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C O N T R I B U T I O N S

T O T H E

H I S T O R Y O F G E R M A N J E W R Y

in the Eighteenth Century, from Hebrew and Missionary Sources

T H E S I S

written in partial fulfilment of the re - quirements for graduation from the Hebrew Union College,

by

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T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This study deals with the life of eighteenth century German Jewry prior to the time of the Aufklaerung. It attempts to depict Jewish conditions, but not those among the outstanding few; not the achievements of the great; it does not deal with poetry nor science. It deals with the common man, with the mass of the people. In this respect it may be called a sociological study, with the understanding that all true history is inevitably bound up with sociology.

The three sources which were used are particularly suited to serve our purpose. The Hebrew sources, namely, Azulai's Sefer Maagol Tobh[1] and Jacob Emden's Responsa[2] need no introduction. Both these books reflect the social, political and cultural background of the German Jew. The third source, however, namely Callenberg's collection of missionary diaries, reports and similar material,[3] which formed by far the largest part of our material, needs a few words of explanation.

The missionaries who were sent out by Callenberg's institute traveled through all parts of Europe and especially of Germany; not only through major cities, but also -- in fact, most of the time -- through the small villages which sometimes had only one or two Jewish families. Our records, therefore, bring us in contact with the mass of the people and acquaint us with their needs and wants, hopes and desires, their troubles and pleasures.

The records were written by people who no doubt took their mission seriously. They wrote extremely detailed diaries of which the printed records are an extract.[4] Callenberg, in editing these diaries, found it advisable to withhold the names not only of the Jews whom the missionaries met, but also of the places which they visited.[5] This fact, regardless of the reason which motivated Callenberg, makes it

at times difficult to recognize whether the missionaries were traveling in Germany or in some other country; whether they were traveling in eastern or western Germany. A careful study, however, shows that certain abbreviations can be identified and that a number of books can be identified with certain parts of the country. A list of these identifications will be given below.[6]

There is one more feature of the records to which attention should be called. That is the authenticity of the observations, and the believability of the statements found therein. There are several reasons why these accounts have to be read with care and caution. First, the missionaries had certain Christian prejudices and regarded alll Jews not in their own environment, but as potential proselytes. Christian standards were thus transplanted into an account of Jewish life. For instance: "Jud Suess has been canonized by the Jews,"[7] is the result of such analogy. Second, the missionaries were "visitors" in the Jewish realm and were not thoroughly familiar with Judaeo-German, with Hebrew, with Jewish customs and ceremonies, and certainly not with Jewish psychology. As regard the Jewish language, e.g., "Rischusbuecher" was understood to mean "heretic writings."[8] "Rabbi" was applied to any Jew who could translate a few words of Hebrew; and the term was often used in their diaries to emphasize the importance of the Jews with whom they had conversed. The term "Rebbi" fares similarly; but one has to be especially cautious with regard to the rabbinical title itself. "Rabbi," "Raaf" or "Rabbiner" were only seldom found to be applied correctly. The Hebrew of the missionaries was not without fail either. "Shir," e.g., repeatedly stands for "Shiur,"[9] and "Karaite" was explained as coming from כרא.[10] Likewise, the knowledge of Jewish history

was defective; compare, e.g., the following statement: "Er zeigte uns die Clause, wo Raschi, oder Rabbi Salomon Jarchi,[11] vor ungefaehr hundert Jahren gelehret hat.Man weiset noch den Sitz worauf er gesessen."[12] They had, occasionally, a childish understanding of Jewish services; the following quotation referring to Rosh Ha-Shanah: "Die Weiber heuleten so heftig, dass es ihnen die Maenner verbieten musten. Es wurde auch Schopher geblasen; aber da sie am besten blasen wolten, wurde das Horn so verstopft; dass sie nicht blasen konten; sonderlich zuletzt da es am besten gehen solte. Ehe sie das Olenu beteten; sagten sie sich etwas ins Ohr, von dem obersten bis zum untersten."[13] One missionary understood the Mincha to be the evening prayer.[14] At times, they were entirely unsuspecting of true Jewish feelings.[15] Their statement were most true and therefore most valuable when they referred to external manifestations; events which they themselves had seen and not, as in some cases, received knowledge of by third or fourth hand sources nor endowed ~~them~~ with their own deductions.[16]

But if we keep all this in mind, the material is still rich enough to give us a good picture of those aspects of German Jewish life which other sources seldom reveal. For this very reason no other sources outside of those mentioned have been used for this study which endeavours to give not the political, but the social and "personal" history of the German Jew. This, in fact, is the background and basis for the general cultural and political history of the eighteenth century Jew in Germany.

IDENTIFIED ABBREVIATIONS OF CALLENBERG

The following abbreviations used by Callenberg have been identified with a fair degree of certainty:

Amm	Hamburg/Altona (?)
Apg,Atx,Aty,Auc,Aux	in the vicinity of Hamburg
Aqr,Aqy	near Hannover and Hameln,resp.
Amt,Art	in Middle Germany
Atr,Axc,Axa,Aex	in the NW
Bao,Bby,Bca	in Brandenburg
Bbm	in Hinterpommern
Bui,Bz	near Hamburg
Bus	in Polish Silesia
Bkz	in Westphalia
Cac	in Posen
Cbt	in Western Prussia
Cbn	in Silesia
Cbs	in Westphalia
Cbq	near Hannover
Cbx	in Podlachien
Cbz	in Polish Silesia
Cca,Ccb,	ditto
Ccd,Ccf,Ccg	in Hungary
Cgc	in the NW
Cdt,Cfy,Cfz	near Hamburg
Cmp	in Middle Germany

The following are identifications according to the books of the collection. The records

7 F to 11 F cover	the East, possibly Bohemia
12 F to 14 F	the NW
15 F	Brandenburg and Posen
16 F	the vicinity of Coburg
13 R	Thuringia and Hesse
15 R	vicinity of Friedburg and Buedingen
16 R	the Rhine district
22 R,pages 1-45	Silesia
pages 45 ff	West or East Prussia
CB	Middle Germany and the NW

THE CALLENBERG COLLECTION

IN DETAIL

with the abbreviations used in this study. Only those parts of the collection are quoted here which are related to our subject. Through CB Joh. Heinrich Callenberg is the author and editor; from then on Stephan Schultz; from FN on, Justus Israel Beyer.

Ber.....D. Joh. Heinrich Callenbergs Bericht an einige christliche Freunde von einem Versuch das arme juedische Volck zur Erkaentnis und Annehmung der christlichen Wahrheit anzuleiten. 2 nd ed., Halle 173o.
F.....Fortsetzung seines Berichts etc., 2 nd ed., Halle 173o.
2 F.....Andere Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1731.
3 F.....Dritte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1732.
3 F II....Andrer Theil der dritten Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1732.
N.....Neue Summarsiche Nachricht von etc.,2 nd ed.,Halle 1735.
4 F.....Vierte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1733.
5 F.....Fuenfte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1734.
6 F.....Sechste Fortseztung etc., Halle 1734.
7 F.....Siebente Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1734.
8 F.....Achte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1734.
9 F.....Neunte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1734.
1o F.....Zehnte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1735.
11 F.....Eilfte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1735.
11 F II...Anderer Theil der eilften Fortsetzung etc.,Halle 1735.
12 F.....Zwoelfte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1735.
13 F.....Dreyzehnte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1735.
14 F.....Vierzehnte Fortsetzung etc, Halle 1736.
15 F.....Funfzehnte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1736.
16 F.....Sechzehnte Fortsetzung etc., Halle 1738.

R.....Relation von einer weitern Bemuehung Jesum Christum als den Heyland des menschlichen Geschlechts dem juedischen Volck bekannt zu machen; erstes Stueck; Halle 1738.
2 R.....anderes Stueck; Halle 1738.
3 R.....drittes Stueck, Halle 1739.
4 R.....viertes Stueck, Halle 1739.
5 R.....fuenftes Stueck, Halle 174o.
6 R.....sechstes Stueck, Halle 174o.
7 R.....siebentes Stueck, Halle 1741.
8 R.....achtes Stueck, Halle 1741.
9 R.....neuntes Stueck, Halle 1741.
1o R.....zehntes Stueck, Halle 1741.
11 R.....eilftes Stueck, Halle 1741.
12 R.....zwoelftes Stueck, Halle 1742.
13 R.....dreyzehntes Stueck, Halle 1742.
14 R.....vierzehntes Stueck, Halle 1743.
15 R.....funfzehntes Stueck, Halle 1743.
16 R.....sechszehntes Stueck, Halle 1743.
17 R.....siebenzehntes Stueck, Halle 1744.
18 R.....achtzehntes Stueck, Halle 1744.
19 R.....neunzehntes Stueck, Halle 1744.
2o R.....zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1745.
21 R.....ein und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1745.
22 R.....zwey und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1745.

23 R.....drey und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1745
24 R.....vier und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1747
25 R.....fuenf und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1747
26 R.....sechs und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1747
27 R.....sieben und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1748
28 R.....acht und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1750
29 R.....neun und zwanzigstes Stueck, Halle 1750
30 R.....dreyssigstes Stueck, Halle 1751

FB.....Fortwaehrende Bemuehung um das Heil des juedischen Volks ueberhaupt, Halle 1752
2 FB.....anderes Stueck, Halle 1752
3 FB.....drittes Stueck, Halle 1752
4 FB.....viertes Stueck, Halle 1753
5 FB.....fuenftes Stueck, Halle 1753
6 FB.....sechstes Stueck,,Halle 1753
7 FB.....siebentes Stueck, Halle 1755
8 FB.....achtes Stueck, Halle 1755
9 FB.....neuntes Stueck, Halle 1758

CB.....Christliche Bereisung der Judenoerter, davon verfasster Nachricht erstes und zweites Stueck (continuous pagination, therefore quoted as one book); Halle 1754

9 JA+.....Fernere Nachricht von der zum Heil der Juden errichteten Anstalt, nebst den Auszuegen aud den Tagebuechern der reisenden Mitarbeiter, neuntes Stueck (one to eight are missing in the HUC Library collection), herausgegeben von Stephan Schultz; Halle 177o
1o JA+....zehntes Stueck, Halle 1771
11 JA+....eilftes Stueck, Halle 1772
12 JA+....zwoelftes Stueck, Halle 1773
13 JA+....dreyzehntes Stueck, Halle 1774
14 JA+....vierzehntes Stueck, Halle 1775
15 JA+....funfzehntes Stueck, Halle 1776

JA.....Fortgesetzte Nachricht von etc., herausgegeben von Justus Israel Beyer, erstes Stueck, Halle 1777
2 JA.....zwotes Stueck, Halle 1778
3 JA.....drittes Stueck, Halle 1779
4 JA.....viertes Stueck, Halle 178o
5 JA.....fuenftes Stueck, Halle, 1781
6 JA.....sechstes Stueck, Halle 1782
7 JA.....siebentes Stueck, Halle 1783
8 JA.....achtes Stueck, Halle 1784
9 JA.....neuntes Stueck, Halle 1785
1o JA.....zehntes Stueck, Halle 1786
11 JA.....eilftes Stueck, Halle 1787
12 JA.....zwoelftes Stueck, Halle 1788
13 JA.....dreyzehntes Stueck, Halle 1789 (shortened title from here on is: Auszuege aud den Berichten des reisenden Mitarbeiters beym Juedischen Institut)
14 JA.....vierzehntes Stueck, Halle 179o
15 JA.....fuenfzehntes Stueck, Halle 1791

In our study, all of these books were used and most of them are quoted. Often the "unquotable background" supplied the information. The index volume,

D. Joh. Heinrich Callenbergs Ausfuehrliche Anweisung zum genauern Gebrauch seines Berichts etc., Halle 1744,

applies only to Ber and its continuations, but not to the R books and those following them. The volume was helpful in re-checking certain references and items, and also in the identification of a few places and names.

J E W I S H E C O N O M Y

The eighteenth century German Jew was, from the standpoint of the average German citizen, an inferior creature. Whether this conception had its roots in economic, educational, religious or other conditions is immaterial for our consideration. Suffice it to say that it existed; and from this angle the picture of German Jewry at that time is placed in the correct perspective. Seen in this light, the Jewish position becomes at once clear and understandable; and many a seemingly strange trait assumes the position of a logical outgrowth of a perverted human disposition on the part of the Gentile citizen.

Basic for the aspects of life is the economic condition of the people. Our sources by no means give us a complete picture; but what they do give is enough to visualize fairly well the economic background of the Jew.

"Most Jews are poor and humble, and would be repressed in the presence of a well-groomed man, as experience has shown."[17] This judgment of a Gentile is characteristic. The average Jew was poor or belonged to the poorer classes. This was partly conditioned by the fact that the Jews lived mostly in smaller places; sometimes even, like in Bohemia, with few exceptions outside of the cities altogether.[18] Life was hard for these Jews. The outside world was inimical, with the result that business relations suffered. There is little wonder that Jews constantly complained about the bad times and always remembered the good times -- an interesting human sidelight, for over a span of more than sixty years there were no"good" times which could have been remembered; and yet, the mind traveled back and saw the past in a better light than the present.

There were few wealthy Jews, and even these were perpetually endangered. Through the whole atmosphere of Jewish life there swept a sense of uncertainty, much the same as in the first years of the Hitler government. While most of the people, as in 1933, thought that the Jews "had money," this was far from the truth. The few were taken as symbols, not as the exception that they were. In 1729, a Gentile said pointedly that the Christians were"settled" and that they had more money than the Jews.[19] Moreover, Jewish life, not only because of the ritual needs, was more expensive. All raw materials and most of the supplies would either be purchased from the Gentiles -- and then at a high price -- or from the Jews -- and in this case the profits of a n additional distributor had to be counted in. Thus, it is probably not far from the truth, when it was said that the cost of living among the Jews was twice as high as among the Gentiles.[20]

Occupations.

The economic distribution of the Jews was restricted. This had its reason mostly in economic policies that were forced upon the Jews in previous times. And while the Jews were not without craftsmen and professional men, the overwhelming majority was occupied with some sort of trade, sometimes on a large scale, but mostly in petty trade, peddling or small-scale store-selling. From his early youth, mostly following his Bar-Mitsvah, the youth was trained to secure a living for himself.[21] The guilded crafts were, with few exceptions, closed to him, and the same was true for agriculture. Only occasionally did the Jews own land; in such case they either worked it with Gentile servants or rented it out.[22] Understanding and farsighted Jews deplored deeply such conditions and saw in them

one of the major difficulties for a healthy development.[23] And while a good portion of the people toiled very hard to make just the necessities of life; the other part, in their stores and in their loan establishments, spent their lives waiting, talking -- and often loafing. No wonder that the Gentile got the inpression that "all Jews" were lazy, and that they were unfit for any sort of lasting physical labor. We hear him speak of "...die einem Juden insgemein am schwersten vorkommende Lection, welche in einer ordentlichen und anhaltenden Arbeit bestehe..."[24] But also Jews shared this view occasionally. A Jewish glazier is quoted saying: "Ja, wenn ich auch einen Lehrjungen hier haben wollte und ihn umsonst lehren, ich kriegte keinen , sie sind zu faul."[25] No doubt that there was a certain predispoźsiton against manual labor. Yet, we find Jews in various sorts of occupations which meant hardest work. We find them as whiskey distillers and beer brewers in Mecklenburg,[26] but also farther east;[27] as farmers[28] and vine growers[29]; as tobacco rollers;[30] working in flax and hemp and leather;[31] as "Mahler", also called "Judenmahler" in Middle Germany;[32] as builders of boats;[33] often as tailors;[34] as weavers of socks;[35] often as goldsmiths and silversmiths;[36] frequently as "Pitschierstecher," a professionn in which they attained high craftsmanship;[37] as bookbinders;[38] as glaziers;[39] as shoemakers;[40] as bakers;[41] and of course as barbers.[42] Occupations which involved traveling were those such as magicians ("Taschenspieler");[43] musicians;[44] acrobats;[45] "Marketender" with the Prussian army.[46] There were traveling preachers who received pay for their sermons;[47] there were rabbis, of course, who traveled and sold books that they or others had written.[48] In the country, one of the most frequent trading occupations was dealing in cattle;[49]

there and in the city, peddling and selling of old clothes was common.[50] Large scale selling implied occasionally providing for the army[51] and was extremely prosperous. We also find brokers[52], but it is not certain in which line of business these people worked. In Halberstadt, we find a Jew dealing with old Roman coins;[53] and in the Meissen district a Jew bought up bad pennies.[54] Next to peddling almost everything, selling all sorts of merchandise in a store[55] was the major occupation. Money lenders had separate establishments if they were rich; but in the majority of cases the average store keeper was a miniature money lender. Among the professional people the Melammed -- houseteacher or schoolteacher -- stands out. His education was usually negligible; it was enough if he could read and write and was able to translate the Pentateuch.[56] There were, of course, the rabbi and the cantor, the latter usually combining singing and butchering. There were a few physicians with academic training; but their number was small and the missionary traveler seldom fails to mention them as extraordinary, e.g., when he mentions that a certain Jewish doctor had studied in Giessen and Leyden.[57] Sometimes even the rabbi had to help out as a doctor, especially when a woman was in difficult labor.[58] The general practice of the times was to regard midwifery as apart from the profession of true medicine.

Poverty and the necessity of making a living wherever and whenever possible, is best illustrated by some examples which depict more the economic background of the Jew than show his ingenuity.

In Chrudim (Bohemia) a Jew was imprisoned and received a visitor. He did not think this an inopportune time to sell the visitor some silver wares.[59] Neither did a Jewish sealmaker refrain from filling

an order which asked for the image of Jesus on the seal.[60] Similarly, Jews could be found who sold missionary literature as part of their business.[61] It is hard to excuse them with ignorance of the contents of the books.[62]

The women also worked occasionally for a livelihood, especially in districts where home labor was common among the Gentiles. Thus, we read the following observation (possibly from Silesia):"...da sass eine junge Frau und knoepfelte Spitzen; welches unter ihnen die gemeinste Arbeitiist."[63] Women frequently did the selling in the store, not only when the husband was asleep,[64] but also during the day because the husband was away buying new supplies, or was in Shul, or because he attended to some other business.[65]

In the eastern, but sometimes in the western parts also, the Jews were frequently owners of inns. Such inns were then known as "Jewish inns," which, in smaller places, did not exclude or restrain Gentiles from staying there.[66] Having Gentiles in a Jewish inn was, of course, a latent source of trouble, especially since only the lower elements of the Christians would go to such an inn. A Gentile drunkard in a Jewish inn was difficult to contend with; but the Jewish innkeeper was usually a hardy man himself, and often his wife could stand on her own, too. Thus, we are told that some drunkards, late in the evening, asked for some alcohol which they were refused. When they kept on asking for it the innkeeper's wife began to say her evening prayers aloud and thus finally induced her Gentile guests to leave.[67]

The innkeeper had the most extensive contact with the outside world, and was usually a source of information to his Jewish brethren. Little wonder that occasionally the traveling missionary be-

lieved that the innkeeper was the "rabbi" of the community. This error was supported by the fact that in smaller places a Jewish inn served as a general trading place for the Jews; therefore as a general assembly hall; and consequently as a most convenient place for holding religious services, when a synagogue was lacking.[68] But even if the synagogue was present the innkeeper would often hold his morning prayers with his Jewish guests.[69]

The lending of money on interest was a principal source of income though, with the progressing years, it gradually lost in importance. Rates varied; at times they went as high as one Kreutzer per one Gulden a week, which amounts to one percent a week, and 52 % per year.[70] Everybody who had occasion to make money in this way did so, since it was a way of providing a livelihood of which even the outside world seemed to approve -- at least legally. Jews also lent each other on interest; and although the report that in Nachod a "rabbi" lent on interest to his fellow Jews,[71] is hardly trustworthy with regard to the rabbinical standing of the lender; it seems that usury was practised among the Jews themselves, too.

The Rich and the Poor.

As was mentioned before, the overwhelming majority of the Jews was poor. Their struggle for the bare necessities of life assumed supreme importance and gave a distinctive feature to the general, political and cultural life of the eighteenth century German Jew. Incessantly the Jews complained of their wretched financial position.[72] Begging was widely practised, children sometimes begging for aged people.[73] It became so common that Jews traversed the country beg-

ging that Jewish communities, with the help of the townships, tried to rid themselves of the beggars in the quickest way possible. Thus, they would lead an arriving beggar through the city, preventing him from stopping there and becoming a public charge.[74] In Wasserbuedingen, there was a poor house outside of the city to which such people would go.[75] Sometimes beggars were asked 10 Groschen at the gate; for the person who was able to pay that price would not very likely be of the beggar class.[76] In Dessau, beggars were conducted to the Jewish poor house and kept there.[77] They were known under the name of "traveling Jews," and since the general social set-up prevented them in most cases from re-assuming a permanent position in the life of a community, they would travel far and wide and cover great distances. It was by no means unusual to have wandered from Poland to Bohemia; from there to Moravia and on, through southern Germany, to Holland. South-western and western Germany especially must have been hit by the "beggar plague," for the general trend of the day was to progress from the east to the Dutch haven. In some of the aforementioned districts Jews were forbidden to give alms to those travelers.[78]

The chance of being forced to share their fate was great. If a Jew could not pay the head tax asked of him by the local government he had to leave. If some ordinance forced him to give up his position in a certain village or town, and if he had no sufficient menas to be accepted by another community, he often had to join the traveling Jews. Such fate hung constantly over the heads of the mass of the people. Small wonder then that there was fear and anxiety nagging at the roots of their existence, and small wonder

that the few rich and powerful Jews assumed the significance of princes. Oppenheimer of Vienna and Joseph Suess, like other court Jews, were sometimes even likened to the German Emperor himself;[79] a characteristic example of the utter lack of social perspective of the average Jew. His exclusion from the general political life of the country accounts for such misrepresentation. "Jud Suess," however, found little genuine acclaim among the wider circles of German Jewry. They were well aware of the disastrous effects of such a person upon the Christian environment.[80] Moreover, they held that he was neither a Goy nor a Jew, that he did not even keep Yom Kippur.[81] But though most of them were not proud of him, his fabulous power and wealth took their fancy and provided them with topics for discussion and speculation. They even went as far as discussing whether Suess would enter the Olam Habba.[82]

The rich jealously guarded their shaky position. There was a definite cleavage between the mass of the people and the few of the upper class; there was a certain spirit of independence and self-aggrandisement which also permeated whole congregations whose average members were fairly well settled. That was even apparent to the outsider who drew certain parallels between such Jews and the Catholics.[83]

Wealthy Jews and court Jews attracted the attention not only of the Jews themselves, but also of the outside world. We are told of a court Jew who, when a n important Gentile personage visited the town, stood on his chair in front of his house and payed his compliments to the visitor.[85] Wealthy Jews would imitate the habits of the Gentile wealthy. They usually could own land for they had special rights, sometimes even civic rights;[86] they would buy horses

and attract the jealousy and the dislike of the non-Jew.[87] Riches invariably started the owner on the road to assimilation. Of one rich Jew it was said that his major occupation consisted of eating and drinking and gambling with the (Gentile) rich of this world.[84] Thus, there were many Gentiles who adhered to the old and persisting belief -- persisting even in our days -- that "the Jews" were rich, powerful, and that they owned or controlled the world. They overlooked the fact that their eyes were attracted by the few; that the great majority of the people lived in very restricted circumstances and often in abject poverty. Yet the occurrence of such fallacious views is understandable, for that is the way the human mind works; and it seems even more explicable when we observe that also the Jews were occasionally subject to the same beliefs. If we can trust the report, a Jew boasted about his people saying that ~~it was~~ they were the smartest in trade, and that whole countries depended on Jews and were governed by them.[88] What a discrepancy between wishful thinking and harsh reality!

Housing Conditions.

Though the Jews tried to live as closely together as possible, they were not ghettoized to the same degree as in Poland. In most German places they lived among their Christian neighbours -- a fact which made missionary work among them more difficult.[89] This fact resulted also in greater caution on the part of the Jews. They were careful not to leave their doors open; and even in the daytime it could happen that the visitor who rang the bell or pulled the cord would be asked twice for his identification before he was admitted.[90]

Jews did not always own the houses in which they lived; in fact, in many cases only a small percentage of the Jewish population was allowed to own real estate. The others had to rent their habitations.[91] While the mass of the Jews were crowded into often slum-like and unsanitary districts, there were the few who could entertain their guests in lavishly outfitted houses or even at an open-air dinner in the inner courtyard.[92] Of the "Baal-Possuk Fr." the missionary records that he owned a house which looked like "a castle of nobility."[93] But those were rare exceptions. A good portion of the Jews had only one room in which they did their eating, sleeping, and also selling. Usually more than one family could be found in one house. When space, especially in the larger city, became sparser and more expensive, the Jews stocked up their houses; and five floors were nothing extraordinary.[94]

Sparsity of room naturally influenced working conditions. Jews were sometimes so crowded that various occupations were exercised in one and the same room. Thus, we find two tailors doing their work in the barber's shop.[95] We meet a goldsmith in his small hut, "almost underground," equipped with two rooms. His meals were prepared in the front room while he worked in the back room in which he also kept his books.[96] Jews lived also in slums of the very worst kind. From Leipheim it is reported (in 1763) that the visitor found people busy packing meat in a room in which a sick man lay in one corner on straw. The atmosphere of the room almost nauseated the intruder.[97]

Although conditions in general were not as bad as this,

the Jewish population lived, according to its status in German life, in poor habitations. The following quotation from Azulai's report sums up the situation and is quites characteristic of the general picture, particularly in smaller places.[98]

"פוטיויף* הוא כפר מריקים ופוחזים ועניים מרודים ובתיהם מכתי
החסרים ומחילות עפר ומערות ועוך בכורות וראש עפכות ...

* = BUTTENWIESEN.

Business Ethics. Criminality.

It would indeed be surprising if, with such social conditions prevailing, with business restricted and with the living and dwelling standards as low as they were, we would find that Jewish business ethics were always and everywhere beyond reproach. Jews were always accused of taking unfair advantage of their Christian neighbors in matters of business; and there is no doubt that they were forced to sharp dealing in order to eke out their scanty livelihood. Yet the frequent accusation of dishonesty concerns the Jews about as much as their own statement, namely that they were forced to act this way because of Christian dishonesty,[99] concerns the Christians at large. For we do not only hear the Gentiles complain of the business practices of the Jews; but Jews complained just as much, charging almost all Christians with cheating the Jews.[100] In this light we have to interpret a quotation which is ascribed to a Jew by the missionary, namely that he was so poor because "ich kann und mag die Christen nicht so betriegen, wie die andern Juden".[101]

And yet, from what we know of Jewish life in general, of Jewish ethics in practice,[102] we may reasonably assume that Jewish teachings permeated Jewish business life just as much or at least as much, if not more, as Christian teachings became apparent in

Gentile business. Jews were not always as greedy for money as they were commonly depicted, and not always were they reticent to spend it for purposes other than daily needs. It is quite characteristic that repeatedly we find them refusing even missionary books if the missionaries would not take money in exchange.[103] It is easy to apply bourgeois standards of "honesty" to persons living in such a society; but to ask it of people who are purposely kept out of it is very unjust. It is to be acknowledged so much more highly that the Jews maintained the business ethics the way they did. When given an equal chance with their Christian neighbors they not only did as well as these, but stood out even in the eyes of the Gentiles. We have a very interesting example of this in reports from Georgia where German Jews began to settle in the thirties of the seventeenth century.[104]

On the other hand, Jews also contributed to the list of criminals. Authorites were rather quick to believe any evidence against a Jew; but there is little doubt that there were quite a few criminals among the Jews.. It may reasonably be assumed that a certain class of Jews was, by force of circumstances, inclined toward criminality. These were the Jews who did not enjoy any protection by state authority and were so-called <u>schutzlose Juden</u>. Mostly poor people, they were for some reason forced to leave their homes and roamed about, wandering from one city to the other, always being refused admission: a large group of traveling Jews who had no way of making a decent living. No wonder that some of them became desperate and joined others who had decided to take by force what fortune had otherwise withheld from them. Thus, we find certain Jewish thieves' bands in southern

Germany.[105] Some of these desperados even attained inglorious fame. Two well-known thieves were executed in Jena, and a special booklet was printed to describe their story.They were Emanuel Meinemann and Hoymer Moses, but they were generally known under their aliases, namely Mendel Carbe and Johann Ingolstaedter.[106] (+) Such people would, of course, make every attempt not to be recognized as Jews -- not because they feared that their Jewish brethren would be involved, but because the moves of a Jew were more conspicuous. Sometimes they would, at their meals in various inns, purposely order pork. This was known of a band in the Rhine district who were said to have stolen 12000 fl. from a nobleman and burnt his house.[107] Even murder was among the crimes committed. In Frankfurt a/M. two Jews were said to have slain a Christian for revenge,[108] and in the same city a Jew was broken on the wheel for the murder of Mayor Gabel of Heidelberg.[109] In the vicinity, near Mannheim, Jews were accused to have robbed the burghermaister.[110] We sometimes learn about Jewish crimes on the occasion of conversions; for some of the malefactors cherished the hope that such action would save them from punishment.[111] From Reichenau we hear the interesting report that a Jew was kept on a chain "fuer Jahr und Tag" because he had stolen something from the Shul.[112] Such public punishment for crimes of Jews against Jews semes, however, to have been an exception.

(+) At that time, we find Jewish families who of right bore "un-Jewish"names. We come across a TRIPHOS in Flozheim (4 JA 68); a GUMBRECHT in Goettingen (6 JA 26; this name developed into Gumprich in Trier and Westphalia, my grandparents having this name); a KOLMANN in Sondershausen (6 JA 138); a POPERT in Altona (11 JA 166).

S O C I A L   L I F E

The outstanding feature of Jewish social life is the close relationship among the Jews which for them was not only desirable and natural, but also a matter of pure necessity. Social intercourse was usually not adorned by a wreath of dry formalities. Coming to another Jew's house was nothing extraordinary and did not warrant a special invitation, except in the case of the few outstandingly rich Jews. Thus, we find the Jews frequently in each other's houses, even if the master of the house was not present. Of course, there were cliques and clans in each community; for even among the poorest there are standards of "social equality." Especially Polish Jews were not regarded with favor; and the abundant contempt that the Polish Jew had for the meager learning of the German Jew was reciprocated by the latter as in the following telling statement: "Our <u>rebbe</u> does not understand anything -- like all Polish Jews."[113] In this light we can understand occasional complaints about the disunity of the Jews.[114] No doubt that to the outsider the Jews looked like one compact mass of people; but under the surface there were as many petty grievances as in any society.

The position of the Jews made them especially desirous of each other's company. It was a stimulus both to an intensified home life and to extended social intercourse. Many German and Jewish games were known and played. To play cards was a common way of spending one's leisure time, even for a teacher[115] or for young boys.[116] One even played with Gentiles; at home[117] as well as in the inn.[118] In privacy, Jews would play a certain game to spite the Christians. It was called "Nithleh" and was played at Christ-

?? נטל'' = ניטל = Nittel-nacht

mas time.[119] Also dancing was known; at times even a professional man was engaged to teach the daughters.[120]

The Family.

The mainstay of Jewish was undoubtedly the family. The founding of a family was, according to all Jewish traditions, absolutely imperative. This idea permeated the Jews so much that they would often criticize the missionaries for their unmarried status.[121] Parents would sometimes marry their children at a tender age; but with the century advancing, this custom lost more and more ground.[122] Morals were extremely strict; laws and customs did everything to preserve the proverbial purity of the Jewish family life. In certain places a Jew should not be seen alone in the company of another's wife,[123] a regulation which re-appears in a slightly different form in the Statuten der Hamburg-Altonaer Gemeinde von 1726, # 164.

The home was managed in the usual style, mostly by the mother and her daughters; only occasionally with the help of a Gentile servant girl.[124] With the living space restricted, families drew closer together, which became even apparent to the visiting missionaries. Thus, they found it not at all extraordinary that, when asked by the mother into the "Wohnstube," they found a man continuing his breakfast while in a corner a woman lay in her childbed.[125] From time to time we catch other glimpses of intimate life. When a missionary went down a street he found a house the door of which was left open. Upon entering he saw the women of the house seated around a table reading to each other.[126] On another occasion we learn that a certain Jew was accustomed to drink two cups of coffee every evening, then would read a few pages in

the Zohar, after which he would take a bath and go to bed. At the noon table Hoboth ha-Lebaboth was, especially for his wife, the appropiate entertainment.[127] These are moments of genuine and un-acted Jewish life. We see that in the habits of personal living the times have brought but little changes. Entertainments and literature, conveniences and interests may be at variance, but the life of a Jewish home was not very different from the life in many a twentieth century Jewish home.- It may also be noted that Jews kept dogs and cats. We learn this from a question which the Yabets was asked,[128] namely whether one was allowed to eat before feeding these animals.

Food and Clothes.

Food, of course, played an important part in the home. Kashruth was accepted as a matter of fact; and there is no doubt that the criticism leveled against the orthodox -- namely that Kashruth often takes the place of religion as a whole -- would have been justified to a certain extent even in the eigteenth century. It is evident throughout that the eating or not-eating of pork was a matter of highest religious importance.[129] This is quite understandable; for the eating of pork -- and the eating of non-kosher food in general -- was a clear-cut dividing line between Jew and Gentile. And although we have examples of Jews who did not observe the dietary laws strictly, we have the majority who were very meticulous. For only occasionally we hear of a breach of the law. An old Bohemian Jew is mentioned as eating trefe;[130] and we can sometimes infer that Jews bought meat from Gemtile butchers.[131] Ordinarily, however, Jews would even heed the warning not to buy

beans from a Gentile, because they would be washed in non-kosher soap.[132] Kosher food was, as it is at present, more expensive than other food; and this was an additional burden to the small purse of the average Jew. Particularly those people who would travel about and have frequent contacts with Gentile life, were aware of these facts. Thus, e.g., we hear a traveling salesman complain about the expensiveness of kosher food.[133] Also ritual articles were extremely dear. A good Ethrog cost 9 fl. in Frankfurt a/M., mainly, of course, because this fruit had to be imported.[134]

Porcelain was used as dishware; but it was not yet commonly known and accepted. There were still questions concerning it that the Yabets was asked.[135]

From occasional reports about the kind of food which the missionaries were offered we get an idea both of Jewish hospitality and of food habits in general..

The"guest meal"par excellence was fish; and any day of the week was good for such occasion.[136] During a short visit in a western place he was offered meat and tea;[137] tea like coffee being the common beverage.[138] We also hear of "Zimmetwasser" having been served.[139]

Also alcoholic beverages could be found in many Jewish homes. The Gentile surroundings, of course, influenced the life of the Jews in this respect. Thus it is interesting to note that whiskey was mostly, though not exclusively, found in the east; wine in the west; and beer in central and southern Germany. Especially beer and wine were found quite regularly. On Shabbos , one could expect to be served one or the other.[140] Yet, Jewish drunkards were oberved infrequently,[141] while proselyte Christians, usually

bare of their last moral responsibilities, were often mentioned as drunkards.

Similarly, smoking was common among Jewish men. We find them smoking their pipes on the street,[142] just as we find them enjoying their Holiday smoke on Rosh ha-Shanah.[143] They had also acquired the habit of chewing tobacco; a piece of canaster could even serve as a guest-offering to the visitor.[144]

The clothes worn by Jews reflected better than many another thing their financial standing. We are told of several places where special ordinances restricted the women of the congregation from dressing too fancily; for such behavior would attract the misgiving attention of the Christian populace.[145] Sometimes the complaint was made that some women dressed ostentatiously,[146] while others were so poor that they could not even afford shoes fortheir children.[147] Clothes were usually made by a Jewish tailor; and only if there was no such person in the vicinity a Gentile tailor would be entrusted with the task of furnishing the Jewish population with clothes that must not be Shaatnes.[148] On Shabbos, Jews donned their best dresses; even the men would, on such a day, wear an occasional adornment. This led the missionaries to believe that a Levite who wore two "Giesskannen" clips on his Shabbos coat did so because of his Levite standing.[149] Otherwise, in external apparel, the Jews looked rather alike since the men grew beards according to old Jewish custom. A middle-aged Jew without this natural embellishment was noted as an exception.[150]

Charity.

Despite the general destitute position of Jewry, there was always room for charity. Especially in the cities Jewish charity

was highly organized. Jews wondered constantly why there were so many poor and destitute among the Christians.[151] Not only were the Jewish poor better off than the Gentile poor, at least in the cities,[152] but not without justification could it be said by a Jew: "If we had the money of the Christians there would not be a poor man within a hundred, yea a thousand miles."[153] Jews had not only poor houses, but also hospitals;[154] and the pletten system is too well known to be described here. In general, a Jewish woman would be prepared to give alms to a beggar. She would gladly give of her own and would not hesitate to give, on a Shabbos, of her precious white bread to a missionary whom she mistook for a beggar.[155]

There was careful investigation, however, when larger sums, and particularly when congregational funds were involved. Azulai who traveled through southern Germany in his capacity as a Sheliach for Palestine complained about the distrust with which he was met everywhere in Germany. Obviously the German communities had had some bad experiences inthe past. It was difficult to recognize a genuine seal; and it was easy to forge signatures of which nobody had ever seen the original. Palestine was far away; and there is little wonder that all credentials were scrutinized carefully before they were acknowledged.[156] Azulai had little success in Germany; at times he had particularly bad receptions, as in Harburg,[157] in Ansbach , and in other places.[158] It is quite clear that Azulai appeared, to the German Jew, as one of the many who termed themselves Shelichim, but who abused the term in order to make an easy living. It even seems as if in certain places the Jews had developed a routine of dealing with emissaries;

and in this light we understand the caustic report:[159]

באנו אחר ד' שעות לאייזלינגן ושלחנו היהודים לאושפיזא גוים
ולא נתנו לנו אפילו פ"ק:

The Jewish Woman.

No picture of Jewish social life would be complete without a more detailed account of the particular position held by the woman.

Basicly, the Jewish woman was not different from the Gentile woman, as far as her general make-up was concerned. Where loyalties are at stake, women are usually simpler and more stubborn in their adherence. This is particularly evident from our records. The Jewish woman was much less open to any missionary argument, partly, perhaps, because she realized her inability to stand up against the Christians in any discussion of that sort, Instinctivly she felt that such arguments would ultimately lead to a weakening of the Jewish position, and often she would try to interrupt such a discussion or to prevent her husband from participationg in it.[160] But if Jewish women did participate in discussing the religious truths in which they believed, they were usually more violent and more zealous and much less considerate of their opponents than were their husbands.[161] This attitude extended to the Jewish servants as well. One incident will illustrate this whole point. "Die juedische Magd, welche die Tochter vor der Thuer stehen lassen, hatte sich inzwischen (while the missionary was talking to the daughter), wie ein Bedienter observirt hatte, sehr ungebaerdig bezeigt, dass die Tochter so viel vom Christenthum anhoere; und hatte die Laesterung ausgestossen: wir Christen seyn Luftschwaermer: wenn wir selig werden wollen; so muessen wir Juden werden."[162] The following quotation will illustrate the

simplicity of the faith that the average Jewish woman had: "Sein Weib sagte etliche mal: ihr Exilium sey nicht schwer; was ihnen Gott auferlegt habe, muessen sie geduldig tragen."[163]

The woman's conception of the contents of the Jewish religion was, however, not very far-reaching. It may safely be said that for most of the women religious duties were characterized by a few well-defined functions; like setting the table, kindling the lights and leavening the bread.[164] It was not entirely sure to the women that the ten commandments were given also to the weaker sex,[165] although the women of better intelligence were versed in the principles of Judaism at least. The following quotation gives at length a typical example of a discussion between a missionary and a Jewish woman, and also reflects the intellectual standard of the time. Talking to a Jewess about a church, the missionary remarked that it was odd that the Jews did not regard this tremendous edifice as a temple of God. Whereupon the Jewess remarked:

"Wenn es ein Heilgthum waere; so mueste es gantz anders aussehen.

Ich: (the missionary) Wir suchen das Heiligthum nicht in Steinen, sondern glauben, dass der Mensch darum Leib und Seele habe, damit Gott darinnen wohen koenne.

Die Juedin: Viele sind, die da meynen, dass der Mensch lauter Leib sey, und dieses sind recht boese Seelen.

Ich: Wie aber wird unsere Seele klar gemacht, dass Gott darinnen wohnen kan?

Die Juedin: Das haben die Priester und Propheten vor Zeiten gewust; aber jetzt weiss niemand davon.

Ich: Wissen wir doch, dass wir sollen Gott lieben, und an ihm allein hangen, und dass wir auch unsern Naechsten lieben sollen etc.

Die Juedin: Wir haben die zehen Gebote empfangen und hoffen auf den lebendigen Gott, der gesagt: Ich bin der Herr, dein Gott.

Ich: Er ist aber ein erschrecklicher Gott, und sein Zorn ist wie das Bruellen eines Loewen, Spruechw. 20. Wie koent Ihr denn hoffen auf einen solchen zornigen Gott, der euch strafen will.

Die Juedin: Wann ich soweit studiret haette; so wlote ich antworten: aber das verstehe ich nicht."[166]

For though the women were taught how to read, they had little knowledge of the Torah. A woman that knew Hebrew well and could quote, was a noteworthy exception,[167] and similarly a girl who was able to translate the Parashah. The comment of the mother is characteristic: "She learnt it all by herself."[168]

That does not mean, however, that women did hardly any reading. In the religious line, there was, of course, the Zenah u'Renah. They were, moreover, generally interested in light literature and read translations of the Eulenspiegel and the Clausnarren,[169] books that also the men enjoyed. Following the general line of Jewish interest, women too would be attracted by any sort of book that was offered them as understandable literature.[170] A further source of religious information was finally offered to those women whose children were taught in their own home; so that the mother had frequent opportunity to listen to the explanations of the Melammed.[171]

On the whole, we see that the standard of education was not particularly high. Yet it was not doubt higher than among the non-Jewish women. For not only was it a very rare exception to find a Jew who could not read, but also was it unusual to find an illiterate Jewess. And that was considerably more than could

be said of the Gentiles. And since reading is and was the key to better education, this situation added markedly to the general elevated position that distinguished the Jewish woman from her Christian sister.

G E N T I L E - J E W I S H R E L A T I O N S

Though it is true that Jewish social life, i.e., the life of the Jews among his own, derived its contents from the particular set-up of German-Jewish society, it is also true that this set-up was largely influenced by the relation of this society to the Gentile environment.

First of all, the Jew had personal relations to the Christians, however scanty they may have been. He had to deal with them in business, he knew them as "The Government" and as overlords in general. The 18th century before the Aufklaerung is still characterized by the social cleavage between Jew and non-Jew , and this division extended to almost all branches of human life. A Gentile, in order to talk to a Jew did not have to be friendly nor polite; any sort of behavior, as long as it was not too offensive, would generally establish satisfactory relations. No wonder, then, that the missionaries, wherever they came, baffled the Jews completely through their friendliness. Such an attitude from Christians was entirely uncommon and in many cases gave the missionaries a good start on their intended ways. No wonder that in some little village in the East where the Jews seem to have particularly suffered, a missionary was looked upon with such amazement that the Jews doubted whether he was human or angel.[172] A little incident like this reflects fully the psychological condition of the Jews.

A Gentile did not come to the Jews in order to chat.He had mostly one purpose: either to buy or to sell. It was often incomprehensible to the Jews that there should be Gentiles in their midst who did not want to sell earthly goods. Yet, once the ice was broken, the Jews were ready to make friends with all Gentiles who were not their enemies. The Jews would shake hands with the missionaries.[173] Once, we even read of a rabbi who welcomed the missionary to the shul with a hearty handshake.[174] Even more affectionate forms of greeting were applied occasionally: embrace,[175] or even kisses.[176]

Gentiles would not usually travel with Jews; consequently Jews would prefer travelling with their own.[177] But when it had to be done, the Jews tried to be as unobtrusive as possible. Characteristic is the account of a Jewish woman who was seated in the carriage and, in order not to be noticed too much, wrapped her skirt around her head. And only after somebody started to talk to her, did she put the skirt down.[178]

Yet, there were many Jews who refused to play the role of the underdog even in social intercourse. Another Jewish woman openly rebuked the Christain driver for his vile and indecent language; and the rebuke was accepted resignedly, as if it had come from an equal.[179] Similarly, we meet a Jewish studen in a Public Inn (where he slept) discussing his religion freely and proudly. The discussion apparently evolved from general topics, for it happened before the missionaries appeared on the scene.[180] It was not infrequent to hear a Jew indulge in "free talk" with a non-Jew. Discussing religion with a missionary who was supported by another Gentile, the Jew turned to the latter telling him:"You know

nothing, be quiet."[181]

Occasionally, the Jews even showed that they resented Christian interference, especially in a domain which they considered strictly private and sacred. Thus, a Gentile had the disagreeable experience of being shown out of a Brith Milah which he had intended watching.

As long as Jews had a history of their own, assimilation played a part of their life, and this was, of course, especially true in the time of the Galuth. Assimilation and attempts to assimilate were not unknown in Germany, even before the Mendelssohnian period. Zion as the center of Jewish life did not always assume the importance which we are apt to give it in retrospect. Men of understanding saw clearly the position which oppression held in keeping Jewish life from disintegration. In 1738, we hear a Dayyan say that oppression had its beneficial effects because it made the Jews more God-conscious, "for wherever they fare well, they like to stay among the Christians and have no desire for Jerusalem."[182] There is a particular tragedy in this statement which was to be proven right, only to be robbed of its premise exactly 200 years later.

Then, as later, Jews were not always proud of being Jewish but tried to conceal their origin by posing as Gentiles.[183] But such cases were comparatively rare, since Jews were clearly marked off from their environment, particularly by language (accent) and often by their external appearance. Only the wealthier Jews could achieve a certain entry into non-Jewish society. In Hamburg-Altona they could become, as early as 1748, members of the free-mason lodge -- but there were not many Jews who could afford the ini-

tial fee of 20 Rthlr.[184] Riches also brought Christian guests into the house; and one only has to compare the memoirs of Glueckl to know that of certain Jews it could indeed be said that "they lived like princes."[185] But these cases were limited to a very small class. For the mass of the people, the Gentile was a being of the other world. Jewish and Christian children rarely played together. Neither parents were in favour of such intercourse. Exceptions were found in cases where the Christian father, by having his children play with the Jews, wanted to win the confidence of these Jews -- as a first step of a conversive approach.[186]

Occasional more intimate relations are known to have existed between Jew and Gentile. We hear of a preacher's daughter who learnt Judaeo-German, had friends among the Jews, and visited a Jewish woman who was sick.[187] We find Jews playing cards with Gentiles in a public inn, and we find them drinking with the peasants.[188] Jewish hospitality was extended also to Christians. A Jewish woman would invite a Gentile, who had come to exchange some money, to sit down and have a drink.[189] Repeatedly the missionaries were invited for drinks or meals;[190] once we even see them invited for dinner and overnight stay.[191]

In general, Jews were anxious to improve their relations with the non-Jews as much as possible; for their political existence often rested on the good-will of the Gentile neighbors. Yet there is no doubt that, at the bottom of their hearts, the Jews were deeply resentful of the hostile attitude of the Gentiles. They were ready to acknowledge good will and interest; but they were also ready to criticize the assumption of the Gentiles, namely, to be the lone possessors of religious truth. And not only was

Christian life in general, with the frequent occurence of immoral conduct,[192] open to their criticism; but also the Christian religion and especially Catholic practices, as such. To theJews, Catholicism always appeared somehow idolatrous; and the conduct of certain clergymen did much to enhance this conception. "Wie die pfaffen leben, weiss keiner besser als wir. Ich weiss etliche, denen ich schon manche schoene gestickte und andre feine tuecher fuer jungferm habe bringen muessen. Sie bezahlen sie gut und stecken sie gesc wind unter die kutten usw."[193]

A missionary who greeted a passer-by with שלום was, not very politely, answered with a אין שלום לרשעים.[194]

Jews refrained, as much as they could, from dragging their own affairs before Gentile courts. It was a sensation when, in Roerort, in 1764, a Jew charged his rabbi to have put put him under the Herem (which was an offense under the Prussian law), while the rabbi maintained that it was only נידוי.[195]

Reciprocally, the Gentiles did not cherish a high opinion of the Jews, although it must be noted that even in the eighteenth century "intelligence of the Jews" was judged by their willingness to understand and accept Christian teachings. In the words of a Jesuit: "Die juden sind unempfindlich, intractabel, und untuechtig, mit gelehrten leuten im glaubensstreit zu stehen. Ich habe mehrmalen in frag an sie gesetzt, aber sie thumm befunden, dass sie nicht einmal begreifen, was das wort, gnade, fuer einen vertsand habe. Ein einiger <u>vir praeclarus</u> (vortreflicher mann, der rabbiner Jonas) ist von der art, dass er sich von andern distinguiren, und ein gelehrter mann heissen kann.[195a] Die andern alle sind ein thummes, ungelehrtes verstocktes poebelvolck; man kan an ihnen

nichts ausrichten."[196]

Appreciation of Jewish personalities and values did not start before the enlightenment period when it was not uncommon that a Jew was set up as an example for good moral conduct.[197] Only in rare cases were the Jews accepted as politically responsible; and this only in some western parts of Germany, where we find them alongside of the Christians under arms.[198] In Hamburg, the Jews had a regiment of their own and paraded with the regular civil army before the Danish king.[199]

Limitations.

But these"privileges" were few and "limitation" circumscribed the narrow span of Jewish political life. In Posen, we read of a ghetto decree as late as 1740.[200] In parts of Bohemia the Jews were terribly oppressed: only their first borns were allowed to marry; and since they were suspected of conveying heretic literature to the Hussites, tney were strictly forbidden to trade outside of their districts.[201] In parts of the Rhineland the Yellow Badge had not yet disappeared. Though it did no longer serve to distinguish Jews from non-Jews, it achieved the same result. For it was instituted to mark out those Jews who had paid for their "privilege" and were consequently allowed to trade in town.[202] In other parts of Germany Jews were not allowed to stay at all; the Weimar-Eisenach district belonging to this category. Traveling Jews had to pay a tax of one Rthlr. per night.[203] Taxation of the Jews was generally higher than that of the Christians. Often the Jews had to pay special levies which were thought to be particularly humiliating for them and profitable for the recipients at the same

time. Thus, in Brunswick, the Jews had to pay toward the salary of the Christian preacher, as late as 1778.[204] Furthermore, the Jews, as the last residue of feudal times, feared the death of the sovereign when, as in one case, 56 fl. were due for a new Lehnbrief.[205] Franken, even in those days, was distinguished by its severe treatment of the Jews. Jews were not only forced to witness baptisms in person, but the newly converted person received six Batzen from each Jew of the place.[206] Occasionally the government also interfered with Jews' exercising their own civil justice, by preventing a traveling Dayyan from sitting in court.[207] And it is well known that censure was exercised over literature (but that, of course, was not restricted to Jews only). In addition, Bohemia only allowed books which were printed by the Jewish press in Prague itself.[208]

But these impediments were mild and insignificant compared with the petty persecutions which the Jews had to endure during work and leisure (to say nothing, of course, of the large-scale oppression). It was this every day sting of a non-Jewish populace which made life among them so unpleasant. It was not only the political persecution -- which features in the history books -- but the personal persecution that characterized Jewish life of the time. Some examples of those little incidents will amplify this atatement.

A Jew was talking to a missionary on the street when a Gentile boy passed by and thought it a good joke to twice tear off the Jew's overcoat.[209] Refuse was thrown at the missionary -- but only because the offender took him for a Jew.[210]

Jewish children, as usual, suffered most. The way to school was often dangerous, for the Christian boys would "play" with Jewish children; "und schlug es (the Jewish boy) so , dass es einen jammerte,"[211] was the comment of the missionary who witnessed the incident.

Even in their own homes Jews were not always free of the haunting fear of the "Goy." For often the Gentile maid brought trouble into the house. From Reichenau we hear the most interesteing report that Jews would stop their conversation when the maid came in (a tragically striking parallel to the conditions in Hitler-Germany).[212]

Furthermore, various things were apt to get Jews into trouble. In Roman-Catholic districts the Jews were endangered by the mere presence of Protestant missionaries, for if they failed to inform about them they were held as conspirators in heresy.[213] They could not afford even a conversionalist sermon in the church for fear that the Christian populace might be incited to violence. They would go as far as to try to revoke the Christian minister's invitation to the missionaries.[214] But more than that the Jews were completely at the mercy of the subordinate government officials. There was no right nor wrong in the sphere of their decisions. It was much the same situation as exists today in Germany, with the difference only that the government in those days did not take such an active part in encouraging pettiness against and maltreatment of the Jews. One incident will elucidate the situation; the report coming from a Christian preacher of the community. "Es sey ein Verbot ergangen: die Juden sollen nicht mehr auf dem Lande hausiren gehen; nur denen koennen sie etwas verkauffen,

welche verlangen, dass sie es ihnen bringen sollen. Er, der Prediger, habe den Juden W. etwas zu bringen gebeten. Als dieser es bewerkstelliget; habe der Amtmann, welcher ihm, den Prediger, nicht geneigt sey, den Juden einsetzen lassen und ein Stueck Geld von ihm begehret, unter dem Vorwand, als habe er hausiret. Der Jude habe das Geld gezahlet, sich aber dabey ueber das Anfahren des betrunkenen Amtmanns, und das uebrige harte Tractament so alteriret, dass er bey seiner Heimkunft sofort in ein hitziges Fieber gefallen, und darin bald seinen Geist aufgegeben. Die Juedin, des W. Weib, sey auch so erschrocken, dass sie der Schlag geruehret und am Arm gelaehmt habe. Diese schreye Ach und Weh ueber den Amtmann."[215]

Besides, the Jews were constantly reminded of the insecurity of their position by the stream of refugees that flooded Germany at intervals; at times coming from Poland, and at other times coming from Prague.[216] Some of these refugees were so destitute that the Jews had to provide them with old clothes to cover their nakedness.[217] This, of course, was not changed even by the Aufklaerung, but it eased the psychology of the Jews considerably to know that there were now many voices which accepted the Jews as human beings and were willing to allot them adequate treatment.[218]

B A P T I S M A L E F F O R T S
AMONG THE JEWS.

For centuries, Jews of all countries had been exposed to proselytizing efforts. The methods varied with the times. In the eighteenth century humanity had progressed enough to try to win the Jews over to Christianity rather than to force them. The results were meager at first, as long as the old conditions prevailed; but once the Jews saw the light of the Aufklaerung they were more accessible to conversion. But even so the number was not too high. Exact statistics are missing. All we can attempt to do in this study is to show methods of conversion, reactions of the Jews and the general sociological background which prompted such reactions. With our source material limited as it is. We deal, of course, only with the missionary efforts and experiences of the Callenberg Institute; with the efforts, in other words, of a Protestant group. We hear nothing about Catholic attempts; exept that repeatedly we learn that the Catholics considered the Jews of their countries as their own sphere for baptism, and were very quick to punish any interference from Protestant circles. Not only had the missionaries to be very careful in such countries, since sometimes mere talking to Jews was dangerous,[219] but in Bohemia (Chrudin) they were arrested as heretics and imprisoned for several months.[220]

In order to evaluate the question of baptism correctly we must, bear in mind that we deal with a field in which the truth of certain statements (as we find them in our records) is not always as obvious and as sure as in other subjects. For after all, here

we deal with the subject itself, and the traveling missionaries who had to report home, were certainly not overanxious to report failure of their labors. Here, no doubt, is the field where the reports are most prejudiced. Repeatedly the missionary finds that the Jews were quite open to his efforts; he finds them listening; they make no reply: and he is only too ready to draw favorable conclusions as to the effects of his work. In reality we find that missionary ideas were only very rarely received with as much as slight approval. Wherever baptism occurred, it occurred for reasons which will be discussed later. Little is to be attributed to the work of the missionaries.[221] The average Jew was not equipped to argue with the missionaries, who were not only educated men but also were well versed in Scripture. Often the Jews were shy and reticent in their presence, said nothing and listened politely, especially the poorer Jews: "Nach diesem kam ich unter arme Juden, die hoereten besser zu..."[222] The missionaries would take such an attitude as silent agreement with their teachings.[223] Once this shyness was overcome, however; once the Jews stopped to look upon the missionaries as direct enemies; the Jews were ready to talk and argue, and they made no secret of the fact that, despite all arguments, they would hold fast to their religion.[224] They were often very friendly to the emissaries; received them in their homes and served them food and drinks. Two Jewish women came to the Chrudin prison and gave alms to the missionaries.[225] On the whole, missionaries and their ideas were welcome news from the outside world. Jews took them as a means to learn more about Christianity,[226] and in such cases rarely became too belligerent in their discussions.[227] For missionaries had not been seen among

the Jews for many centuries and were therefore a great novelty and attraction.[228] But it would depend largely on the special circumstances of the Jews whether the missionaries and their literature would be received friendly or unfriendly.

In many places the Jews took their books readily. These books were printed in Halle and were written in Judaeo-German. No wonder that the Jews, with their general craving for books, were in most cases willing to take them, particularly since that involved neither cost nor obligation.[229] At times, a teacher would even allow his children to take some books. Evidently he was not aware of the true character of the books, or he was convinced that they would do no harm at all.[230] Since the books did not bear the name of any author, they were often believed to have been written by Jews and were readily recommended.[231] Even in places where the true character of the writings was not unknown, children were frequently sent out to obtain missionary literature when their parents were afraid to ask openly for it. At times, the Jews took the books in a peculiar spirit of complacency which even the missionary recognized: they took them as a premium for their own imagined able defence of the Jewish religion![232]

Conversions.

That conversions actually occurred was, however, hardly a result of this work and certainly not the result of spreading missionary literature. There were two distinct classes of proselytes among the Jews, and the reason for their baptisms was not the same.

The first group was that of children, and a few concrete examples will tell the story of conversion in this group. We

find a poor Jewish widow giving away her child to a Christian tailor who adopted the one year old baby and had it baptized.[233] In a similar case the Church almost lost the little newcomer, for a Jew appeared claiming the child as his and only later admitting that he had not told the truth.[234] We also find more violent examples of child baptisms. We find at least two forerunners of the Mortara case. In one, a girl was stolen and brought to a nunnery, then returned, stolen again and again returned; when finally she turned Christian of her own accord.[235] The other case deals with a run-away boy,[236] and in Wittstock we find a ten year old child who declared she did not want to return to the mother and preferred to become a Christian.[237] A similar case was judged in Wetzlar when a boy ran away from his parents because of his desire to be baptized. Though the parents demanded his deliverance, the boy, seemingly steadfast in his decision, refused to return. The court to which they appealed decided that the boy should be left alone and make his decision after having grown to manhood. The unsatisfied parents appealed to the Reichskammergericht.[238]

The second group was that of destitute adult Jews who, by reason of the general economic condition of the Jews, was perhaps larger than one usually believes them to be. But a t any rate, there can be little doubt (and even the records of the missionaries reveal this fact willingly and unwillingly) that the great majority of converts did not accept Christianity because of its superior truths, but only because of material advantages which might possibly be connected with such a step.[239] In the words of a Jew: "Unter 99 Juden ist nich einer, der sich um der Emune

willen schmaden laesset: alle tun es nur, wenn sie etwas Boeses gethan oder dass sie huren oder viel Geld und Ehre erlangen moegen."[240] Jews were sometimes quite outspoken about this with regard to their own position: "If I could get a high office I would become a Christian immediately," we read.[241] Destitute economic position is the usual reason. "Ein Mensch von etwa 16 Jahren aus K. stund ausser der Stadt, und wurde wegen Armuth nicht eingelassen. Er klagte, dass er nicht einen Heller zu Brodt habe. Ich redete ihm zu; und es kam so weit, dass er fragte, in welche Stadt er ziehen solte, wann er sich wuerde zu den frommen Christen wenden."[242] The following statement which was innocently printed in the Callenberg records elucidates the true reason for baptism even to a greater extent, since it was accepted by the Christians as the truth: "Desgleichen habe sich ein juedischer Kaufmann von 6-7ooo Gulden, welcher es garnicht noetig gehabt, ebenfalls mit Weib und Kind zur Taufe gekehret."[243] Christian ministers were aware of this tendency and complained about those "Christians who, being disappointed about the offerings of the new faith, returned to Judaism. For that reason, baptism was sometimes discouraged by far-sighted Christians who were more interested in the substance than in the quantity of the Church.[244]

Baptism usually proved remunerative, if only at the outset; for it was generally accompanied by so-called Patengeschenke. These gifts could be articles of all sorts, like a loom,[245] or, as in one case, even a furnished house.[246] But in most cases it was plain money, sometimes enough to pay for the learning of a handicraft,[247] sometimes a smaller sum which served as an

additional inducement to take the cross. This monetary aspect was a lure to many a poor soul, and we know of cases where Jews received baptism several times in order to cash in on the new religion.[248]

But it was not only money which was held out to the Jews. Baptism sometimes saved from punishment; and since punishment even for small offenses was usually severe (cf. the contemporary code of the Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana) baptism was at times the way out.[249] A Jewess who was put in a correction house finally accepted baptism and very likely freedom was the result.[250] Jews in prison were easily accessible, since they could not escape baptismal efforts; and the government usually did not fail to take due notice of it by sending preachers and missionaries in order to save the soul of the convict. This was repeated at regular intervals.[251] Sometimes, however, baptism did not obtain the desired effect. We read of a Jew who, sentenced to death, took the cross but without any salvation from the worldly decree.[252] No wonder then, the proselytes were known as evildoers of all sorts. They came from the lowest strata of Jewry, economically as well as morally, and it is always a noted and noteworthy exception if they met a convert who made no trouble for anybody but was well behaved.

Furthermore, the baptismal water was not enough to change a man radically and obliterate all Jewish instincts and predispositions, likes and dislikes. There were many proselytes who did not eat pork; and the missionaries never failed to explain to the Jews that a Christian was not <u>obliged</u> to eat swine. Callenberg notices that many proselytes were adverse at times to excessive gambling and even to dancing and -- most interesting -- organ playing

in the church.[253] Callenberg's footnote to this account shows that he misunderstood and misjudged the situation: "As regards the organ playing, the report must be wrong." But it probably was not.

There were two things, however, which a convert would readily do in order to show his new standing: namely cutting his beard and traveling on the Sabbath. Even the Catechumen (intended proselyte) would do these things in order to prove the sincerity of his intentions.[254]

Fortunately, or unfortunately, the convert seldom received from his new faith what he had expected. Not only did he give up his entire old world but also he gained no new. Often the Christians still regarded him as a Jew, while the Jews were ready to regard him as an outcast. The life of a proselyte child was not too happy either, for Christian children would remind him of his true race.[255] In one instance we even read that the prosekyte was refused a seat in the church, her children being adorned with names like "Judenluder" or "Judensau."[256]

But this was only a minor draw-back. The destitute Jew who decided to become a Christian became usually a destitute Christian. As he , in most cases at least, did not know any handicraft, he was left to chance occupation and often became the recipient of alms or had his wife and children support him.[257] Sometimes, but rarely, he would receive a regular small income from the fines that were imposed upon the Jews. In one case, it amounted to 6 Rthlr. a year.[258] In the great majority of the recorded cases, baptized Jews were in dire circumstances; it was difficult for them to find employment as "Geselle" (person intending to learn a handicraft);

nobody took cared of them once baptism was a thing of the past; they were made "privileged beggars,"[259] and that, no doubt, was a very cogent reason for many Jews (who otherwise might have considered the step) to remain in the fold.[260]

Proselytes.

Baptized Jews stood between two economies. They gave up their own surroundings and they started anew in a hostile world which was interested in them only as long as they were Jews; they had to keep on studying Christian doctrines in order to earn their alms; they received alms, and then were sent away.[261] This calamity often started at a time when they were still Catechumens. For as soon as the Jews would learn of their intentions they would either make every effort to win them back or they would at once consider them as "Ausgestossen;" and such outcasts would have difficulty to gain admission to any town -- since they were still Jews, and since the Jewish community would refuse to take them in.[262] Prof. Franck went as far as to remark that these conditions were one of the chief reasons for the failure of missionary work.[263] There seems little doubt that this statement is true.

But the unpromising future of a proselyte was not the only reason that kept Jews from accepting Christianity. The first and strongest reason was the Jews' steadfast adherence to their faith and to their people. It was this loyalty which carried them through other times, in which a change of religion would actually have meant a betterment of external fortunes. After all, the way to Christianity was always open to the Jews, and therefore the strong resentment against any apostasy can be explained only as the resentment against the breach of loyalty, not as the reaction against the

proselyte's desire to better his position.

Jews talked very openly against proselytes, and very sharply at times.[264] Proselytes, being a bad example for the rest of the Jewish population were not only boycotted by the Jews,[265] but it was often attempted to remove them from the city.[266] By retaliation against the family of the Meshumad there would be further reason not to follow the evil example. And though this retaliation would be mostly of a mild kind -- a sister of the apostate would find it difficult or even impossible to marry[267] -- such action would impede the decision of baptism. Besides, it was only natural that, once it was known that a certain person intended to change, his or her good relations with the fellow Jews would suffer considerably. We hear that a Jewish girl servant came to blows with another girl servant who was known to have baptismal intentions.[268] Baptized Jews were held in contempt by the Jewish population and were no longer accorded any consideration. "Christians will make me a beggar. What shall I have if I am left by my Jews?" is the melancholy comment.[269] Even the calling upon Jesus without formal conversion would sometimes suffice to deny the offender burial by the Chevrah Kadisha.[270] Jews would make the return to Judaism difficult, too,[271] for that served the purpose of setting an example to the other Jews and, at the same time, of keeping shaky elements outside of the fold. We have only rare mention of friendly relations between Jews and proselytes;[272] on the whole, Jews kept away from them even more than the Gentiles: another reason for keeping conversion within narrow limits.

The Fight Against Conversion.

Jewish arguments against Christianity varied within certain bounds. Sometimes they were turned against the Christian religion itself, sometimes against the behavior of its professors. They were characterized throughout by simplicity and crudeness. Referring to Jesus as the alleged son of God they wanted to know who God's wife was. They held that Catholic practices were plainly idolatrous; and if they admitted that the Jews had crucified Jesus they tried to prove that by doing so the Jews had done the Christians a good turn: for without crucifixion there would have been no Christian religion. Only occasionally the Jewish argument attained some standard; and very seldom it was interspersed with humor: "Der Priester habe ihn, den Juden auch ueberreden wollen, dasser solle ein Catholick werden. Er, der Jude, habe ihm geantwortet; wenn ich mich bescheren liesse und kaeme vor die Pforte des Himmels; so wuerde mich Abraham ansehen, dass ich oben beschoren und unten beschnitten sey, und er wuerde mich nicht hinein lassen. Wollte ich aber ein Luther werden, so wuerden mich die Catholen bey Abraham verrathen, dass ich geschmadt sey. Und so kaeme ich auch nicht hinein. Darum will ich lieber ein Jude bleiben; so wird mich Abraham nicht verstossen."[273]

The first argument of all Jews was: "Bekehrt erst Eure Christen!" The Jews, they held, crucified Jesus only once, but the Christians were doing it daily.[274] And, at times, the Jewish argument was purely dogmatic and exclusive like the Christian. If the Christians could claim that their religion was the only true and saving one, the Jews could well afford to do the same. "No one, except we Jews, can have a pure heart," was an often heard, complacent but effective

argument.[275]

Besides arguments and other indirect ways to prevent conversion, the Jews found courage and opportunity for more direct defense. We already mentioned the method of removing a "dubious" person from the city.[276] If such a person happened to be an unmarried woman, marriage to a good and reliable Jew would mostly remedy the situation;[277] and if there was not enough maney on the girl's side, the community would even go as far as to collect a special dowry.[278] "Jew-Sermons," i.e., sermons by Christians to which Jews had to listen, were especially feared. When they were introduced in Cassel, the Jews, through obstinacy or through bribes, achieved the revocation of the decree.[279] Stories of Jewish bribes were current among the Christians, and we have to be careful about the veracity of such accounts. Thus, it is related that a candidate for baptism needed a testimonial of good conduct and that the Jews bribed the judge to withhold such a document; and that the judge was finally forced by the government to give the asked-for testimonial.[28o] It is not unlikely that, from what we know of the general position and conduct of the converts, the refusal of the testimonial rested on good grounds, and that the popular opinion accused the judge of having taken bribes. Of similar doubtfulness is the third-hand account of a Catechumen who was said to have been caught by the Jews, carried away and locked up;[281] or of the one whose life was endangered by the Jews because he had attended Christian services.[282] Jews were not ready to kill -- such "proof" of faith existed more in the minds of the Gentiles (who had practised it for centuries) than in actual Jewish life. "Ambushing proselytes"[283] belongs in the same category. But it is not improbable that the

following account is based on facts: A child was taken by Christians in order to be baptized. A Jew came and asked it back under the pretense that he was the child's father. The swindle came out later.[284]

Another effective means of keeping Jews away from all possible "conversional" mischief was to forbid everybody, including rabbis, to hold disputations of any sort.[285] In certain places they tried to rid themselves of unwelcome visitors with the help of the police, charging a proselyte with theft,[286] and missionaries with creating trouble and unrest among the Jewish population.[287] In some places Jews were forbidden to read any sort of missionary literature;[288] in other places Jewish authorities were so afraid of everything the missionaries handed out that they put a square ban on all their material -- even the Hebrew Bible and its translation could not be accepted by the Jews -- because the average man was judged unable to detect from the outset what the contents of such books would turn out to be.[289] And though such bans did not exist in all parts of Germany; and though the reception of missionaries and missionary literature was different according to place and time; it can be oberved that, wherever the Jews took active measures against the invaders, the measures were strong, determined, and sometimes drastic. We hear of a Jew who was called down for talking to the missionaries; his alms were withdrawn and the elders spew at him.[290] While books were accepted and widely asked for in many parts of the country, in others they were publicly torn,[291] and the missionaries threatened to be run out of the city.[292] Even an Epistle to the Romans which had been translated into Judaeo-German, was thrown into the fire.[293] In other places the reaction was one of passive resistance: "Hiesigen Orts kan man nicht viel machen; sondern

die Juden geben die Buechlein wieder zurueck, oder sie sagen, sie haben es bereits gelesen, brechen auch so gliech den Discurs ab, und fliehen alsdenn einen."[294] Or, of a woman: Des erstern Eheweib.. nam dem Mann das Buchaus der Hand und gab es mir zurueck mit den Worten: gehet nur, gehet mit euren Buechern; wir verlangen sie nicht, wir haben Buecher genug."[295] In Wetterau, a recipient of the missionary books was beaten on the street by his enraged fellow Jews: another sign how sure Jews were at least of their own domain.[296]

Even the missionaries themselves, though accorded politeness or even hospitable reception in many places, encountered stubborn and active resistance in others. Jewish children mocked them on the street crying after them, "Uns bekehren, uns bekehren!"[297] Jews would answer them in unmistakable language and say to their faces that they and their books should be thrown into the fire.[298] Missionaries were told to leave the Jews alone; trouble was frequently immanent;[299] and more than once they were threatened to be run out of the city.[300] Children were imitating them, once even in the City Hall;[301] they met with laughter and curses;[302] in other towns they were almost manhandled when the Jews became excited.[303] Threats of all sorts were quite common:[304] in one instance they were threatened with a knife.[305] Oftne they narrowly escaped a beating by the enraged Jews,[306] they were attacked with a dagger,[307] stones were thrown at them,[307a] and they were thrown out ofthe house which they visited.[308] And when some Jew assumed the role of the missionaries and rose in the synagogue, declaring that the Messiah had already come, he was almost lynched.[309]

Thus, we see that the Jews knew how to fight the missionary

invasions. But, as we have tried to point out, itwas this effort combined with the peculiar position of the proselyte which prevented a large scale conversion. Of course, the old Jewish religious zeal was added to this combination of political and economic conditions. But when economic conditions changed; when the French revolution changed political conditions; the fervor of religion alone was not able to stem the tide of conversion as well as in the beginning and the middle of the century.

J E W I S H C U L T U R E

The cultural standard of the people reflects its political and economic position. Though the general Jewish trend was toward an increase of knowledge, there was no doubt that the hard-pressed and harassed German Jew who had to work strenuously in order to make his living had little time for reading and studying.[310] The outstanding feature, perhaps, of Jewish culture is the fact that the average Jew regretted that he was not learned, and that he readily admitted it.[311] Yet, most Jews could read, in contradistinction to their German contemporaries. Seldom we hear of a Jew who was unable to read; we hear of a cattle dealer,[312] and of a Jew whose wife, however, could read.[313] The Jews felt that they were superior to the avergae Gentile peasant; they told them all sorts of stories which would enhance the peasants' belief in the mental superiority of the Jews. They believed, e.g., that the Jews could detect thieves and ban them at will.[314] This reflects well the position of the Jews in the culture of their time: while they did not reach the heights of the best minds in Germany, they kept well above the lower strata of the German people. They even had a definite cultural center to which they looked with admiration and even reverence. This center was a little outside of Germany, but still close enough to influence thought and mind of the German Jew. Amsterdam was mentioned everywhere as the cultural center of European Jewry.[315] To it, Jews were looking for cultural as well as religious guidance.

Languages.

The Jew lived not only in Jewish, but also in Gentile surroundings.

This, of course, influenced his cultural background. His mother tongue enabled him to understand High-German without great difficulty (while <u>speaking</u> it was an entirely different matter, and <u>reading</u> it a matter of rarety). Most German Jews spoke German with a heavy accent which singled them out as Jews.[316] German or Latin script was known only to few,[317] and Jews who owned some sort of German literature were even more exceptional.[318] Farsighted Jews recognized the draw-back of this situation, even before Mendelssohn's times. The prayer book was translated into German, and the author -- who also, like Mendelssohn later on, wrote books for his descendants -- held that all German Jews should be <u>forced</u> to learn German.[319]

Not that the prayer book, besides the German translation, was understandable to the average Jew! He knew very little Hebrew and did not understand half or any of his prayers.[320] Only a minority was really familiar with the Hebrew language, and these few would prefer Hebrew literature to Judaeo-German and wished that the missionary literature were written in that language.[321] Hebrew as a living tongue was even less known among the Jews; and thus a Palestinian Jew who visited Pommern speaking pure Hebrew only, had to have an interpreter among the Jews.[322] Of course, he was probably speaking Sephardic which enhanced his difficulties. Azulai had the same experience in smaller places of the South and the South-West where the <u>Parnassim</u> had considerable difficulty to read his Palestinian credentials: האשכנזים לא בקיאי בכתב אשורי ספרדי.[323] The women, of course, knew even less Hebrew, which shows that indeed the greater part of

Jewish literary effort was wasted as far as the masses of the Jews were concerned. Hebrew was for them a holy, but a foreign language.

Yet, there were cultured Jews who not only knew Hebrew and German, but also were acquainted with other languages. Among these, Latin, no doubt, still took first place. We meet quite a few Jews who knew, read, or even spoke Latin;[324] among them an innkeeper.[325] A Jewish doctor, of course, would also be acquainted with Latin;[326] and if Latin literature was owned by Jews it was, very likely, in the first place the Latin Bible.[327] Rich Jews began to take an interest in their children's worldly education and began to engage teachers for that purpose. Thus the missionaries were asked to teach Latin to a rich man's son;[328] and the three daughters Spanier, a rich Jew in Bielefeld, spoke Hebrew, French and Italian.[329] We meet Jews who wanted to learn Greek;[330] who knew Greek, French, and Italian.[331] Knowledge of modern languages would usually be the result of traveling; thus, some Jews would know English or French.[332] Especially in Prussia, the knowledge or partial knowledge of French was not surprising, since it had such prominence among the leading circles of the nation. French words crept into the German dictionary, and even a Jew would use adieu as a parting greeting.[333] Jews traveled not only to the East but also to the West; a trip to America, however, was very rare and a noteworthy exception.[334]

Education

Jewish education, in a limited sence, depended upon the traditional system of Jewish schooling which endeavored to impart to the children the fundamentals of Jewish knowledge.[335] Yet, Jewish

education was not regulated on terms as strict as those in Poland. "Here (in Germany), conditions are not as good as in Poland," a teacher said. "There, you find more children learning, and one stimulates the other to more diligence. But in this country, Jews have no desire for learning; their whole heart is after trading!"[336] Even if we discount the probability that the speaker was a Polish Jew, his basic observation was certainly correct and was, moreover, borne out by the facts; for by that time the center of Talmudic activity had passed completely to the East. Occasionally, Jewish children were sent and admitted to Gentile schools, sometimes after repeated refusal.[337] The main purpose for inscribing Jewish children in the general schools was the desire to have them learn good German.[338] With the advancing century, the need for more Jewish schools grew (cf. the new school in Berlin[339]), and existing schools increased in size, adopting co-educational methods.[340]

Jewish parents recognized the deficiencies of the educational system and tried to overcome it by engaging private teachers for their children. But to secure a good rebbi was expensive and the privelege of relatively few; although some families engaged a teacher at a great sacrifice.[341]

The urge for education often went beyond the narrow limits of the Jewish schools. Even in the earlier part of the century there were quite a number of Jewish doctors who had graduated from the acknowledged universities. We hear of a doctor of medicine from Goettingen in 1739,[342] of Doctor David who graduated from Giessen in 1764;[343] of another who had gone to Strassburg and Heidelberg,[344] and of various others.[345] An eighteen year old Jew came even to Callenberg in Halle asking his help to study medicine.[346]

The foremost profession among the Jews, of course, was still that of a teacher. Certificates were not needed to establish oneself as a rebbi; scanty knowledge of the Chumash and of the Jewish ritual was usually sufficient to fulfill the requirements. Cantors and butchers were next in line; the two occupations being usually merged into one profession. Rabbis, however, always needed thorough education and graduation from a recognized rabbinical school. Rabbinical students used to travel from one Jewish college to another, especially to Prague and Frankfort a/M.; but with increasingly difficult admission into these cities, Jewish colleges opened in many important places.[347] One western or southwestern German (Christian) university engaged a rabbi who taught Judaeo-German and Rabbinics to the students. He was known as the Judenprofessor.[348]

With no Jewish gazettes in existence, books were the only source of information for the average Jew. No wonder then that he craved for books. The missionaries would sometimes be pursued even by children who asked them for books;[349] "books"--no matter what they contained--had a magic hold on the mind of the Jew.[350] Reading these little incidents one realizes more and more that the Jews were not onlythe proverbial Am ha-Sefer, but also an Am ha-Seferim: in the best sense, striving for knowledge wherever they could obtain it. Hebrew books in vogue were קב הישר, שמחת הנפש, ספר המוסר, Joseph Bezalel's מנורת המאור, אורחות חיים, and Ibn Daud's ספר הקבלה.[351] Among the German literature translated into Judaeo- German, Eulenspiegel and Clausnarren found many readers.[352] Occasionally a Jew would even venture into non-Jewish writings of scientific importance, like Wolf's

mathematics;[353] but on the whole, the reading of extraneous, untranslated literature was frowned upon by narrow Jewish authorities and public opinion. Jacob Emden even was asked whether it was permissible for a Jew to read news bulletins and journals![354] This was understandable with regard to heretical literature;[355] but with regard to general science and belles lettres it proved a great set-back in the cultural development of the German Jew; a set-back that Mendelssohn began to combat for the first time. In larger cities, Jews would occasionally go to theaters, though seeing a comedy was not regarded as good Jewish behavior,[356] especially on a Sabbath or on a Jewish holiday, while going to an opera was considered a severe offense.[357] And only very rarely we hear of art being a part of Jewish life. Once we learn that a rabbi's daughter owned a piano on which she played and sang Jewish songs.[358]

With these conditions prevailing, it is not astonishing that we should meet with peculiar views of Jewish history and its place in general history. The Jewish learned had, of course, a fair knowledge of historical events and their sequence, but the "man in the street" connected imagination with fragments of knowledge, prejudices and misunderstandings. The following "arguments" against the binding power of the Christian religion should be viewed in this light: Jesus lived at the time of Queen Helena, which was before Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. Since these prophets did not believe in Jesus, Jews of later ages were not bound to believe in him.[359] Another figure who was not fixed in time, but who occupied eternal space in the minds of the Jews was Rashi. He had such authority that he was believed to have lived as far back as at the time of the Second Temple;[360] in fact, one Jew believed that the

Talmud was written in France, obviously because of the towering importance of the French commentators.[361] The Talmud was taken literally, even in its aggadic parts; and the simpler minds were open to all sorts of stories which would enhance their belief in the po wer of Judaism and its final redemption. Thus a report that a cardinal and 2000 Spaniards had turned Jewish and had gone to Holland diregarded a possible Marrano background and was taken at face value.[362] Similarly, certain superstitions and also geographical prejudices had a hold on the Jewish mind, especially when they were supported by the authority of Jewish tradition. The existence of the Sambation was an undisputed fact among the Jews who connected it with the belief in the continued existence of the Jewish kingdom.[363] The following quotation may serve as an example: "Ich habe Sand aus dem Flusse Sambathion gesehen; es bewegte sich im Glase sechs Tage lang, aber am Schabbas war es stille. Ein hagerer Mann, der ohne Zeifel aus dem Orient war, hatte dasselbe, und wollte es mir fuer 50 Rheinische Gulden ueberlassen...Es war dazu kein Jude, sondern ein anderer Mann; und so sind viele Leute unter uns und Euch, welche den Fluss Sambathion selbst mit Augen gesehen haben."[364] That conditions, concerning the Sambation, "might have changed" since olden times, was as far as an orthodox could or would commit himself.[365] In general, Jews, like their German contemporaries, would not hesitate to believe in wondrous events, even in their times.[366] The culture of the German Jew was still at the threshold of expansion.

THE PRACTICE OF RELIGION

Not the teaching but the practice of religion is the test of Judaism and the test of the potencies of the religious truths imbodied in and presented by it. It is not so much what the religious system teaches, but rather how the people who profess it live by it. And viewed from this angle, Jewry fares well before the eyes of history. For despite many adverse conditions in the eighteenth century; despite many petty and annoying features in the religious life of the community; there is a basic honesty, simplicity and cleanliness which pervades the Jews throughout. And while in the following pages the presentation of details-- which usually escape the search of the historian who paints life in its broadest outlines-- will seemingly detract from the "Jewish line", one ought to keep this in mind: life is indeed made up of detailed existence; yet behind it there can be a general urge, a general idea which shapes the whole and gives it its final feature. That is the case with Jewish religious life in the 18th century.

There is no doubt that the general political and intellectual unrest of the time was also felt in the Jewish quarters. Here, it transformed itself into the old escape mechanism: the hope of the approaching Messianic time. There was nothing mystic about this hope; for many it seemed real and very near. Calculations ranged to as low as ten and even two years.[367] This was the result of constant political disappointment; of prolonged oppression and of the permanency of social instability. Yet the loyalty to the people and to Judaism itself was unswerving. Simple and ready to make every sacrifice for their religion were the Jews in the completeness of their faith. And though tribulations were only

too obvious, they were accepted as a part of God's trusted scheme.[368] Discussions with missionaries were seldom held with a view to possible conversion; curiosity, politeness and sometimes "safe play" were the main reasons.

Loyalty, however,did not necessarily coincide with religious behavior and religious practice. To the eyes of the 20th century Jew those times often take on an appearance which is all but true. Then, as today, bread and not religion occupied the front part of Jewish life as of life in general. This feature should not be forgotten. Then,as today, the complaint was heard that Judaism was on the decline; that it was vanishing from the hearts of the people: "Es ist nicht gut bestellt bei uns. Der Reiche siehet wie er Geld bekomme, gedencket an kein recht Gebet; das Geld ist sein Messias. Und der Arme muss sorgen, wo er Brodt bekomme, und kann vor Sorgen nicht beten."[369] From the eyes of the lower classes it appeared as if only the rich could be really pious, i.e., fulfill all the commandments, because they had more time.[370]

In more than one way religion was, at times, a money matter. The failure to comply with certain Jewish laws was--as in general--followed by a fine. No wonder that compliance with such laws sometimes assumed all but a religious significance: a psychologically understandable development. In this light we have to value the remark of a Jew who lived in a place which had no rabbi: "Even if we wanted to eat pork, no rabbi could ask a fine of us."[371]

With regard to sexual morality, we have already pointed out that among the Jews, the family had paramount importance. Its sanctity was undoubted; and it served as an example even to non-Jews. But though this was generally true, there were enough cases of exceptions. "Hurerei", to use the expression of those days

was not unknown among the Jews.[372] Especially among the Dutch Jews morals were said to be not too high.[373] Repeatedly we hear of children born out of wedlock.[374] Most of these cases could be straightened out when marriage of the offender ensued; pre-marital intercourse of the daughter sometimes forcing the parents to give her to a man they would have refused.[375] In Glogau, in one case, the father of the girl committed suicide because of the shame.[376] In another case the man tried to refuse to marry the girl because his being a Cohen would raise certain objections.[377] In one larger town a Jewish innkeeper was said to keep prostitutes in his house.[378] Even illicit relations with Gentile women are recorded,[379] in one case even with nuns.[380] (Rostock, 1760). And finally, we hear a Polish Jew complain that adultery was by no means unknown among the German Jews.[381] Yet, on the whole, these cases were exceptions; but they show that Jewish life had its manifold aspects, just like the Gentile life of the times. Moral transgressions were, perhaps, or rather probably, less frequent among the Jews: but they occurred, nevertheless.

Bible and Talmud

The mainstay of the Jewish religious and moral life was, of course, the Bible. The Jews believed its prescripts literally, i.e., they took the basis of their life as being of heavenly will and destination. But "Bible" was not current literature with the average Jew. It came to him as Talmud and Shulchan Arukh, as folklore and superstition; and only occasionally as the Book itself in its origional form. Characteristic in this respect is the astonishment of a woman who, being shown the translation of a certain passage in Genesis, is sure of a mistake in the trans-

lation; for "her" Bible, i.e., either the Z'enah u'R'enah or her oral tradition, had a slightly different aggadic version.[382] Bible reading was uncommon; "we hardly use the Bible in four weeks;"[383] was probably a statement of average truth. Besides all other factors which were detrimental to the study of the Bible, Bibles were very expensive, and only a minority of the Jews owned any.--a fact that is usually overlooked.[384] A Jew deemed himself fortunate indeed if he could buy a Bible for one Reichstaller.[385] They would buy a Bible whenerver and from whomever they could.[386] Arguments with the missionaries were sometimes interrupted because the Jew sent to the rabbi in order to borrow a Bible.[387] No wonder, then that the Bible, especially in its prophetic parts, was almost unknown to the average Jew; even the teachers knew hardly more than the five books of Moses.[388] In one town, the use of missionary literature was actually encouraged by the Jews, because these books referred continuously to the Bible; and their study would necessitate the opening of the Tenakh, which otherwise was completely neglected.[389]

Bibles were particularly expensive because invariably they were printed with commentaries, and at least with Rashi. It would even occur that a Jew would refuse to read the Bible without its necessary correlate, the commentary.[390] For the Jews put implicit trust not only in the words of their rabbis,[391] but also in the commentaries, and particularly Rashi.[392] Very seldom a Jew would give his own interpretation of a passage; before relying on his own reason he would consult the authorities of the past. Among them, Redak was next in line of popularity, and then Abarbanel.

Then, of course, the pre-eminent position of the Talmud contributed much to the neglect of the Bible. The more learned, the

more Talmud and the less Bible, was the rule which not only applied to the Polish but also to the German Jew.[393] The following quotation characterizes the situation: "Die pohlnische Rabbinen sind nichts nuetze, wenn sie kommen so nehmen sie die thora und stellen sich an, als wenn sie die ganze thora verstehen. Wenn sie aber lehren, so lehren sie die gemore, aber kein einziges kind lehren sie ohren. Die kinder gehen in die schule und verstehen das erste gebot nicht."[394] In fact, the Talmud seemed less difficul t than certain portions of the Bible. We have the frank admission of a Jew who said that he knew more than loo blatt Talmud by heart: but that the Prophets were a sealed book to him, because of their difficulty.[395] And although the Talmud loomed, in the mind of many a Jew, as a dark, unknown, and none too pleasant code of law,[396] it figured, because of its direct applicability to life, as the more important book in the minds of others. When the missionary asked a boy: "Mein sohn, lernest du auch fleissig in der Thaure?" the boy answered, "Ja." "Welches ist aber besser, der Talmud oder die Thaure?" Der knabe: "Die gemore ist besser."[397]

The Rabbinate.

Learning itself was a privilege of a few laymen and mostly of the rabbis. Frankfurt, Metz, Prague, Nickolsburg, and also Mannheim were counted among the best colleges.[398] Study and ritual and certain civic decision would be the main task of the rabbi who was sometimes helped by a so-called Bimkom, a vice-rabbi.[399] Sermons were delivered only in intervals, and then mostly on Saturday afternoon or evening. If it was, as usual, a halakhic interpretation, the rabbi at times would not speak extemporaneously but would read his worked-out sermon.[400] Preaching in the modern sense was left to the traveling Maggid who would admonish the

people mostly to pray at the appointed times and to come to the synagogue more regularly.[401]

Although the rabbinate was held in high esteem by the Jews they were not idle in expressing their dislikes in certain features seemed to call for it. However, when mentioning these incidents, one has to call attention to the remarks made in the Introduction, to the effect that the missionaries were not always exact in their use of the title "rabbi." Repeatedly Jews criticized certain rabbis for their love of honor and money,[402] and this criticism had probably, as at all times, a basis of truth. Less believable is, however, the account of the general corruption of the rabbinate which comes from a Catechumen, and is for that reason bound to have been biased or at least harsh.[403] On the other hand, it seems to be true that a certain rabbi was disliked by his congregants, because he tried to get another position, but failed. He had to take the present minor position and the people were acutely aware of his dislike of them.[404] From Frankfurt we even hear the somewhat doubtful report that the Rav was personally attacked in an argument and had his ears boxed by a fellow Jew.[405]

The outstanding rabbis of the time, Jonathan Eibeschuetz, commonly called Jonas in the missionary writings, is by far the most prominent. This is not the place to deal with him, with his quarrel with Emden (with whom the missionary had an interview[406]) or with the Eibeschuetz Controversy in general. The Callenberg records are full of references[407] and even Azulai considered the question as to whether Eibeschuetz' name in the Gentile gazette should be considered a Hillul ha-Shem.[408] In any case, he had a proverbial prominence of scholarship among the Jews. "Go to Rabbi

Jonathan and talk to him," was the usual answer that a missionary would receive from a Jew who was at the end of his argument.[409] It seemed that the somewhat liberal views which Eibeschuetz himself held were in part handed down to his pupils, for whenever the missionaries met with one of his pupils they found that he would be more apt to listen and to argue than were many others.[410] But what standing did the outstanding Rabbi have among the Gentiles? He certainly did not measure up, in general culture at least, to the leading spirits of the time. The visiting missionary who had expected much from his great reputation was disappointed. He found Eibeschuetz mediocre as a person of culture, but knew, of course, nothing of the Rabbi's Jewish background.[411] This statement is indeed interesting inasmuch as it gives us an inside into the comparative standing of the two cultures. In their top-ranking personalities the Jews could not show anyone like Leibniz or Voltaire; it was not until Mendelssohn appeared on the scene that this became different. But the average Jew, compared to the average Christian, was at least his equal; as a compact group the Jews approached, in cultural standing, the mean of the scale, without showing either extreme.

The Synagogue.

The most conspicuous manifestation of religious practice was, of course, the synagogue. To the outsider, it presented itself in various forms, ranging from splendid buildings down to shabby huts. While the Christian said of the congregation of Altona: "Die grosse Anzahl der Juden und den hiesigen praechtigen Tempel muss man bewundern,"[412] the smaller places had equally small buildings;

and the villages with few Jewish families often had no synagogue at all. We mentioned already the inn as the substitute for the Beth ha-Kenesseth; sometimes the room reserved for services would even be smaller if it could assure privacy. Thus, in one place, we find the shul in a tiny room under the roof.[413] But for these small places the usual locus would be the house of one of the Jews, generally that of the Parnas.[414] This statement would also be true in the reverse sense, namely that he would have the shul in his house would usually be the Parnas. Because that was true, people would be anxious to have service held in their own home if they had the room. The present Parnas, of course, would look with disfavor upon any attempt to establish a rival shul in any other house. As a result quarrels often ensued, and the peace of the small congregation would be seriously disturbed.[415]

Not even the sanctity of the synaggue would, at times, prevent Jews from settling their difficulties and differences with the fist. Among themselves, at least, they showed a goodly spirit of roughness and fighting when their pent-up emotions could not be restrained any longer. In Stargard, it was necessary to post a royal order in the synagogue which fixed a heavy punishment on those who participated in such "synagogue brawls."[416] In Frankfurt a/M., guards stood before the synagogue on Yom Kippur to preserve outside and to guard the synagogue from intruders,[417] and similar conditions existed in Heidelberg.[418] Gentile guards were quite often seen outside the synagogue, especially on a High Holiday; the main reason was, of course, to guard the Jews against possible assaults from the Gentile population.[419] The Jews, in return for this and for protection in general, would include a prayer for the

government in their ritual; in Preussen, in one synagogue, we find a prayer for the King written on the wall of the shul.[420] Similarly, in Prague, services were held for the birth of the Hungarian Prince,[421] and the Halberstadt Jews celebrated the victory of Freyberg in shul.[422]

Religious services, inside and outside of the synagogue, were of course identical with the present orthodox services and practices. We hear of a typical consecration of a shul in Voelkersleyer,[423] and of the less typical event that a rabbi who preached for no less than two hours moved his congregation to tears.[424] A visiting Mekhiach was not so fortunate; for his "listeners" began to laugh and to talk. And though the Parnas repeatedly asked them to be quiet it was of no avail.[425] Such incidents occured quite frequently; and when the government was informed they humiliated the Jews by setting a goy over them to supervise their services.[426] In general, complaints were heard about the lack of discipline during services, and they sometimes compared to the strict, though cold, order of the Christian services.[427] //??

Religious Practices.

Outside of the synagogue, religious practices and celebrations likewise were the same as in the century before and as later on, as can be seen from a description of the wedding ceremony,[423] and of a Brith Milah.[424] Yet, in certain places orthodoxy was already losing its hold over the people. The most conspicuous proof is the vanishing significance of the Herem. Probably an outgrowth of the Eibeschuetz Controversy (which put practically every German rabbi under the ban) the people began to realize that the days of

the ban were over. If rabbis were not affected , why should the people be? Consequently, though a Herem was placed on missionary books in many places; and though many people would, for that reason, refrain from accepting those books; mostly people would silently or openly disregard the Herem.[425] In Berlin, signs of a rift between the new heterodox and the old orthodox group began to show.[426] It was the approach of a new era in German-Jewish life.

At this place it may be of interest to note that, contrary to orthodox tradition, suicides did occur among the Jews. Two cases are recorded: one of a Jew who committed it because of mounting debts,[427] and another, a woman, because her child had died and her husband had become a convert.[428]

Jewish beliefs, similar to those in the preceding century, had their definite emphasis on the approach of Redemption. This was often overlooked, and it was assumed that, after the passing of Sabbatai Zevi the Jews returned to the drab ways of reality and abandoned their dreams. It was further assumed that Eibeschuetz, if at all, was one of the few followers of Sabbatai. Thoug. this may be true in the restricted sense that few German Jews were still actuals followers of the False Messiah, nevertheless the ideas which he had stirred up were still alive in the soul of the average Jew.More than ever the Jew expected a speedy redemption -- not in any abstract or theological sense, but in reality, and "in his time."[429] "When does the Messiah arrive?" was the most urgent question a Jew could ask; and the answer, as we mentioned above,[430] would at times be: "In two years!" Others were not quite so certain that the time was near; while others again held that the Messiah had already come -- perhaps! --

but if, it certainly had not been Jesus.[431] Other beliefs, like that in transmigration,[432] equally served to uphold the troubled soul of the Jew, who tried to conciliate the promise of his tradition with the harsh realities of life.

Prayer helped him to bear his burden, and synagogual as well as private devotion were practised in some form or other by almost all Jews. When the time for prayer came, the Jew abandoned his work and fulfilled his religious duty; whether it was in a friend's home or in a Christian store where he happened to be at the appointed time.[433] Prayers, when understood, were literally believed in; the Kaddish especially served the definite purpose of rescuing the soul of the departed from Gehinnom.[434] But, as we pointed out, prayers were not always understood, and repeated attempts at translations were made. Once a Siddur was written in German but with Hebrew characters, and the author took Luther's translation of the Bible as his basis, and used Luther's prayers, too.[435] Prayer books, by the way, were subject to censure; we possess the official Gutachten which was passed when the Halle Jews submitted their prayer book.[436] Otherwise, as today, Jews varied in their actual observanceas well as in their sincerity. They were begimming a process of assimilation. With some it started with the learning of the German language; with others it was the discarding of the skull-cap as the permanent headcover;[437] and with all it was a feeling of religious unrest, mingled with disappointment and renewed hope which prepared the ground for the ensuing Jewish enlightenment.

Sabbath and Holidays.

The Jewish week centered around Shabbos which held its place among German Jews until industrialization made a five day week increasingly burdensome.

Friday afternoon was given to Shabbos preparation; the men shaved and all impliments were cleaned for the Sabbath.[438] If the exact time of the arrival of the Sabbath was not known, somebody would announce the Sabbath[439] or a bell would ring to indicate the hour.[440] Travelers would stay outside the city with their carriages and hold Shabbos there.[441] The day itself was indeed distinguished, not only through its religious activities, but also because of its cultural aspects. Shabbos was the day for reading. People who accepted missionary literature usually remarked that they would read it on Shabbos.[442] The parasha, or Torah in general was the usual literature, even for women,[443] for those who cared to read. Other literature, like the Lebh Tobh, was read.[444] The visiting missionary who usually pitied Jewish life in all its aspects was deeply impressed with this feature. He wished that every Christian home would have such a Sabbath atmosphere.[445] Sabbath was a day for having guests; good food was on the table and a general spirit of rest permeated the day.[446] Different kinds of recreation were indulged in; the men or the whole family went for a walk in the afternoon;[447] or they would play cards;[448] some even would go to see a comedy,[449] although that was generally frowned upon. Those who stayed home would usually have guests in the afternoon and serve cake; and a great portion of the Jews would use the day of rest for sleeping; for,in addition to the general pleasant-

ness of this indulgence, there was another good reason for sleeping: "Die Sabbathkugel macht den Leib schwer," remarked a Jewess.[450]

In some cases, however, business necessity or ritual laxity resulted in breaking the strict observance of the Sabbath. In one city the Jews were forbidden to have Shabbosgoyim which made observance more difficult.[451] A baker who owned an inn worked on the Sabbath because he had to serve strangers.[452] Another one who carried a burden excused himself because of his dire need.[453] Others were accused of breaking the Shabbos laws and of trading when they left their city.[454] A Jew and a Christian woman came to blows on a street because she wanted him to pay her money, and it happened to be Shabbos.[455] Others who wanted to gout would carry money in a neckerchief and the Christian would take the money out of it.[456] Such practices, of course, came dangerously close to hypocrisy; and it was the height of religious pretentiousness when two Jews talked of business on Shabbos and, when reprimanded for that, held that they were talking about p a s t not f o r t h c o m i n g business![457] On the whole, however, the Sabbath still had its traditional and respected place as the pivotal in the Jewish religious life. It could still rightly be called a day of rest, partly from the spiritual, partly from the physical side.

Of noteworthy holiday practices the following should be mentioned. In Frankfurt a/M., on Yom Kippur not only the men but also the women were dressed in white garments.[458] The spectacle which a Yom Kippur crowd offered in that city was attractive even to Gentiles who would come to watch the Jews.[459] Sukkoth, at times, offered an opportunity for Jewish artists: a Sukkah

in Kreuznach being painted with pictures drawn from the Bible, and with pictures of angels and devils.[460] Also Chanukkah and its preparation required some homework: some Jews manufactured their own wax lights, candles which burnt for two hours.[461] Purim, of course was the joyous holiday. Drinking was allowed and practised, though usually not overdone; the doors were left open for the poor and alms were handed out freely.[462] The children amused themselves with Schnarren,[463] and made up for the quiet days of hard work.

Judaism and Christianity.

In general, Jewish practices and beliefs were still uniform. People were still wary of dissenting beliefs; the wave of Sabbatarianism was not quite forgotten. Min was a term which came quickly to the lips of a Jew and served to brand the espousor of unwelcome ideas. No doubt, the Gentile environment influenced the Jew also in this respect. The distinction between Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists was still sharp and belligerent. And with the Christians calling dissenting groups heretics, there is little wonder that the Jews, in their own little sphere, did the same. The missionaries were often called Minim. To many, even the Cabbalists were a sort of sect who studied a very holy book which not everybody should read.[464] For the Cabbalists were said to cherish certain notions about the Messiah and about the Trinity which were not shared by the massof the Jewish people.[465] Occasionally, we meet individuals also who set themselves aside, through special customs or observances like extensive fasting or sleeping on the floor.[466]

Though differences among the Christians reflected in Jewish life, most Jews were at a loss to really distinguish between the diverging factions. It happened very often that Jews, even when they lived among the Christians of North and Middle Germany (Protestants) ~~they~~ identified Christianity with Catholicism the practices of which the believed idolatrous.[467] Few Jews only were versed in the New Testament and were able to discuss its doctrines.[468] The great majority of the people knew next to nothing abouth the teachings of Christianity. Many Jews believed that eating pork belonged to the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion;[469] and a Melammed asked whether the Protestant religion taught the Talmud and whether its text books were similar to the Jewish books.[47o] The small sect of the Salzburgers was, however, surprisingly well known among the Jews; probably because the story of their courage and exile incited the imagination of the Jews.[471] For the Catholics, as we mentioned, were hated among the Jews; and any revolt against those who believed in"miracle bones" (which then turned out to be "miracle boners"[472]) was followed with sympathy. Jewish apologetics usually lacked depth but were to the point and simple enough for anybody to understand: "Es sey unnoethig (a Jew said), dass man die juden zur besserung ermahne; und unmoeglich ihnen einen besseren begrif von GOtt beizubringen, als sie bereits haben. Die juden seyn froemmer als die christen. Auf den concilien sey es ungoettlich zugegangen. Kommen die christen aus der kirchen; so fangen einer an zu fluchen, der andre zu spielen, der dritte zu saufen u.s.w....Unter den christen seyn weit mehrere suenden abzuthun, als unter den juden. Ich werde bekennen muessen, dass der jude GOtt zu dienen verlange. Ich solle

ihm doch sagen, warum ich sie belehren wolle?"[473]

The person and the name of the founder of the Christian religion was anathema to most Jews. A person that used a colloquial expression which carried the name of Jesus, would create a substantial disturbance.[474] Even if a Gentile would mention the name of Jesus in the presence of a Jew the latter was apt to react violently and spew out.[475] On the other hand, some Jews, in accordance with the traditions of great Jewish philosophers, recognized Jesus as a great prophet; but they maintained firmly that "he was not God."[476] One Jew was even liberal enough to leave Christian passion pictures on the wall of his newly purchase house.[477] Visiting a Christian church was no longer something extraordinary."It is not forbidden to enter a church," said a Jewess from Brandenburg.[478] And not only was it no longer outrageous for a Jew to go into a church (with exceptions, of course), but also Christians did not regard it as a momentous and meaningful act on the part of the Jew. Only occasionally would the sight of a Jew in the church enrage the populace,[479] so that the Jewish visitor would suffer in some way.[480] Jews not infrequently went into a church as they would go into a museum, with women and children; sometimes on a Shabbos afternoon,[481] or at various times and with no particular purpose.[482] Some would go to look at the pictures in the church,[483] some would come to listen to the organ music.[484] In one instance it is recorded that the Jews listened to the sermon in the church and sat there with covered heads.[485] Otherwise, they would stand at the church door and listen to the preacher without actually entering the church.

Thus we see that"religious relations" between Jews and non-Jews

varied. Even local disputation, not unfriendly in nature, occurred from time to time.[486] And though in many places Jews were, by their own authorities, to discuss matters of faith with non-Jews, they knew how to circumvent those prohibitions. In one case, by excusing themselves for the transgression of such a prohibition, they added that in truth it was not a matter of faith which they were discussing with the Gentile, but a question of the Talmud![487] As a typical disputation the following may be quoted:

"Ich (the missionary): Ob er lebenslang, bis an sein Ende, ein solcher Jude, als er jetzt sey, bleiben wolle?

Der Jude antwortete: Ja, warum nicht?

Ich: So gehet Ihr gewiss verlohren...

Der Jude: Wir Juden thun was uns gebothen ist; aber die Christen halten keinen Sabbath, sie haben keine Beschneidung, sie tragen aus Wolle und Leinwand zusammengewebte Kleider, sie essen Schweinefleisch und kehren sich garnicht an Gottes Gebot; diese muessen Busse thun.

Diese gab mir Gelegenheit, ihn weiter zu belehren. Er schied aber mit den Worten von mir:

Ihr redet von einem Messias, der gekommen sey; und wir glauben an GOtt und glauben, dass Messias noch kommen soll; bleibt ihr bey eurem Glauben, ich will bey meinem bleiben."[488]

In some places, however, disputation was forbidden not by the Jews but by the government, for fear that the Jews might make proselytes among the Christians.[489] For such proselytization occurred indeed, though infrequently, no doubt. Evenpriests and monks are recorded to have become Jewish.[490] A Jew in Reichenau even boasted that, if oppression would only cease and if matters

of faith could be talked of freely, all Bohemians would become Jewish.[491]

Such were the religious conditions which prevailed among the Jews of the eighteenth century. They are an outgrowth not only of the traditional Jewish loyalty and spirituality but, like other manifestations of life, a result of environmental, political and social conditions. Their presentation concludes this picture of German Jewry in a time of unrest, of changing ideas, on the eve of the industrial revolution, of enlightenment and of ensuing Jewish assimilation.

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N O T E S

11 JA 16 means 11 JA (according to the list of abbreviations on pp. V ff.) p. 16. Azulai is quoted according to pages, and the Yabets according the numbers of the Questions (if no special note is made, the first volume of the collection is referred to).

1. Ed. Aron Freimann, Jerusalem, 1934.
2. ספר נשמה, Lemberg, 1884; 2 vol.
3. 19 volumes of various titles, at the HUC Library. See below, pp.V ff., for a detailed list and for abbreviations.
4. CB 2
5. From CB on these names are spelled out.
6. p.IV.
7. 1o R 7
8. 15 R 1o9
9. 5 JA 89,98; 7 JA 121.
1o. 9 JA 133
11. A frequent mistake; cf. 12 JA 68.
12. 4 JA 127
13. 8 R 15
14. 4 JA 51
15. e.g., 4 R 2o6
16. cf. 9 F 144
17. CB 365
18. 11 F II 19.
19. Ber 2o
2o. 4 F 93
21. 1o F 2o9
22. 9 F 197
23. 7 F 19 f.
24. 4 F 31.
25. 11 JA+ 154
26. 13 R 1o1
27. 9 F 239; 1o F 258.
28. 1o F 13
29. 9 F 228
3o. 1o F 27
31. R 7o
32. CB 347
33. 17 R 21
34. 18 R 74; 2 R 27
35. ibid.
36. 13 F 148
37. CB 347
38. 29 R 49
39. 11 JA+ 153
4o. 15 JA+ 146
41. 12 F 51; 8 R 17
42. 8 R 16.
43. 3 FB 1o2
44. 12 F 5o
45. 11 R 37
46. FB 93
47. 9 F 246
48. 9 F 29o
49. 9 F 284
5o. 12 F 47
51. 9 F 365
52. 4 R 126
53. 2 FB 3
54. 3 FB 76
55. see below under Housing Conditions, p.1o.
56. see below under CULTURE, p.5o.
57. 9 F 311; details below, p.49
58. 2 R 78
59. 11 F II 84
6o. 7 F 199
61. N 45
62. That the Jews thought nothing of breaking the Christian Sunday laws is understable; but even Gentiles came to the Jewish quarters to trade on Sunday: 9 R 32 f.
63. 6 F 29 f.
64. 12 F 18
65. 8 F 336
66. 5 F 89
67. R 24
68. 16 F 228
69. 5 F 82
7o. 15 R 69 & 78
71. 11 F II 32
72. cf. 1o F 117
73. 4 R 17
74. 16 R 37
75. Azulai 15
76. 17 R 41 f.
77. 13 JA+ 177
78. 15 R 68
79. 14 R 115
8o. cf. 6 R 42
81. 5 R 162
82. 1o R 6 ff.

83. 3 F II 116
84. 9 F 217
85. 7 R 13
86. 8 F 115
87. ibid.
88. 15 R 73
89. 8 F 33o
9o. 6 F 17
91. cf. 2 R 22
92. lo R 86
93. 9 F 217
94. cf. 14 R 112. Note that they called "first floor" what is called "second floor" in America.
95. 6 F 42
96. 6 F 49
97. 15 JA 144
98. Azulai 13
99. 7 F 119; 21 R 62; 23 R 21.
loo. 9 F 178
lol. 6 F 125
lo2. See below pp. 53 ff.
lo3. passim; cf., e.g.,R 4o
lo4. cf. Leon Huehner, "The Jews in Georgia in Colonial Times;" Pub.of the Ame.Jewish Histo.Soc. X 65 ff.
lo5. R 79
lo6. 2 R 59 f.
lo7. 15 R 93
lo8. 6 R 61 f.; details: 7 R 2
lo9. 15 R 93
llo. 14 R 123 f.
lll. cf. 16 F 4; further detaibs below, p.37.
112. 11 F 33
113. 11 F II 14
114. F 3o f.
115. cf. 14 F 112
116. cf. 13 F 5o
117. lo F 25
118. 9 F 2oo
119. 3 FB 5
12o. 8 R 68
121. passim; cf. 7 R 38
122. cf. Yabets, 14
123. 6 F 85
124. cf. lo F 86; 11 F II 36
125. 6 F 171 f.
126. 8 F 118
127. 4 R 114
128. 17, cf. also 41
129. cf. e.g., 15 F 135; 16 R lo7
13o. 11 F II 19
131. cf. Yabets, 72; 9 F 178
132. Yabets 156
133. 6 F 173
134. Azulai 25
135. 67
136. 8 F 338
137. 5 R lo8
138. cf. 9 F 287
139. cf. 8 F 333
14o. 9 F 114; 14 R 36
141. 7 R lo2
142. 15 JA+187
143. 28 R 26
144. 19 R 38; Statuten,l.c.,## 183 ff.
145. 9 F 345
146. CB 57 (Rhine district)
147. Yabets, 53,56
148. 27 R 61
149. 7 R 138
15o. 7 F 97
151. 9 F 133
152. lo F 15o
153. 4 R lo
154. 8 F 331
155. cf. Azulai pp. 13 ff.
156. ibid., 13/14.
157. ibid., 16 ff.
158. ibid., 19
159. passim; cf. 11 R 36; 16 R 9o; 28 R 34.
16o. cf. 11 F II 7; 13 F 164 f.; 18 R 18; 6 JA 7o; 11 JA+192
161. 9 F 2o5 f.
162. ibid., 223
163. cf. 13 R 28
164. ibid.
165. 7 R 127 f.
166. 11 F II 178
167. 5 R 89; cf. also 14 F 114 & 155 (women reading the parasha on Shabbos afternoon).
168. 8 F 197
169. 4 F 32
17o. cf. 8 F 117 f.
171. lo F 143
172. 4 F 84; 5 F 86,13o; 6 F 16, 25, 32; 9 F 26, 256; 14 F 117
173. 26 R 18
174. lo F 24
175. 12 F 89; R 121; 4 R 64
176. cf. CB 18
177.

178. 28 R 17 (vicinity of Halberstadt).
179. 13 R 25
180. 4 F 62
181. 7 R 114
182. 8 R 68
183. Ber 8
184. cf. CB 274
185. 10 R 90
186. 10 F 155
187. 9 F 209
188. 9 F 200; 14 F 157; 6 F 128 f.
189. 8 F 148
190. 5 F 99; 6 F 171; 9 F 113.
191. 6 F 49
192. 7 F 92
193. 10 F 20
194. 9 F 221
195. 2 JA 37
195a But see below, p.59
196. 11 F II 115
197. 10 JA 23 ff.
198. 13 F 100
199. CB 276
200. 14 R 88
201. 11 F II 32
202. 16 R 35 f.
203. 15 JA 96
204. 9 JA 111 ff.
205. 9 F 228
206. 4 R 47
207. R 87
208. 11 F 26
209. 9 F 318
210. 13 F 106
211. 21 R 40
212. 11 F II 36.
213. cf. 15 F 89
214. 25 R 70
215. 7 R 38
216. cf. 11 JA 18 ff.
217. 15 F 100
218. cf. 13 JA 15 ff.; 14 JA 15 ff.
219. cf. 5 F 112
220. cf. 11 F II passim
221. cf. 6 F 5
222. 4 R 134
223. cf. 6 F 139; 7 F 139
224. cf. 9 F passim
225. 11 F II 178
226. e.g. 4 F 53
227. ibid., 6
228. 3 F II 108
229. Ber 60
230. 3 F II 32 to 34
231. 6 F 121; for another example of friendly receptions see N 44 ff.
232. 8 R 106
233. 9 F 187
234. ibid.
235. 10 F 160 ff.
236. 13 F 79 ff.
237. 17 R 38
238. 6 FB 34 f.
239. cf. R 351; 8 R 81
240. 7 F 144
241. 4 F 84
242. R 90
243. 4 R 139
244. 3 F 91
245. 2 R 35
246. R 35
247. 2 R 71
248. 3 F II 36; cf. also 10 F 220 ff.
249. Ber 89; 22 R 12
250. 11 F 21
251. 9 F 167
252. 9 F 135
253. 2 R 85
254. 4 F 118; 8 F 62
255. 15 F 26
256. 9 F 32
257. Ber 64
258. ibid.
259. F 75
260. Ber 16, 22,32,84; F 74
261. cf. 3 F 6 f.; 3 F II 24
262. 2 R 53
263. N 13
264. 9 JA 96
265. 3 F 2 f.
266. cf. 8 B 9. It must be observed, however, that those records which originate from proselytes are not always trustworthy, since they would deliberately paint the Jews as mean and evil; cf. Ber 138
267. ibid.
268. 4 F 13
269. 10 F 170
270. 8 B 8
271. cf. 8 F 298

272. R 35
273. 7 F 1o
274. 26 R passim; e.g.,3
275. passim; e.g. CB 384
276. see above, p.4o; cf. also 4 F 3o
277. passim, e.g., 9 F 147
278. 17 R 2o
279. 7 R 119
28o. 3 F 12
281. 9 F 144
282. 8 F 177
283. cf. 8 F 81
284. 9 F 187
285. 3 F II 95
286. 6 F 113 ff.
287. 16 F 3o
288. cf. Ber 6o; 6 F 5
289. 13 R 117; 7 F 118
29o. 4 R 211
291. 4 R 176, 191
292. 13 F 143; cf. also N 61
293. 14 R 118
294. 9 F 142; cf. N 62
295. 9 F 389 f., other examples for friendly and unfriendly reception: N 44 ff.; 14 F 3; N 53
296. 8 R 29
297. 7 R 113
298. 7 F 127
299. 4 F 1o3
3oo. cf. Ber 23
3o1. 16 F 149
3o2. 16 F 143
3o3. 15 F 87; R 112 f.
3o4. cf. 11 R 62; 4 R 198
3o5. 7 R 1oo
3o6. 5 R 47, 65 to 67
3o7. 13 JA+234
3o7a 11 R 71
3o8. 2 R 76
3o9. 3 F II 54
31o. cf. 2 R 51
311. passim
312. 11 F 64
313. 13 R 15
314. 7 R 142
315. passim, e.g. 12 F 5
316. Ber 8, 21 and passim
317. 6 F Appendix
318. e.g., 17 R 29; 26 R 31; CB 22; 28 R 28; CB 262; 6 JA 157
319. 9 F 235
32o. 7 F 1o9, 5o, 1oo, 19o and passim
321. passim, e.g., 4 R 87
322. 23 R 44
323. Azulai 16
324. 9 F 3o9 f.; 4 JA 81; 14 F 111
325. 6 F 17o
326. 19 R 43
327. 6 F 161
328. 14 R 48
329. 6 JA 93
33o. CB 47
331. 9 F 311
332. 15 F 15o; 24 R 16
333. 12 JA+137
334. 3 JA 1o6
335. The observation, 1o R 24, does not seem to be unprejudiced.
336. 1o F 211
337. 1o F 65; 25 R 9
338. cf. 2 JA 2o7 (Gelnhausen 1765)
339. 12 JA 149
34o. cf. 12 F 5
341. 8 R 11o
342. 19 R 46
343. 2 JA 37
344. CB 359
345. 15 R 1o5; 19 R 43; 16 R . 5 FB 28
346. 7 F 54
347. 8 R 59
348. 15 R 28
349. 9 F 128
35o. passim, cf. 5 F 73; 6 F 32; 5 F 98
351. 16 R 13o; 21 R 23
352. cf. e.g., 3 F 22
353. 21 R 6
354. Yabets 162
355. cf. 6 F 9o, 116, 169
356. 7 R 135
357 cf. Statuten,l.c., # 34
358. 9 F 287
359. 4 R 1oo
36o. 29 R 26
361. 9 F 362
362. 13 F 77
363. cf. 15 F 9o; 4 R 2o; 12 JA+ 1oo
364. 5 R 126
365. 7 R 13o

366. cf. Yabets 49
367. 8 R 25
368. passim, e.g. 8 F 3o4
369. 7 F 19o
37o. 4 R 16o
371. 12 F 9o
372. cf.1o F 7o; 21 R 35
373. details: 11 R 81 f.
374. 13 F 28; Yabets II 44
375. 12 F 1o4; 13 F 64
376. 11 F II 189
377. 13 F 64
378. 5 F 126
379. 13 F 173; 12 F 42
38o. 12 JA+89
381. 11 F II 189
382. 19 R 88 f.
383. CB 6o
384. cf. N 66; 5 R 153
385. 7F 66
386. 4 F 21,25; 9 FB 183
387. 2 R 72
388. cf. 27 R 1o3 f.
389. 3 F II 88
39o. 4 F 96 f.
391. passim, cf. 7 F 88
392. 4 R 165
393. cf. N 6o; 14 F 116 f.
394. 14 F 114
395. 1o F 254
396. cf. e.g., 14 F 162
397. 15 F 122
398. 13 R 59
399. 12 F 53; 6 FB 18
4oo. 27 R 39
4o1. passim,e.g.,16 R 12o
4o2. 15 R 84; 16 R 21, 29; 21 R 32
4o3. 3 R 66
4o4. cf. 8 F 191, 194
4o5. 7 R 9
4o6. 11 JA+144
4o7. cf. 12 JA+7o; 15 R 48; 16 R 118 f.; 6 FB 97 ff.; 8 FB 23 ff.; 9 FB 1; CB 322; 1o JA+141; 4 R 1o1; 118; 6 R 38; 12 R 17; 29 R 49
4o8. Azulai 24
4o9. cf. e.g., 12 JA+123
41o. cf. e.g., CB 322; 6 JA 125
411. 12 JA+66 ff.
412. 3 JA 2o7
413. 1o R 33
414. passim, e.g. 16 R 25
415. e.g. 15 R 78; cf. also 81 where it seems that reforms were introduced in the service.
416. 13 R 97
417. 3 JA 117
418. 4 JA 139
419. 15 F 59
42o. 22 R 52
421. 16 R 81
422. 13 JA+217
423. 1o JA+69 f.
424. 16 R 37
425. 15 F 55
426. 8 F 66 f.
427. 3 R 118
423a 15 R 69
424a 1o JA+147. Deep mourning on the occasion of Jahrzeit (29 R 155) has become less frequent in recent times.
425a cf.5 R 166 f.; 19 R 33 f.; 22 R 18
426a 12 JA 99
427a 5 F 126
428. 17 R 28
429. 4 F 23
43o. see above p. 53
431. 13 JA+224
432. R 129
433. JA 1o8
434. 16 F 161
435. 7 F 31 ff.
436. 28 R 66 ff.
437. 5 F 99
438. 8 F 211, 327
439. 7 F 78
44o. 15 F 138
441. 7 F 8o
442. 8 F 3oo; 1o F 28
443. 8 F 212; 14 F 114, 155
444. 15 R 55
445. 7 R 139
446. 1o R 86
447. 7 F 78; 23 R 4o
448. 8 R 123
449. 7 R 135
45o. 19 R 71
451. 12 F 1o4
452. 8 R 17
453. 8 F 29
454. cf. 7 F 194
455. 7 F 124

456. 8 F 169
457. 2o R 22
458. 7 JA 89, 45
459. 7 JA 86
46o. 7 JA 95
461. 11 JA+124
462. 9 F 175
463. 25 R 7
464. 3 F II 43
465. Ber 12 ff.
466. 12 JA+76
467. N 35
468. cf. 4 F 65 ff.
469. passim, e.g. 15 R 66
47o. 8 F 164
471. cf. 1o F 64,73,113;
11 F 3o
472. 7 R 143 f.
473. 14 F 72 f.
474. cf. 12 F 54
475. 6 F 118
476. cf. 9 F 223
477. 19 R 81
478. 1o R 68
479. cf. 12 F 1o1
48o. cf. 7 F 113 f.
481. 7 R 127
482. 11 F 84; R 1o6 ff., 146;
4 R 2oo
483. 4 R 178
484. ibid., 2o1 to 2o3
485. 4 R 216
486. 12 F 24, 113
487. 12 F 49
488. 11 R 83 f.
489. cf. 7 R 72
49o. 3 F 113; 14 F 73; 11 R
63, 69
491. 11 F II 36