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The Rabbinic Master Jacob Tam and Events of the Second Crusade at Reims

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While Odo of Deuil's account of the Second Crusade is an invaluable source for many aspects of the expedition, it does not actually describe the itinerary of the crusaders through northern France in 1147, with two brief exceptions. First, he wrote that after King Louis had departed with his troops from Saint-Denis, he made "the archbishop of Reims" – that is, Samson – Abbot Suger's "associate in the administration of the realm" during the king's absence (*in regni cura vobis dedit socium Remensem archiepiscopum*). Secondly, that once arrived at Metz, "he found [there] all subject to him voluntarily, *as had already been true at Verdun* (*omnes tamen invenit ex gratia, sicut Vereduno iam fecerat*)."[1] These statements, occurring within only a few lines of each other, are sufficient to serve as an indication that, after leaving Saint-Denis, the initial march of Louis's army first led to Reims.[2] For the period 8–15 June Luchaire, in his *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, described two acts written in Reims.[3] (However, the actual dates given may be inaccurate.[4])

With regard to the early phases of the crusade, such as the mustering of various forces in diverse towns and cities, the gradual assemblage of those troops in major centers, and their movement eastward until joining up with Louis's men at Metz or later at Worms, relatively little has been said by historians except for mention of certain magnates from among the lengthy list of leading northern French and English crusade personalities recorded by an anonymous chronicler and published by Auguste Molinier.[5]

Concerning events between the convocation at Étampes of 16 February 1147 and the arrival of King Louis's army in Worms at the end of June, however, considerably more information can be derived by recourse to a Hebrew source dealing precisely with this period. First of all, however, we may note that Odo, in describing the

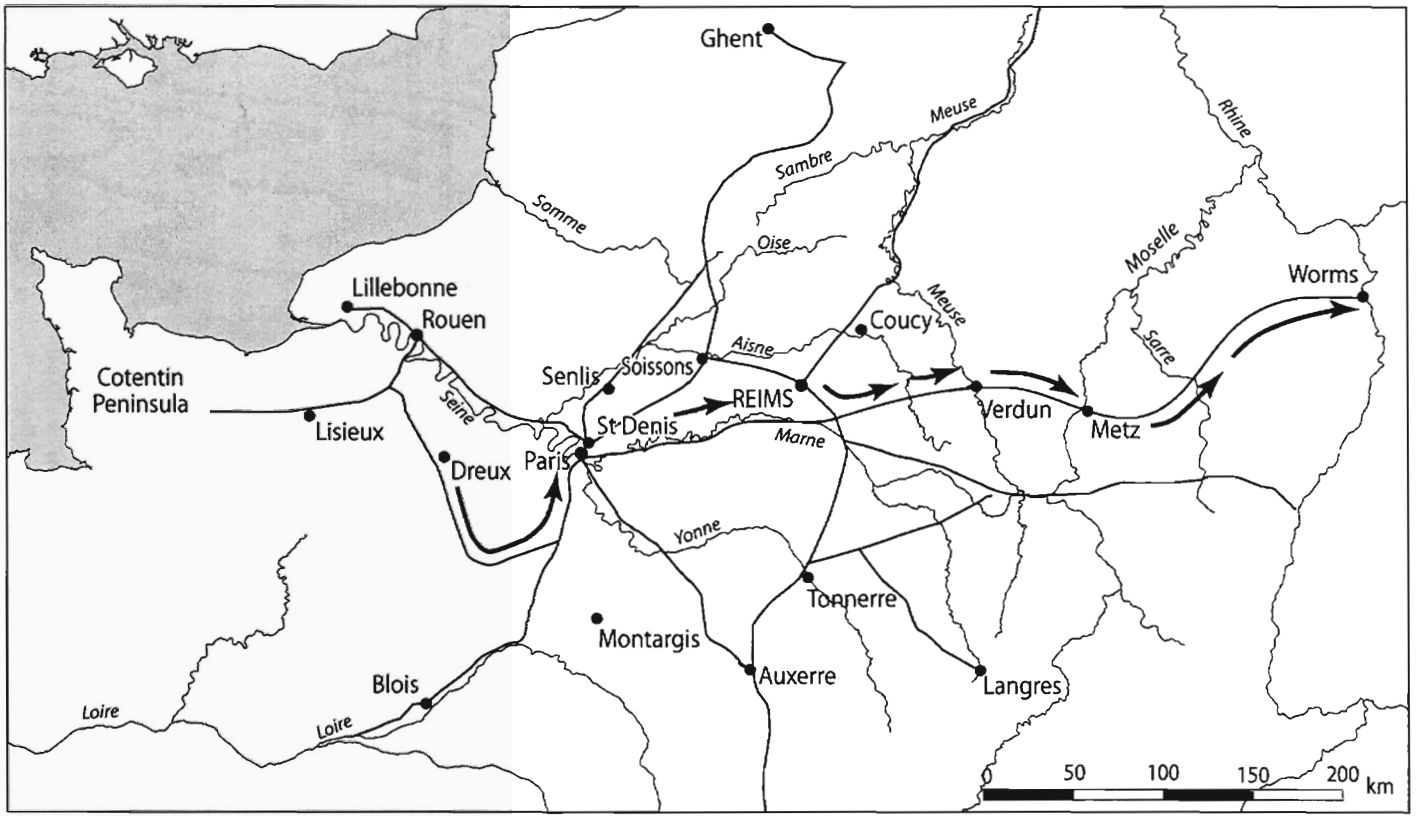
[1] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia G. Berry (New York, 1948), pp. 20–21.

[2] For the route taken by Louis's army from Reims to Metz, cf. Auguste Longnon's description (citing *Itinerarium Antonini* 364) of "la voie directe de Reims [*Durocortorum Remorum*] à Metz, *Divodorum*, par Verdun," *Dictionnaire topographique du Département de la Marne* (Paris, 1891), p. xxiii. We note in passing the ancient term for Reims, *Durocortorum Remorum* which, as we shall see, appears in later texts as *Civitas Remorum* and then further transmutes itself.

[3] Achille Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885), nos. 219 and 221.

[4] Cf. below, n. 30.

[5] Cf. Auguste Molinier in the appendix to his *Vie de Louis le Gros* (Paris, 1887), pp. 158–59. See also Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London, 2007), pp. 115–27.



Map 1 Proposed Crusader Itineraries to Reims and Worms, 1147 AD

encampment of Louis's army at Worms at the end of June 1147, stated that the king "decided to await the venerable Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, and his Normans and English (*cum suis Normannis et Anglis*)."[6] This is, of course, an entirely different contingent than the multi-ethnic force that in June of the same year embarked for Portugal and some months later succeeded in conquering Lisbon.[7] Arnulf was the only Norman bishop present at the Vézelay gathering of 1146. Odo's account might suggest that the English and Norman crusaders first gathered at Lisieux and then under the leadership of Arnulf began their journey eastward to meet Louis's forces at Worms.

Coincidentally, Ephraim of Bonn in his Hebrew chronicle of the Second Crusade described attacks on the Jews of three towns – Carentan, Ham and Sully – whose Hebrew onomastic counterparts may be located in, or around, the Cotentin peninsula.[8] English crusaders disembarking, for example, at Cherbourg and Ouistreham on their way to join Bishop Arnulf and the Norman crusaders in Lisieux would have passed by or near these towns, and the descriptions of attacks upon Jewish communities that took place in 1147 offer no reason to exclude the likelihood of such events taking place in the Cotentin peninsula and nearby at that time.

Let us now consider the case of Reims. That crusade forces actually did arrive and camp there on their way eastward has not been, and cannot definitively be, demonstrated from any known Latin source, but may be shown by recourse to the aforementioned Hebrew source. Furthermore, in combination with a variety of other Hebrew text-passages this illuminates the importance of the Jewish community of Reims in the mid-twelfth century and demonstrates the presence there at that time of northern France's most distinguished Hebrew scholar, the rabbinic master Jacob Tam.

Some indication of the importance of Reims for the medieval Champenois Jewry – although during these past few decades apparently a somewhat taboo subject – has already been hinted at in a French historiographical source from the mid-eighteenth century. In the course of a description of Reims by the *chanoine* Jean Lacourt of that city, he observed *inter alia*:

> [the Jews] had a synagogue there, and schools where they publicly taught the Talmud. The Jews of Champagne made a particular study of [this work], and in that respect distinguished themselves more than those of other regions. These Jews of Reims are

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[6] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici*, pp. 22–23.

[7] *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi (The Conquest of Lisbon)*, ed. and trans. Charles W. David, with a new introduction by Jonathan Phillips (New York, 2001).

[8] Ephraim of Bonn in *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Adolf Neubauer and Moritz Stern, trans. Seligman Baer (Berlin, 1892), pp. 64 (text), 194–95 (German translation); English translation in Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades* (Madison, WI, 1977), pp. 117ff. Cf. Norman Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 217ff.

> the authors of a considerable part of what are called the Tosaphot, i.e. additions or explanations of the [Babylonian] Talmud.[9]

This statement – coming from a well-read priest-historian who resided in Reims several decades before the French Revolution destroyed so many of the country's archival documents, and who here actually acknowledged without prejudice the intellectual activity of medieval Remois Jews – is one that can hardly be taken lightly. Yet, surprisingly, a review of historiographical literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries does not reveal any recognition among scholars, or evidence of documentary investigation on their part, relative either to Jewish learning activity within the medieval Remois community or to any other of its specific characteristics.[10] This is so even despite the fact that Hebrew correspondence written by Jacob Tam himself included significant statements that, once brought together and compared with one another, ineluctably point to his residence at Reims, to the specific nature of his activity, and to his presence there at the time of the Second Crusade.

Consider, for example, the fact that Jacob Tam's correspondence actually indicated that he was in the service of the crown, apparently as chief counselor responsible for royal policy towards the Jews of Champagne. He once stated, in a letter responding to legal inquiries by a certain Joseph b. Moses: "Wondrous are you, my teacher R. Joseph ... [your] messengers are swift – yet whenever they've arrived here, I'm heavily occupied; the work of others is put upon me, as well as *abodat ha-melekh*." This Hebrew phrase literally means "labor of (or for) the king," but in this context should perhaps more freely be translated as "royal duties."[11] On another occasion, Tam wrote in response to queries sent to him by three eminent scholars of Paris, that "if not for the heavy yoke 'until the wrath passeth over' and this ruler of mine departs, I would have developed [my answer] more lucidly. My responsibilities, however, have been pressing heavily upon me – perhaps (those individuals) will soon leave ..." In this passage, the words translated as "this ruler

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[9] Cited in Pierre Varin, *Archives administratives et legislatives de la ville de Reims* (Paris, 1853), I, Part 2, p. 906; additional details of importance by Varin in MS Reims 1645.

[10] For example, Heinrich Gross in his very brief article on Reims in the *Gallia Judaica* stated that the name of not one rabbinic scholar of this city is known: Heinrich Gross, *Gallia Judaica: Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques*, trans. Marc Bloch (Paris, 1897), p. 634. As recently as 1980, an "Inventaire archéologique" compiled by the "équipe de recherche 'Nouvelle Gallia Judaica'" of the CNRS, while citing statements of Varin relative to the synagogue, cemetery and street of the Jews of Reims, failed to make any mention of a Talmudic academy there, or even of Varin's citation of Lacourt's manuscript remarks pertaining thereto: see "Inventaire archéologique," in Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale* (Toulouse, 1980), p. 370. In published statements of the past quarter-century relative to the Jews of medieval Champagne, one hardly encounters a word about Reims, the focus instead being on Troyes as the well-known home of Rashi, and also upon that most enigmatic of places, on the Aube river close to the town of Arcis, which is the village of Ramerupt, and where – so it continues to be claimed even today – one of the most important French Talmudic academies, said to be presided over by the eminent Jacob Tam himself, was situated at least during the greater part of the twelfth century, if not also beforehand and afterwards.

[11] R. Jacob Tam, *Sefer ha-Yashar*, ed. Shraga Rosenthal (Berlin, 1898), p. 26.

of mine" are *zeh ha-sholet sheli*, where *sholet* probably implied a regional figure, such as a duke or count, rather than the king himself.[12]

The sixteenth-century *tradent* Gedaliah b. Yahya wrote of Tam: "I have read in an ancient booklet that [Tam] was a man of great wealth and beloved in the king's court." Abraham of Torrutiel (who also wrote in the sixteenth century) likewise stated of Tam that he was "[often] present in the palace of the king of France, who had great affection for him."[13] Moreover, a Hebrew manuscript preserved at Munich (MS 50) contains an account of three questions on biblical themes posed to Tam by a "ruler" (Heb. *shilton*) of Champagne (*Kampanya*).[14] The term *shilton* ("ruler"), etymologically based upon the word *sholet* used by Tam himself, is apparently an allusion to Count Theobald the Great who held the countship of Blois and Chartres from 1102 onward and, from 1125 to 1152, also that of Champagne and Brie – years that coincide with the apogee of Tam's career. The meeting between the count and Tam may have taken place at the comital court, perhaps in the 1140s, but at all events before the crusade had started to gather substantial levels of support.

It appears that King Louis himself was not necessarily often found in Reims; Luchaire in his *Actes* noted only a visit there some time between January and 22 April of 1139,[15] as well as his aforementioned stay there in June 1147 during the initial phase of his crusade journey.

Without forced exegesis – such as has been often employed to explain away their significance – these passages indicate that Jacob Tam was a personage who served the government, and that he did so probably with respect to matters pertaining to the Jews in the region in which he resided, namely the county of Champagne. We may reasonably infer that he exercised his political and communal responsibilities at Reims and not elsewhere, for it was that city which was the Champenois seat of the king, peopled by his representatives and officials – and the city whose cathedral, from the time of Pepin onward and throughout the lengthy period of Capetian rule without exception, was the only place where the kings of France were crowned and consecrated. With rare exception the anointing archbishop would figure amongst the foremost prelates of the realm, and when Louis VII departed on crusade with his army, it was the archbishop of Reims whom he appointed as Abbot Suger's associate in the temporary rule of the kingdom. It was during that same year, 1147,

[12] Ibid., p. 59. (In another text, cited below, a count of Champagne is designated in Hebrew as *ha-shilton mi-kampanyah*.)

[13] Gedaliah b. Yahyah, *Shalshelet ha-qabbalah* (Warsaw, 1877), fol. 24a; Abraham of Torrutiel, in annotation by Abraham Harkavy to Heinrich Graetz, *Dibré yemé yisra'el* (Hebrew translation, by Saul Phinehas Rabbinowitz, of Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden* (Warsaw, 1896)), vol. 6, p. 6.

[14] Cf. MS Munich 50 (but also MS 252), and the brief descriptions by Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 600. A French translation of the three questions and Tam's response has been published by Rami Reiner, along with his comments, in *Héritages de Rachi*, ed. René-Samuel Sirat et al. (Paris and Tel Aviv, 2006), pp. 27–39. The author suggests (p. 30) that the count in question "s'agit très certainement de Henri Ièr, devenu Comte de Champagne en 1152 après la mort de son père Thibaut le Grand." However, the later period of Henry's countship and his own character as compared with that of Theobald the Great are facts that turn the author's assertion into something of an overstatement.

[15] Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, no. 25.

that Jacob Tam can be found specifically in Reims, as becomes clear from other categories of evidence.

The first of these consists of three passages describing an event that has been recorded by French historians but never associated with the correspondence of Jacob Tam – namely the Reims uprising of 1147. To begin with, in his Hebrew answer to a query about a problem of Jewish law received from a certain Aaron b. Joseph, writing apparently from another Champenois city, Jacob stated that he will respond succinctly, even though "your messenger has arrived at a time of troubles, for the chieftains are storming against their lord; your servant [= Jacob Tam] is witnessing it – the city is in an uproar!"[16] Secondly, the discussion of the uprising described by Tam, obviously of a serious nature, is augmented by an additional letter of his to another out-of-town correspondent – one whose specific identity, however, remains unknown. Once again responding to a question of Jewish law, this time concerning the ownership of disputed property, Tam offered a relatively terse response, in the end stating that "If not for the fact that our [city] gates are being disrupted by armed troops, I would have gone into greater detail [in this letter of mine] by virtue of the honor due you, if only I were able to do so."[17] Thirdly, although past writers dealing with these two statements have indicated that no such happening in mid-twelfth-century Champagne is known, precisely such an event took place *in Reims* at that time. The event is in fact described by Louis-Pierre Anquetil in the second volume of his *Histoire de Reims*, published in Reims in 1756 – in other words, just as in the case of Jean Lacourt's literary activity, *prior to* the French Revolution and its attendant destruction of archival records.

By 1138, Archbishop Renaud II of Reims had died, and the townsmen took advantage of the ensuing two-year vacancy to establish a commune, which promptly opposed the proprietary rights and wide authority of the archbishop. A tense struggle ensued between King Louis VII and Pope Innocent II, with consequent instability within the city until, in 1140, Samson of Malvoisin was chosen as the new archbishop and the commune was suppressed.[18] Its partisans, however, harbored deep resentments against both the king and archbishop for their roles in interdicting the aspirations of the townsmen. The latter began to express their sentiments. Anquetil writes – precisely under the date of 1147 – that "the partisans of the commune, especially the inhabitants of the St. Remi quarter, revolted." Making themselves masters of their quarter, "they descended to the city's center, where the populace joined up with them." All of them then moved to the cathedral "demanding with great cries 'justice and vengeance.'" The crowds began mistreating the officials of the cathedral and pillaging their homes and personal property. Anquetil then states:

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[16] Tam, *Sefer ha-Yashar*, p. 177.

[17] Ibid., p. 168.

[18] Giles Constable, "The Disputed Election at Langres in 1138," *Traditio* 13 (1957), pp. 119–52.

> Finally, troubled every moment by new alarms, and fearing for his own safety against an insolent mob, Samson ... sought the prompt aid of Abbot Suger, regent of the realm during the voyage of Louis [VII] ... to the Holy Land ... Troops were sent to the prelate and the demonstration ceased, due less to their fear of the soldiers than to the exhortations of St. Bernard [of Clairvaux], who became the mediator between the archbishop and the people.[19]

While early manuscript evidence underlying Anquetil's very specific description of the uprising apparently no longer exists, its historicity is supported by the only extant eyewitness account, namely the terse descriptions by Jacob Tam. The approximate season of the uprising is not divulged by Tam, but is hinted at by Anquetil's dating of the event in 1147 and his remark to the effect that, during this time, Suger was serving as regent *in the wake* of King Louis's departure on crusade. The events in question would, accordingly, have taken place some time in the summer or autumn of 1147 – that is, when Louis's forces were well en route to Worms or even Hungary, if not already there.

Anquetil's vivid description of events in Reims in 1147 – echoed by Jacob Tam's anxious observations – is brought into yet bolder relief by Ephraim of Bonn's Hebrew account of still another event directly involving Tam that had occurred only a few months earlier, that is, in the *spring* of 1147. This relates to the description of the attack upon him by crusaders that took place on the second day of the Jewish Feast of Weeks (Pentecost) of that year (8 May 1147), on which date, according to the description by Ephraim of Bonn, "the pilgrims (*ha-to`im*) from the land of France gathered together (*ne'esfu*) at RMRW."[20] That description hardly seems like one of a mere band of crusaders taking a by-road and entering a small country village; rather, it implies a large confluence of forces traversing highways and converging on a sizeable city. The Hebrew RMRW of this text obviously answers to the *civitas Remorum* by which Reims was often designated in the wake of the earlier Latin usage *Durocortorum Remorum* of the *Itinerarium Antonini*; and indeed, the medieval Hebrew designation was at times *Medinat Remoru*, that is, the *metropolis* of Reims.

Ephraim gave a remarkably specific description of the attack. The crusaders broke into Tam's home, stole all his possessions, and tore up a Torah scroll as well. Then they led him to a field, conspired to murder him if he refused to convert to Christianity, and, in an act of revenge harking back to the travail of Jesus, inflicted five wounds on his head. Tam, however, was able to cry out to a passing nobleman

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[19] Louis-Pierre Anquetil, *Histoire civile et politique de la ville de Reims*, 3 vols. (Reims, 1756), 2:291–94.

[20] Although the Hebrew word *to`im* designated those who later on were known as crusaders, in the twelfth century it more precisely translated the term *peregrini* by which the crusaders were then generally designated; hence the translation "pilgrims" employed in this article. Cf. Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Alcune dimensioni comparative del pellegrinaggio medievale," in *Tra Roma e Gerusalemme nel Medio Evo. Paesaggi umani ed ambientali del pellegrinaggio meridionale*, ed. Massimo Oldoni (Salerno, 2005), p. 277.

who by clever entreaty to the crusaders dissuaded them from carrying out their intention.[21]

To paraphrase and somewhat develop Ephraim of Bonn's description, we may infer that, according to him, various crusading bands and forces of the French territories to the north, west and south of Reims, intending eventually to meet up with Louis's army, first gathered in Reims; it was there that some group among them attacked Jacob Tam.

The date of 8 May 1147 is not insignificant, for it pre-dates by a month the time of Louis's departure from Saint-Denis. Some volunteers may have started to make preparations for the journey eastward even shortly after the Vézelay assembly of March 1146. No doubt Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching had influenced them; in his letter to Pope Eugenius III, written in a burst of enthusiasm just after that event, the saintly abbot wrote: "... I proclaimed and spoke, and the number [of crusaders] multiplied endlessly [so that] now towns and castles are abandoned ..."[22]

The actual process of recruitment and provisioning, however, must have taken far longer; in contrast with the words of the abbot, Odo only stated that after the Vézelay proclamation stipulated that they should set out by the end of 1146, "all [the attendees] returned home joyfully (*Tandem edicto quod post annum progrederentur, omnes ad sua cum gaudio repedarunt*)."[23] Thereafter even the original decision to leave by year's end was changed at the Étampes conclave of February 1147 to the Pentecost season of that year, which fell in June.

While Berry is silent regarding the entire period of the march eastward after Étampes and before Metz,[24] there seems no evidence to contravene her statement that "In France and Germany crusaders from all parts of the west had been gathering since February and March [of 1147]."[25] Abbot Bernard's description of crusaders multiplying and the abandonment by them of their towns and castles reads, by the available evidence, not so much as a characterization of the Vézelay meeting's result but rather more as a portrayal of events after the Étampes meeting of February 1147, when actual signs of such activity were recorded: namely, the attacks upon Jewish communities in the spring of 1147 and the gathering of crusader bands at Reims perhaps well in advance of King Louis's June departure from Saint-Denis.

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[21] Ephraim of Bonn in *Hebräische Berichte*, pp. 64 (text), 195 (translation).

[22] "Siquidem *annuntiavi et locutus sum, multiplicati sunt super numerum.* Vacuantur urbes et castella ..." *S. Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclerq and Henri Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), 8:141. The quotation is from Ps. 39:6.

[23] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici*, pp. 10–11.

[24] Cf. the description of the meeting at Étampes by Virginia G. Berry, "The Second Crusade," in Setton, *Crusades*, 1:477–78, which ends with the statement that the assembly "decided to postpone their departure from Easter to June 15" and thereafter returns to Louis and the march east only on p. 487 with the words "Metz had been chosen as the assembly point for the French army." Berry thereupon named various magnates who gathered there and then continued her narrative with the crossing of the Rhine at Worms on 29 June.

[25] Ibid., p. 481.

The assault on Jacob Tam implies a somewhat anarchic condition in the city – characteristic of crusader-induced behavior during other anti-Jewish attacks that transpired in both French and German cities during the First and Second Crusades.[26] The timing of the incident can best be explained as propitious for the crusading band that plotted and carried it out. Already in the previous year Bernard had begun arguing fiercely against attacks on the Jews, and King Louis was deeply under the abbot's influence.[27] It is doubtful that an attack upon such a distinguished Remois personage as Jacob Tam would have been attempted with the king's own army present in the city – something which was to happen, however, only in June of 1147.

With regard to the particular band of crusaders responsible for the attack on Tam, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was one of those coming from an area south-west, or south, or north-west, of Reims. One candidate might have been thought to be the group of English and Norman crusaders who travelled from Lisieux under the leadership of Bishop Arnulf; but Odo, as indicated above, stated that, once arrived in Worms on 29 June, King Louis *decided to await the arrival* of Arnulf and his men.[28] This can only mean that, having started out from an area quite far to the west of Reims, they would have arrived there only some time *after* the king's forces had moved on from Reims to Metz.

With regard to the date given by Ephraim of Bonn for the attack on Tam, the second day of the Jewish Pentecost, or 8 May, this is more than a month earlier than the departure of King Louis's troops from Saint-Denis and their arrival in Reims. Ephraim, however, was only a 14-year-old youth in 1147, and he was not present at the French episodes of the Second Crusade; instead, he heard about them from eyewitnesses and recorded his descriptions only afterwards, working them into his martyrological work which dealt mainly with events in his native Germany.[29]

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[26] Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 80–87.

[27] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, 8:316.

[28] Cf. Odo's wording relative to the decision made at the Étampes meeting: *Inter haec indicitur dies in Pentecosten profecturis et in Octavis undecumque Mettis glorioso et humili principi congregandis* (Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici*, p. 14) and compare the contradictory statement which follows soon thereafter, viz.: *Illo anno in quarta feria Pentecostes edictum accidit; sic regi celebria cuncta succedunt. Dum igitur a beato Dionysio vexillum et abeundi licentiam petiit, qui mos semper victoriosis regibus fuit* ... (ibid., p. 16). In other words, the decision growing out of the meeting at Étampes is first described as being to the effect that "a day in Pentecost" would be chosen for the departure from Saint-Denis while the arrival at Metz was set for "a day in the Octave" (interpreted by Berry to mean 15 June); whereas the latter statement is to the effect that the great crowds gathered at Saint-Denis for the Lendit Fair – which in that year took place "on the Wednesday after Pentecost," or 14 June – were privileged (as Odo had explained in a prior passage) to behold the king and pope together. Even if the subsequent departure from Saint-Denis took place that same evening, the king and his army could hardly have reached Reims – which by the road system then in place was well over 150 km from Saint-Denis – by 15 June. Odo later states that the king and army were at Worms "on the feast day of the Apostles Peter and Paul" (ibid., pp. 22–23) which took place that year on 29 June. If the travel itinerary Saint-Denis–Reims–Verdun–Worms had been accomplished in approximately four or five days for each phase, the arrival in Reims could have taken place by 19 or 20 June but hardly beforehand.

[29] Robert Chazan, "Ephraim of Bonn's Sefer Zekhirah," *Revue des etudes juives* 132 (1973), pp. 119–26.

Odo of Deuil, on the other hand, connected the king's departure from Saint-Denis with the *Christian* Pentecost *season* of early *June* of that year, and wrote of the monarch's eventual arrival at Worms on 29 June; while Luchaire described an act of Louis given between 8 and 15 June at Reims, and another act given at Verdun within that same period.[30] Luchaire also stated that Louis was at Saint-Denis on 8 June, and was in Reims, Verdun and Metz only *after* 8 June; elsewhere he noted that Louis was in Reims already at some time between 8 and 15 June, but also that he would have reached Verdun during that same period.[31] The combined statements make it seem likely that Louis had not reached Reims in time to celebrate the actual Pentecost on 8 June, but only that he arrived in Reims *during the Pentecost season that followed.* It is no more than possible, however, that Ephraim's informant regarding the attack on Jacob Tam may have inadvertently confused the Jewish Pentecost holiday with the Christian Pentecost season.

Be that as it may, it is not likely that English and Norman crusaders were responsible for the Reims attack on Jacob Tam because that would have delayed them even further in reaching Louis's forces at Worms where they were being awaited. By contrast, Reims was the natural gathering point for crusaders from the towns of Champagne and other regions before they were to move on to Worms by the one direct route available to them: that is, Reims–Verdun–Metz–Worms. Important groups of crusaders had been mustering ever since the February meeting at Étampes and Ephraim of Bonn addressed this directly when he wrote that "the pilgrims from the land of France gathered together at RMRW" – meaning of course that many such groups had gathered there before moving on towards Worms.

In addition to their English and Norman peers, the magnates who were likely to have commanded crusade forces travelling towards Worms *by way of Reims* would have probably included the following: Enguerrand II of Coucy; Ivo of Nesle, count of Soissons; William "the Butler" of Senlis; Count Robert of Dreux; Henry of Blois (son of Count Theobald); Count Reynald of Montargis; Count Renaud of Tonnerre; and Godfrey, bishop of Langres. Starting out somewhat further away, but still likely to have travelled with their men towards Reims first of all, were Count Guy II of Ponthieu and Count Thierry of Flanders, from Ghent.[32] During the weeks following Étampes the forces would have begun gathering in the major towns; then, as they set out on their journey, they were increasingly bolstered by other crusader bands; and in the late spring and early summer of 1147 the city of Reims undoubtedly began to swell with many of their numbers while they waited for King Louis to arrive from Saint-Denis with his own forces. It may well be that the band which perpetrated the attack on Jacob Tam was already in Reims by 8 May (the second day of the Jewish Pentecost). Alternatively it is possible that the attack occurred on the Christian Pentecost – 8 June 1147 – but, in this latter case, it would most likely have happened just before the scheduled arrival of King Louis and his army.

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[30] Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII*, nos. 221 and 222.

[31] Ibid., pp. 64, 217–18.

[32] For further information on these individuals, see Phillips, *Second Crusade*, pp. 100–101.

An Additional Observation on the Remoru/Reims/Ramerupt Conundrum

Many writers during the past century and a half have interpreted RMRW as referring to the southern Champagne village known as *Ramerupt* – hardly a likely gathering place for large crusader contingents. It must be emphasized that those writers show no evidence of having known that Reims was often designated as *Civitas Remorum* in the Middle Ages. The Hebrew term should simply be pronounced Remoru (with characteristic apocopation of the case ending) rather than Rameru. In his *Gallia Judaica*, Gross states that "Après la mort de Raschi, le petite localité de Ramerupt resta pendant plus d'un demi-siècle le centre le plus important de la science juive dans la France septentrionale,"[33] but there is no cogent onomastic or archaeological basis for this broad assertion. The "équipe de recherche 'Nouvelle Gallia Judaica'" states that Ramerupt "avait une synagogue," but then, referring to Henri d'Arbois-de-Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne* 4/2 (Paris, 1865), p. 833, adds: "extrapolation de l'auteur [= d'Arbois-de-Jubainville] qui ne peut s'appuyer sur des texts, mais déduit l'existence d'une synagogue du fait qu'il y avait des maîtres juifs fameux à Ramerupt."[34] This last assertion, too, has no *bona fide* textual foundation; all of the so-called "masters of Ramerupt" were, by the available onomastic evidence, rabbinic scholars situated at Reims.

[33] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 635.

[34] "Inventaire archéologique," in Blumenkranz, *Art et archéologie*, p. 370, s.v. Ramerupt.