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A THESIS
ON
THE LIFE OF THE JEWS IN GERMANY IN THE 12th CENTURY
ON THE BASIS OF CONTEMPORANEOUS HEBREW SOURCES.

SUBMITTED BY
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
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REFEREE

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rec. 11/79

מי יתן ראשי מים וצ"נ מקור נוצל
 ואב כה כל ימותי ואילב
 את חללי שבי וצוללי וישישי קהלי
 ואגם צנו: אבני איל ואיללי
 ובכו בכיה רב וחרה
 על בית ישראל וצל צמח כי נפילוי בחרה

Piyyut of the 12th century

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I propose to present a picture of the life and experiences of the Jews in Germany in the twelfth century. Although the twelfth century marks one of the most tragic episodes in an already tragic history, nevertheless we have few reliable sources from which to draw material which we can use in reconstructing the history of the period. In the main such secondary sources as Graetz, Gudemann, and Dubnow derive their information from

ספר חסידים and to a lesser extent from *ספר חסידים*. Another most valuable source of information is the Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge edited by Neubauer and Stern.

According to Epstein, *ספר חסידים* was not written by one author but is instead the product of multiple authorship.¹ Probably the three most prominent authors of this work were *רבי חסיד*, *רבי חסיד*, and *רבי חסיד*. Epstein further maintains that *רבי חסיד* wrote the first portion of *ספר חסידים* which is entitled *ספר חסידים*. As a matter of fact, the name *חסיד* actually appears at the head of the page. This first section includes the first thirteen chapters of the book. The second section includes chapters fourteen through twenty six. At the beginning of chapter fourteen we find the words *ספר חסידים ב* indicating that it is the beginning of a new tract. chapters

Paragraph 1/10

fourteen and fifteen deal with a great variety of subjects while the remainder of the chapters in the second section confine themselves to a discussion of repentance וְהַתְּשׁוּבָה.

At the head of chapter twenty seven we find the words ספר חסידים indicating that this is the third section of the book.

Incidentally, we never come across the title ספר חסידים in the remainder of the book. This final section of ספר חסידים deals with a number of different subjects so that it seems that the compiler has united the remainder of the book into one tract.² concerning the dating of this important

book, Dubnow says: כך דעת ד"ר דובנא - חסידות החסידים
3 - דעת ד"ר דובנא חסידות החסידים

It would be well now to consider briefly the lives of two of the men who were responsible for the ספר חסידים, Rabbi Kalonymos, the father of Samuel Hechasid, lived in Mainz until the year 1096. At the time of the decrees, (against Jews) he left the city of his birth and took up residence in Speyer, where his son Samuel was born. Rabbi Samuel Hechasid had two sons. One was Rabbi Abraham who was the head of the ספר חסידים in Speyer, and the other was Judah Chasid who left Speyer in the year 1195 for Regensburg and died there in 1217. He also had a daughter whose name was חַסְדָּה and who married the famous preacher of Wirtzburg.⁴ Samuel did not allow himself to be influenced by the "pseudism" of his day.

Wirtzburg

TV, 1. 33/4, 1971

these accounts are repetitious and overlap, however, this serves as a means of checking one account against another and thus determining the reliability of a statement. We also find similar accounts in *אידן'ס פארשען* by Bernfeld. This book closely resembles *הפנימי* in its manner of narrating the tragedies which befall the Jews. It also contains a great many piyyuttim which were composed during the 12th and 13th centuries and which express the feelings of the people of that time.

In dealing with my subject, I shall divide my work into four sections (1) The Family (2) The Synagogue (3) The Community (4) The Crusades. I believe that these four sections taken as whole will present a composite picture of the "The Life of the Jews in Germany in the 12th century".

*completion
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I

GENERAL BACKGROUND

In order that we might properly understand the position of the Jews in Germany in the 12th century, it is necessary for us to first acquaint ourselves with the general history of that country. It has been properly said that the Jewish people serve as a barometer of conditions --- wherever we find the Jews being well treated and enjoying freedom and equality we may expect to find a sound government whose people are happy -- however, wherever we find a persecuted Jewish community we may be sure that the foundation of that government is rotten and that it is beginning to totter. This fact must be borne constantly in mind by the reader for, as it shall later become obvious, the persecution of the Jewish people during the 12th century was not merely an isolated incident but was rather a manifestation of the abnormal unrest which was prevalent throughout Europe at the time.

At the beginning of the 12th century we find that there is a terrific struggle between Henry IV and the Papacy. To no one did this situation give so much cause for dissatisfaction as the heir to the throne --- the young Henry V. The longer his father lived, the weaker he felt would be the authority to which he would succeed. He knew that he might expect the reconciliation with the Pope that

was denied to his father, and that the Germans would willingly accept the leadership of one who was at the same time lawful king and in communion with the Pope. On December 12 Henry V escaped by night to Ratisbon and placed himself at the head of the discontented nobles.¹ when his father heard of this he begged him to return, but Henry V refused to listen to an excommunicated man and began making overtures to the Pope. In the course of time he won the complete support of Saxony and a large part of Bavaria. He now took the field against his father and marched on Mayence. However, the Rhine towns stood firm in their loyalty to Henry IV and so after taking Würzburg, he was forced to retire to Ratisbon. His father followed hard on his tracks and retook Würzburg. Then followed a bit of treachery on the part of Henry V. Promising to assist his reconciliation with the Pope, he persuaded his father to meet him and accompany him to Mayence. He then induced his father to dismiss his retinue, and on arriving at Beugen, represented the danger of going to Mayence and enticed him into the castle of Bockelheim where he kept him a close prisoner. At ~~May~~ a diet was held at Mayence. The emperor was brought before the diet and crushed in spirit by his sufferings in prison, he surrendered the royal insignia, promising a humble confession of his misdeeds and even resignation of his throne. In 1106 the Emperor escaped from captivity and

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was strongly supported in Lorraine and the Rhine towns. The following spring Henry V was severely defeated outside of Liege by a coalition of Duke Henry of Lower Lorraine, Count Godfrey of Hainaut, and the people of Liege. However, this campaign proved to be too strenuous for Henry IV and so he took ill at Liege and died on August 7th.²

which
John?

Once his father was dead, it was not long before Henry V threw off his mask and renewed the old struggle of Emperor versus Pope. For the first five years of his reign, the issue with the Pope was the leading question.³ At last in 1110 Henry decided to go to Rome to effect a settlement in person and to obtain the imperial crown. In August, he entered Italy at the head of an imposing army and wrung from the Pope the concession of investiture and received from him the imperial crown. In the year 1106 Henry V appointed Adalbert as his chancellor and with the death of the archbishop Ruthard in 1109 Adalbert was invested as his successor by the king. At once a change in Adalbert's interests became manifest. As chancellor, he had been an ardent imperialist -- the right hand man of the king. But as archbishop, his interests diverged and the cause of the princes became his. He took a strong church line and professed an ultra papalist standpoint. In November 1112 the breach took place which definitely ranged Adalbert on the side of the king's enemies. The final cause of this breach

Whyne

seems to have been a quarrel over two castles in the palatinate, which Adalbert refused to abandon. As a result he was taken prisoner and exposed to severe privations. This treatment of the archbishop was the signal for widespread revolt throughout Germany. On November 1st 1115 Henry, seeking to establish peace in his country, summoned a diet to meet at Mayence but he waited in vain as his enemies refused to appear. Realizing Henry's weakness, the people of Mayence assailed him and forced him to release Adalbert.

At Speyers in December, Adalbert was reconciled with the emperor taking an oath of fealty and giving his nephews as hostages. However, immediately following this he went to Cologne where a synod was held at which the ban of the church was pronounced against the emperor.

In spite of the dangerous situation in Germany, Henry embarked on an expedition to Italy in Lent 1116 and was absent for two years. On September 29, 1121 a diet met and an armistice was arranged which besides reestablishing order in Germany, created the necessary conditions precedent to a settlement of the issue between Pope and Emperor. Henry was to recognize the Pope and meanwhile king, churches and individuals were to be in undisturbed possession of their rights and land. Prisoners and hostages were to be

mutually restored. The princes then bound themselves to use their mediation between Emperor and Pope to settle this conflict.

On the 23rd of September 1122, the concordat of Worms took place. This was a treaty for peace between the two great powers, the spiritual and the temporal heads of western Christendom. It gave recognition to the position the Pope had acquired in the course of the struggle.⁴

On his death bed, Henry made his nephew, Duke Frederick of Swabia, his heir and named him as his successor. The Archbishop of Mayence who was Henry's bitterest enemy used every means in his power to defeat the candidature of Henry's heir. And so by his skilful manipulation his candidate Lothar was elected as king. The opening years of Lothar's reign were marked by widespread unrest. Duke Frederick (Hohenstaufen) and Lothar almost immediately clashed over the question of the Salian inheritance. A diet found Frederick guilty of high treason and on January 1126 he was placed under the ban of the Empire. When Lothar undertook an expedition against Frederick, the Hohenstaufens met with such success that they now proposed to wrest the crown itself from Lothar.⁵ However, these attempts were unsuccessful since Lothar had the support

of the church hierarchy. with regard to elections, Lothar bent to the wishes of the church party and refrained from exercising the right granted him by the concordat of Worms. The reign of Lothar from the point of view of church politics marks the consummation of the victory of the hierarchy. The more enduring results of his work were -- the expansion of Germany eastwards, the revival of German influence, the reestablishment of christian religion and civilization in Wendish regions.

The Diet of Bamberg which took place in March 1135 the long contested fight with the Hohenstaufen was brought to a close and a peace to last for ten years was proclaimed throughout Germany. Towards the end of the summer of 1136 Lothar crossed the Alps to take the field against Roger of Sicily. On his return in the following autumn he fell sick at Trent, and barely had sufficient strength to reach his own country. He died in a peasant's hut in the Tyrolese village of Breitenwang on December 4, 1137.⁶

At Lothar's death it seemed that his logical successor would be Henry the Proud, since he was one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in Germany. However, Henry

2 did not have the confidence of the church and hence at a meeting at Coblentz Conrad of Hohenstaufen was chosen king on the 7th day of March 1138. Ten days later he was crowned at Aix La Chapelle by the papal legate. Before the year

1138 was far advanced, the old feud of welf and Hohenstaufen broke out once more with renewed bitterness. However, in the summer of 1140 it seems as though the tide of battle turned in favor of Conrad and so he defeated Welf at Weinsberg in Swabia. The moment was now ripe for peace negotiations between the Welfs and the Hohenstaufens and hence a diet was summoned at Frankfurt in May 1142 to give them effect.

The struggle of the two great families of Welf and Hohenstaufen was not the only source of trouble which disturbed the peace of Germany. To add to the misery of war and devastation from which the country suffered, a famine of unheard of severity broke out and spread through the whole of Germany. Every chronicler fills his narrative of the year 1146 with lamentations over the afflictions and misfortunes which heavily oppressed their unhappy land. Prices rose to unprecedented heights; in one place 34 shillings had to be paid for a measure of wheat; many sustained life merely on a diet of roots and herbs and many succumbed to a death of starvation.⁷

However, all of the trouble at home was forgotten when news of the great disaster in the East reached Europe. In 1144 Edessa fell and now Jerusalem itself was threatened. Pope Eugenius III entrusted to Bernard of Clairvaux the preach-

ing of a crusade. One of Bernard's emissaries damaged the cause by raising the cry against the Jews instead of against the turkish infidel. Persecution of the unhappy Israelites was the first sign of crusading ardour among the German people. St. Bernard himself had to hasten into the country to counteract the misplaced zeal of his fellow workers.⁸

Bernard spent much time attempting to persuade Conrad to undertake the crusade and finally at the Christmas festival he was won over by the eloquence of the great preacher in the cathedral of Speyers. On March 19, 1147 a diet was held at Frankfurt to make special arrangements for the expedition and for the government in the king's absence. Two years later, after the disastrous failure of his crusade, Conrad was again in Germany. His intention was now to make his long wished for campaign to Italy with the twofold purpose of receiving the Imperial crown and of subduing his enemy Roger of Sicily. However, all sorts of inner dissention at home prevented him from realizing his dream. Conrad soon afterwards fell ill at Bamberg and died on February 15, 1152.

Frederick Barbarossa succeeded to the throne of a kingdom in a state of complete disintegration; a great

family feud divided the land into factions in open hostility; internal discord and widespread unrest prevailed everywhere. The country was exhausted by civil war and by the plundering and burning which accompanied it; the people by famine and want which was its natural consequence. Within four years of his coronation, Frederick, by his masterful rule, had transformed Germany. Feuds were healed, enemies reconciled, Landfrieden were proclaimed in all the duchies, and offenders were dealt with by stern punishments. Order was restored and the rule of law was established. Frederick made frequent excursions into Italy. In the intervals between his Italian campaigns, Frederick paid hurried visits to Germany to set in order what had gone amiss during his absence. While he was in the kingdom, the peace was well kept, but when he was safely beyond the Alps, the old feuds broke out once more.

Frederick *o/*

During this time, Henry the Lion was building up a strong, well ordered state in the north-east of Germany. For the first time in history this country became permanently subjected to German rule. The country was so peaceful that in 1172 Henry left Germany and set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Upon his return to Germany we find that he meets the Emperor frequently and they both apparently are on cordial terms of friendship. However, in spite of outwards appearances there were nevertheless grounds for friction.

(1) Welf sold his inheritance to Frederick thus depriving Henry of a large portion of his family's estates. (2) Frederick had attempted, it was said to get into his hands the disposal of Henry's inheritance in the event of the latter's death in the Holy Land. (3) Henry had been drawn into relations with foreign powers who were not in sympathy with Frederick's Italian policy.⁹ On January 13, 1179 Henry was summoned to Worms to answer to charges that he "had sorely oppressed the liberty of the church and of the princes of the Empire by siezing their possessions and by threatening their rights. However, Henry failed to appear and deliberately defied the orders of the Emperor. Finally on April 13, 1180 at the diet of Gelnhausen, the duchy of Saxony was partitioned and Henry was banished under oath not to return without Frederick's leave.

On the 4th Sunday in Lent, Frederick pledged himself to recover the Holy City by taking the cross from the Cardinal Bishop of Albano. His son Henry, already crowned king and Emperor elect, was to take charge of affairs in the west during his absence. Frederick was anxious to remove all obstacles from the path of the young ruler and hence at a diet at Goslar in August 1188 things were manipulated so that Henry was forced to endure banishment for an additional three years. At the head of an army of 20,000 knights.

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his army consisted
of 10,000 knights

Frederick left Ratisbon early in May 1189. At the banks of the river Salef, the great Kaiser met his end. There are many versions of the story. Frederick perhaps, chafing at the slow progress of his army over the narrow bridge, rode impetuously into the stream and was borne under by the swift waters, or wearied by the tedious march across the mountains, he may have wished to refresh himself in the cool stream and found the current too strong for his aged limbs. Certain it is that his body was drawn lifeless from the river.¹⁰

On April 15th Henry was crowned king as successor to Frederick. However, Henry lacked many of the qualities of his father and so on Christmas 1191 we find the north-east of Germany in a state of the wildest confusion. Nobles formed themselves into bands to rob and plunder their neighbors -- families were divided amongst themselves. Henry's high handed methods had alienated not a few of his earlier supporters; the Landgrave of Thuringia and even the Duke of Saxony appear to have sympathized with the opposition which was rapidly forming against the Emperor. The period which followed was one of wild confusion -- it seemed that with one hand Henry attempted to ward off the attacks of his enemies at home and with the other he sought to gain an advantageous position over the church authorities. Toward

the end of June 1195, Henry seeking to win the favor of the church busied himself in actively promoting a crusade. In February of the following year, a plot was formed to put Henry to death and to raise up a new King in his stead. Warned in time by an informer, Henry fled to Messina where he was among friends and with their help he suppressed the rising with savage and revolting cruelty.¹¹ The conspiracy suppressed, the Emperor once more turned his attention to the Crusade. Early in September the main body of the German crusaders under the Chancellor Conrad, Archbishop of Mayence, embarked for the east; Henry himself was to follow shortly, when he fell ill while hunting on a cold night in the swampy woodlands of Linari. He was removed to Messina where he died on September 28.

Thus concludes a century of German history which was marked by strife and confusion. Much Jewish blood was cruelly and barbarically spilt during this period of history -- under the guise of religious zeal the crusaders murdered innocent Jews, plundered their homes and shops, and burnt their sacred books. Such were the conditions in the 12th century in Germany which left their indelible mark on the life of the Jewish community there. In the following chapters we shall study in detail the effects of these events upon the lives of the Jews in Germany.

CHAPTER II

PART I

The Life of the Jew

The Family

Throughout the history of the Jewish history both the home and the family occupied a paramount position. here the Jew sought ~~escape~~^{relief} from the cares and persecutions which the hostile outer world imposed upon him and here in the midst of his fortress of strength he assumed the role of master. We find this to be especially true in the case of the German Jewish community in the 12th century. Living in constant danger, fearful lest he and his family might prove to be the unhappy victims of the insanely zealous crusaders -- barred from most gainful occupations, the Jew found rest and peace in his home. All the enjoyment and pleasures which the christian citizen sought for himself on the outside when he was finished with his work; all of these the Jew was able to find only in the midst of his own house and family. For this reason the importance of the home grew in the eyes of the Jew and so did the importance of the woman who conducted the affairs of the house.¹ In order that the Jewish woman might be able to fill these requirements properly, her parents were quite concerned about her education from her childhood on; (accustoming) her to conditioning to the performance of good deeds and fortifying her in her faith so that she should succeed in

being a good wife to her husband and become a worthy mother in Israel.² The virtues of morality and chastity were very carefully guarded among Jewish women. Even as children, boys and girls were not permitted to play with each other.³

The chastity of a woman was held in such high regard that in many cases the stringency of certain Jewish laws were set aside in order to permit a woman to retain her purity. In *פ'ת'ח ת'ר'ו*⁴ we find the following account. "There is a story about a beautiful woman who was travelling with her husband and she made a beard from the hair of her friend and wore it as a disguise so that those who might see her would think that she is a man. By so doing she was saved (from any harm). *פ'ת'ח ת'ר'ו* also contains other laws which provide for the protection of women. If a woman is on a journey and she hears that gentiles are planning to attack her, she is permitted to don the attire of a ^{non} priest's wife in order that they might not harm her.⁵ The law even goes so far as to say that even though it isn't proper for a man (stranger) to be together with a woman, if he is on a journey and there is in his company a woman and violent men, be they Jews or Gentiles, he should be with her in order that they shouldn't touch her.⁶ Even with regard to fulfilling a *צ'ו'ו'*, such as attending religious services, the authors of *פ'ת'ח ת'ר'ו* are most cautious that in the process of going to the synagogue the women will not be

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attacked. They write, "It is neither proper for a young woman to go to the synagogue while it is yet dark not to tarry there until it becomes dark. It is better that she shouldn't go (to the synagogue) until it is light unless she is accompanied by her husband or her brother -- but she shouldn't go unaccompanied."⁷

Only the Jewish women were distinguished from their non-Jewish neighbors (in their observance of the Jewish religion.) However, in matters of dress and secular or national customs they were just as their non-Jewish neighbors.

אבל בגופה חז' אח' ארומ' ד'ל' ו'ב'מ' בק' ב'ק' ו'ר'י'ב' א'פ' פ'ר'ג

8.... ב'ר'מ' א'ל' ב'מ'כ' י'ל'ו

Whereas to the Christian woman, strength and valor were of prime importance in the one she loved, to the Jewish woman ^{הבין ו'הב'ל' א'ל'מ'ד' ו'ל'א'ר' א'מ'ר' ו'ל'מ'ר' ו'ק"מ' א'ל' כ'ל' ד'מ'ר' ה'א'מ'ר'} were most important.⁹ She respected the Torah and scholarship so highly that she was willing to work hard the remainder of her life in order to support her family if she could only marry a ^{ה'א'מ'ר' ח'כ'ם}.¹⁰ The Jewish woman was very

careful with regard to the observance of the laws and customs of Judaism. So much so, as a matter of fact, that the scholars accepted her word when they made a certain law more stringent. Concerning them, Rabbenu Yitzchak Bar Shmuel of France said. ^{א'פ' א'י'ן נ'ב'א'ר' ב'נ'ר' נ'ב'א'י'ם ה'ן ו'ג'ז'ל'}

11 ה'ד'ר' ו'ל' א'מ'ר' ד'ל' א'מ'ר'ן

But see sec §261,
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There is a story concerning a woman whose husband would neither contribute to charity nor would he purchase books. As a result she refused to bathe until he changed his ways. When the husband appealed to the *פון* he said "Therefore, she is blessed for she forces you to perform a *מצוה*." ¹² Another woman received a sum of money from her husband with which she was to purchase a garment. However, instead of making the purchase, she said to her husband "Give me permission to buy a book or to hear a scribe who will copy a book for me so that I might lend it to scholars." ¹³

hire
The principle of *פ'קדו* ³⁸¹ has been an important one in Jewish family life and therefore, it is interesting to note the attitude of *פ'קדו* with regard to the responsibilities of the son toward his parents. "It is not proper for the father and mother to forbid their son to marry in order that he might work for them. The son should marry but should continue to live with them. However, if he does not find a wife in the place where his parents reside, he should not leave the city. If his earnings are sufficient only to support his parents, and if it is apparent that if he marries he will be unable to support them, ^{or} he should harken unto his parents. If his parents are of an argumentative nature and he knows that they are unjustified in their quarrels with his wife, he should not become angry with her merely to give satisfaction to his parents." ¹⁴ On the other

hand, the son must not do anything which might sadden his parents or even make them uncomfortable. A man who has a bad wife should not live with his parents lest they suffer anguish -- and if he hires a servant, he should not hire one who would rebell against his parents or ridicule them.¹⁵

The general principle seems to be that a married woman is obligated first to her husband and then to her parents. If a woman is busy caring for her husbands needs, her father should not ask her to help him first. However, *סדר חסידים* adds, if the husband is a good man, he will tell his wife to help her father first.¹⁶

Both current conditions and superstition influenced the marriage laws and customs. For example, according to the Talmud, a man isn't permitted to give his daughter's hand in marriage while she is yet "young" (*קטנה*). However, Rabbi Eliezer of Tuques justified this practice by saying *ומדכשלו חלמיש נחמיה אקדש בנהיה אבא קטנה, ה"ע מוסק שבא יום יום דאליה מאבד דאין ואח"כ י"ס פק ביד אדם דכשלו אהר אבא צדונא שחא אחר צאן א"א יביב י"ס פק בידו נאשג במו מאנה לדא"מ*

In spite of this sanction *סדר חסידים* opposes the practice of child marriage by maintaining that "He who marries a young girl (*קטנה*) delays the advent of the messiah."¹⁸

The problems raised by the Third Crusade resulted in

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the convocation of a Synod under the presidency of Rabbi David b. Kalonymos. This synod met in 1196, probably at one of the large Rhine communities, Worms, or Speyer, or Mayence, but nothing certain is known about the place of meeting.¹⁹⁴ The first matter dealt with by the Council was that of the widows whose husbands had died and who, having no children, were at the mercy of their brothers in law if they wished to receive permission to marry again. The Bible gives such persons the two alternatives of Yibbum -- where the brother of the deceased marries the widow -- or chalitzah, if he refuses to take her. In such a case the widow comes to him in the presence of the elders and loosens his shoe from off his foot and spits in his face and says, "So shall be done unto the man who doth not build up his brother's house." Even during Talmudic times the custom of Halizah gradually tended to become more common than Yibbum-- for Yibbum is primarily suited for a polygamic society. And so as Judaism developed it looked more and more askance at Yibbum and with greater favor at the alternative Halizah. According to some of the Rabbis, a court had no power to compell a brother of the deceased to have the Halizah performed, and even those of the Rabbis who felt authorized to use force, preferred not to resort to it. The Yabham, therefore, had the widow at his mercy. He often used his power to extort money from her. This abuse was not frowned

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upon as it might have been, since in Rabbinic law, a wife does not inherit her husband's property, but has only a dower right. There would always be difficulty in determining the exact amount due the widow and so the brother in law, who used his power against his deceased brother's widow, would escape the condemnation which he so richly deserved. Rabbi David of Muenzberg undertook to regulate this abuse. He laid down definite rules governing the amount to be paid to the brother of the deceased. He was to get one half of the property and give the other half to the widow. Or, if he chose, he might take the whole of the property and pay her dowry. He could even retain heirlooms such as land or books. However, he could not retain any of the property that she had inherited or received from her family. These provisions which become known as the "Takkanot Shum with regard to Halizah" soon spread far and wide and were included in the codes. They formed a much needed compromise and served as a solution to a vexing problem. Measured by its success, the Takkanah was certainly a true reform. Henceforth, the power of the Yabham was to some extent broken. Another change, that Rabbi David introduced and which was dictated by the peculiar conditions prevailing in Germany, was that the Takkanah was made to apply to the wife as well as the husband. In Germany child marriages were quite frequent. The parents of both the

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Kotkin

husband and the wife would contribute toward the sustenance of the new couple. It was now ordained that if the husband died within two years after the marriage, the wife would not collect her dower right from the property which had been given them by the husband's family at the time of the marriage. For just as the wife's family had given their gifts in the expectation of a long married life, similarly the husband's family had not expected him to die soon after his marriage. In both cases then, the German Rabbis decided, half of the gifts were to be returned.²⁰

If we bear in mind that during this period of history thousands of people were sacrificing their lives *על מנצח*, we can well understand the law which reads "the wife of anyone who gave his life *על מנצח* must never re-marry because of both the honor of heaven and the honor of her dead husband.²¹ Also, if a man loses his wife, it is improper for him to marry another woman as long as people still talk about the deceased.²² Of course the element of superstition entered into some of the marriage laws and practices. *פירוש דברי* cautions us saying "If two brothers marry two sisters, one of them will die rendering the marriages unsuccessful -- therefore such a wedding shouldn't take place. However, if such a union has already occurred, one of the couples should be divorced.²³

All in all it seems that the success or failure of one's family life depended largely upon the type of woman he married. She had to be a pious Jewess, a faithful wife, and a devoted mother. It is for this very reason that the Rabbis permitted the individual to circumvent the accepted law in order that he might marry a suitable woman. If a man in the throes of death commands his brother to marry his wife and if the brother sees that she is not a suitable woman for him or that she had already been married twice and that she bore a son to neither her husband's, although it is a *דבר* to fulfill the wishes of the dead and even if his parents command him to marry her; *דבר* clearly states, let him observe *דבר* and not *דבר* .24

The Synagogue

By far the most important building in the Jewish community was the synagogue. It literally served the three-fold purpose of *אספה*, *בית מדרש* and *בית מרחץ*. There the people assembled for their daily prayers; there the children met to drink from the wells of the Torah; and at times it was there that the people sought protection from the blood thirsty mobs. The synagogue, just as the home, was a healing balm to the Jew and hence its existence was the concern of the entire Jewish community. It seems that in spite of the stringencies of the times, the Jews maintained their old synagogues and built new ones. In Aronius' *Regesteu* we find many entries similar in character to the following one.-- *vollendung des Neubaues der Synagoge in Mainz im Monat Ellul. Die Einweihung erfolgt am 22 September.*²⁵ To illustrate the importance of the synagogue to the community, *א'ר'ון ר'ס* makes the statement, "if a fire occurs in a city and both the synagogue and the residences are burnt, it is proper to rebuild the synagogue first and then the houses."²⁶ Even the property surrounding the synagogue came to be regarded as *ל'ק'א נאמ'א* and nothing should be done to profane it's sanctity. Especially were the authorities cautious regarding the sale of property immediately adjacent to the synagogue to a gentile lest he

mock them and hurt their sensibilities. The general practice was that if a Jew owned a house next to the synagogue and wanted to sell it he should not sell it to a non-Jew even though he (the non-Jew) was willing to pay more for it than a Jew. And if the property owner happened to be a poor man who was forced to sell his house in order to sustain his children, he was advised to speak to the leaders of the community saying "I have no means of support -- either see to it that a Jew buys my house -- or provide me with a means of earning a livelihood."²⁷

It seems that there existed the problem of maintaining decorum during the services for we read the ruling, "it is forbidden to converse or to act fickle in a synagogue while we are standing in the presence of our king, the Lord of all the world, praised be His name. And woe unto those wicked ones who act frivolous -- who feel not the awe-inspiring presence of God and who do not feel the burden of his fear and reverence. For if the kings of all other nations fall to their knees in their houses of worship in reverence and fear and awe and their hands are extended toward their God, how much more so should we stand before the King of Kings the Holy One praised be He in awe and fear and trembling."²⁸ Although the people were told to stand before their

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God with fear and trepidation, no man had reason to fear his neighbor while standing in the synagogue. For the democratic principles upon which it was built gave the weak an opportunity to expose any injustice perpetrated against him by the strong. The interruption of the prayers by a person having a complaint had much the same effect in a Jewish community of the 12th or 13th century as the exposure of a crime or a wrong in a modern metropolitan newspaper.... In the medieval Jewish community, where there were no newspapers or magazines, the aggrieved person would arise in the synagogue and prevent the continuance of the prayer until his case had been examined. Since practically every male Jew attended daily services, the whole community would thus hear his complaint.²⁹ In this manner prayer would be interrupted until full justice was done to the aggrieved person.

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Two things are essential in praying, first understanding and sincere belief in that which you pray and secondly a wholesome reverence and faith in God. With regard to the first of these *ר' אברהם* says, "It is better for a man that he pray and read the *שמונה עשרה* and the *קריאת שמע* in a language that he understands than that he pray in Hebrew if he doesn't understand the language."³⁰ concerning the second of these essentials in prayer *ר' אברהם* says, Let no

man pray for that which is impossible to realize -- Although God is capable of doing everything it isn't proper to ask Him for extraordinary things. For instance, if a man's wife had a miscarriage during the sixth month and it is obvious that the miscarriage took place, it would be unseemly for him to pray to God to restore the child to life. Or, for example, it isn't proper for a man to pray 'May it be Thy will that my wife should give birth to a living child in five months....³¹

The rules of the Sabbath were very strictly observed and nothing was done to cause this day to lose its holy character. If, for example, a woman is in her ninth month of pregnancy, hot water should be prepared on Friday night so that if she gives birth on the Sabbath, it will be unnecessary to profane the Sabbath (by preparing hot water.)³² People were cautioned not to live in a place which was used on the Sabbath as a market place by the gentiles. For, living in such an environment, it would be impossible for him to desist from violating some rule governing the Sabbath.³³ Above all, the Sabbath was to be regarded as an *holiness* and no sadness should intervene to destroy this joy. There is a story concerning two wine dealers, one a rich man and the other a poor man. The poor man sold inferior wine while the rich man sold *choice*

wine. On *אמר* a certain Jew said "I will buy wine from the poor Jew and will see to it that others do likewise, and through the performance of this *מצוה* I will be blessed." His friend answered, "I will not sacrifice the joy of Sabbath-- It is better that I buy choice wine and fulfill *מצוה* 34

Furthermore, there is an injunction in *פסוק* that a man should neither speak of the departed nor of sick people on the Sabbath. This is to prevent him from being sad on a day which should be devoted to joy. Or if there are in his possession the clothes of the departed, he should not look at them lest he be saddened on the Sabbath.³⁵

As I have previously mentioned, one of the chief functions of the Synagogue was to serve as *בית מדרש* -- and in this respect it served admirably. During an age when ignorance and illiteracy were commonplace, the *בית מדרש* stood out like a beacon light in the field of education. The majority of the people neither knew how to read nor write. There is a story told that the poet Ulrich von Lichtenstein had to hire a scribe to write his love letters for him, for he himself could not write. In general the art of writing was only known to the priests. In this respect the Jew

differeed greatly from his non-Jewish neighbor for every father saw to it that his son was instructed in both the reading and writing of the Hebrew language. To the Jew, the greatest disgrace was to be an *חכם*.³⁶ The utter disdain which the learned Jew had for the *חכם* may be found in the passage "If you see an *חכם* -- tear him apart like a fish....."³⁷ However, it seems that in general the Christian women were better educated than the Jewish women. We find some among the nuns who knew Greek and Latin. There were those who became poets of renown and some of the aristocracy even knew the book of Psalms by heart.³⁸

This is in the passage (les. 476)

Even though the knowledge of the German Jew with regard to the Torah was limited at this time, nevertheless, they were far in advance of their Catholic neighbors. There were even priests who came to the Jews seeking how to read and understand the Torah. Among these was the bishop Ziegbert of Metz.³⁹ The German Jewish community founded its *תלמוד* on the banks of the Rhine and there they grew in size and reputation until they gained pre-eminence over the schools in Italy. Concerning these schools it was said *כי אמרנו תלמוד תורה ודבר ה' חלוק*⁴⁰

Rabbi Yitzchak of vienna who lived in the 13th century wrote

about the fame and influence of the 'ש"ת in the Rhine district, "How many learned scholars and saints are their among our Rabbis who are in Mainz, in Worms and in Speyers - Did not the Torah go out from there unto all of Israel?"⁴¹ Graetz does not share Rabbi Yitzchak's opinion with regard the scholarly character of the German community. He agrees that they are צדיקים and that they concern themselves with מדעים טובים. However, in his account of the life of the German Jews in the 12th century he seems to be almost apologetic for their lack of thorough going scholarliness.

וְכֵן בְּהִיוֹת יְהוּדֵי גֵרְמַנְיָה כִּי הָיָה נֶגְשִׁים וְנִצְנִים מִצָּרָה אֵלֶיךָ, צְדִיקִים
כִּי רָגַע לְהִרְמֵי וְלִבְנֵי, וְהִיבֵם גְּאוּלִּים לְפָנֶיךָ מִנְּךָ, אֵלֶיךָ כִּי לֹא יָדָעוּ
לְמַדָּה לְמַשְׁכִּל בְּמַדְעוֹת הַרוּחַ וְהָיָה בְּחִבְרָתָם בְּמִשְׁכָּלָה. יְהוּדֵי אֶשְׁכֵּנֶז הָיוּ.
חֲמִישִׁים, צְדִיקִים, וְחֲמִישִׁים, עֲזָרָה צְדִיקָה וְחֲמִישִׁים עֲזָרָה אֲחֵיהֶם. אֵלֶיךָ
לְחַמֵּם הָיוּ. פֹּרְטִים לְעִנְיָם אֲדוּרִים אֶלֶף עֲבָרֵי עֲלֵיהֶם, וְכֹאֵלֶיךָ יְצִיר
עֲלֵיהֶם בְּדֹת צְדִיקוֹת הַיָּמִים בְּפֶנֶם נֹאמַן רוּחַ וְדוֹבֵר אִמָּה (רַבִּי
בְּנֵי אֵלֶיךָ בְּדֹת הַמַּסְדּוֹת) כְּפֶדְרִין הֵאֱלָה לְאִמֵּי: הַמַּדִּינוֹת
הֵאֱלָה יֵשׁ בְּפֶנֶם תְּלֵמִיד חֲכָמִים וְקִדְמוֹת אֲוֵהֶם אֵלֶיךָ
וְדוֹבְרִים שְׁלֹם לֹכֵם לֹכֵם בְּקִרְוֵי וּבְרִחוֹקִים. וְאֵלֶיךָ יְצִיר
אֲכִסְיָא שְׂמֵחִים הֵם.... וְהֵם שְׂלֵמִים כְּתִבִּים אֶחָד אֶחָד וְאֶחָד
42. לֵפָנֶיךָ בְּתַנְקֵי בִּדְת מִשְׁלָה.

The first duty of the father with regard to the education of his son was to instill him with faith. For example the father would teach his son how to perform both

the *אֶרְבֵּי* and the *פִּינְדָּל פִּלְיָא*. Or he would allow his son to carry his *גִּיטָּו* to the synagogue where he would remain to hear the prayers and supplications.⁴³ On the first night of Passover, the parents would distribute to the children cups of wine, nuts, and chestnuts in order to arouse within them an interest to ask the *פִּינְדָּל פִּלְיָא*. In the synagogue on Purim, the entire congregation would read certain fixed passages in unison so that the children would enjoy it. The elders also tried to make the other holidays as attractive as possible for the children by giving them gifts and playing games with them.⁴⁴

The formal education of the child all centered about *עֲדָרָה* -- Torah and religion. Secular education was virtually unknown to the Jews of that time and hence we find that they were uninformed in the natural sciences. It is, therefore, not unusual to find Rabbi Meir of Rottenberg believing that there were certain birds that grew on trees. However, this ignorance with regard to the natural sciences was not confined exclusively to the Jews for we find many instances of non-Jews making similar mistakes.⁴⁵ The teachers were given "special rooms" in which they were to teach the children and in return for their labors they received salaries of between forty and fifty goldpieces (*פִּינְדָּל פִּלְיָא*)

the egg in order to impress upon his mind that learning is a pleasant experience." It is very interesting to note that

ויליאם of worms concludes this account with the significant statement *ויליאם יאנה אדפ א/א האנרים*⁴⁷

In order to make the study of the letters of the alphabet more attractive to the children; the teachers would teach them either the numerical value of the letters or the initials of the words which they represented. for example:

*א-ב אלק (אלמוד) ב גורד גורה לבנה וורה שפד פד. ואלף
בבכות בכל יום. ודאק תאמיר א"ד אור תחיל וואר כן צד,
צליאמר אינל ופדריסבר ומה תאמיר תחילת א"ד תחילת גזסוק
ה"כ כלו: גורה מולת דב"ט גורד, גליק, וכתוב וואר כן ד' ה"ט 48*

Even now the people of the city of worms can show you the letter which is engraved on the wall of their synagogue. (I wonder?) It is there where the stern teacher made the lazy pupils stand to let the children know that they are becoming stupid and will soon have to relearn the *א"ב*.⁴⁹

The following are a set of laws the origin of which we know very little. (Guedemann thinks they originated in France) However, we do know that they governed the system of education in both France and Germany.⁵⁰

- Rule I It was incumbent on the priests and levites to consecrate one of their sons for *תלמיד מורה* even while he was still in his mother's womb *אביו ברחמו*
- Rule II It is necessary to maintain a study house for the *פרושים* who take upon themselves the *עול המורה*.
- Rule III The *פרושים* must not leave the *מדרש* for seven years and there they must eat, drink, and sleep. Idle chatter must not be carried on in the *מדרש* and whoever does chat, transgresses against an *על*, for it says (*ו'קרא ייט' ל' ו'מקדש ה'הו'*)
- Rule IV It is incumbent on every Jew to give 12 deniers a year for the upkeep of the *מדרש* just as our ancestors gave half a shekel for the upkeep of the temple.
- Rule V It is necessary to hire a *מלמד* for the students who will place limits on their lessons and observe the diligence or laziness of the students.
- Rule VI Teachers must not undertake to teach more than ten students at a time.
- Rule VII The teachers should not undertake to teach orally (*על פה*) but written (*במכתב*) in order that the students might learn the translations.
- Rule VIII The older boys should be taught the Targum (*תרגום*) in order to facilitate their acquaintanship with

Talmudic language -- and this in order that they might study Halacha.

Rule X The teacher should review with the boys on Friday both that which they learned during the past week and that which they learned during the previous week; on the *ל' ט' אלול* they should review that which they learned during both the past month and the previous month. In Tishre they should review that which they learned during the summer and in Nissan that which they learned during the winter. All this is done as a precaution against the students forgetting anything.

Rule XI On wintry nights from *ל' ט' אלול* to *ל' ט' אלול* the teachers should teach their pupils only "1/2 of a night" (*כ"ס שעות*), for the winter days are short. Each boy should contribute oil for the lamp.

Rule XII The teachers must not engage in any other occupation which interferes with or diverts their attention from learning.⁵¹

In Asaf we find a vivid account of the curriculum which the teacher had to follow at that time. When the parent brought his son to the *בית המדרש* he was to give the teacher definite instructions. "I make it known to you

that you should teach my son during this month how to recognize the letters, during the second month the vowels, during the third month how to form words, and from then on he should study the book *ו'קרי*. And if you will not carry out my instructions, you will be dismissed as a worthless worker. Furthermore you should add to the studies of my son each month. If my son learns half a *פסוק* during this month and during the following month he finishes the *פסוק* then from Tammuz to Tishre he should learn a full *פסוק* each week in Hebrew and from Tishre to Nissan he should learn it in translation. By that time he will be six years old. (*בן חמש שנים למקרא*) During the following year he should learn Targum *בשכונתא דא* and he should translate the Targum as he did the Hebrew. And during the eighth and ninth years the same should be done with *שביעין* and *כחובין*.⁵² The wise men said *בן חמש שנים למקרא* -- At that time the boy is introduced to Gemarran with the reading of the *משנה ברכות* and the *משנה קטנית* which are in the *פירוש*. These he continues to study for three years. The wise men further said *בן שש שנים למקרא* -- and at this time the boy is counted in a *מנה* and he can join the *מנה* of the *פירוש*. If the father wishes his son to be a *פלוני* he takes his son to the house which has been set aside for the *פירוש*. However, the boy is not bound by the laws

An interesting insight in the education of a boy and in his general training may be found in the will written by Rabbi Eliezer of Worms in the year 1050. Winsbeke, a non-Jewish poet wrote a poem in the year 1210 which is similar to Rabbi Eliezer's will in many ways. The "will" begins each new subject with the word "זן" while the poem begins it with "sun". Both of them teach a "way of life" and both are written in the form of a will. Both documents were written on the banks of the Rhine and yet they differ radically in detail, showing the differences between the Christian and the Jewish Way of Life. Winsbeke speaks to his son concerning deeds of valor and might but does not mention wisdom and knowledge. On the other hand Eliezer tells his son to study תורה and חכמה. Winsbeke deals with love of women, while Eliezer doesn't mention it. Winsbeke tells his son that it is "good to listen to the words of the priests but not to pay attention to their deeds".

This could never be said by Eliezer, for to the Jew the *תורה* and the *ש"ס* were bound closely together.⁵⁴

In the *בית המדרש* there were sperate rooms in which poor students who came from afar dwelt. In general the *בית המדרש* was very close to the heart of the community and whenever the students began studying a new *פסוק* or when they would complete a *פסוק*, they would have a party in honor of the Torah.⁵⁵ In the *בית המדרש* the teacher would lecture about Halachah and the students would take notes. However, the students placed a premium on a good memory and went to extremes in order to develop it. The Talmud warns against eating the heart of an animal because it is injurious to the memory. But Meir of Rottenberg added to the stringency of the law by refraining from eating the heart of any animal, not even that of a bird.⁵⁶

For reasons basic (supposedly) to the religion of the fathers, the education of women was neglected. *בית המדרש* said one of the *אבות*. The true function of women was to be "good women" and "good mothers" and since these required a great deal of time, they didn't have sufficient time for study. The girls didn't study Hebrew and hence they could not understand it; and even those who were able to read it could not understand it and for that reason

there arose the חסיד that they should learn the prayers
" *האבות של אבותינו* " ⁵⁷ There is a story concerning a
pious man who taught his daughters how to write. He justi-
fied his action by saying that if they didn't know how to
write they would have to ask a man to write their letters
and notes for them and this would result in their sinning
or acquiring a bad reputation. ⁵⁸ *רמב"ם* contends
that a man is obliged to teach his daughters the *ש"ס*
i.e. the Halachoth so that they might know what to do and
what not to do. However, it is improper for a young man
to teach girls even though the father is standing close by. ⁵⁹

Much care was exercised by the parent in selecting
a suitable teacher for his son for in reality it was he who
would mold his entire future intellectual life. It is for
this reason that we find many laws governing the behavior
of both teacher and pupil alike. If a man has enough money
to hire others (a teacher) he should not teach his son him-
self for this might cause him to be lax in his own studies.
He should hire someone to teach his son. ⁶⁰ On the other
hand a poor man should not permit his son to study with the
sons of a rich man for they are *בשרים* and will lead
him in crooked paths. ⁶¹ *רמב"ם* advises us that a man
should not allow his son to study with a hottempered teacher ⁶²
nor should the teacher permit a slanderer to remain among

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his pupils "for their will be no peace from him."⁶³ If students happen to be the guests of certain Rabbi and there is another Rabbi in the city, it is better that they study with their host providing he knows as much as the other Rabbi. But if Rabbi "A" sees that they want to study with Rabbi "B", he should tell them "Study with whomever you desire. I will neither be angry nor will I bear a grudge. A person does not merit to study with all Rabbis!"⁶⁴ If one is teaching a group of children and he see that some of the children are brighter than others and that the bright children need a separate teacher for themselves, he should not remain silent. He should say to the parents "these need a separate teacher and these need a separate teacher." He should do this even though he might personally suffer if the group is broken up.⁶⁵ A teacher must do nothing which might reduce his efficiency and therefore, he was not permitted to "chastise himself through fasting."⁶⁶ According to Boh "the heads of the א"ת"ר or the א"ת"ר must not conduct their classes in their own homes -- only in the homes of the א"ת"ר -- lest they spend all their time with their wives. They would remain in the א"ת"ר all week long and on א"ת"ר they should return to their homes happy with their wives and children. If the א"ת"ר has forty students, he should be provided with four א"ת"ר.

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in cited above, p. 377, 11: we: According to one source (see Aram, p. 3) "the heads (etc.)"

in cited above, p. 377, 11: we: According to one source (see Aram, p. 3) "the heads (etc.)"

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Since learning itself was regarded so highly by the Jewish community, those who were engaged in teaching were greatly respected. Under no circumstances was a teacher to be put to shame nor was he permitted to do anything which might detract from the efficiency of his work. (see note 51) It is interesting to note, for example the attitude taken by the authorities with regard to asking questions of one's teacher in public. The authors of *Pir'ei Eser* say that "if the pupil knows that the *av* will rejoice if he asks him a difficult question and that he won't be embarrassed if he can't answer it, then he may ask the question. However, under no circumstances should he put his teacher to shame by asking him a difficult question which he will be unable to answer."⁷⁰ In the event that a fire breaks out in the city, one should first rescue the possessions of his master and afterwards those of his father's home. However, if there are books in one house and money in either his father's or his teacher's house, let him first rescue the books.⁷¹

the house of another person

As a natural outgrowth of the people's deep love and reverence for both scholarship and the scholar, there developed within their minds an almost worshipful attitude toward books. It was considered improper for a person to uti-

lize a book in order to derive a secondary pleasure from it. For example it is a sign of lack of respect toward a book if a person who is sitting in the sun uses the book in order to divert the rays of the sun from him.⁷² Moreover, it was considered a matter of great disrespect for a person to show his anger by striking his hand against the book or by striking others with it. "The master who becomes angry with his pupil," says *ספר חסידים* "should not hit him with a book nor should the pupil use a book in order to shield himself."⁷³

There is a story concerning two people who were emptying books from a large chest. One put the books on a bed when a husband and wife had previously had intercourse and the other placed the books on the ground. The one who put the books on the bed said, "Why do you show such disrespect to the books by placing them on the ground?" The other replied, "you profane the Torah inasmuch as you place it on a bed in which a man and woman have had intercourse -- but the ground is clean *טמור*."⁷⁴ There is another story concerning a *גורל* who used to place the *מורה לבנה* in a separate case and the *מורה לבן* in a separate case. "For", he said, "the *מורה לבנה* is more holy than the *מורה לבן*."⁷⁵

Inasmuch as books were relatively rare, and the desire for study very great, *ספר חסידים* advises to lend

books to others under practically any circumstances -- "for this will be conducive to study." *אמרו לו ספרים למכור ומה*
אמרו לקנות ואמרו לו מה אמר ספריו לאמור הכם ויש אחר המלאך
אמר למכור הספרים לאמר המלאך ספרים הרבון מאמר אומר
לאמר

There were certain pious men who went from city to city and humiliated themselves in order to gather with which to hire scribes *לכבוד כבוד ופתיים וגו' 76*
 there is a story concerning a man who had books which he used to lend to others. He instructed his sons saying "Be careful, if you have an argument with one who is in the habit of borrowing books, and if you suspect that he will not return them to you or that he will abuse them, take security from him. However, lend the books to him *who* if he wants them for study. And give a poor man preference over a man of wealth." *use some* *77* If a man went to a distant land for the purpose of purchasing merchandise and during his stay there he found books which were unavailable in his city, as for example *to with*
hold
the books
78 *אמרו* and *פירוש*, it was considered a *אמרו* to buy them and there to resell them. *79* The copying of books was considered an almost religious occupation and the copyists were most careful not to make any errors for a single *mis*copy might bring about the perversion of a law and the consequent inobservance of it. *79* As a matter of fact, the Rabbis were so strict about this that they said the phrase

אם רש"י ירד refers to the scribes who either add or deduct letters from the text in an effort to indicate their names through the letters in the line. However, סדר חס"ד"ם says that in the event that a man sees a book which contains many errors which can't be corrected, he shouldn't say "this book is only fit to be burnt" but should rather say "טעם אין אגדה".⁸⁰

In פירק אבות we find the statement that the world exists on three things namely: גורל, צדקה, and אמיתות חס"ד"ם. And the German Jewish community in the 12th century built their small world on these principles. However, it seems that the strongest of these three pillars was אמיתות חס"ד"ם, charity. In the סדר חס"ד"ם we find such surprising statements as "a community that possesses neither a synagogue nor a poor house should first build a poor house."⁸¹ Another interesting statement in the same vein is "If a man says to you, 'Behold I have money. Shall I give it to a scribe to write a סדר מ"ר or shall I give it to poor people who have no clothes?' Say unto him, 'Isaiah said כ"ח חלק צדקה וחס"ם".⁸² People who squandered their money on luxuries were looked down upon. For example "the raiser of birds for beauty or ornamentation would do much better if he spent his money giving charity to

poor people.⁸³ If a man owns a good house and he is not afraid that it will burn down should not build another house. Instead he should give his money to charity.⁸⁴ However, if a man doesn't need aid but still accepts charity "he will not leave this earth without first experiencing need."⁸⁵ There were times when it was even a *mitzvah* to give charity to a person who really doesn't need aid merely to maintain his family. If, for example, a community sees that a certain individual who was formerly wealthy and now has become impoverished still persists in entertaining and feeding whoever comes to his door; the wise men of the city are obliged to speak to him privately. "We know that you haven't a great deal of money and hence can't afford to entertain guests -- however, since they are accustomed to come to you, take this charity and give them food and drink."⁸⁶ Even with regard to hiring a person the idea of *mitzvah* played an important role. If you have a job to offer to someone and you find two men applying for the job -- one who is able to support himself through another type of work and the other who doesn't know any other trade -- hire the one who doesn't know any other trade.⁸⁷

One of the gravest problems which confronted the Jewish community in the 12th century was that of conversion.

the Christians intoxicated with the crusading zeal which pervaded the atmosphere sought to convert the Jews to Christianity. While it is true that rather than submit to conversion thousands of Jews bravely met their death *פד 1177*, It is also equally true that many less brave individuals received the waters of baptism. However, the Christian authorities soon realized that all their efforts to convert the Jews were in vain. Berthold of Regensburg said that it was fooly to attempt to convert a Jew to Christianity because *ד' חסידים אינו במתקד לה דמים*. He advised the Christians to cease in their attempts to convert Jews and in general not to engage in religious discussions with them. He said "We are unprepared to debate questions concerning the Bible with the Jews for they are very learned in these matters. Such discussions could only tend to injure the Christian religion, for the points made by the Jew will weaken it." For this reason there was a papal injunction prohibiting anyone but the very learned among the Christians from debating in religious matters with a Jew.⁸⁸ However, it seems that in spite of this injunction, the clergy were anxious to prepare the laity in the event that at some time they might engage in a disputation with a Jew. Thus we read that Rupert of Deutz wrote a handbook for be-

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There was a Jew by the name of Jacob who was a vice dominus in the court of Herzog Wladislaw of Bohmen. Due to his position, he became converted to Christianity. However, one night Jacob had a change of heart and he went to the church where he destroyed the altar and dumped the sacred relics in the toilet. On July, 22, Herzog ordered his arrest

and confiscated his fortune. In order to save his life the Jews were forced to pay 3000 pounds of silver and 100 pounds of gold.⁹² On his death bed, Bishop Herman of Prague regretted having tolerated the disloyalty of converted Jews to Christianity and condemned those Christians who were disposed kindly toward them.⁹³

gain late
1122 At the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century new currents of thought began to permeate German Jewish life. Among these was the movement known as mysticism. Similarly there arose a mystic movement in Christianity at this time. However, we must not conclude that one borrowed the idea from the other; instead we should understand that similar causes effect similar results. The desire to uncover the secrets of the world dwelt in every heart whether Jewish or Christian.⁹⁴ It is painful to note that the Jews became so intense in their devotion to this mystic movement that they even tried to find a basis for it in the *Talmud*.⁹⁵ As a direct result of this movement we find the people speculating about such things as demons and learning magic formulae which were supposed to accomplish miracles.

who was averse In *Piryon 100* there is an account of an individual who was born with both teeth and a tail. The towns-

up-
vision. Belief in demons & magic formula goes back to much earlier times.

folk said that it would be well to kill him for "in the end he will kill people." However, the wise men advised them to "remove his teeth and cut off his tail until he looks like a normal human being." He would then be unable to harm any-one.⁹⁶ In the main, women were suspected of eating children.

Some scholars claimed that just as in the case of a glutton whom you kill before he has the opportunity of killing you, so you should do in the case of these women.⁹⁷ Another prevalent belief was that a person could harm another person by means of a magic formula or the רעל. In רעל we find the statement, "A certain baby used to weep at night and they discovered that a Jewess "harmed" him."⁹⁸ However,

just as it was means to "harm" a person by means of a magic formula, so it was possible to "cure" him by means of a formula. We read "Whoever wishes to heal a man who has been "harmed" by a demon (רעל) should repeat the magic formula nine times as they do in Germany where they count nine " ל"רעל ". Or they might heal him by using nine trees which they call " ל"רעל ". They might even cure him by using a ל"רעל which they prepare by taking (something?) from nine bridges and nine gates and hang it around the sick person's neck as a cameo.⁹⁹

The people obviously believed in vampires for we

words, without at least citing Gindemann's explanations (see German, vol I, p. 205)?

find the statement *השלישיה בריכאסל זיין קינדל שפירט. השלישיה מיט אנה*
 100. *שפירט אנהאנג אלהים וקולת הדם והקשר כלפי ישינים*

even the notion that there were spirit^{residents} within trees was not unknown to the people. There was supposed to have been a certain type of tree upon which were found waxen drops which at times took on the appearance of menstrual. There is a story that a certain person was about to chop down such a tree when the *חכם* stopped him saying "Be careful lest you kill yourself by this act. Don't anger the tree or it will harm you."¹⁰¹ There was also the belief that the souls of the wicked were permitted to partake of the *לחם* which lasted from Friday evening until *מוצאי שבת*. At that time a *קידוש* would proclaim *ישועה רחמים אלהים*.¹⁰² The belief that there was a definite bond of contact between the living and the dead was rapidly gaining adherents. Merely the mention of a few typical stories which were current at that time will illustrate this point. A certain man fell asleep in the synagogue and was accidentally locked in by the *ערב*. In the middle of the night he awoke and saw spirits wrapped in *שליש* and two living men whom he recognized were among them. Not many days passed and these two men died.¹⁰³ Another similar story tells about a certain man who didn't see the shadow of his head on *העצמות* (this indicated that he was actually dead.) His friends

fasted many fasts and gave much charity and as a result he lived many years after that for it says *וַיִּחְיֶה אַחֲרָיו שְׁנָיִם אַלְפֵי שָׁנָה*.¹⁰⁴

This wave of mysticism and superstition brought with it many evils from which the Jewish community suffered. There were numerous occasions when the *חכמים* had to intervene in order to prevent the mob from killing innocent people who were suspected of eating other people. As in so many other cases, the Jews soon became scapegoats. Although the Jews gained most of their knowledge concerning witchcraft from the outside world, nevertheless, they were soon accused of witchcraft and any misfortune which befell the community was blamed on them. It is for this reason that the authorities enacted legislation forbidding the practice of witchcraft and its kindred pseudo-sciences. In *פסחים פ"ד* we read *כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת הָעָם שֶׁנֶּחֱדָשׁוּ לָהֶם בְּעֵשֶׂת הַיָּמִים הַלְלוּ וְשָׁמְרוּ אֶת הַמִּצְוֹת*.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, know ye what measure of punishment is in store for that individual who practices *מגלות* or *מכשפות*.

Whosoever stumbles on his account will ultimately exact punishment from him.¹⁰⁶ The wise men cautioned the people that the *מקראות* stir up strife only with one who provokes them. For example, those who write cameos or those who concern themselves with witchcraft or interpreting dreams. "Therefore a man should not engage in these things for this

type of אמונה only tends to shorten ones life. A man has only to pray to God for relief from every injury, sickness, stress and trouble."¹⁰⁷

Thus we find that in the realm of religion the German Jew experienced the two extremes of orthodoxy with its adherence to the letter of the law and of mysticism with its bi-product -- superstition. It must be said that this mystic movement was only a manifestation of the time and not in any way inherent in the synagogue. The synagogue fulfilled its threefold role as בית מדרש, בית מדרש, and בית מדרש admirably. It stood out like a fortress withstanding the onslaught of the hostile outside world.

is not an isolated phenomenon among German Jews alone

Part III
The Community

In the accounts of Benjamin of Tudela, probably the most famous traveller of his day, we find a vivid report of the location of the Jewish communities in Germany in the twelfth century. He says, "The Jewish Community is located on the Rhine from Köln to Cassanburg which is the boundary of the Empire. On the Mosel are found the communities of Coblenz, Andernach, Kaub, Kartamia, Bingen, Worms and Mustran. In these communities there reside scholars of note who are constantly exchanging letters with one another in order to reaffirm their faith that redemption will soon come. These men who spend their time in mourning about the fall of Zion and the destruction of Jerusalem are dressed in black and pray for their brethren. There exist communities in Austransburg, Brudesburg, Mantern, Pisingas, Bamberg, Regensburg, and others which are located at the border of the Empire. In all of these cities Jews of wealth and education are to be found."¹⁰⁸

The German Jewish community always remained loyal to its "fatherland" and even after the horrible hardships they had to endure during the crusades. There was never a concerted mass movement to migrate to some other land. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that throughout Jewish history there has constantly been a longing on

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the part of the Jew to return to Palestine, and during times of stress and persecution, they actually migrated there. However, we have no record of the Jewish community in Germany making any such effort to settle in Palestine.¹⁰⁹

This helps demonstrate their absolute devotion to the land in which they lived. They regarded Germany as the land of their nativity and they eagerly sought to fraternize with their non Jewish neighbors. The language they spoke was a pure German and not a Jargon. So anxious were they to imitate the Christians that they adopted their names and even names which were used by idolators.¹¹⁰ In the book *תולדות*, is found the statement: "In the majority of places, Jews mimic the conduct of their Christian neighbors. If, for example, the Christian residents of a certain city are lewd, you may expect to find the Jewish inhabitants of that city equally lewd."¹¹¹ However, no matter how hard the Jew tried to find favor in the eyes of the Christians by imitating them, he was only looked down upon, and made to feel the heavy hand of the Christian world.

In order to vex the Jews the Christians used to stick their knives into food which belonged, to Jews, thus rendering it un-kosher. They also devised cunning plans as to how to spoil the wine (*פז /*) owned by Jews. Their

artists drew pictures in which they mocked the Jews and their poets wrote venomous attacks against the Jews. Even when every now and then the spirit of mercy moved the clergy or the officers to speak in behalf of the Jews, their words were of no avail. Berthold, though he doubtlessly disliked the Jews, insisted that it was the duty of the government to protect them. "This, he said, "they must do for two reasons. (1) In order that they (the Jews) might be living witnesses of their crime against Jesus. (2) Those who are now Jews, in the "latter days" will be converted to christianity.¹¹² However, the masses of the people took their cue from the poets and speakers who advocated the annihilation of the Jewish people. And that which the poets and the clergy did *אשר עשו*, the mob did *אשר עשו*.

In the light of the terrible hardships imposed upon the Jews, it is simple to understand why the Jew felt so bitterly toward the christian World and why he so intensely distrusted it. It is possible to understand and appreciate the phrase *אשר עשו* when we read the following story. Once it was decreed that all Jews must change their religion and undergo baptism. Many Jews attempted to flee and thus cling to their faith. At that time there were some officials who pretended that they

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say (in Poland)

were friendly to the Jews and said, "Come with us and we will guard you from your enemies." And when the Jews came to them, they killed them. Therefore, we say *the*

לפיכך ר' יודן זאנז' 113.

Many of the laws enacted at that time which might otherwise seem barbarous to us, take on a new meaning in view of the times. For example, a father was permitted to kill his son in order to prevent him from experiencing forced conversion.¹¹⁴ Once a Jewish girl gave birth to a *non* (by a Christian) and so she killed her child. In order to escape punishment she wanted to be converted. When her father learned of her plans, he went to the Rabbis and asked their permission to kill her (to prevent her from being converted.) However, the Rabbis refused to grant him permission.¹¹⁵ The experience of dying *per martyr* was such a common one among the Jews of the Rhine district that there arose the belief that when a man dies *per martyr* nothing pains him,--not even if they burn him, stone him, bury him alive, or hang him.¹¹⁶

The Jews even looked askance at translating into Hebrew a poem which was used by non-Jews. If a Christian composed a poem in which he praised his religion, the Rabbis cautioned the people not to repeat it in Hebrew.

They also told the people to refrain from using cradle songs which the Christians used in order to sing their infants to sleep.¹¹⁷ In order to do away with the overwhelmingly prevalent practice of changing Jewish names to sound more German, the authors of P'220 200 wrote, "A Jew should not permit a Christian to call him by the names of his gods."¹¹⁸ Nor should a Jew disguise himself as a priest in order to escape detection. In brief P'220 200 says "A man should not wear the clothes of their priests, study their books, or recite their poems..."¹¹⁹ The rabbis recognized the danger of allowing their people to imitate the Christians in anyway or at anytime and so they forbade Jews from disguising themselves as Christians even if by so doing they might save their lives. They told the people not to put crosses on their houses when the crusaders come upon them. nor should they put crosses on their clothes or go with them to their holy places.¹²⁰ Instead they expected the people to sacrifice their lives fearlessly P'220 200 17. Of course there were exceptions to this rule as in the case of the Jewess who was permitted to wear "priestly garments" and thus resemble a priestess¹²¹ if she feared being attacked while taking a trip.

It is interesting to note how cautious the Jew was

in his dealings with the non-Jewish world. We are told that "if a priest or a witch comes to a Jew and seeks to argue with him about the Torah, the Jew should not answer him unless he is a scholar and adequately prepared to defend his point."¹²² On the other hand we read the complaint of a

Christian writer who wrote the following in the year 1166:

אין מונין בחבורתן אף מלכא דאט כר' שמעון דהפודים אלדין דא מלכא

123. מאיר דא קיחין אש בלא דבאשג : אט אי אר וואס אר

It would be erroneous to assume that as a result of this justifiable feeling of bitterness and suspicion which the Jew had toward the non-Jew, there was little or no intercourse between them. Quite the contrary seems to have been the case. Just as the authorities of the Jewish community enacted laws designed to protect the people against the cruelties of the Christians so they also passed laws to protect Christian from being cheated or exploited by dishonest Jews. At this time a certain Rabbi taught the people that it was forbidden for a Jew to wear a garment which a gentile left with him in pledge, for the gentile left it with him with the understanding that he shouldn't use it.¹²⁴ The servants of the Jews used to steal there master's money and hence it was permissable for wealthy Jewess' to carry a Key around their neck on אזל. However, in spite of this, the

Their

Jews used to give "Purim money" to their maids regardless of whether they were Jewish or Christian.¹²⁵ In פ'ר'ק'ן נ"ו we find the principle, "Let no man commit a sin against a gentile -- these things debase the individual and there is no success in his business."¹²⁶ If it is discovered that a Jewish man intends to swear falsely to a Christian, the entire Jewish community is obliged to prevent him.¹²⁷ Just as you should be honest in your dealings with a Jew, so you should be honest in your dealings with a gentile.....

"If a man is poor, it is better that he go begging than swindle money from a gentile and thus profane God's name. For the gentiles will say that all Jews are robbers and swindlers."¹²⁸ If a gentile said to a Jew "I want to go to such and such a place and there are Jews there whom I fear will cheat me. Tell me who are the honest Jews," it is the duty of that Jew to say, "don't do any business with so and so."¹²⁹ There were certain circumstances under which a Jew was asked by the authorities to pray on behalf of his non-Jewish neighbors. If a Jew sent a gentile to a distant land, it is well to pray for his safe return for if he didn't return alive, the entire Jewish population would be accused of killing him.¹³⁰ פ'ר'ק'ן נ"ז says that if a man sees that a gentile is committing a transgression and if it is in his power to undo it -- let him do so. For behold, God sent

stop it

Jonah to Ninveh.¹³¹ Or if there is a gentile who does favors for Jews, it is permissible to entreat God to lighten his judgement. ~~It~~ applies in the case of a ~~gentile~~.¹³²
If a gentile woman loved a Jew to such an extent that she was willing to undergo conversion in order to marry him, she would be greatly respected by the Jewish community and her children would be regarded in the same way that a ~~She is~~ is. "It is better to marry the offspring of a ~~wife~~ who is goodhearted, modest, charitable, and honest than to marry a ~~She is~~ who lacks these qualities."¹³³

The Jews in Germany in the 12th century enjoyed a certain degree of self government, and on first ~~at~~ blance one might be led to believe that this indicates a liberal tendency on the part of the central government. However, upon closer scrutiny we begin to suspect that the Jews were granted this privilege not so much for humanitarian reasons as because this system lightened the burden of the central government. And so we find that even with regard to governmental activities and functions the Jews were being systematically ghettoized. The Jews of the city formed not only a religious community with the synagogue as its center, but they also constituted a governmental unit, divorced from the gentile world. In many places the Jewish community possessed

both communal and judicial autonomy. At times this judicial autonomy was brought into play in cases of quarrels between Jews and non-Jews.¹³⁴ In the year 1090, King Henry IV stated clearly that cases involving Jews should be judged by their own people and that only Jews should serve as witnesses in such cases. Furthermore, he stated specifically that their quarrels should be judged according to Jewish law.¹³⁵ In Köln (Cologne) only the more severe crimes were dealt with by the archbishop. However, all minor crimes committed by Jews were tried in Jewish courts.¹³⁶ Here the representative or the head of the Jewish community was the so-called Judenbischof who was elected by the Jewish community. In the event that a Christian or even a clergyman accused a Jew, he had to direct his remarks to both the Judenbischof and his counsel.¹³⁷ Two general principles applied in cases involving people of different religions or nationalities. (1) In cases applying to quarrels between Jews and gentiles, they must be tried in the court of the accused.¹³⁸ (2) In places where various nationalities having different jurisprudence live together, both peoples should be accepted as witnesses.¹³⁹ However, it seems that these principles were not kept very rigidly, for we read the decision of the Lateran Council in 1179: "We have decided that Christians should be admitted as witnesses in all cases where the Jews attempt

to convict christians by means of Jewish witnesses. whoever prefers Jews to Christians in such cases should be banned, because the Jews are subject to the christians and are only tolerated out of sufferance."¹⁴⁰

The life of the informer was made extremely difficult by the officials of the Jewish community and at times he was compelled to leave the household of Israel. In the *nispa* of Mainz (*134N*) in 1120, the rabbis decreed harsh punishment to be imposed not only on informers but even on individuals who sought to remove themselves from the yoke of the *רשע* or to rid themselves of the ban or to evade the taxation which the *רשע* imposed upon itself.¹⁴¹ however, if one saw that his neighbor was engaged in illegitimate business which would jeopardize the position of the congregation, he was obliged to make known that "So and so is engaged in ugly business."¹⁴² Because of this fear of informers (and there was good reason to fear them) the rabbis advised the people to be most cautious in their speech. "When you speak at night, speak in a whisper and when you speak by day look about you; and be ^{on} guard against the wall which is behind you. For a man will die sooner through a "stumbling" of the tongue than through a stumbling of the feet. For through a stumbling of the tongue he will lose

his head while through a stumbling of the feet he may be cured."¹⁴³ Further on they said "Unless you have tried your friend many times, don't reveal anything to him, lest he turn and become your enemy and reveal your secret; and don't reveal anyone's secret without first obtaining his permission."¹⁴⁴ One of the rabbis wisely observed, "When I speak I (may) regret it, but when I don't speak I don't regret it. Before I speak, I am master of my words, however, after I have spoken the words are my master."¹⁴⁵ The people were cautious not to house even an orphan who was a slanderer "for there is no merit in him", Nor did the teacher permit a slanderer to remain among his pupils "for there is no place by reason of his slandering."¹⁴⁶

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The crusades deprived the Jew of his position of dominance in the world of trade which was until now almost exclusively in his hands. The Christians themselves began engaging in trade with the inhabitants of the east. They formed unions and used all sorts of devices to rid themselves of Jewish competition. This ultimately eliminated the Jew from the world of international trade and he had to maintain himself by engaging in the small local trade. As a result of this miserable condition, the Jew was practically forced to enter the despised business of money lending.

Why suddenly
this Hebrew thing

ing. we find the poet Walter von der Vogelweide saying in one of his poems, "ich wolt ez z'einem Juden borgen."¹⁴⁷ Stobbe correctly stated that "The business of moneylending and of taking interest preserved the Jew during the Middle Ages for in spite of the hatred and zealous persecution he had to endure, he found a place to dwell. On the other hand this (money lending) led to his being hated and despised to such an extent that the Christians performed all types of cruelties in order to destroy him."¹⁴⁸ However, it should be clearly understood that the Jew was not to be blamed for engaging in this, the only business left open to him. It is the gentile who is to be blamed for closing all other doors to him. The government officials as well as the clergy took advantage of the widespread hatred for the Jews and of their despised position. Often they would make demands of the Jews which were nothing short of blackmail. One rabbi of the 13th century writes, "This is what the officers do. They demand of the Jew ten times as much money as he possesses and they terrify him in order that he should make haste in ransoming himself." Another rabbi says, "They would sooner kill a Jew than allow him to go free without first making payment. One time the Jews hesitated in meeting the demands of the officer and when they returned with the ransom with which to redeem their fellow Jew, they

were told that he died and was thrown to the dogs.¹⁴⁹ Their
were certain bishops who used to take "their Jews" along
with them when they went to visit the king, so that they
could borrow money from them whenever they needed it. How-
ever, when the time of payment would approach, they would
dismiss the Jew by saying " *אין אים* " or else they would re-
fuse to pay altogether. It is for this reason that the Jews
employed the phrase which David used against his enemies

" *אלו בשר ודם ואלו רגל ויד* ".¹⁵⁰ Because of the
frequency of such incidents as the one just mentioned the Jews
in Germany lent money only on security of a *Faustpfand*, which
really amounted to double the value of the loan.¹⁵¹ *m*

It should not be assumed that the authorities of the
Jewish community looked with favor on the practice of money-
lending. Quite the opposite was true. In *אבות דרבי נתן* there
appears a bitter denunciation of those who engage in money-
lending. "Whoever lends money on interest, shall ultimately
lose his money; whoever clips coins or gives short weights
or deals crookedly shall lose his station, and his sons
will be separated from each other in a strange land and they
will need (the aid of) other people. And even those who were
their friends and those who borrowed from them and those who
helped them, shall lose their money.¹⁵² In spite of this

attitude, we know that the Jews continued in their role as money lenders. However, they were not the only ones who were engaged in this business. Bernard of Clairvaux in 1146 in a sermon in which he urged the Christians to stop persecuting the Jews, told them that, "the Christian money lenders are worse and more sinful in their actions than the Jews." Seigfried melbing, who was known for his hatred of the Jews wrote (13th century) "that Christian who lends money secretly is worse than the Jew who lends money openly."¹⁵³ Berthold in a sermon against money lending on the part of Christians declared "What will you do about the violence which is in your hands, on the day of judgement when the cries of the poor come before the righteous God?"¹⁵⁴

Money lending was not the only business in which the Jews engaged, though it is very easy to get this erroneous impression by reading some of the accounts of that period. In 1130/1130 we read an interesting account about a Jew who used to sell the clergy all of their clergy articles for their churches. When he died his customers brought their crucifixes to his bedside and said, "We will deal with him as he has dealt with us -- measure for measure."¹⁵⁵ In Aronius' Regestin we read an account concerning two Jews who cultivated grapes. "R. Isaac bar Joel ha-levi und Mar Juda aus Mainz were busy at the time of the grape harvest"

when they were killed by the Crusaders.¹⁵⁶ Later on we read about the Goldsmith Hermann of Köln who just bought a house from the Jew Gottschalk von Frankfurt.¹⁵⁷ (Incidentally this is the first mention of a Jew in Frankfurt) In still another entry we find that the Jew Vives and his wife donated a vineyard to the Holy Kilian of Würzburg.¹⁵⁸ It must not be assumed that the Jewish population in Germany was poor. As a matter of fact, many of them could even afford to purchase slaves. We learn this from the fact that in 1124 Herzog bought all the Christian slaves from the Jews and ordered that "in the future Jews can't own Christian slaves."¹⁵⁹ Furthermore there were Jews who were large property owners. To substantiate this statement we have only to turn to the entries in Aronius' Regesten between the years 1135 and 1152. They read "Salemon buys a house in Köln." "Salemon and his wife Rachel buy a house in Köln for thirty marks."¹⁶⁰ These are but a few of the many entries of real estate transactions. The women played a great role in her husband's business. Sometimes the woman, besides caring for her house and children, actually conducted a business so that her husband could study and travel in order to attain unto scholarship.¹⁶¹

It is interesting, in passing, to note the high regard which an individual had for his fellow. In reading

*Dulke,
not
which
one?
In Aronius
there is
rightly
mentioned
Dulke
Wladis-
law
17
Bohemian*

36

the various chronicles of this period we come across a distinct set of legislation which we might term as what? Only a few examples will be necessary to illustrate the wholesome mutual respect which marked the relationship between a man and his friend. In פ' ד' ס' ד' ד' we read, "An individual can even lie in order to prevent the embarrassment of his friend."¹⁶² A man should be careful not to intentionally embarrass his friend in public -- for example, if a freed slave is in your presence, don't speak about the Canaanites lest it embarrass him.¹⁶³ Or, if you see a teacher who is imparting incorrect information to his pupils, if you can correct him without embarrassing him, do so -- however, under no circumstances should you put him to shame.¹⁶⁴ If, you are entertaining a guest at your home, don't ask him questions concerning ד' ד' ד' ד' unless you know in advance that he can answer them.¹⁶⁵ In short, it seems that the entire attitude which the rabbis of the 12th century took with regard to human relations might be summed up in the following sentence: אשר חסידו ואלו יסוד חסידו חסידו¹⁶⁶ To the credit of the Jewish community, it must be said that this identical attitude carried over in their relations with their servants and maids. It was considered, highly improper to put a man servant or a maid servant to shame. "If they have done the will of their master, he should not say 'you did not do well,' for there is nothing worse than

his
friend - for

is a
negative
ethic
Jewish

This sentence has
a different
bearing

ungratefulness.¹⁶⁷ If the owner of slaves suddenly became impoverished, he was enjoined by the authorities not to sell them to a tyrant. He was asked to consider if he were in their place how he would like to be disposed of and should treat them accordingly.¹⁶⁸ nor should a man attempt to stir up strife and jealousy among his maids so that they will spy on each other. nor a man should not keep maids or servants who are slanderers.¹⁶⁹

Just as the people regarded both their friends and their servants as being deserving of the highest consideration so they dealt kindly and humanely with their animals. we read that "a righteous man knows the nature of his animal and when it is sick, he does not work it. And when the time approaches when it is about to give birth, he does not work it."¹⁷⁰ the rabbis said that a man should drink first and then the animal. *דבריו ואלו שבת ויום*

למנוחה. However, with regard to hunger, the animal should eat first and then the man *דבריו ואלו שבת ויום*

אחרי כן ¹⁷¹

It seems that the practice of attempting to beautify an animal by clipping its tail or shearing its ears was widespread. However, Jewish authorities, realizing the cruelty of these acts forbade them saying, "A man must not change

the "form" of an animal, for God created all the animals with whatever they needed. For instance, he gave the animal a tail with which it chases flies. If he clips the animal's tail and thinks he hasn't done it any harm, behold he actually did harm the animal for it can no longer protect itself against the flies.¹⁷² As a matter of fact, the principle of *נזר בדי ח"ח* operated to such an extent at this time that horsemen were warned that they would be punished if they were round using spurs (*ספירני בלי*) on the horses.¹⁷³

we have previously mentioned the role which superstition played in shaping the religious outlook of the 12th century. However, its influence was not merely confined to religion but even penetrated the so called scientific fields. We find this to be especially true in the field of medicine which resorted to mysticism and "home remedies. In his *חידושי בארבעה החסידים*," Rabbi Eliezer of worms, tells us how to determine whether a pregnant woman will bear a boy

or girl. *אם סבך בידך אם זכר או נקבה, ראב אם דב הימני*
לדול מן השמאל זכר, ואם מאלף נקבה, וכן אם תחלוב מדניה חלב
זר קרש או יד אבן אם יתפצר החלב דד להיות זכר ואם יקפץ
נקבה. וצוד סמן אחר אם תחלוב זר הימני יפץ החלב זר הימני
זכר ואם יפול נקבה. אמרה אלה אחת ואלא נטיג ונפל החלב
ויל דג זכר, אמרתי לבי שקודם לכן הינקת זכר ונשאר
בדדך חלב אז נקבה שילבת קודם הנכה וצוד כשהיא יושבת
ורוכה לזדוד אם תמחק בידי הימנית דד להיות זכר ואם בשמאל

(This passage)

Why haven't you pointed out that the
stone is found in the Natural History of
-74- Conrad of Meyenberg?

נקבה. וזו היא נכאליס חלוצה זכר, בטה נקבה. וזו הזכר
בדד הימין דבק ובלב זכר ואם בדד שמאל נקבה ואם ב' צד באלאנה
ובהלכותה זכר, ואם בצד נקבה אז הלוכה בכובד ואם
174. שכיבה בדד ימין כלשמה מטה ואז נעדרה וז' זכר

In order to prevent a pregnant woman from having a mis-
carriage, they used to give her a certain type of stone
to wear about her neck. This stone which was called *איינקונטר* ¹⁷⁵ was hollow in the center and resembled an egg in both size
and weight. Since such remarkable medicinal powers were
ascribed to it, it was considered to be very valuable.
One of the common causes of miscarriage was a certain type
of bowel disease. The doctors recommended the use of a
grass " *סנל* " as a cure for this ailment.¹⁷⁵ In order to
ease the pains of childbirth the wise men recommended that
the women wear strips of their husbands clothing -- whether
they be of his vest, his pants, or his girdle. This
suggestion was found both among Jews and Gentiles.¹⁷⁶ The
remedy for a headache was called in German "Messen" or
"Spannen" and it was permissible to use it even on the
Sabbath. In order to cure throat ailments, they used cer-
tain magic formulae which they pronounced over a type of
grass known as "Hollerblatter."¹⁷⁷ Children's diseases were
for the most part attributed to evil spirits. In order to
guard against these evil influences or against the *הרר* ז',

Guide-
מחנה
175
176
177
Germ.
Original
איינקונטר
172

they would hang cameos (*סמנים*) around their necks.¹⁷⁸

It would become tedious to enumerate all of the cures used by the people which were based solely on ignorance and superstition. Even the urine of a man or ~~the~~ ^{the} defecation of an ass or a pig were considered both internal and external cures.¹⁷⁹

Handwritten: "The suspicion which existed between both Jew and Gentile showed itself very clearly in the field of medicine."

The suspicion which existed between both Jew and Gentile showed itself very clearly in the field of medicine.

There was a prohibition leveled against Jewish physicians, stating that they must not treat Christian patients. This was probably due to the fact that they were suspected of witchcraft. One of the popular rumors of the day was that Jewish physicians used their knowledge to the harm of their Christian patients. However, it seems as in many other similar cases, when a good Jewish physician was available, the Christians ignored both rumor and prohibition alike. In Aronius' Regesten we read that the Archbishop Bruno of Trier suffered a great deal from Diarrhoea and hence had the finest physicians around him. Among them was a Jew named Joshua who was very learned in medicine and also had a good knowledge of Hebrew literature and Judaism. Ultimately Joshua was converted to Christianity by the archbishop.¹⁸⁰

No account of Jewish communal life in Germany would be complete which failed to deal with the institution of Kammerknechtschaft. The basis for this Kammerknechtschaft is

Handwritten: "2"

said to lie in the following story: When Titus destroyed Jerusalem, a third of the Jews died of starvation, a third of the Jews died by the swords of the Romans and the remaining third were sold into slavery. At that time all the Jews who were scattered throughout the Roman Empire became the property of the kings and it was decreed that they should become slaves to the king. In return for this it became the King's obligation to protect his Jews! This Titus decreed because a Jew named *אמנון הכהן* ³ cured him of Gicht, Arthritis. And so it was that when Charlemagne was crowned in Rome, it became his obligation as well as the obligation of those who succeeded him, to protect the Jews in return for which they were his slaves.¹⁸¹ Both Henry and Conrad were friendly to the Jews and did everything in their power to protect them. It was for this reason that the opinion gained currency that the Emperor was the "patron of the Jews" and that anyone who harmed them was as one who insulted the king himself. It was for this reason that the Jews were regarded as servants of the king (*Kammerknecht*).¹⁸² In 1090 when Henry came to Speyer, the Jews sent an embassy to him and got a reaffirmation of their rights and were received under royal protection. They also received the privilege of free trade and duty throughout the Reich.¹⁸³ Later when the riots which were inspired by clergy and

you don't indicate note which King was meant.

knights broke out and the small principalities neither could nor would cope with the situation, the king regarded it as his duty to intervene and protect Jews. In the Landsfrieden of 1103, Henry IV promised by oath protection to the Jews, the churches, and the clergy. Conrad III also did this during the Second Crusade.¹⁸⁴ On the basis of that protection which the Emperor granted to the Jews, he established the theory that all Jews no matter where they lived and whose subjects they might be were under his direct protection and hence in return were obliged to pay special taxes. Consequently, since they paid taxes to the Emperor, they were not regarded as being completely free but rather as being royal kammerknecht. Graetz assumes that this system of protection in return for kammerknechtschaft started during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, but Stobbe says that it is impossible to date its origin accurately.¹⁸⁵ It should be understood that kammerknechtschaft does not imply vassalage, it only means that the Jews were obliged to pay tribute to the king. The Jews of the 12th century enjoyed certain rights -- rights of free men. They were permitted to carry weapons and even to engage in duels. When, for example, the city of Worms was besieged, the Jews fought side by side with the Christians to defend the city from the attackers and the Rabbis went so far as to permit the Jews to fight on the Sabbath. However, even though the

Jews were regarded as the king's servants and he was supposed to protect them, they were in constant danger of attack by the hostile non-Jews. Graetz seems to think that one of the reasons for this danger was the rumor that the Jews drank blood of gentiles. Hardly had a gentile boy or girl disappeared or a body of a murdered gentile been found, than the blame was laid at the doorstep of the Jews.¹⁸⁶ Never-

theless the German Emperors continued in their belief that they were the protectors of the Jewish people. הקיסר פרידריך בריוואש
אנדרס לאמער צאן העצמו לאל האצצק הערמניק ראק עצמו צאן החם
עצמן לפיהל אג כנכיו על כנכאל' העצ הערמן, אשומח מולאד עליו על כי האצצק
 187.

In a letter sent in 1157, establishing the rights of the Jews of Worms, Frederick I reaffirms his belief in Kammerknechtschaft. He says that the "Kaiser regards himself as the only ruler of the Jews" אמני אלפי אלפי לאמורני.¹⁸⁸

Later in a letter to the Jews of Regensburg in the year 1182, Frederick I says that it is his duty to protect all the ויחיו על כל היהודים היוצאים באכותט אל בוכרו לשנים על האצצק הקיסריק על כי צבוח מומד על אצלמני.¹⁸⁹

By the time that Frederick II ascends the throne we find that there is already a new term to indicate the special status of the Jews. They are called the "special servants of the royal chamber."¹⁹⁰ By this time (Beginning of the 12th century) Kammerknechtschaft had come into its full development. In summing up this practice, Stobbe makes this

Why
 this
 Hebrew
 letters
 ditto

ditto

12/2

revealing observation "only self interest motivated the Emperors to protect the Jews, just as a shepherd protects his flock in order that he might derive profit from it." 191

In the foregoing section we have discussed life in the Jewish community. We have dealt with Jewish self — government, jurisprudence in the Jewish community, Jewish attitudes toward people and animals (מ"ח חכמים) and even the influence of current thought on "Jewish medicinal remedies. We can readily see that the outer world had forced the Jew in Germany to establish for himself an in which he lived. However, even in this small world of his own he lived in constant dread for the 12th century was the crusading century -- The crusades brought to the Jewish community nothing but suffering and death. Perhaps neber in the history of the world, had a more outrageous crime been perpetrated in the name of religion than that which occurred in the 12th century. In the following chapter, we shall study in detail the heartless even barbaric acts of the crusaders against the Jews of Germany.

What?

P

CHAPTER III

The Crusades

Robinson in his "History of Western Europe"¹ writes, "Of all the events of the Middle Ages the most romantic and fascinating are the crusades, the adventurous expeditions to Syria undertaken by kings and doughty knights with the hope of permanently reclaiming the Holy Land from the infidel Turks." I sight this extract because it is so characteristic of the attitude most historians take toward the crusades. In reality such words as "romantic" and "fascinating" are entirely out of place in a description of this movement which left death and misery in its tracks. A more accurate appraisal of the crusades would probably be to say that it was one of the darkest pages in the annals of human history. Only the members of one generation actually suffered the physical hardships wrought by the crusades, but the accompanying spiritual havoc which it left behind can be seen in its effects on the Jews of our day."² However, even this great calamity which befell our people brought with it some good. It strengthened the Jews belief in his God and in his religion and he gladly sacrificed his very life for his God.

Caro says that the causes of the outbreaks against the Jews in Germany are were (1) a real popular movement in contradistinction to previous outbreaks which were local

and arranged by individuals who had an interest at stake.
(2) there was a real religious zeal which motivated the crusader's actions.³ He further claims that the economic basis given for the crusades are inadequate. "Jews were neither strangers in the cities nor were they distinguishable from the remainder of the population by their professions. The only real difference was religion. The Crusaders stirred up the religious zeal of the inhabitants and hence the subsequent unrest."⁴ Of course it would be different to prove that religious zeal was not one of the motivating forces of the crusades. But in spite of what Caro says, we must not overlook the economic factors involved. Caro errs when he says that the Jews were not distinguishable from the remainder of the population by their profession for we know that the Jew of the 12th century was forced to earn his livelihood through money lending and hence was hated and despised. Stobbe seems to be more accurate when he says "Gradually the main purpose of the persecution changed from conversion (religious zeal) to that of spoiling property and freeing one's self from his debtors."⁵ As a matter of fact, Avignon III, in order to gain adherents for the second crusade let it be known that all debts would be wiped out by whoever undertook the crusade.⁶ attempts to account for the anti Jewish outbreaks in the following manner:

Caro's error
h 66-7)
Avignon III

This from a source referring to
1st Crusade

-82-

ויה' כדברך דרך דדירות אשר שם יהודים אחרי אחד אחריו: הנה
אנחנו הולכים בדרך רחוקה לבקש ב'ג' התרבות ולנקות מקומנו
מן היסאזמים, ופנה יהודים היושבים ביננו, אשר אבותיהם
כראיהו ובלבדו חנם; נקמה מהם חמה ונכבד'ם מא' וליז'
יזכר שם ישראל, או יבין כחוננו וידו ב'ש' המשיח.

However, regardless of which one of these factors or group of factors was instrumental in bringing about the wholesale slaughter of Jewish communities, we can't find even the slightest hint of justification for the terrible barbarities which were perpetrated in the name of religion.

Reports had filtered in from France concerning the activities of the crusaders which made the Jewish population in the Rhine district very uneasy for they knew that the crusaders would soon pass through Germany on their way to Palestine. In 1091 the Jewish population of Speyer sent such men as יחזקאל בן יקניאל, אשר בן משה, דוד בן משה, and קונסטאנס, to beseech Henry IV to provide them with protection. Henry responded by issuing a proclamation declaring that anyone who was found guilty of either harming a Jew or forcing him to undergo conversion, would be fined twelve litres of gold. Furthermore, any Jew who was converted automatically forfeited his right to inheritance. In case of a trial between a Jew and a non-Jew, the oath taken was to be in

12th c.
Leave
till p. 97 out of place!

a accordance with the Jewish law. It was forbidden to subject Jews to the ordeals of fire or water in order to establish their guilt or innocence.⁸ However, six years later the Crusaders used this תעוזה merely as a taunt to the Jews. Salomo bar Simeon gives us a vivid account of

what happened in 1096 when the crusaders came upon the city Speyer. ואזרח שנה ארבע עשרה אלפים בשבת ומדע אירוע של ושב
ובלשונם באר כי יום השבת קמו האו"בים על קהל שפי"ר ויכריחו
בהם את עשרת נפשות ושר קדשו בוראח מחלה ביום שבת קדש ולין
אבולחנא דביתא. ושב היה אתה חסובה וחסידה ושלמה צבא
דלקדוש השם והיא היה ראשונה לשיחאין ושלמים אשר בכל הקהלות.⁹

Some of the Jews had taken refuge in the bishop's castle and some fled to the king's stronghold. This bishop whose name was יובאנא was a very honest and sincere person and he didn't care to convert people at the point of the sword. He went out to "meet" the צדוק הרבא"מ and received aid from Jews concerning whom the chronicler says. ויאמר הכותב.
הצדוק צדקו על נפש ויבריתו את אדויו האספסוף
10.

Thus we see that through the aid of the bishop and their own courage the Jews of Speyer were able to repulse the proposed massacre suffering a loss of only eleven persons. Of course, it is self evident the band of crusaders which attacked Speyer was a small one and for this reason it was possible to repulse him. However, we do know that some of the townsfolk lent aid to the crusaders in their attack

on the Jews for we read that the bishop caught some of the culprits and had their hands cut off.¹¹ This band of Crusaders waited on the outskirts of Speyer until other groups joined it and strengthened it. Fourteen days later these Crusaders turned their attention to the city of Worms.

When reports of what happened in Speyer filtered into Worms, the Jews were terrified for they knew what was in store for them. The people divided themselves into two groups. One group fled for protection to the palace of the bishop הבית המדרש and the other group remained at home. The townsfolk promised them protection saying הלא אנו אומרים כי כל איש אשר יפיק אדם אחד - ויביא נפש חיה נפסק. However, on the 23rd day of אדר some of the townsfolk dug up a corpse which had been buried thirty days previously and they carried it about the city saying "See what the Jews did to our friend; they took a gentile and boiled him in water and they poured the water into our wells in order to kill us." When the remainder of the population heard this they exclaimed "Let not even one of them (Jews) escape -- even the infants and the sucklings that are in the cradles." The townsfolk first attacked the homes of the Jews and killed whomever they found there. When the Jews saw that the slaughter was great, some of them decided to be converted to Christianity. However, in spite of this outward action, they never really gave up their religion. The Jewish community even sent words of comfort to them saying,

אל מלכו ואל גשמו על לב את אשר דליגם אלז יצאט הקב"ה מכב

12. אויב'ט אל נביה דאכס לאמו ו'חיים - אק לא מוורו אמר ר'.

It happened on Rosh Hodesh Sivan that the Crusaders sought to take vengeance of those Jews who sought refuge in the palace of the Bishop. The villagers joined them and together they besieged the palace. We do not know definitely whether or not the bishop really wanted to help the Jews or whether he was able to do so. Nor do we know whether the Crusaders found them, or whether he handed them over to the Crusaders. But we do know that he told them that if they would refuse to accept conversion, he could not continue to offer them refuge. They asked the bishop to give them time to consider his offer. The chronicler continues telling his gruesome story, וי' כאלום באלחמ פני' ואמר אל הדדיק, דליגם אל דדיק ובלחו ביוצרים ובחמו צבתי צדק. ויקחו את בני' ד' וישחטו אולם דליגד רשם הנכד ופטר/בלב אלם. אל נהר/א חטובי הקהל.

13. Many stories are told by the chronicler concerning individual instances of bravery and heroism. There was present a man whose name was ר' מאלם ב' ינאק and he called aloud, "Hearken unto me all of you. God gave me this son and צבורה, and my wife gave birth to him in her old age and his name is Isaac. Now I shall offer him as a sacrifice as did אברהם אבינו." And צבורה answered, "My Lord, my lord. wait a while!

Don't harm the child whom I begot at my old age. Kill me first so that I shouldn't see the death of the boy." And *עסר* answered, "I won't even delay a moment. He who gave him to us will take him and seat him in the lap of Abraham our father. And he bound Isaac, his son, and took the knife in his hand to kill his son. He then pronounced the blessing for *בן* and his son answered *אב*. With that he slew him.¹⁴ There was a well known woman whose name was *אסתר* who hid in an underground chamber outside of the city. All the people (Gentiles) of the city came to her and said, "Behold you are a woman of valor -- God does not desire to save you for at this very moment naked corpses are lying on the streets and there is no one to buy them. Be baptized!" And they fell on their knees before her for they did not wish to kill her since her reputation as a person of culture and refinement was widespread. However, she answered "Far be it from me to deny God. Kill me for His sake and for the sake of His *אב* and don't delay any longer." And so this valorous woman was killed at the gates.¹⁵ There was a young lad by the name of *אחאבה* and the Crusaders killed his father and his seven brothers. When he entered the church (probably on the pretense of being converted) he drew out a knife and stabbed one of the bishop's assistants. The

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of Bouillon who vowed that he would not go on the crusade until he had avenged the blood of Christ with the blood of of the Jews. However, Rabbi Kalonymos, the Parnas of Mainz sent a messenger to King Henry and told him what was being plotted against the Jews. The King became angry and sent proclamations to his governors, officers, and to Gottfried ordering them not to harm the Jews. Nevertheless, as an added precaution, the Jews paid for protection. However, all this was to no avail for the crusaders said "פאן דעם קעניג" 20

עדיין איז יראתו געבליבן דא. דאס איז דער אקור נאמען דאס

When the Crusaders attempted to massacre the Jews, some of the townsfolk came to the defense of the Jews. During the skirmish which ensued one of the crusaders was killed. Immediately the cry went out "דאס איז דער פירער" 21

Count
Conrad
On Rosh Hodesh Sivan, the governor א' סיון, passed through Mainz on his way to the Holy Land. Concerning him, the chronicler writes, "והוא היה ראש לכל כוזביו - על קין ואל" 22. "דאס איז דער פירער וועלכע איז דאס דאס"

Seeing this, the elders of the Jews went to the bishop and bribed him with 200 silver pieces. In return for this he gathered approximately 1300 Jews into his castle and promised to help them. The Governor also promised the Jews that the townsfolk would help protect them. At midnight of the 3rd of Sivan, א' סיון and his army approached the



9

9

ואמר כק' יחז"ל וג' עמ'ו ב'א'ר'ו זו ידקור הסבן ב'ט'נ' 24

At midnight a messenger appeared at the window and told Rabbi Kalonymos that he had been sent by the bishop to rescue him and to bring him and his friends to Rudesheim where the Bishop was in hiding. At first Kalonymos didn't believe him, but when the messenger swore that what he was saying was true, Kalonymos consented to go. When the bishop saw the Rabbi he was overjoyed. However, it seems that the bishop soon had a change of heart and told Kalonymos that since "his God had forsaken him, he (the Bishop) could no longer aid him." He told him either to become converted or to be prepared to suffer the consequences

לכבוד ה' ושלום ביתו - ושלום כל ישראל

Kalonymos asked for time to consider the matter and immediately took council with his friends and what the bishop had proposed to do. Then they all decided to die rather than be converted. Before returning to the bishop, Rabbi Kalonymos took his son, *Boiron*, and kissed him and then slew him. When the bishop heard of this he became very angry and said "Now I surely do not desire to give him aid." Upon hearing what the bishop had said the villagers assembled and drew up in battle to kill the Jews. In the meantime, Rabbi Kalonymos had heard what the bishop had said. When he came before the Bishop, he took a knife with him intending to kill him. However, the Bishop's aids sensed this plan and they beat Kalonymos to death with their clubs.

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5



Jews looked heavenward and nodded their heads as though to say "No." With this the Christians smote them yet a second time.²⁹

On the fifth day of Sivan, on the evening of *חמשה עשר*, the report of what happened in Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, reached Cologne (Köln). Every Jew ran for shelter and protection to the home of his non-Jewish neighbor (the Jews were on good terms with the non-Jews in Cologne) and there they remained for two days. On the dawn of the third day, voices were heard heralding the advance of the crusaders under the leadership of Hermann Zimmerman. No sooner had they entered the city than they went to the homes of the Jews with the intention of repeating the work which they had so capably done in Mainz. However, they couldn't find any Jews at home and so had to be content with wrecking their housing, destroying their synagogue and profaning their Torah. On that very day an earthquake occurred which was interpreted by the crusaders as a sign of approval from heaven.³⁰ Due to the benevolence of the Christian citizenry of Cologne in protecting the Jews, only two people were killed by the crusaders. These two people met their death because they refused to take refuge with the Gentiles and gladly died *הלם קדוש*. The man's name was *מנחם בן אלקי* and the woman's name was *אגד רבקה*. When *מנחם* was

captured he was taken to a church and was asked to accept conversion. However, instead of doing this he spat upon the crusaders and taunted them. They immediately fell upon him and killed him. *איה רבקה* was attempting to bring some gold and silver vessels to her husband *ר' שלמה* who was staying at the home of a friendly christian, when some crusaders met her and after robbing her they killed her.³¹

Realizing that their position in Cologne was a most dangerous one, the Jews sought to obtain the fortress Walkenbur for themselves.

*ורבו קהל קלוניא נאמן לפאמן אל קלוניא הון
רבאמסור בידם אבדו ונקבדו אל אן באופאלי אגיר ופוביא
אל פער השומר האבד ד"ו אטל רבוע זלדק אבד נאמן וזין
צבר צו ודח פאנאם פערט אפאמן באפוטקו אל אפאמן
ואג אפאמן ואג פאנאם אל פער קלוניא*
32.

In addition to this the Bishop Herrmann III secretly moved the Jews to seven villages which were round about Cologne.

These are (1) *נאום* (2) *אזרפינגהאפן* (3) *אזרנבר*
(4) *מאיר* (5) *כרנאן* (6) *זנאן* (7) *מאיר*.

There the Jews remained for three weeks, praying for deliverance.³³ however, their prayers were to no avail for the blood thirst of the crusaders had not been quenched and they soon discovered the hiding places of the Jews. On the 3rd of Sivan many of the Jews in Wevelinghafen killed themselves *זל קטל פאן*. When the enemy approached the city, some of the *פאנאם* ascended a high tower and threw themselves into the Rhine.

On the fourth of Tammuz which fell on ~~Thursday~~ ^{ד' אב} the Crusaders invaded ^{א' תמוז}. (According to Neubauer and Stern it should be ^{א' תמוז} 34) When the Jewish people heard about the approach of the enemy they decided to die by their own hands rather than risk falling into the hands of the Crusaders. They chose five men who were to first kill the others and then themselves. These five were (1) ^{ר' יחזקאל ב"ר אבנא} (2) ^{ר' אבנא ב"ר יחזקאל} (3) ^{ר' אבנא ב"ר יחזקאל} (4) ^{ר' אבנא ב"ר יחזקאל} (5) ^{ר' אבנא ב"ר יחזקאל}. These men shut the doors and killed the Jews and afterwards ^{ר' אבנא ב"ר יחזקאל} killed the other four. He then ascended the tower of the house and threw himself down.³⁵

It was on ^{ד' אב} and the Jews of ^{א' תמוז} Graetz thinks that the name should read ^{א' תמוז} 36) had already sanctified the Sabbath when they saw the enemy approaching. They took council and decided that the only thing left for them to do was to kill themselves ^{א' תמוז}. According to ^{א' תמוז} sixty Jews killed themselves that night.³⁷

The refugees from Cologne thought they had found safety in ^{א' תמוז} for the city was fortified and the officer of the army promised to protect them. However on the 30th day of June (^{א' תמוז}), a tremendous army ^{א' תמוז} of Crusaders appeared before the

city gates and demanded that the Jews be handed over to them. The officer, probably realizing that he could not resist the Crusaders, urged the Jews to change their religion saying, "In the beginning I vowed to protect you as long as there was a Jew left in the world, but now that all the nations are gathered against you, it is impossible for me to keep my promise. If you do not surrender, the city will be destroyed. It is better that I hand you over to the Crusaders." When the Jews heard this, they all answered in one voice. *מַלְאָכֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ וְהִלְכִּים אִתָּנוּ כְּכֹל בְּיָמֵינוּ*

*. וְאֵת בִּירְיָא בִּירְיָא וְבִ'מִדָּר לֵאל*³⁸.

On July 1st the Crusaders invaded *כִּרְכֵּנָא* and there, all the Jews who had come as refugees from Cologne, gave their lives *עַל קְדוּשַׁת הָאֵם*.³⁹ when the Crusaders invaded Metz, 22 Jews were killed in the ensuing persecutions. According to *סֵפֶר הַבְּחִינִים*, "most of the Jewish inhabitants were compelled to commit iniquities, (probably undergo conversion) until the day of anger passed at which time they returned unto God."⁴⁰ In Regensburg, the Crusaders forced the Jews to enter into the river and there took place a mass baptism.

however, these Jews were acting only under compulsion and turned to their religion as soon as the *ה' ה'* had gone.⁴¹

According to Graetz, during the two months of May and

June, twelve thousand Jews either killed themselves or were killed in the various villages along the Rhine.⁴² The reason this terrible massacre was continuing unhampered was because Henry was busy in Italy and therefore could not devote his attention to the situation at home. However, when Henry returned to Germany and saw what had happened, he issued a proclamation saying, "Whosoever of the Jews was forced to be baptized and didn't accept it willingly, may return to the Jewish religion and practice it as formerly." Clement III who was ordinarily on good terms with Henry, protested his action saying,

הנני פורש, חסד ואמת
אמר ואכל אחינו כי גישונו לבבם לזה שלא לבא אל פתח הכנסייה
אל הכנסייה בקדושה ולשון עליה חרבה דליכי ב' כורס

However, Henry paid no attention to this and sought to punish those who were responsible for the crime. When the King summoned the Archbishop Rothard of Mainz to appear before him, he fled from Mainz to דרפורט, for he realized that his guilt would be established. For this reason Henry excommunicated the archbishopric of Mainz in 1098.⁴⁴ Henry's actions did much to revive the Jewish communities which had been ravaged by the Crusaders.

In the year 1146 there was felt another wave of crusading zeal. The priest, Rudolf of France went throughout France and Germany stirring up the people to undertake

another crusade against the infidels. he was a spell-binder and told the people that they must first wipe out the opponents of Catholicism before they could recapture, the Holy land. When he came to the Rhine district in Germany, the first thing he did was to excite the Christians against the Jews. Rudolf travelled from city to city and from village to village telling the people that their first duty was *ארכמיר, ראש איד אגב היבוצים הולבים בישראל*

This aroused the people to such a frenzy that the destruction of the Jews would have been more complete than it had been in the days of the first Crusade had it not been for Conrad III who frowned on this misguided zeal and took his place at the side of the Jews in order to guard them and protect them. In the land which he himself ruled, he set aside the city *ארכמיר* as well as other fortified places for the Jews so that they could assemble there and ward off the attacks of the crusaders. However, in spite of his well meaning decrees designed to protect the Jews, we find that his words were not taken very seriously.⁴⁵ Some of the clergy even ventured to voice disapproval of Rudolf's sermons. Henry I, the archbishop of Mainz was kindly disposed toward the Jews and provided refuge in his palace to many Jewish families. However, Rudolf had incited the mob to such a frenzy that they broke down the doors of the

archbishop's palace and killed the Jews before his very eyes. This embittered the archbishop so much that he rushed protest letters to Bernard of Clairvaux who was then regarded as one of the most influential of Catholics. He described the terrible atrocities perpetrated against the Jews and appealed to Bernard to undertake a campaign against Rudolf. Bernard, who never viewed the activities of Rudolf favorably, sent a letter to the archbishop which was a condemnation of Rudolf and his activities. This letter was read from all the pulpits of his bishopric. However, it failed to produce the desired effect, for Rudolf did not cease his activities. Both he and his followers were so insane in their hatred of the Jews that they could not and would not cease persecuting them. As a result of this Bernard decided to come to Germany and use his reputation and influence to stop the spilling of Jewish blood. Upon his arrival he travelled from city to city and from village to village in order to counteract the venomous propaganda of Rudolf. In Mainz Bernard and Rudolf finally met face to face and Bernard ordered Rudolf to cease preaching his inflammatory sermons and to return to France. Had Bernard not been such a tremendous personality in the Catholic world, there would have undoubtedly been some among those who had been poisoned by the words of

Rudolf who would have assassinated Bernard. In spite of
Bernards intervention, the hatred which Rudolf implanted
in the hearts of his followers still burnt. They reasoned
אם מדעם השוב והישר הוא בדין ואליהם להאמין בכופרים המאחזים
ובגדלים, הלא לאיחוד אנחנו איננו צריכים להאמין בכופרים המאחזים? 46

The situation grew much worse when Conrad III having under-
taken a crusade, left Germany. Germany was left without a
ruler and everyone did that which was favorable in his eyes.

Ephraim of Bonn said, בימים שבהם אין מלך שוב לישראל (מיני) כל
האנשים כי פתחו דונחוד דבא נאמן וילך וינאמיה.

No sooner had Conrad crossed the German border than the
Zealots broke all bounds כל איש ישראל בכל אשר מבאו 47

In the month of אלול in the year 1146, the first
sacrifices were offered on the altar of fanaticism, as a
result of the sermons which Rudolf preached. A man
whose name was ר' שלמה of טריביר was returning
from England through the city of Cologne. As he embarked
on the boat which sailed on the Rhine toward טריביר,
the Crusaders seized him and took him to a church where
they tried to force him to receive baptism. And where he
refused to comply with their wishes, they cut his head off. 48

There was also a Jewess whose name was מרג מינה מאלפרה. 49
As she was leaving the city Cologne, the crusaders seized
her and cut off her ears and thumbs. Thus she suffered for

the remainder of her days *פולקלירס*.⁴⁹ Realizing that their lives were in constant danger, the Jews appealed to the authorities to give them fortified cities. In response to this appeal, the cardinal of Cologne gave them the fortress *קדבורג* and also gave them permission to defend themselves through the use of weapons. As long as the Jews remained inside the fort, they were reasonably safe, but as soon as they left it, they were in danger of being attacked and forced to experience all manner of suffering.⁵⁰

On the 24th day of the 12th month in 1147 (Graetz gives the date as 24th of February⁵¹) some of the gentile population of Wertzburg spread a rumor saying, "We have found the corpse of a gentile in the river -- you have killed him and have thrown him into the river." The gentiles were greatly stirred and in the massacre that followed *פולקלירס* as well as twenty other souls were killed. On the following day, the bishop ordered that the corpses be gathered and buried in his garden. However, *פולקלירס* and his wife *פולקלירס'* bought the garden from the bishop and it became their possession.⁵² The three Jewish families that dwelt in Bachrach fled to a place of safety where they remained for some time. However, when they left the stronghold some non-Jews met them and urged them "Come with us and let us

be one people." But the Jews refused to foresake their god. The names of the three men were אליקים נדב' ב' אל'ק'ם, אברהם ב' אלה'א and קאז'אוס ב' מרדכי. When they took קאז'אוס to church, he spit on their idol and so they killed him. The other two men attempted to hide under a bed, however, they were discovered and pierced through with swords.⁵³

At this time both the priveleges and limitations of the Jewish population of Germany were being defined and it would be well for us to consider these points here. Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) declared that the Jews were not entitled to exceed the limits of their rights nor should they be harmed or deterred from their rights. He further said that no Christian should force any Jew to accept conversion. On the other hand, if a Jew converted himself voluntarily, he should not suffer insult. No Christian should punish a Jew without due process of the law nor take their (the Jews) money nor alter the principle of right dealing which they had enjoyed. The Jewish cemetary was not to be profaned. Anyone who disobeyed these ordinances was to lose both his office and his honor and faced excommunication.⁵⁴ In addition to the above mentioned ordinances, certain restrictions were placed upon the Christian popula-


tion. They were forbidden to bain the permanent employ of Jews. Also midwives and nurses were forbidden to nourish Jewish children, "because the customs of the Jews and Christians are diametrically opposed to each other and the Jew might influence his Christian employe to be converted to Judaism.⁵⁵ In 1179 the Third Lateran Council passed a series of laws limiting the rights of Jews. Jews were forbidden to own Christian slaves and anyone (Christian) found living with them was threatened with excommunication. Testimony by a Christian against a Jew was acceptable at all trials "because the Jews use their own witnesses against Christians too." Anathema was threatened to whoever preferred the testimony of a Jew to that of a Christian "because Jews should stay in the background since they are only tolerated out of humanitarian reasons. In order to show the converted that they had bettered their conditions by accepting Christianity, it was essential that under no circumstance should they lose their possession and hence we find the law that "if necessary the secular power should restore their possessions."⁵⁶

In the year 1179, a ship arrived from Cologne and in it were some Jewish passengers. As it drew near to Boppard another ship drew up directly behind it. where the

two ships had docked it was found that a gentile woman had fallen dead and no one knew who smote her. It so happened that some of the Jews who were on the first ship were walking on the river banks. When the gentiles saw them, they called after them saying "Why did you kill the gentile woman?" This cry was taken up and carried through the city of Boppard. That day many Jews met their death by being tossed alive into the Rhine because they refused to be converted.⁵⁷

In the year 1180, during the reign of Frederick, three gentile boys from /L/4// (Vienna), which was in Germany, went out to play on the ice. The ice gave way under them and they fell into the water. Although no one even touched them, the gentiles accused the Jews of this. And witnesses testified saying "We have seen them going to their homes. They have done this thing." When the Emperor heard this he put into custody those Jews who were in the cities of his kingdom. These were indeed troublous times for the Jews. According to the chronicler about 300 Jews were burnt innocently at that time.⁵⁸ In the year 1187 still more troubles were heaped upon the weary shoulders of the German Jewish community. The news of the fall of Jerusalem caused clergymen to preach sermons against the Jews. Kaiser Frederick objected to this and protected them

as far as he was able. However, this protection was purchased for a price.⁵⁹

In 1196, a gentile woman was found murdered near the city of Speyer. The gentiles immediately circulated a rumor that the Jews killed her. So fanatical did the mob become that they took the corpse of the daughter of Rabbi Yitzchak bar Asher Ha Levi out of its grave during the period he was in mourning for her. They then hung the naked body in the market place and tied a rat to her hair in order to mock and taunt the Jews. It was only after Rabbi Yitzchak had ransomed the corpse through bribery that he was allowed to bury it. On the following day, a crowd besieged the rabbi's house and killed him together with eight people who were with him. They also burned all the houses of the . The Jews then fled to the attic of the synagogue and pulled the ladder up after them. When help finally arrived, they lowered the ladder and stole out of the city in the dead of night. The enemy had taken all of their possessions -- they threw their books as well as the Torah into the water and they burnt their synagogue.⁶⁰ When Duke Otto, the brother of Henry VI, heard of this outrage which had been committed against the Jewish people of Speyer he became very angry, for he had already accepted money from them for his protection and had instructed the

citizens of Speyer not to harm them. He gathered an army and besieged the city and set to ruins all the villages, the fields, and the courts which the bishops and the citizens owned. *ידיק אגב'הם וידוק אה קאמפס דר'אן ארבה*
Afterwards the culprits responsible for the violence against the Jews were caught and they were forced to pay the Jewish community 500 *זקוק'*, to rebuild the houses which they had destroyed and to rebuild the synagogue which they had burnt.⁶¹

On November 1196 the Crusaders broke into the house of one of the great Talmudists of Germany, Rabbi *אדנר בן יהודה* and before his very eyes they tortured and killed his wife *אירא דר'אן* who had supported her husband so that he could study Torah. They also killed his two daughters and his son Jacob and his students who were studying at his home. Only the Rabbi remained alive but the Crusaders had robbed and plundered him of his possessions. Later, one of the murderers was caught and sentenced to death.⁶² An interesting story is told about a *רבי שמואל בר'בנא* of Worms. On the road between Mainz and Worms some brigands fell upon him and killed him but not until he had first killed three of them.⁶³

Many piyyutim were written concerning the terrible

suffering which the Jews experienced during the 12th century.

It was customary to read these either on the Saturday before שבתות or on ג'שדה באב or on שבתות.⁶⁴

Concerning these piyyutim, which were in reality lamentations,

Dubnow writes: שיר יפודי אלכנן וברכת במה השמים צללה
מאה קנים והמה ומי. הפייטנים מקוננים בצד חורבן ירושלים גם
זו בחורבן בחדל של קהלות שב"רא, ויירא"ש, ואבא קדוש ברוך
והרפורצנו בארצות אדומים ואל דל כי שפיוטים ואלה שמתקבו
בידי גדולי הרבנים אינם מגלים בידי הסמלן איבירות אחרת
ספרד, הריבץ נבטיח אלהה דיגל הכדור ופנח הפודם בהם
65.

We have many of the piyyutim which were written in the twelfth century and on the basis of their contents we gain a picture of conditions of that time. It was necessary for the Jew to find a release to his pent-up emotions and the payytan found this very release when he composed his piyyutim. All of his bitterness and frustration was poured into his poems. ספר הקמדות speaks correctly when it calls the piyyutim a נאקל דמדות. It will suffice to refer to the piyyut by Eliezer bar Nathan as an example of this type of poetry. (Others may be found in ספר הקמדות נב-תח) He intersperses his accounts of the atrocities perpetrated by the crusaders with acrostics:

אקונן ואספדה ואליהה זלי כנסת אבולאק זלי אבי ואלק זי מכיל
נחל
אבש חרדה בלחש לדוד מלכותא כי ירדה דתה נבד גדולה
יבדים ירדן אכלו מרדכי שכל הרדיוס המגדים הנחלה

זא אלה מידה כ' הי"ת גיורה וד"ר מקור דמדה ואסכד יומא וז"ל
ג' דקא שבר אגבר כ' בולו בנים דר אשבר שבר זל שבר למרבה וכלה
גמכו ופנכו וזמאן כחקה' סיט טאמיק קוח' ה' שאת לקול המולה
הרבויס ככל פאך קדש' אליהוי המאן גמניס כה"ל מלך בשמחה
וג' ה'.

Why have you not tried
to translate this composition, if you
have already cited it?

CONCLUSION

Thus we conclude our study of the life of the Jew in Germany in the 12th century. The century began with the spilling of Jewish blood (1096) and at its conclusion (1196) the lust of the Crusaders had not yet been sated. These people under the guise of religious sanction perpetrated some of the most monstrous crimes known to mankind. It was Gudemann who said that "Only the members of one generation actually suffered the physical hardships wrought by the crusades but the accompanying spiritual havoc which it left behind it can be seen in its effects of Jews of our own day." However, in spite of all this external pressure, and in spite of the barbaric massacres, the Jewish community in Germany survived. The Jew conducted his entire life in his *1670's* and there he pursued his business, engaged in the study of Torah, prayed, and enjoyed the peace of his home life.

In many respects the events of the 12th century run parallel to conditions in present-day Germany. And yet we learn a most valuable lesson from this entire study, namely that the Jewish will to live has always been victorious over the tyrants' will to destroy us. All that remains of the crusades are records of their shameful actions and ignominious defeats. All the mighty armies of the crusaders were put to flight and destroyed ---- the Jew armed with the faith instilled in him by the synagogue and with love and reverence for learning, survived.

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