This is the first comprehensive account of the high Hebraic culture developed by the Jews in Normandy during the Middle Ages, and in particular during the Anglo-Norman period. This culture and the society that created it have remained virtually unknown to the public and the scholarly world throughout modern times, until a combination of recent manuscript discoveries and archaeological findings decisively testified to the phenomenon.

The book explores the origins of this remarkable community, examining both the surprisingly copious topographical evidence pointing to the arrival of the Jews in Normandy as early as Roman and Gallo-Roman times, and autograph documentary testimony available in the Cairo Genizah and other Hebrew manuscripts as well as in early medieval Latin sources. It also exploits the rich manuscript evidence of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century writers (preserved in Hebrew, Latin and French sources) evocative both of the high cultural level attained by this community and of its social and political interaction with the Christian world during Anglo-Norman times and their aftermath.

A particular feature of the book is its unprecedented treatment of the interconnections of Normannic and English medieval Jewry and of their privileges during Angevin times. The book is illustrated copiously throughout with maps and photographs, many published here for the first time.

THE JEWS IN MEDIEVAL NORMANDY

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A social and intellectual history

NORMAN GOLB

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For Ruth

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PREFACE

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which without doubt impacted considerably on the public's awareness of the role of the Jews in the formation of Western culture and civilization, has also, it may be hoped, enhanced the possibility of increased awareness of other Hebrew manuscript discoveries and investigations in modern times. Probably the most significant of these discoveries is that of a hoard of fragmentary literary texts and historical documents found in the storage-room, or *genizah*, of a synagogue in Fustat (Old Cairo) and brought to several of the great libraries of England and the Continent during the latter half of the nineteenth century. A few decades passed before scholars became fully aware of the potential value of these manuscripts for the study of medieval history; thereafter, a considerable body of evidence was gathered and published pertaining to the life of the Jews of Egypt and surrounding countries. More surprisingly, certain rare Genizah fragments, when studied in conjunction with other evidence, eventually began to shed light on significant aspects of medieval European history and culture.

Historians of medieval Europe, being trained primarily in the tradition of Latin rather than Hebrew scholarship, at first took little or no cognizance of this phenomenon. Many Hebrew texts of a literary character – including even some important historical chronicles – had, to be sure, been published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a number of them accompanied by translations. These were indeed occasionally used by historians of medieval Europe for purposes of documenting certain events. On the other hand, those historians paid scant attention to Hebrew autographic documentary texts such as those found in the Genizah – e.g. letters, contracts and other texts produced in person by participants in the events they describe – and as a result, the value of the texts in question remained virtually unknown to the general reading public.

At the outset, this under-utilization was readily comprehensible, if only because these documentary texts (when they were indeed published) were as a rule not accompanied by translations into modern European languages. At the same time, the significance of the resulting gap in historical knowledge, which perseveres even until today, must be emphasized. The evidence provided by the Hebrew documents, when taken in conjunction with other testimony,

demonstrably tends to cast doubt on the pervasive tendency, in Continental historiography, to minimize or even to disregard the role played by the Jews in the development of medieval European civilization, particularly in its literary and intellectual aspects. While, on the basis of a particular class of Latin documents, the medieval European Jews are not infrequently portrayed with respect to certain specifics of their economic activities, practically no consideration is or has been given in works of general medieval history to their social and cultural life, or to their intellectual, legal and religious institutions, which could not have failed to contribute to the broad flow of European society before the era of expulsions. It is precisely this problematic aspect of contemporary historiography which, primarily by manuscript investigation, the present work seeks to remedy.

My own interest in the Hebraic components of medieval European civilization goes back to the 1960s, when I first became aware of the presence of documents of European provenance in the Cairo Genizah collections. It was in the course of studying and publishing a number of these texts that I came across the 1922 edition of a Genizah manuscript of the eleventh century housed in the British Museum's collection of Hebrew documents. This autograph document, an official letter of the Jewish community in a seaport city of southern France, described the plight of a Jew from another place, who had been dispossessed of his land by a feudal lord after the Jew's son and servants had been slain "in the forest" while on the way to work in their fields. He had been forced to leave his native community, had traveled to the seaport city, and there requested a letter of recommendation to be used by him in Jerusalem, where he hoped to spend his remaining years. The letter had ultimately made its way to Old Cairo – where the victimized Jew's voyage evidently came to an end – and it lay there, in the synagogue attic holding thousands of other documents, through the centuries before being brought in modern times with many other fragments to the British Museum.

This Genizah document (now translated into English below), and particularly the reference to the slaying "in the forest," intrigued me; for there was a law in effect in ducal Normandy, as later in England, stipulating that acts of mayhem committed in the forests were to be tried in the duke's or king's own court; and in fact, after the murder the bereaved father had brought his complaint directly to the "ruler of the land." Yet the line of text describing the place of origin of the father did not, as transcribed by the first editor, indicate a town in Normandy or England, but rather another: according to that editor, "the city of *RDWS* in the land of França." He had interpreted the enigmatic place-name as meaning the town of Rodez, located in Languedoc – that is, in the south of France and far from Normandy.

However, this was an original autograph letter, whose scribe would hardly have erred in such a basic detail. Had he meant Rodez, in the south, he would at

least have written, in the consonantal, unvocalized Hebrew characteristic of medieval documentary manuscripts, *RWDYZ* or *RWDYS*, but certainly not *RDWS*. Moreover, no writer of an autograph letter living in France in the eleventh century would have been wont to state that Rodez was in "França" – a term characteristically reserved during this period not for the Midi, or south, but for *northern* France. In the Middle Ages the southern regions of what is today France were characteristically called *Província* (i.e. Provence), and *(The Land of) Langue-d'Oc* (that is, the land where *oc*, not *oui*, means "yes").

For these reasons, and suspecting what the correct reading of the crucial toponym might be, I examined the original document in London late in 1966. At the crucial point the first editor had read the final consonant of the place-name erroneously as an *S* in place of the *M* that stood out clearly in the text; it is this recognition that would eventually lead to the set of discoveries discussed throughout this work. In Hebrew script the ס, *S*, looks rather similar to the so-called final ם, *M* (that is, the *M* as written at the end of a word); but the two consonants can as a rule be readily distinguished from each other with a little concentration and, in the case of difficult manuscripts, with proper use of a magnifying glass. The letter clearly introduced its bearer as coming "from the city of *RDWM*, which is in the land of França."

The importance of the new reading lay in the fact that, for the first time in an autograph Hebrew document, the equivalent of the Latin place-name *Rodom*, which for centuries designated Normandy's capital city of Rouen, had been found. The sense of this term had never been forgotten by French historians. In Hebrew literature written in France during the Middle Ages, however, the term appeared hardly ever to be used. Where it did occur in printed texts, scholars had generally emended it to read as something else – either *DRWM* (pronounced *dārōm* and meaning "the south") or else *DRWS*, which they believed stood for Dreux (in the Eure-et-Loire department). They did this because of unfamiliarity with the convoluted history of the old term designating Rouen, and also because, in many *printed* Hebrew texts since the sixteenth century, there were references to "scholars of *DRWM*" and "sages of *DRWS*." Only two or three hesitant voices had been raised near the end of the nineteenth century to suggest that *Rodom*, in the few places in manuscripts where, at that time, it was known to appear, might be the Hebrew name for Rouen, just as in Latin and Arabic. However, no autograph documentary texts – as opposed to scribal copies of literary works in codex form – were then known which preserved this word, and so the identification remained largely unrecognized.

Studying the Genizah document in the British Museum, however, I began to see that this text might serve as a key to a better understanding of the history of the Jews of that northwestern region of Europe. Some statements in medieval

Latin chronicles referring to the Jews of Rouen came to mind: how William the Conqueror had transferred them to England, how at the start of the First Crusade others who had remained had been slain or forced to convert, how they had later, once allowed to return to their faith, given gifts to Pope Innocent II during his visit to the city. Yet despite these and other hints in Latin writings, there seemed at the time to be virtually none in Hebrew sources attesting to the importance of the Jews of Normandy or its capital. There was, to be sure, the well-known account of a persecution of Jews in the north of France that took place approximately in the year 1007. An end had been put to this persecution when an important personage named Jacob ben Jequthiel traveled to Rome and personally appealed to the Pope. This account, constituting a brief chronicle contained in a manuscript in Parma's Bibliotheca Palatina, had been imperfectly edited and published in 1876, and its historical authenticity had long been questioned. Like the protagonist of the Genizah letter, so had Jacob been a landowner in *RDWM* at the beginning of the eleventh century. Given, however, that the Parma manuscript was a scribal copy and that the term *RDWM* had not been carefully studied, uncertainty had always prevailed regarding the authenticity of this text.

No such uncertainty, however, could reasonably attach to the autograph document at the British Museum or to its connection with Rouen, as was clear from the architecture of the crucial four-consonant place-name – at first glance a startling reading yet, upon further thought, one in striking harmony with the well-established dictum of textual criticism to the effect that "the more difficult reading is the one to be preferred." The manuscript was ripe with historical significance: for it described a plunderous act of disinheritance by a Normannic duke some time during the first third of the eleventh century, perpetrated against a Jew of Rouen who possessed farmlands inherited from his forefathers. The historical implications of this text, moreover, fit well with statements in the Latin sources. The Jews of Rouen had evidently had a long history during and perhaps even before the early medieval period. They possessed lands, they customarily had the protection of rulers, they appeared to suffer mitigation of their rights at certain points during the eleventh century, and either alone or with their Normannic coreligionists were sufficiently numerous to have served as the core of the Jewish population of post-Conquest England. Rouen itself, of course, had been the chief city of an independent dukedom for over two centuries, after a far longer career as the capital of Gaul's Second Lyonnaise province and of Merovingian and Carolingian Neustria.

Missing from this emerging picture, however, was the element of Hebraic culture of these people; and this when it was well known that Christian intellectual centres of Normandy had once been among the most important in northwestern Europe. It was quite inconceivable that strong and prosperous urban communities

of Jews in Europe - such as the Latin and, at this point, two Hebrew sources betokened with respect to Rouen - could have existed in the Middle Ages without their having possessed the ingredients of the fertile cultural heritage that had characterized the life of such communities for centuries in Palestine as well as the Diaspora. The cultural products of urban Jewish centers would naturally have included, *inter alia*, Biblical commentaries, treatises on rabbinical literature, legal writings, and liturgical and poetic works.

This led me, as early as 1967, to formulate a basic hypothesis along the following lines: if an established scholar in modern times had read the word *Rodom* as altogether another term, could not earlier scholars and scribes, upon seeing this same word in manuscripts, have made similar errors? The change from the original Latin designation Rothomagus through Rodom to Rouen had never been acknowledged or discussed by Continental Hebraists. In the fourteenth century, on the other hand, the Jews had been expelled from France and suffered a profound socio-cultural break with a country that had sheltered them since Roman times. Could not the significance of this old place-name *Rodom* have been gradually forgotten by the exiles from Normandy, as they slowly assimilated to the cultures and languages of the lands where they settled after 1306?

As the only direct and feasible method by which to test the fledgling theory, I undertook a search, first in printed books, for passages referring to the alleged "sages of the south" (*DRWM*), and thereafter sought out the underlying readings of those passages in the earliest known manuscripts. During the period of investigation I was able to uncover over twenty occurrences of the authentic term *Rodom* in manuscripts preserved in almost as many libraries. Much of this work took place during the academic year 1969/70 at the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts in Jerusalem, where I was able to compare textual variants in photographic reproductions of scores of codices gathered from almost all the libraries of Europe and the United States, and to edit many of the Hebrew sources pertaining to Rouen.

I presented a sizable body of evidence concerning the toponym Rodom and its scribal variants in 1976, in a Hebrew work of an inductive nature; in it the Hebrew manuscripts and the Latin and French texts were discussed one step at a time, and appendices set forth editions of the pertinent manuscript sources. The essential characteristics of these sources left no question as to their authenticity, and many of them stemmed from culturally important contexts which appeared to shed new light on the contribution of urban Jewish institutions to French and Anglo-Norman civilization. Students of medieval France would now, for example, be obliged to consider the evidence showing that the famous Andalusian author Abraham ibn Ezra had, before visiting England, resided in Rouen for as much as a decade during the twelfth century, and that certain works composed by that

author in Hebrew were studied in Latin translation at the Sorbonne at the close of the following century. They would similarly be obliged to consider the evidence that had emerged concerning the life and cultural milieu of the Hebrew fabulist Berakhiah Hanaqdan – a body of evidence that greatly exceeded what was available for the life circumstances of his non-Jewish (and more widely read) counterpart Marie de France.

For largely unpredictable reasons, however, the Jewish culture of medieval Rouen was soon to become enmeshed in controversy. Four months after the publication of the Hebrew work, in August of 1976, a team of French archaeologists unearthed, in the courtyard of Rouen's famous Palace of Justice - an edifice located in that city's Street of the Jews - what would turn out to be, to this date, the single most important archaeological discovery ever made pertaining to medieval European Jewry. They came upon it without any knowledge of the existence of the book published four months earlier. Reciprocally, I arrived in France at the beginning of September of that year without any prior warning of the archaeological discovery.

The partially unearthed building, containing numerous Hebrew graffiti, was a remarkable example of Romanesque architecture, a monumental edifice whose quality and elegance corresponded with the evidence of a large, prosperous community offered by the Hebrew and Latin sources. Although the news had been widely published in Normandy shortly after the discovery that a medieval "synagogue" had been discovered beneath the courtyard of the Palace, I urged upon the local archaeologists that it would be a grave error to identify this ancient monument as a place of worship. The authentic medieval synagogue of Rouen was firmly fixed by old maps at a location on the opposite side of the Rue aux Juifs, and in the book published several months earlier I had indicated on the basis of a now lost fifteenth-century source that an *Ecole aux Juifs* or "School of the Jews" had evidently stood on the site later occupied by the Palace of Justice, on the northern side of the same street. Moreover, the dimensions and fine architectural quality of the building were consonant with the status accorded schools of higher learning in medieval European Hebrew texts. My initial study of the site, setting forth the textual and architectural evidence for its identification with a *yeshibah,* or rabbinical academy, was submitted to the Ministry of Culture in Paris by the Regional Conservator of Architectural Monuments, and soon thereafter the French government decided to preserve the building as an officially designated historic monument of France. This decision, however, was soon tempered by expressions, among certain parties in Rouen and Paris, of a different class of sentiments - ones that eventually converged in an effort to cast doubt not only on the importance of the monument that had been unearthed, but also on the very significance of the Hebraic cultural presence in medieval Normandy.

According to these parties, the Jews had never, in medieval times, possessed schools of architechtural importance either in France or England; they were considered as "strangers" by the surrounding population; and in general their contributions to French civilization were minimal or non-existent.

The discovery at Rouen and the debate that it aroused, and particularly the lack of firm knowledge that I encountered on all sides pertaining to the academic learning of the medieval Jews, convinced me that an expanded study on the Rouennaise Jewry had become a necessity, for the subject needed further and more systematic treatment than had been possible within the bounds of a work characterized by inductive philological examination. Fuller use would have to be made of Latin and French sources, and some room allowed for conjecture and hypothesis in explaining certain combinations of events whose possible interconnections had been overlooked not only by earlier writers but also by me in the aforementioned Hebrew volume. In addition, the archaeological evidence would have to be integrated with information contained in the written sources.

The work took seven years to complete. During this period I was able to locate the crucial toponym *Rodom* in still additional Hebrew manuscripts; and then, in 1982, another important archaeological discovery - a building identifiable on the basis of precise textual evidence as the mansion of Bonnevie, one of the most prominent Jews of Normandy towards the end of the Angevin period - was made in Rouen's Street of the Jews. All of the new findings were incorporated into the French volume, which appeared in Rouen in 1985. This work treated the literary culture of the Jews of Rouen within the context of their social, political and economic life. While it considered certain events affecting the life of the Jews of Normandy as a whole, it did not discuss their wider history in a systematic way. It seemed to me, even close to the time of publication of the French work, that the means were not available to make this attempt.

Beginning with the summer of 1985, however, I began to consider this problem more carefully, focusing attention particularly on the question of antiquity and geographic spread of the Normannic Jewry. This was largely the result not only of my own published findings, but also of increases in knowledge of this subject brought about by other researchers. Prior to the 1980s, the treatment of the Streets of the Jews in France had been, to say the least, sketchy and incomplete, with information culled only from printed sources, almost no eyewitness descriptions of the sites, and no efforts to offer an explanation of the origin of these streets. In 1982, however, the departmental archivist R. Villand published a study, based in part on unpublished archival sources, describing no fewer than twenty-two such streets in Normandy's Manche department alone, whereas but two years earlier the "Nouvelle Gallia Judaica" research group in Paris, an affiliate of the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, had

indicated knowledge of but five such streets in that same department. Similarly, the important topographical dictionary of the Seine-Maritime department (in Normandy likewise), published only as late as 1984, included the names of fourteen Streets of the Jews as well as three other place-names indicative of ancient Jewish settlement in that part of Upper Normandy, whereas the 1980 "Nouvelle Gallia Judaica" list had included only eight bona fide names of this nature in the same department, four given in the topographical dictionary and four not. Five additional Streets of the Jews in the Seine-Maritime were subsequently located by me, thus bringing to twenty-six the known number of such place-names in that department alone.

With these facts in mind, I undertook, during 1986 and the following several years, a survey of all sites in Normandy having Jewish attributions, wherever possible measuring and photographing them. The vast majority were streets and roads in cities, towns, villages and, most surprisingly, even the purest open farmland and countryside. The complexity of the emerging picture and its obvious significance for the question of the antiquity of Jewish settlement in Normandy were striking - and yet no studies of the social and cultural history of France appeared even to have made mention of this phenomenon, let alone to have pondered it. By drawing certain conclusions that the emerging pattern of settlement in effect forced upon me, I was able to consider the cultural phenomenon discovered earlier not as a disembodied entity but rather as the natural outgrowth of demographic and societal processes extending throughout the areas of Normandy as a whole. Those areas could be legitimately characterised, collectively speaking, as the nutritive hinterland sustaining the culture and economy of the Jews in the capital and other cities of the region. What I had viewed earlier as the integral Jewish history of a single metropolis was in reality a fragment of something much larger – that is, the mostly obliterated odyssey of the Jews inhabiting a distinct region that itself figured prominently in the formation of western culture and civilization over many centuries.

These considerations have formed the impetus for the wider study presented in the following chapters. The attempt has been made to include below all information pertaining to the Normannic Jewry of which I had become aware by 1996 and, wherever possible, to integrate its components in such manner as to produce a satisfactory portrait of that society. However, it would be impermissible to claim that the subject has now been revealed to the fullest extent. If during a span of only three decades discoveries in the number, and of the quality, described in the chapters below, all pertaining to the Jews of this one region, have occurred with such notable regularity, one may hardly rule out the eventuality that new surprises will follow. The systematic, page-by-page investigation of the surviving archives of the five departments of Normandy in search of further information on

this topic remains, for example, still to be accomplished by competent teams of archival palaeographers. The literary writings of the Jews who resided in medieval Normandy themselves remain, on the other hand, mostly untranslated. In addition, many aspects of the Hebrew toponomy of medieval France and England are still in need of scientific clarification, despite all the good work on this subject done by scholars in the past. For these reasons alone the present work can be said to do no more than lay the groundwork for future studies.

All the same, it is my hope that the present work might serve as a stimulus for historians of medieval Europe to reconsider their prolonged silence on the subject of the cultural achievements of the medieval western European Jewry. The record of those achievements demonstrates that, despite claims to the contrary persevering even today, Catholic France, Normandy, and England were, in both a cultural and religious sense, but parts of a more complex whole, in which the most significant role of creative otherness was played by the Jews. The chemistry of interactions arising amongst the component elements of European civilization obviously requires further thoughtful consideration based on both textual and archaeological findings. Even now, the first stirrings of a progressive change in attitude on this fundamental subject, as well as of perseverent opposition to such change, may be observed at Rouen itself: a project to install a permanent exhibition within the crypt of the School of the Jews at Rouen on the history and culture of the Jews of medieval Normandy, in the planning stage during several years, was formally announced in 1989. Yet this project now finds itself inexplicably blocked. It would appear that the French authorities have now chosen, at least for the moment, not to integrate the Jewish reality into their official presentation of the history of Normandy. The romantic idea of medieval France as a unified, "Catholic" France has, it would seem, become entrenched in various academic and popular circles, resulting in the view that the true history of France can be based only on texts written in Latin and French. Despite the continuing widespread lack of knowledge concerning the literary and intellectual contributions of the Jews of medieval France, it may surely be hoped that the spirit of fairness and civic inclusiveness will guide those charged with the governance of the distinguished cities of that country in the direction of a just and balanced treatment of their past.

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Those who know my wife Ruth will understand why it is that written testimony cannot adequately reflect her role in this work of so many years, nor acquit me of my deep gratitude to her for all she has done. This book is dedicated to her with love.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. Publications

Bab.	Babylonian Talmud
BEC	*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, revue d'érudition*
BSAN	*Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*
BT	E. E. Urbach, *Baʿalē hatōsāfōt*, 3rd edn. (Jerusalem, 1968)
Cat. Hamburg	M. Steinschneider, *Catalogue der hebräischen Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1878)
Close Rolls	Calendar of the Close Roles located in the Public Record Office (London) and published in 56 volumes between 1833 and 1949
GR	A. Lechaudé d'Anisy, *Grands Rôles des Echiquiers de Normandie,* vols. I and II (Paris, 1845–52)
GS	M. Steinschneider, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, 1925)
HR	A. Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale* I (Rouen, 1843)
HU	M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893)
INSEE	Topographical publications of the Institut National de la Statistique et des études économiques
JAE	Jacobs, *The Jews in Angevin England* (London, 1893)
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopaedia*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
Journaux	J. Viard, *Les journaux du Trésor de Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris, 1940)
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRMA	N. Golb, *Les Juifs de Rouen au Moyen Age: Portrait d'une culture oubliée* (Rouen, 1985)
Magazin	*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (the Hebrew portion of each fascicle thereof being entitled *Oṣār ṭōb*)
MGH SS	G. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores,* 32 vols. (Hannover, 1836-1913)
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*

MSAN	*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*
Olim	A. Beugnot, *Les Olim ou registres des arrêts* (Paris, 1839-48)
Ordonnances	E. de Laurier *et al.*, *Ordonnances des Roys de France de la Troisième Race* I (Paris, 1723)
OZ	Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, *Sēfer ōr zārūʿa* I–II (Zhitomir, 1862); III–V (Jerusalem, 1887)
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
Pipe Rolls	Publications of the Pipe Roll Society for the Publication of the Great Rolls of the Exchequer
PL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina,* 217 vols. (Paris, 1844–55)
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
RH	*Revue historique*
RHC Occ.	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Occidentaux,* 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-95)
RHGF	M. Bouquet *et al.*, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,* 24 vols. (Paris, 1737–1904)
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL Pat.	T. D. Hardy, *Rotuli litterarum patentium* (London, 1835)
RTC	R. Fawtier *et al.*, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes I: Règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1958)
TJHSE	*Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*
TYR	N. Golb, *Tōledot hayehūdīm beʿir rouen bimē habĕnayim* (Tel-Aviv, 1976)
V.A.N.	*La Vie et l'Arte en Normandie*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZGL	L. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, 1845)

II. Other abbreviations

A.D.	Archives Départementales
A.N.	Archives Nationales (Paris)
AM	*Anno mundi* (calendar year according to traditional Jewish dating of the Creation)
Anon.	Anonymous
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
b.	*ben* (Heb.), *bar* (Aram.), *bin* or *ibn* (Arab.) = son of
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
Chap.	Chapter
comm.	commentary
ed., eds.	editor, editors
edn.	edition, edition of
Eng.	English
f.	*filius* (Lat.) = son of
fo., fos.	folio, folios
Heb.	Hebrew
J.T.S.A.	Jewish Theological Seminary of America (New York City)
km	kilometre, kilometres
l.	livre(s) = pound(s) (as monetary designation)
l.P.	livre(s) of Paris
l.T.	livre(s) of Tours
m	metre, metres
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
p.b.w.h.	peace be with him
R.	*Rab, rabbi* (Heb.) = master, my master
r.	rue = street
r.i.p.	*reposere in pacem* (= p.b.w.h.)
s.	*sols* = sous
T.-S.	Taylor-Schechter Collection of Cairo Genizah Manuscripts at Cambridge University Library
tr.	translator(s)
trans.	translation
ULC	Cambridge University Library

III. Biblical books (in order of their appearance in the Hebrew Bible)

Genesis	Gen.	Nahum	Nah.
Exodus	Ex.	Habakkuk	Hab.
Leviticus	Lev.	Zephaniah	Zeph.
Numbers	Nu.	Haggai	Hag.
Deuteronomy	Deut.	Zechariah	Zech.
Joshua	Josh.	Malachi	Mal.
Judges	Jud.	Psalms	Ps.
Samuel	Sam.	Proverbs	Prov.
Kings	Kings	Job	Job
Isaiah	Isa.	Canticles	
Jeremiah	Jer.	(Song of Songs)	Cant.
Ezekiel	Ezek.	Ruth	Ruth
Hosea	Hos.	Lamentations	Lam.
Joel	Joel	Ecclesiastes	Eccl.
Amos	Amos	Esther	Esth.
Obadiah	Ob.	Daniel	Dan.
Jonah	Jon.	Ezra	Ez.
Micah	Mic.	Chronicles	Chron.