milo makes an appearance in the records concerning Narbonne. A court judgment relates that Archbishop Daniel, on taking temporary leave of his see, entrusted its administration to Arluin. The latter brought suit against Count Milo for a considerable number of *villae* belonging in the jurisdiction of the churches St. Justus and St. Pastor of Narbonne and two suburban basilicae St. Paul and St. Stephen. In all, more than fifty pieces of real property were involved. Milo could produce no proof that he held the land from King Charles as he claimed; while, on the other hand, thirteen *boni homines* swore that the property belonged to the churches mentioned. Judgment went against the Count who restored the properties on June 3. Griffe (following Lesne) says that the heading of the document (which states that the Archbishop was away from his diocese on pilgrimage to Jerusalem) is a later addition.⁴³ Actually, since the Cathedral of St. Justus and St. Pastor was not built until the

42. "... et Joseph atque Ammonicum pares eorum ..." in the well-known mandate of Emperor Louis the Debonair for the Jewry of Lyons dated ca. 825; *RdHdF* ed. M. Bouquet VI, no. XXXIII, 650. Zeumer, following W. Schmitz, brands this reading incorrect. They can distinguish in the Tironian notes IMP or IPM, which form no recognizable name. Furthermore, *cum* is not the conclusion of the name (*Ammonicum* in Bouquet) but must be construed with *pares eorum*, asserts Zeumer, in spite of the bad grammar. He therefore reads the passage as follows: "... notum sit, quia hos praesentes Hebreos, David, nunnum Davitis, et Joseph atque ... cum pares eorum, habitantes in Lugduno civitate ..."; *Formulae* no. 31, p. 310:7-8. Zeumer's difficulty with *David, nunnum Davitis* may be resolved if we translate: David, offspring (that is, *of the House*) of David. See photograph of MS latin 2718, fol. 76a, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fig. I here. Viscount Aymeri held ancient family property, including the Jews' old school, in the *Juiverie* of Narbonne as late as 1217; G. Saige, *Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 156. See this text p. 165, note 38.

43. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher ... unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 438-39. E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, p. 93-94. E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, II, 1, 49-58; 185-97; VI, 19, 30, 34, 44, 46.

The heading states that Daniel was on pilgrimage to Jerusalem: *Danielo episcopo Jerosolymam profecto, remansit causidicus Arluinus*. A. Molinier states that this reading is based on a faulty copy; *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 6 - V, col. 47-50.

end of the ninth century, the entire document is suspect. This suspicion is strengthened by the anachronistic use of the title archbishop throughout and the vulgar Latin of the text, which is not older than the late tenth or early eleventh century. The original has apparently been tampered with and obviously for the benefit of the tenth- or eleventh-century archbishop. Who the absent official really was and for whose benefit the authentic court judgment was given is not now ascertainable. The impression is that the Saxon war lasted through the summer and fall of 782 demanding Theodoric's presence in the East. Not until Christmas did Charlemagne return to Thionville on the Moselle.⁴⁴

However, there is no reason to doubt the presence in Narbonne of a Count Milo at this time. In fact two silver pennies have been found which were minted in or near Narbonne and bear his name. One denar has the letters MILO in the four corners of the coin and the name NRBO on the other side. With the transfer to silver coinage under the Carolingians all coins carried the name or monogram of the king. This denar is the only known exception. Neither Ad. Soetbeer nor Abel and Simson can explain by what authority Milo was permitted to mint coins in Narbonne stamped with his own name. Amardel emphasizes the significance for Milo's status implicit in such independent coinage.⁴⁵ In the *chansons* a Milo appears frequently as the brother of Aymeri. According to one manuscript version of *Aymeri de Narbonne*, Milon de Pruelle was the brother of Aymeri; his grandfather Garin de Mont-

44. The end of the document reads after Milo's signature: "S. Milo comis qui hanc notitiam traditionis, iudicii et evacuationis feci et firmare rogavi bonis hominibus." Why should Milo speaking in the first person request that this judgment be confirmed if it did indeed go against him? On the duration of the Saxon war, see S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 430-35. On the date of the Cathedral, *HGL*, V, p. 37 no. 9. See p. 46, note 19 of this text.

45. Ad. Soetbeer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geld- und Münzwesens in Deutschland," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, IV (1864), 344; S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, pp. 438-39; G. Amardel, "La première monnaie de Milon," *BCAN*, VI (1900-01), 381-90, and especially his "Les derniers chefs des Goths de la Septimanie," *ibid.*, 577, note 1, 580-81; and "Le comte Milon," *BCAN*, VII (1902/03), 30 wherein he identifies Milon as the supreme, independent head of the Goths of Septimania and their last chief, succeeding Theodoric as Count of Narbonne.

glane, a contemporary of Pepin, is the presumed ancestor of the Aymeri-William clan.⁴⁶

In another manuscript version of *Aymeri*, Milo son of Duke Garnier appears as Aymeri's emissary to King Boniface of the Lombards to ask for his sister Hermengarde in marriage. Remarkably, the French tradition as represented by the *chansons de geste* knows of only one pope who stood in relationship with Charlemagne, Pope Milo. In *Aspremont*, Pope Milo follows Charlemagne in his wars. In the *Couronnement de Charles*, he comes to Aix-la-Chapelle to anoint the Emperor with great pomp.⁴⁷

Makhir's major military responsibility, however, lay in the direction of Spain even though he might be summoned to take part in wars in other lands. But any invasion of the peninsula required a "softening up" of the fortresses on the other side of the mountains. Once more Gerona is the first citadel to rise into view. In 785, for reasons that are not made clear, "the men of Gerona" turned their town over to King Charles. This is the same fortress that Suleiman had offered to Pepin in 759 (if not 752); and Suleiman ben Yoqtan ibn Arabi was Wali of Gerona at the time he allied with Charles in 777. Who were "the men of Gerona," that took the initiative this time is not stated. It seems to imply communal action of a kind which is not easily explicable on the basis of eighth-century town constitution. Shortly thereafter Ausona and Urgel appear under Frank domination.⁴⁸ But according to Bishop Idalcarius of Vich at the Council of Barcelona in 906, the Saracen invasion had annihilated all Christians in the County of Ausona, and they were no longer found therein until near the end of the ninth century. In the distant past (declared the Bishop) Hispania and Gothia,

46. J. Crosland, *The Old French Epic*, p. 46; see *Index s.v.* Milon, Garin; L. Demaison (ed.), *Aymeri de Narbonne*, I, Introduction, p. cclii.

47. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, pp. 421, 455.

48. Eodem anno (785) Gerundenses homines Gerundam civitatem Carlo regi tradiderunt; *Chronicon Moissac*, *MGH*, SS, I, p. 297:29-30. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, I, 2nd ed., pp. 419-20; II, pp. 14-15.

In 798 King Louis of Aquitaine set up a line of fortifications on Aquitaine's borders—the town Ausona (later Vich), the Castell Cardona (northwest of Barcelona), Castaserra, "and the other formerly abandoned places." He strengthened them, gave them residents, and entrusted their defence to Count Burellus; *Vita Hludowici*, anno 798, § 8, p. 611:17-20.

including Ausona, once had sacred institutions. But in consequence of invasion not a single Christian remained behind in the County of Ausona until the time of Wifred and his brothers, who restored the church to its former possessions with the aid of the prelates Sigebod, Theodard, Gotmar, and Arnust of Narbonne.⁴⁹ On the other hand Hebrew *responsa* of the ninth century speak of Ausona as an all-Jewish town.⁵⁰ Moreover, the Jewish community of Gerona emerges in the documents at the beginning of the eleventh century; by the twelfth century it is found occupying the most ancient section of the town within the old walls.⁵¹ Is there being enacted at this time in the fortresses of the gestating "March of Spain" a repetition of the fall of Narbonne to the Franks in 759 and for similar reasons? Perhaps coordinate with these successful efforts to penetrate the peninsula by treaty and local support in the east was an attempt to move into Gascony at the western end of the Pyrenees. Such an attempt on the part of Duke Chorso of Toulouse terminated in a debacle. The details are shrouded in vagueness approaching mystery. The net result appears to be that Chorso permitted himself to be trapped by the Basque Adalric, and only by swearing an oath (of contents unknown) was he allowed to go free. The "soft" treatment of Adalric by the administrators of Aquitaine enraged Charlemagne, who summoned the bold rebel to the Diet of Worms in 790 and sentenced him to everlasting banishment. He then replaced Chorso with William. William identified himself as the son of Theodoric and Alda; the *chansons de geste* make his father the fabled "Aymeri" (Al-Makhiri?). If William was indeed the offspring of the

49. "Cum priscis temporibus tota Hispania atque Gotia sacris insisteret eruditionibus, & vernaret clero, atque fulgeret ecclesiis Christo dicatis, inter reliquas ipsa quoque Ausonensis ecclesia nobilis habebatur. Peccatis vero exigentibus illorum, qui tunc habitatores erant illarum terrarum, ut omnes nostis, barbarico gladio divino judicio traditi sunt, ita ut nec aliquis christianorum in praedicto pago Ausonae remaneret. Post multorum autem annorum curricula misertus Dominus terrae, suscitavit in ea nobilissimum principem Wilfredum & fratres ejus: qui, ex diversis locis & gentibus homines pio amore colligentes, praelibatam ecclesiam cum suis finibus in pristinum instauraverunt statum . . .," *HGL*, V, preuves, col. 117.

50. See pp. 318-19 of this text.

51. I. (F.) Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, part 1, no. 3, p. 2, December 1002; *EJ*, VII, "Gerona," col. 298.

marriage which Makhir contracted in 768, he would not be older than twenty or twenty-one in 790, which marks his first appearance in the documents.⁵²

The death of Emir 'Abd ar-Rah̄man on October 7, 788 must have provided new opportunity to press further into the peninsula. Perhaps this news precipitated Chorso's action. Far more successful, in any event, was the penetration at the eastern slope of the mountains. Alcuin reports that during 785-90 Charles' "dukes and tribunes" captured Gerona, Urgel, Ausona, and as much as three hundred miles along the coast.⁵³

At a general assembly in Toulouse during the same period King Louis of Aquitaine received an embassy of the Wali Abu Taurus (Taher) and other Arab commanders of the Aquitaine border, who brought gifts and sued for peace. This may be the same Taher who as Wali of Huesca paid homage to Charles at Pamplona in 778. These signal advances and victories were all achieved without the direct participation of Charles, who spent 790 and the early part of 791 in and around Worms.⁵⁴

Northern Spain now lay at the feet of Charlemagne. Victory had been achieved at relatively low cost by quiet diplomacy rather than by clash of arms. Clearly the hour had struck for recognition of these achievements in Spain. Charlemagne responded with his (now lost) *privilegium* of 791, which is referred to on p. 63 of this text. Thereby, the Jewish Principate, established by the Frankish kings in 768, at the head of which was Natronai-Makhir, became a permanent institution located in an extensive domain on both sides of the Pyrenees and along the shores of the Mediterranean.

52. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 12-13.

53. Alcuin, *Epistolae*, MGH, *Epistolarum Tomus IV*, ed. E. Dümmler, no. 7 *ineunte anno 790*, p. 32:17-18. A. Kleinclausz says that no text mentions formally the occupation of Urgel and Vich (formerly Ausona) at this time but it follows from the events which took place during Charles' conflict with Adoptionism, *Charlemagne*, p. 153, note 2; cf. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, p. 15. Kleinclausz points out that Hisham had preached Holy War since 791, hence Charles should not have left the southern border undefended by dispatching powerful contingents to Italy under King Louis; *op. cit.*, p. 154.

54. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, p. 15 and the references there.

Alexandre Dumège reported⁵⁵ that this document was once located in Lagrasse. This is the same monastery where the compiler of the *Gesta* labored at his task in the thirteenth century, a location also which seems to have been the repository of the source used by the author of the *Milhemet Mitsvah*. The contents of Charlemagne's lost *privilegium* dovetail nicely with the facts established thus far and supplement them significantly, as follows: "In 791, a delegation of ten men headed by Isaac petitioned Charlemagne in the name of a Jewish king, whose seat was in Narbonne, to make permanent the institution of a Jewish monarchy there; Charlemagne confirmed this kingship as a permanent institution in return for [an annual] payment of 70 marks silver and ceded a section of Narbonne to them."

Isaac makes his first appearance in the documents here. He must have played some role in the Frank advances in Spain and perhaps also in other lands. He obviously came of a prominent family. The situation would seem to have called for William to report directly to the King after the triumphs in Spain. But we do not know William's Hebrew name and we are in the dark about Isaac's Latin or Frank name. The information about Isaac's name and the delegation he led derives from the lost capitulary or *privilegium* (as reported by Dumège) and not from any of the royal annals. On the other hand, the mission to Baghdad and Jerusalem 797–801 was widely publicized. The ambassador from North Africa reported that two of its three leading officials had died en route; only one returned—Isaac the Jew.⁵⁶ Obviously the Arab official knew only the latter's Hebrew or Arabic (not his Frank) name.

The contents of the manuscript reported by Dumège are so similar

55. For Dumège's report see p. 63 of this text. The tradition reported by Dumège should not be confused with a legendary account (found in the archives of the Jewry of Avignon) that King David sent two knights to conclude an alliance with the city of Narbonne; furthermore, that during the period of Rome's glory there were established three capitals. The first was set in Jerusalem, the second at Rome, and the third in Narbonne. The last-named had authority over all Spain and Gaul and was called *Capduel* because Narbonne was the key of Spain; Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Doat, vol. 3, fol. 1a. Cf. J. Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 176, note 4, for the same first part of this account, drawn from the Narbonne town archives, *Thalamus* fol. 3a, 130v.

56. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 254–57; see this text pp. 187–89.

to the *Gesta* (soon to be analyzed) that Régné, whose theories were compromised thereby, maintained that Dumège was referring merely to the *Gesta*. When confronted by the vital date 791, lacking in the *Gesta*, he hinted that Dumège fabricated it!⁵⁷ There are still other variants. The *Gesta* makes no reference to the prophet Daniel as ancestor of the Jewish king in Narbonne and counts eleven, instead of ten, men in the delegation to Charlemagne.⁵⁸

It is then to the point to inquire into the reliability of the document itself. A discussion of its formal nature may help to a conclusion. Dumège left no doubt that he himself never saw the manuscript in question, which apparently is now lost. He merely transmitted a resumé of its contents, perhaps as summarized by an earlier archival official. Was the lost manuscript a royal charter? The resumé leaves the impression that it was a narrative statement based, to be sure, on a royal edict which stabilized the Jewish "kingship" as a permanent institution

57. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 19. In transcribing this passage from Dumège, I. Lévi did not distinguish between Dumège's comment beginning *Ils firent construire*, etc., (which starts a new paragraph in Dumège's essay) and the actual contents of the manuscript he reported. His comment of course did not belong in the manuscript where Lévi placed it. Lévi is also of the opinion that Dumège's find was the *Gesta*, "Le roi juif de Narbonne," *REJ*, XLVIII (1904), 201-02. This is impossible because the manuscript reported by Dumège gives crucial information not found in the *Gesta*, such as the critical date 791, the payment of 70 marks silver when the *Gesta* has 70,000, and the reference to Daniel. Dumège knew the *Gesta* well and could not have confounded it with the "lost" document; see his *Additions et notes* to Devic et Vaissete, *HGL*, II (Toulouse 1840), livre VIII, pp. 18a-32b. Schneegans' edition of the *Gesta* also publishes a Provençal translation which is very close to the version printed here by Dumège.

58. Surprising as is the reference to descent from the prophet Daniel instead of King David, the intent is the same, namely, to provide a royal lineage for the Jewish king in Narbonne.

According to the Bible (Daniel 2:48; 6:3, 29), Nebuchadnezzar appointed Daniel ruler over Babylonia, a position which he retained under Darius into the reign of Cyrus.

An Arab tradition presents Daniel as King of the Israelites after their return from captivity. The Persian apocalypse *Daniel* makes Daniel the son of King Yekhonya (Yehoiakhin) the exiled King of Judah, and designates him a Persian satrap; *J. E.*, IV, pp. 427-29; *E. J.*, V, p. 772.

An Arab tale by a writer of second century Islam (that is, contemporary with Charlemagne) has the Jewish exilarch refer to himself as the descendant of a prophet, I. Goldziher, "Renseignements de source musulmane," *REJ*, VIII (1884), 123.

and granted a portion of Narbonne to the Jewish ruler or community; but that it was not a charter itself. Relevant, however, is one distinguishing feature of Merovingian and Carolingian diplomas.

These royal charters were replete with narrative. They described the various stages in the negotiations leading up to their final preparation: the contents of the petition to the king, the name of the petitioner, and whether he was present in person or represented by others, the relations between king and petitioner which occasioned the request and determined the king's decision, a recital of services rendered, and so forth. One Carolingian diploma has even preserved the names of the negotiating ambassadors, thus recalling Dumège's (and the *Gesta's*) mention of Isaac as the head of a delegation of ten men. Such a chancery practice became increasingly frequent in the Carolingian Age.⁵⁹

These considerations and, in addition, the explicit date, make it probable that the manuscript at the basis of the report by Dumège was a diploma of Charlemagne's, dated 791, which, in the manner characteristic of its time, prefaced the King's edict with a narration of how an embassy sent by the Nasi in Narbonne and led by a very prominent Isaac came to Charlemagne. It may be supposed that the narrative described their petition for a permanent kingship, recited the services they had rendered to the crown, and detailed any other grounds in support of their request.

This conjecture finds substantiation in a statement by the *ShK Addendum* that there did indeed once exist a favorable collection of laws promulgated by Charlemagne, which the Jews of Narbonne held in their possession at the time of the composition of the "Appendix," and which the author himself may have examined.

This document declares that Charlemagne "designed, out of love for [Prince Makhir], good statutes for the benefit of all the Jews dwelling in the city [Narbonne], as is written and sealed in a Latin (*lit.*, Christian) charter; and the seal of the King thereon [bears] his name *Carolus*; and it is in their possession at the present time."⁶⁰

59. G. Kleeberg, *Untersuchungen zu den Urkunden Karls des Grossen*, pp. 44-46 and footnotes.

60. *MJC*, I, p. 82. For text see Appendix III in this work. This entire section is translated (rather freely) into French by A. Neubauer, "Documents inédits. XVI. Documents sur Narbonne," *REJ*, X (Paris 1885), 103-05.

This statement conveys the impression of an eyewitness report: apparently, the writer or his informant actually saw the document and its seal, and perhaps even quoted a short portion of it. For the words "out of love for [Makhir]," which could hardly have originated with the author four centuries later, are the equivalent of the Latin *ob amorem . . .*, an expression of motivation which appears almost exclusively in Carolingian *privilegia*. It has been located for example in the *arenga* (an introductory remark stating the motivation for the grant) of the *privilegium* for the monastery of Farfa endowing it with exemption and the free choice of its own abbot.⁶¹ The likelihood that Dumège was relating the contents of a royal diploma or capitulary appears substantially increased.

In a mandate dated about 825 Charlemagne's son Louis le Débonnaire (the Pious) refers to the fact that he previously issued a capitulary for the Jews (presumably of the Empire). He designates this as "regulations (*capitula*) which we promulgated for their [the Jews'] observance."⁶² Was this perhaps a confirmation of his father's and grandfather's (Pepin's) action? The Capitulary of Louis the Debonair, now lost, was issued before 825, the approximate date of the mandate wherein it is mentioned. He promulgated it very likely soon after his accession to the throne as successor of Charlemagne in 814. The royal *missi* brought to Lyons a Capitulary of Louis le Débonnaire in favor of the Jews. When Bishop Agobard was apprised of its contents he professed to be so shocked as to refuse to believe that it was authentic.⁶³

Now Dumège reported that the successful petitioner of Charlemagne was the Jewish "king" in Narbonne acting through a diplomatic mission. The *ShK Addendum* related that Charlemagne's favorable laws were promulgated for Narbonne Jews "out of [Charles'] love" for Makhir. Are they both talking of the same person? Is the "Makhir"

61. G. Kleeburg, *Untersuchungen*, p. 23 note 5; for the text of the Farfa diploma, *Die Urkunden der Karolinger*, ed. E. Mühlbacher, *MGH*, *Diplomatum Karolorum*, I, no. 98, pp. 141-42: "Quicquid enim ob amorem ecclesiarum vel quietem servorum dei exercemus (line 18) . . . ob amorem domini nostri Jesu Christi (line 35)."

62. *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 31, p. 310:37-p. 311 top, "*capitula, quae a nobis eis observanda promulgata sunt.*"

63. Agobard, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmmler, *MGH*, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, V, 3, p. 183:9. A. J. Zuckerman, "The Political Uses of Theology."

of *ShK* to be equated with the "king" mentioned by Dumège? And are then the two documents in reality only one and the same? Was the manuscript described by Dumège identical with, or at least a transcript of, the diploma attested to by the "Appendix" of *ShK*? It is possible to date somewhat more definitely the capitulary or *privilegium* described in *ShK* and thereby to bring it into proximity with the known date of the lost manuscript. Simultaneously, its authenticity will be established.

In describing the diploma extant in Narbonne Jewry in the twelfth century, the "Appendix" correctly singled out as its salient external feature the seal of Charlemagne, but mentioned no signature. This information conforms exactly to the practice in Charlemagne's chancellery. While the signature of the king on Merovingian charters served as the attestation *par excellence* of their validity and the royal seal was only secondary, on Carolingian documents the seal served to replace the signature. In fact, from the middle of Charlemagne's reign on (that is, about 791) it came to be the rule for the diploma to include an order for its sealing; and the affixing of the seal became the final act in the preparation of the charter and its entirely adequate warranty. Authentic Carolingian diplomas never went unsealed, although they frequently remained unsigned. This is true of royal toll privileges, mandates, a land grant, a *privilegium* of protection including a confirmation of land holding, and confirmations of all kinds. Not until the end of the ninth century did the king's signature recapture some of its former importance, so that few *diplomata* thereafter went unsigned.⁶⁴

By drawing attention to the royal seal in the absence of any signature the writer emphasized that distinctive feature of Charlemagne's diploma which assured its authenticity. At the same time he makes it possible

64. G. Kleeberg, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 48-56. For one of the seals used in his chancellery see O. Posse, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, I: 751-1347, p. 9, Tafel 1, no. 4; V: *Das Siegelwesen der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1913*, p. 5. The inscription around this seal of Charlemagne's (the bust is actually that of Emperor Antoninus Pius) reads as follows: † XRE PROTEGE CAROLVM REGE FRANCR. This particular seal is found on documents of Charlemagne's issued in the period 772-813. For a metal bull with a contemporaneous portrait of Charlemagne (now virtually illegible) of the period before 800, P. E. Schramm, *Die zeitgenössischen Bildnisse Karls des Grossen*, pp. 20-25, 55, 60. On unusually splendid golden seals affixed to Jewry *privilegia* of Louis le Débonnaire, H. Bresslau, "Zur Lehre von den Siegeln der Karolinger und Ottonen," *AfUf*, I (1908), 363-64.

to date the charter between 791 (when this practice became the rule) and 814 (the death of Charlemagne). Dumège reported the date of the lost manuscript as 791.

In other respects too these documents approximate one another. The lost manuscript related the cession by Charlemagne of their area of settlement to Narbonne Jewry or their king. The *ShK* "Appendix" speaks only generally of "good statutes." However, a short while earlier, while not ascribing his information to the *privilegium*, the writer had nonetheless reported that King Charles granted extensive holdings to the scholar-prince Makhir and allotted one-third of Narbonne to him, in this manner paralleling Dumège.⁶⁵ On the other hand, Dumège's testimony to the effect that a delegation led by Isaac secured Charlemagne's confirmation of the Jewish kingship in Narbonne as a permanent institution finds no parallel in *ShK*, although it corresponds almost exactly to the *Gesta*.⁶⁶ Actually, however, analysis reveals that the testimony of the *ShK Addendum* is based on this grant of a permanent Principate by implication. Earlier the "Appendix" had made "King Charles" the source of a request to the Caliph for a scholar-prince of royal lineage whom the Frankish King then settled in Narbonne, raised to the nobility, and endowed with extensive estates. Now, directly following his description of the salient feature of Charlemagne's *privilegium*, namely the seal, the author proceeded to tell of the maintenance of the Jewish Principate in Narbonne as a permanent institution, and emphasized the kinship of Makhir and his progeny with Charlemagne and his successors on the throne of the Franks.⁶⁷ Clearly, the writer or his source intended to convey that the Jewish Principate in Narbonne was established with the knowledge and consent of Charlemagne, and that its possessions and privileges were maintained and protected as a permanent grant for generations by the kings of France in the face of attempts to whittle them down.

In view of the striking identities of contents and date between both records, the conclusion appears warranted that the lost document

65. *MJC*, I, p. 82; see Appendix III this text, p. 384:8-11.

66. *Gesta*, ed. F. Ed. Schneegans, p. 178:2341-64. The *Gesta* counts ten men in the delegation to Charlemagne in addition to Isaac, "... elegerunt Ysaac et alios. x."

67. *MJC*, I, p. 82. See Appendix III of this text, p. 384:11-17.

which Dumège reported formerly lay in the Abbey of Lagrasse was either the very *privilegium* described in the *ShK Addendum* or else a transcript of it.⁶⁸ In either event, the "king" of the document would correspond to the "Prince (Nasi) Makhir" mentioned by *ShK*.⁶⁹ Thereby the Principate established by the Frankish kings in 768 became a permanent institution (Patriarchate, principedom, "monarchy") by act of Charlemagne in 791.

68. Why should a royal charter for Narbonne Jewry be deposited in the Lagrasse monastery for safekeeping? The *praeceptum* of Emperor Louis dated February 22, 839, in behalf of Gaudiocus and his sons Jacob and Vivacius, Jews of Septimania, was also preserved in the archives of the same abbey, *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 97 col. 211; J. Aronius, *Regesten*, no. 102, pp. 42-43. (On the location of the property mentioned, *Valerianis sive Bagnilis*, in Septimania [Carcassonne], see L'Abbé Sabarthès, *Dictionnaire topographique du Département de l'Aude*, p. 20.) The presence of Charlemagne's Capitulary of 791 and Louis le Débonnaire's mandate of 839 in Lagrasse and perhaps other documents of Jewish content (as hinted at by the compiler of the *Gesta*) is very puzzling. Does this point to the possession of Lagrasse in the Carolingian Age by a Jewish royal official while it was still merely a stronghold and not yet a monastery? At the same time it must be noted that the Carolingian sovereigns did not hesitate to appoint lay "abbots" over monasteries. Apparently, "abbot" and even "bishop" connoted at this time a royal official assigned to an ecclesiastical property or office and did not necessarily imply prerequisite ecclesiastical training or commitment. The possession of seigniorial allods conferred on the Jews rights over religious orders and even over bishops, according to M. Tournal, *Catalogue du Musée de Narbonne*, pp. 49-50.

69. Aronius denies the historicity of any grant by Charlemagne to the Jews or their chieftain at Narbonne. He was not acquainted with Dumège's report. He directs attention to a narrative related about Emperor Otto II which he considers the source of the "fiction" related by Meir b. Simeon regarding the loyal Jewish hero who gave up his charger in order to save his King Charles. Emperor Otto is reported to have been saved at a battle against the Saracens in 982 by a member of the Kalonymos family who gave him his own horse which swam with the ruler to the safety of a passing vessel. The Kalonymides presumably brought this story to Narbonne; J. Aronius, "Karl der Grosse und Kalonymos aus Lucca," *ZGJD*, II (1888), 82-87; cf. H. Bresslau, "Diplomatische Erläuterungen zu den Judenprivilegien Heinrichs IV.," *ZGJD*, I (1887), 157-58. However, it must be clear from what has been said here that the historicity of Charlemagne's act does not stand or fall with the tale related by Meir. Moreover, it should be noted that its presence in *Le Charroi de Nîmes* (see p. 124, note 24 of this text) of the twelfth century, denuded of any Jewish content, points to a much older source than Meir's *Milhemet Mitsvah* of 1245, and rules out a fictional effort devoid of any factual basis.

Contemporary sources reveal but little more about the extent of the power and property which the Nasi and Narbonne Jewry held in the town and environs in the eighth century. In the eleventh century, however, the Archbishop of Narbonne made a very determined bid to wrest control for himself from the local viscount and the Jewry there. The clarification of his surge to power and the unravelling of those entangled designs add significant information about the probable possessions of the Nasi and Narbonne Jewry up until the middle of the eleventh century. In the end we may succeed in rescuing from oblivion precious fragments of Pepin's vastly significant grant to the Nasi and Jewry at Narbonne and thereby identify several important confirmations of his act.

The Nasi of Narbonne as Seigneur in the Town and Environs

During the eleventh century Guifred Count of Cerdagne developed the temporal power of the episcopate of Narbonne and raised it to a level it had not attained for centuries. Quarrelsome and ambitious, he spent his career in constant struggle with the Viscount of Narbonne. He stripped the cathedral church of its treasures in order to promote his aims, and when he died in 1079 was under the anathema of Pope Gregory VII. Nevertheless, during a rule of sixty years Guifred managed to expand significantly the power and possessions of his previously impoverished see,¹ resorting to violence and the forgery of royal diplomas when necessary. He succeeded so well that he may be said to have created the basis for the tradition that at the capture of Narbonne by the Franks, the town was divided equally between viscount, archbishop, and Jewry.

Guifred's efforts were crowned with such success because he was enabled to take advantage of the weak legal foundation of viscountal

1. On the weakness and poverty of the church in Narbonne before the eleventh century see this text pp. 154 ff.

claims to authority in Narbonne. Originally, the viscount had been merely the representative in Narbonne of the Marquis of Gothia. The latter office was first created in 817 by Louis the Pious in order to administer the newly formed March of Gothia, which was established when Septimania (including Narbonne) was attached to the Spanish March. The revolutionary movement of the ninth century then led to a division of the Spanish March into two administrative units, one of which, the Marquisate of Gothia, came to supplant the older Septimania. However, by the start of the eleventh century, the authority of the marquis had waned to such an extent in Narbonne that it had come to be displaced completely, in reality usurped, by the viscount of the town. This family became actual sovereigns within their domains. Moreover, alongside the viscountal authority, the episcopal office was insignificant, poorly endowed, and altogether subservient to the viscounts who, in fact, controlled the position and title of archbishop, and held the right of election to the see. For all practical purposes, the viscounty had absorbed the episcopacy too.

The eleventh century however saw a radical change in these relationships. Shortly after the turn of the century, the viscountal family sold the Bishopric of Narbonne to the Count of Cerdagne for the sum of 100,000 shillings, which was equally divided with the Count of Rouergue (who held the title Marquis of Gothia). The new owner placed in office his eldest son Guifred, who was consecrated archbishop in 1019 at the age of ten. But having once grown to man's estate the new prince of the church, scion of a comital family which was kin to the great lords of the South, could not content himself with vassalage to his powerful viscountal overlord; so he sought a strong ally to balance the power relationship between them. Such aid he found in Raymond of Toulouse, later the noted Raymond of St. Gilles, who inherited the title of the virtually defunct Marquisate of Gothia in 1061. Archbishop and Marquis joined forces to undermine the fragile legal basis of viscountal power in Narbonne, replace it with episcopal authority,² and acquire as much as they could of Jewry's possessions in the town and environs.

2. A. Molinier, "Un diplôme interpolé de Charles le Chauve," *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 69-72; cf. *HGL*, II, note CC, col. 314-15; J. Régné, *Narbonne*, p. 60, note 2;

The alliance between them exists in two versions. In the first, Raymond obligated himself as follows:

1. to be Guifred's helper in the matter of all bishops consecrated in the Dioceses of St. Justus and St. Pastor without Guifred's consent;
2. to restore to Guifred the walls, towers and forts in Narbonne, from the tower Quadrata (Carrée), which is next to the Porta Regia, until the tower which is called Maurisca (Mauresque);
3. to make Raymond Berengar (the Viscount) and his sons restore and confirm these possessions to Guifred; and likewise to make Garsindo, Bernard and Bishop Peter, his offspring, restore to him . . . [a lacuna here] and to confirm these in Guifred's possession;
4. to allow Guifred to open a gate in the walls wherever he wishes;
5. to restore to Guifred half of all income derived on land and water, which belongs to said episcopate in accordance with royal decrees (*sicut sonat in praeceptis regum*);
6. to aid Guifred to retain the See of St. Justus and St. Pastor which is within the walls of Narbonne, and also the office of archbishop which is within said walls, and likewise everything outside the walls which belongs to said office;
7. to give to Guifred as fief one-third of all that he may acquire in the County of Narbonne by means of judicial proceedings.

The second version of the alliance contains certain significant additions at approximately the lacuna noted above as follows:

3. to make (Viscount) Raymond Berengar et al. swear over to Guifred the entire half of the city of Narbonne, from the road which runs directly from the Porta Aquaria (Acaire) through its own cross to the Porta Regia at the Circus, the castle itself at the Porta Regia and all its appurtenances, and its towers called Torveiens, and [here follows the reference to half the income on land and water], *sicut sonat in preceptis regum*.³

HGL, III, col. 352-53. The first to add the name of the town to the title Viscount was Viscountess Adelaide who signed an act in this manner on June 13, 977; *HGL*, V, col. 178; cf. III, col. 189-90.

3. *HGL*, V, preuves no. 273-CCXXIX, col. 535-38. Strictly speaking, the

This offensive and defensive alliance was clearly directed against the viscountal family and anyone else wielding authority in Narbonne and environs who might stand in the way of Guifred's drive to power. Count Raymond accorded to Archbishop Guifred recognition to hold and control half of the town of Narbonne, specifying which towers, gates, and portions of the walls and sections of the city were to come into the prelate's possession. The Count-Marquis likewise recognized his right to half the income on land and sea within the diocese of his church. Finally, Raymond obligated himself to infeudate to Guifred one-third of all territory which he would acquire by judicial process in the Narbonnaise. The remaining two-thirds apparently was to be Raymond's recompense. Couched in the form of a "restoration" which supposedly derived its force from royal mandates, the alliance in sum was designed to transfer control over half of Narbonne and over half the income in the environs to the Archbishop; and to divide all future acquisitions in the county between the prelate and the Marquis by a one-third, two-thirds ratio, respectively.

The allies were strikingly successful in their attack on the Viscount's dubious authority. By physical violence and the more spiritual means of excommunication they brought the Viscount to his knees. On October 6, 1066, in the presence of the greatest personages of the province, including the Count of St. Gilles, the Viscount Bernard Berengar acknowledged the claim of Archbishop Guifred to half the city of Narbonne from the Circus with the towers and capitol there, half the castles at both the Royal Gate and the Water Gate and the city's entrance and exit; and half the tolls paid to the city on land and water; and other properties. His son Raymond swore an oath of fealty to the Archbishop and pledged himself to be faithful to him as a man should be to his seigneur. His second son (Bishop) Peter swore a similar oath of recognition of Guifred's power and authority. Thereafter, although the conflict between them did not end, the viscounts remained vassals

diplomata of 844 and 890, to be discussed, are not *praecepta* as they are called in the alliance. The first is a diploma of immunity. On the other hand Pepin's act of 768 was referred to as *praecepta* by Pope Stephen probably because of an order therein beginning with a word like *praecipimus*.

of the Archbishops until 1507. Thus the first part of the plan turned out eminently successful.⁴

A. Molinier has shown by what methods and means in addition to physical violence and spiritual coercion Guifred promoted his pretensions to half the city of Narbonne, its towers, and other rights. He resorted to forgery of royal documents in order to create a "legal" basis for his claims.⁵ A diploma of Charles the Bald dated June 20, 844 is extant in several copies, the oldest of which is an eleventh-century product sketched after a lost original. This purports to be a grant of immunity to the Archbishop Berarius of Narbonne extending royal protection to the towers of the city as well as to abbeys, villas, and lands belonging to the church there.⁶ In addition, the diploma contains an excerpt from an earlier charter of Pepin's conveying half of the royal Count's income from tolls, portage, and maritime trade along the coast and from salt works.⁷

4. *HGL*, V, preuves no. 275, col. 540-42, parts I, II, III; cf. *HGL*, III, pp. 353-55. Molinier dates it incorrectly 1067, *ibid.* A document of ca. 1067 reports that Viscount Berengar divided his domains between his two sons Raymond and Bernard, and the latter transferred his properties to his brother Raymond and to Raymond Peter, the latter's son. The domains mentioned are: one-half of Narbonne and of all income on land and sea, half of the rights in the election to the see, half the castles, towers, ramparts with seigneurial rights, one-half the Jews and of the Capitol, one-half of everything; *HGL*, II (Paris 1733), p. 215. This may represent a last-minute attempt on the part of Viscount Bernard Berengar to keep the Archbishop from asserting control over his domains by transferring them to his brother and nephew. Benjamin of Tudela, who came to Narbonne in 1166, reports that in his day the ruling Nasi of the Davidic line held "hereditaments and [other] landed properties from the ruler of the Town (mss. E,A: ruler/s/ of the land) and no one may dispossess him by force." M. N. Adler (ed.), "Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," *JQR*, XVI (1904), 459; see above p. 58, note 19. The ruler of the town is the Viscount, the ruler(s) of the land the Count of Toulouse (bearer of the title Marquis of Gothia).

5. A. Molinier, "Un diplôme interpolé," *loc. cit.*, 72-75. Molinier appears to accept as authentic the grant of half the income in the county.

6. *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, ed. G. Tessier, I, no. 49, pp. 139-43. Specifically, the act grants immunity to "... id est tam illo atrio toto cum omni integritate infra Narbonam cum turribus atque earum extrinsecus adjacentiis quam abbatiis, villulis vel territoriis ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus"; *ibid.*, p. 142: 15-17.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 142:19-143:1. See note 11 to p. 152 below.

There exist two copies of this document from the seventeenth century, one of which is a transcription of a fourteenth-century (July 1, 1318) notarial *vidimus*; and still another copy of the eighteenth century. These last three contain a significant addition in the extract from Pepin's diploma, which is absent from the eleventh-century sketch, namely: "(by Pepin and his successors was ceded to the Archbishop) half of the entire City with the towers and their adjacencies, inside and outside, complete."⁸

Since the eleventh-century sketch on parchment lacks this clause, while the alliance between Archbishop and Marquis contains a virtually identical statement, as does also the Viscount's pledge of homage to the Archbishop, Molinier concluded that Guifred arranged for its interpolation at this point in Charles' diploma of 844. This view appears to be strengthened by the reference in the alliance to royal decrees (*sicut sonat in preceptis regum*) which the allies adduced as the basis of their claims. G. Tessier, the most recent editor of the documents of Charles the Bald, agrees with Molinier that the *privilegium* of 844 was interpolated at the time of Archbishop Guifred. However, he limits the interpolation to the clause about the city towers, and concludes that the reference to half the town was an addition of the thirteenth century (reported by the *vidimus* noted above), when the ruling archbishop was pursuing the title of Duke of Narbonne. Both Tessier and Molinier are of one mind, however, in judging the rest of the document to be authentic including also the reference to Pepin's diploma. This ruler Molinier identifies with Pepin I the Short.⁹

Whether or not Archbishop Guifred interpolated the reference to half of Narbonne, there is no question that the Marquis agreed in the alliance to recognize a cession of half the city, and the Viscount first conveyed to his sons, but later actually acknowledged Guifred's overlordship over, the same area. One may conclude, in consequence, that the clause *as stated in royal precepts* appears in the alliance and also in the Viscount's cession, because the Marquis accepted or promoted the

8. "... medietatem totius civitatis cum turribus et adjacentiis earum intrinsecus et extrinsecus"; *ibid.*, p. 141:12-13; cf. *HGL*, II, preuves col. 238, no. 115-LXII which adds the final words *ab omni integritate*; s. G. Tessier, *Recueil*, p. 142, note o.

9. A. Molinier, *loc. cit.*, 72-75; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, pp. 141-42.

interpretation that the Archbishop held royal documents which supported his claim to half of Narbonne and its towers. The historical situation favors Molinier's position over Tessier's. Yet they may both be right on this point, as will appear later. Tessier postulates the fabrication of a pseudo-original which fraudulently interpolated the cession of half of Narbonne.¹⁰

Archbishop Guifred successfully asserted overlordship over half of Narbonne and, in addition, wrested possession of half the income from tolls, trade, and salt production in the county from the Viscount. The latter's capitulation compels this conclusion. Now Molinier and Tessier both hold the excerpt from Pepin's charter cited in Charles' diploma (and repeated with elaborations in Eudo's *privilegium* of 890) not only to be absolutely authentic but also an original part of Charles the Bald's act, although stylistically it limps in the text at this point. In consequence, Tessier assumes that Guifred secured a *restoration* of former toll, trade, and salt rights rather than an acquisition of completely new authority in the county.

These excerpts from (more properly, confirmations of) Pepin's grant state that the beneficiary of the diploma may retain for himself half the income collected by the royal Count in the environs of Narbonne:

Moreover we [Charles the Bald] likewise grant to [. . .] just as was formerly done by our predecessors King Pepin and thereafter integrally: from whatever commerce any toll or portage may be collected, as well as from ships navigating the seacoast, and from the saltworks—whatever the Count of the Town collects, to [. . .] (we grant) half of it all.¹¹

10. G. Tessier, *Recueil*, p. 141:18–19.

11. "Similiter autem concedimus eidem ecclesie, sicut actenus a predecessoribus nostris Pipino videlicet rege et deinceps concessum est ab omni integritate, de quocunque commertio ex quo teloneus exigitur vel portaticus ac de navibus circa littora maris discurrentibus necnon salinis quicquid et comes ipsius civitatis exigit pro oportunitate ejusdem ecclesie in omnibus medietatem;" G. Tessier, *Recueil*, pp. 142:19–143:1. Following the words *concessum est* above, Tessier assumes the fabricated pseudo-original interpolated as follows: "illi medietatem tocius civitatis cum turribus et adjacenciis earum intrinsecus et extrinsecus cum omni integritate et" and then continued with "de quocumque commercio . . .;" *ibid.*, p. 142 note o. In the document extant the beneficiary is the church at Narbonne.

The corresponding passage in the charter of Eudo June 26, 890:

We hereby grant half of the saltworks, toll, portage, seigneurial rights in shipwreck and pastures to [...] whether in the County of Narbonne or of Razès, wherever the Count or his representative receives or is entitled to receive any exaction¹²

Tessier admits he was undecided whether or not to brand as an interpolation the citation from Pepin's charter in Charles' diploma, because it clearly breaks the continuity of the text. The initial words *per quod* of the sentence following the quotation can refer only to *preceptum* in the sentence preceding the reference to Pepin's act, so that Pepin's clause is an isolated entity unrelated to that which precedes or follows. Nevertheless, Tessier finally decided in favor of its originality in Charles' diploma because it fits the style in use in his chancellery. However, Tessier admits that the rest of the diploma, as Molinier already pointed out, is substantially Emperor Louis the Debonair's act of immunity for the church at Narbonne dated December 29, 814; and no diploma exists which cedes such rights in property and income to the Bishop of Narbonne as is claimed by Charles' diploma.¹³ May we not then have here actually the fusing of two documents, both authentic: the modest immunity of Louis the Debonair in behalf of the church at Narbonne, and the broad and generous act of Charles the Bald confirming a *privilegium* of Pepin the Short and successors in behalf of an as yet unidentified beneficiary? The very limited, indisputably authentic, grant of the villa Censerada by Charles to the church at Narbonne only a few days previously¹⁴ would seem to support the conclusion that the

12. "Concedimus medietatem salinorum, telonei, portatici et raficæ atque paschuarîi seu classis naufragiorum ad eandem prefatam ecclesiam tam in Narbonensi quam in Redensi comitatu, undecumque comes vel ejus missus receperit vel recipere debuerit aliquid exactionis"; G. Tessier, *Recueil*, p. 141:36-38; *HGL*, V, col. 85-87. Likewise here the stated beneficiary is the church at Narbonne.

13. *Recueil* ed. G. Tessier, pp. 141:29-142:3. Cf. A. Molinier, *loc. cit.*, 68; Louis' diploma in *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 31, col. 94.

14. *Recueil* ed. G. Tessier, June 12, 844 no. 48, pp. 138-39. This act exists only in copies of the twelfth and seventeenth centuries with discordances between the various parts of the dating. The same inexactness of dating reappears in the diploma of June 20, 844, *ibid.*, p. 142:4. Was the date computed on the basis of the inexactness of the earlier diploma of June 12?

broad and generous act at the basis of the interpolated and faultily dated diploma of June 20, 844, was not designed originally for the benefit of the Bishop of Narbonne.

Who was the original beneficiary of Pepin's *privilegium*, and Charles' and Eudo's confirmation of it? Obviously not the royal Count. Like Tessier, other scholars have assumed it was the Archbishop of Narbonne. But they have been nonplussed by the fact that none but a very modest cession is extant of Louis the Debonair in behalf of the Bishop. Such an omission makes it suspect in any other Carolingian diploma. To this may be added that Eudo's act, which repeats Pepin's cession with elaborations, exists only in a copy contemporaneous with Guifred. Yet its original phrasing and language are deemed to be authentic.¹⁵ Moreover, such grants would imply that the bishops of Narbonne had in fact been powerful lords, heavily endowed with Carolingian gifts; and that the Viscount had usurped not only powers and possessions properly the prerogative of the royal count and marquis but also of the bishop as well.

However, Molinier has challenged this older view of the archbishops' powers. "Nothing permits drawing the conclusion (as did Besse)," he has asserted, "that the Archbishops were co-sovereigns of the Marquis of Gothia." In point of fact, the archbishops received very few and very ungenerous royal charters. Ever since the recapture of Narbonne from the Saracens until Guifred's day, they held relatively meager possessions and very limited authority in Narbonne. Only in consequence of Guifred's attack upon the Viscount did the Archbishop capture control of half of Narbonne¹⁶ and, we may add, half of the

15. *HGL*, V, no. 13, col. 85; cf. *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, p. 141:34-40.

16. A. Molinier, *loc. cit.*, 68, 70-71. Eudo's act quotes Bishop Theodard that the church at Narbonne was poorly endowed, and, in fact, until very recently had lain in ruins together with other ecclesiastical institutions; *HGL*, V, no. 13-XIII, col. 85. Cf. p. 156, note 18 of this text, where the identical statement is attributed to Bishop Arnust and repeated *HGL*, V, no. 46-XLV, col. 143-44, in a royal diploma of June 7, 922. A similar plaint appears in a diploma of November 1, 899; *HGL*, V, no. 20-XX, col. 96, again quoting Bishop Arnust. The earliest appearance of this very statement is in a grant of King Carloman to Sigebod Archbishop of Narbonne and Razès; *HGL*, V, col. 68-70, dated June 4, 881. Griffe points out that directly following the fall of Narbonne to the Franks, Bishop Daniel had to struggle for the

income from salt production, tolls, and navigation rights in the county. There is no basis for the assumption that the Archbishop had had legal title to half of Narbonne or half the income in the county by right of royal grant, from the eighth century on. If the Archbishop had actually held legal title to half the salt flats, tolls, and other income in the county, he would not have been content to accept from the Marquis only one-third of all he could acquire. This means that the clauses cited here from Charles' and Eudo's diplomas originally were not intended for the benefit of the Bishop of Narbonne. They were interpolated in order to create a "legal" basis for Guifred's claims in the county. We have already noted Tessier's doubt regarding the originality of the extract from Pepin's grant in Charles' diploma of 844. One may suspect that it was lifted from an authentic diploma and interpolated at this point out of an act of immunity of Louis the Debonair.

But if not the Bishop of Narbonne, who was the original beneficiary of these concessions of half the income from salt flats, tolls, and navigation rights? And of what authentic royal charter were they once an integral part?

Was the recipient of Pepin's grant the Viscount of Narbonne? Obviously not. The viscounty did not come into existence until after the establishment of the Marquisate of Gothia in the ninth century. The prerogatives of the royal Count in Narbonne went over to the Marquis who delegated them to the Viscount, who then usurped them for his own.¹⁷ In the end, as we have just seen, the Archbishop of Narbonne fabricated a claim and asserted it successfully. The beneficiary of Pepin's act, who shared the income of the royal Count to the extent of no less than 50 per cent, has yet to be identified.

Was the beneficiary of Pepin's diploma the Nasi of Narbonne? The

basic rights of his church against the count of the town and neighboring bishops, a situation which hardly reflects considerable power but rather the contrary, as if these were partitioning the power of a deceased neighbor. Similarly, Griffe declares that in the middle of the ninth century the Bishop of Narbonne did not possess the capitol or the fortified posts which commanded the enclosures on the north and south, the entrance and exit of the Via Domitian; E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 93-96, 135. J. Régné lists the diplomas of immunity granted to the church at Narbonne in the ninth century, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 38, note 1.

17. A. Molinier, *loc. cit.*, 68.

actual possession by Jews of landed property in the Narbonnaise and southern France, and their collection of tolls and customs probably in the same region, can be traced with some assurance from the eighth century into the period of Guifred's rule and surge to power in Narbonne. Pope Stephen lamented that royal mandates, *regum Francorum praecepta*, endowed the Jews with extensive allodial possession comprising former church property in and around Narbonne in 768. These *praecepta* obviously were issued by Pepin and his sons. The tracts of Agobard Bishop of Lyons leave no doubt that Jews were landowners in the Lyonnais, especially holders of vineyards and producers of wine around 825. Imperial mandates as well as Agobard's epistles indicate that Christian laborers worked their fields. They held slaves, probably converted to Judaism. Amolo, successor of Agobard, complained about Jews who were toll collectors and who, he charged, pressured wayfarers into denying their faith.¹⁸

Extensive landholdings owned by the Jews in the vicinity of Narbonne became the object of several royal decisions. On November 1, 898, Charles the Simple confirmed the act of immunity granted to the church at Narbonne by his predecessors, specifically his father Louis le Bègue, and added new donations such as the fisc Colonegas. He also confiscated for the benefit of the same church the lands, vineyards, saltworks and other property which the Jews held in the County of Narbonne and for which they had to pay the same tithe as Christians had been accustomed to furnish. This mandate is extant only in a seventeenth century French translation. Still another act of the same King Charles the Simple (dated June 6, 899) likewise confirmed the immunity granted to the church of Narbonne by his predecessors, notably his father Louis and his brother Carloman. In phraseology

18. See this text pp. 20, 24ff., 50ff., and also A. J. Zuckerman, "The Political Uses of Theology . . .," pp. 46-49 on landed property. See this text p. 304, note 40; *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple Roi de France* eds. F. Lot, Ph. Lauer, I, no. XXIII, p. 47:15-18; cf. *HGL*, V, preuves, no. 24-XXIV, col. 105; I. Lévi, "Les Juifs de France," *REJ*, LII (1906), 164; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 227-32. Herein the Bishop Arnust complains of the poverty of his see at Narbonne; *Recueil*, eds. Lot, Lauer, p. 46:12-15; *HGL*, V, preuves, col. 103. Cf. Ph. Lauer, "Note sur divers groupes de diplomes carolingiens," *Bulletin philologique et historique* 1922-23 (Paris 1925), 13-23.

almost identical with the act of 898 the sovereign confiscated all lands, houses, and vineyards in the possession of the Jews of the Narbonnaise, from which the ecclesiastical tithe used to be collected, without regard to how the Jews had acquired them, and ceded them to the church at Narbonne. Presumably, this was in the nature of a "restoration" to the church of lands once subject to the tithe.¹⁹ This mandate exists only in a transcription contemporaneous with Archbishop Guifred. The same edict of confiscation reappears in a diploma of immunity allegedly granted by Charles the Simple to the church at Narbonne on June 7, 922.²⁰ Obviously, the "confiscation" had not yet been executed.

The authenticity of these *diplomata* has been both attacked and defended. Eckel points out that the counties of Besalú, Narbonne, and Roussillon, wherein Charles the Simple allegedly ordered these confiscations, were not part of this sovereign's domains. In consequence, both he and Lévi challenge their genuineness. On the other hand, Régné vigorously upholds their authenticity on the grounds of their formal style and the fact that the Midi long remained loyal to Charles, did not recognize Raoul as king until very late, and several of its seigneurs continued to date their documents from Charles' reign.²¹

Still another diploma of Charles the Simple implies a confiscation of Jewish property in the suburbs of Narbonne. This document, faultily dated 918-19, (corrected by Ph. Lauer to July 7, 919) exists in two copies; the older of those extant was prepared in the twelfth century. It purports to be a privilege of protection for Bishop Erifons and the priest Wulfard in behalf of the Church of St. Quentin of Narbonne. At the same time it professes to be also a donation to that church of land and mills in the suburbs which were the property of Jews. The

19. J. Régné, *Narbonne*, p. 38, note 2; cf. note 4.

20. *Recueil*, eds. Lot, Lauer, I, no. CXIX, p. 281:17-19; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 41, note 1; *HGL*, V, preuves, col. 103-06.

21. A. Eckel, *Charles le Simple*, *BEHE*, CXXIV, pp. 42-43, cf. Appendix II, pp. 145-48; I. Lévi, "Les Juifs de France," *REJ*, LII (1906), 164; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 39-42. Régné thinks that a confiscation of the Jews' tithed lands took place at the time of Charles the Simple. Yet he admits that this ruler did not have the power to enforce his coercive measures and Jews continued to acquire (tithed) lands from Christians, *ibid.*, pp. 46-49.

diploma was granted at the intervention of Roger, Archbishop of Trèves, and of William, "our grand Marquis":

We hereby cede the land and mills [the diploma declares] which are below the bridge of that Town, which appear to belong to the Jews, as well as those mills which are in the locality called Mactapedilii, likewise owned by the same Jews. That land which we have ceded to them [namely, to the Bishop and the Priest] and to all those serving the Church of St. Quentin has the following boundaries: from the Gate of Corianus to the locality called Celata and thence to the middle of the River Aude which surrounds that land on all sides until it reaches the bath house of the same Corianus, together with the Jews' Mountain (*mons Judaicus*, Montjuzaic).²²

Whether or not this document is authentic it is clear that around 919, or else at the time of the forgery of this diploma, the Jewry of Narbonne possessed an extensive district in the suburb of the town as well as several mills below the Narbonne Bridge.

However, extant materials contradict this decree of confiscation. A bill of sale dated December 19, 955 (956) declares four Jews, all brothers, apparently in possession of one of the mills which the royal gift of 919 allegedly gave to the Church of St. Quentin. Not only so but they now acquire from the Deacon William and his parents a half portion of another mill with the right to do therewith as they please. A summary of this act follows: André, his wife Teucia and their son William, deacon, sell to the Jews Samuel, Moses, Isaac and Levi, sons of Abraham, their half portion of the mill called Casal located below the old bridge of the city, together with its fishpond, fishing grounds, fishing boats and the head of the grindstone. The mill borders on the Town bridge; on the north on *the mill of the purchasers*, on the southwest on . . . , on the south on the fishpond of Joseph the Jew son of Abraham Veneros—for a purchase price of ninety shillings. The pur-

22. *Recueil*, eds. Lot, Lauer, I, no. CII (July 7, 919), p. 242:17-23; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 221-22, no. I; *HGL*, IV, p. 26; II, p. 250, preuves, no. 41-XLI, p. 134. For a discussion of the difficulties regarding the date of this act and other aspects which lead Régné to question, but ultimately to uphold, its authenticity, see *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 49-55.

chasers have the right to do therewith whatever they please. Any loss in consequence of action against this sale will be restored two-fold.²³

Then twenty years later, on January 26, 976 (977) the same brothers issue a bill of sale to the Abbot of St. Paul and to William the Deacon:

The Jews Samuel, Moses, Isaac, Levi, sons of Abraham, sell to Belshom Abbot of St. Paul and to William the Deacon, a portion of their allod: one mill entire and two-thirds of another with their appurtenances etc. for 150 shillings in cash. The brothers cede their full right of ownership *ad proprium perhabendum* and retain only one-third of the mill situated on the north.²⁴

J. Régné, who wishes to account for the first sale on the assumption of a preceding purchase from St. Quentin—an admittedly unusual situation—has to admit in the second instance that if the church possessed an eminent right it would have intervened in this sale. He concludes that no confiscation actually occurred.²⁵

Moreover, a donation of the eleventh century refers to an extant Jewish village and allods in the Narbonnaise and to salt flats owned and operated by Jews there. In what appears to be an earlier concession, Viscount Berengar of Narbonne records in a donation of April 23, 1048, that he and the "archipraesul" Guifred conveyed to the *canonica* of Narbonne the tithes from certain salt works in the environs: "Furthermore we hereby give to the named *canonica* the tithes from the selfsame salt which is produced in those brine pits from Lutobanna to Foz, and from the Jewish village to Narbonne, excepting that salt produced on the Jewish allod which today they hold, namely, that part which is worked by those Jews; and except those brine pits which those men work who live in the allod of St. Paul."²⁶

This conveyance acknowledges the rights of the Jewish saltworks owners in the neighborhood of Narbonne. An eleventh-century Hebrew source reports that the provision of salt to the Bishop of Narbonne by

23. G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, pp. 129-30, no. 1; for discussion, J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 55-56.

24. *HGL*, V, preuves, no. 129, pp. 283-84.

25. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 57-58.

26. *HGL*, V, preuves, no. 193, col. 454-55; III, p. 310; cf. no. 360, col. 831-33; cf. November 26, 1112.

Jews was fraught with exceptional difficulty.²⁷ Perhaps this involved Jewish ownership and operation of brine pits in the Narbonnaise. The Viscount's act does not make altogether clear that these salt flats were exempt from the tithe, although this implication might well be drawn. In the Carolingian Age the land of the Spanish settlers, specifically that of the *aprisionaires*, was exempt from ecclesiastical tithe.²⁸ There is every reason to think that the allods of the Jews were similarly exempt at that time.

It may then be argued that the acknowledged right of the Jews to these tithe-free allodial estates in the middle of the eleventh century does not contradict the decrees of expropriation issued by Charles the Simple, since the confiscation was aimed at estates which had once been subject to ecclesiastical tithe. However, it is clear from the action of the Second and Third Church Councils of Gerona that as late as 1068 and 1078 the Jews of southern France and northern Spain still were in possession of lands which had once been subject to the tithe of the church. The Second Council of Gerona, which met in 1068 under the direction of the papal legate Hugo Candidus, demanded the tithe from lands still owned by Jews which, it claimed, had once been the possession of Christian proprietors, "because it is not right [declared canon 14] that the Church should lose the tithes which it collected before the Jews settled in these lands."²⁹

27. "With respect to the Bishop's salt, since this involved A in considerable trouble, B cannot claim a share in the profit:" ומדבר המלח של ההגמון כיון שעל ידי טורח מרובה בא לו השכר לשמעון אין לו לראובן ליטול חלק בו. *Teshubhot Geonim Qadmonim* ed. D. Cassel, no. 140, p. 37b. This *responsum* is ascribed to Meshullam b. Qalonymos.

28. *HGL*, I, p. 942, note 2. J. Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 45-46. Régéné distinguishes between lay and ecclesiastical tithes in reference to the act of 1048, *ibid.*, p. 46.

29. § 14. "... quas constat, antequam judei huc advenirent, illam habuisse. Quapropter unde amittit primicias et oblationes, saltem exinde habere deberet decimationes"; I. F. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, 1, no. 8, p. 5. E. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XLIII, Appendix no. XLVIII, p. 479; cf. J. Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 90-91 (with incorrect date 1063). An act of the Cardinal-Legate Hugo Candidus (November 24 or December 1, 1068) in behalf of the church of San Miguel, executed at the Council of Gerona, enables Kehr to date this Council in the closing days of November 1068; P. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon*, no. VI, p. 79; pp. 27-28.

It should be noted that the claim to these tithes is made to antedate the cession of Pepin and his sons in 768 when, presumably, most of these territories first came into Jewish possession. Régné gratuitously assumes that the Jews lost their tithe-owing lands as the result of Charles' confiscations but later acquired others, now the object of canon 14, because of the frailty of royal power. On the other hand, he is probably correct in his assertion that Archbishop Guifred was the principal instigator of this legislation.³⁰

Apparently, in this period of the Council of Gerona there took place an attack on the Jews of Narbonne and in other places of that region. At its conclusion Pope Alexander II dispatched notes of appreciation to both Guifred,³¹ because he did not permit the Jews to be injured, and to Viscount Berengar for having protected the Jews living in his domain.³² The opportunity to protect the Jews may have provided Guifred access to the archives of Narbonne Jewry and to the royal *diplomata* treasured there.

Then in 1078 the Third Council of Gerona expanded canon 14 of the previous synod as follows: "It has been sanctioned again [declared canon 10] that the tithe collected from all the lands which the accursed cruelty of the infidel Jews cultivates should be paid to the church of the parish where the same lands are situated, as if they were cultivated by Christians."³³

This expansion of the earlier canon 14 aimed to subject all the land-holdings of the Jews in that region to the ecclesiastical tithe.

30. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 48, 91.

31. 1063. Wifred episcopo. S. Loewenfeld (ed.), *Epistolae pontificum romanorum ineditae*, pp. 43-44, no. 83.

32. Berengario, Narbonensi vicecomiti. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 63, note 1. Régné associates Berengar's protection with the crusading action of certain Frenchmen against the Saracens of Spain who on the way pillaged and massacred Jewish communities; *ibid.*

33. E. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, XLIII, Appendix no. L, p. 483; cf. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 91-92. The sessions of this synod were stormy. When the papal legate pronounced sentence of excommunication against the simonists and denounced the system of lay church rule, the counts as well as bishops and abbots protested. The deliberations were adjourned and the synod reconvened in a rump session in Besalú. Guifred of Narbonne was absent, because excommunicate; P. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat*, p. 34.

We may then conclude that the acts of 955, 977, 1048, 1068, and 1078 indicate that in all likelihood there did not take place before the last of these dates the expropriations ordered by the edicts of Charles the Simple dated November 1, 898, June 6, 899, and June 7, 922, allegedly conveying all lands, houses, saltworks, and vineyards owned by Jews, once subject to the tithe, into the possession of the church at Narbonne. Nor was that confiscation executed which the royal act of 919 had ordered against the land and mills of the Jews, located below Narbonne Bridge.³⁴ On the other hand, Hebrew sources stemming probably from Southern France report attempts against property in the hands of Jews which resulted in their actual confiscation after the middle of the eleventh century. Such efforts are branded extra-legal.

"For the purpose of removing the oppressive situation," a community had agreed with the owners of the villages (*ba'alé hakefarim*) in the environs to consolidate both the amount assessed against them and the cost of reversing the coercive action. The plan called for taxing each village according to its acreage, whereby all would be charged an equitable share. The agreement was drawn up in writing and signed. Now some of the landowners insist on withdrawing. The anonymous judge rules that they cannot act unilaterally but must uphold the agreement until there is a unanimous decision to nullify it.³⁵

34. As late as 1284 Jews in nearby Besalú and in the County of Gerona across the Pyrenees were in possession of lands held in *free allod* over which they exercised seigniorial rights. The named property was held

במדינת ירונדה הנזכרה בשכונת ישראל שמקצתם על חומת העיר שהם אלוד פראנק.

J. Millás i Vallicrosa, "Documents hebraics," Institut d'estudis catalans, I, fasc. 3, pp. 67-69.

35. קסה. עיינתי בשאלה זו כיון שקבלו עליהם בני הקהל כולה ונכללו בעלי הכפרים. להכליל הפריעה שעל הכפרים כולם ולהטיל על כל כפר וכפר לפי מדת קרקעותיו וכן להשתוות בהשחדה שמשחידין לסלק האונס מעליהם וכתבו מקבלה זו כתב וחתמו בו. אין למקצתם רשות לבטל אותה קבלה כל מה שמתני' בני המקום על עצמן מקובל עליהם והרשות בידם להתנות בעסקים שלהן במה שמסכימין שכך שנינו ורשאיין בני העיר להתנות על השערים ועל המדות ועל שכר טועלים ולהטיע על קיצתן ואין רשות למקצתן לבטל אות' תקנה עד שיסכימו כולן על בטולן דקיי"ל כל דבר שבמנין צריך מגין אחד להתירו. ואילו כך דינם. קסה. הן אמת שלשון 'עיינתי בשאלה זו' נמצא בפי ר' משה בר' הנוך ובגו וקדמוני חכמי ספרד, אכן ענין השאלה נראה שמצרפת באה והנה זמנה זמן קדמון שהטילו המם לפי מדת קרקעות הכפרים ובימי ר' יוסף טוב עלם כבר לא היו נוהגין להטיל מס על קרקעות בשוה עם בעלי הממון כמבואר מהלכת המם בתש' מהר"מ ד"ס סי' תתקמ"א ובמרדכי פ"ק

In what may be a later decision in the same situation the judge, Meshullam, relates a confiscation of the property of Jews in terms which repeat almost verbatim the language of the edicts ascribed to King Charles the Simple: "Gentiles wrongfully confiscated from Jews lands, fields and vineyards. Other Jews came and re-possessed them. May the original owners re-claim them?"

He decides against the first owners: "They cannot do so because there are legal documents [in our hands] and there are courts of gentiles. Since they did not complain they surrendered their rights and gave them up."³⁶ J. Mann has interpreted this decision of Meshullam to mean that he decided against the original owners because they did not press legal action but were content to allow other Jews to recover their property.³⁷

דב"ב לכן אהשוב שהתשו' מר' משולם או מאחד מאנשי דורו שאז החלו הגזרות והיו משחידים לטלק האונס. ב"ב ה: והנה פסק הרב ברור כיון שכל אנשי העיר והכפרים בכלל קבלו על עצמם יחידים מהם אין יכולים לבטל ועי' בד"מ בטור חו"מ סי' קס"ב בדינים הנוגעים לזה. ביצה ה. והנה האי דבר שבמנין וכו' לישנא בעלמא נקיש הרב והכוונה שאין היחיד רשאי לבטל ה. והנה האי דבר שבמנין וכו' לישנא בעלמא נקיש הרב והכוונה שאין היחיד רשאי לבטל (Notes by J. Müller).

Teshubhot Geoné mizrah u-ma'arabh (Responsen der Lehrer des Ostens und Westens) ed. J. Müller, no. 165, p. 40b. Both Müller, *ibid.*, note 1, and J. Mann, "Responsa," *JQR*, X (1919-20), 318, note 237, place this situation in France. Müller dates it "in an early period" by R. Meshullam or a contemporary, and Mann "before Bonfils," (eleventh-century Narbonne). Cf. J. Müller, (ed.) *op. cit.*, no. 205, apparently by R. Nathan the Babylonian.

36. קפח. ר' משלם ששאלתם גוים שאנסו מישראל ארצות ושרדות וכבמים ובא ישראל אחר והוציא אותן מידם יכול אותו ישראל שאנסו ממנו אותו קרקע להוציאו מיד אותו ישראל שפדה אותו או לא... כך דעתי נוטה ממה שהראוני מן השמים שאינו יכול אותו ישראל שאנסו ממנו גוים הקרקע להוציאו מידי אותו ישראל שפדה אותו כי הא דאמ' כיון דאיכ' בי דורא ולא אזיל וקביל אחולי אחיל הכא נמי כיון דאיכ' אנריאות ורכאות של גוים ולא קביל אחולי אחיל גביה ונתיישא מהן.

Op. cit., ed. J. Müller, no. 188, p. 48b. It should be noted that different grammatical forms of the same word, *O-nes*, *An'su* (coercion, coerced) appear in both decisions to describe the action against the Jews.

37. J. Mann, "Responsa," *JQR*, X (1919-20), 131.

For another interpretation, see *Teshubhot Geoné mizrah*, ed. J. Müller, no. 188, note 1. Is this writer the great Meshullam b. Kalonymos? Meshullam lived toward the end of the tenth century, at least for a while, in Lucca, Italy; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, pp. 57, 221. J. Müller finds only Franco-German, and not Italian, conditions reflected in his *responsa*, and places him in Mayence and later in southern

It should be noted that Meshullam based the rights of the Jews to these properties on written documents which he clearly expected the courts to uphold. Presumably they were royal charters. This is what actually may have happened as is implied in the statement that other Jews repossessed them. Perhaps these were even Jewish officials who, it may be supposed, expended community funds in their efforts. If this decision is indeed a continuation of the preceding case, it would indicate "a happy ending" to that emergency.

However, not every problem found a happy ending. Moses *ha-Darshan* (the Exegete) lived in Narbonne in the third quarter of the eleventh century, a contemporary therefore of Archbishop Guifred, and a witness of his drive to power. In commenting on the last of the Ten Commandments Moses declared:

Although this is the last Commandment do not underestimate it. It is actually weightier than all of them and [disobedience of] it may lead to transgression of all Ten Commandments. As the result of covetousness one comes to deny the first Commandment ("I am the Lord thy God") and because of covetousness of wealth one comes to serve other gods *as do many in the very midst of us who converted rather than lose their property* (emphasis added).³⁸

France, *Die Responen des Rabbi Mesullam Sohn des R. Kalonymos*, pp. 3-5; cf. *idem*, *Maft'e'ah liteshubhot haGeonim* (Einleitung in die Responen der babylonischen Geonen), p. 14. A. Neubauer reaches the conclusion that we must suppose there were two noted teachers by the same name living at the same time, one in the south of France (Arles) and the other in Mayence and Lorraine, "Literature of Responsa," *JQR*, o.s. V (1893), 694 in a review of J. Müller, *Die Responen des R. Mesullam b. Kalonymos*, in opposition to A. Epstein, "Le lieu de sejour de Meschoullam ben Calonymos de Lucques," *REJ*, XXIV (1892), 149-51; cf. H. Gross, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Arles," *MGWJ*, XXVII (1878), 249-52. J. N. Epstein identifies Meshullam's *responsa* in Cassel's "Die Rechtsgutachten der Geonim," *JJLG*, IX, 227-28. However, the author of the *responsum* no. 165 is anonymous. It may have been written by Joseph Bonfils (*Tobh Elem*), a contemporary of Moses *haDarshan* in eleventh-century Narbonne, of whom it is reported that he left Narbonne in order to direct the government of Limoges and Anjou: הלא כמה רבנים יצאו מארצך. כי יצא הרב ר' משה דרשן והרב ר' לוי אחיו אחריו והרב ר' יוסף טוב עלם שהנהיג את המלכות לימורג ואניו.

Sefer haYashar leRabbenu Tam (Vienna 1811), p. 74b; from a letter to R. Meshullam of Mullin (midway between Paris and Narbonne) by Rabbenu Tam.

ואף כי זה הדבור הוא האחרון אל יהי נקל בעיניך כי הוא חמור מכולם ומביא 38. לידי העברת כל העשרת דברות על ידי חמור כוטר באנכי ועובר ע"ז ע"י חמור הממון

Moses does not detail the circumstances of this assault on the property of Jews in the Narbonnaise.

Whereas the first *responsum* noted above may have been concerned primarily with the effort to halt the imposition of the church tithe, Meshullam's decision and Moses' comment indicate that the authorities (Guifred ?) pressed for expropriation. The apostasy of certain individuals annulled the confiscation of their properties in return for acknowledgment of the tithe on their estates and the obligation to pay it as Christians. Less drastic means enabled the community to invalidate, at least in part, the confiscation of lands belonging to Jews who remained loyal.

The available data, consequently, permit the conclusion that the Jews were in actual possession of considerable landed estates in the Narbonnaise from the time of Pepin the Short and Pope Stephen III until at least the middle of the eleventh century. They owned villages, vineyards, saltworks, mills, fishponds, and public ovens.³⁹ In the era

כאשר בנינו רבים ונשמדו פן יאבדו ממנו; מדרש על עשרת הדברות, פסוק לא תחמד in A. Epstein, *Moses haDarschan aus Narbonne* (Hebrew), p. 52. A hint as to who some of these wealthy landowners may have been that apostasized at this time rather than give up their property can be gleaned from the name Aymeri (derived from Al-Makhiri ?) which makes its first appearance in the viscountal family only after the middle of the eleventh century. Viscount Aymeri I governed from 1080 to 1105; J. Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 63. He is not of the sons of Berengar; see above pp. 147-49, note 2. Ancient property of Viscount Aymeri, including the Jews' old school, was located in the Narbonne *Juiverie*; G. Saige, *Juifs du Lanquedoc*, p. 156 (March 8, 1217).

Demaison, following G. Paris, identifies him as the son of Berengar's son Bernard, the eighth descendant of Mayeul Viscount of Narbonne, who lived at the beginning of the tenth century. Thereafter, until the end of the fourteenth century nine Aymeris appear as Viscount of Narbonne; L. Demaison, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, I, Introduction, pp. cxxviii-cxxix. As evidence that the name Aymeri did not derive from the *chansons* Demaison points to a Bishop Aymeri who occupied the See of Narbonne as early as 927-77. See p. 132 above. He surmises without evidence that the Bishop may have been a kinsman of the viscountal family; Demaison *ibid.*, p. cxxx. The eventual fusion of a branch of the Makhiri dynasty with the viscountal family would provide a factual basis for the tradition that "Viscount Aymeri" received "one-third" of Narbonne at the time of its capture from the Saracens.

39. Public ovens are mentioned in a few *responsa*; *Teshubhot ge'onim kadmonim* (Responsa of the ancient Geonim) ed. D. Cassel, no. 62, p. 13b; no. 123, p. 36a. The *Livre Vert* lists the revenues and seigniorial rights of the Archiepiscopate of

of Guifred and probably under his instigation a sharp attack was launched against their possession of tithe-exempt estates which, before the donation of Pepin, had been property of Christians and perhaps even of ecclesiastical institutions. After 1068 or 1078, at the latest, Archbishop Guifred endeavored to exploit the legislation of the Second and Third Council of Gerona. He brought forth (more accurately, fraudulently fabricated) the edicts of Charles the Simple cited above. Authentic in part because based on genuine *diplomata*, these ordered the expropriation (for the benefit of the see at Narbonne) of the estates still held by Jews, from which the church had once collected tithes. In the light of Pope Stephen's complaint of 768 such lands must have been very considerable in southern France and northern Spain. Guifred was at least partially successful in this bold effort.

In consequence, we may conclude that Pepin the Short's cession to an unidentified beneficiary of half the tolls and customs, half the income from the saltworks, and half seignorial rights in shipwrecks and pastures, and of other revenue in the Narbonnaise may very well have been made to the favor of the Nasi of the Jews. In other words this grant may be a fragment of the *praecepta* which Stephen III lamented so bitterly. As one of the major bearers of maritime and international trade,⁴⁰ such concessions were of immense value to the Jews.

Did Pepin make a similar grant of rights inside Narbonne to the Nasi? The available facts point to its probability. First, one must weigh the critical role of the Jews, who were primarily responsible for the surrender of Narbonne to Pepin.⁴¹ Then Guilbert reports that the Jews were absolute masters in the Villeneuve of Narbonne.⁴² Furthermore, when Archbishop Guifred asserted claim over half of Narbonne and the Viscount eventually ceded this area to him, the prelate thereby came into possession of holdings which derived ultimately from the

Narbonne in the second half of the fourteenth century. Among these in the county and canton of Capetang is mentioned an oven *de Judatco* located in *portali de Narbona*; P. Laurent (ed.) *Livre vert de l'archevêché de Narbonne*, Introduction, p. xi; p. 28. For considerable Jewish possessions in nearby Carcassès see mandate of February 22, 839; *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 97, col. 211.

40. See S. W. Baron, *History*, IV, pp. 171-96.

41. See this text, pp. 173-74.

42. Aristide Guilbert, *Histoire des villes de France*, VI (Paris 1848), p. 407.

royal Count; the Bishop had never held half of Narbonne in the Carolingian Age. But the diploma of Charles the Bald, dated 844, contains an interpolation which may have been genuine in its original setting: "There is ceded to him half of the entire City together with the towers and their adjacencies both inside and out, complete."⁴³

This cession, if authentic, does not refer to the half of Narbonne reserved for the royal Count who held the town as representative of the sovereign and did not require a special grant. Nor was the Bishop the beneficiary of this act; both Molinier and Tessier agree that Charles' diploma, issued in behalf of the Bishop of Narbonne, is interpolated at this point.⁴⁴ Yet like the cession of half the income in the county, which is identified in this diploma as an act of Pepin and his successors, so also the grant of half of Narbonne may derive from the same source. But the elimination of royal Count and Bishop as beneficiaries leaves the Nasi as the only possible recipient of this cession of half of Narbonne, in accordance with the report of the *Addendum* in *ShK* and the lost diploma of Charlemagne. It appears probable that the grant just cited as an interpolation into Charles the Bald's immunity of June 20, 844, may once have been part of that *privilegium* which was accorded to the Nasi by Pepin and sons, Carloman and Charles, in 768. As late as the eleventh century Pepin's capitulary was probably extant in a confirmation by Charles the Bald which fell into Guifred's hands.

The extensive properties held by the Jews and their Nasi (entitled king) at the time of their expulsion in 1306⁴⁵ indicates that they occupied a very substantial portion of the city into the fourteenth century. With their departure the reigning archbishop may have set his

43. "Concessum est illi medietatem totius civitatis cum turribus et adjacentiis earum intrinsecus et extrinsecus cum omni integritate," *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 115, col. 297; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, p. 141:12-13.

44. A. Molinier, "Un diplome interpolé," 73-75; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, p. 141:10-16.

45. G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, pp. 272-93. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 127-32. During the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century the Narbonne "Kings of the Jews" disposed of all their lands. The royal confiscation of 1306 applied exclusively to their houses in Narbonne. On the eve of the expulsion the Jewish "King" held some thirty houses or portions thereof, among which a dozen were allodial; *ibid.*, p. 185.

cap to acquire that area and the title of Duke of Narbonne. This may account for the *vidimus* of July 1, 1318,⁴⁶ which transcribed the pseudo-original prepared by Guifred centuries earlier. Guifred exploited Pepin's cession of half of Narbonne in order to wrest 50 per cent of the town (originally in the jurisdiction of the royal Count) from the hands of the Viscount. A successor on the See of Narbonne hoped to exploit the same grant for the purpose of asserting claim to the remaining half of Narbonne, an area held by the Jews until 1306.

At the same time then that Archbishop Guifred pressed claims against the viscountal family and successfully asserted lordship over their holdings on the basis of forged royal *privilegia* and coercion, both physical and spiritual, he also fabricated royal *diplomata* against Jewish possessions inside and outside Narbonne. He lifted out of a diploma of Charles the Bald (confirming *privilegia* as far back as Pepin the Short) authentic clauses designed originally for the Nasi of Narbonne and interpolated them into modest royal mandates and immunities issued in favor of his church, thus substantially enriching its endowments. Specifically, he claimed in this manner half of Narbonne and half the income in the county. He may have also altered a confirmation by King Eudo of Pepin's cession to the Nasi. In addition Guifred revised authentic *diplomata* of Charles the Simple in such a way as to convert them into decrees expropriating Jewish property once subject to the tithe.

In consequence, we may say that Charlemagne's *privilegium* of 791, now lost, in all likelihood confirmed the cession of half of Narbonne and half the income in the county and beyond, as well as other rights, granted by Pepin and his sons in 768 to the Nasi there. His successors, Louis le Débonnaire,⁴⁷ Charles the Bald, Eudo, and Charles the Simple, at the least, acted in like manner.⁴⁸ Insofar as the Nasi functioned as

46. *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, p. 141:16-23.

47. Emperor Louis refers to a capitulary, no longer extant, which he issued in behalf of the Jews: "capitula, quae a nobis eis observanda promulgata sunt," *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, p. 310:37-311:1; cf. Agobard, *De Insolentia Iudaeorum*: "capitularia sanctionum," *MGH*, *Epistolae*, V, p. 183:9.

48. An eleventh-century cleric of Narbonne, who claimed access to older documents, mentions a royal charter which granted the Jews hereditary rights within the walls of Toulouse; A. J. Zuckerman, "Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, 69-70. Possibly

royal Count or, later, as Marquis of Gothia and of the March of Spain, he became overlord also of the other half of Narbonne.⁴⁹ Such broad authority would help to explain Tournal's singular claim that Narbonne Jewry wielded power over ecclesiastical institutions and offices in the Narbonnaise.⁵⁰

There can remain no doubt that *nasi* was translated *rex* and understood to mean "king" in the Carolingian Age, and even beyond this period, although his actual power dwindled with the passage of time.

Latin documents as late as the fourteenth century make occasional allusion to a "King of the Jews" in Narbonne. Peter the Venerable of Cluny about the middle of the twelfth century must have referred to the Nasi when he reported derisively the claim of the Jews that there was a Jewish King in Narbonne in his day. In an attack transmitted to King Louis (VII) he derisively demanded of contemporary Jews on the basis of Genesis 49:10 to produce a king of the House of Judah, or, at least, a duke. Then, continuing, Peter declared: "But as for me, I will not accept that king (as something worthy of ridicule) whom some of you claim to have in Narbonne, the city in Gaul, others in Rouen."⁵¹

On October 5, 1216, a resident of Narbonne, Bernard de Cortone, left a bequest of cash and property "to Bonomancipio the son of the Jews' King" (*filio regis Judeorum*). By 1252, the same Bonomancipius (Todros b. Kalonymos) bore the title "Jewish King" in a lease of

referring to southern France, R. Meshullam claimed that Jews had documents which would be upheld in gentile courts and which actually enabled them to recover lands confiscated illegally. The *Addendum* to *ShK* also refers to unsuccessful efforts to deprive them (their Nasi) of lands around Narbonne; see this text pp. 60, 164.

49. At the fall of Narbonne, Aymeri received the Tower as a gift as well as the entire city and its dependencies, according to a fragment, *Épopées françaises*, ed. L. Gautier, 2nd ed., IV, pp. 241-44 from MS français 1497, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; L. Demaison, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, I, Introduction, p. ccvii.

50. The Archbishop complained frequently to the papal court about this state of affairs; M. Tournal, *Catalogue du Musée de Narbonne*, pp. 49-50.

51. See p. 64 of this text. *PL*, CLXXXIX, col. 560. Cf. J. Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 180, note 21; Is. Loeb, "Polémistes chrétiens et juifs en France et en Espagne," *REJ*, XXII (1889), 45. On the "Jews' Royal Seed" in Narbonne 1144, see p. 64 this text.

property rights.⁵² A viscountal decree dated March 8, 1217, excluded "the property of the Jewish King which he has and holds by inheritance of his patrimony," and recognized it as exempt from the tax-paying status of other property held by Jews in the "Juiverie" of Narbonne.⁵³ At this late date then, the property of the "King of the Jews" was still free allod. Until the expulsion of the Jews in 1306, the head of the Narbonne Jewry bore this title, for in the bills of sale of former Jewish land-holdings we read of the twelve houses which had belonged to Momet Tauros "King of the Jews" (*regi Judeorum*) in free allod. Saige is inclined to see in such a "King of the Jews" a sovereign lord; Régné insists that his civil and political status was limited to that of an allodial freeholder, subject to the jurisdiction of the crown until royal authority faded out. Régné maintains that although he was probably exempt from such public duties as military service and taxation, he himself was not invested with the privileges of justice and taxation: the title was bestowed by Christians as an equivalent of nasi, prince of the community.⁵⁴ However apt this description may be for the fourteenth-century Nasi of Narbonne, Régné does not evaluate adequately and cannot be said to have described correctly the rank and power of the Nasi of Narbonne as it existed in fact in the Carolingian Age.

A lease of property rights (termed an infeudation by Saige) granted in April 1195 and signed in Hebrew by Ḳalonymos b. R. Todros has the earmarks of the action of a great landholder.⁵⁵ The style of this document and the Hebrew signature suggest that the original was drawn in Hebrew. Similarly, the transcript of a cession of land by Todros (Bonmacip) b. Ḳalonymos in 1246 ends with the words: *Hoc*

52. Bequest of 1216 in J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 183, note 4; lease of 1252, *ibid.* p. 184.

53. G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, no. xx, p. 155; cf. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 65-67; 177-78.

54. G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 284; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 80. The confirmation of the crown identifies the former owner as *alio nomine vocatus Rex Judeus Narbone*, G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 277.

55. G. Saige, *ibid.*, p. 137, no. VIII; cf. pp. 65; 70-71; J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 150, 181. Kaufmann overlooked the date of this infeudation when he stated that Ḳalonymos was dead by 1194, "Lettres de Scheshet b. Isaac b. Joseph Benveniste de Saragosse," *REJ* (1899), 64. See p. 61, note 23 of this text.

est translatum.⁵⁶ Saige reproduces a seal emblazoned on a heraldic shield which shows a lion rampant and bears an inscription in Hebrew prefixed with a small six-pointed star: *Ḳalonymos b. Todros Isaiiah Cohen* on the one side, and the same heraldic emblem with *S^e [Senior] MOVMET IVDEV D'NERPO* on the other side.⁵⁷ This seal can be no younger than the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, when, as noted above, the property of Momet Tauros "King of the Jews" fell to the crown (1307-08). Both Saige and Ad. de Longpérier emphasize that only kings and barons used a heraldic symbol on seals of the thirteenth century, the greatest sovereigns of the thirteenth century contenting themselves with a heraldic symbol, lacking the crown, on their seals.⁵⁸

At the organization of the royal provostship in Languedoc in 1364, the Narbonne town councillors presented as argument in behalf of the choice of their city as capital, that in the days of Charlemagne it had been a royal city where ruled two kings, one Jewish, the other Saracen.⁵⁹ The Nasi of Narbonne occupied a many structured dwelling known as the *Cortada Regis Judeorum*. After the expulsion, the town consulate took up its quarters in this *Cour du Roi* and, later still, it became the seat of the royal vicarate of Narbonne.⁶⁰

In summary, it may be said that the lost document of 791, a royal *privilegium* or capitulary, confirmed, at least in part, Pepin's *praecepta* of 768. Further, it declared the Jewish Principate (established by the Frankish kings in 768) to be now a permanent institution and confirmed the Jewish Nasi and the Jewry of Narbonne (separately or jointly) in possession of, at the least, half that city and half the income from tolls, trade, and salt production in the county. In all likelihood, this document was seen by the writer of the "Appendix" of *ShK* or

56. J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, p. 230, no. VII.

57. G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 60.

58. G. Saige, *ibid.* Ad. de Longpérier, "Notice sur quelques sceaux juifs bilingues," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Année 1872, 235-40. D. A. Geiger incorrectly reads the abbreviation *S^e* as *Seel*, that is, seal; "Umbschau 8. Mittelalterliche Siegel," *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, IX (1871), 281.

59. "et quod etiam tempore memorie recolende Karoli magni erat urbs regia, erantque ibi duo reges, unus Judeus et unus Sarracenus"; G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 44, note 2.

60. G. Saige, *ibid.*, p. 44.

his informant and is the source of much of the information which he transmits. Its reference to a delegation led by Isaac was also exploited by the compiler of the *Gesta*, who says that he extracted from, and summarized documents in, the archives of Lagrasse. Naturally, he adapted it to the dramatic purposes of his romance. Specifically, it was the source of the *Gesta's* claim that Charlemagne established a Jewish kingship in Narbonne and ceded a district of that town to the Jewry resident there. This, and other related statements of the *Gesta* will not now appear to be so fantastic as they seemed at the turn of the century. Pope Stephen's epistle dated 768 cannot know of the events of 791. Hence, his reference in extreme anguish to a grant in Septimania and northern Spain of considerable allodial hereditaments to Jews "in towns and suburbs . . . in the territories and boundaries of Christians" must be a reaction to an act of the Frankish kings in his own day. Charlemagne's Capitulary of 791 confirming this act was issued probably in Worms or Ratisbon⁶¹ and was primarily of constitutional character. Its major intent was to confirm the Jewish exilarchate-patriarchate as a permanent institution. It probably fixed the rank and succession of the nasi, guaranteed his possession of 50 per cent of land and income inside and outside Narbonne and throughout Septimania-Toulousain, and defined the rights and privileges of Frankian Jewry. Presumably on this occasion William (Isaac?) was designated his father's successor. Also those plans may now have been finalized which in 797 sent Isaac (Makhir's death had intervened) to Baghdad and Jerusalem as an emissary of Charlemagne in association with his eventual coronation as emperor at the end of the year 800.

61. Whether the meeting of Charles and Isaac took place in Worms (where Charles spent the Easter of 791) or in Ratisbon before the middle of August, when the Frank armies began their expedition against the Avars, cannot be determined with assurance. Worms is the more likely meeting place; *Chronicon Moissiacense*, *MGH*, SS I, p. 299:5 (*Anno* 791), cf. Einhardi *Annales*, *ibid.*, p. 177:11-12, "Transacta verni temperie, circa aestatis initium rex de Wormacia movens, Baicarium profectus est." The relevant sources are assembled in S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 16 f. The Capitulary of 768 was also issued at Easter (Passover) time. Furthermore, the decision to attack the Avars may have been related to these negotiations which placed on the Jews the responsibility for the protection of the south-southwestern frontier, thereby releasing Frankish troops for the eastern border.

This study thus far has contrasted the Goths' disappearance from the Narbonnaise directly after the fall of Narbonne in 759 with the highly privileged status of southern Frankia's Jewry. Simultaneously, its scholar-prince was invested with a rank and realm by act of the Carolingian kings in 768, which was confirmed by Charlemagne in 791 and repeatedly by his successors. The prevailing view that the Goths effected the surrender of the Narbonne fortress while (by implication) the Jews supported the Saracen garrison to the bitter end leads to a paradox: Pepin must have punished his "friends" the Goths with banishment (in spite of a solemn pledge to grant them self-rule) and rewarded his "enemies," the Jews, with the very privileges he had promised to his "allies." The results of this inquiry have made it appear very likely that the Jews, not the Goths, were Pepin's supporters within the citadel. The statement of the *Gesta* that the Jews of Narbonne were responsible for the fall of the fortress seems to be adequately substantiated. But in opening the gates of Narbonne to the besieging Franks, the Jews were acting also as the agents of the Caliph of Baghdad, their overlord, who also was the ally of Pepin King of the Franks. Pepin's commitments to the Caliph were part of a broad plan to assert Franco-Abbasid domination over Spain. Establishment of a Jewish principate or patriarchate and the designation of a considerable domain or principality were an organic part of such plans. This implied a significant diplomatic, political, military, and fiscal role and function for the Jews. After the fall of Narbonne and the amicable outcome of the negotiations with Baghdad in 765-68, Pepin and his sons Carloman and Charles redeemed their pledge to the Jews, settled a scholar-prince in Narbonne by the name of Makhir (Al-Makhiri; later, Aymeri in the vernacular), dubbed him Theodoric, gave him a Carolingian princess as wife, and endowed him with noble status in addition to vast allodial estates. The reaction of Pope Stephen to these events was immediate and violent but to no avail, apparently, because his predecessor had assented to such an arrangement.⁶²

62. See this text, pp. 38, 100-01. Bishop Agobard reported that the [Jewish] *honorati* of Septimania claimed papal, as well as imperial, confirmation for their possession of former ecclesiastical estates; Agobard, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, p. 174:31-36, and see discussion in A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," p. 47; cf. also I. Lévi, "Le roi juif de Narbonne," *REJ*, XLVIII (1904), 206.

This analysis makes it probable that the "original" document, on the basis of which the Goth monk Witiza-Benedict compiled the *Annals of Aniane*, read *Jews* for the present *Goths* in narrating the surrender of the Narbonne bastion. Furthermore, the "original" text probably stated ". . . permitterent eos *regem suum* habere" in place of the present linguistically inept and politically insignificant phrase "*legem suam* habere." The emended text would read as follows: "Anno DCCLVIII. The Franks besiege Narbonne. They swore to the (Goths) *Jews* who were there, that if they should deliver the city to the side of Pepin, King of the Franks, they would permit them to have their own (law) *king*. This was done and the same (Goths) *Jews* killed the Saracens who were in its citadel and delivered the city itself to the side of the Franks."

Such an emendation would accord with the statement in the *Chronicle of Uzès*, namely *dimiterent eos regere*, ". . . (that the Franks) would permit them to rule."⁶³

The probable approval of the pope (as suggested by the *Gesta*, see this text, p. 68) before 768 for the Nasi of Frankia and his domain may have been the subject under discussion at the Septimania conference of prelates in 791. See this text, pp. 175-78.

63. For the text of the *Annals of Aniane* see this work p. 40, note 9. The text of the *Chronicle of Uzès* (where Dhuoda the wife of Bernard of Septimania resided), in *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 26, anno 759: "Anno Domini DCCLV, Franchi Narbonam obsident dato sacramento Gothis, qui ibi erant in civitate, quod si illam traderent partibus Pipini, Franchorum regis, dimiterent eos regere. Tunc Gothi occiderunt Sarracenos qui in presidio illius erant, et se cum ipsa civitate Narbonensi tradiderunt Franchis, ut in libris antiquis Sancti Theodoriti reperi."

See *ibid.*, col. 23, note 1, for discussion of incorrect dates in this chronicle written in the margin of a work by Bernard Gui dating from fourteenth century. E. Mabille, *ibid.*, col. 26, reports that in the date DCCXLV the X is erased. My examination of the manuscript, however, indicates that both the X and L are erased leaving DCCV; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 2096 (formerly 4974) fol. 76r.

See this text, p. 261, where it is indicated that Jews might properly be designated *Gothi*, a geographical rather than an ethnic term, as residents of "Gothia." The meaning of the text would remain the same as proposed above with the sole alteration of *regem* for *legem*. Cf. G. Caro who, without detailed analysis of the sources, reaches the conclusion that Jews must have been included among Goths, unless indeed "Hebrews" is to be read in place of "Goths" in this passage of the Moissac-Aniane chronicles, whereby the difficulties would be resolved most easily, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden*, I, pp. 142-43, 472.

The First Generations of the Jewish Principate: Makhir (Natronai)—Theodoric and His Son William, 791—

Charlemagne's *privilegium* of 791 confirming the Jewish Exilarchate as a permanent institution and defining the status and powers of the Nasi as lord of a domain or principality in Septimania and the March of Spain appears to have produced prompt repercussions in the Southland. To allay opposition and assure acquiescence may perhaps be the motivation for a grand legislative conference of churchmen which convened soon afterward at the command of Charlemagne and "with the authority of the Holy See." In all, forty-eight prelates or their deputies came together, a number which underscores the importance of the gathering. These included the Archbishop of Arles, Bishop of Toulouse, seven bishops of Septimania (namely, of Nîmes, Uzès, Maguelonne, Agde, Béziers, Carcassonne, and Elne), three bishops of the region just conquered from the Arabs (Urgel, Gerona, and Barcelona), and churchmen of the ecclesiastical provinces of Arles, Vienne, and Eauze. The *missus* Desiderius represented the King.¹

1. The full texts in *HGL*, II, preuves, pp. 54–57; *Concilia aevi karolini*, II part 2, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH*, Legum sectio III, pp. 828–31. A. R. Lewis emphasizes

The extant documents are badly mutilated. In addition they contradict themselves and each other on the important fact of the date of the conference, placing it in June of 788, 789, 791, or 801—. Nevertheless, the names of the signatories, led by Daniel Bishop of Narbonne, include those of contemporary prelates known from other sources, and hence they are authentic. It is generally agreed that an assembly of churchmen did actually convene in the environs of Narbonne in the period 788–801.

The question at issue appears to have been the extent of power vested in the authorities at Narbonne and the territorial limits of their jurisdiction. Since Bishop Daniel heads the list of signatories it might be supposed that it was his authority that was being defined. However, he does not appear as a litigant over against the other prelates but rather simply as one of them except for the question of the subjection of the church at Ausona in the March of Spain. But Griffe has demonstrated that this section is an interpolation of the tenth century.² The only other power in Narbonne that might be the cause of dispute at this time was the Nasi of Frankia.

As the documents are presently drawn a reason given for convening the council was the heresy of Felix Urgel. However, this is an invention and a notorious error. The trial and condemnation of Felix took place

that the early Carolingians did not place much trust in local allies in order to control Septimania. Rather, they deliberately introduced officials who were alien to the region. In fact, according to Lewis, the Carolingian rulers carried out "a deliberate, sustained, and fundamental assault upon the pre-existing society and institutions," *Southern French and Catalan Society*, pp. 31–33.

2. E. Griffe attempts a reconstruction of the text of the Narbonne Council. He thinks he can restore the original text by eliminating the references to Pope Hadrian, the heresy of Felix, and the subjection of the church at Ausona to the Narbonne See. He concludes that the Council fixed the limits of the authority of the Narbonne diocese; *Histoire religieuse*, Appendix II, pp. 246–50; cf. pp. 96–97. For the same view, Ch. J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, pt. 2, p. 1026; cf. also L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, I, pp. 305, 373, no. 21, Appendix p. 353, who also finds the reasons for convening the council invented but the names of the bishops authentic. The stylistic reasons which Griffe gives for eliminating the references to the pope are not convincing. The presence of a royal *missus* and possibly of a papal legate (at the least the action undertaken was *per suae auctoritatis litteras domno apostolico Adriano*) suggests that far more was involved than a local dispute.

at Ratisbon in 792 and again at Frankfort in 794.³ What original content, now unacceptable, did this false pretext replace? Presumably, something of a related nature which shocked the forger. Now a mandate of Charlemagne's son Louis, dated 839, issued in behalf of three Jews of Septimania, opens with a circumlocution about acting with benevolent devotion even to those not brought up in the Christian faith. Approximately such an affirmation about the obligation to keep one's word with unbelievers is attributed to "King Charles" by Meir b. Simeon.⁴ An individual at a later date who felt impelled to tamper with a similar startling assertion about unbelieving Jews which he

3. Felix Urgel, a signatory of this document, was condemned, and abjured his Adoptionist views at the Council of Ratisbon in 792. He then reasserted his position and fled to Arab Spain, probably to Toledo. The celebrated Council at Frankfort which convened *apostolica auctoritate* at the start of Spring 794 under the honorary chairmanship of Charlemagne, solemnly condemned Adoptionism once more. Felix persisted in his stand. Charlemagne summoned him to a disputation with Alcuin at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 798. Felix came and for six days publicly presented his views, but ultimately declared himself in error and recanted. He is suspected of having persisted secretly in his position until his death in 818; *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, V (Paris 1913), col. 2132-33. Hefele thinks that Felix' signature to the *decretum* of the Council of Narbonne may have been responsible for the alteration of the original act and the insertion of the charge of Adoptionism here; *op. cit.*, p. 1026-27. However such tampering with the original seems uncalled for unless it contained views that would make the forger see heresy therein.

4. February 22, 839, *HGL*, II preuves, col. 211, no. 97. The preamble reads: "Licet apostolica lectio maxime domesticis fidei nos bonum operare commoneat, ceteris quoque omnibus idem facere benivola devotio non prohibet, sed potius ut respectu divinae misericordiae propensus exaquamur hortatur . . ." Cf. J. Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 35-36; J. Aronius, *Regesten*, p. 42, no. 102. Note Pope Innocent IV's somewhat similar remark on behalf of the books of the Jews in his address to King Louis IX of France, August 12, 1247: ". . . summus pontifex . . . nulli debet injuste nocere, sed juste quod justum exequendo tenetur reddere cuiuslibet jura sua . . . nos qui juxta mandatum divinum in eadem lege ipsos tolerare tenemur"; S. Grayzel, *Church and the Jews*, no. 119, pp. 274, 276, 278; translation p. 275. Meir b. Simeon's similar claim, A. Neubauer, "Documents sur Narbonne," *REJ*, X (1885), 98; see Appendix IV of this text; for translation, pp. 65-67. How such mandates were twisted out of their original intent may be seen in the *Registre de l'Abbaye de la Grasse*, compiled in 1494, which has the following entry for the year 839: "Lettres de l'Empereur Louys commandant à certains Hébreux de relascher à l'abbé quelques droits usurpés"; Archives départementales, Aude, H7 folio 59v.

found in the council's original decisions might be led to think of "another" heresy during the reign of Charlemagne, namely the movement associated with Felix Urgel; and consequently to substitute here an imaginary clerical deliberation about the recalcitrant prelate. Original material, now lost, was deliberately deleted since it was patently unacceptable. If then the Council of Narbonne focused on Jews, did it deliberate about Nasi Makhir and, under pressure from the royal *missus* and the papal legate,⁵ finally acknowledge and confirm his authority in the immense territory represented by the assembled princes of the church?⁶ They came from the Toulousain, Septimania to the Rhone, and the March of Spain (as later constituted), lands that correspond to the vast domain which Charlemagne ceded to Aymeri according to the *Gesta*.⁷

This reasoning would lead to a dating of the conference some time after the Worms (Ratisbon) capitulary and probably still in the year 791. Auzias in fact dates the council in 791. He assumes that it dealt with the problems attendant upon the reorganization of Septimania and southern Aquitaine which followed on the integration into Frankia of the recently acquired territories beyond the Pyrenees.⁸

5. For probable papal approval of the Nasi of Frankia and the *Gesta's* reference to such assent see this text, p. 68. Meir b. Simeon reports that King Charles promulgated important statutes for the Jews "with the consent of the bishops and abbots who were there with him;" see this text, p. 67.

6. The territories covered by the decision of the Narbonne Council appear in the following statement of its *decretum*: "Rogamus igitur cunctos subsequentes nos et hoc nostrae auctoritatis decreto confirmamus, sancimus, stabilimus tam de Redensi pago quam etiam de Ausonensi sive confinio Narbonensi et Biterrensi, quod est Orbus, ut, sicut coram nobis discussum et comprobatum est, ita inconvulsum et incontaminatum, nullius contradictione valente, in perpetuum permaneat." *Concilia aevi karolini*, II, part 2, *MGH*, Legum sectio III, pp. 828-30.

7. *Gesta*, ed., F. Ed. Schneegans, p. 190:2475-85; see Appendix I, this text.

8. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 39-40. An echo of this council of 791 may perhaps be heard in the complaint of Agobard Bishop of Lyons who reported that the *honorati* of Septimania claimed papal, as well as imperial, confirmation for their possession of former ecclesiastical estates; Agobard, *Epistolae* V, ed. E. Dümmler, p. 174:31-36, and see discussion in A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," p. 47. Cf. also I. Lévi, "Le roi juif de Narbonne," *REJ*, XLVIII (1904), 206.

The statistical studies of David Herlihy on the extent of ownership of ecclesiastical property in France in the period 701–1200 likewise emphasize the relative paucity of church property (and, by implication, the high level of lay power) in the March of Spain and southern France before 950. In general church possession of land grew enormously throughout the Carolingian period. A startling exception was the Spanish March. For the eighth century not a single private contract of land conveyance mentions an ecclesiastical institution of southern France as owner of landed property contiguous to the estate described in the document; for northern Spain not a single such church possession is mentioned until the period 851–75. By contrast in eighth-century northern France the percentage of ecclesiastical institutions appearing as contiguous owners in the documents was 19 per cent. For the ninth century as a whole the figures are:

	%
Spain	less than 5
Southern France	31
Northern France	44

On the other hand in the century 951–1050 the greatest upsurge in church holdings is evident in Spain, where ecclesiastical ownership spurts about fourfold from less than 5 per cent to 18 per cent (in southern France from 28 per cent to 35 per cent) while at the same period in northern France it is decreasing from 51 per cent to 39 per cent and in all of Europe (including Spain) from 25 per cent to 20 per cent. Herlihy's conclusions are based on 10,000 references for the entire period 701–1200.⁹

Although his conclusions can tell nothing about the contents of the original "decree" at the Narbonne Church Council of *ca.* 791, they parallel our findings regarding the relative balance of power between the church and lay magnates, specifically the Nasi of the Jews, in Septimania-March of Spain during the last quarter of the eighth century.

The only non-Hebrew source which explicitly names Makhir of

9. D. Herlihy, "Church Property on the European Continent, 701–1200," *Speculum*, XXXVI (1961), 86, table 1, 87–89, 96, 103–05, table 3.

Narbonne is dated December 5, 791. A fragment of this document was first published in facsimile, apparently because its script was so unusual, by Mabillon who, however, misread *Maghario* Comis de Narbonne as *Magnario*. In this incorrect form it was published by the editors of the *Histoire générale du Languedoc*. The peculiar ligature of the *h* with the preceding *g* accounts for the error. The ordinarily vertical left leg of the *h* is here curved in such a way as to form the right side and round head of the *g* and at the same time is attached to the preceding *a*. Comparison with the word *regnante* two lines lower confirms our reading. Here too the left leg of the first *n* also forms the

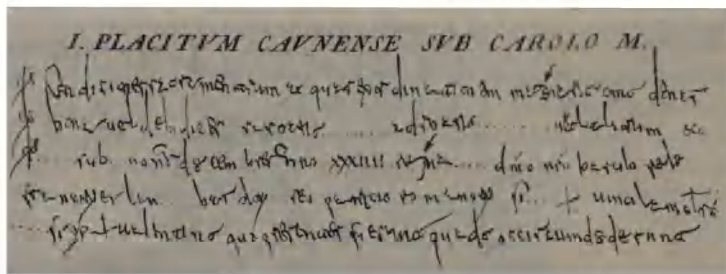


FIG. 2

Facsimile to illustrate reading *Maghario*, from Johannis Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, V (Naples 1789), p. 413, Table XXVII (facsimile).

right side of the *g* and is joined to the preceding *e*. However, there is a clearly discernible difference between this *n* in *regnante* and the *h* in what must be read *Maghario*. It is clear, furthermore, that the writer's pen did not leave the page in tracing the *n*, while he lifted his pen, as expected, in starting the right hand side of the *h*. There can be no doubt that *Maghario* or *Magharius* is a Romanized form of *Makhir*.¹⁰

The document under discussion is a declaration of the judges Arasolario, Deoavio, and others of a court authorized by Maghario Count of Narbonne. In the presence of a representative delegated by Count Maghario there appeared witnesses offered by the Abbot of Aniane, who pointed out the boundaries of the village of Caunes and swore

10. See facsimile (Fig. 2) from Johannis Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, V, (Naples 1789), p. 413, table XXVII (facsimile); cf. p. 524 B, C.

that it had the same limits at the time of the Goths; furthermore, that Count Milo had fixed them in the same way, and that King Charles had confirmed them as they now were.¹¹

With the southwestern border safe and secure, even if greatly expanded, Charlemagne now weighed the advisability of war against the Avars. He summoned a national diet to Ratisbon that summer of 791, where the final decision was to be made. In the meantime a tremendous army was assembled. King Louis of Aquitaine came to Ratisbon presumably with forces from the South, perhaps those contingents which had but recently rolled back the Spanish frontier and pacified the borderlands. As was to be expected Theodoric was assigned a role in the new campaign. In fact to "Count Theodoric, kinsman of the King," was entrusted no less than one-third of the army; a second third proceeded under the command of the Chamberlain Meginfried, while Charles led the remaining portion himself. In addition, Charles' son Pepin sent an army from Italy. A mighty host marched against the Avars. The enemy fled without offering resistance of note.

As the war continued in the East, Theodoric distinguished himself in victorious encounters. Then came a turn in the tide. In the spring of 793 a detachment of his forces which he had sent to Charlemagne from Frisia was massacred by a band of Saxons on the Weser. On July 6, 793, Theodoric lost his life in Pannonia.¹² His mantle apparently fell to his son William.

William had made his first appearance in the Spanish borderlands as the commander of Toulouse succeeding Duke Chorso who was ousted

11. "Conditiones sacramentorum as quas ex ordinationem (Magnario) *Maghario* comis de Narbone vel de judices Arasolario, Deoavio . . . In quam testes ostenderunt coram vicedomino a (Magnario) *Maghario* comite de Narbona misso terminos villae Caunensis et adjacentiarum ejus; juraveruntque . . . ipsam villam eosdem habuisse limites tempore Gotorum, Milonemque comitem eos eodem modo dirimisse et Karolum regem firmasse, quos habent, jurant." *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 10.-VII, col. 57-58, with incorrect reference to Mabillon; cf. J. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, p. 412, no. 1; p. 524 B, C. Mabillon's facsimile reproduces only a small portion of the text.

12. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 23, 25, 54, and the sources there. L. Halphen and others think that this Theodoric may be identical with the warrior against the Saxons, 782, *Études critiques*, p. 185, note 4. See this text p. 122, note 17.

by Charlemagne in 790. He seems to have become Duke of Toulouse at no more than twenty or twenty-one years of age. William acted swiftly and effectively against the Basques. He was strikingly successful. In quick order, as much by astuteness as by force, he brought the rebels to account and imposed peace in 791.¹³

These successes in the West, when combined with the expansion of Frank authority to the neighborhood of Barcelona on the eastern seaboard, constituted notable achievements of the Makhiri. In the same year, as already noted, the delegation of ten men led by Isaac had reported to Charlemagne in Worms (Ratisborn). The King acted favorably on Makhir's request to make the Jewish patriarchate a permanent institution, 791. With peace apparently assured on the Spanish frontier, Theodoric-Makhir joined the expedition against the Avars accompanied perhaps by William also. But King Louis was gone too and had withdrawn troops as well. As early as the spring of 791 King Louis of Aquitaine had left for Germany. He did not return until the autumn of 792, when he raised an army at the order of his father and sent it to Italy for his brother Pepin's expedition against the Lombards of Beneventum.¹⁴ With Theodoric-Makhir and possibly William too away fighting their king's battles, Louis' action all but stripped the Spanish borders of their protecting garrisons. This apparently reckless step underscores the attitude of the Frank kings that the prime responsibility for the watch of the Spanish marches lay in others' hands.

The denuding of the frontier fortresses of their garrisons and the death of Theodoric-Makhir on July 6, 793, coincided with the ascension of a new Emir Hisham I, son of 'Abd ar-Rahman, whose major ambition was to expand the boundaries of Islam. Hearing that the Franks were involved in wars far distant from the neighboring frontiers,¹⁵ he took swift advantage of his opportunity. He proclaimed Holy War against Frankia. His army violated the border with impunity in 793. Gerona remained loyal to the Frank-'Abbasid-Jewish cause and resisted successfully. The Emir's commander 'Abd al-Melek had to con-

13. *Vita Hludowici*, § 5, p. 609:31-35; "... tam astu quam viribus brevi pacem imposuit nationi"; *ibid.*, p. 609:34-35.

14. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 41; S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher ... unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 23, 25-26.

15. *Annals of Aniane*, anno 793, *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 9-10.

tent himself with ravaging the countryside. Narbonne also stoutly resisted but its suburbs were burnt down; numerous were the victims and staggering the booty which the invaders carried off.¹⁶

During these advances of the Umayyads the Narbonne authorities must have been alerted. Word was carried to William, who apparently was so far distant from his southern domains that he could not arrive in time to stem the Saracen invasion. In fact he did not overtake them until they had left Narbonne and were making for Carcassonne. On the banks of the stream Orbieu not far from Villedaigne, a bit above the confluence of the Orbieu and the Aude (or else, of the River Orbiel and the Aude, closer to Carcassonne), William engaged the invaders.¹⁷ But his troops were no match for Hisham's forces. His army was routed, his comrades slipped away, and he himself had to abandon the field of battle. The Frank chronicles report this encounter as a great disaster, portraying how the Saracens made their way back home with immense booty and innumerable prisoners. Arab sources confirm this description. The booty was so vast that the Emir's share of one-fifth amounted to 45,000 pounds pure gold, with which he was able to build a mosque in Cordova.¹⁸ The Saracens must have had access to commercial warehouses on their invasion route in order to amass such spoil. Nevertheless, the annals relate that a Saracen king was killed in battle.

The news of the catastrophe saddened Charles but the eastern front was obviously his first concern. He undertook nothing in behalf of the Spanish frontier. The best of the border troops Louis had with him in Italy. He too made no effort to fly to the defense of his kingdom in Aquitaine. Instead, he and his brother Pepin joined their father and

16. Gerona and Narbonne were not taken, J.-M. Millás i Vallicrosa, "Els textos d'historiadors musulmans," *Quaderns d'Estudi*, XIV (1922), no. 22.

17. Griffe has argued cogently for the confluence of the Orbiel and the Aude as the site of the battle, quite close to Carcassonne; E. Griffe, "La razzia sarrasine de 793 en Septimanie. Bataille de l'Orbieu ou bataille de l'Orbiel?" *AdM*, LIII (1941), 225-36. For the same view, W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 108, note 7.

Hisham exacted such excessive tribute from Jews and Christians in Spain as to force them to sell their sons and daughters, according to *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 9-10, anno 793.

18. The sources are assembled in S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 58-59.

stayed with him in the East until the spring of 794.¹⁹ Apparently, it was William, rather than Louis, who held it his responsibility to guard the marches of Spain.

A reminiscence of this crisis has been preserved in the *Chanson de Guillaume*. On learning of the invasion William pleaded with Louis for aid against the Saracens. Louis refused. In fury William hurled his gauntlet at the feet of his king and withdrew homage. Other knights, primarily of William's family, offered aid. Louis acceded. But the Queen, herself William's sister, objected that William's wife Guiburc was a "pagan" by birth, a master of the herb-mixing art who would not hesitate to poison Louis; whereupon William and his wife would become king and queen. Louis reduced by one-third the forces he had agreed to send²⁰ (vv. 2496-2635). As offspring of Makhir and Alda, daughter of Charles Martel, William represented the confluence of the Davidic and Carolingian dynastic streams, an obvious qualification for rule.

The Saracens returned to Spain in triumph, apparently having set at nought a decade of painful planning and progress for Frank arms. William found himself at the point of having to start the Spanish conquests all over again but lacking now the guidance and leadership of his father. It must have been evident that William would have to import far larger numbers of troops from the East in order to protect his domains or else depend to a much greater extent on Frank forces and on a much keener sense of involvement by the Frank monarchs. This was bound to raise the delicate question of the relationship between the Nasi of the Jews and the King of the Franks. As subject of the Caliph of Baghdad, a king of kings, the Nasi could still retain royal stature. But as subject of a mere king he lost it. Gregory the

19. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 42.

20. *La Chanson de Guillaume*, ed. D. McMillan, I, pp. 100-105. In 834 Emperor Lothar condemned William's daughter Gerberga, a sister of Bernard of Septimania, to death by drowning on the charge of sorcery. At the same time he executed Gothselm (Bernard's brother?) and Sanila, counts and the vassal Madalelmus, "Adclamazione porro militari;" *Vita Hludowici* § 52 end p. 639. He did not execute all the defenders of Chalon on the Saône but only these three counts alone, "et comites qui ibi aderant comprehendit, ex quibus tres interfecit"; *Annales Bertiniani*, p. 9, anno 834. For collation of the sources, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwиг dem Frommen*, II, p. 107.

Great defined the difference between the office of kings and that of emperors, as follows: "This now is the distinction [Gregory declared] between kings of nations and emperors of a *res publica*. The kings of nations are the lords of *servi*; emperors of a *res publica*, on the other hand, are the lords of free men."²¹

The Jews had to insist, for theological as well as for practical reasons, on the royal character of their nasi: his regal sway was evidence that Messiah—whether Christian or Muslim—had not yet come.²² In this manner the requirements of the Jews in the Frankish realm and the imperial ambitions of Charlemagne came to parallel and support one another. William could not be entirely independent of Frank troops or of the Frank monarch for the defense of his realm. He needed both. But as nasi he had to make certain that his vassalage was that of a king to an emperor, that the status of the Jews was not the servile relationship of subjects to a king but rather that of free men to a king of kings (emperor). The allegiance of the Jews was to be to the imperial *office* rather than to the *person* of the sovereign. On the other hand, was the subjection of Jewry and Jerusalem held to be a prerequisite for the

21. "Hoc namque inter reges gentium et rei publicae imperatores distat, quod reges gentium domini servorum sint, imperatores vero rei publicae domini liberorum," *MGH*, Epistolae, II, pp. 397:21; 263:10. T. Mayer, "Staatsauffassung," p. 476, interprets this to mean that persons standing in a position of dependence to the person of a ruler were *servi*, those persons ruled by the *imperator rei publicae*, the chief of state as the bearer of an institution, were free men, *liberi*. However, it may be noted that an *imperator* is usually a ruler of kings.

Johannes Teutonicus the German canon lawyer and professor at Bologna in the first quarter of the thirteenth century affirmed the *translatio imperii* and then asserted that the German emperor was above all kings and nations for he was the prince and lord of the world. Even the Jews were subject to him: "Sic enim regimen mundi . . . translatum est ad teuthonicos . . . Est autem imperator super omnes reges . . . et omnes naciones sub eo sunt . . . Ipse enim et princeps mundi et dominus . . . Etiam iudei sub eo sunt"; G. Post, "Blessed Lady Spain"—Vincentius Hispanus and Spanish National Imperialism in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 198; cf. *idem*, "Some unpublished glosses on the *Translatio Imperii* and the Two Swords," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, CXVII (1937), 407 f.

22. See this text, pp. 93–96. In the middle of the twelfth century Peter the Venerable emphasized "servitude" and "subjection" of the Jews as evidence of the Messiahship of Jesus, *Tractatus*, PL, CLXXXIX, col. 560 C.

ascension of a Christian monarch to imperial office? The dispatch of Isaac as an ambassador, with others, to Baghdad and Jerusalem in 797²³ was perhaps related to such conceptions and theories.

In 796 Hisham I died and was succeeded by his son Alḥaqam I. He undertook an attack against the Franks but soon found himself caught in a web of intrigue in which two uncles played a leading role. The one, Suleiman, went to Africa to recruit troops for an invasion of Spain. The other, 'Abdullah, went to Aix-la-Chapelle to propose to Charlemagne an attack south of the Pyrenees and to offer his aid. Likewise, Zado the wali of Barcelona came to assure Charles of his submission and aid; and so did the King of the Asturians, 797. Soon Bahlul of Saragossa was to seek peace with Charlemagne.²⁴ Obviously, effective diplomacy was being carried out to promote the Frank cause in Spain as had taken place in the period before 791. That William himself may have been involved is suggested by his claims on the floor of the Diet of 803 that he was thoroughly familiar with the fortresses, garrisons, and other strong places of the Saracens and the safest routes to conduct the Frank armies to them. He also claimed that he was acquainted with the Saracens and they in turn knew him well. King Louis, on the other hand, admitted from the chair of the same Diet his relative lack of involvement in Spanish affairs.²⁵

23. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 254–57. In the thirteenth century Emperor Frederick II claimed dominion over all the Jews; cf. S. W. Baron, "Plenitude of Apostolic Powers" (Hebrew), *Sefer Yobhel le Yitzhak Baer*, 124. Frederick's claim was, of course, related to his possession of the imperial office.

24. Cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 43–44, who assembles the sources. Note that on Isaac's return from Baghdad and Jerusalem he also went to North Africa presumably to recruit troops for an attack on Spain; see this text, p. 188. In retaliation for the Saracen invasion of 793 William carried out pillaging expeditions in Spain during 796, according to J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrénées*, p. 15. The records are strangely silent about William's activity after 796 until 803—a critical period of preparation for the attack on Spain.

25. "Quae mihi nota nimis, et sibi notus ego . . .

Moenia, castra, locos, seu caetera saepe notavi:

Ducere vos possum tramite pacifico . . . [vv. 183–85]

Illuc tende gradum, rex, infer munera Martis,

Et Vilhelmus erit praevius, alme, tuus . . . [vv. 190–91]"

Then came the revolt against Alḥaqam. The rebels took Toledo. In 798 the Franks returned and reoccupied the citadels of Ausona, Cardona, and Casseres and fortified them. Borel was named Count of Ausona and placed at the head of the defense of the country. Measures were taken to repopulate these places.²⁶ Some time later Ausona appears as an all-Jewish community.²⁷ This conquest proceeded without striking a warlike blow. A military effort against Huesca contributed to the later submission of Hasan.

During 799 King Louis left Spain and accompanied his father on an expedition into Saxony, returning to his realm at the beginning of 800. Military activity in the peninsula had become dormant. Whatever action is reported in Spain appears to have been of the nature of reprisals. Lerida was forced into submission, its walls dismantled, and its neighboring villages burned. At Huēscā the Franks ravaged the environs while the town escaped capture. At the approach of winter Louis left Spain for home.²⁸

In June of the following year, 801, a "Persian from the Orient" legate of the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid and an ambassador from the court of Ibrahim ibn Alaghlab, governor of the area of North Africa in the neighborhood of Kairouan, arrived in Frankland. They reported that Charles' embassy to Harun ar-Rashid had reached Alaghlab's

Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux* ed. and tr. E. Faral. Louis admitted: "Vobis nota satis res haec, incognita nobis." (v. 162).

On Louis' lack of up-to-date information, cf. also L. Auzias, "Les sièges de Barcelone," *AdM*, XLVIII (1936), 7, note 1, who also comments favorably, *ibid.*, on Ermold's reliability concerning the facts of the siege of Barcelona.

26. In 798 King Louis of Aquitaine set up a line of fortifications on Aquitaine's borders—the town Ausona (later Vich), the castell Cardona (northwest of Barcelona), Castaserra, "and the other formerly abandoned places." He strengthened them, gave them residents, and entrusted their defence to Count Burellus; *Vita Hludowici, anno 798*, § 8, p. 611:18–20. The Saracens acceded to these steps; J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrénées*, p. 16. Charlemagne had hit on an audacious plan of defence. Since the Pyrenees can be crossed by an army only at the two extremities, he set up an extended *glacis* in Navarre and Catalonia while barring the passes through the mountains. This called for limited territorial annexation south of the Pyrenees, hence the March of Navarre and March of Spain or Catalonia; *ibid.*, p. 15.

27. See this text, p. 318 and note 6.

28. Cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 44–45.

domain bearing gifts from Baghdad including the famous elephant; and that Isaac the Jew was the sole survivor among the leaders of the embassy. Charles ordered a fleet to the North African coast. One may guess that Isaac's efforts at the Alaghlab court were related to designs on Barcelona; that the arrival of Ibrahim's legation reflected the success of these efforts in North Africa; and furthermore, that a fleet of Frank ships was dispatched not merely for an elephant and the Caliph's treasured gifts but primarily to transport a military cargo of men and matériel. Septimanian ports were accessible to Kairouan and this part of the North African coast; the troops were doubtless landed in southern France for redeployment in Spain. But because of the elephant and the season of the year, Isaac continued by ship to Italy where he debarked in October 801 at Portovenere. On hearing of Isaac's arrival, Charlemagne sent the notary Erchimbald to arrange for the elephant's transportation and acceptance of the other gifts. Isaac passed the winter at Vercelli in Lombardy since the Alps were covered with snow. Not until the summer of 802 did he reach Aix-la-Chapelle where the Emperor received him in audience.²⁹ The Frank chroniclers quote the Arab ambassadors here so it is not surprising that Isaac is called by his Hebrew or (similarly sounding) Arabic name and not by the Frankish equivalent. The *Song of William* represents William as able to speak Arabic and Hebrew (see this text, p. 117). The chronicles associate with the activity of this legation the cession to Charles, at least temporarily, of authority over a part of Jerusalem. The sources relate that the Patriarch of Jerusalem transferred to Charles the keys of the Holy Sepulcher and of Calvary together with the Banner (*vexillum*) and/or the keys of the Holy City and of the Mount (Zion).³⁰

29. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 255-57, 282-83. Cf. A. Dupont, *Les Cités*, p. 357, on the proximity of the Languedoc ports to this mission; cf. also, S. Katz, *Jews in the Visigothic Kingdoms*, p. 133. A Frankish military cargo from North Africa could be landed close to Spain. Its arrival in the summer/autumn 801 may be related to Bera's reconnaissance across the Pyrenees at this time. See immediately below. A settlement of Kairouan Jews, not necessarily recent immigrants to the March of Spain, is reported in a *Responsum* of Rabbi Natronai Gaon (853-58/63) . . . קירואן אצלנו ואמר . . . ושם מפורש שבאו אנשי קירואן אצלנו ואמר . . . B. M. Lewin, *Otsar ha-Geonim* (Thesaurus), III, Pesahim, p. 90, no. 221.

30. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 232-33; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, p. 12, note 5. On keys and

The priest Zechariah brought the banner and keys to Rome only two days before Charles' coronation as emperor. Simson thinks that Harun-ar-Rashid ceded to Charlemagne, at least nominally, the Holy Sepulcher. Now a later tradition reports that, for services rendered, Charlemagne gave as a gift to William of Toulouse the *vexillum* that had been brought from Jerusalem. However, the transmitted text has been altered into *vexillum crucis* thus distorting the original meaning into *splinter of the Cross*. This splinter became one of the treasured relics at Gellone, which William founded, and to which he reportedly brought and donated the *vexillum*.³¹ But a still extant tradition has William speak of the wood of the Cross "which in my presence was sent to you (Charlemagne) from Jerusalem some time ago."³² Consequently, this tradition claims that Count William was a member of an embassy to the East which secured for Charlemagne the Banner of Jerusalem.

The Frank chronicles are totally silent about Duke William in the period 797-803. Was he absent from the realm, and if so was he on the embassy to Baghdad, Jerusalem, and North Africa? The *Vita Willelmi* has preserved a reminiscence of William's ambassadorial activity at the court of Charlemagne: "Elevated with the dignity of Count and Duke, William . . . assumed the role of ambassador and withdrew from no task; he was sent against the barbarians."³³

William's absence on this secret mission may even have led to rise of the tale that he had withdrawn from the world only to return to help his king in time of crisis.³⁴

The original intent of Charlemagne's embassy of 797 to the East has been obscured by the scholarly debate over whether or not Charlemagne and the Patriarch of Jerusalem maneuvered to establish a Frankish

banners as symbols of subjection, G. Waitz, *Verfassungsgeschichte*, III, p. 167, note 1; p. 169. Cf. this text p. 216.

31. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 106, note 4; p. 119.

32. "(Ego Willelmus) . . . dico enim de glorioso ligno Domini, quod me presente olim vobis missum est ab Hierosolymis"; *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii Tomus VI, p. 805, § 16.

33. "Ergo Willelmus comitis et ducis gloria sublimatus, fit inter principes primus, ipse secundus a rege, suscepit legationem, nec laborem recusat; mittitur contra barbaros." *Vita Willelmi Gellonensis*, *MGH*, SS XV, part 1, p. 212:40-41.

34. See this text, p. 215.

protectorate over Jerusalem.³⁵ Rather, the arrival of the priest Zacharias at Rome with the keys and Banner of Jerusalem a mere two days before Charles' coronation as emperor suggests his immediate purpose was related to his imperial ambitions. The Carolingians knew they were usurpers of the throne of the Franks. They went to great lengths to legitimize their rule by securing a permissive statement from the pope and then introducing the act of unction for Pepin and his sons. Marriage into the family of the scion of the House of David and suzerainty over the Jewish people of the West were intended to add weight to such legitimacy. But in order to firm up the claim of succession to the biblical kings of Israel it was also essential to achieve authority in some form, even if only symbolic, over Jerusalem. Joranson and Stevenson have properly emphasized,³⁶ as did their predecessors, that if the transfer of keys and banner to Charles possessed any political significance, it must have required the previous assent of the Caliph of Baghdad, master of the Holy City at the time. Why should Harun ar-Rashid give such assent? What *quid pro quo* could Charles offer? To secure such assent and make the necessary offer was the task of Isaac (Count William of Toulouse) son of al-Makhiri (Aymeri) of Narbonne, the latter, Prince of the Jews in the West and a former Exilarch of the Jews in Baghdad. The father's contacts in Baghdad must have been of assistance to Isaac-William. One thing is clear.

35. E. Joranson summarizes the scholars' positions and argues against the evidence offered by Bréhier, in particular, in favor of a protectorate, "The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine," *AHR*, XXXII (1927), 241-61. S. Runciman takes up the cudgels again, with essentially the same results, except that he is prepared to accept the evidence that Charles' embassy of 797 did, in fact, pass through Jerusalem; and that Charles' legation in 802 did receive assent to his wishes from the Caliph who "assigned that sacred and salutary place to Charles' power"; "Charlemagne and Palestine," *EHR*, L (1935), 606-19. Bernard the Wise, a Breton monk of the monastery of Mount St. Michel, reports in 867 C.E. that he and his companions "went to the holy city of Jerusalem, where we were received in the hostel founded there by the glorious emperor Charles [Charlemagne] in which are received all the pilgrims who speak the Roman tongue"; *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. Thomas Wright, p. 26.

For the attainment of his imperial ambitions Charlemagne was satisfied with the semblance of power over Jerusalem (represented by the keys and banner) not the reality of rule over its Christian residents.

36. E. Joranson, *loc. cit.*, 260; S. Runciman, *loc. cit.*, 610.

Harun gave his assent as requested because of his interest in Spain. His ambassador, whom he sent to Ibn Alaghlab in Kairouan, then went on to France with Ibrahim of that North African court. As the result of their report to Charlemagne, he sent a fleet to the North African coast. Preparations for an invasion of Spain followed. On Sunday, November 19, 803, the day of the new moon of the month of Kislev, Count William of Toulouse, at the head of an army of his own, captured Barcelona.³⁷ Therewith, northern Spain fell into the hands of the Franks.

The keys and banner of Jerusalem played no role in the ceremony of Charles' coronation. The initiative of Pope Leo led to the substitution of Rome for Jerusalem, at least, to the shunting aside of the Holy City. Einhard reports that Charles "disliked this act [of coronation] so much that he declared that had he anticipated the intention of the pontiff he would not have entered the church on that day when it happened."³⁸

A summer and autumn (801) reconnaissance into the Spanish peninsula was launched under the leadership of Count Bera, perhaps a son of William.³⁹ Louis left for Saxony at his father's orders and returned

37. See this text, pp. 196-97. Arthur Kleinclausz recognizes that Charles and Harun had enemies in common—the Emir of Cordoça and the Emperor in Byzantium—a fact that brought them together, although he thinks the protectorate itself is a legend, "La légende du protectorat de Charlemagne sur la terre sainte," *Syria*, VII (1926), 223, 227.

38. S. C. Easton and H. Wieruszowski, *The Era of Charlemagne*, no. H, p. 129.

39. Auzias thinks there were two Beras, one a "Goth" and the other a son of William; *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 91. Nizer, *Poème*, v. 356 identifies Bera as "that prince of the Goths," *princeps ille Gothorum*, corresponding to "... Bera comite *ibidem* ob custodiam relicto cum Gothorum auxiliis," mentioned in the *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 613:19-20. Tisset identifies Bera as a son of William on the basis of a grant by Bera and his wife Romella of the Abbey Alet, which he founded, to Pope Leo III and the church at Rome: "Proprium nostrum quod mihi Berano comiti advenit a domno et genitore meo Guilermo comite qui nuper fuit et domno imperatore meo seniore Carole," *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 23, col. 79-80. The document is undated, the editors date it 813. Cf. P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 23, 33. He explains Dhuoda's failure to list Bera among the offspring of William on the grounds of his treason and exile. Accused by Sanila he was vanquished in judicial combat and exiled to Rouen; *ibid.*, pp. 33, 34, and note 153. However, it is important to observe that Ermold Nizer employs the designation *Goth* (*Poème*, ed.

only at the end of autumn.⁴⁰ In the year 802 the action against Spain followed along the lines that had proven fruitful in the past, the method of stratagem. Zado, Wali of Barcelona, was lured to Narbonne by one he considered a friend. There he was arrested and sent to Louis who had him brought to Charlemagne.⁴¹

By 803 the preliminaries for military expedition into the peninsula had been arranged including a promise of aid from Charlemagne.⁴² King Louis summoned a Diet for the spring of the year. After a long absence Duke William reappears for the first time in the documents. According to Ermold Niger he played a leading role at the Diet of 803. The poet presents only three speakers: King Louis who presided, Lupus Santio who argued for restraint, and William who, in a lengthy address, called for vigorous action south of the border.⁴³ His view prevailed. Louis summoned his son-in-law Bigo and ordered a mobilization of Frank forces directing them to be ready to start the siege of Barcelona on the new moon of September, which coincided with the start of autumn in the year 803.⁴⁴

and tr. E. Faral, v. 313: *Getha*) where the *Chronicle of Moissac* refers to troops from Provence and the Narbonnaise at the siege of Barcelona (*anno* 803).

When Niger and the *Vita Hludowici* designate Bera as a leader of the Goths they (or their final redactors) may have intended a geographical, rather than an ethnic, identification, designating thereby a commander of the inhabitants of "Gothia" (actually Septimania in this period). Cf. *HGL*, II, note XCI, p. 339 a, b. At the same time one cannot overlook the possibility that, as in the case of the *Annals of Aniane*, *Gothorum* may be here a substitute for *Judeorum*; see this text, pp. 174-75. We have called attention to the almost complete absence of Goths in Septimania immediately after the fall of Narbonne in 759; see this text, pp. 42-46. A "Prince of the Goths" would be an anomaly indeed.

40. L. Auzias, "Les sièges de Barcelone," *AdM*, XLVIII (1936), 20-21.

41. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 46.

42. *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 613:19-23 reports that Charlemagne sent his son Charles with an army which however turned back at Lyons when word reached him of the fall of Barcelona. The *Chronicle of Moissac*, *anno* 803, p. 307:14-15, represents this siege as proceeding under orders of Charlemagne. The *chansons* have Louis obligate himself to provide aid to William only once in seven years, e.g. *Le Charroi de Nîmes*, ed. J.-L. Perrier, v. 590-91.

43. Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, ed. and tr. E. Faral, vv. 172-91.

44. "Virginis ut primum Titan conscenderit astrum, Et soror in propria sede sequetur iter, Agmine densato praefatae exercitus urbis Moenia noster ovans occupet arma tenens." Ermold le Noir, ed. and tr. E. Faral, vv. 218-21. King Louis ad-

Prince or Duke William, "Chief Standard-bearer" (*primus signifer*), led the expedition beyond the Pyrenees.⁴⁵ His son Heribert accompanied him as did also Bera, perhaps another son. The army was divided into three divisions. One stayed behind with King Louis in Roussillon, a second was assigned to attack and besiege Barcelona under the leadership of Count Rostagnus of Gerona. The third, under the command of William associated with Hadhemar, drove ahead south and westward ready to clash with any approaching enemy force. In all there were united troops from Burgundy, Aquitaine, Gascony, Provence, and Septimania. The two last-named Ermold designated cohorts of "Getha," v. 313. The Barcelonians sent urgent appeals to the Emir of Cordova for aid. But when the Emir's army reached the Ebro, it found William's forces blocking their advance. They contented themselves with an attack on the Asturians, pillaging and devastating as they advanced. In the end they were driven off. The Saracens now apparently disabled at little cost to himself, William returned to the siege of Barcelona.⁴⁶

With the progress of autumn the blockaded population was hoping that the Franks would withdraw rather than risk the onslaught of winter. To their dismay William's men began building shelters.⁴⁷

dressed these instructions to Bigo. On him see E. Faral, *ibid.*, p. 21, note 2. The decision for the siege: "... visum est regi et consiliariis ejus ut ad Barcinonam oppugnandam ire deberent"; *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 612:26-27.

45. Ermold says: "Parte sua princeps Vilhelm tentoria figit," ed. and tr. E. Faral, v. 308. "Erat enim ibi Willelmus primus signifer, Hadhemarus et cum eis validum auxilium"; *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 612:28-29.

46. L. Auzias has assembled the major sources in *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 48-49; cf. Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, ed. and tr. E. Faral, p. 29, notes 2-4; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 18 ff, 23, 33, identifies Bera as William's son. The *Chronicle of Moissac*, anno 803, p. 307:16-17, designates the troops as coming from Aquitaine, Gascony, Burgundy, Provence and Gothia. The *chansons* tell in detail the exploits of Adhemar at the siege of Barcelona, which points to the existence of some chronicle or other text as a source, now no longer extant.

47. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 49-50.

The *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 612:40-p. 613:19, reports as follows: "... aliqui vero spe animabantur inani, cogitantes quod Franci hiemis asperitate a civitatis cohiberentur obsidione. Sed hanc illorum spem abscedit prudentium virorum consilium. Advecta enim undecumque materia, coeperunt extruere casas, veluti ibidem in hibernis mansuri. Quod cernentes civitatis habitatores a spe deciderunt ... et se ac civitatem ... dederunt."

Twenty days of inconclusive siege passed. At the end of this period King Louis called upon his men to bring the Barcelonians to their knees, averring he would not return home until victory had been won. William was clearly the leader of the besieging Franks. By chance Zado, the Saracen chief, was caught.⁴⁸ But not until there had elapsed two "moons," including six weeks of incessant battering of the fortress, did Barcelona open its gates and surrender to the Franks. That was "a holy Sabbath." The victors postponed their triumphal entry until morrow, a festal day. Led by King Louis (who had been summoned when victory appeared imminent, that he might enter as conqueror) they ascended into the town, cleansed the holy places where demons had been worshipped, and Louis made his votive offerings. Then leaving a garrison under the command of Bera, the ruler returned home for the winter.⁴⁹

Some of the sources have the siege run into a second year while others refer to seven months. Faral assumes that "the Holy Sabbath" mentioned by Ermold Niger was the day before Easter Sunday; he draws up a forced chronology in order to account for a seven-month siege over a two-year period.⁵⁰ It is clear however that Barcelona must

48. Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, ed. and tr. E. Faral, vv. 414-17; Louis' address *ibid.*, vv. 420-29; William's commanding leadership, vv. 436-45; 510-11; 524-29; Zado's capture, vv. 494-95.

49. E. Faral, *Ibid.*, v. 532: "Altera luna suos complebat in ordine soles." The surrender and occupation, vv. 564-71: "Sabbatum erat sacrum, cum res ista peracta, Quando prius Francis urbs patefacta fuit. Namque sequente die festo conscendit in urbem Rex Hludowicus ovans solvere vota Deo: Mundavitque locos, ubi daemone alma colebant, Et Christo grates reddidit ipse pius. Missis, dante Deo, remeat custodibus aedes Ad proprias victor rex populisque suos." The *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 613: 18-19, makes explicit that approaching winter was the season of the year when Barcelona was captured: "Porro post haec, Bera comite ibidem ob custodiam relicto cum Gothorum auxiliis, *hiemandi gratia* [Ludovicus rex] ad propria remeavit."

The same source dates the capture six weeks after King Louis' arrival: "Venit [rex] ergo ad exercitum suum urbem vallantem, atque indesinenti oppugnationi sex ebdomadibus perduravit; et tandem superata victori manus dedit"; *ibid.*, p. 613: 10-12. Can we understand this to mean "on the sixth Sabbath" as in Leviticus 23:16; cf. v. 15 where *Sabbath* has the meaning *week*? See this text, p. 197.

50. Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, ed. and tr. E. Faral, p. 45, note.

The Moissac chronicle, anno 803, p. 307:18-19, reports: ". . . circumdedit exercitus civitatem; et obsederunt mensibus septem."

have surrendered in the fall, "two moons" after the start of the blockade.⁵¹ Therefore, Auzias insists that the Franks took Barcelona in October 803. Apparently he assumes that the "new moon of September" came at the beginning of the month and overlooks its dating at the autumnal equinox, September 21. He explains the reference to "Holy Saturday" by asserting that any day marking the capture of Barcelona from the infidel Muslims would be designated a "blessed," a "holy" day.⁵² However, in Hebrew parlance every Saturday is a "holy Sabbath" (*Shabbat kodesh*).

It will be recalled that when Louis ordered the mobilization of Frank troops he directed them to be ready to blockade Barcelona on the new moon of September, the start of autumn in 803. The new moon of September always coincides with Rosh haShanah, the Hebrew New Year. It fell on Thursday, September 21 in 803, which corresponded to the start of the Hebrew year 4564.⁵³ Two weeks later there begins the festival of Succot on the fifteenth day of the seventh (Hebrew) month Tishri; it ends on the twenty-third day of the same month. Its most distinctive feature is residence for seven days in temporary shelters, "tabernacles" (in Hebrew, *succot*), which are constructed just before the start of the festival. Then follow two additional holy days (*shemini atseret* and *simhat Torah*). These eighth and ninth days and the first two days of the festival are sacred while the intermediate five days are semi-sacred in character.

In 803 Succot began on Thursday, October 5 and the festival concluded on Friday, October 13, the twenty-third day since the an-

51. The siege started at the fall equinox, Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, ed. and tr. E. Faral, vv. 218–21, cf. note 44, p. 192 above; and Barcelona surrendered two months later, *ibid.*, v. 532, cf. this text, p. 194, note 49; whereupon King Louis returned home for the winter, *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 613:19, "hiemandi gratia ad propria remeavit."

52. L. Auzias, "Les sièges de Barcelone," *AdM*, XLVIII (1936), 8 ff., 13, 19. He says the mobilization took place after the Diet in the spring, the final siege action after September 21. Apparently Auzias fixed these dates on the faulty assumption that Thursday, September 21 was 20 days after the New Moon of September. The year 802 is ruled out because in that year the new moon of September, which fell on Thursday, September 1, did not follow the equinox. Twenty days later, September 21, was of course a Wednesday, not Thursday.

53. E. Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, p. 548.

nounced date for the start of siege on Thursday, September 21. But this day was Rosh haShanah, a two-day holiday, on which such activity as a military undertaking is forbidden by Jewish law. The ban would also hold for the Sabbath Saturday, September 23. If the start of the siege operations actually was postponed until Sunday, September 24, then the twentieth day of the blockade would coincide with the end of Succot, Friday, October 13, the conclusion of the Holy Day season. Two full months ("moons") after the new moon of Tishri, which closed the year 4563, were in fact completed on Saturday, November 18, of the succeeding ("second") year 4564. Sunday, November 19, marked the date of the new moon of the ninth (Hebrew) month Kislev.⁵⁴ Every new moon inaugurates a festal day.

In summary, it may be said, that the source at the basis of Ermold Niger's poem and other contemporary accounts dates the mobilization of Frank forces at Barcelona on the autumnal equinox at the close of the Hebrew year 4563. The actual first attack on the town was launched, after the conclusion of Rosh haShanah and the succeeding Sabbath, on Sunday, September 24, 803—in the seventh Hebrew month Tishri 4564. For the first twenty days, until the conclusion on Friday, October 13, of the festival of Succot (marked by the construction of, and residence in, tabernacles) the siege made relatively little progress. King Louis' address of exhortation to his men may be dated Saturday,

54. E. Mahler, *Ibid.*

Auzias complains of the vagueness of the date of the Franks' triumphal entry into Barcelona, L. Auzias, "Les sièges de Barcelone," *AdM*, XLVIII (1936), 13. Actually, to a Hebrew reader "the morrow of the Holy Sabbath on the New Moon of Kislev" is an exact date. The chronicler had already fixed the year by declaring that the New Moon of September (Rosh haShanah) had coincided with the autumnal equinox. This settles the scholarly debate in favor of the year 803. The *Annales Einhardi* dates the Frank victory in 801, the *Chronicle of Moissac*, in 803; cf. P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, p. 15.

A tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript of Ripoll also gives the date of Easter 801; R. Beer, "Los Manuscrits . . . de Ripoll," *BRABLB*, V (1909), 349, note. The *Annales Einhardi* is patently incorrect. In the year 801 the New Moon of September fell on Monday, September 13; the New Moon of Kislev on Thursday, November 11; Ed. Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, p. 548. The date of the triumphal occupation of Barcelona was, as stated, on a Sunday; the exact date was November 19, 803.

October 14. On the sixth Sabbath thereafter, the culmination of the waxing and waning of two moons since the autumnal equinox, Barcelona fell. Jewish law forbids bearing arms on the Sabbath except in self-defense. On the next day (the *Vita Hludowici* states the delay was deliberate),⁵⁵ the new moon—a festal day—of Kislev, Sunday, November 19, the Franks entered Barcelona in triumph and cleansed its holy places just as Judas Maccabee had cleansed and rededicated the Temple in Jerusalem centuries earlier on the twenty-fifth day of the same month Kislev.

Obviously, the chronicler who wrote the original report of the siege and fall of Barcelona recorded events according to the Jewish calendar. The vocabulary and style suggest a Hebrew text. Commander of the expedition Duke William of Narbonne and Toulouse conducted the action with strict observance of Jewish sabbaths and holy days. In all of this he enjoyed the full understanding and cooperation of King Louis.

The surrender of Barcelona in November 803 was primarily Duke William's achievement. This victory may be expected to have catapulted William at the age of thirty-four to the apex of his power and influence. Bera⁵⁶ took charge of the newly captured fortress leaving William free to return "home" to Narbonne or Toulouse. It is not

55. "Tradita ergo et patefacta civitate, primo quidem die custodes ibidem rex destinavit, ipse autem ab eius ingressu abstinuit, donec ordinaret, qualiter cum digna Deo gratiarum actione cupitam atque susceptam victoriam eius nomini consecraret. Antecedentibus ergo eum in crastinum et exercitum eius sacerdotibus et clero" (Emphasis added.) *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 613:12-15. The announced reason for the delay—in order to decide with what proper religious acts the victory was to be consecrated to Louis' name—may originate with the compiler of the *Vita* not with his source. On the cleansing of the holy places, cf. the *Gesta*, ed. F. Ed. Schneegans, p. 188, v. 2457, note. The contradictory sources and scholarly views are assembled by Ph. Wolff, "Les événements de Catalogne de 798-812 et la chronologie de l'Astronomie," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, II (1965), 451-58, who, while noting the difficulties involved, yet opts for the traditional date 801, *ibid.*, 456.

56. "Post haec Bera comite ibidem ob custodiam relicto cum Gothorum auxiliis, hiemandi gratia ad propria remeavit [Hludowicus]"; *Vita Hludowici*, § 13, p. 613:34-35. Auzias points out that the *Chronicle of Moissac* makes no mention of Goths in this connection; *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 52. It is possible, however, that Bera was a son of William's; see this text, p. 191. Bera is identified as a Goth also at the time that Sanila accused him of treason. Bera was vanquished in judicial combat and had to leave for Rouen; *Vita Hludowici*, § 33, p. 625:22-27.

surprising to find him active at Charlemagne's court in the course of time.

The character of the sources makes it difficult to determine with assurance the role and status of Duke William as an imperial officer in the court of Charlemagne. Almost all the extant materials touching on his life and career have been exploited for extraneous purposes by the competing monasteries Aniane and Gellone. Both sides in the conflict—Aniane zealous to prove its authority over Gellone, the latter just as eager to demonstrate its independence—have tampered with the original documents, altered and rewritten them, and even produced bold forgeries to promote their purposes. It is a highly delicate and perilous undertaking to detect the authentic act in the surrounding dross. Indeed, unless new, original materials can be found, it may be impossible to restore the image of the true William, son of Makhir-Theodoric and Nasi of the West. Although his Jewish piety appears to have been very much in evidence at the siege of Barcelona, the extant sources have converted him into a Christian monk who withdrew from the world to build monasteries, and eventually found beatification in the Catholic church.

Since there is no question about Duke William's military achievements in the March of Spain, it would not be surprising if he were "written up" by a contemporary. Certainly, Ermold Niger⁵⁷ stringing his verses in Strasbourg ca. 827 and his contemporary, the anonymous compiler of the *Vita Hludowici* (completed after 840) known only as the "Astronomer,"⁵⁸ had materials regarding William at hand for their compositions. However, the *Vita Hludowici* Part I suddenly breaks off

57. Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, ed. and tr. E. Faral, Introduction, pp. v-ix, xv-xvii; Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, III, *Die Karolinger*, ed. H. Löwe, pp. 329-32.

58. The "astronomer" drew his entire report until 814 from a chronicle of Aquitaine or a biography of King Louis written by Adhemar, "a monk" who grew up with Emperor Louis; *Vita Hludowici*, p. 607:27-29. Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, III, pp. 335-38, note 150. Adhemar may have participated in the capture of Barcelona in 803, and fought the Saracens in 810; cf. W. Nickel, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen, den Wert und den Verfasser der Vita Hludowici des "Astronomus,"* pp. 2-6; A. Cabanišš, *Son of Charlemagne* (Syracuse University Press 1961), pp. 15-16. Note that an associate of William's in the siege of Barcelona was Hadhemar, a popular hero in the *chansons de geste*; see p. 193, this text, and cf. Ph. Wolff, "Les événements," 451-58.

immediately after the report of the capture of Barcelona and is silent for the period until 809 except for a reference to the Saxon War (804). This is precisely the time of William's prominence at Court. Ermold may have been Aquitanian. During his exile in Strasbourg (ca. 824–ca. 830) he composed the eulogy of Emperor Louis which details William's role at the siege and fall of Barcelona. Edmond Faral, his editor, has concluded there can be no doubt that Ermold made use of a book of annals. He probably did not draw from Adhemar's *Relatio*, the source for part of the *Vita Hludowici*, because in places Ermold and the Astronomer contradict one another, although some of their details coincide and others supplement each other. But Ermold wrote much more fully on Barcelona's siege and appears to have had more direct access to the original source. It is clear, in any event, that the figure of Duke William must have loomed large in Adhemar's assumed *History* and in Ermold's source, at least in the recital of Barcelona's fall.⁵⁹

There is additional evidence that a connected narrative of Duke William and his exploits was current in the ninth century. His daughter-in-law Dhuoda, at work on her *Manual* in Uzès in the years 841–43, referred in all likelihood to William when she wrote to her son also named William: "I think of those [whose deeds] I have heard read, and whom I have also seen, some ancestors of mine and yours, my son William, who were rather powerful in the world."⁶⁰

(Is she thinking of the non-Christian faith of these forebears when she adds at this point: "... and still perhaps they are not with the Lord because of proper merits."⁶⁰)

59. Pückert has insisted on a Languedoc chronicle as the source for the information on William now to be found in the *Chronicles of Aniane, Moissac and especially of Uzès; Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 113–14.

60. "Considero quos audivi legere, etiam et vidi, aliquos ex parentibus meis tuisque, filii V(uillelme), qui fuerunt in seculo quasi potentes, et non sunt fortasse apud Dominum pro meritis dignis"; *Le Manuel de Dhuoda* ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 67. Surprisingly, Dhuoda takes no special notice of Count William of Gellone, the grandfather of her son who bore his name, when she mentions him among the departed of the immediate family; *ibid.*, pp. 212, 237. R. Louis concludes that she did not consider William a saint or a model of Christian virtue, else she would have held him up as such for her own son to emulate, "L'épopée française est carolingienne," 372. Her manual, in its extant form, certainly reflects the thought of a pious Christian.

Dhuoda's statement implies the existence of a family chronicle read aloud to relatives and friends before the year 840. The *Chronicle of Uzès* gives as the source of its information about the fall of Narbonne in 759 "ancient books of Theodoric the Pious."⁶¹

Ph. A. Becker has posited a lost *Urtied* as the source of the William *chanson*. He finds it impossible to determine exactly the structure of the original song, that is, whether it was composed of stanzas of ten assonant lines or was it merely a cleric's historical poem in hymn-strophes. He denies that there is an echo of an older William epic in the eleventh-century *Hague Fragment*, a narrative in Latin prose behind which Becker can detect the hexameters of the lost original. The *Fragment*, which describes a furious attack on an unnamed fortress, mentions the names of several persons who appear in the William cycle and the Carolingian chronicles: Bernard, Bertrand, Ernard, Wibelin, Borel and his sons.⁶² J. Frappier,⁶³ on the other hand, is prepared to date the *Fragment* 980–1030 and identify the fortress as Narbonne, positing an epic legend of William and his *lignage* ca. 1000. Suchier maintains that the historical kernel of the *chanson*, to be found in vv. 1–927, was sung around 900 in a version no longer extant. This original text contained everything which derived from history but cast, of course, in epic style with poetical motifs. This lost *chanson* was reworked at some stage in its development into the *Song of William* discovered in 1903. D. Alonso declares that a manuscript notation which he discovered is so full of complex details of the *Song of Roland* that it must be based on a written work, a poem composed in the Romance language. Menéndez Pidal summarizes the discussion aroused by this discovery and analyzes the *Nota* in detail. He dates it between 1054 and 1076 and concludes that by 1100 the *Song of Roland* was famous beyond the confines of France. R. Louis states that the poetic tradition about William was formed between 824 and 844, in the time of William's son Bernard of Septimania, and then became set during

61. "Ut in libris antiquis Sancti Theodoriti reperi," *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 26, anno 759. Is *sanctus* here the equivalent of the Hebrew *hasid* (pious) so that St. Theodoritus is to be identified with Makhir-Theodoricus?

62. Ph. A. Becker, *Das Werden der Wilhelm- und der Aimerigeste*, pp. 189, 185 f.

63. *Les Chansons de geste*, I, pp. 70–73, 77–78, 81, note 2 (on the *Nota Emiliana*).

the age of Bernard's children and grandchildren. Whether or not the poems were intended to serve the propaganda aims of Bernard of Septimania, as Louis suggests, they were certainly composed and recited in the circle of the William family and its entourage, as Dhuoda relates; and the extant William cycle of songs reflects the values and ideals of the family (*lignage*) of Aymeri, their venerable ancestor. It is his family of heroes and heroines whom the *chansons* glorify. How Bernard promoted such literary and histrionic efforts at Court is described, says R. Louis, by Paschase Radbert, one of his fiercest opponents. He accused Bernard of introducing sorcerers at Court, interpreters of dreams, mimes and "magicians," and those trained "in the evil arts." The *Addendum* of *ShK* reports that a skillful poet (Hebrew, *paytan*) of the Makhiri dynasty was active before the middle of the twelfth century in Narbonne, a certain Theodoric (Hebrew, *Todros*) son of the famous Nasi R. Kalonymos the Great, and that he is known to have composed liturgical poetry.⁶⁴

There is still extant a family chronicle composed in rhyming stanzas of Hebrew prose which relates the exploits of Amittai, a scholar-leader of the ninth century and his progeny in southern Italy. This *Chronicle of Ahima'ats*, compiled in May-June 1054, was based on records which carried Ahima'ats' family history back to the Carolingian Age. Ahima'ats entitled his rhymed chronicle *Megillat-Yuhassin*, "Roll of Lineage."⁶⁵ This is the near equivalent of the later *chanson de geste*, where *geste* has the meaning "lineage" or "family."⁶⁶ The most crush-

64. H. Suchier, "Vivien," *ZRP*, XXIX (1905), 675-77. D. Alonso, *La primitiva épica francesa . . . Nota Emilianense*. R. Menéndez Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland*, pp. 406-47. R. Louis, "L'épopée française est carolingienne," 430, 434-35. Paschase Radbert, *Epitaphium*, *MGH SS*, II, p. 554:26-31, 40-42. Appendix III, p. 385.

65. Marcus Salzman, *The Chronicles of Ahimaaz*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes. Columbia University Oriental Studies, Vol. XVIII (New York 1924); Benjamin Klar (ed.), *Megillat Ahima'ats v'hi Megillat Yuhassin . . .* (The Roll of Ahima'ats which is the Roll of Lineage of R. Ahima'ats son of R. Paltiel) (Jerusalem 5704/1943-44). Cf. S. W. Baron, *History*, VI, pp. 216-17. The Roll mentions maritime communications between southern Italy (Amalfi) and *Ispamia*, Narbonne, Constantinople, Ancona, and back to Amalfi; *Megillat Ahima'ats*, ed. B. Klar, p. 43; M. Salzman, *The Chronicles of Ahimaaz*, p. 93.

66. D. McMillan has declared there is no doubt that *geste* in the following passages has the meaning "race" or "family":

ing taunt that Aymeri can hurl at one of his sons is, "You do not belong to my family" (N'estes mie de ma geste).⁶⁷ To maintain the high traditions of the *lignage* is the motivating ideal which gives the William cycle of songs its distinctive dynamic, equal only to loyalty to the idea of imperial dominion. For perhaps the first time in a literary document there appears in the *William Song* the phrase *de la geste . . . les chançons* naming thereafter rulers and leaders of the Franks.⁶⁸ The composition of Aḥima'ats' "Livre de geste" in rhyme (the unique manuscript was found in Toledo, Spain) reveals the poet's intention to chant it. Its existence suggests that other Hebrew family narratives in rhyme or rhymed prose may have been similarly composed for public chanting or declamation, each in fact stimulating the creation of the other. The famed Makhiri dynasty, still active and prominent in eleventh-century Narbonne, certainly merited such a family chronicle.⁶⁹

"Les Sarazins de Saraguse terre,
Cent mille furent de la pute geste" (v. 219-20; cf. v. 3158),
"Ne parez mie d'icele fere geste" (v. 2101),
"Quele est la geste Naimeri de Nerbune" (v. 3167);

La Chanson, ed. D. McMillan, II, Notes critiques, p. 142 to v. 1261; cf. J. Crosland, *Old French Epic*, pp. 3, 20.

67. J. Crosland, *ibid.*, p. 30. On *le lignage de la geste* cf. *Adenet le Rois* (*Adenes li Rois*), *Bueves de Commarchis, chanson de geste* ed. Auguste Scheler, (Brussels 1874), pp. 1:16; 5:119 (de la geste Aymeri); *Aliscans; chanson de geste* eds. Anatole de Montaiglon and François Guessard. *Les anciens poètes de la France*, X. Paris 1870. The Talmud holds certain character failings to be evidence that one is not a lineal descendant of the Israelites who stood with Moses at Mt. Sinai, for example, lack of modesty; Nedarim 20a; uncharitableness is evidence of descent from the "mixed multitude" and not of the pure Israelites who left Egypt; Betsa 32b. Likewise the trait of mercy is proof that one is a lineal descendant of Abraham while its absence connotes the opposite; *ibid.*

68. "E de la geste li set dire les chançons

De Clodoveu, le premer empereur . . ." (vv. 1261-62)

Cf. J. Crosland, *Old French Epic*, pp. 20, 100.

69. J. Anglade has brought evidence of lively troubadour activity in Narbonne in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and thinks it may be possible to trace this tradition into the first quarter of the twelfth century, "Les Troubadours à Narbonne," *Mélanges Chabaneau*, 737 f. For the verses of a Jewish troubadour at Narbonne in the thirteenth century by the name of Bofilh who crossed verbal swords in rhyme with the poet Riquier, see J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, pp. 217-20. On the poet Todros of the Makhiri dynasty see p. 201 here. A *Ma'aseh haMakhiri*

A Latin version of the Makhiri exploits—or a poetical, vernacular rendition—would have put the work in the public domain. Any further poetic reweaving of this exciting material would tend eventually to Christianize heroes and setting as the poets dropped “sectarian” content of limited interest, with the change of audience, while concentrating on the far more appealing material of a general nature which portrayed devotion to king and country in the wars against the Saracen infidels of Spain. Thereafter, it could be expected that only singular and infrequent echoes of the original context might still make themselves heard, as noted above. The Jewish setting reappears faintly in an early sixteenth-century Yiddish version of *Beuve de Hanstone* composed in Italy in *ottava rima*, the well-known *Bovo-Bukh*.⁷⁰

Other possible allusions to historical fact in the *chansons* will be indicated hereafter where relevant. For the present there can be offered the tentative hypothesis that the *Song of William* as well as other *chansons* have preserved reminiscences of the military exploits of the Nasi Makhir of Baghdad and the dynasty⁷¹ he founded.

The official court chronicles make no single explicit reference to Jews in government or military office. Likewise the Arab chroniclers

(“Exploits—Geste?—of the Makhiri”) was composed 11th-12th century by a member of that family, but it seems to have been of legal, rather than of epic, content; L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 158-59. See this text, p. 244, note 161.

70. Elijah Levita composed his *Bovobukh* in 1507-08 and printed it thirty-four years later, Judah A. Joffe, *Elia Bachur's Poetical Works*, Vol. I. Reproduction of *Bovobuch* First Edition 1541 (s.l. 1949) (Yiddish), Introduction, p. 9 (English); cf. N. B. Minkoff, *Elye Bokher and His Bové-Bukh* (Yiddish) (New York 1950). Minkoff summarizes in part and renders major portions of the original into modern Yiddish; he supplies an introduction in English.

71. The *William Song* describes William as a voracious eater, who was careful to wash his hands first; ed. D. McMillan, I, pp. 60:1401-61:1418; p. 96:2378-2392. Also in accord with Talmudic prescription (Berakhot 40a and Gittin 62a), which forbids a man to eat before he has fed his beast, Guiburc herself leads away her worn-out husband's horse, feeds and covers him well, and only then does she place food before famished William (*liasse CXCVIII*). In the *Couronnement de Louis*, one of the earliest *chansons* of the William cycle, the pope grants William lifelong permission to eat flesh every day of the week and to take as many wives as he wishes (v. 391). Polygamy was outlawed only for the Jews of France and Germany but not before the eleventh century, in the days of Rabbenu Gershom of Mayence.

record nothing of the military exploits of Samuel ibn Nagrela, Hebrew poet, scholar, patron of letters, and commander-in-chief of the armies of Granada over a period of several years.⁷² Lintzel has pointed out the arbitrariness of Einhard's *Vita Karoli* involving no less a personage than Emperor Louis himself. Einhard composed the *Vita* after he had moved into the territory of Louis the German. He mentions the founding of the Spanish March but overlooks Emperor Louis completely, although the entry into Barcelona was held up until Louis could enter as victor. Einhard refers to the Emperor's brothers, but has nary a word for Louis himself. Similarly, Einhard never entitles Charlemagne *imperator* but only *rex* because he insists that Charles did not want the title.⁷³ Also unknown is the Hebrew whom Hraban Maur claimed to have consulted in the preparation of his Bible commentary on *Kings*.⁷⁴ Yet the canons passed by church councils in the ninth century abound in restrictions on Jews in governmental and military roles. Only a fourteenth-century record of the bishopric of Münster, compiled by Florence of Wevelinkhofen, knows that a learned chancellor of the palace in the ninth century was a Jew named William. Apparently the late medieval writer could not imagine that a Jew by birth might possibly attain to the chancellorship. So he made William a convert to Judaism,⁷⁵ apparently drawing a parallel to the sensational Bodo

72. J. Schirmann, "Samuel Hannagid," *JSS*, XIII (1951), 99-126.

73. Martin Lintzel, "Die Zeit der Entstehung von Einhard's *Vita Karoli*," *Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann*, pp. 22-42.

74. "Hebrei cuiusdam, modernis temporibus in legis scientia florentis, opiniones plerisque in locis interposui; Hrabanus Fuldensis abbas Ludowico regi iuniori . . .," ca. 834-38, *Epistolae Karoli aevi III*, *MGH*, *Epistolae V*, ed. E. Dümmler, no. 18, p. 423:34, 25; cf. *ibid.*, no. 14 (829), pp. 401, 403:6-8. Maur's "Hebrew" may be fictitious, P. Rieger, "Wer war der Hebräer, dessen Werke Hrabanus Maur zitiert?" *MGWJ*, LXVIII (1924), 66-68. B. Blumenkranz assembles the sources in his *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, p. 174, note 1.

75. *Die münsterischen Chroniken des Mittelalters*, ed. J. Ficker, *Chronik des Florenz von Wevelinkhofen*. The Chronicle dates this event in the lifetime of Bishop Alfridus (839-49), pp. 7-8. However, Ficker stresses the unreliability of the compiler's chronology until the end of the thirteenth century, *ibid.*, Vorrede, p. XIV, and reports that a *cronica Martiniana* in manuscript dates the same incident in the year 820, in the reign of Charlemagne's son Louis, *ibid.*, p. 8. See this text, pp. 239-42.

B. Blumenkranz thinks that the fourteenth-century writer confused William with

Deacon of Emperor Louis who converted to Judaism in 839. Must we assume then that the court chronicles were carefully edited with a view to keeping out evidence of the constructive role of the Makhiri and suppressing in fact identification of them? This would not be beyond the intent of the annalists. The royal chroniclers call attention to Jews only under circumstances which compromise their loyalty or depict them as enemies of Christianity. The detailed and vivid description of Deacon Bodo's apostasy was presented as an instance of baneful Jewish influence at court. On being circumcized Bodo (now Eleazar) let the hair of his head and his beard grow long, donned military dress (as sign of his Jewishness?), married a Jewess, and carried on anti-Christian agitation in Muslim Spain, where he had fled.⁷⁶ As for the Jews' behavior, the chronicles kept by Prudence Bishop of Troyes and his successor Hincmar relate only traitorous acts by Jews either against the realm or the person of the sovereign.⁷⁷

Some of the *chansons* have developed the theme of a clan of traitors pursuing their foul aims generation after generation. They have pointed the finger of scorn at the "clan of Mayence" and its presumed primal ancestor Do(d)on as the prototype of all traitors to the crown. Mayence, from the eleventh century on, was the major center of Central European Jewry. A leading traitor of "the clan of Mayence," after whom in fact an entire *chanson* has been named, is none other than Macaire.⁷⁸

Bodo and that this was merely a variant of the Deacon's conversion, "Auteurs latins," IV, *REJ*, CXIV (1955), 45; *Juifs et Chrétiens*, p. 210, note 206. However, he cannot explain the fact of the name William. Noteworthy is Wevelinkhofen's report that Chancellor William influenced many (courtiers?) to convert to Judaism, *Die münsterischen Chroniken*, ed. J. Ficker, I, p. 7; or does this only imply the prominence of Jews at the Carolingian court?

76. On Bodo, *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, pp. 17-18 for the year 839; see this text, pp. 274-84.

77. See this text, pp. 313, 316. E. Büchting, *Glaubwürdigkeit Hinkmars*, pp. 13-14 (forgery), *passim*, 57 (summary); H. Schrörs, *Hincmar*, pp. 507-11.

78. The "treason" of the "clan of Mayence" frequently involves adultery with, or attempted seduction of, the empress or other ruling figure in the *chansons*, as in *Beuve de Hanstone*, *Macaire*, *La Reine Sibille*. Adultery was the charge levelled at Bernard of Septimania in collusion with Judith wife of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire. It is supposed to have provided the motivation, at least in part, for the execution of Bernard by Louis' son Charles the Bald; J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 109; Thegan, *Gesta Domini Ludowici imperatoris*, p. 281 and this text, p. 270; *Macaire* (Machario)

We shall now turn to an analysis of the considerable materials touching upon the life and career of William of Toulouse, son of Makhir-Theodoric. The first of these is a *Vita Willelmi* which has come down through the ages in no fewer than three versions, none of them complete, each a fragment of a larger work now lost. But like so much of the extant material about William these *Lives* reflect pervasive redacting. They have been added to and rewritten as late as the twelfth century, and there seems to be no sure method of separating out the genuine from the merely ingenious.

Vita A: This fragment appears as Section 30 of the *Vita Benedicti Abbatis Anianensis et Indensis* composed in 822–23 by Ardo, a disciple of Benedict in the Monastery Aniane. A very fragmentary life of William, it relates nothing of his military career and starts at the point where the *Vita Hludowici* halts its account of William, when he has attained preeminence in Charlemagne's court. The chief purpose for inserting the fragment into the *Vita Benedicti* at this juncture is to offer evidence for *Benedict's* pervasive influence at court and to make the monk responsible for William's conversion to the monastic life. The passage then proceeds to delineate William's pious conduct in the monastery of Gellone which he had founded.⁷⁹ However, the author's description of William as monk is strongly suspect.

Fragment A relates at the start that "Count William who was more distinguished than all others in the Imperial Court"⁸⁰ was so attracted to Benedict that he gave up the life of the world for the way of Christian salvation. Receiving permission to "convert" (to the monastic life) he brought with him great offerings of gold, silver, and precious vestments. He withdrew to the valley of Gellone, four miles distant from Benedict's monastery, where he had earlier erected a "cell." "Sprung of noble birth he zealously strove to become still more noble by embracing

ed. F. Guessard. William's wife Guiburc and daughter Gerberga were accused of poison plots and sorcery, respectively; see this text, pp. 184, 272.

79. Ed. G. Waitz, *MGH*, SS XV, pt. I, § 30, pp. 211:38–213:40. Pückert includes also the last sentence of § 29, *magnatibus venerandum ostenderunt*, as the introduction to the story of Count William, one of these magnates; W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 107.

80. "Guilelmus quoque comes, qui in aula imperatoris pre cunctis erat clarior"; *Vita Benedicti*, *loc. cit.*, p. 211:38.

Christian poverty and rejected for Christ the pinnacle of honor which he had received by natural right."⁸¹ William was taught by monks whom Benedict had placed in Gellone and quickly excelled in virtue. Aided by his sons, whom he appointed counts to succeed himself in his domains and in neighboring counties,⁸² he completed—in a secret place ringed round by cloud-tipped mountains—a monastery to which no one had access except for prayer. He ordered vineyards, fields, and orchards planted. He amassed possessions. At his request King Louis added to his holdings from the royal fisc.⁸³ William made gifts

81. *Ibid.*, p. 213:6–8.

82. "Aduvantibus quoque eum filiis, quos suis comitatibus prefecerat, comitibusque vicinis, ad perfectum fabricam monasterii, quam coeperat, cito deduxit . . ."; *ibid.*, p. 213:11–12. How could William be in possession of his properties while in the monastic state? The scholars have noted this contradiction and in consequence have branded this statement a later interpolation; cf. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 109; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, p. 9. Moreover, in principle, counties were not inheritable in the Carolingian Age. However, it will be recalled that the Carolingian sovereigns granted land in (heritable) free allod to the Nasi of France and the Hebrew documents emphasized that the Nasi's holdings were hereditary possessions, *nahalot (hereditates)*, (see this text, pp. 58, 60). If William held counties and could appoint his sons as successor was he a monk? The present impasse arises from the fact that scholars have never doubted for a moment the tale of William's conversion to the monastic habit, although they pointed out in considerable detail how the description of William as monk was borrowed from the characterization of Benedict (see this text, pp. 208–09) and consequently strongly suspect. Dhuoda reports that her husband Bernard, William's son, did in fact inherit his parents' properties legitimately; *Le Manuel de Dhuoda* ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 212, Ch. LXI: "Ora pro parentibus genitoris tui, qui illi res suas in legitima dimiserunt hereditate."

83. A diploma of Emperor Louis dated December 28, 807, purports to be a confirmation of the donation of William to Gellone and a grant of other properties to the same monastery; *HGL*, I, preuves, p. 34b. However, both Pückert and Tisset have shown that in its extant form this charter has been tampered with, interpolated and rewritten, perhaps in the third quarter of the eleventh century; W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 150; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 59–61. The statement in the *Vita* nevertheless may point to the contents of the original diploma, namely, Emperor Louis made land available to William from the fisc in the Valley of Gellone, where he erected a structure (for as yet unknown purposes) and fully equipped it: "Petente siquidem eo, serenissimus rex Ludoycus spatioso hoc dilatavit termino, de fiscis suis ad laborandum concedens loca"; *Vita Benedicti* ed. G. Waitz, *op. cit.*, p. 213:18–19. The language of this *Vita* A conforms to that in the imperial diploma: "petente domno Guillermo monacho qui in aula genitoris

of numerous sacred vestments, chalices of silver and gold and similarly ornamented offertories and altars, and brought vast numbers of books with him. The writer concludes with an elaborate description of William as humble ascetic.

Pückert has analyzed this *Vita* in Ardo's composition and pointed out that the representation of William therein repeats in large measure the description of Benedict in other parts of Ardo's work. He has assembled a number of statements and even phrases about William which are doublets of earlier characterizations of Benedict. This is particularly, though not exclusively, true of William's pious deeds, self-humiliation, and asceticisms:

Both were always at vigil in the night hours [pp. 213:20, 202:6]; they humbled themselves by entering kitchen service and wearing miserable clothing [pp. 213:28 f., 203:49, 202:12]; common to both were devout punctiliousness and the ready flow of tears [pp. 213:29 f., 202:21 f., 219:32]; the demand for uncomfortable sleeping accommodations and the urging by their superior to moderate their self-mortifications [pp. 213:31 f., 202:4, 27]; and both subjected themselves to icy rigors in secret meditations [pp. 213:34, 202:6].⁸⁴

Virtually nothing remains of William's monastic acts that can be termed original. It will be seen that versions B and C of the *Vita* do

nostri Karoli Augusti exstitit clarissimus, set pro Dei amore meliorem exercens vitam, studuit esse pauper recusando sublimia"; *HGL*, I, preuves, p. 34b. Tisset, *op. cit.*, p. 60, does not decide whether the *Vita's* statement derives from the diploma or vice versa. Since the imperial act has a narrative style he tends to make it dependent on the *Vita*. However, we have emphasized the narrative form of certain Carolingian diplomas, see this text, pp. 140-41. It is not likely that Ardo who wrote the *Vita Benedicti* in 822-23 was able to get his hands on Louis' grant. Rather, fragment A of his *Vita* should be dated after the rewriting of the imperial charter in the eleventh century, the original of which might well have included introductory narrative about William's building program in the Valley of Gellone. During the eleventh century the library and archives of Gellone came into the possession of Aniane, where these documents were altered as suited the expansionist ambitions of Aniane. See this text, pp. 231-33.

84. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 109, note 8. In addition we may note that almost identical phrases describe the acceptance of monastic habit (*Vita A*, p. 213:6, and p. 201:46), their noble origin and preparation for the still higher Christian nobility (pp. 213:6 and 201:15) and the construction of a monastery (pp. 213:11 and 204:4).

not add credibility to the image of William as monk or recluse. Moreover, the *Song of William*, the oldest of the William cycle, gives not the slightest hint of a renunciation of the world by him. Nor does his daughter-in-law Dhuoda. The first *chanson* to do so is the *Moniage Guillaume*. Here William enters a monastery. However, he is completely out of character with the pious and humble ascetic of Ardo's work. Rather, he is always scrapping for a fight and is especially expert in administering a mighty blow on the ear or neck with deadly effectiveness. In the end he becomes a hermit.⁸⁵

Pückert finds that at least portions of this *Life of William* (*Vita* Fragment A) bear all the earmarks of later redaction in Aniane. First, this section interrupts the flow of the narrative in Ardo's *Life of Benedict*. Then we have noted the repetitions in the description of the two heroes as monks. Furthermore, there is no mention of Benedict's beatification throughout Ardo's larger work, true to its composition shortly after his death. Only this Section 30 designates Benedict as *beatus*, twice. The *Vita Benedicti* invariably presents cloisters, even when dependent on Aniane, as *monasteria*. Section 30 characterizes Gellone as merely *cella*, although richly endowed with property of the fisc. Similarly, the *Vita Benedicti* assigns a local leader to dependent institutions. Only Fragment A leaves Gellone bereft of local authority, with not even a vicar of Benedict, who then presumably assumed its direction himself. These are signs of the redaction of Section 30 at a later date in Aniane.⁸⁶

In fact, Pückert holds it for certain that Aniane wrote history which deviated from the truth. The *Chronicle of Aniane* falsifies historical fact with astounding audacity wherever it expands its source, the *Chronicle of Moissac*, by adding interpolations from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and Ardo's *Life of Benedict*—all altered with the intent of denigrating Gellone and enhancing Aniane. The William Fragment A in Ardo's *Vita Benedicti* represents Count William as having generously endowed Gellone, so the *Chronicle* must make him do the same for Aniane and enter monastic orders there—likewise with the possession

85. *Les deux redactions en vers du Moniage Guillaume*, ed. W. Cloetta, 2 vols.

86. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 107–10.

of a fragment of the Cross.⁸⁷ Moreover, according to Pückert, even the text of Ardo's larger work has not escaped tampering with and rewriting on the part of a later editor. He holds suspect the authenticity of Benedict's refusal of gifts of land unless the slaves were freed first (§ 5). Pückert points out that this sharply contradicts Benedict's action—which Ardo must have known—calling upon Emperor Louis to issue a directive requiring the prompt return of fugitive slaves. He uncovers a similar contradiction in Benedict's supposed unconcern about landed property (§ 10).⁸⁸

There are then very good grounds for accepting Pückert's judgment that *Vita* Fragment A, Section 30, of Ardo's *Life of Benedict*, is a later redaction perhaps of the eleventh century. Moreover, if Ardo's ninth-century composition has been reedited with the intention of assuring that Gellone's founder does not outshine Aniane's by making William an imitator of Benedict the monk and saint, may not the redactor have transferred to Benedict, on the other hand, noteworthy deeds of William, in pursuit of this same purpose? William's military exploits of course defied such transference because they were so well known. The redactor got around that by omitting them. He referred incidentally to Benedict's military accomplishments, which were mediocre, and emphasized instead his aristocratic origins and influence at court. However, which acts might the redactor ascribe to Benedict that could, more properly, be identified as William's? Obviously in the first place those activities branded by Pückert⁸⁹ as glaring contradictions of Benedict's known views and actions: for example, his supposed insistence on freeing slaves attached to gifts of land, and his unconcern for property. Now *Vita* B, we shall see, makes a point of having William free his slaves at entry into the monastic state; both *Vita* B and *Le Charroi de Nîmes* indicate his reluctance, if not actual refusal, to accept extensive landed gifts in Frankia for himself.⁹⁰

87. *Chronicon Anianense, anno 806*; see W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 105–06.

88. W. Pückert, *ibid.*, p. 107.

89. Pückert, *ibid.*

90. *Vita Sancti Willelmi Monachis Gellonensis, AS Maii, VI*, p. 805a, § 16; p. 806a, § 20; see this text, p. 215. This § 20 need not contradict p. 803a, § 10, which has William provide servitors for the friars at Gellone, since § 10 preceded

In addition to contradictions that Pückert has pointed out, there are other statements in the *Life of Benedict* that arrest the eye. We are told that Benedict drank no wine, Sunday excepted. Such a relaxation on the Sabbath is remarkable. But when a second day is associated with it, namely, Saturday (§ 21) then questions multiply, since wine is a requisite for the proper observance of the Jewish Sabbath. Did the redactor find the *Saturday* exemption in his source and add *Sunday* when he transferred the abstinence to Benedict? Furthermore, we are told that Benedict refrained from tasting fat (certain types are forbidden to Jews) or the flesh of four-footed animals. Only during attacks of weakness did he permit himself a broth of beef (§ 21). Is the abstinence from wine and the flesh of four-footed animals (thus permitting pigeon) to be traced to 'Ananite (Karaites) influence in the West? Eleazar Alluf of Ausona (near Barcelona) provided information about Anan's *Book of Laws* to Natronai Gaon (ca. 853–56) in Iraq. Bishop Agobard's report on Jewish practices of this period also suggests such a possibility.⁹¹ Moreover, the short *Vita* Fragment A represents William as having brought valuable vestments, chalices of gold and silver and similarly ornamented offertories and altars as gifts to Gellone, as well as large numbers of books. To which *Vita* B adds: "William summoned teachers whom he had also taken out with him and sages whom he had in his own domain (§ 9)."⁹²

the supposed assumption of monastic vows. In *Charroi de Nîmes* King Louis offers William in turn Berengar's fief, one-fourth of the entire realm. William refuses each offer and is about to go off empty-handed when he decides to ask for the March of Spain. Louis protests that this realm is not his to give away; but on William's insistence that he wants nothing else, the Emperor makes the grant. He obligates himself further to provide aid to William only once in seven years; *Charroi de Nîmes*, ed. J.-L. Perrier, vv. 335–591, see this text, pp. 124–25.

91. Anan (mid-eighth century) outlawed most meats and all intoxicating beverages, while Karaites defined in comprehensive manner the forbidden fats; cf. S. W. Baron, *History*, V, p. 249. B. M. Lewin, *Otsar* (Thesaurus), III, Pesahim, 89–90; Judah b. Barzilai al-Barceloni related in the name of Samuel ibn Nagrela (eleventh century) sectarian (Karaites) practices among Jews living in villages near the Land of Edom (northern Spain or France), *Sefer ha'Ittim* (Book of Times) ed. Jakob Schor (Cracow 1903), p. 267. Cf. J. Rosenthal, "Karaites and Karaism in Western Europe (Hebrew)," in *Sefer haYobhel leRabbi Hanokh Albeck*, 425–29.

92. *Vita* A: MGH, SS XV, pt. 1, p. 213:19–21. *Vita* B: Vita S. Willelmi, AS,

Now Benedict did not enter Aniane directly from life in the world but in flight from another monastery (§ 3), obviously without possessions comparable to these. In fact the early monastic community in Aniane is reported to have been overwhelmed by dire poverty (§ 4, 5). Yet before long we find that Benedict has introduced the most expensive vestments and chalices of precious metal for daily use—clearly paralleling the report of William's action. Apparently, in this instance at least, the redactor has reversed the direction of the remarkable Benedict-William couplets. Furthermore, the *Vita Benedicti* also emphasizes the intellectual contribution of its hero: "Benedict instituted cantors, trained lectors, had grammarians and those expert in written compositions He assembled a multitude of books." (§ 18)⁹³

To which of these two men, William or Benedict, are these acts properly attributed; or were they original to both? Narberhaus thinks such literary and scholarly interests were in conformity with the requirements of the Benedictine Rule. However, Hauck challenges their authenticity in the case of Benedict of Aniane.⁹⁴ Did the redactor of Ardo's *Vita* dip here into an original *Vita Willelmi*, or Chronicle of the Makhiri, or extant legal documents for these materials which he then transferred to his hero Benedict?

Vita B: This version is current in two major published collections, the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.⁹⁵ Since the edition in the *Acta Sanctorum* is the more complete, it provides the basis for the following summary. All references are to this text with a

Maii VI, p. 803a, § 9. Did he bring these scholars back with him on his journey to Baghdad and Jerusalem? William's absence on this secret mission may have led to the rise of the tale that he had withdrawn from the world only to return temporarily at a time of crisis (see this text, p. 215).

93. "Instituit cantores, docuit lectores, habuit grammaticos et scientia scripturarum peritos Adgregavit librorum multitudinem"; *MGH*, SS XV, pt. 1, p. 207, § 18.

94. J. Narberhaus, *Benedikt von Aniane Werk und Persönlichkeit*, pp. 31-32. A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, 6th ed., p. 590.

95. *AS* Maii VI editio novissima, pp. 801a-809b in thirty-three sections or paragraphs; ed. G. Waitz, *MGH*, SS XV, part 1, pp. 211:44-213:50 as an adjunct to his edition of Ardo's *Vita Benedicti*.

cross reference to the *Monumenta* where applicable. Portions of this *Vita* are in rhyme. The presence of rhyme will be indicated by Roman type, its absence by italics.

Prologue: § 3. The author excuses himself for omitting mention of William's military exploits since the primary interest here is his spiritual accomplishments, his conversion, and conduct. Moreover the military hero and especially his victories over the "barbarians" are widely sung at all kinds of gatherings. (*MGH*, p. 211, § 2)

Chapter I: William was born in the days of King Pepin (d. September 24, 768), of very illustrious Frank ancestry, his father the great and noble Consul Theodoric, his mother the very noble Countess Aldana, both of the highest princes of Francia, descended of consuls, in life and manners pleasing to God and man. They educated him in theology and philosophy and military exercises. (*MGH*, p. 212, § 3). § 4. Committed by his parents to King Charles, William distinguished himself at court in courage, physical beauty,⁹⁶ and greatness of spirit. He could come into the presence of the King; he received the title and office of consul, and in battle he went forth at the head of the troops. He participated in royal councils, was involved actively with the King in matters of the realm, the army, and arms. Wherever required he was with the King spreading the glory of Christianity. William stood at the King's right hand and left, in prosperity as in adversity. (*MGH*, p. 212, § 4).

96. William's physical appearance strongly impressed his contemporaries ("nobilissimi viri et magnificentissimi," according to Paschase Radbert, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, *MGH*, Scriptorum II, p. 552, § 8) as did also his lineage and military skill. His powerful physique supported a pugilistic prowess which was doubly menacing because of an apparently impetuous nature; see A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," 80-81.

Alcuin is reported to have said: "... item Flaccus dicit: Vidimus ex Hebraeis virum elegantem et admirati eum sumus atque amplexi," *Ars grammatica Bernensis* (Floriacensis) [Commentary on Donat], pp. 134, 10. Manitius comments that this expression of admiration and esteem could have been written only during the lifetime of Alcuin or shortly thereafter, when his surname Flaccus was still known; hence it must be dated early in the ninth century, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, I, p. 469. It is not certain who is the Hebrew he referred to so enthusiastically.

§ 5. *The Saracens crossed the Pyrenees, invaded Aquitaine, the Provence, and Septimania massacring Christians, carrying off great booty and captives and occupying the country in its length and breadth as if for all time. The King summoned his councillors and all were of one mind that William should do battle with the barbarians. It was decided furthermore, by acclamation of the host, that he should be invested with the Duchy of all Aquitaine and that he should be elevated from consul to duke. Charles agreed and immediately took him by the hand and promoted him. "Thus William, elevated with the dignity of count and duke, becomes first among princes, himself second to the King. He takes on the role of ambassador, refuses no task, is sent against the barbarians."*⁹⁷ (MGH, p. 212:40-42).

§ 6. *William led an army into Septimania, crossed the River Rhone, took Orange formerly occupied by the Saracen Theobald and his troops, and made it his principal seat.*

§ 7. *With peace restored to God's people and the Holy Empire, William devoted himself to pious studies and good works. He involved himself day and night in the state of the realm and the common welfare. Secondly, he saw to it that the sacred laws, established for well-being, should be interpreted and enforced. He made very just judicial decisions in all litigations and diverse matters of business. He was the gracious judge especially of the poor, the widow, and the orphan. Thirdly, he kept within check the princes and lords of the land lest they force subjects from the law with violence. He bound every one to him with bonds of peace and love. He took special care of monastic and holy places. He was generous to monasteries, new and rebuilt, held priests and apostolic men in reverence, and made daily offerings for their departed spirits. His right hand stole from his left gifts for the poor.*

§ 8. He decided to build a monastery to the Omnipotent King where there had never been an oratory before, a perpetual service and never-

97. "Ergo Willelmus comitis et ducis gloria sublimatus, fit inter principes primus, ipse secundus a rege, suscepit legationem, nec laborem recusat; mittitur contra barbaros"; *Vita B*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH*, SS XV, pt. 1, p. 212:40-42; *AS*, Maii, VI, p. 802a, § 5.

ending sacrifice. He came to Lodève, a territory of very high mountains. There an angel led him to a deserted spot of lofty crags.

§ 9. The wild and lonely place is described. William learns that its name was once the Gellone Valley. In the midst of towering peaks and terrifying heights, he found a small, wild but flat area. Taking the discovery to be an answer to his prayer, he decided to build a cloister there with his own hands.

He summoned the teachers whom he had also taken out with him and the sages whom he had in his domain. Forthwith a handsome oratory was measured out, and also the area of the entire enclosure: a dining hall and dormitory, a hospital for the infirm and a *cella* for novitiates, a hall for guests, a hostel for the poor, alongside the bakery a workshop, on the side a windmill. Then the buildings were constructed.

§ 10. The Temple completed, he peopled it with the pious of neighboring cloisters. A service of dedication was held. William bestowed liberally vast grants of land in writing, provided a large group of servants to care for the place and the friars, very much gold and silver, marvelous ornaments, many herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and oxen. And so that his endowment might have permanent validity he drew up a formal document in his own writing which he then had confirmed by royal decree.

§ 11. William's two sisters Albana and Bertana beg him to offer them to God. He does so and they remain in the monastery.

§ 12. Father (*Pater*) William returned to his possessions for he held his own property up to this time. Giving them up completely, himself included, he possessed nothing in this world but God. He gave thought to the monastic way of life.

Chapter II: William was summoned back to Francia at a time of great need and honored with vast gifts. For some time William sojourned in Francia in close association with the King, powerful in the palace, a Prince in the Empire, and held in such favor by him as a son by his father. All Franks rejoiced in him, both noble kinsmen and his own family danced for joy. He rejoiced to see them again but love of God waxed mightily in his heart. (cf. MGH, § 13).

§ 14. He meditated on giving up the transitory glories of this world for the eternal treasures of heaven. After some hesitation he decided to approach the King and seek his permission. In a moving plea he presents his decision to withdraw from the world to the monastery he has built.

§ 15. In an emotional reply Charles grants permission and sets only one condition, namely, that William accept gifts from the royal treasury. The King bursts into tears and falls on William's neck.

§ 16. William responds tearfully. He can accept no gifts but asks only for the fragment of the cross which was sent to Charles from Jerusalem. *In the first year of Charles' imperial rule, while he was in Rome, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in William's presence, sent Charles a phylactery of the Cross set with resplendent gems and purest gold, brought by the priest Zacharias and two monks of Jerusalem.*

§ 17. Charles gives the cross to William.

§ 18. There was great excitement in the palace and city when William's decision became known. Family and nobles tried to dissuade him but to no avail.

§ 19. William leaves the city bearing obscurely the cross which Jesus had borne truly, Charles accompanying him in tears, the army escorting him.

§ 20. The Friend of God broke the chains of this world. Having honored churches, given much charity to the poor, freed many slaves, he left Francia and came to Auvergne. He entered the temple of St. Julien martyr in Brioude, offered up his arms on the altar there, addressed the martyr tearfully commending arms and soul to him.

§ 21. He entered Aquitaine but, spurning his duchy, continued to the monastery recently erected at Gellone. He was received with great joy by the friars he had once placed there. He turned over the fragment of the cross, together with many excellent gifts, chalices of gold and silver with their offertories, numerous good and necessary books, precious relics of the saints, silken vestments, robes woven of gold and mantles from beyond the sea. He prayed with flowing tears and was answered.

§ 22. He entered the auditorium, kissed the friars, read the lesson, and in a brief statement indicated why he had come. He asked to be accepted into their community in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict.

§ 23. In 806 the fifth year of Charles' reign as Emperor, Count William laid down his vestments woven of gold, removed the hair of his head and his beard, and was clothed in apostolic apparel of the cross.

§ 24. He became a new person.

§ 25. With the aid of his sons Bernard and Gaucelin whom he set up in his counties⁹⁸ and in neighboring ones, he completed the monastery which he had begun. Because of the craggy mountains it was difficult to gain access to the monastery so he built a road joining the valley of the River Hérault to the mountain. At his request, Emperor Charles' son Louis made a gift to the monastery out of his fisc. William had vineyards and oliveyards planted around the monastery and many fields. In the valley he replaced barren trees with fruit-bearing orchards. In all these matters he worked along with others.

§ 26. William as monk: his self-humiliation and mortifications, he rode an ass bringing the monks flasks of wine for their refreshment.

§ 27. He performed kitchen duty. "Behold Lord William, a consul now become a cook." He observed long fasts, kept the hearths.

§ 28. His physical labor in workshop and mill.

§ 29. He performed a miracle, entered a flaming oven unharmed.

98. Pückert has pointed out the contradictions and difficulties in this passage and in *Vita A*, *MGH*, SS XV, p. 213:11. William is still in charge of his counties and hereditary possessions while in the monastic state and can assign them to his sons. Furthermore, in 806 (see § 23 of the text above) his son Bernard was 13 or 14 at the most. This computation by Pückert derives from the report that Emperor Louis, born 778, had been Bernard's godfather, and could hardly have been less than 13 or 14 in that capacity, setting 792 as the approximate date of Bernard's birth; cf. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 109. Actually, since Bernard married Dhuoda in 824 (*Le Manuel* ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 51), he was born probably closer to 806.

§ 30. Now relieved of servile duties, he gave himself over to meditation and fasting, penitentials and other monastic acts.

§ 31. He abstained from all delights of body and flesh and withheld himself from food.⁹⁹ He kept himself alive only with the viands of the sacred table. He partook of the vivifying sacraments after long preparation by immersion in frigid water, weeping and contemplation of Christ's passion, and by self-flagellation. Then he approached the sacred altar. He would attend the sacred mysteries tearfully and keep himself alive by partaking of the viands of the saving Host with bitter herbs. By this celestial bread he was nourished in well-being, with this spiritual potion he received life and virtue.

§ 32. In this state he received the gift of prophecy. He knew long in advance the day of his death which he foretold to abbot and friars and to King Charles as well.

§ 33. At the hour of his death there suddenly began a tolling of bells in all churches throughout surrounding provinces, yet no human hands pulled the ropes or moved the clappers.

The composition of *Vita B Pückert* ascribes to Gellone. He finds it free of later interpolations, unlike the stories from Aniane. As a whole it is a much younger work by centuries and, like its predecessor, a deliberate distortion of the tradition. Therein Pückert follows Revillout and parts company with Molinier and Mabile who detected a ninth-century product in its major portion.¹⁰⁰ Pückert demonstrated that

99. This seems to be another instance of how William became a changed person in the monastic state. The *William Song* describes him as a voracious eater; ed. D. McMillan, I, pp. 60:1401–61:1418; p. 96:2378–92.

100. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 110, quoting Ch. Revillout, "Étude historique et littéraire sur l'ouvrage latin intitulé Vie de saint Guillem," *Publications de la Société archéologique de Montpellier*, VI (1876), 505 f. (not available to Zuckerman). A. Molinier recognizes two authors at work in the *Vita B*, one of the ninth the other of the tenth or start of the eleventh century. The ninth-century writer relates authentic material of William's family, donations to Gellone, and relations with Charlemagne (except for the relic of the Cross and the siege of Orange); *HGL*, I, p. 884, note 2. He accepts the portrayal of William's monastic life, *HGL*, IV, p. 538. E. Mabile gives a balanced portrayal of William's life, accepting however

Vita B echoes the twelfth-century *chansons* which sing of William as conqueror of Orange and its Saracen King Theobald (§ 6). This helps to date the biography, as does also its reference to songs of William that have spread far and wide: his exploits are recounted wherever the folk or the nobility gather, where youths hold their dances, and pious persons observe the vigils of the saints. (§ 3). At the same time the author knows only vaguely of William's resistance to the Saracens at Orbiel or of his victory at Barcelona (§ 5), and appears unaware of his capture of Nîmes, all events of the distant ninth century.¹⁰¹ As for this *Vita's* description of William as monk, Pückert denies its historical validity. He shows its dependence, as a whole, on Section 30 in Ardo's work (*Vita* Fragment A), of which it is a highly elaborated version. But we have already demonstrated the counterfeit character of this fragment's description of William as monk. In addition Pückert makes clear the dependence of *Vita B* on *Moniage Guillaume* or, more properly, on a *Song of William* which was its precursor. The *Moniage* pictures Monk William as a rowdy, a bully always scrapping for a fight who is especially expert in placing a deadly punch behind the ear or on the nape of the neck. The *Vita* is resolved to present a radical and complete contrast to this image of William in the *chanson*. It therefore emphasizes the total change of the warrior into a new person on conversion to monastic orders (§§ 24, 26), and his willingness to substitute service of his fellows for his former lordship and control over them. Pückert

his entry into the monastic state in 806 and death in 812; *HGL*, II, p. 272b, Note rectificatif.

101. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 111-13. He insists on the authenticity of the *Chronicle of Uzès* which reports William's capture of Nîmes: "Guillelmus comes Nemausum ingreditur in die ramis palmarum." Pückert sets William's capture of Nîmes from the Saracens in 793, the date of their invasion of Septimania, see this text, pp. 182-83. He thinks that this *Chronicle*, despite its incorrect dating, derives *directly* from a book of annals of high antiquity, the same which is at the basis of the *Chronicle of Moissac*, codex 1, and the *Chronicle of Aniane*. The text of the *Chronicle of Uzès* at Pückert's disposal gives the date 725 for the recapture of Nîmes from the Saracens, corresponding to the correct date 793. The difference of sixty-eight years in these equivalent dates may point to a Jewish system of reckoning time which computes dates from the Destruction of the Temple in the year 68 C.E. (according to the rabbinic tradition). However the text of this *Chronicle* reprinted in *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 27, gives 755 as the date of William's capture of Nîmes.

finds such a life more credible, on the whole, than the bully in the *Moniage*. Nevertheless, he points out that the *Vita's* insistence on the suddenness of the change fits in poorly with its description of William's pious and spiritual tendencies even while still in the world (§ 12). Furthermore, it goes beyond credibility in presenting Monk William as meekly accepting insult and injury or even threat of force from the friars in the very monastery which he founded. Pückert concludes this has been fabricated only to counteract the image of William in the *chanson*. Moreover, the heaping up of simultaneous duties on William, who takes on the appearance of a beast of burden, contradicts the Rule of St. Benedict. This emphasizes mutual aid among the friars, weekly shift of kitchen duty, the separation of such work from service at table; it makes impossible simultaneous exertion in mill and bakery. These and other exaggerations of the *Vita* (it would seem almost to the point of desperation) make strongly suspect its description of William as monk (§§ 26–28, and 29 to the end is patently legendary). Pückert concludes that *Vita B* cannot be made to harmonize with the Benedictine Rule or the known situation in monasteries of the Carolingian Age.¹⁰²

However, the author of *Vita B* is concerned not only to elaborate an image of William in radical contrast to that in the poetic precursor of *Moniage Guillaume*; he is equally determined to stamp out any sign of an original connection between Gellone and Aniane. He does not even mention the name Aniane or Benedict of that monastery nor even hint at a relationship between the two men or the two cloisters. Insofar as *Vita Fragment A* was a major source for *Vita B*, Pückert points out deliberate alterations of the text.¹⁰³

The resolve to eradicate every shred of what might be interpreted as dependence of Gellone on Aniane and, on the contrary, to exalt its prestige reaches a climax in William's devoting to the altar in Gellone an alleged gift from Charlemagne of a portion of the Cross claimed to have been originally sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem (§§ 16, 17, 19, 21).

Pückert demonstrates that the gift to Charlemagne of the Cross from Jerusalem derives from a falsified statement in the *Chronicle of*

102. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 115–18.

103. W. Pückert, *ibid.*, pp. 117–18.

Aniane. The original (in the *Annales Einhardi* and *Annales Laureshamenses Majores*) reports that the Patriarch of Jerusalem sent the Banner (*vexillum*) of that city and its Key to Charles, obviously as a sign of recognition of his authority. The returning priest Zachariah brought the Banner and Key to Rome only two days before Charles' coronation as emperor on December 25, 800. The *Chronicle of Aniane* altered the simple *cum vexillo* into *cum vexillo crucis*, thus distorting its meaning to a *fragment of the Cross*. *Vita B* elaborates on this further so that it becomes "a phylactery of the Cross ornamented with resplendent jewels and purest gold."

Pückert rejects the hagiographer's claim that Charlemagne ever gave such a precious relic to William for Gellone—he valued these things too highly himself.¹⁰⁴

This need not rule out the possibility that Charlemagne really gave William the *vexillum*, the Banner of Jerusalem, especially if William had had something to do with the Patriarch's act of obeisance to Charles in association with his coronation as emperor. Such a gift would provide a foundation in fact for the later distorted tradition. Actually, *Vita B* claims that William was present at the time the fragment was dispatched from Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵

Another situation may help us to understand the characterization of William in the *chanson*. Pückert finds incredible the representation, in the *Moniage* and its precursor, of William as a swashbuckling monk (he does not question his monastic vows). Yet we note that the pugilist image of William was very popular and reappears in several *chansons*.¹⁰⁶ Most significant however, the picture of an impetuous and powerful

104. In the tenth century Gellone was already known by its cross; W. Pückert, *ibid.*, p. 106, note 4; pp. 105; 119–24. Cf. S. Abel, B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Karl dem Grossen*, II, pp. 232–33. Simson thinks that Harun ar-Rashid ceded to Charlemagne, at least nominally, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, p. 12, notes 1 and 5. On keys and banner as symbols of subjection see G. Waitz, *Verfassungsgeschichte*, III, p. 167, note 1, p. 169.

105. "(Ego Willelmus) . . . dico enim de glorioso ligno Domini, quod *me presente* olim vobis missum est ab Hierosolymis"; *AS*, Maii VI, p. 805b, § 16.

106. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 114–15. This image of William appears in *Le Couronnement de Louis*, *Moniage Guillaume*, *Charroi de Nîmes* and probably in other literary sources; see A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," 80–81.

young man who knows how to use his fists effectively has very old and genuine historical roots. At the siege of Barcelona the captured Saracen leader Zado pretended to order the opening of Barcelona's gates to the Franks while, in fact, he signaled to his compatriots his duress. Catching on to the ruse, William, inflamed with anger, struck the Saracen with his fist, muttering meanwhile through clenched teeth, "Only love and respect for my King keeps this from being your last day!"¹⁰⁷ In another place we have discussed the relationship between William's impetuosity (made doubly dangerous by his brute strength) and the well-known *colaphus Judaeorum*, the blow on the ear or throat later delivered publicly on stated annual occasions to a Jewish community leader in Toulouse, a major seat of Duke William's government.¹⁰⁸

Returning now to *Vita B* one may well ask, what is then authentic in this *Vita*? The description of William as monk, where it is not a doublet of Benedict of Aniane lifted from *Vita* Fragment A, contradicts the Benedictine Rule and the known Carolingian situation. In any case it is slanted so as to combat the image of William in the popular songs of the twelfth century. Yet the picture of a pugilistic William has roots in historical reality. If William ever was a monk in fact neither *Vita* Fragment A nor *Vita B* has authentic information of his life and activity in that condition. Yet it is impossible to deny his association with Gellone, an isolated valley surrounded by towering cliffs and crags near the River Hérault, which flows into the Mediterranean at a point about midway between Narbonne and Montpellier. Nor can it be denied that Duke William erected an as yet unidentified structure in that valley and established a settlement there with which *Vita B* prominently associated teachers and sages, and both *Vitae*, numerous books.

Is there anything at all authentic which might be salvaged from *Vita B*? It has not been noticed heretofore that considerable portions of this hagiograph are written in rhyme. The rhyme patently highlights the author's hope to have his song challenge successfully the popular

107. "Credito, ni quoque regis amorque timorque vetaret, Haec tibi, Zado, dies ultima sorte foret." Ermold le Noir, *Poème*, ed. E. Faral, vv. 524-29.

108. A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland in the Ninth Century and the *Colaphus Judaeorum* in Toulouse," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 51-82.

songs of William as, for example, the *Moniage Guillaume*, and eventually to displace it, especially the image of the hero broadcast therein. At the same time other sections of this *Vita* are unrhymed.¹⁰⁹ Almost exclusively these unrhymed portions have nothing to do with William's "monastic experience." Clearly this indicates the hagiologist's judgment that they were not worthy of poetic treatment and expansion. But why include them at all? Presumably he could not exclude this material entirely and still claim that his hero was the authentic Count William of Toulouse, conqueror of the Saracens and councillor of Charlemagne. In any event, for whatever reasons, these unrhymed passages, grudgingly included, were deemed essential. This does not mean that everything unrhymed is historical fact nor, on the other hand, that the entire rhymed portion of the hagiograph must be discarded out of hand as a monkish poet's fantasy, although the vast majority of it is just that. Where the hagiologist borrowed from the *chansons* his composition can be no more (nor less) historical than its source. But where he had access to genuine materials (reflected in greater proportion in the less elaborated, unrhymed section), their traces must be searched after like veins of precious metal in a mine. The fact that the hagiologist composed his work in Gellone enhances the possibility that he had authentic sources available for his use.¹¹⁰

A final clue is the striking Hebraisms which appear in unexpected places in the *Vita Willelmi*. One would not be surprised to find Hebraisms in a religious or sacred context where the hagiologist would be more likely to fall into a biblical idiom. Yet in just such passages where one would expect it most he employs least the idiom which is found rather in a secular context. Thus the parents of William were "in life and manners pleasing to God and man." William stood "in the sight (presence) of the King." (§ 4). "He stood at the King's right hand and left, in prosperity as in adversity." (§ 4).¹¹¹ Several parts of § 7, all

109. The rhymed portions are printed in Roman type in the summary above; the unrhymed sections are italicized.

110. The devastating fire in the eleventh century must have left very few older materials, but Gellone's interest in William would have spurred efforts to collect as much as possible about him.

111. "... ambo quidem ... vita quoque et moribus placentes Deo et hominibus ... Willelmus ... stat ante Regis conspectum ... Willelmus Regi aderat a

lacking rhyme, are noteworthy for abounding in such expressions as "with peace restored to God's people"; he concerned himself with "the sacred laws"; he was judge in particular "of the poor, the widow and the orphan"; he kept in check "the princes and lords of the land lest they force subjects from the law with violence"; and so forth.¹¹² Do such Hebraisms imply that an original Hebrew text, presumably in translation, was available to the hagiologist; and that this text may be reflected especially in the unrhymed part of the *Vita*?

Vita Willelmi employs certain other expressions that demand explanation, such as the use of the archaic *consul* for *comes* ("count") in § 3 and § 5.¹¹³ It is noteworthy that the *ShK's* report on the Nasi of Narbonne, as late as the twelfth century, still used *moshel* ("ruler," "governor") as interchangeable with the more frequently employed and more usual *peha* ("count").¹¹⁴ The archaic *consul* may point to the presence of the older *moshel* in the hagiologist's original source at this point. Moreover, Chapter I of the *Vita*, which describes William's life in the world, especially in association with Charlemagne, refers frequently to the sovereign. The text designates him regularly as *King*, never as *Emperor* and with only one doubtful exception (§ 7 "Holy Empire") describes his realm as *Kingdom*, never as *Empire*.¹¹⁵ This

dextris et a sinistris, ipse quidem in prosperis pariter et in adversis"; *AS*, Maii VI, pp. 801b-02a.

112. *AS*, Maii VI, p. 802b.

113. "... natus est B. Willelmus de praeclara Francorum progenie, ex patre videlicet nobili magnoque Consule Theoderico nomine, cujus mater aequae generosa et nobilissima Comitissa dicta est Aldana: ambo quidem . . . Consules ex Consulibus . . . Comes Willelmus . . . et de Consule sublimetur in Ducem"; *AS*, Maii VI, pp. 801b-02a.

114. *MJC*, I, pp. 82-83. Otherwise, this passage distinguishes sharply between the Hebrew equivalents of the various official titles then in use, as follows: *Peḥa* appears four times in the meaning of *count*; *moshel* twice as synonym of *peḥa* and, in the combination *mosh'le ha'arets*, with the meaning *marquis*. *Shilton*, *sholetet*, *shelishit* appear once each in the sense of *viscount(ess)*; Appendix III, this text.

115. *Vita Willelmi*, *AS*, Maii VI, pp. 801b-02a. *Ḳaisar* is used frequently in the Talmud as a proper name and title ("Roman emperor"); but *Edom* is consistently the term for Roman Empire, or else some form of *malkhut* ("kingdom"). The title *consul* enjoyed a revival in the eleventh century; P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, Renovatio*, I (2nd ed.), pp. 201-02.

corresponds to Hebrew usage which in this period had no specific term for *Empire* and *Emperor* and employed as their equivalents the terms *melekh* and *malkhut* ("king," "kingdom") or, at best, *melekh melakhim* ("king of kings").

Vita C: Orderic Vital (1075–ca. 1141) relates in his *Ecclesiastical History*¹¹⁶ that one winter a monk, Anthony of Winchester, came to the abbey of St. Evroult in Normandy with a *Life of William*. Although at the time a *Song of William* was popular with jongleurs, Orderic thought that it would be preferable to possess an authentic version composed by learned monks and recited before assembled friars. But Anthony's haste to leave and the severe winter frost forced Orderic to prepare quickly only a brief summary on his (wax) tablets, which he later transferred to parchment. The extant text was composed about 1131 and revised shortly before his death ca. 1141.¹¹⁷ Orderic relates further that a clerk named Gerold, who was attached to the chapel of Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester, would sing of William, along with other heroes, before the courtiers of his lord.¹¹⁸ It is not clear how Orderic's version is related to Gerold's, if at all. However, a comparison with *Vita B* makes it obvious that *Vita C* is merely a resumé of the hagiograph, to the point of repeating identical phrases and sentences. The account of William's military exploits and his life in the world is abbreviated still more. *Vita C* of Orderic Vital adds nothing of value.

According to the traditional view William founded two monasteries in Septimania and endowed them with properties. One was in the valley of Gellone in Lodève which later was called by his name St. Guillaume or, more fully, *Sancti Guillelmi de Desertis*¹¹⁹ but which

116. Orderici Vitalis Anglignencie Coenobii Utcensi Monachi *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri Tredecim*, ed. A. Le Prevost, III, Liber VI, iii, pp. 5–12; translated by Th. Forester as Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, II, Book VI, chapter iii, pp. 243–49.

117. *Ibid.*, Book VI, chapter iv, p. xlii.

118. *Ibid.*, II, Book VI, chapter ii, p. 243; ch. iv, p. 249.

119. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 111, note 9b; pp. 113, 117, note 12. William was recognized as saint by Pope Alexander II in 1066, by Pope Calixtus II in 1123; cf. *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, ed. Ph. Jaffé, 2nd ed. W. Wattenbach and others, I, no. 4592, 7044; cf. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 117, note 12b.

William himself seems to have named *Casa Dei*, in Hebrew *Bet-El* ("House of God"). The other endowment he named *Casa Nova* located in the diocese of Uzès. It was also known as *cella Gordanica* and later came to be called the Abbey of Goudargues.¹²⁰ There are extant many more documents about *Casa Dei* than about *Casa Nova*.

The earliest of these sources are two documents which occasionally have been identified as the foundation charters of Gellone. One is dated Saturday, December 14, the other Sunday, December 15, 804.

*Charter of December 14, 804 (GG)*¹²¹

This is no foundation charter but the donation of a series of properties by Count William to the monastery at Gellone which is already in existence and has an abbot, monks, and consecrated altars. The intent of the gift is to reduce thereby the donor's sins and those of his deceased parents Theodoric and Alda as well of his brothers, sons, daughters, two wives (Cunegund and Guitberge), and nephew Bertram. Pückert, who designates the act by the initials GG, has drawn up an impressive list of items which brand the document as the work of a later editor: vineyards, fields, meadows, and mills are already in existence—even two churches, which are known only from a later period; the expansion of the title of count by the addition "by the grace of God"; the peculiar dating; possible anachronisms of a juridical character involving use of royal land as the site of the monastery; the status of some of William's personal property mentioned; and the reference to his nephew Bertram, who was a figment of the jongleur's imagination. On the basis of such difficulties in text, its style, dating, and obvious anachronisms, Pückert (and Tisset) challenge the authen-

120. William's charters of donation to Gellone GG and AG name the monastery "Casa Dei": GG—"ad ipsam casam Dei dono ad habendum," *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 16–XII, col. 66; AG, *ibid.*, col. 68. On Casa nova (later Goudargues), "Casa nova . . . quam dudum Willelmus quondam comes . . . construxerat et rebus quam plurimis ditaverat," *HGL*, I, p. 940; II, preuves, no. 36, col. 103–104, May 21, 815; for other references see W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 240 f.

121. *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 16–XII, cols. 65–67.

ticity of this charter. In addition, Tisset points out that this copy of William's donation occupies a prominent position in the Cartulary of Gellone at the beginning of the second collection, which was composed in 1122. The act does not mention Aniane at all but presents Gellone as a free abbey, completely autonomous, whose abbot and monks (brought in by William) were trained in the doctrine of Benedict of Nursia; in this way it completely ignores the nearby Benedict of Aniane and his establishment. Clearly this record too is a victim of the conflict between Gellone and Aniane. Pückert concludes (and therein he is seconded by Tisset) that the writer took another document as his model, revised and predated it for greater authority. His model was the charter of Sunday, December 15, 804, a copy of which is known to have been in the possession of the monks of Gellone.¹²²

Charter of December 15, 804 (AG)

No more than the preceding is this document (named AG by Pückert) a founding charter. It also witnesses to a gift made by Count William of essentially the same properties named above to the "basilica of St. Salvator" (Saint-Sauveur) for the reduction of his sins and those of his deceased parents Theodoric and Alda, his brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, and two wives, whose names are repeated here. The basilica is already built in "that *cella* of Gellone which . . . I William . . . have erected." The donation is made conditional upon the formal subjection of Gellone to Aniane "as is a *cella* to an abbey." If in the future the *cella* should become separated from Aniane then the named properties are to become the possession of Aniane.¹²³

Pückert subjects the diplomatic characteristics of AG to detailed analysis and concludes that a genuine text underlies the extant charter. However he finds evidence of reworking. The suspect features of the dating in GG reoccur here in AG to witness against its originality.

122. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 124-29; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 44-47.

123. *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 67-68.

He focuses on the words *Christo propitio* and points out that their presence preceding the imperial date would lead one to expect a different order in the phrasing in order to correspond to the practice in the royal chancellery.¹²⁴ The emphasis upon Gellone's subjection to Aniane, repeated six times, points to AG's place of origin. If Gellone had been subject to Aniane William could simply offer his gift to the latter; such a forgery exists in fact. Tisset thinks that an authentic founding charter might be sought in that part of the extant document which precedes mention of Gellone's subjection to Aniane. The latter was interested in having a foundation charter for Gellone disappear. The fire at Gellone in 1066, which destroyed all materials except for the testament of the Abbot Juliofred, gave Aniane its opportunity. It fabricated the document of December 15, 804 (AG), in the period *ca.* 1066–80. Whereupon Gellone retaliated. It reworked Aniane's forgery, predated it by one day in order to forestall AG and created its own product GG. This task was completed shortly before 1090 or soon after 1110.¹²⁵

Pückert discusses at some length the reason for what he considers the elimination of the names of William's three best-known children from AG, namely, Gerberga, Heribert (both also missing in GG), and Margrave Bernard (named in GG). In their place he finds it surprising that three other children are named: Witgar, Hildehelm, and Helinbruch. These are two sons and a daughter concerning whom the sources of the ninth century are completely silent; even Dhuoda's *Manual* does not mention them. Pückert points out the effort on the part of ninth-century authors to blot out memory of the father-son relationship between William and Bernard while emphasizing the consanguinity of Bernard to his son, also named William, who was executed, to his brother Heribert who was blinded, to another brother Gothselm who was decapitated, and to his sister Gerberga who was

124. Is *Christo propitio* simply a later interpolation? The chancellery of the Nasi could be expected to maintain a strict account of who held the hegemony over Septimania among the Carolingians, thereby preserving a record of Carloman's reign. Likewise the title *patricius* had special significance for the Jewish Prince who wanted to emphasize that he was not the vassal merely of a king.

125. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 129–33; 142–45; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 47–56.

drowned for witchcraft, while Bernard himself was put to death by order of Charles the Bald. Pückert thinks that an early editor, perhaps even as far back as the time of Charles the Bald, piously removed these names from William's charter so as not to cast an ugly light on the renowned and revered father William. Gellone relisted Bernard because by the eleventh or twelfth century this relationship had lost its controversial character.¹²⁶

The Inventory of Juliofred, 813

This appears to be an inventory of the very extensive properties of Gellone prepared by order of Juliofred, abbot of the monastery. The date derives from the frequent mention of Emperor Charles as still alive (d. 814), and the simultaneous appearance also of Louis (who received the imperial crown in 813) as emperor. The number of properties mentioned exceeds by far those found in AG and GG, although a few listed in the latter documents are absent from Juliofred's inventory. William is said to have acquired these properties from the two emperors; he appears at the head of the document as "Saint William

126. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 132-41. He assumes that William's donation to Gellone was his last official act in the world before entering the monastic state; and that no children were born after 804. Heribert is known to have accompanied his father on the campaign against Barcelona (see this text, p. 193) and so was at least a young man in 804. But the dates of birth of Bernard and his sister Gerberga are unknown. Bernard married Dhuoda in the imperial palace at Aix in 824 (*Le Manuel*, ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 51). There is every reason to assume that he married at an early age. If he was 19 he was born in 805, after the endowment of Gellone, which may better explain the absence of his name from the document. King Louis of Aquitaine is reported to have served as Bernard's godfather (*Thegan, Vita Ludovici imperatoris*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH*, *Scriptores* II, § 36, p. 597:42) but at a very early age according to Pückert, p. 109, in order for Bernard to be born before 804; see this text, p. 217. It is possible that Gerberga may have been even younger than Bernard. However, the presence of the word *filiabus* in the plural indicates that the name of a daughter has dropped out of the text, very likely Gerberga. With respect to Heribert and Gerberga, it is possible to accept Pückert's conclusion that these names were deliberately removed from the charter.

Prince [within] the boundaries of all Gaul," *S. Willelmus princeps totius Galliae finibus*.¹²⁷

Pückert and Tisset see several peculiarities in this inventory. As in GG the word *honos* (property associated with official position) is used synonymously with *alodes* (free possession), which both scholars find anachronistic; similarly the use of the word *fisc*. The beginning of the inventory designates the totality of the listed properties as a gift of the two emperors; while the end derives the properties in part from William's own holdings, in part from the emperors and the gifts of others. Pückert thinks that this reference to William's ancestral holdings in Septimania or nearby Rouergue (the actual location of his family seat is unknown) was a later interpolation, and it is to be viewed as an effort to locate his family origins in the Southland. Pückert finds clear evidence of the forger's hand in Juliofred's designation of himself as "kinsman of Emperor Charles." The name itself is suspect because so very rare (he suggests the substitute reading Sunifred); no other relative presumes to identify himself in this manner although the kings and emperors occasionally name a beneficiary as kinsman. On the other hand the eleventh and twelfth centuries emphasized such consanguinity of their heroes.

Tisset points out this is the only document which, according to report, escaped the fire of 1066 in Gellone. The fire destroyed the cartulary roll and other deeds of the monastery. The name Juliofred is very unusual; the only other abbot known by this name was administrator of the abbey in 925. The *Testamentum Juliofredi*, as Tisset names the document, gives him the impression of being older than GG. Yet he too finds that the list was rewritten in its major portion in order to harmonize with the state of affairs existing at the end of the eleventh century.¹²⁸

127. *Vita B* expresses a similar idea; "Ergo Willelmus Comitis et Ducis gloria sublimatus, fit inter Principes primus, ipse secundus a Rege . . ."; *AS*, Maii VI, p. 802a, § 5. The peculiar grammar of *princeps totius Galliae finibus* raises a question as to its original formulation. It could hardly have meant "Prince for the boundaries of all Gaul" since William's responsibilities were limited to the boundaries facing Spain, and the maritime coast of the south and west. Clearly, something has been deleted here. See this text immediately below.

128. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 145-48; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 56-59.

The extant document is by no means a donation; hence Pückert terms it an inventory of Gellone's holdings, and Tisset a testament of Gellone's abbot. Actually the relationship to Gellone according to the document itself is unclear except for a vague statement and the claim of the Abbot Juliofred that he ordered the inventory prepared. More explicitly, the writ claims to be an inventory of William's possessions.¹²⁹ Furthermore, Juliofred is probably not to be dated before 925, the date of the only abbot known by this name so that the phrase "kinsman of Emperor Charles" refers properly to William whose name, in fact, appears in the preceding sentence.

Another statement about William already referred to demands explanation: he was "Prince [within] the boundaries of all Gaul." This phrase is by no means clear, almost deliberately so. If the intent was to designate him Prince of all Gaul then the word *boundaries* would be superfluous. But this would be patently untrue since Louis' sons properly were the Princes of all Gaul. Rather, the word *boundaries* in the ablative case suggests that the original text termed William prince of some group located "within the *boundaries* of all Gaul." This would hardly be an ethnic group like the Burgundians or Aquitanians, who were not scattered throughout Gaul but concentrated in a geographical subdivision of Frankia. On the other hand such a condition would fit the Jews who, though found perhaps in larger numbers in the south, were in fact settled throughout Frankia. The original may then have referred to William as "Prince [of the Jews within] the boundaries of all Gaul"; *Princeps* [Judaeorum in] *totius Galliae finibus*. In addition, a number of royal and imperial *diplomata* have preserved references to Gellone and, in some instances, to William's role as donor of properties there.

(1) December 28, 807: This is presumably a confirmation on the part of Louis, in his twenty-seventh year as Aquitanian king, of a donation by William and others to Gellone. In addition the King makes a grant in his own name to the monastery. It appears from the document that the cloister has its own abbot, Juliofred; and its monks are given full

129. "Hanc omnem honorem adquisivit S. Willelmus . . . Hunc alodem superius resonatum adquisivit domnus Willelmus . . ."; *HGL*, II, no. 17-XIII, cols. 69-70.

power over these possessions. The initiative for the King's action came however from "monk" William and not from the abbot. Gellone appears as a *monasterium*, never as a *cella*, and the name Aniane is not mentioned in the text. The monastery is said to have been erected by Count William on land of the royal fisc belonging to Louis' father Charlemagne. The property donated by Louis was owned jointly by himself and his father.

Pückert and Tisset have analyzed this diploma and have arrived at essentially identical conclusions regarding its inauthenticity. Its diplomatic features are suspect, and parts are clearly dependent on Section 30 of the *Life of Benedict (Vita A)*. An important difference, however, springs to the eye because in Section 30 William is still a count when requesting action by Louis, while the diploma makes him out to be a monk. The castle Verdun mentioned in the document as overhanging the monastery (supposedly located in an isolated and completely deserted area) appears in authentic documents at the earliest in 1124. Tisset points out that the act's stylistic details turn up in a diploma of July 12, 1075, which may have served as a model for AG. The confirmation proper appears word for word in an immunity diploma of Emperor Louis for Aniane dated April 24, 814.

Pückert also examines in detail the powers of Louis in Septimania as King of Aquitaine. He concludes that the prevailing view is incorrect that Louis received Septimania along with Aquitaine in 781 or that his powers in both regions were identical. In Aquitaine Louis and his guardians certainly had the right to grant immunity and confirmations, although Charles retained supreme authority and exercised it. But in Septimania Louis had no such power. In fact a gift made by Louis in this region after Charles' death states that his grants while king required validation from higher authority, *potiori auctoritate*, which he now confers as emperor. Significantly, these words referred to a villa in Lodève where were also located several of the properties listed in the diploma of 807 under discussion here. From a document issued during Louis' first year as emperor, it is clear that until then he was not empowered to take independent action in Septimania or Burgundy. In Septimania direct action was reserved to Charlemagne alone. In summary, Louis' powers were in actuality other than are claimed by the diploma in regard to Gellone. The Septimania coinage system

corroborates this conclusion. Moreover, private documents in Septimania are dated exclusively by the years of Charles' reign; Aquitanian documents refer to either Charles or Louis. In Aquitaine Louis granted privileges to monasteries; in Septimania the name of Charles alone appears in such diplomas without participation of Louis. When he became emperor, Louis followed the practice of his father. His son Pepin received Aquitaine including apparently the County of Carcassonne. However, Pepin's power in Septimania was restricted, and there is no evidence that he had any at all in Lodève and Maguelonne counties where were situated Aniane and Gellone. In the division of his realm in 831 Louis promised his youngest son Charles all of Septimania, including Carcassonne, after his death. The Jews supported Judith, mother of Charles, in her claims on behalf of her son. Eventually, Charles ("the Bald") became emperor.

Pückert concludes that the limited extent of power actually exercised by Louis and his son Pepin corroborates his conclusion that the diploma of 807 is inauthentic. Louis could have given gifts to Gellone as King of Aquitaine but a confirmation by him of gifts from William and others must be false.¹³⁰

(2) The imperial *diplomata* of Louis le Débonnaire, April 23, 814; March 20, 822; October 21, 837; and the renewal by Charles the Bald, June 21, 853: These three *diplomata* of Emperor Louis are preserved in the Cartulary of Aniane and present a total contradiction to the document of December 28, 807. They are unacquainted with it. They profess to be donations addressed to Benedict of Aniane, wherein Aniane appears as a monastery while Gellone is only a dependent *cella*. All these documents confer immunity while those of 837 and 853 also grant free election of the abbot. Along with the diploma of 807, their authenticity too is called into question by both Pückert and Tisset.¹³¹

130. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 149–60; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 59–61. If this diploma were dated ten years later, most of the difficulties would disappear since Louis became emperor 813.

131. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 161 ff.; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 62 ff.

The three grants of Louis le Débonnaire bestow upon Aniane the *cella* Gellone with its accessories. These texts also know nothing of the charter AG of December 15, 804. On the other hand the documents of 822 and 837, although in effect confirmations of the preceding acts of donation, do not refer to those earlier gifts by a single word. In addition the acts of 814 and 822 are demonstrably not contemporaneous with Emperor Louis and, moreover, offer unintelligible and corrupt texts. Tisset brands the writ of 814 a forgery modelled after that of 822. The diploma of 837 purports to present a complete list of Aniane's permanent possessions. Yet included therein is a fisc bestowed by the Emperor only two days earlier on October 19, 837, for a limited period, specifically for his lifetime.

The act of Charles the Bald dated June 21, 853, confirms the gift of Louis le Débonnaire to the monastery of Aniane and repeats almost verbatim the three preceding *diplomata*. However, it knows nothing of two fiscs mentioned earlier and refers to possessions of Aniane situated in Arles, Avignon, Orange (where it never owned property), and in the district of Uzès, which it acquired for the first time only seventeen or eighteen years later. The three towns just mentioned actually belonged to Lothar in 853 and were not in Charles' territory or subject to his authority. Tisset concludes that this document has been tampered with. These documents, in particular the bestowal of Gellone on Aniane, reveal the same intent that motivated the fabrication of AG, even though they are not contemporaneous with the conflict between Gellone and Aniane.¹³²

(3) Letter of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire addressed to *The Venerable Brothers established in the monastery of Aniane and Gellone*. This is the heading of the undated document as preserved in the Cartulary of Aniane: Therein Louis confirms their election of Abbot Tructesinde and offers sage counsel spiced with warnings and threats. The letter opens with the report that "Archbishop" Agobard had but recently arrived and advised the Emperor that both he and Bishop Nibradius of Narbonne had been present at the election of Tructesinde as abbot

132. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 161-79; P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 62-67.

of Aniane. The Emperor's message relates a donation of the cloister by Benedict to Charlemagne whereby it became his allod and his sons'. There is no mention of William at all. Gellone is referred to only in the address wherein its members appear as colleagues of the friars of Aniane. The writer expands on the proper relationship between abbot and monks, and the conduct of the friars to one another.

A remarkable sentence in this letter attracts special attention: "Zealously endeavour to be always such that from you as of yore there can be taken masters and teachers not alone for the holy life of the rule but of every spiritual standard and at the highest level, wherever there may be need or desire therefor."¹³³ The closing words, in particular, would suggest that the cloister in question was a training center and school for the education of bishops ("at the highest level"). Pückert, assuming that Aniane was the original recipient of this document and that in consequence its educational potentialities are described here, challenges the authenticity of this statement on the basis of the known situation in the ninth century. According to him the reference to the education of bishops is to be dated in the eleventh century when actually Cluny was fulfilling this function. In this conclusion Tisset concurs.¹³⁴

Pückert brings evidence for the view that the superscription¹³⁵ has been tampered with and that the letter was not addressed to both monasteries. Since the document confirms the election of Aniane's abbot, he concludes that a later editor inserted the reference to Gellone with the intent of demonstrating its dependence on Aniane. Pückert

133. "... tales semper ... esse studeatis, ut de vobis possint sicut prius magistri et doctores sanctae non solum regularis vitae, verum omnis spiritalis normae et praecipui apicis adsumi, ubicumque necessitas vel voluntas fuerit"; *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 59-XXXVIII, col. 137; W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 186.

134. Pückert, *ibid.*, assumes that *praecipui apicis adsumi* was intended to mean the training of bishops and therefore could be a product only of the eleventh century. In the ninth century *praecipuum apex* did not necessarily refer to the episcopacy; pp. 188-90; 195. Tisset also dates the extant letter in the eleventh century; *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, pp. 68-71.

135. "Ludovicus ... venerabilibus fratribus in Aniano sive Gellone monasterio constitutis"; *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 59, col. 136. The epistle continues immediately with the report of Agobard's arrival: "Proxime accidit Agobardum archiepiscopum ad nostram devenisse praesentiam." He reported to the Emperor concerning Trutesinde's election as abbot.

also dates to a later period the insertion of a passage from letters written by Alcuin and the description of Benedict of Aniane. Otherwise, he thinks that in its style and content the communiqué is above suspicion and authentic. Sickel observes that the letter probably bore an imperial seal as did several rescripts of Emperor Louis.¹³⁶

However, it may be that we have here a document addressed originally to Gellone; the inclusion of Aniane and the confirmation of its abbot would then be a later addition as well as the parts branded inauthentic by Pückert. For, as Pückert¹³⁷ himself recognizes, the address in its present form actually equates both monasteries and in no way implies the subjection of Gellone to Aniane. This would hardly be preferable (for Aniane partisans) to a presumed "original" where Aniane appeared alone and Gellone was passed over in silence. The presence of Gellone's name here can only mean that it was always in the document. Yet the preservation of the altered epistle in Aniane's cartulary points to that cloister's interest in the missive in its present form. For a letter by the Emperor addressed only to Gellone, without reference to Aniane, could well be exploited by Gellone partisans to further their monastery's claim for independence. In consequence, Aniane's ambitions called for alteration to the point at least of adding Aniane's name to the superscription.

But if the Emperor's letter was not addressed to Aniane then the "confirmation" of its abbot's election is also as inauthentic as the description of Benedict therein and the statements of Alcuin's. Such a conclusion would eliminate a problem in the dating of this document which is otherwise undated except for the remark that "Archbishop" Agobard had recently appeared before the Emperor. On March 19, 822, Emperor Louis issued an edict in behalf of the monastery of Aniane in response to the complaint of its Abbot Tructesinde against the imperial officials in Provence, Septimania, and Aquitaine.¹³⁸ The election of Tructesinde obviously predated this act, as must have

136. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 181, 191-93, 195, 197. Th. Sickel, *Acta Regum et Imperatorum Karolinorum Digesta et Enarrata*. Part I: Lehre von den Urkunden der ersten Karolinger (751-840), p. 407, note 6.

137. W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, p. 186.

138. *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 60-XXXIX, cols. 139-40.

Emperor Louis' communiqué to the Brethren of Aniane and Gellone if it actually confirmed Tructesinde's election. In fact both Sickel and Mühlbacher date the election in 821, since Benedict died on February 11 of that year. But there is no information of an audience of Agobard in Aix-la-Chapelle until late 822. Sickel then considers it possible that Agobard appeared before the Emperor at the Reichstag in Diedenhofen, October 821. But there is no evidence that Agobard was present in Diedenhofen. Simson favors an audience in Aix before March 19, 822. Pückert is challenged by Tisset for dating Emperor Louis' letter January-March 822, yet this date is accepted by Cabaniss as the period of Agobard's first audience with the Emperor.¹³⁹ However, it is hardly likely that the Bishop of Lyons undertook the long journey to the imperial palace merely for the purpose of securing the confirmation of an election for which no imperial license had been granted in the first place, and in behalf of a monastery not in his own diocese. This dating is a confusion over the actual appearance of Agobard at court in late 822 or early 823, a muddle which the letter's forger initiated.

It is highly dubious that the prelate made a visit to court or appeared elsewhere before Louis in connection with Tructesinde's election in Aniane. Then the reference to his arrival at court, which stands directly at the beginning of the communication,¹⁴⁰ would have no relationship at all to the election of Abbot Tructesinde, and the letter may be dated late 822 or early 823. How does Agobard's visit have an association with the many threats and warnings found therein? It is known that this prelate came to Aix-la-Chapelle in late 822 or early 823 to

139. T. Sickel, *Acta Regum*, Part II: Regesten der Urkunden der ersten Karolinger (751-840), p. 136, no. 175; p. 323; E. Mühlbacher, J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918*, I, 2nd ed., p. 298, no. 743 (718); B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I: 814-830, pp. 166-67, note 10, cf. p. 177, note 1; W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone*, pp. 179-97. P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, p. 71 dates the communiqué in the eleventh century; A. Cabaniss, *Agobard of Lyons*, p. 43.

140. Immediately following the address; "Proxime accidit Agobardum archiepiscopum ad nostram devenisse praesentiam"; *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 136. The anachronistic title "archbishop" reveals the hand of the later editor who is active from the very start of the extant communiqué. For discussion of the date of Agobard's court visit see A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," 28-29, 48-49.

secure enforcement of the decisions reached in August at Attigny regarding the restitution of church lands. He was pressuring the lay lords throughout Septimania and Provence to submit to these decisions. In retaliation they took him to task as a troublemaker. They maintained that synods of a local character were not competent to compel restitution but that it was essential for legates of Rome and the Emperor to be present.¹⁴¹

This claim recalls to mind that a papal and a royal representative actually were present at the Narbonne synod of 791 which was also attended by numerous prelates of the South. At that time, we concluded, this assembly probably recognized the rights of the Nasi to extensive properties in Septimania.¹⁴² The context of the landholders' claim as reported by Agobard raises the question whether the lay lords against whom he was directing his activity did not in fact include also Jewish seigneurs and, specifically, the Nasi of the Jews.

In this period arose the conflict between him and the Jewish community of Lyons over the question of a female slave apparently converted to Judaism whom, however, the prelate baptised. His visit to the imperial palace was for the purpose of securing a favorable settlement of this issue. Instead, his efforts ended in disgrace and bitter frustration for himself. There followed his sharp written attacks on the Jews.¹⁴³

Did the court informant, or the Emperor himself, begin his letter of warning and exhortation to Gellone with a reference to Agobard's appearance at the palace because of the special interest of that community, founded by Duke William, in the activities of this Bishop? And was it so involved because it was a Jewish community, an academy created by the Nasi William for the training of teachers and judges? The apparent dissension that was wracking Gellone in 822-23 would indicate that William, who certainly lived here for a while, was no longer alive. His death may have propelled Agobard to his aggressive

141. *MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi*, tomus V, 3, ed. E. Dümmler, p. 174:31-36. For details, A. J. Zuckerman "Political Uses of Theology . . .", pp. 28-29, 48-49. Note the suggestion, *ibid.*, that Agobard made only one trip to court.

142. See this text, pp. 175-78.

143. A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," pp. 28-29, 48-49.

action in Attigny and at court that year.¹⁴⁴ When Aniane got possession of this communication addressed originally to Gellone, the monastery substantially altered it to make it appear to be a document intended for both Aniane and Gellone combined.

(4) The final document that may be related to Duke William of Toulouse is in the chronicle of the Münster episcopate which was compiled by Florenz von Wevelinkhofen in the fourteenth century. This chronicle is extant only in a poor seventeenth-century copy of the oldest manuscript in the Münster Chapter library, now lost, however. The old Chapter manuscript itself was not complete and Florenz states that he compiled his work from quotations out of various books. He made no use of legal material. The entire older portion of his history is replete with errors. His chronology is confused until as late as the end of the thirteenth century when Bishop Gerhard's death, for instance, is set five years too late. The reports become more reliable only with the onset of the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁵ Obviously, his chronology for the ninth century must be accepted only with great caution.

Florenz relates the following event which he dates in the period of Bishop Alfred III whose episcopacy lasted, according to Florenz, from 839-49:

At this time William, a most learned chancellor of the [Imperial] Palace, lapsed into Judaism and numerous others at his suggestion likewise lapsed into Judaism. Also at this time there was a very sharp controversy between

144. The year of William's death is unknown, the day is May 28 (V Kal. junii) according to an eleventh-century necrology, P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, p. 23. A forged diploma of Louis le Débonnaire dated April 23, 814, speaks of William as dead: "quondam cellulam nuncupante Gellonis . . . vel quidquid ibi Willelmus quondam Comes, qui ipsam cellulam in causa domini et genitoris nostri construxit"; *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 26, cols. 85-86. Most scholars follow *HGL* in dating his death in 813-14, *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 28, note 12; no. 23, cols. 79-80. The date given by the Chronicle of Uzès is 779, manifestly incorrect in this form, *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 1, col. 6. Tisset says that this forgery of 814 is modelled after Louis' diploma of 822; see this text, p. 234. This supports our suggestion that William's death probably occurred closer to 822 than to 814; see this text, p. 244.

145. *Die münsterischen Chroniken des Mittelalters*, ed. J. Ficker, Vorrede, pp. x-xiv. See p. 204 above.

Christians and Jews concerning the Eucharist and the Holy Trinity, William himself being involved. William remained in his perfidy for three years and then returned to the Catholic faith.¹⁴⁶

William's return is attributed to a miracle. His twelve-year-old daughter was nourished for a period of three years solely by a bit of wafer from the Host, with the addition of no other food.¹⁴⁷ It will be recalled that *Vita B* reports that after entering the monastic state William of Toulouse was nourished on the wafer of the Mass with but very little besides.¹⁴⁸

Blumenkranz thinks that this tale is a version of the Bodo-Eleazar sensation of the year 839–40.¹⁴⁹ Bodo Deacon of Emperor Louis, converted to Judaism, assumed the name Eleazar, let his beard grow, put on military dress, married a Jewess, and fled to Spain where he carried on anti-Christian agitation among the Arabs. This scandal created a

146. "Huius temporibus Wilhelmus litteratissimus palatii cancellarius lapsus est in iudaismum, et quamplurimi ad eius suggestionem in iudaismum etiam sunt lapsi. Et illis temporibus fuit maxima altercatio inter christianos et iudeos de eucharistia et de sancta trinitate, ipso Wilhelmo hoc operante . . . Sed Wilhelmus per triennium in perfidia permansit. Sed tunc ad fidem catholicam est reversus . . ."; *ibid.*, ed. J. Ficker, pp. 7–8. *Vita A* also calls William "the most illustrious of all in the Court of the Emperor" "qui in aula imperatoris prae cunctis erat clarior," and immediately thereafter reports his "conversion"—but *to the monastic life!* *MGH*, SS XV, part 1, pp. 211:38; 212:2; see p. 206 above. Blumenkranz points out that the Trinity was very seldom a subject for Jewish-Christian disputation; the eucharist was never treated. He thinks that the reference must be to some inner-Christian dispute of the middle of the ninth century on the eucharist when the conflict was at its height, "Juden und Jüdisches in christlichen Wundererzählungen," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, X (1954), 442 f. However, there was the sharp altercation between Bishop Agobard and the Jews involving their rabbi and *Magister* and the imperial palace from ca. 822–27; A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," p. 50. Noteworthy is Florenz von Wevelinkhofen's report that Chancellor William influenced many (courtiers?) to convert to Judaism, ed. J. Ficker, p. 7. Agobard levelled the same charge against the Jews in the period just named; A. J. Zuckerman, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

147. *Die münsterischen Chroniken*, I, ed. J. Ficker, pp. 7–8.

148. See this text, p. 218 §31. The *Annales Einhardi* reports for the year 823 the tale of a young girl who partook of the wafer at her confirmation Mass and then fasted and was nourished on nothing but this wafer until 825; *PL*, CIV, col. 496C, 500 C, D.

149. B. Blumenkranz, "Juden und Jüdisches in christlichen Wundererzählungen," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, X (1954), 442–43; *idem*, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, p. 210, note 206.

tremendous stir and was written up in sensational style by several chroniclers. However, Blumenkranz does not explain why the proselyte is named Chancellor William if he were actually Deacon Bodo, or account for his "reconversion" to Christianity. It is altogether possible that Florenz or the original reporter dated this event in the period 839-49 because they thought of Bodo-Eleazar as among "the numerous others" who followed William's lead. However, the editor of Florenz' chronicle reports another manuscript which relates the same miracle for the year 820, during the reign of Emperor Louis, son of Charlemagne.¹⁵⁰ This date is supported by the numerous complaints of Bishop Agobard of Lyons levelled against the effective and successful religious propaganda of the Jews, to the point where, he charges, they actually "captured" individuals for Judaism. Agobard's vitriolic attacks preceded the Bodo-Eleazar scandal by as much as fifteen years.¹⁵¹ This earlier date makes it possible to relate the report to William of Toulouse. Certainly if Florenz or his original source had Deacon Bodo-Eleazar in mind they would not have called him chancellor and named him William. Clearly they intended to keep the two personalities separate. The "return" to Christianity does not refer to Bodo but to William's supposed conversion to the monastic life. Yet it hardly would have been possible for a Jewish convert from Christianity to remain at court for three years or within reach of the authorities. Bodo-Eleazar probably had to flee to Spain. We have here then information regarding "a most learned chancellor" at the imperial court in the first quarter of the ninth century, a famed Jew by the name of William. In this connection we note again the strange silence of the chroniclers about

150. *Chronica Martiniana, Die münsterischen Chroniken*, ed. J. Ficker, p. 8.

151. "... pars aliqua ex nostris, dum libenter carnalibus eorum victibus communicat, spiritalibus discipulis capiatur"; Agobard, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmmler, no. 9, p. 200:23, 24. Some Christians prefer Jewish sermons to those of their own priests; *ibid.*, no. 7, p. 184:33, 34. Other similar complaints by Agobard, *ibid.*, p. 183:18, 19, 29-32; p. 184:20-41; p. 199:31-top p. 200; p. 200:8-28. The altercation between Agobard and the Jews, which became a conflict of national significance, may be the basis for Florenz' reference to a serious controversy between Jews and Christians in the day of Chancellor William. Amolo, writing in 846, reports discussions between Jews and Christians about the nature of God the Father and Jesus the Son; *Liber Contra Judaeos*, PL, CXVI, § XLII, col. 171.

William's activity following the fall of Barcelona when he was at the height of his career. The conclusion appears inescapable that no authentic contemporary document reports William's assumption of the monastic habit. This is altogether a fabrication dating no earlier than the eleventh century.

Certain Christian works, thought to have been authored in Gellone or for Duke William, turn out to have been of other origin. The manuscript known as the Sacramentary of Gellone (MS Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 12,048) was compiled in the second half of the eighth century and located in Gellone from the Carolingian period to modern times. But it was not composed for the monastery at Gellone. The dedication to the Church of St. Salvator in Gellone appears only in the margin of the Martyrology which concludes the volume and is a later addition (folio 276: *Dedicatio basilicae Sancti Salvatoris in Gellone*). In fact, Dom Cagin concludes, the Sacramentary was not written even in the Gellone region.¹⁵² There seems no basis for Wilmart's suggestion that a *Liber de Qualitate* by a certain Emmo or Haimo (*PL*, CXVIII, cols. 875-958) was intended for William of Gellone.¹⁵³

Wilmart wishes to identify a manuscript containing rules of St. Benedict, masses, and a martyrologium as a product of Gellone, which he dates between 807-12 and dubs the code of William's community and a kind of monastic bible.¹⁵⁴ However, a short world chronicle in the manuscript gives its own date of composition as the year 4709 since the origin of the world.¹⁵⁵ The following systems of chronology reckoned time according to the *aera mundi*: Hillel (the Jewish system) starting 3761 B.C.E., Scaliger 3949, Petav 3983, Josephus 4163, Frank 4181, and several others, all of which lengthened

152. Dom Cagin, "Note sur le sacramentaire de Gellone," *Mélanges . . . Mgr de Cabrières*, I, 231-32.

153. A. Wilmart, "Lettres de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXIV (1922), 237.

154. A. Wilmart, "Un livret bénédictin composé à Gellone au commencement du IX^e siècle," *Revue Mabillon*, XII (1922), 132.

155. "Sunt autem totius et[at]is] ab origine mundi anni usque in praesentem annum IIIIDCCVIII"; *ibid.*

the *aera mundi* still further.¹⁵⁶ Only one of these can come into consideration for the dating of this manuscript, since the world chronicle just mentioned continues until the thirty-eighth year of Charlemagne's reign, the seventh of the empire, and so it must have been composed after 807. Scalinger's system arrives at the date 760 which is manifestly impossible. All the others, except the Jewish, produce still earlier dates. The only admissible date then is 948. Martène, in fact, recognized that this work might date from the tenth century.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, the manuscript is not contemporaneous with Count William of Gellone and the community which he founded.

Likewise Morin fails to establish his claim that a Carolingian author Hemmon dedicated his collection of extracts from the writings of the church fathers to Count William of Gellone. Martène had dated Haimon's death in 1107 and recognized the *reuerendissimus in Christo pater Wilhelmus*, to whom the work is dedicated, as the celebrated Abbot of Hirsau who died in 1091. Mabillon identified the abbot as the great reformer William of Dijon and Fécamp who died 1031. Morin, however, sees in the statement of the dedication "you were freed of worldly and palace chains" and especially his embracing of "the poverty of Christ" parallels to the description of Count William given by the biographer of Bernard of Aniane. On this basis he concludes that the father William mentioned must be Count William, the founder of Gellone. These generalized statements seem hardly adequate evidence for his conclusion.¹⁵⁸

We may conclude there is little reason to doubt that Duke William of Toulouse erected an establishment in the relatively inaccessible, mountainous region of Gellone. Yet it was close to the River Hérault which empties into the Mediterranean nearby at a point about equidistant from Narbonne and Montpellier. Here he may have established an academy and library, settled teachers (perhaps imported from the

156. Bernard M. Lersch, *Einleitung in die Chronologie*, I, 2nd rev. and enlarged ed., p. 97.

157. A. Wilmart, *loc. cit.*, 128. A marginal notation in this manuscript also gives the day of William's death as May 28, *ibid.*, but this is no evidence that the manuscript must have been composed before William died.

158. D. G. Morin, "L'écrivain carolingien Hemmon et sa collection d'extraits des Pères pour Saint Guillaume de Gellone," *Revue Charlemagne*, II (1912), 116-26.

East), scholars, and younger pupils therein. The establishment, which he may have named Bet-El (*Casa Dei*, House of God), was clearly intended to serve academic and religious purposes; but doubtlessly it was also intended for military and commercial functions. He himself lived there for part of the time, perhaps spending some of his last days at Casa Dei. He died before 823, at the age of fifty-three or less, around the reputed date of death of the monk Bernard of Aniane. His untimely death¹⁵⁹ caused confusion and dissension in Casa Dei.¹⁶⁰ The Emperor directed his warnings here. Eventually, the monastery at Aniane gained control of Casa Dei and the new faith displaced the old. But the tradition of original independence persisted for a long time. Along with the academy its founder William, once the leader of the Jews of Frankia, was also "converted" to the monastic life and eventually sainted by the church. The many writings about William seem to point to one or more narrative sources, including perhaps a family chronicle of the Makhiri dynasty. A *Ma'aseh haMakhiri* ("Deed [or, *Geste*] of the Makhiri") was probably composed late in the eleventh or early in the twelfth century. It incorporated works of Nathan and Menaḥem, sons of Makhir. Eliezer B. Nathan refers to it when he says, "Thus did I see in the *Ma'aseh haMakhiri*."¹⁶¹ It appears that Count

159. On May 28 (V Kal. junii) according to an eleventh century necrology, P. Tisset, *L'Abbaye de Gellone*, p. 23. The year of his death is unknown. Most scholars follow *HGL* in dating it in 813-14, *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 28, note 12; no. 23, col. 79-80, a forgery modelled after Louis' diploma of 822. See this text, pp. 234, 239.

160. Agobard speaks of the Master of the Jews Everard in a way which clearly implies that he but recently took office: "qui Iudeorum nunc magister est"; *Epistolae*, V, ed. E. Dümmler, p. 200:29-30. The documents may provide a *terminus ad quem* for William's death ca. 822. Perhaps Agobard's aggressive action at Attigny and at Court 822-23 may be related to the passing of an individual of stupendous achievement. By 825 Domatus was rabbi-magister, to be succeeded by Evrard ca. 828. See this study p. 254. The later sources have fabricated an intimate association between William and the Goth monk Bernard of Aniane, assigning to each characteristics of the other. They set Bernard's death in 821. This seems to be close to the date of William's passing as we reconstruct it. See this study pp. 208 ff.

161. L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 158-59; S. Poznański suggests their youngest brother Yaḥar as the author, "Ein Wort über das *Ma'aseh haMakhiri*," *MGWJ*, XLI (1897), 459. *Sefer Raban*, Ehen haEzer (Prague 1610), p. 84c; Eliezer

William's banner bore one or more lions (of Judah?) in its field.¹⁶²

Finally, William may have been Charlemagne's ambassador to Harun ar-Rashid in 797, named Isaac, as Isaac had been his father's emissary to Charlemagne in 791.¹⁶³ The Arab legates from Baghdad and the North African court of Ibn Alaghlab, whom the chroniclers quote in their account of the return of the sensational mission from Baghdad, naturally referred to the Jewish participant in the legation by his Hebrew (or Arabic) name Isaac. It will be recalled that the *chansons* in fact report that William spoke Arabic as well as Hebrew, thereby qualifying him linguistically for an embassy to Baghdad. An important aim in the mission of Isaac (William) was to secure a semblance of recognition for Charlemagne as overlord of Jerusalem preparatory to his contemplated coronation as emperor. The banner and key which Charles' emissary Zachariah brought back symbolized some such subjection, although William's mission need not have been perfectly accomplished. Nevertheless, thereby the status of the Nasi of the West would become stabilized as the subject not of a mere king but of a king of kings, one who also extended his sway over Jerusalem the Holy City, symbolic of the ancient Hebrew monarchy. The common element in all the coronation *ordines* of the eighth and ninth centuries is to liken the king, about to be anointed, to the biblical prototypes David and Solomon. Munz emphasizes that at the center of Charlemagne's own thinking was the idea that he was the successor of the kings of the Jews of biblical times.¹⁶⁴

The trenchant writings of Bishop Agobard of Lyons provide information regarding the status of the Jews in the kingdom and empire of the Franks in the ninth century and their influence at the court of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, and describe briefly but in sharp

may be referring to Nathan haMakhiri's statements in *Sefer haPardes*, according to L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 159. It is the prime source of the *Ma'aseh ha-Geonim*, ed. A. Epstein, which, however is a compendium of legal materials.

162. L. Roche, "Une chronologie inédite des abbés de Saint-Guilhem-du-Désert," *Mélanges . . . de Mgr de Cabrières*, I, 208.

163. See above, pp. 187-89.

164. M. David, "Le serment du sacre du IX^e au XV^e siècle," *Revue du Moyen Age Latin*, VI (1950), 21, note 7. P. Munz, *The Origin of the Carolingian Empire*, p. 1.

outline the power and function of the Nasi of the Jews in the 820s.¹⁶⁵

A serious conflict of the Bishop with the Jewry of Lyons drove the prelate to compose the incisive epistles still extant addressed to the Emperor and leading officials at court, which attack so vigorously and yet in disciplined manner the Jews of Lyons and their prominent and effective leaders. Even allowing for occasional exaggeration by the aroused and fear-driven churchman, nevertheless Agobard's essays provide substantially reliable and vivid data about ninth-century Frankish Jewry and their *magister* which dovetail neatly with the evidence established heretofore in this study and still to follow.

The conflict with the Jews of Lyons erupted over a female slave whom the Jews had converted. In consequence of this act their law forbade them to sell her to gentiles, or to accept any redemption price for her release, because of the obvious injury to her practice of Judaism. Agobard was adamant on the right of redemption because, he claimed, she had accepted baptism. The Jews insisted on the implementation of the imperial privilege that conferred the right to live by their own law. They may even have induced her to return to Judaism. It appears then that Bishop Agobard brought charges against the Jewry of Lyons. Imperial charters of the period provided that serious charges against Jews were justiciable only in the imperial court.

As protagonist of the Jewish defendants there arrived in Lyons a high imperial officer whom Agobard variously entitles "Master of the Jews," "Master of the infidel Jews." The Bishop later designated one such *magister Judaeorum* by the name of Evrardus. The *magister* took energetic action on behalf of the Jewry of Lyons; his very first encounter with the Bishop proved disastrous for the personal relations between the two. Agobard complained the *magister* had failed to show proper regard for the episcopal office and, furthermore, had acted unreasonably in the issue at hand. The case was taken to the imperial court. Agobard appeared in person before the Emperor late in 822 or in 823 only to suffer a curt dismissal. He returned home heavy with chagrin, vexed and disturbed. At the same time the Jews were active at court and eminently successful. They secured a *privilegium* corroborated with

165. A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . ." in *Studies in Medieval Culture*. The findings of this essay are summarized in the pages immediately below.

imperial seals of gold, which they brandished triumphantly in Lyons. It declared among other provisions, "No one may baptize a Jewish slave without the willingness of his own master." The prelate professed incredulity and challenged the authenticity of the imperial mandate. He launched a vigorous preaching campaign in his diocese in which he promised the slaves of the Jews manumission as the reward of baptism.

He also endeavored to halt the sale of their wine to Christians and forbade his flock to purchase those animal portions from Jewish slaughterers, which were banned to Jews by their law. In general the prelate seems to have aimed at a withdrawal of Christians from all services to Jews and a boycott of their products of the land. He appears to have obtained possession of the Judaized and later baptized Jewish slave. Rabbi Domatus now brought charges against Bishop Agobard at the imperial palace. In defense he penned a lengthy reply passionately proclaiming his incredulity at the genuineness of the decree which affirmed the Jews' right to prevent baptism of their slaves. He described his predicament: if he observes (the dubious) imperial command, he offends God. If he observes the rules of the church he has to fear the wrath of the Emperor, especially since the Master of the "infidel" Jews was threatening to summon the imperial legates to judge and punish him.

The palace now took sharp action against the prelate. It issued still another *privilegium* in behalf of the Jews as well as two mandates, one addressed to Agobard, the other to the viscount of the Lyons district. The imperial commissioners were ordered to proceed to Lyons. The Emperor forbade anyone to persuade the slaves of the Hebrews to accept baptism in order to be free of service to their masters; and threatened the anathema for all violators. There then arrived the new Jews' master or his representative, Everard by name, and two imperial commissioners bearing their orders and "capitularies of sanctions" presumably outlining the Jews' legal status in the empire. The Emperor's orders were read out in public in Lyons. Agobard fled in time. At this turn of events the Christians were deeply saddened, reports Agobard, the Jews exultant, and they proceeded to preach to the Christians on matters of faith "blaspheming to their face the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." In this dispatch to the Emperor the Bishop blamed all his tribulations "on the patrons of the Jews."

He then proceeds to attack the Jews for their baleful effect in court

and in his diocese: They boast that they are dear to the Emperor because of their patriarchs (is this a reference to the Nasi and his dynasty?). They enter and leave the imperial presence laden with honors. The most excellent persons covet their supplications and recommendations and confess frankly they wished they had a guardian such as the Jews'. They have considerable income from great sales of wine. The Jews display gowns which they say are gifts to their wives from imperial kinsfolk [related to the Jews?] and ladies of palace officials. Out of respect for the Jewish Sabbath the imperial *missi* ordered that the market in Lyons might be transferred from that day to any one which the Jews select, indicating that Sunday is especially apt, because Christians are then unoccupied. Jewish ritual practice exercises a corrupting influence. (In a later epistle to Abbot Nimfrid of Lagrasse Agobard charged that some were actually "captured" for Judaism.) He concluded his plaint to the Emperor with the shocking information that local Jews were kidnapping and selling Christians into slavery in Spain and perpetrating indescribable acts. By charging Jews with illegal sale of slaves, and even kidnapping, Agobard was revealing to the Emperor the incompetence, if not worse, of the Jews' *magister* whose duty it must have been to supervise such transactions and to enforce the law.

Agobard pressed his drive against the Jews with intensity over a period of years in defiance of repeated imperial orders and the unresponsiveness, if not opposition, of the churchmen at court. Bressolles has pointed out that religious motives cannot account for his boycott of their products. The extant sources show that he launched an aggressive campaign for the conversion of Jewish slaves. On the floor of the Imperial Diet in Attigny, August 822, Agobard presented a ringing demand for the restoration of ecclesiastical properties still in the hands of lay landowners. His startling action there issued out of the condition of his church in Lyons. Charles Martel had ceded the town of Lyons to his *fideles*, including the domains of the church, the abbeys, and ecclesiastical offices. The lay owners of these former ecclesiastical lands defended their refusal to restore them on the grounds that (as stated by Agobard) the original reason for their transfer still was valid and the action of emperor and pope was needed to effect their return. Included among the lay magnates and *honorati* endowed with former

ecclesiastical estates must have been the Jews of Septimania and the Provence, including Lyons. The transfer to Jews of ecclesiastical lands brought slaves and serfs of the church into the hands of Jewish *honorati*. Since it seems likely that Bishop Agobard undertook only one visit to court in the period from the conclusion of the Council of Attigny (August 822) to the end of 823, there was then a very close relationship between Agobard's cry for the restoration of church property and his baptizing of Jewish slaves. He was able to single out Jews alone for attack because the canonical ban against holding Christian slaves or associating with the church's faithful fell on the Jews alone. By exploiting these canonical prohibitions Agobard could hope to deprive Jewish estate owners of their irreplaceable labor force, both free and unfree, and thus turn their properties back to wasteland. Then the church might come into her own again since cultivation of the land was a condition for retaining possession of royal grants. His restrictions on economic relations between the two sects aimed at the same objective. This was his purpose then behind the effort to prevent their employing a large and effective labor force and to boycott the product of their land. The efforts of the Jewish leaders at court must be seen against this background of Agobard's determination to deprive the Jews of the service of their bondmen and hired servants. Insofar as the Jews were an economic and military mainstay of imperial power, his actions had broad political consequences which the Crown had to oppose.

Agobard's final effort against the Jews was directed to Abbot Nimfrid (Nebrius) of Lagrasse and Narbonne, *An Exhortatory Epistle on Avoiding Eating and Association with Jews*. Agobard relates therein how he has forbidden Christians to have contact with Jews. He urges Nimfrid to impel other prelates toward the same objective in his territory, and concludes with the remarkable exhortation: "This work will stand by your effort or fall by your neglect." The broader intent of the tract is clear. It is to deprive the Jews in Septimania and the Narbonnaise of their Christian labor force. From Agobard's tract dispatched to Nimfrid it would seem that Narbonne was the center of Jewish activity in Southern Frankia.¹⁶⁶ Significantly, Nimfrid, who bore

166. Fleury La Serve terms Narbonne in the ninth and tenth centuries "The New Jerusalem," "Les Juifs à Lyon," p. 283.

the title "Bishop of Narbonne," was actually Abbot of Lagrasse and doubtless resided at the monastery. The predominant population in Narbonne still in the first quarter of the ninth century was the Jewry there, which brings us back to Narbonne and the Nasi of the Jews.

We may now proceed to identify the "Master of the Jews" (as Agobard entitles him). We cannot know whether the designation *magister Judaeorum* employed by the angered prelate was an official title. However, one thing is certain. The office must have been one of dignity and honor, as even the nettled churchman was forced to admit:

This would certainly not be necessary [writes Agobard to the officials at Court] if he who is the Jews' Master had given attention to what you instructed him to do. For if, following your order, he had conscientiously shown consideration for our office *as we wish to show him honor in his office*, there would be no need to cause injury by interrogation, except for enhancement of doctrine (emphasis added).¹⁶⁷

Scholars have disagreed widely over the nature of the office and authority wielded by the *magister Judaeorum*. Stobbe sees in him only a local official with limited authority. On the other hand, Wiegand agrees with Waitz and Simson that he was a court official entrusted with Jewish concerns throughout the empire. Aronius thinks that the master's powers were certainly more than local in scope, but that he stood under the control of higher officials. His own authority was not great since he could do nothing to Agobard, except threaten to summon the imperial commissioners. The executive order of the Emperor, Aronius points out, did not go to the Jews' *magister* but to the *missi* and to the viscount of the Lyons district. Aronius, moreover, identifies the Jews' *magister* with the merchants' master (*magister mercatorum*) mentioned in contemporary imperial documents, an imperial officer who protected the interests of all merchants, including (says Aronius) also those of Jewish merchants. Baron sees him as a high official specifically responsible for the effective implementation of Carolingian charters and decrees in behalf of the Jews. He controlled their fiscal

167. *Epistolae*, p. 165:34-39.

contributions and protected them when required. Baron doubts that he supervised all merchants.¹⁶⁸

Was now the *magister Judaeorum* a Jew? Both Waitz and Simson take him for one. Agobard's epithet *magister infidelium Judaeorum* is especially suggestive to Simson, who thinks however that the office may not have been permanent. Manitius identifies him as a rabbi. On the other hand, Graetz and Dubnow seem to agree that he was not a Jew. Aronius maintains an independent position and finds no need to conclude that the Jews' master was himself a Jew. He suggests that *magister Judaeorum* may not have been his official title and identifies him with the *magister mercatorum*, the merchants' master.¹⁶⁹

A single sentence of Agobard's forces upon us the conclusion that the master himself was a Jew learned and competent to render decisions in Jewish law. This inference arises out of the Bishop's charge that the Jews' *magister* did not wish to act reasonably in the very first encounter with the prelate: "Furthermore, in the suits of [vs.] the Jews, there would not be any contention or discord if he had wished to act reasonably (*rationabiliter*)."¹⁷⁰ This implies that the Master could have rendered a decision in the situation under dispute which (in Agobard's view) would have settled the entire matter—presumably by ruling that the Jews might accept the prelate's offer of compensation for the baptized slave. But he decided otherwise, as is clear from all that

168. O. Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, p. 198, note 3; F. Wiegand, "Agobard von Lyon," p. 246, note 93. G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III, 2nd ed., p. 549, note 3. B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, p. 396, note 4. J. Aronius, *Regesten*, no. 96, p. 40; no. 98, p. 41. Obviously, the Jews' *magister* had no authority over bishops, but he was able to act against Agobard *via the missi*.

On *magister mercatorum*, *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 37, p. 314. S. W. Baron favors the original reading *missus* over Zeumer's emendation to *magister* here; *History*, IV, p. 261, note 64; cf. p. 49; V, p. 63. For a summary of scholarly opinion, see also J. E. Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden*, pp. 252–54.

169. G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, IV, 2nd ed., p. 344. B. Simson, *ibid.*; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, I, pp. 382–83. H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, V, p. 241. S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, IV, p. 116. J. Aronius, *Regesten*, no. 96, p. 40; no. 98, p. 41.

170. Agobard complained, "Ceterum de causis Judeorum non esset ulla contentio aut discordia, si ille [magister Judeorum] rationabiliter agere voluisset"; *Epistolae*, p. 165:38–39.

followed. The *magister* must have taken the position that since the bondswoman was a Jewess, the Jewish law which forbids the sale of a proselyte slave to a gentile¹⁷¹ was binding in the given instance. No non-Jewish magistrate could have originated such a decision. From Agobard's complaint directed specifically against him, it appears that the Master did not simply accept the view of Jewish legal advisers but actually initiated judgment himself. He must have been a competent scholar in Jewish law. In consequence, we must conclude that the *magister* (*rabh* in Hebrew) was an authorized Jewish magistrate, in addition to functioning as an imperial official.

The Jews' Master was not insisting merely on the implementation of the law, canon and secular, his normal responsibility. At the time of his first encounter with the Bishop the imperial chancellery had not yet issued the mandate for Lyons Jewry which affirmed their right to block baptism of their slaves. This legislation (which is repeated and elaborated in the privilege for Rabbi Domatus) was a consequence of the dispute with Agobard; it makes explicit for the first time the relevance of the canon traced to the Synod of Gangra (Gangres), which forbade baptism as an inducement for manumission. The *magister Judaeorum*, consequently, was not insisting, in his first meeting with Agobard, on the enforcement of a nonexistent imperial law protecting Jewish slaves. Rather, he refused to waive the enforcement of the older capitulary guaranteeing the right to live by Jewish law. Their law forbade the Jews to sell their circumcised slaves to gentiles, a prohibition which he felt obligated to enforce. Presumably, it was he who was responsible for the imperial act which forbade Christians to baptize Judaized slaves, a regulation promulgated later in the mandate for Rabbi Domatus (the name of this *magister*?) and his nephew Samuel.

Another remark of the churchman appears to hint at the heavy religious tensions which bristled at this fateful first encounter. Had the Jews' master acted otherwise, exclaims Agobard in his *Consultatio* after briefly etching their clash, "there would be no need to cause injury by interrogation except for enhancement of [true] doctrine."¹⁷²

171. On the law of proselyte slaves in Judaism, see A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," p. 25.

172. ". . . nulla esset necessitas iniuriam facere interrogando, nisi propter augmen-

Agobard's writings, in association with contemporaneous legislation, permit the following summary of the duties and responsibilities of the Jews' Master. Whatever his official title, he was clearly the defender of the Jews' rights to the extent that imperial legislation defined and guaranteed them. It was very likely he who effected the change of venue from Lyons to the imperial palace, when the Bishop pressed his charges against the local Jews. In fact, they must have asked their *magister* to hasten to Lyons as soon as the conflict with the prelate became serious. In this first fateful meeting with the churchman, the Master insisted on the application of imperial statutes which granted Jews the right to live by their own law. He applied Jewish law to the situation under dispute. He thus denied to the Bishop of Lyons the opportunity to redeem a converted Jewish bondwoman. This was the critical decision in the whole affair, on which hinged everything that followed. After Agobard's failure and humiliation at court, it was doubtless the same *magister* who secured the charter for Lyons' Jewry.¹⁷³ When Agobard persisted in defying imperial edicts, we are told that he was warned by the Jews' master and Evrard, his successor, who conveyed to the prelate¹⁷⁴ Emperor Louis' indignation; and it was in all likelihood the same individual who finally instituted charges at court against the churchman. Now, one of Emperor Louis' diplomas actually names the individuals who registered complaint against those who persisted in baptizing Jewish slaves. They were Rabbi Domatus

tum doctrinae"; Agobard, p. 165:37-38. Agobard describes the encounter with the Jews' Master in very brief yet sharply pointed style. What transpired must have galled the Bishop not alone for personal but, even more, for theological reasons.

173. *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 31, p. 310.

174. The Jews' Master threatened to summon the *missi*, as Agobard reports, in order to sit in judgment on the Bishop of Lyons, presumably because the latter did not answer the summons to appear before the imperial court; *Epistolae*, p. 181: 35-37 (his warning): "... magister infidelium Iudeorum incessanter nobis comminetur se missos de palatio adducturum, qui pro istiusmodi rebus nos iudicent et dstringant." Later, the *magister* acted on his warning. Evrard and the *missi* actually arrived in Lyons with imperial orders against Agobard; *ibid.*, p. 182:31-35; p. 183: 8-10. Apparently, they intended, at the least, to make him stand trial on the charges preferred by the Jews of Lyons. He fled. They punished several individuals, according to the prelate's report.

(Nathan?) and his nephew Samuel.¹⁷⁶ It appears then possible that Rabbi Domatus was the *magister Judaeorum* who was not named by Agobard and who was succeeded shortly afterward by Evrard. In the Bishop's letter to Nimfrid (before early 828), he indicated that Evrard had but recently entered upon his duties as *magister Judaeorum*.¹⁷⁷ The puzzling failure of the imperial diploma to state Rabbi Domatus' residence and to locate him in Lyons—or, in fact, to associate him with the headship of any particular community—may now find its explanation. His authority as *magister Judaeorum* was not limited to a single community. It may have extended over a county or province and even over all the Jews in the empire of Louis le Débonnaire. His residence may have been at court in Aix-la-Chapelle. It did not need to be localized in the documents. Consequently, his name is also absent from the list of community leaders mentioned in the charter for Lyons' Jewry. Samuel was his chief assistant or associate. In 827 Emperor Louis sent three *missi* including a Donatus to the March of Spain to assist Bernard of Septimania in quelling a rebellion there.¹⁷⁷

The *rabbi-magister* was an imperial officer just as bishops were imperial officers and their episcopal office was an income-producing *honor* held from the emperor. In this capacity of imperial officer, the Jews' Master had the authority to summon other officials who were obligated to enforce imperial decisions on bishops. This obligation rested on the *missi*. As Schubert has stated, the administration of the church in the Frankish Empire was the prerogative of the king who acted through his *missi*, this power consisting of direct control over bishops and abbots.¹⁷⁸ The *magister Judaeorum* followed correct procedure when he arranged for the *missi* to call Agobard to account. This represented no impairment of his own authority, as Aronius has

175. *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 30, p. 309. For an instance of how exactly the Latin and Hebrew names corresponded see the record of 1011 on property holders in the neighborhood of Barcelona, one of whom was *Natanael* ("Given-of-God") *que vocant Dodatus ebreo*. *Dodatus* is obviously shortened from *Deodatus*; M. Schwab, J. Miret, "Le plus ancien document à present connu des Juifs catalans," *BRABLB*, VIII (1915), 231–32.

176. "Evrardus . . . qui Iudeorum nunc magister est"; *Epistolae*, p. 200:29–30.

177. B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, pp. 273–74.

178. H. v. Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, pp. 365, 560, 565.

suggested.¹⁷⁹ It was, doubtless, at his request that, after he had repeatedly warned the prelate, Emperor Louis' order went forth to Agobard and to the viscount of Lyons, as well as to the *missi* who proceeded to the churchman's see to hold court against him. The Bishop hints broadly that the Emperor never saw these orders.¹⁸⁰ Even if true, this need not imply bribery of chancery officials. It indicates the normalcy of a procedure which did not require the Emperor's personal intervention, and it shows the extent of recognition accorded to the authority of the *magister Judaeorum*.

One may assume that it was the duty of the *rabbi-magister* to enforce observance of Jewish law among his people. It was also his obligation to carry out imperial statutes regulating their commercial transactions, including for example the slave trade.¹⁸¹ In addition, the statutes required Jewish traders to render the Crown a biennial accounting and to deposit one-tenth of their net earnings in the imperial exchequer.¹⁸² We may assume that the duties of the Jews' Master certainly extended to the supervision and prompt payment of such fiscal obligations, which must also have entailed his issuing licenses and franchises to these merchants for the continued pursuit of their trade. The prominence of trade as an activity of Jewish communities in the Carolingian Age makes plausible Aronius' suggestion that there would be no point (and, we may add, it would lead to conflict ending in chaos) for them as Jews to be under the supervision of a *magister Judaeorum*, and as merchants under the jurisdiction of a *magister mercatorum*. Obviously, one individual supervised the activities of all Jews. Even if the *rabbi-magister* did not exercise authority over the minority of non-Jewish merchants as well, there is no overlooking the prelates' resolution in contemporaneous church councils to abolish judicial power by Jews over Christians.¹⁸³ Among the bitter complaints of Amolo (who

179. J. Aronius, *Regesten*, no. 96, p. 40; no. 98, p. 41.

180. *Epistolae*, p. 182:31-35; p. 183:3-5.

181. Slave transactions could take place only in the presence of an imperial officer or cleric; F. Wiegand, "Agobard von Lyon," p. 238.

182. *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 37, p. 314, dated 828.

183. *E.g.* the Council of Meaux 845, continued in Paris 846, called for a halt to the situation where Jews functioned as judges over Christians, served as tax farmers, and in other ways exercised authority over Christians. These decisions, part of a

inherited the mantle of Agobard in Lyons) against the Jews is that the toll collectors among them harass traders until they are forced "to deny Christ."¹⁸⁴

As an officer of the Crown (very likely entitled count), the *rabbi-magister* must have held an *honor* from the King which provided him with remuneration for his services by means of income from estates compatible with his station and extensive duties. Agobard implies that his public appearances were impressive, perhaps by virtue of the retinue and trappings of office which accompanied him in the performance of his official duties. Additional information about the nasi as protector and protagonist of his people may be gleaned from the description of William's activities in the *Vita S. Willelmi* (B).¹⁸⁵

Certain of the functions of the *rabbi-magister* of ninth-century Frankia bear a resemblance to those of the renowned Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut a century later in Cordovan Spain, who was physician to Caliph 'Abd ar-Raḥman III, served as Director of the Department of Customs, played a leading role in foreign diplomacy, and was an intimate of the Caliph's court.¹⁸⁶

In his much-discussed letter to the King of the Khazars, Ḥisdai describes the vast income of his sovereign and his own participation in the Caliph's fiscal and diplomatic affairs in these words:

Each year, his income which passes through my office totals 100,000 gold denars. This is his fixed annual income, its source being the numerous

long list of more than eighty resolutions, were proposed by the clergy who quoted them directly out of older legislation. It is indicative of the sharp tension between clerical and lay lords at the time, and also of the support of King Charles the Bald for the Jews, that the Diet at Epernay in 846 accepted only nineteen of the Meaux-Paris recommendations. Not a single one was anti-Jewish; A. Boretius, V. Krause (eds.), *Capitularia*, II, 2, p. 417:28-29; p. 388; cf. C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, ed. Leclercq, IV, part 2, p. 127. F. Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, VIII, pt. 1, opines these had no validity since they were never previously legislated in Frankland, p. 250.

184. Amolo, *Liber contra Judaeos*, PL, CXVI, col. 170 bottom-171 top.

185. Bishop Agobard declared he was prepared to accord him honor in his office; *Epistolae*, p. 165:36-37. On William see this work, p. 214. Cf. pp. 250-52.

186. E. Ashtor, *Ḳorot haYehudim biSefarad haMuslimit* (History of the Jews in Muslim Spain), I, pp. 114-17, 126; Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I, pp. 29-30, 46.

merchants who come here from all lands and islands. And everything affecting their trade and everything touching their own person proceeds only by my hand and at my word. Thanks and praise be to God who recompenses me out of His great mercies. On learning of his greatness and power, the kings of the world constantly send him gifts and beseech his presence with offerings and precious objects. Among these are the King of Germany, the King of the Gebalim who are the Saqlab, the King of Byzantium and other kings. Through my hands their offerings pass, and through my hands their return gifts go forth.¹⁸⁷

At the same time that Ḥisdai was thus involved at the Caliph's court, supervising the trade of all merchants (obviously including non-Jews) and involved in diplomatic activities and foreign relations, he served also as the Head of the Jews in Cordovan Spain. A competent scholar in Jewish law, he functioned as their chief justice and appointed local judges.¹⁸⁸ Later generations, if not his own, entitled him Nasi.¹⁸⁹ Ḥisdai was also a military strategist.¹⁹⁰

With respect to fiscal and commercial duties at court, and the jurisdiction over Jewry, the *rabbi-magister* of the Carolingian Age

187. The relevant sources on Ḥisdai are collected in Ph. Luzzatto, *Notice sur Abou-Iousouf Hasdai Ibn-Shaprut*. Although scholars are divided in their judgment on the authenticity of parts of Ḥisdai's letter to the King of the Khazars, there appears to be agreement on the originality of that section, quoted above in the text, which describes Ḥisdai's duties at the Court of the Caliph; Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews*, pp. 29–30, 46, 382, doubts the letter's authenticity. Yet Baer thinks it possible that Ḥisdai had supervision of the collection of port tolls and customs. Cf. Ph. Luzzatto, *Notice*, pp. 16–17, 55, 58. Most recently, Dunlop has argued for the authenticity of Ḥisdai's letter; D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, (Princeton 1954), pp. 125–44. Cf. E. Ashtor, *Ḳorot haYehudim*, I, pp. 142–43, 145.

188. Ḥisdai's powers as chief justice of the Jews, Ph. Luzzatto, *Notice*, pp. 27, 59.

189. Ḥisdai's contemporaries entitled him *Rosh Kallah* (Head of the Assembly), a title conferred perhaps by the academies in Babylonia; *ibid.*, pp. 24, 27, 29, 65, 67; J. Mann, "Gaonic Studies," *HUC Jubilee Volume*, pp. 252–57. Ḥisdai traced his descent to Moses, not to David; Ph. Luzzatto, *Notice*, p. 61. No contemporaneous source entitles him Nasi.

190. Luzzatto is unable to accept very clear and vivid statements about Ḥisdai's military prowess. He takes these as only metaphorical allusions to his diplomatic skill; *Notice*, pp. 65–70. However, see Ch. E. Schirmann, *HaShirah haIvrit biSefarad u-baProvence* (Hebrew Poetry in Spain and the Provence), I, pt. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 38: 40–42; 40.

appears to have been an earlier counterpart of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut. Affairs must have kept him close to the court in Aix-la-Chapelle when he was not travelling the empire in pursuit of his duties. Yet his ancestral estates might nevertheless have lain in Narbonne, just as other imperial officials held their abbacies and bishoprics often a considerable distance from court. His representatives or members of his family might administer his personal affairs in Narbonne and function under his supervision in various lands while he pursued his official responsibilities on a national scale wherever they might take him from his workcenter at the imperial court. Relevant here is the description in the "Appendix" of *ShK*, drawn from an older history of the Jewish Nasi of Narbonne:

This Prince (*nasi*) Makhir became chieftain there [Narbonne]. He and his descendants were related to the King [Charlemagne] and all his descendants. Any one who came to molest him over his hereditary land-holdings or his high office (*kavod*, *i.e.* honor) was himself molested by power of the King of France. For as soon as the King is advised, he commands to right the wrong and immediately is his command done and none may revoke it, for Narbonne is under the hand of France.

The people of Israel "in all the lands" (of Frankia and, perhaps, of the Carolingian Empire) recognized his rule and accepted his jurisdiction, which were exercised apparently through local members of the Jewish royal house:

Furthermore, he [Makhir] and his dynasty were among the leaders of their time, rulers and judges in all the lands, virtual exilarchs, shepherding Israel with faithfulness and skill.¹⁹¹

191. *MJC*, I, pp. 82-83. For text see Appendix III of this study.

S. D. Goitein has described the powers and functions of the *Peqid ha-Soharim*, the Officer (Trustee) of the Merchants, a Jewish community official who emerges in the sources of the early eleventh century. He played a focal role in the Jewish communities of the time, especially in North Africa. He represented the Jewish merchants at various governmental courts, sold and bought for foreign merchants and also for local traders. He served as a shipping agent, banker who paid out funds on order against previously placed deposits, and functioned as post office. He made available a warehouse where most of the more important trading took place. The Officer of the Merchants (in Arabic, *Wakil*) was not only the supervisor of traders local and foreign. He was the executive officer of the Jewish community,

wielding extensive powers over Jews, and was frequently entitled *Nasi* or *Nagid*. Goitein suggests that the *Peqid ha-Soharim* may be the precursor of the Consuls of Italian trading colonies overseas; S. D. Goitein, "From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia, and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Speculum*, XXIX, part 1 (1954), pp. 189 ff.; cf. *idem*, "What Would Jewish and General History Benefit by a Systematic Publication of the Documentary Geniza Papers?" *PAAJR*, XXIII (1954), p. 33.

On the tendency to invert names within a family such as Waldbert/Bertwald, Gauzhelm/Helmgauz and thereby identify a brother/brother or father/son relationship, see K. F. Werner, "Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen," *Karl der Grosse*, I, ed. H. Beumann, pp. 96, 103-05. Heribert, the name of William's son at his side in Barcelona, is clearly a variant of Everard, the Jews' master named by Agobard.

Bernard of Septimania, Nasi and Imperial Chamberlain

It is likely that the March of Spain was established as a military government following the capture of Barcelona in 803. At first the entire complex of counties south of the Pyrenees was added to Septimania and the Toulousain and given over to the command of Duke William of Toulouse. At the time he already governed a vast area that extended from the Rhone to the Albères of the Pyrenees, from Nîmes to Roussillon inclusive; there was now added the new Catalan dependency comprising the counties of Gerona, Vich (Ausona), Urgel, Pallars, Ribagorza, and Barcelona.¹ This entire domain corresponded roughly to the realm which the *Gesta* has Charlemagne cede to Aymeri.² In 817 the March of Toulouse separated from Septimania as did also the March of Spain; each district was placed in command of a separate duke or marquis. The Mediterranean littoral from the Rhone to the

1. J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrénées*, pp. 16-17; cf., however, A. de la Torre, "La Reconquista en el Pirineo," pp. 24-31. He finds that "March of Spain" is not mentioned in the documents before 821.

2. *Gesta*, ed. F. Ed. Schneegans, p. 190:2472-89. See this study Appendix I, p. 381.

Ebro, with the hinterland, constituted a military frontier government of which, according to Calmette, Barcelona became the capital.³ Dhondt suggests that the March existed as a military organization distinct from Septimania already during the reign of Charlemagne.⁴

Calmette distinguishes between *Marca hispanica* ("Spanish March," "March of Spain") located along the northern frontier of Spain and, on the other hand, *Hispania*, the peninsula proper.⁵ Early medieval Hebrew makes a similar distinction: *Ispamia* is apparently the equivalent of *Marca hispanica* and may include at its broadest extent both Barcelona and Narbonne; while *Sefarad* designates the rest of the peninsula.⁶ The March of Spain was Frank, not Muslim, territory; its inhabitants were called *Gothi* in contradistinction to *Hispani*, who were Christians living under Muslim domination. Even after these emigrated to Frankia they remained *Hispani*. Jews as inhabitants of the March of Spain (later Gotholania, Catalonia) and, by extension, of Septimania (later known as *Gothia*) might also properly be called *Gothi*. These terms connoted a population inhabiting that geographical area, and not necessarily an ethnic or a religious community. This of course blurred the distinction between Jews and non-Jews in the documents. On occasion the chroniclers may have intended this con-

3. J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrénées*, pp. 16-17.

4. J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance*, p. 182.

5. J. Calmette, "Le sentiment national," *Mélanges . . . F. Lot*, pp. 103-04.

6. On the Hebrew usage, it is reported of Isaac the Exilarch that he died in *Sefarad* (Spain) between Cordova and *Ispamia*; B. M. Lewin, *Otzar haGeonim*, I, p. 19. A very similar statement appears in *Sefer haIttim* of Judah b. Barzilai, ed. J. Schor, "Introduction," pp. x-xi, note 5; 267. Cf. Talmud b. Yebhamot 115b; H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, V, p. 416, locates these regions in the East. On the other hand *Seder Rabh Amram* (Amram was Gaon of Sura 857-71) equates *Sefarad* and *Ispamia*, ed. D. Hedegård, p. 2; as does also *Seder Olam Zutta*, composed 805-06 (Prague 1795), p. 25. See also this study pp. 317 ff.

In seventh-century Merovingian Gaul, *Hyspanica* described the area of Visigothic Septimania; Alfred Jacobs, *Géographie de diplômes mérovingiens* (Paris, 1862), p. 12, and *idem*, "Note sur le commerce en Gaule au temps de Dagobert," *Revue archéologique*, n.s. IV (September, 1861), 192, quoted by L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher . . . unter König Pippin*, p. 67, note 4.

For other references to *Ispamia*, A. A. Harkavy, "Collecting the Scattered" (Hebrew), II, no. 1, K; supplement to *HaShahar*, X (1900), 1-4.

fusion deliberately. But in consequence it becomes extremely difficult to identify Jews who are designated *Gothi* in the century distinguished by the leadership of Makhir, his son William, grandson Bernard, and great-grandsons William and Bernard.⁷

The first duke or marquis of the March of Spain, now detached from the Toulousain, was Bera said to be a Goth and perhaps a son of William of Toulouse and Gellone. He was accused of treason by Sanila, also a Goth, had to defend himself in a trial by combat, and lost his office. In 820 Bera, exiled to Rouen, was replaced in the March of Spain by Rampo, who in turn was succeeded by Bernard, a son of Duke William of Toulouse and a cousin of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire. In Dhondt's view Bernard had no legal title to any region beyond the March of Spain; in Septimania he was "a usurper."⁸

7. Dhondt notes that the Carolingian kings who rarely appointed non-Franks to comital office acted differently in the southeast, especially in Septimania. A number of "Spanish" comital families played a very important role in that region but exercised such functions nowhere else. Certain counties were virtually reserved for them namely, Ampurias, Razès, Urgel, and Carcassès, where the rules of hereditary succession applied more strictly than anywhere else in the Frank Empire; J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance*, pp. 206-08. Paschase Radbert, *Ex Vita Walae Abbatis Corbeiensis, Epitaphium Arsenii*, MGH, SS II, § 7, p. 551, says of Bernard of Septimania that he was summoned (to office) from the Spains, *vocatus est ab Spaniis*, clearly a reference to the March of Spain. Paul Albar, a Christian of Jewish descent, resident in Cordova boasts of his "Goth" lineage, *Epistolario de Alvaro de Cordoba*, ed. J. Madoz, Epistle XX, pp. 280-81.

In a communication addressed to the "Barcelonians" Emperor Charles designates *Judas hebreus fidelis noster* as *fidelem meum Juda cot* (the Goth?), *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve*, ed. G. Tessier, II (861-77), no. 417, pp. 431-32; see this study, pp. 342-43, and also p. 192, note 39. The photograph reproduced by J. Calmette does not permit the determination whether or not *Juda cot* may be read as a single word or two because of the writer's tendency to run his words together. "Une lettre close originale de Charles le Chauve," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXII (1902), Plate IV after p. 345. Bernard (Makhir) of Auvergne is entitled "Prince of the Goths" in 878; see this study, pp. 355-56.

8. J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance*, pp. 183-84. He dates Rampo at the least during the period 817-26; *ibid.*, p. 177. Dhondt believes the first reference to March of Spain in the territorial sense is dated 821; *ibid.*, p. 180. He says March of Spain was a military unit distinct from Septimania since the reign of Charlemagne, p. 182; J. Calmette, *La Question*, pp. 18, 22; *idem*, "Le sentiment national," *Mélanges . . . F. Lot*, p. 103. Bera exiled to Rouen in 820, *Vita Hludowici*, § 33, p. 625:22-27;

Bernard was the most illustrious, but to some of his contemporaries the most notorious, son of William of Toulouse and Gellone. In court circles he was called *Naso*, not so much as a complimentary recollection of Ovid but rather, as Dümmler assumes, in consequence of a prominent nose. Calmette accepts this explanation because the medieval epics refer consistently to his father as "William of the curved (or, clipped) nose." It could of course not occur to either scholar that the distinctive appellation of both father and son originated with the Hebrew title *Nasi* "Prince (of the Jews)." Bernard's relentless enemy Paschase Radbert stigmatizes Bernard as "that villain Naso summoned (to office) from the Spains," presumably a reference to Bernard's association with the Spanish March. At court the name was given the derogatory twist which Dümmler, Calmette, and others have noted.⁹

A contemporary stamps Bernard as of-royal stock and an adoptive son of Emperor Louis, his godfather. His royal lineage can perhaps be explained by his descent from Alda, a grandmother, who was a sister of King Pepin. Chaume rejects this explanation.¹⁰ But as a grandson of Makhir-Theodoric he was also a scion of the Hebrew royal house of David.¹¹ His mother is assumed to have been Guiburc (Witburg) whom the *chansons* designate consistently as of non-Christian origin "from beyond the sea." He was probably the youngest son of William and Guiburc.¹² The date of his birth is unknown. It is not necessary to assume that Guiburc must have been dead at the time of William's charter for Gellone, dated 804, on the grounds that the foundation was in memory of the persons named therein. However, since Bernard

B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, p. 157; son of William, see this text, pp. 191, 197. Bernard was Count of Poitou December 22, 825; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 94-95.

9. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 2. Paschase Radbert, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, § 7, § 15, pp. 551, note 1, 561; cf. B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, p. 338, note 6. On "Naso" as the poet Modoin, J. Flickenstein in *Karl der Grosse*, I, 44.

10. "... (Bernard) erat de stirpe regali"; Thegan, *Vita Hludowici Imp.*, *MGH*, SS II, p. 597:21-22, § 36. L'Abbé Chaume denies that descent from Alda could have conferred royal lineage, "Études carolingiennes," I, 41.

11. See this study, pp. 119-20. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 14.

12. *Le Manuel de Dhuoda*, ed. Ed. Bondurand, Chapter lxxii, p. 237.

married Dhuoda in the imperial palace at Aix-la-Chapelle on June 25, 824,¹³ he was born in all likelihood about 805–06. Bernard and the learned Dhuoda had two sons. The elder, William, obviously named after his grandfather, was born November 29, 826; to him his doting mother addressed her famous *Manual*. Dhuoda's *Manual*, at least in its present form, is a pious Christian document. Their only other known child was also named Bernard. He was born at Uzès, his mother's residence, on March 22, 841.¹⁴ To her older son Dhuoda relates that before her new-born infant could be baptized her husband ordered his son to be brought to him in Aquitaine (presumably for circumcision on the eighth day of his birth). It is surprising that the "Bishop" Elefant, who carried out Bernard's order, did not baptize the infant. At the time she began to write her *Manual*, eight months¹⁵

13. *Ibid.*, praefatio, p. 52. On Dhuoda as sister or sister-in-law of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, see this work, p. 122.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–53. However, her *Manual* appears to be grossly interpolated. A scribe Gilbert names himself and claims great effort in the writing of the tract: "Qui legis, ora pro prescripta Duodane et pro scriptore Wislaberto, qui magno labore hunc codicem scripsit manualem" (in MS P); *ibid.*, p. 249 and note 13. Vernet reports the find of a new manuscript of Dhuoda's *Manual* in Barcelona (MS 569, Biblioteca central, fol. 57–88v) transcribed in the fourteenth century and closely related to, but independent of, the ninth-century Nîmes manuscript used by Bondurand; A. Vernet, "Un nouveau manuscrit du 'Manuel' de Dhuoda (Barcelone, Biblioteca central 569)," *BEC*, CXIV (Paris, 1957), 18–44. He reports a forthcoming edition by P. Riché, which has not yet appeared. Bondurand based his edition on a collation of the Nîmes MS with a seventeenth-century Paris MS.

15. "Etenim parvulum illum, antequam baptismatis accepisset gratiam, dominus et genitor utriusque vestrum Bernardus, una cum Elefanto, praedictae civitatis [Uzetiae] episcopo, et cum caeteris fidelibus suis, in Aquitaniae partibus ad suam fecit adduci praesentiam"; *Le Manuel*, praefatio, p. 53. "Fratremque tuum parvulum, cujus modo inscia sum nominis"; *ibid.*, Chap. vii, p. 71. She pleads with her older boy to rear and love his younger brother and to read her *Manual* with him—the present text adds—when once he has become baptized (!): "cum baptismatis in Christo acceperit gratiam"; *ibid.* Dhuoda wrote her *Manual* in the period November 30, 841–February 2, 843; *ibid.*, pp. 264–66. At least eight months after his birth, Dhuoda implies, the infant is still unbaptized. It is not clear why baptism should be a prerequisite to reading her *Manual*. Is this a remark of the scribe Gilbert?

On Dhuoda see also P. Riché, "Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens," *MA*, LXIX (1963), 87–104.

later, Dhuoda still did not know the name of her younger son (Bernard). Bernard of Septimania, the father, was executed by Charles the Bald in 844. His line died out with the passing of his sons who left no known Jewish offspring.¹⁶

Bernard may be mentioned fleetingly as Count of Poitou in a document of Pepin I, King of Aquitaine dated December 22, 825. *Vita A* relates that William turned over his counties and other properties to his sons (Bernard and Gothselm). By 827 the *Vita Hludowici* and Einhard's *Annals* designate Bernard Count of Barcelona. His predecessor is thought to have been Rampo, who may have succeeded Bera. Dhondt sees in Bernard also the Count of Gerona-Besalú, Maguelonne, probably Ampurias, and Uzès where his wife resided; and Count of Autun as successor of his uncle Theodwin. Calmette adds Razès.¹⁷

As Count of Barcelona Bernard was catapulted into fame by his courageous, energetic, and unaided defense of that town against the Goth rebel Aizo, who was allied with the Saracens. As Aizo's revolt spread to dangerous proportions Bernard asked for reinforcements at court. His request was received icily. Only from Aquitaine did an army, under command of Hugh of Tours and Matfred of Orléans, move to the rescue, but at a snail's pace. It arrived too late for effective aid. Bernard nevertheless succeeded in holding Barcelona and even repelled a second attack launched soon thereafter. The procrastination of the Aquitaine commanders stirred a scandal. In 827 three *missi* were dispatched from court to investigate, Helisachar, Hildebrand, and Donat. In February 828 the dallying generals were condemned to death but the sentence was commuted.¹⁸

16. See this text, pp. 314-15, 337-38.

17. According to L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 94, Bernard of Septimania is referred to as Count Bernard in *Recueil des actes de Pépin*, ed. L. Levillain, no. 5, p. 16:14 and p. 18:6, dated December 22, 825. Ardo Smaragd, *Vita Benedicti*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH*, SS XV, pt. 1, § 30, p. 213:11-12. *Vita Hludowici*, § 41, p. 630; § 43, p. 632. *Annales Regni Francorum . . . et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, anno 829, p. 177. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 28; J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 23, 178.

18. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, pp. 29-33. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne de Charles le Chauve*, p. 3. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 95. Dhondt notes that the defense of the Spanish frontier was not the obligation of the Marquis of Toulouse or Septimania but of the Pyrenean and trans-Pyrenean counts, *Études*,

In 829, toward the end of the Diet at Worms, Emperor Louis, compelled to parry gathering resentment against himself, and, apparently, spurning the plea of the bishops,¹⁹ summoned Bernard to court as his *camerarius*. In this office Bernard, while retaining his post as Count of Barcelona, exercised a decisive influence on imperial affairs. His brother Gaucelm temporarily received the March of Gothia and the counties Roussillon, Gerona, and Ampurias.²⁰

p. 180. A Rabbi Domatus appears in the mandate of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire dated ca. 825, *Formulae*, ed., K. Zeumer, no. 30, p. 309:4. For a somewhat different chronology of Aizo's revolt, see B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, pp. 273–77.

19. Perhaps because they were apprised of his intentions the bishops pleaded earnestly with Emperor Louis to exercise the utmost caution in the appointment of aids and ministers who, in his place, would rule and judge "God's people"; *Capitularia*, II, part 2, eds. A. Boretius and V. Krause, no. 196, pp. 48–49, § 59. C. J. Hefele associates the demands of the bishops at Worms with the elevation of Bernard to the office of royal chamberlain and protector of the infant Charles, *Histoire des Conciles*, IV, 1, pp. 77–78.

20. "Statuit contra eos quasi quoddam propugnaculum erigere. Nam Bernardum Hispaniarum partium et limitum comitem camerae suae praefecit"; *Vita Hludowici*, II, § 43, p. 632. "Bernardum comitem Barcinonae qui eatenus in marca Hispanica praesidebat, camerarium in palatio praefecit"; *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Fr. Kurze, p. 177; cf. *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Fr. Kurze, p. 26, anno 829.

"Bernardum quendam, ducem Septimaniae, pater in supplementum sibi sumens, camerarium constituit Karolumque eidem commendavit ac secundum a se in imperio praefecit"; Nithard, *Historia*, ed. Ph. Lauer, I, § 3, p. 10. J. Calmette, "Gaucelme, Marquis de Gothie sous Louis le Pieux," *AdM*, XVIII (1906), 169; cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 107, note 17; J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 178, 183. K. F. Werner says that the form Gauz—as the first part of a man's name—appears in Romance areas as the equivalent of Wald in Germanic areas. Thus Gauzfred is not to be read Gottfried, but is the equivalent of Waldfred. He also gives several examples of the tendency to invert names which appear in the same family, such as Waldbert/Bertwald, Gauzhelm/Helmgauz. This can help to identify a brother/brother or father/son relationship; K. F. Werner, "Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen," *Karl der Grosse*, I, ed. H. Beumann, pp. 96, 103–05. This may help to identify Heribert, the name of William's son who fought with him at Barcelona, as a variant of Everard whom Bishop Agobard named as the Jews' master. In 830 Heribert fell into the hands of Lōthar King of Italy who blinded him (see this text pp. 228, 271), perhaps as punishment for his action against Agobard. The office of Nasi, now open, appears to have been filled by Bernard the Imperial chamberlain.

The duties of chamberlain were varied and highly significant. He was in charge of the treasury, the *camera*, into which flowed the annual gifts to the Crown. Here under supervision of the Queen were kept also all the royal jewels and ornaments. The *camerarius* had charge of all imperial possessions, and administered the royal household and the villas. His was the most highly regarded office at court. Simson sees in Bernard's appointment a reversion to the *Major domo* of the Merovingians.²¹ Radbert, a sharp antagonist, declares he was "entrenched in royal power."²² He also came into possession of considerable family property "by way of legitimate inheritance" from parents and relatives;²³ he held fiefs in various places. After the Emperor, a contemporary reports, Bernard was second in the realm. At the time of his death Septimania was known as a "kingdom."²⁴ Instead of calming the gathering storm Bernard's appointment set off an explosion.

21. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 39. E. Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern* (Stuttgart, 1896), p. 252. B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, pp. 333-34; Bernard became the leading statesman, actually regent, the financial administration of the office enhancing its importance.

22. P. Radbert, *Ex Vita Walae seu Epitaphium Arsenii*, § 9, p. 553: "... munitus potestate regia."

23. Dhuoda, *Manual*, ed. Ed. Bondurand, Chapter lxi, p. 212.

24. Nithard, *Historia*, I, § 3, ed. Ph. Lauer, p. 10: "Bernardum . . . secundum a se in imperio praefecit." The *Second after the King* is, without doubt, the First after the Ruler in actuality, according to Volkmann whose sources are all drawn from antiquity but whose conclusions have relevance for the Latin usage of the ninth century. The *secundus a rege* is an exact translation of *δεύτερος μετά τὸν βασιλέα*, Hans Volkmann, "Der Zweite nach dem König," *Philologus*, *ZfdKA*, XCII (1937-38, NF XLVI), pp. 286, 297-98; cf. G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III, pp. 502 f.; for a description of the role of chamberlain, see Hincmar, *De Ordine Palatii*, ed. M. Prou, BEHE, LVIII, pp. 56-58. Bernard's father William is designated *Second after the King* in the *Vita B*, p. 214 of this text.

In his introduction to *De judaicis superstitionibus*, Agobard complains about the imperial *missi* and the *magister Judaeorum* Everard who acted against him ostensibly in the name of the Emperor, but they surely proceeded and acted only in name of another (emphasis added). If H. Graetz is correct in his dating of Agobard's tract after 829 this may be an oblique reference to Bernard and his role at court; *Geschichte*, V, p. 40. As already noted, at the Assembly in Worms where Emperor Louis appointed Bernard, the bishops of the realm urged him to exercise most adroit foresight in his selection of counsellors and ministers. "They can then be true and vigilant counsellors and true aids of yours and of the entire realm in a

Before the ascension of Bernard, the ruling clique at court had centered around Wala (married to Bernard's half-sister Rolinde) and included Hilduin, Agobard of Lyons, Bertmund Count of Lyons, Helisachar Abbot of St. Richarius, Count Matfred of Orléans, and Hugh of Tours. This group aligned itself against Judith, the beautiful young queen of Emperor Louis, and her claim for equal rights in behalf of their son Charles. The division of the empire of 817 had provided for the imperial authority to descend eventually upon Louis' eldest son Lothar, and for the two younger king-brothers to become his vassals subordinate to him as rulers of marches not kingdoms. There was to be one empire. The addition of a third brother-vassal would not have materially altered the relationship, and at first Lothar agreed to recognize the claim of the infant Charles. But in consequence of the urging of Wala and his company, especially Matfred and Hugh, Lothar withdrew his assent. The conflict that developed between Judith and her antagonists raged on with increasing fury; frequently it broke out into the open.²⁵

From the start it was clear that Bernard's role and destiny would ally him with the young Queen and her infant son Charles. For just as Meginarius and then William had been entrusted with the care of the young Louis, so now Bernard the *camerarius* was assigned as protector of the infant Charles.²⁶ Immediately on taking office Bernard swept the palace clean of the former ruling clique and replaced them with others friendly to his cause: his brother Heribert (Everard?), cousin Eudo of Orléans, and Judith's brothers the Welfs Conrad and Rudolf.

wholesome way, if they are of one mind and enjoy mutual affection"; *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius and V. Krause, no. 196, pp. 48-49. Shortly after Bernard's execution King Charles made reference to the "Kingdom of Septimania," *regni Septimaniae*; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, p. 120:15.

25. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, pp. 43-44. However, Charles' territory was taken from Lothar's possessions; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, p. 329.

26. On Meginarius, see *Vita Hludowici*, § 7, p. 611:5-9; for William, J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrénées*, p. 14.

"Ad quod Bernardum . . . camerarium constituit Karolumque eidem commendavit"; Nithard, *Historia*, ed. Ph. Lauer, I, § 3, p. 10. B. Simson sees Bernard as Judith's choice, because determined and daring, to carry through to successful conclusion her bold program, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, p. 330.

A howl of pain and anger arose. Paschase Radbert (writing after 843) attacks Bernard as *tyrannus Naso*. He bewails Verdun but finds nothing so unfortunate as the day when "that villain Naso was summoned (to office) from the Spains." To Paschase, the chamberlain was a manifest Antichrist with his evil deeds.²⁷

Bernard's eventual overthrow and his opponents' resurgence to power probably account in part for the fact that the extant sources are invariably antagonistic to him. Hilduin edited the *Annales Einhardi* for the years 820–29 guided by his personal biases. He was the arch-chaplain since 818 and the *Annals* were the official court records. Hilduin was a friend of Wala's, of the Chancellor Helisachar, and of Matfred Count of Orléans, and joined them as a partisan of Lothar's revolt of 830. Hilduin was hostile to Judith, to Bernard of Septimania, and the young Charles. Hilduin's successor continued these *Annals* as the *Annales Bertiniani* in loyal devotion to Emperor Louis until 835. Then the Spaniard Prudence (Galindo), later Bishop of Troyes, assumed the chronicler's task, at first with polite regard for Louis. After 853 he dropped such courtly concerns, and in 855 he declared candidly that under the regime of Charles the Bald much happened with the King's knowledge which stood in contradiction to Christian religion. His changed orientation to the court paralleled the rise of Frank episcopal strength. At the death of Prudence, Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, a leading antagonist of the Jews, assumed his mantle.²⁸

Modern scholars are far less unanimous about formulating a critical appraisal of Count Bernard than were those of his contemporaries

27. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 50. P. Radbert, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH*, SS II, § 7, p. 551; § 9, p. 554:29—"Acsi antichristus cum suis maleficiis apparuisset."

28. G. Monod, "Hilduin et les Annales Einhardi," *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 64–65. Monod gives examples of Hilduin's editorializing. On Prudence, Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen*, ed. H. Löwe, pp. 348–49. His continuator did not treat Bernard fairly; J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, pp. 48, 54–59. Radbert did not dare be completely outspoken. He was not an intimate of the closest political circles and reveals his subjective attitude; *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen*, ed. H. Löwe, p. 343. L. Malbos concludes that for the period 819–29 Hilduin served alternately with Abbot Helisachar as editor of the *Annales royales*, "L'annaliste royal sous Louis le Pieux," *MA*, LXXII (1966), 225–33.

whose writings have come down to us. Calmette accuses Paschase Radbert of falsification of fact in order to promote his own interests. F. Lot charges Calmette with partiality in favor of Bernard.²⁹ The drive to destroy Bernard did not limit itself to merely literary means. Wala, married to Bernard's half-sister Rolinde, plotted Bernard's downfall from the monastery at Corbie where he had taken refuge. He circulated rumors that Bernard was guilty of adulterous relations with the young and pretty Queen; Bishop Agobard, Paschase, and Thegan recorded these reports for posterity. Wala also accused Bernard of casting a magic spell over Emperor Louis. Corbie became a center of spreading intrigue. Under pretext of rescuing the Emperor, the former ruling clique issued a call to rebellion. The conspirators advised Louis' sons of the alleged adultery and accused Bernard of plotting to do away with them and usurping the realm. They warned that in the event of failure he planned to carry Judith off "to Spain." They promised Louis' older sons aggrandisement of lands, presumably at the expense of Bernard of Septimania.³⁰ To forestall insurrection Bernard mobilized the army allegedly for a campaign against the Bretons in the spring of 830. But this mobilization during Lent provoked such a storm of resentment that it only added support to the revolt which soon burst upon the palace. Pepin King of Aquitaine took the lead. Louis sent Judith for safety to the Convent of St. Marie de Laon; Bernard he despatched to Barcelona. The conspirators forced Louis to dismiss Bernard and to restore their rights, Lothar again becoming associate emperor in April 830. He condemned Bernard's brother

29. F. Lot, review of J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, MA, XVII (1904), 148-50; F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne de Charles le Chauve*, p. 1, note 2, p. 73. Cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 98-106.

30. Thegan, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, § 36, p. 597:20-21, § 44, p. 633. P. Radbert, *Epitaphium*, § 7, p. 551, § 10, p. 555, § 11, p. 558, cf. § 8. These rumors found an echo in the later fable which identified Charles the Bald as Bernard's son and discovered in him his presumed father's features; Odo Ariberti, "Narratio de morte Bernhardi," ed. Bouquet, *Recueil*, VII, p. 286, cited by J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 109. P. Radbert, *Epitaphium*, § 10, p. 555. Since Bernard was married to Dhuoda at the time his elopement with Judith would have involved him also in bigamy. Cf. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 6, 7. B. Simson assembles the sources and analyzes the charges against Judith and Bernard but reaches no decision as to their credibility, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, pp. 336-40.

Heribert to death but commuted the penalty to blinding and then exiled him to Italy. Other *fideles* of the Emperor he placed in custody. Nevertheless, the victory was ephemeral. Louis regained control and put down the rebellion. The Diet at Aix in 831 restored Judith, punished Wala and his accomplices, deprived Lothar of the imperial title, and undertook a new partition of the empire. As might have been anticipated, Pepin became associate emperor in place of his brother Lothar. But out of regard for Bernard it was decided to exclude Septimania from Pepin's realm and, instead, to invest Judith with the direction of affairs there. Thereby, Bernard remained in direct subjection to none but the imperial office. Toward the end of 831 Bernard was completely reinstated. He returned from refuge in the Spanish March and at the Diet of Thionville exculpated himself of all blame. But Louis and Judith appear to have hesitated to confer on such a controversial personality all his former powers. The monk Gundowald replaced Bernard as second in the realm.³¹

Subsequent events forced Bernard into loggerheads with his emperor. Pepin of Aquitaine revolted against his father 831-2 but was compelled

31. Cf. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 6, 7. Bernard offered to take on in armed combat "in the manner of the Franks" any one who would come forward to accuse him of indiscretions with Judith. When no one did he cleared himself by an oath; Thegan, *Vita*, p. 598:11-14, § 38. Cf. B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, pp. 11-13. At the Diet of Thionville there appeared a legation from Baghdad consisting of two Muslims and one Christian and renewed the friendly relationships with the Carolingian court; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, pp. 11-13. The removal of Bernard from power was a major objective of the revolt against Louis: "ut illum (*sc.* imperatorem) de regno eicerent et novercam suam perderent ac Bernardum interficerent. Quod praefatus Bernardus sentiens, fuga lapsus Barcinonam pervenit." Heribert blinded: *Annales Bertiniani*, anno 830, p. 2. Then Heribert was sent to Italy, Nithard, *Historia*, ed. Lauer, I, § 3, p. 10.

In fact, Bernard was the cause of the rebellion; the magnates did not want him at court: "commotio contra imperatorem a primoribus Francorum in Compendio exorta propter Bernhardum, quem in palatio esse noluerunt. Quo inde depulso atque fugato in gratiam cum eo redierunt . . ." *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Fr. Kurze, anno 830, p. 26. The assent of pope and bishops effected the restoration of Judith; J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 71. Was the replacement of Bernard by a cleric one of the conditions? The division of the Empire, *Capitularia*, II, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, no. 194, pp. 20-24.

to submit. He promised to take up residence in Francia and to give constant evidence of good behavior. At the same time Bernard was charged with infidelity and deprived of his *honores*, presumably because he had acted in concert with Pepin. He was stripped of the office of chamberlain and divested of the County of Barcelona. Count Berengar of Toulouse replaced him in the Marquisate of Septimania. Bernard's brother Gothselm was also dismissed and Berengar assumed rule over the counties of Roussillon, Ampurias, and Gerona. Since Pepin and the young Louis had acted seditiously, Emperor Louis now divided the realm between Lothar and Charles in 832 placing the dominion over Aquitaine in the hands of his youngest son Charles. Bernard and his followers defied the new regime. Pepin also rose in revolt. By the end of the year all of Frankia was ablaze with rebellion including the three older sons of Louis. In Burgundy, Bernard and Guerin stirred up the populace and set an army in motion toward the Marne. In concert with them Pepin moved his men toward the Seine putting Lothar in jeopardy. Clearly Bernard was throwing his support to Pepin as the pretender to imperial office in anticipated succession to Louis. Having now carried matters so far, Bernard reestablished amicable relations with his sovereign.³²

In March 834 Louis was restored completely in power and dignity. At the Diet of Quierzy Bernard and his followers joined forces with the Emperor. In all likelihood he received back the Marquisate of Septimania at this time.³³ Lothar, on the other hand, vented his wrath on Bernard's brother Gaucelm (Gothselm) whom he executed, and on his sister Gerberga, "a religious," whom he locked in a cask and drowned in the Seine on the charge of sorcery.³⁴ When a mighty Frank army

32. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 72. In October 832 King Pepin and Bernard were summoned by Louis to the palace Jouac where the charge of infidelity against Bernard was gone into; *Vita Hludowici*, p. 635:4, 5, § 47. *Annales Xantenses*, ed. B. v. Simson, anno 831, pp. 7-8. (B. Simson corrects the date, *ibid.*, to 832). Bernard offered to clear himself by force of arms but no one dared challenge him "nec tamen ad congressionem probatur procedere vellet"; nevertheless he lost his fiefs and offices, "honoribus privatus est"; *Vita Hludowici*, § 47, p. 635:8.

33. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 85.

34. *Annales Bertiniani*, p. 9 (anno 834); *Vita Hludowici*, § 52, p. 639; cf. B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, p. 107.

marched against him Lothar swore obedience and loyalty to his father. In the South Berengar refused to yield Septimania to Bernard. This conflict involving "the Goths" was on the agenda at the Diet of Stramiacus.³⁵ But Berengar died suddenly³⁶ in 835 and Bernard took over also the County of Toulouse thereby restoring the great united march of his father William. Bernard was now Marquis of Gothia, Count of Barcelona, Gerona, and Razès. His rule was obviously very extensive. Dhondt says he arrogated to himself power *sui generis*, unknown before, as evidenced by the title *Duke of Septimania*; his actions in point of fact reflected the authority of a duke rather than that of a marquis. The *Vita Hludowici* recounts his power in superlative terms.³⁷ With the decline of royal authority in Aquitaine due to the disintegration of Pepin's personality, eventuating in his death as a madman in 838, Bernard's power there must have grown in proportion. Simson says his power was almost unlimited.³⁸ At the Diet of Quierzy in September 838 many nobles of Septimania complained to the Emperor that the men of Bernard the Tyrant were despoiling both private property and ecclesiastical possessions. Louis sent three *missi* to investigate

35. "Sed et causa Gothorum ibidem ventilata est, quorum alii partibus Bernhardi favebant, alii autem favore ducebantur Huronici quondam comitis filii"; *Vita Hludowici*, § 57, p. 642; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwiyg dem Frommen*, I, p. 141, note 2; p. 167, note 4; II, p. 26, note 6. Note the use of "Goths" here in a geographical sense.

36. *Vita Hludowici*, *loc. cit.* The sources on Berengar are assembled by P. Hirsch, *Die Erhebung Berengars I. von Friaul zum König in Italien*, pp. 36-37, 45.

37. J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 178, 184-85. "Apud Bernardum potestas Septimaniae quam maxima remansit"; *Vita Hludowici*, § 57, p. 642. "Bernhardum . . . ducem illarum partium"; *ibid.*, § 59, p. 644. "Bernardum quendam, ducem Septimanie"; Nithard, *Historia*, ed. Ph. Lauer, I, § 3, p. 10. About 837 Nominoë was invested by Emperor Louis with the area ("Duchy") inhabited by his own people. In 834 he had served as *missus imperialis*. Carolingian writers sometimes called these dukes kings; J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 32, 84. Galindo was Count of Toulouse in 836-37, L. Auzias, *L'Aquitain*, p. 117.

38. L. Auzias, *ibid.*, pp. 106-17. Auzias conjectures that the Diet at Cremieu may have conferred the Toulousain on Bernard together with Septimania; p. 120. "Quo in mense Iunio habito, et donis annualibus receptis, dispositisque markis Hispaniae, Septimaniae sive Provinciae"; *Annales Bertiniani, anno 835*, p. 11; J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 87. B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, p. 157; II, p. 182.

—the counts Boniface and Donat and the Abbot Adrebald. Their report is not extant.³⁹ Simson sees Bernard not only as a duke in his domains but one whose power was enhanced by the fact that the Spanish March and Septimania were independent of King Pepin in Aquitaine and, in fact, were directly under imperial sovereignty, *reichsunmittelbar*.⁴⁰

In the midst of these developments a startling incident took place which dramatically highlighted the pervasive influence of Jews at court. The deacon of Emperor Louis the Pious converted to Judaism. A series of scandalous events shocked the country and stunned the church party and swiftly skyrocketed into the sensation of the day.⁴¹ In 838 Bodo was still a young man. Of noble Alamanian descent, he was destined for a clerical career from early childhood. Thus Bodo was educated in theological and humanistic studies. While still a subdeacon he became the subject of an effusive poem of praise composed in eight distiches by Walafrid Strabo who addresses him fondly as “my little blond lad.”⁴²

39. At Quierzy “pene omnes Septimanie nobiles (see G. Waitz, *Verfassungsgeschichte*, IV, p. 278, note 3; E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété*, pp. 170–72, 204–06) affuerunt, conquerentes adversus Bernhardum ducem illarum partium eo quod homines illius tam rebus ecclesiasticis quamque privatis absque ullo respectu divino humanoque pro libitu abuterentur,” *Vita Hludowici*, § 59, p. 644. Simson interprets their request to mean retention of the former folk law promised to the Goths at the time of their subjection to the Franks but the text speaks only of security for their ancient rights . . . “avitam eis legem conservarent”; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher*, II, p. 182. This Donat is not the same one sent to March of Spain in 827; cf. *ibid.*, I, p. 246, note 4; p. 273.

40. *Ibid.*, I, p. 157.

41. The sources on the deacon and his conversion are in *Annales Bertiniani* recorded by Prudence Bishop of Troyes, anno 839, pp. 17–18; and in Amolo, *Epistola seu liber contra Judaeos*, PL, CXVI, § XLII, col. 171 BC; his anti-Christian agitation in Spain, *Annales Bertiniani*, anno 847, pp. 34–35.

42. Prudence ascribes Bodo's action to Jews' advice: “(Bodonem) . . . humani generis hoste plectum, relicta christianitate ad iudaismum sese converterit. Et primum quidem consilio prodicionis atque perditionis suae cum Iudaeis inito”; *Annales Bertiniani*, anno 839, p. 17. Amolo is more bitter: “seductus est ab eis (sc. Judaeis) diaconus palatinus . . . ita ut eorum (sc. Judaeorum) diabolicis persuasionibus abstractus est et illectus”; *Epistola*, § XLII, col. 171. Walafrid Strabo, *Carmina*, MGH, Poetae latini aevi carolini, II, no. XXXIV, p. 386; translated by

In the year indicated Bodo, now deacon at court, asked permission of his sovereigns to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His request granted, they provided him with a fitting entourage and loaded him with gifts.⁴³ But the pilgrimage was only a pretext and a ruse. For instead of journeying to Rome the Deacon made for a city in southern France. There in a town inhabited [exclusively ?] by Jews he converted between eight and nine o'clock in the morning before the vigil of Ascension Day, May 22, 838.⁴⁴ He underwent circumcision, assumed the name Eleazar, let beard and hair grow, attired⁴⁵ himself in military dress,

A. Cabaniss, "Bodo-Eleazar: A Famous Jewish Convert," *JQR*, XLIII (1952-53), 315.

43. "(Bodo) anno praecedente (sc. 838) Romam orationis gratia properandi licentiam ab augustis poposcerat multisque doñariis muneratus impetraverat"; *Annales Bertiniani*, anno 839, p. 17.

44. DCCCXXXVIII. "Puoto Diaconus de Palatio lapsus est in Judaismum inter octavam et nonam horam in vigilia Ascensionis Domini," *Chronicon breve monasterii S. Galli*, ed. F. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, III, p. 469, anno 838; *PL*, CXIX, col. 450 C; "Pöto diaconus palatii in Iudaismum lapsus est"; *Chronicon suevicum universale*, ed. H. Bresslau, *MGH*, SS XIII, p. 64. H. Vogelstein denies that Bodo converted in a southern French town, *Juden in Rom*, I, p. 137. B. Blumenkranz places the conversion in Spain, *Juifs et Chrétiens*, p. 161, while in his "Un pamphlet juif," *RHPPhR*, XXXIV (1954), 402, he followed Kayserling in placing the conversion in cis-Alpine territory, M. Kayserling, "Eleazar und Alvaro," *MGWJ*, IX (1860), 244. B. Simson finds Amolo's report less reliable, in particular the implication that conversion may have taken place in Spain, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, p. 252, note 6. Later *responsa* of the Babylonian academies identify a *Rabh Eleazar Alluf* as having hailed from *Ispania* and *Ausona* (in the March of Spain near Barcelona, hence located both in Frankia and in Spain); see this text, pp. 284, 320. *Ausona* was a predominantly Jewish town; see this text, pp. 318-19.

45. Amolo states that Bodo became a Jew completely with respect both to faith and to attire: "Ita ut et superstitione et habitu totus iudeus effectus"; *Epistola*, col. 171, § XLII. This may have been intended to be the equivalent of Prudence's "accinctus etiam cingulo militari"; *AB*, p. 17. Blumenkranz thinks that Prudence confused the reference to attire. He interprets Amolo's statement as meaning the Jewish badge imposed by the Muslim authorities in Spain; *Juifs et Chrétiens*, pp. 161, 166; "Du nouveau sur Bodo-Eleazar?" *REJ*, n.s., XII (CXII, 1953), 38-41.

Ashtor opposes Blumenkranz' interpretation of *habitu* as the badge (the *zonar* or *zunnār*) imposed by Arabs on non-Muslims, which he identifies as the mark worn by Christians rather than Jews; *Qorot haYehudim*, I, p. 274, note 17. Ashtor under-

and married a Jewess. He sold the entourage into slavery except for his nephew whom he induced to convert with him.⁴⁶ When the scandal

stands *habitu* to mean a beard (already suggested by Blumenkranz, "Les auteurs chrétiens," IV, *REJ*, CXIV [1955], 54). He accepts Prudence's statement against Blumenkranz' objection, that Bodo put on the *cingulum militare*, and interprets this to mean that he entered the Arabic armed forces, thereby expanding a suggestion by Kayserling ("Eleasar und Alvaro," *MGWJ*, IX [1860], 245) that he entered the military service of a Moorish prince; Ashtor, *ibid.*

If the *zunnār* was worn by *all* non-Muslims, this would not necessarily typify a Jew. More likely, Amolo and Prudence drew from the same source and the *habitu* of the one was intended as the equivalent of the *cingulum militare* of the other. The term *habitu* seems to imply a more complete dress than merely a badge or insigne affixed to a garment. Bodo garbed himself in military dress (clearly the intent of Prudence's expression) not merely to emphasize his discard of the clerical habit but more particularly because this was typical costume for the Jew of the ninth century, at least in Septimania and the March of Spain. In a somewhat later period Jews wore the military dress of knights constantly, even on Sabbath, and the question arose whether they could properly wear the *azorah*, the military belt (*cingulum militare*?), in the public domain on the Sabbath. The unknown respondent, who is identified by editor Joel Müller only as a very early authority, permits it, since "this is their constant dress and their habit." The military belt is described as of leather, some with silver or gold, and others with brass or iron, buckles. From these run straps which are attached to boots at the knee. Some of the belts were also studded with pearls. *Teshubhot ge'oné mizrah u-ma'arabh*, ed. Joel Müller, no. 69, pp. 17b-18a. For text, see Appendix VI of this study.

Cabaniss sees Eleazar doffing clerical garb for a military habit, "Bodo-Eleazar," *JQR*, XLIII (1952-53), 322. On *cingulum militare* see B. Simson who has Bodo put on armor, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, p. 252. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 72, note 8 and p. 73, note 9 where Emperor Louis' exchange of armor for monk's garb is described as *deposito habitu pristino et assumpto habitu penitentis*.

46. "(Bodonem) . . . humani generis hoste pellectum, relicta christianitate ad iudaismum sese converterit. Et . . . quos secum adduxerat paganis vendendos, callide machinari non timuit; quibus distractis, uno tantummodo secum, qui nepos eius ferebatur retento, abnegata—quod lacrimabiliter dicimus—Christi fide, sese Iudaeum professus est. Sicque circumcisis, capillisque ac barba crescentibus, et mutato potiusque usurpato Eleazari nomine, accinctus etiam cingulo militari, cuiusdam Iudaei filiam sibi in matrimonium copulavit, coacto memorato nepote suo similiter ad iudaismum translato . . ."; *AB*, p. 17. Amolo reports these events as follows: ". . . (diaconus palatinus) deseret palatium, deseret patriam et parentes, deseret penitus Christianorum regnum: et nunc apud Hispaniam inter Saracenos Iudaeis sociatus persuasus sit ab impiis Christum Dei Filium negare, baptismi gratiam profanare, circumcisionem carnalem accipere, nomen sibi mutare, ut qui

was reported to Emperor Louis, who was fond of Bodo, he could not be persuaded at first to believe it. The proselyte emigrated to Saragossa in mid-August⁴⁷ 838–39 perhaps for reasons of personal security. After Saragossa we find him in Cordova.

In Spain too he must have created a sensation. He remained in close association with the Jews⁴⁸ who may have exhibited him proudly. Finally during 840 a Cordovan of Jewish descent, Paul Albar by name,⁴⁹

antea Bodo, nunc Eliezer appelletur. Ita ut et superstitione et habitu totus Judaeus effectus, quotidie in synagogis Satanae barbatus et conjugatus . . .”; *Epistola*, col. 171, § XLII.

Bodo’s sale of his entourage into slavery, if true, points to Spain or, more likely, the March of Spain (which was outside the Frankish realm), perhaps Ausona, as the scene of the action, including the conversion proper.

47. “. . . tandemque cum Iudaeis, miserrimam cupiditate devinctus, Caesar-augustam, urbem Hispaniae, mediante Augusto mense ingressus est. Quod quantum augustis cunctisque christianae fidei gratia redemptis luctuosum extiterit, difficultas, qua imperatori id facile credendum persuaderi non potuit, patenter omnibus indicavit”; *AB*, pp. 17–18. Amolo indicates that the conversion etc., took place in Spain; see preceding note. Did his source intend thereby the *March of Spain*, specifically Ausona, which in this period was accounted part of southern Frankia although, being in the March, it stood outside the royal domain?

48. Eleazar very likely consulted with Jewish scholars in Spain as Albar assumed and as is implied in Eleazar’s response to him: “*Scripsisti mihi, o homo bone, qualiter ego proceresque mee synagoge intellegimus: Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda et dux de femoribus eius*” (Genesis 49:10); *Epistolario de Alvaro de Cordoba*, ed. J. Madoz, XV, p. 222. In a later communication, Albar again quotes Eleazar as saying that were it not for the urgent command of his preceptors and teachers then Eleazar would not have deigned to answer Albar: “*Sed quia, ut ais, nolles mihi respondere, nisi te preceptorum tuorum et doctorum perurgeret iussio*”; *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVIII, § 1, p. 242. Once more Albar refers to Eleazar’s teachers, “*Cum, propheta teste (cf. Isaiiah 6:10) cuncti sint cecitate percussi, qua temerantia doctores tibi adseris esse, quos cecos esse cognoscis sententia prophetali?*”; *ibid.* Amolo also refers to Jewish associations: “*et nunc apud Hispaniam inter Saracenos Judaeis sociatus*”; *Epistola*, *loc. cit.* In the light of this evidence one will hardly follow Sage who thinks that there is nothing to show that Eleazar spoke for any one but himself in his propaganda and anti-Christian activity in Spain; C. H. Sage, *Paul Albar of Cordoba: Studies on his life and writings*, p. 13. Prudentius charges that Bodo-Eleazar went to Saragossa out of greed (for lecture fees?), “*cupiditate devinctus.*”

49. Albar says of himself he was Jewish by lineage also whereas Eleazar was Jew only by faith: “*Ceterum liberior mihi responsio, et breviter, imo clarior extat:*

felt impelled to challenge Eleazar to a literary duel. The proselyte's answers and Albar's responses constitute a substantial part of the latter's *Liber Epistolarum* which is extant only in a unique tenth-century manuscript preserved in the archives of the Cathedral of Cordova. The controversy between Albar and Eleazar extends through seven letters and covers folios 85v to 121v of the Visigothic codex. The correspondence began in 840 and probably concluded in the same or the following year.⁵⁰ However, only a relatively tiny portion of Eleazar's replies have been preserved, because the manuscript owner erased and obliterated them and tore out those folios which held them.⁵¹

eo quod ex Israelis stirpe descendens cuncta mihi glorie dicta, que tibi tu adplaudis excerpta Quis magis Israelis nomine censi est dignus? Tu qui, ut dicis, ex idololatria ad summi Dei cultum reversus es, et non gente, sed fide iudeus es; an ego qui et fide et gente hebreus sum? Sed ideo iudeus non vocor, quia nomen novum mihi impositum est, quod os Domini nominavit. Nempe pater meus Abraham est, quia maiores mei ex ipsa descenderunt traduce . . ." (emphasis added; *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVIII, § 5, p. 249. Cf. also, "Opto te semper bene valere, karissime et dilectissime, natura, non fide, frater"; *Epistolario*, XIV, § 7, p. 221. Madoz accepts Albar's description of his Jewish descent as beyond doubt but indicates theological allusions to the New Israel; *Epistolario*, p. 15; cf. p. 249, notes 49, 50; p. 221, note 32. A. Cabaniss inclines to read out of the theological allusions to the True Israel no ethnic Jewish lineage here but sees in Albar a person of Goth ancestry as he himself claims (J. Madoz, *Epistolario*, XX, pp. 280-81; cf. note 6); or else, the family's Christianization took place back in the first century; A. Cabaniss, "Paulus Albarus of Muslim Cordova," *Church History*, XXII (1953), 104-05. Similarly, Blumenkranz considers it possible that Albar was not personally a convert (in spite of the forename *Paul*) and that he may have traced his Goth descent via a maternal line, "Les auteurs chrétiens latins," IV, *REJ*, CXIV (1955), 37, 44, note 6. However, this may only be additional evidence that "Goth" had geographical and not exclusively ethnic connotations; or that in the ninth century certain Spanish Jews thought of themselves also as of Goth ancestry.

50. *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, pp. 25-28; for the date (840) of Albar's reply to Eleazar's first answer at the start of the correspondence, "post octingentos quadraginta annos"; *ibid.*, XVI, § 1, p. 224; ". . . annos incarnationis Domini octingentos quadraginta," *ibid.*, § 6, pp. 232-33.

51. Cabaniss counts 63 lines, presumably in the edition of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* which he used; "Bodo-Eleazar," *JQR*, XLIII (1952-53), 313. Blumenkranz attempts a reconstruction of the text of Eleazar's responses, which he extracts from Albar's quotations and publishes in the form of a putative "propaganda pamphlet," boldly conceived and aptly executed. There may actually have been such a circular

We are then almost completely dependent on Albar's quotations from the convert's lost responses for any knowledge of Eleazar's arguments. Albar would not be likely to recall any really effective argumentation unless he was sure he could counter it with an even more telling response.

The central question in the controversy between the Christian of Jewish descent and the sometime-Christian-turned-Jew was whether the prophecies of the Hebrew Bible and the more recent facts of Jewish history compelled the conclusion (as Albar maintained) that Jesus must be recognized as the true Messiah. Since the progress of the controversy is trite and traditional for the most part, except for a striking innovation by Eleazar, it would have been of especial interest to scan the latter's treatment of more recent Jewish history. But it may have been precisely these facts, as well as Eleazar's blasphemies, which impelled the manuscript owner to erase his words and rip out the folios holding them. It is not possible to reconstruct these data with any assurance. Furthermore, since Albar was setting the framework for the debate and Eleazar's Jewish masters were now Spaniards, any discussion of the contemporary scene would be likely to treat conditions in Frankia only incidentally. Finally, it may be assumed that Albar repeats only Eleazar's weakest, not his strongest, arguments. Thus their oblivion is complete and perhaps final.

In Albar's first letter the Christian disputant presents the classical Christian argument based on Genesis 49:10, namely, that the absence of political sovereignty in the Jewish people is proof that the Messiah (Jesus) has come. Albar understands this verse to mean the following:

which Eleazar broadcast in Spain. However, the extant materials are the residue of a correspondence which consisted of several letters containing *ad hoc* answers in addition to any initial pamphlet. Thus Albar quotes Eleazar, *Scribis* in fine: "Vade, tuumque Iesum tene, et hic et in aevum," which Albar follows up with a passionate response; *Epistolario*, XVI, § 11, p. 238. Eleazar's sarcastic remark was hardly material for a propaganda circular urging conversion to Judaism, and so Blumenkranz omits this piece from his putative pamphlet; "Un pamphlet juif médio-latin de polémique antichrétienne," *RHPH*, XXXIV (1954), 401-13. The same author provides a succinct summary and commentary on the Bodo-Albar correspondence in his "Les auteurs chrétiens," IV, *REJ*, CXIV (1955), 37 ff.; *Les Auteurs*, pp. 184-91.

“There shall not fail a prince of Judah nor a duke from his loins until there comes he who is to be sent; and he himself will be the expectation of the nations.”

Show me, throughout the entire world, Albar continues, a duke of the tribe of Judah, even one. . . . Since the Jews could not find a king in regions best known, they searched out a prince for themselves beyond the sea, one knows not where. But even if it were true that such a ruler existed, he still would not be in the least of the Tribe of Judah. For the Tribe of Judah has been dispersed throughout all lands, not by Sennacherib or Artaxerxes but by Vespasian and Titus. The Jews were left without temple, without altar, and without prince as Hosea prophesied would happen (3:4). These days have now come to be, declares Albar. And he lists the kings of Judah since Daniel to demonstrate that the Jews had sovereigns until the advent of Jesus, just as, he assumes, Genesis 49:10 had foretold; but none since then.⁵²

But if you Jews insist on waiting for another, [Albar continues], show me dukes of the Tribe of Judah in your people up to the present. When you supply this defect of dukes in the Tribe of Judah then you may firmly assert that you still await redemption. But if you can find no king to provide you with a dukedom up until today, examine more attentively that prophecy of Daniel's and then you will demonstrate the more truly only the merited confusion of the Jews.⁵³

Albar seeks to counter Eleazar's claim (that a Davidic Messiah can still be expected) by declaring there has been no unbroken succession

52. *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XIV, §§ 4, 5, pp. 215–17. Albar's translation of Genesis 49:10, “Non deficiet princeps de Iuda, neque dux de femoribus eius, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium”; *ibid.*, § 4, pp. 215–16. If we may assume that Albar's very first letter was, at the least, a partial response to the arguments of Bodo-Eleazar already current, then it was the New-Jew who had introduced the claim that the Tribe of Judah was a present reality (witness, the dynasty of the Makhiri) and King-Messiah might then still be awaited. Eleazar's first response to Albar might be expected to summarize these arguments.

53. “. . . quod si alium exspectare nitimini, duces ex tribu Iuda hactenus in vestra gente ostendite: et tunc exspectare vos redemptionem firmabit, cum defectum tribus Iude ex ducibus suppleveritis. Quod si nullum potestis invenire ex regibus, qui vobis ducatum prebeat hactenus, illam prophetiam Danielis probate adentius, et tunc confusionem iudeorum iam debitam venisse probabit verius”; *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XIV, § 5, pp. 217–18.

of rulers ("dukes") in the Tribe of Judah because it has simply disintegrated ("been dispersed"). For this reason no genuine dukedom can be pointed out at present as evidence of Judah's continued existence and its sovereignty in Israel. Even if one can point to a king of the Jews he would not be genuine because he could not be of the Tribe of Judah. Albar concluded his first communication with quotations from Daniel and his own comments thereon. He declared that the completed time as foretold corresponded to the first year of Vespasian's rule when the Jews' captivity began.⁵⁴

Albar's argumentation, although traditional and usual, was especially telling against the Jews of Muslim Spain in the first half of the ninth century. They could hardly point, as did an earlier generation of Spanish Jews, to the Exilarch in the East as evidence of the survival of Jewish sovereignty.⁵⁵ For as subjects of the rival and hostile Umayyad dynasty they themselves did not dare accord the Exilarch in 'Abbasid Baghdad their fealty nor could he impose his dominion over them. This of course Albar knew very well. Eleazar then, directed by his Spanish teachers, had to deal first with this problem which they could not resolve in the same manner as had their predecessors.

With the exception of a few introductory remarks Eleazar's reply is completely obliterated and destroyed and may be salvaged only in most fragmentary form from Albar's infrequent quotations. It is clear however that Eleazar introduced a nontraditional interpretation of Genesis 49:10 which aroused Albar's bitter scorn. In effect, Eleazar appears to have insisted that the verse in Genesis referred not to the Jews' sovereignty (*shebhet* meaning "scepter") but in actuality to the Tribe of Judah (*shebhet* meaning "Tribe"). Further, *mehokek* did not imply a political chief but a law-making authority; not a duke but a teacher. Thereby Eleazar tried to undermine the argument in favor of Jesus' messiahship which Albar and his masters had derived from absence of the Jews' political sovereignty. The new Jew's translation

54. *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XIV, §§ 5, 6, pp. 218-20; § 7, p. 220.

55. The argumentation of earlier generations of Jews is reported by Jerome (fourth-century Palestine), Julian of Toledo, and Isidore of Seville (seventh-century Spain), see above pp. 93-94. Albar's comment: "Soliti enim erant regem ultra mare inquirere, non verba prophetie alia interpretatione subvertere"; *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVI, § 1, p. 224.

must have run something like this: "There shall not pass away the Tribe of Judah nor a lawmaker of his loins until . . . [Messiah comes]."⁵⁶

By insisting that Genesis 49:10 referred to the survival of the Tribe of Judah and not to the sovereignty of the Jewish people Eleazar could refute the Messiahship of Jesus. For he could point to vivid proof that Judah still existed as evidence that Messiah had not yet come.

Albar's ignorance of Hebrew prevented him from detecting the inaccuracy and ineptness of this translation of the verse's first part.⁵⁷ In fact this untraditional answer evidently caught Albar offguard. He had to take refuge in ineffectual irony over Eleazar's swiftly acquired "prowess"⁵⁸ in Hebrew which enabled him, presumably, to depart from the Jews' usual interpretation, namely, that the verse referred to a Davidic Exilarch in the East.

But Eleazar's rendition, while it provided only a makeshift response on behalf of his newly found coreligionists in Spain, also could enable him to exploit the situation in Frankia. The Tribe of Judah was a living reality, he might argue, although dispersed. There even existed an identifiable royal Davidic House. This was the Makhiri dynasty in Frankia, specifically, Bernard of Septimania who still wielded authority over Jews, and beyond Jews, over Christians as well. So much for the promise, "There shall not pass away the Tribe of Judah." As for the *mehokek*, Jews still had a legitimate law-making authority, he could argue, which was recognized even by the Carolingian emperor in edicts and charters.⁵⁹ Consequently King and Messiah, progeny of

56. Albar's citation of Eleazar's argument: "Nam si hoc in hebreo ita *Seber* [for *shebhet*] et *Amohkec* [for *mehokek*] qui sonat latine *tribus* et *doctor* habetur"; *ibid.*

57. The *mi* in "Lo yasur shebhet mihudah" cannot be treated as the sign of the possessive "the Tribe of Judah" but only as the preposition *from* (Judah) which yields "There shall not pass away Tribe(hood) from Judah." Albar confesses his ignorance of Hebrew, ". . . tu, quia scis nos ignaros lingue hebraice . . ."; *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVI, § 4, p. 231; cf. p. 16. In addition to confessing his ignorance he gives evidence of it by his transliteration of the two Hebrew words *shebhet* and *mehokek*; see preceding note.

58. His biting sarcasm; *ibid.*, ed. J. Madoz, XVI, § 1, p. 224.

59. The three mandates of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, dated ca. 825 and transcribed into the still extant formulary of his chancellery, all recognize the Jews' right to live by their own law: "liceatque eis secundum legem eorum vivere";

David, might justifiably be awaited. A sovereign still could arise since the House of David of the Tribe of Judah was a reality. Hence Messiah might appear momentarily. In fact, Eleazar declared, the date of Messiah's coming was known: he would arrive within twenty-seven years, in 867-68 or in 869-70 (exactly 800 years after the destruction of the Temple according to the traditional date).⁶⁰ Perhaps the near sovereign power of Bernard of Septimania supported such hopes of the imminent restoration of political freedom for the Jewish people.

Since Eleazar's answer is not available and Albar quotes or leaves out only what he chooses we cannot know what Eleazar actually replied. But the persistence of the Tribe of Judah and of the House of David into his own day might presumably enable him to argue for a restoration of the Jews on the basis of the Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones in Ezekiel, Chapter 37, which Eleazar quotes in his next communication. He concluded with verse 25: "And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob My servant wherein your fathers dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, they and their children and their children's children, for ever; and David My servant shall be their Prince (*nasi*) for ever."⁶¹

Subsequent to the controversy with Albar, as well as during and preceding it, Eleazar carried on conversionist propaganda in Spain. Since he consulted with Jewish scholars we may assume that he acted hardly on his own authority alone. Eventually, he resorted to anti-Christian agitation and persecution, according to Bishop Prudence who kept the royal annals at the Carolingian court. Prudence reports Eleazar succeeded in convincing the Muslim authorities to place before

Formulae, ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH*, Legum sectio V, no. 30, pp. 309:13-14; repeated almost *verbatim* in no. 31, p. 310:19-20; no. 52, p. 325:18.

60. Eleazar dates the present year 1363 (since restoration *ca.* 516-23 B.C.E. of the Second Temple?) and declares that Messiah, loosed of his fiery or iron chains, is to be awaited in 27 years (in 867-68 or 869-70 since the Jewish year starts in September): "Sed dicis," Albar quotes Eleazar's words, "'Nos autem hodie sumus in millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo tertio anno': per quod festinas ostendere quod viginti et septem anni tantummodo supersunt usque tuus Messias a vinculis igneis aut ferreis exsolvatur"; *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVI, § 7, p. 234. See this text p. 103, note 4.

61. *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVII, § 2, pp. 239-40.

Spanish Christians the alternative of death or else conversion to Judaism or Islam. This is obviously a strange choice. Even itinerant Christians were subjected to harassment. In desperation the Christians of Spain petitioned King Charles the Bald, the bishops of Frankia, and the aristocracy pleading for the extradition of Eleazar.⁶² After 847 Eleazar disappears from the Latin records. However, a student-scholar *Eleazar of Ispamia*, holding the title *Alluf*, appears soon thereafter in the rabbinic records of the Babylonian academies. He is reported to have made an inquiry (whether in person or by correspondence is not clear) of the Gaon Paltai of Pumbeditha and Natronai Gaon of Sura. The years 853–58 overlap the gaonic activity of both these men. Eleazar furthermore was in Sura during the Gaonate of Nahshon (871–79). If we assume that Bodo was thirty-five at the time of his conversion in 838, he would be about seventy-five at the death of Nahshon Gaon.⁶³

After the death of Emperor Louis le Débonnaire on June 20, 840, Bernard of Septimania entered into alliance⁶⁴ with Pepin II King of Aquitaine, eldest son and successor of Pepin I. By the partition of Worms, May 28, 839, Charles, son of Judith and Louis, had received Aquitaine and Septimania with the attendant marches, in effect, the entire former realm of Pepin I. But the Aquitanians rebelled and refused to recognize their new sovereign. Bernard held full control of Toulouse.⁶⁵

Charles summoned Bernard to make his submission. But the former chamberlain claimed that his oath to Pepin and his men bound him

62. "Bodo, qui ante annos aliquod christiana veritate derelicta ad Iudeorum perfidiam concesserat, in tantum mali profecit, ut in omnes christianos Hispaniae degentes tam regis quam gentis Saracenorum animos concitare studuerit, quatenus aut relicte christianae fidei religione ad Iudeorum insaniam Saracenorumve dementiam se converterent aut certe omnes interficerentur," *AB*, anno 847, pp. 34, 35. Albar writes of Eleazar as composer of *Iudrica opuscula, Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVI, § 1, p. 223. It is not clear if this refers to his reply or to propaganda materials, which of course preceded the debate but which could readily have been increased afterward by the results of the controversy.

63. See this text, p. 320; S. Assaf, "Growth of Jewish Centers," (Hebrew), *HaShiloah*, XXXV (1918), 402–403.

64. "Bernardus . . . dicens se cum Pippino suisque sacramento firmasse," Nithard, *Historia*, ed. Ph. Lauer, II, § 5, p. 50.

65. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, p. 134.

not to enter any other alliance without mutual consent. He promised to return in fifteen days. At another inconclusive meeting in January 841 Charles planned to arrest Bernard but the stratagem failed and he barely managed to slip away. Subsequently he appeared before the young king as a suppliant and regained Charles' favor by promising to bring about the reconciliation and submission of Pepin and followers. Bernard appears to have insisted on Pepin's prior subjection to Charles. Highly involved negotiations followed between Bernard and Pepin, the latter and Lothar, and between Charles and Louis the German.⁶⁶ Lothar demanded sovereignty over the whole empire and rejected any compromise. Efforts at an understanding reached the breaking point. Bernard's position became precarious. Charles and Louis set a truce with Lothar and Pepin which was to expire on Saturday morning June 25, 841. At the appointed hour the truce was declared at an end and the opposing forces took up battle positions at Fontenoy: Charles supported by Louis attacked Lothar and Pepin.⁶⁷ Bernard drew up his men three leagues away. His troops could easily have turned the tide of battle, but he did not enter the fray. Halphen declares⁶⁸ that he acted *dans une prudente expectative*. But the contemporary chronicler Nithard who reports the battle gives not a hint that this was a calculated stratagem. Modern scholars have overlooked the fact that the day was the Sabbath, on which Bernard and his men could not fight unless they were attacked; then they might defend their lives. Neither side cared to give Bernard such an opportunity to intervene in support of the enemy.⁶⁹

66. Nithard, *Historia*, II, § 5, p. 50. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, pp. 160-65; J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, pp. 88-90; F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 21.

67. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *ibid.*, pp. 26-36; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, p. 167.

68. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 38.

69. "Nam Bernardus dux Septimaniae, quanquam a loco praedicti proelii plus minus tres leuvas defuerit, neutri in hoc negotio supplementum fuit"; Nithard, *Historia*, III, § 2, pp. 82-84. Marquis Bernard's generation was acquainted with the Jews' avoidance of battle on the Sabbath unless attacked. Pope Nicholas, referring to I Maccabees 2:40, declared that the Hebrews observed the Sabbath and did not wish to take up arms against their enemy (the Syrians) on that day. They lost about 1,000 men. Whereupon they said, If we all act thus and (in self-defense) do not fight we shall disappear from the earth; *Nicolai I. papae epistolae*, MGH, *Epistolarum* VI, Karolini aevi IV, no. 99, XXXIV, p. 581:18.

The battle put Pepin and Lothar to flight. This was taken universally to be evidence of a divine decision. Bernard sent his young son William to King Charles with instructions to pledge fealty in return for recognition of his claim to the Burgundian inheritance which Bernard's brother Theodoric had confided to Emperor Louis in trust for William.⁷⁰ Bernard asserted that Pepin was ready to enter into an alliance with Charles. The young King agreed to the transfer of property but kept William hostage, presumably to assure the father's loyalty.⁷¹ A short while later he dismissed Bartholomew⁷² as Bishop of Narbonne, 842. William's residence at the distant court of King Charles impelled his mother Dhuoda to compose her remarkable *Manual* as spiritual guide and counsel for her elder son. She began it on November 30, 841, "the second year after the death of the one-time Emperor Louis." She completed it on February 2, 843, "in the reign of the King to be designated by God."⁷³ This dating deliberately ignored Charles' dominion over Septimania. Other documents, one from Béziers of December 23, 842, and another, drawn in the March of Spain August 842, are both dated from the death of Louis the Pious and the ascendance of Lothar,⁷⁴ likewise passing over King Charles.

In spite of all Bernard's efforts Pepin refused to submit to Charles although a few of his followers did. Bernard forfeited the County of Toulouse when Charles transferred authority to Effroi. But the new count was ambushed and Toulouse was lost.⁷⁵ Bernard's career now moved quickly to its abrupt and tragic end. For a while he retired to his distant marquisate in the March of Spain where, almost inaccessible, he enjoyed virtually independent rule. When Charles marched

70. Cf. "Te quasi primogenitum parvulum relinquens [Theodoricus] in saeculo suo cuncta domno et seniori nostro, ut tibi prodesse valerent in omnibus, remanserunt"; *Le Manuel*, ed. E. Bondurand, lxii, p. 214.

71. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 38; J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, pp. 24, 90; Nithard, *Historia*, III, § 2, p. 84, notes 1 and 2.

72. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, p. 178. Bartholomew came to Rome to appeal to the pope against his removal; *ibid.*

73. *Le Manuel*, ed. E. Bondurand, *Subscriptio*, p. 249; cf. pp. 39-40.

74. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, p. 178. For other such datings which ignore Charles, see F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 100, note 1.

75. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *ibid.*, p. 39, note 4; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, pp. 171, 178.

against Toulouse, Bernard assumed charge of the defense of his town. In some unknown manner he fell into Charles' hands early in the siege of the fortress. Auzias assumes he came to the royal camp in an endeavor to negotiate an understanding. He was held and not permitted to leave.⁷⁶ Charged with treason he was tried before the army arrayed as a court, found guilty, and condemned "by judgment of the Franks." King Charles himself ordered the execution in May 844.⁷⁷ Calmette fixes the monastery of St. Sernin in Toulouse as the probable place of the execution. Auzias identifies Bernard as a powerful marquis who for a brief period "had been the real King of France." Prudence accuses him of "the grandest designs and coveting the highest objectives." Count Sunifred⁷⁸ of Urgel on May 19 succeeded Bernard as Marquis of Septimania and Spain with Count Suniaire at his side, of unknown origin. Lot accepts Calmette's dating of Bernard's execution between April 5 and May 19 and his preference for a date near the latter terminus because Charles began the siege of Toulouse in the first half of May, establishing himself at St. Sernin which was then outside the walls.⁷⁹

76. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, pp. 184-87.

77. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 99 and notes. "Bernardus comes marcae Hispanicae, iam dudum grandia moliens summisque inhians, maiestatis reus Francorum iudicio, iussu Karoli in Aquitania capitalem sententiam subiit"; *AB*, anno 844, p. 30; "Bernardus, Bernardi quondam tyranni carne et moribus filius . . . regem, qui patrem suum Francorum iudicio occidi iusserat . . . malitiis occidere locum et horam expectat"; *idem*, anno 864, pp. 72-73. "Karlus Bernhartum Barce nonensem ducem incautum et nihil ab eo mali suspicantem occidit"; *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Fr. Kurze, anno 844, p. 34. "Et Bernhardus comes a Karolo est occisus"; *Annalex Xantenses*, ed. B. Simson, anno 844, p. 13:17-18. In 862 Charles recalled the offense that Bernard had caused him: "quem Bernardus, qui ob immanitatem sui sceleris latrocinando in nostram irruit offensam, quondam visus fuit possidere . . . olim, ut diximus, Bernardus latrocinator"; *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve Roi de France*, ed. G. Tessier, II: 861-877, no. 242 (May 10, 862), p. 49:9, 10, 19, 20.

78. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 93. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, pp. 188, 191. "Bernardus comes marcae Hispanicae, iam dudum grandia moliens summisque inhians"; see preceding note. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 100. On Sunifred, J. Calmette, "Les Marquis de Gothie," *AdM*, XIV (1902), 185.

79. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, pp. 95-111; F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 99, note 3; J. Calmette, "La famille de Saint Guilhem," *AdM*, XVIII (1906), 163-65.

Several literary works arose based on the alleged romantic relationship between Judith and Bernard and the assumed patricide involved in the latter's execution by the hand of his own son. The Pseudo-Aribert which reports that Charles stabbed his own father in carrying out the execution is identified by F. Lot as a clandestine record of the ninth century which was still available in the fourteenth-fifteenth century.⁸⁰

The capture and execution of Bernard, Nasi of the Jews who heretofore, as a body, had been entrusted with the defense and expansion of the southern borders, involved a radical change of Carolingian policy. On the one hand it required a shift of responsibility for this task to a different group of frontiersmen who would replace the Jewish border garrisons. On the other it signalled the triumph of the bishops in domestic affairs. The episcopacy, which had been kept in check by Pepin the Short and Charlemagne, emancipated itself under Louis the Pious. The shaky position of young King Charles following the death of his father Louis offered ecclesiastical forces an opportunity to impose a new policy on the sovereign and the lay aristocracy. The rising power of the church made itself felt at the Council of Coulaines where the fragility of royal authority also became clear.⁸¹ The role of the powerful Marquis Bernard as ally and supporter of Pepin forced him into an ambiguous position vis-à-vis Charles, thus making him an easy target for the long nurtured antagonism of the ecclesiastical opposition. For that he paid with his life. Now a revision of Carolingian policy with respect to Frankish Jewry was high on the agenda.

80. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, pp. 95-111; F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 99, note 3.

81. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 90-96.

Aftermath of Bernard's Execution.
Revision of Carolingian Policy.
Council of Meaux-Paris.
Tract of Amolo Bishop of Lyons
Against the Jews.

King Charles' amicable relationship with the clergy was intensified by his execution of Bernard. The disgrace and fall of the mighty Marquis produced an onrush of bishops and abbots to the young besieger of Toulouse not only to congratulate and assure him of support but also to garner rich benefits now available. Abbeys in the neighborhood and within the diocese of Narbonne appear to have been the first beneficiaries of royal action dispensed with liberal hand on May 13, 14, 20, June 5 and 25, 844. One of the earliest known acts of Charles was a diploma of immunity for the nearby monastery of Lagrasse (May 13). The See of Narbonne itself was not far behind. On June 12 Charles ceded the villa Censerada, and on June 20 he granted immunity to Archbishop Berarius for his Cathedral St. Justus and St. Pastor and for the monastery St. Paul located outside Narbonne's walls.¹ The latter diploma has been tampered with and no

1. *Recueil . . . de Charles II le Chauve*, ed. G. Tessier, I, no. 37, pp. 98-102, May 13, 844, for monastery Lagrasse; no. 48, pp. 138-39, June 12, 844, for the church at Narbonne, the villa Censerada; no. 49, pp. 139-43, June 20, 844, for Archbishop

longer retains its pristine form. Charles is represented as confirming therein King Pepin's donation (originally made to whom?) of one-half the tolls collected from the urban or maritime trade, the salt flats, and the rights of all kinds which the count could collect. Molinier has shown the cession of half the town and its towers, now included in the grant to the Bishop, to be an eleventh-century forgery. Above we have brought evidence for the conclusion that we may see in the Nasi of Narbonne and the Jewry there the possessor in fact, who derived their title from Charlemagne's grant of 791, which was based on Pepin's cession in 768.²

Other parts of the Midi reaped their harvest too. On June 30 the monastery l'île de Psalmodi secured restitution of the homesteads (*colonicas*) situated in the *pagus* of Nîmes and of Maguelonne. Its abbot, Theobald, reported that Louis the Pious had wished these restored to the abbot's predecessor, but the deceased Count Bernard in pride and disdain did not execute the Emperor's orders but unjustly appropriated these and certain other of the abbey's properties and slaves.³ Likewise, ecclesiastical institutions south of the Pyrenees were not dilatory in their demands. Charles renewed for the Bishop of Gerona a diploma of immunity confirming the possessions of the church and assigning one-third of the product of the pastures in the diocese, one-third of the tolls, and the rights over merchants trading on land and sea. The Bishop reported that Bernard, under pretext of an exchange, had taken possession of a domain of the church in the *pagus* of Ampurias.⁴ May we detect in the assignment of some of these dues actual prerogatives once held by Bernard, specifically those involving rights over merchants and in customs and tolls?

Berarius of Narbonne. For other grants at this time by Charles to ecclesiastical institutions in the Midi see no. 44, p. 121 (June 5, 844); no. 50, p. 144 (May-June 20, 844); no. 53, p. 148 (June 25); no. 42, p. 115 (dated May? 844?) for Aimeri abbot of the monastery of Dèvre dependent on the church at Bourges (in a twelfth-century copy).

2. A. Molinier, "Un diplôme interpolé de Charles le Chauve," *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 67-76. See this text, pp. 166-67.

3. *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, no. 54, pp. 151-54, June 30, [844.]

4. *Ibid.*, no. 38, pp. 102-05, May 14, 844; cf. no. 47, pp. 132-38 regarding a villa belonging to the church at Gerona occupied by Bernard.

But Charles' execution of the Nasi of the Jews had to bring in its wake a realignment of the defense of the maritime coast and the Spanish frontier. On May 19, 844, after proper investigation the King took action in behalf of the Spaniards in the County of Béziers placing them and their possessions under his protection.⁵ He is supposed to have renewed on June 5 the diplomas of Charlemagne and Louis le Débonnaire in behalf of Jean of Fontjoncouse, which his son Teodfred now laid before Charles.⁶ But of prime import, by June 11 Charles was ready to promulgate an elaborate constitution for the benefit of "the Goths or Spaniards," in the form of a *praeceptum*. Although he appeared to be merely renewing the regulations of Charlemagne dated April 2, 812, and of Louis le Débonnaire dated January 1, 815, and February 10, 816, in actuality, this edict significantly extended the rights of the Spanish settlers. Perhaps King Charles intended to approximate for the Spaniards the privileges which his father (and predecessors) had granted to the Jews. However, while his forebears acknowledged in the diplomas on behalf of the Jews their obligation to protect also those not brought up in the faith,⁷ the young Charles emphasized that he was extending his protection to the Spaniards "as well in unity of faith as also in unanimity of peace and affection."⁸

5. *Ibid.*, I, no. 40, p. 110:3-6.

6. *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, no. 43, pp. 149-21. Simson finds suspect this confirmation of Charles the Bald because it claims to be based on an act of Charlemagne, while the diploma of Louis the Debonair omits to mention such an act. At the same time also the prerogatives ceded therein to John of Fontes are far broader than those Charles the Bald appears willing to grant to the Spanish settlers generally; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher . . . unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, pp. 50-51.

7. Mandate of Emperor Louis the Debonair February 22, 839, in behalf of the Hebrew Gaudiocus, and Jacob and Vivacius his sons: "Licet apostolica lectio maxime domesticis fidei nos bonum operare commoneat, ceteris quoque omnibus idem facere benivola devotione non prohibet, sed potius ut respectu divinae misericordiae propensus exaquamur hortatur"; *HGL*, II, *preuves*, no. 97, col. 211; J. Aronius, *Regesten*, no. 102, pp. 42-43. Cf. p. 177.

8. ". . . receptos sicut in unitate fidei, sic etiam in unanimitate pacis et dilectionis conservare decrevimus"; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, June [11], 844, no. 46, p. 130:13, 14. The charter was issued in behalf of the Spaniards in Barcelona city and county and in Tarrasa Castle, but is directed to the royal *fideles* in Aquitaine, Septimania and Hispania; *ibid.*, no. 46, p. 129:26-p. 130:6. A detailed analysis of this charter

The new spirit initiated by the Council of Coulaines⁹ thus came to official expression. At the same time the royal act made explicit at the very start (§ 1) the military obligations imposed on these settlers. Like other *franci* they are expected to enter the army with their count. They are required to make military forays and stand guard at his order; and provide food, equipment and horses for the transport and conveyance of the King's representatives whom he sends into Spain or who are dispatched to him from there.¹⁰

The more important provisions expanding the autonomy of the Spanish settlers consisted of the following:

§ 3. The authority of the count was reduced. Henceforth the Spaniards might judge all crimes among themselves except homicide, rape, and arson. Previously all major offenses had been withheld from their

may be consulted in F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 107-110. R. d'Abadal thinks that Charles' expedition of 778 into Spain stirred enthusiasm among the Christian population there, who even collaborated with him and, in consequence, had to flee when his invasion ended in catastrophe. Menéndez Pidal, on the other hand, finds that Charlemagne had to take action against Pamplona because he feared rebellion on the part of its Christian inhabitants; that, in fact, Basques and Navarrais were allied with Saracens in the ambush of the Frank rearguard; *La Chanson de Roland*, pp. 217, 221. D'Abadal endeavors to separate out of the capitulary of Charles the Bald for the Spaniards, June 11, 844, portions of three royal charters: one of Charlemagne for these presumed Spanish refugees which he dates ca. 780, a second also by Charles issued ca. 801, and a third of Louis le Débonnaire dated 815 for Spanish refugees in Septimania and March of Spain. He admits that Charles the Bald's capitulary of 844 is not a unitary document. It exists only in a copy prepared in Barcelona in 898 "after the return of the Barcelonans"; *La Expedición de Carlomagno*, *Coloquios de Roncesvalles*, 68-69; *idem*, *Catalunya carolingia*, II. Els diplomes carolingis a Catalunya, Part II, Introduction and Appendixes I-V.

9. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 107, 109.

10. "Igitur, . . . quia eosdem homines sub protectione et defensione nostra denuo receptos sicut in unitate fidei, sic etiam in unanimitate pacis et dilectionis conservare decrevimus, eo videlicet modo ut sicut ceteri franci homines cum comite suo in exercitum pergant et in marcha nostra juxta rationabilem ejusdem comitis ordinationem atque admonitionem explorationes et excubias, quod usitato vocabulo guaitas dicunt, facere non neglegant et missis nostris quos pro rerum opportunitate illas in partes miserimus aut legatis qui de partibus Hispanie ad nos transmissi fuerint paratas faciant et ad subvectionem eorum veredos donent"; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, p. 130:11-19.

jurisdiction including, in general, every instance where a "neighbor" was the plaintiff against a Spaniard.

§ 5. This article made more explicit and probably increased the power of the Spanish seigneur in that his man might transfer to another seignury but henceforth he must leave his possessions behind.

§ 6. This article also made more explicit an earlier generalized statement. Henceforth the Spaniards were to receive in full possession those territories which they could redeem from wasteland, in whatever county they might be situated, provided only that the Spaniards fulfilled their duties to the King in each county.

§ 7. They might sell or exchange their possessions among one another, give them away or have their children inherit them. In the absence of children or nephews their relatives might inherit in conformity with their own law.

§ 8. No one might unjustly act against them or diminish their property. The customary rights on their property were assured.

Articles 6, 7, and 8 are additions to the old constitution.

§ 9. This reproduced old article 5 which directed that their gifts to the count were not to be considered as "tribute." In the spirit of the Council of Coulaines the conclusion added the phrase "in unity of faith and tranquility of peace" to the older protection formula "let it be permitted them to reside under our defense and protection. . . ."¹¹

If the assumption is correct that we may see here in the Constitution of 844 the design to assimilate the status of the Spaniards in Septimania-March of Spain to that previously granted to the Jews, it may follow conversely that the *praeceptum* of the young Charles can give us information about the lost Capitulary of Louis le Débonnaire in behalf of the Jews, which was doubtless based on Charlemagne's Constitution of 791 (also lost). The articles just discussed would provide the most significant new information.¹²

11. ". . . juxta supradictum modum sub nostra defensione atque protectione in unitate fidei et pacis tranquillitate residere"; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, p. 132:3-4.

12. See pp. 58-60, 66 f. above where the Hebrew sources claim that the Jews held hereditary estates which originated in the Carolingian Age. The imperial

It has been noted that the recipients of these privileges and their predecessors, as in the case of the Jews, had to assume specific obligations for the defense of the maritime coast and the Spanish frontier. The military aspect of Charles' relation to the Spanish settlers does not rule out the obvious need to repopulate the Southland after the ravages of the Saracens, a fact which F. Lot has emphasized while overlooking the military implications of the new constitution. On the other hand, Dupont has underscored the military character of the Spaniards' obligations which appeared already in the Constitution of 815 but are especially significant in that of 844 where, he points out, the notion of fidelity is intimately associated with these military duties. In his view, they condition the entire contract of *aprismo*.¹³

The execution¹⁴ of their Nasi by official decree, if not by royal hand, must have stunned the Jews. In the absence of specific information only subsequent events can intimate that they thought through a policy and decided on a plan of action in the emergency. As for Bernard's first-born, William (in his eighteenth year at the death of his father), his personal reaction was immediate and direct. He took his place at the side of Pepin II and fought against King Charles at Angoumois in June 844. He must have enjoyed the satisfaction of contributing to

mandates of *ca.* 825 do not mention hereditary land-holdings such as are guaranteed in § 7 of the Spaniards' Constitution. However, the same right makes an appearance in the mandate of Emperor Louis of February 22, 839, for the Hebrew Gaudiocus, and his sons Jacob and Vivacius: They request an order "per quam memoratas res quieto ordine absque cujuspiam contradictione aut inquietudine in posterum observare valerent." Whereupon the Emperor orders "ut memorati Hebraei eorumque posteritas memoratas res cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus vel aspicientibus . . . teneant, possideant. Et quidquid de eis jure proprietario ordinare, disponere aut facere vendendo, donando vel commutando voluerint, liberam in omnibus habeant potestatem . . ."; *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 97, cols. 211-12.

13. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 110. A. Dupont, "Considerations sur la colonisation et la vie rurale dans le Roussillon et la Marche d'Espagne au IX^e siècle," *AdM*, LXVII (1955), 225.

14. Meir b. Simeon makes a veiled reference to "another reason . . . but for which the King and all his descendants would have been obligated forever to perform numerous kindnesses to all the Jews in his realm and to protect their person and their substance"; A. Neubauer, "Documents sur Narbonne," *REJ*, X (1885), 90; see Appendix IV this study.

the annihilation of Charles' army, which suffered the capture or death of several highly placed individuals. Auzias thinks that Pepin II appointed the youth Count of Toulouse as successor to his father. It will be recalled that the famous grandfather, after whom William was named, first launched his brilliant career when Charlemagne appointed him Duke of Toulouse at an age slightly, if at all, older.¹⁵

The ecclesiastical forces in Charles' realm pressed their advantage with ever increasing vigor and fervor. There followed in swift succession no fewer than five church councils within less than two years. All of these treated essentially the same questions which, however, the prelates elaborated with constantly increasing specific detail. In the end they brought forth a lengthy statement of anti-Jewish legislation elaborated at Meaux and finally promulgated the next year at Paris, in 846. At the first of these synods, in Thionville,¹⁶ the assembly of clerics urgently requested that the three brother-kings not assign abbeys to laymen. At a succeeding council in the palace at Ver,¹⁷ December 844, the ecclesiastics issued a long and vehement protest against the detention of church property by lay persons. The fall of Bernard let loose a flood of demands such as only Agobard of Lyons had dared utter twenty years earlier.¹⁸ Were the Jews of Septimania-Toulousain, as retainers of church estates, now too the prime target of his colleagues at Ver? This synod marked the rise of Hincmar, later Archbishop of Rheims, who was to become the leader of the opposition against the Jews of Frankia. He had accompanied Charles on the expedition against Toulouse when Bernard was apprehended and executed. The Council of Beauvais "elected" Hincmar Metropolitan of Rheims about the middle of April 845, whereupon the prelates reiterated their demands.¹⁹ The restoration of ecclesiastical property stood at the head of these resolutions. They called for the abrogation of any royal acts which had ceded church estates to lay proprietors, and demanded steps

15. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 113, note 1. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, p. 259.

16. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 123-26; *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, II, pt. 2, p. 112.

17. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 126-29; *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, p. 383.

18. See A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," pp. 33-35.

19. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 128, 142-44.

against the lay "oppressors" of the clergy. Charles obligated himself to carry out their requests. As if driven by irresistible determination to bring these issues to an immediate, final conclusion the churchmen came together very soon after at Meaux.²⁰ Here assembled the metropolitans of Rheims and of Sens, and their suffragans, as well as the Archbishop of Bourges, on June 17, 845. Hincmar had been consecrated Archbishop of Rheims on May 3. He played the dominant role at the Council of Meaux and at its continuation in Paris the following year. The Council of Beauvais never really ended; that of Meaux continued at Paris.²¹

The prelates at Meaux drew their inspiration from the polemic of 829²² and the grand program initiated at the time when Bernard of Septimania was first summoned to court as Emperor Louis' chamberlain. The ecclesiastics drew up a number of new articles against abuses by powerful lay persons, calling for abrogation of those acts detrimental to the church which had been policy since the time of Charlemagne and Louis le Débonnaire. They decided on reform of the clergy. They repeated their attack on the scandalous practice of entrusting abbeys to laymen, demanded that they withdraw from the monasteries at once, and banned acceptance of the monk's habit from them. They added precise measures for the restoration of ecclesiastical estates, requesting Charles to determine those which he and his father had given away improperly in free allod and to correct the situation. A remarkably large proportion of all the canons worked out at Meaux-Paris treated the Jews²³ by name for the first time and attempted to redefine their status and role in the Frankish realm. These decisions at Meaux, promulgated the succeeding year at Paris, paralleled closely the material assembled in *On Jewish Superstitions*²⁴ by Agobard and two colleagues out of former governmental and ecclesiastical decrees. The Meaux synod added relevant legislation of its own.

20. *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, II, pt. 2, no. 293, pp. 388-421. Krause omits an article between § 79 and § 80; see note 27, p. 297 this text.

21. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 146, 145-48, 158.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 146; *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, II, pt. 2, pp. 29-39.

23. *Ibid.*, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, no. 293, §§ 73-76, pp. 416-419.

24. Agobard, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH*, Epistolarum, V, 3, no. 8, pp. 185-99.

Perhaps because he followed a suggestion by the editors that these canons may belong to a later period (after 884), L. Halphen omits mention of them although he analyzes in detail the other decisions of the Council of Meaux-Paris. However, Amolo's tract *Against the Jews*, which bears the date 846, is obviously related to the decisions of Meaux-Paris and serves to date these canons beyond a doubt.²⁵ The studied silence of the Carolingian court chroniclers, except only for occasional charges of treason against the Jews, has deprived modern students of a framework and background into which they might fit the frenetic anti-Jewish action of the Synod of Meaux-Paris.

The time must have seemed ripe for the leaders of the church to press for decisive action against the Jews of the Frank Empire. The conversion of Bodo in 838 was still a fresh and painful memory; his conversionist propaganda in Spain and, most recently, his agitation for Muslim persecution of the Christians living there were an incessant thorn. The incursions of the Norsemen, their devastation of the countryside and, in particular, their audacious and stunning capture of Paris in March of 845 were interpreted as divine punishment for precisely those abuses against which the clergy had been invoking sanctions.²⁶ Most of all, the execution of Bernard and the collapse of his power emboldened the anti-Jewish forces around Charles to strike at the influence of the Jews in the empire and destroy it if possible. The elaborate anti-Jewish legislation finalized in Meaux and eventually promulgated at Paris where the prelates reconvened in February 846 was to serve this end.²⁷

25. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 145-48, 158; cf. p. 162. *Capitularia*, eds. Boretius and Krause, II, pt. 2, p. 389, note 3. On Amolo's tract see this text, pp. 301, 305.

Hincmar's correspondence with Amolo about the recently held Diet of the King and the Primates of the realm "concerning the status of Jews in this kingdom" leaves no doubt as to the major concern of the synod of Meaux-Paris; see this text, p. 306.

26. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 136-41.

27. *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, II, pt. 2, no. 293, pp. 388-421. A. M. Königer adds a canon between § 78 and § 80 which Krause did not include. This additional canon requires blood relatives to give testimony in capital cases at church councils against wicked persons who are incorrigible and rebellious of the sacred canons: "Scelerati et in capitalibus viciis, quae animae inferunt mortem,

In particular, canon 73 collates at considerable length anti-Jewish edicts of Roman emperors, the Frankish kings, Pope Gregory, and of other ecclesiastical authorities and church councils. These regulations are all of a sharply restrictive and repressive character. The opening words of article 73 summarize this earlier legislation "of the sacred canons, of the more ancient kings and of the laws" as animated by the determination to keep Jews apart from Christian princes and all the other faithful of God, whether clerics or laymen, men or women. The Council of 845-46 promulgated the following regulations excerpted from the records of the past presumably because of their relevance for the contemporary situation in the Frankish realm:

A slave whether Christian or of another faith who is purchased by a Jew and circumcised is to enjoy permanent freedom from his Jewish master.

Jews or pagans are not to serve as attorneys or as soldiers in order that Christians might not become subservient to them.

All Jews are denied public office (*honores et dignitates*); no civil or military authority is to be open to them. They may not harass any Christians and certainly not ecclesiastical persons under pretext of power provided by any public office, nor judge or condemn them. They are not to be in charge of prisons nor subject Christians to imprisonment. They may build no new synagogues but may only repair ruined ones.

A Jew who converts a serf or freeman without his consent or by

obstinati et incorrigibiles et sanctorum canonum statutis rebelles in synodicis sunt accusandi conciliis. Quod praecipue ab illis fieri oportet, qui eis sunt carnis affinitate propinquiores . . ." He dates this canon in the first half of the ninth century; A. M. Königer, "Zu den Beschlüssen der Synoden von Meaux 845 . . .," *Neues Archiv*, XXXI (1906), 389-90. A considerable number of the anti-Jewish restrictions of Meaux-Paris are repeated in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, see *Appendix ad saeculum ix Isidori Mercatoris decretalium collectio*, ed. H. Denzinger, *PL*, CXXX, Index, col. 123 ff. The Decretals are a forgery of the period 847-52 carried out in the Rheims diocese; J. Haller, *Nikolaus I. und Pseudoisidor*, pp. 161-66. S. Williams discusses the political and religious reasons for their composition around middle of the ninth century in the Rheims district, "Le ms Saint-Omer 189 des Fausses Décretales d'Isidore Mercator," *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, XX (1964), 257-66; and *idem*, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Problem Today," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 702-07.

violent suasion shall be punished by death. Corporal punishment awaits anyone who attacks another's faith with perverse doctrine. Whoever of them insinuates himself into public office shall be considered as before to be of the vilest condition.

Jews are not to possess Christian slaves but these are to be redeemed. Christian slaves held by Jews are to be turned over to delegated persons or else sold to Christians within forty days and immediately removed from the domicile of the Jews. Laymen or clerics may not take part in the festal occasions of heretics or Jews, the clerics under threat of corporal punishment, the laymen of exclusion from the Mass and converse with other Christians.

Jews may not be appointed judges over Christians or tax collectors, thereby creating the appearance of Christian subjection to Jews.

Jews in towns and municipalities have refused to accept payment in return for liberating Christians from servitude to them. Henceforth no Christian shall be obligated to render service to a Jew but whichever Christian pays twelve *solidi* for a good Christian slave shall acquire that slave either for liberty or for service. The slave of a Jew who refuses these terms may live with Christians of his choice. A Jew who converts a Christian slave to Judaism shall be deprived of that slave and punished.

On certain stated occasions of the Christian calendar Jews are not to show themselves in any public places when Christians are present (repeated several times). Carnal intercourse of Christians and Jews is forbidden.

Canon 74. Any Christian, lay or ecclesiastic, bishop, cleric or secular, showing favor or partiality to Jews or accepting favours from them and promoting their cause in court is to be anathematized and separated from the body of Christians.

Canon 75. Jewish children are to be separated from their parents and brought up in the Christian faith in monasteries or by other God-fearing Christians.

Canon 76. Merchants of the realm, whether Christians or Jews, are not to transport pagan slaves through the country to infidels and enemies beyond the borders but shall be compelled by our pious princes to sell such slaves to us and within our borders so that their souls may eventually be saved.

Canon 77. Magnates, male or female, are to take measures to prevent the spread of adultery, concubinage, and incest in their dwellings.

The older legislation repeated here and the more recent decisions promulgated simultaneously at Paris may be summarized under the following rubrics:

(1) Ban Jews from public office as judges, toll collectors, and wardens of prisons or as military personnel so that no Jew will be able to exercise rule or authority over Christians. Separate Jews from princes and rulers.

(2) Bar Jews from holding Christians in servitude to them. Restrict trade with pagan slaves so that they are imported into, but not exported out of, the empire.

(3) Prevent Jews from converting any Christians to Judaism, whether free or servile.

(4) Set up barriers to social intercourse and marriage between Jews and Christians. Ban all marital relationships between them.

(5) Suppress Judaism.

One may assume that the prelates assembled at Meaux-Paris selected and extracted those decisions from the considerable body of anti-Jewish legislation of the past which they thought had application to the contemporary situation. Agobard's epistle *De insolentia Judaeorum* twenty years earlier had already objected to the erection of new synagogues "against the law" and to the alleged sale of Christians to the Muslims of Spain, for the same reason.²⁸ His successor Amolo who wrote the *Liber contra Judaeos* in association with the action of Meaux-Paris, tells of Jews who were "illegally" appointed toll collectors "in several cities." In "more remote places" they would exploit the power of their public office to coerce "poor and ignorant" Christians to deny their faith.²⁹ In fact, many of the earlier canons and the imperial and

28. Agobard, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH*, *Epistolarum*, V, 3, no. 7, p. 184:32, "eis contra legem permittitur novas synagogas extruere. Ut ipsos Iudeos christianos vendere ad Hyspanias non permitterent," p. 183:27-28.

29. Amolo, *Epistola seu Liber contra Judaeos*, *PL*, CXVI, § XLII, cols. 170-71; see this text, p. 304.

Frankish legislation quoted in the acts of the Council Meaux-Paris were already collated by Agobard and his colleagues in *Superstitions of the Jews* in order to combat the prestige and activities of the Jews of his day. These were broadcast by Amolo in his own work for the same purpose.³⁰

Amolo Bishop of Lyons dates his work *Against the Jews* in the year 846. Despite the editors' title which makes King Charles the addressee, it appears from the contents that Amolo directed his remarks to the bishops primarily and only indirectly to the sovereign.³¹ But his epistle collates anti-Jewish legislation in considerable detail, to a far greater extent even than was eventually incorporated into the decisions of the church council at Paris. It is therefore probable that the ecclesiastical gathering consulted Amolo's collection before making its final decision, although the initiative for these enactments did not originate necessarily with him. The prelates may have been interested particularly in Agobard's compilation; Amolo's communication transmitted this. In that case it would appear that Amolo completed his work early in 846 in time for the deliberations in Paris³² which began on February 14.

But Amolo's intent was not only to compile the available anti-

30. Agobard, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, no. 8, pp. 185-99; Amolo, *Epistola*, §§ XLVII-LVIII, cols. 174-83.

31. The editors' title, Amolo, *Epistola, . . . ad Carolum Regem*, PL, CXVI, cols. 141-42. Amolo defines his obligation and that of his addressees: Since the harm done by Judaism to Christians is so little known he deems it necessary that they take steps to bring this to the attention of all; "et tam per nos, quam per vestram unanimen fraternitatem et fraternam unanimatem, ad notitiam omnium qui nobis in Domino regendi commissi sunt, vel cuicumque nosse (sc. Judaei) voluerint, et valuerint pervenire"; *Epistola*, § I, col. 141. He pleads that the prelates act to the end, that the royal sovereigns uphold the sacred canons and ancient laws: "Unde collaboret suffragetur nobis vestrae sanctitatis unanimitas, ut communi conatu, et voto ac supplicatione imploremus, ut obtineamus apud pios principes nostros, ut in regno eorum super hac re sanctorum canonum et antiquarum legum ubique instituta serventur"; *Epistola*, § XLIV, col. 172.

32. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 158. It is of course possible that Amolo also sent a copy of his Tract to King Charles the Bald on the eve of the Diet of Epemay in June, in an effort to win the sovereign's support for the decisions of Meaux-Paris. Cf. B. Blumenkranz, "Les auteurs chrétiens latins," *REJ*, CXIV (1955), 49-50, who provides a summary of Amolo's *Epistola* on pp. 50-54: *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, pp. 195, 196-200.

Jewish material of a legislative character and to urge its adoption, so as to raise barriers to Jewish influence and activity; ideological as well as practical considerations impelled him to a polemical objective. The opening words of his opus provide the backdrop for his effort. He is driven by fear of the danger inherent in contact with the Jews' religion ("perfidy") and social intercourse with them. Of this peril many nobles and officials (*honoratos*) are unaware, even the educated. Wherefore he deems it necessary to make known the edicts instituted by divine authority (in Scripture) or by the revered fathers of the church as well as former princes of the realm (§ I).

Amolo continues with denunciations of Jews and Judaism drawn from the New Testament and the church fathers (§§ III-VII); lists some of the outstanding teachers of the Jewish *Deuteroseis* (§ VIII), and concludes that they have continued in their errors until the present (§ IX). Amolo then proceeds to discuss in some detail the Jewish theory of two Messiahs.³³ One Messiah, of the stock of David, was born, according to the Jews, in the night when Vespasian and Titus destroyed Jerusalem. He was carried off to Rome where he lies concealed in crypts and caves, his body completely covered with wounds; through these injuries the Jews claims remission for sins. This Messiah appeared to their teacher Joshua b. Levi.³⁴ They call him Messiah ben David (§ XII). Another Messiah they name ben Ephraim. The Jews believe he will lead them in battle against Gog and Magog, when he will be killed and widely mourned (§ XIII). The prelate then tries to refute these theories, concluding that Scripture foretold the coming of Messiah while the Temple stood, not at its fall. But in consequence of having killed the true Messiah, he declares, the Jews are condemned to eternal captivity (§§ XIV, XV, XXII, and XXIII).

The prelate's heated discussion of this theory recalls the polemic of Albar of Cordova but a short while earlier in reaction to Bodo-Eleazar's contention that Messiah b. David had been born and anointed

33. Cf. Sefer Zerubbabel, ed. J. Even Shemuel, *Midreshé Geulah* (Homilies of Redemption), 2nd ed., pp. 71-72, 56-88; especially pp. 57-59, 75, 77-78, 109, note 1; see this text, p. 104 note 6.

34. Messiah was born on the day the Temple was destroyed and carried off by a whirlwind, T. j. Berakhot 5a; Lam. Rabba on 1:16, § 57; cf. T. b. Sanhedrin 98a (Joshua b. Levi).

at the time of the destruction of the Temple and was lying in Rome bound in chains of fire and iron.³⁵ Other portions of Amolo's work also parallel Albar's answers to Bodo-Eleazar, such as the blasphemous description of the normal bodily functions of the Christian Messiah (§ XXIV).³⁶ The apparent repetition of some of Albar's material in Amolo's writing suggests the possibility that the Albar-Eleazar correspondence may have been sent to Frankland for a more adequate response than Albar's own intellectual resources, or those of his Spanish mentors, could muster. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that Amolo includes in his *Liber contra Judaeos* a fiery description of how Bodo-Eleazar was "seduced" by the Jews (§ XLII).³⁷

Having disposed of the Jews' theory of two Messiahs Bishop Amolo continues with a recital of the mysterious frustration of the Jews' efforts to rebuild their Temple in the days of Emperor Julian Apostate. He also points up the failure to restore the Jews from captivity by means of messianic movements such as took place on the island of Crete, and again later in the year 498, which was 430 years after the destruction of the Temple in 68 C.E. corresponding to the sojourn of 430 years in Egypt (§ XIX). He then takes up the Jews' blasphemy that the Crucifixion was merely a usual act following execution, and

35. "Dixisti enim quod ipsa natus est die et unctus quo Iherusalem vastata fuit," *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVI, § 10, p. 237; "Tu solutus es, ille (sc. Messias) ligatus; tu iuvenis, ille iam senex," *ibid.*, § 11, p. 237; "festinas ostendere quod viginti et septem anni tantummodo supersunt usque tuus Messias a vinculis igneis aut ferreis exsolvatur," *ibid.*, § 7, p. 234; "Si (sc. Messias) Deus est, ergo non est David, nec filius eius, nec vinculis religatus . . . quem vinculis constrictum et catenis ferreis audis ligatum . . . ?" *ibid.*, XVIII, § 13, p. 260.

36. Cf. with *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVI, § 11, pp. 237-38, where Albar applies such description of bodily functions to the Jewish messiah apparently in retaliation for Eleazar's similar remarks about Jesus. Eleazar's full statement is not repeated by Albar but more of it may be reproduced here by Amolo from Eleazar's original text. Amolo however restricts himself to dealing with Eleazar's reference to the birth of Jesus whose body at parturition must have been soiled by contact with the genitals. Cf. "Et cum ore pestifero dicis, dum per virginalia claustra pollutumque meatum propriis labis osculasse genitalia astruis . . ."; *Epistolario*, ed. J. Madoz, XVII, § 11, p. 257; cf. § 12, p. 259.

37. Amolo gives Bodo's Hebrew name as Eliezer, *PL*, CXVI, col. 171; Prudence, as Eleazar, see this study pp. 274-77.

that Jesus' corpse was buried in accordance with the requirements of the law because "a hanged person is cursed of God" (Deut. 21:23); and to avoid pollution of the land. The Jews maintain also that his corpse was carried through Jerusalem and thrown away, his sepulcher staying vacant thereafter except for rubbish cast therein. Furthermore he was the adulterous offspring of Pandera. In their language the Jews call him *Ussum Hamizri*, "Dissipator Egyptius" (§§ XXV-XL).

Incorporating some of the comments of Agobard,³⁸ his predecessor, Amolo concludes this section of his exposition with the complaint that the Jews say what they want and do what they want. Christians are polluted by eating with them and serving them at home and in the fields. Since Jews may not keep Christian slaves (*servos*) they employ Christian freemen as their servitors. Christian hirelings, male and female, observe the Sabbath with them but work on Sunday.³⁹ They violate Lent. They are so corrupted that these Christians drink and buy wine deliberately polluted by the Jews. The Christians even make use of such wine in the Mass. The Jews are to be found in Lyons and in other towns of the realm (§ XLI).

Leading up to the compilation of anti-Jewish legislation about to follow, Amolo tells of certain converts from Judaism who have exposed the evils of the Jews to him reporting that "in certain cities they have been established illegally as toll collectors and in more remote places they are in the habit of severely coercing poor and untutored Christians by means of the toll due and persuade them to deny Christ; whereupon the Jews then cheerfully let them go on."⁴⁰

The Jews engage in theological discussions with Christians about

38. Agobard, *Epistolae*, no. 7, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH*, *Epistolarum* V, 3, pp. 184:26-35. See A. J. Zuckerman, "Political Uses of Theology . . .," pp. 35, 49.

39. The mandates of Emperor Louis the Debonair required Jews to permit their Christian servitors to observe Sundays, fasts, and feast days, *Formulae*, ed. K. Zeumer, no. 30, p. 309:14-15; no. 31, p. 310:20-21; no. 52, p. 325:18-19.

40. "Proditum est nobis a quibusdam, qui ex eorum errore ad Christianitatem veniunt, per quos etiam caetera eorum mala nobis fideliter exponuntur; quod quidam ipsorum, qui in nonnullis civitatibus telonarii illicitè constituuntur, soleant in remotioribus locis Christianos pauperes et ignaros, pro eodem teloneo acriter constringere deinde ut Christum negent persuadere, et tunc eos quasi remissius agentes dimittere"; Amolo, *Epistola*, PL, CXVI, § XLII, cols. 170-71.

the nature of God the Father and Jesus the Son, and the like. Here follows Amolo's discussion of the conversion and blasphemies of Bodo, whom however he names Eliezer (§ XLII). Wherefore, concludes Amolo, detesting their impious faith and wishing to keep Christians (entrusted to him by God) far from infection through the Jews, he publicly announced three times in the current year that according to canon law everyone should avoid social contact with the Jews. Christians should not serve them in towns or in villages. The Jews should provide for their own needs with their pagan slaves (*servis*). Thereby Amolo disclosed that he took his stand with Bishop Agobard in the determination to force the Jews to give back their (formerly ecclesiastical) estates by reducing them to wasteland because deprived of their Christian labor force. No one should contaminate himself with their food and drink but should imitate the example of his predecessor (Agobard) who undertook to remove the evil of the Jews not alone by words but by writings (§ XLIII).

Bishop Amolo thereupon summons the prelates for a united effort in order to achieve observance "by our pious Princes" of the sacred canons and ancient laws everywhere in the realm; and to avoid that the pious sons and rectors of the church should neglect ecclesiastical statutes because of the annual taxes and other dues which the Jews pay.⁴¹ He calls for action against the Jews recalling that Sárach, the free, afflicted Hagar, the bondwoman; and this is not persecution (§ XLV). The Jews convert their *servi* to Judaism (§ XLVIII).

There then follows the compilation of legislation against the Jews beginning with the Theodosian Code, drawn apparently from Agobard's collection (§§ XLVII-LVI). This found acceptance, at least in part, by the prelates assembled at the council in Paris. Bishop Amolo concludes, Jews are an accursed people (§ LI). He then ends his work with exhortations to follow the examples of the most holy and revered fathers of the church, their predecessors, in their action against the sacrilegious society of the Jews (§§ LIX-LX).

The decisions of the Council of Meaux-Paris reflect an authority

41. See this work, p. 301; Amolo, *Liber Contra Judaeos*, PL, CXVI, § XLIV, col. 172; "... nec propter annua tributa et exenia sua quae ab illis persolvuntur, velut pii Ecclesiae filii atque rectores, ecclesiastica statuta neglexerint"; *ibid.*

and power in the hands of the Jews which were obviously of grave concern to the assembled prelates but which the official chroniclers merely hint at.

The churchmen laid their decisions before King Charles in the same year 846 at an assembly of the realm in Epernay, a domain of the church of Rheims. Usually the Diets met on royal domain. This appeared to augur well for the ecclesiastical forces, whose sustained efforts over so many months seemed about to be crowned with success. But to the amazement and consternation of the bishops, who were excluded from the proceedings, Charles rejected the great majority of their demands with the support of the princes of his realm. He confirmed only nineteen out of eighty-three or eighty-four articles. As for the proposed legislation on the Jews he made short shrift of every single canon directed specifically against them.⁴² The chagrin of the church party must have been profound, although it is hardly even hinted at in Flodoard's very brief and incomplete summary of Hincmar's communication to Amolo Bishop of Lyons "about the Diet which had been held with the King and the Primates of the realm concerning also the status of the Jews in this kingdom."⁴³

On the other hand the jubilation of the Jews must have known no bounds and is probably recorded in somewhat cryptic style in the following literary historical statement of a later period:

This *Targum* [Aramaic Bible translation] as presently punctuated, was transcribed from a book brought from Babylon which had supra-linear Assyrian

42. A contemporary ascribes Charles' sudden about-face to "the doing of certain persons," who are unidentified, and to the opposition of the lay aristocracy: "Et quia factione quorundam motus est animus ipsius regis contra episcopos dissidentibus regni primoribus sui ab eorundem episcoporum ammonitione et remotis ab eodem concilio episcopis . . ." *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, II, 2, p. 261. Cf. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 162-65.

43. "Amolo Lugdunensi de placito quod habuerat cum rege regnique primoribus et de Judaeorum in hoc regno statu"; Hincmari archiepiscopi remensis epistolarum pars prior, no. 10, *MGH*, *Epistolarum VIII Karolini aevi VI*, fasc. I, p. 4; H. Schrörs, *Hincmar*, p. 518, note 10; p. 562, note 7. Cf. E. Lesne, "Hincmar et l'Empereur Lothaire," *Revue des questions historiques*, LXXVIII (1905), 9, who views this communication as an effort by Hincmar to ingratiate himself with the Emperor by writing to influential persons at court after his consecration.

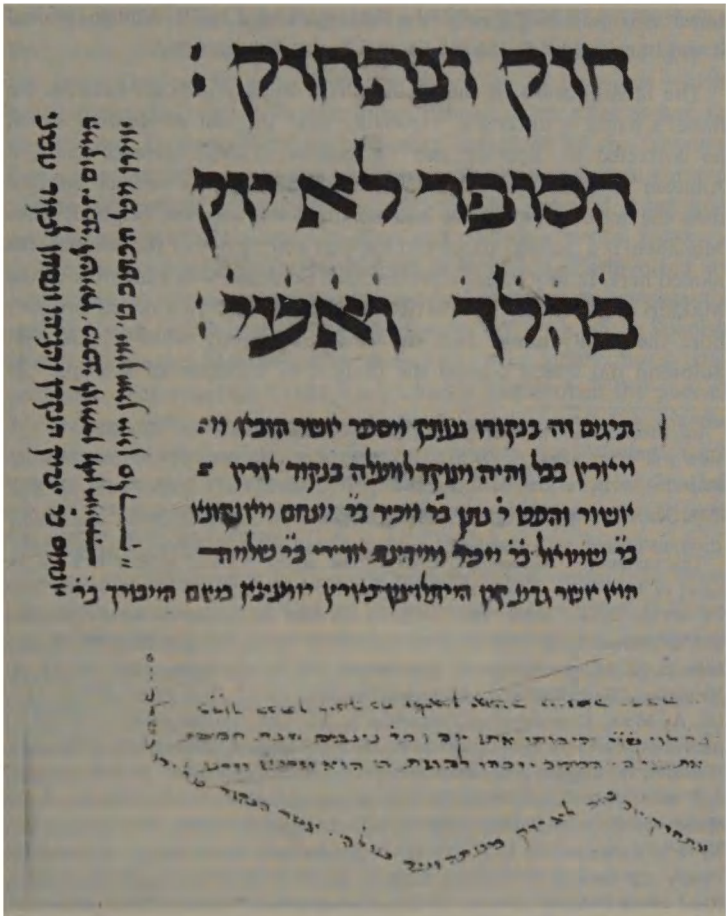


FIG. 3

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina MS Codex de Rossi, no. 12 (2004).

punctuation. It was turned about [given sub-linear punctuation] by R Nathan son of Makhir son of Menahem of Ancona son of Samuel son of Makhir of the County of Auvergne son of Solomon, he who broke in pieces the horn of the scoffer in the province of Rheims by the name [of Hincmarus],

son of Anatom son of Tsadok the Punctuator; and he [R. Nathan] revised it and transferred it to the sub-linear Tiberian punctuation.⁴⁴

The identification of this Solomon is doubtly difficult because his father's name is uncertain. Neubauer read the text as *Anatom* which he corrected to *Agathos* and retranslated *Tobiah*. Graetz changed *Anatom* to *Menaḥem*.⁴⁵ This emendation is hardly correct because then the scribe would have had no difficulty with the original, since *Menaḥem* is a familiar name and appears among one of the descendants named here. In any event, it is clear that Solomon was a member of the Makhiri clan, or else he married into it, because two of his progeny bore the family name. Nor do we know exactly what it was that Solomon did which dashed the designs of Hincmar of Rheims.⁴⁶ If

44. Parma, Nazionale biblioteca, MS Codex de Rossi, no. 12 (2004):

חרגום זה בנקודו נעתק מספר אשר הובא מארץ בבל והיה מנוקד למעלה בנקוד ארץ אשר והפכו ר' נתן בר מכיר בר מנחם מאנקונא בר שמואל בר מכיר ממדינת אויירי בר שלמה הוא אשר גרע קרן המחלוצץ בארץ (רומנצא) רימנצא בשם המבורך בר אנתום בר צדוק הנקוד והגיהו ונסחו לנקוד טברני.

This manuscript was copied in 1311. The scribe misread *by the name of Hincmarus* (which he no longer could identify) for *by (the aid of) the Blessed Name*. This colophon has been the subject of much discussion and speculation since G. B. de Rossi first called attention to it in his *MSS Codices hebraici . . .*, I, no. 12. See C. Bernheimer, *Paleografia Ebraica*, pp. 218–19; A. Neubauer, "Early Settlement of Jews in Southern Italy," *JQR*, IV o.s. (1892), 615–16; A. Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, p. 55. The reading בארץ רומנצא led to such unsatisfactory identifications as Romanza, Romagna, Romania, and Magenza. However, the slightly emended בארץ רימנצא connotes very likely *in terra remense*; and the cryptic "scoffer" המחלוצץ is apparently Hincmar Archbishop of the church province of Rheims, arch-enemy of the Jews in the ninth century. Cf. H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, V, p. 552. H. Gross does not list אויירי or רימנצא of the Parma MS because he did not think to locate them in France, *Gallia Judaica*. Read ארוירן (Arvern) or אווירן (Avern, Auvergne) for אויירי. See this study p. 325, note 20 for suggested reading שניאור (Sanyor) for אנתום (Anatom ?).

45. A. Neubauer, "Early Settlement of the Jews in Southern Italy," *JQR*, IV (1892), 615–16; H. Graetz, *Geschichte*, V, p. 552. See also A. Merx, *Chrestomathie Targumica*, p. 55.

46. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals emphasize that bishops may not be accused or judged by laymen nor can they be cited before a lay court. The accusers must be thoroughly examined, especially heretics and enemies of the church; W. Sommer, *Inhalt, Tendenz und kirchenrechtlicher Erfolg der Pseudo-Isidorischen Dekretalen-Sammlung*, pp. 5, 10, 14–16, 37, 39, 41–53. See his careful discussion of the time and

we did we also would know very likely what impelled King Charles at Epernay to dismiss so imperiously the demands of the bishops against the Jews. One might guess that the succession of invasions which buffeted Frankia, the series of military defeats which Charles had to absorb and, in particular, the precarious condition of the frontiers forced the young King to make a reassessment of his newly inaugurated anti-Jewish policy. Solomon's role can only be surmised from subsequent events. The military situation was doubtless a vital factor.

The execution of Bernard Nasi of the Jews of Frankia involved, as noted above, a revision of Carolingian policy, hitherto consistently pursued, with regard to the role of the Jews as defenders of the Spanish frontier and the Mediterranean coastland. Presumably, as a consequence, they concluded that King Charles had broken the pact of his fathers with them, thus terminating their responsibility for the protection of the southern borders. Bernard's son William went further. He joined the forces of Pepin II and helped surprise Charles' army and annihilate it in Aquitaine June 14, 844, with personnel losses that really hurt the King.⁴⁷ Simultaneously, whether by design or coincidence, successive waves of invasion broke upon the realm from many directions. Just as soon as Charles raised the fruitless siege of Toulouse the Norsemen made their way without resistance up the Garonne as far as Toulouse (at the end of 844), and continued on to Spain and Morocco.⁴⁸ The next frontier to yield to foreign pressure was in the

place of the forgery, his preference for Rheims or its diocese and the date 836-53; *ibid.*, pp. 33-38. The author of the *Vita sancti Theodardi* applies the regulations of the Decretals to the Jewish accusation against an unnamed bishop (Hincmar?) in the County of Toulouse. Do these provisions reflect also Solomon's action against Hincmar of Rheims in 846? See A. J. Zuckerman, "Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 53. Cf. S. Williams, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Problem Today," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 702-07; *idem*, "Le ms Saint-Omer 189 des Fausses Décretales d'Isidore Mercator," *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, XX (1964), 257-66. Emil Seckel declared, "The most audacious and the vastest forgery of ecclesiastical legal sources ever undertaken and by means of which the world has been deluded for centuries on end is the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals." S. Williams quotes this statement with approval and asserts it is still valid, "Pseudo-Isidore from the Manuscripts," *The Catholic Historical Review*, LIII (1967), pp. 58, 66.

47. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 113-17.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.

north, at Rouen, where in 845 a Viking fleet of a hundred and twenty ships entered the Seine. The pagan Northmen struck terror among the inhabitants who panicked and fled. The Northmen continued on to Paris where the population abandoned the town to the invader. King Charles ordered a mobilization throughout his kingdom; but the response was desultory. Even more feeble was the eventual attack of his forces, who actually fled before fighting. On Easter Sunday the heathens entered Paris and took possession of the abandoned city. Only a substantial and deeply humiliating tribute proffered by Charles could induce them to leave the once proud city. The landed magnates showed no interest in resisting the invaders; in fact, it was said they had allowed themselves to be bribed.⁴⁹ The Vikings' invasions may, of course, have no relation to Charles' new military policy. The timing suggests, however, an awareness at the least of the Frankish realm's frontier weakness. Charles' efforts to mobilize his forces in order to protect the borders were pathetically fruitless, almost ignored. At the same time it will be recalled that Rouen had been the exile of Bera, the first Marquis of the Spanish March. Some scholars think he may have been a son of Duke William's, hence a brother of the executed Count Bernard.⁵⁰

Hardly had the peril of the Norse been averted, if only temporarily, in the north when they returned in 845 to Aquitaine between Bordeaux and Saintes, took the latter place, and killed the Duke of the Gascons. Almost simultaneously Nominoë chief of Brittany rose in revolt. Charles moved to reclaim his land on the northwestern frontier but on November 22, 845, he suffered such a crushing defeat at the hands of Nominoë that he barely escaped with his life.⁵¹

The Spanish situation caused Charles hardly less anguish. Bodo-Eleazar, ever since arriving in Spain, had propagandized against Christianity. He now stepped up his agitation and began to foment violence against Christians by inciting the authorities to place before them the alternative of conversion or death. By 847 Christians in

49. E. Joranson, *The Danegeld in France*, pp. 26-34. Again in 852 the Frank army refused to fight invaders *via* Rouen nor did the magnates exert themselves, pp. 39-42; F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 130-41.

50. See this study, p. 191, 197; cf. J. Calmette, *De Bernardo*, p. 14.

51. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 154.

Muslim Spain were impelled to address a dispatch to King Charles and to the bishops and lay aristocracy of the faithful in Frankia pleading desperately for Eleazar's extradition. His close association with Spanish Jewish masters makes it plausible that his action was not unilaterally conceived; it may even have a relationship to the execution of Bernard of Septimania and the deliberations of the church councils in Frankia. The cry for his extradition underscores the extent of his success before 847.⁵²

Even more ominous for King Charles, a certain Muslim of Goth origin, Musa by name, was propelling the entire north of the peninsula into an expanding insurrection. He had thrown off the yoke of 'Abd ar-Rahman II of Cordova and was threatening the Frankish March of Spain. He occupied the territory of Tudela-Saragossa and Huesca, attacked the March, ravaged Urgel and Ribagorça, and imprisoned the counts Sancho and Emmeno. Charles had to yield to the humiliating necessity of negotiating with the rebel and pacifying him.⁵³ Nor was that all. During the fateful year 846 the Saracens invaded Italy. In August they held the most revered sanctuary of Christendom in the West, the basilica of St. Peter in Rome. The Frank counterattack failed disastrously.

By June 846 when the bishops confronted the young King in Epernay with their determination that he continue his anti-Jewish pro-ecclesiastical policy and even expand it, the military and diplomatic situation had deteriorated to the point where second thoughts seemed called for. On the other hand, the period 845-47 was by no means altogether

52. Lot thinks there is no substance to the charge of Bishop Prudence regarding Eleazar's agitation against the Christians in Spain; he considers it a figment of the chronicler's imagination; *ibid.*, p. 170. However, the entire orientation of Amolo's work is to stress the perils of association with the Jews and denounce their influence, culminating in Bodo's conversion. This witnesses to the seriousness with which he viewed Eleazar's action. But Amolo does not mention the proselyte's incitement against the Christians in Spain. This is probably in consequence of the fact that he completed his *opus* in early 846 while the plea for Eleazar's extradition from Spain did not reach Frankia until 847. During the subsequent decade persecution of the Christians continued in Spain although this was not necessarily Eleazar's doing.

53. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 170-72. F. Ganshof reports attacks by Saracens and Greeks on the area Marseilles-Arles, especially the latter, in the period 838-60, "Notes sur les ports de Provence," *RH*, CLXXXIII (1938), 32.

devoid of at least initial steps pointing toward later constructive achievement. Where Marquis Bernard himself had failed to bring Pepin II to acknowledge Charles' sovereignty, this was nonetheless achieved in June-July, 845. Pepin swore fealty to his uncle pledging aid while Charles granted his nephew most of Aquitaine. Likewise Charles concluded a peaceful settlement of the dispute with Nominoë on the morrow of the Diet of Epernay. The Breton chief secured independence in return for nominal recognition of his Frank sovereign.⁵⁴ But perhaps the most important attainment of the time was an alliance with 'Abd ar-Rahman himself. At the end of 846 and the beginning of 847 King Charles must have viewed with distinct relief the arrival of a legation from the Emir of Cordova which came to Rheims to cement an alliance for peace.⁵⁵ If Solomon, in line with the experience of his predecessors on the Spanish borderland, had offered to engineer this concordat, a grateful King might, in anticipation, have decided to review his Jewish policy before yielding to the bishops at Epernay. A remark of the ninth century offers otherwise only a darkly veiled explanation of Charles' sudden change of heart at the time: "Because of the doing of certain persons [not identified] the disposition of the King was aroused against the bishops."⁵⁶

Such a gesture of reconciliation by Solomon, implying obviously the support and cooperation of the Jewish community, could lead also to the eventual isolation of Bernard's older son William, if the latter persisted in what would then become a strictly personal feud with Charles.

In 847 the Northmen returned, ravaged the coasts of Aquitaine, and laid siege to Bordeaux. Pepin II could not defend Bordeaux, and he feared an appeal to Charles for help. King Charles undertook an expedition against the invaders in February 848 but was unable to

54. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 149, 166, 172.

55. *AB*, anno 847, p. 34. The sealing of this pact for peace in Rheims, the See of Archbishop Hincmar, would underscore this prelate's defeat and mark the termination of Charles' anti-Jewish orientation, if Solomon had been in fact the driving force behind the agreement. Cf. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 170. See E. Florez, *España Sagrada*, XIII, pp. 487-88 for another explanation; *HGL*, I, p. 1063.

56. "Et quia factione quorundam motus est animus ipsius regis contra episcopos"; *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, II, 2, p. 261.

deliver the town. Left to its own resources Bordeaux was captured at night; according to the annalist Prudence, thanks to the betrayal of the Jews. Duke William, identified generally as the elder son of Count Bernard, who was in charge of the defense, fell into the hands of the Vikings.⁵⁷ He later escaped or was ransomed and made his way to his father's former realm in the March of Spain. Here he entered into an alliance with 'Abd ar-Rahman of Cordova who helped him to recapture Ampurias and Barcelona "more by guile than by force." He expelled King Charles' appointee at the end of 848, Count Aleran, who had followed Sunifred, the successor of Bernard.⁵⁸

The threat posed now by William in the March of Spain forced King Charles to act quickly in behalf of his southern domains. Encouraged by his capture of Pepin's younger brother Charles, the King entered Aquitaine in July-August 849, and, undeterred by an invasion of Nominoë into Anjou and by still another attack of the Vikings, he made himself master of Toulouse, primarily as the result of the defection of Count Fridolon. Having thus switched sovereigns from Pepin to Charles, Fridolon was rewarded in September 849 with the administration of the city and the Toulousain. Charles continued on to Narbonne. Here in October he met with Aleran, recently of Barcelona and the trans-pyrenean counties, and presumably with others. Apparently unwilling to risk action but satisfying himself about the control

57. "Dani Aquitaniae maritima inpetunt et praedantur urbemque Burdegalam diu oppugnant," *AB*, anno 847, p. 35. "Dani Burdegalam Aquitaniae, Iudaeis prodentibus, captam depopulatamque incendunt," *ibid.*, anno 848, p. 36. "Eodem anno (848) Nortmanni Burdegalim urbem ceperunt et ducem eiusdem Guilhelmum noctu," *Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis*, *MGH*, SS II, p. 302. F. Lot is alone in identifying William as a "Duke of the Gascons." He declares Prudence's remark against the Jews to be "a droll invention," F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 188-90.

58. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 206. *AB*, anno 848, p. 36. The *Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis* erroneously dates this event in 849, *MGH*, SS II, p. 302. Sunifred appears as Bernard's successor on May 19, 844, according to J. Calmette, "La famille de Saint Guilhem," *AdM*, XVIII (1906), 164, 165; cf. *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, I, p. 110:5, *Suniefredo etiam marchio* with no designation of the marquisate but involving the county of Béziers. Aléran succeeded Sunifred before 849 following his death, F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 206. *Epistola Eulogii*, ed. M. Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens . . . de France*, VII, pp. 581-82; F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, p. 210.

of the March, present or potential, the King made his way back north again.⁵⁹

But the situation worsened almost immediately. Aléran, who ventured into the March of Spain at the beginning of 850, was captured along with Count Isembard, cunningly trapped by William who feigned a desire for peace. But William apparently had overreached himself; or else his thirst for vengeance for his father's execution and his personal ambitions were propelling him down a path where his own people were unwilling to follow. In a pitched battle with Charles' followers, William suffered defeat and the loss of many men. He fled to Barcelona. But Marquis Aléran, now free, entered into intrigue with certain "Goths" who betrayed William and delivered him to Charles' representatives. He ended his life as had his father before him, victim of the executioner's sword, 850.⁶⁰ In the following year the death of Nomoë of Brittany providentially removed King Charles' most dreaded adversary after the Viking chief Ragnar. When Charles met again with his brother-kings at Meerssen in May 851 the threatening skies of only a few years earlier had definitely begun to clear.⁶¹

Now the clan of Makhir-William-Bernard was left with only a single surviving male member, Marquis Bernard's younger son also named Bernard. At the execution of his older brother William in 850 the young Bernard was only nine years old. In her *Manual* of instruction,

59. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 202-07. In Narbonne at this time the Jews must still have been a very prominent group. They certainly would have sought an audience with Charles during his visit to their town at this critical juncture. William's conspiracy with the Umayyad 'Abd ar-Rahman was no less a threat to the Jews than to Charles because of their dependence on 'Abassid Babylonia. Auzias thinks that Pepin II may have appointed William Count of Toulouse; when he left to regain the March of Spain he entrusted Fridolon with the defense of Toulouse; *L'Aquitaine*, p. 259, note 209.

60. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 207-10, *AB*, anno 850, p. 38; *Gesta abbatum fontanellensium*, *MGH*, SS II, p. 303. J. Calmette, *La Question*, p. 20, dates William's execution in 849. The Arab chronicler Ibn al-Atir dates the Saracen intervention in H 236 (850-51 C.E.); M. Bouquet, *Historiens de France*, VII, p. 38; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, p. 262. In the same year a council at Pavia threatened with excommunication any official who appointed Jews as judges over Christians in criminal or civil cases, or as toll-collectors; *Capitularia*, II, pt. 1, ed. A. Boretius, p. 123.

61. F. Lot, L. Halphen, *Le Règne*, pp. 223, 227-28.

his mother Dhuoda dates his birth in Uzès on March 22, 841.⁶² In 850 the absence of any successor except such a child heir in the Makhiri dynasty obviously required a shift of leadership outside the male line. The mantle appears to have fallen on Solomon, apparently the same who frustrated the designs of Hincmar at Epernay in 846 and who is designated in the Hebrew source quoted above as "he who broke in pieces the horn of the Scoffer in the Province of Rheims by the name of [Hincmarus]." There is celebrated in the *chansons* a *Bueve Cornebut*, Bovo Horn Buster, husband or son of a daughter of Aymeri.⁶³

62. "Post mortem quoque ejus (sc. imperatoris), in anno sequente, nativitas fratris tui, qui ex meo post te secundus egressus est utero, XI Kalendas aprilis [March 22, 841] in Uzecia urbe, Deo miserante, exorta est." Bernard had his infant son brought to him presumably for circumcision on the eighth day of his birth; *Le Manuel de Dhuoda*, ed. E. Bondurand, Praefatio, pp. 52-53.

63. E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres* (Paris, 1904), note 113, identifies Cornebut as a pagan name. Boeve Cornebut is husband of a sister of William in the *Chanson de Vivien*. Their son is Count (Margrave) Vivien, vv. 297-99, cf. vv. 513, 547, 752; *Alescans*, vv. 300, 1400, "Nez de la fille al bon cunte Aymeri"; quoted by H. Suchier, "Vivien," *ZfRPh*, XXIX (1905), 663. The *Song of William* also identifies Beuve as the husband of a sister of William's: After the defeat at l'Archamp William wonders who will hold his lands if he should die. His nephew Gui, a brother of Vivien and son of Beuve Cornebut and of a daughter of Aymeri's, promises to hold his lands after him. At first William scoffs at the idea but in the end recognizes Gui's merit and names him his heir, although but fifteen years old; D. McMillan, *La Chanson de Guillaume*, ed. vv. 1433-83, pp. 61-63.

Suchier translated *Cornebut* "Horn-rump," "Horn-hard rump" and understood thereby "invulnerable," *La Chançon*, Einleitung, p. xl; cf. D. McMillan, *La Chanson*, II, Notes critiques, p. 136, who also holds *Cornebut* to be original here and not a corruption of *Comarchis*; cf. *idem*, p. 149, note to v. 2561. However, *Cornebut* may also have the meaning of "Hornbreaker," the suffix being derived from old French *bouter*, *buter*, *boster*, ". . . to strike, smite"; Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1880), p. 711. In this meaning it appears to be a Hebrew idiom in which *keren* "horn" has the metaphorical meaning of "strength," "vigor," "power." "To lift up the horn" of anyone is to strengthen him, increase his power and dignity: Psalms 89:18; 92:11; 148:14; Isaiah 2:10; Lamentations 2:17, etc. Conversely, *gad'a keren* "break the horn" of anyone means "break his power": Lam. 2:3; Jeremiah 48:25 "the horn of Moab is broken"; and, in the intensive form, "all the horns of the wicked will I break in pieces," Psalms 75:11. The biblical idiom is employed with similar force in rabbinic literature, M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v. *keren*. As an indigenous Hebrew expression, *Cornebut* may have had its origin in a Hebrew context.

The Jewry of France 850–878. A New Branch of the Makhiri: The Marquis Solomon and His Son Bernard–Makhir

The insurrection incited and led by Count William, son of Marquis Bernard Nasi of the Jews of Frankland, presumably collapsed at his execution in 850. In that case Barcelona and the March of Spain fell to King Charles. We do not know whether King Charles had actually entered into an agreement with the Jews on his visit to Narbonne in October 849. In any event it appears that he did not install a Jewish leader as Governor of Barcelona and the Spanish March subsequent to William's execution. Perhaps Count Aléran, who had finally achieved success, was unwilling to step aside for this purpose. But the Christian Franks very soon proved unequal to the task of holding Barcelona. In 852 it fell to the "Moors," the Jews playing a decisive role in the capture of the fortress, according to Bishop Prudence, keeper of the royal annals: "852. The Moors take Barcelona, the Jews betraying it; they kill out almost all the Christians and lay waste the town, then withdraw with impunity."¹

1. "Mauri Barcinoniam, Iudaeis prodentibus, capiunt, interfectisque pene omnibus christianis et urbe vastata, impune redeunt"; *AB*, p. 41, for the year 852.

Who were the "Moors"? Is this only a repetition of William's desperate effort at an alliance with the Saracens of Spain? Or were these invaders perhaps allied with the 'Abbasids of Baghdad, not with their enemies, the Umayyads of Cordova? For, subsequent events show the Jews of Barcelona and of the Spanish March in close and continuing relationship with the academies of Babylonia. Perhaps the armed forces came from North Africa. The Spanish Umayyads, not the 'Abbasids, had been the perennial enemies of the Franks although ephemeral treaties of peace might be concluded from time to time. The 'Abbasids, on the other hand, were the long-standing allies of the Carolingian rulers against the common enemy, the Umayyads of the peninsula, and had been such ever since the reign of Pepin the Short.² Why then an 'Abbasid attack on Barcelona in 852? Was it because they insisted on the restoration of power to their representatives, the garrison of Jews? It seems likely too that simultaneously the tempo of Jewish immigration to this area stepped up in considerable measure.

The Jewry of the Spanish March emerges clearly as an identifiable entity and enters upon a period of noteworthy cultural advance as well as enhanced political power. For after 852 we have record of sudden, heavy correspondence between the Jewish communities of "Ispamia" on the one hand, clearly meant to be the Hebrew equivalent of *Marca Hispanica*, and the academies of 'Abbasid Babylonia on the other. The extant sources indicate an outburst of correspondence of intellectual and spiritual import. We read that Paltoi Gaon of Pumbeditha (842-58) toward the end of his activity sent to these communities the entire Talmud together with a commentary, at their request.³ This

2. See this study, pp. 86-88.

3. *Ispamia* in the following references to rabbinic *Responsa* of the ninth century may be understood to refer to the area Narbonne-Barcelona including both these towns and comprising the March of Spain.

On Paltoi's Talmud:

וגם בכמה עתים היו שולחים (אל) [מ] אספמיא בשאלותיהם... וגם הם [ז.א. אנשי אספמיא] היו שואלים וסוף בימי אדוננו מרנא ורבנא פלטוי ראש הישיבה ז'ל שלהו לכתוב להם תלמוד ופירונו וצוה וכתבו להם...

A. Cowley, "Bodleian Genizah Fragments," *JQR* o.s., XVIII (1906), 401. The writer of this communication (who dates it 953, Nisan 1264) reports that Tsadoq Gaon of Sura (d. 823), Nahshon his son (d. 882), Moses his brother, and others of

implies a certain stability and growth in numbers as well as resources. Rabh Natronai Gaon of Sura (853–58/63) reports an immigration from Kairouan to Ispamia⁴. He likewise was called on for legal and spiritual⁵ guidance; he addressed one reply to the community of (אליסאנה) אליסאנא, the town Ausona (Al-Osona) bordering on Barcelona County.

The place name אליסאנא or אליסאנה has usually been transcribed "Lucena" because of its obvious Spanish location. Of אליסאנה Natronai reports that it was a predominantly Jewish area, in fact to such an extent that one must assume that the persons who bring cattle to market there are doing so with the intention of selling them to Jews and not to non-Jews. Consequently, if the market days (here designated as Friday and Sunday) fall on a Jewish holiday, the Jews are forbidden to make arrangements for purchase of such cattle or fish or flour.⁶

Pumbeditha (842–935) were consulted by these communities; cf. J. Mann, "Responsa," *JQR*, VII (1916–17), 486. S. Eppenstein, "Beiträge," *MGWJ*, LVI (1912), 88, understands this reference to the Talmud to mean only better texts or more current Talmud exemplars. However, it should be noted that the communiqué of the *Ḳehillot Francia* is composed in near-biblical, not talmudic, style; J. Mann, *Texts*, I, pp. 27–30.

There was a lapse in the written communication between *Ispamia* and Pumbeditha or the East after R. Tsemah (872–90) and R. Tobh, until the time of R. Judah (906–17):

ומאחר שנאספו אדוננו צמח ואדוננו טוב לבן עדן לא באו שאלות מאצלכם אילא בימי מר יהודה באון ז'ל שהיה הוא ומר מישוי אלף ז'ל סופרי שער אדוננו צמח...ולאחר כן באו יחודה באון ז'ל. שאלות ממקומכם לפני אדוננו בהן צדק באון ז'ל. A. Cowley, *loc. cit.*, p. 402.

4. ... ושם מסורש שבאו אנשי קירואן אצלנו ואמרו... B. M. Lewin, *Otsar ha-Geonim* (Thesaurus) III, Pesahim, p. 90, no. 221.

5. Natronai sent to the community about to be named a brief arrangement of the "one hundred benedictions" at their request, as quoted by Rabh Amram in the opening remarks of his *Siddur*:

וסדר אלו מאה ברכות כך השיב רב נטרונאי בר היילאי ראש מחיבתא דמתא מחסיא לבני קהל אליסאנא על ידי יוסף מאור עינינו...ומנהג כל ישראל שבסדר היא אספמא כך הוא. Seder R. Amram Gaon, Part I, ed. D. Hedegård, p. ג', English translation, pp. 5–7, who translates *Ispamia* "Spain"; Warsaw edition, I (Warsaw, 1865), p. 1a; L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies* Geonica II, pp. 114 ff. See V. Aptowitz's review of Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, in *MGWJ*, LV (1911), 638, who points out that this *Responsum* of Natronai's exists in three variants.

6. Natronai's other correspondence with the Rabbis of *Ispamia* (variant):

However, the county bordering on Barcelona County on the north and west was known in the ninth century as Ausona or Osona where was located also a *civitas Ausona*, the primitive nucleus of the later town of Vich. At the Council of Barcelona in 906 Bishop Idalcaria of Vich reported:

In the distant past Hispania and Gotia, including Ausona, had once had sacred institutions. But in consequence of invasion not a single Christian remained behind in the County of Ausona until the time of Wifred and his brothers who restored the Church to its former possessions with the aid of the prelates Sigebod, Theodard, Gotmar and Arnust of Narbonne.⁷

The interpolation regarding Ausona in the decision of the Council of Narbonne (791)⁸ may be related to this statement of its Bishop Idalcaria. If Griffe is correct in dating the interpolated piece in 906-07, contrived as a reply to Ausona's bishop at the Barcelona council, we may have additional evidence of the role of Jews in Ausona until about 875. The forged article maintains that it had not been possible to place a bishop at Ausona because of harassment by "the pagans," and refers to the means whereby former prelates had demolished an earlier heresy there.

In 873-85 the church of Ausona was reorganized and attached to the see at Narbonne. During the episcopate of Theodard 885-93 it received its own bishop yet did not free itself completely of Narbonne tutelage, being obligated to pay one pound silver annually. This irritated its clergy. At the provincial synod of Barcelona 906, Bishop

אוסוניה די באסטמא see *Seder Rabh Anram*, Warsaw edition, I, p. 42a; cf. B. M. Lewin, *Otsar ha-Geonim*, II, Sabbath, no. 81, p. 26; cf. M. Margalio, *Sefer Hilkhot hannagid*, pp. 3-4.

"Al-Osona is a Jewish town (lit. place) without gentiles;" W. Warnheim (ed.), *Ḳebhutsat Ḥakhamim Wissenschaftliche Aufsätze in hebräischalmudischer Sprache*, pp. 110-11; translated in Winter-Wünsche, *Jüdische Literatur*, II, pp. 23-24. Cf. a *responsum* written perhaps by the same author in J. Müller (ed.), *Teshubhot geoné mizrah uma'arabh*, no. 26, p. 9a, "There is no gentile in Al-Osano," אויליטאנו אין בה גוי.

7. R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya carolingia*, II, Els Diploms part 1, p. 291; and Index, p. 532, s.v. Ausona, Osona; and maps I-V between pages 481-507. *HGL*, V, preuves, col. 117. Cf. end note 3, p. 318 this text.

8. See this text, pp. 175-76.

Idalcaria complained and in 907 Archbishop Arnust of Narbonne renounced the impost.⁹

The same Gaon Natronai is also reported to have addressed a *responsum* "to the rabbis of Ispamia."¹⁰ In the period of Natronai, moreover, a certain Eleazar came to Babylonia from Ispamia, apparently for purposes of advanced study in the academies, where he rose to the status of *Resh Kallah* and *Alluf*.¹¹ Was this Eleazar the proselyte Bodo?

9. ". . . quod nullo modo episcopum ponere illic potuisset ob paganorum infestationem et quemadmodum auxiliante Deo per antecessoris sui industriam quondam ibidem haeresis extincta fuerit"; *Concilia aevi karolini*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, II, 2, p. 829:23-25; cf. E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, p. 249. Al-Maqqari reports that the Saracen conquerors of Catalonia in the eighth century captured Barcelona, the fortresses of Castille and the plains, and destroyed the Goth population of the area forcing the Gauls and Christians to flee into the mountains of Castille and Narbonne; quoted by R. d'Abadal, "El Paso de Septimania," p. 16 from Millás, "Historiadores Arabics," no. 51. See this text, pp. 135f., 176.

10. *Seder Rabh Amram*, Warsaw edition, I, p. 42a; cf. B. M. Lewin, *Otsar ha-Geonim*, II, Sabbath, no. 81, p. 26. See this work, p. 318, note 6.

11. Eleazar went from אִלְיָסָנוּ (Al-Osano) to Iraq bringing donations to the schools. R. Natronai reports this aid. This definitely locates אִלְיָסָנוּ in the March of Spain ("Ispamia"). J. Mann, *Texts*, I, p. 64, note 4, p. 65. Eleazar related that the Italian *Issar* (a Roman coin mentioned in the Talmud) was current in *Ifranga* (Frankia) and in the Land of Edom (Italy). He reported further that Rabh Nahshon Gaon of Sura (871-79) had asked him to request someone to bring four *Issars* to Babylonia. Mar Rabh Eleazar, entitled *Alluf*, wrote to *Ispamia* requesting that these be minted and sent to him; B. M. Lewin, *Otsar ha-Geonim*, VIII, Ketubot, no. 5, p. 42. From this action also it would appear that Eleazar himself might have come from *Ispamia*, that is, the March of Spain, which, in his day, could properly be designated *Ifranga* as part of Frankia. In fact, a *responsum* of Sherira-Hai identifies the *Alluf* Eleazar as hailing from *Ispamia*; *Sefer sha'arê tsedek* (Responsa), no. 17, p. 3a; cf. no. 15, p. 25a. Paltai was Gaon of Pumbeditha 842-58; Natronai Gaon of Sura 853-58, so that the years 853-58 overlap their rule.

The Italian *issars* which Eleazar ordered (871-79) to be minted may have been struck in Narbonne, where was located one of the ten mints licensed by the Edict of Pitres, June 25, 864, to operate in Frankia. The other nine were located at the royal palace, in Quentovic, Rouen, Rheims, Sens, Paris, Orléans, Cavaillon, and Melle (in Poitou); *Capitularia*, II, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, p. 315, § 12. This Edict § 23 names Jews as minters. There were, naturally, other mints licensed to operate in other years. See the lists of mints under Louis le Débonnaire in Ad. Soetbeer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geld- und Münzwesens in Deutschland, IV: Geld- und Münzwesen im fränkischen Reich unter den Karolingern (Schluss)"

During Hanukkah (December 5 through 12) 858, Rabh Amram Gaon of Sura (857–71) dispatched a *responsum* “to Rabbi Meir b. Joseph and the Sages of Barcelona.” Obviously, then, the Jewish community had been settled in this key bastion of the March of Spain for at least a year, the time it took in the ninth century for a traveler to go from Spain to Iraq and return.¹² Reference to “the Sages of Barcelona” implies the existence of a substantial community by this date, perhaps including the settlements in the surrounding County.

in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, VI, 39, 41. Soetbeer mentions mints in Barcelona, Lyons, Vienne, Toulouse, Aquitaine, Marseilles, etc. The mint in Barcelona is also mentioned in a diploma dated September 9, 878; Baluze, *Capitularia*, II, col. 1502. On Eleazar, see also S. A. Poznański, “Varia on the Geonic Period,” (Hebrew), *Haqedem*, II, 98–99. The Romance (rather than Andalusian) origins of Eleazar are supported further by the report that he recognized the names of certain fishes as being of Latin or Frankish (Old French ?) origin; cf. M. Margalio, *Hilkhot Hannagid*, pp. 4–6.

Margalio, *ibid.*, and Poznański, “Varia on the Geonic Period,” name Eleazar’s father Samuel. However, this is a lone, isolated reading in *Saadyana*, ed. S. Schechter, pp. 76–77. Other parallels of the same *responsum* do not know of any father of Eleazar and read *she’el ha she’elta* (“he asked this question”) in place of the name Shemu’el. Only where *she’el ha she’elta* is lacking does *b. R. Shemu’el* appear in the text; B. M. Lewin *Otsar*, VII, yebhamot, p. 41, *responsa*, p. 109. Absence of any patronymic strengthens the suggestion that this Eleazar may perhaps be the learned proselyte Bodo. He inquired of Rabh Natronai in a matter involving circumcision of a proselyte [born] already circumcised; *ibid.* See another question regarding the offspring of a bondwoman, *Sefer Sha’aré Tsedek*, no. 17, p. 2, no. 15, p. 25.

12. *Teshubhot haGeonim*, edition Lyck (5624 [1863–64]), nos. 56–57; cf. L. Ginzberg, *Ginzé Schechter* (Genizah Studies in Memory of Dr. Solomon Schechter), II, pp. 7, 12, 24–26; cf. *idem*, *Geonica* II, p. 326, for a *responsum* of Amram addressed to the same Meir b. Joseph in 857–58 (Adar 1169). Cf. S. Assaf, *Teshubhot haGeonim mitokh haGeniza* (Gaonic Responsa from Geniza MSS.), pp. 61, 70, who identifies this Meir b. Joseph as the same scholar of Barcelona to whom Amram Gaon wrote at Hanukkah 858. Cf. also S. Eppenstein, “Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur,” *MGWJ*, LVI (1912), 85, 88, who thought it was fairly certain that Meir’s father Joseph was the leader of the Community of אליסאנא mentioned in *Seder Rabh Amram Gaon*, ed. D. Hedegård, Part I, Hebrew text p. 2. This would make virtually certain our identification of אליסאנא with the County (and town) of Ausona bordering on the County of Barcelona. See also J. Mann, “Responsa,” *JQR*, VII (1917), 486; cf. also S. Assaf, “Growth of Jewish Centers in the Age of the Geonim,” (Hebrew) *Ha-Shiloah*, XXXV (1918), 401–03.

Another communication from Rabh Amram (and Rabh Tsemah) is addressed "to all the rabbis and their disciples and the rest of our brethren the House of Israel who dwell in the County of Barcelona."¹³ A short while later the same Rabh Amram sent his famous *Seder* (Prayer Book) to the community of Barcelona at their request. Therein Amram acknowledges the receipt of twenty gold pieces brought by Rabbi Jacob b. Rabbi Isaac in the name of Rabbi Isaac son of Rabbi Simeon (in the name of the community). The *Seder*, in the form of a *responsum*, was addressed to the same Rabbi Isaac.¹⁴ During the regime of Tsemah Gaon of Pumbeditha (872-90), the demands for intellectual and legal guidance grew so mighty from *Ispamia* that on one occasion several beasts of burden were inadequate to transport all the desired written treasures. Such intellectual correspondence continued between *Ispamia* and the geonim of Sura who succeeded Amram, namely Nahshon (871-79) and his brother Moses.¹⁵ One may then conclude that most of the era *ca.* 852 to *ca.* 890 witnessed a strong upsurge in Jewish communal and intellectual activity in the March of Spain, implying a steady, and perhaps sharp, increase in immigration as well as in their material resources. This conclusion harmonizes with the known facts about the political situation in the south of the Frankish Kingdom in the middle of the ninth century.

There is considerable disagreement among scholars as to the actual constellation of power in the South at this time. This is due in some measure to the vagueness of Hincmar of Rheims, the major court chronicler of the period, who inadequately identifies counts and mar-

13. *Teshubhot haGeonim* (Lyck, 1864), no. 56, p. 21b.

14. J. Mann, "Responsa," *JQR*, VII (1916-17), 486, identifies Barcelona as the community which requested and received the *Seder* of Amram, basing himself on the reference to Barcelona in *Teshubhot haGeonim*, Edition Lyck, no. 56, p. 219, and the identity of the headings in both documents; cf. S. Eppenstein, "Beiträge," *MGWJ*, LVI (1912), 85, note 4, and A. Marx, *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amrams*, I, offprint *JJLG*, VI, pp. 7, 4, 11, for the same view. Abraham ibn Daud in the twelfth century had a tradition that Amram had sent his *Seder* to Spain; *MJC*, I, p. 65. Cf. S. Assaf, *loc. cit.* 403-404.

15. On the correspondence of Tsemah, Nahshon, and Moses with *Ispamia*, reported by a writer of 953, see A. Cowley, "Bodleian Geniza Fragments," *JQR*, XVIII o.s. (1906), 401-402.

graves by the name of Bernard who functioned in Gothia, the Toulousain, and the March of Spain during the 860's and 870's. The academic debate on this subject has continued for half a century, and the problem is still not settled. The difficulty has been compounded by lack of recognition for the role of the Jewish nasi and members of his family, the Makhiri, in relation to the Carolingians' military policy, especially in the South.¹⁶

J. Dhondt proposes a political subdivision of the Midi in the Carolingian Age which has enjoyed a certain measure of acceptance. According to him there existed in the days of Charlemagne a single, large, original march (that is, a frontier area) in the South which comprised Septimania and the Toulousain. Presumably this prodigious area extended from the Rhone to the Ebro across the Pyrenees. Out of it there separated very soon, as early as 798, the March of Spain. Then around 852, according to Dhondt, a new realignment took place. In that year the March of Septimania was detached from the March of Toulouse and was joined, instead, to the March of Spain. The Marquis of the March of Spain assumed authority over this unified expanded area, now known as Gothia. In 865, another division took place. Gothia was split up into the March of Spain and March of Gothia (Septimania proper).¹⁷

16. For discussions of the "Bernards," see L. Levillain, "Les personnages du nom de Bernard dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle," *Le Moyen Âge*, LIII (1947), 197-242; LIV (1948), 1-35, and J. Dhondt, *Études*, Appendix IV, "Le problème des Bernards," pp. 293-313, and the bibliography in these essays. For a summary of scholarly opinion on the subject, E. Jarry, *Provinces et pays de France*, II, pp. 178-80; 332-37.

17. J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 185-89. Cf. the review by Ch. Higounet, *Annales du Midi*, LXI (1948-49), 438-40. Septimania or Gothia proper was the territory north of Narbonne to the *pagus* of Nîmes; the March of Spain was the name of the territory of Frankland which bordered on Spain. The March of Spain extended to Barcelona. For a definition of geographical terms, see J. Calmette, "Le sentiment national," *Mélanges . . . M. Ferdinand Lot*, 103-05. Calmette insists here that Narbonne belonged to Septimania and not to the March of Spain but offers no evidence. We think it will become clear in what follows that Narbonne usually was included in the March of Spain (in Hebrew, *Ispamia* for *Marca Hispania*) and that the County of Narbonne, as E. Mabilie suggests, *HGL*, II, p. 314, XV, was usually in the possession of the Marquis of Spain. A. de la Torre finds that the expression

Dhondt's position has much in its favor although it may require some revision. The year 852 marks the capture of Barcelona by the Saracens, the Jews being involved, according to Bishop Prudence, in its fall. The captors, presumably, killed Marquis Aléran, the Count of Troyes, whom Charles the Bald had originally brought from the North to Barcelona in order to quell William's revolt. Barcelona was lost to Carolingian suzerainty, if only temporarily; and its loss to the realm forced a realignment of territory. Septimania was detached from the Toulousain, asserts Dhondt, and joined to the March of Spain. But, it should be noted, such a consolidation of Septimania and Spain could be just theoretical. In actuality, Aléran's successor Odalric functioned only as Count of Narbonne. The seat of the new Marquis shifted from Barcelona to Narbonne simply because the trans-Pyrenean counties still required pacification and reintegration into Frankia.¹⁸

It was not possible for the Jewry of Barcelona, Ausona, and their neighbors in the March of Spain to remain for long an 'Abassid enclave between Umayyad Spain and Christian Frankia. Within only a few years an understanding appears to have been reached with King Charles the Bald, perhaps hastened by the impending German invasion¹⁹ and the insurrectionary plans of Count Odalric. For beginning around 858 there arose in the Spanish March a powerful personality who for about a decade functioned either simultaneously or in succession as Count of Roussillon, of Conflent, and of Cerdagne; he appeared as emissary of Charles the Bald to the Emir at Cordova and finally emerged as

"March of Spain" makes its first appearance in the documents in 821, "La reconquista en el Pirineo," in *La Reconquista española*, pp. 27, 31. Cf. R. d'Abadal, "Nota sobre la locución 'Marca Hispánica,'" *BRABLB*, XXVII (1957-58), 159.

18. *AB*, p. 41, anno 852. Calmette assumes that Aléran, Count of Barcelona and Marquis of Gothia, did not survive the capture of Barcelona, "Les marquis de Gothie sous Charles le Chauve," *Annales du Midi*, XIV (1902), 188-89. Aléran's successor in 852 was Odalric who became Count of Narbonne. Odalric is not designated marquis in 852 but since he was a stranger in the region, Dhondt concludes that his installation as Count of the Narbonnaise coincided very likely with his appointment as marquis. Later royal acts entitle him Marquis. Odalric's successor (at least in the Narbonnaise) was Humphrey Marquis of Gothia. J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 186, note 4, 187.

19. September 858, E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, I (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1887), pp. 426-46.

Marquis of Spain in Barcelona with rule over Narbonne. His name was Solomon.

Solomon replaced Odalric in Roussillon when this Count turned rebel and lost his office in 858 or shortly thereafter. Solomon may have succeeded also to the office of Suniaire I, possibly his father, at his death before 863.²⁰ By 862 Solomon was already Count of Conflent (or Cerdagne). Three court judgments of the period 862–68 name Solomon as count in assizes held in Conflent (or Cerdagne), which render decision in litigation over property in the county. This tribunal was obviously the court of the Count because the same named judges

20. On Solomon's ascension in Roussillon, following the destitution of the Marquis Odalric (858) at the start of the crisis caused by the German invasion, or else in 860 after the pacification of Aquitaine, see Robert-Henri Bautier, "Notes historiques sur le marche d'Espagne: le Conflent et ses comtes au IX^e siècle," *Mélanges Félix Grat*, I, 214–16. Odalric is very likely the same person as Udalric who became Count of Narbonne in 852; see this study, p. 324. Aimoinus, *Historia translationis Sancti Vincentii Levitae et martyris ex Hispania in castrense Galliae monasterium*, PL, CXXVI (Paris, 1879), col. 1018, identifies Sugnar as the dead father (or relative) of Count Solomon of Cerdagne: "parens ipsius, vocabulo Sagnarius, dum ab Hispaniae partibus deferretur a Seniore ejusdem civitatis [that is, Saragossa] episcopo violenter sublatus detineretur . . . imperans ut ipse totidem quoque solidis sumptis Salomoni comiti propinqui sui Sugnarii corpus restitui praeciperet." For the dating of this event in 863–64, see this study, p. 328, note 25.

Suniarius comes is mentioned in a court judgment dated June 5, 858 at Elne in Roussillon as Count of the *pagi* Ampurias and Peralada, *HGL*, II, preuves, col. 307. However, a Sunyar was Count of Roussillon already on February 6 and 7, 843, during the period that Bernard of Septimania was Marquis of the March of Spain; R. d'Abadal, "El monestir d'Eixalada-Cuixa," *Analecta Montserratensia*, VIII (1954–55), no. 2, pp. 243–44; no. 3, pp. 245–46. Consequently Sunyar was the predecessor of Aléran and Odalric. On August 19, 862 (?), King Charles the Bald may have conferred on his *fidelis* Count Suniaire certain properties in the *pagus* of Barcelona; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, II: 861–877, no. 245, p. 51. He must have died soon after. In 908 Wifred II came into possession of the same estates, F. Valls i Taberner, "Un diplôme . . .," *Le Moyen Age*, XXI (1919), 214. The unfamiliar name שניאר (Sanyor) may be responsible for the strange transliteration אנתום (Anatom) as the name of Solomon's father; see this study, p. 308. The same name, Sanyor, appears among the martyrs of 1007–11: שניאר חכם ומבין; cf. I. Levy, "Les Juifs de France," *REJ*, LII (1906), 165, who transliterates *Senior*. On Count Sunyar see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 6–9 and Index.

appear in the court of Solomon's successor. The decision of 862 has also political implications. It involved judgment against the action of Count Humphrey who had dispossessed Wittisclus of the villa Finestret (in Conflent) and granted it as a benefice to one of his own vassals. Solomon reinstated Wittisclus in possession.²¹ But this Count Humphrey, if he is the same individual whom Hincmar designates Marquis of Gothia, embarked on an ambitious plan at the start of 863, following in the tradition of so many other counts of his day, before and after, in the Midi. With the complicity of the Toulousains, he invaded that county, snatched Toulouse from its Count Raymond and occupied the city. As master of Gothia (Septimania) and soon now of the Toulousain, Humphrey would naturally look to the March of Spain as his next conquest, thereby bringing under his domination the once unified vast march that had existed under Charlemagne. Possibly, Solomon's judgment of 862 reflects Humphrey's penetration efforts into the March of Spain via his trustees.²²

21. The three court judgments are dated August 26, 862; March 22, 863; and August 18, 868. In the first Solomon is identified as follows: "Cum in Dei nomine resideret vir inlustris Salomon comis, in vico Alle, in mallo publico una qum iudices suos que jussi sunt causas au[dire et] recte iudicare . . .," published by Serrano y Sanz, *Noticias y documentos históricos del condado de Ribagorza hasta la muerte de Sancho Garces III (Año 1035)*, p. 190, note 2, who incorrectly dates this document (misreading "Facto iudicio sub die VII Kalendas Septembris anno XXIII regnante Karulo rege") in the 33rd year of Charles' reign (872) in place of the 23rd year (862). Serrano, further, places the court action in the Cerdagne where All (Alli) in fact appears on the map in R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els diplomes carolingis a Catalunya*, Part 2, *Catalunya carolingia, II*, Mapa I following page 481. *Ibid.*, p. 356:10-11, refers to the same document as evidence that Solomon was Count of Cerdagne, while Bautier offers this act as proof that Solomon was Count of Conflent, "Le Conflent," p. 214. In point of fact, Finestret appears in the Conflent on map 2 of Ramon d'Abadal, "Com neix i com creix . . . Eixalada-Cuixa," *Analecta Montserratensia*, VIII (1945-55), after p. 337. For the contents of these three judgments of Solomon's court, see R. d'Abadal who evaluates the Count as a good statesman and administrator, *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 36-38.

22. On Count Humphrey's revolt, see *AB*, p. 62, anno 863. Cf. J. Calmette, "Les Marquis de Gothia sous Charles le Chauve," *AdM*, XIV (1902), 192-93. If Gothia included March of Spain at this time then Humphrey was presumably Marquis of this March too. However, he is never entitled specifically Marquis of Spain but at the most *Gothiae marchio* as in this passage by Hincmar. Calmette identifies Bernard

As happened so often, Humphrey's ambitious plan appears to have involved also an alliance with forces in Spain proper, with 'Abd ul-Umar, "the magnate of Saragossa."²³ But King Charles was one step ahead of his rebel count, or at least Solomon was. For in the same year of Humphrey's invasion and capture of Toulouse, we find Solomon Count of Cerdagne successful in a mission at the court of the Great King (the Emir) of Cordova.

Hincmar plays down Humphrey's treasonable action in Toulouse by emphasizing that rebellion was habitual among the Toulousains.²⁴ He reports nothing of Solomon's mission to Cordova and Saragossa. However, this diplomatic undertaking and its startling success must have created a great stir at the time in order for it to be absorbed into

of Septimania as the first marquis of Spain and Solomon as the next, thereby omitting Humphrey, J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrenées*, p. 23; "Les Marquis de Gothia sous Charles le Chauve," 194-95. There is no evidence for Bautier's assertion, "Le Conflent," p. 216, that Humphrey was Marquis on both sides of the Pyrenees. Bautier, and others, appears to have drawn the inference from Hincmar's statement ("Bernard son of Blihilde was assigned to a part of Gothia") that his predecessor Humphrey held the whole of Gothia. L. Auzias sees Solomon as Marquis of Spain in 865 when Bernard of Blihilde became Marquis of (the northern part of) Gothia, "Recherches d'histoire carolingienne," II, *AdM*, XLV (1933), 133. But it seems now that even before 865 Solomon already controlled the Conflent, Cerdagne, Roussillon, and therewith perhaps the whole March of Spain. In 852 when Barcelona was lost to Frankia, the entire March may have gone with it. Its restoration appears to have been Solomon's work. On Humphrey, see R. d'Abadal, *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 6-9 and, for bibliography, p. 10, note 4. He thinks that Humphrey held counties south of the Pyrenees and preceded Sunyer in Ampurias. However, the documents do not support this theory; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, II, no. 245, p. 51; cf. R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya carolingia*, II, pp. 355-58.

23. Their understanding: "Cumque quod ita praefixum jam dicto comiti Hunfrido ex ordini intimatum fuisset, componitur, ipso iubente, epistola ad magnatem Caesaraugustae, vocabulo Abdilumar, quatinus memor inter se juncti foederis, eos de quibus loquimur fratres penes se degentes servaret"; *Translatio SS Aurelii et Georgii*, quoted by L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 297, note 65, who refers this undated piece to the very beginning of Humphrey's administration as evidence of his success in eliminating the Saracen peril. Subsequent events, however, point rather to this rapprochement with the Wali of Saragossa as part of Humphrey's ambitious plot against his sovereign.

24. *AB*, p. 62, anno 863; see this study preceding note 22. See also for the same view M. Chaume, *Les Origines du Duché de Bourgogne*, I, p. 225-26.

a fantastic contemporary tale on the transference of the corpse of the martyr Vincent from Spain to France. According to the author of the hagiograph, King Charles sent Solomon Count of Cerdagne, his very close intimate (*familiarissimo*), to Cordova for the purpose of securing an order from the Emir to the Wali of Saragossa commanding the bishop of that town to yield up the corpse of Solomon's father Sugnar. Instead, the corpse of the martyr Vincent was produced and brought from Spain to Frankia; and it performed miracles on the way. Not miraculous but factual appears to be the horrible punishment meted out to the Bishop of Saragossa (almost bordering on Frankia's March of Spain) in consequence of Solomon's mission.²⁵ This penalty suggests that the prelate was charged with a serious political offense, presumably, involvement in the plot of Count Humphrey to consolidate his position and expand his power at least into the March of Spain. Then in 864 King Charles took direct action against Count Humphrey. He ordered his *missi* to Toulouse. (Hincmar omits to name the leaders of this critical military expedition). Eventually Humphrey was forced to flee; he sought refuge not in nearby Spain but in far-off Italy. Blocked by Ermengaud of Albi on the north and east, and by Solomon (as Bautier suggests) on the south, and his hopes from Spain now dashed, Humphrey fled through Gothia and Provence southeastward to distant Italy. There he could hardly threaten further trouble.²⁶

Almost simultaneous with Solomon's mission to Cordova in 863-64, a return embassy came to France before winter of the same year on October 25 bearing letters of peace and a friendly alliance. Around the end of June 864, after Humphrey's ambitions had been thwarted, the Saracen legation returned home. King Charles dispatched the Muslims graciously, loaded them as Hincmar says "with very many and very great gifts," showered honors upon them, and sent them back accompanied by special envoys (whom Hincmar leaves unnamed).²⁷

25. R.-H. Bautier, "Le Conflent," 215, following L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 345, dates Solomon's mission to Cordova in 863-64 on the basis of Aimoin's statement that Solomon left for Spain eight and one-half years after the monk's vision in 855, *Historia translationis*, PL, CXXVI; cols. 1017-18, viii. Cf. this study, pp. 324-25, note 20.

26. AB, p. 72, anno 864.

27. AB, p. 66, anno 863; p. 73, anno 864; so also the Arab historian Ibn Idhari;

Another court judgment from Conflent dated March 22, 865, shows Solomon still functioning in his capacity of count in that region. Around the same time there becomes evident his hostile attitude to St. Michel de Cuxa.²⁸

Shortly afterward in the same year, King Charles the Bald designated Bernard, son of Bernard and Blihilde daughter of Rorigo, to be Humphrey's successor, assigning to him a part of "Gothia" (Hincmar's terminology) that is, Septimania proper.²⁹ The other part of "Gothia" (the March of Spain) apparently was occupied at this time. Hincmar does not mention the name of its marquis. Calmette and Levillain, among others, agree that the March of Spain was governed by a Marquis Solomon.³⁰

The years 864–65, consequently, saw the Marquis Solomon strongly entrenched in the March of Spain, which by then was an integral part of Frankia. Doubtless he also stood high in the favor of his King

R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*, p. 35. L. Auzias takes it as certain that Solomon was among the Frank *missi* who accompanied the Saracen legation in 864; *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 345.

28. March 22, 865, "Cum in dei nomine residere[t] Salomon comis in castrum sancti Stephani . . .," B. Alart, *Cartulaire Roussillonais*, no. 1, p. 1. R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya carolingia*, Part 2, p. 332, note a, and p. 333, identifies Solomon in this document as Count of Cerdagne. See Parre Ponsich, "Le domaine foncier de St. Michel de Cuxa aux ix^e, x^e, xi^e, s.," *Études roussillonnaises*, II (1950), 67–100.

29. "Karolus autem per Attiniacum ad Silviacum veniens, ibidem sacrum quadragesima et pascha Domini celebrat, et Bernardum, ex quodam Bernardo et filia Rorigonis comitis natum, in Gotiam mittens, partem ipsius markiae illi committit"; *AB*, p. 75, anno 865 ca. April 22. Both J. Calmette, "Les Marquis de Gothie," *AdM*, XIV (1902), 194–97, and J. Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 188–89, ascribe considerable administrative significance to this act of Charles in that they conclude it separated "Gothia" (Septimania proper) from the March of Spain. However, it is by no means clear that Humphrey had been Marquis of Spain after the fall of Barcelona 852, during the same time that he held the Marquisate of Gothia. Obviously, to Hincmar, *Gothia* meant the region from the Rhone to the Ebro thereby absorbing, if not ignoring, the March of Spain.

The *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* indicates that the administrative seat of Marquis Bernard son of Blihilde was not Narbonne since this town was in Marquis Solomon's domain; see this text, p. 332.

30. J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrénées*, p. 23; L. Levillain, "Les personnages du nom de Bernard," *Le Moyen Age*, LIII (1947), 210–11.

Charles the Bald; the hagiograph just cited calls him a very close confidant (*familiarissimus*) of the sovereign.³¹

The rise of Solomon coincided with the decline of Archbishop Hincmar's power and influence to its lowest ebb, emphasized by a sharp estrangement between ruler and prelate. Following the death on June 21, 866 of Archbishop Rudolph of Bourges, the capital of Aquitaine, Charles proposed as his successor, Deacon Wulfad, a promising former canon of the Rheims church whom, however, Hincmar had deposed together with others and whom the prelate viewed as a dangerous enemy. He bitterly resented having the Deacon occupy the dominant spiritual post in Aquitaine, where his own church lands were located. But all his efforts to prevent the election failed, although papal sanction was not forthcoming for Wulfad's elevation. Even in Charles' letter to Pope Nicholas there crops out the King's sarcasm: Faithful to order of the Holy Father he has admonished the Rheims Metropolitan (*sc.* Hincmar) to obedience. The latter has promised it with sweet talk. However one cannot know what lies hidden beneath the honey of his words.³²

Blow after blow fell upon Hincmar. Bishop Rothad of Soissons, whom the Metropolitan had also deposed, was restored. And bitterest of all, the several clerics of the Rheims diocese whom the Archbishop had removed from office were likewise reinstated, in 866. The orders from the pope treating this matter castigate Hincmar unremittingly. The proud Metropolitan responded with a humble expression of submission. The disagreement between King and prelate is evident also in Hincmar's chronicle notations for the years 866-67. He can find nothing but criticism for every important project of Charles'.³³ As if calculated to drive the wedge still deeper the King conferred rich ecclesiastical institutions, particularly abbeys, on aristocrats, who thus became lay abbots altogether devoid of theological training or commitment. When the counts Robert and Ramnulf, invested with the abbeys of St. Martin of Tours and St. Hilarius of Poitiers, found their death on the battlefield, Hincmar gloated over their "well-deserved

31. See this study, p. 328, note 25.

32. H. Schrörs, *Hincmar*, pp. 273-76.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85.

punishment." Especially unnerving must have been the loss of the famous abbey St. Denis in Hincmar's diocese, where Charles simply appropriated the office of abbot for himself.³⁴ Even more, some of these lay "abbots" were adherents, as we have reason to believe, of an alien faith.³⁵ We do not know in detail what caused the breach between Charles and Hincmar. Some scholars place its origin in 866, in Charles' support of Lothar's divorce. However the King had shunted Hincmar aside already in 865.³⁶ Charles' insistence on placing a notorious opponent of the prelate on the dominant see in Aquitaine, the scene of Humphrey's abortive rebellion, suggests a relationship to events there and to Marquis Solomon's brilliant diplomatic and military success. Was the reconciliation and growing rapprochement between King Charles and his Jewry, in consequence, a factor in the estrangement of King and prelate? In general, with the toppling of Hincmar from dominance and royal grace there developed an antiepiscopal orientation at court.³⁷

Still another court judgment of the comital assize in Conflent names Solomon as count on August 18, 868. Therein, Recosind, agent of Count Solomon, relinquishes and renounces before the tribunal of said Count in favor of Abbot Witiza and the Priest Protasi of the monastery Eixalada-Cuixa any comital claims to the allods of Canavilles, Tresvalls, and Ocenies.³⁸

34. "... castigari noluerunt, in se untonem experiri meruerunt"; *AB*, anno 866, p. 84. "Karolus rex abbatiam ipsius monasterii sibi retinuit"; *ibid.*, anno 867, p. 86.

35. See this study, p. 335.

36. Cf. F. Lot, "Une année du règne de Charles le Chauve," *MA*, XV (1902), 404, 406-407.

37. G. Schrörs, *Hincmar*, pp. 294-95.

38. Baluze, *Capitularia*, II, Appendix no. XCVIII, cols. 1489-91; *HGL*, II, Appendix 169. Apparently Solomon did not preside nor was he himself present at this assize. On the location of these allods in Conflent, R. d'Abadal, "El monestir d'Eixalada-Cuixa," *Analecta montserratensia*, VIII (1945-55), map 2 after p. 337. D'Abadal republishes the document here, pp. 253-54, and in *Catalunya carolingia*, II, Part 2, p. 372, with explanatory comments. The discussion in court concerned the original character of the property held by Count Bera, a predecessor of Solomon as Count of Conflent. If a comital benefice, it would pass to Solomon in his capacity as Count; if private allod, the successive donations were valid. The investigation elicited the information that Bera had held the properties *ex comparatione vel alode parentorum suorum*; hence, the relinquishing of comital claims followed.

At this point the judicial decisions which mention Solomon vanish. But as happens so frequently, a narrative source gives the more striking information. This is the *Gesta* of the Counts of Barcelona, a later chronicle with much fictional material. However, most scholars are prepared to recognize a kernel of fact in its report on Solomon. The young Wifred le Velu, the *Gesta* relates, formerly exiled to Flanders, returned home summoned by the magnates of his land (Catalonia):

When therefore the day had been set all assembled together with the lad in the place where they had learned that Solomon, of the Gallic nation, then Count of Barcelona, was to be on hand. Thereupon, by common counsel, the said lad killed with his own hands the named Count with drawn sword, in the presence of all. He then held alone, as long as he lived, the former's comital office from Narbonne into Spain.³⁹

With but few exceptions, scholars accept this text as evidence that Solomon was Marquis of Spain and that he died a violent death.⁴⁰

We can date Solomon's passing rather closely. A court decision of April 870 shows Miron, a brother of Wifred le Velu (Solomon's

39. "Constituto igitur die, conuenerunt omnes simul cum puero in locum ubi Salomonem, natione Gallicum, comitem tunc Barchinonensem, debere interesse didicerant; ibique communi consilio praedictus puer, manibus propriis, praefatum comitem euaginato gladio coram omnibus interemit, eiusque comitatum a Narbona usque in Hispaniam solus, dum uixit, obtinuit." *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, eds. L. Barrau Dihigo and J. Masso Torrents, p. 4, Redaccio primitiva. The Redaccio definitiva, *ibid.*, p. 24, is virtually identical except for the end, *interfecit, comitatumque Barchinonae a Narbona . . .* The Catalan text, *ibid.*, p. 121, at end: ". . . e pres e despus tench poderosament lo comtat de Barcelona e de Narbona entro en Espanya." The original text of the *Gesta* was composed between 1303-14, *ibid.*, p. lv.

40. R.-H. Bautier, "Le Conflent," p. 214, considers the *Gesta* too frail a foundation for this conclusion. Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Història nacional de Catalunya*, II, p. 547 (seconded by Bautier, *loc. cit.*) casts doubt on this story. See also F. Lot, *Fidèles ou vassaux*, p. 194, note 1. For the prevailing view as stated above, see the review of Rovira by J. Calmette in *AdM*, XXXVII-XXXVIII (1925-26), 218. This view is shared, e.g., by L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 345, note 46, and by others. R. d'Abadal rejects the *Gesta* as evidence, declares Solomon was not a Frank, suggests he belonged to a local family, and says that he never held the County of Barcelona but merely those of Urgel, Cerdagne, and Conflent alone, *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 31-32, 36.

assassin according to the *Gesta*), as Count of Conflent. We may then place Solomon's death between August 18, 868, and April 870. It may be possible to date his assassination even more exactly. At the assembly of Pitres, at the end of August 868, Charles the Bald received three marquises named Bernard: Bernard of Toulouse, Bernard of Gothia, and still another Bernard whom Hincmar does not identify further. (This failure of Hincmar's has produced a rash of scholarly studies on "The Three Bernards" and especially the "Unknown Marquis.")⁴¹ It seems likely that this conference between the King and his margraves of the Midi was related to the murder of Solomon (just reported) and the revolt which threatened. One might guess from the geographical nature of their assignments that one of the three, presumably "the Unknown Bernard," was appointed Solomon's successor. The assassination of Solomon was, in fact, the signal for rebellion among at least some of the magnates in the March of Spain, led by the family of Velu. A brother Miron, as we have seen, occupied the County of Conflent, and was entrenched in power by April 870. Miron seems also to have usurped Roussillon. Another brother, Raoul, held Cerdagne. Cousins in the same family, Oliba and Effroi, took over control of the counties of Carcassès and Razès.⁴² Clearly the rebellion was spreading far and

41. April 870, R.-H. Bautier, "Le Conflent," p. 218.

"Sed et in eodem placito [namely, Pitres] rex markiones, Bernardum scilicet Tolosae et iterum Bernardum Gothiae, itemque Bernardum alium suscepit"; *AB*, pp. 96-97, anno 868. For discussions of "The Bernards," see this work, p. 323, note 16.

Calmette assumes that King Charles bowed to the indigenous "national" spirit in the March and made his peace with the loss of Barcelona to the family of le Velu; J. Calmette, *La Question des Pyrénées*, pp. 23-24; *idem*, "Notes sur Wilfred le Velu," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3. Epoca, V (1901), 445-46; *idem*, "Le sentiment national," 109. However, this supposed passive attitude is not borne out by later events; see this work, pp. 341 ff. Apparently, Calmette does not detect the brazen, personal ambitions of these counts behind the guise of "national sentiment" and a "national movement" with which he garbs them. The recurring alliances with Muslim forces in Spain should arouse suspicion as to the true intent of these ambitious barons.

42. R.-H. Bautier, "Le Conflent," pp. 219-22; cf. L. Auzias, "Recherches d'histoire carolingienne: II Le personnel comtal et l'autorité royale en Septimanie meridionale (872-78)," *AdM*, XLV (1933), 133-37. On these as well as Oliba and

wide through the March of Spain. Barcelona of course was out of the hands of the King of the Franks.

All these developments could not be known at Pîtres at the end of August 868. But the recent assassination of Solomon was a portent. Fateful events cast their shadows long before them. The King's emergency consultations with the three margraves of the Midi must have dealt with the anticipated peril consequent on Solomon's murder. The anxiety of King Charles at this time is evident from his insistence on going to Cosne-sur-Loire again in January 869, in spite of the cold and the lack of supplies due to famine, just in order to meet his margraves. Their failure to appear was a cause of considerable concern and disquiet.⁴³ He had probably designated one of these three Bernards to be Solomon's successor in the March of Spain. Actually the appointment meant that the new marquis would have to reconquer that territory and recapture the fortress of Barcelona. In the ordinary course of events the new designee would be the son of Marquis Solomon, especially since the father had been so effective in the royal service at the time of Humphrey's revolt.

Now the only source which names the son of Solomon is the Hebrew literary historical document cited above, pp. 307-08. It identifies his son as *Makhir of the County of Avern* (Auvergne). There is one official who, during the course of about twenty years in the second half of the ninth century, is consistently identified as the Count of Auvergne. He is Bernard the husband of Ermengarde, but his father is never named. In January 864 Count Bernard and his wife exchanged property with the Abbot of Mozac, having secured the consent of King Charles and Raoul Archbishop of Bourges.⁴⁴ In June of the same year a Bernard

Effroi, see J. Calmette and P. Vidal, "À propos de la famille de Joffre le Poilu," *AdM*, XXXVII-XXXVIII (1925-26), 150-53, 156-58, and the genealogical table on p. 158. R. d'Abadal, "Un diplom inconnu . . .," *AdM*, LXI (1948-49), 356, also proposes a genealogical table for this part of Wifred's family.

43. L. Levillain emphasizes the tenseness of the situation in the year 868-69, "Les personnages du nom de Bernard," *Le Moyen Age*, LIII (1947), 208-09.

44. *Cartulaire de Brioude*, ed. H. Doniol, no. 176, p. 187; cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 322, note 49. Auzias identifies him as Bernard Plantevelue, "Bernard 'Le Veau' et Bernard 'Plantevelue,' comtes de Toulouse (?), (863-872-885)," *AdM*, XLIV (1932), 257, 385. F. Lot takes this as the earliest mention of

Plantevelue replaced Humphrey as Count of Autun. Although the father of this Count is not identified it would not be surprising for a son of Solomon to be rewarded for his father's services by succeeding to the office and these lands of the rebel Humphrey in Autun, especially if they were the same that had once been held in trust by Emperor Louis for William, son of Bernard of Septimania.⁴⁵ By May 866 Count Bernard appears as lay abbot of St. Julien de Brioude in the Auvergne.⁴⁶ Bernard Count of Auvergne is stigmatized by Hincmar as having been absent from the Diet at Rheims in October 870 where Louis was agreed upon and designated as the successor of his father, Charles the Bald.⁴⁷ In June 873 or 874 Count Bernard, duke and marquis, and his wife Ermengarde sold to seigneur Richard and his wife lands in Rouergue in the provostship of Millau, including the churches of St. Paul of Notre Dame and of St. Brice. Poupardin, who republished this writ, found Bernard's title *marquis* strange. However, as successor to Marquis Solomon in the March of Spain the title need occasion no surprise.

Bernard as Count of Auvergne, "Sur la date de la translation des reliques de Sainte Foi d'Agen à Conques," *AdM*, XVI (1904), 508. For the same view, J. Calmette, H. Patry, "Les comtes d'Auvergne et les comtes de Velay sous Charles le Chauve," *AdM*, XVI (1904), 308. Calmette and Patry, following E. Mabille (*HGL*, II, notes, 284-85, 309-10), assume without adequate evidence that Bernard I of Auvergne was father of this Bernard. However, L. Auzias points out that Bernard secured Auvergne through his wife's connections, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 339. Contrary to the evidence of the *Gesta*, which specifies that Narbonne was in the March of Spain at the time of Marquis Solomon's rule, Auzias assumes that Narbonne was the capital of that part of Gothia which was assigned to Bernard son of Bliihilde, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 339.

45. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 322, note 50, no source indicated. Cf. J. Dhondt, *Études*, p. 23, for date 863. On William's lands, see this work, p. 286.

46. *Cartulaire de Brioude*, ed. H. Doniol, no. 210, p. 221; L. Auzias identifies him as Plantevelue, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 339, note 32.

47. "Vos scitis quia pater vester prius Remis de constitutione vestra post illum in regimine regni cum primoribus regni sui disposuit, ubi quantum recordor maxime omnes regni primores fuerunt excepto venerabili abbate Hugone Bernardo comite Arvernense et omnes secundum dispositionem patri vestri in vestra regia constitutione consenserunt"; Hincmar, *Hludowici regi epistola* § 7, *Opera* II, p. 181. E. Dümmler makes the identification for time and place of this event, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II, p. 44, note 34.

Noteworthy however is the dignity duke.⁴⁸ It is evidence that Bernard's office and possessions in the Auvergne, Autun, Aquitaine and the March of Spain had made him a ranking personage of the Midi. The designation "Kingdom of Septimania" reappears in this period.⁴⁹

As was to be anticipated of the successor of Marquis Solomon, it appears that a Margrave Bernard did in fact take up residence in Narbonne. This we know from a court judgment dated June 13, 870, rendered in Narbonne by "Bernard Count, Marquis and *missus* of King Charles" in the presence of Leopard and Adalbert, royal vassals. In his decision Bernard ruled in favor of the Abbey of St. Thibery against a certain Ato on the basis of a diploma of King Charles which the Abbot produced in his own favor. At the order of the Marquis, his representative Leopard, royal vassal, went into the County of Toulouse and executed judgment, restoring the properties there to the abbey.⁵⁰

Apparently, the County of Toulouse and beyond—Count Humphrey's objective in 863-64—was also imperiled by the revolt of le Velu. For King Charles established in 872 a triumvirate as an aid to his son Louis in the governance of Aquitaine. The triumvirate consisted of Boso, the King's brother-in-law, chamberlain, and master of the keepers of the gate, and two margraves by the name of Bernard whom Hincmar does not identify more closely. The proximity of Narbonne to Toulouse suggests that one of these Bernards was the marquis located at Narbonne. The other was probably the Margrave of Gothia, Bernard son of Blihilde. There appears still another, a

48. "Ego aenim in Dei nomen Bernardus comes, dux seu et marchio et uxore sua Ermengardis . . . [Following signature sign at end:] Bernardo duce vel marchione qui hanc vendicione ista fieri vel affirmare rogavit"; R. Poupardin identifies Bernard also as Count of Auvergne, "Une charte inédite de Bernard Plantevelue," *AdM*, XIV (1902), 350-53. Imitation Tironian notes appear on the original, according to him, but the markings are probably of other origin.

49. On February 28, 869, Charles the Bald gave to his *fidelis* Dodo, vassal of his other *fidells* Otger the "villula" Prunet in the Kingdom of Septimania, in Roussillon: "concedimus . . . quasdam res juris nostri sitas infra Septimaniae regnum in pago Russilionense"; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, II, no. 322, p. 210:2-4; cf. *ibid.*, I, no. 43, p. 120:15.

50. June 13, 870, in *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 174, cols. 355-57. A signature, Salomon, appears among the witnesses.

third Bernard who was Count of Toulouse at this time. After having sworn fealty to King Charles (apparently because of suspicion about his loyalty) he received Carcassonne and Razès and was ordered back to Toulouse.⁵¹

Who was this third Bernard Count of Toulouse? Calmette⁵² identifies him as the son of Bernard of Septimania and younger brother of William both of whom Charles the Bald had executed for rebellion—the father in 844, the brother in 850. In 872 Bernard would be thirty-one years old.⁵³ The King's need for allies in the South at the time of le Velu's revolt may have induced him to grant Toulouse to Bernard at a date prior to 872. This was once the domain of his father Bernard and his grandfather William. Very little is known of Count Bernard of Toulouse. He appears briefly in the sources of 864, when Hincmar identifies him carefully as "the son in the flesh and manners of the old tyrant" (Bernard of Septimania) and accuses him of a plot to ambush his father's executioner, the King, "as some people say," adds Hincmar cautiously, as well as also Charles' vassals Robert and Ramnulf. Bernard lost his office and lands at once.⁵⁴ In 865 he may have been

51. "Karolus autem filio suo Hludowico Bosonem, fratrem uxoris eius, camerarium et ostiariorum magistrum constituens, cui et honores Gerardi comitis Bituricensis dedit, cum Bernardo itemque alio Bernardo markione in Aquitaniam misit et dispositionem ipsius regni ei commisit. Bernardo autem Tolosae comiti post praestita sacramenta Carcasonem et Rhedas concedens, ad Tholosam remisit"; *AB, anno 872*, p. 119. If Oliba and Effroi still held Carcassès and Razès at this time, as seems most likely, the cession of these areas to Bernard of Toulouse constituted in effect an order to recapture them. Auzias says the two Bernards, members of the triumvirate, were Bernard Count of Auvergne known also as Plantevelue (whom he erroneously identifies as the son of Bernard of Septimania) and Bernard Marquis of Gothia, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 371.

52. J. Calmette, "La famille de Saint Guilhem," *AdM*, XVIII (1906), 163; idem, *De Bernardo*, p. 94. See also M. Chaume, *Les Origines du Duché de Bourgogne*, I, p. 232.

53. For his birthday on March 22, 841, see *Le Manuel*, ed. Ed. Bondurand, p. 52, *Praefatio*.

54. "Bernardus, Bernardi quondam tyranni carne et moribus filius, licentia regis accepta de eodem placito quasi ad honores suos perrecturus, super noctem armata manum regreditur, et in silva se occultans, ut quidam dicebant, regem, qui patrem suum Francorum iudicio occidi iusserat, et, ut quidam dicebant, Rodbertum et Ramnulfum, regis fideles, malitiis occidere locum et horam expectat. Quod regi

the target of a remonstrance (preserved only in fragment) by Pope Nicholas I following a charge that he was "plundering the Christian people."⁵⁵ By 872 at the latest he must have made his peace with the sovereign⁵⁶ as evidenced by the King's grant of that year, noted above. However, the new relationship was ephemeral and suffered a terminal fate soon thereafter. In the same year Bernard of Toulouse known also as *Vitellus* was killed in ambush by the men of Bernard of Gothia for being in rebellion against King Charles. Marquis Bernard of Gothia succeeded to his office and his lands.⁵⁷ Thus fell by violent hand the last survivor of that branch of the House of Makhir which was descended via William and Bernard of Septimania.

South of the Pyrenees the situation was serious for King Charles. Its gravity was underscored in a strong complaint and implied warning voiced by Bishop John of Barcelona at the Synod of Attigny in 874. A Mozarabe priest by the name of Tyrsus, presumably imported by Wifred from Cordova, had set himself up in a church within the walls of Barcelona, held conventicles, masses, and baptisms, performed other ecclesiastical functions, and collected for his own needs two-thirds of

innoutit; et mittens qui eum caperent et ad praesentiam illius adducerent, fuga sibi consuluit. Unde iudicio suorum fidelium honores quos ei dederat rex recepit et Rotberto, fideli suo, donavit"; *AB*, anno 864, pp. 72-73.

55. *Nicolai I. papae epistolae*, ed. E. Perels, *MGH*, Epistolarum VI, Karolini aevi IV, no. 40, p. 314, addressed to "Bernardo illustri viro filio quondam Bernardi gloriosi comitis." In December of the following year the same pope threatened the magnates and all residents of Aquitaine with excommunication unless they restored church property unjustly alienated; *Epistolarum VI*, no. 43, pp. 317-18.

56. It might be supposed that it was he whom King Charles addressed June 21, 870, in such friendly terms as "Bernardus Tolosanus marchio et dilectissimus nobis fidelis," quoted by E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, I, p. 797, n. 8 (Berlin, 1862) from *Recueil*, ed. Bouquet, VIII, p. 626. However, this does not refer to the son of Bernard of Septimania but rather to the son of Raymond; see *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, II, no. 339, pp. 254-56; for the year 869-70.

57. J. Calmette identifies Vitellus with the son of Marquis Bernard of Septimania, "La famille de Saint Guilhem," *AdM*, XVIII (1906), 163; *idem*, *De Bernardo*, p. 94. ". . . Ubi ei (Karolo) nunciatur ab hominibus Bernardi, filii Bernardi, [Bernardus] qui Vitellus cognominabatur occisus, et eius honores praedicto Bernardo sunt dati"; *AB*, anno 872, pp. 120-21. *Vitellus*, "a little calf"; but it may also be a translation of the Hebrew name Ḥayyim, "life." The name Vidal is found very frequently, see J. Régné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, Index, p. 258.

the tithes of the city. All this he arrogated to himself without the consent of Bishop John (who was evidently incapable of asserting his authority within the city walls) and in defiance of his orders. By July 874, the situation had become so intolerable that the Bishop presented a long complaint to the Synod at Attigny, wherein he pointed out that Charlemagne and Louis had threatened with punishment anyone who placed a priest in office contrary to the wish of the presiding bishop. Surprising restraint marked the recommendation of the bishops when they noted that it would be a long-drawn-out matter to try to bring the culprits to court. Presumably, the evidence of their rebellion was overwhelming and beyond question. Yet, the still cautious bishops thought that an attempt to dislodge the rebels would be dangerous. They indicated they would be satisfied with the King's order to "his Marquis" to discipline and punish the parties involved. Obviously, the order to "his Marquis" was not intended for the rebel Wifred le Velu but rather against him and his supporters.⁵⁸

The action of Charles the Bald or, at least, that of his marquis was far more aggressive than the disciplinary action sanctioned by the prelates of Attigny. In fact, by 877 Barcelona was back again in the hands of the Franks.

After Attigny, Marquis Bernard of Narbonne penetrated southward. By 875 at the latest, he had asserted his sway in Roussillon and made it a virtual dependency of Narbonne. This is evident from a court

58. Bishop John's complaint and the prelates' recommendation to King Charles July 1, 874, *Capitularia*, II, 2, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, no. 303, pp. 458-60. Cf. R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya carolingia*, II, part 2, no. VII, pp. 430-33. The complaint of Bishop John (so identified by Boretius-Krause, p. 458, note 1) enjoyed this reply from the bishops: "Quia vero longum est istos [*i.e.*, hi, qui contra auctoritatem et Barcinonensi episcopi voluntatem Tyrsum presbyterum in ecclesia Barcinonae civitatis retinent] ad praesentiam regis adducere vel periculosum est longius a marcha eos abducere, domnus rex commendabit suo marchioni, qualiter eos distringat atque castiget."

This document does not make clear the reasons for the prelates' caution. They do not appear to be nearly so much disturbed as Bishop John over the situation in Barcelona. On the contrary they seem reluctant to change the political *status quo* except for some punishment of the culprits.

Bishop John claimed he lost his church (the one inside Barcelona ?) by usurpation; *Capitularia*, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, p. 460, § 3.

decision on December 17 of that year given in Roussillon in the name of Count Bernard by Isembert the presiding justice. Isembert is known also from other sources as the agent of the Count of Narbonne; in addition, Bautier has identified several Narbonne judges among the justices of this comital court of Roussillon and concluded that the county had become in effect an annex of the County of Narbonne.⁵⁹ The margrave himself was in Italy at the time accompanying Charles the Bald to Rome on the occasion of his imperial coronation which took place on Christmas Day, 875. It is probably his signature which appears on the list of witnesses of Charles' elevation to imperial office February 876 in Pavia. Boso became chief imperial commissioner in Italy endowed with highly honorific titles and a ducal crown. Bernard Plantevelue became, according to Auzias, beyond a doubt Charles' chief representative in Aquitaine, and was installed at its capital in Bourges, upon his return from Italy in February 876 or shortly thereafter.⁶⁰

59. December 17, 875, in Baluze, *Capitularia*, II, Appendix CIV, cols. 1496-98: "In iudicio Isimberto misso Bernardo comite sive et de iudices qui iussi sunt causas dirimere et legibus diffinire . . .," republished in *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 189, cols. 382-84. These editors supplied the heading, "Plaid ou assemblée tenue par l'autorité de Bernard III marquis de Gothie." However, the text cannot in any way lead to the identification of Count Bernard as that Marquis of Gothia whom Hincmar designated as son of Bliihilde daughter of Rorigo in 865 (see this work, p. 329). J. Calmette accepts the editors' ascription of this judgment to Bernard of Gothia, son of Biihilde, "Les marquis de Gothie," *AdM*, XIV (1902), 196.

On Isembert and the Narbonne judges, R.-H. Bautier, "Le Conflent," pp. 222-23, who thinks the locale of this judgment was Conflent thus indicating that Bernard was Count of Conflent. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-27 denies Miron ever was Count of Roussillon. But obviously Marquis Bernard's appearance in 875 as Count of Roussillon does not preclude Miron's rule after Solomon's death (868) until Bernard took over.

60. Following the coronation in Rome there took place in Pavia the election of Charles the Bald as emperor at an assembly of magnates in February 876. The list of signatories starts with the name of one archbishop (Anabertus), followed by several bishops, an abbot, a duke (Boso, archminister of the sacred palace and imperial *missus*) and then several counts. Count Bernard is the next to last signatory; *Capitularia*, II, 2, eds. A. Boretius and V. Krause, no. 220, p. 100:1; no. 221, p. 104:3. This second copy of the coronation document adds the signature of another Bernard without title, p. 104:5. L. Levillain identifies Count Bernard as probably the Count of Auvergne, the untitled Bernard on the other hand as an Italian Count; "Les personnages du nom de Bernard," *Le Moyen Age*, LIII (1947), 218, note 60; cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 374-76.

However, Bernard did not acquire Bourges until September 878 at the earliest. In November 877, on the pretext that Frotar Archbishop of Bourges (formerly of Bordeaux and Poitiers) would have surrendered Bourges to the enemies of the King, Count Bernard son of Blihilde took possession of that town and its ecclesiastical lands. In 878 Pope John VIII ordered Marquis Bernard to allow Archbishop Frotar to enter upon his see at Bourges. Later in the same year the Pope excommunicated the Marquis at the synod in Troyes. In September 878, the day after the close of this assembly, King Louis deprived Marquis Bernard of Gothia of his *honores* and distributed them to the Chamberlain Theodoric, to Bernard Count of Auvergne and to other, unnamed, persons.⁶¹

In the fall of the same year we find a Count Bernard fighting in Emperor Charles' army in Germany. On October 7, 876, at the time of the defeat of Charles by his nephew Louis III the German at Andernach on the Rhine, a Count Bernard was taken prisoner on the field of battle. Levillain, following Auzias, thinks he was Bernard of Auvergne.⁶² If their identification is correct and Marquis Bernard was in the Rhineland in 876, he may have established contact with the Jewish communities of Lotharingia who eventually made their submission to him as *nasi*. Charles' recent election as emperor would naturally hasten this process. The delegates of the *Kehillot Francia* later visited him in his official residence and were deeply impressed with the visible signs of his power and authority.⁶³

After his release as prisoner of war Bernard and his sovereign apparently decided on vigorous action south of the Pyrenees, far more aggressive than the disciplinary steps urged by the prelates at Attigny in 874. The exact date of this campaign is not known. However,

61. L. Levillain, "Les personnages," *Le Moyen Age*, LIII (1947), 220; cf. *PL*, CXXVI, col. 783, nos. cxxxiv, cxxxv. "[Bernardus] in Trecensi synodo anathemate percussus est et honoribus privatus," *AB*, p. 147, note 2, anno 878. "In crastina [September 12, 878] Hlodowicus rex, . . . cum consilio ipsorum consiliariorum suorum dispertitus est honores Bernardi Gothiae markionis per Theodericum camerarium et Bernardum comitem Arvenicum et per alios secreta dispositos"; *ibid.*, p. 144.

62. "Les personnages," *MA*, LIII (1947), 229; L. Auzias says Bernard was released at the start of 877, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 376.

63. A. J. Zuckerman, "Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 55 ff.

"Bernard Count of Auvergne" is recorded by Hincmar as absent from the Diet of Quierzy June 14-16, 877, even though he was one of those who was appointed counsellor to King Louis during the Emperor's contemplated expedition to Italy. Presumably his absence from this important convocation may be accounted for by the campaign in the March of Spain.⁶⁴ Most of that region was in the hands of *le Velu et frères*. But in Barcelona town and county and in the adjoining County of Ausona there was a substantial and growing Jewish community. Doubtless they were more than a little involved in the end result that before autumn and perhaps as early as June 877⁶⁵ Barcelona was back in the hands of the Franks. A personal message of thanks addressed by Charles the Bald "To All Barcelonians" attests to that fact. This grateful response of the Emperor's and the original heartening report of the fall of Barcelona were both carried by the imperial *fidelis* Judah the Hebrew:

To all Barcelonians, our own special [subjects], greeting. Know ye (wrote the Emperor) that we are enjoying fitting prosperity by gift from on high. That the same may be among you is our own strong desire. Very many are the thanks we offer you that you have always tended toward fidelity to us in every way. There has now indeed come to us Judah the Hebrew, our *fidelis*; and he has described your faithfulness to us at length; for which faithfulness we are prepared to offer fitting remuneration and proper reward. Concerning

64. "Omnes praesentes adfuerunt, excepto ipso Bosone et Hugone abbate et Bernardo comite Arvernico"; Hincmar, Hludowici regi epistola, *Opera*, II, § 7, p. 181; cf. E. Dümmler who assumes that Bernard's absence was related to the brewing revolt against Charles in order to halt his expedition into Italy; *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II (Berlin 1865), p. 54, note 59; III (2nd ed. Leipsic 1888), p. 52, note 3. See *Capitularia*, II, 2, eds. A. Boretius, V. Krause, no. 281, pp. 359:2, 20; 361:9.

65. Marquis Bernard's success may be reflected in the grant to Oliba Count of Carcassone by Emperor Charles June 11, 877, transferring to him lands and allods in Gothia and the Carcassès which formerly were the possession of the "traitors" and "rebels" Miro, son of Bera, Fridarius and Hostolius and his brothers; *Recueil des actes de Charles II de Chauve*, ed. G. Tessier, II, no. 428, pp. 456-58. Levillain thinks Oliba was rewarded in this way for assistance to Marquis Bernard; L. Levillain, "Les personnages," *MA*, LIII (1947), 212; cf. *HGL*, II, preuves, no. 194, cols. 389-91; Iohannis VIII. papae *Epistolae*, *MGH*, *Epistolae karolini aevi*, V, no. 119, p. 108 (May) 878.

therefore our own steadfast fidelity, have no hesitation at all; but in this matter according as you [now] have better knowledge and capacity, continue to persist in all these as you have done heretofore. Farewell. And know that by my *fidelis* Juda cot I am sending to Bishop Frodoin ten pounds silver for repair of his church.⁶⁶

66. On the meaning of *fidelis* as "vassal" in the Carolingian Age, see p. 92 above.

This interesting letter of Emperor Charles the Bald to the Barcelonians has been reprinted frequently, the most recent edition with complete bibliography, *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, II (861-77), ed. G. Tessier, no. 417, pp. 431-32: "In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis karolus eiusdem dei omnipotentis in ecclesia imperator augustus. Omnibus barchinonensibus, peculiaribus nostris, salutem.

Sciatis quoniam superno munere congrua prosperitate valemus. Apud vos quoque ut et id ipsum maneat valde desideramus. Plurimas autem vobis grates referimus, eo quod in nostram fidelitatem semper omnimodis tenditis. Venit denique Judas hebreus, fidelis noster, ad nos; et de vestra fidelitate multa nobis designavit. Unde vestrae fidelitati condignam remunerationem et decens premium referre parati sumus. De nostre igitur fidelitatis assiduitate nullomodo retardetis; set in ea, prout melius scitis et potestis, in omnibus tendentes permaneat, sicuti hactenus factum habetis. Valete et sciatis vos quia per fidelem meum Juda cot dirigo ad Frodoynum episcopum libras X de argento ad suam ecclesiam reparare."

Tessier, *Recueil*, suggests the date 876; d'Abadal, 877, in *Catalunya carolingia*, II, part 2, no. VIII, pp. 434-35. In addition to appearing in the text, the address *Omnibus Barchinonensibus, peculiaribus nostris* is written also on the reverse of the letter.

Besides Tessier, *Recueil*, I. Loeb also identified the two Judahs in the letter as one person, "Notes sur l'histoire des Juifs. VIII.—Juda, Juif catalan du ix^e siècle," *REJ*, X (1885), 248, thereby following F. Fita. The meaning of *cot* at the end of Judacot is still not clarified. Fita took it to mean Goth, that is, Catalan; "Hebreos de Barcelona en el siglo IX," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, IV (1884), 70. See pp. 261-62 above for our suggestion that Jews in Gotholonia (Catalonia) were also called Goths. Lauer, on the other hand, takes *cot* to signify a diminutive, but then is of the opinion that the two lines which appear at the bottom of the letter beginning *Valete et sciatis vos . . .* are written in a different hand from that of the text and constitute a tenth-century addition; Ph. Lauer, "Lettre close de Charles le Chauve pour les Barcelonais," *BEC*, LXIII (1902), 697. Calmette counters this last opinion by claiming, as seems reasonable, these last two lines are none other than an autograph of the Emperor himself, "Sur la lettre close de Charles le Chauve aux Barcelonais," *BEC*, LXIV (1903), 331-33. Most recently, Calmette has also come out in favor of *cot* signifying a diminutive; see his review of A. Rovira i Virgili, *História nacional de Catalunya* in *AdM*, XXXVII-XXXVIII (1925-26), 218. Doubt-

Since the opening sentence of the letter identifies Charles as *emperor augustus*, it must be dated after his imperial coronation on December 25, 875, but before his death in Italy on October 6, 877.⁶⁷

The significance of the address *Omnibus barchinonensibus, peculiaribus nostris*, has been the subject of controversy between Lauer and Calmette. Lauer charged his colleague with an anachronism for implying that as early as the ninth century the inhabitants of Barcelona were organized as a functioning entity. Recognizing that such a view would be anachronistic in fact, Calmette disclaimed the imputation which he said Lauer had improperly drawn from his remarks and pointed to Bishop Frodoin's parishioners as the group to whom the letter must have been addressed.⁶⁸

However, we would then expect the Emperor to address himself to the Bishop and not his parishioners, especially since the prelate is about to become a beneficiary of Charles' generosity. Furthermore, from Bishop John's complaint at Attigny we may doubt that his church or parish were actually inside the walls of Barcelona.⁶⁹ Who then were

less, Emperor Charles also addressed a communiqué to his Marquis Bernard which, however, has not been preserved. For its probable contents, see below, p. 348. For photographs of Charles' letter, J. Calmette, "Une lettre close originale de Charles le Chauve," *École française de Rome, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXII (1902), plates IV and V after p. 345.

67. Hincmar ascribes Emperor Charles' death to poisoning by his favored Jewish physician Zedekiah: "Karolus vero febre correptus, pulverem bibit, quem sibi nimium dilectus ac credulus medicus suus Iudaeus nomine Sedechias transmisit, ut ea potione a febre liberaretur; insanabili veneno hausto . . . Et 11. die post venenum haustum in vilissimo tugurio mortuus est 2. Nonas Octobris"; *AB*, anno 877, pp. 136-37.

68. Ph. Lauer, "Lettre close de Charles le Chauve," *BEC*, LXII (1902), 696-99; J. Calmette, "Sur la lettre close de Charles le Chauve," *BEC*, LXIV (1903), 329-34. D'Abadal seems to follow Calmette seeing some support in the fact that the original was preserved in the archives of the Cathedral of Barcelona, *Catalunya carolingia*, II, part 2, no. VIII, p. 435. However, it is obvious from the Emperor's gift to Bishop Frodoin that the church had an interest in preserving this document, regardless of who the recipients originally were.

69. Bishop John's complaint at Attigny 874 places the rival priest Tyrsus of Cordova within the walls of Barcelona, "quod Tyrsus presbyter Cordubensis in ecclesia intra muros ipsius civitatis [i.e., Barcelona] sita . . . et sine illius licentia missas et baptisteria in eadem civitate [emphasis added] praesumit celebrare." When

those "always" faithful to the Emperor and King of Frankia, whose fidelity Charles acknowledged with such intense feeling and promise of reward?

The letter is clearly addressed to townspeople of Barcelona organized not alone as a community but as a self-directing political entity who in a recent crisis placed themselves on the side of the Emperor. We may now suggest the nature of this crisis with some assurance. As the Marquis Bernard came down from the north leading troops on a mission from his sovereign, a decision had to be taken in Barcelona and environs whether to ally with him or to oppose the Emperor. Higher orders or their own volition impelled the Barcelonians to join their forces to Bernard's. Bishop John or Frodoin also supported this action since he was obviously an opponent of Wifred and of the latter's puppet ecclesiastic. Possibly, Judah the Hebrew was Bernard's agent and intermediary between the Marquis and his eventual allies; Judah also later carried the news of the fall of Barcelona to the Emperor with the report of the role of its people in town and environs.

But what of Lauer's charge of "anachronism" for assuming that a community of townspeople⁷⁰ could act in concert in political matters as early as the ninth century in Western Europe? The Jewish emissary and the Emperor's address to the Barcelonians as *peculiaribus nostris*, "(subjects) in a special (or, personal) relationship to us," provide the clue to a solution. Later imperial *diplomata*, usually acknowledged to be based on earlier formulation, frequently refer to the Jewish community as standing in a special relationship to the imperial office, as for example the charter of Emperor Henry IV for the Jews of Worms in

John endeavored to hold conventicles in the "mother church," Tyrus summoned the churchgoers back into his own institution: "et convocatos ab episcopo ad matrem ecclesiam etiam in solemnitatibus paschae ac nativitatibus Domini, ad se revocat, atque contempto episcopo eis communionem largitur."

70. J. Calmette, "Sur la lettre close," *BEC*, LXIV (1903), 330-31, has insisted that *Omnibus barchinonensibus* in a precise document of this sort must refer to residents of Barcelona town, and not of the county as Ph. Lauer maintained, "Lettre close," *BEC*, LXIII (1902), 697, wherein he also charged "anachronism." We do not see the need for Calmette's insistence. In fact correspondence from the Eastern academies is addressed specifically to the entire Jewry "in the County of Barcelona"; see p. 322 above.

1090: "in particular because they belong to our Chamber."⁷¹ But notably close to the language of Charles the Bald in the nonlegal, informal letter just cited is a diploma of a later age issued shortly before 1237 by Emperor Frederick II in renewal of the privileges of the Jews of Ratisbon⁷² (which go back to 1097) and in behalf of Jews throughout the empire: "All Jews and each one individually . . . are special serfs of our Chamber . . . and we receive them under our special protection and that of the Empire."⁷³

The elevation of Charles the Bald to imperial office in December 875 virtually assured that the Jewries in the March of Spain would rally to his support in the crisis of 877. Furthermore, it is by-now abundantly clear that Jewish communities actually did exist in fact in ninth-century Barcelona and Ausona in the March of Spain as evidenced by the correspondence with the academies of Babylonia. They functioned as

71. *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, ed. D. v. Gladiss, *MGH*, VI, part 2, no. 412, p. 548:30: "praesertim cum ad cameram nostram attineant."

Cf. the related remark in the formulary of Louis the Debonair's chancellery for the Jewish community of Lyons (ca. 825): ". . . liceat eis sub mundeburdo et defensione nostra quiete vivere et partibus palati nostri fideliter deservire"; K. Zeumer, *Formulae*, no. 31, p. 310:17, 18, and the virtually identical wording for Abraham of Saragossa, *ibid.*, no. 52, p. 325:16, 17.

Also when granting a *privilegium* to the town of Worms, January 18, 1074, the same Emperor Henry IV had referred to his beneficiaries as "Jews and other Wormsers" *Judaei et ceteri Wormatienses*, clearly implying thereby that the Jewry formed the major component also in Worms at that time in the eleventh century; D. v. Gladiss, *Urkunden*, no. 268, p. 343:4. Von Gladiss wishes to challenge the originality of this reading, *ibid.*, pp. 341-42, unconvincingly.

72. In September 1182 Frederick I Barbarossa renewed the *privilegium* of the Jews of Ratisbon: "Ea propter notum facimus . . . quod nos solerter curamgerentes omnium iudeorum in imperio nostro degentium, qui speciali prerogativa dignitatis nostre ad imperialem cameram dinoscuntur pertinere, iudeis nostris Ratisponensibus bonas consuetudines suas a predecessoribus suis . . . confirmamus"; E. Täubler, "Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland im Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Gesamtarchivs der deutschen Juden*, IV (1913), p. 33; summary p. 51; cf. S. W. Baron, *History*, V, p. 304, note 52, p. 274, note 92.

73. "Omnes et singuli Judaei . . . servi sunt nostrae camerae speciales . . . sub protectione nostra et imperii recipimus speciali." E. Täubler, *loc. cit.* Nachtrag, p. 186, X. 123? (Emp. Fred. II). Baron dates this act before 1237 but later than 1234, "Plenitude of Apostolic Powers," (Hebrew), *Sefer Yobhel leYitzhak Baer*, p. 119.

distinct entities, also in other parts of Frankia, meeting together for common counsel when occasion required, as in the instance of the assembly of the Communities of Francia (*Ḳehillot Francia*).⁷⁴ It is certainly no "anachronism" to describe such urban communities as unified, even political, entities. As regards Barcelona, it can now be understood why the imperial vassal Judah the Hebrew was selected for the delicate task of establishing contact with the "Barcelonians," and he then carried the glad tidings of the town's capture to the Emperor. The "Barcelonians," at least those who remained after the flight of le Velu and associates, were Jews. Organized as a distinct community in town and county and perhaps throughout "Ispamia" they determined on loyalty to the King of the Franks now Roman Emperor. Thereby they decided the fate of Barcelona and, for that matter, the entire Spanish March. When Charles penned his grateful note of appreciation "To all Barcelonians" (the last sentence with the pronoun in the first person singular is even thought to be the Emperor's own autograph), he addressed himself primarily to the Jewish community, the organized entity comprising persons within the walls and in the county who had acted in concert out of loyalty to the Emperor.⁷⁵ Certainly, after Wifred's supporters inside Barcelona fled, the bastion was left primarily in Jewish hands. Bishop Frodoin (apparently successor to John) and his men in the suburb must also have supported the pro-Frank movement, and the prelate now received his reward in the form of a gift for the repair of his church.⁷⁶

The Emperor stated openly in his letter of thanks to the Barcelonians

74. A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 55 ff.

75. Recognition of an organized Jewish community as the active component of the loyal "Barcelonians" in 877 eliminates the grounds for the disagreement between Ph. Lauer and J. Calmette regarding the implication of *Omnibus barchinonensibus* in Emperor Charles' letter. There is very likely a connection between the recent coronation of Charles the Bald as Emperor at Christmas 875 and the submission also of the Jewish communities of (Lotharingian) Francia to the Nasi. A "Magnate" Judah also served as intermediary in that similar situation; see A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 55-56.

76. In the Emperor's letter: "... sciatz vos quia per fidelem meum Juda cot dirigo ad Frodoynum episcopum libras X de argento ad suam ecclesiam reparare," *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, II, no. 417, p. 431.

that adequate recompense would be forthcoming for their fidelity. Eventually, this may have taken the form of a capitulary, or a charter of rights and protection, or confirmation of an earlier diploma, such as Meir b. Simeon of the thirteenth century claims⁷⁷ and which is hinted at in the communiqué of the *Ḳehillot Francia*.⁷⁸ No such document however has come down to us, and so the reward of "the Barcelonians" has remained hidden. But not so Marquis Bernard's recompense. In addition to the obvious fact that he could now assert authority in Barcelona and govern as Marquis of Spain, he received from Charles the Bald a grant of substantial income from the trade, the mint, and from other sources at Barcelona and environs. This information comes to light in a diploma of Charles' son King Louis the Stammerer dated Troyes, September 9, 878, and drawn up in behalf of Frodoin Bishop of Barcelona. Therein King Louis declares that he cedes to the Bishop a third part of the tolls, "just as Bernard our Marquis received by order of our father from the *suburbium* [of Barcelona], both from the sea and from all other traffic, as well as from the waste lands, from portage and the mint, as is contained in a *praeceptum* of our lord father."⁷⁹ Such was his reward, at the least, for "mission accomplished."

77. The Emperor's promise, "... de vestra fidelitate multa nobis [Judas] designavit. Unde vestrae fidelitati condignam remunerationem et decens premium referre parati sumus. De nostre igitur fidelitatis assiduitate nullomodo retardetis..."; *ibid.*

Meir b. Simeon claimed: "For our Israelite forebears came into his [King Charles'] kingdom in consequence of a pledge to place us under a 'security' guarding our person, our substance and hereditary land-holdings. We, too, as did our ancestors, stood in that security a long time, from the days of King Charles until the present, during which time he and his successors conquered many lands all with the help of the Israelites who were with them in *fidelity* with person and property so that they themselves entered into the thick of battle and sacrificed their lives. . . ." A. Neubauer, "Documents," *REJ*, X (1885), 98-99. See Appendix IV this study. Meir may be telescoping the relationship of the Jews to Charlemagne and to his grandson Charles the Bald. In any event, he emphasized the continuing close relationship between the Carolingian rulers and the Jews, expressed in capitularies and *diplomata*.

78. See A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 58-60.

79. "Concedimus insuper ei terciam partem telonei, sicut Bernardus, marchio nostro, per preceptum genitoris nostri ei acceptavit de suburbio loci ipsius, tam de

Calmette proves that the Marquis Bernard mentioned here could not have been Bernard son of Blihilde, Marquis of Gothia, because the latter was just about to be deprived of his *honores* by act of Louis the Stammerer at Troyes on September 12, 878. Hence, on September 9, the King would not refer to him as *our Marquis*. However, Calmette does not recognize that the gift of one-third of Barcelona's tolls (at the least) was very probably part of the reward of the grateful Emperor to Marquis Bernard (not the same as Bernard of Gothia) for having restored Barcelona to the realm. Calmette correctly identifies the recipient of the tolls as Count Bernard of Auvergne, who also succeeded to the *honores* of which Bernard of Gothia was deprived in September 878.⁸⁰

It is not necessary to assume with d'Abadal that the cession once made to Marquis Bernard was now being transferred to Bishop Frodoin by King Louis' action.⁸¹ It means rather that the prelate was also receiving (if this cession is authentic) one-third of the port's income alongside that of the Marquis. Presumably, the King retained the third that was left.

That part of King Louis' diploma (extant only in copies, the earliest, of the thirteenth century) which elaborates on the cession to Bishop Frodoin seems, however, grossly interpolated. Nevertheless, it may perhaps correctly relay the fact of an original imperial grant to Marquis Bernard. Our analysis above of the materials regarding Narbonne suggests that here too the original cession to him consisted of half (at the least) of the income from the sources mentioned at Barcelona. King Louis' gift to Bishop Frodoin recalls the attempt of Archbishop

mari quam de omni mercationi et de eremis terre et de portatico et de moneta . . . sicut in praecepto domni genitoris nostri continetur"; *Recueil*, ed. G. Tessier, II, no. 455, p. 509.

80. J. Calmette, "Notes sur Wifred," *Revista de archivos*, V (1901), 446. Cf. also, J. Calmette, "Les marquis de Gothie," *AdM*, XIV (1902), 196, and *AB*, p. 144, anno 878 (September 11): "In crastina Hlodowicus rex . . . cum consilio ipsorum consiliariorum suorum dispertitus est honores Bernardi Gothiae markionis per Theodericum camerarium et Bernardum comitem Arvernium et per alios secreta dispositos."

81. R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya carolingia*, II, part 1, p. 69.

Guifred of Narbonne to appropriate one-third of similar income to himself in the eleventh century.⁸²

For the year 877 Hincmar relates a conjuration of the primates of the realm against Emperor Charles while he was in Italy, “except for a few.” Although he lists Bernard Count of Auvergne third among the *primores*, after the Abbot Hugo and Boso, it is more likely that Bernard was among the “few” who did not join the conspiracy in behalf of which Hincmar drew upon all his prestige in order to effect the involvement of the bishops.⁸³

By 878 then Count Bernard emerges clearly as Marquis of Spain, Count of Auvergne and, as successor to Bernard son of Blihilde, also Marquis of at least part of Gothia—obviously a powerful personage. His seat of government was originally Narbonne but by this year his rule extended from probably the Rhone to Barcelona; he had authority in Aquitaine and the Autunois. Marquis Bernard enjoyed the gratitude of the Emperor until his death in 877 for having put down the rebellion of le Velu et frères and having reintegrated the March of Spain into the Kingdom of the Franks. Like his reputed father Solomon before him he was a valued vassal of Charles the Bald. But the son of Solomon is “Makhir of the County of Avern” (Auvergne).⁸⁴ And now Count Bernard-Makhir of Auvergne emerges as Nasi of France in his time.

A letter of the “Communities of Francia” (*Kehillot Francia*) addressed to an unnamed nasi offers him their fealty with the understanding that he will abolish the practice in his town of the Toulousain, which requires the Jews to pay an annual impost of thirty pounds wax to the church and forces the bearer of the gift to submit to a wounding blow on the throat.⁸⁵

82. See above pp. 146–56.

83. *AB*, anno 877, p. 136.

84. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Codex de Rossi no. 12 (2004), colophon. See pp. 306–08 above.

85. A. J. Zuckerman, “The Nasi of Frankland in the Ninth Century and the *Colaphus Judaeorum* in Toulouse,” *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 51–82. This essay is summarized here at pp. 351–53. The “Communities of Francia” were located in the areas Frisia, Luxembourg, Lorraine, the Lyonnais, and the Viennois, which the Treaty of Meerssen (870) ceded to West Francia.

The *Vita sancti Theodardi archiepiscopi Narbonensi*⁸⁶ appears as a sequel to this request in that it describes the efforts actually undertaken (presumably by the nasi just mentioned) in order to terminate this objectionable practice. The nasi turns out to have been Bernard Count of Toulouse and Auvergne, a member of the triumvirate established by King Charles the Bald to govern Aquitaine from Toulouse in 872. In 880 he acquired Mâcon and its county, a short while later also nearby Lyonnais.⁸⁷ Bernard (Makhir) succeeds only in part. He is able to mitigate the wounding blow on the throat to a box on the ear and reduce the thirty pounds wax to three, the actual practice in the eleventh

86. *Acta Sanctorum*, May I (Paris and Rome 1866), pp. 143–49. Golb overlooks the critical importance of this *Vita* in determining the date of the communiqué addressed by the *Ḳehillot Francia* to their Nasi. The *Vita* describes the action which he took and dates these efforts in the third quarter of the ninth century. The letter of the communities cannot then be set late in the tenth century or be thought to have been directed to Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut who died ca. 976; N. Golb, “New Light on the Persecution of French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade,” *PAAJR*, XXXIV (1966), 5–7. The fact that an eleventh-century scribe placed together in the same codex the communities’ letter to their Nasi and the well-known communication of the Khazar Jew to Ḥisdai is no proof that Ḥisdai was the recipient of both documents; *ibid.* On other grounds too I have shown why Ḥisdai could not have been the addressee, “The Nasi of Frankland,” *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 61–62. As for Golb’s objection to reading פרינצא as *Francia*, it should be noted that Henri Gross gives three references where it is to be read in this way; *Gallia Judaica*, p. 485 (where the area intended is the Ile-de-France). Furthermore, tenth- or eleventh-century פרינצא is not to be transliterated by the modern French *Provence*, N. Golb, *loc. cit.*, 13, note 14, but rather by *Provincia* where the נצ stand for the syllable *cia* precisely as in ninth century פרינצא; H. Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 489–92. The present discussion is based on an examination of a photograph of the communiqué of the *Ḳehillot Francia* in the Cambridge University Library manuscript T-S Loan 45. This yielded only dubious and, in any case, inconsequential corrections of J. Mann’s original text in his *Texts and Studies*, I, pp. 27–30. I wish to express my thanks to the Library authorities for providing a photograph of the manuscript text.

87. *AB*, ed. G. Waitz, p. 151, anno 880: “ipsum castellum [Matiscanum] ceperunt et cum comitatu Bernardo cognomento Plantopilosa dederunt.” Waitz identifies this Bernard as Bernard of Auvergne. Fournal denies the identity of Plantevelue and the Count of Auvergne (following Levillain) because he fails to recognize him as an antagonist of the usurper king Boso; E. Fournal, “Recherches sur les comtes de Lyon aux IX^e et X^e siècles,” *MA*, LVIII (1952), 229–30. Cf. this study pp. 357–59 and note 12.

century. In so doing the Nasi discloses the powers vested in him in his dual capacity of count and nasi. It is barely possible to identify the separate powers deriving from each office.

Nasi Bernard (Makhir) brought charges at court against the accountable ecclesiastical authorities in the Toulousain, claiming usurpation of power for the wanton act of a wound to the throat and the wax oblation. The crown ordered an investigation. The Nasi and other imperial representatives conducted an inquiry before the synagogue in Toulouse. The decision went against the church authorities. The protocol and judgment were submitted to court for review and confirmation. At this moment the ruling monarch died. The objectionable practice was resumed. As punishment or in retaliation Count Bernard proceeded to expropriate church lands in Aquitaine. The Nasi repeated the complaint and secured a royal decision in 883. In consequence of an unfavorable constellation of forces at court, the king reduced the wound on the throat to not less than a box on the ear (the *colaphus*), and diminished the oblation of thirty pounds wax to three.⁸⁸

It appears possible to date the assembly of the Communities of Francia in 876 or 877 during the reign of Emperor Charles the Bald. Further investigation indicates that the prelate who insisted on collecting the payment to the church and retaining the blow to the throat was in all likelihood the well-known antagonist of the Jews, Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, the leading spirit in the movement for restitution of former ecclesiastical lands. The reunification of West Francia under Charles the Bald by the Treaty of Meersen in 870 reintegrated also the formerly divided church province of Rheims and made the powerful, implacable Archbishop the immediate neighbor of the *Qehillot Francia*, who begged preventive measures of their Nasi. The church at Rheims also held lands in Aquitaine where Count Bernard, a member of the triumvirate governing that kingdom, exercised authority in Toulouse. It was possible for him to back up his charge of usurpation of power against Hincmar in the matter of the Jews in the Toulousain by acting against Rheims' lands in Aquitaine, which he did. Hincmar's death in December 882 opened the way to the partly favorable royal decision on the *colaphus* and oblation in 883.

88. See also this study p. 359.

Further research discloses that the origin of the *colaphus* in Toulouse may be sought in the impetuous nature and pugilistic prowess of Count William of Toulouse and Gellone, son of Nasi Makhir of Narbonne and an uncle or grandfather of Count Bernard–Nasi Makhir of Toulouse and Auvergne. Several sources describe Count William as of powerful physique, one who frequently felled and even killed an opponent by a swift blow to the throat with the cutting edge of his palm.

The Jewish Principedom in the Declining Carolingian Empire

At the death of Emperor Charles the Bald in 877 his son Louis the Stammerer became King of Frankia. The young King embarked at once on a high-handed, imprudent policy which alienated the most loyal supporters of his late father. Makhir-Bernard joined the forces opposed to Louis, which comprised the most formidable combination in the realm and included Boso, the Abbot Hugh, and Margrave Bernard of Gothia. Confronting an imminent outbreak of hostilities that aimed at his deposition King Louis appealed to Hincmar. As mediator, the prelate succeeded in splitting off Bernard of Gothia (who continued rebellious) while he reconciled with the King all the other antagonists mentioned, including the surviving Empress. On December 8, 877, Hincmar officiated at Louis' coronation.¹

Marquis Bernard of Gothia son of Blihilde continued contumacious and finally slid into conflict also with the pontiff in Rome. Eventually he was excommunicated² at the Council of Troyes in 878 to which

1. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 390-92.

2. *PL*, CXXVI, no. clvi, col. 800.

Pope John had come for the purpose of offering the imperial crown to Louis. In addition, for his infidelity, at the conclusion of the council, King Louis divested the Marquis of his lands on September 11 and divided them among his own now-loyal supporters Bernard Count of Auvergne (Makhir), the Chamberlain Theodoric, and others.³ Gothia doubtless fell to Makhir-Bernard's lot, to which was added also the County of Berry. Therewith was reconstituted the Grand March of the days of Charlemagne as held originally by William of Gellone, now restored by his grandson or grandnephew. Makhir-Bernard took first rank among the seigneurs of the Midi. In Aquitaine he rivalled King Louis himself in power and position. Auzias sees in him, in fact, the first Duke of Aquitaine, although he did not assume the title. Pope John returned home without having proffered the imperial office to King Louis.⁴

Whether or not invested with the title of duke, "Prince Bernard of the Goths," on the other hand, is a central figure in a hagiographic document of this period which says of him that "he moved about in his County as a king." The county referred to is centered in Narbonne, hence in all likelihood may be identified with the March of Spain, "among the Goths," as this tale describes Bernard's realm in further detail. The date is shortly before the middle of April 878,⁵ some time

3. *AB*, p. 144, anno 878. For a resumé of the acts of the Council of Troyes, R. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence*, pp. 88-91.

4. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 394-99. The pope's change of heart, E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, II (Berlin 1865), p. 80.

5. *Translatio sancti Baudelli*, *HGL*, V, col. 1-4: "Anno DCCCLXXVIII . . . Interea accidit ut memorabilis Gothorum princeps Bernardus . . . idem monasterium adventaret . . . Testaturque se Gothos aditurum et in comitatu suo, quo ut rex ibat . . . Comes igitur ille devenit Narbonam . . . Tunc Teberdum (Theoardum) . . . cum principe Urso, quem comes vice sua misit, celeriter urbem Nemausum adierunt." The discovery of the saint's corpse took place *xix kal. maii*, in April. There is no 19th before the Calends of May. The earliest is the 18th, April 14. The tale identifies Bernard's maternal uncle as Gauden (the editors suggest the reading Gauslen), at the time a devoted abbot but future bishop, "tunc inclito abbate, futuro autem episcopo." Bernard of Septimania had a brother Gaucelm whom Emperor Lothar put to death in 834; Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, ed. and transl. Ph. Lauer, I, § 5, p. 22. The identity of names further points up the close kinship of the families of these two notable Bernards.

after Makhir-Bernard had conquered the March of Spain. The writer's characterization of the Nasi's regal power in the March of Spain may, of course, apply after this date as well. It was doubtless a sign of King Louis' confidence in Margrave Bernard of Auvergne that he entrusted to him the care of the child prince Louis.⁶ Only two months later, on April 11, 879, King Louis the Stammerer died.

At once confusion arose as to the propriety and legitimacy of the succession. Makhir-Bernard, Abbot Hugh, and Theoderic rallied to the late King's children Louis and Carloman; while others supported Louis the Young (the Saxon) son of Louis the German. Boson took advantage of the confusion and had himself proclaimed King of Provence October 15, 879. This brazen act forced the Carolingians to unite against him. First they came together at Amiens to divide the realm among themselves, March 880. This treaty detached the South from the North, assigning Burgundy, Aquitaine, and its marches to Carloman. In effect, Amiens raised Makhir-Bernard to the rank of the first personage in Carloman's kingdom, making the young king in a real sense dependent on his mighty vassal.⁷

Relations between the grandson of Charles the Bald and Makhir-Bernard continued warm until it became evident that Carloman would not inherit the imperial crown. In February or March 880, Pope John VIII dispatched an invitation to Charles the Fat of Germany to become emperor.⁸ Before this act became known and the die was cast Carloman came to Narbonne, the seat of his mightiest vassal. His journey attracted great notoriety, a chronicler of the Midi recording nothing else for the six-year reign of Carloman except this visit alone.⁹ In all likelihood the King's visit to the Midi included, among other purposes, a review of the arguments concerning the *colaphus* of the Jews, the blow upon the neck to which a Jewish leader in Toulouse was subjected each

6. "(Hludowicus) . . . filium et aequivocum suum Hludowicum baiulationi Bernardi comitis Arvernici specialiter committens . . ."; *AB*, p. 147, anno 879.

7. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 399-403; *idem*, "Les relations de Bernard Plantevelue avec les princes carolingiens," *MA*, XXXIII (1933), 5-25.

8. *MGH*, *Epistolarum*, VII, no. 224, p. 199. Cf. the first allusion to the Pope's choice in no. 168, p. 136, April 3, 879.

9. "Karlomannus regnavit annis vi. Hic venit Narbonam"; *HGL*, V, col. 28, no. V; cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 403 and note 43.

year. Perhaps this was the occasion, as the *Vita Theodardi*¹⁰ reports, when the young Theodard (soon to succeed Sigebod as Bishop of Narbonne) presented evidence purporting to prove the disloyalty of an earlier generation of Jews or their leaders. We may assume that Hincmar had no small part in the preparation of these materials. It is not known whether Carloman rendered decision at this time. The call to arms against the rebel Boso, usurper King of Provence, summoned Carloman and his chief vassal to the eastern border of the realm, June 880.¹¹

In the summer of 880 the armies of the brothers Louis and Carloman, reenforced by the troops of Charles the Fat, set out from Troyes for Burgundy to bring Boso to judgment. The chieftain of the Carolingians of Frankia was Bernard Plantapilosa, the Nasi Makhir. He rode at the head of the largest contingent of troops. He had a direct personal interest in the struggle, for his lands bordered on those usurped by the rebel King of Provence. Already in the spring the town of Arles (a Jewish center) had accepted the authority of Carloman as the result of Bernard's influence. Moving northward the allies took Mâcon by storm. Makhir-Bernard was entrusted with its protection and received the Mâconnais besides. Now Charles the Fat rejoined the army of the victors. The next objective was Lyons, which was occupied by a large and thriving Jewish community. Lyons opened its gates readily, presumably in welcome to the notable Nasi-Marquis. The Carolingians and their lieutenant moved on and laid siege to Vienne. Then with total victory almost in their grasp, the allied Carolingians fell out. Disagreement arose seemingly over the division of the territories situated in the old kingdom of Lothar. The status of these lands was unclear because of contradictory treaties and partitions. Auzias thinks Bernard shifted his loyalty to Charles the Fat, who was about to become Emperor Charles III, because Autun, to which he had close family ties, remained the possession of Boso's brother Richard le Justicier. But the destiny of the imperial office was deeply involved in the partition of lands. Neither of Charles the Bald's grandsons was able before Vienne's gates to press successfully his claim for the imperial crown.

10. "De S. Theodardo sive Audardo, archiepiscopo narbonensi in Gallia," *Acta Sanctorum*, May, I, pp. 145, § 4; 146, § 5, § 6; Chapter II, p. 147, § 7, § 8.

11. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 405.

With Pope John's invitation in his pocket, so to say, Charles suddenly withdrew his forces and left for Italy. The precipitousness of his withdrawal in the midst of the campaign, at the moment of clinching victory, gives support to the theory of a sharp disagreement between the Carolingian cousins. Then Louis III and his brother Carloman retired northward and separated.¹²

The estrangement between Makhir-Bernard and Carloman soon came out into the open. Around October (?) 880, Pope John VIII wrote to Hugh the Abbot and Bernard admonishing them about loyalty to King Carloman.¹³ In February 881 Charles III the Fat became emperor. Makhir-Bernard took his stand with Emperor Charles. In his County of Auvergne documents were dated by the reign of Charles the Fat at the latest from 882 on. The cartulary of St. Julian de Brioude in Auvergne completely ignored Carloman as the sole legitimate King of Aquitaine although he sojourned nearby in the Lyonnais and Viennois for two years. At the second siege of Vienne Makhir-Bernard was conspicuous by his absence.¹⁴ The breach between King Carloman and his chief vassal was now complete and gaping. The young King aimed a blow at his contumacious former vassal. He issued a diploma for the benefit of the church in Narbonne. Significantly, Hugh the Abbot Marquis of Neustria appears therein as

12. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 407; on Arles, p. 408; cf. J. Aronius, *Regesten*, no. 112, pp. 49-50; on Mâcon, L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 408; *AB*, anno 880, p. 151: "In quo itinere, eiectis de castro Matiscono Bosonis hominibus, ipsum castellum ceperunt et cum comitatu Bernardo cognomento Plantopilosa dederunt"; on Lyons, L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 409; Bernard vs. Richard, the disagreement and Charles' withdrawal, *ibid.*, pp. 410-13. In the *Vita Theodardi* a Duke Richard is the antagonist of the Jews; *AS*, Mai I, col. 149a, §§ 15, 16. Auzias identifies Bernard Plantapilosa ("Shaggy-sole") with the son of Dhuoda and Bernard of Septimania; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 410; p. 415, note 78. More correctly, he is the nephew of Bernard of Septimania on the maternal side and the cousin of Bernard Vitellus (the son of Bernard of Septimania), whom Auzias has confused with Plantapilosa (Makhir).

13. Iohannis VIII papae *Epistolae*, no. 302, p. 262; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 415, note 77; P. Jaffé, W. Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificum*, I, no. 3373, p. 420.

14. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 417; pp. 541-46; the second siege of Vienne, *ibid.*, p. 415, and note 76.

mediator and *ambusciator* while the Marquis of the March of Spain and of Gothia, Makhir-Bernard, is conspicuously missing as intercessor. Pope John, Abbot Hugh, and Bishop Sigebod stand together as suppliants for the young King's aid.¹⁵ The Nasi-Marquis continued undaunted. In a donation by himself and his wife Ermengaude in 883, Makhir-Bernard openly declared his recognition of Emperor Charles. He dated this cession by the reign of "Charles King of the Franks and the Lombards" and not by that of Carloman. His son-in-law Effroi, Count of Carcassonne, likewise ignored the young King and dated the documents in his county by the reign of Emperor Charles.¹⁶ During this period of estrangement we must place King Carloman's act confirming the *colaphus* in Toulouse while mitigating it somewhat by shifting the blow on the throat to a cuff on the ear and reducing the amount of the wax oblation.¹⁷

The death of young King Carloman shortly thereafter catapulted Makhir-Bernard to the summit of his power and prestige. For with the passing of Carloman on December 6, 884, the Frank nobility called Emperor Charles to the throne of the Franks. Thereby was reconstituted the Empire of Charlemagne, if only for a brief respite.

Makhir-Bernard now reappears as the chief warrior of the legitimate Carolingian dynasty against the usurper Boso. In fact he will end his life in battle in a final act of devotion to his Emperor. But first Bernard "the most illustrious Marquis" appears as intercessor in an imperial diploma dated June 20, 885, requesting confirmation of certain properties in the Lyonnais and offering as evidence of title earlier confirmations by kings and emperors going back to Emperor Lothar I. The alleged recipient of this (now interpolated and distorted) diploma

15. *HGL*, V, no. 3, col. 68-70, June 4, 881; L. Auzias, *L'Acquaine carolingienne*, p. 416, note 79. The lack of Bernard's intervention here points up the sovereign's ill will toward him and the king's unilateral action.

16. July 21, 883, in *HGL*, V, Chartes et Diplomes, no. 6, col. 75; cf. L. Auzias, *L'Acquaine carolingienne*, p. 418. This document was published from an original by R. Poupardin, who identified Bernard as Count of Auvergne, "Une charte inédite de Bernard Plantevelue," *AdM*, XIV (1902), 350-53. On Effroi, L. Auzias, *L'Acquaine carolingienne*, pp. 417-18.

17. A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 71-73.

is the church at Lyons.¹⁸ However, the fact of the forgery and the nature of the properties catalogued therein make it improbable that the church was the beneficiary. Moreover, when we recall the ease with which Lyons fell to the Carolingian forces in the allied campaign of 880 and keep in mind the role of Makhir-Bernard in that war and as intercessor in this diploma, we may have to look in another direction for the actual favored party. This diploma may be an illustration of the influence of the Nasi as hinted at in the communiqué of the *Kehillot Francia*, namely, that he "heaps up privileges and rights as [abundantly as] people pile up grain."¹⁹ It would be one further instance of forgeries derived from royal documents once granted to Jewish leadership personnel and communities.

The last imperial act involving Makhir-Bernard brings us back to the remarkable claims of Meir b. Simon in the middle of the thirteenth century detailing the relation of the Jews to Carolingian kings and emperors. In a striking document of 885 or 886, Charles III lavishly

18. *Die Urkunden Karls III*, ed. P. Kehr, *MGH*, *Diplomata regum Germanicarum ex stirpe Karolinorum*, II, no. 123, pp. 195-97, June 20, 885, preserved in a twelfth-century Cartulary of Grenoble. The diploma pretends to be a restoration of properties formerly alienated from the church at Lyons. The document itself contradicts this claim inasmuch as it is in fact a confirmation of grants made by former kings and emperors going back to Lothar I. This is supported by the *Intitulatio* which, according to Kehr, actually does point to a document even of Louis le Débonnaire. Further evidence of the interpolated character of this diploma derives from the Bull of Pope Sergius dated May 910 (published by B. Guigue, "Les possessions territoriales de l'église de Lyon," *Bulletin philologique et historique* du Comité des travaux historiques, Année 1925, 37-38) which confirms the possessions of the church at Lyons presumably as held in 910 or, more likely, claimed by the church as its own though not actually possessed at the time. (Cf. the vague claim, "et omnes res quas in Equitania ab antiquis diebus ipsa autoritative possedit ecclesia," *ibid.*, p. 38). The alleged "restoration" of Charles III contains the names of several properties which are lacking in the papal Bull. The surplus listing in the imperial document would point to a date of composition later than 910 and certainly not in 885, the date of Charles' confirmation. These additional possessions are: Egina villa and Beliniacum both in the Lyonnais; Livia villa in the Viennois; Morgas villa in the County of l'Ecuens; Candiicum villa in Autunois; Villare in the Chalonnais. On the other hand, the papal Bull lists many other possessions not entered into the imperial diploma.

19. A. J. Zuckerman, "The Nasi of Frankland," *PAAJR*, XXXIII (1965), 58.

extols the heroic death of Marquis Bernard in battle. Clearly the Emperor was deeply moved by an unusual act of devotion and courage whereby Bernard sacrificed his life in a quick, unpremeditated decision.

Let it be known (declares Emperor Charles) . . . how we were exhorted by Count William coming to our Highness and besought by him that we call to memory the inviolate fidelity of his father Bernard . . . Count. We consulted with our counsellors and recollected with how much faithfulness and courage and unwavering fidelity Bernard the glorious Count and Marquis opposed our enemies and plotters and destroyers of the realm, namely the tyrant Boso and his followers; and with what swift resolution he preferred to die in battle against the above-named perfidious ones while fighting for us with superb fidelity; and we have found it most fitting that we should be responsive to that which his son William Count and Marquis has requested. Wherefore, by order of our authority and confirmation we do subjugate the above-named properties [to him] . . . to be possessed and controlled and ruled . . ."²⁰

Auzias finds Bernard Plantevelue (*Planta-pilosa*, "Shaggy-sole") to have been a most energetic warrior and at the same time a diplomat of

20. *Die Urkunden Karls III*, ed. P. Kehr, no. 186, pp. 311–12. In its present, inauthentic form the diploma claims to be a donation of Emperor Charles the Fat in behalf of the church at Nevers conveying the abbey of St. Peter d'Yzeure in the county of Autun and the monastery of St. Révérien in the county of Nevers. P. Kehr brands the entire document inauthentic because of its notorious interpolations. On the other hand, the credibility of the report on Margrave Bernard's death has been upheld by E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches* 2nd ed., III, p. 242; by E. Mühlbacher, "Die Urkunden Karls III," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Classe, CXII (1879), 497–98; by L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 418–22, 547; by F. Lot, and others. The original seems at least to have confirmed Marquis William in the possession and governance of his father's lands; so also L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 426–29. Note in particular the broad authority implied in the closing words, "res supra dictas . . . ad possedendum et disponendum et dominandum subigamus." The Cartulary of St. Julien de Brioude mentions Bernard as still alive in June 886, ed. H. Doniol, no. 131, pp. 146–47. Consequently, Charles' diploma, the date of which is doubtful, should be set in 886 and not 885; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 547. Auzias tries to explain the break between Bernard and King Carloman and the shifting of his loyalty instead to Emperor Charles on the grounds of Bernard's possessions in the Autunois and Charles' offer to let him govern the lands held by Boso, "Les relations de Bernard Plantevelue," *MA*, o.s. XXXIII (1933), 7, 19, 20, 24. However, Auzias has no evidence of this offer by the Emperor.

consummate skill. He acquired territories and offices comprising more than half of the lands on the other side of the Loire, and extending to the regions of the Saône and Rhone. Auzias declares he was too prudent to seize the title of king as did Boso. Nevertheless, *he was in fact the veritable sovereign of the Midi*. He established the Duchy of Aquitaine for his son William; he himself was the authentic founder of the feudal Duchy of Aquitaine.²¹

Margrave William son of Nasi Makhir-Bernard Plantevelue secured confirmation of his late father's offices and estates very likely by act of Emperor Charles the Fat in Attigny, noted above, on August 18, 886. He apparently inherited at this time the ensemble of Central and Eastern Aquitaine bordering in large part on the east bank of the Loire and comprising specifically the counties of Toulouse, Berry, Limoges, and Auvergne. As part of his inheritance also William acquired Gothia which consisted of Septimania and the March of Spain. He was perhaps master too of the Mâconnais and the Lyonnais. In its totality this vast complex of lands extended over the major portion of Frankia's Midi.²²

As was to be expected Marquis William maintained the loyal relationship with the Emperor so notable in the case of his father. This is in fact evidenced by continuing his father's practice of dating documents by the reign of Charles the Fat. Even after Charles' deposition as King of the Franks in November 887 and in spite of his death in January 888 and the accession of Eudo to the throne of France, the cartulary in Brioude dated its records by the reign of the Emperor. Not until August of 888 did the practice come to an end and the name of King Eudo makes its first appearance in the cartulary. Thereafter, through June 890 and from 893 to 898 the Cartulary of Brioude recognized the King of Aquitaine. This is all the more surprising in view of the serious question of Eudo's legitimacy and the anarchic situation in Frankia after the deposition and death of Charles

21. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 422-23.

22. Cf. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 426-29. In the Cartulary of Sauxillanges William designates himself "Prince of the March [of Spain?]," *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, ed. H. Doniol, no. 146, pp. 135-37. He lists his family relations here.

the Fat.²³ The implication of such submission for the retention of Margrave William in the office of nasi is not clear. The genealogy in the Parma manuscript No. 12 gives Samuel as the name of (Bernard-) Makhir's son and names Samuel's son Menaḥem of Ancona. However it must be emphasized that this record does not intend to provide a genealogy for the *nesi'im* of the West.²⁴

Perhaps related to this situation is the fact that in any event William was certainly unable to retain unimpaired the grand inheritance left behind by his father Nasi Makhir-Bernard. The County of Toulouse soon slipped away as did also possibly the Rouerge.²⁵ Although William designated himself "Prince of the March [of Spain?]," we find Wifred le Velu in control of at least part of the Spanish March which was so significant for the office of nasi.

Wifred le Velu appears to have been roused to action immediately upon the death of Makhir-Bernard Planta-pilosa. He asserted his authority in the County of Ausona, bordering on Barcelona probably in 886, when the diocese was reestablished. By 894, or soon thereafter, Wifred was in control of the counties Barcelona-Ausona, Urgel-Cerdagne-Conflent, and Gerona-Besalú. Only the counties of Ampurias-Roussillon and Pallas-Ribagorza remained outside his sway. The former was part of the Toulousain, while Frank counts governed Pallas-Ribagorza. The church council at Barcelona in 906 records with fervor Wifred's work of restoration to Christian rule especially in Ausona: "In consequence of invasion not a single Christian remained behind in the County of Ausona until the time of Wifred and his brothers who restored the Church to its former possessions"

Wifred died in battle with the Saracens 898 and was succeeded by Wifred II who continued to hold the March of Spain in his family. Although the tendency toward fragmentation within the March increased in the tenth century, the central nucleus Barcelona-Ausona-

23. *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien de Brioude*, ed. H. Doniol, no. 34, p. 13; no. 278, June 889; no. 184, March 890; no. 297, June 890; cf. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 435, 439, 447, Appendix III, pp. 542-47; in Limousin January 888, *Cartulaire de Beaulieu en Limousin*, ed. M. Deloche. Collection des Documents inédits, no. LXXIX, p. 133.

24. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Codex de Rossi, no. 12 (2004).

25. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 426.

Gerona remained intact and separate from Frankia. Ecclesiastical institutions also endeavored to free themselves from trans-Pyrenean control, in their instance, the Archbishop of Narbonne.²⁶ As early as April 888 Wifred I recognized Eudo as his king. Only the regions of Gerona and Besalú gave Eudo some difficulty in this area.²⁷ Around 892 Count Hugh was ensconced in power at Bourges in the County of Berry bordering on Auvergne.²⁸

The anarchy that gripped Frankia after the death of Charles the Fat tore the realm apart as ambitious counts surged to usurp power. A cousin of William's, Ramnulf (Rannoux) Count of Poitou, proclaimed himself King of Aquitaine. William, whose power was vastly greater, threw down no challenge nor pressed pretensions of his own. Significantly, Ramnulf and not William had been selected as protector of the sole surviving Carolingian, the eight-year-old posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer.²⁹ In time Ramnulf submitted to Eudo and satisfied himself with the title of Duke. However, he lost his life at the royal court through poisoning because, it was rumored, he had submitted to the usurper Eudo. King Eudo transferred Ramnulf's allods and benefices to his son Ebles, offspring of a concubine because his first wife bore him no son. When Eudo later conferred Poitou on an individual outside Ramnulf's immediate family, revolt flared in Aquitaine, which Margrave William joined as protector of his kinsman Ebles Manzer.³⁰ King Eudo declared the contumacious Marquis de-

26. R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya carollíngia*, II, Els Diploms, part 1, p. 291. F. Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya*, pp. 53-61; cf. A. Rovira i Virgili, *Història nacional de Catalunya*, III, p. 197. See above pp. 319-20.

27. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 439, note 65; *HGL*, III, p. 40. As late as March 889, Servus-Dei canonical Bishop of Gerona held the Kingdom to be vacant of a chief; Ed. Favre, *Eudes comte de Paris et roi de France*, *BEHE*, XCIX, p. 125.

28. See below, p. 365.

29. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 436. Louis the Debonair designated Bernard of Septimania the protector of Charles the Bald and the latter's son Louis chose Makhir-Bernard as the guardian of his own first-born Louis.

30. "Hic vero Ramnulfus ex conjugē legitima cum non haberet prolem suscepit ex concubina filium Eblum nomine; summamque habuit amicitiam cum propinquo suo Willelmo, comite Arverni; cum Rolo principe Rodumi pactum firmavit propter metum Adhemari"; *HGL*, II, notes, VI, p. 284, note 3 from *Chronicon Adhemari*;

nuded of his *honores* and invested Count Hugh of Bourges with them.³¹

The two claimants met face to face in battle. In the presence of a considerable number of onlookers from both armies, Margrave William vanquished Count Hugh with the sword. This duel became the theme of a contemporary poet who described in some detail the mortal combat. With pathos he portrayed the slaying of Hugh whose plea for life on grounds of "piety" William disdained.³²

This dramatic incident came to be utilized, although completely transformed, by the compiler of a life of St. Austremon, first Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne. The author also incorporated into the hagiograph the known fact that a son of Marquis William's (named after his grandfather King Boso of Provence) died during his father's lifetime. Noteworthy for our theme the *Vita Sancti Austremonii* (in its latest version) identifies the killer of Austremon as the Prince of the Jews (*Princeps Judaeorum*). The Jewish chieftain's murderous intent against both the Bishop and his own son was aroused, according to this *Vita*, by the saint's successful conversionist activity.³³ Austremon was a missionary of the fourth century. Tradition makes him the founder and first bishop of the church in Auvergne, at Clermont, the *civitas Arvernorum*. It is probably only a fiction that he suffered martyrdom at any time, least of all at the hands of the Jews of that region, who were allegedly exiled in consequence.³⁴

see also *Chronicon Sancti Maxentii*; cf. *HGL*, *ibid.*, p. 308. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 438, 440-41; Appendix V; William's revolt, pp. 442-45. Ramnulf died 890 or 892. *Mamzer* in Hebrew connotes *bastard*.

31. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 445.

32. Abbo, *Bella Parisiaca urbis*, ed. P. von Winterfeld, *MGH*, *Poetae lat. aevi Carol.*, IV, ii verse 548-66; L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 445. King Eudo passed through the County of Berry August-September 892. These verses were composed 896-97 before the death of the King on January 1, 898; F. Lot supplies glosses to the poem and a translation, "Orson de Beauvais," *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 580-81.

33. *Vita S. Austremonii, Acta Sanctorum*, novembris I, pp. 49-73. The death of William's son Boso, L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 453.

34. L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, II, 2nd ed., pp. 117-22. A forced conversion and subsequent flight of the Jews of Clermont occurred in the sixth century in association with the baptism of a single Jew. Bishop Avitus prevailed upon him to accept Christianity after long suasion. When the neophyte

The *Vita S. Austremonii* is extant in three versions. The shortest, which is generally recognized as the oldest, does not mention any specific leader of the Jews in its description of the saint's martyrdom. The second version, somewhat younger, tells of the conversion of "a son from among the chiefs of the Jewish people," *ex proceribus Judaice plebis filium*. Only the most detailed *Vita* which is the youngest account replete with local color specifies the *Princeps Judaeorum* who kills the revered Saint in anger for having baptized his son. The boy, *filius principis Judaeorum*, was converted at his own request, according to the *Vita*. Austremon adopted him as his son and renamed him Lucius thereby signifying his conversion from "the darkness of non-faith to illumination by the light of truth." The Prince of the Jews, on learning these events, was overcome by extreme grief and violent anger. He laid hands on his own son and hurled him into a well. Austremon removed the corpse and gave it proper burial. He ignored the warning of his disciples to beware the vengeance of the Jews. The Prince of the Jews plotted an assault on the prelate. He attacked and captured him from ambush and, at order, a swordsman decapitated Austremon and cast his head into a well. In the end the Jews were expelled from that region together with their Prince.³⁵

Throughout this version of the *Vita* the title *princeps* or *princeps Judaeorum* is repeated several times. Moreover, the only *Vita* which

appeared in a church procession a month later, he was doused with rancid oil by a Jew. The enraged mob razed the synagogue, and the Bishop gave the community the alternative of baptism or exile. According to an obviously exaggerated report five hundred Jews converted, the rest fled to Marseilles and Arles; S. W. Baron, *History*, 2nd ed., III, pp. 53, 253, note 67. More than the events of the past, the situation of their own day interested the ninth-century redactors, who drew on contemporary events and incorporated them into their own version of the *Vita*. Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, V § 11, pp. 200-01, MGH, SS, I, 1.

35. The *Vita prima S. Austremonii* identifies the slayer of the Bishop only as *qui potentior ceteris praerat*, AS, novembris I, p. 52 A; the *Vita secunda* designates him *ex proceribus Judaice plebis*, *ibid.*, p. 58 B; the *Vita tertia* entitles him several times *Princeps Judaeorum*, *ibid.*, pp. 69 A, 73 A, B, C.

The Editors report, *ibid.*, p. 74, the account of a Lucius martyr, son of Lucius, a Roman prefect of the time of Nero, whom Austremon converted. When the father discovered it, he brought about the saint's death.

mentions the Prince of the Jews is the youngest text. This specific title does not accompany mention of the Jewish leader in the two earlier narratives. In consequence, we may assume that the redactor of the latest text who introduced this title for the first time was probably drawing upon the reality of his own age. Duchesne is of the opinion that the youngest *Vita* was composed at the abbey of Mozac and retouched by the monks of Charroux around 900.³⁶

The *Vita S. Austremonii* does not name the *Princeps Judaeorum*. The identification with Duke³⁷ (some contemporary documents entitle him also *Princeps*) William remains only a probability. Nevertheless, the known fact of his son's death during his lifetime, his dispossession from Bourges, and the highly publicized dramatic slaying of Count Hugh, whose known piety failed to save his life, provided remarkably apt material to the monks of Mozac reworking older narratives of the saint-bishop of the Auvergne. These contemporaries, in their own mind, seem to have identified Duke William as Prince of the Jews, and to have been intent on accusing him or an ancestor of manslaughter.

In time Duke William became reconciled with King Eudo and

36. Duchesne's dating, *Fastes épiscopaux*, II, pp. 121-22. On Austremon and the three *Vitae*, cf. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, III (Paris 1914), s.v. Clermont col. 1904-13, and Baudrilleart (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, V (Paris 1931), s.v. Austre-moine (Saint), col. 793-97.

37. L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, p. 451. Léon Levillain brings evidence for the transference of the remains of St. Austremon and their placement at Mozac in the presence of King Pepin of Aquitaine in January 863. This date would determine the *terminus a quo* for the oldest version of the *Vita*. Levillain thinks that the latest *Vita* derives from perhaps the eleventh century; "La translation des reliques de Saint Austre-moine," *MA*, XVII (1904), 281-337. At the Diet of Pitres in 864 Pepin II, accused of apostasy from Christianity to paganism (of the Norsemen) and charged with treason to his king, was unanimously condemned to death, and died in captivity; *AB*, anno 864, p. 72; F. Lot, C. Pfister, F. Ganshof, *Histoire du Moyen Âge*, I, part 2, *Les Destinées de l'empire*, new ed. (Paris 1941), p. 549. Bernard, "son in the flesh and morals of Bernard the deceased tyrant" (of Septimania), as Hincmar characterizes him, was also present at the Diet. He requested leave of King Charles but hid himself in ambush in order to slay the King, according to Hincmar, or else his vassals Robert and Ramnulf. The plot was foiled, Bernard fled and lost his *honores* to Robert; *AB*, anno 864, p. 73.

received back his *honores*.³⁸ He appears as lay abbot of St. Julien de Brioude in March 894 and probably already in November 893.³⁹ All the charters of Brioude from 893 to 898 are dated by the reign of Eudo.⁴⁰ After May 898 William entitled himself count, marquis, and duke. On occasion he is identified as prince. With the passing of Eudo he recognized Charles the Simple, who had been anointed on January 22, 893, as King of France and Aquitaine. William married Engelberga, daughter of King Boso and Queen Ermengarde, thereby becoming the brother-in-law of King Louis the Blind of Provence. William's son Boso, named after the royal grandfather, died in his lifetime.⁴¹ Relations with the Jews of Frankia appear to have been tenuous.

In 910 at Bourges Duke William founded an institution which later became the famed Benedictine abbey of Cluny.⁴² By the time of his death on July 6, 918, he was known as "the Pious."⁴³ His death without heirs marked the terminal point for this dynasty of Makhiri exilarchs in Narbonne. A collateral branch of the family, to be known as the *Ḳalonymides*, came to power when, in the year 917, King Charles (the Simple of France 893–923) invited Rabbi Moses the Elder and his family to emigrate from Lucca. His son's name *En-Ḳalonymos* points to a residence in the South of France.⁴⁴

38. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 446.

39. *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, ed. H. Doniol, nos. 208, 227, 183, 182. In May 898 William acknowledged having received the office by act of the King, "ego regio dono abbatialis videor fungi officio," *ibid.*, no. 95.

40. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 447.

41. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 449, 451, 453.

42. The founding charter signed also by his second wife Ingelberga, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bruel, I, no. 112, pp. 124–28; J. Wallasch, "Königtum, Adel und Kloster im Berry während des 10. Jahrhunderts," *Neue Forschungen über Cluny und die Cluniacenser*, ed. G. Tellenbach, 89–92. In its extant form this foundation charter is the pious act of a devout Christian.

43. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, p. 453. In an (undated) donation charter William specifies his family relations: his wife Ingelberga, his father Bernard, mother Ermengarde, unnamed brothers, sister Adalinde and her unnamed sons; *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, ed. H. Doniol, no. 146, pp. 135–37.

44. וכל החסידים והקדושים הללו יצאו מורעו של ר' משולם הגדול בן רבינו קלונימוס בן ר' משה הזקן...ורבינו משה הזקן הביאו המלך קרלא עמו ממדינת לוקא בשנת תתמ"ט לחורבן הבית.

Solomon b. Yehiel Luria, *She'elot uTeshubhot* (Responsa) (Fürth 1788), no. 29,

William the Young, an older nephew, succeeded William "the Pious" who died without heir. William and his younger brother Effroi (Acfred) were the offspring of William's the Pious sister Adelinde and Count Effroi of Razès. William the Young assumed the abbacy of Brioude and took on the title Duke of Aquitaine and Marquis of Auvergne (*marchio Alvernorum*), but lost Gothia, the Lyonnais, and the County of Berry.⁴⁵ He interceded for a royal act in behalf of a beneficiary who was resident in Narbonne. In its present form the diploma, which has been shown above to be inauthentic,⁴⁶ purports to transfer to Bishop Erifons of Narbonne and the priest Wulfard an extensive area in Narbonne's suburb held by the Jews, in addition to several mills they owned.⁴⁷ More likely than a "confiscation," the original royal act was probably a confirmation of Jewish rights at Narbonne. Thus William the Young would be continuing the role of his great-uncle Makhir-Bernard. William maintained his loyalty to King Charles the Simple of the Carolingian dynasty during the revolt of Robert and Raoul, and their capture of the King. Even after Charles' death William continued to date documents by his reign feigning to ignore the change of sovereign. Raoul took umbrage at this act of independence and passive resistance and resolved to impose his authority. The two opponents faced each other from opposite sides of the banks of the Loire. However, they effected a reconciliation, symbolized by an accolade from Raoul who endowed William with the County of Berry. The entire procedure underscores the power of the Duke of Aquitaine and bears the imprint of a pact between equals. In Brioude henceforth (923-25) William dated documents by the reign of Raoul. But William

end. Note the superscription שאלות מרב משולם בן מרב אנקלוימוס ממדינת לוכה אשר מרבנותה · בארץ פרנגה of the *responsa* published by L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II Genizah Studies, pp. 55, 57 f. Cf. J. Mann, "The Responsa," *JQR*, VII (1916-17), 487; A. Neubauer, "Literature of Responsa," review of J. Müller, *Die Responsen des R. Mesullam Sohn des R. Kalonymos*, in *JQR* o.s. V (1893), 694. On Kalonymides in Narbonne see this text, pp. 58, 61 and Appendix III, p. 385.

45. F. Lot considers the possibility that Gothia was lost before 918, *Fidèles ou vassaux?*, p. 16. Auzias thinks that William's nephew inherited the March but failed to hold it, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 453-54. J. Dhondt prefers a date "before 924," *Études sur la naissance*, p. 217.

46. See above pp. 156-60.

47. *HGL*, IV, p. 26; II, p. 250, preuves, no. 41-XLI, p. 134.

could not maintain his inheritance intact. He lost Gothia; Raymond Pons III of Toulouse appears as marquis of that territory in June 924. He managed to hold on to the Mâconnais but lost the Lyonnais.⁴⁸ However toward the end of his life the relations with King Raoul deteriorated again. William pronounced Raoul's election illegal and declared null and void Charles' deposition. Raoul moved an army against Aquitaine but was halted by the invasion of the Hungarians on the eastern frontier. William died on December 16, 926, in full revolt against his king, bearing the title "Prince of the Aquitanians."⁴⁹ Effroi, who is recorded as lay abbot of Brioude, succeeded his older brother in Aquitaine, but not for long. He died⁵⁰ October 11, 927, as the last known scion of the Makhiri dynasty in Frankia mentioned in non-Hebrew documents.

Dhondt points out that the Auvergne was the pivot of power of the House of Bernard Planta-pilosa. Even after he acquired many other lands, he continued to be called *Comes Alvernorum*, almost exactly as the Hebrew manuscript Parma, Biblioteca Palatina No. 12 designates him—"Makhir of the County of Auvergne." William the Young lost a great portion of the ancestral inheritance but always kept the Auvergne; in one act he designates himself *Alvernorum marchio*.⁵¹ For this branch of the House of Makhir it seems that the Auvergne served that function as the anchor of their power, especially vis-à-vis Aquitaine, which Narbonne did for the more southern branch of the family especially with regard to the March of Spain. When the Count of Toulouse acquired Auvergne, he assumed the title of Duke of Aquitaine; so also did the Count of Poitou.

The history of the principalities of Toulouse, Gothia, and Rouergue in the century 950-1053 is obscure in the extreme. The counts of Rouergue we hardly know at all; all but one Count of Toulouse are completely unknown. In 1053 Gothia, Rouergue, the Albigeois, Quercy, and the Toulousain fused to form a vast County of Toulouse.⁵² There-

48. L. Auzias, *L'Acquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 455-57.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 458.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 459-60. For other Makhiri in the *ShK*, see this text, Appendix III.

51. J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance*, p. 219.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-29.

upon the Count of Toulouse in his capacity of Marquis of Gothia will ally with the Archbishop of Narbonne in a plan for the prelate to displace the viscount and the Jewry of that town from at least a portion of their possessions and power in the locality.⁵³ In eleventh-century Granada a report that Joseph son of Samuel ibn Nagrela had entered upon negotiations with a neighboring ruler in the hope of setting up a Jewish principality led to a riot.⁵⁴

53. See pp. 146 ff. above.

54. M. Perlmann, "Eleventh Century Andalusian Authors on the Jews," *PAAJR* (1949), 289.

Conclusion

This study has described the establishment of a Princedom of the Jews of Frankia in 768 as their central authority wielding divinely-ordained power by reason of descent from the royal House of David, and legitimizing thereby their autonomous existence.

The concern of the House of Arnulf was to control their rebellious counts in the Southland and hold the Umayyad Saracens at bay until they could drive them out of Spain and acquire the divine right to rule by succeeding to the biblical kings of Israel. Their ambition for imperial office impelled Pepin and Charlemagne into an alliance with the 'Abbasid caliph and his loyal subjects among the Jews in the Kingdom of the Franks. In return for Pepin's promise to grant recognition to a prince of their own, the Jews surrendered besieged Narbonne to the Franks in 759. Pepin redeemed his pledge soon thereafter when Natronai-Makhir, a Davidic exilarch, was forced into exile "to the West" by a political upheaval in Baghdad. He became the first nasi (patriarch) under the Carolingians at their invitation. The Jews acclaimed him as Messiah ben Ephraim, whose advent in 768 coincided with the end of seven hundred years of Temple ruin, corresponding

to the period "prophesied" and calculated for the duration of the sway of Edom-Rome, the Fourth Kingdom and its barbarian conqueror.

Pepin received Makhir into the Frank nobility and dubbed him with the distinguished name Theodoric. The Carolingian rulers granted to Makhir-Theodoric a domain in free allod, including former church properties, located in Septimania and the Toulousain, and extending into as yet alien Spain. By an act of commendation Makhir-Theodoric became a vassal of the Carolingians who, in turn, assumed overlordship of the Jews as further evidence of having entered upon legitimate biblical succession. This act of Pepin and his sons called forth vigorous remonstrance by Pope Stephen III, but to no avail. Makhir received a Carolingian princess as his wife, apparently Alda the sister of Pepin. Their son was William Count of Toulouse, in whom flowed together the two mighty dynastic streams of David and Arnulf. Makhir-Theodoric, aided by his son William, in time extended Carolingian supremacy across the Pyrenees, although set back temporarily by the debacle of 778. By 791 Makhir could announce "mission accomplished" for a long stretch along the seacoast of Spain. A *privilegium* of Charlemagne in that year confirmed the status, dignity, and power of the Jewish principate in southern France on both sides of the Pyrenees. The possessions of the Nasi of Narbonne, a veritable seigneur in town and environs, and the holdings of the Jews there, are shown to have remained largely intact until the eleventh century despite the contrary evidence of documents which are exposed as forgeries. Charlemagne's lost *privilegium* of 791, as here reconstructed, confirmed Pepin's cession of half of Narbonne and half the King's income in the County and beyond, as well as other rights, to the Nasi. An impressive church council which convened in Narbonne the same year, attended by a papal legate and a royal *missus*, endorsed the power of the Nasi of Narbonne in the town and environs. Charles' successors, in turn, repeated his confirmation until the beginning of the tenth century. In the eleventh century an alliance of the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Marquis of Gothia wrested sufficient territory from the viscount and Jewry for the tradition to become established that one-third of the town had always been in the possession of the archbishop since its capture by Pepin in 759.

Denuded of forces in order to supply troops for the wars in the East,

and weakened by the death of Makhir 793, Septimania stood open to attack. The Umayyads grasped their opportunity. They invaded France, burned the suburbs of Narbonne, and carried off vast booty into Spain undeterred by the valiant effort of William who was summoned home from the eastern front but arrived too late to halt them.

In time Makhir, called also Al-Makhiri or Ha-Makhiri, came to be known as *Aymeri* the famed warrior and progenitor of a line of heroes celebrated in the *chansons de geste*. His son, Count William of Toulouse, served Charlemagne in many useful ways. As Isaac he was probably one of the leaders of the mission to Baghdad and Jerusalem, who arranged for the symbolic transfer of the Holy City, and therewith the empire of old, by the Caliph of Baghdad to Charlemagne in time for his coronation as emperor on Christmas Day, 800.

William was the leader of the Frank forces at the siege and capture of Barcelona in November 803. The extant report of the fall of the fortress, found in Ermold Niger's *Poem*, clearly dates the major events of the campaign by the Jewish system of chronology. It also shows William as a pious observer of Jewish religious practice.

With William now at the height of his career and presumably at the peak of his power and influence, the authentic materials about him suddenly disappear. A legendary account has displaced them, which makes of William a devout follower of Benedict of Aniane who, we are told, was the most influential personality at court. Bernard induces William to surrender all mundane glory in order to become a monk. According to this version William establishes a monastery in a deserted mountainous area at Gellone, to which he retires. The facts seem to have been quite other, almost the exact reverse. He never became a monk. It is William's influence at court, both under Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, that towered above all others and which led to an interest in, and possible conversion to, Judaism on the part of several courtiers. Most startling was the conversion in the next generation of Bodo, Deacon of Emperor Louis, who fled to Spain and carried on propaganda there. Known as Eleazar among the Jews he may have become eventually a prominent member of the academies in Babylonia. The literary debate of Bodo-Eleazar and Albar of Cordova is viewed as related to the role of the Makhiri in Frankia.

William was distinguished in many ways. His magnificent physique

awed his contemporaries, he himself delighted in his pugilistic prowess. An impetuous nature seriously increased the hazard of that skill. The blow on the neck or ear administered each year to a Jewish dignitary in Toulouse, known as the *colaphus Judaeorum* in the eleventh century, seems in some way related to William's readiness to mete out a fatal strike to the throat with the cutting edge of the palm. William combined outstanding diplomatic and military ability with strong intellectual interests. As Nasi of the Jews he founded an academy, imported scholars, and stocked a library, a foundation which was later converted to the monastery of Gellone. He has justifiably become the central hero in the William cycle, among the oldest extant *chansons de geste*, overshadowing his father Aymeri and absorbing into his poetic figure the exploits also of his descendants. In these poems William defends Christianity against the infidel Saracens, while conversant in both Hebrew and Arabic. He was a person of truly remarkable achievement. His passing emboldened Agobard Bishop of Lyons who became the leading protagonist for the restoration of ecclesiastical property. He resolved to divest the Jews of Lyons, and others, of their estates, formerly the lands of the church, by depriving them of their labor force, whether servile or free. In consequence, they would have to surrender their properties, now turned to wasteland, because that was the condition under which they had received these lands from the king.

The next prominent member of the Makhiri dynasty was a son of William, namely Bernard of Septimania. He held noteworthy broad and significant power in his domain, the March of Spain. His name *Naso* at Court originated with the Hebrew title *nasi* among his own people, although it was intended by his opponents as a derogatory reference to his nose. Bernard, as chamberlain of Louis the Pious and Second after the King, was the leading statesman in the realm from 829 on. As the major protagonist of the Empress Judith, protector of her son Charles, and the advocate of a new order at court, he aroused fierce antagonism. His position in Frankish Jewry must have only fanned the flames higher, certainly in the church party, the influence of which grew steadily stronger. The rebellion against Emperor Louis had Bernard also for its target. The restoration of Louis after the collapse of the revolt swept Bernard back to only limited power. The new partition of the realm secured for him continued subjection only

to the imperial office, in line with the requirements of the Jewish principate. The death of Emperor Louis forced Bernard into a maneuver to secure Pepin's prior subjection to Charles the Bald, whereby the latter would acquire a status of king of kings. The failure to achieve it compelled Bernard to postpone several times his own fealty to the King. Thus he alienated Charles who, in the end, ordered or himself carried out Bernard's execution for treason at Toulouse in 844. In this period Septimania, Bernard's center of power, is designated in the records as a "kingdom."

The execution of the Nasi led to a revision in Carolingian policy vis-à-vis the Jews. Up to that time they had been the defenders of the southern coastal areas and the bearers of Frank dominion beyond the Pyrenees. King Charles now turned to the Spanish immigrants as replacement for Frankish Jewry. However, the enemies of the empire just within the frontiers, as well as outside, attacked fiercely as if in concert. Norsemen and Saracens invaded Christian lands from Rouen in the north to Rome in the south, forcing Charles to reorient his recent policy.

The execution of Bernard was also the long-awaited signal for the church party to reap what benefits it could, both in land grants and hoped-for legislation. Several church councils took place in quick succession, culminating in that of Meaux-Paris 845-46 to which Archbishop Hincmar and the *Epistola Contra Judaeos* of Bishop Amolo contributed significantly. The bishops heaped law upon law, and canon upon canon, all pointedly anti-Jewish yet each of contemporary relevance. However, at Epernay in the latter year, Charles the Bald swept away the entire accumulation. He thereby set a new turning point in Jewish relations, in actuality, a return to the old program. The period 852-90 witnessed a strong rise in Jewish intellectual and spiritual activity in the March of Spain. This appears to have been accompanied by a sharp increase in immigration as well as in their material resources.

The new-old policy may be traced to the successful efforts of a certain Solomon who, if not himself of the Makhiri dynasty, was married to a daughter of Makhir or William. Count of several regions south of the Pyrenees, he soon emerged as Marquis of the Spanish March, and may have become leader of the Jews after the execution

of Bernard's older son William in 850. However Count Solomon lost his life at the hands of the young Velu who in 868 successfully fomented a fast-spreading rebellion in the March of Spain. Solomon is acclaimed in the *chansons* as Bueve Cornebut ("Bovo Horn Buster," in Hebrew, *Gad'a-Ḳeren*).

Solomon's son Makhir (Bernard) Count of Auvergne succeeded his father. The death by ambush in 872 of Bernard son of Bernard of Septimania terminated that line of the Makhiri. In that year Makhir (Bernard) received royal appointment to the triumvirate of Aquitaine. Like his father Solomon, Bernard of Auvergne served his sovereign well. He was primarily responsible for the fall of Barcelona to the Franks in 876 or early 877, as the result of efforts by the Jews ("the Barcelonians") in that town and county; the result was the reintegration of the March of Spain into the Frank realm.

The Treaty of Meerssen in 870 added Lotharingian Francia to Charles' Kingdom. The ascension of Charles the Bald to imperial office at the end of 875 increased the dignity and responsibility of Bernard-Makhir of Auvergne, known now also as *Planta pilosa*. He is the nasi who received the conditional pledge of homage of Lotharingian Jewry. This required that he abolish the public wounding administered each year to a Jewish leader in Toulouse. The *Vita Theodardi* records his partially successful efforts in this direction and illumines the power and authority of the Nasi of the Jews in a specific problem-situation as did the tracts written by Bishop Agobard of Lyons in the 820's. In each instance the Nasi (perhaps deprecatingly termed *magister Judaeorum* by Agobard) clashed headon with a powerful and articulate prelate of the church, in the one case Agobard, in the other Hincmar. Each time the immediate effect was injury to the churchman; the long-range consequences, however, were probably more harmful to Jewry.

Duke Bernard Plantapilosa-Makhir of Auvergne attained the heights reached by his grandfather (or great uncle) William of Toulouse and Gellone and by his ancestor Makhir. He may indeed have surpassed them. He is reputed to have governed as a virtual king in his own domain in the South. Occasionally in the ninth century Septimania is entitled "kingdom." In a final act of devotion to his sovereign, Emperor Charles the Fat, he lost his life in battle.

The "Prince of the Jews" can be followed into the tenth century

where meager sources still preserve only a fleeting memory of him. His traces finally get lost and disappear in the chaotic conditions which marked the decline and end of Carolingian rule.

While most of these conclusions may be asserted with confidence, several can be proposed merely as probable.

This study has emphasized the unreliability of much of the extant documentation, especially that originating with churchmen, which heretofore has passed as the history of the Carolingian Age. This work has demonstrated repeatedly the hand of the forger at work in documents pertaining to the role and status of Jews in the period, with disastrous consequences to a reconstruction of the actuality of the past. Those persons in the diocese of Rheims who created the horrendous forgery of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and their counterparts elsewhere, were not unmindful of the role and significance of the Jews in Carolingian France. Students of the Carolingian Age may now wish to read the extant documents also from the point of view of the critical role of Frankish Jewry and its Nasi in the life of the time.

Appendix I

F. Ed. Schneegans (ed.), *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*, Romanische Bibliothek ed. Wendelin Foerster, XV (Halle a. S. 1898), pp. 176–80; 186–90; lines 2327–2369; 2429–2489. Notations in brackets refer to page numbers and lines in Schneegans' text.

[p. 176, l. 2327]

Judei autem in civitate permanentes in sortibus suis cognoverunt quod Karolus caperet civitatem et totius terre, que citra mare erat, dominus efficeretur. Et habito inter se consilio venerunt ad Matrandum et dixerunt ei quod qualemcumque posset cum Karolo concordiam faceret vel sciret pro certo quod civitatem amitteret et ipsemet interficeretur et omnes sui fautores. . . .

[p. 178, l. 2341]

Sed ipsi spernentes eius inhibitionem elegerunt Ysaac et alios .x. et cum .LXX. milia marchas argenti eos ad regem Karolum miserunt. Qui coram Karolo venientes salutaverunt eum et Ysaac primo locutus fuit dicens ei: Domine rex, bene cognoscimus quod Narbona non potest vobis ulterius resistere et nos sumus Judei et petimus misericordiam tam pro nobis quam pro omnibus de villa et, quicquid vobis placuerit, faciemus. Et ille respondit ei: Qui misericordiam petit, misericordiam consequi debet; et ego vos recipio in mei jurisdictione et custodia. Et Ysaac dixit: Domine, non credatis quod nos aliquam proditorem faciamus. Nam Matrandus nichil habet in nobis nec aliquid tenemus ab ipso, nisi quia pro amparancia dabamus ei certam

pecuniam annuatim. Preterea rogamus vos ut semper sit in Narbona rex de gente nostra, quoniam ita debet esse et est hodie. Et ex parte ipsius nos ad vos venimus et est de genere Davidis et Baldachi et mittit vobis per nos

[p. 180, l. 2358]

.LXX. milia marchas argenti et, si plus vultis, plus habebitis et quicquid habemus vestrum erit. Preterea ex parte ville nostre in pugnetis Narbonam et capietis eam; nam .c. brachias de muro tenebimus et plus et, quod nullus vobis erit ausus lapidem prohicere nec inferre aliquod nocumentum. Et Karolus concessit eis omnia, que petierant, et recepit pecuniam. Et ipsi in civitatem redierunt et aliis Judeis omnia, que Karolus eis dixerat, retulerunt, de quorum responsione fuerunt omnes quamplurimum gratulati. Et Karolus et dominus papa erant propter adventum Judeorum congregati et omnes alii barones de exercitu. Et patriarcha [fol. 38v^o] jerosolymitanus petivit audientiam et fuit ei concessa . . .

[p. 186, l. 2429]

Judei mortem ipsius audientes plus quam quingenti armati ascenderunt Portam Regiam et quatuor .c. et plus in palacium [fol. 39r^o] Matrandi et non permiserunt Sarracenos intrare. Et Rotolandus et totus exercitus impetum in eos faciens occiderunt extra portam plus quam .vii. milia. Postea venerunt ad Portam Regiam et Judei permiserunt eos intrare. Et Aymericus venit ad palacium regium et Judei reddiderunt ei eum et posuerunt vexillum Karoli superius. Postea cucurrerunt per totam villam et in palatio alio apud Portam Aquariam interfecerunt plus quam .v. milia Sarracenos qui resistebant ibi, et postea fuit tota civitas acquisita. Et Karolus fecit preconizari per totam civitatem quod nullus esset ausus aliquid tangere in aliquo loco, quoniam nolebat dare villam pauperem et inopem tam nobili viro sicut erat Aymericus. Et nullus postea ausus fuit aliquid tangere et nullus Sarracenorum, qui baptizari voluit, fuit interfectus; alii autem fuerunt decapitati omnes. Et taliter capta civitate

[p. 188, l. 2447]

steterunt tam intus quam extra cum gaudio maximo illa nocte. Et in capite .v. mensium a primo die obsidionis fuit proculdubio acquisita. . . .

[p. 188, l. 2454]

In capite vero octo dierum captionis Karolus tenuit curiam suam generalem et divisit civitatem. Constituit namque archiepiscopum nomine Thomam de

[p. 188, l. 2456]

Normandia et .x. episcopos ei submitit. Dedit preterea ei terciam partem civitatis et construxit ecclesiam Beate Marie et possessiones alias et redditus quam plurimos ei dedit. Similiter aliam tertiam partem civitatis dedit Judeis, qui eam ei reddiderant, et dedit eis regem ad voluntatem eorum. Postea sedens [fol. 33r^o] in palatio in sede regali ceptrum eciam tenens circumdatus infinita multitudine virorum nobilium Aymericum de Narbona fecit coram se venire dicens ei: Aymerice, terciam partem civitatis dedi archiepiscopo, aliam terciam Judeis; reliqua pars erit vestra. Et quia dedi alias duas partes dicatis mihi, si placet vobis necne. At ille respondit. Non debuissetis a me talia querere; nam scitis et scire debetis quod, si mille civitates haberem, et me et

[p. 190, l. 2470]

omnes illas possetis dare, quoniam nullo tempore vite mee ero vobis inobediens, sed semper vestram voluntatem prout citius potero adimplebo. Et imperator respondit: Sicut vir nobilis respondisti et ideo statim meritum recipies: nam pro una parte do tibi biterrensem civitatem, pro reliqua agatensem et portum maris. Preterea dono tibi Magalonam, Uticensem, Nemausensem, Aralatensem, Avinionensem, Auratinensem, Vinionensem. Valencia est avunculi tui, quare non possum eam dare tibi, et Viana; similiter dono tibi adhuc Leudunum super fluvium Rodani, Rutinensem, Lodovensem, Caturcum, Tholosam, Albium, Carcassonam, Reddensensem, Helnam, Impuriam, Caucolibrium, Girondam, Barchinoniam, Terragonam et ita habebis .xxiii. regna Sarracenorum. Et per Narbonam eritis dux, per Tholosam comes, per civitates marchio, et de acquisitis statim dominium recipiatis. Eas, que non sunt acquisite, habebimus, quando Deo placuerit et cum istis poteritis esse probus dare et expendere. Et donum istarum civitatum coram istis omnibus vobis confirmo et trado vobis regalem cirothecam in signum et stabilitatem possessionis perfecte.

Appendix II

J. P. Migne, *PL*, CXXIX, col. 857.

AD ARIBERTUM NARBONENSEM ARCHIEPISCOPUM.

Queritur factam esse Judæis potestatem allodia possidendi.

STEPHANUS papa ARIBERTO archiepiscopo Narbonæ, et omnibus potentatibus Septimaniæ et Hispaniæ salutem.

Convenit nobis, qui clavem cœlestis horrei vicibus apostolicis suscepimus, etiam omni pestilentiæ gregis divini fidei medicinam porrigere: quod si non possumus modios tritici, at saltem cestarium [sextarium] valeamus impendere. Quapropter sumus dolore tacti, usque ad mortem anxii, cum cognovissemus per te ipsum, quod plebs Judaica Deo semper rebellis, et nostris derogans cæremoniis infra fines et territoria Christianorum allodia hæreditatum in villis et suburbanis, quasi incolæ Christianorum, possideant per quædam regum Francorum præcepta: quia ipsi inimici Domini quæ sunt, ei periculose mercati sunt: et quod vineas et agros illorum Christiani homines excolant: et infra civitates et extra, masculi et feminæ Christianorum cum eisdem prævaricatoribus habitantes, diu noctuque verbis blasphemiarum maculantur, et cuncta obsequia quæ dici aut excogitari possunt, miseri

miseræve prænotatis canibus indesinenter exhibeant: præsertim cum hujusmodi patribus Hebræorum promissa ab electo jurislatore illorum Mose, et successore ejus Josue, his conclusa et terminata finibus, ab ipso Domino jurata et tradita istis incredulis, et patribus eorum sceleratis, pro ultione crucifixi Salvatoris merito sint ablata. Et revera præceptor Ecclesiæ gregibus orthodoxis significat inquiring: *Quæ societas luci et tenebris? quæ conventio Christi ad Belial? aut quis consensus templo Dei cum idolis? (II Cor. vi.)* Et summi consiliarius verbi admonet, dicens: *Si quis dixerit ei Ave (II Joan, xi), etc. Desunt cætera.*

Appendix III

Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer haKabbalah*, ed. Adolph Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, I (Oxford 1887), pp. 82–84. Addition from MS. A. Collation of Neubauer's text [= N] with MS Adler no. 2237, folios 225b–228a [= A] in Jewish Theological Seminary, New York yielded the corrections noted here.

ושמענו שיש בארץ צרפת חכמים גדולים וגאונים וכל אחד ואחד רבן מרביץ
תורה ומרבים גבוליהם בתלמידים להגדיל תורה ולהאדירה כמו שנא' להנחיל
אוהבי יש ונאמר יי' חפץ למען צדקו יגדיל תורה ויאדיר. וכל אחד ואחד
היה גאון במקומו כמו שידענו. ומקובלים אנחנו יש בהם בנרבונה שלשלת גדולה
מיחס תורה ונשיאות וגאנות: 5

המלך קר'לייש שלח למלך בבל שישלח מן היהודים אשר לו מורע המלוכה
מבית דויד והוא שמע לו ושלח לו אחד משם גדול וחכם ושמו ר' מכיר והושיבו
בנרבונה עיר הגדולה ונטעו שם ונתן לו אחזה גדולה שם בעת כבשה אותה
מישמעאלים ולקח לו אשה מגדולי העיר. ובעת כבוש העיר חלקה המלך
לשלשה חלקים. האחד נתן למושל אשר שם בעיר שמו דון איימריק. והחלק 10
השני להגמון העיר. והחלק השלישי נתן לר' מכיר ועשה אותו בן חורין ועשה
באהבתו חוקים טובים לכל היהודים היושבים בעיר כאשר כתוב וחתום בשטר
נוצרי והחתום אשר למלך שמו קאר'לייש אשר הוא בידם עד היום הזה: זה
הנשיא ר' מכיר היה שם לראש הוא חרעו היו קרובים למלך ולכל זרעו וכל
הבא להצר אותו על דבר הנחלה והכבוד היו מצירין אותו בכח מלך צרפת כי 15
מיד היו שולחים אל המלך והמלך מצוה להשיב העושק ומיד געשית מצותו
ואין להשיב כי נרבונה תחת יד צרפת היא ועוד היו חרעו ממנהיגי הדור
ומחוקקים ושופטים בכל הארצות כמו ראשי גליות והם רועים את ישראל

באמותם ובתבונת כפיהם. והיה שם לגאון רב טודרוס הידוע הנשיא ובניו
 20 מורע זה ר' מכיר הנשיא ולא פסקה מהם גדולה וממשלה ותורה כמו הנשיא
 הגדול והידוע מרנא ורבנא קלוגימוס הגדול הוא התנהג בשררא גדולה והיטיב
 לישראל בימיו והאריך ימים בגדולתו והיו ימיו תשעים שנה ומת. והניח בן חכם
 ושמו ר' טודרוס והוא היה חכם ופייסן עשה אזהרות:

בימיו היה הרום גדול בנרבונה כי מת שלטון של נרבונה שמו דון אי' מריק
 25 במלחמת פרא' אנהובנים לא היו לו ונשארה הממשלה ביד השלישית דונה אשמני' יראץ
 והיתה קטנה ומושלי הארץ נותנים עיניהם בנחלתה כי היא גדולה וטובה והיו
 מפתים אותה כפי כחם להיות לאשה למושל ט' לוושה הנקרא דון אנפוש הפחה.
 ופחת ברצלונה הנקרא ריימון ברנגייר היה שונא לדון אנפוש ופתה דונה
 אשמני' יראץ למאן לפחת דון אנפוש כי היה פחת ברצלונה קרובה והיא שמעה
 30 בקולו ונשאת לדון ברנדאד דאנודשה ואז רבה המלחמה ונחלקה העיר לחצי.
 חצי העיר אחר השולטת ויועציה והמגרש אחר פחת טולושה דון אנפוש ועמדה
 זאת המלחמה כעשר שנים. ולפני כן היה קהל גדול לעיר נרבונה כאלפים
 יהודים והיו שם גדולים וחכמים ששבעים יוצא בכל העולם ובעונות מפני החרום
 הזה נתפזרו באניב ובפייטו ובצרפת. גם הוטל על הקהל מס גדול. זה הנשיא
 35 ר' טודרוס ובניו ובני משפחתו הגיעו על הקהל וסייעים בנדבתם ושמו בניהם
 ובנותי' וכל קרובם במשכן בידי גי' על המשכן ההוא. אחרי כן מת הנשיא
 ר' טודרוס והניח לו בן חכם רב ודיין והוא הנקרא היום מרנא ורבנא קלוגימוס
 הנשיא והוא עודנו חי ובחור ויצא שמו בכל הארצות. ומצד אחר שלשלת הנשיא
 היה בנרבונה מרנא ורבנא ר' טודרוס הנשיא בן אחי הנשיא ר' קלוגימוס הנזכר
 40 הגדול ושמו הנשיא מרנא ורבנא ר' משה הפרנס שהוא נפטר באיש' יליה בעבור
 שהבריחהו מלשני' ועמדו תחת יד מלך נב' ארה ועשה שם חיל ומת שם והיה
 גדול מהנשיא ר' קלוגימוס. והניח זה הנשיא טודרוס בן קטן והגדיל בתורה ובחכמה
 וביראת שמים ונסמך לרבנות ונשיאות והאריך ימים ומת והניח הנשיא אחרי
 בנו הנשיא מרנא ורבנא משה הידוע בכל הארצות חכם גדול רב ודיין לא היה
 45 כמוהו בדורותיו ענו גדול וירא שמים. גם הוא נסמך לרבנות ולנשיאות והוא
 שפט את ישראל וההויק בנחלת אבותיו ועשה משפט וצדקה לכל ועליו נתקיים
 הכתוב והאיש משה ענו מאד:

והיו בנרבונה חכמים גדולים ראשי ישיבה נסמכים ושמעים לנשיאות כמו
 ראשי ישיבות שבבבל לראש הגולה. הראשון הידוע לנו בקבלותינו ר' יעקב
 50 הנביא גאון בר' משה בר' אבן. והרב ר' יהודה בר' משה הנקרא דשא דונזילה
 וקבל מרבינו גרשום ורבץ תורה בנרבונה והעמיד תלמידים. והגדול שבתלמידיו
 הרב ר' יצחק בן מרן לוי ואביו מהרב ר' יצחק היה חסיד גדול ובעל נכסים
 ובעל מעשים והטיב לישראל מממונו ובטל כמה גזירות ממעותיו ישלם י' שכרו.
 ור' יצחק בנו היה חכם גדול ורבץ תורה בנרבונה והעמיד תלמידים. ומגדולי
 55 תלמידיו היו הרב ר' משה בר' יוסף מרן לוי והרב מרנא ורבנא הענו ר' משה
 והרב ר' אברהם בר' יצחק הנקרא אב בית דין. וגם זה ר' אברהם היה תלמיד
 חבר לרב משה בר' יהוסף. וכל אלה הרבנים העמידו תלמידים הרבה ומימיהם
 שתו חכמי התלמוד מנרבונה וההר ולתיל. ומגדולי התלמידים היו הרב ר'

אברהם בר' דוד והרב ר' שמואל בר' משה והרב ר' שמואל בר' דוד והרב
 60 ר' משה בר' יהודה והרב ר' יהונתן הכהן והרב ר' שלמיה כל אלה עמודיהם
 גדולים בתורה שבכתב ושבעל פה. אבל הרב ר' אברהם בר' דוד הגדול על
 כלם כי הפליג בישיבה ובשנים והוא עשה ספרים הרבה לבאר כל ספיקא
 בפירוש ובפסק הלכה ותהי משכורתם שלמה. ורוב מכל אלו החכמים נולדים
 בנרבונה ולמדו מרבניה אבל מפני החירום יצאו משם ובכל מקום שהיו הולכים
 65 היו מרביצים תורה עד שהאירו עיני כל הגולה כשמש בחצי השמים. עוד היו
 בנרבונה חכמים גדולים כמו הישיש ר' שלמה בתיבנישת והרב ר' מאיר בר'
 זוסף ז'צ'ל. ובצרפת יצא אור גדול לא נראה כמוהו לאור עינים הוא הרב הגדול
 החסיד רבינו שלמה מטרוייש בר' יצחק הוא קבל מרבינו גרשום וישיבתו והוא
 70 פירש כל התורה וכל הנביאים וכל הכתובים וארבעת סידרי גמרא אשר ירוץ
 כל קורא בהם לא הניח דבר קטן או גדול שלא ביאר ביאור גמור. ואחרי זאת
 טבע פירושו בעולם לא היה רב וגדול אשר למד זולתם הלכה ולא נראו בכל
 העולם לכל טאן ורב ישלם השם שכרו. ואחריו קמו בני בתו של הרב ר' שלמה
 ז'ל רבינו שמואל ורבינו יעקב מרמרוג בני הישיש ר' מאיר בר' שמואל הם
 גדולים ותלמידי חכמים הרבה בקיאים בתורה שבכתב ושבעל פה גרסין שיתא
 75 סידרי על ציצת לשון והם היו רבנים מרביצים תורה והעמידו תלמידים הרבה:
 מצרפת ומאלמנייא ופרובינצה באים לפניהם לשתות מממיהם גם הם כתבו
 פירושי מסכתות והלכות להוסיף על פירוש הרב הגדול אבא מארי ז'ל ולבאר
 ספיקות פירושם למי שאינו מבין. אך אחריו לא היה כח ביד רב וחכם לפרש
 פירושים אחרים לפי שקבל ממקור רבינו שלמה ומימיו שתו כל הבאים אחריו
 80 ואם חס ושלוש נשתכחה מישראל תורה יחזירה והוא עשה שלא תשתכח. זכהו
 האל להיות עם כל הרבנים והגאונים להיות שפתותיהם דובכות בקבריהם
 לקיים מה שני דובב שפתי ישנים:

Line 6. שלח is repeated in A 9. A has מישמעלים 10. N has אימריך 18. A
 has והיזיב 24. N has גלויה 21. N has הגדולה 30. A has טלושאה 31. A has
 33. A has 39. In A טבע is deleted after אחי 40. In A במרשייל 41. A has
 49. N has 52 and 55. A has מקלני for 59 and 61. A has דויד each
 time (3). 66. A has בינינישט 68. A has מטוראייש (noted also by N); הי is deleted
 after בר' 72. A has ביתו 73. A has מתמרוג; מכיר (both noted also by N). 76. A
 has ומאלמנייא 78. A has לה for לא

Appendix IV

Meir b. Simeon, *Milhemet Mitsvah*, ed. Adolph Neubauer, "Documents inédits. XVI. Documents sur Narbonne," *REJ*, X (1885), 98-99. Collation of this transcription by Neubauer [= N] with MS De Rossi no. 155, folio 67a, b [= A] in Parma Nazionale Biblioteca yielded the corrections noted here.

תחלה נאמר כי מדרך החיוב לשמור ברית ואמונה לכל אדם אפילו אינ
מדתי המלך וכל הנשמעים אליו יש להם לשמור לע הברית והאמונה אשר
שמרו אבותיו לאבותיו כי אבותיו ב"י באו בכל ארץ מלכותו בענין שנתחייב
להעמידו בהבטחה לשמור טפנו ומאודנו ונחלתנו ועמדנו אנתנו ואבות'
בהבטחה ההיא זמן רב מימות המלך קרלש עד עתה אשר הוא כבש ארצות
רבות והבאים אחריו כולם בעזר הישראלים אשר היו עמם באמונה בטפם
ובממונם אשר הם בעצמם היו נכנסים בעובי המלחמה ומוסרין עצמם למיתה
להצלת המלכים והשרים אשר עמהם כי דבר ידוע הוא וכתוב במקומות רבים
בידיו וגם בבית] האובדיינטיאש כי כשכבש המלך קרלש עיר גרבוה בעת
הלחמו עם הישמעאלים אשר היו שם הרעו סוסו לפני השער תפל ארצה והיה
בידם נמסר להריגה ומכל גבוריו שהיו עמו לא רצה אחד מהם לרדת מסוסו
ולהרכיבו עליו כי היו יראים שאם ירדו מסוסיהם שימותו שם עד שיהודי שהיה
שם עמהם גבור חיל ירד מסוסו ארצה והרכיבו עליו והוא נשאר שם בגליו
ומת שם ביד הישמעאלים ואח"כ כשכבש העיר שמר המלך קרלש האמונה
הגדולה ההיא לזרעו ותן להם חלק גדול ותכבד בעיר גרבוה ובסביבותיה
והקבלה הקדמונית שנתן להם השליש בעיר וסביבותיה ועשה לכל היהודים
הקים טובים ותכבדים בהסכמת ההגמונים והכומרים אשר היו שם עמו ואחריו
המלכים אשר היו תחתיו התנהו עמהם באמונה ההיא עד עתה וכל זמן אשר

שמרו להם בריתם ואמונתם הצליחו במלחמותיהם וגברה ידם על שונאיהם
 20 ולו לא היה בענין טעם אחר לבד זה שכתבו שהמלך קרלש נצל מיד הישמעאלים
 על ידי היהודי אשר מסר עצמו למיתה להצלתו הרי המלך וכל זרעו היה מחוייב
 לעשות לעולם טובות רבות לכל היהודים אשר בממשלתו ולשמור גופם
 ומאודם.

Line 3. A has בני ישראל 5. A has קרש 11. N has גודיו 14. A has כך ואחר
 15. A has נברונה 16. A has שתן 21. A has יהודים יד

Appendix V

Iggeret Rabh Sherira Gaon, ed. Benjamin M. Lewin, (Haifa 1920–21), p. 104.

אגרת רב שרירא גאון

נוסח ספרדי

ובתריה מלך⁶ רב מלכא בר מר רב אחא בשנת תתרט"ב⁷ ג. והוא אחתיה לרב נטרונאי נשיא בן זבינא¹⁰ בפלוגתא על זכאי בר מר אחונאי ד' דהוא¹¹ נשיא קמי הכי¹² כמה שנין¹³ ה. ואתכנשו¹⁴ תרתין מתיבתא עם¹⁵ זכאי הנשיא¹⁶ ועברוה¹⁷ לנטרונאי¹⁸ ו' ואפטר¹⁹ רב מלכא לגן עדן ורב נטרונאי²⁰ נשיא אזל²¹ למערב ד'.

⁶מר (א.) כ"ב (א.) וצ"ל פ"ב. ¹⁰לנטרונאי בר הביבאי נשיא (א.). ¹¹נשיא דהוה (א.). ¹²הכין (א.). ¹³כמה שנין (א. חסר). ¹⁴ואיכנסן (א.) ואתכנשו (ה.). ¹⁵מתיבתא על (א.). ¹⁶נשיא (א. ה.). ¹⁷ועברוהי (א.). ¹⁸לנטרונא (ה.) א. ליתא. ¹⁹ונפטר (ה.). ²⁰ונטרונאי (א. ה.). ²¹ליה (ה.).

נוסח צרפתי

ובתריה מלך⁵ מר⁶ רב מלכה בר⁷ מר רב אחא בשנת אלף⁸ פ"ב. והוא אחתיה⁹ לנטרונאי בר חביבאי נשיא בפלוגתא על זכאי בר מר רב אחונאי נשיא דהוה קמי¹⁰ הכין בכמה שנין¹⁰ ואיכנסן תרתין¹¹ מתיבתא¹² עם¹³ זכאי נשיא ועברוהי ואיפטר רב מלכא לגן עדן ונטרונאי נשיא אול למערב.

³אלף (ב. ו. פ. ליתא) ⁵מלך (ב. ו. ליתא). ⁶בר (פ.). ⁷ב (ו.). ⁸אהתיה (פ. חסר) למר רב נטרונאי (ו.) ⁹קמי (פריז). ¹⁰בכמה שני (פ. חסר). ¹¹תרתין (ב.). ¹²מתיבתאה (פ.). ¹³על (פ.) וכן אפשר עוד לקרוא בכ"י פריז, ונתקן: «עם».

ג) ד"א תק"ל. ד) הוא זכאי [ב]ר מר רב אחונאי בר שהריאדא בן בוסתנאי ואודאדורא
 בת מלך פרס (עיין בהנספחים בסוף האגרת צד XVI). ה) ורב גטרונאי חלק עליו, כנראה
 משום שנמצא שמץ פסול ביחוסו. ו) ורגלים לדבר שהיו מוכרחים לכך גם מצד המלכות:
 » וביד דמלכותא עיקארא « (נספחים שם). ועיין דוח'ר ח"ג דף קט"ז ע"א. ז) לספרד.
 » והוא שכתב לבני ספרד את התלמוד מסיו שלא מן הכתב « (ספר העתים צד 267 ועיין
 שם בהמברא צד XI) והיה מתלמידי רב יהודאי גאון (עיין לקמן צד 108 הערה א').

Appendix VI

Teshubhot geoné mizrah u-ma'arabh (Responsa of Eastern and Western Geonim), ed. Joel Müller (Berlin 1888), no. 69, p. 17b.

ט. ושאלתם מקום אחד יש שכל מלבושים כזרדי מלחמה אין לאחד מהם סחות משלשה אזורות ואותן אזורות יש מהן של עור עשירים נותנין בראש האזור טסין של כסף ושל זהב ועניים של צמשת ושל ברזל שבהם קושרים את הרצועה ובראשם טסים של כסף וקושרים בה במנעול תחת מקום הארכובה וכסות שלהם כסות של פרשים ויש שתופרים בהם מרגליות כגון אילו מהו לצאת בהן בשבת. כך ראינו שכיון שמלבושיהם כך הוא תמיד וכן הוא מנהגם מותר לצאת בהם בשבת לר"ה ואע"פ שיש בהן טסים של כסף ושל זהב וכן במנעליהם אין בכך כלום מפני שלגוי הוא שעושין אותן מפני שכיון שעשירים עושים אותן של כסף ושל זהב ועניים של צמשת ושל ברזל נעשות תכשיטים של כל אחד מהם ומותר וכן כסות שתופרים בו רצועה מותר לצאת בו בשבת ואע"פ שתופרות בו ברצועותיהם ומרגליותיהם.

Selected Bibliography

- Aaron b. Jacob haCohen of Lunel. *Sefer Orhot Haim* (Paths of Life). Florence 5510/1750.
- Abadal i de Vinyals, Ramon d'. *Catalunyā carolíngia, II. Els diplomes carolíngis a Catalunya*. Barcelona 1926-52.
- . "El paso de Septimania del dominio goda al franco a través de la invasion sarracena (720-768)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* (Buenos Aires), XIX (1953), 5-54.
- . "Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l'any mil. Eixalada-Cuixa," *Analecta Montserratensia* (Abadia de Montserrat), VIII (1954-1955), 125-338.
- . "La Expedición de Carlomagno a Zaragoza: el hecho histórico, su caracter y su significación," *Coloquios de Roncesvalles*, August 1955. Saragossa 1956, 39-71.
- . *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*. Barcelona 1958.
- . "Un diplome inconnu de Louis le Pieux pour le comte Oliba de Carcassonne," *Annales du Midi*, LXI (1948-49), 345-57.
- . "Nota sobre la locución 'Marca Hispanica,'" *BRABLB*, XXVII (1957-58), 157-64.

- Abbo Parisiensis, Monk of St. Germain. *Bella Parisiaca urbis*. Ed. Paul von Winterfeld. *MGH, Poetae latini aevi Carolini*. Vol. IV, fasc. 1, pp. 72–121. Berlin 1899.
- Abel, Sigurd, and v. Simson, Bernhard. *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen*. I: 768–788. 2nd ed., Leipsic 1888; II: 789–814. Leipsic 1883.
- Abraham ibn Daud. *Sefer haKabbalah*. Ed. Adolph Neubauer. In his *Medieval Jewish Chronicles and Chronical Notes*. Anecdota Oxoniensia. Semitic Series. Vol. I, part iv, pp. 47–84. Oxford 1887.
- Abrahams, Israel. "An Eighth Century Geniza Fragment," *JQR* o.s. XVII (1905), 426–30.
- Acta Sanctorum* . . . collecta, digesta, illustrata a G. Henschenio et D. Papebrochio . . . ed. noviss., J. Carnandet. Paris and Rome 1866.
- Adhémar de Chabannes. *Historia*. Ed. Jules Lair, *Études critiques sur divers textes des X^e et XI^e siècles*. Paris 1899.
- Adler, Elkan Nathan. *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler*. Cambridge 1921.
- . "An Eleventh Century Introduction to the Hebrew Bible," *JQR*, o.s. IX (1897), 669–716.
- Agobard Bishop of Lyons. *Epistolae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, *MGH, Epistolarum* V, 3 (Berlin 1899), 164–239.
- Ahima'ats b. Paltiel of Oria. *Sefer Yuhassin* (The Chronicle of Ahima'ats). Ed. and transl. into English by Marcus Salzman, Columbia University Oriental Studies, XVIII. New York, 1924.
- . *Megillat Ahima'ats v'hi Megillat Yuhassin l'Rabbi Ahima'ats be-Rabbi Paltiel*. Ed. Benjamin Klar, Jerusalem 5704/1943–44.
- Aimoinus. *Historia translationis Sancti Vincentii Levitae et martyris ex Hispania in castrense Galliae monasterium*. *PL*, CXXVI, col. 1011–1028.
- Alart, B[ernard]. *Cartulaire roussillonnais*. Perpignan 1880.
- Alcuin. *Epistolae*. Ed. Ernst Dümmler. *MGH, Epistolarum* IV, Karolini aevi II. Berlin 1895.
- Al-Makkari, Ahmed ibn Muhammad. *History of Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*. Transl. Pascual de Cayangos, I, London 1840.
- Alonso, Dámaso. *La primitiva épica francesca a la luz de una Nota Emilianense*. Madrid 1954.
- Amardel, G. "Le comte de Narbonne Gilbert," *BCAN*, VI (1900), 304–11.
- . "La première monnaie de Milon," *BCAN*, VI (1900), 381–90.
- . "Les derniers chefs des Goths de Septimanie," *BCAN*, VI (1900), 572–83.

- Amardel, G. "Le comte Milon," *BCAN*, VII (1902), 1-30.
- Amolo Bishop of Lyons. *Epistola seu Liber contra Judaeos*. PL, CXVI, col. 141-84.
- Amram Gaon. *Seder Rabh Amram* (Liturgy). Vol. I. Warsaw 1865.
- . *Seder Rabh Amram Gaon* (Liturgy). Ed. Aryeh Leb Frumkin. 2 vols. Jerusalem 1912.
- Anglade, J. "Les troubadours à Narbonne," *Mélanges Chabaneau*. Volume offert à Camille Chabaneau à l'occasion du 75^e anniversaire de sa naissance (4 mars 1906) par ses élèves, ses amis et ses admirateurs. Erlangen 1907.
- Annales Bertiniani*. Ed. Georg Waitz. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. Hanover 1883.
- Annales Einhardi*. Ed. Georg H. Pertz, *MGH*, SS I. Hanover 1884.
- Annales Fuldenses sive Annales Regni Francorum Orientalis*. Ed. Friedrich Kurze. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. Hanover 1891.
- Annales Mettenses priores*. Ed. Bernhard v. Simson. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. Hanover and Leipsic 1905.
- Annales Regni Francorum inde ab A. 741 usque ad A. 829 qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses Miores et Einhardi*. Ed. Friedrich Kurze. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. Hanover 1895.
- Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini*. Ed. Bernard v. Simson. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*. Hanover and Leipsic 1909.
- Ardo. *Vita Benedicti Abbatis Anianensis et Andensis*. Ed. Georg Waitz. *MGH*, SS XV, part I. Hanover 1887. Pp. 198-211.
- Aronius, Julius. *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273*. . . Bearbeitet unter Mitwirkung von A. Dresdner und L. Lewinski. Berlin 1887-1902.
- . "Karl der Grosse und Kalonymos aus Lucca," *ZGJD*, II (1888), 82-87.
- Ashtor, Elijah. *Korot haYehudim biSefarad haMuslimit* (History of the Jews in Muslim Spain), I (711-1002). Jerusalem 1960.
- Assaf, Simha. "Growth of Jewish Centers in the Age of the Geonim" (Hebrew), *Ha-Shiloah*, XXXV (1918), Pt. 2, 398-409.
- . (ed.). *Teshubhot haGeonim mitokh haGenizah* (Gaonic Responsa from Geniza MSS.). Jerusalem 1929.
- . "Slaves and the Slave Trade among Jews in the Middle Ages," (Hebrew), *B'oholé Ya'akobh* (In Jacob's Tents), Jerusalem 1943, pp. 223-56 reprinted from *Zion* IV (5699/1938-39), 91-125.

- Assaf, Simḥa. "Portions of a Benediction for the Exilarch Ḥisdai b. David," (Hebrew). *Ginzé Kedem*, IV (1930), 63-64.
- Auzias, Léonce. "Bernard 'le Veau' et Bernard 'Plantevelue' comtes de Toulouse (?) (863-872-885)," *Annales du Midi*, XLIV (1932), 257-95.
- . "Recherches d'histoire carolingienne. I. Les fluctuations politiques de quelques grands d'Aquitaine au temps de Charles le Chauve (846-874)," *Annales du Midi*, XLIV (1932), 385-416.
- . "Recherches d'histoire carolingienne. II. Le personnel comtal et l'autorité royale en Septimanie meridionale (872-878)," *Annales du Midi*, XLV (1933), 121-47.
- . "Les relations de Bernard Plantevelue avec les princes carolingiens de 880 à 885," *Le Moyen Age*, XLIII, 3^e série (1933), 5-25.
- . "Les sièges de Barcelone, de Tortosa et d'Huesca (801-811)," *Annales du Midi*, XLVIII (1936), 5-28.
- . *L'Aquitaine carolingienne (778-987)*. Toulouse-Paris 1937.
- Aymeri de Narbonne. *Chanson de geste*. Ed. Louis Demaison. Société des anciens textes français no. 24, 2 vols. Paris 1887.
- Baer, Yitzhak F. *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*. Erster Teil: *Urkunden und Regesten*. Vols. I-II. Berlin 1929-36.
- . *To'dot haYehudim biSefarad haNotsrit*, I. Tel Aviv 1945.
- . "Sefer Yosephon ha'Ibhri," (Hebrew), *Sefer Dinaburg*. Jerusalem 5709/1948-49, pp. 178-205.
- . *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, I. Philadelphia 1961/5722.
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. "Yehudah Halevi: An Answer to a Historic Challenge," *Jewish Social Studies*, III (1941), 243-72.
- , ed. *Essays on Maimonides. An Octocentennial Volume*. New York 1941. Includes the editor's essay, "The Economic Views of Maimonides," pp. 127-264.
- . *The Jewish Community, Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*. 3 vols. Philadelphia 5706/1945.
- . *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*. Vols. I-XI and Index. 2nd ed. revised and enlarged. Philadelphia and New York 5712-27/1952-67. In progress.
- . "'Plenitude of Apostolic Powers' and Medieval 'Jewish Serfdom,'" *Yitzhak F. Baer Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Eds. S. W. Baron, B. Dinur, S. Ettinger, I. Halpern. Jerusalem 1960. Pp. 102-24.

- Bautier, Robert H. "Notes historiques sur la Marche d'Espagne. Le Conflent et ses comtes au IX^e siècle," *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, I. Paris 1946, pp. 211-230.
- Becker, Philipp A. Review of F. Ed. Schneegans (ed.), *Gesta Karoli Magni in Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XIX (1898), cols. 136-48.
- . *Das Werden der Wilhelm- und der Aimerigeste. Versuch einer neuen Lösung*. Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XLIV, no. 1. Leipsic 1939.
- Bédier, Joseph. *Les Légendes épiques. Recherches sur la formation des Chansons de Geste*. 4 vols. 3rd ed., Paris 1926-29.
- Beer, Rudolph. "Los manuscrits del monastir de Santa Maria de Ripoll," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, V (1909), 137-70; 230-78; 299-320; 329-65; 492-520.
- Benedict, B. Z. "R. Moses b. Joseph of Narbonne," (Hebrew) *Tarbiz*, XIX (1947-48), 19-34.
- Benjamin of Tudela. *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*. Ed. and transl. M. N. Adler. London 1907. Reprint of *JQR*, o.s. XVI-XVIII (1904-06).
- Bereschit Rabba mit kritischem Apparat und Kommentar*. Ed. J. Theodor, I, Berlin 1912. Nach dem Ableben des Verfassers bearbeitet und ergänzt von Ch. Albeck, II, Berlin 1927; III, Berlin 1929.
- Bernheimer, Carlo. *Paleografia ebraica*. Florence 1924.
- Bloch, Marc. *La Société féodale, la formation des liens de dépendence. L'Évolution de l'humanité*, XXXIV. Paris 1939.
- . *Feudal Society*. University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Blumenkranz, Bernhard. *Die Judenpredigt Augustins*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten. Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, XXV. Basel 1946.
- . "Les auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen Âge sur les Juifs et le Judaïsme," part i, *REJ*, CIX (1948-49), 3-67; part ii, CXI (1951-52), 5-61; part iii, CXIII (1954), 5-36; part iv, CXIV (1955), 37-90. Reprinted with additions. *Études juives*, IV in *École pratique des hautes études*. Sorbonne, Paris, The Hague 1963.
- . "Die jüdischen Beweisgründe im Religionsgespräch mit den Christen," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, IV, 1948, 119-47.
- . "Du nouveau sur Bodo-Eleazar?" *REJ*, n.s. XII (CXII) (1953), 35-42.

- Blumenkranz, Bernhard. "Juden und Jüdisches in christlichen Wundererzählungen," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, X (1954), 417-46.
- . "Un pamphlet juif médio-latin de polémique antichrétienne," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, XXXIV (1954), 401-13.
- . "Deux compilations canoniques de Florus de Lyon et l'action anti-juive d'Agobard," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, series 4, XXXIII (1955), 227-54; 560-82.
- . "Cultivateurs et vigneronns juifs en Bourgogne du IX^e au XI^e siècle," *Bulletin philologique et historique. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1959 (1960), 129-36.
- . *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental 430-1096*. Paris, The Hague 1960.
- Böhmer, J. F. *Regesta Imperii*. I. *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918*. Neu bearbeitet von Engelbert Mühlbacher, I, 2nd ed. Innsbruck 1908.
- Botet y Siso, Joaquim. *Condado de Gerona, Los condes beneficiarios*. Gerona 1890.
- Bouquet, Martin; Brial, Michel-Jean-Joseph, et al., eds. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Nouvelle édition, publiée sous la direction de M. L. Delisle. 24 vols., Paris 1868-1904.
- Bresslau, Harry. "Diplomatische Erläuterungen zu den Judenprivilegien Heinrichs IV," *ZGJD*, I (1887), 152-59.
- . *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, I. 2nd ed., Leipsic 1912; II. 2nd ed., Berlin, Leipsic 1931.
- . "Zur Lehre von den Siegeln der Karolinger und Ottonen," *AfUf*, I (1908), 355-70.
- Bressolles, Mgr. Adrien. *Doctrine et action politique d'Agobard*. I. *St. Agobard Évêque de Lyon (760-840)*. L'Église et l'État au M.A. IX. Paris 1949.
- Breysig, Theodor. *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches, 714-741. Die Zeit Karl Martells*. Leipsic 1869.
- Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*. Ed. Michael Tangl. *Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum I. S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*. Berlin 1916.
- Büchting, Ernst. *Glaubwürdigkeit Hincmars von Rheims im dritten Teile der sogenannten Annalen von St. Bertin*. Halle 1887.
- Buckler, F. W. *Harunu'l-Rashid and Charles the Great*. Cambridge, Mass. 1931.
- Büttner, Heinrich. "Aus den Anfängen des abendländischen Staatsgedankens. Die Königserhebung Pippins," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LXXI (1951), 77-90.

- Cabaniss, Allen. "Bodo-Eleazar: A Famous Jewish Convert," *JQR*, XLIII (1953), 313-28.
- . *Agobard of Lyons Churchman and Critic*. Syracuse University Press, 1953.
- . "Paulus Albarus of Muslim Cordova," *Church History*, XXII (1953), 99-112.
- . "The Woes of Dhuoda or France's First Woman of Letters," *Mississippi Quarterly*, XI (1958), 38-49.
- . *Son of Charlemagne*. Syracuse University Press, 1961.
- Cagin, Dom. "Note sur le sacramentaire de Gellone," *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire religieuses publiés à l'occasion du jubilé épiscopal de Mgr de Cabrières*, I (Paris 1899), 231-90.
- Calmette, Joseph. "Les origines de la première maison comtale de Barcelone," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XX (1900), 299-306. Publiés par l'École française de Rome.
- . *La diplomatie carolingienne du Traité de Verdun à la mort de Charles le Chauve (843-877)*. Paris 1901.
- . "Rampon, comte de Gerona et marquis de Gothie sous Louis le Pieux," *Le Moyen Age*, 2^e série, V (1901), 401-406.
- . "Notes sur Wifred le Velu," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 3. época V (1901), 442-51.
- . *De Bernardo, Sancti Willelmi filio*. Toulouse 1902.
- . "Notes sur les premiers comtes carolingiens d'Urgel," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXII (1902), 87-97. Publiés par l'École française de Rome.
- . "Les marquis de Gothie sous Charles le Chauve," *Annales du Midi*, XIV (1902), 185-97.
- , et Patry, H. "Les comtes d'Auvergne et les comtes de Velay sous Charles le Chauve," *Annales du Midi*, XVI (1904), 305-10.
- . "Gaucelme, marquis de Gothie sous Louis le Pieux," *Annales du Midi*, XVIII (1906), 166-71.
- . "La famille de Saint-Guilhem," *Annales du Midi*, XVIII (1906), 145-65.
- . "Une lettre close originale de Charles le Chauve," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXII (1902), 135-39. Plates IV-V after p. 345. Publiés par l'École française de Rome.
- . "Sur la lettre close de Charles le Chauve aux Barcelonais," *BEC*, LXIV (1903), 329-34.
- . "Les comtés et les comtes de Toulouse et de Rodez sous Charles le Chauve," *Annales du Midi*, XVII (1905), 5-26.

- Calmette, Joseph. Review of Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Història nacional de Catalunya. Annales du Midi*, XXXVII-XXXVIII (1925-26), 216-19.
- . "Le sentiment national dans la marche d'Espagne au IX^e siècle," *Mélanges F. Lot* (Paris 1925), 103-10.
- and Vidal, P., "A propos de la famille de Joffre le Poilu," *Annales du Midi*, XXXVII (1925), 145-60.
- . "Comtes de Toulouse inconnus," *Mélanges de philologie et d'histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris 1927)
- . "La famille de saint Guilhem et l'ascendance de Robert le Fort," *Annales du Midi*, XL (1928), 225-45.
- . *Charlemagne. Sa vie et son œuvre*. Paris 1945.
- . *La question des Pyrénées et la Marche d'Espagne au Moyen Âge*. Paris 1947.
- Camau, Emile. *La Provence à travers les siècles. IV, Les Juifs en Provence* (Paris 1928), pp. 249-367.
- Capitularia regum francorum. I, MGH, Legum sectio II, pt. 1*. Ed. Alfred Boretius. Hanover 1883.
- Capitularia regum francorum. II, MGH, Legum Sectio II, pt. 2*. Eds. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause. Hanover 1897.
- Caro, Georg. *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit. I, Das frühere und das hohe Mittelalter*. Leipsic 1908. 2nd ed. unrevised. Frankfurt-on-the-Main 1924.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-André-le-Bas de Vienne*. Ed. Cyr Ulysse J. Chevalier. Vienne and Lyons 1869.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*. Ed. [Benjamin] Guerard. 2 vols. Paris 1857. Collection des Cartulaires de France, VIII.
- Cartulaire de Beaulieu en Limousin*. Ed. Max Deloche. Collection des documents inédits. Paris 1859.
- Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans (814-1300)*. Eds. Joseph Thillier and Eugène Jarry. Paris 1906.
- Cartulaire de Saint-Julien de Brioude*. Ed. H. Doniol. Clermont-Ferrand 1863.
- Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*. Ed. H. Doniol. Clermont and Paris 1864.
- Caspar, Erich. "Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LIV (1935), 132-266.
- Cassiodorus Senator. *Variae*. Ed. Theodor Mommsen, *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi*, XII. Berlin 1894.
- Catel, Guillaume de. *Mémoires de l'histoire de Languedoc curieusement et fidèlement recueillis*. Toulouse 1633.
- La Chançon de Guillelme. Französisches Volksepos des XI. Jahrhunderts kritisch herausgegeben*. Ed. Hermann Suchier. Bibliotheca Nor-

- mannica. Denkmäler Normandischer Literatur und Sprache, VIII. Halle 1911.
- Le Charroi de Nîmes. Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle.* Ed. J.-L. Perrier. Les Classiques français du moyen âge, LXVI. Paris 1931.
- Chaume, L'Abbé Maurice. *Les Origines du Duché de Bourgogne.* Vols. I-II in 2 pts. Dijon 1925-37.
- . "Études carolingiennes. I, La famille de Saint Guillaume de Gellone," *Annales de Bourgogne*, I (1929), 27-56.
- . "Onfroi, marquis de Gothie, ses origines et ses attaches familiales," *Annales du Midi*, LII (1940), 113-36.
- Chronica Minora*, Vol. II. Ed. Theodor Mommsen. *MGH*, Auctorum antiquissimorum XI. Berlin 1894.
- Chronici Fontanellensis fragmentum.* Ed. Georg H. Pertz, *MGH*, SS II, pp. 301-04.
- Chronicon breve monasterii S. Galli in Historiae Francorum Scriptores.* Ed. Franciscus Duchesne, III. Paris 1641, pp. 466-71.
- Chronicon Moissiacense.* Ed. Georg H. Pertz, *MGH*, SS I, pp. 282-313.
- Chronicon Suevicum Universale.* Ed. Harry Bresslau, *MGH*, SS XIII. Hanover 1881, pp. 61-72.
- Codera, Francisco. "Narbona, Gerona y Barcelona bajo la dominación Musulmana," *Institut d'estudis Catalans*, Anuari MCMIX-X, Any III. Barcelona 1911, pp. 178-202.
- Cohen, Gerson D. "Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*. A critical Edition with an Introduction and an Annotated Translation of the First Part." Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Columbia University, 1958.
- . "The Story of the Four Captives," *PAAJR*, XXIX (1960-61), 55-131.
- . *The Book of Tradition (Sefer Ha-Qabbalah) by Abraham ibn Daud.* Philadelphia 1967.
- Coll i Alentorn, Miguel. "La introducció de les llegendes épiques Franceses a Catalunya," *Coloquios de Roncesvalles* August 1955. Saragossa 1956, 133-150.
- Concilia aevi Karolini.* Ed. Albert Werminghoff, I, Pt. 1 and 2. *MGH*. Legum sectio III, Concilia II. Hanover and Leipsic 1906-08.
- Continuatio Hispana.* *Chronica Minora* II saec. IV. V. VI. VII. Ed. Theodor Mommsen, *MGH*, Auctorum antiquissimorum XI. Berlin 1894, pp. 323-69.
- Coronel, Nahman Natan. *Zekher Natan.* (Collection of Laws.) Vienna 5632/1871-72.

- Coville, Alfred. *Recherches sur l'histoire de Lyon du V^e siècle au IX^e siècle (450-800)*. Paris 1928.
- Cowley, A. "Bodleian Genizah Fragments," *JQR*, o.s. XVIII (1906), 399-405; XIX (1907), 107-08, 250-56.
- Crosland, Jessie R. *The Old French Epic*. Oxford 1951.
- Dahn, Felix. *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker . . .*
4 vols. Berlin 1881-89.
- . *Die Könige der Germanen*. Das Wesen des ältesten Königtums der germanischen Stämme und seine Geschichte bis zur Auflösung des Karolingischen Reiches. VII. *Die Franken unter den Merovingen*. Part 1, 2. Leipsic 1894. VIII. *Die Franken unter den Karolingern*. Part 1, 3. Leipsic 1897-99.
- David, M. "Le serment du sacre du IX^e au XV^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude des limites juridiques de la souveraineté," *Revue du Moyen Age Latin*, VI (1950), 5-272.
- Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*. Ed. Paul Hinschius. Aalen 1963. Reprint of Leipsic 1863 edition without the Index.
- Déléage, André. *La Vie rurale en Bourgogne jusqu'au début du onzième siècle*, I (Texte), II (Appendices), III (Cartes). Mâcon 1941.
- Delisle, Leopold. "Le Manuel de Dhuoda," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. Comptes rendus de séances de l'année 1885, IV^e série, XIII (Paris 1886), 236-39.
- Dennett, Daniel Clement, Jr. *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*. Harvard Historical Monographs, XXII. Cambridge, Mass. 1950.
- De S. Theodoro sive Audardo, archiepiscopo narbonensi in Gallia. Acta Sanctorum*, May, I. Paris and Rome 1866, pp. 143-49.
- Devic, Claude and Vaissete, Joseph. *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 14 vols. Toulouse 1872-89.
- Dhondt, Jan. *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IX^e-X^e siècle)*. Brugge 1948.
- Dubled, Henri. "Allodium dans les textes latins du moyen âge," *Le Moyen Age*, LVII (1951), 241-46.
- Dubnow, Semen Markovich. *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes, von seinen Uranfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. IV. Berlin 1926.
- Duby, Georges. *La Société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise*. Paris 1953.
- Duchesne, Louis M. O. *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*. I: *Provinces du Sud-est*. II: *L'Aquitaine et les Lyonnaises*. 2nd ed. Paris 1907-10.

- Dumège, Alexandre. "Mémoire sur quelques inscriptions hébraïques découvertes à Narbonne," *Mémoires et Dissertations sur les Antiquités nationales et étrangères*, VIII (Paris 1829), 336-56.
- Dümmler, Ernst. *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reichs*. I: *Ludwig der Deutsche*. II: *Die letzten Karolinger. Konrad I*. *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte* VII, 1 and 2. Berlin 1862-65. 2nd ed. I: *Ludwig der Deutsche* (bis 860). II: *Ludwig der Deutsche* (860-76). III: *Die letzten Karolinger. Konrad I*. Leipsic 1887-88.
- Dunash ben Labrat. *Shirim* (Poems). Ed. Nehemiah Alloni. Jerusalem 5707/1946-47.
- Dupont, André. *Les Cités de la Narbonnaise première depuis les invasions germaniques jusqu'à l'apparition du consulat*. Nîmes 1942.
- . *Les relations commerciales entre les cités maritimes de Languedoc et les cités méditerranéennes d'Espagne et d'Italie du X^{ème} au XIII^{ème} siècle*. Nîmes 1942.
- . "Considerations sur la colonisation et la vie rurale dans le Roussillon et la Marche d'Espagne au IX^e siècle," *Annales du Midi*, LXVII (1955), 223-45.
- Easton, Stewart C., and Wieruszowski, Helene. *The Era of Charlemagne. Frankish State and Society*. Princeton 1961.
- Eckel, Auguste. *Annales de l'histoire de France à l'époque carolingienne. Charles le Simple*. BEHE, CXXIV. Paris 1899.
- Eckhardt, Karl August (ed.). *Die Gesetzé des Karolingerreiches 714-911. Germanenrechte*. Texte und Übersetzungen. I. *Salische und ribuarische Franken*. II. *Alemannen und Bayern*. III. *Sachsen, Thüringer, Chamaven und Friesen*. Weimar 1934.
- Eichmann, Eduard. "Königs- und Bischofsweihe," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse. 1928, 6. Abhandlung, 1-71.
- Eiten, Gustav. *Das Unterkönigtum im Reiche der Merovinger und Karolinger*. Heidelberger Abhandlungen, Heft 18. Heidelberg 1907.
- Eppenstein, Simon. "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur im gaonäischen Zeitalter," *MGWJ*, LII (1908), 328-43, 455-72, 591-620; LIV (1910), 189-205, 305-20, 452-61, 588-99; LV (1911), 64-75, 220-32, 317-29, 464-77, 614-28, 729-42; LVI (1912), 80-102; LVII (1913), 99-102 ("Nachträge und Berichtigungen").
- . *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur im gaonäischen Zeitalter*. Berlin 1913.

- Epstein, Abraham. *R. Moshé haDarshan miNarbona* (Hebrew). Moses ha-Darschan aus Narbonne. Fragmente seiner literarischen Erzeugnisse nach Druckwerken u. mehreren Handschriften mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Vienna 1891.
- . "Le lieu de séjour de Meschoullam ben Calonymos de Lucques," *REJ*, XXIV (1892), 149–51.
- . "Sources for the History of the Geonim and the Babylonian Academies," (Hebrew). *Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr. A. Harkavy*. St. Petersburg 1908. Hebrew section, pp. 164–74.
- . *Ma'aseh ha-Geonim* (Deeds of the Geonim) Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Schriften des Vereins Mekize Nirdamim, 3. Folge, nr. 3. Berlin 1909.
- Epstein, J. N. Review of *Die Rechtsgutachten der Geonim*, ed. Cassel nach Cod. Berlin und MS Michael. *JJLG*, IX (1911/5672), 214–304.
- Ermold le Noir. *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pepin*. Ed. and tr. Edmond Faral. Paris 1932.
- Even Shemuel, Judah. *Midreshé Ge'ulah* (Homilies of Redemption) *Pirḳé haApokalipsia haYehudit* . . . 2nd ed. rev. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv 5714/1953–54.
- Ewig, Eugen. "Milo et eiusmodi similes," *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag*. Herausgegeben von der Stadt Fulda . . . 2nd ed. Fulda 1954.
- . Review of Ramon d'Abadal y de Vinyals, "El paso de Septimania del dominio godo al franco," *CHE*, XIX (1953), 5–54. *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LXXVI (1956), 330–32.
- Favre, Edouard. *Eudes Comte de Paris et Roi de France (882–898)*, BEHE, XCIX. Paris 1893. *Annales de l'histoire de France à l'époque carolingienne*.
- Fichtenau, Heinrich. *The Carolingian Empire*. Oxford 1957.
- Ficker, Julius (ed.). *Die münsterischen Chroniken des Mittelalters*. In *Geschichtsquellen des Bistums Münster*. I: *Chronik des Florenz von Wevelinkhofen*. Münster 1851.
- Fischel, Walter J. "The 'Resh-Galuta' in Arabic Literature" (Hebrew), *Magnes Anniversary Book*. Jerusalem 1938, 181–87.
- Fita, Fidel. "Hebreos de Barcelona en el siglo IX," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, IV. (Madrid 1884) fasc. 1, 69–70.
- Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*, XLIII. Madrid 1819.

- Formulae Imperiales. Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi.* Ed. Karl Zeumer. *MGH*, Legum sectio V, Hanover 1886.
- Fournial, Étienne. "Recherches sur les comtes de Lyon aux IX^e et X^e siècles." *Le Moyen Age*, LVIII (1952), 221-49.
- Frapplier, Jean. *Les Chansons de Geste du cycle de Guillaume d'Orange. I: La Chanson de Guillaume, Aliscans, La Chevalerie Vivien.* Paris 1955.
- Fredegarius. *Continuationes. Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica. Vita Sanctorum.* Ed. Bruno Krusch. *MGH*, SS, II, Hanover 1888, pp. 168-93.
- Freeman, Edward A., "The Patriciate of Pepin," *English Historical Review*, IV (1889), 684-713.
- Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa.* Eds. Denis de Sainte Marthe, les Bénédictins de la Congregation de Saint-Maur et Barthélemy Haureau. 16 vols. Paris 1715-1865.
- Gams, Pius Bonifacius. *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien. II. Vom vierten bis Ende des elften Jahrhunderts—Jahr 305 bis 1085.* Pt. 2, 589-1085. Regensburg 1874.
- Ganshof, François L. "Notes sur les origines de l'union du bénéfice avec la vassalité," *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne par ses anciens élèves*, Paris 1937, 173-89.
- . "Notes sur les ports de Provence du VIII^e au X^e siècle," *Revue historique*, CLXXXIII (1938), 28-37.
- . "Benefice and Vassalage in the Age of Charlemagne," *The Cambridge Historical Journal* VI (Cambridge 1939), 147-75.
- . "Notes critiques sur les Annales Bérтиниани," *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat.* II. Paris 1949, 159-74.
- . *The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne. Theories and Facts.* Being the sixteenth Lecture on the David Murray Foundation. Glasgow University Publications LXXIX. Glasgow 1949.
- . "Recherches sur les capitulaires," *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, 4th series XXXV (1957), 33-87, 196-246.
- . *Feudalism.* 2nd English edition including revisions of 3rd French ed. of 1957. New York 1961.
- Gautier, Léon. *Les Épopées françaises: Étude sur les origines et l'histoire de la littérature nationale.* 2nd ed. 4 vols. Paris 1878-92.
- Geiger, Abraham. "Umschau 8. Mittelalterliche Siegel," *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, IX (1871), 281-85.
- Génicot, Léopold. "La noblesse au Moyen Âge dans l'ancienne 'Francie,'" *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, XVII (1962), 1-22.

- Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* (*Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii*). Ed. Georg H. Pertz. *MGH, SS II*, pp. 270–301; *Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis 841–59*, pp. 301–04.
- Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* Ed. Samuel Loewenfeld. *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Hanover 1886.
- Gesta comitum Barcinonensium. Textos llats i catala*. Eds. L. Barrau Dihigo and J. Masso Torrents. Institut d'Estudis Catalans. *Croniques Catalanes, II*. Barcelona 1925.
- Ginzberg, Louis. *Geonica*. 2 vols., New York 1909. I: *The Geonim and Their Halakic Writings*. II: *Genizah Studies*.
- . *Ginzé Schechter* (*Genizah Studies in Memory of Dr. Solomon Schechter*). I: *Midrash and Haggadah*. II: *Geonic and Early Karaitic Halakah*. Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, VII–VIII. New York 1928–29.
- Goitein, Shelomo Dov. "What Would Jewish and General History Benefit by a Systematic Publication of the Documentary Geniza Papers?" *PAAJR*, XXIII (1954), 29–39.
- . "From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia, and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Speculum*, XXIX no. 2, part 1 (1954), 181–97.
- Golb, Norman. "New Light on the Persecution of French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade," *PAAJR*, XXXIV (1966), 1–63
- Goldziher, Ignaz. "Renseignements de source musulmane sur la dignité de Resch-galuta." *REJ*, o.s. VIII (1884), 121–25.
- Goode, Alexander D. "The Exilarchate in the Eastern Caliphate, 637–1258," *JQR*, XXXI (1940–41), 149–69.
- Graetz, Heinrich. "Die mystische Literatur in der gaonäischen Epoche," *MGWJ*, VIII (1859), 110–17.
- . *Geschichte der Juden. V: Vom Abschluss des Talmuds (500) bis zum Aufblühen der jüdisch-spanischen Kultur (1027)*. 4th ed. by Simon Eppenstein. Leipzig 1909.
- Grayzel, Solomon. *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*. Philadelphia 1933.
- Gregorius I Pope. *Registrum Epistolarum I*, Pars 1. Ed. Paul Ewald, *MGH, Epistolae I*, 1. Berlin 1891.
- Gregory of Tours, Bishop. *Historia Francorum*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, V. *MGH SS I*, 1. Hanover 1884.
- Griffe, Elie. *Histoire religieuse des anciens pays de l'Aude. I. Des origines chrétiennes à la fin de l'époque carolingienne*. Paris 1933.

- . "La razzia sarrasine de 793 en Septimanie. Bataille de l'Orbieu ou de l'Orbiel?" *Annales du Midi*, LIII (1941), 225-36.
- Gross, Henri or Heinrich. *Gallia Judaica. Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques*. Paris 1897.
- Gross, Henri or Heinrich. "Meir b. Simon und seine Schrift Milchemeth Mizwa," *MGWJ*, XXX (1881), 295-305; 444-52; 554-69.
- . "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Arles," *MGWJ*, XXVII (1878), 61-71, 130-37, 145-60, 193-201, 248-56, 377-82, 470-77.
- Guessard, François. *Macaire. Chanson de geste publiée après le manuscrit unique de Venise. Les anciens poètes de la France*. Paris 1866.
- Guigue, Georges. "Les possessions territoriales de l'église de Lyon d'après la bulle du Pape Sergius III et les diplômes carolingiens." *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715)*. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques année 1925, 13-45.
- Guyard, Jean-Augustin Abbé. *Vie de saint Théodard archevêque de Narbonne et patron de la ville de Montauban*. Montauban and Paris 1856. 2nd ed. Montauban 1886.
- Hahn, Heinrich. *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs 741-752. Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*, III. Berlin 1863.
- Halbertstam, S. S. Ch. "Counting the Missing" (Hebrew), *Bet Talmud*, IV (5645/1884-85), 339.
- Haller, Johannes. "Die Karolinger und das Papsttum," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII (1912), 38-76.
- . *Nikolaus I. und Pseudoisidor*. Stuttgart 1936.
- Halphen, Louis. *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*. Paris 1921.
- . "L'idée d'état sous les Carolingiens," *Revue historique*, CLXXXV (1939).
- . *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien. L'évolution de l'humanité. Synthèse collective*. XXXIII. Paris 1947.
- Harkavy, Abraham Albert Elijah. *Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr. A. Harkavy aus Anlass seines am 20. November 1905 vollendeten siebenzigsten Lebensjahres*. Gewidmet von Freunden und Verehrern. St. Petersburg 1908.
- Hauck, Albert. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, sechste unveränderte Auflage. Berlin 1952.
- Hazard, Harry W. *Atlas of Islamic History*. Princeton Oriental Studies, XII. Princeton Univ. Press 1951.
- Hedegård, David. *Seder R. Amram Gaon, Part I. Hebrew text with critical apparatus. Translation with notes and introduction*. Motala 1951.

- Hefele, Charles Joseph. *Histoire des Conciles d'après les évènements originaux*. Transl. and enlarged by H. Leclercq. III, pt. 2 (Paris 1910); IV, pt. 1, 2 (Paris 1911); V, pt. 1 (Paris 1912).
- Heldmann, Karl. *Das Kaisertum Karls des Grossen. Theorien und Wirklichkeit*. Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit, VI, Pt. 2. Weimar 1928.
- Herlihy, David. "Church Property on the European Continent, 701-1200." *Speculum*, XXXVI (1961), 81-105.
- Sancti Hieronimi presbyteri *Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos quattuordecim* Ed. Germanus (Germain) Morin. *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III, 3. Maredsous 1903.
- Higounet, Charles. "Les Aznar. Une tentative de groupement de comtes gascons et pyrénéens au IX^e siècle." *Annales du Midi*, LXI (1948-49), 5-14.
- . "Review of Jan Dhondt, *Étude sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France*." *Annales du Midi*, LXI (1948-49), 438-40.
- Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. *Opera*. PL, CXXV-CXXVI.
- . *Epistolae*. PL, CXXVI, cols. 9-280.
- . *De Ordine Palatii*. Texte latin. Transl. and annotated by Maurice Prou. BEHE, LVIII. Paris 1885.
- . *Epistolae*, pars prior, *MGH, Epistolarum VIII. Karolini aevi VI*. Fasc. I. Berlin 1939.
- Hirsch, Paul. *Die Erhebung Berengars I von Friaul zum König in Italien*. Inaugural Dissertation. Strasbourg 1910.
- Hlawitschka, Eduard. "Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen" in *Karl der Grosse*, I, 51-82. Ed. Helmut Beumann. 3rd ed. Düsseldorf 1967.
- Holmes, Urban T., Jr. *A History of Old French Literature*. New York 1948.
- Imbart de la Tour, P. *Les élections épiscopales dans l'église de France du IX^e au XII^e siècle*. Paris 1890.
- Ibn el-Athir. *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*. Ed. and transl. E. Fagnan. Algiers 1898.
- Isidor of Seville, Bishop. *De Fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Judaeos*. PL, LXXXIII, cols. 450-538.
- Isidorus Mercator. *Collectio Decretalium. Decretales Pseudoisidorianae*. Ed. Heinrich Danziger. PL, CXXX. Paris 1853.
- Jacobs, Alfred. "Note sur le commerce en Gaule au temps de Dagobert d'après des diplômes merovingiens," *Revue Archéologique*, new series, IV (July-December 1861), 187-95.

- Jaffé, Philipp, and Wattenbach, Wilhelm (eds.). *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesiae ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, I. 2nd ed. Leipsic 1885.
- Jarry, Eugène. *Provinces et pays de France*. Essai de géographie historique. 2 vols. Paris 1940-43.
- John VIII, Pope (872-82). *Epistolae*. MGH, Epistolarum VII, Karolini aevi V, pp. 313-29. Berlin 1928.
- . *Epistolae et Decreta*. PL, CXXVI, cols. 651-966.
- Jonckbloet, W. J. A. *Guillaume d'Orange*. Chansons de geste des XI^e et XII^e siècles. II. The Hague 1854.
- Joranson, Einar. *The Danegeld in France*. Reprinted from Augustana Library Publications No. 10. Rock Island, Illinois 1923.
- . "The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine," *AHR*, XXXII (1927), 241-61.
- Judah b. Barzilai al-Barceloni. *Sepher ha'Ittm* (Book of Times). Ed. Jakob Schorr. Cracow 5663/1902-03.
- Julian Archbishop of Toledo. *Historia rebellionis adversus Wambam Gothorum regem*, ed. Wilhelm Levison. MGH SS V, pp. 500-35. Hanover and Leipsic 1910.
- . *De Comprobatione aetatis sextae*. PL, XCVI, cols. 537-86.
- Juster, Jean. *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain. Leur condition juridique, économique et sociale*. 2 vols., Paris 1914.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*. University of California Publications in History, 33. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1946.
- Karl der Grosse. *Lebenswerk und Nachleben*. Ed. Wolfgang Braunfels. I. *Persönlichkeit und Geschichte*, ed. Helmut Beumann. 3rd ed. Düsseldorf 1967.
- Katz, Solomon. "Pope Gregory the Great and the Jews," *JQR*, XXIV (1933-34), 113-36.
- . *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*. Cambridge, Mass. 1937.
- Kaufmann, David. "Lettres de Scheschet b. Isaac . . . aux princes Kalonymos et Lévi de Narbonne," *REJ*, XXXIX (1899), 62-75, 217-25.
- Kaysersling, Meyer. "Eleasar und Alvaro. Ein Fragment," *MGWJ*, IX (1860), 241-51.
- Kehr, Paul F. *Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon*. Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926. Philosophisch-historische Klasse No. 1. Berlin 1926.

- . (ed.). *Die Urkunden Karls III 876–87. MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolorum*. Vol. II parts 1–2. Berlin 1936–37.
- Kern, Fritz. *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie*. 2nd ed. Rudolf Buchner. Münster and Cologne 1954.
- Kisch, Guido. *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status*. Chicago 1949.
- . "Research in Medieval Legal History of the Jews," *PAAJR*, VI (1935), 229–76.
- . "The Jewry Law of the Medieval German Law-Books," *PAAJR*, VII (1936), 61–145; X (1940), 99–184.
- Kleeberg, Georg. *Untersuchungen zu den Urkunden Karls des Grossen*. Borna-Leipzig 1913.
- Kleinclausz, Arthur. "La légende du protectorat de Charlemagne sur la terre sainte," *Syria*, VII (1926), 211–33.
- . *Charlemagne*. Paris 1934.
- Kok, Bertha Louise de. *Guibourg et quelques autres figures de femmes dans les plus anciennes chansons de geste*. Paris 1926.
- Königer, Albert M. "Zu den Beschlüssen der Synoden von Meaux 845 und Koblenz 922," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*. XXXI (1906), 379–98.
- Kruse, Hans. "Die Begründung der islamischen Völkerrechtslehre. Muḥammad aš-Saibānī—'Hugo Grotius der Moslimen.'" *Saeculum*, V (1954), 221–41.
- Lair, Jules (ed.). *Historia d'Adémar de Chabannes. Études critiques sur divers textes des X^e et XI^e siècles*, II. Paris 1899.
- Lange-Kowal, Ernst-Erwin. *Das altfranzösische Epos vom "Charroi de Nîmes"*. Handschrift D. Jena 1934.
- Langlois, Ernest (ed.). *Le Couronnement de Louis*. Chanson de Geste. Paris 1888. Société des anciens textes français, XXVII.
- Latouche, Robert. *Études médiévales. Le Haut Moyen Âge. La France de l'Ouest. Des Pyrénées aux Alpes*. Université de Grenoble publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, vol. 42. Paris 1966.
- Lauer, Philippe. "Lettre close de Charles le Chauve pour les 'Barcelonais,'" *BEC*, LXIII (1902), 696–99.
- . "Note sur divers groupes de diplômés carolingiens concernant le Midi (898–923)." *Bulletin philologique et historique de la Commission des Travaux historiques*. 1922–23 (Paris 1925), 13–23.
- . "Les actes carolingiens suspects de l'abbaye de la Grasse, conservés

- à la Bibliothèque Nationale." *Bulletin de la Commission des Travaux historiques*, 1926-27. (Paris 1928), 219-32.
- Laurent, Paul (ed.). *Livre vert de l'archevêché de Narbonne*. Paris 1886.
- Lehmann, Paul. "Das literarische Bild Karls des Grossen vornehmlich im lateinischen Schrifttum des Mittelalters," in his *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*. Leipsic 1941.
- Leonardi, Josef. *Agobard von Lyon und seine politische Publizistik*. Vienna 1927.
- Lesne, Emil. *La Hierarchie épiscopale: Provinces, métropolitains, primats en Gaule et Germanie depuis la réforme de saint Boniface jusqu'à la mort d'Hincmar. 742-882*. Mémoires et travaux pub. par des professeurs des Facultés catholiques de Lille fasc. 1. Paris 1905.
- . "Hincmar et l'Empereur Lothaire," *Revue des questions historiques*, LXXVIII (1905), 5-58.
- . *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*. 4 vols. in 6. Lille and Paris 1910-38.
- Lévi, Israel. "L'origine davidique de Hillel," *REJ*, XXXI (1895), 202-11; XXXIII (1896), 143-44.
- . "Le roi juif de Narbonne et le Philomène," *REJ*, XLVIII (1904), 197-207.
- . "Encore un mot sur le roi juif de Narbonne," *REJ*, XLIX (1904), 147-50.
- . "Les Juifs de France du milieu du IX^e siècle aux croisades," *REJ*, LII (1906), 161-68.
- Levillain, Léon. "La translation des reliques de saint Austremoine à Mozac et le diplôme de Pépin II d'Aquitaine (863)," *Le Moyen Age*, XVII (1904), 281-337.
- , (ed.). *Recueil des actes de Pépin I^{er} et de Pépin II Rois d'Aquitaine (814-848)*. Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France, VIII. Paris 1926.
- . "L'avènement de la dynastie carolingienne et les origines de l'état pontifical (749-757)," *BEC*, XCIV (1933), 225-95.
- . "De quelques personnages nommés Bernard dans les Annales d'Hincmar," *Mélanges Félix Grat*. Paris 1946.
- . "Les personnages du nom de Bernard dans la second moitié du IX^e siècle," *Le Moyen Age*, LIII (1947), 197-242; LIV (1948), 1-35.
- Lévi-Provençal, Evariste. *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I. Cairo 1944.
- . *La Péninsule ibérique au moyen-âge, d'après le Kitâb ar-Rawd al*

- mi'tār fi ḥabar al-aḳṭār d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī*. Leyden 1938.
- Levison, Wilhelm. "Zu den Annales Mettenses," *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, 9–21. Historische Studien 238. Ed. Emil Ebering. Berlin 1933.
- . "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-Legende." In his *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit*. Düsseldorf 1948.
- Levy, Reuben. *A Baghdad Chronicle: Social and Political History of Baghdad under the 'Abbasid Caliphs*. Cambridge 1929.
- Lewin, Benjamin Menasseh. *Otsar ha-Geonim. Thesaurus of the Gaonic Responsa and Commentaries, following the Order of the Talmudic Tractates*. Vols. I–XIII. Haifa-Jerusalem 1928–43.
- Lewis, Archibald R. *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500–1000*. Princeton 1951.
- . *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050*. Austin 1965, University of Texas Press.
- Lewis, Bernard. "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, XIII (1949–50), 308–38.
- Lilienfein, Heinrich. *Die Anschauungen von Staat und Kirche im Reich der Karolinger*. Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte, I. Heidelberg 1902.
- Lintzel, Martin. "Die Zeit der Entstehung von Einhards Vita Karoli," *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Robert Holtzmann zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, 22–42. Historische Studien, 238. Ed. Emil Ebering. Berlin 1933.
- Loeb, Isidore. "R. Matitya Ha-Yiḥari," *REJ*, VII (1883), 153–55.
- . "Notes sur l'histoire des Juifs. VIII.—Juda, Juif catalan du IX^e siècle," *REJ*, X (1885), 248.
- . "Polémistes chrétiens et juifs en France et en Espagne," *REJ*, XVIII (1889), 43–70.
- Loewenfeld, Samuel (ed.). *Epistolae pontificum romanorum ineditae*. Leipsic 1885.
- Longnon, Auguste. *Atlas historique de la France*. Texte 1^{re} partie. Paris 1885.
- Longpérier, Ad. de. "Notice sur quelques sceaux juifs bilingues," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Année 1872. Comptes rendus. Third series, I. Paris 1873, 235–40.
- Lot, Ferdinand. "Une année du règne de Charles le Chauve (866)." *Le Moyen Age*, 2^e série, XV (1902), 392–438.

- . "Orson de Beauvais." *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 577-83.
- Lot, Ferdinand. *Fidèles ou vassaux? Essai sur la nature juridique du lien qui unissait les grands vassaux à la royauté depuis le milieu du IX^e jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle*. Paris 1904.
- . Review of Joseph Calmette, *De Bernardo sancti Guillelmi filio* (?-844), *Le Moyen Age*, XVII (1904), 148-54.
- . "Sur la date de la translation des reliques de sainte Foi d'Agen à Conques," *Annales du Midi*, XVI (1904), 502-08.
- . *La grande invasion normande de 856-862*. BEC, LXIX. 1908.
- . *La Loire, l'Aquitaine et la Seine de 862 à 866 et Robert le Fort*. BEC, LXXVI. 1915.
- . "Les tributs aux Normands et l'église de France aux IX^e siècle," *BEC*, LXXXV (1924), 58-78.
- . *Études carolingiennes. Les comtes d'Auvergne entre 846 et 877. Les comtes d'Autun entre 864 et 878*. BEC, CII. 1941.
- . "Le cycle de Guillaume d'Orange," *Études sur les légendes épiques françaises*. Paris 1958, 239-59.
- , and Halphen, Louis. *Le règne de Charles le Chauve (840-877)*. Première partie (840-851). Paris 1909.
- Lot, Ferdinand, Pfister, Christian, and Ganshof, François L. *Les Destinées de l'empire en occident de 395 à 768; de 768 à 888*. Histoire du Moyen Age. I, Part 1, 2. 2nd ed. rev. Paris 1940, 1941.
- Louis, René. "L'épopée française est carolingienne," *Coloquios de Roncesvalles*. August 1955. Saragossa 1956, 327-460.
- Lüders, Wilhelm. "Capella. Die Hofkapelle der Karolinger bis zur Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts," *AfUf* II (1909), 1-100.
- Luzzatto, Philoxème. *Notice sur Abou-Iousouf Hasdai Ibn-Shaprut*. Paris 1852.
- Madoz, José (ed.). *Epistolario de Alvaro de Cordoba*. Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Patristica I. Madrid 1947.
- Magnes Anniversary Book. Sefer Magnes*. Contributions by Members of the Academic Staff of the Hebrew University. Jerusalem 1938.
- Mahler, Eduard. *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*. Leipsic 1916.
- Makhir b. Abba Mari. *Yalkut ha-Makhiri*, ed. Solomon Buber. Berditchev 1879.
- Malbos, Lina. "L'annaliste royal sous Louis le Pieux," *Le Moyen Age*, LXXII (1966), 225-33.
- Manitius, Max. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Erster Teil. Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts. Munich 1911.

- Mann, Jacob. "The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a Source of Jewish History," *JQR*, VII (1916-17), 457-90; VIII (1917-18), 339-66; IX (1918-19), 139-79; X (1919-20), 121-51, 309-65; XI (1920-21), 433-71.
- . *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatamid Caliphs*. 2 vols., Oxford 1920-22.
- . "Gaonic Studies," *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*. Cincinnati 1925, pp. 223-62.
- . *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*. I, Cincinnati 1931; II, Philadelphia 1935.
- Mansi, J. D. (ed.). *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. 53 vols., Florence 1757-Paris 1927.
- Le Manuel de Dhuda* (843). Ed. Edouard Bondurand. Paris 1887.
- Marca, Petrus de. *Marca Hispanica sive limes Hispanicus, hoc est geographica et historica descriptio Cataloniae, Ruscinonis et circumjacentium populorum ab anno 817 ad annum 1258*. Ed. Stephan Baluze. Paris 1688.
- Margoliouth, George. "Some British Museum Genizah Texts," *JQR*, o.s. XIV (1901-02), 303-20.
- Margaliot, Mordecai. *Sefer Hilkhot Hannagid* (A collection of the extant Halakhic writings of R. Shmuel Ḥannagid). Jerusalem, 1962.
- Margel, Moses. *Der Segen Jakobs. Midrasch Bereschith Rabba übersetzt und kritisch behandelt*. Berlin 1900.
- Martène, Edmund, and Durand, Ursinus (eds.). *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima Collectio*. V. Paris 1729.
- Marx, Alexander. *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amrams*. I. Berlin 1908.
- . "Der arabische Bustanai-Bericht und Nathan ha-Babli," *Livre d'hommage . . . Poznanski*. Warsaw 1927, pp. 76-81.
- . "The Importance of the Geniza for Jewish History," *PAAJR* (1947), 183-204.
- Mayer, Theodor. "Staatsauffassung in der Karolingerzeit." *HZ*, CLXXIII (1952), 467-84.
- McMillan, Duncan (ed.). *La Chanson de Guillaume*. 2 vols. Société des anciens textes français, XCV. Paris 1950.
- Melchior, Georges. *Les Établissements des Espagnols dans les Pyrénées méditerranéennes au VIII^e et IX^e siècles*. Montpellier 1919.
- Menard, M. *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la Ville de Nîmes*. I. Paris 1750.

- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *La Chanson de Roland et la tradition épique des Francs*. 2nd ed. Paris 1960.
- Merx, Adalbertus (ed.). *Chrestomathia Targumica quam collatis libris manuscriptis antiquissimis tiberiensibus editionibusque impressis celeberrimis ad codices vocalibus babilonicis instructos*. Porta Linguarum orientalium, Pars VIII. Berlin 1888.
- Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.). *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series latina. 221 vols. Paris 1844–61.
- Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep-Maria. "Els textos d'historiadors musulmans referents a la Catalunya carolíngia," *Quaderns d'Estudi*, XIV (1922), 125–61.
- . "Documents hebraics de Jueus catalans," *Memòries*. Institut d'estudis catalans, secció historico-arqueològica. I, fasc. 3. Barcelona 1927.
- Mirot, Leon. *Manuel de géographie historique de la France*. I, 2nd ed. Paris 1948.
- Molinier, Auguste. "Un diplôme interpolé de Charles de Chauve," *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 67–76. Paris 1895.
- Monachus Sangallensis. *De gestis Caroli Magni libri duo*. Ed. Georg H. Pertz, *MGH SS.*, II, pp. 731–63.
- Monfrin, J. "Les études de Ferdinand Lot sur les légendes épiques françaises," *BEC*, CXIX (1961), 245–55.
- Moniage Guillaume*. *Les deux rédactions en vers; chansons de geste du XII^e siècle* pub. d'après tous les Manuscrits connus par Wilhelm Cloetta. 2 vols. Paris 1906–11. Société des anciens textes français, LVI.
- Monod, Gabriel. "Les mœurs judiciaires au VIII^e siècle. D'après la *Parænesis ad Judices* de Théodulf," *Revue historique*, XXXV (1887), 1–20.
- . "Hilduin et les Annales Einhardi," *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 57–65. Paris 1895.
- Morin, D. G. "L'écrivain carolingien Hemmon et sa collection d'extraits des Pères pour Saint Guillaume de Gellone," *Revue Charlemagne* II (1912), 116–26.
- Mühlbacher, Engelbert. "Die Urkunden Karls III," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-historische Classe, XCII. Vienna 1879, 331–516.
- Müller, Joel. "Die Responsen des R. Meschullam, Sohn des R. Kalonymos." *Elfster Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin* erstattet vom Curatorium. Berlin 1893. Offprint pp. 1–16.

- Müller, Joel. *Maftē'ah liteshubhot haGeonim* (Einleitung in die Responsen der babylonischen Geonen). Berlin 1891.
- Mundy, John H. *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050-1230*. New York 1954.
- Munz, Peter. *The Origin of the Carolingian Empire*. University of Otago Press, Dunedin, New Zealand 1960.
- Murphy, Francis X. "Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain," *Speculum*, XXVII (1952), 1-27.
- Narberhaus, Josef. *Benedikt von Aniane: Werk und Persönlichkeit*. Münster i. W. 1930.
- Narbonne, Louis. *La Cathédrale Saint-Just de Narbonne*. Narbonne 1901.
- Neubauer, Adolph. "Rapport sur une mission dans le Midi de la France à l'effet de cataloguer les manuscrits hébreux qui s'y trouvent, et en Italie . . .," *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3rd series, I (Paris 1873).
- . "Documents inédits," *REJ*, X (1885), 79-107.
- . *Medieval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes*. 2 vols. Anecdota Oxoniensia. Documents and Extracts Chiefly from Manuscripts in the Bodleian and Other Oxford Libraries. Semitic Series, Vol. I, pts. IV and VI. Oxford, 1887-95.
- . "Early Settlement of the Jews in Southern Italy," *JQR*, o.s. IV (1892), 606-25.
- . "Literature of Responsa," *JQR*, o.s. V (1893), 694. Review of Joel Müller, *Die Responsen des R. Mesullam Sohn des R. Kalonymos*.
- . "Egyptian Fragments," Appendix I, *JQR*, o.s. VIII (1896), 551-55.
- Neuman, Abraham A. *The Jews in Spain*, 2 vols. Philadelphia 1942.
- Neustadt, D. "Some Problems concerning the 'Negidut' in Egypt during the Middle Ages" (Hebrew), *Zion*, IV (1938-39), 126-49.
- Nicholas I, Pope. *Epistolae*. Ed. Ernest Perels, *MGH*. Epistolarum VI, Karolini aevi IV. Berlin 1925.
- Nickel, Walther. *Untersuchungen über die Quellen, den Wert und den Verfasser der Vita Hludovici des "Astronomus"*. Inaugural Dissertation, University of Berlin, June 23, 1919.
- Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*. Ed. and tr. Philippe Lauer. Paris 1926.
- Notker Balbulus of St. Gall (ca. 840-912). *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*. Ed. Hans F. Haefele. (Notker der Stammler, *Taten Kaiser Karls der Grossen*.) *MGH*. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series, XII. Berlin 1959.

- Odegaard, Charles E. "Carolingian Oaths of Fidelity," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 284-96.
- . *Vassi and Fideles in the Carolingian Empire*. Harvard Historical Monographs, XIX. Cambridge, Mass. 1945.
- Oelsner, Ludwig. *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin*. Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte, IV. Leipsic 1871.
- Oelsner, Toni. "Wilhelm Roscher's Theory of the Economic and Social Position of the Jews in the Middle Ages," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, XII (1958-59), 176-95.
- Paris, Gaston. *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*. Paris 1905.
- Paris, Paulin. *Manuscripts français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, III. Paris 1840.
- Parisot, Robert. *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens (843-923)*. Paris 1899.
- Parkes, James. *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origin of Antisemitism*. London 1934.
- . *The Jew in the Medieval Community. A Study of His Political and Economic Situation*. London 1938.
- Paschasius Radbertus. *Expositio in Evangelium Matthaei*, PL, CXX, cols. 31-994.
- . *Ex Vita Walae Abbatis Corbeiensis, Epitaphium Arsenii*, MGH SS, II. Ed. Georg H. Pertz, pp. 533-69.
- Perlmann, M. "Eleventh Century Andalusian Authors on the Jews of Granada," *PAAJR*, XVIII (1949), 269-90.
- Pesikta Rabbati*, ed. Meir Friedmann. Vienna 5640/1879-80.
- Peter the Venerable. *Tractatus adversus Judaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, PL, CLXXXIX, cols. 507-650.
- Pines, S. "Une notice sur les Rech Galuta chez un écrivain arabe de IX^e siècle," *REJ*, C (1936), 71-73.
- Pirenne, Henri. *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. New York 1939.
- . *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne par ses anciens élèves*. Brussels 1937.
- Ponsich, Parre. "Le domaine foncier de St. Michel de Cuxa aux IX^e, X^e, XI^e s.," *Études roussillonnaises*, II (1950), 67-100.
- Port, Célestin. *Histoire du commerce maritime de Narbonne*. Paris 1854.
- Posnanski, Adolph. *Schilo, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre*. Erster Teil. *Die Auslegung von Genesis 49.10 im Altertume bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*. Leipsic 1904.
- Posse, Otto. *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*. 5 Vols., Dresden 1909-13. I: 751-1347. Dresden 1909; V: *Das Siegel-*

- wesen der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1913. Dresden 1913.
- Post, Gaines. "Some Unpublished Glosses (ca. 1210-14) on the *Translatio Imperii* and the Two Swords," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, CXVII (1937), 403-29.
- . "'Blessed Lady Spain'—Vincentius Hispanus and Spanish National Imperialism in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 198-209.
- Poupardin, René. *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, BEHE, CXXXI. Paris 1901.
- . "Une charte inédite de Bernard Plantevelue," *Annales du Midi*, XIV (1902), 350-53.
- Poux, Joseph. *La Cité de Carcassonne histoire et description. Les origines jusqu'à l'avènement des comtes de la maison de Barcelone* (1067). Toulouse 1922.
- Poznański, Samuel A. "Ein Wort über das *Ma'aseh haMakhiri*," *MGWJ*, XLI (1897), 456-60.
- . "Varia on the Geonic Period," 4. Rabh Eleazar berabh Shemuel (Hebrew), *Hakadem. Vierteljahrsschrift für die Kunde des alten Orients und die Wissenschaft des Judentums*. II (1908), 98-99.
- . "Men of Kairouan," (Hebrew). *Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr. A. Harkavy*. Hebrew section, pp. 175-220. St. Petersburg 1908.
- . *Livre d'hommage à la mémoire du Dr. Samuel Poznański (1864-1921). Offert par les amis et les compagnons du travail scientifique*. Warsaw 1927. Hebrew title: *Sefer Zikkaron*. . . . Title also in Polish.
- La Prise d'Orange according to MS. A1 Bibliothèque Nationale Française 774* . . . ed. Blanche Katz. New York 1947.
- Pückert, Wilhelm. *Aniane und Gellone*. Leipsic 1899.
- Rahn, J. Rudolph. *Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz. Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Schluss des Mittelalters*. Zurich 1876.
- . *Das Psalterium Aureum von Sanct Gallen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der karolingischen Miniaturmalerei*. Historischer Verein des Kantons St. Gallen. St. Gall 1878.
- Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple Roi de France*. Ed. Ferdinand Lot. I (Texts). Paris 1940. II (Introduction and Index). Paris 1949. Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France. Ed. Philippe Lauer.
- Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*. Eds. Aug. Bernard and Alex. Bruel. 5 vols., Paris 1876-94.

- Régné, Jean. *Étude sur la condition des Juifs de Narbonne du V^e au XIV^e siècle*. Narbonne 1912.
- . "Catalogue des actes de Jaime 1^{er}, Pedro III et Alfonso III, rois d'Aragon, concernant les Juifs (1213-1291)," *REJ*, LXVI (1913), 61-88, 196-223; LXVII (1913), 252-62.
- Reinach, Theodore. "Inscription juive de Narbonne," *REJ*, o.s. XIX (1889), 75-83.
- Reinaud, [Joseph T.] "Incursions of the Muslims into France, Piedmont and Switzerland." Transl. H. K. Sherman. *Islamic Culture* IV (1930), 100-13; 251-73; 397-422; 588-624; V (1931), 71-112; 472-95.
- Riché, Pierre. "Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens," *Le Moyen Age*, LXIX (1963), 87-104.
- Richer of Rheims, *Historiarum Libri IIII*. Ed. and transl. Robert Latouche. Richer, *Histoire de France (888-995)* I, II. Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, XII, XVII. Paris 1930, 1937.
- Roche, Louis. "Une chronologie inédite des abbés de Saint-Guilhem-du-Désert," *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire religieuses . . . de Mgr de Cabrières*, I. Paris 1899, 195-229.
- Rosenthal, Judah. "Karaites and Karaism in Western Europe (Hebrew)," *Sefer haYobhel leRabbi Ḥanokh Albeck . . . lim'lot lo shib'im shanah* (Jubilee Volume for R. Ḥanokh Albeck on His Seventieth Birthday), 425-27. Jerusalem 1963.
- Rossi, Giovanni B. de. *Mss codices hebraici . . . I*. Parma 1803.
- Rovira i Virgili, Antoni. *Hostòria nacional de Catalunya*, I, II, III (Barcelona 1922-24).
- Runciman, Steven. "Charlemagne and Palestine," *EHR*, L (1935), 606-19.
- Sabarthès, L'Abbé. *Dictionnaire topographique du Département de l'Aude*. Paris 1912.
- Sage, Carleton M. *Paul Albar of Cordoba: Studies on His Life and Writings*. The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval History, New Series, Vol. V. Washington, D.C. 1943.
- Saige, Gustave. "De la condition des Juifs dans le comté de Toulouse . . .," *BEC*, XXXIX. 1878, 432-80.
- . *Les Juifs du Languedoc antérieurement au XIV^e siècle*. Paris 1881.
- Sambari, Joseph b. Isaac. *Chronicle*. Ed. Adolph Neubauer in his *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*. Anecdota Oxoniensia. Semitic Series I, part v, pp. 115 ff. Oxford 1887.
- Samostz, Emanuel. *Des heiligen Agobard, Bischofs zu Lyon, Abhandlungen*

- wider die Juden. In Briefform. Aus dem Lateinischen übertragen. Leipsic 1852.
- Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *La España Musulmana según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales*, I. 2nd ed. corrected and enlarged, Buenos Aires 1960.
- Schechter, Solomon. *Saadyana. Geniza Fragments of Writings of R. Saadya Gaon and Others*. Cambridge 1903.
- Schirmann, Chaim E. (Jefim). *HaShirah haIvrit biSefarad u-baProvence* (Hebrew Poetry in Spain and the Provence), I, part 1, 2nd ed. Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv 1954, 1960.
- . "Samuel Hannagid, the Man, the Soldier, the Politician," *JSS*, XIII (1951), 99–126.
- Schmidt, Karl Ludwig. "'Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς κολαφιζόμενος und die 'colaphisation' der Juden," *Aux Sources de la tradition chrétienne. Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel* (Neuchâtel and Paris 1950), 218–27.
- Schneegans, F. Ed. or Eduard. *Die Quellen des sogenannten Pseudo-Philomena und des Officiums von Gerona zu Ehren Karls des Grossen*. Strasbourg 1891.
- . *Über die Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Epos*. Halle a.d.S. 1897.
- . (ed.). *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*. Romanische Bibliothek. Hrsg. von Dr. Wendelin Foerster. XV. Halle a.d.S. 1898.
- Schorr, Joshua Heschel (also, O.H.). "R. Nissim son of R. Mosheh of Marseilles," (Hebrew), *He-Haluts*, VII (1865), 89–144.
- Schramm, Percy Ernst. *Die zeitgenössischen Bildnisse Karls des Grossen*. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, XXIX. Leipsic and Berlin 1928.
- . "Ordines-Studien II: Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und den Franzosen," *AfUf*, XV (1938), 3–55.
- . *Der König von Frankreich. Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. Weimar 1939. 2nd ed. rev. 1960.
- . *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio. Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit*. I. Teil: Studien. II. Teil: Exkurse und Texte. Leipsic and Berlin 1929. 2nd ed. Studien only. Darmstadt 1957.
- Schrörs, Heinrich. *Hinkmar Erzbischof von Reims. Sein Leben und seine Schriften*. Freiburg im Breisgau 1884.
- Schubert, Hans von. *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter*. Tübingen 1921.

- Schwab, Moise and Miret, Joachim. "Le plus ancien document à présent connu des Juifs catalans." *BRABLB*, VIII (1915), 229-33.
- Seder Eliyahu Rabba*. Ed. Meir Friedmann. Vienna 1903-04.
- Sefer haEshkol*. Eds. Shalom and Hanokh Albeck. Jerusalem 5698/1937-38.
- Sefer Sha'are Tsedek* (Responsa). Salonika 1792.
- Sefer Tahkemoni* (Iudae Harizii Macamae). Ed. Paul de Lagarde. Hanover 1924.
- Serrano y Sanz. *Noticias y documentos históricos del condado de Ribagorza hasta la muerte de Sancho Garces III (Año 1035)*. Madrid 1912.
- Sherira Gaon. *Iggeret* (Epistle on the Chain of Tradition). Ed. Benjamin Menasseh Lewin. Arranged in Two Versions with Variations and Notes. Haifa 1920-21.
- Sickel, Theodor. *Acta Regum et Imperatorum Karolinorum Digesta et Enarrata*. Die Urkunden der Karolinger gesammelt und bearbeitet, 2 vols. I: *Urkundenlehre*. II: *Urkundenregesten*. Vienna 1867.
- Silver, Abba H. *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel*. New York 1927.
- Simson, Bernhard v. *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Ludwig dem Frommen*. I: 814-830. II: 831-840. Leipzig 1874-76.
- Soetbeer, Ad. "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geld- und Münzwesens in Deutschland. Part IV: Geld- und Münzwesen im fränkischen Reich unter den Karolingern," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, IV (1864), 241-354; VI (1866), 1-112 (Schluss).
- Soldevila, Ferran. *Història de Catalunya*. Barcelona 1934.
- Sommer, Walter. *Inhalt, Tendenz und kirchenrechtlicher Erfolg der Pseudo-Isidorischen Dekreten-Sammlung*. Halle a.d. Saale 1902.
- Sprengler, Anneliese. "Die Gebete der Krönungsordines Hinkmars von Rheims für Karl den Kahlen als König von Lothringen und für Ludwig den Stammler," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXIII (1950-51), 245-67.
- Stansbury, Milton H. *Foreign Languages and Interpreters in the Chansons de Geste*. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Department of Romanic Languages and Literatures No. 18. Philadelphia 1926.
- Stein, S. "A Disputation on Money lending between Jews and Gentiles in Me'ir b. Simeon's Milhemeth Mišwah (Narbonne 13th century)," *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, X (1959), 45-61.
- Steinschneider, Moritz. "Apocalypsen mit polemischer Tendenz," *ZDMG*, XXVIII (1874), 626-59.
- . "An Introduction to the Arabic Literature of the Jews," *JQR*, o.s. IX (1897), 224-39, 604-30; X (1898), 119-38, 513-40; XI (1899), 115-49, 305-43, 480-89, 585-625.

- Stone, Edward Noble. *The Song of William: La Chançon de Guillelme*. Seattle 1951.
- Stutz, Ulrich. *Geschichte des kirchlichen Benefizialwesens von seinen Anfängen bis auf die Zeit Alexanders III*, I. Stuttgart 1895.
- . "Das karolingische Zehntgebot," *ZSRG*, germ. Abteilung, XXIX (1908), 180-224.
- Suchier, Hermann. Review of Ed. F. Schneegans (ed.), *Gesta Karoli Magni*, in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XXI (1900), 174-78.
- . "Vivien," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXIX (1905), 641-82; XXXII (1908), 734-42.
- . (ed.). *La Chançon de Guillelme: Französisches Volksepos des XI. Jahrhunderts kritisch herausgegeben*. Bibliotheca Normannica. Denkmäler normannischer Literatur und Sprache, VIII. Halle 1911.
- Tam, Jacob b. Meir. *Sefer haYashar* (Juristic Treatise). Vienna 1811.
- Täubler, Eugen. "Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland im Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Gesamtarchivs der deutschen Juden*, IV (1913), 31-62. "Nachtrag," 186.
- . "Zur Handelsbedeutung der Juden in Deutschland vor Beginn des Städtewesens I. II." *Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag Martin Philippons*. Herausgegeben vom Vorstande der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums. Leipsic 1916.
- Teshubhot ha-Geonim* (Geonic Responsa). Ed. Abraham A. Harkavy. Pt. 1 *Zikkaron Larishonim*. Berlin 1887.
- Teshubhot ha-Geonim* (Geonic Responsa). Lyck 5624/1863-64.
- Teshubhot geoné mizrah u-ma'arabh* (Responsa of Eastern and Western Geonim). Ed. Joel Müller. Berlin 1888.
- Tessier, Georges (ed.). *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve Roi de France*. 3 vols. Paris 1942-55. I: 840-860; II: 861-877; III: *Introduction et table*. Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France, VIII-X.
- Theganus, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*. Ed. Georg H. Pertz, *MGH SS.*, II, pp. 585-604.
- . *Gesta Domini Ludovici imperatoris*, ed. Martin Bouquet, *RdHdF*, VI.
- Theodulf Bishop of Orleans. *Versus contra iudices*, *MGH*, Poetae Latini, I. Berlin 1881.
- Thomas, Louis-J. "Vue générale sur l'histoire de Narbonne," *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie Narbonnaises*. Centenaire de la Commission archéologique de Narbonne. *BCAN*, XVIII (1934), xcv-cxx.

- Thomas of Monmouth. *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*. Eds. and transl. Augustus Jessopp and Montague R. James. Cambridge 1896.
- Tisset, Pierre. *L'Abbaye de Gellone au diocèse de Lodève des origines au XIII^e siècle*. Paris 1933.
- Torre, Antonio de la. "La Reconquista en el Pirineo." *La Reconquista española y la repoblación del país*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas. Escuela de Estudios Medievales, XV. Saragossa 1951, 11-38.
- Tournal, M. *Catalogue du Musée de Narbonne et notes historiques sur cette ville*. Narbonne and Paris 1864.
- Tykocinski, H. "Bustanai the Exilarch" (Hebrew), *Debir*, I (1923), 145-79.
- Tyler, Elizabeth S. "Notes on the Chançon de Willame," *Romanic Review*, IX (1918), 396-429.
- Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, pt. 2. Ed. D. v. Gladiss, *MGH, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, VI, pt. 2. Weimar 1952.
- Die Urkunden der Karolinger*. Ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, *MGH, Diplomatum Karolinorum*, I. Hanover 1906.
- Valls i Taberner, F. *Els orogens dels comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça*, Barcelona 1918.
- . "Un diplôme de Charles le Chauve pour Suniaire comte d'Ampurias-Roussillon," *Le Moyen Age*, XXX (1919), 211-18.
- Vernet, André. *Un nouveau manuscrit du "Manuel" de Dhuoda* (Barcelona, Biblioteca Central 569). *BEC*, CXIV. Paris 1957, 18-44.
- Vita Hludowici imperatoris*. Ed. Georg H. Pertz, *MGH, SS*, II, pp. 607-48.
- Vita S. Austremonii, Acta Sanctorum*, Novembris I. Paris 1887, pp. 49-73.
- Vita S. Willelmi Monachi Gellonensis. Acta Sanctorum*, Maii Tomus VI. Paris-Rome 1866.
- Vita Willelmi Gellonensis*. Ed. Georg Waitz. *MGH, SS XV*, pars 1, pp. 211-13. Hanover 1887.
- Vitalis, Ordericus Angligencie Coenobii Uticensi Monachus. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Libri Tredecim*. Ed. August Le Prevost. Société de l'histoire de France, Vol. III, Liber VI. Paris 1845. Transl. Thomas Forester, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, II. London 1854.
- Vogelstein, Hermann, and Rieger, Paul. *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*. 2 vols., Berlin 1895-96.

- Volkman, Hans. "Der Zweite nach dem König," *Philologus. Zeitschrift für das Klassische Altertum*, XCII (1937-38), (N.F. XLVI), 285-316.
- Voretzch, Karl. *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature*. Authorized translation from the third and last German edition. New York 1931.
- Waitz, Georg. *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, II, pt. 1, 3rd ed. Kiel 1882; III, 2nd ed., rev. Berlin 1883; IV, 2nd ed. rev. Berlin 1885.
- Wallach, Luitpold. *Alcuin and Charlemagne. Studies in Carolingian History and Literature*. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology XXXII. Ithaca 1959.
- Wallasch, Joachim. "Königtum, Adel und Kloster im Berry während des 10. Jahrhunderts," *Neue Forschungen über Cluny und die Cluniacenser*, ed. Gerd Tellenbach. Freiburg im Breisgau 1959.
- Warnheim, W. ed. *Kebhutsat Hakhamim. Wissenschaftliche Aufsätze in hebräisch-talmudischer Sprache, enthalten Geschichte, Exegese und Dogmatik*, I. Vienna 1861.
- Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Vorzeit und Karolinger*. I. *Die Vorzeit von den Anfängen bis zur Herrschaft der Karolinger*. Ed. Wilhelm Levison. II. *Die Karolinger vom Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen*. Eds. Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe. III. *Die Karolinger vom Tode Karls des Grossen bis zum Vertrag von Verdun*. Ed. Heinz Löwe. Weimar 1952-57.
- Weil, Gustave. *Geschichte der Chalifen nach handschriftlichen grösstentheils noch unbenützten Quellen bearbeitet*, II. Mannheim 1848.
- . *Geschichte der islamitischen Völker von Mohammed bis zur Zeit des Sultan Selim übersichtlich dargestellt*. Stuttgart 1866.
- Weinzierl, Karl. "Erzbischof Hinkmar von Reims als Verfechter des geltenden Rechts," *Episcopus*. Ratisbon 1949, 137-43.
- Wiegand, Friedrich. "Agobard von Lyon und die Judenfrage," *Festschrift seiner Königlichen Hoheit dem Prinzregenten Luitpold von Bayern zum achtzigsten Geburtstage dargebracht von der Universität Erlangen*, I. Theologische Fakultät. Also separate offprint. Erlangen and Leipsic 1901.
- Wilmart, André. "Un livret bénédictin composé à Gellone au commencement du IX^e siècle," *Revue Mabillon*, XII (1922), 119-33.
- . "Lettres de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXIX (1922), 234-45.
- Williams, Schafer. "The Pseudo-Isidorian Problem Today," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 702-07.

- Williams, Schafer. "Le ms Saint-Omer 189 des Fausses Décrétales d'Isidore Mercator," *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, XX (1964), 257-66.
- . "Pseudo-Isidore from the Manuscripts," *The Catholic Historical Review*, LIII (1967), 58-66.
- Winter, Jacob. *Die Stellung der Sklaven bei den Juden in rechtlicher und gesellschaftlicher Beziehung*. Halle 1886.
- Winter, Jacob and Wünsche, August (eds.). *Die jüdische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons. II: Geschichte der rabbinischen Litteratur während des Mittelalters*. Trèves 1894.
- Wolff, Philippe. "Les événements de Catalogne de 798-812 et la chronologie de l'Astronome," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, II (1965), 451-58.
- Worman, E. J. "The Exilarch Bustani," *JQR*, o.s. XX (1907-08), 211-15.
- Wright, Thomas. *Early Travels in Palestine*. London 1848.
- Yalkut haTorah . . . hanikra Shim'oni*. Frankfort on Main 1687.
- Zacuto, Abraham b. Samuel. *Sepher Yuhasin haShalem, Liber Juhasin sive Lexicon Biographicum et Historicum*. Ed. Herschell Filipowski. London and Edinburgh 1857. 2nd ed. Abraham H. Freimann. Frankfort 1925.
- Zuckerman, Arthur J. Review of Allen Cabaniss, *Agobard of Lyons Churchman and Critic*. *Historia Judaica*, XVII (1955), 77-80.
- . "The Nasi of Frankland in the Ninth Century and the Colaphus Judaeorum in Toulouse," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXXIII (1965), 51-82.
- . "The Political Uses of Theology: The Conflict of Bishop Agobard and the Jews of Lyons," in John R. Sommerfeldt (ed.). *Studies in Medieval Culture*, III. The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1970.
- Zunz, Leopold. *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*. Berlin 1865.
- . *Gesammelte Schriften*, III. Berlin 1876.
- . *Ha-Derashot beYisrael* (Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt). Ed. Hanokh Albeck. 2nd ed. Jerusalem 1954.

Index

- Abba, Hebrew name, 128n32
Abba Mari b. Makhir, 121n16
'Abbas, House of, 105
'Abbasid(s), 77, 112; allies of carolingians, 38n3, 76n8, 317; 852 attack Barcelona, 317; invade Umayyad Spain, 74; Israelite battle standard green of, 88n32; -Jewish-Frank control of Narbonne, 88n32; kinsmen of exilarchs, 78 and n10; of Baghdad, 317
Abbo, count of Poitiers, 128; notary of king Louis, 127
Abbot of Aniane, 180; 864 exchanged property with count Bernard, 334; lay, 144n68
'Abd al-Melek, commander of Spanish emir, 182
'Abd ar-Rahman, emir of Spain, 76n8, 126; alliance with Charles Bald, 312; awaited from Spain, 87; besieged Saragossa, 126; carolingian aid vs, 87; consolidation of power, 86; 788 death of, 137; 757 declaration of independence, 38; sent a wali to Narbonne, 88n32; successes of in Spain 11n20; *see also* Emir of Cordova
'Abd ar-Rahman al-Ghafiqi, emir of Cordova, 11
'Abd ar-Rahman II, caliph of Cordova: conspiracy of William with, 313, 314n59; Musa's rebellion vs, 311
'Abd ar-Rahman III, caliph of Cordova, Ibn Shaprut physician to, 256
'Abd ar-Rahman ben Alcamal-Lahmi, 747 rebel wali of Narbonne, 12
'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Habib, foe of Umayyads, 126
'Abd ul-Umar, "magnate of Saragossa," 327
'Abdullah, Arab leader in Spain; proposes to Charlemagne attack south of Pyrenees, 186; to Aix-la-Chapelle, 186
Abodriti, 92
Abraham, patriarch, trait of mercy of, 202n67

- Abraham, sons of in Narbonne, 158; sell property to abbot in Narbonne, 159
- Abraham b. Isaac, head of academy in Narbonne 12th century, 58
- Abraham of Saragossa, 20, 93n42a; act of Louis Débonnaire for, 23, 346n71; cases vs suspended for imperial judgment, 23; *commendatio* to emperor Louis, 23; conferred legal status on others, 24; *privilegium* protected property of, 19, 25; property of, 25n51
- Abu-'Ali Hasan, leader of Jewry in Fustat (750), from Baghdad, 88n32
- Abu Isa al-Isfahani, "messiah," 105n11
- Abu Taurus (Taheer), wali, 137; paid Charles homage, 126
- Academies of Babylonia: challenged authority of exilarchs, 90; correspondence of with "Ispamia," 317; correspondence with from March of Spain, 317, 346; Eleazar of Ispamia *alluf* in, 284; Natronai deposed by the two, 79; obedient to exilarch, 90
- Academy, Narbonne, heads of ordained by the principate, 90
- Act, imperial: banned baptism of Judaized slaves, 252; for Gaudiocus and sons only, 19; *see also* *Diploma*, *Mandate*, *Legislation*, *Praecepta*
- Adalbert, royal vassal in Narbonne, 336
- Adalgis, k. Charles' commander, 129; death in battle, 129
- Adalric, Basque, 136
- Adelaide, viscountess of Narbonne, 148n2
- Adhemar, monk, 198n58; exploits of at Barcelona, 193n46; history of, 199; source for *Vita Hludowici*, 199
- Adoptionism, Charles' conflict with, 137n53
- Adrebal, abbot, 274
- Africa, 186; early Jewish immigration in, 5n7
- Agathos*, retranslated *Tobiah*, 308
- Agde, France, bishop of, 175; flight of Goths to, 43
- Aggadat B'reshit*, passage from, 99n54
- Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael*, apocalypse, 105, 109; *see also* *Apocalypse*
- Agobard, bishop of Lyons, 141, 156, 256n185, 268, 270; 822-23 action of at Attigny and at court, 244n160; Amolo incorporated comments of, 304; and abbot Tructesinde, 237; and conversion of Jewish slaves, 246, 248; and emperor Louis' mandates, 18n31; attacked Jews, 19, 238, 240n146, 246, 247 f.; attacked propaganda of Jews, 240n146, 241; author, *An Exhortatory Epistle*, 249; blamed tribulations on "patrons of Jews," 247; complained re *missi* and *magister Judaeorum*, 267n24; demands of, 295; encounter with Jews' master, 253n172; epistles of, 156; epistles of give data re Jewry, 20, 245, 246; *honorati* claim of papal confirmation, 178n8; imperial mandate, 247; letters of show Jews owned cattle and slaves, 20; named Everard as the Jews' master, 259n191, 266n20; predicament of, 247; prelates interested in compilation of, 301; pressured by lords, 238; re [Jewish] *honorati* of Septimania, 173n62; re Jewish practices, 211; re Jews of Lyons, 119n13; religious motives of, 248; single visit to court, 234, 235n135, 236, 237n140, 246, 249; to officials at court, 250; wanted to compel Jews to return estates, 249, 305; William's death and action of, 238 f.
- Aguis (Agius), archbishop of Narbonne, 52n8, 912-26
- Aḥima'ats of Oria, author, *Megillat Yuhassin* ("Livres de geste"): for chanting, 202, in rhymed prose, 201
- Aimeri, abbot of Dèvre, France, 290
- Aimeric, 115n5
- Aimericum(s), leader in Lyons Jewry corrected from Ammonicum, 133
- Aimericus, archbishop of Narbonne, 927-77, 52n8

- Americus, to be read Theodoricus, 130n36
- Aix-Baghdad Axis, alliance of Charlemagne and caliph of Baghdad, 76n8
- Aix-la-Chapelle, France, 186; 822, audience of Agobard in, 237; 831 Diet at, 271; 798 disputation with Felix at, 177n3; imperial palace at, 229n126; Isaac at, 188; pope Milo came to, 135; residence of *magister Judaeorum* at court in, 254
- Aix-la-Chapelle Group: Jewish views of, 34; planned empire free of Roman conceptions, 33
- Aizo, chronology of revolt of, 266n18
- Ajbar Machmua*, see *Akhbar majmu'a*
- Akhbar majmu'a*, anonymous collection, 48n1
- Alaghlab court, North Africa, Isaac's efforts at, 188
- Alaric II, king of Franks, *Breviarium* of, 5
- Albana, sister of William, 215
- Albar, Paul, Spanish convert, 282n57, 303; assumed Eleazar consulted Jewish scholars, 277n48; challenged Eleazar to literary duel, 278; Christian of Jewish descent in Cordova, 262n7; first communication of, 281; "Goth" lineage, 262n7, 278n49; ignorance of Hebrew, 282; Jewish lineage of, 277 and n49; mocked Eleazar as composer of *ludrica opuscula*, 284n62; polemic o'vs Bodo-Eleazar, 302; quoted from Eleazar's response, 278n51, 279 and n51, 282n56, 283; repeated Eleazar's weakest arguments, 279; response to Bodo-Eleazar, 278n50, 279n51, 280 and n52
- Albar-Eleazar controversy, central question in, 279
- Albères of the Pyrenees, 260
- Albi, France, 75
- Alcuin, 137; called Charles *David*, 120; disputation with Felix, 177n3; emphasized Charles was ruler of *imperium Christianum*, 33; letters of, 236; re a Hebrew at court, 213n96
- Alda, Aldana, sister of king Pepin, 122, 184, 263; gift of royal lineage by denied, 263n10 grandmother of Bernard of Septimania, 263; husband of, 130 and n36; mother of William, 121, 213; William's deceased parent, 226 f.
- Aléran, count of Barcelona and Troyes, marquis, 316; before 849 succeeded Sunifred, 313 and n58; 850 captured by William, 314; 852 did not survive capture of Barcelona, 324 and n18; k. Charles met with in Narbonne, 313
- Alet, abbey, founded by Bera, 191n39
- Alexander II, pope, 161
- Alfred III, bishop of Münster, 204n75, 239
- Alhaqam I, emir in Spain: revolt vs, 187; succeeded father Hisham I, 186
- 'Ali, caliph, gave son Persian princess, 77
- 'Ali ibn Mughith, 'Abbasid commander: defeat of before Seville, 75
- Aliscans*, *chanson*, 119n13; William can speak Hebrew, 117n9
- Allods, Allodial land, *Allodium*, free property, 82n21; cession of, 96; distinction between and March, 96n49; of Canavilles, Tresvalls, Ocenies, 331; owner had complete right over, 57
- Allods, Jewish: cession of to nasi, 101; exempt of tithe, 160; grant of hereditaments, 172; grant of in Septimania-Spain, 129n33; hereditary, 89; Jewish "king" held, Narbonne, 167 n45; near Narbonne, 85n30; owned, 162n34; seigneurial, 144n68; to Natronai-Makhir, 82
- Al-Makhiri, of Narbonne, 131, 132, 190; see also Makhir
- Al-Makkari, author, 47
- Al-Manşur, caliph: ambassadors of, 76, 80; appointed Zakkai b. Akhunai exilarch, 80n14
- Al-Osano, see Al-Osona, Ausona
- Al-Osona, Jewish town without gentiles, 319n6; see also Ausona

- Al-Samh, Saracen commander, 720
 captured Narbonne, 11
- Amalfi, communication between and Ispamia, 201n65
- Amittai, exploits of, 201
- Ammonicum(s) to be read Aimericum (?), 133; [Aimericus] Jew in Lyons, 133n42
- Amolo, bishop of Lyons, 20 and n38, 300 f.; collated anti-Jewish legislation, 301; forbade contact with Jews, 305; Hincmar's communication to, 297n25, 306; orientation of vis à vis Jews, 311n52; successor of Agobard, 156; wanted to force Jews to return estates, 305
- Amolo, *Liber Contra Judaeos* ("Tract vs Jews"), 846: Bodo's conversion occurred in Spain, 277n47; called for action vs Jews, 305; complaints vs Jews, 255 f., 304; converts exposed Jews' evils, 304; defined his obligation and his addressees', 301n31; named Bodo Eliezer, 303n37; on Jewish theory of two messiahs, 302; on proselyte Bodo, 274n41, 275nn44, 45, 276nn 45,46, 277n48, 303, 305; outline of, 302; parallels Albar's answers to Bodo, 303; purpose of, 302; quoted from Eleazar's text, 303n36; relation to decisions of Meaux-Paris, 297; remarks of only indirectly to king, 301; shows Jews owned pagan slaves, 20; stressed perils of association with Jews, 311n52; transmitted Agobard's compilation, 301
- Ampurias, Spain, 262n7; and Bernard of Septimania, 265; William recaptured, 313
- Ampurias county, Spain, 272; Gaucelm received, 266; Suniarius count of, 325n20
- Amram b. Sheshna, gaon of Sura, 857-71, 261n6; communication from to county of Barcelona, 322; Hanukkah 858 *responsum* of, 321n12; opening remarks of his *Siddur*, 318n5; 857-58 *responsum* of to sages of Barcelona, 321 and n12; tradition that he sent his *Seder* to Spain, 322 and n14
- 'Anan, founder of Karaism: banned intoxicating beverages and most meats, 211n91; conflict over in Babylonia, 78; disciple of Yehudai Gaon, 78; escaped execution, 79; lost exilarchic appointment to brother, 79; schism of dated, 80n15
- 'Anani, "king-messiah", 105n11
- Ananite (Karaite), influence in the West, 211
- Anatom, son of Tsadok the Punctuator, name misread, 308
- Anbasa ibn Suhain al-Kalai, wali of Nîmes and Carcassonne, 11
- 'Anbasa ibn Suhain Kelbi, emir of Spain: offered protection for capitulation, 71; peace with Carcassonne, 71n44
- Ancona, communication between Amalfi and, 201n65
- Andalusia, Spain, 75
- An Exhortatory Epistle on Avoiding Eating and Association with Jews*, by Agobard, 249
- Angilbert, lauded Charlemagne as David, 120
- Angoumois, battle, June 844 between k. Charles Bald and Pepin II, 294
- Aniane, monastery, 198, 218, 227, 232 f., 236, 239; and disappearance of foundation charter for Gellone, 228; Ardo wrote *Vita Benedicti* in, 206; conflict between Gellone and, 227; dependence of Gellone on, 220, 228; diploma of emperor Louis for, 232; early, overwhelmed by poverty, 212; education of bishops at, 235; election of abbot of, 235; expansionist ambitions of, 208n83; fraudulent list of possessions of, 234; gained control of *Casa Dei*, 244; grants of Louis le Débonnaire to are forgeries, 234; members of Gellone as colleagues of, 235; possessions of, 234, relation of Gellone and, 220; *Vita A* redacted in, 209

- Anjou, France: invasion of by Nominoë, 313; Joseph Bonfils in, 164n37
- Annals, Annalists, 112, 129, 183; dictate of silence by "official," 114; intent of, re Makhiri dynasty, 205
- Annales Bertiniani*, chronicle: devotion to emperor Louis until 835, 269; recorded in part by bishop Prudence, 274n41
- Annales Einhardi*, ed. Hilduin (820-29), 196n54, 221; dates Frank victory 801 at Barcelona, 196n54; official court records, 269; report for year 823, 240n148
- Annales Laureshamenses Majores*, chronicle, 221
- Annales Royales*, ed. Helisachar and Hilduin, 269n28
- Annals of Aniane*, 40n7, 174n63, 192n39; compiled by Benedict of Aniane, 40; conferred colorless right of "own law," 41; credibility of attacked, 41; critical judgment of, 40n7; independent work parallels *Chronicle of Moissac* (d'Abadal), 42; may be least reliable, 39; reworking of *Chronicle of Moissac* (Pückert), 42; states Goths delivered Narbonne for "own law," 40
- Annals of Metz*, 39
- Anthony of Winchester, monk, brought *Life of William* to Normandy, 225
- Antipas, son of Herod, tetrarch, 39 C.E. banished to Lyons, 5
- Apocalypse(s), Apocalyptic, 103n4, 106n12, 107 f., 110n2; *Aggadat Rabbi Ishmael*, 105, 109; date of messiah, 103; *Nistarot*, 110n20
- Apostasy, annulled confiscation of properties, 165
- Aprisio*, *Aprisionaires*: contract of, 294; exempt from ecclesiastical tithe, 160
- Aquitaine, Aquitanians, 43, 76, 129n33, 130, 137, 183, 187n26, 193, 193n46, 216, 265, 336; administrators of, 136; autonomous status of, 12; Bourges capital of, 330; capitulary for issued by Pepin, 77, 83; carolingians granted church property in, 128n33; Charles and Louis received, 284; 844 Charles' army annihilated in, 309; 849 Charles entered, 313; Charles given dominion over, 272; Charles granted Pepin II most of, 312; chronicle of, 198n58; Church of Rheims lands in, 352; decline of royal authority in, 273; duke of to protect Spanish borders, 11; Hincmar opponent on chief see of, 331; Louis did not receive Septimania with, 232; margraves of, 128; mint in, 321n11; nasi Bernard (Makhir) expropriated church lands in, 352; 845 Norse returned to, 310; pacification of, 83, 325n20; Pepin secularized church property in, 55n13, 89n34; 767 Pepin's invasion of included Jewish forces, 75; Pepin son of Louis received, 233; Pope Nicholas I threatened excommunication re church property in, 338n55; rebellion in, 87, 125, 284; reorganization of southern, 178; royal *fideles* in, 291n8; southern, 86, 178; 872 triumvirate to govern, 351; William invested with duchy of, 214
- Arab(s), 98n53, 102, 138, 139n58, 175, 183; ambassadors; 188; carried back gifts for Pepin, 76; commanders, 137; conquest of Persia, 2, 3; conquest of Spain, 11; devastated Septimania, 48; occupied Narbonne, 49; tradition, 139n58; treaties of with non-Muslims, 71
- Arabic language: "Greek" in the *chansons*, 117n9; William able to speak, 188
- Arasolario, judge in Narbonne, 180
- Archbishop of Arles, 175
- Archbishop of Bourges, 296
- Archbishop of Narbonne, 60n22, 145, 150, 154, 169n50; a third of Narbonne given to, 72; fabricated a claim, 155
- Archelaus, king of Judea, 6 C.E. exiled to Vienne, France, 5
- Archipherekites*, successors of patriarch of Palestine, 3n3
- Archives of Narbonne Jewry, 161

- Ardo, author, *Vita Benedicti* (822-23), 208n83, 210, 219; disciple of Benedict, 206
- Aribert, archbishop of Narbonne, 51n6, 52 and n8, 72, 86, 93; by April 12, 769 no longer in office, 56; charges re Jews of Narbonne, 89; Pope Stephen's III reply to, 20, 50 and n6, 51, 56, 57n16, 61, 73n48, 77, 89, 173
- Arles, France, 164n37; 838-60 attacks by Saracens and Greeks on, 311n53; captured by Muslims, 12; ecclesiastical province of, 175; forced conversion of Jews 6th century, 7; Jews in, 5
- Arluin, suit against count Milo of Narbonne, 133
- Arnold, *baiulus*, infant king Louis entrusted to, 127
- Arnulf, House of, favorable disposition to Septimian Jewry, 57
- Arnust, archbishop of Narbonne, 52n8, 136, 154n16, 319; complained of poverty of his see, 156n18; renounced impost from Ausona, 320
- Aspremont*, *chanson*, pope Milo in, 135
- Assembly of realm, *see* Diet, Attigny, Epernay, Pitres, Quierzy, Rheims, Thionville, Toulouse, Worms
- "Astronomer," author, *Vita Hludowici*: and Ermold contradict one another, 199; had materials re William, 198
- Asturians, Saracen attack on, 193
- Attigny, 765, Assembly of realm, decisions of, 75
- Attigny council (August 822), 249; Agobard demanded restoration church properties, 248; decisions re restitution of church lands, 238
- Attigny council (874), complaint and warning by bishop John of Barcelona, 338 f., 344
- Aude, mother of William, 122n17; *see also* Alda
- Aude river, 158, 183 and n17
- Augustine, bishop, anti-Jewish views of, 107n13
- Aurum Coronarium*, (*d'mei k'lila*), collected by nasi of Palestine, 3; 429 special Jewish imperial tax, 3
- Ausona (later Vich), Spain, 48n2, 136, 137n53, 187, 319; an all-Jewish town, 48, 135n48, 136, 187n26; identification with name in Hebrew, 321n12; Jewry of, 324; Jews in, until ca.875, 319; market days in, 318; primitive nucleus of later Vich, 319; scene of Bodo's conversion, 277n46, 47; subjection of church to Narbonne *see at*, 176 and n2; under Frank domination, 135
- Ausona, county of, 136; bordered on Barcelona county, 318 f., Jewish communities in 9th century, 346; no Christian in until Wifred, 319; predominantly Jewish, 275n44, 318; Saracen invasion annihilated all Christians in, 135; substantial Jewish community in, 342; *see also* Al-Osano, Al-Osana
- Autonomy: in Aquitaine, 12; and duke of Aquitaine, 11; persisted in south of France, 13f.; semi-independence of Arab governors of Narbonne, 11;
- Autun, France, 336; Bernard of Septimania count of, 265; lands of Humphrey in, 335; *see also* Bernard of Septimania
- Auvergne, 76, 128, 336; secured by marquis Bernard via wife's connections 335n44; William came to, 216; *see also* Bernard, count of Auvergne
- Avars, expedition vs, 172n61, 181
- Avignon, archives of Jewry of, 138n55; fell to Muslims, 12, 14; 134 Saracens sacked, 87
- Aymeri of Narbonne, personnage in several *chansons de geste*, 116; a real person in carolingian age, 114; Al-Makhiri historical prototype of, 132; called Benalmenique, 115n5; central hero of several *chansons de geste*, 131; cession of land to, 72; contemporary of Charlemagne, 131; daughter Blanchefleur, 119; daughter of married emperor, 119n13; daughters of married into high aristocracy, 119n13;

- domain of throughout Septimania to Gerona and Barcelona, 72; father of was Ernaut de Beaulande, 127; identification of with Theodoric, 130n36; *lignage* (family) of and its ideals, 201; name associated only with Narbonne until 12th century, 131n38; name changed to Aymeri de Narbonne, 121n16; name derived from Al-Makhiri, 165n38; received tower and entire city Narbonne, 169n49; taunt of, 202; territories ceded by Charlemagne to, 68n37; vast cession to according to *Gesta*, 86; William is son of, 121
- Aymeri, *see* Ammonicus [Aimericus(?)] Jew in Lyons], Al-Makhiri, Ha-Makhiri, Makhir
- Aymeri de Beaulande, name changed to Aymeri de Narbonne, 121n16
- Aymeri de Narbonne, chanson*, 134
- Aymeri, bishop of Narbonne, 927-77; surmised kinsman of the viscount, 165n38
- Aymeri I, viscount of Narbonne (1080-1105), 132, 165n38; given third of Narbonne, 72; held Jews' old school in *Juiverie* of Narbonne, 133n42; killed at Fraga (July 17, 1134), 62n24; property of, including Jews' old school in Narbonne, 165n38; received "one-third" of Narbonne at capture, 165n38
- Aymeric, viscount of Narbonne, 60n22
- Aymo (Haim?), son of Aymeri, 128n32
- Azio, Goth rebel allied with Saracens, 265
- Aznars, family of Gascon dukes, 92
- Baboi, exilarch; Judah Hebrew name of, 82; *see also* Zakkai
- Babylonia, 1, 103n4; domination of, 103n4; exilarch possessed own town in, 2; exilarchs of, 78n10, 93, 94n45, 97, 98n53; Jewries in, 77, 90
- Badge, Jewish, imposed by Muslims in Spain, 275n45
- Baghdad, 61, 75, 76n8, 79, 81n18, 82, 88n32, 90, 100, 186n24, 245, 281; 768
- delegation from, 76, 77, 81, 109; exilarchs of had two or more names, 82; gifts from, including elephant, 188; Jewish center of gravity, 86; Jews of in upheaval, 80; king of Jews in Narbonne from, 68; legation at Diet of Thionville from, 271n31; Makhir immigrated from, 82; mission of 765 to, 75, 76n8, 138, 189; 765-68 Pepin's negotiations with, 76, 173; seat of exilarchs, 78n10; 797 William on embassy to, 212n92, 245
- Bahlul of Saragossa, peace with Charlemagne, 186
- Ban, canonical, vs holding Christian slaves fell on Jews alone, 249
- Banner (*vexillum*) of Jerusalem: for Charlemagne, 188 ff., 221, 245; William secured, 189
- Barcelona, Spain, 72, 115, 135n48, 187n26, 261, 275n44, 313, 316, 324; and academies of Babylonia, 317; 877 back in hands of Franks, 339, 342; Bernard sent to during rebellion, 270; bishop John disturbed over situation in, 339n58; bishop of, 175; campaign against, 229n126; 803 capture of, 194n49, 198n58, 199, 260; cession to Aymeri extended from Lyons to, 86; cession to marquis Bernard of income at, 348f.; Christian Franks unable to hold, 316; designs on, 188; 803 fall of to Franks, 192n42, 195, 197, 204; 852 fall of to "Moors," 316, 324, 329n29; had equal number Jews and Christians in 11th century, 48; Heribert at, 259n191, 266n20; inhabitants of a functioning entity, 344; Jewish property near, 254n175; 852 Jews' decisive role in capture of, 316, 347; 852 lost to Frankia, 324, 327n22, 334; March of Spain extended to, 323n17; marquis Bernard restored to realm, 349; mint in, 321n11; "Moors take, Jews betraying," 316; Mozarabe priest Tyrsus in, 338, 344n69; near Ausona, 211; November 803 surrendered to Franks, 194 f., 197; November 19, 803 trium-

Barcelona (*Continued*)

- phal entry of Franks into, 196n54; received *Seder* of Amram Gaon, 322n14; Saracens captured, 320n9; 803 siege of, 187n25, 192 and n39, 193 and n46, 198 and n58, 222; Solomon in ruled Narbonne, 325; wali of supported Franks, 126, 186; William at siege of, 193; William's victory at, 219, 313; Zaton prefect of, 92
- Barcelona, cathedral of, emperor Charles' letter preserved in, 344n67
- Barcelona council (906), 135; interpolation in record of, 319; report of bishop Idalcaria at, 319
- Barcelona county, 260; Ausona (Al-Osona) bordered on, 318f.; Bernard divested of, 272; communication to from gaon Amram Tsemah, 322; correspondence from eastern academies to Jewry in, 345n70; count Suniaire held properties in, 325n20
- Barcelona, duchy of, 115
- Barcelona town and county, Jewish community in, 342, 346; Spaniards in, 291n8
- Barcelonians, 194; appealed to emir of Cordova, 193; imperial communication to, 262n7; joined forces to marquis Bernard's, 345
- Bartholomew, bishop of Narbonne: appealed to Rome against removal, 286n72; 842 Charles the Bald dismissed, 286
- Basques, 127; and Navarrais allied with Saracens, 292n8; William took action vs, 182
- Battle standard, Israelite, in 9th century Psalter pictured as dragon, 88n32
- Beauvais council (845), 296; "elected" Hincmar metropolitan of Rheims, 295
- Bekshom, abbot of St. Paul, Narbonne, Abraham's sons sold property to, 159
- Benedict, monk of Aniane, 207, 212, 220, 227; and William's "conversion", 206; asked emperor return fugitive slaves, 210; association of William and fabricated, 244n160; beatification of, 209; biography of, 40n7, 243; date of death, 237, 244; description of, 236; donation of cloister Aniane by, 235; donations to, 233; entered Aniane in flight, 212; influence at court, 206, 210; refrained from animal flesh and from tasting fat, 211; refusal of land by suspect, 210; William a doublet of, 222; William attracted to, 206; William couplets reversed, 212
- Benedict of Nursia, saint: doctrine of, 227; MS of rules of, 242
- Benedictine rule, description of William contradicts, 222; scholarly interests and requirements of, 212
- Beneventum, Italy, 182
- Benjamin b. Jonah of Tudela, chronicler and traveler, 62n24; 1166 in Narbonne, 59, 150n4; re prince Kalonymos b. Todros, 61 and n23; reported nasi 12th century held lands, 58
- Bera, marquis of Spanish March, 194n49 accompanied William, 193; accused of treason, 262; brother of count Bernard, 310; in charge of Barcelona, 197; 820 exiled to Rouen, 197n56, 262, 263n8, 310; garrison under command of, 194; leader (prince) of "Goths", 191n39, 192n39; led reconnaissance across Pyrenees, 188n29; predecessor of Solomon in county of Conflent, 331n38; Ramo succeeded, 265; said to be a Goth, 167n56, 262; son (perhaps) of William of Toulouse, 191 and n39, 193n46, 197n56, 262; vanquished in judicial combat, 191n39, 197n56; wife Romella, 191n39
- Berarius, archbishop of Narbonne, 289n1; grant of immunity to, 150, 289
- Berengar, count and marquis, 124 and n24; assumed rule over southern counties, 272; conflict with Bernard over Septimania, 124n24; in the *chansons* knows Arabic, 117n9; killed in battle, 124; refused to yield Septimania to Bernard, 273; replaced Bernard in marquise of Septimania, 272;

- rescued k. Louis, 65n35, 124; sons of, 165n38; sources on, 273n36
- Berengar**, viscount of Narbonne, 159; divided domains between his sons, 150n4; protected Jews in his domain, 161 and n32
- Bernard**, count of Auvergne, marquis, nasi of Frankia, "Plantevelue", a ranking personage, 336; absence of and revolt vs Charles, 342n64; acquired Mâcon and its county and the Lyonnais, 351; antagonist of usurper king Boso, 351n87; Charles Bald received, 333; Charles Bald's substantial grant to, 348 f.; Charles' representative in Aquitaine, 340; communities of Lotharingia made submission to as nasi, 341; 875 count of Roussillon, 340n59; court judgment of dated 870 in Narbonne, 336; 878 emerged as marquis of Spain, count of Auvergne, etc., 350; emperor Charles' communiqué to lost, 344n66; 878 entitled "prince of the Goths", 262n7; 864 exchanged property with abbot of Mozac, 334; expropriated church lands in Aquitaine, 352; extent of authority, 350; fought Charles' army, 341; Hincmar listed among conspirators, 350; 877 Hincmar recorded as absent from Diet of Quierzy, 342; Hincmar stigmatized as absent from Diet of 870 at Rheims; 335; husband of Ermengarde, 334 and n44; identified as count of Auvergne, 335n46; identity with Plantevelue affirmed and denied, 337n51, 351n87; 876 in Rhineland, 341; 876 installed at Bourges, 340; k. Louis distributed *honores* to, 341; 866 lay abbot of St. Julien de Brioude in Auvergne, 335; led troops into Spain, 345; 872 member of triumvirate of Aquitaine, 336, 351; mitigated blow on throat, 351; nasi of Frankia, 350f.; nephew or grandson of Makhir of Narbonne, 353; not son of Bernard of Septimania, 337n51; office and possessions of in Auvergne, Autun, Aquitaine and March of Spain, 336; Oliba's assistance to, 342n65; replaced Humphrey as count of Autun, 334f.; restored March of Spain to Franks, 350; rule of extended from Rhone to Barcelona, 350; ruled in favor of abbey of St. Thibery, 336; secured Auvergne through his wife's connections, 335n44; 883 secured royal decision, 352; 876 signatory to Charles' election as emperor, 340n60; sold to seigneur Richard lands in Rouergue, 335; 878 succeeded to *honores* of Bernard of Gothia, 349; successes in March of Spain, 339; successor to Solomon in March of Spain, 335; took up residence in Narbonne, 336; *see also* Makhir b. Solomon
- Bernard I of Auvergne**, no adequate evidence that he was father of marquis Bernard, 335n44
- Bernard or Bernard Berengar**, viscount of Narbonne, 150n4; acknowledged claim of archbishop Guifred to half of Narbonne, 149
- Bernard de Cortone**, resident of Narbonne, 169
- Bernard Gui**, author of *Catalogus summorum pontificum* (14th century), 41n10, 174n63
- Bernard III**, abbot 1237-55, ordered composition of *Gesta*, 67n36
- "Bernards," discussion of the, 323n16
- Bertana**, sister of William, 215
- Bertmund**, count of Lyons, 268
- Bertram**, nephew of William, figment of jongleur's imagination, 226
- Bernard of Septimania**, marquis and nasi of Frankia, 116, 117n8, 265n17; Alda grandmother of, 263; alleged adultery with queen Judith, 205n78, 270 and n30, 288; alliance with Pepin II of Aquitaine, 272, 284; and Spanish March, 263; appointment set off explosion, 267; April-May 844 execution of, 205n78, 228f., 265, 268n24, 285n69, 287ff., 295, 297, 309, 337; as

Bernard of Septimania (Continued)

empress Judith's choice, 268n26; assumed title "duke of Septimania," 273; at death of Septimania called a "kingdom," 267, attacked as *tyrannus naso*, 269; Bernard of Auvergne not son of, 337n51; Bernard son of, 338n56; called tyrant, 273; cause of rebellion vs emperor Louis, 271n31; charged with infidelity, 272 and n32, 287; Charles Bald as son of, 270n30; Charles demanded submission of, 284; complaints vs men of, 273; conflict with Berengar, 124n24; count of Autun, Barcelona, Gerona-Besalù, Maguelonne, Uzès, probably Ampurias, 265; 825 count of Poitou, 263n8, 265; date of birth unknown, 229n126; decisive influence as *camerarius* 266; deeds of, ascribed to William, 115; deprived of *honores*, 272; directly under imperial sovereignty, 271, 274; dismissal of, 270; entrusted with defense and expansion of southern borders, 288; exculpated himself of blame, 271 and n31; failed to bring Pepin II to acknowledge k. Charles, 312; fall of emboldened anti-Jewish forces, 297; fall of let loose flood of demands, 295; forfeited county of Toulouse, 286; had infant son brought to him, 264, 266n19, 268, 315n62; held full control of Toulouse, 284; in court circles called *Naso*, 263; in Uzès, 41n10; independent rule of, in March of Spain, 286; inherited parents' properties, 207n82; insisted on Pepin's prior subjection to Charles, 285; joined forces with emperor, 272; leading statesman actually regent, 267n21; learned wife Dhuoda, 122, 130, 174n63; Louis appointed *camerarius* at assembly in Worms, 266, 267n24; marquis of Gothia, count of Barcelona, Gerona and Razès, 273; marquis of March of Spain, 325n20, 326f. and n22; married Dhuoda in imperial palace, 229n126, 263f.; mod-

ern appraisal of, 269; occupied villa of church at Gerona, 290n4; plan to carry Judith off "to Spain," 270; "plot" to usurp the realm, 270; possible bigamy, 270n30; power of, 283; promoted literary efforts at court, 201; propaganda aims, 201; quelled rebellion, 254; real king of France, 287; reestablished amicable relations with emperor Louis, 272; refusal to fight on Sabbath, 285; regained Charles' favor, 285; removal of from power major objective of revolt vs Louis, 271n31; replaced by monk Gundowald, 271 and n31; replaced ruling court clique, 268; royal lineage, 122, 263; scion of David, 263; second after the emperor, 267; son of William of Toulouse, 124n24, 130, 184n20, 200, 217, 262f., 267n24, 270, 310; sons left no Jewish offspring, 265; sources invariably antagonistic to, 269; stigmatized as "that villain Naso," 263; stirred rebellion in Burgundy, 272; succeeded Ramo, 262; 829 summoned to office of chamberlain at court, 262n7, 266 and n20, 296; target of ecclesiastical opposition, 288; 835 took over county of Toulouse, 273; two sons of Dhuoda and, 264; unlimited power in Septimania, 273; "usurper" in Septimania, 262; wielded authority over Jews and Christians, 282; William first born of, 294

Bernard son of Bernard of Septimania ("Vitellus"), count of Toulouse, 262; born at Uzès (March 22, 841), 264; charged with "plundering the Christian people," 338; Charles received, 333; nine years old, 314; received Carcassonne and Razès, 337 and n51; 31 years old, 337; "Vitellus" killed in ambush, 338 and n57; *see also* Vitellus ..

Bernard son of Blihilde, marquis of Gothia: administrative seat of, 329n29; Charles the Bald received, 333; designated Humprey's successor, 329; 878

- Louis deprived of *honores*, 341, 349; member of Aquitaine triumvirate, 336, 337n51; men of ambushed Bernard of Toulouse, 338; part of Gothia assigned to, 327n22, 335n44; son of Bernard and Blihilde daughter of Rorigo, 329, 340n59; succeeded to Bernard's (Vitellus) office and lands, 338; took Bourges and its lands, 341
- Bernard, son of viscount Berengar of Narbonne, 148, 150n4, 165n38
- Bernard the Wise, Breton monk, 190n35
- Besalù, France: Jews in, 162n34; synod in, 161n33
- Besalù, county of, 157
- Bet-el (*Casa Dei*, House of God), William named the establishment, 244
- Beuve de Hanstone*, *chanson*: empress and "clan of Mayence" in, 205n78; Yiddish version of, 203; *see also* Bueve Cornebut, Bueve de Hantone
- Béziers, France, 313n58; document from dated from Louis' death, 286
- Biblical kings of Israel: carolingian claim of succession to, 196; succession to would legitimize carolingians' rule, 33
- Bigo, son-in-law of k. Louis, 192; instruction to from k. Louis, 193n44
- Bishop(s): of Béziers, 175; of Clermont, 6; of Lyons, 253n174; of Narbonne, 153f., 155 and n16, 167; never held half of Narbonne in carolingian age, 167; provision of salt to by Jews, 159; of Toulouse, 175; triumph of in domestic affairs, 288; vs elevation of Bernard as chamberlain, 266n19
- Bishopric of Narbonne, sold to count of Cerdagne, 147
- Blanchefleur, Aymeri's daughter married emperor Louis, 119
- B'nai (B'nei) Marawatha*, davidic family in Nams, 4n6, 81n18
- Bodo (Bodo-Eleazar), proselyte, deacon of emperor Louis, 103n4, 303; a parallel to the sensational, 204; activity, 205; Amolo names Eliezer in Hebrew, 303n37; Amolo on, 275n45, 303n37; apostasy as instance of baneful Jewish influence, 205; Arab armed forces and, 276n45; arguments of, 280n52; assumed age, 284; Ausona in March of Spain scene of conversion of, 277n46; conversion in a southern French town denied, 275n44; 838 conversion to Judaism, 240, 275, 297; conversionist propaganda in Spain, 297; in Cordova, 277; 838-39 emigrated to Saragossa, 277 and n48; garbed in military dress, 276n45; influence of Jews in conversion of, 311n52; in Spain propogandized vs Christianity and incited vs Christians, 310; of noble descent, 274; poem of praise composed on by Walafrid Strabo, 274; polemic of Albar vs, 302; possible conversion in Spain, 275n44; re birth of Jesus, 303n36; sources on conversion, 274n41; William and conversion of, 240; William confused with, 205n75; *see also* Eleazar, Eliezer
- Bodo-Albar correspondence, summary and commentary on, 279n51
- Bofilh, Jewish troubadour at Narbonne, 202n69
- Bologna, Italy, Johannes Teutonicus professor at, 185
- Bondia (Levi b. Moses), nasi in Narbonne, 61n23
- Boniface, saint: and ecclesiastical property, 53; December 751 anointing of Pepin by, 29; pope Zachary's letter to, 54
- Boniface, count, 274
- Boniface, king of the Lombards, Aymeri's emissary to, 135
- Bonomancipius (Todros b. Kalonymos) in Narbonne: bore title "Jewish king," 169; son of the Jews' king, 169
- Book of Zerubbabel*, apocalypse, 102
- "Boorish nation" ruled without divine sanction, 106, 108
- Bordeaux, France: Jews in, 5; Northmen besieged and captured, 312f.
- Borders: Jews entrusted with defense and expansion of southern, 288; of Spain, 113f; south-southwest, 112

- Borel, count of Ausona, 200; head of defense of country, 187
- Boso, duke, usurper king, archminister of the sacred palace and imperial *missus*, 340n60; Bernard of Auvergne antagonist of, 351n87; chief imperial commissioner in Italy, 340; conspirator vs Charles Bald, 350; k. Charles' brother-in-law and chamberlain, member of triumvirate of Aquitaine, 336
- Bourges, France, 131n38; church at, 290n1; taken with its lands by count Bernard, son of Blihilde, 341
- Bovobukh* by Elijah Levita, 1507-08, composed in Italy in *ottava rima*, 203
- Bretons, alleged campaign against, 270
- Breviarium* of Alaric II, status of Jews in, 5
- Brittany, Respogius, duke of, 92
- Brunhild, queen of Franks, 6
- Bueve Cornebut ("Bovo Horn Buster"), character in the *chansons*: husband or son of daughter of Aymeri, 315; husband of William's sister in *Chanson de Vivien*, 315n63
- Bueve de Hantone, in the *chansons* knows Arabic, 117n9; see also Beuve de Hanstone, Bueve Cornebut
- Bull, count in Velay, 128; equivalent of the Hebrew name *Shor*, 128n32
- Burellus, count, in charge on Aquitaine's borders, 135n48, 187n26
- Burgundy, 128, 193 and n46; Bernard of Septimania and Guerin stirred rebellion in, 272; Charles Martel ceded church's patrimony in to his vassals, 53; inheritance confided to emperor Louis, 286; Jews considered Romans in, 21; Theodoric's properties in, 122n17
- Bustanai (Haninai), exilarch, (ca. 610-60), 61n22, 128n32; ascension of, 104n5; dispute over legitimacy of descendants, 77, 78; family of hated, 81n18; Jewish monarchy under, 103; kinsman of ruling 'Abasids, 118; married Persian princess Izdudad, 77, 118; Natronai was in "pure" line of descent from, 79; not forebear of Rhineland patriarchs, 4n6; sons were kinsmen of royalty, 118n11
- Byzantine: collapse of power in Palestine and Syria, 102 and n1; period, 107n12
- Byzantium: influence of in Italy lost, 29; Pepin's legation to, 75
- "Calculators of the End," 102, 105
- Caliph of Baghdad, 60n22, 74, 87, 100, 143, 188; a king of kings, 184; acquired liaison in Frankia, 80; as master of Jerusalem, 190; confirmed election of exilarch, 2; eager for Frank invasion of Spain, 76n8; Jewish prince emissary of, 87; Jews as agents of, 173; Narbonne Jewry loyal subjects of, 86; sent scholar-prince of davidic dynasty, 109
- Caliphate of Baghdad: aligned with Frankia, 89; before 759 Narbonne within the, 88n32; conflicts within, 109; Jews in emphasized power of exilarchs, 90; mainstream of Jewish spiritual life was in, 86; Umayyad Spain enemy of, 29
- Camera, treasury for annual gifts to crown, 267
- Camerarius* ("chamberlain"): administered royal household and villas, 267; had charge of imperial possessions, 267
- Capduel*, legendary title of Narbonne, 138n55
- Capitol of Narbonne, 150n4
- Capitulary(ies): 768 issued at Easter (Passover) time, 172n61; lost, of Charlemagne (791), 138, 144n68, 171f.; lost, of Louis intended for all Jews in empire, 19; no carolingian, preserved in original form, 85; of Charlemagne described in *ShK*, 142; of Herstal 779 instituted a second tithe, 54n12; of Louis source of his mandates, 19; of Worms (Ratisbon),

- 178; royal, 141; *see also* Act, Charter, Diploma, Legislation, *Privilegium*
- Capitulary of Aquitaine issued by Pepin (768), 44n14, 77, 167, 172n61; and Carolingian diplomas for Jews, 84; and grant of land to Makhir, 83; contained substantial privileges, 83; defined rights and status of nasi of Jews, 86; echoed royal grant to prince of Jews, 85; evidence for "divisio" of church lands, 89n34; extant form is suspect, 85; granted right to live by own law, 44; reflects portions of lost *privilegium* of 768, 86; required cultivating royal grants of land, 84; required holders of church domains to accept "precarias," 55n13
- "Capitularies of Sanctions," outlined Jews' legal status in carolingian empire, 247
- Carcassonne, France, 144n68, 183 and n17; bishop of, 175; capitulation of, 71; county, 233; inhabitants of, 71n44; Jews owned hereditary estates in vicinity of, 51n7; residents "protected people," 71
- Cardona, Spain, 187 and n26
- Carloman, king of Franks, son of Pepin The Short, 51n6; 56, 99f, 167; allotted Natronai-Makhir allods, 82; Charles' brother married Gerberge, 119n12; grant of to bishop Siegebod of Narbonne, 154n16; record of reign, 228 n124; 742 restored patrimony to churches, 54
- Carloman, king of France, brother of king Charles the Simple, 156
- Carolingian(s), 65n33, 112, 118, 128n32, 134, 222, 228n124; aid against 'Abd-ar-Rahman, 87; and temple in Jerusalem, 111n20; "appendix" to *ShK* a source of period, 59n21; as successors of biblical kings inherited divine right to rule, 120; Bernard a name, 122; commendation of Jews to, 92; confluence of davidic and dynastic streams, 184; cooperation of with Jewish aspirations, 109; davidic lineage would provide with divine sanction to rule, 34; did not trust Septimianian allies, 176n1; dominance in Gascony, 92; fostered immigration of Goths, 46; grant of allodial *hereditamenta* to Jews and policy of, 56; introduced alien officials to Septimania, 176n1; Jewry, 73n48; Jews fought for, 123, 129; legation from Baghdad renewed friendly relationships with, 271n31; Makhiri and the, 118n11; military activity in borderlands of Spain, 113; origins of Henry IV's charters, 84; policy fostered Jewish immigration, 123; preserved the Occident, 36; princes, 129n33; propaganda vs Merovingians, 108n16; revision of policy, 288, 309; royal family, 118; scholarly views on imperial ambitions of, 32; sisters or daughters of as spouses of the Makhiri, 119; usurpers of throne of Franks, 190
- Carolingian-'Abbasid alliance, 111n20, 317; foundations laid for, 38; inevitable, 29; Jews favored a, 88
- Carolingian age, period, times, 63, 73n48, 95f., 119n12, 125, 144n68, 160, 167, 169f.; Ahima'ats' family history in, 201; allodial land system continued into, 57n16; Aymeri, a real person in the, 114; chancellery practice in, 140; counties not inheritable in, 207n82; documentation of, 114; first born named after grandfather in, 122n18; honor in the, designated state office, 62; Jews held hereditary estates in, 293n12; marriages in, 120n14; monastery at Gellone founded in, 113; nasi of Narbonne in, 64; political subdivision of the Midi in, 323; prominence of Jewish trade in, 255
- Carolingian court, prominence of Jews at, 205n75
- Carolingian *diploma(ta)*, 140, 154; narrative form of, 208n83; never unsealed frequently unsigned, 142; preserved

- Carolingian (*Continued*)
 names of negotiating ambassadors, 140; seal replaced signature in, 142
- Carolingian emperor, 282
- Carolingian empire, realm, Jews of:
 accepted Makhir's rule, 258; assigned a territory, 22; granted same legal status, 20; remarkable position of, 15n24; *see also* Frankia, Realm, frankish
- Carolingian kings, rulers, sovereigns, 92n1, 97; and Jewish principedom, 101; assault of upon Goth society, 43n13; biblical outlook of, 120; enabled by Jews to achieve objectives, 34; endowed Septimanian Jewry with estates, 49; granted extensive territory to Jews, 57n18; granted free allods to Jews and their nasi, 55f., 207n82; grants of ecclesiastical property, 55; invited Jews to settle in Frankia, 123; oath of the *fideles* of, 65n34; rarely appointed non-Franks to comital office, 262n7; recognized local foreign chieftains as "kings," 23; rule coincided with preeminence of exilarchate, 2; sensitive to charge of usurpation, 33; sought divine sanction via succession to Israelite kings, 34; succession to biblical kings legitimize rule of, 33; utilized church property to strengthen royal power, 57
- Carolingian legislation for Jews, a *jus speciale*, 17; and non-Jewish merchants, 16; and *jus singulare*, 17; applied throughout empire, 19; conferred privileged status on Jews, 15; evidence for freedom in, 15, 17; for Abraham of Saragossa, 20; for Gaudiocus and sons, 19; guardianship of emperor, 17; lost capitulary of emperor Louis, 17; not limited to individuals, 20; of emperor Louis, 16; re flogging, 15; *see also* Act, Charter, *Diploma*, Franks, Frankish, Legislation, Mandate, *Privilegium*
- Carolus*, Frank king Charles, seal of, 60
- Cartulary of Aniane: *diplomata* of emperor Louis in the, 233; undated document in, 234
- Cartulary of Gellone, 227; fire destroyed the, 230
- Casa Dei (Bet El)*, William's death caused dissension in, 244
- Casa Nova*, count William endowed, 226
- Casal, mill in Narbonne, 158
- Casseres, Spain, 187
- Cassiodor, official of emperor Theodorich, 507/11 letter to Jews of Genoa, 21
- Castaserra, Spain, 135n48, 187n26
- Castell Cardona, Spain, 135n48
- Castille, Spain, 320n9
- Catalonia, Spain, 10, 132, 187n26, 260; refused to recognize Visigothic king, 11; Saracen conquerors of captured Barcelona, 320n9; Wifred le Velu returned home to, 332
- Cathedral of Cordova, *Liber Epistolarum* of, 278
- Cathedral of St. Justus and St. Pastor, Narbonne, 289
- Caunes, France, 180
- Cavaillon, licensed mint in, 320n11
- Celata, locality in Narbonne, 158
- Censerada, k. Charles ceded the villa to see of Narbonne, 153, 289 and n1
- Cerdagne, 326n21, 332n40; before 865 Solomon controlled the Conflent, Roussillon and, 327n22; bishopric of Narbonne sold to count of, 147; Raoul brother of Wifred held, 333
- Chalon on the Saône, defenders of, 184n20
- Chalonnais, France: concentration of Jewish property in the, 27; territory of Jews in the, 25
- Chamberlain, duties of the, 267
- Chancellor of palace, in 9th century was Jew named William, 204
- Chançon de Guillelme*, critical edition of, 113
- Chançon de Williame*, 114n3, 116
- Chanson(s)*, 119, 124f., 127, 132, 165n38, 192n42, 193n46; descriptions in are historical reality, 115; glorified Ayméri's family, 201; historical kernel of the

- William sung around 900, 200; linguistic ability of the nobles in, 117n9; Milo in the, 134; named *Macaire* after leading traitor, 205; origin of, 114; pugilist image of William popular in, 221; reminiscences of military exploits of nasi Makhir and dynasty in, 203; report William spoke Arabic and Hebrew, 245; retained memory of real facts, 114; theme of a clan of traitors through generations, 205
- Chanson(s) de geste*, 121, 135f.; and name of Aymeri, 132; Aymeri central hero of, 131; historical poems, 114n3; historical reliability of, 113; locale and heroes of, 112; retained recollection of events, 115; signifies *Chanson d'histoire*, 115; stylized vocabulary, 113
- Chanson de Guillaume*, 116n7, 119n13, 184; date, 113; not a homogeneous work, 113; the William cycle in its most primitive form, 113n2; William substituted for Theodoric, 129
- Chanson de Rainoart*, continuation of *Vivien Song*, 113
- Chanson de Roland*, more truthful than the court annals, 115
- Charles (Charlemagne) king and emperor, 2, 51n6, 56, 63 and n28, 65, 68, 76n8, 92 and n41, 99f., 115, 128n33, 136f., 139n58, 171, 175, 181, 192, 206, 213, 216f., 218n100, 229, 261, 262n8, 296, 337; a Jew rescued in battle at Narbonne, 66; 769 abolished title duke of Aquitaine, 83; action against Pamplona, 292n8; Alcuin emphasized as ruler of *imperium Christianum*, 33; alleged gift from of portion of the Cross, 220; alliance between Sulaiman and, 38n3; alliance of with Harun ar-Rashid, 76n8; and Harun had enemies in common, 191n37; and Jewish deputies, 71; appointed William duke of Toulouse, 295; as chief judge could judge pope, 33; as David, 120 and n15; as successor to biblical kings, 32f., 245; asked caliph to send a Jewish prince, 59; assured authenticity of diploma of, 142; at time of Goths gone from environs of Narbonne, 70; attacked Saxons, 129; audacious plan of defense, 187n26; 791 capitulary (diploma) of for Jews, 8, 137f., 140, 144 and n68, 167f., 171f., 175, 291n6, 293; captured Narbonne, 66; ceded district of Narbonne to Jewry, 172; ceded domain to Aymeri, 68n37, 178, 260; ceded to Jews one-third of Narbonne, 68, 72, 143; chancellery practice of, 142; claim of to biblical succession unclear, 34; concerned for foreign customs' impact on son Louis, 128; 791 confirmed Jewish kingship in Narbonne, 63, 68, 71, 138, 143; 172f.; coronation of emperor, 172; 189f.; coronation substituted title emperor for "Patricius Romanorum", 31n61; court of, 198; death of, 116n7; designs for a Frankish March in Spain, 127; Dhuoda daughter of, 123n20; did not act in behalf of Spanish frontier, 183; diploma for Jean of Fontjoncouse, 291; diploma of, 152; Einhard on, 204; 797-801 embassy to Harun ar-Rashid passed through Jerusalem, 187, 189, 190n35; 778 expedition of into Spain, 76n8, 126, 292n8; extensive cession by, to Narbonne Jewry and/or their king, 82, 118, 143; favorable laws of for Narbonne Jews, 140f., 178n5; fisc belonging to, 232; gave a third of Narbonne to its archbishop, 68; gave a third of Narbonne to count Aymeri, 68; gave William the *vexillum* (banner) of Jerusalem, 189, 221; gift by Jewish king to, 68; gift of relic to William denied, 221; gift to in return for Jewish king, 71; granted peace to Slavic kings following commendation, 23; Hadrian's pontificate subject to as *Patricius Romanorum*, 31n60; historicity of grant by to Jews denied, 66n35, 144n69; imperial ambitions of, 185, 190n35; in capitulary of Herstal

Charles (Charlemagne) (*Continued*)

instituted second tithe, 54n12; in the *chansons* knows Arabic, 117n9; in time of Septimania and Toulousain formed a single March, 323; Jewish delegation to, 139; Jewry privileges of, 65; Jews as allies of, 68; Juliofred designated himself kinsman of, 230; key and banner of Jerusalem brought for coronation of, 188, 221; keys and banner of Jerusalem had no role in coronation of, 191; "kinsman of" refers to William, 231; 802 legation received assent from caliph re Jerusalem, 190n35; 791 made Jewish patriarchate permanent, 182; Makhir and descendants related to, 258; marriage with Desiderata, 119n12; meeting of with Isaac, 172n61, 182, 188; overlord of Jerusalem preparatory to coronation as emperor, 190n35, 245; personality and achievements of, 112; Philomena a chronicler of, 69; quelled uprising in Aquitaine, 125; regulations of, 291; reign of, 178; relations of Jews to him and Charles Bald telescoped, 348n77; retained supreme authority in Aquitaine, 232; satisfied with semblance of power over Jerusalem, 190n35; seal of, 142 and n64, 143; sent fleet to the North African coast, 191; sent son Charles to Barcelona, 192n42; son of Pepin, 167; submission of Jewish delegation to, 70; Theodoric a prominent warrior of, 129; took Jews under protection, 68; 791 under him king of Jews owned a section of Narbonne, 64n28; vast unified March under, 326; *Vita* designates as king never as emperor, 224; wanted protectorate in Spain, 126; wed with Himeltrud, 119n12

Charles Martel, carolingian mayor of the palace, 2, 37; abandoned siege of Narbonne, 12, 39; Alda daughter of, 122 and n17, 184; ancestor of William, 115; ceded ecclesiastical domains to laymen, 53, 55; ceded

Lyons to *fideles*, 248; 741 death of, 87; devastated southern France and decimated population, 12, 42; 739 reconquered Provence, 12; responded to challenge of rebel vasals, 38; results of victory at Poitiers, 11; set apart *Grande-Juiverie* for Jews in Narbonne, 63n28; victory over the Saracens, 87

Charles II, ("the Bald"), king of Franks and emperor, 92, 126, 133, 137, n53, 151, 155, 167f., 177, 218, 233, 268n25, 324, 326n21, 352; act of, 152f.; 853 act of, 234; action of vs rebel count Humphrey, 327; addressed Barcelonians as *peculiaribus nostris*, 345; aggressive action of vs Barcelona, 339; alliance with 'Abd ar-Rahman, 312; amicable relationship with clergy, 289; and Amolo's tract, 301n32; annihilation of army of, 295; anti-Jewish forces around, 297; appropriated office of abbot of St. Denis, 331; army of in Germany, 341; aroused vs bishops rejected their demands, 256 n183, 306, 309, 312; at first Lothar agreed to recognize claim of infant, 268; 844 began siege of Toulouse, 287; Bernard of Septimania executed by order of, 205n78, 229, 287, 289, 291; Bernard of Septimania protector of the infant, 266n19, 268; 855 bishop Prudence attacked regime of, 269; brought count Aléran to Barcelona, 324; capitulary of for Spaniards, 292n8; ceded villa Censerada, 289; chastized Hincmar to pope Nicholas, 330; Christians of Spain petitioned for extradition of Eleazar, 284; communiqué of to marquis Bernard lost, 344n66; conferred on count Suniaire certain properties, 325n20; conferred rich abbeys on laymen, 330; confirmation by, 167; confirmation of suspect, 291n6; court of, 286; crushing defeat of by Nominoë, 310; designated Bernard son of Bernard and Blihlide as Humphrey's successor, 329; 870 Diet at Rheims designated Louis

- successor to father, 335; diploma of, 150, 167f., 289; 844 diploma of for Narbonne, 153, 155, 292n8; disagreement between Hincmar and, 330f.; 864 dispatched Muslim embassy graciously, 328; dominion over Aquitaine to youngest son of Louis, 272, 284; ecclesiastical forces in realm of, 295; efforts of to mobilize forces fruitless, 310; 876 elevation to imperial office, 340 and n60; 849 entered Aquitaine, 313; 872 established triumvirate for rule of Aquitaine, 336; 850 executed Bernard's son William, 337; 844 executed nasi Bernard of Septimania, 205n78, 229, 287, 289, 291, 337; expedition against Northmen, 312; expedition against Toulouse, 295; fable identified him as Bernard's son, 270n30; gave *fideles* "Villula" in kingdom of Septimania, 336n49; gave marquis Bernard substantial grant, 348; 877 grant by, to count Oliba, 342n65; grant to Spanish settlers, 291n6; grants to ecclesiastical institutions, 290n1; held dominion over Septimania, 284, 28; 6 Hincmar ascribed death of to poisoning by Jewish physician, 344n67; 875 imperial coronation of in Rome, 340; imperial elevation of assured Jewries' support, 346; indirect addressee of Amolo, 301; Judah the Hebrew brought response of, 342; letter of to Barcelonians, 262n7, 342f., 345, 347n75; 858 magnates (*fideles*) swore oath to, 66n34; met with Aléran in Narbonne, 313; military relation to Spanish settlers, 294; Musa fomented rebellion vs, 311; obligated to restore ecclesiastical lands, 296; *privilegium* of, 154; raised siege of Toulouse, 309; recalled offense of Bernard of Septimania, 287n77; 868 received three marquises named Bernard, 333; referred to "kingdom of Septimania," 268n24; relations of Jews to Charlemagne and telescoped, 348n77; reputed to accept loss of Barcelona, 333 n41; sent Solomon count of Cerdagne to Cordova, 328; 865 separated Gothia (Septimania proper) from March of Spain, 329n29; Solomon a confidant of, 330; south of Pyrenees situation serious for, 338; summoned Bernard to make his submission, 284; terminated anti-Jewish orientation, 256n183, 306, 306n42, 309, 312n55; transferred county of Toulouse to Effroi, 286; villa *Judeis* granted by, 29; 849 visit to Narbonne, 316; William son of Bernard fought vs, 294
- Charles III ("the Fat"), emperor: 886 confirmed possession of the villa *Judeis*, 28f.; 885/86 extolled heroic death of marquis Bernard in battle, 360f.; marquis Bernard shifted loyalty to, 361n20
- Charles ("the Simple"), king of France, 161, 168; alleged decrees of expropriation, 157 and n21, 160, 162; confirmed act of immunity, 156; *diplomata* of, 168; edicts ascribed to, 163, 166; grant to church at Narbonne, 157
- Charles, king (unidentified), Jewish hero saved, 66, 144n69
- Charroi de Nîmes*, *chanson*, 66n35, 113, 124; included Narbonne in William's *æf*, 125; k. Louis offered William Berengar's fief, 211n90; poet of had report of Jewish warrior, 125; tale of the unhorsed king in, 144n69; William's reluctance to accept gifts of land, 210
- Charter(s) 155, 164; carolingian, in behalf of Jews, 250; granted Jews hereditary rights in Toulouse, 168n48; guaranteed Jews' rights in Frankia, 123; Latin (*lit.* Christian), 140f.; seal of Latin bears name Carolus, 60; *see also* Capitularies, *Diploma*, *Legislation*, *Privilegium*
- Chief, of Narbonne Jewry, 51; *see also* Nasi, King of Jews, Prince of Jews
- Chilperic I, king of Franks: Jewish mint-master of, 7; recognized independence of duke of Aquitaine, 12

- Chorso (a Persian name?), 128n32
- Chorso, count of Toulouse, duke, 128, 136f., 181; 790 ousted by Charlemagne, 181; William succeeded, 181
- Christian(s), 90, 93f., 97, 100, 104, 107ff., 161, 165f.; alleged sale of to Muslims of Spain, 300; ascension of monarch to imperial office, 186; ate with Jews and served them, 50, 304; bestowed title "king of the Jews," 170; conversion or circumcision of slaves prohibited, 6; faith, 177; Franks unequal to task of holding Barcelona, 316; hirelings observed Jews' sabbath and worked Sunday, 304; in Muslim Spain pleaded for Eleazar's extradition, 311; in service of Jews, 50, 89, 97, 156, 304; in Spain, 126f., 183n17; -Jewish social relations close in 6th century France, 5; -Jewish social relations extended to Christian clergy, 5f.; Jews acquired (tithed) lands from, 157n21; Jews' "blasphemous talk" to, 50, 89; Jews "coerce" to deny their faith, 300; Jews in territories and boundaries of, 172; Jews may not keep as slaves, 304; Jews' theological discussions with, 304; Makhir's advent caused anguish to, 99; messiah, 185; -Muslim alliance of Pepin and enemies of emirate, 12; nobility of Septimania and Aquitaine collaborated with enemy, 37; pope Gregory permitted Jews temporary acquisition of as slaves, 6, 7; residents in Jerusalem, 190n35; Saracens and heathens excluded from lands of, 16; slaves in permanent service to Jews, 6; taunts of, 107; theme re Jews who surrender towns of to Saracens, 68; tithe of, 156; 614 under civil or military authority of Jews, 6; Visigothic, fled from Seville, 48n1
- Christian church, 92n41; balance of power between lay magnates and in northern Spain, 179; Jews settled on lands of, 160; Jews to pay tithes to, 161; once collected tithes on lands of Jews, 166
- Christian church of Ausona, 176; 873-85 reorganized and attached to See at Narbonne, 319
- Christian church of Narbonne, 152n11, 153 and n12, 156f., 162; poverty of before 11th century, 146n1; poorly endowed, 154n16
- Christian church of Rheims, 129n33
- Christian church of St. Quentin in Narbonne, 158
- Christian church property, possessions, 56, 101; cession of, 53; grew enormously in carolingian period, 179; not restored, 52; Saracens severely ravaged, 52; *see also* Ecclesiastical property
- Chronicle(s), court, 112, 193n46, 200, 203
- Chronicle of Ahima'ats*: compiled (in May-June 1054), 201; composed in rhyming stanzas of Hebrew prose, 201
- Chronicle of Aquitaine, 198n58
- Chronicle of Aniane*: 199n59, 219n101, 220f.; altered *cum vexillo* into *cum vexillo crucis*, 221; falsified historical fact, 209; *see also* *Annals of Aniane*
- Chronicle of Moissac*: 40n7, 192n39 and n42, 209, 219n101; dates Frank victory in 803, 196n54; mutilated by tearing out folios, 39f.
- Chronicle of St. Paul, 46
- Chronicle of the Makhiri, 212
- Chronicle of Uzès* (701 to 802), 40n7, 41n10, 130n36, 174, 200; adequate weight to, 45n15; authenticity of, 219n101; conferred rule in return for surrender of Narbonne, 41; has incorrect date for William's death, 239; independent of *Annals of Aniane*, 41; related to source of Moissac and Aniane chronicles, 41n10; re William's capture of Nîmes, 219n101; source of common to *Annals of Aniane*, 39; text of, 174n63
- Chronicler(s), 126, 261; Arab, ignored military exploits of Samuel ibn

- Nagrela, 203; court, charged Jews with treason, 68, 205, 297; of fall of Barcelona recorded events by Jewish calendar, 197; official court, concealed significant events, 115; royal, depicted Jews as enemies of Christianity, 205; silence of about William at height of his career, 241f.
- Chrysostom, church Father, 107n13; views of, 107
- Circus of Narbonne, 148f.
- "Clan of Mayence", primal ancestor of was prototype of all traitors to the crown, 205; treason of involved adultery with the empress, 205n78
- Clarimoscius Filius Quondam Tauroscii* (Kalonymos son of the late Tauros), nasi in Narbonne, designated seigneur direct, 61n23; *see also* Kalonymos b. Todros
- Clergy, Christian: concern re Jewish influence, 5; conviviality with Jews, 5
- Clermont, France, forced conversion of Jews in 6th century, 7
- Clovis, king of Franks: conquest of Frankland did not alter Jews' status as Romans, 21; conversion of changed status of Jews, 13
- Cluny, education of bishops at, 235
- Code of Justinian, 6
- Colaphus Judaeorum*, originated in pugilistic prowess of count William, 353; 883 partly favorable royal decision on the, 352; William's impetuosity and the, 222
- Cologne, Jews of, and curial duties, 4
- Colonegas, fisc near Narbonne, 156
- Commendatio*, commendation, 92 and n41, 93n42; and Jews of Narbonne, 92; assured loyalty to the sovereign, 91; by the pope required for protection by Frank king, 31n60; princes placed themselves under carolingian suzerainty via, 23, 91; ca. 825 relationship between Abraham of Saragossa and emperor, 23; the relationship between sovereign and Jews, 17, 20, 23, 93
- Communities of Francia (*Qehillot Francia*), 347; 876 or 877 date of assembly of, 352; letter of addressed to an unnamed nasi, 350; location of, 350n85; made submission to Bernard of Auvergne as nasi, 341; *see also* *Qehillot Francia*, Bernard, count of Auvergne
- Conflent, France, 332n40; allods in, 331n38; before 865 Solomon controlled the with Cerdagne and Roussillon, 327n22; count Humphrey dispossessed Witticlus of the villa Finestret in, 326; 865 court judgment from, 329; judgment of comital assize in, 331
- Conrad, empress Judith's brother, 268
- Constantine, Roman emperor, 115; and Jews of Cologne, 4
- Constantinople: pope-Frank-caliph alliance vs, 76n8; 718 resisted attack of Arabs, 36
- Constitution: of 815 for Spaniards, 294; of 844 assimilated status of Spaniards to that of Jews, 293; of Constantine a forgery, 100; of Constantine set up papal realm parallel to empire, 31n60
- Conversion to Catholicism: by Clovis k. of Franks, 13; 587 by Visigothic royal house, 8
- Conversion to Christianity: forced on Visigothic Jews, 8, 104; of Jewish-owned pagan slave, 6
- Conversion to Judaism: accompanied rebellion vs king Wamba in Septimania, 9; of Christians in Septimania, 9; of Christian slaves punished, 6; *see also* Bodo
- Convert(s) from Judaism, 119n12; exposed Jews' evils to Amolo, 304; *see also* Albar, Paul
- Corbie, monastery, center of intrigue, 270
- Cordoba, Cordova, Spain, 82, 261n6; emir of, *see* Emir of Cordova; in middle of 11th century had Jewish majority, 48; Jewish residents in charge of, 47; mosque in, 183; Saracen capture of, 47; Solomon's mission to, 327f.

- Corianus, gate of, in Narbonne, 158
- Cornebut, a Hebrew idiom translated meaning "Hornbreaker," 315n63; *see also* Beuve de Hanstone, Bueve Cornebut, Bueve de Hantone
- Coronation *ordines* of 8th and 9th centuries, likened the king to biblical prototypes David and Solomon, 245
- Cosne-sur-Loire, France, January 869
Charles Bald went to meet marquises at, 334
- Coulaines council: new spirit initiated by, 292f.; rising power of church felt at, 288
- Council(s), ecclesiastical: abolished judicial power of Jews over Christians, 255; anti-Jewish edicts of, 204; evidence Jewish settlement at Narbonne 6th-7th centuries, 7; five within two years (844-46), 295; 6th century tried to curb Jewish influence, 6; *see also* individual councils
- Cour du Roi*, name of nasi's dwelling, 171
- Couronnement de Charles*, *chanson*, 135
- Couronnement de Louis*, *chanson* 113, 119n13; one of earliest *chansons* of William cycle, 203n71
- Court, imperial: influence of Jews at, 274; serious charges against Jews justiciable in, 246
- Covenant Vivien*, *chanson*, 119n13
- Crete, messianic movement in, 303
- Cronica Martiniana*, dated William incident (820), 204n75
- Cross, fragment, relic, phylactery of, 210, 218n100; an elaboration, 221; Charles gave to William, 216; gift to Charlemagne of false, 220; original meaning of distorted, 221; "sent" to Charles from Jerusalem, 216, 220
- Crucifixion, Jews' "blasphemy" on the, 303; promises to Jews abrogated as penalty for, 57
- Cunegund, wife of William, 226
- Curte Judaea*, territory of Jews in village named, 27
- Dagobert, king of Franks 633 gave Jews choice of baptism or exile, 7
- Daniel, bishop of Narbonne, 56, 133 and n43, 154n16, 176; April 12, 769 at council in Rome, 56; headed list of signatories, 176; interred in church of St. Paul, 52n8
- Daniel, biblical prophet, 139 and n57f., 280; descendant of ruled district of Narbonne, 63; king of the Israelites, 139n58; Nebuchadnezzar appointed ruler over Babylonia, 139n58; quotations from, 281; reference to "seventy weeks," 103n4; son of k. Yekhonya (Yehoiakhin), 139n58
- Daniel*, biblical book, 108; apocalyptic vision stirs Messianic hopes, 9; commentary on, 105; *Edom* of, 102
- Daniel*, Persian apocalypse, 139n58
- Dara-Izadadwar, Persian princess, wife of exilarch Bustanai, 77, 118n11, 128n32; *see also* Izdudad
- David, biblical king, 139n58; comparisons between Pepin and, 30; exilarch as successor of in West, 100; Hillel's descent from inauthentic, 3n2; legend of, 138n55; not judged except by God, 33; picture of army of in 9th century Psalter, 88n32
- David, House of, 59f., 68, 81n18, 93, 97f., 118n11, 133n42, 150n4; and exilarch of 70th generation, 91n38; Bustanai descended of, 104; confluence of and carolingian dynastic streams, 184; called B'nai Marawatha, 81n18; descendant of settled in Narbonne as ruler of Jews, 73; descent from conferred authority to rule, 18; Domitian massacred descendants of, 95n45; identifiable royal existed, 282; Jewish scholar-prince of, 74; Kalonymos son of prince Todros of, 58; legitimized Jews' autonomy in Frankia, 18; lineage from provided divine sanction to rule, 34; marriage of carolingians into, 190; member of settled in Narbonne, 77; nasi claimed descent from, 2; persistence of, 283;

- prince of, 91; prince of Jews in Frankia traced lineage to, 35; scion of requested for Jews of Egypt, 60n22; 70th generation in, 90; tribe of Judah of was reality, 283
- David of Lyons, 133n42; Joseph and as peers (Jews) in Lyons, 93n42c; ca. 825 leader of Lyons community claimed davidic descent, 5n6
- David of Narbonne, once-Christian widow of, 121n16
- De insolentia Judaeorum* by Agobard, bishop of Lyons, 300
- De judaicis superstitionibus* by Agobard, bishop of Lyons, date of, 267n24
- Denar, had letters MILO name NRBO on other side, 134
- Deoavio, judge in Narbonne, 180
- Deodat, Louis' chancellor, 127
- Desiderata, daughter of King Desiderius of Lombardy, 119n12
- Desiderius, *missus*, represented Charlemagne, 175
- Destruction of the Temple: in year 68 C.E. according to rabbinic tradition, 219n101; start of seventh century since heralds Messiah, 9
- Dèvre, monastery, France: abbot of, 131; dependent on church at Bourges, 131n38
- Dhuoda, author, wife of Bernard of Septimania, 123n20, 117, 127 and n17, 174n63; addressed *Manual* to son William, 264, 286; author of *Manual*, 199, 228; character of her *Manual*, 199n60; consanguinity with Bernard, 123n20; count William not model of Christian virtue, 199n60; dated son William's birth, 315; daughter of Charlemagne, 123n20; failed to list Bera, 191n39; genealogical table, 122n18; ignorant of name of son (Bernard), 265; *Manual* of grossly interpolated, 264n14; *Manual* of in 9th century Nîmes MS, 264n14; married in imperial palace, 229n126, 264; new MS of *Manual* of, 264n14; non-Christian faith of forebears of, 199; no special notice of count William, 199n60; not Louis' sister, 123n20; referred to William, 199; reported Bernard inherited parents, 207n82; reported no renunciation of world by William, 209; resided in Uzès, 174; sister or sister-in-law of emperor Louis, 122, 264n13; son Bernard unbaptized, 264n15; two sons of, 264
- Diet in Aix (831), 271
- Diet in Attigny August 822, 248
- Diet in Cremieu, conferred Toulousain and Septimania on Bernard, 273n38
- Diet in Epernay 846, accepted only 19 of Meaux-Paris proposals, 256n183
- Diet in Quierzy September 838: Bernard and followers joined forces with emperor, 272; complaint against Bernard of Septimania at, 273
- Diet in Rheims October 870, designated Louis as successor of father Charles Bald, 335
- Diet in Stramiacus, agenda, 273
- Diet in Thionville 831: Bernard exculpated himself at, 271; legation from Baghdad at, 271n31
- Diet in Worms: in 790, 136; in 829, 266
- Diet of 803: William at, 186; *see also* Assembly of the realm
- Diploma(ta)*, 157f., 166, 168; affirmed Jews' right to prevent baptism of their slaves, 247; carolingian, for benefit only of Jews named therein, 18; for Jews and capitulary for Aquitaine, 84; in archives of Narbonne Jewry, 161; of Charles the Bald, 150, 167f.; of Charles the Simple, 168; of immunity to church at Narbonne, 155n16; of k. Pepin, 167; of Louis le Débonnaire, 233; of November 1, 899, 154n16; royal, 141; royal and imperial refer to Gellone, 231; *see also* Act, Capitulary, Legislation, Mandate
- Disputation 581-82, of Jew Priscus with bishop Gregory and k. Chilperic I, 7
- Dodo, *fidelis* of Charles the Bald, received *villula* in kingdom of Septimania, 336n49

- Do(d)on, prototype of all traitors to the crown, 205
- Domatus, rabbi, 93n42, 253f.; accused Agobard at imperial palace, 247; authority of as *magister Judaeorum*, 254; mandate of Louis le Débonnaire for, 19f., 25, 252, 266n18; 825 rabbi-*magister*, 244n160; ca. 828 succeeded by Evrard, 244n160, 254
- Domitian, Roman emperor, massacred descendants of David, 95n45
- Donat(us), count, 274; *missus*, 265; not the same one sent to March of Spain (in 827), 274n39; sent to March of Spain, 254
- Duke(s), *dux*, 92, 95f.; carolingian writers sometimes called kings, 273n37; had authority of sub-king in Midi, 92; of tribe of Judah, 95, 280
- Duke of Aquitaine, Charlemagne abolished title of, 83
- Duke of Narbonne, 151, 168
- Duke of the Gascons, Norsemen killed, 310
- Dulciorella, Jewess of Septimania, tombstone of, daughter of *dominus Paragorus*, 7
- East, 87, 98n53; Jewish king in, 95; Jews favored an East-West coalition, 86; Makhir arrived with wife and family from, 120; -West negotiations, 76n8
- Eauze, ecclesiastical province, France, 175
- Ebro river, 193, 323; to Rhone boundaries of Gothia, 329n29
- Ecclesiastical property, domains, etc., 128n33; Charles Martel ceded, 55; confiscated by carolingian kings, 57; grants of to the Jews as allods, 55; grants to Jews included former, 53; lay-owners of refused to restore them, 248; 701-1200 ownership of in France, 179; presumably in hands of Jews, 89; royal acts ceded to lay proprietors, 295; secularized according to Capitulary for Aquitaine, 89n34; "secularizing" of by k. Pepin, 55n13; vassals to pay second tithe for property received as benefices, 54n12; *see also* Christian church property, Property, church
- Edict(s): anti-Jewish of ecclesiastical authorities, 298; of Charles the Simple, 162f., 166; 864 of Pîtres named Jews as minters, 320n11
- Edictum Theoderici* (after 512) safeguarded Jewish autonomy, 5
- Edom (Rome; Italy; Byzantium; France), 102, 106, 108, 110n20, 211n91, 320n11; end of domination of, 105, 109; 700th year of rule of, 105
- Effroi of family of Wifred, took over counties Carcassès and Razès, 333, 337n51
- Egica, Visigoth king 687-702: increased taxation, 108n17; program of repression 104, 108
- Egypt, 202n67; redemption from, 109; scion of David invited to rule over Jews of, 60n22
- Eimeric, Aimeric, in Catalonian sources, 132; *see also* Aymeri
- Einhard, carolingian author, 191; author, *Annales*, 129n34; composed *Vita Karoli*, 204; mentioned Roland, 114; never entitled Charlemagne *imperator*, 204
- Eixalada-Cuixa, monastery in Spain, action in favor of, 331
- Eleazar, name of proselyte Bodo: after 847 disappeared from Latin records, 284; Albar called composer of *ludrica opuscula*, 284n62; Albar challenged to literary duel, 278; Albar cited arguments of, 282n56; Albar countered claims of, 280; *alluf* hailed from *Ispania*, 275n44, 320n11; *alluf* provided information about 'Anan's *Book of Laws*, 211; and Muslim action vs Spanish Christians, 283f.; and Spanish-Jewish masters, 311; anti-Christian agitation, 283; anti-Christian agitation of denied, 311n52; appeared in Babylonian academies as *alluf*, 284;

- arguments of, 279; came to Babylonia from *Ispamia*, 320; consulted Jewish scholars in Spain, 277n48; conversionist propaganda in Spain, 279n51, 283; dated messiah's advent, 283; dated his writing (1363), 283n60; donned military habit, 276n45; father named in a single instance, 321n11; in Sura during gaonate of Nahshon, 284; inquiries of geonim, 284; inquiry of Natronai, 320n11; interpretation of Genesis 49:10, 281; Jew by faith, 277n49; plea for extradition of from Spain, 311n52; quoted Ezekiel, 283; recognized names of Latin or Frankish origin, 321n11; reconstruction of responses, 278n51; *resh kallah* and *alluf* in Babylonia, 320; spoke for himself, 277n48; went from Al-Osano to Iraq, 320n11; wrote to *Ispamia*, 320n11; see also Bodo, Eliezer
- Elefant, "bishop", did not baptize the new-born infant Bernard, 264
- Eliezer b. Nathan referred to *Ma'aseh haMakhiri*, 244
- Elne, France, bishop of, 175
- Emir of Cordova: 846-47 arrival of legation from, 312; Barcelonians' appeal to, 193; count Solomon's mission to, 328; 863 embassy of came to France, 328; enemy of Charlemagne and Harun ar-Rashid, 191n37; share of booty, 183; Solomon successful in mission at court of, 327; walis of Narbonne partially independent of, 11; see also 'Abd ar-Rahman
- Emmo (Haimo), author, *Liber de Qualitate*, 242
- Emperor(s), 306n43; Agobard reported to the, 235n135; German, above all kings and nations, 185n21; Jews subject to German, 185n21; of a *res publica* are lords of free men, 185; orders of to Jews in Lyons, 247
- Emperor, Byzantine: enemy of Charlemagne and Harun, 191n37; unable to protect church at Rome, 29
- Empire: church action vs Jews of Frankish, 297; division of the, 271n31; status of Jews in Frankish, 245
- Enfances Guillaume, chanson*, 113
- Epernay, 846, Assembly of realm, 301n32, 311f.; dismissed bishops' demands vs Jews, 306, 309; Solomon "broke horn of Scoffer of Rheims" at, 315
- Epic(s), 128n32; "Christian" wars in, 125; residue of historical matter in, 114, 116; twelve different Williams in, 116n7
- Episcopacy: emancipated itself under Louis the Pious, 288; kept in check by Pepin the Short and Charlemagne, 288; of Narbonne 146, 147, 148
- Erchimbald, Charlemagne's notary, 188
- Erifons, bishop of Narbonne, 157
- Ermengaud, archbishop of Narbonne (on Nov. 29, 990), 52n8
- Ermold Niger, 191n39; and the "Astronomer" contradict one another, 199; author of *Poem on Louis the Pious*, 187n25, 196; exile in Strasbourg, 199; had materials re William, 198; in Strasbourg ca. 827, 198; made use of a book of annals, 199; may have been Aquitanian, 199; reliability concerning siege of Barcelona, 187n25; relied on a Hebrew text for report of siege of Barcelona, 197; see also Niger, Ermold
- Ernaut de Beaulande, father of Aymeri in the *chansons*, 127
- Erwig, king of Visigoths (680-87), repressive rule of, 108
- Estates: held by Jews at Narbonne, 166; Jewish, tithe-exempt, 166; of Jewish prince, 74; see also Allods, Land holdings, Possessions
- Estourmi, nephew of Tedbalt, 130
- Eudo of Aquitaine, duke, 37; independence of, 12; k. Chilperic recognized independence of, 12
- Eudo, king of France, 153, 168, 268; act of, 154n16; confirmation by, 168; diploma of, 155; *privilegium* of, 154; 890 *privilegium* of, 152

- Evil-merodakh, king of Babylonia, 1
- Everard, *magister Judaeorum* ("Master of the Jews"), 244n160, 246; accused Agobard at court, 253; bore imperial orders against Agobard, 253n174; encounter with bishop Agobard, 246; Heribert may be a variant of, 259n191, 266n20; new Jews' master or representative, 247; 828 recent entry upon duties as *magister Judaeorum*, 254; ca. 828 succeeded Domatus, 244n160, 253
- St. Evroult in Normandy, abbey of, 225
- Exarchate of Ravenna, 30n59; lost to Byzantium, 29; papal principality in, 100
- Exilarch(s) and Exilarchate, 98n53; a permanent institution in Narbonne, 172; after 637 at pinnacle of power, 2; and *nesi'im* of Narbonne, 89; authority of challenged, 90; Babylonian, 78n10, 93, 94n45, 97, 98n53, 175, 190; change in dynasty, 78n10; confirmed by caliph, 2; control only in eastern caliphate, 90; davidic descent of, 2, 100, 282; descendant of a prophet, 139n58; descendants of Bustanai, 77; dynasty of, 74; evidence of Jewish sovereignty, 281; example for Egyptian *nagid*, 82n18; exclusive competence restricted, 90; exclusive prerogative over judges, 2; exercised supreme jurisdiction in caliphate, 2; first, 104; forced out of office, 77; had Persian or Aramaic and Hebrew-biblical names, 82; head of dispersion of all Israel, 91; heads of academies ordained by, 90; hereditary Jewish monarch, 2, 90; inauguration, a coronation, 91; Jewish patriarchate comparable to, 1; Jews received territory on model of, 22f.; left for West, 77; legitimacy question of, 77; Makhir and dynasty virtual, 74n1, 90, 123; Mar Zutra II set up Jewish kingdom, 2; Marawatha Natronai, 81n18; member of Sassanid state council, 1; monarchical power of, 93, 98n53; Narbonne Jewry loyal to, 86; Narbonne within orbit of, 88n32; Natronai became in distant West, 80; Natronai-Makhir, 100; of the West, 111n20; order of succession, 80; own town or area in Babylonia, 2; paid caliph for confirmation, 2; preeminence of coincided with rule of carolingians, 2; principality for, 100; "purer" western, 81; referred to themselves as kings, 90; related to Persian aristocracy, 77; rival of nasi of Palestine, 3; role as center of Jews in caliphate, 22; royal status of, 2, 91; 70th generation since David, 91n38; strengthened national awareness, 22; *see also* King of Jews, Nasi, Prince of Jews
- Exile, end to the, 104
- Exodus, from Egypt, 103n4
- Expropriation(s): in edicts of Charles the Simple, 162; of Jews' estates at Narbonne, 166
- Expulsion, of Jews from Narbonne (1306), 170
- Family chronicle of William, read aloud to relatives and friends, 200
- Farfa, monastery, 141
- Felix of Urgel, 177n3, 178; 792 abjured Adoptionist views, 177n3; heresy of, 176 and n2; signed *decretum* of Narbonne council, 177n3
- Fideles*, 92, 93n42, 128n33, 271; and royal service, 65f., 93n41; commended themselves to king, 92n41; definition of, 92n41; endowment of at expense of church, 128n33; Jews as, 17, 20; oath to Charles the Bald, 66n34
- Finestret, in county of Conflent, 326n21; count Humphrey dispossessed Wittiscus of the villa, 326
- Flaccus, Alcuin's surname, 213n96
- Flanders, Wifred le Velu home from exile in, 332
- Flogging, in medieval Jewish courts, 15n24

- Florenz von Wevelinkhofen, 14th century chronicler, 239, 240n146; question of identity of Bodo and chancellor William, 241; reported chancellor William was a Jew, 204
- Folque de Candie*, *chanson*; William could speak Hebrew according to, 117n9
- Fontenoy, France, battle positions at, 285
- Fourth kingdom, 109; and *Edom* of Daniel apocalypse, 102; dominion of to end, 104n5; of Daniel, 105; of *Edom* (Rome), 103n4
- Foz, near Narbonne, brine pits in, 159
- France, 124, 131 and n38, 163n35, 191, 275, 328; early settlement of Jews in, 5; Jews of, 1, 203n71; kings of, 143; Saracen occupation of, 87n32
- France, southern, 156, 162, 166, 169n48, 188; before 950 paucity of church property in, 179; churches not owners of property in 8th century, 179; Jews of, 160; Meshullam b. Kalonymos in, 163n37; Saracen domination in, 105 n9; Saracens invaded, 130
- Francia, 213, 216, 272; Charlemagne transplanted Aquitanians to, 128; submission of Jewries of Lotharingian to nasi, 347n75; William summoned back to, 215
- Franco-Abbasid, domination over Spain, 173; -German conditions and Meshullam, 163n37
- Frankfort, council: 794 condemned Adoptionism, 177n3; trial of Felix at, 177
- Frankia, Frankland, Frankish realm, 15n24, 56, 95, 100, 109, 125f., 178, 185, 187, 210, 216, 258, 275n44, 277 n47, 279, 282, 311n52, 320n11, 324, 345; ablaze with rebellion, 272; Albar-Eleazar correspondence sent to, 303; 852 Barcelona lost to, 327n22; bishops of, 284; Clovis' conquest of and Jews' status, 21; 793 emir Hisham I proclaimed holy war vs, 182; geographical subdivision of, 231; Hincmar leader vs Jews of, 295; immigration into encouraged, 84; invasions of, 309; Jewish immigration into, 123; Jewish principedom (principate, principality) in, 86, 89, 93, 100; Jews in, 52, 87, 101, 123, 231; Makhiri dynasty in, 282; 864-65 March of Spain integrated into, 329; 864 mints licensed to operate in, 320n11; Narbonne center of Jewry in southern, 249; nasi of, 97, 176; rabbi-magister of 9th century, 256; southern, 75; status of Jews in, 13-17, 172f., 296, 298; territory of Jews in, 22; trade with East, 49; Umayyad Spain hostile neighbor of, 29
- Frank(s), 10, 68ff., 75, 100, 112, 126ff., 136, 182, 186, 193, 213, 215, 222, 269; advances in Spain, 138; allies of, 70; ambush of, rearguard, 292n8; arms, 184; army(ies), 130, 172n61, 186; as successors of ancient Israel, 33; at Barcelona, 194; besieged Narbonne, 174; caliph the ally of, 86; captured Narbonne, 71, 146; carolingians were usurpers of throne of the, 190; cause, 126; cause in Spain, 186; Charlemagne as *David* in the court of, 120; chronicles, 183, 188; empire, 262n7; expansion of authority in Spain, 182; fleet of ships, 188; forces, 184; from 797-803 chronicles silent about duke William, 189; "in the manner of the," 271n31; invaded Spain, 126; Jews' delegation to at Narbonne, 67; Jews delivered Narbonne to, 67, 174; Jews "substituted" for Goths as allies of, 70; king(s), 74, 99, 182; king ally of caliph, 88; king as patrician an imperial official, 30; king ceded a domain to Jews, 73; king's cession of lands to nasi, 96f.; king in alliance with pope and caliph, 76n8; king invited member of Jewish royal house to Narbonne, 77; king's patriciate implied lordship over church, 31; king took Pamplona, 126; mission returned from Byzantium, 75; mission to Baghdad arrived during upheavals among Jews, 80;

Frank(s) (*Continued*)

- mobilization of forces at Barcelona, 192, 195f.; monarch(s), 184f.; 768-Muslim mission from Baghdad included the nasi, 81; names of aristocracy, 120; reoccupied Ausona, Cardona, Casseres in Spain, 187; scion of both Houses of Arnulf and David, 120; Spanish Umayyads enemies of, 317; throne of, 143; took Barcelona, 195; triumphal entry into Barcelona, 196n54; troops, 185; *see also* Frankish
- Frankish, 127, 188n29; act of the kings, 172; administration of church in empire prerogative of the king, 254; anti-Jewish edicts of kings, 298; cession of kings a fulfillment of pledge (?), 58; council of 742 (*concilium Germanicum*), 53; council of 744 (in Estinnes), 53; council 744 or later (in Soissons), 54; Eleazar recognized names of Latin or Frankish origin, 321n11; *fidelis* of king, 92; Jews as officials, 6; king, 143; king endowed prince of davidic lineage with estates, 59; kings, 97, 111; kings' cession to the Jews, 53; 768, kings established Jewish principate, 137; kings grant of 768 to the Jews, 55, 58; kings granted to the Jews allodial lands, 50, 73n48; kings' pledges to Jews, 57; political situation in the south of kingdom, 322; pope Stephen III condemned kings' concessions to the Jews, 50; pope Stephen described cession to Jewry by sovereigns, 72; protectorate over Jerusalem, 189f.; realm, 100; troops, 172n61; *see also* Frank(s)
- Frederick I Barbarossa, emperor, 1182 renewed *privilegium* of Jews of Ratisbon, 346n72
- Frederick II, emperor: claimed dominion over all Jews, 186n23; 1237 diploma of for Jews of Ratisbon and empire, 346
- Free men, Jews as, in Frankland, 21
- Freeholds: carolingian kings granted to Jews hereditary 89; extensive, ceded to Jews, 72f.; *see also* Allods, *Hereditates*, Possessions, Property
- Fridolon, count: entrusted with defense of Toulouse, 314n59; 849 rewarded with Toulouse and Toulousain, 313
- Frisia, 181; communities of Jews in, 350n85
- Frodoin, bishop of Barcelona, 344; Louis' diploma for interpolated, 348; supported Franks, 347
- Frotar, archbishop of Bourges, kept from his see, 341
- Fustat, Jewish community in, 88n32
- Gailo, Charlemagne's commander died in battle, 129
- Gamaliel V(?), nasi of Palestine, 3
- Gangra (Gangres) synod, forbade baptism as inducement for manumission, 252
- Gaon, Geonim (head of academy) deferred to exilarch's royal status, 2; of Pumbeditha, 2; of Sura, 2; *see also* individual geonim
- Garin de Montglane, character in the *chansons*: Aymeris' grandfather, 134; presumed ancestor of the Aymeri-William clan, 134f.
- Garsindo, son of viscount of Narbonne, 148
- Gascons, attack by prince Lupo's ambushed Charlemagne's army, 126f.
- Gascony, 10, 92n40, 136, 193 and n46; carolingian dominance in, 92; Pepin's rule of 76; Sánchez, *dux* of, 92
- Gaucelin, William's son, 217
- Gaucelm (Gothselm), brother of Bernard of Septimania: Lothar executed, 272; received March of Gothia and counties Roussillon, Gerona, Ampurias, 266; *see also* Gothselm
- Gaudiocus and sons Jacob and Vivacius, 19, 24, 56, 144n68, 177, 291n7, 294n12
- Gaufrois, in the *chansons* knows Arabic, 117n9
- Gaul, 64, 121; authority over, 138n55;

- Frankish, 104; Jewish king in, 96; Saracen invasion of, 47, 52
- Gauls, fled into the mountains of Castille and Narbonne 8th century, 320n9
- Gauzfred: equivalent of Waldfred, 266 n20; not to be read Gottfried, 266n20
- Gauzhelm/Helmgauz illustrates tendency to invert names in same family, 266n20
- Gellone, foundation of count William, 206f., 221, 228, 233, 236, 239, 243; a dependent *cella*, 233; a free abbey, 227; claim for independence, 236; conflict between and Aniane, 227; connection between and Aniane, 220; dependence of on Aniane, 220; 822-23 dissension wracking, 238; fire of 1066 in, 228, 230; foundation charters of, 226; in 10th century known by its Cross, 221n104; interest of in William, 223n110; inventory of holdings of, 229, 231; monastery in Lodève later called *Sancti Guillelmi de Desertis*, 225; library and archives of in Aniane, 208n83; members of as colleagues of Aniane, 235; merely *cella* in *Vita Benedicti*, 209; monastery, 198, 216, 232; no mention of William at, 235; reworked Aniane's forgery, 228; *Sacramentary* not composed for, 242; splinter of Cross a relic at, 189; testament of abbot of, 231; valley of, 206, 215; *Vita B* composed in, 218, 223; William provided servitors at, 210n90; William's association with a reality, 222; William's donations to, 121n17, 218n100, 229n126, 231; William's pious conduct in, 206; works supposedly authored in, 242
- Genesis 49:10, 64, 94n45, 95, 98n53, 169, 280; and survival of tribe of Judah, 282; basis of Peter Venerable's attack, 96; Christian argument based on, 279; exegesis of, 97, 99n54, 110; non-traditional interpretation of, 281; referred to Makhir, 98; traditional exegesis of, 93, 94n43
- Geniza text, re a davidic family B'nai Marawatha, 81n18
- Genoa, Italy, privileges confirmed 507/11 for Jews of, 21
- Gerberga, daughter of William and sister of Bernard, 184, 206n78, 228; date of birth unknown, 229n126; drowned in the Seine on charge of sorcery, 272; younger than Bernard, 229n126
- Gerberge, Carloman married to, 119n12
- Gerhard, bishop of Münster, 239
- Gerold, clerk of Earl of Chester, would sing of William, 225
- Gerona, 72, 115, 135, 137, 182, 183n16, 272; Bernard occupied villa of church at, 290n4; bishop of, 175; Jews of, 136; 785 surrendered to k. Charles, 135; wali of, 126
- Gerona council(s), 161; November 1068, 160n29; Second and Third, 160; Third of 1078, 161
- Gerona county, 260; Gaucelm received, 266; Jews in, 162n34
- Gershom, rabbenu of Mayence, outlawed polygamy, 203n71
- Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, chronicle, 40n7; contains much fictional material, 332; evidence of rejected, 332n40; specified Narbonne was in March of Spain, 335n44
- Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*, 13th century, 61, 64, 73, 92n41, 96, 100n57, 139 and n57, 143, 144n68, 174n62, 178, 260; abbot Bernard III (1237-55) ordered composition of, 67n36; account improbable, 70; account of Jewry's role based on historical source, 69n40, 70, 73n48; asserted Jews were Pepin's allies, 73; Charles altered Aymeri's name in, 121n16; compiled middle 13th century, 62, 67; compiler wrote in Lagrasse, 138; credited Jews with fall of Narbonne, 67, 71, 73, 173; date of corrected, 67n36; denied "traitorous" intent of Jews, 68; pope Stephen emphasized features found

Gesta Karoli Magni (Continued)

- also in, 72; Provençal translation of, 68, 139n57; re cession of one-third of Narbonne to Jews, 72, 77, 86; re papal consent for Jewish prince, 100, 178n5; review of, 67n36; substituted Jews for Goths, 69f.; summarized documents in archives of Lagrasse, 172; testimony of accepted then rejected, 70
- Geste*, in the *chansons*, has meaning "lineage" or family, 201 and n66
- "Getha" cohorts of, 193
- Gevaudan, France, 75
- Gilbert, Dhuoda's scribe, 264n15; claimed great effort in writing of Dhuoda's *Manual*, 264n14
- Gilbert, count in Narbonnaise, 13n22
- Girart, character in the *chansons*: knows Arabic, 117n9; speaks "own tongue," 117
- Goranshah, son of exilarch Bustanai, 118n11
- Goth(s), *Gothi*, 197n56, 274n39; absence of from Septimania 192n39; Albar boasted of his lineage, 262n7; antagonism to Franks, 43 and n13; Bera said to be, 262; betrayed William to k. Charles, 314; connoted population of Gotholonia (Catalonia), 261; constitution for benefit of, 291; disappearance from the Narbonnaise, 73, 173; doubt re role of in surrender of Narbonne, 42; flight of to East, 42f.; geographical not ethnic connotations of, 278n49; Gothic law for in Septimania, 37n2, 44n14, 45n15; immigration of from Spain, 46; Jews designated, 262; Jews of Gotholonia called, 261; lacked political identity in Narbonne, 44; Pepin banished, 51; residents of Gothia called, 174n63; residents of Narbonne, 69; 753 revolt of in Nîmes, 87; Saracens destroyed population of in Catalonia, 320n9; skepticism re as allies of Pepin, 46; Spanish Jews as of Goth ancestry, 278n49; substituted for "Jews" in *Annals of Aniane*, 174; surrendered Narbonne, 36, 37 and n2, 173; time of, 181; 791 time of a period now past, 45
- Gothia, Gotia, 135, 193n46, 319, 323, 328; actually Septimania, 192; lands of Oliba in, 342n65; marquis of, 147; part of assigned to Bernard son of Blihilde, 327n22, 335n44; residents of, 174n63; 852 Septimania and March of Spain joined as, 323, 329; 865 split into March of Spain and March of Gothia, 323; to Hincmar meant area from Rhone to Ebro, 329n29
- Gotholonia (Catalonia), Jews in were called Goths, 261, 343
- Gothselm, count, brother of Bernard of Septimania, 184n20, 265, 272; decapitated, 228; dismissed, 272; son of William, 265; see also Gaucelm
- Gotmar, prelate of Narbonne, 136, 319
- Goudargues, abbey, count William founded, 226
- Gozolas, Jew in Septimania 5th century, 7
- Granada, Spain: called "Jewish Granada," 48; Jewish residents in charge of, 47; Samuel ibn Nagrela commander-in-chief of, 204; Samuel *nagid* of Jews of, 131; Saracen capture of, 47
- Grande Juverie*: Narbonne Jews held the government of, 63n28; set apart for Jews, 63n28
- Greece, Greek, 98n51, 103n4, 120; delegation from Byzantium, 75
- Gregory, bishop of Tours: charged bishop of Clermont with Jewish influence, 6; in disputation with Jew Priscus, 7
- Gregory I the Great, pope: anti-Jewish edicts of, 298; 591 declared Jews lived by Roman law, 21; defined difference between kings and emperors, 184; objected to forced conversion of Jews, 7; protested Jews' owning Christian slaves, 7; views on Jews, 6
- Gregory VII, pope, 146
- Gui, in *chansons*, son of Beuve Cornebut and daughter of Aymeri, 315n63

- Guiburc (Witburg), character in the *chansons*: addressed William in her vernacular, 117; Christian name of William's wife, 116; first fed and covered husband's horse, 203n71; marriage and conversion of, 117; of non-Christian origin, 263; Tedbalt first spouse of, 130n35; wife of count William, 122n18; 206n78; William's wife a "pagan" by birth, 184; *see also* Guitberge
- Guifred, archbishop of Narbonne, 151, 154f., 157, 159, 160f., 164, 166, 168; appropriate one-third of town's income, 349f.; archbishop at age of ten, 52n8, 147; claim of half of Narbonne, 150, 152, 166; drive to power, 149; excommunicated, 161n33; revised *diplomata* of Charles the Simple, 168; successful in regaining Jewish lands, 166
- Guifred, count of Cerdagne, France, 146; 1019 set up son Guifred as archbishop of Narbonne, 52n8
- Guishart, character in the *chansons*, born in an Arabic land (Cordova), 116; denied (the Christian) God, 116
- Guitberge, wife of count William, 226; *see also* Guiburc
- Gundowald, monk, replaced Bernard as *camerarius*, 271
- Guntram, king of Franks, failed to protect synagogues, 21
- Ha-Makhiri, 131; *see also* Al-Makhiri
- Hadhemar associate of William, 193; hero in *chansons de geste*, 198n58; *see also* Adhemar
- Hadrian, pope, 176n2; office of politically within Charlemagne's realm, 31n60
- Hagiograph, 128n32; portions of *vita* B written in rhyme, 222
- Hague Fragment, narrative in Latin prose, 200
- Haimo, count in Albi, 128
- Hakhinai, name of exilarch Natronai's father, 79
- Haman, a king as harsh as, 108 and n17
- Hananiah, exilarch, preferred over brother 'Anan, 79
- Harold, exiled king of the Danes, 92
- Harun ar-Rashid, caliph of Baghdad, 190f.; alliance of with Charlemagne, 76n8; ceded to Charlemagne Holy Sepulcher nominally, 189, 221n104; enemies in common with Charlemagne, 191n37; legate of, 187
- Hebraisms, may point to an original Hebrew text in translation, 224
- Hebrew, 73n48; chronicle in rhymed prose, 201; Latin and Hebrew names corresponded, 254n175; sources, 96; sources declared legendary, 70; sources of 12th and 13th centuries, 58; William able to speak, 188
- Helinbruch, son of William, 228
- Helisachar, abbot of St. Richarius, chancellor, 268; alternated as editor of *Annales royales*, 269n28; *missus*, 265; 830 supporter of Lothar's revolt, 269
- Hemmon, author (1107), 243
- Henry IV, emperor: 1090 charters of for Jewries of Worms and Spire, 84, 345; 1074 *privilegium* of to "Jews and other Wormsers," 346n71
- Heraclius, roman emperor, brought anti-Jewish pressure on Frank ruler, 7
- Hérault river, France, 217, 222
- Hereditaments, allodial: granted to the Jews, 72; allotted to Natronai-Makhir as his principality, 82; 768 Frank kings' grant of to Jewry, 77; *see also* Allods, Freeholds, Land holdings, *Hereditates*, Possessions, Property
- Hereditates et Honor (nahalot v'khavod)*, "hereditaments and high office," 62; corresponds to carolingian usage, 63
- Hasan, Arab leader in Spain, submission of, 187
- Havtaha (*securitas*, "security"), a charter of protection, 65
- Hebraisms, in *Vita Willelmi*, 223

- Heribert**: accompanied father William on campaign against Barcelona, 193, 229n126; blinded and sent to Italy, 228, 271n31; brother of Bernard of Septimania, 228, 268, 270f.; condemned to death, 270f.; Lothar king of Italy blinded, 266n20; may be variant of Everard, 259n191, 266n20; son of William, 115, 228, 259n191
- Hildegare**, notary of k. Louis, 127
- Hilhelm**, son of William, 228
- Hilderic**, governor of Nîmes: rebelled vs k. Wamba, 9; recalled Jews to Septimania, 9
- Hilduin**, editor, 268; alternated with abbot Helisachar as editor of *Annales royales*, 269n28; edited *Annales Einhardi*, 269; examples of editorializing, 269n28; hostile to Bernard of Septimania and empress Judith, 269
- Hillel the Elder**: ancestor of nasi in Palestine, 3; descent from king David inauthentic, 3n2; extinction of dynasty ended patriarchate, 4n3
- Himeltrud**, son declared illegitimate, 119n12
- Hincmar(us)**, Metropolitan of Rheims, court chronicler, 129n33, 306n43, 308n44; accused Bernard of plot to ambush the king, 337; April 845 council of Beauvais elected, 295; arch-enemy of Jews in 9th century, 295, 308n44; ascribed emperor Charles' death to poisoning by Jewish physician, 344n66; chronicles of emphasized traitorous acts by Jews, 205; communication to Amolo bishop of Lyons, 297n25, 306; 845 consecrated archbishop of Rheims, 296; December 882 death of, 352; disagreement between and k. Charles, 330f.; humiliated in diocese of Rheims, 330; identified count Bernard of Toulouse, 337; inadequately identified officials by name of Bernard, 322f., 336; leader for restitution of ecclesiastical lands, 352; omitted names of leaders, 328f.; on Humphrey's revolt, 326n22; played down Humphrey's treasonable action in Toulouse, 327; pope Nicholas castigated, 330; 877 reported conspiracy against emperor Charles, 350; rise of, 295; rise of Solomon and decline of, 330; "scoffer in province of Rheims," 307; Solomon dashed designs of, 308, 309n46, 315; succeeded Prudence as chronicler of *Annales Bertiniani*, 269; *Gothia* meant region from Rhone to Ebro to, 329n29; toppling of from dominance at court, 331; vagueness of, 322
- Ḥisdai ibn Shaḥrut**, diplomat and physician (d. ca. 976): chief justice of Jews, 257n188; communication of Khazar Jew to, 351n86; descent from Moses not David, 257n189; director of department of customs, 256; duties at court of caliph, 60n22, 257n187; head of Jews in Cordovan Spain, 257; letter of to k. of Khazars suspect, 257n187; military prowess of, 257n190; no contemporaneous source entitles nasi, 257n189; not addressee of letter of *Ḳehillot Francia*, 351n86; resemblance of 9th century rabbi-magister to, 256
- Ḥisdai**, exilarch ca. 865-80 in Baghdad, son of exilarch Natronai, 81n18
- Hisham I**, emir of Spain: 793 ascension of, 182; died 796, 186; exacted excessive tribute from Jews and Christians in Spain, 183n17; preached holy war, 137n53; succeeded by Alḥaqam I, 186; William's troops no match for, 183
- Hispani**: Christians under Muslim domination emigrated to Frankia, 261
- Hispania** (Spain), 135, 319; magnates of and Septimania, 72; royal *fideles* in, 291n8; the Spanish peninsula proper, 261
- Holy Sepulcher**, 188; ceded to Charlemagne nominally, 189
- Honor(es)**, *Honos*: by 1065 meant landed property, 62f.; designated a municipal or state office in carolingian age, 62 and n26; lost original meaning and

- signified benefice, 62; *rabbi-magister* held from king, 256; synonymous with *alodes* (anachronistic), 230
- Honor Judaicus*, near Narbonne in vicinity of Carcassone (1162), 63n27; September 25, 1065, 63n27
- Honorati* ("landed proprietors") of Septimania, 173n62; claimed papal confirmation for former ecclesiastical estates, 178n8
- Hospital St. John of Jerusalem, in Narbonne, 61n23
- House of Makhir, death of last survivor of via William and Bernard, 338
- Hraban Maur, claimed to have consulted a Hebrew re commentary on *Kings*, 204
- Huesca, Spain, 126, 311; Franks ravaged environs of, 187; military effort vs, 187
- Hugh Capet, king of France, reconfirmed possession of villa *Judaeis*, 29n56
- Hugh of Tours, military commander, 268; procrastination of, 265
- Hugo, abbot, listed as conspirator vs Charles Bald, 350
- Hugo Candidus, cardinal legate, 160n29; demanded tithe from lands owned by Jews, 160; papal legate at council of Gerona, 160
- Humphrey, count, 329n29; alliance of with 'Abd ul-Umar, 327; Bernard Plantevelue replaced as count of Autun, 335; Bernard son of Bernard and Blihilde succeeded, 329; k. Charles took direct action vs, 328; disposed Wittisclus of the villa Finestret, 326; Hincmar played down treasonable action of, 327; master of Gothia (Septimania), 326; not marquis of Spain but *Gothiae marchio*, 326n22; 863-64 objective of, 336; revolt of, 326n22, 328, 334; succeeded Odalric in the Narbonnaise, 324n18
- Hunald of Aquitaine, father of Waifar, 125
- Hispanica*, name of Visigothic Septimania, 261n6
- Ibn Alaghlab, governor in Kairouan, 191; ambassadors from, 187, 245; legation reflected success of Isaac's efforts in North Africa, 188
- Ibn al-Arabi of Saragossa, at Diet in Paderborn, 125
- Ibn al-Atir, Arab chronicler, 850-51 dated Saracen intervention, 314n60
- Ibn Daud, Abraham, author, *Sefer Seder haKabbalah* (1160-61), 58, 125; chronicle of imbedded in Arabic cultural matrix, 62 and n26; progenitor of a nasi, 60n22; tradition of re Amram's *Seder* to Spain, 322n14; see also *ShK*
- Ibn Hazm, Arab theologian, 98n53; scoffed at tradition re Jewish sage, 82
- Ibrahim, ambassador of Ibn Alaghlab, 191
- Idalcaria, bishop of Ausona (Vich), 135, 319; 906 complained at synod of Barcelona, 319f.
- Ifranga (Ifrandja), Frankia, 320n11
- Imperial: gifts of, kinsfolk to wives of Jews, 248; Jews an economic and military mainstay of power, 249; office, 186; relationship of Jewish community to office, 345; unmediated jurisdiction for Jews in Frankia, 83
- Incest(uous) consanguineous marriages, 120n14; marriages between cousins forbidden by canon law as, 119n12
- Innocent IV, pope, on behalf of the books of the Jews, 177n4
- Iraq, 321; Eleazar *alluf* of Ausona in, 211
- Isaac (count William of Toulouse), 797 ambassador to Baghdad and Jerusalem, 172, 186, 190; at Alaghlab court N. Africa, 186n24, 188; first appearance in the documents, 138; Hebrew or Arabic name, 188; Latin or Frank name unknown, 138; led delegation to Charlemagne, 63, 68, 138, 140, 143, 172, 182, 245; October 801 returned from Baghdad and Jerusalem, 186n24, 188; sole survivor of leaders of Baghdad embassy, 138, 188; see also William, count, duke

- Isaac, exilarch, died in Sefarad between Cordova and Ispamia, 261n6
- Isaac son of Abraham, of Narbonne, sold property, 158f.
- Isaac b. Rosbihan b. Shahrijar, ca. 759 exilarch descendant of Izdundad, 78
- Isaac b. Simeon of Barcelona, 322
- Isembard, count, captured by William, 314
- Isembert: and Narbonne judges, 340n59; presiding justice of count of Narbonne, 340
- Isidore, bishop of Seville (600-36), 95 and n45, 107n14; on Genesis 49:10, 94n45; quoted Jews, 94; reported argumentation of Jews, 281n55
- Ishmael* (Arabs), 105f.
- Ishmael, *tanna*, 105, 107; calculated the "end," 106
- Ishmaelites, 60, 66; a Jew rescued k. Charles from, 66
- Islam(ic), 87n32, 88, 102, 106n12, 110 n20, 139n58, 182, 284
- Ispamia (Spain), 261n6, 318n6; communication between southern Italy (Amalfi) and, 201n65; gaon Natronai's correspondence with rabbis of, 318n6, 320; Hebrew equivalent of *Marca hispanica*, 261; Jews organized as distinct community throughout, 347; lapse in communication with Pumbeditha, 318n3; *rabh* Eleazar entitled *alluf* wrote to, 320n11; references to, 261n6; refers to area Narbonne-Barcelona comprising March of Spain, 261, 317n3; *Seder rabh Amram* equates with Sefarad, 261n6
- Israel (land and people): early redemption of, 102; land of, 106n12; rebellious for 700 years, 106; rescue of, 109
- Issar(s), Roman coin current in Frankia and Italy, 320n11; 871-79 Eleazar ordered to be minted, 320n11
- Issun, Suleiman's son, fled to Narbonne, 126
- Italy, 5n7, 98n51, 137n53, 181ff., 188; communication between Ispamia and southern, 201n65; Heribert blinded and sent to, 271n31; 846 Saracens invaded, 311
- Iterius, count, 128
- Itiel, Hebrew name, 128n32
- Iudaeis, fortress, 996 k. Hugh Capet died in, 29
- Izudundad, Persian princess, wife of exilarch Bustanai, 77; legitimacy of her descendants, 78; sister of the general Marzabana, 78; *see also* Dara-Izdadwar
- Jacob b. Isaac: b̄rought 20 gold pieces to Amram gaon of Sura, 322
- Jacob son of Gaudiocus: mandate of emperor Louis for, 56, 144n68, 219n7, 294n12
- Jean of Fontjoncouse: diploma in behalf of, 291; *see also* John of Fontes
- Jerome, bible translator (340-420): gave argumentation of Jews 281n55; lived in Palestine, 94; re prerogatives of nasi Gamaliel V(?), 3
- Jerusalem, 106, 133, 138n55, 186n24, 302; Charlemagne wanted semblance of power over, 188 ff., 190 and n35; Charles' embassy of 797 in, 138, 189, 190n35; fragment of Cross for Charles from, 216, 220; in Charlemagne's coronation, 185, 191, 245; Jews' return to, 107; keys and banner of, 189f., 221, 245; pilgrimage to, 133n43; reestablish temple service in, 111n20; 63 B. C. E. Roman occupation of, 103n4; William present in, 221 and n92
- Jesus the Nazarene, 94n45, 107n15; claim for messiahship undermined, 93; crucified is Messiah ben Joseph, 104n6; Jewish polemic against messiahship of, 9n16; messiahship of, 94; "murder" of, 107
- "Jews' town" (*burgus Ebreorum*), 849 in Vienne, 26
- Johannes Teutonicus, canon lawyer, affirmed the *translatio imperii*, 185n21
- John, bishop of Barcelona: 874 com-

- plaint of vs priest Tyrus at council of Attigny, 338, 339 and *n*58, 344 and *n*69
 John VIII, pope: 878 excommunicated marquis Bernard son of Blihilde, 341; order to marquis Bernard, 341
 John of Fontes: prerogatives ceded to, 291*n*6; *see also* Jean of Fontjoncouse
 Joseph: David, and peers (Jews) in Lyons, 93*n*42c, 133*n*42
 Joseph, father of Meir, leader of the community of Al-Osana, 321*n*12
 Joseph b. Abba Mari, in Makhiri family, 121*n*16
 Joseph son of Abraham Veneros owned fishpond in Narbonne, 158
 Joseph succeeded father Samuel ibn Nagrela, 131
 Joseph *Bekhor Shor*, 12th century Franco-German bible commentator, 128*n*32
 Joseph Bonfils (*Tobh Elem*) in 11th century Narbonne, 163*n*35, 164*n*37
 Joshua b. Levi, tanna, messiah b. David appeared to, 302
 Judah (Judacot) *fidelis* of Charles Bald brought response of emperor Charles, 342; carried to bishop Frodoin gift from emperor Charles, 343; marquis Bernard's agent and intermediary, 345; selected for contact with the "Barcelonians," 347
 Judah, Gaon of Pumbeditha (906-17), 318*n*3
 Judah, Hebrew name of exilarch Zakkai Baboi, 82
 Judah, in Narbonne 12th century, 58
 Judah b. Barzilai al-Barceloni, related sectarian (Karaites) practices among Jews, 211*n*91
 Judah b. Solomon al-Harizi, 1194 visited Narbonne, 61*n*23
 Judah, magnate served as intermediary, 347*n*75
 Judah, son of Jacob, biblical character, 93, 97, 98*n*53
 Judah, Israelite tribe, 97, 282*n*57; a living reality, 280*n*52, 282; dispersed, 280; duke of, 95; had disintegrated, 281; House of David of a reality, 283; House of, 96; king of, 64, 94*n*45, 95, 169; persistence of, 283; prince or duke of, 95; scepter of, 99*n*54; survival of as evidence that Messiah had not come, 282; tribeship from, 282*n*57
 Judaism, conversion to, 111; return to, 108; slaves converted to, 156; *see also* Bodo, Conversion to Judaism, William (count)
 Judas Maccabee, cleansed and rededicated temple in Jerusalem, 197
 Judea, Zerubbabel satrap of, 1
 Judan "messiah," pupil of Abu Isa, 105*n*11
 Judith, wife of emperor Louis, 122*n*19; accused of adultery with Bernard, 205*n*78, 270*n*30, 271*n*31, 288; Bernard of Septimania choice of, 268*n*26; conflicts involving, 268; demanded rights for son Charles, 268; Diet at Aix restored, 271 and *n*31; invested with direction of Septimania, 271; Jews supported, 233; mother of Charles, 233
Juiverie, of Narbonne, 170
 Julian Apostate, emperor, efforts to rebuild Temple in days of, 303
 Julian, archbishop of Toledo, 7th century, 95, 107*n*14, 108; argumentation of Jews, 9*n*16, 281*n*55; declared Christians in Septimania converted to Judaism, 9; Jewish descent of, 8; polemical work vs Jews, 8*f.*, 94, 107; repeated Isidore of Seville's arguments, 94*n*45; wrote *De comprobatione aetatis sextae* 686 to refute Jews, 9 and *n*16, 107*n*15
 St. Julien Martyr de Brioude, monastery in Auvergne, 216; count Bernard lay abbot of, 335
 Juliofred, abbot of Gellone, 229; 925 administrator of Gellone, 230; designated himself "kinsman of emperor Charles," 230; ordered inventory, 231; testament of, 228

- St. Justus and St. Pastor, churches of Narbonne, 133; diocese of, 148; see of, within walls of Narbonne, 148
- Justus, son of *dominus* Paragorus, tombstone of, 7
- Kairouan, North Africa, 187f.; immigration of Jews from to Ispamia, 188n29, 318; Jews of in 9th century, 81n18
- Kalonymides of Lucca, Italy, south Italian origin of, 121n16
- Ḳalonymos, Hebrew name, family, 144n69; name among the Makhiri, 120; saved emperor, 66n35; son of, named Todros, 121n16
- Ḳalonymos b. Todros, nasi in Narbonne: 1163 a landed proprietor, 62n24; ca. 1195, died, 61, 62n23; descendant of David, 58n19; 1165-66 head of Narbonne Jewry, 62n24; *ShḲ* designated a young student (*baḥur*), 61f. and n23; 1195 signature in Hebrew on a lease, 59n21, 61n23, 121n16; see also Clarimoscus
- Ḳalonymos b. Todros Isaiah Cohen (Movmet), "King of the Jews," in Narbonne, seal of, 171
- Karaites, defined forbidden fats, 211n91
- "Karl," carolingian king, gave Makhir grant of land and a *privilegium*, 85n30
- Ḳehillot Francia* ("communities of Francia"), asked preventive measures of their nasi, 352; communiqué of to their nasi, 348; communiqué of to their nasi dated, 351n86; delegates of, impressed by Bernard of Auvergne, 341; see also Communities of Francia
- Key of Jerusalem, Patriarch of Jerusalem sent to Charles, 189f., 221, 245
- Kharāj (tribute) land, conquered land, 71
- Khazars, Ḥisdai's letter to king of, 256
- Khorasan, Jewries in, 90
- Khosroe, Persian king, 128n32; Izdun-dad (Dara-Izdadwar), daughter of, 77
- Khosroe, Persian name, 128n32
- King(s), 95; appeal to restricted in Germanic law, 83n24; carolingian, 76n8; carolingian ceded hereditary freeholds to Jews of Narbonne, 89; carolingian, established Jewish principedom, 86; every Jewish head of a family a, 98n53; Jewish, in East, 95; Jewish warrior saved life of, 66 and n35, 124; Jews called their chiefs, 90; Louis unhorsed in battle, 66n35; obligation to keep covenant and faith, 65; of Babylonia (the caliph), 59; of nations are the lords of *servi*, 185; right of appeal to in Capitulary for Aquitaine, 83; two in Narbonne, one Jewish other Saracen, 171; unhorsed, 66n35, 125
- King of France, 125; petition of Meir b. Simeon to, 65; protected Nasi of Narbonne and his land holdings, 60
- King(s) of Franks, 87; cession to Makhir recorded, 83; cessions to the Jews, 74, 89; 768 grant to Jewry, 77; lost Barcelona, 334; pope Stephen's usage of term, 52n8; relationship between the nasi of the Jews and, 184
- King(s) of Jews, 63, 96, 138, 139n58, 141f.; Charlemagne, successor of biblical, 245; exilarchs as, 90; gift of to Charlemagne, 68; 1306 held thirty houses in Narbonne, 167n45; in Narbonne, 37, 49, 63f., 69, 139, 141, 169, 171; in Narbonne disposed of their lands in 13th century, 167n45; in 791 owned a section of Narbonne, 64n28; not genuine, 281; property of in Narbonne exempt from tax and still free allod, 170; ruling outside of Palestine, 64; was evidence that messiah had not come, 93
- King(s) of Judah, 94 and n45, 96, 280; possessed kingdom in East, 94
- Kingdom: Natronai settled in of Franks, 81; of Franks, 80; of Jews, 64, 96
- Kingdom of Septimania, designation reappeared under Bernard of Auvergne, 336; "villula" Prunet located in, 336n49

- King-Messiah, 93, 97; an exilarch may be, 105n11; expected in 768, 102
- Kings*, biblical book, Hraban's commentary on, 204
- Kingship, delegation of Jews requested, 71; Jewish, 139
- Kislev, Hebrew month, new moon of in 803, 191
- Lagrasse, abbey in France, 69, 123n20, 138, 144 and n68, 289n1; archives of, 63; Charles' diploma of immunity for, 289; *Gesta* summarized documents in the archives of, 172; monk of, 70f.
- Land holdings, estates of Jews, 6, 65, 162, 165; at Narbonne 6th-7th centuries, 7; before Arab period, 52; cessions of by Frank kings to Jews, 74, 89; concentrated nature of, 27; employed Christian *coloni*, 6; held by nasi Kalonymos son of prince Todros of Narbonne, 58; hereditary (*nahalot*), 65; in 8th century Gaul, 51; in Gaul and Septimania, 9; in Merovingian kingdom, 6; in vicinity of Mâcon, 27; of Makhir, 60; to be subject to ecclesiastical tithe, 161; vineyards in Saône and Rhone valleys, 20n38; see also Allods, Hereditaments, Possessions, Jewish, Property, Jewish
- Laudes*: ceremonial -acclamations, Hebrew equivalent of, 99n55
- Legates of Rome: land restitution required presence of, and emperor Louis, 238
- Legislation, carolingian: guarantees for Jews in, 14; privileged and unprivileged Jews in (Scherer's theory), 14; solely for individual Jews (Scherer's theory), 14; see also Act, Charter, *Diploma*, *Privilegium*
- Legislation, Frankish: collated by Agobard to combat Jews, 301; quoted in acts of council Meaux-Paris, 301
- Leo III, pope, 191n39; substituted Rome for Jerusalem at coronation of Charlemagne, 191
- Leopard, royal vassal in Narbonne, 336
- Levi son of Abraham, sold property in Narbonne, 158f.
- Levi b. Moses: nasi 1194 in Narbonne, 61n23; 1199 signatory in Hebrew, 61n23; see also Bondia
- Lex Romana Burgundionum*, prohibitions against Jews in, 5
- Liber Contra Judaeos*, see Amolo, *Liber Contra Judaeos*
- Liber de Qualitate*, by Emmo or Haimo, 242
- Liber Epistolarum*, composed by Albar: MS in cathedral of Cordova, 278; see also Albar, Bodo
- Life of Benedict*, by Ardo, 42, 209; described Benedict drank no wine, 211; see also Ardo
- Life of Charlemagne*, by Einhard, 42, 209
- Life of Saint Honorat*, by Raimon Féraut, 128n32
- Life of William*, (*Vita* fragment A): Anthony of Winchester brought to Normandy, 225; bears earmarks of later redaction in Aniane, 209; see also *Vita Sancti Wilhelmi*
- Limoges, France, Joseph Bonfils in, 164n37
- Limousin, France, 76
- Lodève, France, 215, 232f.
- Lombards, Lombardy, Pepin's expedition vs, 182; Vercelli in, 188
- Lorraine, 164n37; communities of Francia in, 350n85
- Lost capitulary of Charlemagne (791), 139n57, 142, 167
- Lost capitulary of emperor Louis as possible source of extant mandates, 19 see also Louis, son of Charlemagne
- Lothar I, king of Italy, emperor, 234; and claim of infant Charles, 268; and Pepin defeated in battle, 286; associate emperor (April 830), 270; blinded Heribert for action vs Agobard, 266 n20; condemned Bernard's brother Heribert to death 270f.; condemned

Lothar I. (Continued)

Bernard's sister Gerberga to death, 184n20; demanded sovereignty over whole empire, 285; deprived of imperial title by Diet at Aix, 271; documents dated from ascendance of, 286; executed Bernard's brother Gaucelm (Gothselm), 184n20, 272; Louis divided realm between sons Charles and, 272; negotiations between Pepin II and, 285; son of emperor Louis the Debonair, 268n25; swore obedience and loyalty to his father, 273; imperial authority to descend upon, 268

Louis, son of Charlemagne, king of Aquitaine, emperor ("le Débonnaire," "The Pious"), 2, 92, 116n7, 117n8, 119, 137 and n53, 147, 168, 181, 183f., 187n26, 193f., 196f., 204, 229, 241, 286, 296, 339; accompanied father into Saxony, 187; act of immunity of, 153, 155, 233; address to army, 194n48; addressed letter to Gellone, 236; after him Bernard was second in the realm, 267; at *Reichstag* in Diedenhofen, 237; Benedict called on to require return of fugitive slaves, 210; Bernard's godfather, 229n126; biography of, 198n58; bishops pleaded with re appointment of ministers, 266n19; capitulary for Jews now lost, 17, 141, 168n47, 293; cession to bishop of Narbonne, 154; *chansons* presented truth about, 115; charter for Spanish refugees, 292n8; command of intended also for other than persons named therein, 19; communiqué to Aniane and Gellone, 234, 237; conferred on Jews right to live by own law, 282n59; confirmed donation to Gellone, 207 n83, 231; cousin of Bernard of Septimania, 262; 839 deacon of converted to Judaism, 205, 274; death of, 284; Dhuoda not sister of, 123n20; Dhuoda sister or sister-in-law of, 122, 264n13; diploma for Jean of Fontjoncouse, 291; diploma of, 291n6; diploma of vs baptizing Jewish slaves, 253f.; 832

divided realm between sons Lothar and Charles, 272; documents dated from death of, 286; edict in behalf of Aniane, 236; entrusted to Arnold, 127; eulogy of, 199; forged diploma of, 239n144; 832 gave Aquitaine to son Charles, 272; gifts of to Gellone, 207 and n83, 217, 233; gold seals of affixed to Jewry *privilegia*, 142n64; granted Jews unmediated jurisdiction of emperor, 83; granted March of Spain to William, 211n90; grants to Aniane are forgeries, 234; held lands in trust for William son of Bernard, 335; 814 immunity diploma for Aniane, 232; in Septimania had no power, 232; invested Nominoë with area inhabited by own people, 273n37; Jews' influence at court of, 245; lack of involvement in Spanish affairs, 186; land restitution required presence of with legate of Rome, 238; 791 left for Germany, 182; list of mints under, 320n11; 839 mandate for Gaudiocus and sons, 19, 24, 56, 65n32, 144n68, 177, 291n7, 294n12; ca. 825 mandate for Lyons Jewry, 4, 5n6, 19, 133n42, 304, 346n71; mandates of, 93, 141; married daughter of Aymeri 119n13; offer to William of Berengar's fief and one-fourth of realm rejected, 124, 211n90; on conversion of Bodo, 277; order to Agobard, 255; order to the *missi*, 255; order to viscount of Lyons, 255; overlooked William, 124; powers in Septimania and Burgundy as k. of Aquitaine, 232; promised son Charles Septimania, 233; property owned jointly with father, 232; put down rebellion, 271; rebels vs, 115; reign of, 204n75; relationship with Abraham of Saragossa, 23, 346n71; removal of Bernard objective of revolt vs, 271n31; required Jews to permit Christian servitors to observe holy days, 304n39; rescripts bore an imperial seal, 236; sent Donatus to March of Spain, 254; set up fortifications on Aquitaine

- borders, 135n48; summoned Bernard to court as his *camerarius*, 266, 267n24, 296; summoned Diet, 192; summoned son Pepin and Bernard of Septimania to his palace, 272n32; to provide aid to William once in seven years, 192n42; unhorsed in battle with infidels, 66n35
- Louis the German, king of Germany, 204; negotiations between Charles the Bald and, 285
- Louis II, ("the Stammerer"), king of France, 156; acted seditiously, 272; Bernard of Auvergne appointed counsellor to, 342; deprived marquis Bernard of Gothia of his *honores* (878), 341, 349; designated as successor of father Charles Bald, 335; diploma for Frodoin bishop of Barcelona interpolated, 348f.; distributed *honores* of Bernard of Gothia to Bernard of Auvergne *et al.*, 341
- Louis III, king of Germany, defeated Charles at Andernach, 341
- Louis VII, king of France, 169
- Louis IX, king of France: pope Innocent IV addressed, 177n4
- Louys, emperor, "Lettres" of, 177n4
- Lucca, Kalonymides of, 121n16; Meshullam b. Kalonymous in, 163n37
- Lucena, Spain, in 1150 Jews occupied center of, 48
- Lupus Santio, argued for restraint at Diet 803, 192
- Lutobanna, near Narbonne, brine pits in, 159
- Luxembourg, communities of Francia in, 350n85
- Lyonnais, France: Bernard of Auvergne acquired Mâcon and the, 351; communities of Francia in, 350n85; Jews landowners in, 156
- Lyons, France, 105, 192n42; cession to Aymeri extended from to Barcelona, 86; change of venue from to imperial palace, 253; condition of Agobard's church in, 248; conflict of bishop with Jewry of, 238, 246; David, Joseph and peers Jews in, 5n6, 93n42c; imperial commissioners in, 247; imperial mandate for Jewry of, 4n6, 19f., 25, 254; Jewish leader in named Aimericus (Ammonicus), 132; Jews in, 5, 20, 133n42, 304, 346n71; Jews of endowed with ecclesiastical estates, 249; Jews of flaunted robes received from imperial kinsmen, 119n13; mandates for blocked baptism of slaves, 252ff.; market in transferred, 248; mint in, 321n11; *missi* brought to a capitulary in favor of the Jews, 141; place of exile of tetrach Antipas 39 C.E., 5; 743 Saracens pillaged, 87
- Lyons district, viscount of the, 247, 250
- Ma'aseh haGeonim*, compendium of legal materials, 245n161
- Ma'aseh haMakhiri* "Deed (or *Geste*) of the Makhiri": composed late 11th or early 12th century, 244; incorporated works of Nathan and Menahem sons of Makhir, 244; of legal content, 202n69
- Macaire*, *chanson*, 205n78; Blanche fleur daughter of king of Constantinople js. wife of Charlemagne in, 119
- Mâcon and county, acquired with Lyonnais by Bernard of Auvergne, 351
- Mâconnais, *terra Hebreorum* ("land of Hebrews") in the, 25f.
- Mactapedilii, locality at Narbonne; mills in owned by Jews, 158
- Madalelmus, vassal, 184n20
- Magharius (Magnarius), count of Narbonne, 45; court authorized by, 180; misread as *Magnario*, 180; read in place of Magnarius, 45n16; romanized form of Makhir, 180
- Magister Judaeorum* ("Master of the Jews"), 246, 248, 251; a Jew, 251; asked to hasten to Lyons, 253; authority of, 251, 255; authorized Jewish magistrate, 252; denied bishop could redeem converted bondwoman, 253;

Magister Judaeorum (Continued)

Evrardus by name, 246; office of dignity and honor, 250; secured charter for Lyons Jewry, 253; summoned *missi* to call Agobard to account, 251n168, 254; *see also* Domatus, Everard, King of Jews, Master of the Jews, *Nasi* of Narbonne, Prince

Magister mercatorum ("Master of the merchants"), 251 and n68; Jews' *magister* identified with, 250; jurisdiction of, 255

Maguelonne county, 233

Maguellone, France: Bernard of Septimania, count of, 265; bishop of, 175; father of Benedict of Aniane count of, loyal to Franks, 46n20

Maison d'obédience, near Narbonne, 66

Makhir, *nasi* ("prince") of Jews in Narbonne, 60 and n22, 97f., 99, and n54, 110, 121n16, 128, 137, 144, 173, 178, 184, 258, 262, 353; and descendants members of the carolingian royal family, 60, 118 and n11, 122, 143, 258; and descendants were princes, 89, 97f., 144; and dynasty were rulers and judges in all lands, 74n1, 258; and dynasty were virtual exilarchs, 74 and n1, 90; arrival caused anguish to gentiles, 99; arrival in Narbonne, 118; ceremony of inauguration as *nasi* of western Jewry, 99; Charlemagne's love for, 140f.; collapse of the Spanish enterprise a blow to, 127; death of, 172; domain of, 63, 85n30, 123, 143, 178; dynasty of, 123; elevation into Frank nobility, 59, 118, 121; Hebrew name of Natronai *nasi*, 82; immigrated from Baghdad, 82; k. Charles gave district in Narbonne to, 60n22, 143; Magharío a romanized form of, 180; major military responsibility, 112, 116, 135; married daughter of magnate of Narbonne, 118f.; non-Hebrew source names December 5, 791, 179; of house of David, 59; offspring of, 120; reference to in midrash, 98; royal grant to included a *privilegium*,

85n30; *see also* Al-Makhiri, Aymeri, Ha-Makhiri, Makhiri, Natronai, Theodoric

Makhir b. Abba Mari, compiler of the *Yalqut ha-Makhiri* on Psalms, 121n16

Makhir b. Joseph, 121n16

Makhir b. Menahem, 307

Makhir b. Solomon of county of Avern (Auvergne), marquis and *nasi*, 307, 334, 350; dual capacity of as count and *nasi*, 352; *see also* Bernard, count of Auvergne

Makhir b. Todros, 121n16

Makhir in Narbonne, 12th century, 58

Makhiri, dynasty or clan of Makhir: achievements of the, 182; 850 child Bernard sole surviving male member of, 314f.; constructive role of suppressed, 205, 323; dynasty of, 118, 123, 131, 280n52; family chronicle of, 244; family in 11th century, 99n54; frequent appearance of name Theodoric among, 121; fusion of with viscountal family, 165n38; in Frankia, 282; interchange of sisters or daughters as spouses with carolingians, 118; Latin version of exploits, 203; merited a family chronicle, 202; no recognition for role of the *nasi* and the, 323; non-Hebrew names among, 120; related to the carolingians, 60, 118 and n11, 122, 143, 258; Solomon member of, 308

Makrizi, differs from Sherira's dating, 80n15

Malka b. Mar Rav Aḥa, of Pumbeditha, deposed Natronai b. Ḥabibai as exilarch, 79f.

Mandate(s), royal and imperial, 156f., 177n4; endowed Jews with allodial possession, 156; of emperor Louis applicable to other persons and Jewries, 19; of emperor Louis and quarrel over bishop Agobard, 18; of emperor Louis for Gaudiocus and sons, 19, 24, 56, 65n32, 144n68, 177, 291n7, 294n12; of Louis the Debonair for named persons and "their peers"

- in Lyons, 4n6, 18ff., 25, 254; *see also* Acts, *Diploma*, Legislation, *Praecepta Manual*, of Dhuoda, a pious Christian document, 264; *see also* Dhuoda
- Mar Rabh Eleazar, entitled *alluf*, wrote to Ispamia, 320n11; *see also* Eleazar Marawatha Natronai, exilarch, son of and Kairouan, 81n18
- Marca hispanica ("Spanish March," "March of Spain"), 261; Ispamia the equivalent of, included both Barcelona and Narbonne, 261
- March, frontier territory of the realm, 96n49; distinction between allodial land and the, 96n49; Gaucelm received of Gothia, 266; 865 Gothia split up into March of Spain and of Gothia, 323; of Gothia, 147; of Navarre, 187n26; of Septimania detached from March of Toulouse and joined to March of Spain, 323; of Toulouse 817 separated from Septimania, 260
- March of Spain, 46, 117n8, 127, 136, 175f., 178, 187n26, 188n29, 262n7, 274n39, 275n44, 316, 321, 323 and n17, 326, 328, 329n29, 336; a military unit distinct from Septimania, 261, 262n8; 864-65 an integral part of Frankia, 261, 323n17, 329; approximately Narbonne to Barcelona, 86, 323n17; as early as 798 separated out, 323; Bernard successor to marquis Solomon in, 335; ca. 852 to ca. 890 upsurge in Jewish activity in, 317, 322; campaign of Bernard of Auvergne in, 342; could properly be designated *Ifranga*, 320n11; count Aléran ventured into, 314; detached from the Toulousain, 262; document in dated from death of Louis the Pious, 286; duke William's military achievements in, 198; established after capture of Barcelona 803, 260; first reference to dated 821, 262n8, 324n17; 865 Gothia split up into March of Gothia (Septimania proper) and, 323; governed by marquis Solomon, 327n22, 329; increased immigration into and material resources, 322; inhabitants including Jews called *Gothi*, 261; Jewish communities in 9th century, 324, 346; military dress was typical for 9th century Jew in, 276n45; most of in hands of *le Velu et frères*, 342; Narbonne incorporated into, 80; nasi of Narbonne as marquis of, 169; part of "Gothia," 329; paucity of church property in before 950, 179; realm of Bernard of Septimania, 313, 325n20; rebellion of *le Velu* throughout, 334; scene of Bodo's conversion, 277nn46, 47; 817 separated from Septimania, 260; 852 Septimania attached to, 323; Spanish Jewries decided fate of Barcelona and entire, 347; Spanish refugees in, 292n8; William asked for, 124, 211n90; William had responsibility for, 184; *see also* Ispamia
- Mardansha, son of exilarch Bustanai, 118n11
- Marquis of Gothia, 147, 150n4, 155; archbishops of Narbonne not co-sovereigns of, 154; count Humphrey as, 326; nasi of Narbonne as, 169
- Marquis of Septimania, defense of Spanish frontier not obligation of, 265n18
- Marquis of Toulouse, defense of Spanish frontier not obligation of, 265n18
- Marquisate of Gothia, 147; established in 9th century, 155; Bernard received back, 272; count Berengar of Toulouse replaced Bernard in, 272
- Marseilles, France, 76, 80; 838-60 attacks by Saracens and Greeks on, 311n53; forced conversion of Jews 6th century, 7; mint in, 321n11
- Marwan (Merwan), Hebrew name, appeared in East (9th century) then in France (12th century), 81n18
- Marzaban(a), Persian general, 118n11; brother of Izdundad, 78
- Master of the Jews, authority, duties and responsibilities of, 247, 253 and n174, 254f.; identification of, 250; in Lyons, 246; *see also* Domatus,

Master (Continued)

- Everard, King of Jews, *Magister Judaeorum*, Nasi, Prince
- Matfred, count of Orléans, 268; procrastination of, 265; 830 supported Lothar's revolt, 269
- Matrona, tombstone of, daughter of *dominus* Paragorus, 7
- Maurontus, count of Marseilles, turned over to Muslims towns in south, 38
- Mayence, 164n37; major center of central European Jewry, 205; Meshullam b. Kalonymos in, 163n37
- Mayeul, viscount of Narbonne at beginning 10th century, 165n38
- Meaux church council (845), 295f.; and restoration of ecclesiastical estates, 296; attacked entrusting abbeys to laymen, 296; banned Jews' authority over Christians, 255n183; continued at Paris (846), 255n183, 296; Hincmar played dominant role at, 296
- Meaux-Paris church council (845-46): anti-Jewish acts of also in Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, 298n27; anti-Jewish legislation finalized in, 279, 296f.; decisions of reflect authority and power of Jews, 305; decisions of summarized, 297, 300, 301n32; Frankish legislation quoted in acts of, 301; major concern of, 297n25; promulgated regulations, 298
- Medieval status of Jews, summary of theories on, 17f.
- Mediterranean, 137; coast, 86; coast from Rhone to Ebro a frontier government, 260f.; Jewish principedom along coasts of, 88
- Meersen, treaty of, 870: cession to West Francia, 350n85; reunified West Francia, 352
- Megillat Yuhassin* ("Roll of Lineage"): near-equivalent of *chanson de geste*, 201; rhymed chronicle, 201f.
- Meginarius, entrusted with care of young Louis (the Debonair), 268
- Meir b. Joseph, Barcelona: 857-58 *responsum* of Amram gaon of Sura to sages of Barcelona, 321 and n12
- Meir b. Simeon, author, *Milhemet Mitsvah*, 123, 144n69, 177 and n4; appeal to king of France, 65, 125; claim of protection for Jewry, 348n77; claimed a Jewish warrior rescued unhorsed king, 125; claimed charter of rights for Jews, 178n5, 348; claimed Jews fought for carolingians, 129; claims of, 123; emphasized royal service of Jews, 66n34; telescoped relations of Jews to Charlemagne and Charles Bald, 348n77; veiled reference of, 294n14; see also *Milhemet Mitsvah*
- Menahem b. 'Amiel, name of messiah, 104n6, 105n11
- Menahem and Nathan b. Makhir, 11th-12th century works of in the *Ma'aseh ha Makhiri*, 244
- Menahem, Hebrew name, Anatol changed to, 308
- Menahem of Ancona b. Samuel, 307
- Merovingian(s), 120; carolingian propaganda vs, 108n16; diplomas, 140, 142; dynasty of "do-nothings," 105; dynasty usurped "legitimate" Roman rule, 34; 633 Jews must choose between baptism or exile from kingdom, 7; ownership of land by Jews in, kingdom, 6
- Merwan, last Umayyad caliph, ordered exilarch executed, 78n10
- Meshullam b. Kalonymos (?), 98n51, 163 and n35, 164f., 169n48; in Lucca, Italy, 163n37
- Meshullam of Mullin, France, letter of Rabbenu Tam to, 164n37
- Messiah b. David, 104 and n6, 107n15, 110, 282, 302; advent of, 103 and n4, 109; appears on eve of Passover, 110n18; awaited at end of 1390 years, 103n4; born day temple was destroyed, 302n34; can still be expected, 280; evidence that he had not come, 93, 97; *gematria* of, 94n43; 768 king-messiah expected, 102, 106; 768 scion of David arrived, 109; sway of nasi

- evidence that he had not come, 185; will resurrect Messiah b. Joseph and all dead, 104n6
- Messiah b. Joseph (Ephraim), 104 and n6; killed by the enemies of Israel, 104n6; king-messiah, 110; will battle vs Gog and Magog, 302
- Messiahship of Jesus, 94f., 282; evidence of, 185n22
- Messianic, 109; 768 date of redemption, 105; hope maintained Jewish national consciousness, 22; redemption in 7th century, 104; "signs" and hopes, 102n1, 103n4, 104f., 107n12, 110n20
- Messianic Age, 98n51, 107n15; associated with victories of Islam, 9; awaited after 668 start of "seventh millennium," 8; in seventh millennium, 9n16
- Messianic End, 103n4, 107n12; coincided with birth of Jesus, 108; fixed for 768, 106 and n12, 107
- Metz, France, 76, 109
- St. Michel de Cuxa, monastery, 329
- Michael Syrus, said Jews called chiefs "kings," 90
- Midi, 130; allodial land system common in pre-carolingian, 57n16; duke had authority of a sub-king in the, 92; loyal to k. Charles the Simple, 157
- Midrash, 98; to Genesis, 99n54
- Midrash Bereshit* of Moses *haDarshan*, 99n54
- Midrash Tanhuma*, 97n51; compiler lived in southern Europe, 98
- Milhemet Miṣwah*, summaries of portions of, 67n35; see also *Milhemet Mitsvah*
- Milhemet Mitsvah* ("War of the Commandment") by Meir b. Simeon (1245), 64f., 144n69; and immigration into Frankia, 84; asserted king's obligation "to keep covenant and faith," 65; Lagrasse repository of the source of, 138; see also *Milhemet Miṣwah*
- Military dress, Jewish, 276n45
- Milo, count of Narbonne (782), 45n15, 130, 133f., 181; head of the Goths of Septimania, 134n44; requested that judgment be confirmed, 134n44; two silver pennies bear his name, 134
- Milo, pope in the *chansons*, 135; anointed Charlemagne in Aix-la-Chapelle, 135; followed Charlemagne in his wars, 135
- Milon de Pruelle, brother of Aymeri and son of duke Garnier in *chansons*, 134f.
- Minter(s), edict of Pitres named Jews as, 320n11
- Mintmaster (Jewish), Priscus, in employ of Chilperic I, 7
- Miron, count, brother of Wifred le Velu: count of Conflent 870, 332f.; not count of Roussillon, 340n59; usurped Roussillon, 333
- Mission to Baghdad, 768 returned laden with gifts, 80
- Mission to Baghdad and Jerusalem (797-801), 138
- Missus(i)* 84, 141, 178; presence of at Narbonne council, 176n2
- Momet(Moumet) Tauros, "king of the Jews," 171; owned twelve houses in Narbonne in free allod, 170
- Monarchy: Frank replica of biblical archetype, 29; Jewish, 95n45, 99, 138, 144; Makhir heir to power of in western Jewry, 98; theological implications of a Jewish, 99
- Moniage Guillaume*, *chanson*, 220; characterization of William in, 221, 223; pictures monk William as a rowdy scrapping for a fight, 219; William in completely out of character with Ardo's humble ascetic, 209
- Mons Judaicus, Montjuzaic, in Narbonne, 158
- Montpellier, France, 222
- Moors, "take Barcelona, the Jews betraying it," 316
- Morocco, Norsemen reached, 309
- Moses son of Abraham, sold property in Narbonne, 158f.
- Moses, gaon of Sura, correspondence of with *Ispamia*, 317f. and n3, 322 and n14

- Moses haDarshan ("The Exegete"): author, *Midrash Bereshit*, Narbonne (11th century), 99n54, 164n37, 165; contemporary of Joseph Bonfils, 163n37
- Mount St. Michel, monastery, Bernard the Wise monk of, re visit to Jerusalem (867), 190n35
- Mount Zion, Jerusalem, 188
- Movmet, Momet Tauros, see Kalonymos b. Todros Isaiah Cohen
- MS Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: latin 2718 folio 76a and photograph, 132, 133n42; latin 12293 Manual of Dhuoda, 122n20
- Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah, rival of Al-Manşur, 78n10
- Münster bishopric: 14th century record of, 204; chronicle of the, 239
- Musa, Muslim of Goth origin: rebellion of threatened March of Spain, 311
- Musa, Saracen conqueror, entrusted custody of Seville to the Jews, 48n1
- Muslim(s) 48, 60n22, 68, 70, 126, 195; and Basques in alliance at Roncesvalles, 127; captured Arles and Avignon with Christian help, 12; invasion of Spain, 105; messiah, 185; occupation of Narbonne, 11f., 49; occupied all Septimania, 87; shrine erected on Temple Mount, 104
- Nagid*, Hebrew title and office: dignity of in Egypt, 82n18; *Peqid ha-Soharim* entitled, 259n191
- Nahşhon b. Tsadoq, gaon of Sura (871-79), 284, 310n11; consulted by communities of *Ispamia*, 317n3, 322 and n15
- Nams, residence of B'nei Marawatha (*nesi'im*), 4n6
- Narbonnaise: 13n22, 87, 124n24, 128, 149, 166, 192n39; after 759 Goths' virtual disappearance from, 49, 173; brine pits of, 160; Jewish prince in a diplomatic liaison between East and West, 87; Jewish village and allods in the, 159; Jewry's power over ecclesiastical institutions in, 169; Jews in Septimania and the, 249; k. Wamba expelled Jews from, 10; landed estates of Jews in, 156f., 165; Pepin's assent to a Jewish principate in, 87; salt flats owned by Jews in, 159; *villa Judaica* in, 89n34; see also Septimania
- Narbonne, France, 58, 60, 61n23, 71, 77, 99n54, 100n57, 118n11, 131 and n38, 140, 143, 148f., 155 and n16, 156 and n18, 164n37, 169, 172, 183n16, 197, 222, 289n1, 336; 'Abd ar-Rahman sent official as wali of, 88n32; allusion to a "king of the Jews" in, 169; analysis of materials re, 349; ancestral estates of nasi in, 258; apostate Christians in, 43; archbishop of in 10th century, 52n8; attract Jewries of Spain into orbit of, 87; Aymeri of, 119n13; Benjamin of Tudela visited, 59; bishop of, 132, 154; Bridge, 158; *canonica* of, 159; captured by k. Wamba, 10; center of Jewish activity in southern Frankia, 249; cession of half of, 88, 150n4, 152, 167; church at, 152n11, 153 and n12; church at owned considerable land in pre-Arab period, 89; city of Torah, 58; cleric of, 168n48; communication between Amalfi and, 201n65; count Milo in, 133f.; court judgment by marquis Bernard dated 870 in, 336; critical location of, 75; diocese of, 289; divided between archbishop, Jews, and viscount of, 60n22; embassy sent by nasi in, 140; episcopate of at a very low ebb, 52n8; fall of and cession of land to Jews, 64; flight of Suleiman's son to, 127; fortress of, 200; Gauls and Christians in 8th century fled into the mountains of Castille and, 320n9; *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium* located as in March of Spain, 335n44; Goths lacked political identity in, 44; Goths surrendered for Gothic law, 37n2; Guifred claimed half of, 168; had authority over Spain and Gaul,

- 138n55; implied confiscation of Jewish property in suburbs of, 157; in 11th century, 164n37; Jewish allod near, 85n30; Jewish king in, 37, 49, 63f., 69, 96, 138f., 139 and n58, 141, 169, 171; Jews' surrender of denied, 70; Jews very prominent in, 51, 250, 314n59; Joseph Bonfils left, 164n37; *Juiverie* in, 133n42, 165n38; k. Charles Bald in, 313; k. David's alliance with a legend, 138n55; king unhorsed in battle before, 66, 124; le Velu count of into Spain, 332; Makhir of, 98; Moses *haDarshan* in, 164; nasi of, 91, 111; *nes'im* of like exilarchs of Babylonia, 89f.; 864 one of ten mints licensed by Edict of Pitres, 320n11; one-third of, 72n138, 77, 86; 797-798 only remnants of Goths left in, 45, 70; Pepin's allies in, 130; political and diplomatic background for fall of, 37; 768 pope Stephen III letter to (arch)bishop Aribert of, 50; power vested in authorities at, 176; prelates of, 136; reinforcements for, 87; 875 Roussillon a dependency of, 339; royal count of, 152, 168; Saracen capture of, 47, 49; scholar-prince of Davidic descent in, 61, 173; scholars in, 90; seat of new marquis, 324; Septimania the territory north of to *pagus* of Nîmes, 323n17; Solomon marquis of Spain in Barcelona with rule over, 325, 329n29; sources re delivery of to Franks, 36; suburbs burnt down, 183; Suleiman's son fled to, 126; 759 surrender to Franks, 13, 36, 49f., 55, 57f., 60n22, 61, 65f., 69f., 72, 74, 136, 146, 154n16, 166, 169n49, 173f., 192n39; symbol of carolingian supremacy, 13; transfer of authority over in 759 questioned, 41n9; troubador activity in, 202n69; under hand of France, 258; usually included in March of Spain under marquis, 80, 323n17, 325, 329n29; viscountal authority in, 147; Zado, wali of Barcelona lured to, 192
- Narbonne, Arab (Umayyad), 11f., 49, 88n32; description of, 49; enemy of Jews and k. of Franks, 86; in custody of Jews, 53; Jewry of, 49; Jewry of resisted Umayyad suzerainty, 86; Jews prominent in, 48; keystone of Saracen occupation, 87n32; maintained Saracen supremacy, 39n4; partial independence of governors of, 11; Saracen ruler of, 49, 68; until 759 politically in Arab Spain, 80
- Narbonne, church council (788, 791, 801), 176, 178f.; 791 decision re Ausona, 319; papal and royal representative present at, 238; recognized rights of nasi to properties in Septimania, 238; reconstruction of text of, 176n2; territories in decision of, 178n6
- Narbonne county, France, 148, 153, 157; Roussillon an annex of, 340
- Narbonne Jewry, 51, 60, 65, 66n35, 67, 80, 87f., 140, 142f., 144n68, 146, 161, 250, 314n59; 'Abd ar-Rahman a threat to, 86; acquired one-third of the town, 63n28, 67; archives of, 161; delivered town in return for king of their own, 36f.; held considerable land, 52, 89; in 5th century, 7; Makhir dynasty of, 202; masters in Villeneuve, 166; possessions of in vicinity, 56, 145, 157f., 168; prominence of after fall of the town, 73; role in surrender of town, 36f., 49, 68f., 166, 174; royal seed resided in, 64; surrender by denied, 69n40; treasured its records, 125; within caliphate, 88n32; *see also* Narbonne
- Nasi* ("prince," "patriarch" of the Jews), 74n1, 79, 82, 87, 97, 100, 109, 110, 150n4, 169n48, 174n62, 184; balance of power between and church in Septimania, 179; cause of dispute, 176; cession of allodial lands to, 101, 207n82; chancellery of, 228n124; claimed davidic descent, 3, 35, 59, 94f., 98n53; communiqué of *Qehillot Francia* to dated, 351n86; embassy sent by in Narbonne, 140; execution

Nasi (Continued)

- of, 294; lack of recognition for role of the, 323; extensive properties of in 1306, 167; his vassalage that of a king to an emperor, 185; lord of a domain or principality, 35, 86, 175; Makhir's dynasty bore title, 90; 768 member of Frank-Muslim mission from Baghdad, 77, 81; Natronai first of the West, 82; no contemporaneous source entitled *Hisdai*, 257n189; noble rank of, 97; of Jews in Frankia, 82; of Palestine duties and powers over Jews, 3; of Palestine associate king and high official of Roman state, 3; of the West, 198; office of filled by Bernard the imperial chamberlain, 266n20; Origen viewed nasi of Palestine as king, 3; Pepin's grant inside Narbonne to the, 166; *Pegid ha-Shoharim* entitled, 259n191; possessions of, 145; powers, status, and function of, 172, 175, 245f., 256; probable papal approval of, 178n5 "related" (*karobh*) to the ruling sovereign, 118n11; relation with king of the Franks, 184; relation of to Pepin similar to exilarch's, 32; royal character of, 94, 185; ruler's staff refers to, 99n54; 245; subject to a king of Jerusalem, 245; submission of Jewries of Francia to, 347n75; translated *rex* ("king"), 169; *see also* Exilarch, King of Jews, Prince, Ruler
- Nasi* ("prince" of Jews) of Narbonne; 64, 91, 96, 111, 168, 250; a survival of the Roman period, 51; and lay lords in Septimania, 238; as royal count, 168; beneficiary of Pepin's diploma, 155; in 14th century, 170; in possession of half the city, 167, 171; land holdings of, 58, 77; occupied dwelling known as *Cortada Regis Judeorum*, 171; Pepin's cession to, 168
- Nasi*: Bernard-Makhir of Auvergne, 350; Kalonimos b. Todros, 61n23; Levi b. Moses, 61n23; Makhir (Natronai) of Baghdad and Narbonne, 99, 109, 178; domain and monarchical rank of, 99; military exploits of and his dynasty, 203; Moses b. Todros, signature, 121n16; William, created an academy in Gellone, 238; *see also* Bernard, count of Auvergne; Makhir; William, count, duke
- Naso, name: as the poet Modoin, 263n9; Bernard of Septimania called in court circles, 263; originated with the Hebrew title *nasi*, 263; Paschase Radbert attacked Bernard as *tyrannus*, 269
- Natanael ("Given-of-God"), called *Dodatus ebreo*, 254n175
- Nathan b. Makhir, 307; incorporated works of Menahem and in the *Ma'aseh haMakhiri*, 244; statements of in *Sefer haPardes*, 245n161
- Nathan the Babylonian, chronicler, 2n1, 163n35; witnessed exilarch's inaugural, 91
- Natroi Kahana b. Mar R. Ahunai, gaon of Pumbeditha appointed by exilarch Solomon, 78
- Natronai, gaon of Sura (ca. 853-58), 284, 320n11; correspondence with rabbis of *Ispamia*, 318n6, 320; Eleazar inquired of, 321n11; Eleazar of Ausona gave information about Anan's *Book of Laws*, 211; reported Ausona (Al-Osona) was a predominantly Jewish area, 318; re immigration from Kairouan to *Ispamia*, 188 n29, 318; sent arrangements of the "one hundred benedictions," 318n5
- Natronai b. Habibai (Hakhinai, Zabinai, Zabibai), exilarch, 79ff., 81n16; arrival in the West created stir, 82; 768 came by sea with Frank-Muslim mission from Baghdad, 77, 80f.; deposed by the two academies and emigrated to West, 79ff.; disciple of Yehudai, 79; first nasi of the West in carolingian age, 80, 82; government intervention involving deposition and exile of, 79n14, 81; Makhir Hebrew name of, 82; *praecepta* of Pepin issued at

- Passover 768 for, 109; probable *responsum* of, 79n14; scholarly achievements of, 81; scion of "pure" line of descent from Bustanoi, 79; tales associated with, 82; term of office, 80; Zakkai opponent of, 82
- Natronai-Makhir, nasi, 137; delegations visited, 109; dynasty of, 131; nasi of the Jews in Frankia, 82, 100; participation of in the Aquitaine campaign, 83; scholar of vast learning, 130
- Navarre, Navarrais, Navarros, 127, 187n26; and Basques allied with Saracens, 292n8
- Nebridius (Nimfrid) abbot of Lagrasse, (arch)bishop of Narbonne, 52n8; present at the election of Trutesinde, 234f.; *see also* Nimfrid
- Nehemiah ben Hushiel, symbolic name of messiah, 104n6
- Nesi'im*, ("princes"), 74; in Narbonne, 58n19; power and position of like exilarchs, 89f.
- New moon of Kislev: 801 fell on Thursday, 11 November, 196n54; 4564 (803) Franks entered Barcelona on, 196f.
- New moon of September (Rosh ha-Shanah): in 801 fell on Monday, 13 September, 196n54; in 803 fell on Thursday, 21 September, start of autumn, 195; siege of Barcelona began on, 192
- New moon of Tishri, 4564 (September 21, 803), 196
- Nicholas I, pope: castigated Hincmar, 330; declared Hebrews observed Sabbath by not fighting, 285n69; k. Charles' letter to vs Hincmar, 330; remonstrated vs Bernard son of Bernard of Septimania, 338; threatened excommunication re church property in Aquitaine, 338n55
- Niger, Ermold, author: designated Bera leader of Goths, 192n39; relied on a Hebrew text for report of siege of Barcelona, 197; *see also* Ermold Niger
- Nîmes, France, 124, 260; bishop of, 175; captured by k. Wamba, 10; flight of Goths to, 43; *pagus* of, 323n17; 753 revolt of Goths in, 87; 796 (725) William's capture of, 219 and n10
- Nimfrid, abbot of Lagrasse, bishop of Narbonne, 52n8, 250; Agobard's final effort against Jews directed to, 249; bishop Agobard's letter to, 248, 254; *see also* Nebridius
- Nissim of Marseilles, 98n53
- Nistarot*, apocalypse, date of composition after 755-56, 110n20
- Nithard, chronicler, reported battle at Fontenoy, 285
- Nominoë, chieftain of Brittany: d. 851, 314; invasion of into Anjou, 313; 837 invested by emperor Louis with area ("duchy") inhabited by own people, 273n37; 845 rebelled and defeated k. Charles the Bald, 310; secured peace and independence in return for recognition of k. Charles, 312
- Norse, Northmen, in Paris, 310; incursions of into Frankia, 297; 847 ravaged Aquitaine, besieged Bordeaux, 312; reached Toulouse, 309; 845 returned to Aquitaine, 310
- North Africa, 49, 138, 186n24, 187f., 188n29, 317; embassy to, 189; role of *Peqid ha-Soharim* in, 258n191
- Norwich: Jews of charged with ritual murder, 64, 96
- Nota Emilianense*: dated 1054-1076, 200 and n63
- Oath: of loyalty, 66n34; special form of Jewish, 17
- Odalric, Udalric, count: Aléran's successor functioned only as count of Narbonne, 324 and n18, 325n20; Humphrey marquis of Gothia succeeded, 324n18; 858 lost his office, 325 and n20; Solomon replaced in Roussillon, 325; turned rebel, 324f.; Udalric, 325n20

- Oliba, count: 877 grant to by emperor Charles, 342n65; held Carcassèz and Razès, 333, 337n51
- On Jewish Superstitions*, by Agobard and two colleagues, 296
- "One day," dominion of the gentiles limited to, 106
- Orange, France, 124; siege of, 218n100; William took, 214
- Orbiel, river in France, 183 and n17; William's resistance to the Saracens at, 219
- Orbieu, stream in France, 183
- Orderic Vital (1075-ca. 1141), author, *Ecclesiastical History*, prepared brief summary of *Vita Willelmi*, 225
- Origen, church father third century, viewed nasi as king, 3
- Orléans: licensed mint in, 320n11; 585 synagogue protected by Roman law, 21; synagogue razed 6th century, 7
- Otger, *fidelis* of Charles Bald, 336n49
- Otto II, emperor, 144n69; saved by member of K̄alonymos family in battle vs Saracens, 66n35
- Paderborn, Germany, Diet in, 125
- Palestine, 96; Arab conquest of, 102n1; collapse of Byzantine power in, 102; Jerome lived in, 94; Jewish immigrants to, 102; "king" of Jews ruling outside of, 64; patriarchs (*nes'im*) of, 97
- Pallars county, Spain, 260
- Paltot, gaon of Pumbeditha (842-58), 284, 320n11; sent to Ispamia entire Talmud with commentary, 317
- Pamplona, Spain, 126, 137; Charlemagne's action vs, 292n8; Charlemagne's capture of non-violent, 127; Christian town destroyed by Charlemagne, 127
- Paragorus (Jew), entitled *dominus*, 7
- Paris, France, 164n37; licensed mint in, 320n11; March 845 capture of by Norsemen as divine punishment, 297; Northmen entered Easter Sunday, 310
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, photograph of MS latin 2718, folio 76a, 132
- Paris church council: of 614 demanded baptism of Jewish civil and military officers, 6; of 846, 295
- Paschase Radbert, abbot of Corbie, 95, 96n46, 270; accusations of vs Bernard, 201; accused of falsification of fact, 270; attacked Bernard as *tyrannus Naso*, 263, 269; not completely outspoken, 269n28; sharp antagonist of Bernard of Septimania, 267; viewed Bernard as a manifest Antichrist, 269
- Passover, 768 fell on Thursday and Friday before Easter Sunday, 109
- St. Pastor, church at Narbonne, diocese of, 148
- Patria*, ("one's own land"): Abraham's "fatherland" in Frankia, 24; mandate for Lyons Jewry mentioned their, 24; region including city of Lyons, 24; specific area assigned to local leaders, 24
- Patriarch(s), Jewish, 94; claimed davidic descent, 3, 4n6; dynasty of, 74; of Palestine recognized by Rome as supreme Jewish authority, 3, 21; of Roman Palestine, 93, 97; served as evidence of the Jewish nation, 22; see also *B'nai Marawatha*, Exilarch, Nasi, Patriarchate, Prince, Princedom
- Patriarch of Jerusalem, 189; obeisance to Charlemagne by, 221; sent banner (*vexillum*) and key of Jerusalem to Charles, 188ff., 221, 245; "sent" Charles portion of the Cross, 216, 220
- Patriarcha*, title of Jewish officials in Roman diaspora, 22
- Patriarchate, Jewish, 144; comparable to exilarchate of Baghdad, 1; imperial motives for recognition of Palestine, 3; Jews received territory as survival of, 23; of Palestine ended with extinction of Hillel dynasty (ca. 425), 3, 4n3, 22
- Patrici(at)us Romanorum*: Charlemagne as, 31n60; pope Stephen's bestowal

- upon Pepin of the, 30; special significance for Jewish prince, 228n124
- Paul Albar, Spanish convert, *see* Albar, Bodo
- Paul, Visigothic duke, rebelled vs k. Wamba, 10
- Pavia council, banned officials who appointed Jews judges, 314n60
- Pepin, king of Aquitaine, son of Louis the Debonair, 272n32, 274; acted seditiously, 272; and Lothar defeated in battle, 286; became associate emperor, 271; 838 death as a madman, 273; 825 document of mentioned Bernard of Septimania, 265; received Aquitaine, 233; refused to submit to k. Charles the Bald, 286; took lead in revolt vs father Louis, 270
- Pepin II, king of Aquitaine, 294; alliance with Bernard of Septimania, 272, 284f.; appointed William count of Toulouse, 295, 314; 845 swore fealty to k. Charles after early refusal, 312
- Pepin, king of Franks ("the Short"), 2, 13, 34, 50n6, 70f., 75, 86, 99f., 109, 125, 141, 151, 153, 165, 168, 174, 317; admitted Makhir to Frank aristocracy, 121; Al-Makhiri warrior of, 132; Alda sister of, 122 and n17, 263; ally of caliph of Baghdad, 173; and sons established Jewish principedom in south, 87f., 100; anointing of a *quid pro quo* for future grants to pope, 30n59; beneficiaries and allies of, 46; 754 bestowal upon of the *Patricius Romanorum*, 30f.; 754 biblical rite of anointing of by pope Stephen, 29 and n57, 30 and n59, 190; 759 captured Narbonne, 13, 51n7, 55; 768 cession of and his sons to the Jews, 51n6; 145, 149n3, 161, 166, 168; charter of, 150, 152f.; comparisons between and David, 30; concessions of to Aquitaine unlikely, 83; confirmed rights of Narbonne Jewry, 51; conquest of Aquitaine, 77; devastation of Septimania ascribed to Charles Martel and, 42; died September 24, 768, 56; diploma of, 151, 167; diplomatic activity, 75; diplomatic interchange with 'Abbasid caliph, 74f.; displaced Merovingians, 108n16; *divisio* of 751 a new confiscation of church lands, 54; doubt that he restored ecclesiastical property, 53; 751 elevation of to throne, 29; encouraged immigration into Frankia, 84; expedition vs Lombards, 182; Goth population banished by, 43f., 173; grant of, 155, 166; grant of allodial rights to Jews questioned, 51; grant to the nasi and Jewry at Narbonne, 145, 168; granted ecclesiastical property in Aquitaine, 128n33; granted Jews hereditary freeholds, 51n6; had control of Septimania, 52n8; imperial aspect of patriciate of, 31n60; issued Capitulary for Aquitaine, 77; Jews as allies of, 51; Jews not Goths supporters of within citadel of Narbonne, 173; Jews surrendered Narbonne to, 166; launched invasion of Aquitaine, 75; monarchy of based on divine title of possession, 30n59; offered allies in Narbonne right to rule, 130; payment of tithe made obligatory by, 54; pledge for a Jewish ruler in return for surrender of Narbonne, 57f., 75, 80, 173; pledged carolingian aid vs 'Abd ar-Rahman, 87; precarious position of in Septimania, 87; *privilegium* of, 154; pursuit of Waifar, 76; rapprochement of with enemies of the emirate, 12; 768 received ambassadors of Baghdad, 76; recognized Natronai-Makhir as nasi of the Jews, 82; request of caliph of Baghdad, 109; responded to challenge of rebel vassals, 38; rewarded the Jews, 173; rule of Gascony, 76; "secularized" ecclesiastical property in Aquitaine, 54, 55n13, 89n34; skepticism that Goths were allies of, 46; status of as *Patricius Romanorum* transcended a mere king, 31; 765 summoned assembly of the realm, 75; son of Charlemagne, 181ff.

- Peqid ha-soharim*, "Trustee of the Merchants," 11th century community official, 258n191; entitled *nasi* or *nagid*, 259n191; precursor of Italian consuls, 259n191
- Peralada county, Spain, Suniarius count of Ampurias and, 325n20
- Persia: 637 Arab conquest of, 2; impact on West of victory of over Christians, 7; Jewries in, 90
- Peter, bishop of Narbonne, son of viscount of Narbonne, 148f.; recognized Guifred's power, 149
- Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, 64, 96; address of to k. Louis VII of France, 64; emphasized "servitude" and "subjection" of the Jews, 185n22; referred to the *nasi*, 169
- Philomena, chronicler of Charlemagne, 69; historical features of given weight, 67n36; notes of a "fable," 67n36
- Pierre de Marca, manuscript of, 123n20
- Pîtres, Assembly of realm, end August 868, Charles Bald received three marquises named Bernard at, 333f.
- Poitiers, France, 87, 128; 732 Charles Martel's victory at, 11
- Polemic(al), 109; anti-Christianity, 104 n6; Christian literature, 107; Jewish, 107n15
- Political sovereignty, absence of, in Jewish people proof that messiah had come, 279
- Pompey, occupied Jerusalem, 103 and n4
- Pope, 68, 97, 135, 176n2; approval of the for the *nasi* of Frankia, 174n62; exempted William from fasts and permitted polygamy in the *chansons*, 203n71; in alliance with k. of Franks and caliph, 76n8; witness of negotiations between Charlemagne and Jews, 71
- Porta Aquaria (Acaire), in Narbonne, 148
- Porta Regia, tower in Narbonne, 148
- Portovenere, Italy, Isaac debarked October 801 at, 188
- Possessions, Jewish: allodial in the Narbonnaise, 72; inside and outside Narbonne, 168; records of property in Bioux treat, 27; see also Allods, Hereditaments, Property, Jewish
- Praecepta*, 149n3, 151, 166; of Pepin and sons to Jews of Narbonne, 109, 156, 171; see also *Diploma*, Legislation, Mandates, *Privilegium*, Status of Jews
- Prelate in Narbonne: between 688 and 788 no evidence for a, 49n3
- Primates, served as evidence of the Jewish nation, 22; title of Jewish officials in Roman diaspora, 22
- Prince(s) of Jews (*nasi*), 61 and n23, 95, 97; B'nai Marawatha were descended from David, 81n18; cession of a realm in Frankia to, 35, 86, 175; David shall be, 283; emissary of caliph, 87; grant to echoed in Capitulary for Aquitaine, 85; in the West, 92, 190; k. Charles asked caliph for a, 59; Makhir a quasi-independent, 59; Makhir's dynasty bore title, 89f.; monarchical power of, 94, 185; recognized by carolingians, 87; territory ceded to, 77; title *patricius* had significance for, 228n124; traced lineage to k. David, 35, 59, 94f., 98n53; see also Exilarch, King of Jews, *Nasi*, Patriarch, Princedom, Principality, Principate
- Princedom, Jewish, 100, 144; international implications of, 86; 791 made a permanent institution, 143; Pepin and sons established in South, 86, 88, 93; theological implications of, 97; vassal, 99; see also Kingdom, Patriarchate, Principate
- Principality: Jewish, 100; of alien peoples common in time of Charlemagne, 23; of Natronai-Makhir, 82
- Principate, Jewish, 91, 144, 173; challenged messiahship of Jesus, 96; 768 established by Frankish kings, 137, 144, 171; ordained the heads of the academy in Narbonne, 90; papal assent to, 100n57; papal complaint

- about, 100; permanent established in Narbonne with consent of Charlemagne, 143; *see also* King, Nasi, Patriarchate, Princedom, Principality
- Principle of personality in law, applied to Jews, 18
- Priscus (Jew), mintmaster of Chilperic I: in disputation with bishop Gregory of Tours and k. Chilperic, 7
- Privileged Jews: all Jews in carolingian empire were equally, 20
- Privilegium(a)*, privilege(s), 141, 168; abrogation of for Jews, 16; accompanied grant of land to Makhir, 85 n30; accorded to the nasi, 167; carolingian, 141; 791 Charlemagne's, 8, 137f., 140, 144 and n68, 168, 171f., 175, 291n6, 293; described in *ShK*, 142; for Abraham of Saragossa, 19 f., 25, 346n71; for Jews limited solely to individuals (Kisch's theory), 17; grant of to Jews, 16, 65; Jews secured with seals of gold, 245 f.; k. Eudo's of 890, 152; lost carolingian of 768, 86; of 844, 151; of Pepin the Short, 153 f.; *see also* Act, Capitulary, Charter, Diploma, Legislation
- Property, church: pope threatened excommunication re in Aquitaine, 338n55; restitution of hoped for, 89; restoration of, 295; secularization of by Pepin in Aquitaine, 54, 55n13, 89n34; *see also* Estates
- Property(ies), Jewish: cases involving may be kept for imperial decision, 84; concentration of in the Chalonnais, 27; gave evidence of their free status, 17; grant to Makhir of included a *privilegium*, 85n30; imperial act for Lyons Jewry protected their, 25; in carolingian age, 24; in Narbonne older than 768, 89; *privilegium* for Abraham of Saragossa protected his, 25; rights of the Jews to, 164; *see also* Allods, Estates, Freeholds, Hereditaments, Land holdings, Possessions
- Provence, France, 192n39, 193 and n46, 214, 328; Jews of endowed with ecclesiastical estates, 249
- Provençal, translation of *Gesta*, 139n57
- Prudence (Prudentius), bishop, 274n41, 275n45; accusation vs Bernard of Septimania, 287; and Amolo drew from same source on Bodo, 276n45; 835 assumed task of writing *Annales Bertiniani*, 269; 855 attacked regime of Charles the Bald, 269; charged betrayal of Bordeaux by Jews, 313; claimed Jews were involved in Barcelona's fall, 316, 324; chronicles related only traitorous acts by Jews, 205, 316, 324; on Bodo's conversion, 274n42; placed Bodo-Eleazar in Saragossa, 277n48; reported Eleazar resorted to anti-Christian agitation, 283
- Prunet, "Villula," located in kingdom of Septimania, 336n49
- Psalterium Aureum*, Psalter of the abbey of St. Gall, 88n32
- Pseudo-Aribert, ninth century literary account reported k. Charles stabbed own father Bernard, 288
- Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (847-52): anti-Jewish acts of Meaux-Paris repeated in, 298n27; applied to Jews' accusation, 309n46; banned judging of bishops by laymen, 308n46; forgery prepared in Rheims diocese, 298; most audacious forgery of church sources, 309n46
- Pumbeditha, academy, 2, 78, 90; lapse in communication between Ispamia and after period 872-90 until 906-17, 308n3; *see also* Gaon of Pumbeditha
- Pyrenees, 105, 126, 136 f., 162n34, 187n26, 323; Bera's reconnaissance across, 188n29; Charles' attempt to extend power beyond, 126; territories beyond, 178; William led expedition beyond, 193
- Quadrata (Carrée), tower of Narbonne, 148

- St. Quentin, church in Narbonne, 157, 159
- Quentovic, licensed mint in, 320n11
- Querzy Diet: Bernard of Auvergne absent from, 342; 754 confirmed Pepin's pact with pope Stephen, 30n59
- Rabbi-*magister* of carolingian age: earlier counterpart of Hisdai ibn Shaprut, 256 f.
- Ragnar, viking chief, 314
- Ramnulf, count: Charles the Bald's vassal, 337; invested with abbeys, 330
- Raoul, king of France, 157
- Raoul, archbishop of Bourges, consented to exchange of property between Bernard and abbot of Mozac, 334
- Raoul, brother of Wifred, held Cerdagne, 333
- Rampo, official in March of Spain (817-26), 262n8; predecessor of Bernard of Septimania, 262, 265; replaced Bera in March of Spain, 262, 265
- Ratisbon, Germany, 172 and n61, 178, 181; 792 Felix Urgel abjured Adoptionist views at council of, 177 and n3; 791 national Diet at, 181
- Raymond, count of Toulouse and St. Gilles, marquis of Gothia, 147 ff., 151, 155, 326
- Razès county, France, 153, 262n7; Bernard of Septimania count of, 265; Oliba and Effroi held, 337n51
- Realm, Frankish, 80; frontier weakness of, 310
- Reccared, king of Visigoths, edict vs the Jews after 589, 8
- Receswinth, king of Visigoths (649-72), repressive rule of, 108
- Reinouart (Reneward), character in *chansons*, 117n8; Guiborc's brother accepted baptism and married Ermentrud, 119n13; Guillaume brother of, 117; offspring of k. Louis with William's sister, 119n13
- Resh galuta*, *Rosh golah* ("Head of the Exile"), 1, 2; natural for Jews to speak of as king (*rex Judeorum*), 91; see also Exilarch, King of Jews, Nasi, Prince, Princedom
- Respogius, duke of Brittany, 92; retained a separate realm after commendation, 23
- Responsum(a)*, 164n37, 165 and n39; ascribed to Meshullam b. Kalonymos, 160n27; identified Eleazar *alluf* as from Ispamia and Ausona, 275n44, 320n11; of Amram addressed to Meir b. Joseph of Barcelona (857-58), 321n12; of Meshullam b. Kalonymos, 163n37; of Natronai gaon (853-58/63), 188n29; of the Babylonian academies, 275n44; of the ninth century, 136; probable of Natronai, 79n14
- Restitution: threefold, required by Capitulary for Aquitaine, 84; twofold, provided by Henry IV's charters, 84
- Rex* or *princeps* of alien peoples, governed his own people within carolingian empire, 23
- Rex Judeorum*, exilarch translated "king" or, 91
- Rex Judeus Narbone*, appears in a royal confirmation, 170n54
- Rheims, France: legation from Cordova came to, 312; licensed mint in, 320n11; province of, 307; See of archbishop Hincmar, 312n55
- Rheims, church at, 306; held lands in Aquitaine, 352
- Rheims diocese: humiliation of Hincmar in, 330; Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals forged in, 298n27
- Rhineland, count Theodoric's estates in, 129
- Rhône, river, 178, 214, 323; to Ebro boundaries of Gothia, 329n29
- Richard, seigneur, count Bernard sold lands in Rouergue to, 335
- Rightlessness, Jewish: *de jure, de facto*, 18; not earlier than 12th century, 15
- Ripoll, monastery in Spain, manuscript of, 196n54
- Riquier, poet, 202n69

- Ritual murder, 1144 Jews of Norwich accused of, 64
- Robert, count: Charles the Bald's vassal, 337; invested with abbeys, 330
- Roderic, last Visigothic king, 11
- Roger, archbishop of Trèves, 158
- Roland, marquis: Einhard mentioned, 114; in the *chansons* knows Arabic, 117n9; references to, 114n4
- Rolinde, half-sister of Bernard of Septimania, 270
- "Roll of Lineage" (*Megillat Yuhassin*), near-equivalent of later *chanson de geste*, 201
- Roman: Jews, 86; rule, 108
- Roman empire: Jewish communities in ruled by nasi, 3; motives for recognition of Jewish patriarchate, 3; recognized authority of nasi, 3
- Roman empire, Christian: anti-Jewish edicts of, 298; recognized authority of nasi, 3, 21; terminated patriarchate of Palestine, 4n3
- Roman law: accorded Jewish religion preferred status of a *religio licita*, 17; continued validity for Jews into Frankish era, 6, 20 f.; end of in Frankish realm, 13; 591 Jews permitted to live by, 21; status of Jews in retained, 5 f.; 585 synagogues protected by, 21
- Roman tongue, spoken in Jerusalem, 190n3
- Romans, Jews counted among in early Frankish era, 21
- "Romanz," dialect of William's clan, 117
- Rome, 56, 100 f., 138n55, 190, 302; and constitution of Constantine, 100; Bodo's "pilgrimage" to, 275; Christian, recognized patriarch of Palestine as supreme Jewish authority, 3, 21; domination of over Jews, 103n4; 769 Frankish bishops at council in, 100; imperial designated Jewish patriarch of Palestine a *rex socius*, 21; last kingdom in apocalyptic vision of Daniel, 9 and n17; substitution of for Jerusalem in Charlemagne's coronation, 191; the banner and key of Jerusalem brought to, 188 ff., 221, 245
- Roncesvalles: attack near, in *Song of Roland*, 126; Christian Basques and Muslims in alliance at, 127; Frank debacle at, 126
- Rosh golah*, in Babylonia, 98n53; see also Exilarch, *Resh Galuta*
- Rosh haShanah (Jewish New Year): a two-day holiday, 196; in 803 fell on Thursday, 21 September, 195
- Rostagnus, count of Gerona, 193
- Rothad, bishop of Soissons, deposed by Hincmar now restored, 330
- Rouen, France, 169; 820 Bera exiled to, 197n56, 263n8, 310; king of Jews in, 64, 96; licensed mint in, 320n11; 845 Viking fleet at entered the Seine, 310
- Rouergue, France, 76; 873-74 count Bernard sold lands in, 335; count of, 147; William's ancestral holdings in, 230
- Roussillon county, France, 157, 193, 260, 272; Gaucelm received the, 266
- Roussillon, province of France: annex of county of Narbonne, 340; before 865 Solomon controlled the Conflent, Cerdagne, and, 327n22; court decision in, 339 f.; in kingdom of Septimania, 336n49; Miron brother of Wifred usurped, 333
- Royal count: half of Narbonne reserved for, 167; in Narbonne, 167 f.; prerogatives of in Narbonne including income, 155
- Royal seed, of Jews resided in Narbonne, 96, 169n51
- Rudolph, archbishop of Bourges (d. 866), deacon Wulfad succeeded, 330
- Rule of St. Benedict, 217; *Vita B* contradicted the, 220
- Ruler, Jewish, 140; price for surrender of Narbonne, 86; of Fatimid Egypt asked caliph of Baghdad for scion of David, 60n22; carolingian recognized as kings chieftains of foreign peoples, 91

- Sabbath: a thousand years of for the world, 107n15; year for the soil, 107n15
- Sacramentary of Gellone*: not composed for Gellone, 242
- Sage(s): Jewish, horned enemy of his people, 82; of Barcelona implies existence of a substantial community, 321; *responsum* of Amram gaon of Sura to Meir b. Joseph and sages of Barcelona, 321; signature of Todros b. Moshé in a Hebrew *responsum* of sages of Narbonne, 121n16
- Salamoneis*, Hebrew (the language of Solomon), 117n9
- Salatré, Saracen, conversed with William and Guiburc *en un language*, 117n9
- Salic law, contradicted by Capitulary of Aquitaine, 83
- Salomon, 870 witness of court judgment in Narbonne, 336n50
- Salt flats (pits, works) at Narbonne, 160; Jews held before Arab period, 52; owned by Jews, 86n30, 159; tithes from, 159
- Sambari chronicle (17th century), 60n22, 81n18
- Samuel, nephew of rabbi Domatus, 93n42b, 252; chief assistant or associate of Domatus, 254; *see also* Domatus
- Samuel, son of Abraham, sold property in Narbonne, 158 f.
- Samuel b. 'Ali, gaon reported exilarch's fall from power end 9th century, 90
- Samuel b. Joseph Halevi ibn Nagrela (993-1056), nagid: debate with ibn Hazm, 98n53; military exploits of, 60n22; poet, scholar, patron of letters, and commander-in-chief of Granada, 131, 204; represents Jewish military commander tradition, 131; vizier of Granada, 131
- Samuel b. Makhir of the county of Auvergne, 307
- Samuel b. Mar, gaon of Pumbeditha (748-52), 78
- San Miguel, Spain, church, 150n29
- Sánchez, *dux* of Gascony, 92
- Sanila, count, 184n20; accused Bera of treason, 262; vanquished Bera, 191n39
- Sanyor, appeared among the martyrs of 1007-11, 325n20; *see also* Sunyar
- Sapaudus, Jew: entitled *dominus*, 8
- Saracen, 75, 173; chief in William song, 130n35; conqueror of Catalonia in 8th century captured Barcelona, 320 n9; conqueror of Narbonne, 49; conquest of Spain, 109; control extended over all of Septimania, 11; 864 count Solomon among Frank *missi* who accompanied legation, 329n27; domination from Pyrenees to Lyons, 105; invasion annihilated all Christians in county of Ausona, 135; 793 invasion of, 186n24; invasion of Frankish Gaul, 47, 52, 183; Jews of Narbonne owed no fealty to Saracen ruler of Narbonne, 68; king killed in battle, 183; Narbonne the keystone of occupation in southern France, 87n32; ruler of Narbonne, 67 f.; wars against infidels, 203; William struck with his fist, 222
- Saracens, 66n35, 115, 144n69, 161n32, 165n39, 184, 186, 187n26, 198n58; all non-Christians called, 116n7; and Jews shared government of Narbonne, 49; Basques and Navarrais allied with, 292n8; 793 capture of Nîmes from, 219n101; 852 captured Barcelona, 324; captured Lyons, 12; 719-20 captured Narbonne, 48; crossed the Pyrenees, 214; excluded from certain Christian areas, 16; Goth rebel Azio allied with, 265; 846 held basilica of St. Peter in Rome, 311; in Narbonne, 69; 846 invaded Italy, 311; invaded southern France, 130; Jews' alleged support of in Narbonne, 51; Jews beneficiaries of land-redistribution policy of, 53; Jews killed in Narbonne, 174; king unhorsed in battle with before Narbonne, 66n35, 124 f.; knew William well, 186; of Spain, 125; of Spain massacred Chris-

- tians, 214; ravaged Southland, 294; recapture of Narbonne from, 154; took immense booty and prisoners, 183; theme of Jews who surrender Christian towns to, 68; Umayyad, 112; victory of Charles Martel over, 87
- Saragossa: Bodo-Eleazar in, 277 and *n48*; Franks laid siege to, 126; magnate of, 125; punishment meted out to bishop of, 328; Solomon's mission to, 327; *see also* Abraham of Saragossa
- Sassanid, neo-Persian dynasty: gave exilarch broad powers, 1
- Saxon(s), 181, attack on, 129; territory, 92; Theodoric warrior vs the, 181*n12*; war (782), 134 and *n44*; war (804), 199
- Saxony, 129 f., 187; rebellion in, 129
- Scepter (symbol of royal power), 98*n53*, 99*n54*; Judah's, 98*n53*; referred to Makhir, 97
- Scholar-prince, Jewish: arrival in West created a stir, 82; 768 invested with a realm, 173; of davidic ancestry, 61*n22*, 74; *see also* Exilarch, Makhir, Nasi, Prince
- Scroll of Torah, carried to exilarch's seat as sign of royal status, 2
- Seal, of K̄alonymos b. Todros Isaiah Cohen in Narbonne, 171
- Second after the king: the first after the ruler, 267*n24*
- Second temple: destruction of, 103*n4*, 105; rebuilding of, 103
- Securitas* (charter of protection): equated with *emunitas* and *firmitas*, 65*n33*; *havtaḥa* for Jews, 65*n33*
- Seder Rabh Amram*: equated Sefarad and Ispamia, 261*n6*; in the form of a *responsum* addressed to Isaac b. Simeon of Barcelona, 322
- See, of Narbonne, 168, 176*n2*
- Sefarad ("Spain"): designated Spanish peninsula south of March of Spain, 261; Isaac the exilarch died in, 261*n6*; place of exilarch Natronai's settlement, 79; *Seder Rabh Amram* equated, and Ispamia, 261*n6*
- Sefer haPardes*, Nathan haMakhiri's works in, 245*n161*
- Sefer Zerubbabel*, apocalypse, 103*n4*
- Selles on the Loire, France, 109; 768 ambassadors from Baghdad conducted to, 76
- Sens, France: licensed mint in, 320*n11*; Metropolitan of, 296
- Septimania, 43, 46, 57, 86, 104, 109, 124*n24*, 128, 130, 175 f. and *n1*, 178, 193, 214, 260 f., 262*n7*; and Spanish March independent of king Pepin of Aquitaine, 274; and Toulousain conferred on Bernard, 273*n38*; Arabs devastated, 48; attached to Spanish March, 147; Aymeri's territories in, 72; Berengar refused to yield to Bernard, 273; Bernard was "a usurper" in, 262; called "Gothia," 192*n39*; cession *ad proprium* unusual in, 57; Charles son of Judith and Louis received, 284; coinage system in, 232; 791 conference of prelates of, 174*n62*; detached from the Toulousain, 324; Duke Paul incited to rebellion vs Wamba, 10; excluded from Pepin's realm, 271; grant of hereditaments in to Jewry, 77; grant to Jews in, 172; hegemony over, 228*n124*; *honorati* of claimed papal confirmation for their former ecclesiastical estates, 173*n62*; in days of Charlemagne a single March in the South comprised Septimania and Toulousain, 323; in Visigothic empire haven for Jewish refugees from Spain, 8; Islamic expansion into, 87*n32*; Jewish principedom in, 93; Jewry's prominent status in after capitulation of Narbonne, 73; Jews in exempt from prohibitions of Toledo council 694 as landowners, 8; Jews in in 5th century, 7; Jews in support rebellion against Wamba, 9; Jews in Visigothic, 8; Jews of, 47, 65*n32*, 144*n68*, 249; Jews of endowed with ecclesiastical estates, 249; 839 Jews of owned hereditary estates in Carcassonne, 51*n7*; 852 joined to the

Septimania (*Continued*)

- March of Spain, 324; known as a "kingdom," 267; magnates of, 57n18, 72 f., 86; March of Spain a military unit distinct from, 262n8; military dress typical costume for Jews in, 276n45; 741 Muslims occupied all of, 87; natives resisted Charles Martel, 12; out of control, 87; Pepin in control of, 52n8; pope Stephen III addressed letter to magnates of, 50, 52; powers of Louis in as king of Aquitaine, 232; reorganization of, 178; royal *fideles* in, 291n8; Saracen invasion of, 219n101; Spanish refugees in, 292n8; three Jews of, 177; 720-59 under Saracen control, 11; was territory north of Narbonne to the pagus of Nîmes, 323n17; William founded two monasteries in, 225; William led army into, 214; William's ancestral holdings in, 230; *see also* Narbonne
- Septimania-Toulousain, 172; Jews of as retainers of church estates, 295; major responsibility of Jewry of, 112
- Septimanian-Goth aristocrats, allies of Pepin, 13
- Septimanian Jewry, grant in free allod to, 73n48; highly privileged body endowed with estates, 49, 129n23; military activity of, 116; prominence of, 57 and n16, 58; *see also* Narbonne Jewry
- Sergius, legate of pope Stephen III, 99, 125
- Serini: "messiah", 105n11
- St. Sernin, monastery in Toulouse, probable place of Bernard of Septimania's execution, 287
- Servi*: Jews convert their, 305
- Servitors, Christian: cultivated vineyards and fields of Jews, 72
- Seville, Spain: defeat of 'Ali ibn-Mughith before, 75; Musa entrusted to the Jews, 48n1
- Shahriyar, son of exilarch Bustanai, 118n11
- Sherira, gaon of Pumbeditha: dating of Anan's schism, 80n15; epistle of, 79
- Shiloh, 93 f., 97
- "Shiloh cometh", equals *gematria* of "messiah", 94n43
- ShK* (*Seder* or *Sefer Seder haKabbalah*, "Book of the Order of Tradition") by Abraham ibn Daud, 12th century, 64, 118n11, 142
- ShK Addendum* to, 60n22, 74, 118 f., 123, 140 f., 143, 167; Adler MS no. 2237 Jewish Theological Seminary of America composed before 1165, 59n21; described Charlemagne's *privilegium*, 144; re a skillful poet of the Makhiri dynasty, 201; re Makhir and dynasty as princes, 89; re efforts to deprive nasi of lands, 169n48; reported Frank king ceded "great possession", 77; reported on nasi of Narbonne, 224; *see also* "Appendix" to *ShK*
- ShK*, "Appendix" of, 61n22, 82, 121n6, 122 f., 140, 142; anticipated claim of *Gesta* re descendant of k. David in Narbonne, 73; carolingian foundations of, 63n26; claimed power for nasi of Narbonne, 91; dated close to 1160/61, 62n23; designated Kalonymos a young man (*baḥur*), 62n23; drawn from older history of nasi of Narbonne, 258; must be dated before 1195, 61; not of ibn Daud authorship, 59n21; writer of saw document of 791, 171; written in Provençal script, 59n21; *see also* *Addendum* of *ShK*
- Siberia, Jewries in, 90
- Sigebod, archbishop of Narbonne and Razès, 136, 154n16, 319
- Soissons council, 744 or later, agreed to partial restoration of church patrimony, 54
- Solomon b. Anatom, 308
- Solomon, count and nasi of the Jews, 325; 864 accompanied Saracen legation, 329n27; action vs Hincmar of Rheims, 309n46; and concordat with 'Abd ar-Rahman, 312; ascension of in Roussillon, 325n20; assassination

- of signal for rebellion in March of Spain, 332 ff.; before 865 controlled the Conflent, Cerdagne, Roussillon, whole March of Spain, 327n22; "broke horn of Scoffer in Rheims," 307, 315; count Bera a predecessor of as count of Conflent, 331n38; count of Conflent, 325, 329; court judgments of 862-68 name count in assizes of Conflent (or Cerdagne), 325; dashed designs of Hincmar of Rheims, 308, 315; died between August 18, 868 and April 870, 333, 340n59; diplomatic and military success of, 327, 331; evaluated as a good statesman and administrator, 326n21; gesture of reconciliation to Charles the Bald by, 312; governed March of Spain, 329; held counties of Urgel, Cerdagne, Conflent, 332n40; identified as count of Cerdagne, 329n28; 865 identified as marquis of Spain, 327n22; judgment of 862 reflects Humphrey's penetration into March of Spain, 326; member of Makhiri clan, 308; 863-64 mission of to Cordova and Saragossa, 327, 328 and n25; replaced Odalric in Roussillon, 325; restored March of Spain to Frankia, 327n22; rise of and decline of Hincmar, 330; Sugnar dead father (or relative) of, 325n20; the force behind the agreement Cordova-Frankia, 312n55; very close confidant of Charles the Bald, 330; Wifred le Velu killed, 332
- Solomon, exilarch of Persian line, appointed brother-in-law gaon of Pumbeditha, 78
- Song of Roland*; attack near Roncesvalles immortalized in, 126; based on a poem in Romance language, 200; by 1100 famous beyond France, 200; Pidal's minute analysis of, 115
- Song of William*, 117n9, 219, 223; date, 114n3; gave no hint of renunciation of the world by William, 209; identified Beuve as husband of William's sister, 315n63; lost *chanson* reworked into, 200; preserved reminiscences of the military exploits of nasi Makhir and his dynasty, 203; represented William as able to speak Arabic and Hebrew, 188; residue of reliable historical fact in, 114; translation into English verse, 116n7
- Sources, Hebrew, claimed Jews held hereditary estates in carolingian age, 293n12
- South-Southwestern frontier as responsibility of the Jews, 172n61
- Spain, 49, 57, 67, 87, 88n32, 98n53, 100, 109, 117, 121n16, 124, 135, 184, 186 ff., 188n29, 321, 328; 'Abbasid-carolingian adventure in, 76n8; 761-5 Abbasids invaded Umayyad, 74; 'Abd ar-Rahman's successes in, 111 n20; after 796 troops recruited for an attack on, 186n24; alleged sale of Christians to Muslims of, 300; Arab (Umayyad), 80, 177n3, 324; attract Jewries of into orbit of Narbonne, 87; authority over, 138n55; Aymeri's territories in, 72; Bodo created a sensation in, 277; Bodo's conversion in, 275n44, 277m46, 47; Bodo's conversionist propaganda in, 297; boundaries facing, 80, 86 f., 112 f., 114, 128, 181 f., 230n127; caliph promoted Frankish invasion of, 76n8; carolingian invasion of, 186; Charles' expedition of 778 into, 112, 125, 292n8; Christians in, 126 f., 183n17; Christians of petitioned for extradition of Eleazar, 284; Eleazar's putative propaganda in, 279n51; Frank advances in, 138; grant of allods to Jewry in northern, 77, 172; Hisdai ibn Shaprut head of Jews in Cordovan, 256 f.; Jewish principedom along borders of, 88; Jews as defenders of frontiers of, 309; Jews of Muslim, 281; Jews of northern, 47, 160; king's representatives sent into, 292; le Velu count from Narbonne into, 332; magnates of, 57n18, 73, 86; no church possession until 851-75 in northern,

- 179; Norsemen reached, 309; northern, 115, 137; northern fell to Franks, 137, 166, 191; poem of, 115n5; pope Stephen III addressed letter to magnates of, 50, 52; 803 preparations for invasion of, 191; princes of the Jews in, 64; protectorate in objective of Charlemagne, 126; recurring alliance of le Velu family with Muslims, 333n41; Saracen conquest and domination of, 105n9, 109; Saracen infidels of, 203; Saracens pillaged and massacred Jewish communities of, 161n32; 951-1050 upsurge in church holdings in, 179; Visigothic, 104; William's alliance with Saracens of, 317
- Spaniards: 844 capitulary (constitution) of Charles the Bald for, 291 and n8, 292n8; hereditary landholdings in constitution of, 294n12; in county of Béziers, 291; might judge all crimes among themselves except homicide, rape, arson, 292; military obligations of, 294; protection to "in unity of faith" 291; received territories redeemed from wasteland, 293; status of and that of Jews, 293
- Spanish: affairs, 186; borderlands, 80, 86 f., 112 f., 114, 128, 181 f., 230n127; borders stripped of their protecting garrisons, 182; Charles did not act in behalf of frontier, 183; Charles' military relation to settlers, 294; 778 Charles on campaign, 127; conquests, 184; defense of frontier, 291; defense of frontier the obligation of Pyrenean and trans-Pyrenean counts, 265n18; edict extended rights of settlers, 291; Eleazar convinced Muslim authorities to act vs Christians, 283 f.; Jewry not resigned to Umayyad suzerainty, 86; Jews' defense of frontier, 294; power of seigneur, 293; settlers, autonomy of, 292; settlers in Frankia, 160
- Spanish March, 68n37, 115, 179, 271; and Septimania independent of k. Pepin of Aquitaine, 274; Bernard's association with the, 263; defense of, 182; Einhard overlooked emperor Louis in founding of, 204; Jewry of entered period of cultural advance after 852, 317, 322; Jews of in close relationship with academies of Babylonia, 317; Septimania attached to, 147; *see also* March of Spain
- Status of Jews: highly privileged, cause of papal alarm, 88 f.; major scholarly views on in Frankland, 13-17; no substantive differentiation in carolingian empire, 20; religion created privileged, 17; theoretical foundations of in Frankland, 13-17; *see also* Legislation, carolingian
- Statutes for Jews: of Frank kings, 89; right to live by their own law, 253; *see also* Acts, *Diploma*, *Legislation*, *Mandates Praecepta*, *Privilegium*, *Status of Jews*
- Stephen II, pope, 100; 754 anointing of Pepin by, 29n57; 754 bestowed on Pepin the *Patricius Romanorum*, 30; declaration of at Pepin's anointing, 29 f.
- Stephen III, pope, 93, 101, 111, 125, 149n3, 156, 165 f.; anxious "to the point of death," 55; attack on cessions to Jews, 50, 58, 74, 89; charge against carolingian princes, 129n33; communication to (arch)bishop Aribert, 56, 86; complaint against Jewish principate, 73, 89, 100; date of epistle of, 56n15, 172; epistle of emphasized two features found also in *Gesta*, 72; forbade wedding of Desiderata and Charlemagne, 119n12; lamented kings' grant (*praecepta*), 166; legate of, 99; letter of 768 shows Jews owned vineyards, 20; reply of to Aribert (arch)bishop of Narbonne, 20, 50 and n6, 51, 56, 57n16, 61, 73n48, 77, 86, 89, 99, 173; reported allodial possessions of Jews, 58
- Stephen VI, pope, 50n6
- St. Stephen, basilica of Narbonne suburb, 133
- Strasbourg, Ermold Niger exile in, 198 f.

- Sub-king, duke had authority of a, 92
 Succot festival, 195 f.
- Sugnar: count Solomon's dead father (or relative), 325n20, 328; *see also* Sanyor, Solomon, Sunyar
- Suleiman, Arab leader in Spain, 186; assassinated, 126; offered Gerona to Pepin in 759 (752), 135
- Suleiman b. Yoktan ibn Arabi, wali in Spain, 127; alliance with Charlemagne, 38n3; defeated Ibn Habib and took Saragossa, 126; wali of Gerona in 777, 135; won over for Frank cause, 126
- Suniaire (Sunarius), count: at side of count Sunifred of Urgel, 287; count of various districts, 325n20; possibly father of Solomon, 325
- Sunifred, count: before 849 Aléran succeeded, 313n58; substitute reading for Juliofred, 230; succeeded Bernard as marquis of Septimania and Spain, 287, 313 and n58
- Sunya(e)r, count of Roussillon February 6 and 7, 843, 325n20; in Ampurias, 327n22; predecessor of Aléran and Odalric, 325n20; references to, 325 n20; *see also* Sanyor, Solomon, Sugnar
- Superstitions of the Jews*, by bishop Agobard and colleagues, 301
- Sura, academy in Babylonia, 2, 90; Eleazar in, 284
- Suzerainty, act of commendation placed foreign princes under carolingian, 91; Umayyad, over Jews unacceptable, 86
- Synagogues, (585) protected by Roman law, 21
- Syria, collapse of Byzantine power in, 102
- Taher, wali of Huesca, 137
- Talmud(ic), 130; holds certain character failings as evidence vs Israelite descent, 202n67; Samuel ibn Nagrela headed academy, 131
- Tam, Rabbenu, letter to Meshullam of Mullin, 164n37
- Tanḥuma*, midrash: composition of in 9th century, 97n51; identified 'Anani as messiah, 105n11
- Targum* (Aramaic translation of Bible), 105n11, 306
- Tariḳ ibn Ziyad: Arab conqueror of Spain, 11; entrusted Toledo the capital to the Jews, 47
- Tarragonia, Spain, "a city of Jews," 48
- Tarrasa Castle, Spain, Spaniards in, 291n8
- Tauros, the Hebrew, mentioned in a viscountal act, 121n16, *see also* Todros
- Tedbalt, count of Bourges: character in *chansons*, 130; his nephew Estourmi, 130; Saracen chief in the *William Song*, 130n35
- Temple (of Jerusalem), 104, 107, 283n60; destruction of, 103n4; 768 end of 700 years of ruin, 106, 109; messiah's coming dated 800 years after the destruction of, 283; rumored restoration of Mount to Jewish control, 102; shrine of Muslims erected on Mount, 104; 700 years of ruin, 106
- Ten Commandments, comments of Moses the exegete, 164
- Teodfred; son of Jean of Fontjoncouse, diploma for, renewed, 291
- Terra Ebrei* ("Hebrew's land"), 910-27 in the Auvergne, 27, 29
- Terra Hebreorum, Ebreorum* ("Hebrews' land"): between Mâcon and Vienne, 26; evidence of Jewish communal property, 27 f.; 842 in district of Vienne, 25 f.; in Vernioz (Vernius), 25; 994-1032 in vicinity of Lyons, 27; property of an individual Jew, 27 f.; 886-927 property of bishop of Mâcon bordered on, 26; theorizing of scholars about, 27; within walls of Vienne, 25; *see also* Allods, Estates, Land, Property of Jews, Territory
- Terrae* of individual Jews, in Viennois region, 26
- Territory(ies), Jewish: boundaries of along Saône and Rhône, 28; ceded to

- Territory (*Continued*)
 Jewish prince, 77; in village *curte Judaea*, 27; royal grants to Jews in Christian, 89; traces of in the Chalon-nais, 25; within carolingian realm, 18, 22
- Tertullian, church Father, anti-Jewish views of, 107n13
- Testamentum Juliofredi*, inventory of Gellone lands, 230
- Teutonic law of aliens: foundation for status of Jews in Frankia, 13; no *wergeld* for Jews in, 21
- Thegan, carolingian author, 117n8, 270
- Theobald, monk, convert from Judaism, 96; 1144 charged ritual murder vs Jews of Norwich, 64, 96
- Theobald, Saracen king, in *chansons*, 214, 219
- Theodard, bishop of Narbonne (885-93), 136, 154n16, 319
- St. Theodore, of Uzès: *gesta* and documents in archives of, 41n10, *see also* Theodoric, nasi
- Theodoric (Frank name of Makhir), nasi: a kinsman (*propinquus*) of k. Charles, 122n17, 129; ancient books of the Pious in Uzès, 130, 200; attempt to reconcile names Aymeric and, 115n15, 130n36; brother-in-law of Pepin the Short, 122; count of Narbonne, 130; entrusted with one-third the army, 181; father of count William of Toulouse, 114n5, 122n17, 130, 213, 226 f.; frequent reappearance of name among Makhiri hebraized as Todros, 120 f.; identification of with Aymeri, 130n36; in riparian Francia, 129; in the East, 134; jealous of, 129; joined expedition against Avars, 182; 793 lost his life in Pannonia, 181; married Alda (denied), 122n17, 130n36; prominent warrior of Charlemagne, 129, 133, 181 and n12; succeeded by Milon, 134n44; William substituted for, 130
- Theodoric, king of Franks, 6
- Theodoric, of Makhiri family: brother of Bernard confided Burgundian inheritance to emperor Louis, 286; childless brother of Bernard of Septimania left properties to nephew William, 122n17; *missus* reported in 816 dead by 843, 122n17; son of William, 121, 122n18
- Theodoric, Roman emperor, 507/11 confirmed Jewish privileges, 21
- St. Theodoritus, to be identified with Makhir-Theodoricus, 200n61
- Theodosian code: *interpretatio* of assumed Jews were Romans, 21; legislation re Jews in, 5, 305
- Theodulph, bishop of Orléans: a Goth, 45; 797 or 798 visited Narbonne, 45n17
- Theodwin, uncle of Bernard of Septimania, 265
- St. Thibery, abbey, Bernard of Auvergne ruled in favor of, 336
- Thionville on the Moselle, France, 134; church council at requested no assignment of abbey to laymen, 295
- Tironian notes: debate over reading *Ammonicum*, 133 and n42; imitation, are probably of other origin, 336n48; photograph of MS latin 2718 folio 76a Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, 132
- Tithe(s): church, 157, 165; lands, etc. owned by Jews subject to, 162; lay and ecclesiastical, 160n28; payment of made obligatory, 54
- Titus, Roman general, 302; dispersed tribe of Judah, 280
- Tobh, gaon of Pumbeditha, 318n3
- Tobiah, Agathos* retranslated, 308
- Todros b. Makhir, 121n16
- Todros b. Moses the nasi, nephew of nasi Kalonymos the Great (ca. 1170), 121n16
- Todros (Bonmacip) b. Kalonymos, cession of land by, 1246 drawn up in Hebrew, 170
- Todros father of Kalonymos, 1134 headed community of Narbonne, 62n24
- Todros nasi, descendant of Makhir, 121n16

- Todros of Narbonne, David of the family of, 121n16
- Todros (Theodoric) son of nasi Kalamnos the Great, composed liturgical poetry, 121n16, 201, 202n69
- Todros (Theodoricus), name found in the Makhiri family, 120, 121n16; *see also* Tauros, Theodoricus
- Toledo, Spain, 58, 177n3; 694 anti-Jewish legislation of XVIIth church council of, 8, 104; entrusted by Tarik to the Jews, 47; rebels take, 187
- Toll collectors: Jewish, harass traders, 256, 300; Jews were, 156
- Torveiens, towers in Narbonne, 148
- Toulousain, county of Toulouse, France, 68n37, 86 f., 178, 260, 323, 326; a single march comprised Septimania and the, 323; anti-Jewish practice in a town of the, 350; Aymeri's territories in, 72; complicity of in count Humphrey's revolt, 326; Diet of Cremieu conferred on Bernard together with Septimania, 273n38; imperilled by revolt of le Velu, 336; Jews' accusation vs. a bishop in the, 309n46; Jews in the, 352; judgment of Bernard of Auvergne executed in, 336
- Toulouse, France, 75, 88n32, 128, 168n48, 197, 336 f.; Bernard of Septimania held full control of, 284; Charles Bald expedition against, 295; *Colaphus Judaeorum* a blow on Jewish leader in, 222; duke Chorso commander of, 136, 181; Fridolon entrusted with defense of, 314n59; general assembly in, 137; Hincmar played down Humphrey's treason in, 327; in count Humphrey's power, 326; inquiry before synagogue in, 352; k. Charles ordered *missi* to, 328; k. Charles raised siege of, 309; mint in, 321n11
- Tours, France, 87
- Trade, Jews bearers of maritime and international, 166
- Translatio imperii*: Johannes Teutonicus affirmed, 185n21
- Troubadour, verses of a Jewish at Narbonne, 202n69
- Tructesinde, abbot: Agobard's arrival at court unrelated to election of, 237; complaint of against imperial officials, 236; election of, 235n135; of Aniane, 236; of Aniane and Gellone, 234
- Tsadoğ gaon of Sura (d. 823), consulted by communities of Ispamia, 317, 318n3
- Tsadoğ the punctuator, 308
- Tsarfat* ("France"), place of exilarch Natronai's settlement, 79
- Tsemah, gaon of Pumbeditha (872-90), 318n3; communication from Amram and to rabbis and disciples in county of Barcelona, 322; correspondence of with Ispamia, 322n15; during regime of, very heavy demands from Ispamia for intellectual and legal guidance, 322
- Tudela-Saragossa, territory of, 311
- Tyrsus, Mozarabe priest: imported by Wifred from Cordova, 338; functioned within Barcelona, 344n69
- Ukba, emir of Cordova, ruler of Narbonne, 12; sent troops by sea to Narbonne, 39
- Umayyad(s): advances into Frankia, 183; August 751 'Abd ar-Rahman arrived in Spain, 39; 750 collapse of power, 78n10; duke Waifar as ally of, 75; dynasty, 110n20, 281; Frank-Arab alliance vs, 76n8; of Cordova, 126, 317; Spain enemy of 'Abbasid caliphate and Frankia, 29; surrender of Ummayad Narbonne, 35; utter destruction of, 38, 77, 78n10, 105
- Urgel, Spain, 137 and n53, 262n7, 311, 332n40; bishop of, 175; county, 260; under Frank domination, 135
- Ussum Hamizri*, "Dissipator Egyptius": Jews called Jesus, 304
- Uzès, France: Bernard of Septimania count of, 265; bishop of, 175; chronicle of, 199n59; Dhuoda wrote her manual in, 199; flight of Goths to, 43

- Le Velu: Charles the Bald reputed to accept loss of Barcelona to, 333n41; most of March of Spain in hands of, 342; 868-70 revolt of in March of Spain, 333, 336 f., *see also* Wifred
- Ver church council, December 844, 295
- Vercelli in Lombardy, Italy, 188
- Vespasian, Roman emperor, 302; "dispersed" tribe of Judah, 280; Jews' captivity began in first year of rule of, 281
- Vexillum* ("banner"), brought from Jerusalem, 189; *see also* Banner
- Vexillum crucis*: "splinter of the Cross"), text altered into, 189
- Vich, Spain: *Civitas Ausona* primitive nucleus of later town of, 319; formerly Ausona, 137n53, 319; county, 260; *see also* Ausona
- Vidal, name found very frequently, 338; *see also* Vitellus
- Vienne, France: 849 *burgus Ebreorum* ("Hebrews' town") in, 26; ecclesiastical province of, 175; mint in, 321n11; north of reference to *terra Hebraeorum* ("Hebrews' land"), 26; place of exile of Judean king Archelaus 6 C.E., 5; *terra Ebreorum* in district of, 25; *terra Hebraeorum* within walls of, 25; *see also* Terra Hebreorum
- Viennois, France: communities of Francia in the, 350n85; territory of Jews in the, 25
- Viking(s): fleet at Rouen 845 entered the Seine, 310; attack of, 313; *see also* Northmen
- Villa Judaica (Villajuiga): 982 in province of Gerona, 29; Jewish allod near Narbonne included vineyards and salt pits, 85n30; Jewish communal or individual property, 28; in the Narbonne traced back to the 6th (5th) century, 89n34
- Villa Judeis: grant by Charles II in district of Chartres confirmed by emperor Charles III, 29; 954-72 owned by church St. Croix of Orléans, 29
- Villa Juiga, 29 and n56
- Villedaigne, France, 183
- Viscount of Narbonne, 63, 145 f., 150n4, 151 f., 154, 160, 166, 168; controlled position and title of archbishop, 147; fragile legal basis of power of, 147, 149; name of town (Narbonne) added to title, 148n2; Narbonne divided between archbishop and Jews and, 60n22; nine Aymeris as, 165n38; not the recipient of Pepin's grant, 155; sold bishopric of Narbonne to the count of Cerdagne, 147
- Visigothic code, considered Jews Romans, 21
- Visigothic kingdom: fell under Saracen control, 11, 105; Jews in, 8; Saracen conquest saved Jews from extermination under, 109; statutes vs Jews, 9; *see also* Spain
- Vita Benedicti Abbatis Anianensis et Indensis* by Ardo (822-23), 206, 212; characterized Gellone as merely a *cella*, 209; deprived Gellone of local authority, 209; emphasized Benedict's intellectual contribution, 212; starts at point where *Vita Hludowici* halts its account of William, 206
- Vita Benedicti* fragment A section 30 (*Life of William*) by Ardo, 208, 219; diploma dependent on, 232; is later redaction of eleventh century, 210; lacks authentic information of William as monk, 222; major source for *Vita B*, 220; redactor of transferred to Benedict deeds of William, 210; related William turned over his counties to sons, 265; William's gifts to Gellone according to, 211
- Vita Hludowici*: Adhemar's *Relatio* a source for, 199; compiler of had materials re. William, 198; designated Bera leader of the Goths, 192n39; halted its account of William, 206; recounted Bernard's power in superlative terms, 273

- Vita Karoli* by Einhard, arbitrariness of, 204
- Vita sancti Theodardi archiepiscopi Narbonensi*: a sequel to request of communities of Francia, 351; described action of Bernard of Auvergne, 351n86
- Vita sancti Willelmi* (*Vita B* of "Life of William"), 212 f., 218, 220; cannot harmonize with the Benedictine Rule, 220; claimed that William was in Jerusalem, 221; composition of in Gellone, 218, 223; dependence of on *Moniage Guillaume*, 219; echoes the twelfth century *chansons*, 219; elaborated on *fragment of the Cross*, 221; employed peculiar terms, 224; had reminiscence of William's ambassadorial activity, 189; had William free his slaves, 210; Hebrew text in translation available to author of, 224; indicated William's reluctance to accept extensive gifts of land, 210; lacks authentic information of William as monk, 222; presented a radical contrast to William of the *chansons*, 219; reflects pervasive redacting, 206; reported monastic state of William of Toulouse, 240; rhymed portion of mostly a monkish poet's fantasy, 223; stamped out connection between Gellone and Aniane, 220; striking Hebraisms in, 223; *Vita A* the major source for, 220; William brought teachers and sages to Gellone, 211, 222; William designated Second after the king in, 267n24
- Vita Willelmi C*, 225
- Vitellus: may be translation of Hebrew Hayyim "life," 338n57; son of marquis Bernard of Septimania killed in ambush, 338 and n57; *see also* Bernard son of Bernard of Septimania, Vidal
- Vivacius, son of Gaudiocus, 56n14, 144n68; mandate of emperor Louis for, 291n7, 294n12; *see also* Gaudiocus
- Vivien, count, character in *chansons*, 130; killed, 130; son of Boeve Cornebut and William's sister, 315n63; speaks "own tongue", 117
- Vivien Song, *chanson*, 113
- Waifar, duke of Aquitaine: allied with 'Abd ar-Rahman of Spain, 38, 75; 768 assassinated, 77; Pepin's offensive vs, 75 f.
- Wala, court official: accused Bernard of Septimania of casting a spell over emperor Louis, 270; Diet at Aix 831 punished, 271; married to Bernard's halfsister Rolinde, 268, 270; plotted Bernard of Septimania's downfall, 270; ruling clique at court centered around, 268; supporter of Lothar's revolt 830, 269
- Walafrid Strabo, carolingian poet; compared pope to caesars, 31n61; composed poem of praise on Bodo, 274
- Waldbert/Bertwald, illustrates tendency to invert names in same family, 266n20
- Waldfred, Gauzfred is equivalent of, 266n20
- Wamba, Visigothic king, 9 f.; put down rebellion of duke Paul in Septimania, 10
- West: arrival of Makhir's family in the, 120; Jewish principate in the, 190; Jews of the, 98n53, 104, 109 f.
- Wifred, Goth leader: bishop Frodoïn of Barcelona an opponent of, 345; imported Mozarabe priest Tyrsus to Barcelona, 338; not a single Christian in county of Ausona until time of, 319; rebel vs Charles Bald, 339; restored church to former possessions in Ausona, 136, 319; supporters of inside Barcelona fled, 347; *see also* le Velu
- Wifred II, in 908 came into possession of estates of count Suniaire, 325n20
- William, count, duke, nasi of Jews, son of Makhir-Theodoric, 41n10, 113, 130, 181 f., 199n59, 205n75, 229, 239, 243; a prince in the empire, 215; ambassador, 214; ancestral holdings of

William (*Continued*)

in Septimania and Rouergue, 230; and Saracen invasion, 183; as a swashbuckling monk incredible, 209, 221; as conqueror of Orange, 219; as humble ascetic, 208; as imperial officer, 198; asked for March of Spain, 211n90; associated with Hadhemar, 193; assumption of monastic habit by a fabrication, 219, 242; authentic material on family of donations to Gellone and relations to Charlemagne, 218n100; banner of bore one or more lions (of Judah?) in its field 244 f.; beatified by Catholic church, 198, 225 and n119; became a changed person, 218n99; Bera son of, 263n8, 310; biographical data of, 40n7, 213; brought teachers and sages to Gellone, 211, 215; *chanson* of derived from history, 200; *chansons* report that he spoke Arabic and Hebrew and other foreign languages, 117 and n9, 245; Charlemagne gave *vexillum* (banner) of Jerusalem to, 221; 804 charter for Gellone, 263; claims on the floor of the Diet of 803, 186; clan fighting in north of Spain, 115; commanding leadership, 194n48; conducted siege of Barcelona with strict observance of Jewish sabbath and holy days, 197 f.; confluence of davidic and carolingian dynastic streams in, 184; confused with Bodo, 204n75; conqueror of the Saracens and councillor of Charlemagne, 223; contradictions involved in life as monk, 222 f.; "converted" to monastic life, 198, 232, 241, 244; cousin of Charlemagne, 122; day of death May 28, 243n157; death of closer to 822 than to 814, 239n144; description of as monk borrowed from characterization of Benedict, 207n82, 208; description of as monk strongly suspect, 206, 207n82, 208; designated Second after the king in *Vita B*, 214, 267n24; devoted himself to pious

studies and good works, 214; Dhuoda did not consider a saint or model of Christian virtue, 199n60; died before 823 at age 53 or less, 244 and n160; donations by including books to Gellone, 207, 215 f., 218n100, 226, 229n126, 231, 233; entrusted with the care of young Louis (the Debonair), 268; epic figure, 116; epic legend of and his *lignage* ca. 1000, 200; erected an establishment in mountainous Gellone, 232, 238, 243; fought the Saracens, 115; "gave up" his possessions, 215; gift by to the "basilica of St. Salvator," 227; governed area from the Rhone to Albères of Pyrenees, 260; Guiburc wife of, 206n78; had responsibility for marches of Spain, 184; Hebrew name unknown, 138; Hebrew (or Arabic) name of was Isaac, 172, 245; impetuosity and the blow on the ear or throat given to a Jewish community leader, 222; his men built shelters, 193; identified himself as son of Theodoric and Alda, 114n5, 121, 213, 226 f.; image of in the *chanson Moniage Guillaume*, 220; imperial chancellor "lapsed" into Judaism, 204, 239, 241; in charge of his possessions in "monastic" state, 217n98; in traditional view founded two monasteries in Septimania, 225; influenced many to convert to Judaism 205n75, 240n146; inventory of possessions of, 231; 797 journey of to Baghdad and Jerusalem, 189, 212n92, 245; king's aid for once in seven years, 125; leader of Jews of Frankia, 244; led army into Septimania, 214; led expedition beyond the Pyrenees, 193; life and career, 206; lived in Barcelona in the *Chançon*, 116; lost *Urtled* the source of *chanson* of, 200; magnate, 206n79; member of embassy which secured banner of Jerusalem, 189, 221; military achievements in March of Spain, 198; "monastic" experience 217, 220, 223; named Gellone *Casa*

- Dei*, 226; named his parents, 121n17; narrative of current in ninth century, 199; nasi of the West, 198; no longer alive in 822-23, 238; no mention of at Gellone, 235; nothing original remains of monastic acts of, 208; of the Curved Nose son of Aymeri, 113; parents of pleasing to God and man, 223; pillaged Spain during 796, 186n24; played leading role at Diet of 803, 192; pleaded for aid, 184; poetic tradition about formed between 824 and 844, 199 f.; powerful physique of, 213n96,353; prince within boundaries of all Gaul, 230 f.; prominence at court, 199, 206; provided servitors for the friars at Gellone, 210n90; pugilist image of, 221 and n106, 222; rejected k. Louis' offer, 66n35, 124; "returned" to Catholic faith, 240; role at siege and fall of Barcelona, 191, 194, 199; royal land to in valley of Gellone, 207n83; silence of chroniclers about at height of his career, 186n24, 189, 192, 241 f.; son of Makhir, 262; son of Makhir-Theodoric, 198; son of Theodoric and Alda, 136; spiritual accomplishments of, 213; statements about are doublets of Benedict, 208; substituted for Theodoric, 129; succeeded duke Chorso of Toulouse, 136, 181; summoned back to Francia, 215; the command of, 260; took action vs the Basques, 182; two sisters of, Albana and Bertana, 215; wife a former non-Christian princess, 116; year of death unknown, 239n144; *see also* Isaac, *Vita Benedicti* fragment A
- William, count of Toulouse: captured by Vikings, 313; conspiracy of with 'Abd ar-Rahman, 313, 314n59, 317; 850 defeated and executed, 228, 314, 316, 337; "duke of Gascons," 313n57; great grandson of Makhir, 262; isolation of, 312; joined forces of Pepin II vs k. Charles, 309; lands held in trust by emperor Louis for, 335 and n45; nephew of Theodoric, 122n17; revolt of, 324; sent to k. Charles the Bald, 286; son of Bernard of Septimania, 116, 199, 228, 263, 294
- William cycle of *chansons*, 113, 115, 116n7, 117, 121, 200, 203n71; composed and recited in the circle of the William family, 201; described William as voracious eater, 203n71, 218n99; historical foundation, 114n3; its distinctive dynamic, 202; no echo of in eleventh-century *Hague Fragment*, 200; oldest known account of, 113n2; popular with jongleurs, 225; reflects values and ideals of the family (*lignage*) of Aymeri, 201; Tedbalt spouse of Guiburc in, 130n35
- William the Deacon, in Narbonne, 158 f.
- William, marquis in 919, 158
- Witgar, daughter of William, 228
- Witiza (Benedict), goth monk compiled the *Annals of Aniane*, 174
- Wittisclus, count Humphrey dispossessed, of the villa Finestret (in Conflent), 326
- Witzin, prince of Slavic Abodriti: entitled *princeps* or *dux*, 91 f.; "king" until death in 795, 23
- Worad, k. Charles' commander, 129
- Worms, Germany, 172 and n61, 178; Charles in, 137; emperor Louis appointed Bernard chamberlain at the Assembly of, 267n24; Jewry formed major component of in 11th century, 346n71
- Yağar b. Makhir, 11th-12th century, suggested author of *Ma'aseh ha-Makhiri*, 244n160
- Yazdegerd III, Persian King: Izdundad daughter of, 77
- Yehoiakhin, king, monarch of Judea and head of Jews in Babylonia, 1
- Yehudai gaon, 79, outstanding scholar, 78
- Yekhonya (Yehoiakhin), k. of Judah, 104; in exile a Persian satrap, 139n58

- Yemen, Jewries in, 90
- Yiddish, Bové-Bukh in, 203n70
- Yinnon, name of messiah, 105n11
- Yussuf, commander in Spain: 'Abd ar-Rahman vanquished, 88n32; chief opponent of emir 'Abd ar-Rahman, 126
- Yusuf ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Fihri, 734 governor of Septimania 11 f.
- Zacharias, priest of Jerusalem: arrival at Rome, 190; brought back to Charles banner and key of Jerusalem, 189, 245; brought banner and key of Jerusalem to Rome two days before Charles' coronation, 221; "brought" phylactery of the Cross to Rome, 216
- Zachary, pope, accepted council decisions on church patrimony, 54
- Zado, wali of Barcelona: assured Charles of submission, 186; capture of, 194, 222; lured to Narbonne, 192
- Zakkai b. Akhunai, exilarch: named also Baboi Judah, 82; of Persian line of exilarchs, 79, 80n14
- Zatun, prefect of Barcelona, 92
- Zedekiah, Jewish physician of emperor Charles Bald, 344n67
- Zerubbabel, leader of Jews in Babylonia, 103 f.; first nasi, 110; identified as grandson of k. Yehoiakhin, 3n1; satrap of Judea, 1; scion of David, 110
- Zonar or Zunnar, mark worn by Christians rather than Jews, 275n45
- אליסאנה (Al-Osana): identification of with county (and town) of Ausona bordering on county of Barcelona virtually certain, -321n12; in March of Spain, 318; Meir's father Joseph was leader of the community of, 321n12
- אליסאנו (Al-Osano): located in the March of Spain (Ispamia), 318, 320n11; proselyte Eleazar went from to Iraq, 320n11
- אליוסאנה (Al-Usana): in March of Spain, 318
- רימנזא (*remense*, "of Rheims"), 308n44
- שניאור (Sanyor): read in place of אנתור (Anatom?), 308n44; unfamiliar name read incorrectly, 325n20