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Jewish names and locations in medieval France: the case of Paris, XIIth-XIVth centuries

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Jewish names and locations in medieval France: the case of Paris, XIIth-XIVth centuries

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This study, dedicated to the Jewish names in Paris relies and completes «Hebraic and Jewish inscriptions in medieval France » by Gerard Nahon, published in Paris in 1986. It is a synthesis to which I added the contribution of the manuscripts, my epigraphic research's results and enlightenments from contemporary documentary sources¹.

The Hebraic epigraphy in medieval France mainly studies funeral inscriptions. The corpus includes 327 inscriptions, some of which are anterior to 1280, some others have disappeared since their discovery. However, their content has been revealed by Adrien de Longpérier, read again by Moïse Schwab, and then by Gérard Nahon, whose interpretation will be quoted as a reference in the following².

When they are not damaged, tombstones bear dates. Their localization is granted because they have never been moved far away from their place of origin even though they have been reused. During Antiquity, one to three words written in Hebraic characters were often added at the end of the text of the epitaph (which was written in Greek or in Latin), depending on the local customs (fig. 1 and 2). After nearly five centuries of epigraphic silence, Hebrew reappears, alone, on stelae from the XIIth century in France. These inscriptions testify of the use of Hebrew in funeral rituals in the Middle Ages and make it possible to determine the time of its reintroduction in the daily life of the Jews from the VIIIth century.

The absence of any decorative or symbolic elements recalling the Jewishness of the deceased, as was the case in antiquity, seems to be overcome by the use of monumental Hebrew script and the shaping of the text and engraved letters which most often imitate that of the Hebrew luxury manuscripts. In fact, at that period, art was dedicated to books, so calligraphy and text shaping were used as ornaments. These epitaphs also allow us to debate Jewish medieval onomastic, which is way different from the antique one. The comparison of the names engraved with those listed on the tax rolls of 1292 and 1296 has enabled us to identify the names under which the Jews lived officially and daily in Paris at these periods. Did they have biblical names only or did they choose local surnames and/or nicknames? Can onomastic help us locate the origin of Parisian Jews? These epigraphic and documentary sources (tax rolls specially) only give sporadic information about their occupations. Local customs related to the religious calendar and to honorary titles appear on the epitaphs, so with persecutions endured by the Jewish community. For instance, the word *qadosh* « saint », written on some of the epitaphs, testifies a supposed violent death of a person who was a victim of religious persecution³ (fig. 5).

I. The language swap in the Middle-Ages

The antique Jewish onomastic revealed by epigraphy testifies the Latinization and the Hellenization of men and women's names, even if their ascending parents used to have Hebraic names. This means they were not always pagans converted to Judaism when this religion used to be proselyte. Most of the inscriptions found in France were located in the southern part of the country: Avignon (4th c.), Auch (7th-8th c.), Bordeaux (6th) and Narbonne (7th). These inscriptions, mainly written in Latin or Greek, contain also Hebrew words, such

¹ I would like to thank Gérard Nahon for all the exclusive information and Caroline Bourlet (IRHT-CNRS), who is a specialist in history and Diplomacy of Paris, for giving me the access to her documentary resources about the Jewish community, helping me to establish the map of their locations (fig. 6). Gerard Nahon's book is quoted as *Ibid starting from note 3*.

² Cf. NAHON Gérard, 1986 ; SCHWAB Moïse, 1904, p.142-402 ; LONGPÉRIER Adrien de, 1884, p.103-131.

³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.37-38.

as *shalom* « Peace », שלום, in Auch an *shalom* 'al [y]srael⁴, (Ps. 125,5) שלום על [י]שראל « Peace upon Israel », in Narbonne. Sometimes, the *sacra* – Seven-branch candlestick in Bordeaux and Narbonne – attest that the dead person was Jewish. When these inscriptions are missing, the name is the only evidence we can use to tell that the person was Jewish. Actually, the Jews often use local contemporary names such as Justus, Asterius, Paregorius, Julia, Aurelia or Dulciorella⁵. The only evidence of religious appurtenance is the mention of a Hebraic name or a name that corresponds to the translation of a Hebraic name. Thus, in the Antique period, Justus could have matched *Tsadiq* ou *Tsadoq* which means « fair » or « wise », and Paregorius matches *Menaḥem* which means « The Comforter », a name that started becoming famous after the Second Temple's destruction, as this period was full of eschatological expectation.⁶ In the Middle-Ages, we could find Sarre for *Sarah*, Mosse or Moussé instead of *Moshe*, Manessier or *Manasseh* and Vivant for *Hayyim*. Therefore, Hebraic biblical names were as frequent in the Middle-Ages' onomastic as they were in Antiquity's⁷.

A Greek epitaph from Antibes (unfound nowadays) dated from the 2nd century mentions "Justus, Sila's son, he lived 72 years". Another one from Auch, dated from the 4th-5th century mentions the following:

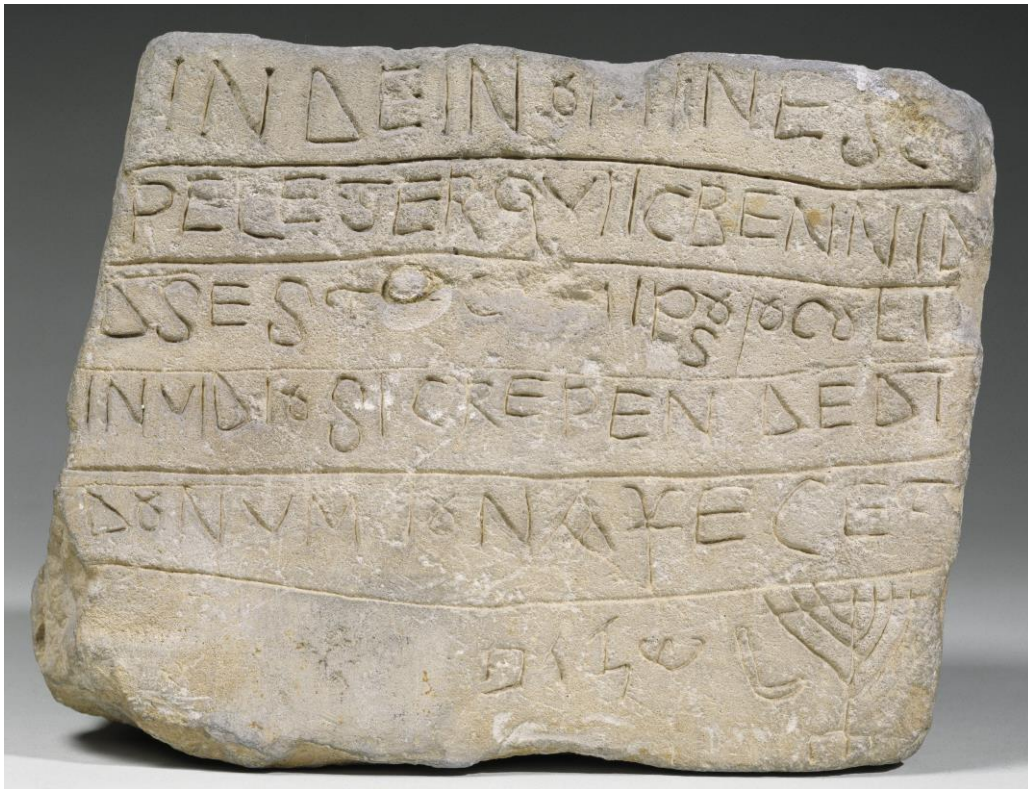


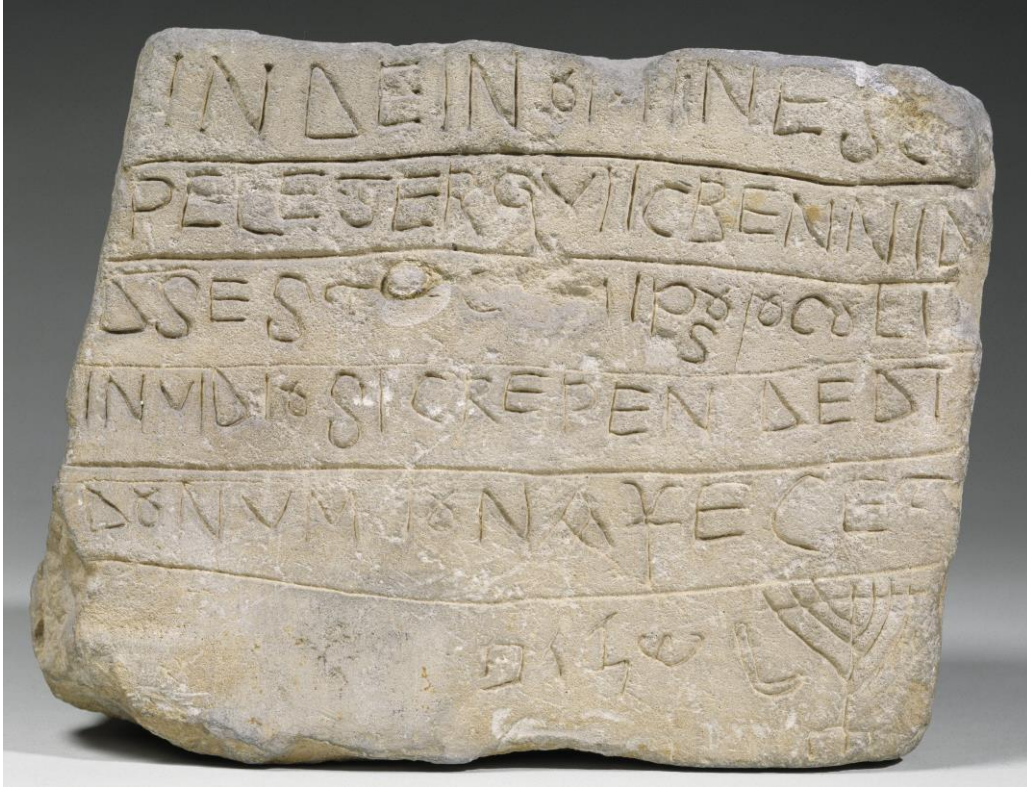
Fig. 1, Auch, dedication of a paving offered by Bennid, 4th-5th c., Saint Germain en Laye, National Antiquity Museum

⁴ I have chosen to transcrip ז in « ts » corresponding to its prononciation (usually z in the phonetic norms) ; ה in h , I would though write Judah instead of Judas ; י in h ; י in y ; ס in ' and צ in ° .

⁵ Cf. SCHWAB Moïse, 1904, p.172-173.

⁶ Cf. *Talmud de Babylone*, traité *Sanhédrin* 98b ; *Talmud de Jérusalem*, traité *Berakhot* 2,4

⁷ The *sacra* of Judaism became symbols of eschatological expectation and were all set in the IIIrd century. They represented or referred to the furniture of the Temple of Jerusalem —Seven-branch candlestick (*menorah*), palm branch (*lulav*), cedrat (*etrog*), Horn of a ram (*shofar*). They were often represented on antique tomb stones. Cf. FREY R. P.C.S. Sp Jean-Baptiste, 1936, f° 666-672 ; NOY David, 1993, p.263-272 ; *Ibid.*, p.334-335, 350-353, 394-403.



Auch : dedication of a paving offered by Bennid, 4th-5th c., Saint Germain en Laye, National Antiquity Museum
photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée d'Archéologie nationale)

« In the name of the Lord,
The traveller visiting here, –
The Lord be with him, may the envious' eyes burst (Ps. 112, 10, Job 11, 20 or Prov. 30,
17) – Of God's gifts, Jona did (this).
Peace. »⁸

The biblical citation as well as the decoration made of the *sacra* – chandelier, horn of a ram and palm branch –, certify of the religion of the dead person. But this inscription seems to be more of a dedication, perhaps that of a decorated building or monument, than an epitaph even if it is enclosed by the Hebrew word *Shalom* accompanied by the *sacra* found on Jewish epitaphs of this period. Eventually, the funeral stone of Narbonne, dated from the end of the 7th century, has a *menorah* on its top, quasi incipit, followed by the enumeration of a list of masculine and feminine names, indicating the insertion of the Jews in Latin culture and their attachment to Judaism. For instance, the father « Paragorius » (a name used by Jews and non-Jews at that time, father of « Sapadus », a name not used by contemporary Jews, sets this tomb stone in memory of his son « Justus » (a name used by the Jews). His two daughters were called “Matrona” (with no equivalent in Hebrew and no local occurrence, mostly given to Jewish girls from Northern Africa) and Dulciorella, a latin name, frequent in the feminine population of non-Jews⁹. The chandelier and the Hebraic sentence שלום על [י]שראל, *Shalom c'al*

⁸ *In Dei nomine s[an]c[t]i/peleger qui ic Bennid/ D(eus) esto c[um] ipso ; oculi/ invidiosi crepen[t]* [ps 112, 10, job 11,20 ou Prov. 30,17] *de d[e]i/ donum, Jona fecet/ שלום* ; Cf. *Ibid.*, p.334-335.

⁹ (*Menorah*) *Ic requiescunt / in pace benememori / tres fili d(omi)ni Paragori / de filio condam D(omi)ni Sa / paudi, id es[t] Ius[t]us, Ma / trona et Dulciorella, qui uixserunt : Iustus annos XXX Matrona ann(o)s XX, Dulci / orella annos VIII. שלום על [י]שראל / obuerun[t] anno secundo d(o)m(in)i Egicani / regis.* According to Ernest Renan, the name Dulciorella and its latin variants Dulcis used by the Jews to name their daughters, might be the

Ysra'el, « Peace upon Israël » (line 9, Psalm 125,5) testify again that this family was Jewish and also confirm the coexistence of the two alphabets and the two languages in an antique inscription. However, the date of death is calculated according to the local calendar (in this case, king Egica's reign calendar), and not according to the Jewish calendar as it was the case in the low Middle-Ages (fig. 2).

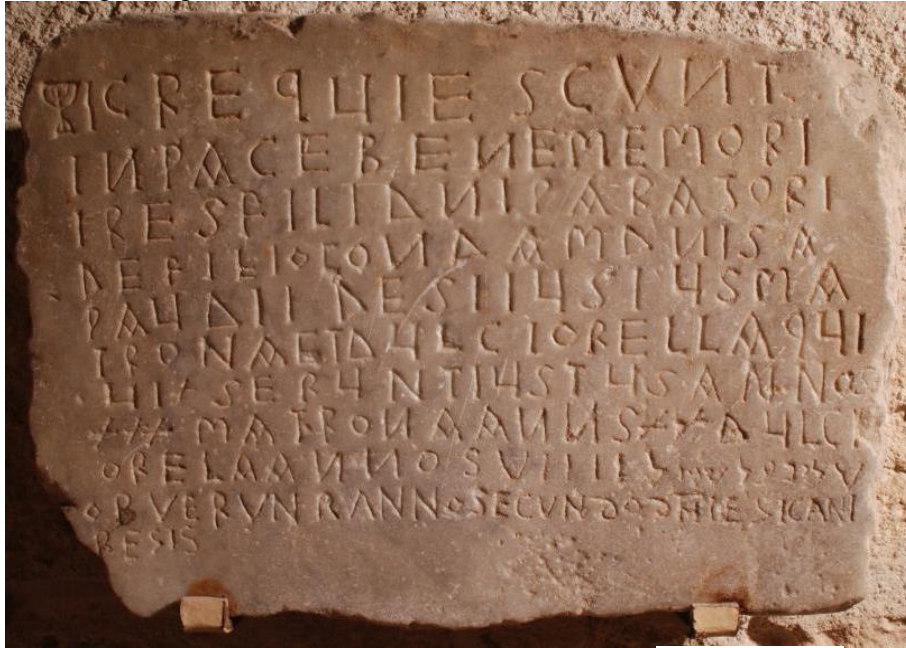


Fig. 2 Funerary stele Justus, Matrona and Dulciorella, Narbonne, 688-9.

©Lisa Debande, *Musées de Narbonne, Ville de Narbonne.*

Art and History Museum, n°196 4171

Here rest in peace, the blessed three children of Lord Paragorius, son of the late Sapaudus : Justus, Matrona and Dulciorella who lived : Justus, 30 years, Matrona, 20 years, Dulciorella, 9 years. Peace upon Israël (Ps. 125,5 and 128,6). They died in the second year of Lord Egica, the King. (Between 24 Nov. 688 and 23 Nov. 689)

The Jewish presence, attested since Antiquity, is continued until the Visigoth period, the Franque and Merovingian periods, as well as the Carolingian times¹⁰. Judaism spread in an urban environment leading to a kind of economic and cultural renaissance. However, no other questionable Jewish epitaph was found before the middle of the twelfth century. Exclusively written in Hebrew, as all the other funerary inscriptions in medieval France will be from that time on, they will not have any other decoration element evoking Judaism.

II. Medieval Jewish inscriptions:

France has four collections of Hebraic epitaphs¹¹. Stelae, slabs and also *graffiti* on the walls of buildings, remain in 40 cities and villages scattered in the whole actual French territory. The corpus is made of 327 inscriptions revealing detailed texts including names, dates and localizations or only a few letters. 63 stones could be dated, including 2 graffiti; 217 could not be precisely dated or could not be dated at all, among which 31 graffiti; 47

translation of the biblical name Naomi (« sweet »). Cf. *Ibid.*, p.352, p.360-363, notice 291 ; NOY David, 1993, p.263-266 ; SCHWAB Moïse, 1904, p.172-173.

¹⁰ KATZ Salomon, 1937; SCHWARZFUCHS Simon, 1966, p.122-42 ; CHAZAN Robert, 1973, p.9-62.

¹¹ In Paris, all the stelae were stocked in the Museum of Jewish Arts and Traditions. Strasbourg, Musée de l'Œuvre de Notre Dame; some stelae remain in Dijon at the Archeological Museum and in Mantes, Archeological Museum (16 stelae). Cf. *Ibid.*, p.15-33 ; NAHON Gérard, 2000, p.80-87.

inscriptions disappeared since their discovery¹². The following pieces have been added to Gerard Nahon's inventory after their recent discovery: a very heavy stone fragment including a few Hebraic words, probably not an epitaph, in Chartres in 2006 ; an inscription found in Parc Monceau in Paris, and another one in Bourges from 1286 or 1316¹³.

We made a list of the provenance and the repartition of these inscriptions that include all the Hebraic inscriptions found in the whole actual French territory. The destination of the Chartres' stone remains uncertain (epitaph or dedication?) but it is the first material proof of the presence of the Jews in this city although it was signaled in 1179 and in 1394 in the manuscript documentation¹⁴. All these inscriptions attest the reintroduction of Hebrew on the funeral stelae as well as in the everyday life of Jews, allowing the study of Jewish names in the Middle-Ages and some elements of their social life.

¹² Most of them are funerary stelae. Three synagogal inscriptions come from Béziers, Narbonne and Saint Paul Trois Châteaux, in Tricastin. Cf. *Ibid.*, p.332, 336-342, 348-350.

¹³ We keep the notices of those exclusive stones of Chartres and Bourges to another publication. Cf. GROSS Henri, 2011, p.602-605. Thanks to Paul Salmona, Director of the MAHJ, for giving me information about the inscriptions of Bourges and Parc Monceau in Paris.

¹⁴ Cf. Henri Gross, *Gallia Judaica, Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques*, Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1969, p. 602-605. Found on the site of the soon to be media library (site 28.085.0236), the stone belongs to the filling of a pit dated from the sixteenth-seventeenth century thanks to pottery fragments We keep the notice of this stone to another publication.

Cities	Dated epitaphs	undated	Lost	Dates
1. Paris, MAHJ Including the stone found in Parc Monceau.	24 (+1 ; +1) de	57	25 + 2 dated (n°30 and 31 cf. Nahon) missing in the inventory	1139 to 1364
2. Palaiseau	1			1292
3. Mantes la Jolie	4	5		1243 - 1339 (?)
4. Soissons			1 lost stone	13 ^e -14 ^e
5. Rouen		16 graffiti		
6. Meaux			1 lost stone	1243 (?)
7. Nancy		7		
8. Soulosse-sous-saint Elophe (Epinal)		2 (not accessible)		
9. Strasbourg	18	16		1213 to 1371
10. Haguenau		1 (?)		1492 (?)
11. Colmar	1	3		1391 to 1392
12. Molsheim		2		
13. Rouffach		1		
14. Orléans	1	1		1293
15. Bourges	1			1286 ou 1316
16. Issoudun	1	13 graffiti		1303
17. Auxerre		1 graffiti		
18. Chalon sur Saône		3		
19. Dijon		44		
20. Macon	3	7		1260 to 1310
21. Lyon		1		
22. Loudun		3		
23. Montreuil-Bonnin	1 graffiti			
24. Vellèches		1 graffiti		
25. Ennezat (Auvergne)		5		
26. Serres (Dauphiné)		1		
27. Vienne		1		
28. Béziers	1	3		after 1209, 1214
29. Narbonne	2	1	1	1240, 1321
30. Nîmes		1	3	
31. Montpellier			1	
32. Toulouse		1	1	
33. Arles sur Tech		1		
34. Collioure		1		
35. Arles	1	2	7	1276
36. Carpentras		10	2	
37. Tarascon.	1 graffiti			1195-96
38. Aix en Provence		1	3	1241-2
39. Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux	1 inscription on a holy Ark			1465-66
40. Chartres		1		13e s. ?
Total	63 inscriptions including 2 graffiti	217 (+1) undated epitaphs including 31 graffiti	27 in Paris 20 in Provence = 47	

Gerard Nahon's inventory shows that some names are more common than others in medieval France's inscriptions. In a list of 79 names, the most common male names were Isaac (37), Joseph (30) and Jacob (27). Then come Salomon and Samuel (19) before Judah, Abraham and Hayyim (17). Several males had Moses (13), Meir (12), Menachem (9), Merdoches (8), Yehiel (7) Eliezer and David (6), Baruch, Ely and Samson (5). Aaron, Israël, Joshuah (which was only found once) are hardly found. Esdras, Ezekias and Nathan appear three times, then Asher, Benjamin, Bonnefoy, Eleazar, Ezekiel, Gershom, Makhir, Nathanael, Natronay, Oshayan, Rehavya, Sion and Yaqar, twice. The following name only have one occurrence : Abdias, Amram, Azaria, Cresbia, Daniel, Ephraim, Efron, Emmanuel, Elhanan and Hanan, Haviv, Gabriel, Gedalyah, Jonathan, Joram, Kalonyme, Nappaha, Nehemiah, Perez, Pinhas, Raphael, Ruben, Sabbatai, Salavin, Saron, Senior, Shalom, Shoshan, Simeon, Tobias, Uresrago (?), Yedaya, Yekutiel, Yesha, Zaccharie, and Zaqen. Cohen family was mentioned 10 times and Levi 11 times. The mention « saint » (*qadosh*) was engraved ten times¹⁵. The mentions « Maître » and « Rabbin » were found 23 times and the mention « Compagnon [d'étude] » (*haver*) 13 times. We also find 8 scholars (*hakham*) recognized by the community. Sarah, rabbi Patrone's '(or Patrona Yehudah's) daughter, deceased in Strasbourg in 1303, is qualified as "*haverah*" (companion), yet we cannot tell whether this young lady was famous for her knowledge or if she was particularly pious.

The acceptance of the word *haver* in the Hebraic expression *talmid hakham*, a scholar in the Jewish matters, could have another signification when used to talk about a women¹⁶. As for the word *Patrone* (פטרונה¹⁷) coming before the name *Yehudah*, it is a Latin word adopted in the rabbinic literature, but whose use remains unique in epigraphic surveys. *Rabbi Patrone Yehudah* might have been a worthy man in the community if we refer to the Latin meaning of the word. Then shall we read « Master Judah ». Eventually, one third of the names were accompanied by a qualification related to the rabbinic sciences and to the attachment to studies and scholarship.

Feminine onomastic relies on the analysis of 32 names. The most popular three names are *Ester* (8), *Sarah* (7) and *Simḥah* (6) translated in Joie (2), which gives this name six occurrences in France. Anne and Floria appear five times. The declensions of Belle (בילה, בילה, ביללה, באי[לה], for instance Beylah (4), Bellasset (בילא[סת]) (4) and Bellenée, (בלניאה, Belnyah) (3) show that this name remains the first choice of medieval Jew for their daughters (11 occurrences), more than biblical names such as Esther and Sarah¹⁸. Yvette and its spelling variations appear four times whereas the other patronymic names are revealed only once in the inscriptions found. Except some post-biblical names (Nappaḥa, Ḥalafta Natronay, Cresbia, Qalonymos), we do not find biblical names in the epitaphs of men even though they had two patronymic names. As for women, recourse to vernacular names appear even when the filiation tells that the deceased's father or husband was a master or a scholar, such as Floris, daughter of the master « Rabbi Judah » and widow of Saint Rabbi Jacob (fig. 5). Thus the names Anne, Belle, Bellassez, Bellenée, Esther, Floria, Sarah, *Simḥah*, Yvette¹⁹ are prevalent in the funerary inscriptions dated and undated of medieval France, with a ratio of three biblical names for seven local names.

Paris is the city that has the most important number of inscriptions: 24 epitaphs dated from 1139-40 to 1346, 57 inscriptions undated, one inscription partially dates and 27 lost

¹⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.28 ; CHAZAN Robert, 1973, p.63-99, 145-147

¹⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.202-203.

¹⁷ The word is attested in Jerusalem's Talmud with the meaning: "Patron", or « my Lord ». Cf. T. J., *Berakhot* 13, 1 פטרון.

¹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.394-403

¹⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.394-403.

inscriptions of which the descriptions were retained²⁰. For this study, the only inscriptions included are those whose names can be read with certitude. Most of these stones come from one of the three Jewish cemeteries of the left bank, discovered under the current Hachette bookshop on the Saint Michel Boulevard. They witness their strong attachment to the Jewish tradition, to the Hebraic biblical onomastic (especially for men), and specially to the Jewish calendar, the only one used in the Middle Ages in contrary to the use on antique Jewish epitaphs (fig. 2). The study of the names given to Jews in Paris was expanded to the study of the names found in Parisian Hebrew manuscripts of the fourteenth century and to those mentioned in the Tax rolls from 1296-98 and the Archival documents, each one giving different information about the Jewish community in Paris, their origins and their professions.

Jews in Paris from the twelfth to the fourteenth century

Until 1182, the Jew used to live in l'Île de La Cité, in the streets of « La Juiverie », « La Pelleterie » and « La Vieille Draperie ». Their synagogue became the Sainte Madeleine en L'Île church after the first Expulsion²¹. In 1173, the traveler Benjamin of Tudela described a very dynamic community mentioning valuable numerous scholars and students:

« [...] there are disciples, scholars with no equivalent nowadays anywhere around the earth; they are focused night and day on the study of the Law [...] »²²

The epitaph of Salomon, Rabbi Judah's son, indicates that he died in 900 according to the Jewish calendar, without telling the day and the month, which matches the year 1139 or 1140. Epigraphy shows that the engraving, imitating manuscript handwriting: it insists less on the boldest and the thinnest parts of the letters than during the gothic period characterized, from the paleographic-epigraphic point of view, by more contrasted engraving (fig. 5, 7, 9, 10). However, given the absence of more ancient and contemporary inscriptions (only two), this indication can only be an ascertainment.



Fig. 3, Paris, MAHJ, stele 7, *Shelomoh* (Salomon) son of the companion [of studies ?] *Rabbi Yehudah* (Judah) year 900 of the Jewish Calendar (=1139-40 ?)

Jews left France between 1182 and 1198 following the deportation ordered by Philippe Auguste. A cartulaire testifies that at their return, 39 Jews committed to stay in Petit Châtelet

²⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.48-150.

²¹ Original of the source lost. One copy of the fourteenth century remains in the big and small cartulaires of the Bishopric of Paris. Arch. Nat., LL 7, f° 1 ; LL. 8, f° 27-30.

²² Cf. ADLER Marcus Nathan, 1907, p. 81 ; Baratier J. P., 1734, p. 246-247.

in 1204, next to the Petit Pont²³. The existence of a Jewish neighborhood is attested on the left bank, down La Harpe Street. Actually, the mention written on the Cartulaire « Isti Judei remanebunt in castelleto secundum pontem » indicates that they do not commit to live in Petit-Pont nor to live on the other side of Petit-Pont (meaning outside the city, on the right bank). Neither do they commit to live on the left bank of River Seine, which was poorly urbanized at that time²⁴. But the question persists: did they settle elsewhere?

The list of names inscribed under the heading « De Normannia », reveals the arrival in Paris of Jews from Normandy and from outside the domain. The colophon of a Parisian Hebrew manuscript dated from the beginning of the fourteenth century insists on the matter of mobility of Jew in Paris. Actually, in the Hebrew manuscript 643 conserved in the National Library of France, the scribe signs as “Joseph, nicknamed King outside Paris” (fol. 45v) and signs *Yosef ha-melekh*, « Joseph the King » (fol. 155v). He also draws a crown above his name to insist on the meaning of his nickname²⁵.

חזק יוסף המכונה מלך חוץ ייפריש" / מפריש"

Hazaq Yosef ha-mekhuneh melekh ĥuts (?) Paris



Fig. 4 Colophon of Yoseph ha-melekh, Joseph the King, on the name Joseph a crown is drawn in brown ink. Paris, around 1300, Paris BnF, heb. 643, f° 155r, 45v

The sentence « Outside Paris » might indicate either that « Joseph the King » worked outside Paris or that he came from elsewhere. Either way, he made himself a great reputation in his profession. It is undeniable that the manuscript 643 is an excellent one. Actually, numerous Jews deported from French villages between 1270 and 1291²⁶ then from England in 1290 settled down in Paris, as it was testified by the names written on the carving registers of « Jorin l'Englois » or « Moussé de Dreues ». Joseph had a Hebraic name and a nickname that distinguished him in his profession. The question is to know if he was called « ha-melekh » in Hebrew or “le Roi” in French.

Between 1210 and the deportation of 1252, several butcheries, synagogues, cemeteries and schools were mentioned in different sources. The epitaphs, none of which was dated from

²³ Cf. NAHON Gérard, 1978, p.143-156.

²⁴ Information given by Gérard Nahon: Arch. Nat. JJ 9A f°1v. Cf. Léopold Delisle (éd.), *Cartulaire normand de Philippe Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint Louis et Philippe le Hardi*, Caen, 1882, p.32, n°. 207. (Ms. 172 I P.1 R". c. 1) ; Vatican, fonds Ottoboni 2796 ; NAHON Gérard, 1978, p.144, note 6.

²⁵ We find his name at f° 45v, 14v, 20v, 87r. Cf. SED-RAJNA Gabrielle et FELLOUS Sonia, 1994, p.168-171.

²⁶ Cf. CHAZAN Robert, 1973, p.154-190.

1252, confirm the existence of schools and the social importance of rabbinic studies and erudition. Only one school is located at the corner of La Harpe Street and La Bouclerie. It is mentioned in a leasing contract established by La Sorbonne in 1288 for « a place based in Paris across the Petit-Pont, in front of the Jewish school, at the corner of the streets Regnaut Le Harpeur and La Bouclerie »²⁷.

In 1273, Phillip the Bold decided to limit the Jewish establishments in the city, especially the number of cemeteries. Only one of the three existing cemeteries will remain in activity.

*The Jewish cemeteries in Paris*²⁸

All the funeral stelae in Paris are vertical, following the Ashkenazi tradition (Franco-Rhenane). Their epitaphs are written in the maximum of ten lines. Their provenance is known and circumscribed inside Paris²⁹. The date of expulsion of the Jew from Paris allows to situate them in a short period of time, ranging from the first decades of the twelfth century (fig. 3) to the middle of the fourteenth century (1364, fig. 5) interrupted by the deportations of 1182 and 1306³⁰.

According to Jean-Pierre Caillet, the Jewish cemetery was located down Mount Saint Geneviève. When they came back from the first exile, the Jews used to bury their dead in a field surrounded by rue Galande Street and rue du Plâtre (actual rue Domot, 5th district). In 1258, an agreement text between the Jewish community and Notre Dame canons explicates that the Jews were using this cemetery since more than 50 years (at least since 1198). Another one was used in the same time inside a squared limited by Harpe Street, the two doors (actual Saint Germain and Saint Michel boulevards), Pierre Sarrazin and Hautefeuille at least since the beginning of the twelfth century. Two epitaphs dated from 1139 and 1140 (fig. 3) arrived to nowadays.

The decision of Philip the Bold to limit Jewish establishment in Paris indicates that they had many possessions inside the Capital. The enclosed ground located in Galande Street was taken back by the canons in 1273. The square that surely had a door on La Harpe Street was confirmed in its attribution to the Jews until 1307. A Christian guard who was committed to its monitoring is inscribed on the tax roll of 1292: « Henry the Sergent », he lived in La Harpe Street, between Serpente Street and Saint Come Church. However he could have been reinstated around 1315 as the land that was sold to Poissy's nuns in 1306 remained unbuilt until 1321 and the tombs stayed *in situ*³¹.

When Louis X Hutin called them back in 1315, the Jews lived in the “rue des Rosiers” (Rue des Juifs) and “rue de la Coquerée” where a synagogue was located. They seem to have recovered the cemetery they have been using in the thirteenth century, located in the old Jewish neighborhood between the streets “Entre-Deux-Portes” and “des Jardins”. A tombstone found in 1904 in “La Verrerie” Street (the old name of “La Coquerée” Street), dated from 1364, indicates that another cemetery could have been used by that time. It was located east the Jewish Street (actual “Ferdinand Duval”, 75004), next to the corner of this street and the blind alley “impasse de la Coquerée” (or Coquerelle, nowadays disappeared)³². This stela was for Lady Floria, who died in 1364. Although the name *Floriah* appears twice in the thirteenth century, spelled פלוריאה, in this epitaph, it is spelled without its last character

²⁷ Cf. Archives nationales, S. 6227 ; NAHON Gérard, 1978, p.146.

²⁸ CAILLET Jean-Pierre, 1988, p.129-134. NAHON Gérard, 1986, p.47-48 ; NAHON Gérard, 1978, p.143-156 ; ROBLIN M., 1952, p.7-19, texte p.11-13.

²⁹ There is no documentary or material evidence of the existence of a Jewish cemetery before the twelfth century until now.

³⁰ CHAZAN Robert, 1973, p.64-71, 154-190.

³¹ Three acts are kept : Arch. Nat., JJ 60, f° 71v – 72v, n°104. Cf. *Ibid.*, p.47-48 ; GUEROUT J., 1958, p.723.

³² Cf. *Ibid.*, p.48, 90-91 ; MAGNE Ch., 1913, p.83-86.

ה, פלוריא, maybe an updated form of name. She was the daughter of Master and Rabbi Judah, and widow of Rabbi Jacob who might have been killed regarding his faith (fig. 5)³³.

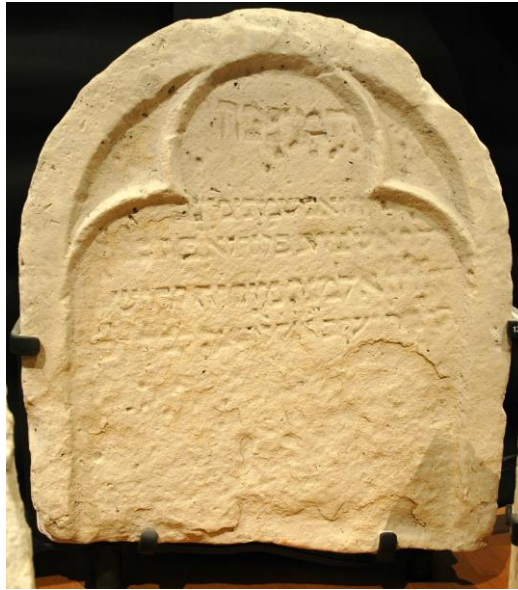


Fig. 5, Epitaph of Lady Floria, 1364, MAHJ, stele 12

*The monument right here
I place it as
a monument at the bedside of
Lady Floria
Daughter of our master
Rabbi Juda,
widow of my (or of our) master, the saint
Rabbi Jacob. May the memory
Of the fair and of the saint be a bless
Year 124 of the small comput (1364)*

The stone had a very different style compared with those found in *rue de La Harpe* cemetery. It has a gothic decoration with a three-lobe blind arcade. No architectural forms were signaled on the anterior medieval Parisian stelae. Only the letters were sometimes embellished with shafts turned in spirals or in beads, or the text setting was highlighted as if it was handwriting³⁴. The different decor and literary style suggest that the text was written by a relative who was a disciple of the father and the husband of the dead lady. It is the only stele dated from the fourteenth century that was found in Paris to this day.

An “astrologist” called Simon de Pharès, indicates in a collecting about his famous colleagues that the epitaph of the physician-astrologist « Tsour » who died in 1122 was still visible in 1492 “with many other ancient things“ (« avec plusieurs autres choses bien enciennes »)³⁵. The cemetery located *rue de la Harpe* became by then the private garden of the house of Louis de Beaumont de la Forêt, archbishop of Paris (1446-1492) (National Archives, L 432, folder n° 23). No epitaph of a Jewish doctor was found. No *tsur*, צור, or *zur*, זור, was

³³ Initially conserved in the Musée de Cluny then transferred to the MAHJ, stele 7 in the museum area. Cf. *Ibid.*, p.90-91.

³⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* p.53, 73, 87, 103, 119, 142

³⁵ According to Jean-Patrice Boudet, it is obviously a mistake done by Simon de Pharès who confused this Jewish doctor with Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar), who was born and died in Sevilla (1091/1094 - 1161-1162). Thanks to J.P.Boudet for these information. Cf. BOUDET J.-P. (éd.), 1997, p.392, chap.VIII, 17a and 17b (notice dedicated to Zour). The tombstone being impossible to find, we cannot tell more about it. Cf. CALLET Jean-Pierre, 1988, p.139.

found in the 317 French epitaphs left. Among these only Rabbis, scholars, masters, study companions and maybe people who died because of their faith were mentioned. In the sixteenth century, the whole field of the Jewish cemetery was still unconstructed. This might explain the number of stones recovered *in situ* in the nineteenth century (48).

Caroline Bourlet made a map of the Jewish residential areas in Paris between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. Places where the Jewish community lived in the twelfth century are marked in yellow, the blue color show the places inhabited by the Jews from the end of the twelfth century to the second half of the thirteenth century. Those from the middle of the thirteenth century are in pink and the green color stands for the places where they lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

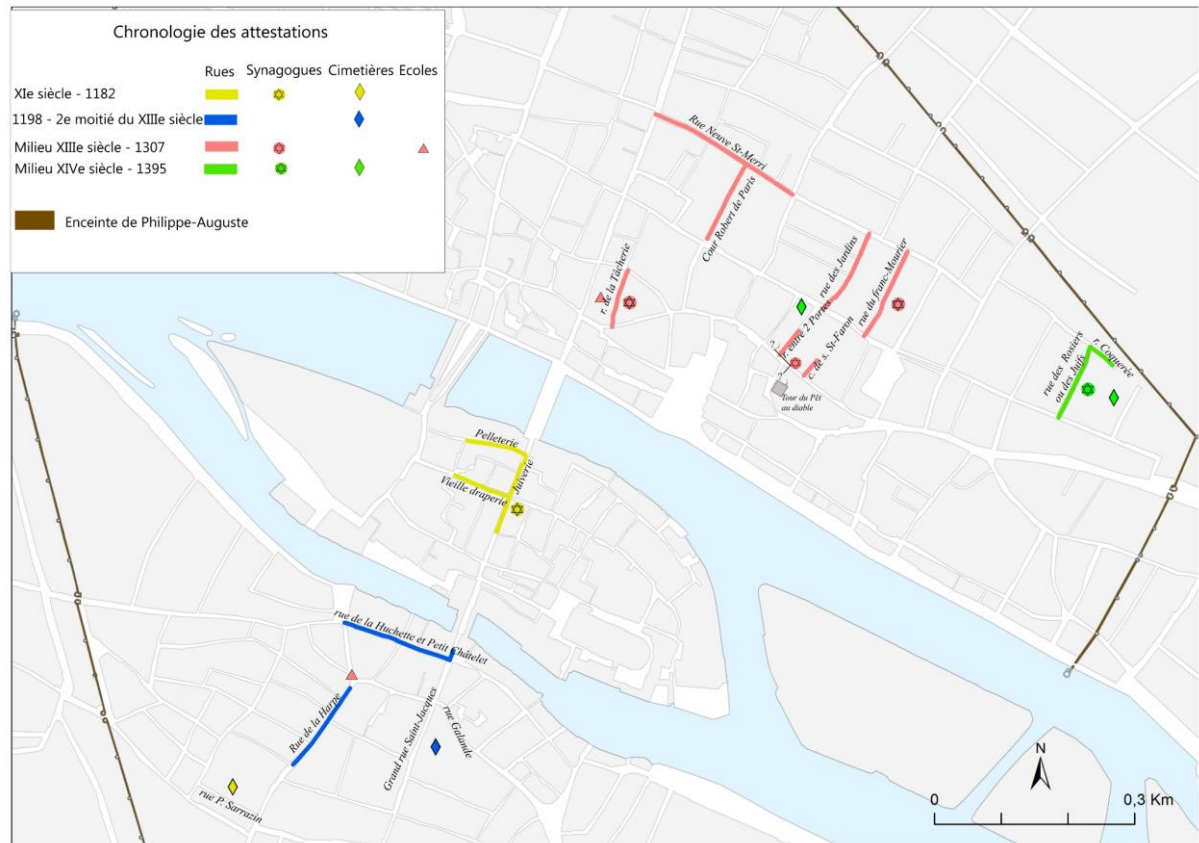


Fig. 6, Map of the Jewish neighborhoods in Paris, 12-14th centuries, Caroline Bourlet, IRHT-CNRS, December 2015.

We suppose that the Jews deported from France left their country with the idea returning, as it was the case for the Jews from Spain. Jews from other regions joined them, mainly in 1290 when they were deported from England. One can imagine that Abraham Ben Jacob (1303), the scribe who wrote the Hebraic Bible in Paris, in 1303 (Paris, BnF, ms heb. 44), could have been the son of Rabbi Jacob, son of Rabbi Hayyim (1253) whose epitaph remained in Paris as well (fig. 7 and 8).



Fig. 7, Epitaph of Jacob son of rabbi Hayym, Paris, 1253, Paris, MAHJ, stele 17



Fig. 8, Colophon of Abraham son of Jacob, Paris, 13 Mars 1303, Paris, BnF, Hebrew 44, fol. 166v

<p>This is the stele of Rabbi Jacob son of rabbi Hayyim who passed away From the pericope Emor (Lev. 2, 23) Year thirten of Comput [= 5013=1253] May his soul be linked to the beam of the Alive</p>	<p>I am Abraham son of Jacob may his soul rest in peace I finished this Pentateuch (<i>humash</i>) with the five rolls (<i>megillot</i>) and the <i>haftarot</i>³⁶, on Wednesday 23rd day of the month of Adar, year 5063 (12 march 1303) of the creation of the world according to the comput we follow in the city of Paris. (Pericope) wa-Yaqhel [Ex. 35,1-38,20]</p>
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III. Jewish names in Paris (12th-14th centuries)

Among the 39 Jew who arrived in Paris in 1204, eighteen were directly mentioned in a Cartulaire³⁷ : Brunus filius Bonevite, Rothomagi ; Dies Le Saut, de Arces ; Bonevie de Caudebec ; Abraham, de Mostervillari ; Judas filius de Longavilla, and Judas gener ; Deus le Croisse dortem, de Ponllemari ; Jacob, de Bonavilla super [To]quam ; Jacob [de] Lisles ; Morellus, de Falesia ; Dex le Croisse, de Cadomo ; Jocens Doan, de Burgonn' ; Vauro Cortipel, de Briona ; Mopres, de Eulleboef and Cressens de Bernalo³⁸.

Five biblical names, all of them males, are on this list: two Judas, two Jacob and one Abraham.

On these lists as on the epitaphs, Jewish people have only one patronymic name. On the male tombstones, the Hebraic name was the only one engraved, followed by the filiation of the deceased. In the tax rolls, the two sometimes appear either or both, sometimes followed by the hometown of the taxpayer. But according to some testimonies, the same man can be identified by his Hebrew name and by his vernacular name or nickname, sometimes the translation of the Hebrew name. For example, « Priscus, relative of Chilpéric », is a Latin name, whereas « Manessier de Vesoul » keeps his Hebrew name written in Latin characters adapted to the local pronunciation follow by his hometown. Juda Sire Léon (1166-1224), a

³⁶ The Haftarah is a text from the books of the Prophets, read in the synagogue after the reading of the pericope, on the Shabbat or on Jewish holiday.

³⁷ Cf. *supra* note 19.

³⁸ Gérard Nahon told me that the Normand descent was more obvious within the Jews than within the Christians in Paris.

distant descendant of Rachi, was also known as Judah ben Isaac Sire Leon (1166–1224). Rabbi Yehiel of Paris was called *Vivus Meldensis* (Vives of Meaux) in vernacular (XIIth, Meaux-1268 Acre or Haifa or Paris), where he came back, after his flight to Holy Land, and lived until he died according to Simha Emanuel's recent research. His name Vives is translated from Hebrew, Yehiel, « may he live », to which his hometown's name is associated.



Fig. 9, Stele de [...] our master [...] [Ye]hriel, Paris, MAHJ, Cl. 19427, before 1306.

This practice was still used in the fourteenth century. A scribe who wrote a medical manuscript intended to Rabbi Jonathan de Trèves in 1386 signs at the end of the manuscript « me, Isaac son of Ruben, called Macip Revel... »³⁹

Parisian epitaphs, 1139-40 – 1364

Epitaphs from those dates were quite similar in content and in form. The stelea were engraved with quasi identical formulations, generally without biblical quotes.

Dead people are identified by their name followed by their paternal filiation. Those of women were sometimes preceded by the mention *marat* (מרת), « Lady », indicating that it was a married woman. Men's names were sometimes preceded by *rav* or *rabbi*, « rabbi », *hakham*, « scholar », or *haver*, « study companion », depending on the deceased's position. These details insist on honorific titles. It might be that in this society, biblical or rabbinic scholarships were greatly appreciated.

The first steps of this study have already pointed several questionings. The first one was induced while reading a damaged stone.

³⁹ Cf. KOHN Roger, 1988, p.218-221.

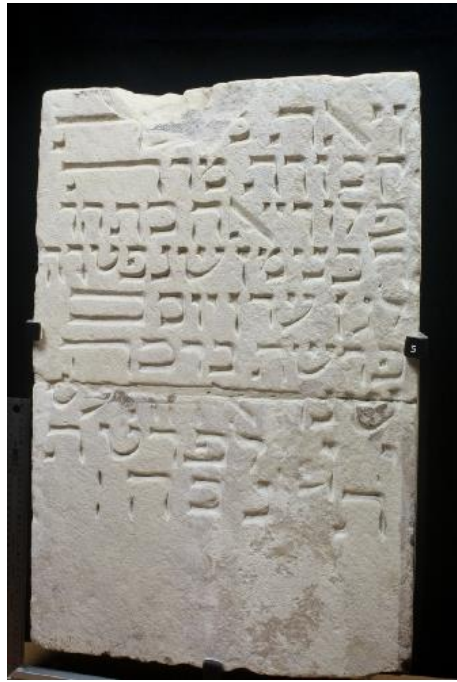


Fig. 10, Epitaph of Lady *Floriah*, daughter of rabbi *Benyamin*, 1318
Paris, Mahj, stele 5

Hebrew text

- 1 זאת מ[צב]ת
- 2 קבורת מרת
- 3 פלוריאה בת הר
- 4 ר בנימן שנפטר
- 5 לגן עדן יום ב
- 6 פרשת ברכה
- 7 שנ[ת] א[...]. עט [?]
- 8 י ג לפרט ת⁴⁰
- 9 תנבה :

. Transcription

1. *Z'ot matsevet*
2. *qevurat marat*
3. *flory'ah bat ha-r[av]*
4. *r[abi] binyamin she-nifterah*
5. *legan^c eden yom bet [= 2]*
6. *parashat Berakhah*
7. *shena[t] a[lef = aḥat*
8. *y(od = 10) g(uimel = 3) li-frat t(tav)⁴¹*

⁴⁰ *tav* (ת) is the first letter of the following engraved line, for text justification needs, a technique that was used by the scribes of Hebrew contemporary manuscripts as in fig. 8, line 2. Cf. Paris, BnF, ms hébreu 44, f° 166r, and ms. hébreu 66, f° 87v in SED-RAJNA Gabrielle and FELLOUS Sonia, 1994, notice 66, p.168-171 ; notice 156, p.346-345.

9. *t(ehe) n(ishmatah) b-(tsror) h(a-ḥayyim)*

. Translation

1. This is the stele of
2. The tomb of Lady
3. *Floriah* daughter of Master
4. Rabbi *Binyamin* who went to
5. Eden's Garden on the second day
6. Of the periscope *Berakah* [« Blessing », Deut. 33 and 34, 1-12]
7. year 1 and 79 [or eleven] (1319)
8. 13, of the Jewish comput
9. May his soul be linked to the beam of the Alive

The characters cited in this epitaph are the deceased woman who had a very popular vernacular name among the Jewish community, and her father *Binyamin* (Benjamin) who has a biblical name. We notice that the latter is referred to, in line three and line four by the abbreviation *ha-r* 'הר showing that he was a Master, even though his daughter has a vernacular name⁴².

Jewish names appearing on Parisian epitaphs were listed in order to keep track of the recurrence of some names. They were though classified by name and date. When the stones were lost, we used Gerard Nahon's statements as a reference. In some cases, a deepened epigraphic study of the steles exposed in Paris was done, and in other cases, shots from Adrien de Longpérier and Moïse Schwab's inventories, and archives from the History Of Texts Research Institute were taken.

Men's names

	In G. Nahon ⁴³	<i>transcription</i>	Filiation	Hebrew	Translation	Hebrew comput	Christian calendar
1	1	<i>Shelomo</i>	Son of the compaignon Rabbi Yehudah	שלומה בן החבר ר' יהודה	Salomon Son of the compaignon Rabbi Yehudah	[4]900 of the Jewish comput	1139-40
2	6	<i>Rabi Shemu'el</i>	S[aint] R. [abi] Yosef's son	רבי שמואל בן הק"ר יוסף	Samuel saint rabbi Joseph's son	5007 Pericope Balaq (Numbers 22, 2-25)	1247
3	7	<i>[Ye]hudah</i>	Son of the « compaignon »	[י]הודה בן החבר ר(בי)	[J]udah son the	5009	1248-9

⁴¹ There is still a doubt on the date of the epitaph, the stone being broken and reassembled on line 7 on which the date of the death was inscribed, thus rendering this part illegible. The interpretation of line 8 makes the understanding of the whole sense even harder. Are these two parts of the same stele? Mr Schwab and Mr Longpérier only described the higher part of the stone before it was reassembled. Cf. NAHON Gérard, *Ibid.*, p.60-62.

⁴² Line 3, *ha-r* 'הר instead of *ha-rav* (הרב), the final *bet* and the sign usually indicating the contraction, the numerotation or the abbreviation (') are omitted. On line 4, no sign of abbreviation with the *resh* ר indicating the contraction of the word *rabbi* רבי that has the same function which is indicating the eminent personality of Floria's father.

⁴³ It is the order of Gérard Nahon's notices which were listed in chronological order.

			ḥaver R. Moshe ha Levi	משה הלוי	compagnon R(abbi) Moses ha- Levi,		
4	8	<i>R. Me'ir</i>	saint rabbi Yeḥiel's son	ר' מאיר [בן] רבי הקרוש רבי יחיאל	Rabbi Meir saint Rabbi Yeḥiel's son	Year 9 (=5009) 6 th day, Pericope <i>wa- yishlah</i> (Gen. 32, 4-36)	December 3, 1248 lost
5	12	<i>R. Ya'aqov</i>	rabbi Ḥayyim's son	ר' יעקב בהר' חיים	R Jacob, R. Ḥayyim's son	Year 13 (5013) 1 st Day, pericope <i>Emor</i> (Lev. 21-23) year 13 of the comput	Sunday, April 17, 1253
6	21	<i>Morenu ha- yashish ha-R. Mordekhai Aharon</i>	R[abbi] Matitiah's son	מוריננו השיש הר' מרדכי אהרון ב' ר' מתתיה	Our Venerable Master, Rabbi Merdoches Aaron, Rabbi Mattathias' son	Year 27 (5027), 1 st day of pericope <i>Reeh</i> (Deut. 11, 26-16,17)	1267 lost
7	24	<i>R. Yehudah</i>		ר' יהודה	R. Juda	year 36 (5036), 3 rd day, pericope [...]	1275-6 lost
8	25	<i>Rabbi Shelomoh</i>	R. Ḥayyim's son	רבי שלמה בר חיים	Rabbi Salomon, R. Haim's son	year 5 Year 38 of the Comput, 3 rd day, [pericope] <i>'Emor</i> (Lev. 21-23).	Tuesday, May 3, 1278 lost
9	28	<i>Our master Rabbi Shelomoh</i>	our master's son Rabbi rabbi Yehudah	מוריננו הרב רבי שלמה בן מוריננו הרב רבי יהודה	Our master rabbi Salomon son of our Master, the Rav Rabbi Judah	Year 5041 of the comput Day of the Sabbath pericope <i>Qorah</i>	June 21, 1281
10	34	<i>Ya'aqov</i>	rabbi Ya'aqov's son	יעקב בן רבי יעקב	Jacob, Rabbi Jacob's son	51 pericope <i>Shelah</i> ,	May20-26, 1291
11	35	<i>R. Ya'aqov</i>	rabbi Abraham's son	רבי יעקב ברבי אברהם	Rabbi Jacob, Rabbi Abraham's son	Year 51, 2 nd Day, pericope <i>Qorah</i> Numbers 16,18)	Monday, 28 May 28, 1291
							Undated
12	37	<i>['A]haron</i>	Rabbi Shelomoh's son	[א]הרון בן הר(ב) שלמה	Aaron, Rabbi Salomon's son.		lost
13	38	<i>Barukh</i>		ברוך	Barukh		
14	46	<i>'Elḥanan</i>	rabbi [Yehudah] 's son	אלחנן ב' ר' יהוד[ה]	Elhanan, Rabbi Jud[ah]'s son	1 st day,	lost
15	49	<i>Rabbi Ḥayyim</i>	rabbi Shimshon's son	ר' חיים ... הר שמשון	Rabbi Haim, rabbi Samson's	44 2 nd Day, (?) ...	lost

					son		
16	50	<i>Yzaq</i>	R'[abbi] Ytshaq mq[?]	יצחק ר' יצחק	Isaac ... r' Isaac de Q (? Caen)	Day 6,	
17	52	<i>[Ya^caqo]v</i>	s[on of] r[abbi] Shimshon	יעקב בר שמ[שון]	Jacob ?, rabbi Samson's son	Pericope Wa- <i>Yiggash</i> (Gen. 44, 18-47)	Lost
18	61	<i>M'eir</i>	Son of saint	מא[יר] בן הקד[...]	Meir, saint (martyr)'s son		
19	62		Ya ^c aqov's son	[...] מרואן ב[ן] י[קב]	Meruan (from Rouen ?) Jacob's son		Lost
20	63	<i>[Ra]bbi Moshe</i>		[ר]בי משה	Rabbi Moses	1 st Day, Pericope <i>Mishp[atim]</i> (Exodus 21,4)	
21	64	<i>Rabbi Moshe Ha-levi</i>	[Son of] Hayim Levi	התם רבי משה הלוי [...] חיים לוי	The innocent Rabbi Moses Ha-lévi [...] Hayim Lévi		lost ⁴⁴
22	66	<i>Natrona[y]</i>		נטרונא[י]	Natrona[y]	Pericope Wa- <i>yets[e] 5 ?</i> Gen. 28, 10- 32, 3)	1244- 1254 ? ⁴⁵
23	67	<i>[Na]tronay Ys</i>	Natron'ay Shimsh[on]	[נט]רונאי יש[ראל] [...] שמש[ון] יש[עיהו]	Natronay Israel or Samson or Isaiah ?		Lost
24	69	<i>Shelomoh</i>	Ya ^c aqov ys[...]'s s[on]	שלמה ב[...] יעקוב יש[ראל] ?	Salomon, Jacob Is(rael ?)'s son		
25	70	<i>Shimshon</i>	Shimshon, Shimshon's son	שמשון בן שמשון [...]	Samson, Samson's son		
26	71	<i>[Sh]emuel Ha-Cohen</i>	Shemuel Ha- Cohen	שמואל הכהן	Samuel ha- Cohen	Pericope Wa- <i>Yiggash</i> (Gen. 44, 18-47)	
27	72	<i>[Rabbi] Shemuel</i>	Rabbi 'Ely'a	[רי] שמאול [...] י אליא	Rabbi Samuel, (Rabbi Elia ?)	Pericope <i>Ahare mot</i> (Lév. 16)	
28	75	<i>Our Master [Ye]hiel (fig. 9)</i>		מורנו [י]היאל	Our Master (Ye)hiel		
29	77		r' [Yeh]iel's son	ר' [יחי]אל	Rabbi Yehiel's son		Lost
30	79	<i>R' Hāyyim</i>		רי חיים	Rabbi Haim		
31	103		Pinhas['] son]	פנחס	Pinhas (Phineas)		

⁴⁴ I refer to the reproduction of the copy in *Ibid.*, p.114.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.116.

Women's names

	Notice Nahon	Nom	Filiation	Hebrew name	French name	Hebrew date	Christian date
1	2	[<i>Dame</i>] 'Ester	r' Yosef's daughter	אסתר [...] ב[ת] ר' יוסף	Dame Esther Rabbi Joseph's daughter	Pericope ? Year [4] 900	1140
2	3	<i>Dame Yo'ay'ah</i> =	rav Itshaq's daughter	יואיאה בת רב יצחק	Dame Joayah (Joia) Master Isaac	Per[icope] (<i>alef</i>) 'wa-yiggash Year (4)996	1235
3	4	<i>Dame B'ey[le]</i>	David[']s daughter ?]	מרת באי[...] דוד	Dame Belle (daughter of) David	sixth millennium 6 th day of wa-Yera (Pericope)	1239
4	11	<i>Dame Flori'ah</i>	Daughter of R. Binyamin	מרת פלוריאה בת הר ר בנימן	Dame Floria daughter of Rabbi Benjamin	Year 11 or 1000 ? 13 (?) du comput	1250 (?)
5	13	<i>Dame Sarah</i>	Daughter of R. Yosef ha-Kohen	מרת שרה בת ר יוסף הכהן	Dame Sarah (Sarre) daughter of Rabbi Joseph the Cohen	Year 16 of the Comput 5 th Day of the Pericope <i>Hayye-Sa[rah]</i> (Gen. 23-25, 18)	Thursday November 19, 1255
6	15	<i>Pretsuyyeuzah</i>	Daughter of rabbi 'Ele'azar	פרצוויזא בת ר' אלעזר	Precieuse ⁴⁶ (?) daughter of Rabbi Elazar	21 of the Comput Pericope 'Egev	July 1261
7	16	<i>Dame Le'ah</i>	Daughter of Mordekhay	לאה בת מרדכי	Lea daughter of Mordechai	Year 82 of the comput	1262 Lost
8	22	<i>Dame 'Yw...</i>	Daughter of Master ... Ha-Kohen	איו[טא] בת רב הכהן	Dame Yve[ete ?] Daughter of Master [...] Cohen	Year 31 (?)	1270-71 (?)
9	23	<i>Dame Belaset</i>	Daughter	מרת בלשת בת	Dame Belaset (Bellassez) daughter	Year 35 of the comput 3 rd day of Pericope <i>we-Yeshev</i> (Gen. 37-40).	Tuesday November 20 1274 lost
10	26	<i>Dame Flory'ah</i> ⁴⁷	Daughter of rabbi Itshaq	מרת פלוריאה בת רבי יצחק	Dame Floria daughter of Rabbi Isaac	Year 41 of the comput 7 th day of Pericope <i>be-shalah</i> (Ex. 13, 17-17, 16).	Saturday December 14 1280 lost
11	27	<i>Dame Yokheved</i>	Daughter of rabbi Itshaq femme de rabbi 'Ezrah	מרת יוכבד בת ר' יצחק אשת רבי עזרה	Dame Jocabed daughter of R. Isaac wife of Rabbi Ezra	Year 41 du comput (5041)	1280-1281
12	33	[<i>Ha</i>]nah	Daughter of rabbi	[ח]נה בת רבי	Hana or Anne daughter of Rabbi	1 st day, Pericope <i>Tissa</i> (Ex. 30, 11-34) Year 5051	10 February 1291
13	36	<i>Dame Floria</i>	Daughter of	מרת פלוריא	Dame Floria,	Year 124	1364

⁴⁶Cf. SCHWAB Moïse, 1904, p.248-249.⁴⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.78 ; mistake of the lapicide when engraving the word שגפרתה instead of שגפרתה.

			<i>our Master the rabbi Yehudah widow of our Master Saint rabbi Ya^caqov</i>	בת מו[רינו] ה[...] יהודה אלמנת מורי[...] הקדוש הרב ר' יעקב	daughter of our Master, rabbi Judah widow of our Master Saint Rabbi Jacob		
							Undated
14	39	<i>Beyll'a</i>	<i>Daughter of rabbi 'osh^cy'a ha-levi</i>	ביללא בת רבי אושעיא הלוי	Belle, daughter of Rabbi Oshaya ha-Levi	5 th day of Pericope <i>Behaalotekha</i> (Nb. 8-12)	
15	40	<i>Belaset</i>	<i>[...] Rabbi Gabriel</i>	בלשת [...] (בת/ אשת רבי) גבריאל (?)	Bellassez [...] (daughter or wife of Rabbi ?) Gabriel	Pericope <i>Berakah</i> (Deut. 33,4)	
16	41	<i>Dame Belnyah</i>	<i>Daughter of rabbi Yoseph</i>	מרת בלניאה בת ר' יוסף	Dame Bellenyée ? (Bellenée ?) daughter of Rabbi Joseph	5 th day, Pericope	lost
17	42	<i>Belnyah</i>	<i>Rabbi Seni'</i>	בלניאה [ה] ר' שניא [ר]	Bellenyée (Bellenée) daughter of Rabbi Seni[or ?]		
18	44	<i>Bonaff[...]</i>		בונפ[?]	Bonef[oy, é ?]		
19	45	<i>Bonafi[?] or Bonefi[?]</i>	<i>[Daughter] of rabbi Itshaq</i>	בונאפי [...] הר' יצחק [רל?] ⁴⁸	Bonnefi[lle] or bonafi[lle] [daughter ?] of Master Isaac		Lost
20	47	<i>Dame Floryah</i>	<i>daughter of rabbi</i>	מרת פלוריאה בת הר'	Dame Floria daughter of Master		Lost
21	48	<i>Dame Han[ah]</i>	<i>[...] Yossef</i>	מרת חנ[ה] יוסף ...	Dame Anna or Anne ... (daughter or wife of) Joseph		
22	53	<i>Yehudit</i>	<i>Fille compagnon rabbi Abraham</i>	מרת יהודית בת החבר ר' אברהם	Dame Judith daughter of the compagnon Rabbi Abraham		Lost
23	54	<i>Yehudit</i>	<i>Daughter of rabbi Shabbatai ha-Levi</i>	מרת יהודית בת ר' שבתאי הלוי	Dame Judith daughter of Rabbi Shabataï Halévi		
24	55	<i>Dame Y've'te'</i>	<i>Daughter of Master Shemu'el</i>	מרת יאוסא בת הר' שמואל	Dame Yvette daughter of Master Samuel		Lost
25	56		<i>Epouse Levi</i>	[...] אשת [...] לוי	[...] wife [...] Lévi		
26	57	<i>Dame [...]</i>	<i>Daughter of [M'ei]r (or Ele^caza) r</i>	מרת [...] [ב]ת הנדיב [מ]איר הלוי	Dame [...] daughter of the benefactor		Lost

⁴⁸ As the stone is lost, we rely on the reading of Gérard Nahon for the first name. I suggest to read *rech* and lamed רל instead of *tav* and lamed תל at the end. Cf. *Ibid.*, p.98.

			<i>Ha-levi</i>		[M]eir (or Elazar) ⁴⁹ Ha-Lévi		
27	58	<i>Dame Margalit</i>	<i>Daughter of rabbi Hizeqiyah</i>	מרת מרגליה בת רביחזקיה	Dame Margalit daughter of Rabbi Ezekias	1 st day, Pericope <i>be-Shalah</i> (Ex. 13, 17)	
28	59	<i>R'e[yn ?]</i>	<i>Daughter of Mariram</i>	רע[...]/ן ? ינ ? ין ? בת מרירם (?)	Ren (Reine ?) daughter of Mariram		
29	60		<i>M'ei[r ?]</i>	מר[...] מאי[...]	Dame [...] Mei[r ?]		
30	65	<i>Dame Miryam</i>	<i>rabbi Abraham's daughter</i>	מרת מרים בת ר' אברהם	Dame Myriam daughter of R(abbi) Abraham		Lost
31	68	<i>Parygorph (?)</i> ⁵⁰	<i>Daughter of the compaignon</i>	פריגורף בת החבר	Paregorf daughter of the compaignon		Lost
32	73	<i>Dame M[...]</i>	<i>Shemue[l]</i>	מרת מ [...] שמוא[ל]	Dame M[...] Samue[l]		
33	74	<i>Simḥah</i>		[ש]מחה	Simhah (Joie ?)		
34	78		<i>daughter of our Master Rabbi Yeḥiel</i>	בת רבי[נו] [ה] ר' ר' יהיאל	[...] Daughter of our Master Rabbi Yeḥiel	Pericope <i>Huqat</i> (Nb. 19, 22)	
35	86	<i>Es[ter]</i>		אס[תר]	Esther	Pericope Hayye Sarah (Gen. 23-25,18)	
36	91	<i>Dame ra[hel]</i>		מרת ר[חל]	Dame Rachel (?)		
37	102	<i>[Be]ylass[e or et]</i>	<i>[...] (daughter or wife ?) of Master</i>	[ב]ילאס[ה] ? [ת] [...] הר'	Bellassez or Bellasset [...] de Master		

Some names remain difficult to identify with certitude specially on broken stones such as the one of Lady « 'Y [w ?] » (1270-71), « אַי [וטא] בת רב הכהן », I [...] daughter of Master Ha-Cohen. The first letter is the only legible one, and the second is probable. The first syllable is clearly « Iy ». Gérard Nahon proposes Jivette or Ivette, whereas qu'Adrien de Longpérier and M. Schwab suggest Isabelle or Estelle⁵¹ respectively. However, the third fragmental letter seems to be a *waw* (ו = v or u) or a *zain* (ז = z). Eventually, we could definitely not exclude the possibility that it could be a damaged *shin* (ש) (*s* or *sh*) which makes both names eligible. All the epitaph with the same problems were excluded in the present study in favor of those in which the names were perfectly identifiable.

The inventory of Gérard Nahon shows that some names are more frequent than others on the French medieval inscriptions. In a list of 79 male names, the most frequent were, Isaac (37), Joseph (30) and Jacob (27), followed by Salomon and Samuel (19) ahead of Judah, Abraham and Haïm (17). Moïse (13), Méir (12), Menahem (9), Mardochee (8), Yehiel (7) and David (6), Baruch, Elie and Samson (5) are also frequent names. Rarer were the names of Aaron, Israël, Josué that only appeared four times. Esdras, Ezéchias and Nathan three times, Asher, Benjamin, Bonnefoy, Eléazar, Ezéchiel, Gershom, Makhir, Nathanael, Natronay,

⁴⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 107-108.

⁵⁰ The lost inscription had three copies that do not allow to be sure of the deceased name according to G. Nahon; cf. *Ibid.*, p.117.

⁵¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.72-74.

Oshayan, Rehavya, Sion and Yaqar, appeared only twice. The following names had only one occurrence: Abdias, Amram, Azaria, Cresbia, Daniel, Ephraïm, Efron, Emmanuel, Elhanan and Hanan, Haviv, Gabriel, Gedalyah, Jonathan, Joram, Kalonyme, Nappaha, Néhémie, Perez, Pinhas, Raphaël, Ruben, Sabbatai, Salavin, Saron, Senior, Shalom, Shoshan, Siméon, Tobias, Uresrago (?), Yedaya, Yekutiel, Yesha, Zaccharie, and Zaqen.

It is important to notice that the name Paregorf was only cited once whereas two other occurrences of this non-biblical name were found on funeral Greek and Latin Jewish inscriptions in Antiquity. Family Cohen is mentioned 10 times and family Levi 11 times. The mention « holy » (*qadosh*) is mentioned ten times⁵². The mentions « Master » and « Rabbi » are represented 23 times and « Study companion » 13 times. We also find 8 references to scholars (*hakham*). Sarah, daughter of Rabbi *Patrone or Patrona Yehudah*, deceased in Strasbourg in 1303, is qualified *haverah*, “companion”. We wonder whether this lady was known for her instruction or if she was particularly devoted. The acceptance of the word *haver* in the Hebrew expression *talmid hakham*, a Judaism scholar, could maybe have another signification when it refers to a woman⁵³. About the word *Patrone* (פטרונה⁵⁴) preceding the noun *Yehudah*, it is a Latin word adopted in the Rabbinic literature but it remains unique in the epigraphic statement. Maybe *rabbi Patrone Yehudah* was a kind of Jewish official if we use the Latin meaning of the word? Then we could read “Judah, the boss”. Eventually, more than one third of the nouns were accompanied with a term referring to their scholarship in rabbinic sciences and their will to studying and teaching it.

The female onomastic relies on the analysis of 32 names. The most popular three names are *Ester* (8), *Sarah* (7) and *Simḥah* (6) translated in Joie (2), which gives this name six occurrences in France. Anne and Floria appear five times. The declinations Belle (בילה, ביללה, ביללה, ביללה), maybe Beylah (4), Bellasset (בלשת, בילא[סת]) (4) and Bellenée, (בלניאה, Belnyah) (3) tell that this name remains the first choice of medieval Jews for their daughters (11 occurrences), more than biblical names such as Esther and Sarah⁵⁵. The name Yvette and its spelling variations appear four times whereas the other female patronyms only appear once each on the inscriptions found; Yvette may have been a popular name in France in the 13th century. Except for a few post-biblical names, as Nappaḥa, Ḥalafta Natronay, Cresbia or Qalonymos, only biblical names are engraved on the epitaphs of men although it is likely that they also had a local sounding name that they used in civilian life. As for women, the use of the vernacular name appears on their grave even when the filiation tells that her husband or her father was a master or a scholar, such as Floria, daughter of master « Rabbi Judah » and widow of Saint Rabbi Jacob (fig. 5). The names Anne, Belle, Bellassez, Bellenée, Esther, Floria, Sarah, *Simḥah*, Yvette⁵⁶ are eventually predominant in the medieval French funerary inscriptions whether dated or undated, with a proportion of three biblical names for seven local ones.

What was the case in Paris ?

⁵² Cf. *Ibid.*, p.28 ; CHAZAN Robert, 1973, p.63-99, 145-147

⁵³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.202-203.

⁵⁴ The word is attested in the Talmud of Jerusalem with the meaning « boss » or « My Lord ». ; Cf. T. J., *Berakhot* 13, 1 פטרון

⁵⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.394-403

⁵⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.394-403.

The Parisian inscriptions give 115 names engraved in Hebrew letters. Most of them are dated from the thirteenth century. The filiation is always given with the father's name, sometimes the husband's one. Male names are more frequent than female names. Thus, 31 inscriptions of deceased men and 37 epitaphs of women also give 54 names of fathers and husbands. The total count gives 84 male names and 33 female names. All of the male names found on funerary inscriptions are biblical, except for one of them: Parigof, who seems to be non-Hebraic. Fifty three men are qualified *Rav* or *Rabbi*, four are accompanied with the mention *Qadosh*: Did they die for their faith, as suggested by Gerard Nahon or did they deserve this mention for their great rabbinic knowledge and their faith? Five are named Masters, five others are named study companions, and the last one is called a benefactor.

Given the fact that epitaphs were often damaged, it could be that more than a large majority of male names were preceded by the mention *Rav* or *rabbi* even though no *hakham* (scholar) was found in the Parisian epitaphs except for « Our Master, venerable Rabbi Mardochee Aaron » (מורינו הישיש הר') in 1267. These results comfort the testimony of Benjamin de Tudela who described the community in 1173 as a community focused on religious studies, a data confirmed again in the thirteenth century⁵⁷.

Three names were followed by the last name Ha-Cohen and four by Ha-Levi – only one is named Levi without the article ה – telling that these men belonged to families that played important roles in the service of the Temple of Jerusalem and though in the contemporary community.

The most frequent names in Paris are Jacob (8 occurrences) followed by Judah, Samson and Isaac (6). After that, come Salomon, Samuel, Joseph, Haim and Yehiel (5). We suppose the French equivalent of Haim was Vivant, popular among the Jews found in the administrative documents⁵⁸. Meir and Abraham are mentioned three times, Aaron, Elazar, Merdoches, Moses and Pinhas twice, and the other names only once.

In Paris, the name Joseph was clearly less popular as in the rest of France, whereas Yehiel, Merdoches and Samson were more frequent in the city. *Idem* for Judah: more than the half of its occurrences is from Paris, which is quite surprising considering its proximity with the name Judas and considering its negative effect in the Christian tradition.

Among the 33 female names, 9 had a local consonance and were not much used by the non-Jewish people living in the same period, according to the carving registers. Two names drift from Belle : Belaset and Bellenée ; we also note three Floriah/Floria, one Joaia (Joy), one Précieuse (*Pretsuyyuzah*), and maybe one Yvette. Six names are taken from the Bible: Jocabed, Sarah, Sarre, Lea, Hanna, Esther.

The name Floriah is found four times in Parisian epitaphs among five occurrences in France. It could be that this name was more Parisian or more frequent in this city than in the thirty-nine localities where epitaphs were found.

Nevertheless, the names engraved on the stelae were not necessarily the ones used in everyday's life, as it was the case for the famous rabbis cited above. More, the scribe Joseph, was nicknamed "the king" outside Paris (fig. 4) or, in the fifteenth century, the Rhinan illuminator Joel ben Shimon, signed also his manuscripts under the name *Feibush Ashkenazi*, Phoebus the Ashkenazi. The rabbinic *responsae* are a good source of information about the double identity of the medieval Jews. Rabbi Jacob Tam (c. 1100-1170), one of the most eminent masters of his century, tells that Eliezer and his wife Rachel were named Josselin et

⁵⁷ Cf. NAHON Gérard, 2004, p.31-50 ; KOHN Roger, 1988, p.217-228 ; SIRAT Colette, 1999, p.121-139

⁵⁸ This first name attests, according to some historians, of infant mortality issues in the family. The name Vivant –Haim (Alive) would have been given to newborns to ward off bad luck. Cf. NAHON Gérard, *Ibid.*, p.37.

Belle-jeune (?) in French but in their divorce act, only their Hebraic names were written “and we omit the accessory names”⁵⁹. It seems that the double identity was very useful, so that the people mentioned in some acts could be recognized. The gravings register associated the name and the nickname for the very same reason, in order to distinguish two persons having the same names and taxed in the same street.

IV. Jewish names in administrative documents:

The Tax roll of 1292 lists down the taxpayers meant to pay 100 000 (livres) pounds a year. The list made that year could be the result of the evaluation of the number of taxpayers in Paris able to pay “10.000 livres *Parisi*” = Parisian pounds each year. It could have been a sort of useful matrix for the upcoming years. This document has never really served as accounting evidence as it does not mention payments and has never been deposited at the Accounts Chamber, which was the case of the registers of years 1296-1300 and 1313. Jean Guérout supposes that it has been established as part of the transaction between the king and the municipality that wished to gain the repurchase of the tax augmentation that has been set on those years⁶⁰. It is actually what was done between 1293 and 1300. This list mentions in its last section “these are the Jews of Paris” and reports the identity, the street, sometimes the occupation and the origin of the 121 persons. The carving roles of 1296 and 1297 allow to follow the movements of this population and to figure out that not any Jew was mentioned in the left bank in 1296⁶¹.

In these administrative documents, the Jews are often identified as such only because they were taxed in least and in streets where they were majoritarian. Thus, it is hard to identify Jews only by their names when they lived off of these streets, especially the rich ones, as they were certainly living among the Christians according to some historians⁶². This leads us to think that the Jews used to have French names or vernacular names in the administrative life. A list of the names of Jew living in Paris between 1204 and 1394 was set from non-Jewish documentary resources, especially Cartulaire and the Tax rolls of 1292 and 1297 in order to compare them to those engraved on tombstones⁶³.

Date	Name	Filiation	Street	Job	provenance	Taxes	Given to Christians. ⁶⁴
1204	Brunus Rothomagi	filii Bonevite Rothomagi	Châtelet du Petit Pont		Rouen (Seine-Maritime)		
1204	Diex Le Sant, [de] Arces				Arques (Seine-Maritime)		

⁵⁹ Cf. CATANE Mochè, 1978, p. 158-159 ; H. GROSS, 2011, p. 512.

⁶⁰ This is Jean Guérout’s hypothesis, today accepted by the whole historians of Paris.. Cf. GUÉROUT Jean, 1958, note 41.

⁶¹ Cf. Archives nationales, KK 283 f° 36b and 96a ; MICHAELSON Karl, 1958, p. 264-267 ; —, 1962.

⁶² Cf. BLUMENKRANZ Bernhard, 1958-1962, p.78.

⁶³ Cf. DELISLE Léopold, 1882, p.32, n°207 ; Ms lat. 16069, Saint Victor’s Cartulaire, cf. GRABOIS Aryeh, 1970, p.5-22.

⁶⁴ This column reports the occurrences of names of Jews of this list given to Christians.

1204	Bonevie de Caudebec				Caudebec (Seine-Maritime)		
1204	Abraham de Mostervillari				Montivilliers (Seine-Maritime)		Yes
1204	Judas Filius de Longavilla et Judas gener				Longueville (Seine-Maritime ou Calvados)		
1204	Deus le Croisse dortem, de Ponllemari				Pont-Audemer (Eure)		
1204	Jacob de Bonavilla super [T]oquam				Bonneville-sur-Touques (Calvados)		
1204	Jacob de Lisies				Lisieux (Calvados)		No
1204	Morellus de Falesia				Falaise (Calvados)		
1204	Dex le Croisse, de Cadomo				Caen (Calvados)		
1204	Joceus Doan de Burgonn				Bourgault, comm. Harquency (Eure)		
1204	David Tortipel, de Briona				Brionne (Eure)		
1204	Moyses de Eulleboef				Elbeuf (Seine-Maritime)		
1204	Cressens de Bernaio				Bernay (Eure)		No
1231	Bonnevie ⁶⁵ de Paris			Buys four arpents of land and vineyards in Vanves ⁶⁶	Paris		No
1236	Bona-Vita			Sells to St Victor's church half an arpent of land located in Chardonnet			No
1236 ?	Benoît Morin			Owner of two houses in "la Huchette" Street with his brother			Yes
Date	Name	Filiation	Street	Job		Taxes	Chr.
	Cressant Morin			Bought later by Philippe the Convert who sells them to king Philip III for 120 French pounds (livres) in 1284 ⁶⁷			No
1253			House in <i>ultra parvum pontem</i>				

⁶⁵ Ms lat 16069, cartulaire de Saint Victor, Grabois, *REJ CXXIX*, 1970, 5-22.

⁶⁶ Ms lat 16069 f° 141-142, Cf. NAHON Gerard, *Ibid.*, note 9

⁶⁷ Arch Nat J 151 A n°22. Cf. NAHON Gérard, 1978, note 11 : "... deux mesons ... qui furent ladis Benooit Morin and Cressant Morin Juis".

			<i>ante domum Cythare</i> ⁶⁸				
1262			House sold located at the corner of the rue des juifs (street of the Jews). Attestation of Jewish property in the left bank ⁶⁹				
1292	Hagin Landenaïse		Moves to (Franc Mourier)		Tillières (Maine-et-Loire)	10 l	No
1292	Lyon de Tillières,	Davi l'Aignelet's son-in-law			Chamvres (Yonne)	58s	Yes Yes
	Samuel de Chambres		(Moves to) Franc Mourier Street				Non
	Samuel	Haguin "devant dit", mentioned before, son-in-law	(moves to) Franc Mourier street			58s	No No
1292	La fame Dieu-le-Crosse Cohen					16s	No
	La fame Moussé Sahor	And Jacob her son				36s	No No
	Lyon, fille-soie					5s	Yes
	Abraham Merot					58s	Yes
	Bernard le Borgne				Veilly (Côte-d'Or)	20s	Yes
	Haguin de Véeli					58s	Yes
1292	Abraham le lonc					36s	Yes
1292	Belle-assez la veuve (the widow)					48s	No
1292	Sarre la bocacharde	Benoiet her son				24 l. 10s	Yes Yes
Date	Name	Filiation	Street	job		taxes	Chr.
1292	Jacob de Jorrez				Lorrez-le-Bocage (Seine-et-Marne)	10 l	Yes
1292	Davi l'Aignelet					78s	Yes
	Davy de Chaalons				Châlons-sur-Marne (Marne)	20s	Yes
	Samuel de Chambres				Chamvres (Yonne)	30s	No
	Jivete	Daughter of Merot Courrat				16s	No
	Moussé Marc-d'Argent					20 s	No
	Ysaac de Sézanne				Sézanne (Marne)	8 s	No
	Murienne	Jacob sahor's daughter-in-law				5 s	No
	Hélie Doucet					20s	Yes

⁶⁸ Cf. NAHON Gérard, 1978, note 7 ; Arch. Nat. L 596 n°2.

⁶⁹ Cf. Graboïs, *REJ*, CXXIX, 1970, p.5-22

	Joçon la Hurte-Vin					48 s	No
	Fillon	Corbueil's daughter			Corbeil (Essonne)	0s	Yes and No
	Moussé de Dreues (Dreux, Eure et Loire)				Dreux (Eure-et-Loir)	20s	No
	Moussé, de Petit Pont, Marc- d'Argent		Petit Pont			20s	No
	Vivant, de Setmois				Samois-sur-Seine (Seine-et-Marne)	6	No Yes
	Bele assez bele, de Breban				Brabant	58s	No
	Reinne	La serourge Copin le mire	Franc Mourier			12s	No No
	Moreau	Fuiz de la dite Reinne et Bèle sa fame	Franc Mourier			8s	Yes No Yes
	Abraham	icelle Royne's nephew, and Bèle-Assez his wife	Franc Mourier			8s	Yes Non Non
	Beleite	Pricieon's daughter and Haquin her husband	Franc Mourier			5s	No No No
	Lyon d'Acre, mire	His wife Bien-li-Viengne	Franc Mourier		Acre	5s	Yes No
	Amendant	Fuiz Lion d'Acre	Franc Mourier		Acre	8s	No amant Yes
	Salemon	Fuiz Davi de Chaalons	Franc Mourier		Châlons-sur-Marne (Marne)	16s	Yes Yes
		His wife put with his father	Franc Mourier			12s	
	Bonoque	Mahi Courrat's daughter, widow	Franc Mourier			10s	No Yes
Date	Nom	Filiation	Rue	métier		impôts	Chr.
1292	Cressant Marc-d'Argent		Franc Mourier			12s	No
	Parise,	Mossé le Prestre's wife	Franc Mourier	Priest		12s	Yes No
	Bone-Foy L'Englois	And his wife	Franc Mourier		England	12s	Yes
	Jorin l'Englois		Franc Mourier		England	10s	No
	Josse	Fuiz Bon-Ami the English, and his wife	Franc Mourier		England	30s	Yes
1292	Bonne Bourbote de Compigne	Widow	la cour Robert de Paris		Compiègne (Oise)	10s	Yes
	Davi l'Agnelet		la cour Robert de Paris			48s	Yes
	Rose l'Englesche		la cour Robert de Paris		England	16s	Yes
	Josse Poulain le jeune	And his wife	la cour Robert de Paris			12s	Yes
	Haquin Cohen		la cour Robert de Paris			10s	No
	Joie la fariniere	Widow	la cour Robert	Miller		8s	Yes

			de Paris				
	Josson Pate	And his wife	la cour Robert de Paris			5s	Yes and No
	Amendant de Breban	And his wife	la cour Robert de Paris		Brabant	5s	No
	Abraham l'Englois de Quant	Hermineite his wife	la cour Robert de Paris		England, Kent or Caen	4s	Yes Yes
	Bien-Li-Viengne le prestre	And his wife	la cour Robert de Paris	Priest		5s	No
	Bone-Vie de Chartres	And his wife	la cour Robert de Paris		Chartres (Eure-et-Loir)	10s	No
	Salemon de Compigne	And his wife Hava	la cour Robert de Paris		Compiègne (Oise)	12s	Yes No
	Chièrè	The sister of Hétouyn the butcher	la cour Robert de Paris			5s	Yes Yes
	Joie	wife Vivant Caro	la cour Robert de Paris			12s	Yes No
	Mossé l'Englois	Rose his wife	la cour Robert de Paris		England	8s	No Yes
	Bèle de Provins	Widow	L'Atacherie		Provins (Seine-et-Marne)	12s	Yes
Date	Names	Filiation	Street	job	Bar-sur-Aube (Aube)	taxes	Chr.
	Sarré	Was the Master's wife	L'Atacherie			5s	Yes
	Bèle la torte	Widow	L'Atacherie			5s	Yes
	Jococ	Maronne's husband and his mother	L'Atacherie			5s	Yes Yes
	Haquin de Bar	Bonne-Pille his wife	L'Atacherie		Bar-sur-Aube (Aube)	5s	No No
	Elye	Gendre Lyon fille-Soie	L'Atacherie			5s	Yes Yes
	Vivant de Miauz	Sarre la mirgesse his wife and his household "sa mesnie", Florion his widowed daughter	L'Atacherie		Meaux (Seine-et-Marne)	10s	No Yes Yes
	Bien-li Viengne de Coulommiers	And his wife Lady Mique, widow	L'Atacherie		Coulommiers (Seine-et-Marne))	10s	No No
	Contesse	Baru le Mestre's wife	L'Atacherie			12s	Yes No
	Perez	His wife	L'Atacherie			8s	No
	Abraham le Mestre	Joie his daughter, widow	L'Atacherie	Mestre (teacher)		19s	Yes Yes
	Bèle-Assez de Gonesse, veuve,	And his daughter and son-in-law	L'Atacherie		Gonesse (Val-d'Oise)	36s	No
	Rauve de Miauz	Widow	L'Atacherie		Meaux (Seine-et-Marne)	5s	No
	Viau de Breban	And his son and daughter	L'Atacherie		Brabant	8s	No
	Bèle-assez la vielle		L'Atacherie			5s	No

	Cressin qui porte les chaperons		L'Atacherie	Carries the chaperons			No
	Elaisse	Jacob's wife	L'Atacherie			5s	No No
	Honot de Gonesse		L'Atacherie		Gonesse (Val-d'Oise)	8s	Yes
	Sonnet (Samson)	Benoient le Borgne's son	L'Atacherie				Yes Yes
	Hanna	Samuel Hubin's daughter, Bon-Ami's wife	L'Atacherie			5s	No Yes Yes
	Abraham	Mossé Marc-d'Argent's son and his wife	Rue du Petit-Pont			8s	Yes
	Lyon	Moussé's son-in-law and his wife	Rue du Petit-Pont			8s	No No
	Josse Agnelet	And his wife	Rue du Petit-Pont			3s	Yes
	Vivant Agnelet	And his wife	Rue du Petit-Pont			3s	No
	Haquin Marc-d'Argent	And his wife	Rue du Petit-Pont			12s	No
	Senior du Pont		Rue du Petit-Pont			8s	No
	Cressant de Lille	And Léal his wife	Rue du Petit-Pont			78s	No No
	Souni	Abraham le lonc's son	Rue du Petit-Pont			12s	No Yes
	Quabin		Rue du Petit-Pont			10s	No
	Mossé le Mire	And his wife	Rue du Petit-Pont			8s	No
	Rauve de Miauz	Widow	Rue du Petit-Pont		Meaux (Seine-et-Mame)		No
Date	Name	Filiation	Street	Job		Taxes	Chr.
1296	Hélie Doucet		Moves to la cour Robert de Paris				Yes
	Jocon de Hurte		Moves to la cour Robert de Paris				No
	Josse	Bonami l'anglais' son (son of Bonami the English)	En la cour Robert de Paris		Lived in Franc Mourier		Yes Yes
1296	Bernart le Borgne		Atacherie (before en « la cour Robert »t of Paris)				Yes
1296	Mousse Marc-d'Argent		Atacherie (before en « la cour Robert »t of Paris)				No
1296	Mosse l'Anglais		Atacherie				No

1296 70	Vivant d'Aucerre	Not on 1292 carving register	Atacherie		Auxerre (Yonne)		No
1365	Nom	Filiation	Juiverie rue des rosiers and coquerée	Métiers	provenance	impôts	Porté par chrétiens
1369	Manecier de Vesoul	And his wife Rose	Rue des rosiers		Vesoul (Haute-Saône)		No Yes
1376	Haguin de Bourg ⁷¹		Impasse de la Coquerée				No
19 oct. 1394	Vivant de Montreal		West oft rue des juifs north of the Escalle				No

When it comes to the houses of the converted, three names are mentioned showing that they stayed on the left bank when the Jews have already moved to the right bank

Date	Name	Filiation	Street	Occupation	Origin	Taxes	Chr.
1284	Philippe le convers		Owner of two houses on la Huchette street, that belonged to Benoit and Cressant Morin	Sells them to king Philip III for 120 pounds in 1284			Yes
1292 ou 96 ?	Jeanne la convertte		“Du coing devant Saint André des arz en venant par l’abrevoër au comte de Macon le renc devers la rue de la Herpe et en allant tout le renc parmi la rue de laz Huchette jusques a Petit Pont » ⁷²	Usurer « 6 sols parisis under the heading »		« 6 sols parisis	Yes
	Richard le convert		« dans la grant rue Saint Beneoit, à commencer au bout par devers Saint Jacques, en venant tout contreval jusques au coing devant Saint Matelin » ⁷³			78 sous	

Some names are common in both groups, such as *Joie*, *Rose*, *Lyon*, *Benoit*, *Bernard*, *Moreau*. However, *Bernard* is not that common among the Christians, as we found only 99 occurrences among 60000 names. Christians used Honot as Bonan and Joce Josian or Jossé instead of Joçon. The name of Copin the physician comes certainly from the hypocoristique of

⁷⁰ For the latter four Cf. NAHON Gérard, 1978, note 18.

⁷¹ Two selling act on 9 and 20 December 1394, one in the name of Reine de Bourg, the other in the name of Haguin de Bourg, Cf. KOHN Roger, 1988, p. 264-265.

⁷² Note 29

⁷³ Note 30

Jacob. Fillon is given to females whereas it was a male name among Christians. Other names were shared with variants such as *Bonami* existing as *Bonan* and *Chièrre* as *Chieret*. *Hanna* becomes *Anne*, *Mahi* is used as *Mathieu*. *Havah* turns into *Eve*, *Jorin (l'Englois)* in *Enjorrent (Georges)*, *Maronne* becomes *Maron*, *Mique* becomes *Amiquet* and *Paris* becomes *Pariset* or *Parisette*.

While reading this list, we note that several Jews of Paris came from the surrounding villages, of North of France, from England and Brabant. Male names who had a vernacular consonance (most of them in this list), never appear on the funeral inscriptions. We may though come to the conclusion that the tradition consisted in writing solely Hebrew names on the male epitaphs. We may also note the use of nicknames such as Jacob and Moussé Sahor perhaps referring to physical features (*Moussé shahor* = Moses of brown hair or dark skin)⁷⁴. The most frequent Jewish male names found on the Tax rolls were: *Moses* (11 occurrences), *Haguin* or *Haquin*, *Jocon* and its variations (7), *Abraham*, *Lyon* (5), *Cressant* and *Vivant* (4) and eventually *Benoît* and *Bonevie* and its variations such as *Bonnefoy*, *Bonami*, *Bienliviengne* (3). We also note the name « Deus le Croisse » and its variations that are related to *Cressant* and its variations as a translation of the biblical name *Gedalyah* גדליה.

As for women, *Bellassez* is the most common name (5 occurrences), followed by *Belle*, *Joie*, *Reine* and *Sarre* (3). It is important to note that one woman was a physician (*Sarre la mirgesse*). Three men were mentioned as physicians (*mire*) one of them coming from Acre (1292).

CONCLUSION

The biblical names that remain used in the administrative registers are *Abraham (Abraham Merot)* ; *Jacob (Jacob nicknamed Sahor)*. *Moses* is so frequent that it is often associated with a detail mentioning the origin or the profession (*Mossé l'Englois / Mossé l'Englais*, *Mossé le Prestre*, *Moussé de Petit-Pont*, *Mossé / Moussé Marc-d'Argent*, *Moussé de Dreues*, *Moussé*, *Moussé Sahor*, *Mossé le Mire*).

In 1204, *Aries*, a Jew from Normandy settled down in Paris. The consonance of his name reminds that of the Hebraic word and name *Aryeh* meaning « lion » of which comes certainly the name *Lyon* in French, attested five times on the Tax rolls. *Vivant* that sounds close to *Vivien*, frequent among Christians, is the translation of the Hebraic name “Ḥayyim” and seems to have been popular among medieval Jews even though there is no consonantal proximity between the two names. As for *Moses*, the two names are so frequent that they rarely appear alone in the registers (*Lyon d'Acre*, *Lyon de Tillières*, *Lyon Fille-Soie* ; *Vivant de Miauz*, *Vivant Caro*, *Vivant Agnelet*, *Vivant de Setmois*).

As in Antiquity *Justus* was popular among Jews, medieval Jews used « romanized of frenchified » Hebrew names, either translating them or adapting them to the local pronunciation. Yet they were conforming to the trend of their time, and that was particularly perceptible in the female onomastic.

The names mentioned on the administrative lists sometimes appeared on the epitaphs as well. Thus, the variations of *Belle* were popular in the common language as well as in Hebrew. Often the name and the nickname or the hometown were coupled: *Bèle*, *Bèle la Torte*, *Bèle de Provins*. It is also associated with a qualifier or a supplement as in *Bèle-assez*, *Bèle-assez-Bèle*, *Belasset*, *Bèle-assez la Vielle* in order to discern the oldest from the

⁷⁴ M. Catane suggests for this nickname, the transcription of the Hebraic word *shahor* שחור that means « brown ». The documents attesting the nickname *ha-lavan* הלבן for « the blonde », confirm the position of Mochè Catane. Cf. Catane Mochè, 1978, p. 167. See also SEROR Simon, 1989 and 1993.

youngest, proving at the same time that the name was frequently used among different Jewish generations. The name *Belle* was popular among Jewish female while the form *Isabelle* was used among non-Jewish women. *Joie*, becomes *Joya* or *Joiah* in its Hebrew transcription. The name *Sarre* (*Sarre la Bocacharde*) is attested on tombstones as *Sarah. Reine (Reinne)* is found as *Royne* but probably becomes *Malkah* on epitaphs as the word means « queen » in Hebrew.

Most non-hebraic Jewish names were not current or even non used in the Christian community, except for biblical names such as *Abraham, Davi(d), Samuel, Salomon, Samson (Sonnet)* and *Hélie*. Even though the name *Josse* is frequent in both communities, it is sometimes attested with variations that were not used among Christians (*Josson, Jococ, Jocon*) ; *Haquin* and its declinations (*Haguin, Hagin*) are the abbreviations of the name *Isaac*. *Bonoque, Floria, Reinne, Mossé* or *Moussé, Jacob, Hava, Hana, Vivant* that have Hebraic consonance or meaning seem to be exclusively used by the Jews⁷⁵. But *Chiere, Joie, Rose, Lyon, Benoit, Bernard, Moreau* are common in both groups.

In Paris, vernacular names used by medieval Jews such as *Cressens* and its variations, *Merot, Moreau...* are however not shared by the Christians. Paris was a melting-pot combining people coming from Northern France. The population grows from 50.000 to 250.000 persons by the end of the twelfth century, and Jews were only 1000 persons among them⁷⁶. We should compare their names with those of Christians from Northern France in public or private administrative documents. We could then verify if they used local old names or names not used by Christians, or if they preferred popular names in their hometowns⁷⁷. Though, in Jewish documentation, Jews used mostly their Hebraic names and not their so-called “accessory ones”⁷⁸ whereas for women, they seemed more likely to yield to the taste of the times.

⁷⁵ Cf. CATANE Moshè, 1978, p.157-168.

⁷⁶ Cf. NAHON Gérard, 1978, p. 150-151 ; CAZELLES Robert, 1966, p. 539-550.

⁷⁷ Comparing also with the names of Jews in England or in Marseille Cf. OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER Judith, 2016 ; SIBON Juliette, 2011 ; SEROR Simon, 1995.

⁷⁸ Cf. CATANE Mochè, 1978, p. 158-159 ; GROSS Henri, 2011, p. 512.

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