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Armies and Politics
in the Early Medieval West



VARIORUM

ON THE ROLE OF THE JEWS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPANISH MARCH (768-814)

During the five centuries between the Muslim victory at the battle of la Janda in 711 and the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, as well as for a considerable time thereafter, many different political forces dominated various parts of the Iberian Peninsula. There were not only Muslim kingdoms ruled by diverse ethnic and sectarian groups but also a plethora of Christian political agglomerations. In virtually every unit of medieval Iberian society the presence of Jews can be ascertained.¹

Carolingian Spain, more commonly though perhaps less accurately known as the Spanish March, was one important element in the mosaic of political structures that flourished on the Iberian Peninsula during the early Middle Ages.² The Jews of the region, like their co-religionists in other parts of the Carolingian empire, are seen by scholars as engaging in commercial activities and making themselves useful in furthering Charlemagne's negotiations with the Muslims. The pro-Jewish policy of Charlemagne and his successors is regarded as having permitted the Jews

¹ In general, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1950); Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia, 1961); L.G. de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 4th ed. (Madrid, 1968), I, parts 1 and 2; and H. Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1971).

² The most important studies of the history of this region during the early Middle Ages are those of the Catalan scholar R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals. Among his most useful works are *Catalunya carolíngia* (Barcelona, 1926-52), II, 1, 2; "El paso de Septimania del dominio godo al franco a través de la invasión sarracena (720-768)," *CHE*, 19 (1953), 5-54; "La Catalogne sous l'empire de Louis le Pieux," *Études Roussillonaises*, 5 (1956), 31-50, 147-77; 6 (1957), 67-95; and *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1958). For an easily accessible account in English, see A.R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Austin, Texas, 1965).

to flourish. The Jewish contribution to the development of the empire is not regarded as having been of fundamental importance.³

In 1972, a thoroughly revisionist approach to the history of the Spanish March was published by Arthur Zuckerman. In his version, traditional views are totally rejected and the role of the Jews is given primary importance. Working with a highly selective group of *chansons* and other literary materials from the twelfth century and later, Zuckerman sets out to prove that a vast Jewish principality embracing much of southern Gaul and northeastern Spain was established and supported by the Carolingians in concert with the Caliph of Baghdad. Zuckerman contends that a Jewish king was imported from the East and married to a Carolingian princess in order to secure this complex arrangement. Count William of Toulouse (later Saint William) and his allegedly large-nosed offspring are identified by Zuckerman as members of this Jewish royal family descended from King David.⁴ Unfortunately, Zuckerman accepts as historically accurate fictional literary materials far removed in time from the events under consideration and, on the other hand, dismisses more contemporary documentary evidence. This method leads him to pyramid dubious conjectures that do not stand the test of critical analysis. A reevaluation of the evidence is necessary to separate the historically reliable material from Zuckerman's fantasy so that the role of the Jews in the foundation of the Spanish March can be ascertained.⁵

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When King Peppin I completed his conquest of southern France in 768, he seems to have considered extending Carolingian power into Spain. Thus, for example, he appointed a certain Aribert as archbishop of Narbonne and seems to have delegated to him a measure of ecclesiastical jurisdiction not only over Septimania but over *Hispania* as well.⁶ Narbonne was the southernmost *civitas* under Peppin's control; it was a natural bulwark for the defense of the frontier and it was strategically located to serve as a base for advances into Spain.

³ J.W. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (London, 1934), pp. 337-39; S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), pp. 63, 76, 102, 130, 133; A. Dupont, *Les cités de la Narbonnaise première depuis les invasions germaniques jusqu'à l'apparition du consulat* (Nîmes, 1942), pp. 431-34, and B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096* (Paris, 1960), pp. 16 ff. Carles Rahola, *Els jueus a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1929), neglects the early Middle Ages.

⁴ A.J. Zuckerman, *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France 768-900* (New York, 1972). Zuckerman summarized many of his conclusions about a Jewish Princedom in an article "The Nasi of Frankland in the Ninth Century and the *Colaphus Judaeorum* in Toulouse," *PAAJR*, 33 (1965), 51-82.

⁵ See the reviews of Zuckerman's book by B.S. Bachrach, *AHR*, 78 (1973), 1440-41; A. Cabaniss, *CHR*, 59 (1973), 317-19, and P. Wormold, *EHR*, 89 (1974), 417-18. A. Graboïs, "Une principauté juive dans la France du midi à l'époque carolingienne?," *AM*, 85 (1973), 192-202, provides a detailed critique of Zuckerman's historical method and finds it wanting.

⁶ Sometime between 768 and 772, Pope Stephen III wrote, "Ariberto archiepiscopo Narbonae.

Any effort to extend Carolingian power into Spain, however, depended in large part upon the success with which the recently subdued population of Aquitaine could be won over to support the policies of the new dynasty. To this end, Peppin continued the policy of previous rulers and issued a capitulary directing that the personality of the law would obtain among the various peoples dwelling in Aquitaine.⁷ This was of particular importance to the Jewish community because of

et omnibus potentatibus Septimaniae et Hispaniae salutem." ("Ad Aribertum Narbonensem Archiepiscopum." *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne [Paris, 1879], CXXIX, col. 857).

The address quoted above enables several inferences to be drawn concerning the ecclesiastical organization of the Carolingian frontier at this time. The pope's letter, while addressed to many people, would very probably have gone directly to Archbishop Aribert. 1: Aribert had written to the pope and the missive cited above was an answer to this earlier letter. 2: There are no discernible channels of communication from the pope to the abovementioned *potentes* except through the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the region. 3: It is likely that Aribert was styled an archbishop because his jurisdiction extended beyond the see of Narbonne and even included Christians living on the Muslim side of the frontier, i.e. in *Hispania*. Finally, it is reasonable to assume that King Peppin appointed Aribert to his *honor*; this was the unchallenged and traditional Carolingian practice.

For the date of the letter discussed above, see *Resgesta Pontificum Romanorum*, edd. P. Jaffé and W. Wattenbach, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1885), I, 288. This date is accepted with slight modification by J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im frankischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 24-25; Dupont, *Les cités*, p. 431, and Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, p. 52, n. 8. Cf. L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1907), I, 304, n. 6, who believes the letter and the tenure of Aribert should be placed in the tenth century. Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, p. 52, n. 8, argues that Duchesne's "Failure to understand Pope Stephen's usage of the term *Kings of the Franks*" in the letter is responsible for his choice of a tenth-century date. The phrase "Kings of the Franks," however, could theoretically refer to the joint reigns, for example, of Lothair and Louis V or to Hugh Capet and Robert. Duchesne's arguments are given some support by the observation of E. Lesne, *La Hiérarchie épiscopale, provinces, métropolitains, primats en Gaule et Germanie depuis la réforme de saint Boniface jusqu'à la mort d'Hincmar, 742-882* (Paris, 1905), pp. 70-71, who notes that the earliest "authorized" archbishop of Narbonne was a certain Nebridium who held the title from 813 at the earliest.

The objections of Lesne and Duchesne to the conclusions of Jaffé *et al.* have had little acceptance. E. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse des anciens pays de l'Aude* (Paris, 1933), pp. 242-43, indicates there is no evidence for an archbishop Aribert of Narbonne in the tenth century. The results of his research are accepted by Dupont, *Les cités*, pp. 464-65 and Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, p. 52, n. 8. As to the official or "authorized" title of archbishop, it must be realized that we are discussing a frontier region recently freed from the Moors and are concerned with a period of administrative development in which the rigid structuring of actual institutions was more clearly enunciated in theory than in fact. Thus perhaps, Aribert exercised authority over more than the episcopal see of Narbonne and was styled an archbishop, but never received the pallium from Rome or perhaps was not even consecrated as an archbishop. On this problem in general, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), Chapters IV and V and Appendix III.

⁷ *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, ed. A. Boretius (*MGH* [Hannover, 1883]), n° 18, ch. 10: "Ut omnes homines eorum legis habeant, tam Romani quam et Salici, et si de alia provincia advenit, secundum legem patriae vivat." See also *Annales Anianenses, Histoire générale de Languedoc*, edd. C. Devic and L. Vaissete (Toulouse, 1872), II, col. 7. (Cited hereinafter as *HGL*.) On this, see B.S. Bachrach, "Military Organization in Aquitaine under the Early Carolingians," *Spec*, 49 (1974), 12. Cf. Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, pp. 83-85, who implies that the capitulary in its present form was tampered with to eliminate references to a Jewish princesdom. See also Zuckerman's contention (pp. 39 ff.) that certain Christian chronicles have been mutilated and interpolated to obscure the truth about the Jewish princesdom.

their special status under the Roman law.⁸ The Jews of the Narbonnaise benefitted additionally from Peppin's conquest of southern France. In conjunction with his two sons, Charles and Carloman, Peppin issued several edicts (*praecepta*) recognizing the right of Jews to hold hereditary allods and to employ Christian labor on their lands and in their homes.⁹

Peppin's actions in regard to the Jews of Narbonne seem to have been based upon astute political calculations. By pursuing a pro-Jewish policy, Peppin was recognizing the importance of a formidable segment of the population in the Narbonnaise that historically had exercised substantial and often decisive influence in the region. For example, in 673 the Jews of Narbonne mustered their armed forces, seized control of the city, and drove out Bishop Agrebad and his followers. With Jewish support, Count Paul chose Narbonne for his capital and had himself crowned king there in the same year.¹⁰

Unfortunately for the Carolingians and perhaps also for the Jews of the Narbonnaise, King Peppin died before he could take offensive action beyond the frontier. The problems faced by Peppin's sons and successors, Charles and Carloman, precluded for a considerable time expansion to the south. In fact, Charles, in whose portion of the Frankish kingdom southern France was included, found it necessary to neglect the region.¹¹ With the king's attention turned elsewhere, Archbishop Aribert rekindled the traditional enmity that characterized relations between the Jewish community and the church at Narbonne.¹² Aribert wrote to

⁸ Parkes, *Church and Synagogue*, pp. 312 ff., indicates that the Jews in Gaul lived under the Roman law with certain modifications. The Carolingian monarchs made additional modifications.

⁹ "Ad Aribertum Narbonnensem Archiepiscopum," col. 857: "Quapropter sumus dolore tacti, usque ad mortem anxiati, cum cognovissemus per teipsium, quod plebs Judaica Deo semper rebellis, et nostris derogans caeremoniis infra fines et territoria Christianorum allodia haereditatum in villis et suburbanis, quasi incolae Christianorum, possideant per quaedam regum Francorum praecepta: quia ipsi inimici Domini quae... sunt, ei periculose mercati sunt: et quod vineas et agros illorum Christiani homines excolant: et infra civitates et extra, masculi et feminae Christianorum cum eisdem praevicatoribus habitantes, diu noctuque verbis blasphemiae maculantur, et cuncta obsequia quae dici aut excogitari possunt, miseri miseraeve praenotatis canibus indesinenter exhibeant..." The *praecepta* issued by Peppin and his sons seem to be edicts confirming certain rights. This is the view also of Jean Régéné, *Études sur la condition des Juifs de Narbonne du V^e au XIV^e siècle* (Narbonne, 1912), pp. 27 ff.; Israel Lévi, "Le roi juif de Narbonne et le Philomène," *REJ*, 48 (1904), 206-07; Katz, *Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 94-95, 162, and Graboïs, "Une principauté juive," p. 198, n. 40. Cf. Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, pp. 50 ff., who contends that Pope Stephen is referring to a vast Jewish state including much of southern Gaul and northeastern Spain and ruled by a descendant of King David sent to the West by the Caliph of Baghdad. It seems reasonable that, if even a fraction of what Zuckerman claims were true, Archbishop Aribert or Pope Stephen might have known some of these facts and mentioned them in their letters. Thus, for example, the alleged marriage of Peppin's sister Alda to the Jewish king (Zuckerman, p. 122) and her necessary conversion to Judaism would surely have attracted ecclesiastical attention. On this last point, among many, see Graboïs, *loc. cit.*, p. 196, n. 31, and 199.

¹⁰ Régéné, *Juifs de Narbonne*, Chapters I and II, and B. S. Bachrach, "A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy," *AHR*, 78 (1973), 26-27.

¹¹ Bachrach, "Military Organization in Aquitaine," pp. 13-14.

¹² Bachrach, "Visigothic Jewish Policy," pp. 15-16.

Pope Stephen III complaining about the Carolingian's pro-Jewish policy and asked for help. The Roman pontiff wrote a letter advising Aribert and the Christian magnates under the archbishop's jurisdiction to encourage the king to reverse his policy and to withdraw the rights and privileges that had been granted to the Jews.¹³ Charles, however, like his father before him, apparently recognized the importance of the Jewish community and maintained a pro-Jewish policy not only at Narbonne but throughout his empire as well.¹⁴

In 778, a decade after Peppin's death, Charles led an army into Spain. This campaign, however, ended ignominiously with the decisive defeat of the Carolingian rear guard at Roncevaux. The failure of this effort highlighted the inadequacy of support for Carolingian policy in Aquitaine and the difficulties attendant upon sustaining a successful advance into Spain without a firm base. Thus, upon returning from Spain, Charles took several decisive steps to strengthen his position in southwestern France. For example, he removed the counts of Bourges, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Poitiers, Limoges, Clermont, the Velay, Albi, and Périgueux. These men apparently had not provided adequate support for the campaign into Spain.¹⁵ In this regard it is important to note that the count of Narbonne, whose military contingent surely had a substantial proportion of Jewish allodial landholders among its members, apparently served during the Spanish campaign in a satisfactory manner; he was permitted to retain his office.¹⁶

The setback suffered in 778 by Charles's delayed Carolingian penetration into Spain. By 785, however, a portion of the eastern littoral had fallen to Charles's

¹³ For the details concerning the dates of these letters, see nn. 6 and 9 above.

¹⁴ See n. 3 above.

¹⁵ Bachrach, "Military Organization in Aquitaine," pp. 15-17.

¹⁶ During the later Roman Empire, several laws were promulgated prohibiting Jews from a career in the military. The last renewal of this prohibition for Gaul is found in the *Const. Sirm.*, VI for 425 (*Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges Novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, edd. Th. Mommsen and P.M. Meyer [Berlin, 1905], 911-12. This prohibition, however, was omitted from the Roman law promulgated for the residents of Aquitaine and Spain by the Visigothic king Alaric II in 506 (*Lex Romana Visigothorum*, ed. G. Hänel [Leipzig, 1849]) and the slightly earlier *Lex Romana Burgundionum* (ed. L.R. von Salis, *MGH: Leges* [Hannover, 1892]) ordered compiled by King Gundobad. The failure to prohibit Jews from pursuing military careers had important and apparently immediate consequences. Thus, for example, in 508 Jewish military forces helped to garrison and defend the city of Arles. On this see *Vita Caesaris*, I, 28-31, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH: Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* [Hannover, 1896]), III, 467-68. For additional examples, see Katz, *Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 121; Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens*, pp. 35-37, and Bachrach, "Visigothic Jewish Policy," pp. 26-27, 32-33. For the obligations of free allodial landholders in the Carolingian realms to do military services and the institutional demands of that service, see Bachrach, "Military Organization in Aquitaine," pp. 28-31. (Page 1, n. 1, provides an extensive bibliography on the subject.) It should be noted also that the *Lex Romana Curiensis* (ed. E. Meyer-Marthaler [Aarau, 1959]), which was compiled before 800 for that part of Charlemagne's realms that comprised the diocese of Chur, has no prohibition against Jews performing military service. For Jews performing military service during the high and later Middle Ages, see G. Kisch, *The Jews of Medieval Germany* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 111-28.

forces; the region extended at least as far south as Gerona.¹⁷ In 792-793, the Carolingians suffered a Muslim counter-attack and Narbonne withstood a devastating siege.¹⁸ In 797 the Carolingians once again went on the offensive. Count Burrellus was given charge of occupying a number of deserted places; among these were the city of Vich, the *castrum* at Cardona, and the one at Casseres. He was ordered to repair the walls of these places, colonize them, and establish garrisons for their defense. In 800, Louis, Charles's son, led his armies into Spain. They captured and destroyed Lérida and other towns in the direction of Huesca. The area around the latter city was ravaged as well. The Muslim governor of Barcelona, a certain Zaddo, moved against Narbonne but he failed to take the city and was captured. In the fall of 802, Louis launched a massive campaign to take Barcelona. The city was besieged for some seven months and finally fell in April of 803. During the next decade, Carolingian armies ravaged and besieged Tortosa and Huesca on several occasions and occupied Pamplona. These campaigns with the exception of the setback in 792-793 were the military actions that created the foundation of Carolingian Spain.¹⁹

The evidence for the role played by the Jews of the Carolingian realm in the military operations mentioned above is both specific and circumstantial. For example, in 797 Count Burrellus occupied the city of Vich (also called Ausona) and the strongholds of Cardona and Casseres, colonized these places and garrisoned them.²⁰ Contemporary and near contemporary sources tell us nothing of Cardona

¹⁷ Alcuin, *Epist.* 7, ed. E. Dümmler (*MGH: Epistolae* [Hannover, 1873]), IV, 32: "Etiam et eiusdem christianissimi regis duces et tribuni multam partem Hispaniae tulerunt a Saracenis, quasi trecenta milia in longum per maritima." It is unlikely that the Carolingians gained control of 300 miles of coastal territory: this would mean that Valencia, not to mention Tortosa, Tarragona, and Barcelona, would have been taken from the Muslims. Cf. Zuckerman, *Jewish Principdom*, pp. 137 ff., who not only accepts Alcuin's exaggeration at face value but credits the Jewish king with securing these gains through diplomatic efforts. See note 19 below for the fall of Barcelona in 803 and perhaps of Tortosa in 811. For the acquisition of Gerona by the Carolingians, see *Chronicon Moissacense, an. 785*, ed. G. Pertz (*MGH: Scriptores* [Hannover, 1826]), I, 297: "Eodem anno Gerundenses homines Gerundam civitatem Carolo regi tradiderunt." Zuckerman (p. 135) implies that Gerona was a Jewish-dominated city which went over to the Carolingians because of the efforts of the Jewish King at Narbonne. It should be noted, however, that the Muslim ruler of Gerona, Suleiman, offered to support Peppin as early as 759, well before Zuckerman's putative Jewish king is alleged to have come on the scene. Finally, the earliest document indicating Jews dwelling at Gerona that Zuckerman (p. 136, n. 50) could find dates from 1002, more than two centuries after the events under discussion.

It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the large army that Charles sent into Aquitaine in 785 may in some way have influenced the action taken at Gerona in that same year. The Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, ch. 4, ed. G. Pertz (*MGH: Scriptores* [Hannover, 1827]), II, 609, who mentions this force does not connect it to events at Gerona. This is not surprising since he is interested in Louis and not in the expansion of the Spanish March unless the events concern his hero.

¹⁸ Bachrach, "Military Organization in Aquitaine," pp. 18-21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-28.

²⁰ *V. Hlud.*, ch. 8 (p. 611): "Ordinavit autem illo in tempore in finibus Aquitanorum circum-
 quaque firmissimam tutelam. Nam civitatem Ausonam, castrum Cardonam, Castaserram, et reliqua
 oppida olim deserta, munivit, habitari fecit, et Burrello comiti cum congruis auxiliis tuenda commi-
 sit."

and Casseres but there is material on Ausona (Vich). According to Bishop Idalcarius of Vich (fl. ca. 900) all Christians were driven out of the city during the Muslim conquest. He adds that a Christian presence was not reestablished there until the reign of Wilfred the Hairy (ca. 865-898) in the later ninth century.²¹ Even if it were assumed that Bishop Idalcarius was exaggerating the suffering endured by the Christians of this part of Spain, it is hardly likely that he made up the story from whole cloth. He was, after all, discussing an important event—the reestablishment of a Christian community—that took place during his own lifetime and an event that could not have been unknown to his contemporaries.

If Count Burrellus did not occupy the deserted city of Ausona (Vich) in 797 with Christian troops and settlers, then whom did he use? An early tenth-century interpolation into the proceedings of the Council of Narbonne of 788 indicates that it had not been possible to establish an episcopal see at Vich because of opposition from the *pagani* living there.²² Some idea as to the identity of these *pagani* would seem to come from the correspondence of a certain mid-ninth-century Rabbi Natronai of Sura who observes in some of his letters to various Spanish rabbis that Ausona was "a place without gentiles."²³ After taking into account that Natronai may be exaggerating somewhat, it is not unreasonable to conclude that ca. 850 Ausona was a predominantly Jewish city.

All of these sources taken together seem to indicate that the Christians dwelling in Ausona (Vich) were driven out ca. 712 and that they did not return in any significant numbers until the last third of the ninth century. In 797, Count Burrellus repopulated the *civitas* and garrisoned the stronghold. Since the only people known to dwell there during the first part of the ninth century are called in Chris-

²¹ "Concilium Barcinonense," ed. G. D. Mansi (*Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio* [Venice, 1773]), 18, cols. 253-254: "Cum priscis temporibus tota Hispania atque Gotia sacris insisteret eruditionibus, et vernaret clero, atque fulgeret ecclesiis Christo dicatis, inter reliquas ipsa quoque Ausonensis ecclesia nobilis habebatur. Peccatis vero exigentibus illorum, qui tunc habitatores erant illarum terrarum, ut omnes nostris, barbarico gladio divino iudicio traditi sunt, ita ut nec aliquis christianorum in praedicto pago Ausonae remaneret. Post multorum autem annorum curricula misertus Dominus terrae, suscitavit in ea nobilissimum principem Wilfredeum et fratres ejus: qui, ex diversis locis et gentibus homines pio amore colligentes, praelibatam ecclesiam cum suis finibus in pristinum instauraverunt statum." Abadal, *Catalunya carolingia*, II, 1, pp. 291-292, and Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, pp. 135-36, 319.

²² *Concilium Narbonense Spurious*, ed. A. Werminghoff (*MGH: Leges III, Concilia aevi Karolini* [Hannover, 1908]), II, 11, 829. "Danigel archiepiscopus de Ausmensi parrochia ratinem adhibens ostendit, quod nullo modo episcopum ponere illuc potuisset ob paganorum infestatem...." Much of the material in the text of the council points toward Werminghoff's conclusion that it is spurious. Griffe, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 246-50, attempts to ascertain when and under what conditions various elements in the text were placed there. He demonstrates that the material concerning Ausona was interpolated ca. 906. This conclusion is accepted by Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, p. 176.

²³ *Qebuṣat ha-kamim*, ed. W. Warnheim (*Wissenschaftliche Aufsätze in hebräisch-talmudischer Sprache, enthalten Geschichte, Exegese und Dogmatik* [Wien, 1861]), I, 110-111. For a German translation, see *Die jüdische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons*, edd. J. Winter and A. Wünsche (Trier, 1894), II, 23-24. *Tešubot geone(y) mlzrah u-nu'arab*, no. 26, ed. J. Müller (Berlin, 1888), p. 9a. Zuckerman, *Jewish Princesdom*, pp. 318-19 treats these *responso* in a reasonable manner.

tian sources *pagani* and in Jewish sources non-gentiles, it seems reasonable to conclude that Count Burrellus occupied, repopulated and garrisoned Ausona (Vich) with Jews.

As noted earlier, all free subjects of the Carolingian realms who held allodial lands and among whom many Jews were to be found were obligated to perform military service on a regular basis in local levies commanded by the count of the *civitas* in which they lived. The rank and file of these levies were comprised of men who commanded considerable wealth and had dependents to work their lands. The men who served in these levies could afford to serve when called upon regardless of the season of the year; they could supply themselves with food for three months of campaigning and with clothing and arms for six months in the field.²⁴

In the campaign against Barcelona from September 802 to April 803 regional levies from Aquitaine, Gascony, Burgundy, Provence, and Septimania took part.²⁵ Among the local levies that formed the regional levy of Septimania was one raised in the Narbonnaise, where, as noted above, Jewish allodial landholders were prominent and where historically the Jewish community had demonstrated a significant military capability. This was the case not only during the Visigothic period but as recently as 793 when the garrison of Narbonne held out successfully against the invading forces of Abd al-Malik ibn Muġit.²⁶ In addition to having served in the levy of Narbonne, Jews may be inferred to have played a role in the local levy from the *civitas* of Lyons which was a part of the regional levy of Provence. Such an inference seems warranted in light of the substantial allodial holdings possessed by Jews in the Lyonnaise during this period.²⁷ The campaign against Tortosa in 805 was probably another instance in which Jewish fighting men served to aid the Carolingian cause in the establishment of the Spanish March. In this campaign Count Burrellus of Vich (Ausona) is indicated as playing a leading role and, as has already been concluded, the inhabitants of his *civitas* were predominantly Jewish.²⁸

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It seems reasonable to suggest that the role played by Jews in the foundation of the Spanish March was both military and demographic. As allodial landholders,

²⁴ See n. 16 above.

²⁵ Bachrach, "Military Organization in Aquitaine," pp. 25-26. Zuckerman, *Jewish Princedom*, pp. 194-197, believes that Hermoldus Nigellus' account of the siege is based upon a Jewish account and follows the Jewish calendar. It is clear that Hermoldus dates some events according to the lunar calendar. It should be emphasized, however, that Christians as well as Jews calculate their holy days according to a lunar calendar. See B. S. Bachrach, "Some Observations on the Chronology and Itinerary of King Louis of Aquitaine 794-814" (forthcoming).

²⁶ See nn. 16 and 18 above.

²⁷ On Jewish landholders in the Lyonnaise, see A. Coville, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Lyon du Ve siècle au IXe siècle (450-800)* (Paris, 1928), pp. 523-27, 536, 540-42. A. Zuckerman, "The Political Uses of Theology: The Conflict of Bishop Agobard and the Jews of Lyons," *MS*, 3 (1970), 37, n. 50, follows Coville.

²⁸ *V Hlud*, Ch. 14 (p. 613).

Jews were required to perform regular military service in the Carolingian levies. The apparent abundance of Jews in southern France relative to their co-religionists in other parts of the Carolingian empire—a function of the comparative depopulation of the frontier—would seem to indicate that the Jewish element in the armies of the Carolingian reconquest at this time was not insignificant.²⁹ The circumstance of population distribution also seems to have made Jews likely candidates to settle and defend deserted frontier regions newly taken from the Muslims such as Ausona. It is possible, in addition, that the Jews of Barcelona and Jewish immigrants from the Abbasid empire also proved loyal supporters of Charlemagne for the settlement and defense of Carolingian Spain.³⁰

By serving as soldiers, garrison troops, and frontier settlers, the Jews of the Spanish March played a role in the early history of this region that differs markedly from the traditional view of Jews as urban dwellers and merchants who shunned military activity and lacked control of significant landed resources. Great care, however, must be taken to avoid exaggerating the significance and extent of the Jewish contribution in the foundation of the Spanish March. The use of late medieval material of a propagandistic nature to embellish the position of the Jews in this region can be as damaging to a proper evaluation of their historical role as has been the frequent application of unflattering stereotypes based upon long standing prejudice and unsupported by reliable data.

²⁹ The problem of finding statistical evidence for the size of the Jewish population in the Carolingian empire or any part of it or for the total population of the empire is insoluble. In the final analysis scholars draw their conclusions on the basis of impressions. For example, the Jewish population of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain and Gaul is thought to have been so substantial as to have made it necessary for each monarch to formulate a Jewish policy. It may be conjectured that some Arian Goths after 587 chose to convert to Judaism rather than become orthodox Christians and thus increased the number of Jews in the population. On these points, see Bachrach, "Visigothic Jewish Policy," pp. 13-14. For the depopulated nature of the frontier with regard to Christians, see Dupont, *Les cités*, pp. 290-93, and the material quoted in nn. 21, 22 and 23 above.

³⁰ The evidence for Jews in Barcelona under Charlemagne is far from conclusive. In the early eighth century, the Jews of Barcelona are depicted as having turned the city over to the Muslims and at least for a time thereafter to have provided the garrison. The fate of the Jewish community during the following two generations is shrouded in mystery. By the mid-ninth century, however, a plethora of texts indicate a flourishing and powerful Jewish community in the city and its surrounding area. It is tempting to conclude that the Jewish position at Barcelona was one of continuous habitation as does Zuckerman, *Jewish Princedom*, pp. 47-48, 320-321, but the evidence is too thin to do more than hypothesize continuity. It seems clear that Jews immigrated to Spain from Abbasid lands during the ninth century (Zuckerman, *loc. cit.*, 316 ff.), but solid evidence for Charlemagne's reign is lacking at present.