

Jewish Monuments of the Middle Ages in Germany: One Hundred and Ten Tombstone
Inscriptions from Speyer, Cologne, Nuremberg and Worms (1085-c. 1428): Part I

Author(s): Adolf Kober

Source: *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. 14 (1944), pp.
149-220

Published by: American Academy for Jewish Research

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3622107>

Accessed: 25-04-2018 18:13 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

American Academy for Jewish Research is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve
and extend access to *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*

JEWISH MONUMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN GERMANY

One Hundred and Ten Tombstone Inscriptions from
Speyer, Cologne, Nuremberg and Worms (1085–c. 1428)

ADOLF KOBER

Part I

FOREWORD

The publication of one hundred and ten inscriptions from Jewish tombstones of the Middle Ages (1085–c. 1428) needs no justification. *Saxa loquuntur*. The majority of the inscriptions presented here come from the old Jewish communities of Speyer and Cologne. A few are from Nuremberg and Worms. Only thirty-five of the total number, mostly from Cologne, have been published before. But that was many years ago and the results, for the most part, were unsatisfactory. When the oldest Jewish cemetery in Cologne was rediscovered in 1922, my attention was drawn to medieval Jewish monuments of this sort and I began to make a study of them. At the annual meeting of the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums in 1927, I submitted a detailed report on the subject. Later I was invited by the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin to publish a volume on the tombstones of Cologne and Speyer. The Nazi regime, however, prevented the completion of the work, for which I was still gathering material shortly before my departure from Cologne. It was also impossible to publish a small volume, almost completed, on the surviving Jewish monuments of the Middle Ages in Germany, which the Schocken-Verlag was planning to issue with illustrations.

The inscriptions from Speyer and Cologne have been prefaced with extended introductions on the history of the respective

cemeteries and their tombstones. In view of the fact that almost a hundred years have passed since the publication of Zunz's treatise, "Das Gedächtnis der Gerechten," it seemed advisable to begin with a survey of the existing inscriptions, especially those of Germany. In working over the material, I have received much valuable assistance. To Professors Salo W. Baron, the late Ismar Elbogen, Aaron Freimann, Louis Ginzberg, Alexander Marx and Shalom Spiegel I owe a profound debt of thanks. Professors Freimann, Ginzberg and Spiegel had the great kindness to examine the Hebrew inscriptions critically and made many helpful suggestions. I cannot refrain from mentioning with gratitude the name of my former teacher, Marcus Brann (1849–1920), who always showed great interest in Hebrew tombstone inscriptions. Finally, I owe special thanks to the American Academy for Jewish Research which has made it possible to include photographic reproductions of the inscriptions.

ABBREVIATIONS

- anon. = anonymous
 b. = ben, bar (= son)
 C. = Cologne (when followed by number of the inscription)
 d. = daughter
 f. = father
 m. = man
 N. = Nuremberg (when followed by number of the inscription)
 R. = Rabbi
 s. = son
 Sp. = Speyer (when followed by number of the inscription)
 W. = Worms (when followed by number of the inscription)
 w. = woman
 w. d. = without date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD.....	149
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	151
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	153
I. INTRODUCTION.....	163
1. Remains of Medieval Jewish Monuments in Southern, Western and Central Europe.	163
2. Jewish Tombs and Tombstones and their Fate.....	168
3. Survey of the Tombstones and Inscriptions surviving in Italy, Spain, France and particularly Germany.....	170
4. Language and Style of the Inscriptions.....	179
II. HEBREW TOMBSTONES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM SPEYER (1085-1427).....	187
1. The Jewish Cemetery in Speyer and its History.....	187
2. The Inscriptions (1-42).....	191
a. Dated Inscriptions.....	191
b. Undated Inscriptions.....	210
3. Language and Style of the Inscriptions.....	215
4. Persons mentioned in the Inscriptions.....	216
5. The Historical and Artistic Significance of the Tombstones.....	217
III. HEBREW TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM COLOGNE (12th TO 15th CENTURIES).....	
1. Sources, Maps and Plans.....	
2. The <i>Judenbüchel</i> outside the Bonn Gate in Cologne.....	
3. The Excavations at the <i>Judenbüchel</i> in Cologne in 1922.....	

4. History of the Jewish Cemetery outside the Bonn Gate.....
 5. The Fate of the Tombstones from the Jewish Cemetery at the Bonn Gate.....
 6. The Inscriptions (1-62).....
 - a. Dated Inscriptions.....
 - b. Undated Inscriptions.....
 - c. Inscriptions from Tombstones no longer Surviving.....
 7. Script and Style of the Inscriptions from Cologne.....
 8. Persons mentioned in the Inscriptions.....
 9. List of Persons buried in the Cemetery from 1597 to 1696 (According to the Deutz Memorial Book).....
- IV. THREE TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NUREMBERG (1296-1349).....
- V. FOUR TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM WORMS (12th TO 14th CENTURIES).....
- VI. SUMMARY OF RESULTS.....
1. The Formulas used in the Inscriptions.....
 2. The Artistic Significance of the Tombstones .
 3. Their Historical Significance.....
- VII. APPENDIX.....
- A. Documents pertaining to the History of the Cemetery at Cologne.....
 - B. View and Sketches by Otto Kraus of the Cemetery at Cologne.....
 - C. Photographic Reproductions of the Inscriptions.....

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, founded by Ludwig Philippson, 1839 ff. (Cited as *AZdJ*).
- ALTMANN, A., *Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Land Salzburg*, Berlin, 1913.
- Antiquitates Judaicae Pragenses* (and "Kurze erläuternde Notizen" thereto), Eigentum und Verlag der Prager israelitischen Beerdigungs-Brüderschaft, n. d.
- ARONIUS, JULIUS, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273*, Berlin, 1902.
- ASCOLI, G. J., *Iscrizione inedite o mal note, Greche, Latine, Ebraiche, di antichi sepolchri giudaici di Napolitano, edite e illustrate . . . con otto Tavole fotolitografiche*, Torino, 1880.
- BABAD, JOSEF, "Jüdische Grabsteine in Kärnten," *MGWJ*, LXXX (1936), 52-57.
- BAERWALD, H., *Der alte Friedhof der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt a. M.*, Frankfort, 1883.
- BARON, SALO WITTMAYER, *The Jewish Community. Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1942.
- BIRNBAUM, S., *Outline of Hebrew Palaeography*, which was announced for publication in London, 1939, but has not yet appeared, to my knowledge.
- Bonner Jahrbücher = Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden aus dem Rheinland*, Bonn, 1842 ff. (Cited as *BJ*).
- BRANN, MARCUS, "Die hebräischen Grabschriften schlesischer Juden aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert." Appendix II of *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien*, pp. vi-xiii. *Jahresbericht des jüdischen-theologischen Seminars Fraenckelscher Stiftung*, Breslau, 1896.
- BRANN, MARCUS, "Ein neuer Grabsteinfund in Breslau," *MGWJ*, LXII (1914), 97-107.

- BRANN, MARCUS, Jüdische Grabsteine in Ulm. Reprint from *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage des Herrn Oberkirchenrats Dr. Th. Kroner in Stuttgart*, Breslau, 1917.
- BRETHOLZ, BERTOLD, Geschichte der Juden in Mähren im Mittelalter. Erster Teil: Bis zum Jahr 1350, Brünn-Prague-Leipzig-Vienna, 1934.
- BRETHOLZ, BERTOLD, "Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Mähren vom XI. bis zum XV. Jahrhundert (1067-1411)," *Schriften der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Cechoslovakischen Republik*, I, Prague, 1935.
- BREUER, WERNER, Burgbann und Burgmeile von Köln, Cologne, 1921 (Jur. Dissertation, Bonn).
- BRIEGLEB, H. C., "Der ehemalige 'Leichenhof der Juden' in Nürnberg," in Joseph Kobak's *Jeschurun*, VI (Bamberg, 5628 = 1868), 190-201.
- CARLEBACH, E., Die rechtlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der jüdischen Gemeinde Speyer, Worms, Mainz von ihren Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1901.
- CASSUTO, UMBERTO, Iscrizioni ebraiche a Bari. Extract from *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XV, Rome, 1934.
- CASSUTO, UMBERTO, Iscrizioni ebraiche a Trani. Extract from *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XIII, Rome, 1932.
- CHWOLSON, D., Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum, St. Petersburg, 1882.
- CLERMONT-GANNEAU, CH., Epigraphes hébraïques et grecques sur des ossuaires juifs inédits, Paris, 1883.
- COHN, GUSTAV, Der jüdische Friedhof, Frankfurt, 1930.
- DAVIDSON, ISRAEL, אוצר השירה הפיוט, 4 vols., New York, 1924-33.
- DICKER, H., Die Geschichte der Juden in Ulm, Rottweil, 1937. Appendix, pp. 76-78.
- DONATH, L., Geschichte der Juden in Mecklenburg von den ältesten Zeiten (1266) bis auf die Gegenwart, Leipzig, 1874.
- EMMANUEL, I. S., "Saloniker Grabschriften aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *MGWJ*. LXXIV (1930), 421-29.
- ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA, vols. I-X, Berlin, 1928-34; esp. VII, 628-31. (Cited as Enc. Jud.)

- EPSTEIN, A., "Ein wiedergefundener Grabstein auf dem Wormser jüdischen Friedhofe," *MGWJ*, L (1906), 190–95.
- EPSTEIN, A., "Jüdische Altertümer in Speier," *MGWJ*, XLI (1897), 25–43.
- EUTING, I., "Über die alten hebräischen Steine im Elsass," *Festschrift des protestantischen Gymnasiums*, Strassburg, 1888, pp. 229–46.
- FREMERSDORF, FRITZ, Römische und Fränkische Gräber bei der Severinskirche in Köln," *BJ*, CXXXVIII (Darmstadt, 1933), 22–80.
- FREY, JEAN-BAPTISTE, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, I. Recueil des inscriptions Juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre Ère, vol. 1: Europe. Citta del Vaticano, Rome, 1936.
- GERMANIA JUDAICA, Band I, 1 ed. by M. Brann and A. Freimann, Frankfurt, 1917; Band I, 2 ed. by I. Elbogen, A. Freimann and H. Tykocinski, Breslau, 1934. (Cited as GJ)
- GILDEMEISTER, JOH., "Ältere jüdische Grabsteine," *BJ*, L/LI (Bonn, 1871), 295–302.
- GINSBURGER, M., *Der Israelitische Friedhof in Jungholz*, Gebweiler, 1904.
- GINSBURGER, M., *Die Juden in Basel*. Reprint from the *Baseler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, VIII (1909), no. 2.
- GINSBURGER, M., "Les inscriptions hébraïques du premier cimetière Juif de Bâle," *REJ*, LXXXI (1925), 188–92.
- GINSBURGER, M., "Une nouvelle inscription hébraïque à Bâle," *REJ*, LXXXVII (1929), 209–11.
- GOLD, HUGO, *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Ein Sammelwerk, Brünn, 1929.
- GROTTE, ALFRED, *Die Bedeutung der Galiläischen Synagogen-Ausgrabungen für die Wissenschaft*, *MGWJ*, 65 (1921), 16–31 (cf. S. Klein, *ib.* 277).
- GROTTE, ALFRED, *Alte schlesische Judenfriedhöfe*, Berlin, 1927.
- GROTTE, ALFRED, *Synagogenspuren in schlesischen Kirchen*, Breslau, 1937.

- GRUNWALD, MAX, "Aus Böhmen," *MGWJ*, LXXI (1927), 416–25.
- GRUNWALD, MAX, "Aus Rotenburg ob der Tauber," *MGWJ*, LXXII (1928), 204–12.
- GRUNWALD, MAX, "Aus Spanien und Portugal," *MGWJ*, LXXIII (1929), 366–76.
- GRUNWALD, MAX, "Le cimetière de Worms," *REJ*, Nouvelle Série, IV (1938), 71–111. (Cited as Grunwald, Worms).
- HAGEN, JOSEPH, *Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz* (P. d. G. f. Rh. G., VIII), oder Erläuterungen zum Gesch. Atlas der Rheinprovinz, 2d ed., Bonn, 1931.
- HAMMERSCHLAG, S., "Inscriptions tumulaires de la Basse-Autriche," *REJ*, XXIX (1894), 245–53.
- HARKAVY, ALBERT, *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1876.
- HERZOG, D., *Der jüdische Grabstein in der Burg zu Graz* (Schriften der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, No. 34), Frankfurt, 1928.
- HERZOG, D., "Jüdische Grabsteine und Urkunden aus der Steiermark," *MGWJ*, LXXV (1931), 30–47; LXXX (1936), 58–79, 118–21.
- HOENIGER, ROBERT, *Kölner Schreinsurkunden des 12. Jahrhunderts* (P. d. G. f. Rh. G.), Bonn, 1884–94.
- HOROVITZ, MARCUS, *Die Inschriften des alten Friedhofes der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt a. M.*, Frankfurt, 1901.
- HÜLSEN, JULIUS, *Der alte Judenfriedhof zu Frankfurt a. M.*, Frankfurt, 1932.
- Der Israelit*, founded by Marcus Lehmann, Frankfurt, 1860 ff.
- Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinland*, L/LI, Bonn, 1871 = *Bonner Jahrbücher*.
- JARACZEWSKI, ADOLPH, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Erfurt*, Erfurt, 1868.
- JELLINEK, Ad., *Märtyrer und Memorbuch . . . nach Handschriften zu Deutz, Coblenz, Düsseldorf und Versailles*, Vienna, 1881.

- Judenschreibsbuch der Laurenzpfarre in Köln, ed. by R. Hoeningger and M. Stern (Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, I), Berlin, 1888. (Cited as Jschr.).
- Jüdische Gotteshäuser und Friedhöfe in Württemberg, Stuttgart, 1932, published by the Consistory of the Israelitish Religious Community of Wurtemberg, pp. 35 ff. (The descriptive portion is by Rabbi Dr. Rieger.)
- Jüdisches Lexikon, 5 vols., Berlin, 1927–30. (Cited as JL).
- KAHAN, ZNAIM, "Grabsteine aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, *MGWJ*, LXXIII (1929), 382–84; LXXIV (1930), 134–35, 226. (Cf. Baneth, *ibid.*, LXXIV, p. 133.)
- KAUFMANN, DAVID, "Der Grabstein des R. Jakob b. Mosé ha-Levi in Worms," *MGWJ*, XLII (1898), 223–29.
- KAUFMANN, DAVID, "Die Grabsteine R. Meirs von Rothenburg und Alexander Wimpfens in Worms," *MGWJ*, XL (1896), 126–30.
- KAUFMANN, DAVID, "Die jüdischen Friedhöfe Ofens," *MGWJ*, XL (1896), 84–90.
- KAUFMANN, David, *Gesammelte Schriften*, v. 3, ed. by Marcus Brann, Frankfurt, 1915, pp. 154–72: Beiträge zur jüdischen Archäologie; pp. 398–410: XXVII Iscrizioni inedite o mal note greche, latine, ebraiche, di antichi sepolcri di Napolitano.
- KAUFMANN, DAVID, "Inscriptions tumulaires de Wiener Neustadt," *REJ*, XXX (1895), 300–303.
- KLEIN, SAMUEL, "Inchriftliches aus Jaffa," *MGWJ*, LXXV (1931), 369–74.
- KLEIN, SAMUEL, *Jüdisch-Palästinensisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (Ossuar-, Grab- und Synagogeninschriften), Vienna-Berlin, 1920.
- KNIPPING, R., *Die Kölner Stadtrechnungen des Mittelalters*, I–II (P. d. G. f. Rh. G., XV), Bonn, 1897–99.
- KNIPPING, R., *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln*, III, 1, 2 (P. d. G. f. Rh. G., XXI), Bonn, 1909–13.
- KOBER, ADOLF, *Cologne* (Jewish Communities Series), Philadelphia, 1940.

- KOBER, ADOLF, Grundbuch des Kölner Judenviertels 1135–1425 (Publ. der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, XXXIV), Bonn, 1920.
- KOBER, ADOLF, "Rheinische Judendoktoren, vornehmlich des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts." *Festschrift zum 75 jährigen Bestehen des Jüdisch-Theologischen Seminars Fraenkelscher Stiftung*, II, Breslau, 1929, pp. 173–236.
- KOBER, ADOLF, "Vier Generationen einer jüdischen Familie im Rheinland um 1400," in *Festschrift Dr. Jacob Freimann, zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1937, pp. 106 ff.
- KOBER, ADOLF, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Ärzte*, s. I., 1940.
- KOBER, ADOLF, and MOSES, ELISABETH, *Aus der Geschichte der Juden im Rheinland: Jüdische Kult- und Kunstdenkmäler in den Rheinlanden* (Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalspflege und Heimatschutz, Heft 1), Düsseldorf, 1931.
- KRAUSS, SAMUEL, *Talmudische Archäologie*, II, Leipzig, 1911.
- KRAUSS, SAMUEL, *Die Galiläischen Synagogenruinen und die Halacha*, *MGWJ*, LXV (1921), 211–220.
- KRAUTHEIMER, R., *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, Berlin (Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt), 1927.
- KRONER, THEODOR, "Die Erfurter hebräischen Grabinschriften," *MGWJ*, XXXIII (1884), 349–63.
- KRONER, THEODOR, *Festschrift zur Einweihung der neuen Synagoge in Erfurt*, Erfurt, 1884.
- Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, Düsseldorf, 1906 ff., I, 1 and 2: *Das Römische Köln*; II, 4: H. Vogts, *Die profanen Denkmäler der Stadt Köln* (1930); III, 5; IV, 4.
- LEKET JOSHER (לקט ישר) des Josef b. Mose: *Kollektaneen seines Lehrers Israel Isserlein*, ed. Jakob Freimann, *Mekize Nirdamim*, I–II, Berlin, 1903–4.
- LEVI, SALI, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten jüdischen Grabsteine in Mainz*, Mainz, 1926.
- LEVI, SALI, "Magenza": *Zum 500 jährigen Todestage des Maharil*. Special Number of the *Menorah*, Vienna, 1927.
- LEVY, LUDWIG, "Brünn, die ältesten Grabsteine in Mähren," in *Gold, Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Brünn, 1929, pp. 23–29.

- LEVY, MAX, Der alte israelitische Friedhof zu Worms a. Rh.: Zwölf Kunstblätter mit Vorwort . . ., Worms, 1913.
- LEVY, MAX, ROTHSCHILD, S., and METZLER, GEORGE, Zur Geschichte der Wormser jüdischen Gemeinde, ihrer Friedhöfe und ihres Begräbniswesens (Gedenkschrift zur Eröffnung des neuen Friedhofs Worms im November 1911), Worms, 1911.
- LEWINSKY, A., "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Münster (Westfalen)," *MGWJ*, L (1906), 89-93.
- LEWISOHN, L., נפשות צדיקים: Sechzig Epitaphien von Grabsteinen des israelitischen Friedhofs zu Worms, Frankfurt, 1855.
- LIEBEN, K., *Gal-Ed*, Grabsteininschriften des Prager israelitischen Friedhofs, Prague, 1856.
- LIEBEN, S. H., Das jüdische Museum in Prag, Prague, n. d.
- LIEBEN, S. H., "Jüdische Grabsteine in den historischen Ländern," in *Die jüdischen Denkmäler in der Tschechoslowakei*, Prague, 1933, pp. 19-30.
- LITZEL, GEORG, Erklärung eines jüdischen Grabsteines zu Speyer, Speyer, 1759.
- LOESCHKE, SIEGFRIED, "Frühchristliche Denkmäler aus Trier," *Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalspflege und Heimatschutz*, XXIX (Düsseldorf, 1936), 91-145.
- LÖWENSTEIN, L., Geschichte der Juden am Bodensee und in dessen Umgebung, Gailingen, 1879.
- LUZATTO, SAMUEL DAVID, מבני זכרון: 76 Epitaphien aus Tolédo, Prague, 1841.
- MERX, ADALBERT, Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe, Leyden, 1894.
- MEYER, ISAAK, Zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg. (Gedenkschrift zum Jahrestage der Einweihung der neuen Synagoge). Berlin, 1913.
- Mitteilungen aus dem Kölner Stadtarchiv, Heft 1 ff., Köln, 1882 ff. (Cited as Mitt.).
- Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung Jüdischer Kunst-
denkmäler, I: Zweck und Ziel der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunst-
denkmäler zu Frankfurt a. M., mit

- 23 Abbildungen, von Direktor Heinrich Frauberger, Oktober 1900. (Cited as *Mitteilungen*).
- Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, founded by Zacharias Frankel, 1851 ff. (Cited as *MGWJ*).
- MOSES, LEOPOLD, *Die Juden in Niederoesterreich*, Vienna, 1935.
- NEUBAUER, A., and STERN, M., *Hebraeische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge (Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, II)*, Berlin, 1892. (Cited as *Neubauer-Stern*, Qu. II).
- RABIAH, ed. V. Aptowitzer, *Introductio ad Sefer Rabiah* (ספר ראבי"ה), *Mekize Nirdamim*, Jerusalem, 1938.
- REICH, I., *Grabsteine vom jüdischen Friedhofe im Mittelalter in Znaim*, Znaim, 1932.
- REICKE, EMIL, *Geschichte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg . . .*, Nuremberg, 1896.
- REINACH, THÉODORE, "Inscriptions de Touba," *REJ*, LXXXV (1928), 1–10.
- Revue des Etudes Juives*, Paris, 1880 ff. (Cited as *REJ*)
- ROTHSCHILD, L., *Die Judengemeinden zu Mainz, Speyer und Worms von 1349–1458*, Leipzig, 1904.
- ROTHSCHILD, SAMSON, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Israelitischen Gemeinde Worms*, 6th ed., Frankfurt, 1926.
- SALFELD, SIEGMUND, *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches (Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, III)*, Berlin, 1898.
- SALFELD, SIEGMUND, *Der alte israelitische Friedhof in Mainz und die hebräischen Inschriften des Mainzer Museums. Reprint from Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches*, Berlin, 1898.
- SALFELD, SIEGMUND, "Mainzer jüdische Grabsteine, gefunden i. J. 1922," *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, XVII–XIX (1921–24), pp. 62 ff.
- SCHUDT, JOHANN JACOB, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, I, Frankfurt, 1714.
- SCHÜTZ, D., "Die Ossuarien in Palästina," *MGWJ*, LXXV (1931), 286–92, 463–64.

- SCHWAB, MOISE, "Deux Epitaphes Judéo-Arabes," *REJ*, LVI (1908), 243–51.
- SCHWAB, MOISE, "Deux Inscriptions Hébraïques," *REJ*, LXV (1913), 147–50.
- SCHWAB, MOISE, "Inscriptions Hébraïques d'Espagne," *REJ*, LII (1906), 215–20.
- SCHWAB, MOISE, *Inscriptions Hébraïques en France du VIIe au XVe siècle (Extrait du Bulletin archéologique, 1897)*, Paris, 1898..
- SCHWAB, MOISE, *Rapport sur les inscriptions Hébraïques de la France (Extrait des Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires, XII)*, Paris, 1904. (Cited as Schwab, France).
- SCHWAB, MOISE, *Rapport sur les Inscriptions Hébraïques de l'Espagne (Extrait des Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires, XIV)*, Paris, 1907.
- SCHWAB, MOISE, *Une épitaphe Parisienne inédite*. Reprint from *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag A. Harkavy's*, Paris, 1909.
- SCHWAB, MOISE, "Une inscription Hébraïque à Chalcis," *REJ*, LIV (1907), 282–83.
- SCHWEINBURG-EIBENSCHITZ, S., "Documents sur les Juifs de Wiener Neustadt," *REJ*, XXVIII (1894), 247–64; XXIX (1894), 272–81.
- STEINBERG, AUGUSTA, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in der Schweiz während des Mittelalters*, Zürich, 1902.
- STEINSCHNEIDER, M., "Allgemeine Einleitung in die jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters," VII *Grabschriften*. *JQR*, XVII (1905), 564–70.
- STERN, MORITZ, (with the assistance of S. Salfeld), *Die israelitische Bevölkerung der deutschen Städte, III: Nürnberg im Mittelalter*, Kiel, 1894–96.
- SUKENIK, E. L., "Nochmals 'Die Ossuarien in Palästina'," *MGWJ*, LXXV (1931), 462–3.
- SUKENIK, E. L., *Two Jewish Hypogea*. Reprint from the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XII (1932).
- ULRICH, I. C., *Sammlung Jüdischer Geschichten in der Schweiz*, Basel, 1768.

Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. by Isaac Landmann, vols. 1–10, New York, 1939 ff. (Cited as Univ. J. Enc.)

WACHSTEIN, BERNHARD, Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien. I. Teil: 1540–1670, Vienna and Leipzig, 1912. (Cited as Wachstein, Die Inschriften).

WACHSTEIN, BERNHARD, Hebräische Grabsteine aus dem XIII.–XV. Jahrhundert in Wien und Umgebung (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, CLXXXI), Vienna, 1916.

Weinsberg, *Das Buch*, (P. d. G. f. Rh. G.), vols. 1–2, ed. by Konstantin Höhlbaum (1886–7); vols. 3–4, ed. by Friedrich Lau (1897–98); vol. 5: Kulturhistorische Erzählungen, ed. by Joseph Stein, Bonn, 1926.

WIENER, M., "Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Diözese Speyer," *MGWJ*, XII (1863), 161–77, 255–68, 297–310, 417–31, 454–66.

WOLF, SANDOR, "Die Entwicklung des Jüdischen Grabsteines und die Denkmäler des Eisenstädter Friedhofes," in Bernhard Wachstein, Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt, Vienna, 1922, pp. xix ff.

WÜRFEL, A., Historische Nachrichten von der Judengemeinde welche ehemals in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg ausgerichtet gewesen, aber ab 1499 ausgeschafft wurden, Nuremberg, 1755.

Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin, 1929. (Cited as *ZGJD*).

ZUCKERMANN, B., Anleitung und Tabellen zur Vergleichung jüdischer und christlicher Zeitangaben, ed. by Dr. Marcus Brann (Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenckelscher Stiftung), Breslau, 1893.

ZUNZ, LEOPOLD, "Das Gedächtnis der Gerechten," in *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, I, Berlin, 1845, pp. 304–458.

ZUNZ, LEOPOLD, "Namen der Juden," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, Berlin, 1876, pp. 1–82.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. REMAINS OF MEDIEVAL JEWISH MONUMENTS IN SOUTHERN, WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE.

Few medieval Jewish monuments and buildings antedating 1500 C.E. have come down to us from southern, western or central Europe. The Jewish communities suffered repeated disturbances. They not only shared the usual misfortunes of the general population but were subject to the special fate of periodic expulsions and loss of their property. Only the fact that synagogues were sometimes converted into churches or devoted to other public uses saved them here and there from total destruction.¹ Nothing has remained of the twelve or thirteen synagogues known to have existed in ancient Rome,² nor of the medieval synagogues in France³ or England.⁴ Among the rich and beautiful synagogues in Spain the old synagogue in Toledo, the present Santa Maria la Blanca, and another known as El Spirito, founded by Samuel ha-Levi in the fourteenth century and famous for its friezes and abundant Hebrew inscriptions, were closed as churches in 1888. Together with the synagogue at Cordova, built in 1315 in the *Calle de los Judios* and restored in 1884 to its original condition, with its wonderful façade and rich inscriptions, they were declared national monu-

¹ See, e. g., Kober, *Cologne*, p. 97; Krautheimer, *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, pp. 183 ff.; *Jüdische Gotteshäuser und Friedhöfe in Württemberg*; Grotte, *Synagogenspuren in schlesischen Kirchen*, plates I-V, X; Altmann, *Salzburg*, plates 8 (p. 113) and 12 (p. 171); Frauberger in *Mitteilungen*, I, p. 11; II, pp. 5, 12 (with reference to Trani, but see U. Cassuto, *Iscrizioni ebraiche a Trani*, pp. 178 ff.).

² Hermann Vogelstein, *Rome*, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 26 f.; 100 f.

³ Schwab, *Inscriptions hébraïques en France*; cf. Frauberger in *Mitteilungen*, I, p. 11.

⁴ Only a house in Bury St. Edmund and a building in Norwich which are supposed to have served as synagogues, besides two Romanesque dwelling-houses in Lincoln, have survived. See Frauberger, *Mitteilungen*, II, p. 5; I, p. 13; *Enc. Jud.*, X, p. 977; *Univ. J. Enc.*, VII, pp. 64 f.

ments by the government.⁵ In the former Holy Roman Empire only the synagogue of Worms,⁶ built in 1034 in Romanesque style, and the Gothic *Alineuschul* in Prague⁷ have survived into modern times. In many other cases only portions of medieval synagogues remain.⁸ Sometimes we have only pictorial representations⁹ or an occasional inscription left.¹⁰ The Jewish baths, being underground, often fared better. Thus the late Romanesque baths of Worms and Speyer, the baths of Offenburg (14th century), Friedberg in Hesse (c. 1260), and Andernach (14th century) have been preserved.¹¹

Of the medieval Jewish cemeteries in Germany only those of Worms, Frankfort on the Main and Prague escaped destruction, but only in part. For "nothing is destroyed with more burning fanaticism or with colder indifference than Jewish gravestones." Nevertheless, after each expulsion of the Jews from a German city these very gravestones were often used for construction work of one sort or another — foundation walls, church buildings, fortifications, bridges and sometimes private

⁵ Abraham Neumann, *The Jews in Spain*, Philadelphia, 1942, II, pp. 147 f., 150 f. For the inscriptions of the synagogue in Toledo see Schwab, *Inscriptions hébraïques de l'Espagne*, pp. 275–84; *Mitteilungen*, I, p. 6; II, pp. 40, 42.

⁶ Krautheimer, *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, pp. 151–176; idem, *ZGJD*, V (1934), pp. 87–99. For the inscriptions see A. Epstein, *MGWJ*, XL, 510–14, 554–59; Krautheimer, pp. 162–64, 268–70.

⁷ Zdenka Münzer, "Die Altneusynagoge in Prag," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Cechoslovakischen Republik*, IV (1932), 63–106, plates I–X. According to B. M. Trapp, in Gold, *Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens*, p. 417, the old synagogue in Nikolsburg beside the Castle Hill, "which still shines in all its glory today," was built about 1450.

⁸ E. g., in Miltenberg, cf. Krautheimer, pp. 191 ff.; Nuremberg, *ibid.*, pp. 250 ff.; Speyer, *ibid.*, pp. 145–50.

⁹ E. g., of Regensburg, cf. Frauberger, *Mitteilungen*, I, pp. 4, 11; Krautheimer, pp. 177–80; Erfurt, cf. Jaraczewski, *Juden in Erfurt*, frontispiece; Krautheimer, pp. 196–98; Metz, cf. *Mitteilungen*, I, p. 11; II, p. 12.

¹⁰ E. g., from Mainz, cf. S. Salfeld, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, III (1908), 106–10; Strassburg, cf. Euting, pp. 237–44; Schwab, *France*, p. 315; Ruffach, cf. Euting, p. 246; Schwab, l. c.; Molsheim, cf. Euting, p. 245; Schwab, l. c.; Eger, cf. Krautheimer, p. 215; Oppenheim a. M., cf. *ZGJD*, V (1934), 123.

¹¹ Krautheimer, pp. 138–75, 187 f., 217 ff.; Kober-Moses, pp. 106 ff.; perhaps of Cologne too (*ib.* 118, 119).

houses — with the result that in more recent times the biblical saying was fulfilled: **אבן מקיר חוֹעֵק** (Hab. 2.11): “The very stones of the wall shall speak.” For when the buildings were torn down or remodeled, some of these stones were brought to light and their inscriptions could be read again, provided the inscribed side had lain face downward.¹² As early as the seventeenth century individual Christian scholars began to give some attention to these stone fragments and their inscriptions.¹³ Among Jews an interest in their antiquities sprang up only about a hundred years ago. In 1841 S. D. Luzatto published seventy-six epitaphs from Toledo, while Leopold Zunz laid the foundations for the science of medieval Jewish epigraphy in his essay, “Das Gedächtnis der Gerechten” (*Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, I, 1845, pp. 304-458), which provided the necessary stimulus towards further research. In 1855 L. Lewysohn published **נפשות צדיקים** *Sechzig Epitaphien von Grabsteine des israelitischen Friedhofes zu Worms*. Lieben’s *Gal-Ed* appeared in 1856, with an introduction in Hebrew by S. I. Rappoport, followed in 1880 by G. I. Ascoli’s *Iscrizione*. David Kaufmann (1852–1899) urged his contemporaries repeatedly to collect Jewish inscriptions and to study them scientifically. As late as 1883 he found it necessary to say that, “Although much has been accomplished by individual Jewish scholars since Zunz’s memorable call to work in this field, there is still lacking today the most elementary critical edition of epitaphs from even one community of former times.”¹⁴ In 1886 he complained in different vein: “The leisure and peace of mind which make it possible for a people to concern itself with its past have been lacking among the Jews. They have not yet overcome

¹² See below under the individual cities.

¹³ See Zunz, *Gedächtnis*. The interest shown by these scholars must be gratefully acknowledged, although they made many mistakes in their interpretation of the inscriptions, e. g., with reference to Augsburg (cf. *GJ*, pp. 15 ff., note 12), Ulm (*ibid.*, pp. 390 ff.), Nuremberg (*ibid.*, pp. 250–52, note 21), Cologne and Parchim (see below). Among Jews Maharil (1360–1427) ed. Sabbioneta 112b, mentions a tombstone in Mainz of pretendedly 300; cf. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, p. 394 note d.

¹⁴ *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, pp. 409 ff.

the want of appreciation of their own antiquities which is the unfortunate product of troublous times."¹⁵

But at the turn of the century there was a notable increase of interest among Jews in the antiquities of their people. In 1897 Moise Schwab published his first report on the Hebrew inscriptions in France dating from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries (*Bulletin archéologique*, Paris, 1897) and, ten years later, his study of the Hebrew inscriptions of Spain (*Extrait des Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, XIV). Further interest in the Jewish past and its antiquities was aroused by Jewish exhibits or Jewish sections in "world's fairs." The first notable one was the exhibition of the Strauss Collection at the Paris Exposition of 1878 (later transferred to the Musée de Cluny in Paris).¹⁶ In 1887 came the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in Royal Albert Hall, London.¹⁷ Then followed the Exhibit of Jewish Architecture and Ritual Objects for use in Synagogue and Home at the Düsseldorf Museum of Industrial Arts in 1908;¹⁸ the Rhineland Millennial Exposition at Cologne, 1925, with its Jewish section;¹⁹ the exhibition of religious objects in Marburg a.d.L. in 1928 (from which grew the Jewish Division of the Hessian Provincial Museum in Cassel);²⁰ exhibitions in Breslau 1929, etc. To the tireless efforts of David Kaufmann was due the founding of the Society for the Collection and Preservation of the Artistic and Historical Monuments of Judaism in Vienna on February 2, 1895.²¹ Heinrich Frauberger, a non-Jewish museum director in Düsseldorf (1845-1920),²² provided the stimulus for the founding of the Society for the Study of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 154-55.

¹⁶ Cf. *Collection de M. Strauss: Description des Objets d'Art Religieux Hébraïques*, Poissy, 1878.

¹⁷ See the *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in London*.

¹⁸ *Catalogue of the Exhibit of Jewish Architecture*. Düsseldorf, 1908.

¹⁹ *Katalog der Jahrtausend-Ausstellung des Rheinlandes in Köln*, 1925.

²⁰ Rudolf Halle, "Jüdische Kult-und Kunstdenkmäler im Hessischen Landesmuseum," Kassel, repr. from *Der Morgen*, 4. Jahrg., 1928.

²¹ See *Erster Jahresbericht für d. J. 1895 und 1896*, Vienna, 1897, p. 6; cf. JL III, 633 ff.

²² *MGWJ*, LXIV, 1920, pp. 235 f.

Jewish Antiquities in Frankfort on the Main in 1897.²³ It was this society which established the Jewish Museum in that city in 1901. The founding of other Jewish museums followed: Danzig, 1903; Strassburg (Jewish Museum of Alsace-Lorraine), 1908; Warsaw, 1908; Prague, 1912; Berlin, 1917; Worms; Mainz, 1926; Breslau, 1929; Amsterdam, 1931; London, 1932; Nikolsburg (Central Jewish Museum of Moravia and Silesia), 1936.²⁴ In addition, mention may be made of the Hungarian Jewish Museum in Budapest, the Sandor Wolf Museum in Eisenstadt (Burgenland),²⁵ and the Jewish Museum in Prešov (Slovakia),²⁶ established in 1928. Several private and society collections of Jewish antiquities also came into existence. Among the latter were the collection of the Society of Jewish Folklore in Hamburg, founded in 1898, and that of the Spinoza Lodge U.O.B.B. in Berlin, which included a large number of photographs of Jewish antiquities. Of the private collections that of Salli Kirschstein in Berlin was the most noteworthy. Many public museums possessed Jewish antiquities. Several of the provincial unions of Jewish communities in Germany had standing committees for the recovery and preservation of Jewish antiquities. Valuable publications appeared in this field, e.g., the ten volumes issued by the Society for the Study of Jewish Antiquities in Frankfort on the Main²⁷ or the volume on Jewish synagogues and cemeteries in Wurtemberg published under the auspices of the Consistory of the Israelitish Religious Community of Wurtemberg in 1932.

But before the newly awakened interest in the Jewish past could produce its full harvest of monographs and special studies, disaster overwhelmed it again. New ruins were added to the

²³ *Mitteilungen*, I, pp. 5 ff.

²⁴ See the publications of the individual museums, and in general, *Univ. J. Enc.*, VIII, pp. 44–46; for Strassburg see *Schriften der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte der Israeliten in Elsass-Lothringen*, Gebweiler i. E., 1909; for Worms see *ZGJD*, V (1934), 182–86.

²⁵ Cf. Sandor Wolf, *Die Kunst im Eisenstädter Ghetto*, Budapest, 1912.

²⁶ Cf. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslovakei*, I (Brünn, 1930–31), 127–28, 225–28.

²⁷ 1900 ff. The Society has also published *Notizblätter* since 1902 and *Beiträge für jüdische Kulturgeschichte*, 1924.

old — the remains of the magnificent synagogues of recent times. How much is left of the medieval Jewish monuments and the collections of antiquities, we do not know. But on November 10, 1938, the ancient synagogue in Worms met the fate of other German synagogues.²⁸

2. JEWISH TOMBS AND TOMBSTONES AND THEIR FATE.

In ancient Palestine burial of the dead usually took the form of interment in natural caves or in rock-tombs containing niches (the *kukhin* system).²⁹ Until the ninth century this type of burial was continued in the Jewish catacombs of Rome — as many as six have been identified — and in the catacombs of Lower Italy, Sicily and North Africa.³⁰ Elsewhere, however, the custom of burial in the ground under the open sky seems to have prevailed.³¹ The Jews of Babylonia, for example, regularly used graveyards for the burial of their dead³¹ and in Europe Jewish cemeteries became the rule.³² The only exception so far known seems to be the burial niche discovered several years ago in the cellar of a house in Heilbronn, Wurtemberg. It bore the inscription נתן הפרנס and has been attributed to the ninth century.³³ But many questions remain unanswered with regard to this discovery.³⁴ Concerning the walled-in graves of the oldest Jewish cemetery in Cologne, which are reminiscent of the Palestinian type, we shall have occasion to speak more fully below.³⁵ Moses ben Nachman (1195–1270) tells us of graves in Spain,

²⁸ With the destruction of the synagogue in Nuremberg in August 1938 the fragment of Aron ha-Kodesh from the middle of the fifteenth century, which was preserved at the entrance to the synagogue, was also destroyed.

²⁹ S. Krauss, II, pp. 71–79, 488; S. Klein, *Corpus Inscriptionum; Enc. Jud.*, VII, pp. 606–34; Sukenik, *Two Jewish Hypogea*.

³⁰ J.-B. Frey, p. lxii.

³¹ S. Krauss, II, p. 72.

³² Jean Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, I, Paris, 1914, pp. 418 ff.; Gustav Cohn; S. W. Baron, II, pp. 366–67 and Index, s. v.

³³ *Jüdische Gotteshäuser und Friedhöfe in Württemberg*, pp. 8 ff.

³⁴ *G. J.*, p. xxxix n. 22.

³⁵ See below, p. 40 f.

the sides of which were raised appreciably above the level of the ground and protected against collapse by heaps of stones piled up around them.³⁶

The cemetery was one of the most important concerns of the medieval Jewish community.³⁷ Frequently, the acquisition of a cemetery took precedence over the building of a synagogue, since religious services could just as well be held in a private house. In general, however, only the larger Jewish communities could afford a cemetery.³⁸ As a rule, it was situated outside the Jewish quarter, which usually meant outside the town itself.³⁹ Jewish Communal regulations on the subject of gravestones and epitaphs are known from the thirteenth century onwards.⁴⁰ There was a regulation in the fifteenth century, for example, which required an heir to provide a gravestone for the deceased.⁴¹

In Roman times Jewish cemeteries were protected by law; desecration was prosecuted in the courts under the *actio sepulchri violati*.⁴² In like manner, medieval popes and secular rulers granted their protection to Jewish cemeteries. Calixtus II and his successors, through the famous Bull *Sicut Judaeis*, issued repeated warnings under threat of penalty that no one was to damage a Jewish cemetery, break into one or exhume corpses for the purpose of selling them.⁴³ The *Sachsenspiegel* and the Law Book of Meissen provided penalties for violation of the sacred character of Jewish cemeteries.⁴⁴ Among the princes and

³⁶ ספר תורה האדם, ed. Warsaw, 1876.; לא (p. 62), cited by Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, pp. 390 f., note.

³⁷ S. W. Baron, II, pp. 146 ff.

³⁸ O. Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, Braunschweig, 1866, p. 146.

³⁹ Cf. M. Heyne, *Das deutsche Wohnungswesen von den ältesten geschichtlichen Zeiten bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 306. Examples: Mainz, (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, pp. 427 ff.), Trier (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XII, 329), Cologne (Kober, *Grundbuch*, pp. 56–57).

⁴⁰ Leopold Löw, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Altertumskunde, I. Graphische Requisiten . . .*, Leipzig, 1870, p. 74.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴² Cf. S. W. Baron, I, p. 109.

⁴³ Moritz Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, II, Kiel, 1895, pp. 2–3 nn. 171 [3], 172, 173, 174; p. 46 n. 204.

⁴⁴ *Sachsenspiegel*, Ldr. II, 66, 1; *Meissen Rechtsbuch*, III, 17, 36. (I owe this reference to Prof. Guido Kisch).

rulers who granted similar protection were the Archbishops of Cologne who, beginning with Engelbert II (1266), protected the Jewish cemetery of that city;⁴⁵ the Dukes of Austria who issued general edicts on the subject — Frederick II in 1244⁴⁶ and King Premysl Otakar II of Bohemia, Duke of Austria, on March 29, 1254, and again on October 23, 1254, in support of the Bull issued by Pope Innocent IV in 1246;⁴⁷ and, finally, the King of Bohemia who protected the Jewish cemetery at Breslau toward the end of 1315 or the beginning of 1316.⁴⁸ But all the assurances of protection and threats of punishment could not save the Jewish cemeteries from the fate to which we have already alluded.⁴⁹

3. SURVEY OF THE TOMBSTONES AND INSCRIPTIONS SURVIVING IN ITALY, SPAIN, FRANCE AND PARTICULARLY GERMANY.

The material covering Jewish inscriptions in Europe from the third century B.C.E. to the seventh century of the common era has been excellently treated by Jean-Baptiste Frey (1936). Apart from the survey made by Leopold Zunz, the material on old Jewish tombstone inscriptions in Italy was published chiefly by Ascoli (1880), but Cassuto made some valuable additions to his material.⁵⁰ The Hebrew inscriptions from Spain and France have mostly been published by Moise Schwab.⁵¹ The latter, in

⁴⁵ Kober, *Grundbuch*, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Aronius, no. 547, p. 234 § 14; *G. J.*, p. 399; S. W. Baron, II, p. 150.

⁴⁷ Bretholz, *Quellen*, p. 5 n. 5 § 14; p. 7 n. 6 § 5.

⁴⁸ Brann in *MGWJ*, LXII, pp. 98–99. But on September 27, 1345, King John of Bohemia gave the Council of Breslau express permission to carry off stones from the Jewish cemetery in that city and to use them in repairing the city walls. See Brann, *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴⁹ In general, see Zunz, *Gedächtnis*; in detail, see the literature listed below under the individual cities.

⁵⁰ With reference to Trani and Bari; see Bibliography.

⁵¹ Besides his chief works on Spain and France (see Bibliography) M. Schwab published additional material, as follows: for Spain, with reference to Madrid, Toledo, Lucena and Barcelona, *REJ*, LII, 215–20; the old Jewish cemetery in Téruel, *REJ*, LXXXIV, 179–80; for France, with reference to

his treatise on the inscriptions of France, made a short introductory survey of the Hebrew inscriptions of Europe as a whole.⁵² But his treatment of them was much too sketchy. David Kaufmann also published some valuable studies in this field.⁵³ The model for the proper handling of Hebrew tombstone inscriptions are the publications of Bernhard Wachstein.⁵³ Marcus Brann planned to edit a *Corpus inscriptionum* but was able to publish only the medieval Hebrew inscriptions of Silesia and Ulm.⁵³

With regard to Italy, Spain and France we have had to limit ourselves to mentioning the literature which brings together the inscriptions from those countries. For the region of the German Empire as it existed in the Middle Ages we shall attempt to give as complete a survey as possible of the surviving tombstones and tombstone inscriptions. A list of the Jewish cemeteries which come under consideration follows, arranged alphabetically according to the names of the towns and villages in which they were located. The dates and as far as possible the number of the tombstones from each locality are given, together with the pertinent literature.

Augsburg — 1231, 1232, 1236 (GJ, I, pp. 15, 16 n. 12; Enc. Jud., III, p. 686 — picture in Univ. J. Enc., IV, p. 139).

Basel — 1231, 1266, 1271, 1293, 1305, 1313, 1315, 1318, 1330, 1335, 1338, 1374, 1403 (Ulrich, pp. 203–205; Augusta Steinberg, pp. 60, 111; M. Ginsburger, *Juden in Basel*, pp. 332, 429–436; idem, *REJ*, LXXXI, 188–92; LXXXVII, 209–11; Aronius, no. 692).

Breslau — 1174 (according to Rabin's interpretation, *Breslauer Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*, III, September 22, 1926); August 14,

Paris see furthermore in *REJ*, LXIII (1912), 298–300, cf. also F. Macler in *REJ*, LII, 221–23. M. Schwab also published a Hebrew inscription from Chalcis, dated 1326. In England no Jewish tombstones from the Middle Ages have survived, although it was reported from Bristol "that when some excavations took place at the site of the school about 1860 a number of gravestones were found with inscriptions in Hebrew characters," cf. Michael Adler, *Jews of Medieval England*, London, 1939, p. 182.

⁵² Schwab, *France*, pp. 146–169.

⁵³ See Bibliography.

- 1203, the oldest medieval tombstone in eastern Europe (according to M. Brann, *MGWJ*, LXII, 97–107, picture on p. 100); the second oldest dates from December 25, 1246. In addition, M. Brann published a total of 23 inscriptions from the medieval Jewish communities in Silesia: Breslau, Glatz, Glogau, Görlitz, Liegnitz, Schweidnitz (*Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien*, II, Appendix, pp. vii ff.).
- Brünn — About twenty stones and fragments from the years 1286, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1372; July 2, 1373; Nov. 2, 1373; 1390, 1394/95, 1395, 1411, 1443 (Ludwig Levy in Gold, *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens*, pp. 23–29, publishes 17 stones with photographic reproductions; Bretholz, *Quellen*, p. 12 n. 18; p. 37 nn. 67, 68; p. 40 n. 75; p. 97 n. 227; p. 107 n. 236; p. 112 n. 239; p. 222 n. 382; p. 237 nn. 428, 429; p. 237 note and Nachträge, p. 265. Bretholz in his *Geschichte*, p. 121, questions the date 1286 for the first stone; cf. idem, *Quellen*, p. 12).
- Coblenz — Gildemeister mentions five tombstones, one without date, the others dated as follows: Dec. 20, 1270; 1290; 1314; and 5052 or 5062 or 5092 = 1292 or 1302 or 1332. In 1871 two of these stones were in the *Gymnasium* at Coblenz (see *Bonner Jahrbücher*, L/LI, 1871, pp. 295–302; cf. M. Schwab, *Inscriptions hébraïques de la France*, p. 160). But on personal inquiry at the Public Record Office of Coblenz in 1927, I was informed that only one of the tombstones still existed and was now in the museum of the castle; the other — that of 1290 — had disappeared.
- Colmar (Alsace) — Two tombstones, 1391 and 1393 (Euting, see Bibliogr.; M. Ginsburger, *Friedhof in Jungholz*, p. 8).
- Cologne — see Part III below.
- Eger (Bohemia) — 1242, 1353, 1373, 1380, 1384/85, 1385 (Grunwald, *MGWJ*, LXXI, 416–25; photograph of the oldest tombstone, Hugo Gold, *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Böhmens*, I, 1934, p. 122).
- Ehingen a.d. Donau (Württemberg) — May 5, 1370; September 27, 1482 (*Jüdische Gotteshäuser in Württemberg*, p. 39).
- Erfurt (Saxony) — 88 tombstones and fragments from the period 1137–1394; 46 of the inscriptions are from the thirteenth

- century (Jaraczewski, pp. 9–11; Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, 349–66; Kroner, *Festschrift*, pp. 8, 16, 48, 49; GJ, pp. 98, 100 n. 12).
- Frankfort on the Main — The oldest tombstone is from 1272. As a result of the second extension of the city-limits the Jewish cemetery was brought inside the city. It was surrounded with walls at an early date and was still in use in modern times. In 1828 it was closed. Among 5930 inscriptions, the date of 522 cannot be determined. There are 134 tombstone inscriptions dating from before 1500. (Kracauer, *Aus der inneren Geschichte der Juden Frankfurts im XIV. Jahrhundert*, 1914, pp. 23 ff.; H. Baerwald, *Der alte Friedhof der Israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt a.M.*; Marcus Horovitz, *Die Inschriften*, pp. xxv, xxvi, 112; Hülsen, see Bibliogr.).
- Friedberg (Hesse) — The only tombstone from the Middle Ages, undated, is in the Friedberg Museum (Communication from Mr. Ehrmann, local instructor, Feb. 18, 1927).
- Graz (Styria) — The surviving tombstones date from 1343, 1344, 1350, 1380, 1393, 1419, 1428, 1438. Another, dated 1387, is built into the east wing of the castle at Graz. Other tombstones no longer surviving are known from 1415, 1416, 1429, 1480. (D. Herzog, *Der jüdische Grabstein*; idem, *MGWJ*, LXXV, 30–47; LXXX, 58–70).
- Hainburg a.d. Donau (Lower Austria) — Fragments from before 1420/21; three illustrations of Hebrew inscriptions in a Berlin manuscript (see L. Moses, *Juden in Niederoesterreich*, pp. 86–87; photographic reproduction, Plate 4, between pp. 48 and 49; cf. *Israelit*, October 18, 1928).
- Heilbronn (Wurtemberg) — Burial niche with Hebrew inscription above it: נתן הפרנס. Tombstones dated January 22, 1408; September 27 and October 8, 1419 (*Jüdische Gotteshäuser in Württemberg*, pp. 8, 9, 36).
- Jamnitz (Moravia) — Six tombstones: 1362, 1383, 1388, 1399, 1415, one without date. The one from 1415 has disappeared from the ancient Jewish cemetery of Jamnitz. (R. Hruschka, "Geschichte der Juden in Jamnitz," in Gold, *Die Juden*

und Judengemeinden Mährens, pp. 251–66, with two photographic reproductions; Bretholz, *Quellen*, p. 59 n. 153, p. 183 n. 324, p. 217 n. 368, p. 241 n. 447, p. 263).

Judendorf bei Friesach (Carinthia) — Several tombstones from the Jewish cemetery near Judendorf; two are dated August 19, 1349, and December 11, 1360 (Babad, *MGWJ*, LXXX, 54–57).

Judendorf bei Villach (Carinthia) — One tombstone, apparently from the twelfth century (Babad, *loc. cit.*, p. 56).

Krems (Lower Austria) — Two tombstones, one of which dates from 1383, are described by Hammerschlag, *REJ*, XXIX, 52–53. Concerning other tombstones from this locality, see L. Moses, "Die Judensiedlungen in Wachau," *Jüdisches Archiv*, I, no. 12, Vienna, 1927; idem, *Die Juden in Niederösterreich*, pp. 86, 113, with plate between pp. 32 and 33.

Laa a.d.Th. (Lower Austria) — L. Moses (*Die Juden in Niederösterreich*, p. 114) mentions the discovery of medieval Hebrew tombstones which are no longer traceable.⁵⁴

Mainz — The oldest of the tombstones are those of Rabban Meshullam, son of Rabban R. Kalonymos (undated; presumably he died c. 1012–1040, see *GJ*, p. 188) and of R. Jacob ben Jakar (died 1064). The first comprehensive discussion of the old cemetery in the Jewish Strand (*Judensand*) in the northwestern part of the city, which gradually expanded to the slopes of Mount Hardenberg and was closed on December 31, 1880, was written by Siegmund Salfeld in his *Martyrologium* (1898). He published 140 epitaphs from the period 1199–1425. Merx (pp. 48–50) gives six inscriptions from the period 1215–1330. A large number of stones of historical importance was discovered in 1922 when a medieval fortification at the District Gate (*Gautor*) was torn down. They were described by Salfeld in the *Mainz Zeitschrift*, XVII–XIX (1921–24), pp. 62 ff. In June 1926, during the construction of a playground on the city bastion,

⁵⁴ Moses also mentions (p. 86) the discovery of a thirteenth century tombstone in the deep well of the castle of Kreuzenstein, which had apparently been brought there from Kornenburg but was no longer traceable.

a fragment was found in a spot where its existence would hardly have been suspected. A few of these stones have disappeared again. Through the efforts of Sali Levi 180 tombstones and fragments of stones were set up on the old Jewish Strand. Thus a memorial cemetery was created for these oldest documents of Jewish history in Mainz. (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*; idem, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, III, 1908, pp. 106–10; XVII–XIX, 1921–24, pp. 62 ff.; Sali Levi, *Beiträge*, where the literature on the old cemetery will also be found, pp. 5 ff., note 1; cf. Aronius, no. 370; *GJ*, p. 185).

Marburg a.d. Drau (Jugoslavia) — Two tombstones, one dated 1379 (D. Herzog, *MGWJ*, LXXX, pp. 58–70).

Mauer (near Vienna in Lower Austria) — In 1895 two Hebrew tombstones, dated 1360 and 1402, were found and set up in the cemetery in the *Seegasse*, Vienna (Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabsteine*, pp. 1, 15, 16 nos. 13, 14; L. Moses, *Die Juden in Niederösterreich*, pp. 87, 114 — the latter is not certain, however, that there was a Jewish cemetery in Mauer, which was little more than a hunting resort for the court).

Münster (Westphalia) — Four Hebrew tombstones, one of them fragmentary, were discovered in 1818 under masonry which broke off from the New Bridge Gate; concerning their subsequent fate nothing certain can be determined. Since the wording of the Hebrew inscriptions was preserved, it is known that they were dated 1313; January 8, 1338; June 3, 1335; and 1346. (Lewinsky, *MGWJ*, L, pp. 89–93).

Nuremberg — see Part IV below.

Ofen (Hungary) — Three tombstones from 1278–1280; fragments from 1393/94, 1405, 1430 or 1431 (D. Kaufmann, *MGWJ*, XL, pp. 84–90; XLI, pp. 84–86).

Parchim (Mecklenburg-Schwerin) — From the Jewish cemetery at the *Kreuztor* 36 tombstones survive, which had been used in repairs at the Church of St. Mary and the *Kreuztor*. According to O. G. Tychsel (*Bützowische Nebenstunden*, IV, pp. 38–53), who was followed by Leopold Zunz (*Gedächtnis*, p. 406), the oldest of these stones dated from 1258. But this is erroneous. see Aronius, no. 734, and L. Donath, pp. 29–33,

297, 308, 309. According to Donath, the oldest stone, which he personally examined, should be dated 1304 and the latest 1346 (*ibid.*, pp. 30–33, 297, 308, 309).

Pettau (now Ptuj, Jugoslavia) — A well preserved stone and three fragments; the former clearly shows the date 5064 = November 30, 1303. D. Herzog incorrectly reads 4864, by which he arrives at the date 1104. (D. Herzog, *MGWJ*, LXXX, pp. 64–65 and note 22; Altmann, p. 74; reproduction of the tombstone, J. L., III, 486).

Prague — 1351, 1360 (notes to *Antiquitates*, p. 6), apparently from the Neustadt cemetery, which is first mentioned in records of 1341 and 1343 (*GJ*, p. 274). The tombstones of the Altstadt cemetery, bearing the names of Sara, Joshua and Schöndel, from which the attempt has been made to decipher the dates 606, 941 or 942, 979 or 980 (Lieben, *Gal-Ed*, nos. 1, 7, 100), indicate a much later period by their language, rhyme, time-reckoning and style of numerals, as Rappoport points out in his introduction to Lieben, *Gal-Ed*, pp. 37–41. According to Tykocinsky (*GJ*, pp. 274, 279 n. 61), the oldest of these tombstones goes no farther back than 1439.

Regensburg — The Jewish cemetery was established in 1210 and was in use until 1519 (*GJ*, p. 288). After the expulsion of the Jews about five thousand tombstones are said to have been carted off from this cemetery. Zunz (*Gedächtnis*, pp. 406–418), following Paricius (*Allerneuste und bewährte Nachricht*, Regensburg, 1753), mentions eighteen tombstones, dated 1252, 1259, 1297, 1326, 1330, 1335, 1349, 1374, 1380, 1413, 1426, 1463, 1480, 1482, 1505, 1515, 1517. Tombstones from 1243, 1307, 1349/50, 1360, 1369, 1371 (for two sisters, daughters of R. Ephraim), 1421, 1429, 1517, also survive in St. Ulrich's Provincial Museum of the Upper Palatinate in Regensburg (F. A. Endres, *Führer durch die mittelalterlichen Sammlungen von Regensburg*, vol. LXX of the *Verhandlungen*, 1920, nos. 253–269, now 271). In addition, tombstones from the cemetery at Regensburg, dated 1313 and 1344, are preserved in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich. In the historical collection of Straubing

is a Jewish tombstone from Ober-Motzing which perhaps stood originally in Regensburg. Other tombstones which possibly came from Regensburg include one at the town hall of Cham (Upper Palatinate), dated 1230, and two in Kehlheim (Lower Bavaria) — one on the garden wall of the Klösterlin Inn, dated 2. Iyar, 4980 = April 7, 1220; the other on the façade of the pharmacy, dated 1249. (Meyer, *Regensburg*, pp. 22 ff., see plates 8 and 9 after pp. 45 and 49; *Blätter für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, ed. by L. Löwenstein, IV, 1903, pp. 78, 111, 112). The late District Rabbi Dr. F. Salomon kindly sent me a photograph of a tombstone from a house wall, dated 5. Marheshwan, 5140 = October 6, 1379 (see also Grunwald, *MGWJ*, LXXIII, p. 374, note). Grunwald makes two errors, however, in assigning a date to the tombstone of "Taube bar Samuel." He interprets the number 102 or 142 as corresponding to 1242 or 1282 instead of 1342 or 1382, and the number 132 (Tishri) as 1372 instead of 1371. (Cf. also Raphael Straus, *Regensburg and Augsburg*, Jewish Communities Series, Philadelphia, 1939, esp. pp. 90 f.).

Rothenburg ob der Tauber — Until 1914 there were eight tombstones in Rothenburg, dating from the period 1275–1386, which were built into the walls of various buildings. In that year thirty-two more were found during the grading of an open square which had formerly been the Jewish cemetery. They came from the period 1297–1399 and included the important memorial stone of 1298. The stones were placed in the castle. (Cf. Brann, *MGWJ*, LXII, pp. 98, 99 n. 3; Grunwald, *MGWJ*, LXXII, pp. 204–212).

Siegburg (Rhineland) — The oldest tombstone from the Jewish cemetery dates from 1335. A tree has grown around it (see the illustration in *Heimatblätter des Siegkreises*, IV, Siegburg, 1928, no. 2/3, p. 4).

St. Stephan bei Niedertrixen (regional market, Carinthia) — One tombstone from 1130, the oldest tombstone in Austria (Babad, *MGWJ*, LXXX, pp. 53–54).

Strassburg (Alsace) — Tombstones survive from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century; also

from 1223, 1325, 1329, 1344, 1347 (Euting, pp. 230–43; *GJ*, p. 370).

Trier — Five fairly well preserved grave monuments were discovered in 1903 during the process of laying sewers for the cattle market. They belong to the period from 1345 to 1350. Earlier, in 1911 and 1912, a number of tombstones with Jewish inscriptions had been found during excavations for the wall in the present cattle market (see Marx, *Geschichte des Erzstifts Trier*, I, p. 507; Artur Nussbaum in *Der Israelit*, XLIV, pp. 797–98). The Jewish cemetery was situated behind a wall of the old *Jüdemer*-street on a portion of the present cattle market. It is first mentioned c. 980–1180 (*GJ*, p. 378.).

Überlingen (on Lake Constance) — Nine tombstones survive from the cemetery, mentioned as early as 1226 (Aronius, no. 433). The oldest of the stones date from 1275 and 1276 (Löwenstein, *Juden am Bodensee*, pp. 106–110).

Ulm a. d. Donau — Only fifteen tombstones but twenty-four inscriptions survive, with dates ranging from 1243 to 1491 (Brann, *Ulm*; for illustrations see *Jüdische Gotteshäuser in Württemberg*, pp. 40–45).

Vienna — Fourteen Hebrew tombstones from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries survive, dated 1263, 1269, 1278, 1339, 1360, 1378, 1402, 1414. They are now built into the western wall of the old Jewish cemetery of the *Seegasse* district. (Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabsteine*).

Waldstein (Styria) — A tombstone of September 4, 1365, which presumably came from the Jewish cemetery situated near the castle and abandoned in 1497 (D. Herzog, *MGWJ*, LXXX, pp. 67–70).

Wiener Neustadt — Tombstones survive from 1262, 1286, 1288, 1303, 1349, 1351, 1353, 1369, 1389 (Schweinburg-Eibenschütz, *REJ*, XXVIII, pp. 247–64; Hammerschlag, *REJ*, XXIX, pp. 247–53; D. Kaufmann, *REJ*, XXX, pp. 300–303; Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabsteine*, no's. 15–17, pp. 16–22; Moses, *Juden in Niederösterreich*, pp. 85–86).

Worms — see Part V below.

Znaim (Moravia) — There are many tombstones in the municipal museum of Znaim. The inscriptions date from 1256, 1284, 1306, 1334, 1356, 1358, 1385, 1386, 1387; August 19, 1390; October 28, 1390; 1394, 1395, 1398, 1399, 1405, 1406, 1410. One is undated. (A. Urbka, *Gedenkbuch der Stadt Znaim, 1226–1826*, 1927, pp. 123, 464, 465; Gold, *Die Juden und Judengemeinde Mährens*, pp. 29, 579; Kahan, *MGWJ*, LXXIII, pp. 382–84, and LXXIV, pp. 134, 135, gives 13 inscriptions and 3 photographs; Baneth, *MGWJ*, LXXIV, p. 133; I. Reich, *Grabsteine*; Bretholz, *Geschichte*, p. 121; Bretholz, *Quellen*, p. 8 n. 9, p. 11 n. 17, p. 12 n. 20, p. 14 n. 30, p. 49 n. 115, p. 52 n. 128, p. 193 n. 337, p. 201 n. 349, pp. 203–4 n. 358, p. 222 n. 380, p. 224 n. 384, p. 237 n. 430, p. 240 n. 440, p. 241 n. 446, p. 253 n. 469, p. 256 n. 478, p. 263 n. 497). In spite of the extensive literature already existing on the subject, Bretholz (*Geschichte*, p. 121; *Quellen*, p. 8) considers it highly desirable that the tombstone inscriptions be investigated anew; he doubts particularly that the dates on the two oldest tombstones have been correctly interpreted.

Zürich — Among 24 (?) tombstones such survive from 1392, 1396, 1399, 1403, 1436 (Ulrich, pp. 33–44; Augusta Steinberg, pp. 114, 115).

Naturally, we also hear of other Jewish cemeteries, e.g., that in Wurzburg,⁵⁵ from which no tombstones or inscriptions have come down to us. In any case, the number of Hebrew tombstones, tombstone fragments and inscriptions antedating 1500 is far larger from medieval Germany than either Spain or France. The total, aside from those published here, is approximately 1300.

4. LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The statement of the Talmud that “monuments are not erected to the pious, their words are their memorial” (J. Shek, II, 7) is usually taken to mean that it was not the custom in talmudic

⁵⁵ Cf. *GJ.*, p. 478.

times to set up tombstones — at least for scholars.⁵⁶ Aside from the fact that the statement merely says it is unnecessary to erect monuments to the pious and the learned, because they will long be remembered through their teaching, this interpretation betrays a false conception of actual practice. Many passages in the Midrash and the Talmud indicate the contrary, and the archaeological evidence supports a different conclusion, Tomb inscriptions from the ossuaries in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, dating from before 70 C. E., are known, and others from the second, third and fourth centuries survive in the necropolis of Joppa (Jaffa).

The ossuary inscriptions give Greek as well as Hebrew names; sometimes the Hebrew names are omitted and only the Greek appear. The wholly Greek inscriptions of the Jewish cemeteries in Joppa and other coast cities of Palestine show the Hellenistic influence even more strongly.⁵⁷ There is an Aramaic inscription from the cemetery of a Jewish colony in Touba, Nabatea, dated October 12, 432.⁵⁸ In the Jewish catacombs of Rome and vicinity, 554 inscriptions have been found so far.⁵⁹ One of these is in Aramaic (no. 290); another is half Greek and Half Aramaic (no. 291). About ten of them have the salutation שלום alone or at the end of a Greek or Latin inscription. The rest are entirely in Greek or Latin; 413 or 74% in Greek, 137 or 24% in Latin, the Greek inscriptions outnumbering the Latin by three to one. The Jews in Rome seem to have assimilated themselves completely, and their inscriptions conformed to the prevailing languages (Greek was spoken in Rome until the third century of the common era). The same was true in regions where Arabic was the spoken language, as is shown by the Arabic epitaphs in Hebrew characters from Bagdad.⁶⁰ As a matter of fact, in every

⁵⁶ Krauss, II, pp. 79–82, 491 nn. 651–62; S. Klein, pp. 4 ff.

⁵⁷ S. Klein, pp. 2 ff.

⁵⁸ Theodor Reinach, "Inscriptions de Touba," *REJ*, LXXXV, 1–10. On the subject of Aramaic inscriptions see W. F. Albright, *Univ. J. Enc.*, V, p. 570.

⁵⁹ See Frey, pp. lxx–lxxviii.

⁶⁰ M. Schwab, *REJ*, LVI, 243 ff. Professor Ilse Lichtenstädter has referred me with regard to Arabian tombstones of the 9th and 10th cent. in general

part of the Roman Empire during the first seven centuries of our era the Jews adopted the dominant languages for their inscriptions. The Jewish inscriptions of this period from northern and southern Italy, Gaul, Pannonia, the Balkan countries and the north shore of the Black Sea are primarily in Greek or Latin.⁶¹ Frequently, but not regularly, the seven-branched candlestick appears on the tombstones as a symbol of the Jewish Community (כנסת ישראל).^{61a} Only occasionally is Hebrew used, when the formula of benediction שלום על ישראל is added.⁶²

Jean-Baptiste Frey included in the appendix of his book certain inscriptions which had been incorrectly classified as Jewish, certain others which were probably of pagan or pagan-Jewish origin and, finally, some that were probably of Christian origin. But he admitted frankly that it was not always easy to distinguish between Christian, Jewish and pagan epitaphs. In a review of the book, Erwin R. Goodenough observed⁶³ — correctly, as it seems to the present writer — that Frey had not always made his distinctions accurately. The difficulty arises from the fact that early Christianity was largely indebted to Judaism in matters pertaining to the burial of the dead, e. g., the practice of interment instead of cremation, the orientation of the grave in a west-east direction⁶⁴ and the use of Old Testament motifs in catacomb paintings and sarcophagus sculptures.⁶⁵ An examination of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* repeatedly raises the question of where the line is to be drawn between Jewish and Christian tombstones. Siegfried Löschke touched on the problem some years ago (1936) in his essay, "Frühchristliche Denkmäler aus Trier,"⁶⁶ with reference to the Greek inscrip-

to Josef Strzygowski, *Ornamente altarabischer Grabsteine in Kairo*, "Der Islam" ed. C. H. Becker, II (Strassburg 1911), pp. 306–336.

⁶¹ Frey, nos. 690–731.

^{61a} Cf. S. Klein, *MGWJ*, 65 (1921), p. 277 according to Pesikta Rabbah 8 (ed. Friedmann 29b).

⁶² E. g., Frey, nos. 527, 593.

⁶³ "Archaeology and Jewish History," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LV (1936), 211–20.

⁶⁴ See below.

⁶⁵ Frey, pp. cxliii ff.

⁶⁶ Pp. 99, 141 ff.

tion of Azizos of Syria, which reads: "Here lies Azizos, son of Agrippa, the Syrian, from the village of the Caprozabadeans in the district of Apamea." The inscription comes from the fourth or the first half of the fifth century and shows no Christian characteristics. "In all the graveyards [of Trier]," writes Löschke, "were buried these Orientals who were expressly called Syrians, i. e., Semites. It is possible that the numerous Greek names occurring in Latin inscriptions at Trier go back, at least in part, to such immigrants." Perhaps, Azizos, son of Agrippa, can be assumed to have been a Jew,⁶⁷ for the expression, "the Syrian," merely indicates the country of origin, and the name Azizos reappears among Spanish Jews of about 1100 on the tombstone of a goldsmith, Josef ben Aziz, in Fuente Castro, Province of Leon.⁶⁸

In the Roman section of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne there is a Latin tombstone which was found in July 1901 on the *Gereonsdriesch* during excavation for the foundation of St. Mary's column.⁶⁹ Whether it is a *cippus* (στήλη) or the memorial slab from a sarcophagus cannot be determined. The stone has no ornamental decorations or emblems of any kind and bears the following inscription:⁷⁰

In oh Tumolo /
 requiescet /
 in pace bone /
 memorie /
 Leo vixit an /
 nus XXXXXII Tr /
 ansiet No /
 No Id (U) S OH TUB

⁶⁷ For a similar phenomenon in Mainz, cf. S. Levi, "Frühgeschichtliche Spuren der Juden in Deutschland," *ZGJD*, I (1929), 24-33.

⁶⁸ M. Schwab, *Inscriptions hébraïques de l'Espagne*, p. 250; Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I, Berlin, 1929, p. 302: Jenton Aziz (14th cent).

⁶⁹ *Kurzer Führer durch die Römische Abteilung des Wallraf-Richartz Museum*, Cologne, 1927, p. 54.

⁷⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIII, no. 8487.

"In this grave rests in peace Leo of blessed memory. He lived 52 years. He passed on the ninth of the Ides of October." The tombstone is classified as Roman-Christian by Poppelreuter,⁷¹ I. Klinkenberg⁷² and Domaszewski.⁷³ Whether this is correct depends upon the following considerations. The formulas used in the inscription are identical with those usually regarded as indicating a Christian tomb. But they are also similar to formulas used on tombstones which must be accepted as Jewish because of the presence of a symbol such as the seven-branched candlestick. The wording of the inscription quoted above has exactly the same style as the Jewish inscriptions in Naples and Milan listed by Frey (nos. 644–646). The expression of peace⁷⁴ and the phrase *bonae memoriae* correspond to the formulas customarily used in Greek, Latin and Hebrew inscriptions. The method of indicating the age of the deceased corresponds to the usage of Roman inscriptions. The name Leo was not only common among Christians; it was extensively used by the Jews in Roman times — with certain adaptations (e. g., Leontinus)⁷⁵ — and in the Middle Ages in its original form. In the case of this tombstone, therefore, as with that of Azizos already mentioned, the question remains open whether we are dealing with a Roman-Christian or a Roman-Jewish tombstone. Nothing stands in the way of assuming the latter. There is a great need for an intensive study of the question whether Roman tombstones without Christian symbols and specifically Christian formulas are to be regarded as Christian tombstones without exception.⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XX (1901), p. 370.

⁷² "Die Rheinischen Grabdenkmäler Kölns," *BJ*, 1902, pp. 108 ff., 158 n. 148.

⁷³ See note 70.

⁷⁴ *Requiescat in pace* corresponds to יבוא שלום (Isa. 57.2).

⁷⁵ Zunz, *Namen*, pp. 6–8; Müller, N. and Bees, A., *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe im Monteverde zu Rom*, Leipzig, 1919, p. 144; Frey, nos. 157, 134, 715: "Friends, I await you here, I who bear the name of Leo and the surname Leontinus;" cf. Zunz, *Namen*, p. 22.

⁷⁶ An essay of mine on the subject was about to be published in the *ZGJD*, when the periodical was confiscated by the Gestapo on November 10, 1938.

It must not be thought that Hebrew entirely disappeared from tombstones in the early centuries of the Middle Ages. At Kertsch in the Crimea there is a tombstone of the fourth century with both a Hebrew and a Greek inscription.⁷⁷ The Hebrew inscriptions from the Crimea which Firkowitsch published in 1872 (*Abne Sikkaron*) have been much debated and cannot be considered here.⁷⁸ At Nola in Campania and at Naples single Hebrew words and phrases occur in Greek and Latin epitaphs from about the fifth century (Frey, nos. 554, 555, 558). The same is true of inscriptions at Venosa from the fifth or sixth centuries (*ibid.*, nos. 569–619),⁷⁹ in which the benediction שלום is most common. The amount of Hebrew text increases gradually in the tombstone inscriptions of Tarentum (*ibid.*, no's. 620–631), Otranto, Bari, Oria (*ibid.*, no's. 632–635) — all in southern Italy — and of Sicily (*ibid.*, no. 650). Especially characteristic is the trilingual inscription (in Hebrew, Latin and Greek) of Tortosa in Spain, probably from the sixth century.⁸⁰ The inscription from Narbonne in southern France dated 688 bears only the Hebrew benediction שלום על ישראל in addition to the Latin text (*ibid.*, no. 670). Other Hebrew inscriptions from southern France, belonging to the end of the seventh century, are known from Vienne and Arles (*ibid.*, nos. 666–669). “Timidly but gradually Hebrew overcomes the use of Greek and Latin.”⁸¹ The shift is particularly noticeable in the southern Italian inscriptions from the ninth century onwards.⁸² At Venosa after 818 tombstone inscriptions appear only in Hebrew (e. g., 822, 824).⁸³ Three others are known,⁸⁴ of which one is

⁷⁷ Frey, no. 688.

⁷⁸ E. g., by Chwolson and Harkavy (see Bibliography); M. Schwab, in *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag A. Harkavys*, Paris, 1909; *Enc. Jud.*, VI, pp. 1017 ff.

⁷⁹ Frey, pp. 420–43.

⁸⁰ Frey, no. 661, pp. 474–75.

⁸¹ D. Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, p. 400.

⁸² See Ascoli, *Iscrizione*, pp. 62 ff.; cf. D. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 398–400.

⁸³ Ascoli, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 67 ff.; cf. the review by Graetz, *MGWJ*, XXIX (1880), 433–51.

⁸⁴ Ascoli, *Iscrizioni*, nos. 22–24.

dated (832). There are two undated Hebrew epitaphs from Oria and Tarentum⁸⁵ and an inscription from Beneventum of 1154.⁸⁶ These Hebrew inscriptions constitute the full-blown Renaissance of the Hebrew language. It is not to be wondered at that the rebirth took place first in southern Italy. Anyone who has read the Chronicle of Ahimaaz (850–1054)⁸⁷ well knows that between 800 and 1000 Oria was an outstanding center for Jewish scholarship, Jewish law and Jewish mysticism. From that time on, Hebrew alone was the rule on Jewish tombstones in Spain, France and Germany. The earliest completely Hebrew inscription in Spain⁸⁸ comes from the tenth century; in France, from the eleventh or twelfth century;⁸⁹ in Germany, from the eleventh. We have such inscriptions from Worms (ten), Mainz⁹⁰ and Speyer (one).⁹¹

The oldest formulas known, those on a Hebrew epitaph in Palestine from the middle of the second century C. E., read:⁹² נחם נפש שלום הקבר הזה של . In general, the typical features in the text of Hebrew tombstone inscriptions did not change. We find on every tombstone the name, the date — or sometimes the date first and then the name — and finally the benediction (*Eulogie*), originally שלום⁹³ or נחם נפש שלום.⁹⁴ The introductory formula זה הקבר or זהו הקבר was in general use until the end of the seventh century (cf. Frey, nos. 620, 661, 668, 669) and occurs

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 38, 39, pp. 82–84.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 37, pp. 81 f.

⁸⁷ See Adolf Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, II, pp. 111–32; cf. D. Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, pp. 1–55; Joseph Marcus in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, V (1934), pp. 85–93.

⁸⁸ October 9, 919; cf. Schwab, *Inscriptions hébraïques de l'Espagne*, pp. 241–44 (Calatayud).

⁸⁹ Schwab, *Inscriptions hébraïques en France*, p. 215 (Nîmes).

⁹⁰ See above, p. 174.

⁹¹ See below.

⁹² See S. Klein, no. 110, pp. 36 ff.

⁹³ See above.

⁹⁴ In Jaffa, see S. Klein, pp. 36 ff.; in Venosa, see Frey, no. 611; שלום על שכם *ibid.*, nos. 558, 623, 630; וזר צדיק לברכה *ibid.*, nos. 625, 629, 635; or similar formulas.

even later, e. g., in Léon (1091), Nîmes (eleventh or twelfth century), Arles (thirteenth century), Mainz (1226), Tlemcen, Algeria (1492). After the thirteenth century, *עד הגל הזה* or *ציון הלו לראש* or other introductory formulas become more common,⁹⁵ the age of the deceased is no longer given and instead of the benediction *שלום* we find *מנוחתו עדין*, *מנוחתו שלום* or similar expressions, sometimes in combination with each other. Naturally, the wording of the inscriptions varied in the separate countries in accordance with the particular form of Jewish culture there. The tombstone inscription from Brindisi dated 832 shows poetical talent, which is related to the rise of Jewish poetry in Italy. The epitaphs from Toledo published by Luzatto display real beauty of expression. On the other hand, the tombstone inscriptions from medieval France and Germany usually have the traditional simple formulas, which are not without a kind of poetry in themselves. Occasionally, as in Italy and Spain, the language of these inscriptions rises to great poetic form and beauty,⁹⁶ especially in the case of epitaphs for outstanding individuals, e. g., Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ E. g., *ואח מצבת קבורה*, see Schwab, *France*, pp. 236, 241–70; or *האבן הואח* or *הוקם האבן הואח נצב* in Erfurt, see Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, p. 354, no. 36; p. 355, no. 53; and others.

⁹⁶ E. g., Grunwald, *Worms*, pp. 104 ff.; Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabsteine* p. 17 no. 15.

⁹⁷ *MGWJ*, XL, pp. 126–30.

II. HEBREW TOMBSTONES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM SPEYER (1085-1427)

1. THE JEWISH CEMETERY IN SPEYER AND ITS HISTORY

The medieval history of the Jewish community in Speyer,⁹⁸ which belonged to the tricity union of communities הוש (Speyer, Worms, Mainz),⁹⁹ falls naturally into two periods: the first, to 1349; the second, from 1354 to 1454.¹⁰⁰ In the very first document that we have concerning the Jews in Speyer, which regulated their legal, religious and economic status, the Jewish cemetery is mentioned. When Bishop Rüdiger in 1084 settled Jews in Old Speyer in order, as he said, "to increase the honor

⁹⁸ For the secular history of Speyer, see *GJ*, pp. 326-66 (to 1238), and the literature listed on p. 366; also Index, p. 524, s. v. Speyer. Carlebach (see Bibliography) Guido Kisch, "Jewry-law in Medieval German Law-books," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, X (New York, 1940), pp. 142 ff. and note 75. Kober-Moses (see Bibliography) For the period to 1349, see A. Freimann, *GJ*, II (1238-1350); Index of Persons, *ZGJD*, VII (1939), 226-34. For the period after 1349, see M. Wiener, *MGWJ*, XII (1863); L. Rothschild (see Bibliography); M. Stern, "Die Wiederaufnahme der Juden in Speyer nach dem Schwarzen Tode," *ZGJD*, III (1889), 245-48.

For the spiritual history of the Jewish community in Speyer, see A. Epstein, *MGWJ*, XLI, pp. 37 ff.; Simon Eppenstein, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Juden in Deutschland besonders in literarischer und kultureller Hinsicht," *MGWJ*, LXIII (1919), 165-86; *GJ*, pp. 334 ff. For the period after 1349, see L. Rothschild, p. 43; M. Wiener, *MGWJ*, XII, p. 428 and passim; *Leket Yosher*, pp. XXV, 26, 27, 82. On the importance of the Jewish Council, see A. Hilgard, *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Stadt Speyer*, Strassburg, 1885, nos. 420-22; Adalbert Merx, pp. 51-55; cf. the critical review by David Kaufmann, *MGWJ*, XXXV (1886), 517-20.

⁹⁹ See Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1924.

¹⁰⁰ The decision of the City Council to allow Jews to return had already been made in 1352; see M. Stern in *ZGJD*, III (1889), pp. 245 ff. In spite of the banishment of Jews from Speyer in 1454, apparently ten or twelve families of Jews continued to live there until March 31, 1689, when the city was burned down by the French; see M. Wiener, *MGWJ*, XII, p. 459. On the relation of the Jews in the Bishopric of Speyer to the Rabbinate of Worms, see Doctor, "Blatter für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur," *Der Israelit*, V, 102-104. Jews settled again in Speyer after the French entered the city in 1794; see Berhold Herz, *Gedenkschrift zum 100 jährigen Bestehen der Synagoge zu Speyer*, published by the Israelitic Religious Community of Speyer, 1937.

of the town a thousand fold," he gave them a plot from the church lands in permanent possession to be used as a cemetery.¹⁰¹ It lay in the upper part of the city in the former village of Old Speyer and, like the Jewish settlement itself, was surrounded by a strong wall. When Ludwig the Bavarian was driven from the field in March 1315 by Frederick the Fair and his brother Leopold, he withdrew into the well-fortified cemetery of the Jews in Speyer. In 1337 and 1349 Jews from Old Speyer were living near the cemetery. After the persecution in 1349 the tombstones from the cemetery were used to repair the city walls and build towers. In 1353 the cemetery was plowed over and sown with grain. When the Jews returned in 1354, the community was given back a portion of the former cemetery between "Beerfriede, da man ausgehet, und der Waltgasse." Only in 1358 did the community of Speyer come into possession of the whole former cemetery,¹⁰²

"... mit der hofreyde, da der bronne inne stet und das husel mitten in demselben Judenkirchenhofe in der fryheit und in aller der maze als vormals von altersher Juden denselben Friedhof gehabt hat, usgenommen der anderen huser und hofe die daran stossent, die der rat zu Spire Christen luden verliehen hat, die sollen alle unserer stat eigentlichen zugehoren ewiclichen und verbliben, also daz die Juden kein recht daran haben sollen ane alle geverde."

The Jewish community restored the area and fortified it as before, and the city of Speyer ordered some of its mercenaries to occupy the cemetery during the feud with Emicho of Leiningen in 1375. What happened to the cemetery when the Jews were again forced to leave the city in 1435 is not certain. Undoubtedly, the grave-stones were used for building purposes of various kinds, as in 1349^{102a}. At the end of the nineteenth century, the cemetery

¹⁰¹ A. Hilgard, *op. cit.*, no. 11; Aronius, no. 168; *G. J.*, p. 334; M. Wiener, *MGWJ*, XII, p. 427; A. Epstein, *MGWJ*, XLI, pp. 26 ff.; L. Rothschild, pp. 23 ff.

¹⁰² A. Epstein, *MGWJ*, XLI, pp. 28 ff.

^{102a} Cf. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, p. 397, but the date, given by Schudt, *Jüdische*

plot served as a tree-nursery. To the west of it ran the railroad; on the eastern side was the highway to Worms and Mainz, along which the Jewish settlers from those cities had come in 1084.

Georg Litzel was the first to interest himself in the Jewish tombstones of Speyer. In 1759 he published a booklet, *Erklärung eines jüdischen Grabsteines zu Speyer*, which unfortunately is not accessible to the present writer.¹⁰³ In 1840 a tombstone was found in a field on the outskirts of the city, which bore the date 1384 and presumably came from the old Jewish cemetery. It was brought to the new cemetery established by the Jewish community in 1829. Zunz cites it in his essay, "Gedächtnis der Gerechten."¹⁰⁴ During the demolition of an old bridge in July or August 1850 four more tombstones were recovered;¹⁰⁵ another in 1863 which had been used in the wall of a house.¹⁰⁶ A. Epstein reports in his essay, "Jüdische Altertümer in Speyer" (1897), that thirteen tombstones were found when an old building was torn down.¹⁰⁷ The majority of these stones were rediscovered when the Salzturm Bridge was dismantled in 1909 or 1910. They had served, in the meantime, as building stones in place of bricks.¹⁰⁸ In 1925 these stones were set up on display in a vacant hall of the Palatine Historical Museum in Speyer. Other tombstones were still to be seen during the twenties of the present century at the entrance of a house near the Jewish baths. They were set into the floor and, as many feet had passed over them, the lettering could no longer be deciphered. It was otherwise with the tombstones from the Salzturm Bridge; wherever the inscription had lain face downward, it was still legible.

On the occasion of the Jewish Teachers' Association Convention in Frankfort during the First World War, Marcus Brann heard about these tombstones. He rode up to Speyer and

Merkwürdigkeiten, followed by Zunz is not accurate, since Jews were not expelled from Speyer before 1435.

¹⁰³ I am indebted to Dr. A. Freimann for the title of this work.

¹⁰⁴ *AZdJ*, 1840, p. 342; Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, p. 407.

¹⁰⁵ *AZdJ*, 1850, p. 499.

¹⁰⁶ M. Wiener, *MGWJ*, XII, p. 300 (dated 1283).

¹⁰⁷ *MGWJ*, XLI, pp. 25, 26; followed by *G. J.*, p. 334.

¹⁰⁸ Personal communication from the museum director, Dr. Sprater, to whom I also owe much information in the sequel.

examined them with Senior Master S. Waldbott.¹⁰⁹ Later he obtained photographs of the stones and set to work deciphering the inscriptions. He reported in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1918)¹¹⁰ that there were thirty-eight inscriptions from Speyer, which he intended to publish later. I have already mentioned that he planned a *Corpus Inscriptionum*, but he wrote to Waldbott on February 9, 1920: "The publication of the inscriptions from Cologne, Speyer and elsewhere is being held up by the fact that the cost of the necessary cuts is so exorbitant at the present time." Soon after, on September 28, 1920, he died. Neither the photographs nor a manuscript on the tombstones of Speyer could be found among his papers, according to a communication from Mrs. Emma Brann, his widow, to Mr. Waldbott in Speyer, dated March 24, 1922. The Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, which had purchased Dr. Brann's library and made a careful examination of the books, also discovered nothing. Mr. Waldbott could send me only three slips of paper containing notes by Brann. He also turned over to me some notes of his own and a few preliminary attempts at deciphering the inscriptions, among them a successful German translation of no. 22 from the hand of the late Rabbi Dr. Salvendi Dürkheim. The museum labels of the dated tombstones in the Speyer Museum contained many errors, but they showed that an interest in the problem of deciphering them existed. For the Rhineland Millennial Exposition at Cologne in 1925, Dr. Sprater, Director of the Palatine Historical Museum in Speyer, sent photographs of the tombstones at my request. Two years later, he begged me to publish the Hebrew inscriptions and sent me excellent photographs of them. He helped me also with valuable information from time to time. Moreover in 1934 I made a trip to Speyer to ascertain on the spot those details which could not be determined from the photographs alone. The unfortunate circumstances of the past eleven years are responsible for the fact that only now am I able to publish these inscriptions.

¹⁰⁹ Letter to me from S. Waldbott, January 25, 1927.

¹¹⁰ LXII (1918), 98-99.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS (1-42)

a) *Dated Inscriptions*

Sp. 1.

Son or daughter of Joseph, died 2. Iyar, 4845 = April 29, 1085.
Red sandstone from the Hardt mountains; 60 x 52 cm.

	1
[2
בן]	
[יוסף הנפטר]	3
ירח אייר יום ב	4
באייר שנת לא[לף]	5
החמש]	
ו'ת ת"ה לפרוט]	6
[אמן סלה בן ענדרן	7

NOTES — The stone is damaged on top, so that at least one line of the inscription is completely missing and we cannot be certain what was said in the second line. Although a few letters are still distinguishable, it is not clear whether a son or a daughter of Joseph was meant. Perhaps we may assume that the first line contained *הקבר* or *זאת המצבה* or a similar introduction, and the second line the name, son or daughter of . . . Only the last letter of this line is clearly discernible. The lettering shows no difference between full strokes and hairlines. The letter *ש* is angular; the letters *ן* and *ן* are of a wedge type.

Between lines 5 and 6 appears *שי*, which, judging from the following line, should be read as *המשי*. The millenium having been mentioned in line 5, the phrase *לפרט* (line 6) is superfluous. Cf. Eduard Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 519.

Line 6: In *ו'ת ת"ה* and *לפרוט* are separated by a mark, apparently to signify that after " the number begins.

Line 7: *אמן סלה* occurs, e. g., in Mainz, 1250 (Levi, p. 27, no. VII), and in Worms, 1262 (Lewysohn, no. 15).

Sp. 2.

Joseph, son of Mar Ḥakim ha-Cohen, died 905 (abridged chronology) = 1144/1145.

Pale-grey sandstone — 54 x 18 cm.

תתקה לפרט	1
נפט הבחור	2
יוסף בן מר	3
חכים הכהן	4
ונחוחו גן עדין (נשמתו)	5

NOTES — Line 3: The title מר (see Louis Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, 1909, pp. 377, 388, 425 on the pronunciation; further, Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, p. 185; *The-saurus totius Hebraeitis*, by Eliezer Ben Jehuda, VII, pp. 3297–98, *s. v.*) was used in Germany especially in the 11th and 12th cent., *e. g.*, in Worms: Mar Jacob was the founder of the synagogue of Worms, 1034 (cf. *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, p. 513; Lewysohn, p. 15, no. 5; p. 89, no. 53); in the list of Xanten, 1096 (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 17); in Cologne, 1096 (*ibid.*, pp. 8–9), 1157, 1166 (see Kober, *Grundbuch*, Index, *s. v.*).

Line 4: The name Ḥakim occurs in Worms, 1096 (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 103); in Cologne (Kober, *Grundbuch*, 144 A, 153 A, 154, 160 A); in Mainz, 1252 (Levi, p. 29, no. IX); in Nuremberg, 1298 (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 175); in Windsheim, 1298 (*ibid.*, p. 167).

Line 5: נוחו עדין was used in Palestine (S. Klein, p. 35, no. 109); in Monzon de Campos, Spain, 1097 (Schwab, *Espagne*, p. 248); in Worms, 1082, 1083, 1091 (Lewysohn, pp. 12, 13, 85); in Erfurt, 1267, 1269, 1271, 1275, 1277, 1280, 1300 (Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, p. 352 ff.); in Toulouse, beginning of the 14th cent. (Schwab, *France*, pp. 193–94); see generally, L. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, pp. 341 ff. בעדין נוחה occurs in Mainz, 1080 (Levi, p. 21, no. 5); in Basel, 1271, 1314 (1317), Ginsburger, *Basel*, nos. 2, 4, pp. 430, 431).

Sp. 3.

R. Moses, son of R. Jacob ha-Levi, died 906 (abridged chronology) = 1145/1146.

Pale-grey sandstone, weather beaten, black appearance.

תתקו לפרט 1

נפטֵר לְ מֹשֶׁה 2

בְּרִי יְעֻקֵב הַלְוִיִּן 3

NOTES — The fracture goes through the third line. Only the heads of the last letters of this line are visible. The eulogy which presumably occupied the 4th and 5th lines is missing.

Sp. 4.

Hannah, daughter of Mar Alexandri, died Sabbath, 8. Nisan, 943 = April 2, 1183.

Pale sandstone — 49 x 64 cm.

צִיּוֹן קֶבֶר מֵרַח 1

חַנָּה בַּת מֵר 2

אַלְכֶסַנְדְּרִי הַנֶּפֶטֶר 3

חַ בְּנִיסָן בְּיוֹם. 4

מֵרְנוּעַ אֲתִקְמוּ 5

NOTES — An incorrect publication of this inscription appeared in *AZdJ*, XIV (1850), p. 499.

Line 1: צִיּוֹן was the customary introduction in the tombstone inscriptions of the 13th and 14th cent. We meet צִיּוֹן הַלֵּוִי (cf. II Kings, 23.17), *e. g.*, in Strassburg, first in 1223 (Schwab, *France*, pp. 315, 316, 320, 322); in Ulm, first in 1274, then often in the 14th cent. (Brann, *Ulm*, pp. 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 28). The combination קֶבֶר צִיּוֹן (gravestone) is used here; similarly we find מַצְבֵּה קְבוּרָה in Carpentras in the 14th cent. (see Schwab, *France*, pp. 224–25). מֵרַח is the feminine title corresponding to מֵר; cf. note to inscription Sp. 2.

Line 3: On the form of the name Alexandri, see Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 389. — הַנֶּפֶטֶר abbreviation for הַנֶּפֶטֶרָה.

Line 5: מֵרְנוּעַ, cf. Jer. 6.16; יוֹם מֵרְנוּעַ (= Sabbath) occurs in the Kinah: הַקִּינוּת לְהַב, of Kalonymos ben Jehudah of Speyer (see Baer, *German Rite*, p. 234; cf. *GJ*, pp. 335, 351 n. 66). On inscriptions in Worms, 1186, see Lewysohn, pp. 84–85, no. 48; 1205, see Merx, p. 46, no. VII, and Plate IV (Merx incorrectly reads בְּיוֹם מֵרְנוּעַ and translates “qui donnait le repos”!); 1304, see Grunwald, Worms, p. 103, no. 417.

Line 6: Only the tops of the letters are visible; they probably contained the benediction.

Sp. 5.

Jutta, daughter of Mar Miluta, died on a Sunday in the month Teveth 950 = December 17, 24 or 31, 1189, or January 7, 1190.

Light-grey sandstone — 62 x 53 cm.

בַּחֲתָקֵן לַפֶּרֶט	1
בְּחֹדֶשׁ טֵבֵת	2
יּוֹם נִפְטָרָה	3
מֵרֵת יוֹטָא	4
בֵּת מֵר מִלּוּטָא	5
מִנּוּחַחָה	6
שְׁלוֹם	7

NOTES — Reprint of this inscription in *AZdJ*, XIV (1850), p. 499, with the last line missing and the date incorrect. Depending on the text given there, Zunz mentions the name "Melota", *Namen*, p. 34.

Lines 1–3: יום א means Sunday, a Sunday in the month Teveth, 950 (in the abridged chronology). As the first of the month Teveth coincided with the 12th of the month December 1189, the Sundays which come into consideration are the 17th, 24th, 31st of December 1189 or January 7, 1190. The date on the label of the tombstone is incorrect by one year.

Line 5: מר, see above Sp. 2 notes. I have found the name Miluta only here.

Lines 6 and 7: The original source of the phrase מנווחו שלום is T. Ket. 104a; cf. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, p. 347. The benediction שלום על מנוח occurs in Naples, 5th cent. (Frey, no. 358); in Tarentum, 7th cent. (Frey, no. 622; Ascoli, no. 39, p. 84; Frey, no. 630); in Erfurt, 1279 (Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, p. 353).

Sp. 6.

R. Joseph, son of R. Jechiel, died Monday, Marḥeshvan 34 (abridged chronology) = November 6, 1273.

Red sandstone — 54 x 48 cm.

צִיּוֹן הַלּוֹז לְקִבְרֵי ר'	1
יּוֹסֵף בֶּר יַחִיאֵל	2
הַנֶּפֶטֶר כֹּד בַּמְרַחֲנֻשׁוֹן	3

יום ב לד לפרט 4
 מנוחתו כבוד 5

NOTES — Printed in *AZdJ*, XIV (1850), p. 499, with incorrect reading of the third line and therefore with wrong date.

Line 1: ציון הלו, see note to inscription Sp. 4 on the use of this phrase.

Line 3: After the letters במרה a part of the letter *ש* is still visible. Considering the weekday named in line 4, we must read (in line 3) כד (=24. Marḥeshvan).

Line 5: Isa.11.10. This benediction is found, *e. g.*, in Worms, first in 1088, then in the 12th and 13th cent. (Lewysohn, nos. 5, 1, 10, 13, 53, pp. 15, 11, 21, 24, 89); in Mainz, 1226 (Levi, p. 25, no. VII); in Erfurt, 1268, 1288 (Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, pp. 352–54); see generally, L. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, pp. 343–49.

Sp. 7.

Isaac, son of R. Jehudah, died 7. Marḥeshvan, 44=October 29. 1283.

Red sandstone from the Hardt mountains — 78 x 41 cm.

. . . יצחק בורן 2
 יהודה נפטר למרוחשו 3
 ון יום ז מ' 4
 יבוא שלום 5
 ועל משכבו 6
 וערן עם הצדיקים 7

NOTES — The form of the individual letters, *e. g.*, א, ח, נ, ק, ש and the slight difference between כ and ב point to the 12th cent., but the year 44 (=1283) is distinctly visible. At the top one line of the inscription is missing, which might have read זה הקבר or some similar expression.

Lines 3 and 4: The word מרחשו is divided and carried over from one line to the other.

Lines 5 and 6: Cf. Isa. 57.2. Cf. L. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, pp. 356–57; Harkavy, p. 127, who refers to T. Shab. 152b (על גופן של צדיקים אומר). Perhaps the word ינוח is missing in line 5 after שלום, and the word בן in line 6 after משכבו.

At the beginning of line 7 the ן is distinctly visible. The combination בן בנים was often used, *e. g.*, in Worms, 1296, 1307 (Lewysohn, nos. 19, 21, pp. 32, 35).

Sp. 8.

R. Isaac, son of R. Jekutiel ha-Levi ha-Saken, died Friday,
26. Adar 77 (abridged chronology) = March 11, 1317.

Light-grey sandstone — 50 x 55 cm.

עדה המצבה	1
לרא ר יצחק בר	2
יקותי הלוי הזקן	3
הנקבר ביום ו	4
כו באדר עז ל	5
ואמן אמן סלה	6

NOTES — Printed in *AZdJ*, XIV (1850), p. 499.

Line 1: Cf. Gen. 31.52. Frequently used, beginning in the 13th cent., often in combination with ער הגל הזה, *e. g.*, in Mainz, 1262 (Levi, p. 31, no. X); in Ulm, 1298, 1306 (Brann, *Ulm*, pp. 14, 16; nos. 3, 6).

Line 2: לראש = לרא.

Line 3: יקוחאל = יקותי.

Lines 2 and 3: It is not possible to say whether Isaac, s. of Jekutiel ha-Levi ha-Saken, is connected with the family of Jekutiel ben Moses (see *GJ*, p. 335).

Line 6: Only the heads of the letters are visible.

Sp. 9.

Pura, daughter of ?, died 12. Kislev 105 (abridged chronology) =
Thursday, November 18, 1344.

Pale-grey sandstone — 46 x 43 cm.; the stone shows a large
hole.

פה נקבר הק . .	1
מרת פורא	2
בת O	3
יב כסליו יום	4

ה קה לפ נוחוה] 5
 ועדן] 6

NOTES — Line 1: The last letter of the last word is not clear; it cannot be read [הקד]ושה].

Line 2: We find the name Pora or Pura, *e. g.*, in Nuremberg, 1298 (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 503, *s. v.*); in Worms, 1316 (Grunwald, *Worms*, p. 83); very often in Cologne (Kober, *Grundbuch*, p. 221, *s. v.*).

Lines 5 and 6: On the expression נוחה עדן, see inscription Sp. 2, notes to line 5.

Line 6: Only the heads of the letters are visible.

Sp. 10.

R. Baruch, son of R. Elieser, died in the night of Tuesday, 15. Adar I, 125 (abridged chronology) = March 11, 1365.

Light-grey sandstone with yellowish face, flat border in rectangular form — 131 x 89 cm.; the stone is damaged at the lower right corner.

איש
 ציון הלז לראש הנד רב 1
 פעלים | בר אורין יושב ב 2
 אוהלים | ובעת הזעם עמד 3
 לו שעה | ובו נתן הית לעם 4
 שרידי חרב תשועה | וימן 5
 לאביונים מזון ובר | וביתו 6
 פתוח כמדבר | גברא דכולא 7
 ביה הנ ר ברוך בר אליעזר | 8
 הנפטר בשם טוב ליל ג טו 9
 באדר | הראשון שנת קכ"ה ל 10
 לפ י"ז שיזכה לעולם שכולו 11
 זכיא 12

NOTES — The inscription is rhymed, lines 2 and 3 with ים, lines 4 and 5 with

קָה, lines 6 and 7 with בָּר, lines 8 and 10 with זָר and דָּר. Over the first line מֵיִשׁ has been inscribed.

Line 1: הנָּדִיב = הַלּוֹ, see above, notes to inscriptions Sp. 4 and 6. צִיּוֹן הַלּוֹ.

Lines 1 and 2: רַב פְּעָלִים, cf. II Sam. 23.20; I Chron. 11.22.

Line 2: בָּר אֲוֵרִין, cf. T. Bez. 12a; Git. 31b, 62a. The expression was used in the same way in Worms, 1240 (Grunwald, *Worms*, p. 105).

Lines 2 and 3: יוֹשֵׁב אֲוֵהִלִים (the extra ב at the end of line 2 was added in order to fill it out), cf. Gen. 25.27. It has the sense of the interpretation given in Gen. Rabbah, chap. 63; cf. T. Meg. 16b, 17b (see Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabschriften*, pp. 3–4).

Line 3: הוֹעֵם וּבַעַח הוֹעֵם probably points to the persecution of 1349. The last word עַמָּד is an abbreviation for עַמְרָה.

Line 4: הִזִּית is an abbreviation for הִשָּׁם יִתְבָּרַךְ (L. Ginzberg) — “Through him the Lord has given his aid . . .”; cf. כִּי־יָבִיב נַחַן ה' חֲשׂוּעָה, II Kings 5.1.

Lines 4 and 5: עַם שְׂרִירֵי חֶרֶב, cf. Jer. 31.1.

Line 5: וַיִּטֵּן, cf. Dan. 1.5.

Line 6: בָּר וְלַחֵם וּמוֹנֵן, cf. Gen. 45.23.

Lines 6 and 7: “Open to all,” according to T. Sanh. 49a: מֵה מַדְבַּר מוֹפֵקֵךְ לְכָל לְכָל אֶף בֵּיתוֹ שֶׁל יוֹאֵב מוֹפֵקֵךְ לְכָל.

Lines 7 and 8: הַנִּכְבָּד = הַנִּי, רִכּוּלָא בֵּיתָה is said of the Torah in Abot 5, 25.

Line 9: אֲשֶׁר־י מִי שְׁנֹדֵל בַּחֲזוּרָה . . . According to T. Bez. 17a.

Line 10: The ל at the end (the first letter of לִפְרֹט) was added in order to fill out the line.

Line 11: First word: לִפְרֹט; the next: יְהִי רַצוֹן = י'ר, as in Breslau (Brann, *Schlesien*, p. ix, no. 6, note 4) and Worms, 1307 (Kaufmann, *MGWJ*, XL, p. 129). The following words correspond to T. Erubin 54b: לֵךְ וְנִיחָא and others.

Sp. 11.

Blume, daughter of the scholar R. Jacob, died Tuesday, 15. Teveth 126 (abridged chronology) in the 6th millennium = December 30, 1365.

Light-grey sandstone with a brown painted face. — 131 x 89 cm.; highly protruding rectangular border; a five-leaved rosette underneath the inscription as ornamental conclusion.

הַאֲבָן הַזֹּאת הוֹקְמָה	1
לְרֹאשׁ הַצְדָקָת וְהַחֲסִידָה	2
מֶרְ בְּלוּמָא בַת הַחֶרֶץ	3
יַעֲקֹב שְׁנֹקְבָרָה פַּה	4
בְּיוֹם ג' טו' בְּשַׁבַּת קָצוֹ	5

לפרט לאלף ששי 6
תנבֿעֿ אמן סלה 7

NOTES: — The date on the label of the tombstone is incorrect.

Line 1: הוקמה was often used, e. g., in Mainz, 1121 (Levi, p. 23, no. 6); in Ulm, 1243 (Brann, p. 12, no. 1); in Erfurt, 1288 (Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, p. 354, no. 36); 1319 (*ibid.*, p. 355, no. 53).

Line 3: The name Blume occurs often in the 13th and 14th cent., see L. Zunz, *Namen*, p. 47; Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, pp. 389, 463 (the form in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, 1298); Kracauer, *MGWJ*, LV (1911), p. 450 (Frankfort on the Main).

Line 7: תנוח נפשה (נשמה) בן עדין = ח'נ'ב'ע'; cf. L. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, p. 343. נוח נפש occurs in T. Erubin 21; was used in Palestine (S. Klein, nos. 114, 166, p. 278); on the Nazareth stone (S. Klein, *MGWJ*, LXXXV, pp. 290, 462–63); in Venosa (Frey, no. 611).

Sp. 12.

The unmarried Shneior, son of R. Abraham, died Wednesday, 26. Marḥeshvan 5129 according to the era of worldcreation = November 8, 1368.

Pale-grey sandstone — 97 x 80 cm.; flat arch.

ציון הלז 1
חוצב לראש הבחור 2
ר שניאור בר אברהם 3
שנפטר ביום ד' כו' מר 4
חשון שנת חמשה א 5
לפים ומאה ועשרי 6
ם ותשעה לבריאח 7
עולם ם תנבֿעֿ 8

NOTES: — Line 1: ציון הלז, see above, notes to inscriptions Sp. 4 and 6.

Line 2: The expression חוצב refers to the activity of the stone-mason; cf. the tombstone of Rabbenu Gershom of Mainz (Levi, p. 13, no. I), and Erfurt, 1298 (Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, p. 354, no. 36, see also no. 15).

Line 3: שניאור = Senior; cf. Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 414; Kober, *Grundbuch*, p. 151, n. 6, p. 197 and n. 1.

Lines 4–6: The words **ועשרים, אלפים, מרחשון** at the ends of these lines are curiously divided and carried over from one line to the next.

Lines 7 and 8: The era of creation is generally used on the Speyer inscriptions, but the expression **לבריאת עולם** occurs only here.

Line 8: **לנזע** see above, notes to inscription Sp. 11.

Sp. 13.

The old respected woman Jachant, daughter of R. Joseph, died 13. Teveth 5132 = December 21, 1371.

Pale-grey sandstone — 138 x 105 cm.; very finely profiled round arch with double raised border. Roman disk ornaments in the gores. A break runs through the whole stone.

זאת המצב	1
הוקמה ונצבה	2
לראש החשובה	3
הזקנה ההגונה	4
מרת יכנט בת רבי	5
יוסף הנפטרה ביום	6
א יג טבת שנת חמש	7
אלפים ומאה ושלשי	8
ושתיים לפרט הנצבה	9
עם שאר צדקניות בן	10
עדן א א סלה	11

NOTES — The first four lines are rhymed with ה. Line 1: המצב = המצבה.

Line 2: The combination **הוקם ונצב** is found, e. g., in Erfurt (Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, pp. 354–55, nos. 36, 53).

Line 5: The name occurs in 1096, 1282, 1298, 1349 (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, pp. 399, 478, s. v.; Kober, *Grundbuch*, p. 149).

Line 7: חמש = חמשה.

Line 8: שלשי = שלשים.

Line 9: The abbreviated form of the benediction **לנצבה** occurs here for the first time in Speyer. It can be traced to I Sam. 25.29, . . . והיתה נפש . . . applied to the soul of the pious in T. Shab. 152b. We find it abbreviated for the first

time in Calatayud in 919 (M. Schwab, *Espagne*, pp. 241–44); again in Mainz, 1252 (Levi, no. IX, p. 29); in its unabbreviated form, 1250 (*ibid.*, no. VIII, p. 27).

Line 11: The repeated אמן in connection with סלה is quite common, e. g., in Mainz, 1250 (Levi, p. 27). In general, see Wachstein, *Inschriften*, I, pp. XXVIII ff.

Sp. 14.

R. Samuel, son of the martyr(?) R. Shemarjah, buried Sunday in the month Tishri 5133 (= 7th or 14th or 21st or 28th) of September 1372.

Pale-grey sandstone; Roman or Romanesque round arch, elegant form.

ציון הלז לראש	1
הנעים ר' שמואל	2
בן הק"ר שמרי' הנקבר	3
ביום א' בירח תשרי קל"ג	4
לפרט לאלף הששי	5
תנוח נשמתו בגן עדן	6
אמן אמן סלה	7

NOTES — Line 1: ציון הלז see above inscriptions nos. 4, 6, notes.

Line 3: בן הקצין = בן הקדוש = בן הק"ר, perhaps = בן הקצין.

Line 6: See inscription no. 11, note.

Line 7: See inscription no. 13, note.

Sp. 15.

R. Jehudah, son of the scholar R. Samuel, died Wednesday, the 3rd of Marḥeshvan 5138 = October 7, 1377.

Yellow sandstone — 109 x 92 cm.; Romanesque round arch with border; in the gores star flowers, each set in a circle symmetrically.

עד הגל הזה ועדה	1
המצבה הזאת אשר	2

חוצבה לראש הנעים	3
והישר והתם ר יהודה בר	4
החור שמואל הנקבר פה	5
ביום ד ג מרחשון קלח	6
לפרט לאלף הששי תנב	7
אמן אמן אמן	8
[ס]ל[ה]	9

NOTES — Lines 1 and 2: Gen. 31.52, after the 13th cent. frequently used, cf. above inscription no. 8, note.

Line 5: חור = רבי = החבר רבי = חור; see Elieser ben Jehudah, *Thesaurus*, III, 1433–1435; Wachstein, *Inschriften*, I, p. XXXVIII, concerning the title חבר.

Line 7: תהי נפשו בעדין = תנב.

Line 9: סלה is hardly to be discerned.

Sp. 16.

Rechlin, daughter of R. Isaac ha-Levi, died Sunday, 5. Tammuz
5138 = July 4, 1378.

Red sandstone with green painted face — 97 x 84 cm.

עד הגל הזה ועדה המצבה	1
אשר הוקמה לראש מרת	2
ריכלין בת ר יצחק הלוי	3
הנקברת פה ביו א ה ב	4
בתמו קלח לפ לאלף	5
הששי תנבע אא	6
סלה	7

NOTES — Line 1: Cf. inscription 15, note.

Line 3: Pet name for רחל, cf. L. Zunz, *Namen*, p. 50; Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 40.

Line 6: See inscription no. 11, note to 7th line.

Sp. 17/18.

Tombstone for sister and brother Gnenchen and Moses, children of R. Israel ha-Levi; Gnenchen died Tuesday, 21st Kislev 5141 = November 18, 1380. Moses died Wednesday, 5th Teveth 5141 = December 3, 1380.

Yellow sandstone — 145 x 115 cm. (left), 144 x 53 cm. (right).
Gothic pointed clover leaf arch and rich ornamental border.

עד	1	עד	1
הגל	2	הגל ה	2
הזה ועדה	3	זה	3
המצבה אשר	4	ועדה המצ	4
שמתי לראש ה	5	בה הזה אשר	5
בחורה הצנוע מ	6	שמתי לראש ה	6
גנענכין בת ר ישר	7	נער הנעים והנח	7
הלוי שנקברה פה	8	מר ר משה בר	8
ביום ג כא כיסליו	9	ישראל הלוי שנכ	9
שנת קמא לאלף	10	בר פה ביום ד ה	10
השישי תהיה נש	11	טבת שנת	11
נשמשה צרורה	12	קמא לאלף ה	12
בצרור החיים	13	שישי תהיה	13
בגן עדן אמן	14	נשמשו צרור	14
אמן אמן סלה	15	בצרור החיים	15
		אמן אמן אמן	16
		סלה	17

NOTES — No. 17: *Left inscription* — The first and second lines are in the upper circle.

Lines 1–4: Cf. inscription Sp. 15, note.

Line 5: Gen. 28, 22.

Line 7: גנענכין is a pet name for Genanna, see Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 395. The name G(e)nanna is frequently found, e. g., in Cologne (Kober,

Grundbuch, p. 209, s. v.); in Frankfort on the Main (Kracauer, *MGWJ*, LV, 1911, p. 457).

Line 11: Two letters (נש) of the first word of the next line (נשמחה) were written at the end of the 11th line to fill it out.

Line 12: נשמחה is a mistake for נשמחה.

No. 18: *Right inscription* — The first three lines are in the upper circle.

Lines 1–6: See notes above to no. 17.

Line 2: The last letter (ה) belongs to זה in the 3rd line (= הזה).

Lines 4, 6, 7, 9: The last letter or letters of each of these lines belongs to the first word of the following line: המצבה (4/5); הנער (6/7); הנחמד (7/8); שנקבר (9/10).

Line 14: נשמחו is a mistake for נשמחו (cf. no. 17, line 11).

Sp. 19/20.

Twin stone for Raḥel(?), daughter of R. Eleasar, buried Monday, 14th of the month (?), 6th millennium, and for the respected R. Joseph, son of R. Shneior, buried Monday, the 28th of Kislev 5141 = November 26, 1380.

Pale-grey sandstone with weather beaten appearance.

עד הגל הזה	1	עד הגל הזה אשר	1
הוקמה לראש ר	2	חוצב לראש הנר יוסף	2
בת ר אלעזר הנקב	3	בר שניאור הנקבר פה ביו ב	3
ביו ב יד ימי בחדש	4	כח ימי בחדש כסליו לאלף	4
לא אלף הששי שנת	5	הששי שנ קמא תנבה אמן סלה	5
תנבה אמן אומן	6		

NOTES — The persons commemorated on this twin stone were probably a couple.

No. 19: *Left inscription* — Line 1: Cf. note to inscription Sp. 15.

Line 2: The last word can be completed with רחל.

Line 3: הנקברה = הנקב.

Lines 4 and 5: The month and year of decease are missing.

Line 6: חהי נפשו בצרור החיים = ת'נ'ב'ה'.

No. 20: *Right inscription* — Line 1: Cf. note to inscription Sp. 15.

Line 2: חוצב = חוצב'. We find the expression חוצב, e. g., in Mainz (tombstone for R. Gershom, see Levi, no. I, p. 13) and in Erfurt, 1288 (Kroner, *MGWJ*, XXXIII, no. 36, p. 354). הנכבד רבי = ה'נ'ר' (the respected . . .).

Line 3: Shneior = Senior, see above, note to inscription Sp. 12.

Line 5: שנת ק'פ'א' = שנק'פ'א'.

Sp. 21.

R. Menahem, son of R. Abraham, died Friday, the 12th of Elul 142 = August 22, 1382.

Pale-grey sandstone — 143 x 99 cm.; finely profiled border, apparently Romanesque round arch in 3 parts. The left upper corner is missing.

	1
	2
חסיד אפס	
כפש ויללה אותי תפש כי מי	3
מעיין נרפס גבר הלך בתומו	4
הנה הלך לעולמו כי הגיע ☉	5
יומו אשר בארץ שומו איש	6
תמים ונבר אשר פה נקבר	7
בשנת ילל וּבְאַנְחָה הוגבר ☉	8
יום ששי י"ב בחדש אלול	9
העבר הנה קול יצא ככה	10
זכר צדיק לברכה רַּ מנחם בַּר	11
אברהם יקר היה מאבן השהם	12
[ת]הא נפשו צרור בנן עדן שרור עם ☉	13
שאר צדיקים אצל הנטע ארקים אס	14

NOTES — The first two lines of this inscription have been restored conjecturally:

[מצבה לראש
מעמל יגונו בימי חייו]

I leave the question undecided.

In the inscription there are four rhymes ending with ס or ש (lines 2–4), four with ו (lines 4–6), four with בר (lines 7–10), two with כה (lines 10–11), two with הם (line 12), two with רור (line 13), and two with ים (line 14).

Line 3: The word *כפש* does not occur in תנ"ך; it is drawn from *באפר* (Lam. 3.16).

Line 4: מעיין נרפס, cf. Prov. 25.26.

Line 5: Follows Eccl. 12.5, omitting the material expression *ביה*; cf. Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabschriften*, p. 6 (1262). *כי הגיע* follows Ezek. 7.12.

Line 10: *קול יצא* is reminiscent of the talmudic *יצאה בה קול* (cf. T. M. K., 9a).

Line 11: *זכר צדיק לברכה* (Prov. 10.7), first used on inscriptions at Tarentum, probably in the 7th cent. (cf. Frey, nos. 625, 629).

Line 12: *אבן השהם*, cf. Gen. 2.12.

Line 14: The expression *הנטע ארקים*, corresponding to Isa. 51.13, *נטעה שמים*, was used only in poetical language. The form *בורא ארקים* also occurred; see Elieser ben Jehuda, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 403, s. v. *ארק*. *א'ם* = סלה = אמן.

Sp. 22.

The scholar R. Salomo, son of the rabbi R. Elieser, died 11th of Tishri 144 = September 8, 1383.

Pale-grey sandstone — 109 x 92 cm.; with a brown painted face and a slightly raised border surrounded completely by a spray executed with fine naturalistic expression.

ספד ונהי ויליל	1
ארים מחרת יום	2
הכפורים שנת ספד	3
לאסף ששי מאז הנחם	4
נפשי בנפול עטרת	5
ראשי בעל מדות כולן	6
חכמה עמדה לן יניק	7
וחכים החר שלמה בן	8
הרב ר אליעזר כתר	9
תורה לך נור בוצב	10
אאא	11

NOTES — The inscription is rhymed, twice with *ים* (lines 2 and 3), three times with *שי* (lines 4–6), twice with *לו* (lines 6 and 7), twice with *ור* (lines 9 and 10).

Line 1: *ספד* is used instead of *מספר*, cf. Elieser ben Jehuda, *Thesaurus*, VIII, p. 4146. *נהי ויליל*, cf. Jer. 9.9; Zeph. 1.10; Deut. 32.10.

Lines 2 and 3: The combination of *מחרת* with *יום הכפורים* does not occur in *תנ"ך*, but is found for the first time in the *Mekhilta* on Ex. 18.13.

Lines 5 and 6: *נפול* etc. is derived from Lam. 5.16: *נפלה עטרה ראשו*.

Line 6: Cf. I Chron. 11.23, 20.6: *איש מדה* (in the physical sense); similarly,

Num. 13.32: **אנשי מדות שמונו**. Perhaps there is an allusion here to **אלו שבע מדות שמונו** (Abot 6.8).

Lines 7 and 8: **ניק וחכים**; cf. T. Kid. 32b.

Line 8: **החבר רבי=ה'ח'ר'**; see above on the title **חבר**.

Lines 9 and 10: An allusion to **שלושה כהרים הם** (Abot 4.13) and Num. 6.7; Prov. 27.24. **הרב** is probably the rabbi of the community; cf. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften I*, p. XXXVII.

Line 10: **ב'ו'צ'ב'ה' = ב'ז'ר'ר החיים** or **בזכות זה צרור** or **בעבור זה**.

Line 11: **אמן אמן אמן סלה = א'א'א'ס'**.

Sp. 23.

Krasna, daughter of R. Jehudah ha-Levi, died Friday, 5th of Adar I 5144 = January 29, 1384.

Pale-grey sandstone — 120 x 76 cm.; flat arch with raised border.

זאת המצבה אשר	1
הוקמה לראש החסידה	2
ונעימה כבודה בת	3
מלך פנימה התמימה	4
מ' כרנזא בת ר' יהודה	5
הלוי הנפטרת והנקברת	6
ביום ששי ה' באדר	7
הראשון שנת קמ"ד	8
לאלף השישי ותצרוך	9
נשמתה בצרור החיים	10
אמן סלה	11

NOTES — The inscription is printed (with some errors) in *AZdJ*, 1840, p. 342; the date on the socle of the stone (1383) is incorrect.

Lines 3 and 4: Cf. Psalm 45.14.

Line 5: We find the name "Kress" קרשא in Würzburg, 1298, an abbreviation of Crescentia (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 401); Krissan in Frankfort on the Main, 1346 (Kracauer, *MGWJ*, LV, 1911, p. 462); Crescence in Switzerland (Steinberg, p. 9). Guido Kisch suggests to read "Krasna". "Krasna" then is clearly the Slavic (Czech) equivalent for Shöndel, cf. Sp. 26. L. Zunz, *Gedächtnis*, p. 415, emends the name to "Brune", without sufficient justification, as **כרנזא** can be read distinctly.

Line 9: וחצרוֹר = "Let [O Lord] her soul be bound up in the bundle of eternal life", in the form of a prayer; cf. Grunwald, *Worms*, p. 108 (1310).

Sp. 24.

Woman Hannah, died Shevat, 145 (?) (abridged chronology) = 1385.

נהלו אשר	1
נהוקמה לראש התנמי	2
מה והישרה הצדקנת	3
נמרת חנה נפטרה יום	4
ושבט שנת קמולו	5
לפרנט?	6

NOTE — The first line is probably to be completed (before הלו) by ציון.
Line 5: Only the head of ה is visible.

Sp. 25.

R. Gershom, son of R. Asher, died 29th of Elul 5149 = September 20, 1389.

Pale-grey sandstone — 46 x 43 cm. A round arch can distinctly be discerned.

	1
[לראש ר גרשום]	2
בר אשר שנקבור	3
ביום כט אלול	4
שנת קמט לפ	5
לאלף הששי	6
חנבע אם	7

NOTES — The first line of the inscription is missing. It can probably be completed by הלו הציון הוא or המצבה הוא or similarly.

Line 2: A part of the letter ר can be discerned in the last word.

Line 7: חנבע אם = ערן = חנבע, see above.

Sp. 26.

The pious woman Shönlín, daughter of the respected R. Isaac, buried Thursday, 2nd of Adar 167 (abridged chronology) = February 10, 1407.

Pale-grey sandstone — 77 x 65 cm. Round arch with raised border.

האבן הזאת שמונתין 1

לראש החסידה והנעינמה 2

והגבירה הנכבדת 3

מר שנלין בת הנ ר 4

יצחק הנקברת פה 5

ביו ה באדר שנת 6

קסז לפ תנב 7

ע אמן ואמן סלה 8

NOTES — We find the name "Schoen(e)lin" in Coblenz, 1265 (Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 413); in Vienna, 1278 (Wachstein, *Hebräische Grabschriften*, pp. 6-7); in Cologne, end of the 13th cent. (Kober, *Grundbuch*, p. 216, s. v. Livermannus, s. of Livermannus of Duren); in Worms (Grunwald, *REJ*, CIV, p. 85); in Vienna in the form of Schöndel, 1400; in Prague, 1546 (*G. J.*, p. 279 n. 61); in Frankfort on the Main in the form of Schona, 1339 (Kracauer, *MGWJ*, LV, 1911, p. 460). In general, see Zunz, *Namen*, p. 50.

Lines 7 and 8: The benediction אָנָּשׁ (see above) is divided between the two lines. Only the heads of מן of the second אמן are visible.

Sp. 27.

Woman, daughter of the scholar R. Abraham(?) or R. Elieser(?), died 25. of Iyar 187 (abridged chronology) = May 21, 1427.

Red sandstone — cut diagonally across the face — 100 x 81 cm.

1

מרת 2

הח ר אברהם] or אנליעזר] 3

הצדק והתמימה] 4

שנפטרת ל	5
כה באייר שנת	6
קפו לפ תהא	7
נבע אמן סלה	8

NOTES — One line at the top is completely missing. Line 4, first word = הצדקה.

Line 6: It is possible to read כד באייר also.

Lines 7 and 8: Only one word of the benediction הַנּוֹבֵעַ (cf. above) is written out in full (תהא).

b) *Undated Inscriptions*

Fragments

Sp. 28 Fragment

Daughter of Abraham, 5054 or 5064 = 1294 or 1304.

חמשת אלפיון	1
יחמשים וארבעה	2
ששים or	
לפרט שנפטרת הנ	3
אברהם	4

Sp. 29 Fragment

Gitel, young woman, died 5074 = 1314.

ביום שני	1
האלפים עד	2
לפרט נפטרת	3
הנערה גיטיל	4
בת	5

NOTES — Line 4: This name occurs very often in various forms: Guda, Gutgin, Guta, Gudchen, Guttelina, Gnitheil; *e. g.*, in Cologne (Kober, *Grundbuch*, Index, pp. 210–11, *s. v.*; *GJ*, Index, p. 529, *s. v.*); in Frankfort (Kracauer, *MGWJ*, LV, 1911, p. 450).

Sp. 30 Fragment

? son of R. Isajah.

וא[שר	1
נצ]בה לראש	2
הנעיי[ם] והנכבד	3
ר ישעיהו	4
כב לחדש	5
א לאלף הששי	6
בצרור החיים	7
ותט בדרא	? 8
אמן	9

NOTES — Many letters are not clear, especially in line 8.

Line 4: The name Isajah is used in the 13th and 14th cent., see Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 482.

Line 8: I cannot offer an interpretation of this line.

Sp. 31 Fragment

Elderly woman, daughter of R. Joseph, died Sunday, the 13th
of the month ? 5 . . 2 ?

Fragment of Roman disk ornaments in gore, fine raised border.

הווקם]	1
לראנש]	2
הזקנה]	3
מרת [בת]	4
יוסף	5
א יג	6
אלפינס]	7

ושחיום] 8
 עם שנאר צדקניות] 9
 ערן סנלה] 10

NOTES — Line 1: A part of ρ is yet visible.

Line 9: Supposedly to be completed בן.

Sp. 32/33 Fragment

Joseph, son of Shemarjah, died Sunday, the 9th of the month?
 year?

Pale-grey sandstone; twin stone with Gothic pointed clover-leaf
 arch and rich ornamental border.

זאת התעודה לנער 1
 יוסף ב שמר' 2
 שנקבר ביום א 3
 ט ימים לחדש 4

NOTES — In the upper circle letters are visible, perhaps קלה (135 = 1374/75).

Line 1: See Ruth 4,7.

ענד] 1
 הונל] 2
 א 3

Sp. 34 Fragment

Samuel, son of Abraham.

שמואל] 1
 ובן אברהם] 2
 נחב] 3

NOTES — Nearly every thing except the name is missing on the inscription.

Line 3: נחב = בערן = נחב.

Sp. 35 Fragment

Batsheba, daughter of R. Jehudah.

Pale-grey sandstone — 32 x 45 cm.

בשם טוב מרוחַ 1

בת שבע בת ר' 2

יהודה ונקברוהַ 3

NOTES — The style of the lettering suggests that this stone belongs to the 13th or 14th cent. The name Batsheba (= Badseife) occurs in the 13th cent.; see *GJ*, I, 25, s. v. Bergheim (cf. Kober, *Grundbuch*, pp. 85A, 193).

Sp. 36 Fragment

Jehudith, daughter of (?)

ומצבות 1

וזאת קבורת or

ניהודית בת 2

ם הכהן 3

Line 3: ם probably the final letter of חיים or גרשם.

Sp. 37 Fragment

Sara

נמורת שרה 1

נלראשה כליל 2

ונקברוהַ 3

עם [ש]אנר] 4

Line 2: Perhaps a hint at a respected woman and a reference to T. Shab. 59b: מאן דרכה למיפק בכלילא? אשה חשובה.

Sp. 38 Fragment

עדה המצבונהַ 1

ה והתמימה 2

נהקדושה הַכֹּ 3

יום 4

Line 3: Probably a martyr; הכ = הכבורה.

Sp. 39 Fragment

עד	1
נקבר	2
יקר ?	3
ששי	4
עדן	5
נסלה	6

Line 1 is to be completed with הגל הזה or similarly.

Line 3: The name Yakar (?).

Sp. 40 Fragment

The lower part of a fragment and a socle piece without name and date . . . Woman.

לפרט. תנוח נשמנתה	1
עם נשים צדקניות	2
בבגן עדן אמן סלנה	3

NOTE — The style of the lettering indicates that this inscription dates from the 13th cent.

Sp. 41 Fragment

The lower part of a fragment and a socle piece — Tuesday, 8th of Tammuz.

Red sandstone; flat rectangular border, slightly protruding.

ושמונה ח בתמוז	1
יום ג תנוח נשמתה	2
בצרור החיים בגן	3
עדן:	4

NOTE — The lettering is from the 13th cent. at the latest.

Sp. 42 Fragment

הנפטר וה	1
תהא בנן נערין	2
אמן סלה	3
	4

3. LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

I have listed forty-two tombstones and fragments from Speyer, twenty-seven of the former and fifteen of the latter. They have been divided into two groups, the first containing complete or nearly complete inscriptions, the second only remnants of inscriptions (such as the name alone or only a date or merely the benediction). The natural division of the first group is determined by the date 1349. Only nine tombstone inscriptions have survived from before that date, a clear indication of how completely the Jewish cemetery in Speyer was destroyed at that time. Of course, some of the undated stones might also belong in the period before 1349.

The fact that no inscriptions of poetical significance survive in Speyer from before 1349, although important scholars and famous *Paitanim* were living there as early as the eleventh century,¹¹¹ can be explained in one of two ways. Either it merely happens that no tombstones of famous persons have been preserved from before the time of the persecution, or one must assume that only the traditional formulas were customary on tombstone inscriptions before 1349. After that date, whether it was due to changed circumstances or not, some of the inscriptions (e.g., nos. 10, 21, and 22) show by the use of classical Hebrew and natural rhyme that poetical talent was not wanting in the Jewish community of Speyer. Let us not forget that Menahem Zijun ben R. Meir Melo Dabar, rabbi of Cologne, who was a very productive poet¹¹² — not less than seventy of his

¹¹¹ *GJ*, pp. 335 ff.

¹¹² Last quarter of the fourteenth century; see Kober, *Cologne*, p. 358.

poems are known — came from Speyer. The style of the remaining Hebrew tombstone inscriptions is also on a fairly high level, which testifies to the *genius loci*.

4. PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS (in alphabetical order)

d. of *R. Abraham*, died 1294 or 1304 (no. 28)

R. Baruch, the respected, s. of R. Elieser, died March 11, 1365 (no. 10)

Bathsheba, w., d. of R. Jehuda (no. 35)

Blume, w., d. of the scholar (= הַחֹבֵר) R. Jacob, died December 30, 1365 (no. 11)

d. of *R. Eleasar*, wife of R. Joseph, s. of Shneior, died November 26, 1380 (nos. 19, 20)

d. of *Elieser* or *Eleasar* or *Abraham*, died May 21, 1427 (no. 27)

R. Gershom (?), s. of R. Asher, died September 20, 1389 (no. 25)

Gitel, young w., died 1314 (no. 29)

Gnenchen, young w., d. of R. Israel ha-Levi, sister of Mose, died November 18, 1380 (no. 17)

Hannah, w., d. of Mar Alexandri, died April 2, 1183 (no. 4)

Hannah, w., died 1384 or 1385 or 1388 (no. 24)

R. Isaac, s. of R. Jekuthiel ha-Levi ha-Saken, died March 11, 1317 (no. 8)

Isaac, s. of R. Jehudah, died October 29, 1283 (no. 7)

s. of *R. Isaiah* (no. 30)

Jachent, elderly w., d. of R. Joseph, died December 21, 1371 (no. 13)

R. Jakar (no. 39)

R. Jehudah, s. of the scholar R. Samuel, died October 7, 1377 (no. 15)

Jehudith, d. of ha-Cohen (no. 36)

Joseph, young m., s. of Mar Ḥakim ha-Cohen, died 1145 (no. 2)

Joseph, boy, s. of R. Shemarjah (no. 32)

- R. Joseph*, the respected, s. of *R. Shneior*, son-in-law of *R. Eleasar*, died November 26, 1380 (no. 18)
 s. of *R. Joseph*, died April 29, 1085 (no. 1)
 unknown w., d. of *R. Joseph*, (no. 2)
Jutta, w., d. of Mar Miluta, died 1189/90 (no. 5)
Krasna, w., d. of *R. Jehudah ha-Levi*, died January 29, 1384 (no. 23)
R. Menahem, s. of *R. Abraham*, died August 23, 1382 (no. 21)
R. Moses, boy, s. of *R. Israel ha-Levi*, died December 3, 1380 (no. 17)
R. Moses, s. of *R. Jacob*, died 1146 (no. 3)
Pura (Pora), d. of, died November 18, 1344 (no. 9)
Rechlin, w., d. of *R. Jsak ha-Levi*, died July 4, 1378 (no. 16)
R. Salomo, the scholar, s. of the rabbi *R. Elieser*, died September 3, 1383 (no. 22)
Samuel, s. of *Abraham* (no. 34)
R. Samuel, s. of הק (=הקדוש) = the martyr or (=הקצין) = the wealthy *R. Shemarjah*, died September 1372 (no. 14)
Sara, w. (no. 37)
Shoenlin, w., d. of the respected *R. Isaac*, died February 10, 1407 (no. 26)
R. Shneior, unmarried, s. of *R. Abraham*, died November 18, 1368 (no. 12)

5. THE HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TOMBSTONES

Concerning the life history of most of the men and women named in the inscriptions almost nothing can be said. In most cases they cannot even be identified.

It can only be assumed that the father of *R. Isaac*, son of *R. Jekuthiel ha-Levi ha-Saken*, died March 11, 1317, was *Jekuthiel ben Isaac ha-Levi* who lived about 1300 and, according to *Zunz*, was the composer of a *Seliḥa*.¹¹³

¹¹³ Cf. *L. Landshut, Amude ha-Aboda*, Berlin, 1857, p. 131; *L. Zunz, Synagogale Poesie*, p. 35; *Davidson, Ozar*, IV, p. 425.

The young man Joseph, son of Mar Ḥakim ha-Cohen, died 1145 (no. 2), was possibly a brother of Alexander bar Ḥakim who apparently lived in the Rhine district about 1070.¹¹⁴ A certain Ḥakim ha-Cohen perished at Worms in 1096.¹¹⁵

The R. Joseph named as the father of an unidentified son, died 1085 (no. 1), is perhaps identical with the one referred to in 1096. (Neubauer-Stern, Qu. II, pp. 15, 112 f.; GJ, p. 209 n. 66: "R. Kalonymos, son of the old R. Josef of Speyer, was slain at Mainz during the persecution of 1096.")

The scholar R. Salomo, son of Rabbi R. Elieser, died September 3, 1383, is not the same as R. Salomo of Speyer, mentioned in the *Leket Josher*, pp. VII, L; I, pp. 9, 113, 117, 118; II, pp. 27, 39. The latter lived as rabbi in Heilbronn and Landau and was present at the wedding of R. Joseph ben Mose, author of the *Leket Josher*, in Heilbronn about 1423. Whether the poet (*Paitan*) Salomo, son of R. Elieser, is identical with this Salomo (no. 22) is also an open question. We know nothing conclusive about R. Salomo or his father, Rabbi R. Elieser.

The Samuel, son of Abraham, named on one of the fragments (no. 34), could possibly be the grandson of Samuel he-Ḥasid, one of whose sons was named Abraham.¹¹⁶

In the person of R. Baruch, son of R. Elieser, "a scholar of the Law and man of action" (no. 10), we make the acquaintance of a celebrity whose very name had not been known before. During the time of storm and stress — which probably means 1349 and after — he had managed to save himself. "Through him God helped the Jews of Speyer. His house became a place of refuge for those who had escaped the sword. He helped them and supplied the poor with sustenance." Since the date of his death was March 11, 1365, he must have escaped the horror of 1349. Apparently, he returned to Speyer some time after 1354.

¹¹⁴ L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 341 ff. (who cites R. Meir of Rotenburg, Rga. 875).

¹¹⁵ Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 103.

¹¹⁶ Cf. H. Gross in *Magazin für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, I (Berlin, 1894), 106–108.

Possibly Inscription no. 14, naming R. Samuel, son of 'קה R. Shemarjah, died September 1372, also points to the fateful year 1349, if 'קה is to be read *ha-Kadosh* = "the martyr";¹¹⁷ perhaps also no. 38.

The poetic Inscription no. 21 apparently deals with a very distinguished person, for R. Menahem, son of R. Abraham, died August 22, 1382, is referred to as "more precious than the *Shoham* stone" which adorned the breastplate of the High Priest. Nothing is known about him otherwise, for he cannot be the correspondent of the same name mentioned by Hayyim Or Sarua.¹¹⁸

Whether the scholar R. Jacob, father of the woman Blume (no. 11), is identical with the scholar named in the *Leket Josher*, pp. XXXV, 26, 27, who presumably lived in the fourteenth century, cannot be determined.

The names which appear in the inscriptions, as I have indicated in the notes, recur in other sources of the times, with the exception of the masculine name "Miluta" (no. 5) and the feminine name "Krasna" (no. 21).

From the artistic point of view¹¹⁹ the tombstones of Speyer before 1349 show no special characteristics. As far as can be determined, they were rectangular stones with flat borders projecting slightly. But after the resettlement of 1352 several types can be distinguished — the flattened arch with raised border, the round arch with a similar raised border and the rectangular stone with flat border projecting only slightly. These seem to have been the usual styles. Of particular beauty is the tombstone of 1365 (no. 11). It has an ornamental tailpiece below the lettering, consisting of a five-leaved rosette inscribed

¹¹⁷ Of the martyrs only R. Eljakim is known; see Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, pp. 246, 266.

¹¹⁸ Rosenberg, *Rechtsgutachten* (תשובות), Leipzig 1865, no. 127. Hayyim b. Isaac Or Sarua lived in the second half of the thirteenth, possibly at the beginning of the fourteenth century; the Menahem mentioned above, however, died in 1382.

¹¹⁹ For the correct scientific expressions used in the description of the tombstones I am indebted to Dr. Elsa Hofmann, formerly of Vienna, now of New York, who most kindly gave me her expert advice.

in a circle, which is centered between symmetrical sprays of lotus blossoms. It is regrettable that the twin stone (no. 32/33) is only a fragment, for the Gothic trefoil and the pointed arch have been executed especially well. Tombstone no. 22 from 1383 has a projecting border completely surrounded by a running spray conceived with fine naturalism. Rose blossoms and rose leaves alternate along the spray which winds gracefully between acanthus leaves on either side. The naturalistic style of this relief is reminiscent of good Roman prototypes of the first and second centuries C. E. It looks as if the sculptor used an old Romanesque stone as a model for this tombstone. The style of ornamentation and the square Hebrew characters harmonize well with each other. That a contemporary style of ornamentation should have been imitated in the decoration of Hebrew tombstones in Speyer is not surprising. The local synagogue shows the influence of the Romanesque style of Speyer Cathedral, and the Jewish bath is imitated from the Romanesque Jewish bath in Worms which, in turn, was modeled after the "Bauhütte" of St. Andrew.¹²⁰ Tombstones of great artistic merit were being made in Speyer until the fifteenth century, which would indicate that after their second settlement there the Jews felt so secure that they did not regard their stay as temporary, as is often assumed. In the light of the facts reviewed here all too briefly, the inscriptions and tombstones of Speyer have considerable importance in the history of culture and art.

¹²⁰ *GJ*, p. 334.