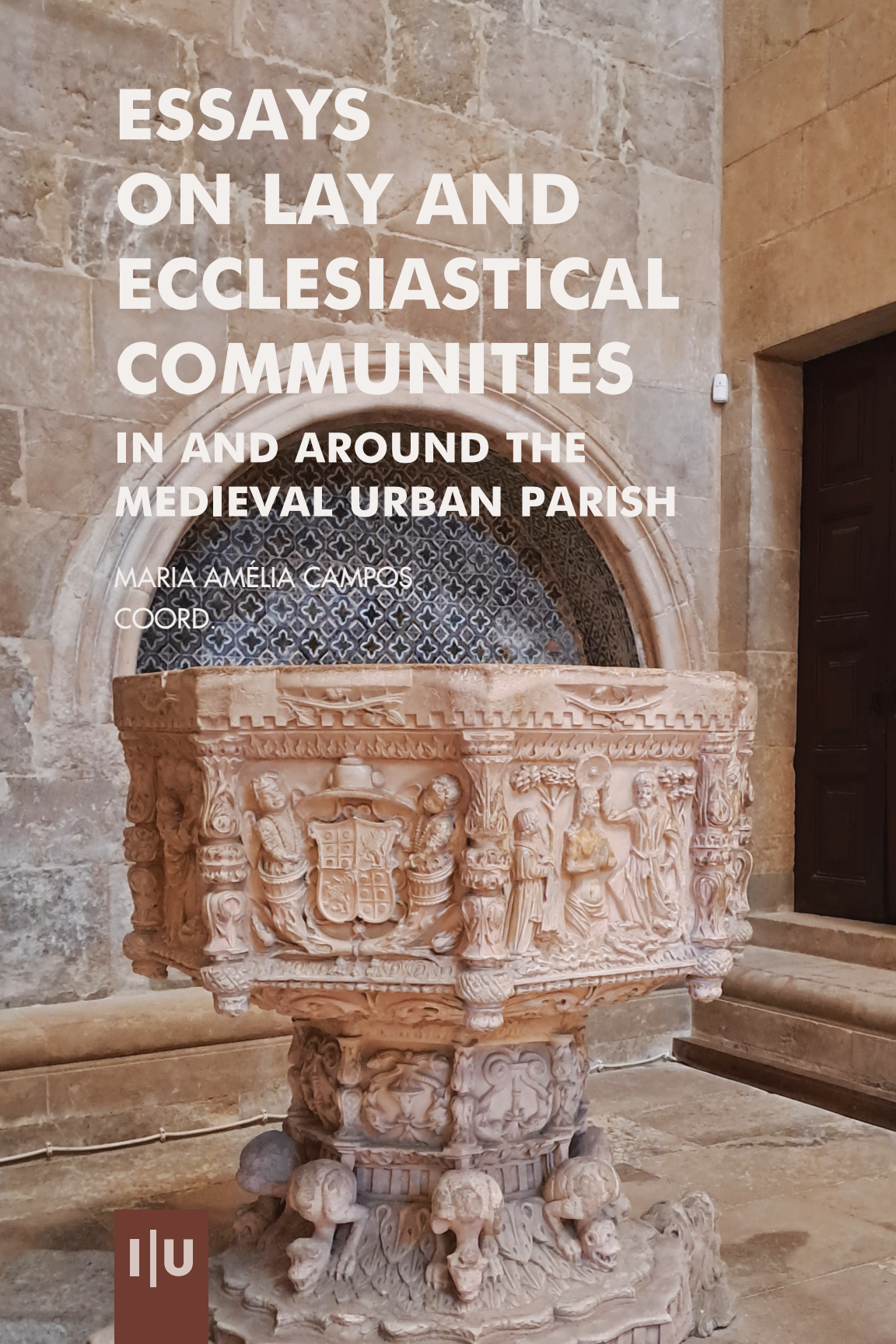

ESSAYS ON LAY AND ECCLESIASTICAL COMMUNITIES

IN AND AROUND THE MEDIEVAL URBAN PARISH

MARIA AMÉLIA CAMPOS
COORD.

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Medieval Jewish Quarters in Northern France and Urban Parishes (Twelfth-Fourteenth Centuries): Places of Identity and Cohabitation

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Abstract: Jewish communities have been observed to have flourished in numerous cities across Western Europe since the early Middle Ages, as evidenced by the gradual establishment of Jewish quarters. Functioning as both identity spaces and sites for exchange and cohabitation, medieval Jewries were integrated into the parishes in diverse ways, contingent upon specific contexts and historical periods. This presentation aims to explore the intricate relationships between Jewish communities and medieval parishes, with a particular focus on the apparent tension arising from the spatialization of identity through community spaces shared with other religious groups. To achieve this objective, the study will examine four cities located in *Tsarfat* (corresponding to Northern France for medieval Jews), namely Paris, Rouen, Orléans, and Provins, spanning the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, employing an archaeological and topographical approach. By analyzing the physical layout and urban organization of these cities, the research endeavours to shed

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light on the dynamics of interaction between Jewish communities and the broader societal framework of medieval parishes.

Resumo: Desde a Alta Idade Média, as comunidades judaicas floresceram em numerosas cidades da Europa Ocidental, como o demonstra o aparecimento gradual de judiarias. Funcionando como espaços de identidade e locais de intercâmbio e coabitação, as judiarias medievais foram integradas nas paróquias de diversas formas, dependendo dos respetivos contextos e períodos históricos. Esta apresentação tem como objetivo explorar as intrincadas relações entre as comunidades judaicas e as paróquias medievais, com particular incidência na aparente tensão decorrente da espacialização da identidade em espaços comunitários partilhados com outros grupos religiosos. Para atingir este objetivo, o estudo examinará quatro cidades localizadas no *Tsarfat* (correspondente ao Norte de França para os judeus medievais), nomeadamente Paris, Rouen, Orléans e Provins, abrangendo o período entre o século XII e o século XIV, utilizando uma abordagem arqueológica e topográfica. Através da análise do traçado físico e da organização urbana destas cidades, a investigação procura esclarecer as dinâmicas de interação entre as comunidades judaicas e o quadro social mais vasto das paróquias medievais.

The medieval city in Northern France had several political, religious and social divisions, either imposed on or developed autonomously. Quarters and parishes are part of these divisions, and their genesis can be obscure. Indeed, they could originate from both sociological and religious mechanisms and a political will to organize the urban space to the benefit or detriment of certain social groups. The parish is a well-known constituency: it corresponds to a community of worshippers living in a territory governed by the spiritual authority of a church and its priest. However, it is more difficult to find a clear definition of an urban quarter or neighborhood. It often is more general, referring to a part of a city endowed with a certain unity

associated with specific characteristics. The global definition given by Robert Descimon and Jean Nagle is just as vague: according to them, urban quarters correspond to "a fraction of urban territory with a recognized unity" that may result from "a geographical reality" or "an administrative act"[1]. Even though these definitions are quite imprecise, they provide a preliminary analytical support for the reflection on Jewish quarters. In the Middle Ages, these neighborhoods, also called Jewries, were urban sectors where Jewish housing and Hebraic ritual facilities were gathered, but where Jews were not bound to dwell and where Christians also resided. It is therefore another type of community space which is not governed by the authority of a cleric, but which corresponds to the gathering of a religious minority around identity cult buildings.

Even if the French history of medieval Jewish quarters and urban parishes do not share a common historiography, the latter is still relatively recent in both cases. Indeed, the interest in medieval parishes by French researchers has been focused for a long time on rural contexts, neglecting urban constituencies which are perhaps more complex to discuss[2]. In the 1970s, Jean Gaudemet[3] was the first historian to point out the need to study the urban parish, arguing that the first episcopal communities were mainly urban. This wish would be partly fulfilled by Pierre Desportes ten years later in his article "Cities and parishes in northern France in the Middle Ages"[4], and then widely extended and developed by the initiative of several researchers. This increasing interest on urban parishes resulted in important publications, such as the collective work edited by Anne

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[1] Robert Descimon and Jean Nagle, "Les quartiers de Paris du Moyen Âge au XVIIIe siècle. Évolution d'un espace plurifonctionnel", *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations* 34, nº 5 (1979): 956.

[2] Anne Bonzon, "Introduction", in *La paroisse urbaine, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2014), 12.

[3] Jean Gaudemet, "La paroisse au Moyen Âge", *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 59, nº 162 (1973): 7.

[4] Pierre Desportes, "Villes et paroisses en France du nord au Moyen Âge", *Histoire, économie et société* 4, nº 2 (1985): 163-178.

Bonzon, Philippe Guignet and Marc Venard[5], which deals exclusively with the urban parish from the Middle Ages to contemporary times. Research on urban parishes also benefited from the great development of publications focusing on rural parishes, such as the studies conducted by Elisabeth Zadora-Rio[6], or on the territorialization process of medieval parishes, both urban and rural, carried out by Michel Lauwers[7].

Like the urban parish's historiography, that of medieval Jewish quarters dates back to the second half of the twentieth century. A first synthesis was provided by Gilbert Dahan in 1980 in the book edited by Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Art et Archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale* (Jewish Art and Archaeology in medieval France)[8]. More specific studies had already been carried out before, such as the topographical analysis of the medieval Jewish quarters of Provence led by Danièle Iancu-Agou in 1970[9], but also much more extensive surveys concerning the medieval Jewish communities. Indeed, in 1897, Heinrich Gross publish his *Gallia Judaica*[10]: based on rabbinic sources, the book records the Jewish history of every French locality in the Middle Ages. While this work did not focus specifically on medieval Jewish neighborhoods, it did provide an initial survey and a starting point for the later studies mentioned above. Since Blumenkranz's work, the interest in medieval Jewish settlements grew sharply. This is in particular due to the initiative of the *Nouvelle Gallia Judaica* (New Gallia Judaica), a research group that intends to extend Henrich

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[5] Anne Bonzon, Philippe Guignet, and Marc Venard, *La paroisse urbaine, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2014).

[6] Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, *Des paroisses de Touraine aux communes d'Indre-et-Loire. La formation des territoires* (Tours: Fédération pour l'édition de la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 2008).

[7] Michel Lauwers, «Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire. Remarques sur *parochia* dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge", *Médiévales*, n.° 49 (1 décembre 2005): 11-32, https://doi.org/10.4000/medievales.1260.

[8] Gilbert Dahan, "Quartiers juifs et rues des juifs", in *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale*, ed. by Bernhard Blumenkranz (Toulouse: Privat, 1980), 15-32.

[9] Danièle Iancu-Agou, "Topographie des quartiers juifs en Provence médiévale", *Revue des études juives* t. 133, n.° 1-2 (juin 1974): 11-156.

[10] Henri Gross, *Gallia Judaica. Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques [1897]* (Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2011).

Gross' work using various sources, both textual and topographical but also material ones. This work has so far resulted in two works recording rural and urban Jewish settlements in Provence[11] and in Alsace and Lorraine[12].

Although these two phenomena have a rather recent historiography, they have rarely been studied together. On the one hand, the medieval urban parishes' analysis has rarely been compared to that of neighborhoods, and especially not with that of Jewish quarters. On the other hand, medieval Jewish communities' historiography has neither addressed the question of the connection between these places of life and the pastoral districts, nor of the insertion of the former into the latter. However, though parishes and Jewish quarters relate to different urban realities and territorial use, they both address the same necessary proximity between a place of worship and its worshipers[13]. It is therefore interesting to compare these two territorial divisions that partition the same space, which is theoretically experienced differently. We will therefore try to understand how Jews fit into this geographical, administrative and social framework in the Middle Ages and what were their relationship with parish communities. To do so, a method relying essentially on the combination of textual, material and topographical sources will be used. Archaeological data, planimetric documents and written sources will be crossed to identify Jewish quarters in the medieval urban landscape and to understand their organization and evolution, as well as to analyze their insertion in the "ecclesiastical network"[14] of the cities studied. This methodology has already been used to study Iberian Jewries, such as in Toledo

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[11] Danièle Iancu-Agou, *Provincia Judaica. Dictionnaire de géographie historique des juifs en Provence médiévale* (Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2010).

[12] Simon Schwarzfuchs and Jean-Luc Fray, *Présence juive en Alsace et Lorraine médiévales : dictionnaire de géographie historique* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2015).

[13] Lauwers, "Paroisse, paroissiens et territoire. Remarques sur *parochia* dans les textes latins du Moyen Âge".

[14] Zadora-Rio, *Des paroisses de Touraine aux communes d'Indre-et-Loire. La formation des territoires*, 19.

which has been extensively analyzed by Jean Passini[15]. The recent ANR research program VISMIN, led by Claire Soussen, is also based on this association of different historical sources to examine the evolution of the Jewish minority's place in some emblematic cities of the Crown of Aragon.

This study focuses on the Jewish quarters of northern France, more specifically those of Paris (Île-de-France, Paris), Orléans (Centre--Val de Loire, Loiret), Rouen (Normandie, Seine-Maritime) and Provins (Île-de-France, Seine-et-Marne)[16]. These four cities, which differ in size and significance, all experienced varying degrees of urban development in the late Middle Ages. Paris, one of the itinerant capitals of the palace under the Merovingians, established its primacy under the Capetians, who set up the institution of central power there, particularly since Philip Augustus (1180-1223). As for Orléans, it already was a rich and dynamic city under the Carolingians, but its royal destiny really began under the Capetians. Indeed, kings granted it several favors and the city gained influence thanks to the importance of its royal bishopric. Thus, Orléans maintained close ties with the king, as shown by the construction of the royal palace in the Châtelet district, probably built from the nineth century onwards[17]. This particular status resulted in a highly developed parish geography, similar to that of Paris, for both cities had many parishes, especially in the center, where they tended to be very small and their boundaries closely intricate. As for Rouen, the city grew from a regional capital to the center of the vast Plantagenet empire between the second half of the eleventh century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1204, the city was taken by Philip Augustus and Normandy was attached to the royal domain. Despite these

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[15] Jean Passini, "Reconstitution de la *juderia* de Tolède", in *L'archéologie du judaïsme en France et en Europe*, ed. by Paul Salmona et Laurence Sigal (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2011), 103-114.

[16] See figure 1 below.

[17] Jacques Debal, *Histoire d'Orléans et de son terroir. Des Origines à la fin du XVIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Le Coteau: Horvath, 1983), 260.

political upheavals, Rouen's urban and economic development carried on in the late Middle Ages, as the city took advantage of both French and overseas markets. Finally, Provins was attached to the county of Champagne that was finally incorporated into the royal domain by Philip the Fair (1285-1314) in 1284. This agglomeration is not the seat of a brishopric, unlike Orléans, Rouen and Paris, that is why its parish geography was less developed than that of these three cities. Indeed, the city only had four parishes at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, Provins was a fair town where the Count of Champagne had one of his palaces. Therefore, these four examples offer different elements of comparison on a coherent basis, for they were all part of the Capetian kingdom at some point, and they also belonged to a territory referred to by Jews as *Tsarfat* in Hebrew. If today it corresponds to France, this term was used in the Middle Ages by rabbis, such as Benjamin of Tudela, to refer to *Île-de-France* or, by extension, northern France as opposed to the *Midi*, called *Proventsa* in Hebrew.[18] *Tsarfat* thus corresponded to the Oïl-speaking France north of the Loire and to a coherent territory in Jewish and Christian representations. It was geographically and culturally close to the *Ashkenazi* regions, with which *Tsarfat* Jews exchanged and traded extensively. In the Middle Ages, *Ashkenaz* refered to the Rhineland regions where important Jewish communities developed, such as the *SchUM* community that united the Jewish population of Speyer, Worms and Mainz. But northern France Jews could also be referred to as *Ashkenazi*, so *Tsarfat* is generally considered to have been a subgroup of *Ashkenaz*[19]. That is why the data resulting from the study of Paris, Orléans, Rouen and Provins will be compared with Rhineland cities with important Jewish

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[18] Gross, *Gallia Judaica. Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques [1897]*, 537.

[19] Pam Manix, "Oxford: Mapping the Medieval Jewry", in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries), Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20-25 October 2002*, ed. by Christoph Cluse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 406.

communities in the Middle Ages, such as Cologne, Regensburg and Frankfurt[20]. Moreover, Rhineland Germany has a more extensive Jewish archaeological corpus than France, thanks to a greater number of archaeological remains that clearly attest to ancient Jewish settlements, and because German research is more developed in this field. Medieval Jewries of Western Germany are therefore significant sources of comparison.

This study will focus on the late Middle Ages, in particular on the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This period bears witness to both the great intellectual and economic development of Jewish communities in northern France, which probably began in the High Middle Ages, but also to a gradual deterioration of Jewish life in Western Europe from the thirteenth century onwards, particularly since the expulsion of 1182. We shall therefore see whether this gradual change led to modifications in the way Jews lived in the city in the Capetian kingdom, which was home to Jewish communities until the final expulsion of 1394. Moreover, this period also corresponds to the development of parishes in urban areas. Indeed, Charles Mériaux[21] asserts that it is from the eleventh century onwards that autonomous urban religious institutions appear, even if sanctuaries had already been framing worshippers' life since the early Middle Ages, like suburban monasteries. According to him, "it is not so much the multiplication of churches in the city as the concentration of pastoral functions in a single place that gives rise to urban parishes"[22]. In other words, from this period onwards, the dense network of urban churches was ordered and ranked, more than it had ever been before. This wave of parish creations, which began in the eleventh century, ended in the thirteenth century according to Jean-Michel

[20] See figure 2, below.

[21] Charles Mériaux, "La vie religieuse dans les cités de Gaule, Ve-VIIIe siècle", in *La paroisse urbaine, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2014), 19.

[22] Mériaux, "La vie religieuse dans les cités de Gaule, Ve-VIIIe siècle", 34.

Matz[23], as in most cities the urban parish framework took on its definitive form in the thirteenth century. The period extending from the twelfth to the fourteenth century is therefore particularly fertile for urban history, because cities acquired an administrative and religious framework that will endure over time, and for they also are a place of life and meeting between several religious communities in full expansion.

Within this framework, we will first outline the constitution of Jewish quarters as urban community territories. Then, we will demonstrate that they are spaces in constant evolution and in interaction with dynamic pastoral districts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Finally, we will develop the question of the progressive rejection of these community places on the outskirts of the city from the fourteenth century onwards, that went along with an impoverished dialogue between Jews and parishioners.

1. The construction of a community organization in medieval Jewish quarters

Jewish presence on French territory is documented since Antiquity, thanks to archaeological finds in southern France. For example, a terracotta oil lamp decorated with a *menorah*, the seven-branched candelabrum, was discovered in Orgon (Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Bouches-du-Rhône) in 1967[24]: this is the oldest evidence attesting to an ancient Jewish presence on French territory, since it dates back to the first century B.C. Though the diffuse presence of artifacts such as this one testifies to the presence of Jews since Antiquity, it does not confirm that this was a permanent settlement. As for textual

[23] Jean-Michel Matz, "Paroisses urbaines et polycentrisme religieux dans les cités épiscopales de la France de l'ouest. État de la question, XIIIe-début XVIe siècle", in *La paroisse urbaine, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2014), 67-69.

[24] Émilie Porcher, "Un témoin précoce de la culture juive en Gaule", in *Archéologie du judaïsme en France*, ed. by Paul Salmona (Paris: La Découverte, 2021), 31.

sources, they document the existence of permanent Jewish urban settlements from the early Middle Ages onwards. For example, Grégoire de Tours relates in *Historia Francorum* the entry of King Gontran into Orléans on July 4, 585. According to him, Jews took part in the procession, and they asked the king to rebuild their recently destroyed synagogue.[25] The presence of the Jewish community and the mention of a synagogue plead in favor of a long-lasting and relatively ancient settlement of the Jews in the city.

For a Jewish community to prosper in a city, it needs certain religious and cultural facilities so as to live in accordance with the *Halakha*.[26] *Tsarfat* and *Ashkenaz* Jewries generally consisted of a synagogue, a ritual bath (*mikveh*)[27], a rabbinical school (*yeshivah*), a bakery and/or a butchery and a well. In addition, there may be a dance and wedding house (*Tanzhaus*) and a hospice. These facilities, which are often evidenced by written sources, toponymy or their record on ancient maps and plans, are rarely found in archaeological context. Indeed, they may have been destroyed or reused and diverted from their original function, making them difficult to identify. However, the association of these different sources helps us understanding the organization of this community space.

Thanks to a comparative analysis of medieval Jewish quarters in northern France and Rhineland Germany, we have been able to distinguish two types of community organization in medieval Jewries. They can either be organized around a polyfunctional synagogue, like in Provins for its medieval synagogue hosted different functions and facilities, or developed into a more important synagogal complex such as in Cologne. In the Middle Ages, Provins was home to two Jewish neighborhoods, one in the Upper Town where the *castrum* was first developed, and another one in the Lower Town that was

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[25] Grégoire de Tours, *Histoire des Francs*, ed. by François Guizot, vol. 1 (Paris: J.-L.-J. Brière, 1823), 129-130.

[26] The set of religious laws specific to Judaism derived from the Torah and the Talmud.

[27] Jewish ritual bath allowing to realize ablutions necessary to rites of family purity.

urbanized later on[28]. The political, religious and economic poles were hence located in the upper part of the city, namely the count's palace, the collegiate church of Saint-Quiriace, whose parish extended over the entire Upper Town, and the *Place du Châtel* where one of the three annual fairs of Provins was held. It is also on this territory that a Jewish quarter developed, surrounded by all these elements and in front of the Great Tower that recalled the count's authority. Though it probably dates back to the early Middle Ages[29], it is only attested in 1172 with the mention of a *four de la Juiverie* (Jewry's oven)[30]. In addition to this oven, we know that the Upper Town's Jewish community also had a synagogue, a *mikveh*, a butcher shop and a leprosarium.[31] Of these ritual facilities, only the synagogue and the *mikveh* remain today. The former was identified by the archaeologist Juliette Astruc[32] in 1996 who, based on written documentation, had been able to associate the ancient medieval synagogue with the *Hôtel Desmarets*, a large property that combined several ancient plots of land and medieval buildings, of which only a set of lower rooms remains today[33]. It is in these rooms that the *mikveh* was located, made of a small rectangular underground pool covered by a barrel vault and accessible by about ten steps[34]. The water, which still floods the pool by capillary action, comes from an underground resurgence.

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[28] See figure 3, below.

[29] Emily Taitz, *The Jews of Medieval France, The Community of Champagne* (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 97.

[30] Juliette Astruc, "La Juiverie de la Ville Haute de Provins : étude historique et de topographie urbaine" (Master diss. Université Paris 1 – Panthéon Sorbonne, 1996), 35.

[31] François-Olivier Touati, "*Domus judaeorum leprosorum* : une léproserie pour les Juifs à Provins au XIIIe siècle", in *Fondations et oeuvres charitables au Moyen Âge, 121e congrès international des Sociétés historiques et scientifiques (Nice, 26-31 octobre 1996)*, ed. by Jean Dufour et Henri Pletelle (Paris: CTHS, 1999), 97-106.

[32] Astruc, "La Juiverie de la Ville Haute de Provins : étude historique et de topographie urbaine" p. 32-35.

[33] See figures 4 and 5, below.

[34] See figure 6, below.

From a morphological point of view, it could well be a Jewish ritual bath, since it conforms to the ritual prescriptions that require pure, unchannelled water, i.e. rainwater or water from a spring or a water table. This concrete constraint might have been decisive to choose this place as settlement for the synagogue, which could have been associated with the ritual bath since the latter's creation or later on. Indeed, the *mikveh* is the most important equipment for Jewish communities and it obeys to strict rules of implantation, while the synagogue can be located in any type of building[35]. So it is very likely that a relatively small urban community such as in Provins would choose to combine these two ritual facilities in the same building. This coexistence helped us forging the concept of multifunctional synagogues, that has been encountered elsewhere in slightly different versions. For example, in Lagny-sur-Marne[36] (Île-de-France, Seine-et-Marne), not far from Provins, a potential medieval synagogue was unearthed by Claude de Mecquenem and Franck Mallet in 1999. It was probably associated with a ritual bath, located in an annex adjoining the main room: deeply recessed, this space had a very restricted primitive access and was not in direct communication with the synagogue itself, unlike Provins' *mikveh* which is inserted in one of the three lower rooms located under the *Hôtel Desmarets*. The same situation was encountered in Montpellier where the medieval synagogue was studied by Astrid Huser[37]: the synagogue was made of two buildings, one for the synagogue itself and one for the *mikveh*. Unlike in Lagny-sur-Marne, where the *mikveh* was only adjacent to the synagogue, the two buildings are in direct communication.

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[35] Claire Soussen, *La pureté en question. Exaltation et dévoiement d'un idéal entre juifs et chrétiens* (Madrid: Casa de Velasquez, 2020), 203.

[36] Astrid Huser and Claude de Mecquenem, "Tsarfat et Provintzia, aspects des judaïsmes médiévaux européens. Les sites de Montepellier et Lagny-sur-Marne", *Archéopages*, n.º 25 (avril 2009): 30-31.

[37] Huser and de Mecquenem, "Tsarfat et Provintzia, aspects des judaïsmes médiévaux européens.", 32-33.

These three examples, though they all testify to a different imbrication of the *mikveh* and the synagogue, are however based on the same organizational model: the polyfunctional synagogue. It is a building that combines several functions, including that of the synagogue, but where one can also find a *yeshivah* and sometimes a *mikveh*. It can also be a meeting place for rabbinical authorities or for every kind of people. The Provins' synagogue was thus part of this type of polyfunctional building, as the *mikveh* was located in one of the three lower rooms which were accessible from an inner courtyard, as it was often the case for medieval synagogues. The room with the *mikveh* was the largest and most richly decorated, so it is very likely that it was the seat of worship. The other smaller rooms must have had other functions: they could have served as annexes, but also as a place of prayer for women or as a place of study. The upper levels, which were extensively altered in modern and contemporary times, may have had domestic function, serving as living quarters for the rabbi and his family, as it was the case in Cologne, for example[38].

While the polyfunctional synagogue hosts most of the religious facilities in one building, the synagogal complex is made of several ritual and community buildings that are all gathered in one place. In this scheme, buildings thus had a clearly defined function and their distribution in the urban fabric follows some constants observable in several medieval Jewries. Indeed, the synagogal complex is organized around a synagogue associated with an inner courtyard and around the latter are located other ritual or cultural facilities. The case of Cologne is the most enlightening in this respect: around the *Schulhof* (school courtyard) are distributed the ritual bath, hot baths, a bakery, a *Tanzhaus*, a well and a hospice[39]. An almost

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[38] Marianne Gechter and Sven Schütte, *Köln: archäologische Zone jüdisches Museum. Von der Ausgrabung zum Museum – Kölner Archäologie zwischen Rathaus und Praetorium. Ergebnisse und Materialien 2006-2012* (Köln: Die deutsche Bibliothek, 2012), 152-153. See figure 7, below.

[39] Gechter and Schütte, *Köln: archäologische Zone jüdisches Museum*.

similar organization can be found in Regensburg, although the hospice is located further north in another part of the neighborhood.[40] However, the existence of a synagogal complex does not exclude that of a multifunctional synagogue around which other Hebrew facilities would be located. In Provins for example, the Jewry's oven is situated just north of the synagogue, on the other side of the rue du Palais, as the multifunctional synagogue can still polarize other community buildings around it.

The heart of a medieval Jewry thus consisted in a religious center, whether it was simply composed of a polyfunctional synagogue or of a cultural and religious complex gathering specific buildings. Jewish but also Christian houses were distributed around this center, either in direct vicinity or in adjacent streets. Thus, the medieval Jewish quarter was not a secluded entity, but a space that remained open to the city, even the synagogue itself: though its entrance was rarely on a main street, it was still perceived by Christians as a public space they could have access to[41]. Besides, the Jewish quarter's limits fluctuate, so drawing a linear determination of their limits is hardly possible, even when they are surrounded by walls and gates. It is therefore interesting to analyze the relationships between an urban territory with fluctuating boundaries and the parish, whose limits were, on the contrary, established progressively.

2. Community spaces in the city, superimposition of urban structures or real dialogue? (Twelfth-thirteenth centuries)

To understand the interactions between Jewries and parishes, Jews and parishioners as neighbors, we need to understand the

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[40] Sylvia Codreanu-Windauer, "Archéologie du quartier juif médiéval de Ratisbonne", in *L'archéologie du judaïsme en France et Europe*, ed. by Paul Salmona and Laurence Sigal (Paris: La Découverte, 2011), 141-151.

[41] Birgit Wiedl, "Jews and the City: Parameters of Jewish Urban Life in Late Medieval Austria", in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 285.

motivations behind the choices of settlement of medieval Jewish neighborhoods in northern France. Generally speaking, it seems that the first urban Jewish settlements of the early and central Middle Ages took place in geographically and economically central areas. Indeed, Jews generally sought to establish their religious center in attractive urban places. This is for example particularly clear in the case of Paris: the first Jewish settlement developed on the *Île de la Cité* until the expulsion of the Jews from the city by Philip Augustus in 1182. Upon their return in 1198, Parisian Jews could not reclaim their former neighborhood, because the synagogue had been converted into the church *Sainte-Madelaine* and their houses given to members of furriers' and drapers' guilds[42]. Instead of re-establishing a new quarter on the island, a new pole was developed on the right bank that was in full development back then, around the *rue de la Tacherie*. This street was located just west of the *Place de Grève*, one of the two main Parisian economic centers in the Middle Ages, along with *les Halles* that flourished during the thirteenth century[43]. From 1198 to 1306, an important Jewish community developed in this sector until the expulsion enacted by Philip the Fair in 1306, and several Jews specialized in crafts highly represented on this bank, particularly the activities related to butchery. This is confirmed by a 1258 charter mentioning several Jewish craftsmen, including *Croissant le Courroier* (a belt maker) and *Hanin le Gainier* (a sheath maker)[44]. This craft and economic vitality is reflected by the parishes' wealth in which the *Tacherie* Jewry is located. It overlapped on *Saint-Jean-en-Grève* and *Saint-Merri* parishes, where the average contribution per household was quite high. Parisian parishes wealth has been studied by Caroline

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[42] Michel Roblin, *Les Juifs de Paris. Démographie, économie, culture* (Paris: A. et J. Picard & Cie, 1952), 13.

[43] See figure 8, below.

[44] Michel Roblin, "Les cimetières juifs de Paris au Moyen Âge", *Paris et Île-de--France. Mémoires de la fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et d'Île-de-France*, n.° IV (1952): 17.

Bourlet and Alain Layec[45], who analyzed the spatial distribution of fortunes in Paris based on the 1300 *rôle de la the Taille*. This tax document, one of a series drawn up under Philip the Fair, lists all the Parisian artisans and merchants taxable to the *maltôte*[46]. The authors showed that among these two parishes, the first *quête*[47] of the *Saint--Merri* parish in which the *Tacherie* Jewry's cultic pole was located was part of what they called "a second circle of wealth"[48], with fairly high average contributions, but not as high as in the neighboring parishes of *Saint-Jacques*, *Saint-Pierre-des-Arcis*, *Saint-Barthélemy* and *Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*[49]. These tax documents thus show the wealth of the parish territories on which the Jewish quarter of Paris was established in the thirteenth century, which were places in full economic expansion. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily imply that Jewish inhabitants of these quarter and parishes were prosperous themselves. Indeed, taxable Jewish households were listed at the end of the *rôles de la Taille* established in 1292, 1296 and 1297, and their taxation is found to be quite low[50]. This could be due to a general impoverishment of the Parisian Jewish community at the end of the thirteenth century, which suffered greatly from the anti-Jewish policy of Louis IX[51]. In spite of this, the Jews of Paris seem to have chosen their place of settlement according to its attractiveness: while the *Cité* was a safer and more dynamic territory

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[45] Caroline Bourlet and Alain Layec, "Densités de population et socio-topographie : la géolocalisation du rôle de taille de 1300", in *Paris de parcelles en pixels : analyse géomatique de l'espace parisien médiéval et moderne*, ed. by Hélène Noizet, Boris Bove, and Laurent Costa (Saint-Denis, Paris: Presses universitaires de Vincennes, Comité d'histoire de la ville de Paris, 2013), 237.

[46] An extraordinary tax applied on common consumption goods to face extraordinary expenses.

[47] A *quête* is a parish subsection. Indeed, very large and populated parishes can be divided into *quêtes*.

[48] Bourlet and Layec, "Densités de population et socio-topographie".

[49] See figure 9, below.

[50] Céline Balasse, *1306. L'expulsion des juifs du royaume de France* (Bruxelles: De Boeck & Larcier, 2008), 83.

[51] Balasse, *1306. L'expulsion des juifs du royaume de France*, 33.

in the early Middle Ages, from the thirteenth century onwards it was the right bank, and particularly the territory between the *Grève* and the *Halles*, that underwent substantial urban and economic growth.

The location of the Jewry, and more specifically of its cultic pole, often leads to a polarization of the Jewish habitat around it, although it is not exclusive. This settlement can be relatively extensive and discontinuous, developing over several parishes, as we have seen for the *Tacherie* quarter in Paris, though it can sometimes tend to be grouped into specific parishes. That happened in Rouen in the twelfth century: the historian Philippe Cailleux and the archaeologist Dominique Pitte[52] showed that its Jewry, located on both sides of the *Rue aux Juifs* until the beginning of the fourteenth century, was established in three different parishes, *Notre-Dame-la-Ronde*, *Saint-Herbland* and *Saint-Lô,* according to documents following the 1306 expulsion. However, they have shown that the *Saint-Lô* parish was particularly more attractive, especially at the end of the twelfth century, which could be linked to the immigration of Jews expelled from the Capetian royal domain in 1182 seeking refuge in the surrounding provinces. Indeed, Normandy was part of the English kingdom until 1204 and many Jews expelled from the royal domain, more specifically in and around the cities of Paris, Orléans, Bourges, Corbeil, Étampes and Melun, flew to Normandy and especially Rouen. This settlement was so concentrated and significant that it caused revenue problems to the parish, since there were too few parishioners paying the tithe and other contributions due to the church of *Saint-Lô*. Such was the problem that Pope Celestine III had to intervene in the 1190s, summoning the Jews living in the *Saint-Lô* parish to pay compensation to the church and threatening Christians who rented

[52] Philippe Cailleux and Dominique Pitte, "La communauté juive de Rouen avec 1307 : espaces et édifices", in *Savants et croyants, Les juifs d'Europe du Nord au Moyen Âge,* cat. expo., Rouen, musée des Antiquités de Rouen (25 mai-16 septembre 2018), ed. by Nicolas Hatot and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (Heule: Snoeck, 2018), 65.

or sold their property to Jews with anathema[53]. The reason for this grouping within the *Saint-Lô* parish is not known, but it may reflect a desire to gather among members of the same minority, a classic phenomenon among diasporic populations. Therefore, parishes could have had a structuring role for Jews, who chose in this case to settle close to each other, preferentially within the territorial limits of the same parish.

The parish thus provided a shared living environment between Jews and Christians, whose neighbor relationships were often marked by mutual aid. Indeed, Rosa Alvarez Perez[54] has shown through Hebrew sources that some rabbis allowed Christians to rekindle the fires of their Jewish neighbors on the Sabbath, especially during the winter months. Even the polemist Gautier de Châtillon in *Tractatus sive Dialogus contra Iudeos* mentions his habit of visiting a Jew living in his neighborhood every Sunday afternoon[55]. These mentions show that good relationships between Christian and Jewish neighbors existed in the Middle Ages. However, this shared environment could also crystallize tensions between Jews and Christians. The example of Rouen clearly shows this: if the Jews were not expelled from their neighborhood and from the *Saint-Lô* parish, the religious authorities intended to limit their presence in this sector by using both economic and spiritual tools. Indeed, Jews' presence could sometimes prove to be a nuisance in the eyes of certain parishioners, especially from the fourteenth century onwards. Jews then bore the brunt of an increasingly unstable political situation: constantly expelled and recalled, they could no longer choose the location of their neighborhood, which changed the relationships between Jews and parishioners.

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[53] Philippe Cailleux, *Trois paroisses de Rouen, XIIIe-XVe siècle. Saint-Lô, Notre-Dame-la-Ronde et Saint-Herbland. Étude de topographie et d'urbanisme* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2011), 55.

[54] Rosa Alvarze Perez, "Next-Door Neighbors: Aspects of Judeo-Christian Cohabitation in Medieval France", in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 323.

[55] Gilbert Dahan, *Les juifs en France médiévale. Dix études* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2017), 31.

3. Jewish communities rejected at the margins: declining dialogue and exchanges between Jews and parishioners (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries)

This shift follows the 1306 expulsion ordered by Philip the Fair: after that, the fourteenth century saw a succession of recalls and expulsions and the period during which Jews could stay in the French kingdom was generally determined in advance. As early as 1315, Louis X (1314-1316) allowed Jews to return to the kingdom for a period of twelve years in exchange for money, then in 1360 John II (1350-1364) granted Jews living in the bordering regions of the kingdom the right to return for a period of twenty years. This right was extended twice in 1364 and 1374, before the final expulsion of Jews in the French kingdom by Charles VI (1380-1422) in 1394[56]. This century thus corresponded to a period of great political instability which, for Jews, resulted in a discontinuity of occupation in the kingdom of the last Capetians. It seems that kings recalled Jews and ensured their protection according to their financial needs, which were particularly important during the Hundred Years' War and especially during John II captivity in England. Indeed, Jews were still at the heart of important financial issues, for in addition to practicing usury for some of them, they had to pay additional taxes and their return to the kingdom was conditioned by the production of a considerable sum of money. For example, when Charles V renewed the right of residence for Jews in 1374, they had to give three thousand gold francs in exchange[57]. In addition to that, Jewish communities suffered greatly from several pogroms, such as those led after the accusation of poisoning during the Black Death that ravaged the continent in the 1340s, particularly in Germany where communities were still largely unaffected by expulsions. This situation went hand in hand with the gradual disappearance of Jewish neighborhoods and their

[56] Juliette Sibon, *Chasser les juifs pour régner* (Paris: Perrin, 2016), 159-169.

[57] Sibon, *Chasser les juifs pour régner*, 167.

religious centers in cities that had historically been home to large Jewish communities.

We have observed three main patterns of disappearance of living quarters progressively abandoned by the Jews: firstly, they could be relocated in less attractive urban areas under the impulse of the king or the emperor. An example from the other side of the Rhine illustrates this situation: in Frankfurt, on August 19th, 1442, Emperor Frederick III ordered the destruction of the synagogue located next to the collegiate church of Saint Bartholomew, which had served as the emperor's place of election since the fourteenth century, so as not to disrupt the service. Indeed, the Jewish quarter of Frankfurt and its synagogue were close to the collegiate church and the emperor was annoyed by this proximity, which he found offensive and embarrassing for the good progress of Christian worship. After other complaints, he renewed his order in 1458 and assigned the new Jewry in a remote area, located outside city walls. The municipal council complied in 1460, so that by 1462 Jews could no longer live in their old neighborhood around the collegiate church[58]. This relocation illustrates the tensions that could exist between Jews and Christians living in the same parish, and it also demonstrates the deteriorating status of Jews during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. In many cities, this led to Jewries' transfers in suburban areas and Jews could no longer choose the location of their religious center as tensions arose with some parishioners. Luisa Trindade[59] showed the same pattern in Portugal: after the royal decree of 1361 requiring the creation of separate Jewish neighborhoods for groups of more than ten Jews, some Jewries such as in Lisbon were relocated in less central areas. Although the financial incentive for this decision is clear, as it allows local authorities to carry out lucrative real estate

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[58] Markus J. Wenninger, "Grenzen in der Stadt? Zu Lage und Abgrenzung mitteralterlicher deutscher Judenvierteil", *Aschkenaz*, nº 14 (2004): 26-27.

[59] Luisa Trindade, "Jewish Communities in Portuguese Late Medieval Cities: Space and Identity", in *Religion, ritual and mythology: aspects of identity formation in Europe*, ed. by Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2006), 65-66.

operations in the urban centers, the author shows that this was primarily a popular movement. Indeed, the crisis context at the end of the Middle Ages led to tensions between Jews and parishioners to the point that the first were sometimes forced to settle in less favorable areas.

Secondly, Jewries could have been relocated out of necessity for the protection and control of a Jewish community, certainly numerically smaller than in previous centuries, but which remains at the core of political and financial stakes. This new type of neighborhood may remind us of ghettos, but it is nothing of the sort. For example in Paris, although the existence of a Jewish community in the first half of the fourteenth century is not certain, a new Jewry was constituted from 1365 onwards[60] probably when John II allowed the return of Jews in his kingdom. Indeed, Parisian Jews had to live in an enclosed street exclusively dedicated to them, which corresponds to the current *rue Ferdinand Duval*. Originally, this street was a portion of the *rue des Rosiers* which was also called the *rue aux Juifs* in the fourteenth century. It was closed by two gates and the Jews were forced to live in this sector. However, there was still a great mix of housing, since Jews lived outside the enclosed area while Christians, such as a certain Giles Boulay, resided there[61]. Thus, contacts between Jews and Christians were not broken, even though the former suffered from several pogroms and massacres in Western Europe. These measures should thus be considered with caution: confining the Jews of Paris to a single street was a way to better control them, but also to better protect them. Indeed, this new district was located near the *Hôtel Saint-Pol*, which had become a royal residence under Charles V (1364-1380) and Charles VI, two kings who had granted their protection to the Jews of Paris. It is therefore likely that the latter had no choice but to settle in this area because the kings

[60] Roger Kohn, *Les Juifs de la France du Nord dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle*, E. Peeters (Louvain-Paris, 1988), 33, 161.

[61] Kohn, *Les Juifs de la France du Nord dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle*, 161.

wished to protect individuals who were the object of important financial stakes. Moreover, unlike the Jews of Frankfurt, Parisian Jews still lived in a dynamic urban territory, because their quarter was located on the fourth *quête* of the *Saint-Gervais* parish, which was as rich as the *Saint-Jean* and *Saint-Merri* parishes mentioned above[62]. Besides, the Jewish quarter is located in the former *Villeneuve du Temple*, an area that was particularly developed by the Templars during the thirteenth century, located northwest of the former *Tâcherie* Jewish quarter.[63] Thus, the last Parisian Jewry testifies to the deteriorating Jewish condition in Western Europe, but it also shows that neighborly relationships between Jews and Christians still existed.

Lastly, the large Jewish settlements of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries could decline and not be renewed, even in other urban areas. This last pattern of Jewries' reconfiguration or disappearance at the end of the Middle Ages seems to prevail in *Tsarfat*. Jewries' dismantling does not necessarily imply the end of the Jewish presence in these cities, but it does indicate its weakening, since Jews no longer constituted a real community organized around a religious center. This is the case, for example, in Orléans and Rouen: whereas Jewish communities had been established in central areas since the eleventh century at least, often in several parishes and near places of power, especially the cathedral, these communities weakened in the fourteenth century and these quarters disappeared. Nevertheless, we know from textual data that Jews continued to live in those cities after the 1306 expulsion, but probably in lesser numbers[64]. For instance, in the 14-century Rouen, the *Saint-Lô*, *Notre-Dame-la-Ronde* and

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[62] See figure 10, below.

[63] Hélène Noizet, "L'enceinte du Xe siècle et les rythmes de la croissance urbaine à Paris", in *Paris de parcelles en pixels : analyse géomatique de l'espace parisien médiéval et moderne*, ed. by Hélène Noizet, Boris Bove, and Laurent Costa (Saint--Denis, Paris: Presses universitaires de Vincennes, Comité d'histoire de la ville de Paris, 2013), 99-102.

[64] Thierry Massat, "Une école talmudique rue de Bourgogne à Orléans ?", in *L'Archéologie du judaïsme en France et en Europe*, ed. by Paul Salmona and Laurence Sigal (Paris: La Découverte, 2011), 213.

Saint-Herbland parishes, which were home to most of the city's Jews until the beginning of the fourteenth century, were no longer inhabited by them[65], but Jews lived elsewhere, such as Vivan de Thury who resided in the *Saint-Maclou* parish[66]. Therefore, these individuals may have formed a small community that was not gathered around a religious pole. Besides, there are no textual or archaeological records of a synagogue and any other cultic facilities used by Jews in the fourteenth century. They may have recreated informal synagogues in houses, as it was often the case in the Middle Ages[67], but there are no traces of these informal places of worship.

While relationships with the royal power changed and the situation of the Jews of *Tsarfat* have been deteriorating, those that existed between Jews and parishioners seemed to dry up from the fourteenth century onwards. As the number of Jewish households in the cities decreased, the exchanges between the inhabitants of the same parish, whether Jewish or Christian, gradually stopped. However, what remained of these interactions was not necessarily marked by violence and rejection. In fact, Jews always lived near Christians, even when the former were kept apart to be protected from possible attacks by the latter. Cordial relationships probably still existed, they were simply scarcer and more controlled.

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[65] Cailleux and Pitte, "La communauté juive de Rouen avec 1307 : espaces et édifices", 56.

[66] Gérard Nahon, "Les juifs en Normandie médiévale", in *Savants et croyants, Les juifs d'Europe du Nord au Moyen Âge, cat. expo., Rouen, musée des Antiquités de Rouen (25 mai-16 septembre 2018)*, ed. by Nicolas Hatot and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (Heule: Snoeck, 2018), 55.

[67] Claude de Mecquenem, "Les synagogues médiévales européennes : une enveloppe architecturale dédiée à la lecture du sacré", in *Savants et croyants, Les juifs d'Europe du Nord au Moyen Âge, cat. expo., Rouen, musée des Antiquités de Rouen (25 mai-16 septembre 2018)*, ed. by Nicolas Hatot and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (Heule: Snoeck, 2018), 213.

Conclusion

By the end of this study, it is therefore possible to bring a positive answer to some of the questions raised above. We have indeed observed that Jewish community spaces have been able to form in parish territories and that interactions between Jews and parish communities were frequent and diverse. Jews were thus integrated into parts of parishioners' life, their neighbors, who considered their presence, whether it was welcomed or considered as harmful. However, parishes do not seem to have formed a territorial framework for Jews. Indeed, the grouping of housing and community facilities observed in one or more adjacent parishes did apparently not follow the latter's precise boundaries. Parishes therefore had not played a structuring role in the territorial organization of Jewish neighborhoods, but Jews were still integrated into their fiscal administration, sometimes to the point of being almost assimilated to parishioners, as shown by the example of Rouen. Parishes thus created a shared space between Jews and Christian, but this coexistence was made difficult by the deterioration of the Jews' status and of their living conditions in the fourteenth century. Jewish habitat was then either controlled by local authorities or dispersed throughout the city, making it impossible to detect a logic of settlement that could be integrated into the urban parish network, which was then complete.

Figure 1. The French corpus

Figure 2. The complete corpus

Figure 3. The city of Provins today. (© IGN)

Figure 4. Provins' Upper Town and the Hôtel Desmarets (black circle). (© Archives départementales de Seine-et-Marne, 4P36/1363, 1811)

Figure 5. The Hôtel Desmarets today. (© Manon Banoun)

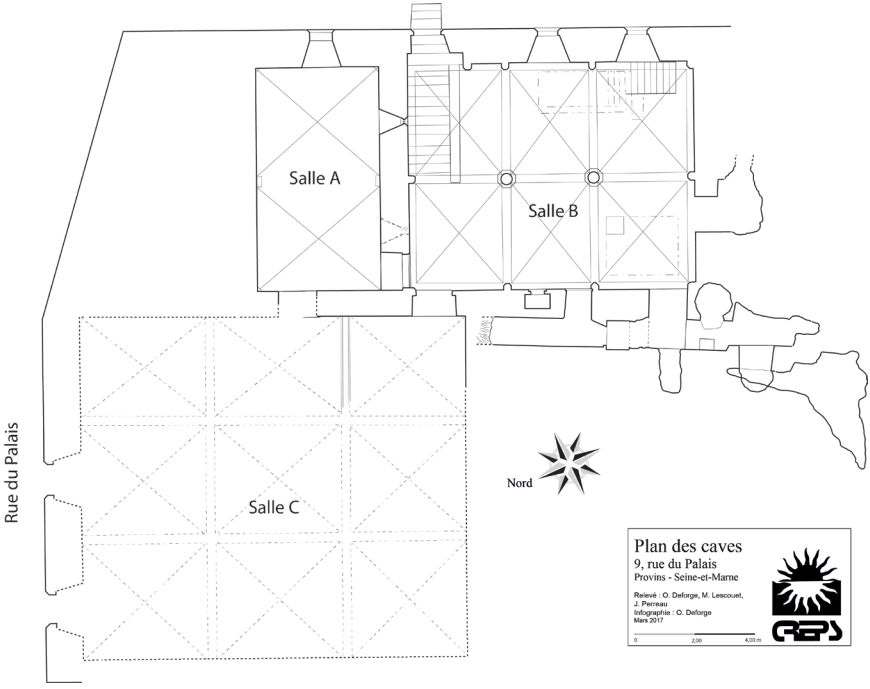

Figure 6. The lower rooms under the Hôtel Desmarets: the *mikveh* is located in the southern corner of room B.

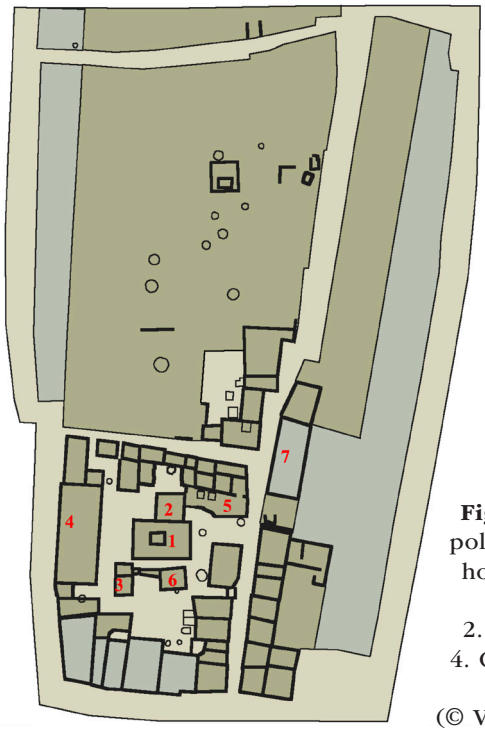

Figure 7. Cologne's Jewish cultic pole in the Middle Ages (the green houses are Jewish, the blue ones Christian): 1. Synagogue 2. Women's synagogue 3. *Mikveh* 4. Community House 5. Hospital 6. Bath House 7. Town Hall. (© VII/3 Stadt Köln, Michael Wiehen)

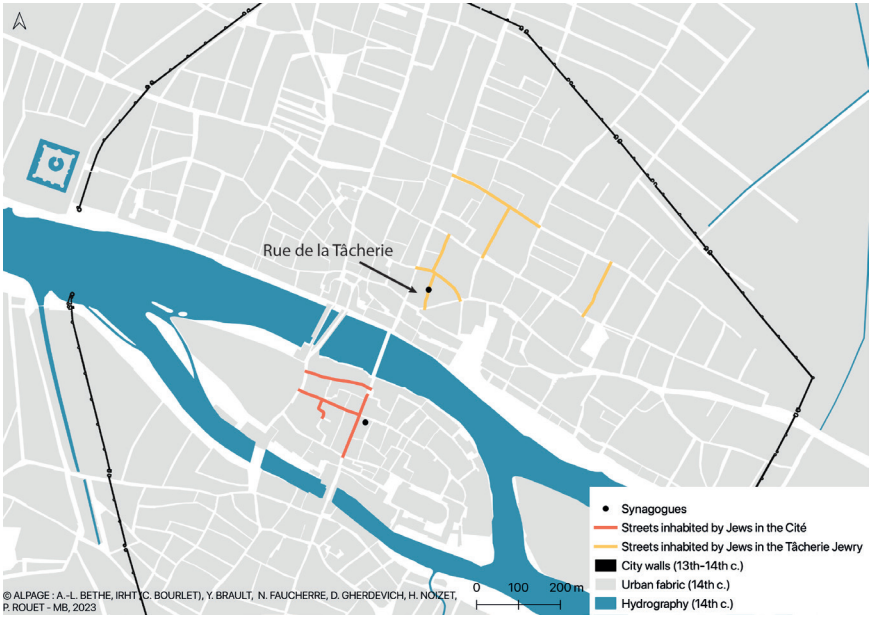

Figure 8. The *Cité* and the *Tâcherie* Jewries.

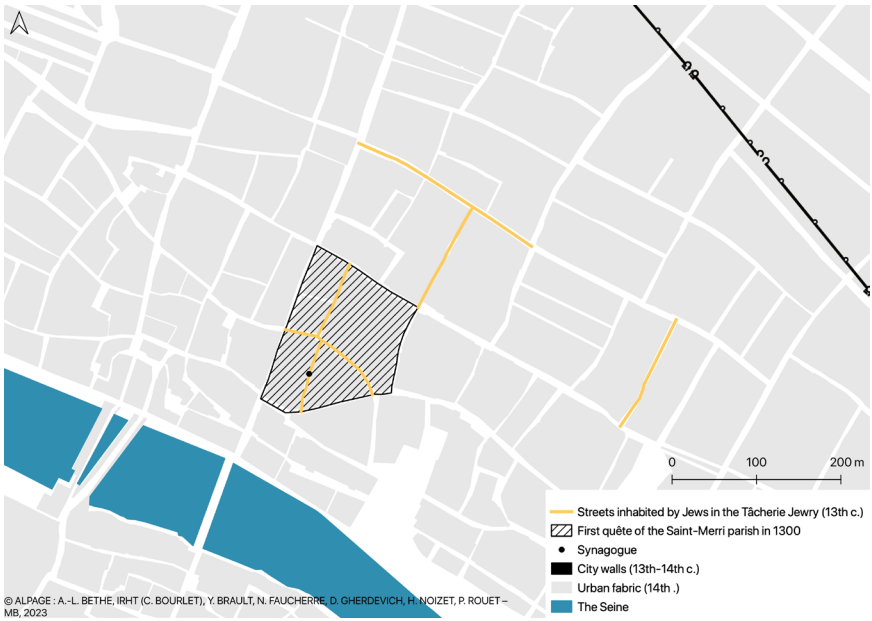

Figure 9. The *Tâcherie* Jewry and the first *quête* of the *Saint-Merri* parish.

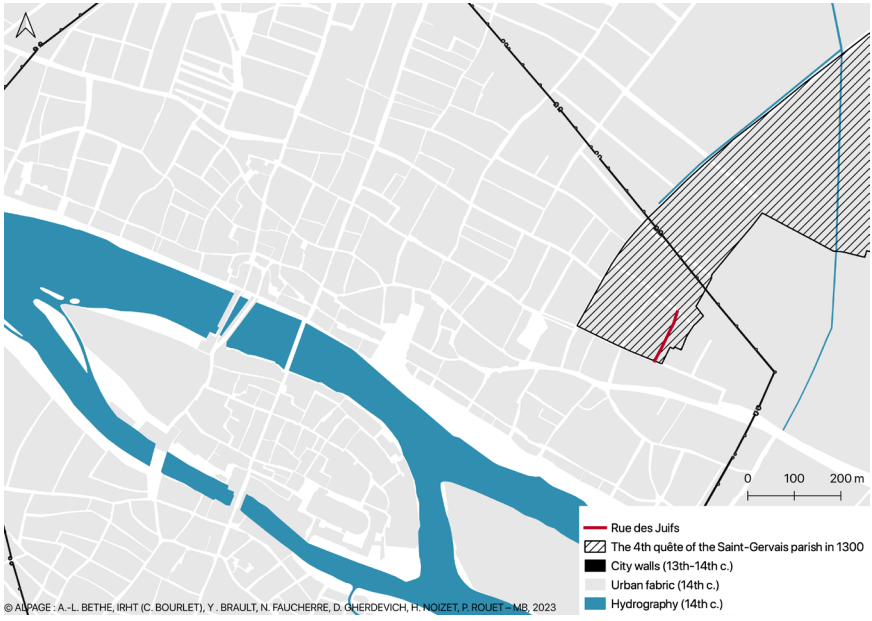

Figure 10. The *rue aux Juifs* and the fourth *quête* of the *Saint-Gervais* parish.

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