Jews in the Medieval German Kingdom

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I. Jews and Christians: Long-Term Interactions

1. Jewish Centers and Their Reach

"Verily our teachers in Mainz, Worms, and in Speyer belong to the most learned among the sages, the holy ones of the Most High [...] from there goes forth the law to all Israel, [...] since the days of their founding, all communities turn to them, on the Rhine and in all the land of Ashkenaz."[1]

With these words Isaac b. Moses b. Isaac b. Shalom (*c.*1180 to *c.*1250), also known as *Or Zarua* after his main work, characterized the leading role of the sages in the Jewish communities of the central Rhine area around 1200. Isaac had begun his studies in Bohemia (Prague), a land called *Ken'an* (after the biblical Canaan[2]) and seen as part of the "land of Slavonia" in contemporary Jewish writings. He had gone on studying at Regensburg and, for a number of years, at Worms and Speyer, before completing his studies in Paris and other Jewish centers in Northern France. He became a renowned authority active in places such as Regensburg and, from the

* The present study evolved over a prolongued period in several phases. It constitutes an extended and, in some passages, much elaborated version of my contribution, "Jews in the German Kingdom," in R. Chazan (ed.), *The Cambrige History of Judaism*, vol. VI *The Medieval Period* (New York: Cambridge UP, forthcoming). I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr Christoph Cluse, Arye Maimon Institut für Geschichte der Juden, at Trier University for his careful translation and for many helpful references.

[1] Isaak ben Moses, *Sefer Or Zaru'a*, ed. H. Lipa and J. Höschel, vol. I (Zhitomir, 1862), 217b, quoted in R. Barzen, "Jewish Regional Organization in the Rhineland: The 'Kehillot Shum' around 1300," in Cluse (ed.), *Jews of Europe*, 233–43, 233.

[2] *Germania Judaica I: Von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1238*, ed. I. Elbogen, A. Freimann, and H. Tykocinski (Tübingen, 1917–34; repr. 1963), 35–7, 402–3.

1220s, in Vienna, the ducal residence on the south-eastern periphery of the German Kingdom with its nascent Jewish community. R. Isaac attested to the close association between the three neighbors on the central Rhine, the Jewish communities together known to medieval Jews as *Qehillot ShUM*, after their initials ("Shpīra," "Warmaisa," and "Magenẓa").[3] Referring to their leading role, *Or Zarua* distinguished between these three communities and those "in all the land of Ashkenaz." Judaism in Ashkenaz, then, had its earliest basis in the ShUM communities and was concentrated in the Rhenish regions.[4]

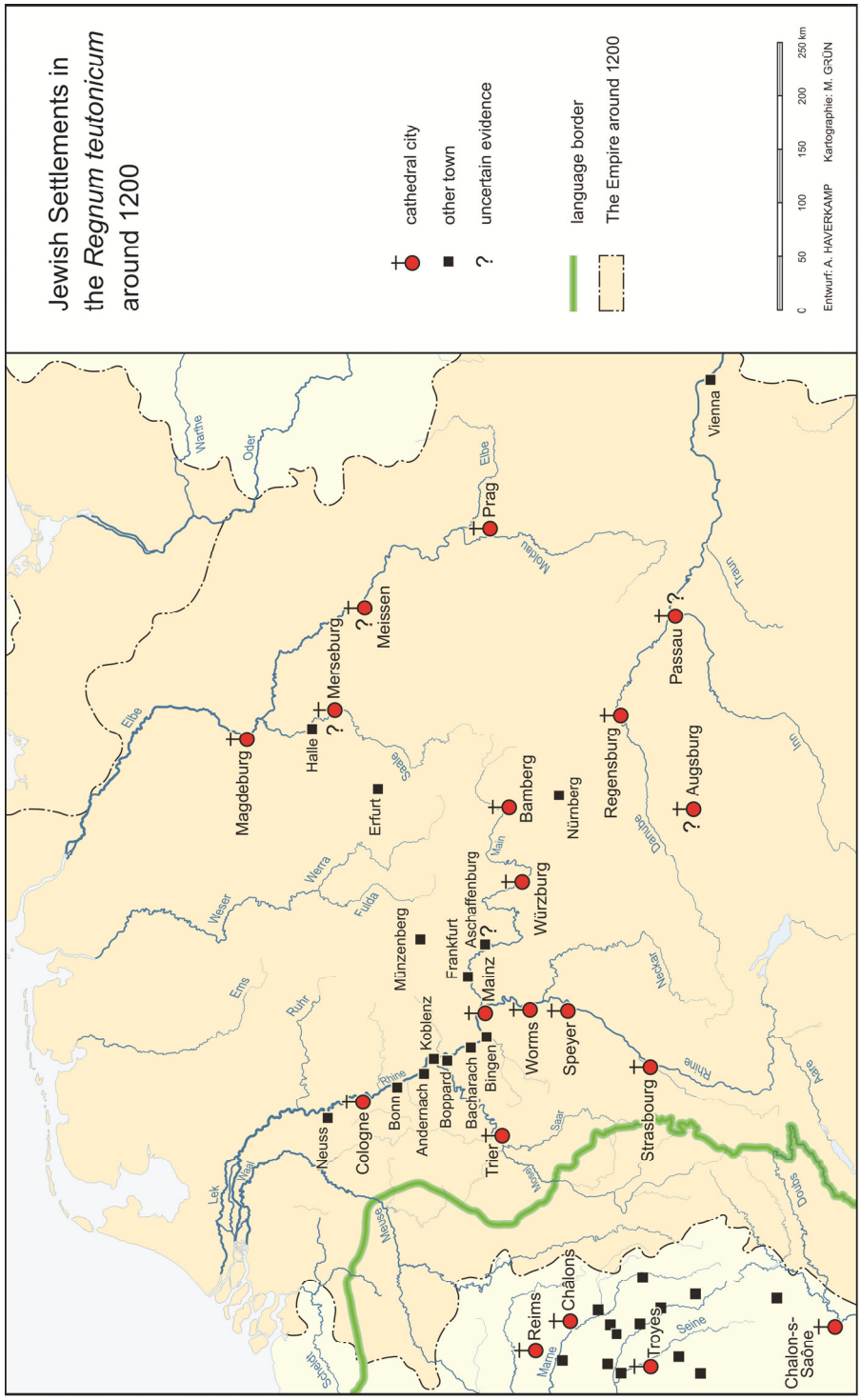
The name "Ashkenaz," taken from the Torah (Genesis 10:3, cf. 1 Chronicles 1:6, and Jeremiah 51:27), gained currency from the second third of the twelfth century; during the thirteenth, it superseded the older (apparently synonymous) designation, "Alemania." Since the twelfth century, however, it was increasingly used to refer to the kingdom, i.e., the former Kingdom of Eastern *Francia* including its extensions east of a line marked by the Elbe and Saale, the Bohemian and Bavarian forests and the Traun river. From around the same time, it began to be preferred over the term "regnum teutonicum" (or "teutonicorum") current since the late-eleventh century.

map: Jewish settlements in the Regnum teutonicum around 1200[5]

[3] See, most recently, R. J. Barzen, "Die SchUM-Gemeinden und ihre Rechtssatzungen: Geschichte und Wirkungsgeschichte," in Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz (ed.), *Die SchUM-Gemeinden Speyer – Worms – Mainz: Auf dem Weg zum Welterbe* (Regensburg, 2013), 23–35.

[4] For the current state of research (especially for the period from 1350 to 1519), see *Germania Judaica III: 1350–1519*, vol. I, *Ortschaftsartikel Aach – Lychen*, ed. A. Maimon in coll. with Y. Guggenheim; vol. II, *Ortschaftsartikel Mährisch-Budweis – Zwolle*; vol. III, *Gebietsartikel, Einleitungsartikel und Indices*, ed. A. Maimon, M. Breuer, and Y. Guggenheim (Tübingen, 1987–2003). For the areas of the German Kingdom roughly west of the line Halberstadt – Bamberg – Nuremberg – Innsbruck between 1000 and 1520 CE, see the annotated cartographic presentation in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*; M. Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen* Reich, 3rd edn (Munich, 2013); E. Peters, "'Settlement, Assimilation, Distinctive Identity': A Century of Historians and Historiography of Medieval German Jewry, 1902–2002," *JQR*, 97 (2007): 237–79.

[5] The map largely rests on the documentation in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*. For the county of Champagne see the maps in S. Benner and A. Reverchon, "Juden und Herrschaft: Die Champagne vom 11. bis frühen 14. Jahrhundert," in C. Cluse et al. (eds), *Jüdische Gemeinden und ihr christlicher-jüdischer Kontext in kulturräumlich vergleichender Betrachtung von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, (Hanover, 2003), 151–213, at pp. 159 and 165.


Jewish Settlements in the *Regnum teutonicum* around 1200
cathedral city
other town
uncertain evidence
language border
The Empire around 1200
0 50 100 150 200 250 km
Entwurf: A. HAVERKAMP Kartographie: M. GRÜN
Warthe
Oder
Elbe
Prag
Vienna
Meissen
Merseburg
Halle
Magdeburg
Passau
Regensburg
Augsburg
Erfurt
Bamberg
Nürnberg
Würzburg
Aschaffenburg
Frankfurt
Mainz
Münzenberg
Koblenz
Andernach
Bonn
Neuss
Cologne
Boppard
Bacharach
Bingen
Worms
Speyer
Trier
Strasbourg
Reims
Châlons
Troyes
Chalon-s-Saône
Weser
Werra
Fulda
Saale
Moldau
Donau
Inn
Traun
Ems
Ruhr
Rhine
Main
Neckar
Saar
Mosel
Marne
Seine
Saône
Doubs
Aare
Lek
Waal
Maas
Schelde

Jewish authors modeled their geographical worldview on the political realities of their Christian surroundings.[6] In Jewish writings the "Land of Alemania" (and accordingly, "Ashkenaz") included the "Land (of) Lothir," which referred to the areas between Champagne and the Rhine. "Lothir" was named after the "regnum Lotharii" (Lotharingia), though with a substantial difference: while the latter had been much reduced in scope during the tenth century, Jewish "Lothir" continued to include the *ShUM* cities, which had belonged to the kingdom of Eastern *Francia* since the ninth century (and later, to the "German" Kingdom). The Jewish communities of these cities became by far the most important centers of "Lothir."

Accordingly, the significance of "Lothir" in contemporary Jewish thought diminished after the persecutions of 1096 and was slowly reduced to a historical reminiscence.[7] There was a widening distance between the Jews in Ẓarfat (Northern France, including Champagne) on the one hand, and in Ashkenaz, on the other, i.e., between Jewish settlements in the Romance and Germanic linguistic spheres. New features emerged distinguishing the Jewries of Ẓarfat from those of Ashkenaz.[8] Nonetheless, French continued to be used alongside the German vernacular in the *qehillot* on the western banks of the Rhine down to the thirteenth century. Other than in the Romance-speaking parts of Lotharingia, the German-speaking areas along the Rhine saw an expansion of Jewish settlements from the twelfth century, and the "Jewish Rhinelands" gained importance. At the same time, Jewish life also expanded eastward from this axis.[9]

[6] Cf. A. Grossman, *The Early Sages of Ashkenaz: Their Lives, Leadership and Works (900–1096)* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1988), 313–15; for "Ashkenaz" and "Alemania", see *Germania Judaica I* (above, n. 2), xvii–xviii, 9. I am indebted to Yacov Guggenheim (Jerusalem) for his expertise on the regional vocabulary in Hebrew.

[7] The persecutions of 1096 marked the end of Jewish community life in the Lotharingian metropolitan see of Metz for about a half-millennium; in the other cathedral cities in French-speaking Lotharingia, Verdun and Toul, it never developed.

[8] E. Kanarfogel, *The Intellectual History and Rabbinic Culture of Medieval Ashkenaz* (Detroit, 2013).

[9] The Hebrew term "Ashkenaz" by and large came to denote all of the German kingdom. On "Lothir," cf. *Germania Judaica I* (above, n. 2), xvii, 160–3, and H. Gross, *Gallia Judaïca: Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques*, ed. S. Schwarzfuchs (Amsterdam, 1969), 293–305. I thank Eva Haverkamp (Munich) for helpful remarks.

2. Jews Within the Christian Authority Structure

Royal and imperial rule were most firmly anchored in the Rhine regions, which also excelled in economic strength. The central Rhine area for long periods of time set the stage for conflicts over control in the Empire. It was one of the few regions (another one was Lower Franconia) where the kings relied on royal possessions and rights inherited from Carolingian times as far as they could be maintained. These were supplemented by domains and rights which they, or their predecessors, had brought into royal hands from their baronial house.

Despite the existence of these density zones of imperial and dynastic rule, the limited powers of the kings were in extreme disproportion to the enormous extent of their realm, which stretched from the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas to the southern Alps regions, as a comparative glance at other kingdoms in western Europe will clearly reveal. The German kings' claim to authority had been significantly extended when they attained the imperial honor in 962. From that time, they tried to strengthen their position in the old areas of the German Kingdom by closely cooperating with bishops, whom they increasingly endowed with domains and rights. Hence the political role played by bishops was stronger here than in any other medieval Christian kingdom. Their functions as religious office-holders and secular powers mutually reinforced and influenced one another, so that bishops assumed an eminent role for Ashkenazi Jewry from its very beginnings – a role which was particularly prominent in the economic hub regions in the west of the German Kingdom, and which had a lasting impact even into the early modern period. Due to the intense struggles between Empire and Papacy from the late-eleventh century, the imperial bishops were able to enforce more and more independence from the kings but also from the papacy. Profiting from factors at work in other fields – including (until *c.*1300) favorable climate trends, the continuous expansion and intensification of the agrarian economy, population increase, the rise of a market and money economy as well as an intense urbanization –, the bishops became prime agents in a comprehensive reorganization of the authority structure. Numerous local or other small-scale units of governance were now gaining ground. In this process the kings/emperors began to lag behind, hampered by many dynasty changes and drawn-out struggles for the throne from the mid-thirteenth century, even in regions close to them.[10] The Jews of Ashkenaz therefore increasingly had to

[10] On this and on what follows, cf. A. Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany 1056–1273* (2nd edn, rev. and enlarged, Oxford, 1992); idem, *Zwölftes Jahrhundert, 1125–1198* (Stuttgart, 2003, repr. 2005).

rely on support in their local and regional surroundings, more than this was the case in any other European kingdom. Nevertheless, the kings/emperors remained a crucial factor for the Jews – at least wherever they could still exert or reassert some influence – in that they posed a counterweight to the local and regional powers. In return they tried to make the most of their claim to pre-eminent rule over the religious minority, the only such group that enjoyed some conditional tolerance according to Augustinian doctrine.

Other than the kings or nobles, the bishops as leading ecclesiastics could draw on a basic institutional structure in their diocese, supporting their secular rule. The roughly 40 dioceses of the German kingdom centered on the cathedral cities, where religious, political, military, economic, and intellectual functions culminated and where, until the fourteenth century and often much longer, urban life was most developed. Here, too, the earliest Christian town communes emerged since the late-eleventh century, above all in the west of the German Kingdom. In crucial respects these communities provided the model adopted in younger urban centers. Civic communities were institutionalized in varying degrees, but together they created, in urban as well as in rural settlements, a new basis in the structure of authority. Until the end of the medieval period the cathedral city was most often (with few exceptions since the fourteenth century) the home of the largest and most important Jewish community within a diocese. On the whole, then, the bishops and, increasingly from the turn of the twelfth century, the Christian communities of the cathedral cities were the nearest and most important authorities for a Jewish community. External influence on this triangular relationship was exerted by the kings/emperors, albeit with varying degrees of success depending on the region and time.

The supreme importance of these *qehillot* for Jewish life in large measure rested on the Jewish cemeteries situated near the cathedral cities. Here, Jews from surrounding settlements – originally often those from within the diocese – were laid to rest. Other than the local (and in itself multi-functional) synagogue, a cemetery – the "house of (eternal) life" (*beit ha-ḥayim*) or "house of eternity" (*beit ʿolam*) – provided a supra-local focus for the Jews' memories of their ancestors and the past of their *qahal*. For this reason it was sometimes the target of Christian aggression. Jews were bound by religious law to preserve the cemetery as undisturbed as possible. This requirement provided a legal basis for the supremacy of the *qehillah* in the cathedral city over the Jewish settlements that had emerged, no doubt always at a later date, in the surrounding urban or proto-urban centers and which were accordingly designated by other terms (*yishuv* and, in the more important cases,

ḥavurah). In many cases the cemetery district also coincided with a regional unit of taxation.[11] The central functions of the *qahal* situated in the cathedral city gave occasion to the term 'Bishop of the Jews' (*episcopus iudeorum*) current among Christians in Ashkenaz only, as a title for its leader (*parnas*).[12]

In Bohemia the basic political situation was different. The country had not been Christianized until the later-ninth century. Ruled by kings whose power was centered on Prague, it constituted a "regnum" of its own but within the German Kingdom, from the twelfth. Similar conditions obtained in the regions previously inhabited and ruled by pagan Slavs and situated between the Elbe-Saale line and the kingdom of Poland. While Christianization had begun in Poland in the later ninth century, it did not start until the mid-twelfth century in the northern intermediate regions, under the leadership of western secular rulers, who also encouraged immigration and settlement, agricultural innovation, and craftsmanship. These lands remained "distant" from the crown except for those which, from the mid-fourteenth century, became the heartlands of the Luxemburger and Habsburg royal houses after these dynasties had moved their centers to Bohemia and Austria. In the eastern regions the secular power of the bishops almost without exception was much more circumscribed than in the west. Accordingly, the centers of baronial and noble rule were much more important here for the emergence and status of Jewish communities.

3. Regional Patterns – Mediterranean-Continental Dimensions

The basic layout sketched so far relates to the existence of different regional patterns of civilization within the German Kingdom, which in turn can be placed in a

[11] R. Barzen, "Regionalorganisation jüdischer Gemeinden im Reich in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung auf der Grundlage der Ortslisten des Deutzer und des Nürnberger Memorbuches zur Pestverfolgung," in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), I, 293–366, and C. Cluse, "Zu den räumlichen Organisationsformen von Juden im christlichen Umfeld," in F. Irsigler (ed.), *Zwischen Maas und Rhein: Beziehungen, Begegnungen und Konflikte in einem europäischen Kernraum von der Spätantike bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Bilanz* (Trier, 2006), 285–96. Cf. below, pp. 34–5 with n. 80.

[12] A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas' von Christen und Juden in Aschkenas im Mittelalter" (1996), in idem, *Gemeinden, Gemeinschaften und Kommunikationsformen im hohen und späten Mittelalter*. ed. F. Burgard, L. Clemens, and M. Matheus (Trier, 2002), 315–56, 328–32.

wider perspective.[13] Ashkenazic Jewry had begun to develop west of the Rhine and also – with Regensburg as an early center – south of the Danube. It was rooted in those parts of the German Kingdom that had belonged to the ancient Roman Empire and became Christianized at an early date. These regions lay closest to the lands of Romance culture to the West (including, from the twelfth century, England) and the South, thus providing access to the wide reach of Latinate languages. Germanic dialects or languages, by contrast, were only spoken in parts of Central Europe and in Scandinavia, which was Christianized much later and, to all appearances, not colonized by Jews.

Despite the disruptions during the late ancient and early medieval periods, the regions of the German Kingdom once part of the Roman Empire surpassed those east and north of the Roman *Limes*, not only in terms of their urban foundations but quite generally, of civilization. By the same standards, however, they were much inferior (just as Northern France was) to most parts of the Mediterranean lands of Romance culture. In central aspects this south-north divide was to persist throughout the medieval period until well into the modern era, despite the deep changes that intervened. The cultural gap was even wider when we look at the areas between the Rhine and Elbe/Saale/Traun rivers, missionized in several waves during the early middle ages. Still later, almost 800 years after the Roman West and South, the *Orbis latinus* began to expand east of this line. This sequence was also followed by the spread of urbanization and, somewhat later, by Jewish settlement. In this way, Ashkenazic Jewry formed the north-easternmost part of the diaspora, extending it into the continental East. At the turn of the fourteenth century, the Jews were expelled from a number of French princedoms and from England (1287–90), from the French crownlands and the County of Champagne (1306, 1322/23). Despite various readmissions to France, therefore, the Jews of Ashkenaz found themselves in a border situation vis-à-vis north-western Europe long before the final expulsion from the French Kingdom (1394–97). They had lost their ties with the leading Jewish academies outside the Sephardic diaspora, ties they had eagerly used between the late eleventh and the mid-thirteenth centuries, and they had lost all the support they may have had from the western cultural sphere.

[13] For a comparative approach toward the Jewish presence on both sides of the Alps, cf. A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Italien und Deutschland während des späten Mittelalters: Ansätze zum Vergleich" (2010), in idem, *Neue Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte (2000–2011)*, ed. C. Cluse and J. R. Müller (Hanover, 2010), 59–102; idem, "Juden in Deutschland und Italien während des späten Mittelalters: Bewegungen in kabbalistischen Zusammenhängen," in F. Backhaus *et al.* (eds), *Frühneuzeitliche Ghettos in Europa im Vergleich* (Frankfurt a. M., 2012), 81–148.

4. Literacy and Source Transmission

North of the Alps, the Jews were not only singled out by their religious alterity, more than they were within the "Mediterranean society." Considering the feeble spread of literacy among Christians, they were also much more clearly marked off by their familiarity with the culture of the written word. In the German Kingdom literacy among non-Jews spread slowly with the advance of Christianity and until the thirteenth century remained the almost exclusive domain of male clerics and some monastic women. Even in the later medieval period, these religious were still generally better trained than the increasing number of literate laypeople. It was they who, drawing on their literary learning and guided by concepts of difference and competition, influenced the views of Christians concerning Judaism, while the various views harbored by 'people on the street' found little or no written expression. In the Christian urban communities, written documentation set in much later and never, not even in the fifteenth century, attained the depth of what was common in the Latinate areas of the Mediterranean.[14] This also meant that on the whole, fewer aspects of the Jewish presence were noted by Christian scribes, compared to the Mediterranean.

The narrow spectrum of what was put to writing is further reduced to what has been preserved. Written documents stood a far better chance of survival in the archives and libraries of religious houses than in noble families and with the crown. Most of the Jewish written heritage and the great majority of sources about Jews and their relations with Christians have come down to us dispersed in the archival and library holdings of Christian institutions. Jewish writings, by and large composed in Hebrew, suffered decisive losses due to persecution[15] and, later, expulsion. Pogroms frequently aimed at the destruction of Jewish ritual buildings and objects – generally speaking, of Jewish memory – or at any rate brought about

[14] A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung und die Überlieferung von Quellen zur Geschichte des aschkenasischen Judentums während des späten Mittelalters: Übersicht und Einsichten," in idem and J. R. Müller (eds), *Verschriftlichung und Quellenüberlieferung: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden und der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich (13./14. Jahrhundert)* (Peine, 2014), 1–64, 3–7.

[15] On the problem of distinguishing 'pogrom' from 'persecution', see J. R. Müller, "Judenverfolgungen und -vertreibungen zwischen Nordsee und Südalpen im hohen und späten Mittelalter," in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), I, 189–222, 189–91. In the following I will use both terms interchangeably to denote all violent acts by Christians threatening physical harm to Jews and including plundering and murder.

such destruction. In the wake of expulsions, Jewish manuscripts were dismembered and 'recycled' in book bindings.[16] Tradition, in contrast to the ways it was passed on among Christians, in Judaism was almost exclusively handed down within the family – a trajectory often jeopardized by deep rifts. Apart from precious illuminated manuscripts, what was salvaged most likely contained the writings of Jewish scholars from a specific religious and halakhic spectrum. These writings were again much influenced by a sense of religious alterity and distinction from Christianity – a sense heightened by the experience of persecution. In sum, the sources on latent and open conflict between Judaism and Christianity or between Jews and Christians stood the best chances of survival in both traditions, while those dealing with undisturbed, ongoing contacts had the lowest chances.[17] Despite the rising tide of persecution since the late-thirteenth century, the number of sources relating to the Jews in the German Kingdom grew about twenty-fold between the periods from 1200 to 1273 and from 1273 to 1347. This growth is largely due to the judicial and administrative registers extant since the turn of the fourteenth century in various towns and cities. They bear testimony to the advance of legal rules and institutions and allow close insights into the manifold modes of intense communication between Jews and Christians in this field.[18]

[16] A. Lehnardt (ed.), *Genizat Germania* (Leiden, 2010); idem (ed.), *Books within Books: New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings* (Leiden, 2014).

[17] E. Haverkamp, "What did the Christians Know? Latin Reports on the Persecutions of Jews in 1096," *Crusades*, 7 (2008), 59–86. From the perspective of literary history, cf. M. Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer zwischen Juden und Christen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2010). New findings on this and other questions are to be expected from a project by the Mainz Academy of Sciences and Literature at the Arye Maimon Institute (University of Trier), the "Corpus of Sources concerning the History of the Jews in the Roman-German Empire during the Middle Ages (1273–1519)", for which see A. Haverkamp and Müller (eds), *Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, online at <www.medieval-ashkenaz.org>, 2011–.

[18] A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung" (above, n. 14), and further contributions in idem and Müller (eds), *Verschriftlichung* (above, n. 14), especially those by B. Laqua (on Cologne), C. Steffes-Maus (on Rothenburg o. T.), and D. Schnur (on Frankfurt a. M.).

II. The Ninth to Late-Eleventh Centuries

1. The Beginnings of Jewish Presence

In late antiquity, there had been Jews settling west of the Rhine and perhaps south of the Danube, i.e., on the periphery of the Roman Empire. A continuity of Jewish settlement beyond the fourth century cannot be substantiated and appears extremely unlikely, given the very unfavorable general conditions and the great distance from the nearest known settlements in the French Midi.[19] In the ninth century, itinerant Jewish merchants were active in what was to become the German Kingdom, but a first durable settlement cannot be observed until 890 CE in the important cathedral city of Metz, on the eastern periphery of the Romania.[20] While Jews appear to have moved from the Midi into some towns and cities in northern France[21], further evidence of fixed Jewish settlements in the German kingdom and for emerging communities only appears after the defeat (in 955 CE) of the Hun-

[19] The only reliable source is a decree by Emperor Constantine of 321 CE, in which Cologne is explicitly mentioned; see A. Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit, 1987), 120–4, no. 7, and cf. pp. 132–8, no. 9 of 330/1. Convincing archaeological evidence is lacking even for this major city. The hypothesis, repeated in S. Schütte and M. Gechter, *Von der Ausgrabung zum Museum: Kölner Archäologie zwischen Rathaus und Praetorium* (2nd rev. edn, Cologne, 2012), that there was a continuity of Jewish settlement in Cologne from late antiquity until 1349/1424, is rejected by M. Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston, 2013), at pp. 295–8. See also the opinion expressed from an archaeological viewpoint by O. Harck, *Archäologische Studien zum Judentum in der europäischen Antike und dem zentraleuropäischen Mittelalter* (Petersberg, 2014), 144–52, 217–42, 314–16, 439–41, 521–4, who despite some reservations holds that Schütte's dating of the "synagogue findings" up to the fourth century are "still open to discussion," as a "possibility that cannot be ruled out" (p. 242). This view does not take into account the essential preconditions for Jewish existence, nor does it reflect the criticism advanced by M. Toch.

[20] Linder, Amnon, *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit and Jerusalem, 1997), 552–3, no. 873 (on 893 CE).

[21] The question is an open one and was debated, with interesting methodological implications, from 2001 by Michael Toch and the late Friedrich Lotter. See, most recently, F. Lotter, "Sind christliche Quellen zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden im Frühmittelalter weitgehend unbrauchbar?," *Historische Zeitschrift* 278 (2004), 311–27, and Toch, *Economic History* (above, n. 19).

garians, whose raids had even reached the areas west of the Rhine from around the turn of the tenth century.[22]

The earliest datable written evidence of Jewish settlement (or at least of plans for such a move) comes from places on the eastern periphery of the Empire: palaces in the poorly developed cities of Magdeburg on the Elbe (965) and Merseburg on the Saale (982). For the pre-Crusade Jewish settlements in Regensburg (981), Mainz (1012), Worms (1034), Cologne (1010/12 or 1040), Prague (*c.*1090), and Trier (1066, or at least long before 1096), we have only sporadic *ante quem* datings. By contrast, the sources on Jews settling, by 1084, in the close vicinity of the cathedral city of Speyer offer unique insights. The main lines of a *carta* given to these Jews by bishop Rudiger Huozmann (1075–22 February 1090) accord with a foundation narrative written soon after 1104 "from the viewpoint of the Jews of Speyer, originally from Mainz", who had been closely involved in the drawn-out negotiations with the bishop and with the early settlement.[23]

According to these accounts, Jews from Mainz had begun to look out for a "fortified city" (עיר מבצר) as early as 1080, since they saw their lives threatened in Mainz by the continuous fighting between the Archbishop of the time on the one hand, and parts of the clergy together with leading urban circles, on the other. They approached a learned bishop with some expertise in canon law, closely allied to the Salian crown and – other than the Archbishop of Mainz and the bishop of neighboring Worms – also undisputed in his city. He greeted them favorably. The Jews from Mainz had to accept that Speyer was ranking far behind Mainz (still considered their home town, עיר מולדתינו) and even Worms (where Jews had settled for about two generations) in urban development. Since the city walls were not yet complete, the Jews, who in Mainz had lived near the cathedral and central market, even agreed that the bishop accorded them an area near the village of Altspeyer, i.e., outside the urban core, but recently enclosed by a wall and given in perpetuity.

Clearly according to the wishes of the Jewish delegates, the bishop accorded them substantial rights, which in part correspond to the privileges Carolingian

[22] For this and the following, see A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen zwischen Bischöfen und Juden im ottonisch-salischen Königreich bis 1090," in A. Esposito *et al.* (eds), *Trier – Mainz – Rom: Stationen, Wirkungsfelder, Netzwerke* (Regensburg, 2013), 45–87 (with further references).

[23] The Latin charter is edited, not without faults, in A. Hilgart (ed.), *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Stadt Speyer* (Strasbourg, 1885), 11–12, no. 11; for the Hebrew account see E. Haverkamp (ed.), *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (Hanover, 2005), 490–3, and cf. pp. 234 (quote), 262–3 (Eliezer b. Nathan and Solomon b. Simson), and 266–9 ('Mainz Anonymous').

rulers had given to individual Jews and their families.[24] Next to guaranteed free trading throughout the cathedral city and far-reaching judicial competences for their community leader, the permanent grant of grounds for a cemetery according to inheritance law had a high significance, for it placed the new community on a par with the older *qehillot*. The liberties granted touch on every aspect of Jewish life and were epitomized in Bishop Rudiger's claim that he had granted the best law (*lex*) the Jewish people (*populus iudeorum*) could possibly have in any city of the German Kingdom, which implied his willingness to make further improvements. They effectively attracted Jews from other places including, for example, Cologne and Worms. By means of the Jewish settlement, the bishop sought to give his *villa* an urban outlook, to bring it in line with the core city inhabited by a community of *cives*, and thus to increase the *honor* of the whole city "thousandfold."

The motivations and conceptual frameworks at work in Bishop Rudiger's dealings with the Jews were certainly not new. Thus, the earliest references on Jews in Magdeburg and Merseburg – places that could boast royal palaces but barely marked by urban life – suggest that a Jewish settlement was considered as significant boost for the the *honor* of a place. For Magdeburg the move was closely linked to the town's elevation to become the centre of a new church province (by 968, but planned since the defeat of the Hungarians in 955); in Merseburg, to the establishment of a suffragan see. Apparently the two Jewish settlements near the borders to the 'pagan' Slavic lands were however abandoned around the millennium, in the wake of the Slav uprising of 983 and the ensuing warfare, and not resumed until the late-twelfth century. By contrast, the Jewish settlement in Regensburg, probably initiated few years prior to its earliest attestation in the record (981), continued to exist in that venerable metropolis on the Danube, until its expulsion in 1519.

When we look for the model adopted in Magdeburg and Merseburg, Metz and, especially, the metropolitan sees of Trier, Cologne, and Mainz come to mind, cities that together with Regensburg formed the leading group of urban centers in the Empire. After 955, the archbishops of Trier (Heinrich, 956–964) and Cologne (Brun, 953–965) initiated urban building schemes in the immediate vicinities of the areas later known as the Jewish quarters. These two archbishops were involved in a network including also the monastery of St Mauritius in Magdeburg, the first archbishop (Adalbert, 968–981) of that city, the second bishop of Merseburg (Giselher, 970–981, archbishop of Magdeburg 981–1004), and Bishop Wolfgang (972–994), under whose office the first Jews settled in Regensburg. Their network

[24] Linder, Amnon, *Jews in the Legal Sources* (above, n. 20), 333–8 no. 572–3; 341–3 no. 576; 344–5 no. 580; and cf. A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen" (above, n. 22), 55 with n. 51.

was inspired by the powerful monastic reform movement centered on the abbey of Saint Maximin in Trier in connection with the abbey of Gorze (near Metz). This group of reform clerics, who exerted a strong influence in the cathedral cities and at also harbored close relationships with the crown under Otto I, further included Archbishop William of Mainz (954–968). These leading ecclesiastics also had in common that their local position was unchallenged and that they used it to enhance the religious, cultural, and economic significance of their cities by establishing monasteries, canonries and other churches, following the model of Rome. As Jews had been present in the "eternal city" for time immemorial, their settlement in the cities north of the Alps was in line with the idea of *imitatio Romae* (which implied the imitation of Jerusalem). The learned protagonists on this stage were all marked off by broad intellectual horizons and interests. For example, they were interested in Greek (the second *lingua sacra* after Hebrew), and they would have viewed the Jews as "guardians of our written heritage" (*custodes librorum nostrorum*) following the Augustinian model.[25]

Similar traits will later be found not only in Rudiger of Speyer but also in Burchard of Worms (1000–25), the leading expert of his time in canon and other law, who included in his collection of decretals essential safeguards in favor of Jews. There is ample reason to assume that in 1012 Burchard used the occasion for establishing a lasting Jewish settlement in his city after the Jews had been (temporarily) expelled from Mainz, at the instigation of King Henry II, during a vacancy on the archiepiscopal see.[26] Lacking other suitable grounds within the narrow confines of the walled city, he accorded them an area in the northern part, close to the wall, which was still under construction. In this way the houses

[25] B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten* (Paris, 1973), esp. pp. 177–8. For the strong interest in Greek language and literature at court since Otto I's time, see A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen" (above, n. 22), 72. Another figure clos to this circle was Reginold bishop of Eichstätt (966–91), who composed (before 989) a verse *Officium* on S. Wunibald (*c.*701–61), founder of his diocese, with parts in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. His rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew and Greek far surpassed that of his contemporaries in the Latin West. Here and elsewhere Reginold called his see a "golden city," after the models of Rome and the celestial Jerusalem; cf. F. G. Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge des Städtewesens in Mitteleuropa. Die Bischofssitze des Reiches bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 2011–12), 680–2, 687, 846, 1133, and 1252.

[26] F. Lotter, "Die Vertreibung der Juden aus Mainz um 1012 und der antijüdische Traktat des Hofgeistlichen Heinrich," in F. Burgard, A. Haverkamp, and G. Mentgen (eds), *Judenvertreibungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Hanover, 1999, pp. 37–74.

inhabited by Jews became part of that wall, and the Jews of Worms were personally involved in the defense of their city, with the risks and obligations attached.

On the Christian side, therefore, bishops were the decisive agents in laying the foundations of Ashkenazic Jewry, a process gaining pace after 955. Whereas they were all closely connected to the crown, the kings or emperors on their part were only sporadically present in the cities with a Jewish settlement and had a weaker institutional hold here. The significance of bishops, in Jewish eyes, lay in their reliable local rule, their favorable inclination toward a Jewish presence (for economic, urban, but also religious and cultural reasons), and their authority over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in their dioceses, another matter of crucial importance for the Jewish settlers.[27] Significantly, it was a king (Henry II) who decreed the temporary expulsion of the Jews from Mainz in 1012.

In the eastern stretches of the Empire, remote from the strongholds of the crown, the bishops had a much weaker position vis-à-vis the secular barons, even in their cathedral cities. Hence the only other known Jewish settlement in the Salian Empire, the one founded before *c.*1090 in the urban agglomeration of the Bohemian capital of Prague, has to be accounted to the dukes/kings of Bohemia.[28]

2. *Qehillot*: Social Structure and Legal Foundations

A number of early Jewish settlers in the German Kingdom came from the neighboring colonies in northern France, which until the tenth century were but few, recent, and small.[29] The majority hailed from southern Italy – mainly from Byzantine Apulia, where Jewish learning, favored by its Greek cultural setting, had its highest level in western Europe until the early twelfth century – and from the

[27] This aspect was dealt with in three sessions of the Sixteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, 28 July 2013), "Who Protected the Jews in the Middle Ages, and Why? Relations between Jews and Bishops in Comparative Perspective". Publication of the papers is in preparation.

[28] The conditions of settlement in the various cores of Prague's urban agglomeraton improved at around the mid-eleventh century; cf. A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen" (above, n. 22), 64. The identification of "Halle" in the Hebrew reports on 1096 is very problematic; see E. Haverkamp (ed.), *Berichte* (above, n. 23), 42–3, n. 24, and 482 with n. 1.

[29] The prevailing economic conditions in northern France were similar to those in the German Kingdom, while the political situation was different, particularly in the rather compact territories of the French crown (*Ẓarfat*). Reliable evidence of Jewish settlements in Champagne sets in at the turn of the tenth century; cf. Benner and Reverchon, "Juden und Herrschaft" (above, n. 5), 154–61.

French Midi, where excellent centers of Jewish learning could equally be found. For Jews in these Mediterranean lands, who like many of their Christian neighbors suffered from continuing Muslim raids until far into the second half of the tenth century, the Empire north of the Alps gained attractiveness after the end of the Hungarian incursions. In Byzantine Italy, moreover, Jews had been targets of renewed persecution during the second quarter of the century.[30]

Jewish immigration was led by Jewish merchants. They were accompanied by their families and by households including Jewish servants as well as non-Jewish servants and slaves (a common feature in Christian and Jewish households of the Mediterranean). Due to the cultural divide between the South and the North, to the levels of literacy demanded by their religious life, and to their commercial experience, Jews in Ashkenaz (as in Northern France and England), particularly during the first centuries of their presence, were better qualified for activities in trade and the monetary economy than their new Christian neighbors. Christian rulers could count on these qualifications. They were ready to grant protection to Jews as an extremely small religious minority, in return for exceedingly high contributions, mostly in money payments, which could further rise when more protection was needed. Realistic alternatives were offered neither within the agrarian economy nor in crafts.[31] Favored by their contacts with the Mediterranean world, some Jews acquired special expertise in the wider field of medicine (which in turn was closely connected to the sciences).[32]

Within the cathedral cities, Jews tried to live as close to the synagogue as possible (and hence, in close concentration), for halakhic reasons. Their quarters were situated near the markets as hubs of urban life and/or near the cathedrals.[33] Hence the synagogue and the cathedral – the foci of Jewish and Christian religious observance – and the public spaces of Jews and Christians were often found in close proximity. Daily contacts between members of the two groups were inevitable

[30] Cf. A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen," (above, n. 22), 61.

[31] Cf. M. Toch, "Economic Activities of German Jews in the Middle Ages," in: idem (ed.), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden. Fragen und Einschätzungen* (Munich, 2008), 181–210.

[32] The first record of a Jewish doctor in Ashkenaz, however, only appears around 1130, cf. below, pp. 30–1. However, the liberties granted by Henry IV in 1090 (cf. p. 19) imply that the Jews of Speyer and Worms sold not only spices (*pigmenta*) but also medical substances (*antidota*) to Christian customers.

[33] The fortified settlement of Jews in Altspeyer before 1096 (above, pp. 12, 16 n. 33) was an exception of short duration.

in every respect, Jewish and Christian men and, in particular, women met on a regular basis.

The social and legal make-up of the Jewish settlements was shaped by the lasting dominance of inter-familial relations, as was the case among the Christian town populace. However, the leading role of the Jewish family heads found a decisive support in their (mostly biblical and Talmudic) learning. The best-known example is provided by the Kalonymos family, who probably came to Mainz around the mid-tenth century and whose name points to their origins in Southern Italy. Extended families such as the Kalonimides might defend their interests against unwanted Jewish newcomers by means of the ban of settlement (*ḥerem ha-yishuv*).[34] The effectiveness of this ban could however be much reduced when such newcomers found support with influential rulers (in particular, bishops and kings). After all, the established Jews, too, depended on their most important partners among the ruling class to safeguard their peculiar position vis-à-vis the Christian majority.

When more families had settled in one place, further rules were necessary for the relations among the Jews of the local religious community. Among these, *ẓedaqah*, the care for the poor, i.e., those who lacked material support and social networks, played a prominent role.[35] Comprehensive safeguards for a Jewish way of life were hard to achieve, not least because the number of Jews at a given place was usually much smaller than in the Mediterranean world and because the distance from the nearest Jewish settlement in another urban center was generally greater (with the significant exception of the *ShUM* communities). For the Jews in Ashkenaz the local self-government, rooted in the ritual community, was far more relevant than it was for neighboring Christians or for Jews in the Mediterranean diaspora. In organizing their community, they not only adopted key elements from a rich tradition, they also created new rules based (though not dependent) on the authority of their leading scholars (who often proposed varying opinions). The new rules were more specifically suited to the conditions determined by the Christian surroundings and sometimes disagreed with formerly accepted rulings of the Babylonian academies. In cases such as the bans against polygamy and against divorce without a wife's consent, they contributed to a significant improvement of the legal

[34] A. Grossman, "La structure sociale du judaïsme allemand au Moyen Age," in S. Trigano (ed.), *La société juive a travers l'histoire*, vol. I, *La fabrique du peuple* (Paris, 1992), 461–71.

[35] R. Barzen, "The Meaning of Tzedakah for Jewish Self-Organization within a Non-Jewish Environment," in G. Bacon et al. (eds), *Iggud: Selected Essays in Jewish Studies*, vol. II (Jerusalem, 2009), 7–17.

position of women.[36] The core of the *qahal* in Ashkenaz from the tenth century lay in its function as a court of law closely related to the religious norms of life. In the *qahal*'s lasting form, high-medieval innovations gained more weight than Jewish tradition.[37]

These foundations of the Jewish community, shaped in accordance with Jewish law, were integrated into the guidelines, called *lex*, established in 1084 for the dealings between Bishop Rudiger of Speyer and the local *qahal* as well as between Jews and Christians in the city in general, which means that they were made legally binding for Christians, too. There is good reason to assume that the other *qehillot* west of the Rhine and in Regensburg each had a similar *lex*, negotiated with the

[36] I. G. Marcus, "A Jewish-Christian Symbiosis: the Culture of Early Ashkenaz," in D. Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York, 2002), 472–8; A. Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe,* trans J. Chipman (Hanover, NH, 2004); E. Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 2004), 33, 37; M. Keil, "Mobilität und Sittsamkeit: Jüdische Frauen im Wirtschaftsleben des spätmittelalterlichen Aschkenas," in Toch (ed.), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (above, n. 31), 153–80; K. Kogman-Appel, "Portrayals of Women with Books: Female (Il)literacy in Medieval Jewish Culture," in T. Martin (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. II (Leiden and Boston, 2012), 525–63.

[37] The continuing debate– with approval, qualifications, or disagreement – relates to the essay, first published in Hebrew in 1950, by Y. F. Baer, "The Origins of Jewish Communal Organization in the Middle Ages," in J. Dan (ed.), *Binah 1: Studies in Jewish History* (Westport, CT, 1989), 59–82. For reservations against Baer, see I. J. Yuval, "Heilige Städte, heilige Gemeinden – Mainz als das Jerusalem Deutschlands," in R. Jütte and A. P. Kustermann (eds), *Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna, etc., 1996), 91–101. See also G. J. Blidstein, "Individual and Community in the Middle Ages: 'Halakhic' Theory," in D. J. Elazar (ed.), *Kinship and Consent: The Jewish Political Tradition in its Contempory Uses*, 2nd edn (New Brunswick and London, 1997), 327–69. On the manifold 'roots' for the custom of 'interrupting the prayer' in the synagogue as a form of protest against the powerful, which was also practiced in the Rhineland, see R. Bonfil, "Giustizia, giudici e tribunali nelle communità ebraiche dell'Occidente cristiano," in *La Giustizia nell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1997), 931–73. On the wider context see A. Haverkamp, "Jüdische Gemeinden und ihr christlicher Kontext: Konzeptionen und Aspekte," in Cluse et al. (eds), *Gemeinden* (above, n. 5), 1–36; C. Cluse, "Jewish Community and Civic Commune in the High Middle Ages," in A. Gestrich, L. Raphael and H. Uerlings (eds), *Strangers and Poor People: Changing Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion in Europe and the Mediterranean World from Classical Antiquity to the Present Day* (Frankfurt a. M., 2010), 165–91.

ruling archbishops or bishops, authorized by the latter, and probably often documented in written charters.[38]

Royal privileges in favor of Jews are rare. In 1074 Henry IV extended a charter of liberties to the Jews and Christians of Worms, a cathedral city closely connected to the Salian dynasty, in which the king, whose position at the time was particularly weak, granted the members of both religious groups free trade and exemption from tolls in den dem König unterstehenden Orten on the Rhine and on other trading routes, out of gratitude for the aid they had given him against their anti-Salian bishop by opening the city gates for the king.[39] In 1090 the same ruler issued the first in a series of comprehensive charters for the Jewries of Speyer and Worms, before leaving on a long expedition to Italy (to last until 1097). In Speyer the document was issued at the bequest both of the Jews (among whom a member of the Kalonymos family is named) and of Bishop Rudiger, who died a few days later. It repeats some of the clauses of the bishop's charter of 1084, and continues along the same lines: Freedom of trade and from customs is extended from the city to the whole realm; market rules from Talmudic law are included, as are other, generally accepted norms such as the prohibition of forced baptism, and further specifications, all of which accorded to the interests of both Jews and bishop.[40] Shortly

[38] On the written *lex*, see above, p. 13. The fact that such documents have not been preserved except in Speyer is due to the fact that Jewish archival and library holdings had low chances of survival; cf. A. Haverkamp, "Beziehungen," (above, n. 20), 48, n. 14.

[39] Cf. Linder, *Jews in the Legal Sources* (above, n. 20), 388–91, no. 608, with the traditional opinion that the decisive passage of the diploma contains an interpolation in favor of the Jews. This view is based on the edition by D. von Gladiss published in 1941 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, vol. I [Hanover, 1941], 341–3, no. 267), but has long been refuted. Similarly, the opinion, brought forward by M. Oberweis in a recent review article in <www.sehepunkte.de/2007/12/11236.html>, that the letter 'd' in *iudei et coeteri* significantly differs in shape from all other 'd' letters in this charter, ignores the state of research, for which see, in particular, the observations by the excellent A. Gawlik, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, vol. III (Hanover, 1978), lxii, n. 194. Cf. G. Bönnen, "Aspekte gesellschaftlichen und stadtherrschaftlichen Wandels in salierzeitlichen Städten," in T. Struve (ed.), *Die Salier, das Reich und der Niederrhein* (Cologne, 2008), 207-281, 249-50.

[40] Linder, *Jews in the Legal Sources* (above, n. 20), 391–96, no. 609; F. Lotter, "Talmudisches Recht in den Judenprivilegien Heinrichs IV.? Zur Ausbildung und Entwicklung des Marktschutzrechts im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 72 (1990), 23–61. The two documents most thoroughly correspond where litigation between Jews and Christians, as well as among Jews, is concerned. In the latter case when no settlement can be reached by the Jewish judge confirmed by the bishop, the case ascends before

hereafter the rulings contained in this charter were also issued in substantially the same form for the Jews of Worms. Here, however, the Jews were under the direct authority of the Emperor, as the bishop of Worms had lost his power in the city almost two decades earlier.[41] In this way, the bishop and Jews of Speyer cooperated to create an effective basic repertoire of community-related legal rights for the Jews in the urban surroundings of these two *ShUM* cities. Similar foundations for the Christian town communities in the German kingdom were much later to receive clear contours – with, again, the earliest cases in Speyer and Worms.[42]

3. The Pogroms of 1096

Before 1096 we hear only few voices, of individual clerics or Church councils, speaking out against the Jews. Significant anti-Jewish action is apparently only recorded for 1012 in Mainz, where the Jews were expelled for some time.[43] Attitudes and behavioral patterns from northern France appear to have been at work in the persecutions raging between April and early July 1096, and formed a deep rift in the Jewish-Christian relations within the German kingdom.[44] The pogroms were

the bishop; cf. Y. Guggenheim, "*A suis paribus et non aliis iudicentur*: Jüdische Gerichtsbarkeit, ihre Kontrolle durch die christliche Herrschaft und die *obersten rabi gemeiner Judenschaft im heiligen Reich*," in Cluse et al., *Gemeinden* (above, n. 5), 405–39.

[41] Linder, *Jews in the Legal sources* (above, n. 20), 396–400, no. 610.

[42] Bönnen, "Aspekte"(above, n. 39), 228–30, 246–9, 271–4.

[43] Cf. above, p. 14 with n. 26. The reported endeavors by Archbishop Eberhard of Trier in 1066 to convert the local Jews by force and his alleged murder were a post-1096 "invention"; see E. Haverkamp, "'Persecutio' und 'Gᵉzerah' in Trier während des Ersten Kreuzzugs," in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Sigmaringen, 1999), 47–8.

[44] On the following see Yuval, I. J., *"Two Nations in Your Womb": Perceptions of Jews and Christians*, 3rd edn (Tel Aviv, 2003) [in Hebrew; translated into English (Berkeley, 2006), German (Göttingen, 2007), and French (Paris, 2012)], 135–97; E. Haverkamp, *Berichte* (above, n. 23); eadem, "What did the Christians Know?" (above, n. 17); eadem, "Martyrs in Rivalry: The 1096 Jewish Martyrs and the Thebean Legend," *Jewish History* 23 (2009), 319–43; S. Shepkaru, "The Preaching of the first Crusade and the Persecutions of the Jews," *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 93–135; R. Chazan, "'Let not a Remnant or Residue Escape': Millenarian Enthusiasm in the first Crusade," *Speculum* 84 (2009), 289–313; H. Soloveitchik, "Halakhah, Hermeneutics, and Martyrdom in Medieval Ashkenaz," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 94 (2004), 77-108 and 278-99; G. Mentgen, "Kiddusch ha-Schem – Selbstopferung als Glaubenszeugnis der Juden im Mittelalter," in W. Drews and H. Schlie (eds), *Zeugnis und Zeugenschaft: Perspektiven aus der Vormoderne* (Munich, 2011), 151–65.

largely driven by the new movement of "those signed with the cross" *(crucesignati)* aiming for the Holy Land, which in its motivations and practices was very diverse and which also brought about 'crusades' to other goals. This new phenomenon was related to the rise of religious *leitmotifs* concerning the incarnate Son of God (for whose crucifixion the Jews were made responsible) and the primaeval Church (which fundamentally changed contemporary conceptions of the social order), as well as to messianic movements (observable among both Christians and Jews). The situation had been aggravated by a lasting period of hunger, an increase in violent political conflicts, and the authority crisis involving the ruling powers, and the rise of new forms of self-government, especially in town communes.[45]

The anti-Jewish sentiment developed in various crowds of French and German pilgrims, including women and children. Some of these pilgrims were armed. The Jews tried, successfully at first, to ward off the threat they posed by money payments. Some groups, mostly led by French and German nobles, bluntly aimed at deleting the presence of Judaism by forcibly baptizing or killing all Jews, and at robbing their belongings. The reactions of the Christian town populace went all the way from supporting the Jews, as initially in Cologne, to an active participation of large groups in the atrocities. The bishops in Speyer and Worms and the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier tried by various means to defend the Jews. Due in part to their weak political position, their efforts were mostly in vain – with the notable exception of Speyer, where the bishop preserved the great majority of Jews from forced baptism and murder.[46] In Regensburg the attackers had to make do with driving all Jews into some stream or the nearby Danube river and 'baptize' them summarily with the sign of the cross. The Jews of Prague quickly received support from the duke of Bohemia's troops and engaged in the successful fight against their persecutors themselves. In other places such as Mainz, by contrast, the Jews' efforts individually or collectively to take arms against the aggressors proved futile.

Of the victims, around 3,000 in all according to the Hebrew *Memorbuch* tradition, the large majority fell in the *qehillot* of Worms, Mainz, and Cologne. Among them were men and women of all ages who escaped forced baptism by sacrifying themselves for the 'sanctification of the Divine name' (*qiddush ha-Shem*) or who were killed by fellow Jews (their parents, in the case of children) with that intention. The Hebrew documents on these events, mostly composed after *c.*1140,

[45] Cf. E. Haverkamp, *Berichte* (above, n. 23), 3–9.

[46] We know nothing about the role played by the bishops in Metz (where 22 Jews were murdered), Regensburg, and Prague.

set a literary monument to the deeds and sufferings of these martyrs. At the same time, they created a Jewish counter-narrative to the rising Christian cult of martyrs, which also accorded women a prominent role. The precise numbers of those who died and of those who underwent forced baptism are therefore impossible to estimate. Jewish and Christian authors alike confirm that the great majority of those forcibly baptized – with the possible exception of many orphaned children – soon afterwards continued to practice Judaism, with imperial permission and no significant obstacles.[47]

The remembrance of the dead, who included many learned men, and the memory of the first existential crisis for Jewish life in the German Kingdom left a lasting imprint on Ashkenazic Jewry. It was cultivated in families and communities, in *memor*-books, chronicles, and other literary writings. It was reinforced by the experience of new threats from armed groups who came from foreign, sometimes quite distant lands and indiscriminately counted local Jews among the 'enemies of Christ' against whom they were presumably taking 'revenge,' with some support from the local townspeople. These memories received a ritual center in the veneration of those who had been murdered or who died through *qiddush ha-Shem*. Accusations against murderous Christians and the plea to God for revenge were inextricably connected with these memories.[48] Despite the fact that 'self-sacrifice' as an ideal of Jewish martyrdom continued to be controversial among Ashkenazi Jews, the cult of the martyrs strengthened the religious significance of the "holy community" (*qehillah qedoshah*), above all in the *ShUM* cities. This religious conception rivaled with an older, Christian idea, which was receiving more frequent expression at the time: the idea of the (cathedral) city as a 'holy city,' an image of Rome and – ultimately – Jerusalem, the archetype of the city for Christians as for Jews.[49] These Christian conceptions drew on legendary links with the primaeval Church.

[47] Immediately after his return to Regensburg, Emperor Henry IV had lent his support to them, thereby according to the supplications of R. Moshe bar Yekuthiel, the Kalonymide *parnas* of Speyer, against the protests of Henry's 'own' pope, Clement III.

[48] Yuval, *Perceptions* (above, n. 44), 135–9.

[49] See the seminal article by Yuval, "Heilige Städte" (above, n. 37). On the Christian conception of 'holy city', which also found expression in the sacred topography of these urban centers from the tenth century, see A. Haverkamp, "'Heilige Städte' im hohen Mittelalter" (1987), in idem, *Verfassung, Kultur, Lebensform: Beiträge zur italienischen, deutschen und jüdischen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, ed. F. Burgard, A. Heit, and M. Matheus (Mainz, 1997), 361–402; Hirschmann, *Anfänge* (above, n. 25), III, 1040–76.

III. From the Twelfth Century until the Disasters of 1348–50

1. Greatest Extension of Jewish Settlement

During the two centuries between 1150 and 1350 CE, urbanization in the German Kingdom progressed from less than 500 towns around 1150 to *c.*3,500 around 1350, when the process reached a maximum unsurpassed, at least in qualitative terms, until the nineteenth century. (Expansion, however, slowed down, at least in the areas of old settlement, since the end of the thirteenth century.)[50] During the same time, the number of accounted Jewish settlements rose from no more than ten around 1096 to over 1,000 on the eve of the persecutions at the time of the 'Black Death' (1348–50).[51] Many of these settlements consisted of no more than one or two Jewish families and were situated in 'younger' towns or even rural settlements. At the same time, the Jewish population in most of the larger towns and cities was on the rise. The number of Jews living in the German kingdom reached a maximum during the early fourteenth century and then fell into a long

[50] About two-thirds of the towns had fewer than 2,000 inhabitants, and some were virtually indistinguishable from village settlements. For the time between 1000 and 1350 and the region between Brussels and Châlons-sur-Marne in the West, and Paderborn, Frankfurt, and Schaffhausen in the East, Münster in the North and Basle in the South, see the annotated map collection by M. Escher and F. G. Hirschmann, *Die urbanen Zentren des hohen und späteren Mittelalters: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Städten und Städtelandschaften im Westen des Reiches und in Ostfrankreich*, 3 vols (Trier, 2005); cf. E. Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter: 1150–1550* (Cologne, 2014), 53–56.

[51] It is unclear to what extent the regional pogroms of 1336–38 had already brought an end to the Jewish settlements they affected. On what follows, see *Germania Judaica I–III* (above, nn. 2, 4) and *Germania Judaica II: Von 1238 bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Z. Avneri, 2 vols (Tübingen, 1968); the regional studies by C. Cluse, R. Kosche, M. Schmandt, R. Barzen, F. Burgard, A. Reverchon, J. R. Müller, A. Holtmann, F. Chartrain, and T. Bardelle in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), I, 33–186, 379–89, with maps series A and map F 6 in vol. III; also Müller, "Judenverfolgungen" (above, n. 15), and the more recent publications by C. Scholl, *Die Judengemeinde der Reichsstadt Ulm im späten Mittelalter: Innerjüdische Verhältnisse und christlich-jüdische Beziehungen in süddeutschen Zusammenhängen* (Hanover, 2012); K. Geldermans-Jörg, *"Als verren unser geleit get:" Aspekte christlich-jüdischer Kontakte im Hochstift Bamberg während des späten Mittelalters* (Hanover, 2010); E. Brugger, "Von der Ansiedlung bis zur Vertreibung: Juden in Österreich," in eadem et al., *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich* (Vienna, 2006), 123–227.

decline, only to reach the same dimensions again in the course of the nineteenth century.

With the exception of Metz, the *qehillot* affected by the pogroms of the first Crusade recovered during the twelfth century. By 1200, Jews had also settled in cathedral cities east of the Rhine and north of the Danube rivers, as well as in a number of younger urban centers at important trading sites but also, in a few cases, in proto-urban settlements (usually owned by imperial bishops or directly subject to the crown). At this time, the number of places with Jewish presence had doubled in relation to 1096.

In the thirteenth century the expansion gained pace. It was favored to some degree by the crown, though not as much as by the imperial bishops and by the rising force of the nobility. The density of Jewish settlement was highest along the Rhine, in the lower Moselle valley and in the Staufen imperial lands on the lower Main river, in Franconia and Swabia (including the many royal towns in these regions). At the emerging urban centers in the east of the German Kingdom (the areas of "new settlement") Jewish colonists were arriving since the turn of the thirteenth century, together with Christians from the West and christianized Slavs. Most of these Jews came from the west of the Empire, though some seem to have been from the western Slavonic lands.[52] Taking into consideration the sporadic nature of the documentation, the actual number of Jewish settlements in the German Kingdom is estimated at *c.*500 by the year 1300, which indicates a twenty-fold increase during the thirteenth century.

The steep rise was interrupted or disturbed by several local pogroms. With increasing frequency, the charge of ritual murder was raised. The worst disruptions were brought about by the regional waves beginning in the later thirteenth century. A fateful signal was given by the persecutions triggered at Oberwesel in 1287 by a

[52] A certain density of settlement was reached from 1250, mostly in the Babenberger/Habsburg lands along the Danube and in parts of Styria and Carinthia. Until 1300, the eastern lands of new settlement counted no more than about one dozen Jewish settlements; W. Schich, "Zum Problem der Juden in der frühen deutschrechtlichen Stadt im östlichen Mitteleuropa," in S. Jersch-Wenzel (ed.), *Deutsche – Polen – Juden: Ihre Beziehungen von den Anfängen bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1987), 65–101; Z. Kowalska, "Die jüdische Bevölkerung in den oberschlesischen Städten des Mittelalters," in T. Wünsch (ed.), *Stadtgeschichte Oberschlesiens: Studien zur städtischen Entwicklung und Kultur einer ostmitteleuropäischen Region vom Mittelalter bis zur Vorabend der Industriealisierung* (Berlin, 1995), 75–92. On the problems posed by the onomastic evidence for establishing settlement patterns, see A. Beider, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic Given Names: Their Origins, Structure, Pronunciation, and Migrations* (New Jersey, 2001), 167–90.

charge of ritual murder, later complemented by allegations of 'host desecration'. The pogroms (and the veneration of "Good Werner," the alleged ritual murder victim) were supported by the Counts Palatinate of the Rhine.[53] Despite defensive efforts by the archbishops of Cologne and Trier and King Rudolph, about twenty, mostly smaller, Jewish settlements were hit along the Moselle and Rhine rivers down to a few places north of Cologne. In Franconia, the region most densely settled by Jews at the time, the persecutions by "King Rintfleisch" in 1298 (later defended by allegations of Jewish 'host desecration' and also ritual murder) affected over 130 places (i.e., at least one-quarter of all Jewish settlements known before 1300), disrupting or terminating the Jewish presence in many of them.[54]

Until 1348 the number of Jewish settlements in the German Kingdom doubled once more. West of the Rhine, the increase was most notable in Alsace and in the Archbishopric of Trier. In the French-speaking county of Hainaut the first Jews appeared in 1307, to settle in at least 20 places of mostly rural character. They obviously came from France. In the neighboring duchy of Brabant, by contrast, no such increase is recorded – probably due to a persecution by 'crusaders' in 1309. The regions between the Rhine and Weser rivers and in Thuringia between the Werra and Elster likewise saw an increase far above average. In the margravate of Brandenburg and possibly in the kingdom of Bohemia, it was at least five-fold. By contrast, a wave of persecution related to the "Armleder" riots and inspired by host desecration and ritual murder allegations, ravaged about 60 places in the western density zone of Jewish settlement (northern Franconia, between Main and Lahn, in the central Rhine valley north of Mainz, on the lower Moselle and in southern Alsace), between late-July 1336 and the early summer of 1338. Starting in Pulkau in April 1338, around thirty, mostly smaller, Jewish settlements in Lower Austria, Bohemia and southern Moravia were wiped out under allegations of 'host desecration.' Here the notable expansion of Jewish presence in the Austrian regions was stopped short. Mostly in Lower Bavaria, about twenty settlements were hit by pogroms starting in Deggendorf in September 1338, again under the pretext of 'host desecration.'[55]

[53] M Schmandt, "Der Pfalzgraf, sein Pfarrer und der 'gute Werner'. Oder: Wie man zu Bacharach und Oberwesel ein antijüdisches Heiligtum erschuf (1287-1429)," *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* 38 (2012), 7–38.

[54] Cf. A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), III, maps C 2.3 and C 4.3.

[55] F. Lotter, "Hostienfrevelvorwurf und Blutwunderfälschung bei den Judenverfolgungen von 1298 ('Rintfleisch') und 1336–1338 ('Armleder')," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. V (Hanover, 1988), 533–83, Brugger, "Ansiedlung" (above, n. 51), 123–227, at pp. 173–4,

Despite these persecutions, the proliferation of Jewish settlements and growth of Jewish communities was significant, indicating a notable Jewish population increase in medieval Ashkenaz. It also means that Jews were able to find sufficient resources to make a living and the necessary safety for settling, either in or around their place of birth or further away, especially in the East. The indigenous population increase was complemented, mostly along the Rhine, by the arrival of Jews expelled from England and France. In this way, Ashkenazic Jewry, which had formerly held a peripheral position in northern Europe, now adopted a central role. It was to keep this prominent position, even over the Jewries of northern and central Italy (excepting the Patrimony of St Peter), for a long time.

2. Jews and Urban Life

The proliferation of Jewish settlements went hand in hand with a stronger focus on the urban centers of their lives and their agrarian surroundings. Market mechanisms and monetary relations were increasingly affecting the agrarian economy. This was strongly felt in viticulture, which was extremely sensitive to market conditions and exposed to high risks from weather chances. Accordingly, the expansion of Jewish settlements was most noticeable in regions characterized by viticulture: the central Rhine valley, Alsace, Franconia and Swabia, as well as parts of Lower Austria and Moravia. New economic prospects of trade and of lending money to new segments of the Christian populace opened up for Jews even with smaller resources in terms of capital and personal networks. In the western parts of the Empire those Jews who lived in centers of communication were still active in trade, sometimes dealing in luxury items or in bullion, which was much in demand due to the rising mint outputs[56] In the eastern areas of "new settlement," Jews traded in a wider array of

211–9; Müller, "Judenverfolgungen," 208–12 (above, n. 15). On the Franconian region, see the sources reviewed by B. Kreutz and J. R. Müller, "Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im Bistum Würzburg (1274–1347)," in A. Haverkamp and Müller (eds), *Corpus* (above, n. 17), online at <www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen.html> (2015); on "Armleder," see the map in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), III, map C 4.4, on Pulkau and Deggendorf, cf. A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung" (above, n. 14), 20–33 (with map on p. 23).

[56] G. Maier, *Wirtschaftliche Tätigkeitsfelder von Juden im Reichsgebiet (ca. 1273 bis 1350)* (Trier, 2010); on viticulture see H. Soloveitchik, *Principles and Pressures: Jewish Trade in Gentile Wine in the Middle Ages* (Tel Aviv, 2003) [in Hebrew]; idem, "Can Halakhic Texts Talk History?", in idem, *Collected Essays*, vol. I (Oxford and Portland/OR, 2013), 169–223; M. Keil, "Veltliner, Ausstich, Tribuswinkler: Zum Weingenuss österreichischer Juden im

goods including agrarian produce and cattle. In all cases, the sale of moveables pawned to them continued to form a major part of this business. In the western regions of "old settlement," the Jewish share in trade, money changing, and minting was pushed back during the thirteenth century by Christian merchants organized in professional confraternities ('guilds') or *Hausgenossenschaften* of changers, who were gaining more and more influence in the Christian municipalities.

Jewish activities in crafts mostly focused on meat and textiles, where *kashrut* regulations made them necessary. The Jewish-Christian contacts that resulted from this activity are frequently reflected in conflicts between Jewish and Christian butchers, many of which appear in documents from the eastern regions. The hides of animals slaughtered by the *shoḥet* could be used for leather or parchment production. In this context, pragmatic solutions based on mutual trust could be reached by Jews and Christians.[57]

The first Jewish physician attested in the German kingdom was Josua, who had served the influential archbishop of Trier, Bruno (1102–24) as one of his physicians, before he converted (voluntarily, as it seems) to Christianity. In the Christian source he was praised for his chivalric lifestyle (*militaris habitus*) at the Archbishop's court, and for his excellent knowledge of not only the human body but also of computistics, Hebrew literature, and Jewish learning in general.[58] From the late-thirteenth century, the evidence for Jewish doctors multiplies, first in the earliest

Mittelalter," in C. Domenig (ed.), *"Und wenn schon, dann Bischof oder Abt." Im Gedenken an Günther Hödl (1941–2005)* (Klagenfurt, 2006), 51–70.

[57] The craft guild regulations laid out in a counsel by the town of Esslingen for a neighboring town in 1331 provided that a Jew could become a member of the guild of tanners and parchment makers without losing his Jewish identity, despite the Christian religious implications of guild membership. These guidelines probably relied on a long-standing cooperation between Jewish and Christian craftsmen in this field. At any rate, they presupposed a high degree of mutual trust. See A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Italien" (above, n. 13), 85–6, 93–4.

[58] A. Haverkamp, "Baptised Jews in German Lands during the Twelfth Century," in M. Signer and J. Van Engen (eds), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth Century Europe* (Notre Dame, IN, 2001), 265, 277-8. For a broader outlook cf. J. Shatzmiller, "Doctors and Medical Practice in Germany around the Year 1200: The Evidence of *Sefer Asaph*," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 50 (1983), 149–64; idem, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley, etc., 1994). Regarding the enormous significance of computistics in Jewish-Christian relations, cf. C. P. E. Nothaft, *Medieval Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar* (Leiden and Boston, 2014); idem and J. Isserles, "Calendars beyond Borders: Exchange of Calendrical Knowledge between Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe (12th–15th century)," *Medieval Encounters* 20 (2014), 1–37.

surviving account books of noble rulers in the French-speaking west of the German Kingdom and later in the serial documentation of towns along the Rhine. Despite frequent ecclesiastical prohibitions (e.g. in synods from 1277), Christian patients, including more and more townspeople, entrusted their physical wellbeing to these doctors.[59]

In the credit business Jews held no monopoly. Many Christians, too, were providing for the fast-growing demand, despite the condemnations of "usury" voiced by ecclesiastics and members of the pastoral or mendicant orders, in the German Kingdom as elsewhere. Local, mostly urban Christian moneylenders often gave out sums much higher than those advanced by leading Jewish bankers or consortia.[60] Compared with Christians, Jews much more strongly depended on the support by the ruling powers, who were accordingly able to extort higher sums from them in return. In emergency situations such as the hunger years of 1343/44 in the Lake Constance region, some Jews were ready to advance credit at lower rates than Christian (male and female) "usurers."[61] There were large differences among those Jews active in moneylending. Not a few of them were unable to make a living from the proceeds.[62] In the larger Jewish communities, some Jews gained all or part of

[59] Jewish doctors also provided other services for regional lords, such as trade in valuables: Maier, *Tätigkeitsfelder* (above, n. 56), 104–5; W. Treue, "Verehrt und angespien: Zur Geschichte jüdischer Ärzte in Aschkenas von den Anfängen bis zur Akademisierung," *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 21 (2002), 130–202, 140–1.

[60] Their clients included leading ecclesiastics who ran into high debts with Italian merchant bankers to meet the financial demands of the papal curia. On Jewish moneylending in general cf. Shatzmiller, *Shylock*. For a closer focus on the German Kingdom, see F. Burgard et al. (eds), *Hochfinanz im Westen des Reichs 1150–1500* (Trier, 1996); Holtmann, *Juden*; C. Cluse, "Nachwort des Übersetzers," in Shatzmiller, *Shylock*, 239–56 (with bibliography). From the middle of the thirteenth century and mostly west of the Rhine, secular and ecclesiastical lords gave out expensive concessions to a rapidly rising number of 'Lombards' or 'Cahorsins.' See W. Reichert, *Lombarden in der Germania-Romania, Atlas und Dokumentation*, 3 vols (Trier, 2003), and cf. the two contributions by A. Holtmann and W. Reichert in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), I, 267–92.

[61] As told by the Franciscan friar John of Winterthur: *Die Chronik Johanns von Winterthur*, ed. C. Brun and Friedrich Baethgen (Berlin, 1924), 239–41; cf. D. Multrus, *Armuts- und Fremdheitsvorstelungen, Deutungshorizonte, Wirklichkeitsorientierungen und historische Hintergründe in der Chronik des franziskanischen Mönches Johannes von Winterthur* (Trier, 2011), 192–208.

[62] A list drawn by order of the Prince Elector Baldwin of Trier in March 1338 yields exceptional insight into this variance. The list records the *c.*2,500 pounds *heller* the archbishop claimed from 245 Christians in the Rhenish town of Oberwesel, from debts

their livelihood as service providers – they included the *shammash* (beadle), teachers and scribes, or servants in the Jewish hospice (*heqdesh*). Others may have worked as retailers or served as intermediaries for Jews or Christians. Next to them, Christian servants and wetnurses were employed in the households or businesses of wealthy Jews, while slaves are no longer attested since the twelfth century.

This wide social spectrum as well as the relations between Jews and Christians are reflected in the Jewish alleys or quarters.[63] Many settlements consisted of no more than a single house or a few. Some were situated, even before 1348/50, in castle compounds. Town houses inhabited by Jews had usually been bought by the wealthy among them. Sometimes they were mortgaged. In other cases, they were built on plots bought from church institutions or ecclesiastics. In the larger Jewish settlements wealthy Jews, who usually played a leading role in their *qahal*, often owned more houses than the one they lived in and let them out or handed them over to relatives or other Jews, under conditions unknown today. Some also owned houses in other places where they conducted frequent business.

In the major towns Jews continued to live in central areas, mainly because of their early presence during the process of urban growth and the support by the town rulers or local lords. Population increase among both Christians and Jews generally led to higher densities of buildings and people in the central parts of towns. In the Jewish alleys or, on a larger scale, in Jewish quarters, this phenomenon was particularly strong. Here, in most towns, Jews and Christians still lived in close

owed to 22 Jews (17 men and five women) killed during the "Armleder" pogrom in 1337. More than half of the 367 bonds amounted to less than 5 pounds, interest included. Three of the Jews had given out almost two-thirds of the credits to a similar share among the debtors. At the lower end of the scale, two male and two female Jews had held claims of between 5 and 10 lb from 15 debtors, while five other Jews (three of them women) were owed far below one pound by eight Christians. See O. Volk, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft am Mittelrhein vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 758–66.

[63] On the following, see A. Haverkamp, "The Jewish Quarters in German Towns during the Middle Ages", in R. P. Hsia, and H. Lehmann (eds), *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (New York, 1995), 13–28; M. J. Wenninger, "Grenzen in der Stadt? Zur Lage und Abgrenzung mittelalterlicher Judenviertel," *Aschkenas* 14 (2004), 9–29; G. Mikosch, "Zeichen, Bilder, Codes – Prolegomena zu einer Semiotik jüdischer Räume in der mittelalterlichen Stadt," in S. Ehrich and J. Oberste (eds), *Städtische Räume im Mittelalter* (Regensburg, 2009), 35–47; J. R. Müller, "Juden und Burgen im Mittelalter – Eine nur scheinbar marginale Beziehung," in G. U. Großmann and H. Ottomeyer (eds), *Die Burg* (Dresden, 2010), 110–20.

neighborhood, often wall-to-wall.[64] For reasons of religious law and, from the later thirteenth century, due to the experience of persecution, Jews endeavored to live not only closely together, so as to follow the halakhic custom of the Sabbath enclosure (*eruv*), but also to secure from Christian attackers.[65] In May 1338, i.e., during the "Armleder" riots in Alsace, Archbishop Baldwin struck a compromise with the civic community of Trier: The latter promised effectively to protect the Jews, who remained the exclusive subjects of the archiepiscopal lord, while the Archbishop conceded that the Jews paid a sizeable annual tax to the city and the number of Jewish families would be limited to no more than fifty. Inter alia, access to the Jewish quarter was regulated, probably in accordance with the mutual interests of the Archbishop and the town, but also in accordance with the Jews' need for security. These measures neither implied a tendency among the Christian majority toward segregating Jews nor a generalized Jewish dissociation from their Christian neighbors.[66]

In the German Kingdom as elsewhere, many churchmen shared the view that Jews were useful, even indispensable, for key concerns of Christian traditions and belief. It seems, however, that this attitude was less pronounced here than in Northern France, where leading scholars of the twelfth and early thirteenth cent-

[64] On the conflicts that arose from these close conditions with increasing frequency, see B. Mattes, *Jüdisches Alltagsleben in einer mittelalterlichen Stadt: Responsa des Meir von Rothenburg* (Berlin, 2003), 219–86; B. Laqua, "Nähe und Distanz. Nachbarrechtliche Regelungen zwischen Christen und Juden (12.–14. Jahrhundert)," in S. Hirbodian et al. (eds), *Pro multis beneficiis. Festschrift für Friedhelm Burgard. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden und des Trierer Raums* (Trier, 2012), 73–92; idem, "Kooperation, Kommunikation, Übersetzung: Zur Anlage und Überlieferung des Judenschreinsbuches der Kölner Laurenz-Parochie," in A. Haverkamp and Müller (eds), *Verschriftlichung* (above, n. 14), 147–71; Scholl, *Judengemeinde* (above, n. 51), 100–9.

[65] Cf. M. Keil, "Orte der jüdischen Öffentlichkeit: Judenviertel, Synagoge, Friedhof," in E. Brugger and B. Wiedl, *Ein Thema – zwei Perspektiven. Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit* (Innsbruck, 2007), 170–86; Yuval, *Perceptions* (above, n. 44), 236–9; B. E. Klein, "Obrigkeitliche und innerjüdische Quellen: ein untrennbares Miteinander," in R. Kießling et al. (eds), *Räume und Wege: Jüdische Geschichte im Alten Reich (1300–1800)* (Berlin, 2007), 253–84. In Cologne the town hall of the Christian municipality was situated near the Synagogue and other Jewish community institutions. Christian burgesses could only get there through the sometimes narrow gates under Jewish control. Around 1340, about 300 Jews lived Regensburg on *c.*1.2 hectares; in Cologne, twice as many on about 1.4 hectares; in Trier, possibly more than 300, on 0.7 hectares. In all three cities, the Jewish share in the overall population reached no more than 3 percent.

[66] A. Haverkamp, "Jewish Quarters" (above, n. 63), 19–20; cf. below, p. 54 with n. 129.

uries in their search for the Jewish textual tradition (*Hebraica veritas*) of the Bible co-operated with Jews.[67] Intellectual encounters between Jews and Christians are however clearly attested in the *ShUM* communities and reflected in *Sefer Ḥasidim* ("The Book of the Pious") written in large parts by Judah b. Samuel (born in Speyer and died 1217 in Regensburg). According to this main work of the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*, a sternly ascetic movement influenced (through the Kalonymos family tradition) by ancient mystical traditions of Judaism, it was apparently possible for some Jews to read Christian texts in Latin, teach Hebrew to Christian priests, and negotiate with Christians concerning ways of jointly praying for rain. These close relationships are only recorded because the *Ḥasidim* were opposed to them (in the same way as they were opposed to Jewish men and women who failed to meet their elitist standards of piety).[68]

Unique insights into the shared practices of representation are offered by a Jewish family of bankers and scholars in Zurich around 1330, revealed in the design of their seals[69] as well as of their festive hall.[70] Motifs of 'profane' origin can

[67] On the "discovery" by a monk of the *Life* of St Matthias the Apostle, who became the patron of an important monastery in Trier, in the library of a local Jew, who reportedly possessed manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, see J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273* (Berlin, 1887–1902; reprinted 1970), 142–3, no. 316; R. M. Kloos, *Lambertus des Legia. De vita, translatione, inventione ac miraculis sancti Matthiae Apostoli libri quinque* (Trier, 1958), 79, 85, 180. The Latin allusion relates to 'Mattai' named in the Talmud (bSanh 43a) and in some versions of *Toledot Yeshu*. For the wider context cf. S. Haeberli, *Der jüdische Gelehrte im Mittelalter: christliche Imaginationen zwischen Idealisierung und Dämonisierung* (Ostfildern, 2010), 94–103 (on the concept of *Hebraica veritas*); Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer* (above, n. 17), 117–36. On Christian *adversus Judaeos* writings of a later period, see M. Niesner, *"Wer mit juden well disputiren": Deutschsprachige Adversus-Judaeos-Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2005).

[68] Marcus, "Symbiosis" (above, n. 36), 484–90; J. Maier, *Fremdes und Fremde in der jüdischen Tradition und im Sefär Chassidim* (Trier, 2002); T. Fishman, "Rhineland Pietist Approaches to Prayer and the Textualization of Rabbinic Culture in Medieval Northern Europe," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 11 (2004), 313–31.

[69] The two adult sons of Minna bore a seal, as it was typical for prominent Jews (including a number of Jewish widows) and leading Christian burgesses. The seal bears their two names in Hebrew and Latin, its coat of arms shows three 'Jewish hats' pointed inwards, indicating the owners' Jewish identity: S. Shalev-Eyni, *Jews among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (London and Turnhout, 2010), 88. On these and other Jewish seals cf. A. Lehnertz, "Judensiegel in Aschkenas (1273–1347)", in A. Haverkamp and Müller (eds), *Corpus* (above, n. 17), online at <www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen/judensiegel.html> (2014).

also be found in slightly earlier Hebrew manuscript illuminations, the result of Jewish-Christian cooperation, from Constance and the Lake Constance region.[71] In Strasbourg, where according to the municipal laws of 1220 the Jews had to provide the great banner for the standard wagon (i.e., the representative center of the urban militia), a Jew of French origin named Sampson Pine worked together with two local citizens (both probably from families of goldsmiths) between 1331 and 1336, translating for them a French *Parzifal* romance. Sampson translated into German by word of mouth, while the two Christians put the text in verse (almost 40,000 lines). In their concluding remarks the two gave thanks to this communicator between the languages and cultural traditions, with much esteem shown toward his faith. Non-Jewish vernacular literature was in favor among many Ashkenazic Jews, as long as its contents and motifs were not expressly religious.[72]

In the German Kingdom, moreover, the rare efforts by papal legates and others to enforce a distinctive garb on the Jews according to the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council apparently proved fruitless, especially when Christian town communes intervened against them.[73] Jews were allowed to bear arms in the same way

[70] Around 1332 the same family, who owned a house near the synagogue, commissioned wall-paintings for a representative hall of *c.*75 square meters on the second floor, in forms and motifs quite similar to those found in houses of the upper classes in Zurich. The paintings include a frieze showing eighty coats of arms, almost all of them with Hebrew captions only, referring to important ecclesiastical and secular rulers such as the counts of Luxembourg (meanwhile a royal dynasty) and the archbishops of Mainz. The images also contain biblical scenes as well as scenes of dancing and hunting, with motifs taken from Middle High German literature; cf. J. Shatzmiller, *Cultural Exchange. Jews, Christians, and Art in the Medieval Marketplace* (Princeton and Oxford, 2013), 61–72.

[71] Shalev-Eyni, *Jews among Christians* (above, n. 69). Cf. J. Isserles, "Les parallèles estétiques des manuscrits hébreux ashkenazes de type liturgico-légal et des manuscrits latins et vernaculaires médiévaux," in N. de Lange and J. Olszowy-Schlanger (eds), *Manscrits hébreux: Mélanges en l'honneur de Colette Sirat* (Turnhout, 2014), 77–113.

[72] Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer* (above, n. 17); further, the spectacular analysis of one of the stone slates found in the debris of the medieval synagogue of Cologne, by E. Timm, "Ein neu entdeckter literarischer Text in hebräischen Lettern aus der Zeit vor 1349," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 142 (2013), 417–43.

[73] Aronius, *Regesten* (above, n. 67), 174–7, no. 395. F. Singermann, *Ueber Juden-Abzeichen: Ein Beitrag zur sozialen Geschichte des Judentums* (Berlin, 1915), 36–43; M. Keil, "*Kulicht schmalz* und *eisen gaffel* – Alltag und Repräsentation bei Juden und Christen im Spätmittelalter," *Aschkenas* 14 (2004), 51–81; K.-H. Zaunmüller, "Nikolaus von Cues und die Juden: Zur Stellung der Juden in der christlichen Gesellschaft um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts in den deutschen Landen" (PhD dissertation, Universität Trier, 2005, published online at <ubt.opus.hbz-nrw.de/volltexte/2005/348/>, 177–230.

as their Christian neighbors, and used them to defend their lives. They were also involved in the defense of their home towns.[74]

3. Jewish and Christian Communities

The differences among the Jewish *qehillot* were as many and as wide as among the Christian town communes. This obtained with regard to their legal foundations, their internal cohesion and external relations, their functions and scopes of action as well as to their self-representation. While the synagogue and mikvah were considered indispensable for the religious infrastructure of any major Jewish settlement, their size and architectural elaboration (in forms shared with those of the Christian surroundings) expressed significant differences of rank. These also appear in extensions of synagogue buildings by women's sections, first attested around 1200 in the larger *qehillot* of the cathedral cities.[75] For the Jewish community, the synagogue represented a space of ritual, legal-judicial, and political centrality. In Cologne, pleas by Christians (including clerics) against Jews over monetary claims were dealt with in the synagogue before a Jewish court, and then before the parochial court. In several towns and cities in southern Germany, cases between Jews and Christians were decided by a mixed jury. It convened in the synagogue

[74] Thus, the Jews of Worms in 1201 defended their city and themselves from the roofs of their houses, even on a Sabbath. Immediately after the end of the 'Rintfleisch' pogroms, the Jewish representatives of the Augsburg *qahal* (including one woman) took on to build a section of the town wall near their cemetery, out of gratitude for the protection the town commune had granted them during the riots and promises of further protection. On these as on other issues, H. Fischer [= A. Maimon], *Die verfassungsrechtliche Stellung der Juden in den deutschen Städten* (Breslau, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1969) is a milestone in research (see esp. pp. 188–92); cf. A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas'" (above, n. 12), 333–7; on Augsburg (1298), see idem, "'Kammerknechtschaft' und 'Bürgerstatus' der Juden diesseits und jenseits der Alpen während des späten Mittelalters," in M. Brenner and S. Ullmann (eds), *Die Juden in Schwaben* (Munich, 2013), 11–40, 35–8. On bearing arms see C. Magin, "'Waffenrecht' und 'Waffenverbot' für Juden im Mittelalter – zu einem Mythos der Forschungsgeschichte," *Aschkenas* 13 (2003), 17–33.

[75] Harck, *Studien* (above, n. 19), 217–342. On this and the following see the cartographic analysis of the evidence concerning synagogues, *mikva'ot*, community buildings, hospices, and cemeteries until 1350 in maps B 1.1–B. 5.1 of A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), III; Keil, "Orte" (above, n. 65); M. Toch, "Macht und Machtausübung in der jüdischen Gemeinde des Mittelalters," in M. Konradt and R. C. Schwinges (eds), *Juden in ihrer Umwelt: Akkulturation des Judentums in Antike und Mittelalter* (Basel, 2009), 137–55.

courtyard and was presided over by two Christian judges elected by the *qahal*. In this way, the synagogue courtyard might be compared to a churchyard (which, however, was also used for burials, in contrast to the ancient and the Jewish traditions).[76] Major communities also had a mikvah and a house for entertainments, dancing, weddings, etc., like a guildhall. In some towns, a Jewish bathhouse is attested (in Augsburg around 1290 it was used both by the Jews and by their Christian houshold servants). A prominent marker for the standing and the self-esteem of larger *qehillot* was the Jewish hospice. Probably founded during the thirteenth century, hospices provided for the local and especially the itinerant poor, for the sick and for Jewish travelers, in almost all Jewish communities that also had a cemetery. They served as a new institutional basis for Jewish poor relief (*ẓedaqah*), at around the same time when similar developments took place in Christian communities. Many Jewish men and women gave large parts of their bequests to them for the remembrance of their souls.[77] From the thirteenth century, too, the Jewish communities solidified their network of cemeteries with additional burial grounds near cathedral cities but increasingly also in the vicinity of younger urban centers. The earlier model of providing one Jewish cemetery per diocese was superseded by new regional patterns, with more variance in the phenomenology and conditions of *qehillot*.[78] Not only the cemetery 'district' but other regional clusters of Jewish settlements too were treated by the Christian authorities as "land" (*medinah*) from the early fourteenth century, in matters of taxation and beyond.[79]

The growing membership, functions, and importance of the *qehillah* not only called for better external safeguards but also required clearer rules for its internal relations. As in Christian town communes, this need was met by statutes (*taqanot*),

[76] C. Cluse, "Stadt und Judengemeinde in Regensburg im späten Mittelalter: Das 'Judengericht' und sein Ende," in Cluse et al. (eds), *Gemeinden* (above, n. 5), 365–70.

[77] I. J. Yuval, "Hospices and their guests in Jewish medieval Germany," in D. Assaf (ed.), *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. B I, *The History of the Jewish People*, Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1990), 125–9; Grossman, "Structure sociale" (above, n. 34), 477–8. The foundation of a Jewish leper house in the Mainz region around 1340 was bound up with expectations of high tax incomes on the part of the Archbishop of Mainz and Emperor Louis the Bavarian; cf. F. J. Ziwes, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittleren Rheingebiet während des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Hanover, 1995), 91–3.

[78] Above, pp. 6–7 with nn. 11–12; A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), III, map F 4.

[79] Y. Guggenheim, "Jewish Community and Territorial Organisation in Medieval Europe," in C. Cluse, (ed.), *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries)* (Turnhout, 2004), 71-94, 83–4; and cf. below.

but other than the Christian community, where the town lord could exert a strong influence over the statutes or strengthen their authority by his confirmation, the *qehillah* was basically autonomous in this respect. Jewish communities thus acted as law-makers in many areas of Jewish law, but were also much more dependent on the widest possible consent from their members. Already in the eleventh century some *taqanot* were enacted by majority vote. As in Ẓarfat, the community council (*tovei ha-ʿir*) played the decisive role in passing *taqanot* from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The council was recruited from among the close-knit circle of halakhic scholars, the well-off, and the well-born. Some of the regular assemblies of leading scholars from the *ShUM* communities in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries drew up collections of *taqanot* that were to apply in all three communities. These were confirmed in *c.*1220, 1223, *c.*1250, and 1381. They incorporated parts of northern French legal collections initiated, authorized, or spread by Rashi's grandson, Rabbeinū Tam (d. 1171). Together they formed a basis for a unique association of Jewish communities that existed alongside the league among the Christian communes of the three cities from the early decades of the thirteenth century. The Worms *qahal* used this legal instrument when it convened an assembly of all leading Jews from the "land of Worms" (*medinat Warmaisa*, a unit apparently modeled on the cemetery district of Worms) in 1307, to pass joint *taqanot* toward preventing anti-Jewish action from nobles, clerics, and townspeople following the recent expulsion of Jews from the French crownlands. Exiles from France apparently had a direct impact on the continuous reception of French *taqanot* and other traditions in the Rhenish communities.[80]

The arrival of French Jews at Worms and Strasbourg did not go without conflict in these *qehillot*. Such conflicts, especially concerning participation in leadership and taxation, were also rather common within Christian communities during the first half of the fourteenth century.[81] More recently founded Jewish communities

[80] R. Barzen, "Takkanot Kehillot Schum: Die Rechtssatzungen der jüdischen Gemeinden von Mainz, Worms und Speyer im hohen und späteren Mittelalter" (PhD dissertation, Universität Trier, 2005), 362–5; Guggenheim, "Jewish Community" (above, n. 79), 82–4; L. finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (New York, 1964).

[81] At a time when the Christian community of Strasbourg was torn by the conflict between two leading families, the local Jewish community underwent a similar experience (with a peak in the later 1330s). The larger and more influential Jewish group was led by a family of French origin, at times active in high finance, while the other group was apparently headed by a family of long standing, who took the lead among the "German Jews" (*tútschen juden*). Cf. G. Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Elsaß* (Hanover, 1995), 83-6, 131-2. Similar issues divided, for example, the Jewish community

could face even greater problems. A typical example is provided by the trading town of Stendal, a key town in the margravate of Brandenburg situated west of the Elbe river. Here around 1270–75 CE a number of Jews refused to share in the taxes of the Jewish community, claiming that they had reached a separate agreement with the margrave according to which they were to pay their taxes directly to him (or that they were exempted from tax during their first year of settlement). As the *qahal* was unable to resolve this central issue (which incidentally also plagued the Christian town commune of Stendal at around the same time), they turned to outside rabbinic authorities, including R. Meir of Rothenburg (born in Worms). On this as on similar occasions, he ruled in favor of the Jewish community, referring to the general legal norm that "all inhabitants of a city are shareholders in the city walls, the civic patrols, the guards of armor and gates, the gates, the common kitchen (for the poor), the almsbox, and all the institutions they require, as well as in the taxes due to the lord of the city." While Meir adduced talmudic passages for aspects of his legal reasoning, his position was mainly based on the custom in all of the German Kingdom and the example of the *ShUM* communities.[82]

Often the Jews maintained their bonds with the noble, ecclesiastical, or sometimes royal, overlords of their towns, even in cases where the Christian town com-

of Goslar in the 1330s and Hameln in the 1340s, where the Christian town council intervened to mediate and agreed to expel the main enemy of the two leaders of a Jewish opposition group. The two were then allowed to choose whether they wanted to continue visiting the same synagogue or open a second one, so that either leader would congregate his children and kinsfolk as well has half of the "poor Jews" of Hameln around him; cf. A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas'" (above, n. 12), 342.

[82] R. Meir ben Barukh, *Responsa*, ed. R. N. Rabinowitz (Jerusalem, 1986 = Lemberg, 1860), no 108. I am grateful to Yacov Guggenheim for his edition and translation of the passage, based on ms. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ebr. 65, fols 36v–37v, and ms. Oxford, Neubauer 844, fol. 82. Cooperation between the Jewish and Christian communities was formalized in 1297 in an agreement between the margrave of Brandenburg and the town council, which above all stipulated that the *qahal* would share in the municipal tax (for which new Jewish settlers had to have a fixed minimum capital) and that the municipal court could deal with certain internal Jewish cases. It was agreed that in general the Jews of Stendal should enjoy the same law (*ius commune*) and liberties as the Christian citizens, so that the town *consules* were even obliged to protect the Jews from arbitrary acts and harrassment by the margrave's servants. The agreement was to become the model for the relations between Jews and Christians in the towns of the margravate: J. R. Christophersen, "Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in der Mark Brandenburg," in A. Haverkamp and Müller (eds), *Corpus* (above, n. 17), online at <www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen/brandenburg.html> (2013).

mune had effectively dissociated itself from such rule. In other cases, such ties were reactivated. These triangular relationships lay in the interest of the Jewish community, as the *qahal* and its members depended on efficient safeguards both within and without the town walls. They might also profit from the fact that both the town lord and the municipality were intent on limiting the burdens their respective competitor laid on the Jews. In times of imminent danger the lords as well as the resident Jews were ready to make concessions (such as reducing the interest rate) toward the Christian community and populace.[83] When tensions between a lord and the commune aggravated, the Jewish community tended to take the side of the local community.

The proximity of *qahal* and municipality was fundamental, and it explains the analogies in leadership structure. Just as many Christian town communities modeled their governing bodies on the example of the Northern Italian commune, the "heads of the community" (*roshei ha-qahal*) became an institutionalized council in numerous Ashkenazic *qehillot* over the course of the thirteenth century, with the earliest examples emerging in Speyer and Worms.[84] Like the municipal council, the *juden rat* was the hightest political and judicial authority. While it judged according to Jewish law, it depended on the support of town lord and town commune when it came to enforcing punishment or tax against recalcitrant members. Effective diplomacy among Christians required the representatives of the *qahal* (who often used a community seal, just like the municipal council) to receive additional legitimacy from Christian authorities. A formal confirmation by the lord or the municipality in return for a payment was often enough. However, these authorities might use this requirement to interfere in the composition of the Jewish council or the acceptance of newcomers (*ḥerem ha-yishuv*).[85]

In most towns by the end of the thirteenth century, burgess law and citizen status provided the legal instruments for closely associating the Jews and their *qahal*

[83] A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung" (above, n. 14), 34–5, with the examples of Trier (May 1338, in connection with the "Armleder" pogroms, cf. above, pp. 25–6, 28–9) and Vienna (June 1338, connected with the persecutions around Pulkau).

[84] Larger Jewish communities (as well as Christian communes in major cities) had councils of twelve, whereas smaller *qehillot* had fewer *parnassim* (whose number could vary even more than in Christian councils). New members of the Jewish council were co-opted by majority vote, and membership was for life. The head of the Jewish council was often addressed as "bishop of the Jews" by Christian writers. In some *qehillot* the councillors took turns at this office.

[85] A. Haverkamp, "'Concivilitas'" (above, n. 12), 328–33; Cluse, "Jewish Community" (above, n. 37), 189–91.

with Christians and their municipal community. While these concepts had an ancient tradition (and were therefore generally understood to include Jews) in the Mediterranean lands, they provided a rather flexible frame of reference in the towns north of the Alps. Depending on the political status of the municipal community, it was granted by the commune's representatives, on the behest of the lord or with his consent, under varying contractual conditions (including the Jews' obligations, be they fiscal or other), to the local *qahal* as a whole or to individual Jewish heads of households, permanently or for a fixed duration. Similar citizen contracts might be negotiated with Christians. For the Jews, the decisive implications of citizen status and its obligations toward the Christian community were the protection of religious practice, bodies, and possessions. This included public safeguards for retrieving loans, equal treatment in municipal law, and access to the local courts but did not exclude the applicability of Jewish law and internal jurisdiction. Due to their religious alterity and autonomy, the Jews were neither allowed to take part in leading the exclusively Christian commune, nor in any way interested such participation, as it effectively demanded that they give up their religion and leave the *qahal*. In this respect, the citizen status of Jews fundamentally differed from that of Christians.[86]

4. Proximity to the Ruler and "Chamber Serfdom"

As before 1096, prominent Jews continued to maintain close relationships with the ecclesiastical or secular authorities. It was a natural result of the interconnections between town rule, municipal community, and Jewish *qehillah*, but also of the specific functions individual Jews had in the service of the ruler. During the first phase of Frederick Barbarossa's reign (1152–1190) Kalonymos ben Meïr, a scion of the Kalonymide family and *parnass* in Speyer, held a position of confidence at the imperial court in connection with the Emperor's financial politics (which were related to his Italian policy). Kalonymos was continuing the close relations of his

[86] Notwithstanding, some citizen registers until the mid-fourteenth century list new Christian and Jewish burgesses together (Augsburg, Frankfurt a. M., Speyer); cf. A. Haverkamp , "'Concivilitas'" (above, n. 12), 315–9, 338–43; idem, "Juden in Italien" (above, n. 13), 89–99; idem, "'Kammerknechtschaft'" (above, n. 74), and H.-J. Gilomen, *Juden in den spätmittelalterlichen Städten des Reichs: Normen – Fakten – Hypothesen* (Trier, 2009), 9–26. On burgher status of Jews in the duchies of Mecklenburg (Wismar) and Pomerania (Stettin) during the first half of the fourteenth century, see G. Fouquet and S. Rabeler, "Juden in den Ostseestädten Wismar und Rostock im Mittelalter: Ein Vergleich," *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte*, 30 (2012), 17–36, 21–2.

family with the imperial court, which found expression in the early-thirteenth century legend of the arrival of their ancestors in Carolingian times. It is no coincidence that Emperors Frederick I and Henry VI showed favor to the Jews, especially in the wake of their banishment from the French crownlands by King Philip II Augustus (1182), or when they were acutely threatened by crusaders in 1188.[87]

In later times no Jews can be found in such functions at the courts of the "kings of the Romans" or Emperors. We do find them, however, in the service of ecclesiastical and secular rulers, despite the Church canons, reaffirmed at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and at later synods, against employing Jews in positions of authority.[88] Most of the evidence for Jews in the crucial field of financial administration comes from the areas of "new settlement" in the East and South-East, where local Christian settlers – for lack of expertise and/or capital – were unable to replace Jews or outside Christian experts in these positions. At any rate, employing Jews in this field remained highly attractive for the barons or other lay and ecclesiastical rulers. Jews, after all, were not bound by the ecclesiastical restrictions on moneylending, they were in a position of dependency and unable to use it for building up lordships of their own. They could quickly provide capital at reasonable costs, capitalize the income from tolls rented or pawned out to them, or manage the expenses of court and administration. All of these options were used in exemplary fashion by Archbishop and Prince-Elector Baldwin of Trier (1307–1354), a member of the Luxembourg dynasty who had enjoyed some of his education at the French royal court and hence knew of the "progressive" methods of administration and lordship current in France.[89] Baldwin built the finanical foundations

[87] Barbarossa's Jewish courtier gained lasting praise among his descendants for negotiating a substantial tax reduction for his community with the Emperor and not taking personal advantage of it. His learned son David a few decades later maintained close relations with Kuno of Münzenberg, a most influential figure for the minting policies of the Staufen emperors in the central Rhine area; cf. *Germania Judaica I* (above, n. 2), 341–4, 340–1; A. Haverkamp, *Zwölftes Jahrhundert* (above, n. 10), 182–3. On David's family relations, see S. Emanuel, "New Fragments of Unknown Biblical Commentaries from the 'European Genizah'," in A. Lehnardt (ed.), *'Genizat Germania' – Hebrew and Aramaic Binding Fragments from Germany in Context* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 207–15.

[88] Aronius, *Regesten* (above, n. 67), 175–6, no. 395; cf. M. J. Wenninger, "Juden als Münzmeister, Zollpächter und fürstliche Finanzbeamte im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas," in Toch (ed.), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (above, n. 31), 121–38.

[89] Baldwin was the brother of Emperor Henry VII, uncle of King John of Bohemia, and great-uncle of King and Emperor Charles IV. For some time (1328–37) he served as provisor for the vacant archbishopric of Mainz as well as the bishoprics of Speyer and Worms.

of his policies, which concentrated on the archbishopric of Trier but extended far beyond, with the help of "his" Jews, most of whom lived at the metropolitan see of Trier. From *c.*1323 to 1346, the most important aspects of his financial policy and administration were in the consecutive hands of Muskinus, Jacob Daniel, and the latter's son-in-law, Michael of Bingen. Notwithstanding, Baldwin used the Jews' growing need for protection in the wake of the "Armleder" riots rigorously to increase his hold on their bodies and possessions. When a Jew died without a son, Baldwin claimed the whole inheritance, including houses, open debts, and Hebrew books. In other respects, too, his demands were similar to those made on Christian serfs.[90]

With new emphases, the Prince Elector was pursuing a policy that had already been explored some decades earlier by King Rudolph of Habsburg and by Baldwin's brother, Emperor Henry VII, and which was significantly intensified both by the Wittelsbach Emperor Louis as well as his rival, Baldwin's great-nephew Charles IV. The Christian counselors of these rulers exploited the broad concept of Jewish "chamber serfdom" to the extreme, probably adopting ideas from canon law and the Roman legal tradition. Ironically, they were drawing on a legal construct that was first formulated in the German Kingdom, in 1236 by the chancery of Frederick II, precisely to express the basic affiliation of the Jews to the imperial crown, even an imperial monopoly over them, against the claims of the papacy. Frederick's program had been occasioned by a persecution at the hands of crusaders, who in 1235 had fallen on the Jews of Lauda and Tauberbischofsheim as well as Fulda. For the first time in the German Kingdom, the attackers had brought forward formal charges of ritual murder.[91] The Emperor combined warding off this existential threat for Jewish existence with establishing a new legal principle: At the bequest of Ashkenazic Jewry, he extended to all Jews in the German Kingdom the charter of rights granted by his grandfather Frederick I to the Jews of Worms

This most influential imperial baron of his time was, until the election of Charles as anti-king, a long-standing ally of Emperor Louis "the Bavarian" against the Avignonese Papacy.

[90] A. Haverkamp, "Erzbischof Balduin und die Juden" (1985), in idem, *Gemeinden* (above, n. 12), 39–88; F. Burgard, "Ämter und Judensiedlungen in Kurtrier unter Erzbischof Balduin von Luxemburg (1307–1354)," in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*, I (above, n. 4), 379–89, III, map F 6.

[91] Even some of the barons backed the accusation in formal charges brought before the imperial court. The judicial enquiry that ensued only ended in July, 1236, at the imperial diet of Augsburg, where a sentence in favor of the Jews was passed. Baptized Jews from England, Spain, and France specifically convened for the occasion had provided the basic expertise for this verdict.

(1157, renewing those given them by Henry IV in 1090). As before, the Jews were associated with the imperial chamber (i.e., the core of imperial rule), but this time they were also characterized as *servi.* In this way the charter of 1236 not only adopted the "perpetual servitude" concept of popes and canonists, it also opened up new scope for interpretation in allowing to align the legal position of Jews with that of unfree persons, even slaves.[92]

The favorable passages in the privilege of 1236 were considered in later Jewry-laws by princes and kings in the eastern lands – in Austria (1244), Hungary (1251), Bohemia and Moravia (from 1255), Greater Poland (from 1264), in Meissen (1265) as well as Silesia, Lesser Poland, and Ruthenia. Jewish emigrants to Italy used them from the late-fourteenth century in their agreements (*condotte*) with the communes of Upper and Central Italy. Here however, they were connected with civic status, while the ambiguous legal construction of "chamber serfdom" had never been used in the Patrimony of Saint Peter or in "imperial" Italy. North of the Alps, by contrast, it became a commonplace in the chanceries of the kings and emperors. For the first time, king Rudolph I in 1286 used it to justify his claim to dispose of the possessions of the "serfs of his chamber" according to his wishes. His extreme claim implied severe limitations on the Jews' freedom of movement and may have followed a French model. Significantly, Rudolph was acting in favor of his close allies, including the archbishop of Mainz.[93]

With increasing frequency from the early fourteenth century, their extreme shortage of financial resources forced the kings north of the Alps to pawn the taxes they claimed from Jews (and which could not effectively collect) or even whole Jewish communities, sometimes along with the towns where they lived, to their allies, who were often unreliable political competitors. The Jews' existing safety nets were jeopardized, if not destroyed by this policy. The same kings would increase the legal claims of the crown over the Jews, especially when they proclaimed the cancellation of debts owed to Jewish creditors, as the French kings since Philip II Augustus (1180) had done and as it happened with increasing frequency in the

[92] A. Haverkamp, "'Kammerknechtschaft'" (above, n. 74), 14–9.

[93] Rudolph was aiming at the possessions of R. Meir of Rothenburg, who had recently moved to Worms, and of R. Meir's followers in the *ShUM* communities, in Oppenheim and the Wetterau region. Maybe moved by eschatological hopes, these Jews had left their homes a few months before without the king's consent, as Rudolph claimed. See the documents of 1286 in G. Mentgen, "Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im Erzbistum Mainz (1273–1347)," in A. Haverkamp and Müller (eds), *Corpus* (above, n. 17), online at <www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen.html> (2015).

German kingdom during these years.[94] This practice flew in the face of the burgess status held by many Jews, and stood in sharp contrast to the interests of numerous municipalities, barons, and other lords who held rights over the Jews. Not least, Louis's assertion that he could "do as he liked" with his Jews also ran against his own professed aim of looking for better means of protecting them (for which end he introduced a new poll tax on all adult male Jews of the Empire).[95] Nevertheless, the same emperor reportedly intervened against a ritual murder charge raised in 1346 at his own residential town of Munich, and demolished the shrine that had already been erected for the alleged "martyr."[96]

5. From Familiarity and Conditional Tolerance to Persecution and Expulsion

Since the turn of the fourteenth centuries the policies of the kings/emperors were much driven by their lack of resources. This had direct adverse consequences for the Jews in the lands close to the crown, not least as it influenced the policies of the lay or ecclesiastical princes and other authorities, especially in the western areas of "old settlement." Notwithstanding a number of similar incidents[97], the relations of most barons and nobles toward the Jews in the eastern lands of "new settlement" do not show the same tendencies. In the western parts, too, the crown was not the only factor responsible for the deteriorating conditions of Jewish life. Jews suffered

[94] Emperor Louis "the Bavarian" justified the expropriation of Jews (most of them from Nuremberg) in favor of the burgrave of Nuremberg in 1343 by claiming that he and the empire had unrestricted dominion over the Jews. Already in 1331 he had extorted excessive taxes from the town's Jewish community, using incarceration and other means of violence. See A. Haverkamp, "'Kammerknechtschaft'" (above, n. 74), 31–2; for similar measures taken by Louis see, for example, Mentgen, *Studien* (above, n. 81), 313–4 (on 1346, when, however, the Jews of Colmar resisted the emperor's demands with the support of the local Christian community).

[95] E. Isenmann, "Steuern und Abgaben," in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2225–6.

[96] John of Winterthur, *Chronik* (above, n. 61), 260–1.

[97] These included the extortions from Bohemian Jews by King Wenceslas II in 1298 and by King John of Luxemburg in 1336 (*Germania Judaica II* [above, n. 51] I, 91). The latter expropriated the Jews of Prague in 1336 (ibid., II, 659) and in 1345 allowed the town of Breslau (Wrocław) to mend the city walls with stones taken from the Jewish cemetery; cf. W. Cohn's article "Breslau," written by 1940 for *Germania Judaica II* and published by N. Conrads, "Die verlorene Germania Judaica: Ein Handbuch- und Autorenschicksal im Dritten Reich," *Berichte und Forschungen: Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa* (Munich, 2008), 245, 252–3.

most extremely from the spread of local and (since 1287) regional pogroms. Almost all Jewish settlements were affected by the persecutions of 1348–50, the worst in the German lands before the Shoah.

Many factors contributed to these convulsive events. The effects of royal and baronial policies in England, France, and Southern Italy between 1287 and 1322/23 are difficult to estimate. They culminated in expulsion, expropriation, or forced conversion. The same must be said about the views expressed by theologians concerning the status of the Jews, the propaganda (mostly by mendicant friars) against the "Christ-killers," and the efforts by popes, papal legates, and local ecclesiastics to restrict Jewish life according to canonistic norms. An increase in such activities can be observed in the German kingdom between the 1260s and 1280s. Charges of "usury" were still mostly aimed at Christians, not against Jews (in the German kingdom, this situation was only reversed in the fifteenth century).[98] From 1275, new law-codes were spreading, which favored exclusion and discrimination against Jews.[99] Notwithstanding, we can still find positive relationships between members of the two religious communities on a local level until the mid-1330s, i.e., before the "Armleder" pogroms began.[100] Moreover, in a number of cases in the western regions, imminent danger could be averted by the Christian town community, at

[98] Cf. C. Cluse, "Zum Zusammenhang von Wuchervorwurf und Judenvertreibung im 13. Jahrhundert," in Burgard et al. (eds), *Judenvertreibungen* (above, n. 26), 135–63; idem, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden* (Hanover, 2000),171–85 (on Thomas Aquinas), 315–60 (on the construction and spread of anti-Jewish legends), 360–74 (on the influence of the mendicant friars). On Berthold of Regensburg, cf. Haeberli, *Gelehrte* (above, n. 67), 120–2; Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer* (above, n. 17), 146–51; on the church synods of Vienna and Breslau, cf. S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century*, vol. II, *1254–1314*, ed. K. R. Stow (Detroit, 1989), 244–9. Anti-Jewish statutes that went beyond those passed at the Lateran (1215) and Vienne (1274) councils, or took over the synodal decrees of 1267, are rare in the synodal legislation passed under the influence of the diocesan bishops between 1267 and the mid-fourteenth century; cf. R. Richtscheid, "Judenbetreffe in Synodal- und Konzilsstatuten," in A. Haverkamp and Müller (eds), *Corpus* (above, n. 17), online at <www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/quellen/synodal-und-konzilsstatuten.html> (2011).

[99] In contrast to the *Sachsenspiegel* law-code, composed between 1220 and 1235 and often copied in northern Germany, the *Schwabenspiegel*, written *c.*1275 in or near Augsburg and influential in southern and western Germany, had a strong anti-Jewish bias. With the exception of the municipal law-code of Vienna, similar texts are rare in other parts of the German Kingdom. See C. Magin, *"Wie es umb der iuden recht stet": Der Status der Juden in spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Rechtsbüchern* (Göttingen, 1999), 401–24.

[100] See above, pp. 31–2.

times acting together with ecclesiastical or lay overlords.[101] During the quarter of a millennium between 1097 and 1347 no persecutions of Jews can be traced in numerous major towns and cities[102], while many other towns, mostly small ones with weak defences saw a series of pogroms, such as the "Rintfleisch" and "Armleder" movements in Franconia (incidentally, a region close to the interests of the crown), the "Pulkau" pogroms of 1338 in Lower Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, and the persecutions around Deggendorf, mostly in Lower Bavaria, starting in the fall of 1338.[103]

Other than the pogroms of 1096, which apparently affected all the Jewish communities of the time, the following ones up to the outbreak of the persecutions of 1348–50 were local and regional in scope. However, supra-local factors were usually at work in local pogroms, while the persecutions of a regional or supra-regional scope showed motivations, developments, and effects that might vary from place to place.[104] In the run-up to the Second Crusade in 1146/47, the crusade preaching by a monk named Radulph caused persecutions (of unclear extent) in several towns of the Rhineland, despite the efforts on the part of Bernard of Clairvaux and the protective measures of King Conrad III.[105] In 1188 Frederick I and Henry VI intervened against imminent threats to the *qehillot* in the central Rhine region. Crusaders vowed to go on Henry VI's expedition killed Jews in Worms and Vienna in 1196. In later pogroms driven by crusading zeal, as in Erfurt (1221), Fulda (1235), and the duchy of Brabant (1309), the charge of ritual

[101] On Augsburg in 1298 see above, n. 74. Other examples are provided by Würzburg (1336) and Colmar (1338), where towns together with leading ecclesiastics and nobles took action against the "Armleder" troops.

[102] These include the *qehillot* in the cathedral cities of Worms, Cologne, Trier, Strasbourg, Constance, Augsburg, and Regensburg.

[103] Cf. above, pp. 24–6. In Mainz the Jews were persecuted in 1281 and 1283; in 1286 they were again accused of 'ritual murder.'

[104] The gruesome "Jews' battle" of Frankfurt in 1241 was possibly linked to fears among Christians of the Mongols and their alleged Jewish supporters – fears that no doubt were shared at other places too, without causing pogroms; cf. Yuval, *Perceptions* (above, n. 44), 284–8.

[105] We can only localize the slaughter of 22 members of the Würzburg *qahal*, killed against the local bishop's will in 1147; cf. A. Haverkamp, *Zwölftes Jahrhundert* (above, n. 10), 71–4; on Bernard's role see H. Breuer, "Die rheinische Kreuzzugspredigt des Heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux: Überlegungen zur Herkunft der Glossen im Codex 23 der Kölner Dombibliothek," *Analecta Coloniensia* 7/8 (2007/8), 83–177.

murder, first insinuated in 1147, became more pronounced.[106] From 1287 this accusation, and from 1298 the charge (first attested at Paris in 1290) of host desecration became the most important motives or post-event 'justifications' for massacres, which now spread throughout the traditional regions of Jewish settlement and royal interest. Both motifs drew on the 'Christian' myth, first used in 1096, that the Jews were Christ-killers and, hence, enemies of Christendom. The charge of ritual murder was also fed by Christian anti-Jewish interpretations of *qiddush ha-Shem*, the (ritual) self-sacrifice in response to persecution and forced baptism.[107] "Host desecration" referred to other Jewish ritual practices, especially around Passover, and received a new emphasis from the growing public veneration of the Eucharist.[108] It was regarded primarily as a crime against Christ, while 'ritual murder' was seen as an attack on the life of young Christians. Both accusations were often interwoven in chronicles and legends.

The massacres raging between November 1348 and the summer of 1350 went far beyond the regions previously haunted by regional pogroms, though they were apparently more intense in the areas of "old settlement." All existing Jewish settlements in these areas were heavily afflicted by them.[109] The persecutions were supported by the accusation (by no means shared by all Christian contemporaries) that the Jews had poisoned the wells. All Jews were thus implicated in a conspiracy to spread the new and unknown, pandemic plague, intending to kill all Christians – an extreme version of the myth of the murderous Jew. The charge aimed at the annihilation of all Jews, who were even unable to evade by accepting forcible baptism, as well as of their alleged Christian accomplices in the crime. This excessive expression of Christian anti-Judaism was certainly motivated by the widespread panic in the face of the deadly disease, as were other convulsive changes in the attitudes and practices of many people. The first appearance north of the Alps of flagellants as a religious mass movement is only one symptom. The flagellants dis-

[106] Cf. above, p. 32 with nn. 73–4, generally G. Mentgen, "Kreuzzugsmentalität bei antijüdischen Aktionen nach 1190," in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Sigmaringen, 1999), 287–326 (also referring to the widespread violence against Jews in France); on Brabant see Cluse, *Studien* (above, n. 98), 192–210.

[107] Yuval, *Perceptions* (above, n. 44), 163–204; J. Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford, 2007), 73–102; Mentgen, "Kiddusch" (above, n. 44).

[108] Yuval, *Perceptions* (above, n. 44), 205–6; Cohen, *Christ Killers* (above, n. 107), 103–17.

[109] In a few places, mostly in the County of Burgundy, the Jews were expelled rather than killed.

puted the role of the church hierarchy by offering their own path toward salvation. Contemporary Jews watched them with apprehension fed by renewed eschatological expectations and by their experience of the crusading movement, and saw in them harbingers of apocalyptic persecution, and many Christians later blamed the anti-Jewish violence on the flagellants. Some Christian writers, on the other hand, argued that the plague was caused by natural factors or saw it as God's punishment for the sins of Christendom. This ties in with what the Jewish poet Israel (Suslin) b. Joel thought about the plague as God's punishment for the pogroms. Suslin's theory could draw on the observation that the pandemic usually (if at all) arrived at a place after the Jews had been killed there. From the Jewish perspective, it would also seem logical that some Christian contemporaries saw the real cause of the pogroms in the debts owed to the Jews by the instigators and perpetrators of the massacre.[110]

The threat the plague posed to virtually everyone distinguished it from famine, which often spared the rich (some of whom might even profit from it). Still, extreme economic hardship, such as in the famine years around 1315, could have similar adverse effects. Starting with 1096, economic crisis variously influenced the outbreak, recruitment, and outcome of anti-Jewish riots.[111] Political instability also had a strong influence on pogroms (and was in turn aggravated by them, since the killings did not only contravene church norms but also violated the existing secular legal order). In many cases the riots were used to enforce political aims. This can be

[110] A. Haverkamp, "Die Judenverfolgungen zur Zeit des Schwarzen Todes im Gesellschaftsgefüge deutscher Städte" (1981), in idem, *Verfassung* (above, n. 49), 223–97; F. Graus, *Pest – Geißler – Judenmorde: Das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit*, 2nd edn (Göttingen, 1988), 155–340; C. Cluse, "Zur Chronologie der Verfolgungen zur Zeit des 'Schwarzen Todes'," in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), I, 223–42, and III, maps D 1–D 5; Cluse, *Studien* (above, n. 98), 210–83 (esp. 276–82 on 'astrology, prophecy, and eschatology'); idem, "Zwischen Vorurteil und Vertrauen: Die Rettung der Regensburger Juden im Jahr 1349," in G. Gemein (ed.), *Kulturkonflikte – Kulturbegegnungen: Juden, Christen und Muslime in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Bonn, 2010), 362–75. On the problem of how the plague spread cf. R. Kießling, "Zur Entstehung von Wirtschaftslandschaften im Spätmittelalter," in H. Flachenecker and R. Kießling (eds), *Wirtschaftslandschaften in Bayern: Studien zur Entstehung und Entwicklung ökonomischer Raumstrukturen vom Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2010), 31–42.

[111] For example, in 1146/47 and 1195/96 (A. Haverkamp, *Zwölftes Jahrhundert* (above, n. 10), 27, 34–5), during the supply crises of 1337 and 1347 in Alsace (Mentgen, *Studien* [above, n. 81], 354, 362). For the state of research, including the problem of climate change, see C. Jörg, *"Teure, Hunger, Großes Sterben": Hungersnöte und Versorgungskrisen in den Städten des Reiches während des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2008).

observed in connection with the "Guter Werner" pogroms of 1287/88 and in the persecution against the Jewish subjects of the Duke of Brabant in 1309, which was confined to towns involved in grave authority struggles with the Duke. The "Rintfleisch" riots (April through July, 1298) in the royal heartlands of Franconia and Swabia were directly linked with the struggle over the throne between King Adolph of Nassau and Albrecht of Habsburg, a struggle that was felt everywhere even on the local level. Not until his election and accession to the throne could Albrecht put an end to the persecution. The "Armleder" riots, too, occurred in a phase of heightened political struggle. Just as the "Rintfleisch" pogroms, their leaders were either from the lower nobility or of doubtful origin. Together with a very mixed band of followers (among whom peasants at times formed a strong component) these leaders were able to exploit the weakened authority of the Emperor, who had been involved in a struggle with the Avignonese Papacy from the beginnings of his reign. The current implications of this struggle included the Franciscan "poverty controversy" and other rifts in the political structure. In numerous major towns and cities, "internal" tensions (usually related to "external" factors) reduced the councils' and leading burgesses' scope of action against those who attacked the Jews. In Alsace in May 1338, several town communities united with the bishop of Strasbourg and several nobles and knights to form a regional peace against insurgents and the "Armleder" bands. At the same time the Habsburger Albert II, Duke of Austria, Styria and Carinthia, together with some members of the nobility proceeded against the persecutors in Lower Austria, albeit with limited success. Soon after he passed several measures aimed at preventing futher pogroms, in co-operation with cousin (also named Albert), the bishop of Passau. The fact that he also (and more successfully) defended the Jews at the time of the Black Death earned him the epithet of a 'supporter of Jews' (*fautor iudeorum*) among his enemies. On the other hand, Count Palatine Rudolph II, a nephew of Emperor Louis IV, was responsible for a series of pogroms in his own lands in 1343. He allegedly tried to obtain permission to kill all Jews in the German Kingdom from his uncle, who opposed his policies.[112]

At the time of the Black Death pogroms, the struggle for the crown continued to influence the policies of Charles IV and the Wittelsbacher house down to May 1349, which meant that the new Luxembourger king was extremely weakened precisely in those regions which were close to the interests of the crown and densely inhabited by Jews. While Charles was able to prevent pogroms in his own kingdom

[112] Cf. A. Haverkamp, "Verschriftlichung" (above, n. 14), 13–36 (*fautor*: 31); Ziwes, *Studien* (above, n. 77), 244–7.

of Bohemia (with one exception), he used his legal claim over the Jews in other parts of the German Kingdom to gratify his followers or win new allies, making far-reaching concessions, even to the extent of granting royal pardon to a town *in advance* for the expected killing of the local Jews. In Nuremberg just as in Strasbourg and Erfurt, groups who revolted against the municipal council fanned the atmosphere of fear created by the advance of the Black Death to bring about government changes. When they succeded, as in Nuremberg and Strasbourg, the new council immediately proceeded to spoil and kill the Jews in ways that could barely hide the grave breach of law under the thin veil of legal procedure. The beleaguered municipal leadership rarely had the military means to efficiently step in against the murderers, who also claimed a semblance of religious legitimacy. Even where the council's position was unchallenged, as in Regensburg, it took great efforts to prevent the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence, and among the major towns only Regensburg and Goslar were successful.[113] In many other towns the municipal leadership's interest in protecting the Jews was reduced by the fact that they had little or no share in the fiscal rights over the Jews, who were subjects of the town lord or other authorities. Many ecclesiastical or secular barons, too, and many nobles gave priority to their own interests when dealing with the Jews, for whom, however, the matter was one of life or death. An extreme – and apparently exceptional – case is provided by Frederick II, landgrave of Thuringia and margrave of Meissen (1310–1349), who personally backed the annihilation of the Jews in his own dominions and beyond.[114]

It is likely that more than half of the Jews were killed in the persecutions between 1348 and 1350/51. Some of them committed *qiddush ha-Shem*, many others died of the plague. Few were able to find refuge on the castles of nobles or princes and

[113] In Regensburg on 3 October 1349 – only days after the fateful change of balance in Nuremberg – the mayor, 17 councilors, and 236 other influential burgesses took an oath to protect the local Jews and to prosecute anti-Jewish violence as a breach of the city's honor and dignity – meaning its legal order, self-image and esteem. The measure also implied that they were safeguarding law and order in their city, as well as their fiscal rights over the Jews. Cf. Cluse, "Vorurteil und Vertrauen" (above, n. 110).

[114] Cf. above, n. 110; on Frederick II and the pogrom in Erfurt see A. Haverkamp, „Judenverfolgungen" (above, n. 110), 247-8, 253; R. S. Ruf-Haag, "Juden und Christen im spätmittelalterlichen Erfurt: Abhängigkeiten, Handlungsspielräume und Gestaltung jüdischen Lebens in einer mitteleuropäischen Großstadt" (PhD dissertation, Universität Trier, 2010), 80–93; M. Lämmerhirt, *Juden in den wettinischen Herrschaftsgebieten: Recht, Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne, 2007), 41–6; on Count Rudolph II (1343) and Duke Albert II, cf. above, p. 47.

survived. It was the darkest hour for Ashkenazic Jewry, and it only reinforced the view that the German Kingdom was a "land of persecution" (*ereẓ gezerah*), to recall the words of R. Judah (d. 1349 in Toledo), a son of one of R. Meir's students, the influential scholar R. Asher b. Yeḥiel (d. 1327), who around 1300 had fled to Spain with his family. The experience of disaster not only marked the physical existence of the survivors, it also influenced their memory, their religious views and practices. Moved by eschatological expectations, some Rhenish Jews even traveled from Heidelberg to Jerusalem after 1350. Here they learnt of the cabbalistic lore from Sefarad, which reinforced their messianic and mystical views and also contained a strong magical element. A member of the growing cabbalistic movement in Ashkenaz, Shimon b. Samuel of Regensburg, around 1400 attested to widespread messianic expectations at the turn of the century, writing that it was written in the Christian mandates that "Jews should be killed every fifty years."[115]

IV. The Mid-Fourteenth through Early Sixteenth Centuries

1. Conditions of Jewish Life

For the long-term trends in Central Europe[116] the marked population decline over about one century following the Black Death was a fundamental factor. It was

[115] I. J. Yuval, "Kabbalisten, Ketzer und Polemiker: Das kulturelle Umfeld des *Sefer ha-Nizachon* von Lipmann Mühlhausen," in K. E. Grözinger and J. Dan (eds), *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism* (Berlin, 1995), 164; idem, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche: Nach einer hebräischen Chronik," in Haverkamp, A., and F.-J. Ziwes (eds), *Juden in der christlichen Umwelt des späten Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1992), 59–102, at p. 63; A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland" (above, n. 13), 119; cf. below, p. 62. The *qehillot* of Mainz, Nuremberg, and Worms held annual fasts on the anniversary of the 1349 persecution, and the lists of martyrs were read out: M. Breuer and Y Guggenheim, "Die jüdische Gemeinde, Gesellschaft und Kultur," in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2078–138, at p. 2136.

[116] For the following, see the overview in A. Haverkamp, "Lebensbedingungen der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland" (1991), in idem, *Verfassung* (above, n. 49), 463–84; idem, "Juden in Italien" (above, n. 13); Toch, *Juden* (above, n. 4), and the surveys in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2079–327; on the urban contexts see Isenmann, *Stadt* (above, n. 50), esp. 407–17; for the municipal *Obrigkeit* and its religious foundations; also P. Moraw, "Die Kirche und die Juden," in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2282–97 (esp. on the implications of printing, p. 2295). On the increasing discrimination against Judaism in German literature (including shrovetide and passion plays) and its spread in

caused by renewed outbreaks of endemic plague, by famine and war, and closely linked to a reduction in grain cultivation and increased efforts to gear the agrarian economy toward the needs of a growing and increasingly commercialized productive sector in the major towns and trading cities. Patterns of rural settlement were changing, with many settlements reduced or falling waste, while the population trends and density in the urban centers took very different directions, depending on how the towns were able to assert themselves on an increasingly competitive market. The very variable economic trends caused new dynamics in the social structure on the countryside, where large parts of the rural population as well as numerous nobles and knights were affected by reduced proceeds from the traditional agrarian economy and consequently needed credit. The same is even more true of the larger towns. On the other hand, there were strong tendencies toward social variation and stratification, as well as painful struggles over participation and exclusion on all levels of the political system. More independent towns and cities were haunted by tensions due to the municipal councils' attempts to monopolize all relevant political and fiscal rights, including those pertaining to the Jews, and to assert their supreme authority (*Obrigkeit*) over the Christian commune, to enforce social discipline through numerous statutes (including dresscodes), and to bring the community's confraternal organizations and church institutions under their control.

In antagonistic ways, the conflicting parties argued on religious grounds. In this context, religious arguments also served to exclude Jews, "heretics," and other groups, such as those working in "dishonorable" professions, or "Slavs" and "gypsies" who were increasingly categorized along ethnic lines. Favored by the consequences of the Great Schism in the Western Church (1378–1417) and the ecumenical councils, the barons also expanded their religious and ecclesiastical authority, using it to enforce exclusive Christian orthodoxy in their territories. Religion, religious conformity and religious deviance received a much higher political and social relevance. The development favored the popularization of Christian anti-Jewish tenets in coarser ways, in sermons (by "popular" preachers, mostly Dominican and Franciscan friars) as in other forms of representation.[117] From *c.*1470 they were

manuscripts and print, see the secondary readings cited above, nn. 72–3; on the various anti-Jewish "customs" of the time cf. G. Mentgen, "Der Würfelzoll und andere antijüdische Schikanen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 22 (1995), 1–48.

[117] See, for example, I. Shachar, *The Judensau: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History* (London, 1974); H. Schreckenberg, *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas: Ein historischer Bildatlas* (Göttingen, 1996). On sermons, cf. R. Schiewer, "*Sub Iudaica Infirmitate* – 'Under the Jewish Weakness': Jews in Medieval German Sermons," in J. Adams and J. Hanska

increasingly spread in print. These polemics against Judaism had a strong influence on the attitudes and behavior of many. To the extent that the sufferings of Christ received more and more attention, they gained additional force.

The Jews were also directly affected by the eastward shift of the crown's regional focus of authority by the Luxembourger dynasty from the mid-fourteenth century and by the Habsburg house, from 1438. In their eastern territories, the trends of economic expansion and urban growth and the consolidation of secular princedoms were still strong even after 1350, despite numerous failures, the threat from the Ottoman Turks, and the turmoil caused by the Hussite movement in Bohemia. The shift entailed a further weakening of the crown interests in the western parts of the Empire, especially in those lands which once lay at the heart of the royal interest and featured a strong presence of Jewish life.

2. Presence Reduced, Mobility Increased: Persecution, Expulsion, Emigration

Following the catastrophe that had become apparent by the time of the regional pogroms in 1336–38 and became manifest in 1348–50, slightly more than 1,000 Jewish settlements can be accounted for in the period through the first decades of the sixteenth century. This includes, however, the numerous localities where Jews were again persecuted or (temporarily) expelled since the 1350s, such as Magdeburg (1356/57 and again 1384) or Breslau (1360). Thus, in many places Jews only lived for short periods, in small numbers, and discontinuously. In the western regions, they returned to less than half of those places where they had settled before.[118] New settlements and the expansion of existing ones were mainly a feature of regions outside the Jewish "areas of old settlement." The eastward shift concerned

(eds), *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 59–91, and C. Cluse, *Darf ein Bischof Juden zulassen? Die Gutachten des Siffridus Piscator OP (gest. 1473) zur Auseinandersetzung um die Vertreibung der Juden aus Mainz* (Trier, 2013), 35–53.

[118] In the areas most densely settled, roughly between Trier in the West and Nuremberg in the East, Remagen in the North and Chur in the South, the number of settlements declined from well over 500 (1301–50) to 170 at most (1351–1400), i.e., by about two-thirds. In the adjoining northern region from the North Sea up to Remagen on the Rhine, where Jewish settlement had been much sparser, the reduction was by about one-half (from 125 to 62); see A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), III, maps A 4.5–A 4.6 and A 2.5–A 2.6; M. Toch, "Die Verfolgungen des Spätmittelalters," in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2298–327.

not only the Jewish presence in general but also the centers of Jewish learning. The latter suffered a long-term crisis from the large losses among the Jewish élite.

Resettlement was a slow process, beginning in the 1350s. Jews preferred the larger towns, including, at an early date, the *ShUM* cities, for the possibility of relating to important Jewish traditions, especially the cemeteries. In most cases, it took decades until the Jews returned, and more time until they could constitute a *qahal*.[119] Even the larger ones among these *qehillot* attained no more than one-third of their previous membership numbers, for short periods only.

The first expulsions in the German Kingdom, from around 1390, still hit the generation of those who had survived the 1348–50 pogroms. Expulsions were a measure the kings and princes of Western Europe had often enacted since 1182 (and were still enacted, as in France in 1394), whereas they had rarely been seen in Ashkenaz before 1350. Plans of individual barons to expel the Jews from their lands had remained largely without effect.[120] The first Jews to be affected by the evictions after 1350 were those of the imperial city of Strasbourg and the Palatinate County on the Rhine (including the Upper Palatinate) in 1390. After that, they spread to most of the baronial territories in the South and South-East down to Austria as well as to Thuringia, Silesia, and Brandenburg.

Expulsions, both from territories as well as from individual towns, were sometimes followed by readmission after a short interval.[121] Local expulsions were particularly frequent during the 1420s and 1430s, when municipalities (in the Rhineland, in Swabia including the Swiss lands) increasingly aimed at securing the lasting exclusion of Jews by charters from their overlords.[122] The same regions saw a second

[119] This includes cathedral cities with major Jewish communities before 1350: Strasbourg (1369), Cologne (1372), and Würzburg (1376). Cf. A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), III, maps E 2 and E 4. On the various ways adopted in extablishing new *qehillot* and on the difficulties they encountered, see M. Schmandt, *"Judei, cives et incole": Studien zur jüdischen Geschichte Kölns im Mittelalter* (Hanover, 2002), 96-110.

[120] On the mandate in the last will of the Duke of Brabant in 1261 to "expel all the Jews and Cahorsins from his land unless they cease to commit usury," and the possible short-term effects it had, see Cluse, "Zusammenhang" (above, n. 98), 149; idem, *Studien* (above, n. 98), 30–1, 174–85.

[121] This type of fluctuation can be observed on several occasions at Speyer (from 1405), Mainz (from 1438), and, for example, Eger (from 1430).

[122] These cities and towns include the metropolitan see of Cologne on the Lower Rhine (1424) and the *ShUM* cities of Speyer (1405, 1435) and Mainz (1438), as well as Osnabrück (1426); in Swabia and Switzerland, such charters were sought out, for example, in Zurich (1423, 1435/36), Heilbronn (1437), and Augsburg (1438). On these "privilegia de

wave between 1462 (again Mainz) and the late-1470s (with Passau in 1478 as an exception). The last phase of frequent local expulsions occurred between 1495 and 1520 and mostly affected previously important Jewish communities in Alsace, Swabia, and Franconia, including Nuremberg and Ulm (1499), Rothenburg ob der Tauber (1519), and the venerable *qahal* of Regensburg (1519), which until 1476 had been spared from persecution. However, they also hit Jewish settlements far away from these heartlands, in Braunschweig (1510), in Bohemia and Moravia (in 1453/54, with royal support from king Ladislaus) and Silesia (1504).[123]

Some expulsions went along with, or followed, persecution. The most horrific instance of this kind occurred in Austria in 1420/21, when Duke Albrecht V had hundreds of Jews taken prisoner, tortured, forcibly baptized, despoiled and executed in what is known as the Gezerah of Vienna. The survivors were expelled.[124] With the exception of a regional persecution under King Ladislaus (1453), such pogroms were otherwise unknown in this period. Even taking into account a number of local persecutions,[125] the relative impact of pogroms on Jewish settlement was much lower than before 1350. Expulsions were a different matter: from the turn of the fifteenth century, the forced dislocation of Jews became a serious threat.

In most cases, the exiles suffered high, if not total, property losses, which made resettlement difficult, especially if large distances had to be covered. Moreover, continuous expulsions were reducing their options, not only in the areas of "old settlement" but also, following the Gezerah of Vienna, in the south-eastern and, from *c.*1450, in the eastern areas of "new settlement." Expulsions generally contributed to a sense of insecurity even among those Jews not (yet) affected. By the mid-fifteenth century, only two of the cathedral cities west of the Rhine, the early

non tolerandis Judeis," see the chronological survey in D. Willoweit, "Die Rechtsstellung der Juden," in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2202–3.

[123] See the relevant entries in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), and cf. the various articles by F.-J. Ziwes, R. Ries, and F. Backhaus in Burgard et al. (eds), *Judenvertreibungen* (above, n. 26), 165–240; also, Brugger, "Ansiedlung" (above, n. 51), 221–7; Lämmerhirt, *Juden* (above, n. 114), 461–3; Mentgen, "Judenvertreibungen" (above, n. 26); Cluse, *Bischof* (above, n. 117).

[124] Also in Ingolstadt (1384), several Silesian and Moravian towns (1453), Endingen (1470), various towns in Alsace (1476/77), and in Passau (1478) (cf. above, n. 123).

[125] Nördlingen, Windsheim, and Weißenbug (sanctioned by the Swabian town league for the persecutions of 1384); Prague, Görlitz and Zittau (Upper Lusatia), Reichenbach and Schweidnitz (Silesia) (all in 1389); Schaffhausen, Winterthur, Salzburg, and Hallein (1401–04); Ravensburg, Lindau, and Überlingen (1429–31); Bolzano (in connection with the ritual murder trial of Trent), several towns in Alsace, as well as Regensburg, Passau, and Luxembourg (1475–78); cf. Toch, "Verfolgungen" (above, n. 118), 2300–5.

basis for Ashkenazic Jewry, still had Jewish communities. These were Mainz, where no Jews were tolerated between 1438 and 1445, and Worms.[126] Due to further expulsions, such as in Regensburg (1519), the only remaining traditional *qehillot* in the areas of "old settlement" in the West and South were Worms (where plans toward expulsion in 1487 did not materialize) and Frankfurt. In this way, the Ashkenazim soon lost their centers together with the fundamental religious, legal, economic, social, and intellectual functions they had for the surrounding Jewish settlements. They no longer lived in the urban centers, the "birthplace" of Ashkenazic Jewry, but in small and minute towns or even in rural settlements. These places were often subject to the rule of lesser noblemen, who were able to maintain some measure of political independence from the territorial princes in regions of extreme political division such as parts of Franconia and Swabia.[127] Besides pogroms and expulsion, the emigration of numerous Jews from fear of violence and repression or in the hope of better conditions elsewhere, be it in the vicinity or further afield, contributed to these fundamental changes, which had a lasting impact on the lives, options, and attitudes of Ashkenazic Jews all over the medieval German Kingdom.[128]

3. Between Proximity and Usefulness, Exclusion and Enmity

After the pogroms of 1348-50, the returning Jews usually were able to inhabit their former, central quarters in the towns. A notable exception is provided by Nuremberg, where the civic council had a new urban center constructed on the site of the former Jewish quarter and where the Jews settled on the nearby grounds of their cemetery. In almost all towns and cities, however, the overlords and/or municipalities had appropriated what was left of the Jewish houses and community institut-

[126] South of the Danube river, the Jewish presence after *c.*1450 was reduced to the time-honored community of Regensburg (until 1519) and the rather less important one in Salzburg (until 1498); cf. A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter* (above, n. 4), III, maps C 4.6–C 4.7, as well as Zaunmüller, "Nikolaus," 31–43, with appendix, map 1.

[127] For examples of the increasing Jewish presence in rural places since the early fifteenth century, cf. Geldermans-Jörg, *Aspekte* (above, n. 51), 80–93. For an overview, mainly relating to the early modern period, see R. Kießling et al. (eds), *Räume* (above, n. 65).

[128] In 1397 the Jews of Basel fled for fear of a well-poisoning charge, which brought an end to the Jewish settlement until 1800 (*Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), I, 85–6); in 1457 those of Hildesheim fled from increasing tax demands from the city council (ibid., 558–9); between 1382 and 1397 the Jews fled from the territory of the Dukes of Bavaria-Ingolstadt (ibid., III, 1777).

ions such as synagogues and cemeteries, and denied the few returning survivors their property rights and the option of retrieving their debts from previous loans. The Jews were forced to either buy these properties back or to acquire them according to various forms of leasehold. More Christians now lived in the Jewish quarters or alleys than before the pogroms. It was not until the turn of the fifteenth century that the councils of some towns or cities advocated a spatial separation between Jews and Christians. In only a few cases such separation was actually enforced.[129]

It would appear that the Jews were not increasingly confined to moneylending after 1350. Rather, the increasing documentation (especially in those types of sources not preserved from earlier periods) reveals that, from around the late-fourteenth century, Jews in the imperial regions north of the Alps were active in a wide variety of economic pursuits in trade, crafts, and medicine.[130] However,

[129] Separation was enforced at Frankfurt in 1462, when the Jews were relocated to an exclusively Jewish quarter east of the former town wall (the neighboring Dominican monastery, though, was by no means "excluded"), and in Donauwörth in 1493, where the measure was clearly meant as discriminatory and related to new, anti-Jewish statutes. Cf. *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2571-2 (index, s.v. "Judengasse, Judenstraße"); A. Haverkamp, "Jewish Quarters" (above, n. 63). H.-J. Gilomen, "Kooperation und Konfrontation: Juden und Christen in den spätmittelalterlichen Städten im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz," in Konradt and Schwinges (eds), *Juden* (above, n. 75), 182–4, has dated the beginnings of "Ghettoization" in Geneva to *c.*1408–30, in connection with conflicts between the local bishop and Christian commune. On the increased seclusion of the Jewish quarter in Worms around 1480, which was apparently in the *qahal*'s own interest, see G. Bönnen, "Jüdische Gemeinde und christliche Stadtgemeinde im spätmittelalterlichen Worms," in Cluse et al. (eds), *Gemeinden* (above, n. 5), 309–340, 326–31.

[130] They range from trading and retailing in wine, grain, cattle, cloth, garments, medicals, and metals (with the sale of unredeemed pawns apparently representing a lower proportion than previously), through crafts such as bookbinding, dyeing, leatherwork, glass and window making, tailoring, painting and drawing (e.g. playing-cards), dice production, gold-, silver- and other metalwork, even expertise in mining, milling or other technology, to medicine, with a great number of Jewish male and female doctors in diverse specialities. As before 1350, a great deal of regional variance has to be taken into account. Dealing in horses, for example, is mostly attested in the eastern regions and rarely in the areas of "old settlement" in the West and South. Cf. M. Toch, "Die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit," in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2139–64, and further contributions in idem (ed.), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (above, n. 31). See also the index to *Germania Judaica III*, III, 2570 (s. v. "Handel"), 2589 ("Warenhandel"), 2555-8 ("Berufe"), and 2555 ("Ärtzte, Ärztinnen"). Extensive evidence has been uncovered in regional studies, e. g. by Mentgen, *Studien* (above, n. 81), or Geldermans-Jörg, *Aspekte* (above, n. 51), 179–84.

lending money at interest remained their most important means of subsistence. Loans were given at very various rates of interest, depending on the customers' reliability, their political and social standing, the pressures they were able to exert on the Jews, and possibly the current situation (as in times of economic hardship), but also according to the amount and duration of the loan. While Jews (and notably, Jewish widows) were still able to advance high sums to barons and larger communes during the second half of the fourteenth century, such transactions steeply declined after that. Jewish activities as customs managers, capital providers, financial administrators, and *familiares* of princes (especially of bishops) also ended around the turn of the fifteenth century, while lending out money to the lower nobility and to the urban and rural populace became more important.[131]

To large extents, these developments were a consequence of enforced "cancellations" of debts owed to Jews, decreed since the 1370s. These were first ruthlessly practiced, by imprisonment and other means of pressure, by the Dukes of Austria. From 1385, a coalition of greed between King Wenceslas and 37 members of the Swabian League of Towns, together with further imperial cities as well as territories such as the Upper Palatinate, set in motion a much larger scheme. A second confiscation in 1390, again condoned by Wenceslas, was even worse for the Jews, who were affected in a number of Swiss towns, in Alsace, in the archbishopric of Trier and other parts of the Rhineland down to the Cologne region, but also in Bavaria.[132] These acts of violence differed from the ones we saw before the mid-fourteenth century in that the kings now actively took part in them, thus perverting the idea of the "chamber serfdom" relationship. The legal situation of the Jews, too, was fundamentally weakened in the heartlands of Ashkenazic Jewry, their status as burghesses undermined. Already during the pogroms of 1348-50 it had proven

[131] Toch, "Tätigkeit" (above, n. 130); Wenninger, "Juden" (above, n. 88), 132–8; Cluse, "Nachwort" (above, n. 60).

[132] On Austria see Brugger, "Ansiedlung" (above, n. 51), 220; *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 1985; on the wider scale, Isenmann, "Steuern" (above, n. 95), 2267–69. Immediately before the first "cancellation" of Jewish bonds in 1385, King Wenceslas had all Jews in Bohemia imprisoned in order to extort from them a high extraordinary tax (*ibid.*, 1824). On 1390, see *ibid.*, 2014 (Bern, Fribourg/CH, Zurich), 1844, 1861, 2025 (Alsace), 2041 (archbishopric of Trier), 1866 (lords of Hanau), 2061 (Wetterau region), 1753 (Abensberg County), 1786, 1798, 1805 (Duchy of Bavaria). For further bibliography see A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland" (above, n. 13), 95. See also the forthcoming study, based on a Trier University dissertation (2014), by D. Schnur, *Juden in Frankfurt am Main und in der Wetterau von den Anfängen bis um 1400*, with fundamental insights touching other aspects as well.

ineffective almost everywhere. When Jews were readmitted to the towns, the municipal authorities often combined Jewish burgess status with the most disadvantageous elements of "chamber serfdom."[133] On all levels of rule over the Jews, taxes and dues were now claimed and enforced with increasing wilfulness. The heaviest demands came from the kings/emperors, who generally resided far from the traditional heartlands of Jewish presence and who were unable to effectively protect them. The only mitigating factor was that the various competing authorities were unwilling to allow others to loot the Jews' and thereby reduce their financial capacities.[134]

As a consequence of the worsening situation, the numbers of Jews who emigrated, often to Upper and Central Italy or other regions of the Mediterranean world, rose significantly from the mid-1380s. Most of these exiles were still from the better-off leading circles of the Rhenish, Swabian, and Franconian *qehillot*. They took with them their families as well as Jewish servants in various functions, thus generating even more fluctuation within the Jewish communities.[135] The large capital losses of the remaining Jews, together with the emigration of those who had financial means and political influence, increased the readiness to expel them. They also changed the social setup of the Jewish settlements fundamentally, continually reducing the *qehillot*'s means to provide for services that surpassed the sphere of the family. This in turn enhanced the importance of the family in general, and of the wealthier heads of families for the Jewish community in particular. At the same time, however, the cohesive power of the family seems to have been reduced by a rising number of divorces.[136] Consequences can be observed in the provisions made

[133] As early as October 1352 the council of Speyer claimed that all the Jews who henceforth settled in the city "shall be our own with body and property, for a just reason" (*unsir eigen sin sóllent mit libe und mit gúte, von redelicher sache*), which also implied appropriating their properties; see A. Haverkamp, "Kammerknechtschaft" (above, n. 74), 38. Backed by decades of previous practice, the councilmen of Rothenburg in 1400 went even further when they obtained authorization from an all-but-deposed King Wenceslas that they could "catch and tax each and every Jew, our chamber serf, who lives and settles among them, appropriate their bodies and property, be it in money, moveables, debts or claims": Isenmann, "Steuern" (above, n. 95), 2264.

[134] Isenmann, "Steuern" (above, n. 95); C. Jörg, "Zwischen Basler Konzil, Königtum und reichsstädtischen Interessen: Die Kennzeichnung und Ausweisung der Augsburger Juden in europäischen Zusammenhängen," in Brenner and Ullmann (eds), *Juden in Schwaben* (above, n. 74), 62–92.

[135] A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland" (above, n. 13).

[136] At least in Frankfurt a. M., the change is also reflected on the cemetery, from *c.*1360. In contrast to the division of the graveyard in use before 1350, when men and women were

for those poor who were not integrated in the local families, for the sick, the itinerant beggars (*Schalantjuden*), and indigent students.[137] The number of those in need of aid had risen sharply after the wide-ranging persecutions and confiscations of 1348-50, when most of those who survived also lost members of their families. After the Jews were readmitted, the rulers and civic authorities were increasingly keen on keeping out poor or impoverished Jews, which often coincided with the interest of the Jewish community leaders. The effective means of this policy was in the fees demanded for settlement permits and especially for citizen (burgess) status. In numerous places the status of *civis* was only granted for a fixed term (to Jews as well as some Christians), as were the protective charters by princes or noblemen. In any case, it was conditional on a certain minimum tax.[138] Jewish men and women who were unable to meet these demands had to rely on the help of wealthier Jews or serve in their households and families. It is possible that the growing numbers of such Jews unsettled by pogroms and especially by the fifteenth-century expulsions provided the majority of those who were at least temporarily able to make a living from crafts-related activities or as small retailers. Other than moneylending or the trade in valuable goods, these activities did not require much capital. The situation of the other Jewish poor grew worse as the expulsions continued, leaving more and more gaps in the networks of poor relief provided by *qehillot* and Jewish families. Community integration may have been hampered, too, by what appears to have been a dwindling knowledge of Hebrew, mostly among the poor, so that the famous scholar Jacob Weil (d. 1463) "allowed the use of written Judaeo-German in court."[139]

buried in distinct sections, relatives were now laid to rest as closely together as possible, and the children aged one year or more next to their parents: *Germania Judaica II* (above, n. 51), I, 244; *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), I, 351. On divorce see I. J. Yuval, "An Appeal against the Proliferation of Divorce in fifteenth Century Germany" (Hebrew), *Zion* 48 (1983), 177–215.

[137] Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde" (above, n. 115), 2078–138, 2093–99; Y. Guggenheim, "Meeting on the Road: Encounters between German Jews and German Christians on the Margins of Society," in Hsia and Lehmann (eds), *Ghetto* (above, n. 63), 125–36; idem, "Von den Schalantjuden zu den Betteljuden: Jüdische Armut in Mitteleuropa in der Frühen Neuzeit," in S. Jersch-Wenzel (ed.), *Juden und Armut in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Cologne, 2000), 55–69; Barzen, "Meaning" (above, n. 35).

[138] See above, n. 86.

[139] *Germania Judaica III*, I (above, n. 4), 47 with n. 269. The many risks in the life of a Jew (mostly created by Christians) had serious implications for his family and for the internal relations in Jewish communities, as is shown by the unique (albeit brief) "autobiography" of an unnamed Jew, written towards the end of the fourteenth century, who had

Taken together, the various influences from rulers and town communes, the dominant position of Jewish family heads, and the high rate of fluctuation among the few members of the reconstructed Jewish communities provided high risks for the functioning of a *qahal*, and it often took years, sometimes decades, until the returning Jewish settlers were able to establish one. In several *qehillot*, this situation led to open conflict. As in Christian communities, these quarrels frequently broke out among the influential members over matters of taxation, personal rivalry, and injured honor. Often the town council intervened and thus further undermined the foundations of the *qehillah*, especially in its judicial functions. According to R. Israel Bruna (*c.*1400 until after 1477), who served the Jews of Regensburg as their rabbi for long years, the *ḥerem ha-yishuv* had become ineffective by the mid-fifteenth century.[140] Conflicts deeply affecting community life, especially in the larger *qehillot*, and sometimes causing wider repercussions, might also arise from the competition between scholars for the community rabbinate, which became institutionalized and thus professionalized around the mid-fourteenth century and often played (or claimed) a key role in community leadership.[141]

studied in Mainz, Koblenz, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, and Austria, and who spent much of his life in the Rhineland, between his native Duren and Andernach. Cf. Israel Y. Yuval, "*A German*-Jewish Autobiography of the Fourteenth Century" (first published in Hebrew in 1985/86), in J. Dan (ed.), Binah, vol. 3: *Jewish Intellectual History in the Middle Ages,* (Westport and London, 1994), 79–99.

[140] E. Zimmer, *Harmony and Discord: An Analysis of the Decline of Jewish Self-Government in 15th Century Central Europe* (New York, 1970); Guggenheim, "*A suis paribus*" (above, n. 40); A. Haverkamp, "Jüdische Gemeinden" (above, n. 37); Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde" (above, n. 137), 2134–6; D. Willoweit, "Rechtsstellung" (above, n. 122), 2187–93; Toch, "Macht" (above, n. 75). On internal conflicts see, for example, *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), I, 448 (Göttingen, between 1450 and 1456, with two competing communities); II, 1189–90 (Regensburg, *c.*1505–11), 1503 (Ulm, between 1435 and *c.*1440), 1728–9 (for Zurich in the 1380s, soon after the institution of a *qehilla*).

[141] I. Y. Yuval, *Scholars in Their Time: The Religious Leadership of German Jewry in the Late Middle Ages*, Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1988); idem, "Juristen, Ärzte und Rabbiner: Zum typologischen Vergleich intellektueller Berufsgruppen im Spätmittelalter," in J. Carlebach (ed.), *Das aschkenasische Rabbinat: Studien über Glaube und Schicksal* (Berlin, 1995), 119–31; Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde" (above, n. 137), 2010–4. The efforts by Rabbi Moshe Minz (*c.*1420–after 1474) are symptomatic: mostly in Würzburg, Mainz (Frankfurt am Main), Landau (in the Palatinate), Bamberg, and Poznán, he tried to reform the community life and halt the "erosion of rabbinical authority"; see *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), II, 801–2.

Despite the fact that the autonomy of the local community was undermined by internal and external factors, attempts to establish a supra-communal organization through conventions of delegated rabbinic scholars remained unsuccessful. The decline of Jewish self-government was hastened since the late fourteenth century when ecclesiastical and lay princes appointed chief rabbis (*judenmeister*) and endowed them with jurisdictional powers over the Jews in their respective territories. King Ruprecht continued this tradition when in 1407 he appointed Israel of Rothenburg as *hochmeister* over all other rabbinic authorities and generally all other Jews, male and female, in the "German lands." Israel was also to serve the king in the enforcement of his tax demands. While R. Israel did have successors, it appears that they were largely inefficient, due to the opposition from the barons, but also from municipalities and the remaining major *qehillot*. New forms of organization on the territorial level, however, were at times more effective.[142]

Most Jews entrusted with such supra-local tasks had, at least occasionally, good relations with barons or kings/emperors and their courts. The same applies to a number of doctors who served as court and personal physicians to lay or (sometimes) ecclesiastical princes, for king Wenceslas as well as Emperor Frederick III. A few were employed as town physicians by municipal councils. Many other urban doctors served Christian patients as well as Jewish ones; sometimes they were also active in moneylending. As some Christian critics contiuned to insist, Christian patients were preferring Jewish doctors over Christian ones.[143] As late as 1489, one decade before the expulsion, patricians in Nuremberg were still attending Jewish weddings. Irrespective of many prohibitions, Jews and Christians (including clerics and nobles) gambled and drank together in taverns, met at dances, in the bathhouse, or had sexual intercourse.[144] Christian men were charged in some *qehillot*

[142] Guggenheim, "*A suis paribus*" (above, n. 40); Breuer and Guggenheim, "Gemeinde" (above, n. 137), 2129–34.

[143] Treue, "Ärzte" (above, n. 59); further evidence can be found in *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2555 (index, s.v. "Ärtzte, Ärztinnen").

[144] G. Mentgen, "Alltagsgeschichte und Geschichte der Juden. Die Juden und das Glücksspiel im Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 274 (2002), 25-60; J. Müller, "Sexual Relationships between Christians and Jews in Medieval Germany, According to Christian Sources," in Bacon et al. (eds), *Iggud* (above, n. 35), II 19–32. See also the index to *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, s.v. "Badestuben" (p. 2556), and "Glücksspiele" (p. 2569). On converts to Christianity, their very various lives, their position in Judaism and Christianity or between these communities, see G. Mentgen, "Jüdische Proselyten im Oberrheingebiet während des Spätmittelalters: Schicksale einer ‚doppelten' Minderheit," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 142 (1994), 117–39; C. Cluse, "Konversion, Inklusion, Exklu-

(such as Ulm and Regensburg) with guarding the Jewish cemetery or even slaughtering meat. Christian women continued to serve as wetnurses for Jewish infants.[145]

There were wide inconsistencies between these forms of familiarity in daily and festive circumstances, prohibited with increasing severity, and the political behavior of leading Christians. High dignitaries showed an opportunistic stance toward the Jews, and their behavior was contradictory.[146] By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, however, the anti-Jewish attitudes and actions of influential Christians became the dominant factor in the manifold relations between Christians and Jews. From this time on, the regions north of the Alps saw a more intense pressure from Church authorities toward enforcing special badges for the Jews, as decreed by the Council of Basel in 1438, and toward other forms of enforced segregation. Key figures in this process were the papal legate, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and the observant Franciscan preacher, friar John of Capestrano, who toured Germany in 1451/52 and 1451-54, respectively. They were not the only preachers who regarded these and other anti-Jewish measures as cornerstones for the kind of "Church reform" they were aspiring to. While they met with some resistance from the barons and especially from the imperial cities, they contributed to an atmosphere that led to pogroms and expulsions.[147]

sion: Zur narrativen Identität des 'Taufjuden' in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit", in I. Patrut and H. Uerlings (eds), *Inklusion/Exklusion und Kultur: Theoretische Perspektiven und Fallstudien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Cologne, 2013), 164–87; idem, "Betrügerische 'Konvertiten' und ihre Erzählungen im Mittelalter," in M. Przybilski and C. Schapkow (eds), *Konversion in Räumen jüdischer Geschichte* (Wiesbaden, 2014), 21–48.

[145] *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 1188, 1503; M. J. Wenninger, "Nicht in einem Bett – aber doch auf einer Hochzeit: Zur Teilnahme von Christen an jüdischen Festen im Mittelalter," in S. Hödl (ed.), *Nicht in einem Bett: Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit* (Vienna, 2005), 10–7.

[146] For example, Elector Philipp von der Pfalz (1476–1508, postumously dubbed "the Upright") together with his son in 1495 visited the Jewish ceremonies in the synagogue of Worms and afterwards decreed that the Jews should be left undisturbed. This did, however, not keep him from extorting a huge ransom from the Jewish visitors of a wedding in Münster near Bingen, whom he took captive just two months later; cf. *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 1013, 1926.

[147] *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 2573–4 (index s.v. "Kleiderordnungen u. Vorschriften, Judenkennzeichen") and esp. 1761, 1763, 1784, 1813, 1823, 1853-4, 1898, 1960, 1979, 2001, 2021, 2040, 2074, 2285-7, 2290, and 2292; Zaunmüller, "Nikolaus" (above, n. 126). On the effects of preaching on pogroms and expulsions, see Moraw, "Kirche" (above, n. 116), 2295–6; Toch, "Verfolgungen" (above, n. 118), 2302–5; Lämmerhirt, *Juden* (above, n. 114), 471–2; Cluse, *Bischof* (above, n. 117), 35–53.

The plague had become endemic after 1348 and repeatedly broke out in numerous places, sometimes in short intervals. While the fear of the deadly disease was thus kept alive, there was only one local incident in which the charge of "well-poisoning" was again leveled at Jews.[148] Radical Jew-haters among the Christians rather used allegations of host desecration and especially, ritual murder, to justify pogroms and expulsions. It is notable that the blood libel even found credence in court since the mid-fifteenth century. Despite papal intervention, this is also what happened in the Trent ritual murder case of 1475. The case and its wide literary echo in printed works strongly reinforced the impact of this anti-Jewish topos, especially north of the Alps.[149] In the course of the fifteenth century, the charge of "usury" likewise gained currency. It was focused on Jewish moneylenders even though their overall share in the business was dwarfed by Christian bankers, who were now attaining high positions even north of the Alps.[150] When in 1420 crusades were launched against the anti-clerical Hussites, the extreme anti-Jewish traditions of crusading gained new force as Jews were accused of supporting this hereticised movement. The threat of "death or baptism" from the crusading armies (mostly composed of mercenaries) became manifest in 1421, when they moved along the Rhine, through Nuremberg and Eger, toward Bohemia. The crusading mentality also influenced the fateful *Gezerah* of Vienna (1420/21).[151] Jewish sources reveal that Jews read these signs in the light of the events of 1096 and 1309 and of their bad experience in the past decades, and that they prayed for a victory of the Hussites, in whom they saw "portents for the imminent victory of Judaism over Christendom."[152] These ideas may have drawn on earlier Jewish writings. At around the turn of the fourteenth to fifteenth century, protagonists of a mystical movement that had started among a number of Rhineland Jews in Jerusalem and

[148] Under this charge, several Jews in Rappoltsweiler (Upper Alsace) were murdered in 1397; cf. *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), II, 1170, 1734.

[149] Willoweit, "Rechtsstellung" (above, n. 122), 2197–8; Moraw, "Kirche" (above, n. 116), 2292–5; Toch, "Verfolgungen" (above, n. 118); W. Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozeß: Voraussetzungen – Abläufe – Auswirkungen (1475-1588)* (Hanover, 1996).

[150] Cluse, "Nachwort" (above, n. 60), and other bibliography cited in n. 60.

[151] Yuval, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche" (above, n. 115), 65–6, 84–5; Mentgen, "Kreuzzugsmentalität" (above, n. 106), 288–9, 310–1, 318-9; *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), III, 1986-7; Brugger, "Ansiedlung" (above, n. 51), 221–4; K. Schubert, "Die Wiener Gesera und der Freitod von Wiener Juden zur 'Heiligung Gottes'," in B. E. Klein and C. Müller (eds), *Memoria – Wege jüdischen Erinnerns: Festschrift für Michael Brocke zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 2005), 541–52.

[152] Yuval, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche" (above, n. 115), 78.

was spread by those of them who returned to the German Kingdom, read the deposition of King Wenceslas as "a sign for the inception of the messianic age." The religious thought and practice of these kabbalists accorded a prominent role to the city of Jerusalem. Thus, they even devised a "plan to congregate the Jews of Ashkenaz there and save them from imminent catastrophe." The highest representatives of the Ashkenazi kabbalists were to fast and pray in Jerusalem – a scheme some of them tried to realize around 1400.[153]

These experiences, memories, and interpretations reflect both the recurrent fears of persecution among many of the Jews as well as their thwarted hopes of redemption from their Christian oppressors. From a Christian perspective, the Jews' religious expectations and political hopes were taken as new proof of the anti-Christian ideology of Judaism. The old differences, rooted in the antagonism between the two religions, thus received a new dramatic turn, which also affected the personal relationships between Jews and Christians even more than before. This alienation increased the Jews' need for protection. Lords and, in particular, municipalities entrusted with their protection had to go to greater lengths to ensure that protection. It became more and more difficult to attain the consent of those who were involved in governance – the estates in the principalities, the councils, guilds, and other influential groups in the towns. The option of taking the opposite route and expelling the Jews became increasingly attractive, especially in times when the stability of political rule was undermined by quarrels over succession, vacancies, and war, or during years of famine when, on the one hand, many Jews were unable to pay high taxes and dues and, on the other hand, "Jewish usury" was blamed for the increase of poverty among Christians.[154] On the whole, expelling the Jews was a policy which in the German Kingdom was adopted only after the mid-fourteenth century on a local scale and from 1390 on a territorial level. In not a few cases the

[153] Cf. above, n. 124. Jews may have known of the chiliastic prophecies current among some contemporary Spiritual Franciscans influenced by Joachimism, and vice versa. The Jewish messianic speculation focusing on the year 1400 were later realigned to the years 1403 and 1430. Cf. Yuval, "Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche" (above, n. 115), 63; idem, "Magie und Kabbala unter den Juden im Deutschland des ausgehenden Mittelalters," in K. E. Grözinger (ed.), *Judentum im deutschen Sprachraum* (Frankfurt a. M., 1991), 173–88 (the quotation is from p. 181); idem, "Kabbalisten" (above, n. 115); A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland" (above, n. 13), 119–38.

[154] These connections are most revealing for the cluster of local expulsions during the hunger period of the 1430s (cf. Jörg, *Hungersnöte* [above, n. 111], 223–34, 342–57, and Cluse, *Bischof* [above, n. 117], 29) and deserve greater attention for the last two decades of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth.

decisions were soon repealed or revised, and, in contrast to the kindoms of Western Europe, they were never decreed, nor even intended, by the crown. They can be characterized as the climax of exclusionary tendencies apparent north of the Alps on the communal and territorial level throughout the fifteenth century.

The Jews had formed a significant aspect of the communities from which they were expelled. Their presence was intimately bound up with every aspect of the lives of Christians and of their self-representations. Jews were much more than a "marginal group." Thus, their expulsion from large parts of their Ashkenazic homelands was determined by a combination of religious, political, social, and economic motives that are difficult to disentangle and whose relative weight for the individual decisions is hard to assess.[155]

The enforced migration of many Jews contributed to the influx of Ashkenazim to Poland-Lithuania and Hungary.[156] Migration, however, could have many causes. While the hope of finding better conditions was always central, physical and material well-being was not the sole motive. Cultural, especially religious, reasons could also be decisive. A telling example is provided by those Jews who were influenced by kabbalistic ideas and who, at the turn of the fifteenth century, emigrated from the Jewish homelands north of the Alps to Upper Italy and from there on to the eastern Mediterranean, with its close proximitiy to Jerusalem. These and other Ashkenazi exiles took with them essential traditions of that branch of Judaism which had developed in the German Kingdom from Mediterranean and Latinate European roots, transferring them to the continental East and South-East, and to the Mediterranean East where they were to have a lasting impact.[157]

[155] A. Haverkamp, "Judenvertreibungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit," in Burgard et al. (eds), *Judenvertreibungen* (above, n. 26), 1–21; Mentgen, "Judenvertreibungen" (above, n. 26); idem, "'Die Juden waren stets eine Randgruppe': Über eine fragwürdige Prämisse der aktuellen Judenforschung," in F. Burgard, C. Cluse and A. Haverkamp (eds), *Liber amicorum necnon et amicarum für Alfred Heit: Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte und geschichtlichen Landeskunde* (Trier, 1996), 393–411; Gilomen, *Juden* (above, n. 86), 42–8.

[156] J. Heyde, *Transkulturelle Kommunikation und Verflechtung: Die jüdischen Wirtschaftseliten in Polen vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 2014); N. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary* (Cambridge, 2001).

[157] These traditions include the Hebrew reports of the 1096 persecutions, the "Book of the Pious" composed in the Rhineland and at Regensburg, collections of customs (*minhagim*), as well as the collection of twefith-to-thirteenth century *taqanot* from the *ShUM* communities, all of which have survived in manuscript holdings in Upper Italy: cf. A. Haverkamp, "Juden in Deutschland" (above, n. 13), 137–8. The *Taquanot Kehillot ShUM* were also known in Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungaria, and were formally adopted by a "con-

V. Conclusions

The present study has covered a long way, from the late-ninth to the early-sixteenth centuries. The period between the late-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries marked the decisive turning point in this long movement, shaped more by attitudes and actions among the Christian majority than among Jewish agents. The spread of elemetary religious, legal, and other cultural features of Ashkenazic Judaism was a result of the regional pogroms setting in from the late-thirteenth century, which prompted R. Judah b. Asher to denounce the German Kindom as a "land of persecution"[158], and from the accelerating erosion of Ashkenazic Jewry from around the mid-fourteenth century, particularly in the western regions where it had originated. (In most of the major, independent cities of this region, Jews were not able to settle again until the nineteenth century.).

This long-term development differed fundamentally from the earlier expulsions decreed by kings and secular rulers in France (1182, 1287–1394) and England (1290), and also the later ones from Spain (1492) and the island of Sicily (1492). In southern Italy, where Jews were tolerated until 1541, Jewish life had already been severely disrupted in the early 1290s by forced conversions, which also affected those on the Iberian Peninsula and on Sicily a century later. In this way, the history of the Jews in the Empire north of the Alps formed part of a more comprehensive shift of Jewish life from the West into the East, from the core areas of Roman-Latin Christendom to its eastern fringes and into the various "orthodox" Christianities as well as into the Ottoman Empire.

These findings indicate an intensification of anti-Jewish tendencies, rooted in religious developments in Western Christendom, especially since the late-thirteenth century. According to circumstances, however, these tendencies had a very varying impact across time and space. The frequent religious and ecclesiastical reform movements of Western Europe offer cases in point. In the "German" Empire north of the Alps, as we saw, the monastic reforms of Saint Maximin and Gorze were by no means confined to the realm of monasticism; they were essential for shaping the historical circumstances in which the foundations of Ashkenazic Judaism were laid in the tenth and early-eleventh centuries. Before this background, a Jewish settle-

vention of the communities of Lithuania" in 1761; cf. Barzen, "SchUM-Gemeinden" (above, n. 3), 33–4.

[158] Cf. above, p. 48; also J. R. Müller, "*Erez gezerah* – 'Land of Persecution': Pogroms against the Jews in the regnum Teutonicum from *c.*1280 to 1350," in Cluse (ed.), *Jews of Europe* (above, n. 79), 245–60.

ment could be seen as an essential factor for enhancing a (cathedral) city's *honor* or dignity; it was even compatible with the concept of the "holy city" in Christian salvific history. The concept of *honor* was not only expressed by leading ecclesiastics such as bishop Rudiger of Speyer in 1084 but also by civic authorities such as those of Regensburg, in 1298, 1342, and 1349.[159] It is significant for the long-term tendency, therefore, that the expulsions from cities like Trier (1418), Cologne (1424), and Regensburg (1519) were eventually also legitimized by reference to the idea of *honor*.[160] Despite the general deterioration in Christian attitudes toward the minority, the earlier interpretations lingered on until the end of the period considered here. Thus, the bishop of Merseburg in 1493 opposed the demands of his metropolitan and refused to expell the handful of local Jews, arguing, according to the Augustinian model, that Jews ought to be tolerated among Christians.[161]

[159] Cf. above, n. 113.

[160] Cf. A. Haverkamp, "Heilige Städte" (above, n. 49), 401–2 (Trier); Schmandt, *"Judei"* (above, n. 119), 199 (Cologne); A. Haverkamp, "Jüdische Friedhöfe in Aschkenas," in idem, *Neue Forschungen* (above, n. 13), 103–14, at p. 114 (Regensburg).

[161] *Germania Judaica III* (above, n. 4), II, 868.