Within the tradition of 'World Congresses of Jewish Studies' our session was unique in that for the first time, only non-Jewish, German medievalists were contributing to it. Without our friends in Israel, this session would not have been possible, nor would our investigations have made any sense without the collaboration, over the last quarter of a century, of our Israeli friends. Among them, I am happy to count Mordechai Breuer, Yacov Guggenheim, Michael Toch and last but not least Israel Yuval. Some others are sadly no longer with us. These include Dany Cohen and Arye Maimon.

These friends are grouped around *Germania Judaica*. Had it not been for the 'Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums', who in 1903 decided to launch the research project *Germania Judaica*, we would certainly not have been here. Nor would we have been here without a small circle of Israeli historians of German origin who escaped the unparalleled injustice and murder committed by Germans under the National Socialist regime. In the late 1960s, these historians had the courage to continue *Germania Judaica* for the later medieval period, the period following the devastating pogroms of the mid-fourteenth century.

Arye Maimon, formerly from Breslau, was entrusted with leading the project. Under his former name, Herbert Fischer, he had been acquainted with *Germania Judaica* prior to his flight from his German
home. To him I owe — as do several other German medievalists — my contact with *Germania Judaica* since the early 1970s.

The courage and achievement of Arye Maimon and the impact *Germania Judaica* has made can only be understood against the background of the situation as it was in the Federal Republic of Germany regarding the medieval and, similarly, the early modern history of the Jews. To give only one piece of evidence, I should mention the first volume, covering the middle ages, of Bruno Gebhardt’s classic *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, which appeared in its 8th edition in 1954 and its 9th, revised edition in 1970. Both were edited by Herbert Grundmann, the long-standing president of the Monuments Germaniae Historica. According to this handbook, Jewish history was at best a marginal factor in German history. The index of the eighth edition gives no more than eight references to Jews, the ninth edition, by the way, only seven. The passages they refer to provide no more than three sentences of text about the Jews, in a text of about 750 printed pages for the whole of the medieval period.

These findings have a long tradition. They are a long-term result of German-Jewish relations since the beginnings of the historical sciences in the nineteenth century. The leading historians of non-Jewish provenance, especially in medieval and modern history, had almost unanimously excluded the history of the Jews in their respective areas of study. Even less did they make it a topic of their own research. They were convinced that the history of the Jews was isolated, not a part of and a factor in, European, German, regional and local history. In the long term, this conviction proved disastrous. The Weimar Republic brought about no change of this attitude, let alone the era of National Socialism. Sadly, such a change did not even come about in the first decades after the Second World War. Strong factors of continuity were at work among leading German medievalists.

What is more, the terror regime of the National Socialists had also brutally put an end to the promising efforts towards a closer integration of Jewish and German history, accomplished by historians of Jewish provenance. These new approaches had developed from the early years of the present century. They had, especially in the last years of the

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history of the Jews in its respective contexts, without neglecting the individuality of Jewish history. Thus, it aimed at overcoming the former deep divide between historical Jewish Studies on the one hand, and general historical research, concentrating on German history, on the other.

This valuable tradition, founded by historians of Jewish background, has still found little opportunity for development within the German-speaking lands, despite the new momentum that has come from *Germania Judaica III* since the 1970s. At the University of Trier, I have tried to create one such opportunity, working together with *Germania Judaica* and the circle of Israeli historians around it. From 1987, these endeavours received a broader basis in the Trierer ‘Sonderforschungsbereich 235’, which centers on the landscapes between the Rhine and Meuse rivers from late antiquity through the nineteenth century. Within this framework funded by the ‘Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft’, I have for the last ten years directed two ‘sub-projects’, the one dealing with the history of towns and cities, the other with the history of the Jews in the high and later middle ages. The connections between these two projects are evident.

Moreover, in recent negotiations following a call to another university, I was able to persuade the university of Trier to found the small ‘Arye-Maimon-Institut für Geschichte der Juden’ under my direction. The Institute will continue working after the ‘Sonderforschungsbereich’ is due to terminate in December 2001, and I hope it will prove a trans-personal basis of continual work in the future, for which the members of my staff and my students will be responsible. The speakers of this session are among them. In the following, I shall restrict myself to a few hints concerning the framework of our activities at Trier. The three following papers will then give some more detailed workshop reports.


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regions outside this area, to broaden our horizon, as it were, on the same scale of the map. Among the latter is, above all, a study of Thuringia, at the Eastern borders of the area of old culture in Germany.

This geographic cross-section from North to South, the North Sea to the Mediterranean, includes regions of Eastern Romania as well as Western Germania. It even touches on the Italian Romania by explorations reaching as far as Piedmont. In the North, we are in the world of Ashkenazic Jewry, in the South, we can no more than touch the Sephardic culture of the Mediterranean Jews.

On the whole, this horizon allows insights concerning all the main events in the history of the Jews in Western Europe and at the same time, of general European history in the region between Romania and Germania. We also think it helps us to resist the danger of reducing the history of the Jews, with its sometimes universal features, according to national patterns or even according to modern nation-state boundaries. The co-operation that we have begun with colleagues from France and Italy is also designed to avert this. Further, this co-operation will hopefully yield additional information on the phenomena of Jewish migration, so intrinsically linked with the history of settlement.


7 See, for example, the collections Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge, ed. by Alfred Haverkamp, Vorträge und Forschungen, 47, Sigmaringen 1999; Judenvertriebungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, ed. by Friedhelm Burgard, Alfred Haverkamp and Gerd Mentgen, Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 9, Hanover 1999.
On the other hand, our approach is aimed at a 'positioning' of Jewish history. This means that we systematically try to understand Jews as individuals and as groups, organized in communities (kehilloi and other forms), within their wider historical context. The manifold relationships between Jews and Christians are at the heart of our interest. They were situated on local, regional and more wide-ranging levels, and in various areas of life, including aspects of behaviour, thought, and imagination.

Our endeavours can only succeed in close co-operation with competent, historically-minded scholars trained in Hebrew Jewish studies. Thus, historians get the unique chance to study, in the midst of Europe, the encounters, conflicts and all the other forms of relationship between two religions and cultures. It is a chance to explore dimensions of universal history in the midst of Europe and on the spot.

To get somewhat nearer to these high goals, the wide and varied exploration area is subdivided by regional studies, with varying focuses for more detailed analysis and with methods derived from the French and German schools of regional history. The manner in which we proceed will become clearer in several ways from the following contributions.

Our results will be integrated in the publication of an atlas with commentary. As in the published regional studies and those that will follow, the atlas will present our findings in temporal steps beginning with the eleventh and twelfth centuries. From the thirteenth century, the maps by and large follow a fifty years' rhythm until the end of our period around the year 1520. Further cross-sections in time may be made for certain regions whenever this is advisable. This also includes special maps on the Jews, bonds with the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, on persecutions and expulsions, and on migrations.

As you can see from the map on Jewish settlements in the Middle and Upper Rhine regions, the settlement maps will all contain information on the specific quality of their home places within the structures of authority and society of the surrounding Christian world. Thus, cathedral cities are distinguished from royal or feudal towns and from places without town status. Further signs will indicate Jewish communities with synagogues and cemeteries. The scattered sources for Mikva'ot and hospitals for the poor or sick will also be included, even though the evidence is much dependent on the chances of document survival. Moreover, communities with a Jewish council or similar bodies of leadership will be marked accordingly.

Our atlas with its commentary is designed to become a tool of comparative analysis. The great variety of findings will become evident upon a glance at the map showing Jewish settlements in the Regnum Teutonicum up to the mid-fourteenth century. Comparing these with the map of the spread of towns (in the legal sense) in Central Europe established by Heinz Stoob, gives an immediate sense of the very different relations between Jewish settlement and urbanization. It is enough to take a brief comparative glance at a region densely populated by Jews such as the central Rhineland, with its well-known ShUM communities in Speyer, Worms and Mainz, plus Alsace on the one hand, and the flourishing urban network between the Meuse and Scheldt rivers and Eastern Flanders, on the other. Here, just as in the younger network of Hansa towns, only very few Jewish settlements can be found. Moreover, these were later in date and did not normally develop into larger communities.

This means that we have to look for, and identify, conditions and motivations for Jewish settlements, on the Jewish side as well as on that of the Christians: secular and ecclesiastical lords, communes and communities, and religious groups. We are helped in this by co-operating with another subdivision of the Trierer Sonderforschungsbereich: a project on the history of Lombard moneylenders. Thus we can investigate how the spread of Lombard banks, with a clear-cut Eastern boundary along the Rhine, overlapped with that of the Jews, or whether both were exclusive of one another. Comparing Christian Lombards with the Jews will also help with tackling the central question of how much influence religious attitudes and forms of behaviour had on Christian-Jewish relations.

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With the help of the criteria I have named, and taking into consideration the sparse evidence for Jewish population numbers, it is possible to establish a certain hierarchy among the places of Jewish settlement. It is also of interest to us whether this hierarchy in the Jewish sphere corresponded to the one their home towns had in a Christian context or not. Cathedral cities are a good case for such comparisons. They were, as you know, centers where Christian cult, or cults, accumulated, and frequently claimed to be 'Holy cities' on account of their infrastructure. As Israel Yuval has recently shown, at least the cathedral city of Mainz was regarded by the Jews who lived there, as 'our mother city', 'the place of our fathers', 'the ancient community, most praised among all the communities of the Empire', and as 'the holy community of Mainz, treasured like gold'. The two other ShU"M communities, Speyer and Worms, were also in cathedral cities. The well-known Jewry law of Worms, outlined in a charter by the Salian emperor Henry IV, became a model for the legal position of the Jews in the Empire and further to the Eastern European countries. The more significant are derivations from this pattern, as in the cathedral city of Metz, where apparently no community could ever develop after the pogrom of 1096, or Utrecht, Cambrai, Liège, Toul and Verdun, where Jews never settled for long during the Middle Ages.

The Jewish cemetery's function as an indicator for the hierarchy of Jewish settlements will be discussed in the first of the following papers. As a means of transition, I shall give a brief sketch concerning the range of meanings cemeteries had in the Christian sphere. In stark contrast to Judaism, Christian cemeteries regularly appear to have been closely linked to the church building. One might characterize them as extensions of the church in its atrium, thus church-yards in the topographic and functional sense. As far as we know today, there appear to have been functional similarities between churches and churchyards on the one hand, and synagogues and their yards on the other. Both functioned as places of assembly and therefore as settings for legal procedure. Both were public spaces par excellence in that they were directly linked to the cult. In contrast to the synagogue yard, however, the churchyard was separated from its surroundings by fences or walls.

In rural settlements, churches and churchyards often had fortifications, also in towns as long as these did not have sufficient walls. Jewish cemeteries, not always but on the whole situated outside the town walls, were also fenced or even walled in. Due to their distance from the center of Jewish settlements, their potential for protection could not become effective. It would be too much to claim that every church with its atrium, used more or less as a cemetery, formed the centre of a Christian community. But no community, no parish could last long if it lacked such a churchyard. To put it more strongly: no churchyard, no Christian community. The individual Jewish community, however, appears not to have depended strictly on the existence of its own cemetery. The question is whether and how Jewish communities with cemeteries could claim a pre-eminent position.

It is in this comparative perspective that the following observations on Jewish cemeteries from our workshop gain their significance. This is why they also provide a useful test case for the Taublerian triad of settlement, assimilation, and individuality. The second paper is concerned with the relationship between Jewish settlement and the process of urbanization, and the third, with the role of Jewish economic activity within a medieval landscape in Eastern France.

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