

# JEWES, VILLAGERS AND THE COUNT IN HAUTE PROVENÇE : MARGINALITY AND MEDIATION

Medieval Jewry has been an abiding interest of Noël Coulet, involving him in what may have been in most furious foray, a biting critique of Maurice Kriegel's argument that Mediterranean medieval society relegated Jews to the status of « untouchables » in a caste system. Coulet enumerated numerous examples of how Jews were socially, politically, and culturally, integrated into Provençal society. Since, Marc Cohen has insisted upon the theoretical faults in Kriegel's argument, arguing that the place of Jews was indeed fragile in Medieval Europe world precisely because there was no caste system : rather than suffering from a strictly defined subjugation within a delineated hierarchy, Jews were marginalized, which was a more complex, more ambiguous, and far more dangerous situation. The full depth of this complexity has been recently plumbed by David Nirenberg in a penetrating analysis of relations between minorities and Christians in Southern France and the Iberian peninsula. Nirenberg recasts the question in order to capture the dependency of violence upon immediate context, and concludes that both occasional and ritual violence against Jews, lepers, and Muslims, cemented their essential place in Christian society. From this perspective, Jews were not marginal at all.<sup>1</sup>

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1. N. COULET, « Les Juifs en Provence au bas Moyen Âge : les limites d'une marginalité », in *Minorités et marginaux en France méridionale et dans la Péninsule ibérique (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. *Colloque de Pau, 1984*, Paris, 1986, p. 307-338; see also L. STOUFF, « Chrétiens

Nirenberg's subtle approach fits the social and legal status of Provençal Jews, which remained stable, despite (or, if we follow, Nirenberg because) of the episodes of confessional violence which marked the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Jews were segregated from the ties of blood and artificial parentage which, along with religion, structured the most fundamental aspects of medieval social life. However this segregation did not exclude Jews from interacting with Christians; indeed Jews specialized in the role of intermediary, dominating the profession of brokering (*courtage*) and Kriegel's explanation for this contradiction did not stand up to Coulet's critique. Nevertheless, at the risk of provoking another Coulet thunderbolt, I would like to reconsider Kriegel's notion that marginality facilitated mediation, in a different argument. One of the most ambiguous elements of Jewish status was that of honor, or the lack of it, and I equate this ambiguity with marginality. In the specific context of Jewish mediation of conflictual relations between Christians of very different status, marginality, understood in this sense, facilitated the role of Jews as intermediaries because it allowed Jews to develop personal bonds with individuals from groups of profoundly different status whose interests were radically opposed. Such an understanding of marginality is a useful tool for understanding the mediation of Jews between peasants and agents of the counts of Provence in the context of taxation in the fourteenth century. Of course Jews possessed other qualifications which predisposed them to act as go-between peasants and representatives of the fiscal machinery of the Angevine state: liquid capital, literacy, business acumen, and so forth. However, most businessmen in medieval Provence with cash to lend could probably write and count. Rather, the most important qualification possessed by Jews was their familiarity with both governing elites and governed peasant. By familiarity, I mean long-term personal relationships which were sustained by personal contact across a confessional, ethnic, class and, in this period, tragically violent divide.

This study is largely limited to one village, Oise, and one family, that of a man whom Christians called Dieulosal of Lunel. This choice is dictated by my source, a village archive, which includes some 124 parchment

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et Juifs dans l'Arles du bas Moyen Âge : leurs relations », in *Les sociétés urbaines en France et en Péninsule ibérique au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1991, p. 519-538; M. KRIEDEL, « Un trait de psychologie sociale dans les pays méditerranéens du bas Moyen Âge : le juif comme intouchable », *Annales : économies, sociétés, civilisations*, t. 31 (1976), p. 326-30, and *Les Juifs à la fin du Moyen Âge dans l'Europe méditerranéenne*, Paris, 1979; M. COHEN, *Under Crescent and Cross*, Princeton, 1994, p. 108-111; D. NIRENBERG, *Communities of Violence*, Princeton, 1996, p. 3-11.

2. D. IANCU-AGOU prefers to emphasize the vicissitudes of Provençal Jewry outside the law courts, notably by tracing increasing spatial segregation in the fifteenth-century, *Les Juifs en Provence, de l'insertion à l'expulsion*, Marseille, 1981, p. 74, vicissitudes which N. COULET acknowledges as well, « Les Juifs », *op. cit.*, p. 135.

records from the period 1284-1500.<sup>3</sup> Can one generalize from such a limited example? Despite the richness of many Provençal village archives, I have not found elsewhere as rich a trove of documents concerning borrowing for taxes as that explored here. However Noël Coulet and Michel Hébert have already demonstrated that village communities in Provence borrowed as collectivities. The notarial registers of Aix contain many loans from Aixois Jews to villages communities in the periode 1390-1420. The lending tapered off at the end of this period, probably because the linkage between lending and taxation was leaving the informal realm in which Jews played an unofficial, though essential role, and entering a more institutionalized form which excluded them. Thus in 1439 and 1441, the representatives of fifteen local communities gathered in what resembled official assemblies for the purpose of contracting loans from the same Avignon financiers to whom King René has assigned the revenues of taxes voted by the Provençal Estates.<sup>4</sup> These examples however, concern the late fourteenth and early fifteenth-centuries : the records from Oise illuminate the role of credit in village finance beginning in 1319. They thus describe the important period during which the counts of Provence established a regular hearth tax, and show how Jewish lenders contributed to the creation of the system.

At that time, the village of Oise sat astride a mountaintop 15 km west of Digne; its territory extended almost as far as the Bléone river, a tributary of the Durance river, and a major portal into the rugged southern Alps.<sup>5</sup> Today goats graze amidst the piles of rubble which once was the *castrum*, clustered around a donjon just below the summit of the Pic d'Oise, at 1140 meters. As in many Provençal hilltop villages, the population had begun to descend to a lower site in the *terroir* before 1348, the present-day village of

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3. The medieval sources from Oise are found in the Archives départementales des Alpes-de-Haute-Provence (hereafter abbreviated ADAHP), in the series E 158/25 through /40. They include, in addition to the charters, a cadaster from 1514 and lawsuits which I will examine in a more detailed study. The charters are not classified individually and I will cite them by date in the following notes. I am grateful to J.-L. BONNAUD, *chercheur associé* at the Université du Québec à Montréal, for bringing this corpus to my attention.

4. N. COULET, *Aix-en-Provence : espace et relations d'une capitale (milieu XIV<sup>e</sup>-milieu XV<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Aix, 1988, p. 531-537; M. HÉBERT, « Du village à l'Etat : les assemblées locales en Provence aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles », in *La société rurale et les institutions gouvernementales au Moyen Âge*, edited by John Drendel, Montréal, 1995, p. 109-110; I will examine elsewhere the loans to Oise from Stes and Mossona of Carcassonne, the most important Jewish creditors of rural communities in late fifteenth-century Aix, see below, table 3, and Noël Coulet's feminist tribute to them, « Un lignage dominant de la juiverie d'Aix-en-Provence : Mordacaysse Salomon de Carcassonne et sa famille », in *Provence Historique*, t. 37 (1987), p. 516.

5. The medieval boundaries of Oise are laid out in a dispute with the communities of Digne and Gaubert over pasturing of oxen, ADAHP E158/38, 9 Sept. 1353.

Champtercier, which had its own church in 1325.<sup>6</sup> The chronology of the shift is not clear. The distinction between representatives of the community from Oise (21) and those from Champtercier (8) occurs in 1356. In 1359, the donjon was still inhabited, as was the *hospicii audeberti* adjoining it. Thirty years later, the village asked the lord to ban sheep from grazing within seven canes of the donjon because of falling stonework. The structure was bounded by a garden however, signifying nearby habitation. At this time, the community still assembled in Oise before the dwelling of one of its members, and the site does not appear to have been abandoned before the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Before the middle of the previous century then, Oise became a double village, with two centers of habitat, a not uncommon situation for small villages in Provence.<sup>8</sup>

Oise was not small, however; in 1315 the count levied a *quista* upon 94 hearths.<sup>9</sup> While the village stopped growing after 1315, Oise did not suffer the 80% and greater depopulation experienced by most other mountain villages in the viguerie of Digne after the Black Death. Its demographic evolution was shared by several nearby communities, some situated in bottom lands (Mezel, Gaubert) but others in hilly sites resembling that of Oise (Aiglun, Courbons). The migration of population within the confines of the *terroir* probably helped to hold inhabitants and attract immigrants.<sup>10</sup>

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6. « *Item ospicium unum situm in Campotercio iuxta ospicium Johannis Gundemeri et iuxta Iter publicum* », ADAP E158/38, 26 April 1346. The Bishop of Digne wrote of the *ecclesiarum castrorum Ozede et Campitertii* in 1325, ADAP E158/38, 17 May, 1325; E. BARATIER, « Les communautés de haute Provence au Moyen Âge : problèmes d'habitat et de population », in *Provence historique*, t. 21 (1971), p. 240-241.

7. « *Quod paramentum dicti fortalicii de versus villam fiat reparata* », dated 7 Feb. 1359, but contained in a later letter from the senechal settling a dispute over who should pay for the repairs, ADAHP E158/39, 14 June 1364; « *limitare limites et terminos ponere habeant circumquaque fortalicium huiusmodi ne propter frequentationes ( ) avaria aliqua grossa vel menuta ruyna quod absit ipsium fortalicium periclitari posset aliqua via* », ADAHP E158/39, 24 Oct. 1380; I will study this evolution in more detail using the 1514 cadaster from Oise (ADAHP 135 E/25).

8. See the description and a complete bibliography of this phenomenon in G. DEMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD, *Les fouilles de Rougiers (Var)*, Paris, Valbonne, 1980, p. 23-24; N. COULET, « La survie des communautés d'habitants des villages disparus : l'exemple d'Aix et du pays d'Aix aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles », in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'université de Nice*, t. 9 (1969), p. 83-84.

9. E. BARATIER, *La démographie provençale du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1961, p. 79.

10. Démiens d'Archimbaud underscores that fewer than 10% of the Provençal villages deserted in the 15<sup>th</sup> century had populations greater than 50 *quista* hearths in 1315, even in the massively depopulated mountain regions of Provence, *Fouilles de Rougiers, op. cit.*, p. 12-15, and E. BARATIER, *Démographie, op. cit.*, p. 156.

Table 1  
Population in Oise

[Source : E. Baratier, *Démographie*, p. 79; Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône (hereafter abbreviated ADBDR) B1824 27r.; ADAHP E158/38, 13 Mar. 1338, 13 June 1353, 11 Sept. 1367, 26 Mar. 1375]

1315	94 <i>quista</i> hearths
1334	41 heads of household (37 men, 5 women) pay a <i>bovagium</i> <sup>11</sup>
1338	91 (85 men assemble to elect 6 syndics)
1353	36 men swear homage to the king and queen
1367	37 men assemble to elect syndics
1375	42 men assemble to elect <i>cominals</i>

In the early fourteenth-century Oise, lack of population growth did not demonstrate impoverishment. A 1334 tax on oxen, the *bovagium*, is an exceptional document, in this regard. It shows that, among 42 households in the count's lordship, 15 owned two oxen and another owned a single animal. It is likely that the count's subjects numbered one-half of the total population, and as it is difficult to imagine why his subjects would be richer than their neighbors, this suggests that over a third of the peasant families in Oise owned a team of oxen.<sup>12</sup> That so many peasants owned the most honorable of rural goods is remarkable given Baratier's argument that Malthusian pressures were impoverishing the villages of Haute-Provence a few years later.<sup>13</sup> It is less remarkable when we look at corroborating evidence. While no other accounts of the *bovagium* survive for Oise or the viguerie of Digne in this period, Louis Stoff found in Leopold de Fulginet's inquest of 1332 two such records for the entire population of the villages of Les Orgues and Saint-Etienne, located in the foothills of the *montagne de Lure*, some 60 km. west of Oise. In Les Orgues, 13 of the 33 households had a pair of oxen, and for Saint-Etienne the figure was 15 out of 58.<sup>14</sup>

11. The count was *co-seigneur* of Oise in 1334, and while his share is not specified in the comital inquests or vicarial accounts of the period, this figure makes sense if he held half the village; the *bovagium* was a tax levied on the number of oxen owned by a household, but those without oxen paid too, E. BARATIER, *Enquêtes sur les droits et revenus de Charles I<sup>er</sup> d'Anjou en Provence (1252 et 1278) avec une étude sur le domaine comtal et les seigneuries de Provence au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1969, p. 78.

12. See above, note 11.

13. E. BARATIER « Les communautés », *op. cit.*, p. 240-241; on the prestige conferred by oxen, see J.-P. BOYER, *Hommes et communautés du haut pays niçois médiéval*, Nice, 1990, p. 135-138.

14. E. BARATIER, « Les communautés de haute Provence au Moyen Âge : problèmes d'habitat et de population », *Provence Historique*, 21 (1971), p. 241-243; L. STOUFF, « Peuplement, économie et société de quelques villages de la montagne de Lure », in *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes des Sociétés Méditerranéennes*, 1 (1966), p. 78.

This means that a group of peasants with significant wealth lived in Oise and elsewhere in Haute-Provence in the 1330's, despite a generation of no population growth. We must look beyond population pressure to understand the causes of economic and demographic decline in Haute-Provence on the eve of the Black Death – if indeed, such decline occurred before 1348.<sup>15</sup> One obvious candidate is taxation. In the late thirteenth-century, the Angevine counts of Provence expanded the cases in which it could levy the hearth tax or *quista*, and turned it from an occasional subsidy to a tax levied nearly every year between 1295 and 1352.<sup>16</sup> Until 1352 the *quista* was assessed at a fixed amount of 6s. per hearth, which in Oise amounted to £28 2s. when population peaked at 94 hearths in 1315. The other annual taxes, the *alberga* and the *cavalcata* were both fixed at £7 9s. The village would thus have paid £43 to the count for all three taxes.<sup>17</sup> After 1354, the Estates of Provence acquired the administration of the *quista*, transformed it into a proportional levy, and fixed the global amount of each subsidy.<sup>18</sup> The amounts levied rose precipitously and the levies remained frequent, nearly annual during the periods of military conflict which afflicted Provence in much of the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>19</sup> While the mentions of taxes levied in Oise are fragmentary, they suggest that the hearth tax at least doubled. Moreover, comital bureaucrats became creative in discovering new crimes and old claims. In the summer of 1364, an *archivarius* of the Chamber of Accounts in Aix found in his *cartulariis antiquis* a second *cavalcata* for the support of eight men which the community paid 50 gold florins to quash. Flush with the success of that operation, the official, Jaumes Sauren, launched an inquest against *diversas personas males et feminas de oseda* accused

15. It is true that E. Baratier attributed impoverishment to other factors besides population, notably the introduction of outside herds, which diminished the pastoral base of mountain villages beginning in the 1340's, E. BARATIER, « Communautés », *op. cit.*, p. 242. There is evidence of such pressures – although later – in a lawsuit brought by the inhabitants of Digne and Gaubert when Oise restricted outside animals from grazing on its *terroir* : it is noteworthy that the lawsuit refers only to *bonas aratorii*, ADAHP E158/38, 9 Sept. 1353.

16. Michel Hébert will describe this chronology in a forthcoming article.

17. On Sept. 21, 1331, the comital levies in Oise were stated to be £7 9s. for the *alberga* and the *cavalcata* in the inquest of Leopold de Fulginet, ADBDR B1051, 27r; these were paid in pounds *coronat* in 1338, so I am assuming that the *quista* was levied in the same money, ADAHP E158/38, 26 May 1338; the community also owed the count 100 sesters of wheat and 100 *salmas* of grapes each year, 158E/38, 8 May 1288 and B1051 *op. cit.*

18. E. BARATIER, *Démographie*, p. 17-20; M. HÉBERT, « Aux origines des Etats de Provence : "la cavalcade générale" », in *Actes du 110<sup>e</sup> Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Montpellier, 1985, Histoire médiévale*, t. 3, Paris, 1985, p. 53-68 and G. GOURAN and M. HÉBERT, *Le Livre Potentia des états de Provence : 1391-1523*, Paris, 1997, p. XXXIII-XXXIX.

19. V.L. BOURRILY and R. BOUSQUET, *Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, t. 2 of *Les Bouches-du-Rhône : encyclopédie départementale*, dir. by P. MASSON, Paris and Marseilles, 1924, p. 390-435, 639-649 and note 18.

of usury that required another 80 florins to settle.<sup>20</sup> Increasing taxation before the Black Death goes far towards explaining a faltering economy; after 1348, the impact of judicial extortions and exploding fiscal demands upon a population reduced by half must have been devastating.

Table 2  
Taxation in Oise 1350-1400<sup>21</sup>

[Sources : F. Guichard, *Essai historique sur le cominalat dans la ville de Digne, institution municipale provençale des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Digne, 1846, v. 2, p. 334<sup>22</sup>; ADAHP E158/38 : 3 Mar. 1366; ADAHP E158/39 : 1367 Sept. 11 (quitclaim of 11 June, 1374); 11 Feb. 1371; 29 Aug. 1384]

	amount	levy
1362	1 fl./hearth	<i>subsidiium</i>
1366	12s. 12d./hearth <sup>22</sup>	<i>focagi</i>
1371	?	<i>subsidio nouiter imposito</i>
1384	91 fl.	<i>subuentioni gentium armorum</i>

How Oise met the rapid increase in the frequency of *quistas* in the period 1280-1320 we cannot know; the accumulation of village resources which, from 1288 onward, the comunity taxed and collected for the count in proportion to each household's wealth have may sufficed.<sup>24</sup> After 1319 the

20. While the agreement between the seneschal and the village implied that individuals alone were concerned – not everyone could be a moneylender, and the seneschal singled out the notaries whose registers he wanted to examine – the whole village was menaced for it was the *uniuersitas* that paid, ADAHP E158/39 : 17 Déc. 1364; June 18, 1364; concerning Jaume Sauren see J.-L. BONNAUD, *Les agents locaux de l'administration royale en Provence au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle : catalogue et étude des carrières*. Diss, Université de Montréal, 1996, Annexe III, « S », #42.

21. The pound *coronat* used most often between 1326 and 1348 was a money of account for which the silver shilling *provincialis* had a value of 10d; after 1348, most records use a gold florin, most often *de Florentia*, which in 1367 has a value of 16 silver shillings in current money, i.e. *provincialis*, ADAHP E158 / 11 Sept. 1367; 22 Nov. 1367. All other monies from the earlier period have been converted to pounds *coronat*, using equivalences drawn from notarial records from Trets for the period 1319-1348, e.g. ADBDR 396 E 34, 15-ii-1347; see also appendix 2, « money », in my dissertation *Economy and Society in a Small Medieval Provençal Town : Trets, 1296-1347*, University of Toronto, 1991, and H. ROLLAND, *Monnaies des comtes de Provence, XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Histoire monétaire, économique et comparative, description raisonnée*, Paris, 1956, p. 142.

22. Each hearth owed 4s; the remainder was to be paid *pro modo facultatem suam*, that is, according to wealth, but the total sum levied is not mentioned.

23. F. GUICHARD notes that local villages refused to pay this tallage.

24. The local tax administration was already well organized by this date, when the community sued one of its own members in the count's court for refusing to contribute to *tallis, quistis et aliis exactionibus et debitis dicte uniuersitatis factis et faciendis in dicto castro per homines dicti castri pro modo possessionum et rerum quas habet*, E158/38, 8 May 1288.

village financed its obligations by borrowing. The records of borrowing are probably not complete, because they are based on quitclaims and canceled loan contracts. These charters did not record permanent rights and there was no reason to keep them around after a generation. Nevertheless, the extant documents are numerous and explicit.

Table 3  
Loans to the *universitas* of Oise, 1319-1420  
(1 florin = £2/3)

[Source : ADAHP E158/38 : 9 Jan 1319; 18 Aug. 1326; 11 May 1329; 31 Jan. 1333; 23 May 1331; 20 Feb. 1342; 2 Mar. 1343; 21 April 1343; 16 June 1343; 21 Aug. 1343; 8 Jan. 1344; 12 June 1346; 15 Dec. 1346; 23 Dec. 1346; 3 June 1347; 2 Oct. 1347; 2 Mar. 1348; 28 April 1348; 20 Dec. 1348; ADAHP E158/39 : 7 July 1351; 9 Sept. 1353; 27 Sept. 1356; 11 Sept. 1367; 22 Nov. 1367; 11 Feb. 1371; 5 July 1371; 16 Nov. 1371; 28 June 1372; 10 Janv. 1380; 22 April 1381; 29 Aug. 1384; 27 May 1389; 4 June 1392; 11 Janv. 1399; 21 Fév. 1399; 3 Dec. 1399; 25 Nov. 1400; 26 Nov. 1402; ? 1405; 16 Mar. 1406; 7 Feb. 1413; 9 Feb. 1418; 11 Dec. 1420]

date	amount	reason	lender
1319	£11 <sup>25</sup>	<i>cavalcatis curie regie</i>	Dieullossal of Lunel, Jew
1326	£13 2s.	<i>curie regie... alberga</i>	Dyaulosal, Jew of Digne
1329	£5 8s. 8d.		Dieulosal of Lunel, inhabitant of Digne
1331	£57 10s.; £25	quitclaim and loan <sup>26</sup>	Dyaulosal Jew of Digne and Taurrossati his son
1333	25½ florins	<i>soluendam focagiam</i>	Jusov Jew, son of Dieulosal
1342	£68 12s.	<i>pro soluenda focagia</i>	Diaulosal Jew of Digne
1343	10s. 7d.		Salmon of Tarascon, Jew, inhabitant of Digne, in the name of Cameasor Diaulosal, Jew
1343	£42 5s.	<i>cavalcatis pascatis</i>	Dyolsolad Jew of Digne
1343	34 florins of Flo. + 12 s. 6d.		Taurasson of Lunel, Jew of Digne
1343	£6		Tarrasson Dyaulosal Jew of Digne
1344	£4 18s.		Tornasson Dyaulosal Jew of Digne
1346	£19		Taurossi Dieulosal Jew, son of Dieulosal Jew of Digne
1347	£79 10s.	quitclaim for £20 <sup>27</sup>	Diaulosal Jew of Digne and Torason Diaulosal

25. £10 *Provincialis refforcatus*; in 1319, this coin was worth 10% more than the pound based on the silver *provincialis*, H. ROLLAND, *Monnaies, op. cit.*, p. 123, 130 and DRENDEL, *Society, op. cit.*, « annexe 2 ».

26. This act probably refines previous debt as well; although it states that all previous debts have been paid, it differentiates between two new loans *hodie factorum* without specifying a repayment schedule.

27. Quitclaim for £20 to be applied to a loan of fifty some-odd pounds (the letter after « L » is illegible), 3 June, 1347.

1346	£69 10s.	quitclaim <sup>28</sup>	Dieulosal de Lunel and Taurossius his son, Jews of Digne
1346	18 fl. of Flo.	<i>certis vrgentibus negotiis</i>	Taurossy Dieulosal Jew son of Dieulosal of Lunel Jew
1347	15 fl. of Flo.	<i>pro soluenda alberga</i>	Dieulosal
1348	13 florins		Bertrand Rauquet of Digne
1348	£12	<i>emptionis annone</i>	Bertrand Rauquet of Digne
1348	16s.		Bertrand Rauquet of Digne
1351	?	refinancing	Peyre Georg neophyte, son of Dieulosal
1353	10 fl.	quitclaim	Noble Iorgi Aperioculos of Digne
1356	40 <i>saumatas</i>	wheat	Barolam Veniani <sup>29</sup>
1367	200 fl.		Guigonet Iarent
1367	24 fl. <sup>30</sup>		Cipon Jew of Aix
1371	9 fl.	<i>subsidio nouiter imposito</i>	Vinaud de Monte Cauli Jew of Puget <sup>31</sup>
1371	7½ florins		Macipo Mosse Jew of Aix
1371	11 florins	millstone	Joan Audebert of Digne
1372	?	refinancing	Noble Guilhem Chabaud of Forqualquier
1380	100 florins		Estes Dulcine Jewess of Aix
1381	? florins		Steset Dulcine Jewess of Aix
1384	91 florins	<i>sustinentione guerre</i>	Stes Dosina and Crescas Noe Jews
1389	200 florins		Aymericod Gardia lord of Oise
1392	200 florins	excommunication	Aymeric Gardia lord of Oise
1399	31 florins + 4 s.		Francesco de Valaco, Castellan of Oise
1399	150 florins	a special tax <sup>32</sup>	Estes Doncine and Crescas Cohen Jews of Aix <sup>33</sup>
1399	50 fl. 260 s.	wheat quitclaim, refinancing	Crescas Josse Cohen of Aix
1400	31½ sesters grain + 43 gold florins	refinancing <sup>34</sup>	Crescas Cohen (deceased) and his daughter Mossona of Digne
1402	44 florins	quitclaim, refinancing	Mossona Jewess, heir of Dulcine Jewess of Aix

28. The actual payment was £22 and an illegible number of shillings. The quitclaim is written on the dorse of the loan for £19 contracted the previous 12 June; it rolls into the £69 10 s. an outstanding loan of £17. The same day, Dieulosal and his son gave representatives of Oise an identical quitclaim on a fresh parchment (£22 out of a loan £69 10 s.).

29. Inhabitant of Digne, in the name of Antonio Runilhasco alias Barlet, and Antonieto Runilhasco alias Barlet, son of Peron of the Diocese of Turin.

30. Rolls over a previous debt of 14 fl.

31. *Nouiter habitatore Digne*.

32. Oise assigns to Stes Cohen and Jose Cohen (and Mossona who is their heir in March of 1399), the revenue of a special levy of a fifteenth and a twelfth of the produce of land and livestock of all those listed in the cadaster (*libra*) of Oise for one year; this act dates Stes' death to the months immediately prior, cf. N. COULET, « Un lignage », *op. cit.*, p. 520, n. 34.

33. Cresca Cohen transfers to Mossona, daughter and heir of Stes all his rights in this transaction on the dorse, 26 Mar. 1399.

34. Half this charter is cut and missing; the figure of 43 florins represents the final amount owed.

1405	quitclaim 10 years of loans	Vinaud and Jusson of Montereula, brothers, Jews of Digne
1406	60 florins; 120 sesters grain remain to be paid refinancing	Iosse Durant Jew of Digne, for Mossona of Carcasson Jewess of Aix
1413	20 fl. et al. refinancing	Iausep Daurin Jew of Digne
1418	40 fl. 40 s. wheat refinancing	Vinaud et Mosson of Montreal, Jews of Digne
1420	200 florins wardship agreement <sup>35</sup>	Iosse Cresco Jew of Aix, trustee of Iosse Durant Jew of Aix

In 1319 or earlier, the community began borrowing, and it continued to do so on a regular basis until around 1420. The borrowing dramatically increased in the period 1342-1351, the time of apparent demographic and economic decline in the mountains.<sup>36</sup> The plague hit village finances particularly hard, provoking a flurry of borrowing, including the first mention of a grain loan, evidence that manpower shortages upset the production and distribution of food. After 1351, borrowing clustered in periods of military emergency (1356, 1367, 1371, 1380-1381, 1384, 1389-1399).<sup>37</sup> The community regularly refinanced a chronic debt after the wars of Raymond of Turenne. The debt burden became so difficult to finance that in 1399 Oise levied a proportional tax on revenues in order to service their loans from the Dulcine women of Aix.<sup>38</sup> After 1420 for some reason, no more loan charters were written or saved.

The relation between taxation and borrowing during the Provençal wars of the fourteenth century has been documented elsewhere; what is made explicit here is their relationship prior to 1351 in the countryside.<sup>39</sup> Six of the eighteen documents from this period state that the sum borrowed was for taxes. Five loans were made within 30 days of Easter, when the *cavalcata* fell due, as in 1343, when the *cavalcata* was paid eight days after Easter.<sup>40</sup>

35. This act confirms that the community Oise owes the trustee of Iosse Durant, who is senile, 200 florins, 11 Dec. 1420; the dorse states that the 200 florins was repaid Dec. 14, 1422.

36. See above, note 14.

37. V.-L. BOURRILY, *L'encyclopédie, op. cit.*, 395, 1367; Coulet, *Aix-en-Provence, op. cit.*, pp. 1:74-78; R. VEYDARIER, *Raymond de Turenne, la deuxième maison d'Anjou et de Provence : étude d'une rébellion nobiliaire à la fin du Moyen Âge (1386-1400)*, diss. Université de Montréal, pp. 157-341; R. VEYDARIER provides several examples of the heavy taxes imposed by the Provençal estates to fight Raymond of Turenne, p. 330.

38. ADAHP E158/39, 21 Feb. 1399.

39. M. HÉBERT, *Tarascon au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle : histoire d'une communauté urbaine provençale*, Aix-en-Provence, 1979, p. 202; N. COULET, *Aix-en-Provence, op. cit.*, p. 1:95; 1:104-107.

40. The status of Fréjus define an eight day grace period for the *alberga*, after which the sum was doubled; presumably the *cavalcata*, which has a more convoluted history, followed the same rule, E. BARATIER, *Enquêtes, op. cit.*, p. 56; Hébert, « Origines », *op. cit.*

Two loans were made in August, including the £11 borrowed for the *alberga* in 1319, well ahead of Michaelmas when it was due; in 1347, the *alberga* was paid on October 2. One loan was contracted in late December and two on the eight and ninth of January of two different years (1319, 1343) including a loan for the *cavalcata* of 1319, which suggest that the baile either advanced the date it was due, or collected an additional « general *cavalcata* », an exceptional feudal levy.<sup>41</sup> The village hauled the count's grain and grapes to Digne at harvest, which corresponds to the three loans contracted in mid-June and early July. Because of the static nature of the *alberga* and *cavalcata*, both set at £7 9s., Oise borrowed about the same amount in several loans. If we leave aside the quitclaims, which generally refinanced older loans, between 1319 and 1348 Oise borrowed between £10 and £13 2s. on seven occasions, of which four were specifically for the *alberga* or *cavalcata*. Deducting from the amounts of these four loans £7 9s., shows that they cost from £2 3s. to £5 1s. each. The repayment schedules varied widely in this period : on demand (one), 80 to 105 days (three), 142 days (one), 180 days (one), 224 days (one), 290 to 300 days (two). The most frequent term was a year, specified in seven loans. Annual interest rates for the four loans of which we are certain of the cost ranged from 33 % to 200 %. Compared with rates of 13 % to 28 % which Tarascon obtained from Avignon bankers at the end of the fourteenth century, this was expensive.<sup>42</sup> Although the villagers of Oise borrowed in an competitive credit market, they relied exclusively on Dieulosal of Lunel and his sons for all their loans prior to 1348, even though he charged a considerable amount to lend to a village which, unlike an individual, was unlikely to die, disappear, or go broke.<sup>43</sup> The relationship that marginality fostered can help explain this.

Dieulosal appeared in the accounts of the baillie of Digne as a lender of modest sums in 1318, but he sued for payment more often than any other lender; either he chose riskier clients than his competitors or else he had a lot more of them. The latter is more likely, because Dieulosal was very success-

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41. The *general cavalcata* was a payment in lieu of military service which the count required for a real campaign; the *seigneurial cavalcata* was an annual tax which the count levied as lord of Oise, M. HÉBERT, « origines », p. 55-56; if, however, the January loans were contracted to pay an exceptional levy, why were they all made on or about the same date? The complete text reads, *pro soluendis caualcatis debitis Curie Regie qui nunc uniuersitate ipsa exiguntur*.

42. M. HÉBERT, *Tarascon*, p. 203.

43. Around 1318, thirteen Jews and three Christians lent money to peasants in 39 localities in the baillie of Digne, according to the sentences for non-payment of overdue loans recorded by the baile in 1318, ADBDR B7042, ff. 1r-3r; for the use of this source to study debt, see R. LAVOIE, « Endettement et pauvreté en Provence selon 61 listes de la justice comtale », in *Provence historique*, t. 23 (1973), p. 201-216; not one village community is cited among the hundreds of condemnations for debt in the *clavaire* accounts from 1318-1323 and 1332-1336, ADBDR B 7042, B1824.

ful. His name suggests that he may have been among the Provençal Jews who migrated from Languedoc after the expulsion of 1306, for he was not among the leaders of the Digne community mentioned in an important agreement with the *cominals* in 1312. Whatever his origins, he rapidly prospered, purchasing the house of Josep Baylon, a pillar of the Digne synagogue, before 1320, and representing alone all the Jews of Digne in 1333. He knew court officials, and had a personal relationship with them, judging from the fact that, on all but a few occasions, the *clavaire* omitted the adjective *Judeus* after his name in the baillie's accounts of 1318. This was not accidental or insignificant. In a society of honor, sobriquets and titles counted, and *Judeus* was not an honorable title. To call a Christian woman the « wife of a Jew » in thirteenth-century Manosque was a worse insult than calling her a whore.<sup>44</sup>

In 1322, Dieulosal paid the cavalcade tax for four of the 32 villages mentioned in the *clavaire* accounts, for a total of £58 10s., personally giving the money « *per manus* » to the *clavaire*. In the same account, the second most important lender in the baillie, Sompnino the Jew, payed for a fifth village. This sum is considerable, placing Dieulosal in a quite different category of finance than that suggested by his loans to individuals. While one cannot be certain, I believe that Dieulosal and Sompnino acted as representatives of villages to whom they loaned the tax, rather than tax farmers; fixed, stable taxes were not normally farmed out.<sup>45</sup>

Villagers in Oise had an exclusive business relationship with Dieulosal and his sons Taurossal, Jusov and Cameosor which endured for 28 years. Until the Black Death, the village, as far as we can know, never borrowed from anyone else. The plague year changed the relationship, but it continued. In 1351, the village contracted an agreement with a son of Dieulosal, a convert now known as Peyre Iorgi the neophyte, « heir of Dieulosal of Lunel, deceased Jew of Digne, and heir of all his brothers ».<sup>46</sup> We cannot

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44. Concerning these accounts, see note 45; arbitration of 11 May, 1312, F. GUICHARD, *Essai historique sur le cominalat dans la ville de Digne, institution municipale provençale des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Digne, 1846, 2:120, #47; Josep Baylon's name describes well his stature among the Jews of Digne, for he led the list of eight Jewish leaders who negotiated with the *cominals* of Digne in 1312; in 1330 the *clavaire* accounts mention the *domus Dieulosal Iudei, que fuit Josep de Bayonis Judei*, F. GUICHARD, *Essai, op. cit.*, 1:249 (document III); inquest of Leopold de Fulginet, 10 Oct. 1333, F. GUICHARD, *Essai, op. cit.*, 1:252 (document V); J. SHATZMILLER, *Recherches, op. cit.*, 139-140.

45. Out of 32 villages paying the *cavalcata*, only five had an intermediary; presumably the others paid directly. ADBDR B7042, 19 Mar. 1322, f. 9v. In 1332, all the *alberga* payments came from men of the villages concerned, with the exception of Saint-Etienne and Castellar, whose dues were paid by a merchant from Digne, ADBDR B1824, f. 5r. Space prevents further discussion of this problem here, but evidence from the Oise archives suggests that farming comital dues became much more important after the Black Death.

46. *Tractantibus bonivolentibus et amicis partium predictarum sanioribus dictis consiliis*, ADAHP E158/39, 17 July 1351.

know which son survived, and whether his family perished from plague or murder in the Easter massacre of Jews in Digne. The latter seems more likely given the eminence of the foremost Jewish family in Digne, and the new religion of its remaining son. The document of 1351 is an extraordinary witness to the manner in which this survivor of that awful winter picked up the threads of his existence. The community and Peyre, without any apparent arbitration or coercion, negotiated, « through the amiable, benevolent and wise counsel of all the parties », repayment of the sums owed for the outstanding loans of Peyre's father and brothers.<sup>47</sup> The document settled both debts of the community and of individuals. This is important because it shows that peasants within the village chose Dieulosal, Jusov, Taurrossal and Cameosal as lenders. The rapport between Dieulosal and Oise was not dictated by a relationship of power.

Power was important part of the choice, however. Dieulosal had a personal relationship with curial officers in Digne. He may have had other high social relationships as well. His son's Christian name – normally taken from a godfather – was quite unusual in Digne and its region. The only person who bore it in the local records of the period was Iorgi Aperioculos, a scion of one of Digne's oldest aristocratic families. Another member of the family, Guido Aperioculos, stood as surety to Peyre for £144 in 1262.<sup>48</sup> The link is circumstantial, but it suggests that the solidity and longevity of this relationship between a Jewish family and villagers was mirrored by the relationship between that family and powerful elites in Digne beyond the comital court. These relationship allowed Dieulosal to act as an intermediary between Oise and the court in the conflicts created by the count's relentless demands for money. Dieulosal and his sons were well suited to this unofficial but critical role because they had capital and understood well the economic capacity of villagers. Moreover, they were marginal men in a group without honor, not beyond the social pale, but on its edge. This allowed them to create long-term, personal relationships with both officers of the count and lowly peasants.

The conversion of Peyre Iorgi brought him honor which transformed his relationship with the peasants of Oise. He became their patron, acting as an advocate and protector, and he never again lent money to the village, so

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48. 9 Oct. 1362, F. GUICHARD, *Essai, op. cit.* 2:#116. The Aperioculos family played an important role in Digne from at least the late thirteenth-century, but I have not been able to construct the relationship between Guido and Iorgi Aperioculos from the documents in Guichard, *Essai, op. cit.*, 2:#29; note that « Iorgi » suddenly appears as a given name in Oise in 1392; the bearer was a notary, Iorgi Senhoret, whose family name first appeared in 1346, ADAHP E158/38, 12 June 1346; E158/39, 4 June 1392; 9 Feb. 1418.

far as we know.<sup>49</sup> In 1364, he witnessed an agreement in Nice by which the court stopped an investigation of usury in Oise in exchange for 80 florins; the same year he went to Aix as the village's proctor to negotiate the suppression of a *cavalcata*.<sup>50</sup> Ten years after these negotiations, Oise experienced a reversal of fortune; in 1377 the village lay down 220 florins and purchased for three years the tax farm for the totality of seigneurial levies, half the fines of seigneurial justice, and one-half of the toll of Galbert.<sup>51</sup> This was an astonishing amount of money for an indebted village to raise; how the farm was financed we can only guess, but by this time Peyre Iorgi had a lot of influence to throw around. In 1355 he invested in several valuable farms of comital taxes, worth more than £190 *coronats*, including the toll of Galbert, which he shared with the lord of Oise. In 1362 he farmed the wine tax in Digne for £184. Between 1358 and 1362, the acts which describe Georg as representative, *cominal* and member of the town council of Digne no longer included the qualifier « neophyte ».<sup>52</sup> In 1365-1366 he served the count as *clavaire* and baile of Toulon.<sup>53</sup>

Before achieving this pinnacle in his career, however, Peyre Georg enjoyed what was perhaps a higher honor. On August 24, 1362 he stood before the peasants of Oise as their *viguier*, and together they read a letter from the lord of Oise. To the village notary and peasants, the man whose Jewish father had been moneylender to their grandfathers was a noble.<sup>54</sup> No other scribe ever gave Peyre this title; this nobility was not a legal or social attribute conferred by royal grace or peers. Rather, it was a perception of the people of Oise from whom his honor distanced him, restructuring their rapport into a form quite different from that created by his former marginality. It is a striking example of how perception molded honor and organized

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49. Curiously enough, his namesake Iorgi Aperioculos, noble damsel, lent to Oise around 1353, and a few months before writing a quitclaim for this loan, village representatives gathered in his house in Digne to notarize a protest against the Queen's alienation of her lordship of Oise. In 1351, Aperioculos also held the farm for the dues in kind which Oise owed the count, ADAHP E158/39, 9 Sept. 1353; 11 June 1353. (Iorgi Aperioculos is called *Boni* in the latter acts, an alias of the Aperioculos family, see F. GUICHARD, *Essai*, 2:#59.)

50. See above, notes 22.

51. ADAHP e158/39, 3 Mar. 1377; Peyre Iorgi himself paid £45 for one-quarter of this toll in 1355, see below, note 55.

52. F. GUICHARD, *Essai*, *op. cit.* 2:#133 (1358), #144 (1361), #116 (1362), #191 (1363); the memory and perhaps the stigma of being a Jew apparently lingered longer in the case of Peyre Iorgi than for converts at the time of expulsion in the late fifteenth-century, D. IANCY-AGOU, *Les juifs*, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

53. He also farmed comital rights worth relatively little in the villages of Entrages (20s. p.a.), Dourbes (£6 p.a.) and Bédéjum (£1 6s. p.a.); all this in J.-L. BONNAUD, *Les agents*, *op. cit.* annexe III, « G », #43; ADAHP E158/39, 24 Aug. 1362.

54. *Constituti homines de Ozeda subscripti in « presentia » nobilium virorum Bertrandi de Ginnello et Petri Georgii de Digna*, ADAHP E158/39, 24 Aug. 1362.

social relations « from the bottom up ». Such perceptions do not create clear cut categories, which is why relations which honor and dishonor fostered between Jew and Christians are difficult to characterize. But they are fundamental to understanding the marginality of Dieulosal of Lunel, the integration of Peyre Iorgi, and the history of their relationship with the peasants of Oise.

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