

Samuel Krauss

The Jewish-Christian Controversy

from the earliest times to 1789

Volume I

History

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the book and occasionally on the title-page. The revisers' task was, in honour of the Christian religion, to remove all "errors, heresies and blasphemies" ... The censors were 'almost always baptized Jews, because children of Christian parents usually lacked the necessary knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinic'.³³

Expressions noted as offensive by the censors' guide, *Liber expurgationis* or *sefer ha-ziquq*, include the following: *avodah zarah* 'alien worship', *zalamim* 'images', *goy* and *nokhri* 'foreigner' (applied to Christians), *min* 'heretic', *meshummad* 'baptized Jew', *ummah* '(gentile) nation', *arel* 'uncircumcised'; any remark against Christian doctrine, customs, morals or Christian kings, princes and priests; any mention of 'Edom' or Rome, any mention of Jewish martyrs, any reference to Christian festivals (terms such as *Kalendae* and *Saturnalia*, known from the Mishnaic tractate *Avodah Zarah*, are included here). Many far more hostile passages, such as we consider in this book, are unmentioned, obviously because they are unknown and subject to careful Jewish safeguard, including voluntary censorship. We note a provision relevant to our special concern: 'Every passage of the Bible from which disputation can arise between our (Christian) faith and theirs – if they argue expressly from it against us or prove their opinion from it, even if the word 'Christians' is not used, must be cancelled. Only when the passage explains their view without opposing ours' may it be left.³⁴

This censorship spread, being specially notable in the Austrian Empire, where it disappeared only with nineteenth-century liberal legislation; in Russia it endured even longer.³⁵

³³ N. Porges, 'Der hebräische Index Expurgatorius', in Freimann & Hildesheimer (edd.), *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag A. Berliners*, 273–95 (273–4); see also Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 239–41; G. Sacerdote, 'Deux index expurgatoires des livres hébreux', *REJ* 30 (1895), 257–83; A. Berliner, *Censur und Confiscation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaate* (Frankfurt a.M., 1891); W. Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (New York, 1899, reprinted 1968); [K.R. Stow in *Bibliographical Essays* ..., 142–5, and 'The Burning of the Talmud in 1553' (literature); Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History*, 339–42 (literature)].

³⁴ Porges, 'Index Expurgatorius', 287.

³⁵ [Popper, *Censorship*, 129–30; for a glimpse of its operation under the Habsburgs in the Enlightenment, see P.F. Barton, *Jesuiten, Jansenisten, Josephiner: eine Fallstudie zur früheren Toleranzzeit, Innocentius Fessler* (Vienna, 1978), 354, 390–1 (the Lemberg censor asks Joseph II if Galician Jews should be made to read Moses Mendelssohn instead of Rashi); for Russian procedures see L. Zunz, 'Beleuchtung der Théorie du judaïsme des Abbé Chiarini' (1830), reprinted in Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, i, 271–98 (on early nineteenth-century Poland) and B. Weinryb 'Zur Geschichte des Buchdruckes und der Zensur bei den Juden in Polen', *MGWJ* 77 (1933), 273–300.]

7. Germany and France: Hebraists and Reformers

[Systematized apologetic was doubtless current among German Jews before the crusades, as the relatively sparse evidence suggests.¹] In this connection much may have happened of which the knowledge is now lost to us. It is for instance only by chance that we know how [a former clerk of duke Conrad,] Weceelinus, converted to Judaism in 1005, wrote an anti-Christian treatise, which the Emperor caused Henry, one of his clerks, to answer.² Whole groups of writings from a relatively early period contain anti-Christian polemic. They include not only the Hebrew reports of the Crusades³ and many synagogal poems⁴, which naturally lament Jewish sufferings in the bitterest terms, but also works concerned with Torah-study like the *Roqeah* (about 1220) of Eleazar 'the Great' of Worms⁵, or the 'Book of the Pious', *Sefer ha-ḥasidim*, by Eleazar's teacher Judah he-Hasid.⁶ [Extracts from the *Roqeah* and a short text of *Teshuvot ha-minim*, 'Answers to the Christians' from both Old and New Testaments are among items copied by a German rabbi between 1237 and 1256 to form a vademecum of useful knowledge.⁷]

The Christian hatred manifested in the Jewish massacres of the Crusades found literary expression.⁸ Rudolph, abbot of St. Trond in Cologne, himself a debater with Jews [about 1120], encouraged Rupert, abbot of Deutz nearby

¹ [See Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 279–89, on Jewish arguments (including reference to debate with Jews in connection with the council of Erfurt (932) and to the Mainz Jew depicted as spokesman in Gilbert Crispin's dialogue).]

² [Albert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum* i 7, ii 22–4; see] G.H. Pertz in *MGH SS* ii 123, iv 704, 720–23; [Parkes, *Medieval Community*, 35, 39, 56; Blumenkranz, *Auteurs*, 247–50 and *Juifs et chrétiens*, esp. 167–8, 220–3; Anna Sapir Abulafia, 'An Eleventh-Century Exchange of Letters between a Christian and a Jew', *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 153–74; Schreckenberg, *1.–11. Jh.*, 541, 652 (literature)].

³ A. Neubauer & M. Stern (edd.), *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1892); [A.M. Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ziorefat* (Jerusalem, 1946); study in J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (Oxford, 1961), 82–92; A. Sapir Abulafia, 'Invectives against Christianity in the Hebrew Chronicles of the First Crusade', in P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Papers read at the First Conference for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, presented to Dr R. C. Smail* (Cardiff, 1985), 66–72.]

⁴ L. Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1855), 58.

⁵ On its *antichristiana* see Steinschneider in *HB* 5 (1862), 135, on ed. Lemberg, 1858; on Eleazar I. Broydé in *JE* 5 (1903), 100–101, [Scholem, *Major Trends*, 82–3, 85, 92, 95–6, 101–4, etc., and Edelmann, as cited in the following note].

⁶ Many citations in Vol. II below; [for editions, literature and survey, Edelmann in Wilpert, *Judentum im Mittelalter*, 55–71;] on the *antichristiana* Zunz in *HB* 1 (1858), 43, and the passages collected in S.A. Wertheimer, *Sefer leshon hasidim* (Jerusalem, 1882); [on the Jewish-Christian relations reflected, J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, 93–105.]

⁷ [MS.B.N. héb. 1408, described by C. Sirat in Wilpert, 92–8; for an edition of the 'Answers' from this MS. see iii (b), below, under *Teshuvah la-Minim*.]

⁸ [This Christian attitude is studied by G.I. Langmuir, 'From Ambrose of Milan to Emicho of Leiningen: the Transformation of Hostility against Jews in Northern Christendom', in *Gli ebrei nell' alto medioevo*, i (Spoleto, 1980), 241–312; compare section 4, above, on Peter the

(died 1135), to write a kind of manual for discussion, *Finger-ring or Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew about the sacraments of the true faith*.⁹ Lukyn Williams judged that this was 'apparently only academic'. [The converted Jew Hermann of Cologne, however, claims in his *Opusculum de conversione sua* to have debated with Rupert.¹⁰ Christian concern with Jewish objections is prominent in the encyclopaedic *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis, written near Regensburg, but mentioned for its currency in England in section 4, above.]¹¹ About 1100 in Metz, when persecutions took place in Lotharingia, Sigebert of Gembloux had a discussion with scholarly Jews who esteemed him for his Hebrew knowledge.¹² The same could not be said of commentators on Jewish subjects like the Minnesänger Regenbogen of Mainz, [the Cistercian writer on miracles] Caesarius of Heisterbach, died about 1240, or Conrad of Würzburg (died about 1273) in his *Silvester* (chapter i 3, above).¹³

At this period, however, Berthold of Regensburg was among those wise enough to criticize futile baptisms of Jews and to give a warning about disputation.¹⁴ [Similarly, a clerk of the diocese of Passau, who between 1260 and 1266 compiled a handbook for the defence of Christianity against Jews and heretics, says that in his experience subtle disputation may not be the most effective form

Venerable. For the setting of the polemic noted below see G. Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status* (2nd edn, New York, 1970).]

⁹ PL 170. 559–610; Williams, in the supplementary leaflet to *Adversus Judaeos*; [Browe, *Judenmission*, 61–2; study and text in Maria L. Arduini & R. Haacke, *Ruperto di Deutz e la controversia tra cristiani ed ebrei nel secolo xii* (Rome, 1979); Schreckenberg, 11.–13. Jh., 100–107 (bibliography); A. Sapir Abulafia, 'The Ideology of Reform and Changing Ideas concerning Jews in the works of Rupert of Deutz and *Hermannus quondam Iudeus*', *Jewish History* 7 (1993), 3–23].

¹⁰ [PL 170.809–815; ed. Gerlinde Niemeyer (Weimar, 1963); Browe, *Judenmission*, 62; H. Liebeschütz, 'Relations between Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages', *JJS* 16 (1965), 35–46 (45–6); B. Blumenkranz, 'Jüdische und christliche Konvertiten im jüdisch-christlichen Religionsgespräch des Mittelalters', in Wilpert, *Judentum im Mittelalter* 264–282 (275–7), reprinted in Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens: Patristique et Moyen Age*; Schreckenberg, 11.–13. Jh., 256–67 (bibliography); D. E. Timmer, 'Biblical Exegesis and the Jewish-Christian Controversy in the Early Twelfth Century', *Church History* 58 (1989), 309–21; A. S. Abulafia, 'The Ideology of Reform and Changing Ideas concerning Jews in the Works of Rupert of Deutz and *Hermannus quondam Iudeus*'.]

¹¹ [V. I. J. Flint, 'Anti-Jewish Literature and Attitudes in the Twelfth Century', *JJS* 37 (1986), 39–57, 183–205.]

¹² Aronius, *Regesten*, no. 116; [Schreckenberg, 11.–13. Jh., 53].

¹³ Extracts from Caesarius in my *Leben Jesu*, 19 (cf. 302) (on a Worms Jewess), [and Browe, *Judenmission*, 64n., on a Paris Jew; cf. Blumenkranz, *Auteurs*, 272n., on the blind Jew of Rome (this chapter, i 3, above). See also W. Frey, 'Gottsmörder und Menschenfeinde: zum Judenbild in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters' and L. Miklausch, 'Der Antijudaismus in der mittelalterlichen Legenden, am Beispiel der Silvesterlegende in der Fassung des Konrad von Würzburg', in A. Ebenbauer & K. Zatloukal (edd.), *Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt* (Vienna, 1991), 35–51, 173–82.]

¹⁴ [Browe, *Judenmission*, 33, 91; Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 229–38 (231, 234); Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History*, 299–300, n. 28.]

of apologetic against these foes. He prefers simple discussion (*collatio*), in which assertion can be straightforwardly followed by contradiction. His handbook has a section on the errors of the Talmud, with the translations from it, attributed to the Dominican Theobald, which figured in the Paris Disputation of 1240 (this chapter, section ii 1 (b), below); he also rebuts the narrative in Toldot Jeshu which attributes the miracles of Christ to magical use of the divine name.¹⁵ The influence of the attack on the Talmud in the Paris Disputation also emerges in Austria, in the anti-Jewish writing of Nikolaus Vischel (1250–1330).¹⁶

In the fourteenth century *ein disputacio wider die Juden* was written in German, and a fourteenth-century pilgrim, Jacob of Bern, disputed with Jews at Loretto in 1346. [By the middle of the fourteenth century an inquisition was well established in Bohemia; in evidence given to the Dominican inquisitor Gallus of Neuhaus on 26th June, 1337, a Jew in prison in Prague is mentioned in the course of a denunciation of a Christian who has adopted Judaism.¹⁷] From the fifteenth century we have a rhymed prose dispute between a Jew and a Christian, probably written by a clerk, and (at the end of the century) Rosenblut's *Ein Disputatz eines freiheits mit einem juden*.¹⁸ [Anti-Jewish motifs are important in drama at this period, in Germany as elsewhere; thus the conception of a Christian war on the Jews is prominent in versions of *The Vengeance of our Lord*, a ritual murder charge of the end of the fifteenth century gives rise in due course to the *Judenspiel* of Endingen, and disputation scenes like those noted above are widespread.]¹⁹ A Christmas play about the emperor Constantine (chapter i 3, above) vilifies the Hebrew of the Jews, and in a formal discussion between a

¹⁵ [A. Patschovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymus: Ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer, Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des xiii. Jahrhunderts* (Schriften der MGH 22, Stuttgart, 1968), 112–3, 178–81, 186.]

¹⁶ [M. Kniewasser, 'Die Wirkungsgeschichte des Pariser Talmudprozesses 1242/8 auf das Herzogtum Österreich', *Kairos* 28 (1986), 221–7.]

¹⁷ [A. Patschovsky, *Die Anfänge einer ständigen Inquisition in Böhmen: Ein Prager Inquisitoren-Handbuch aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1975); idem, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert* (Weimar, 1979), 243.]

¹⁸ O. Frankl, *Der Jude in den deutschen Dichtungen des 15. 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Mährisch Ostrau & Leipzig, 1905), 14–15, 20–23 ('Freiheit' here means 'tramp'); R. Röhrich & H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), 48.

¹⁹ [S. K. Wright, *The Vengeance of our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Studies and Texts, 89, Toronto, 1989); K. J. Baum, 'Das Endinger Judenspiel als Ausdruck mittelalterlicher Judenfeindschaft', in Wilpert, *Judentum im Mittelalter*, 337–49; R. Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven & London, 1988), 31–3, 36–40 (Endingen ballad and play); Frankl, *Der Jude in den deutschen Dichtungen*, 13–16, 135–8 (suggesting (p. 16) that Hans Folz's fifteenth-century carnival play *Von der alten und neuen Ee* is influenced by the Tortosa disputation) (this chapter, ii 1 (f), below); on the influence of motifs from Folz and other mediaeval writers see E. Wenzel, 'Martin Luther und das mittelalterliche Antisemitismus', in Ebenbauer & Zatloukal, *Umwelt*, 301–19.]

Rabbi and a Doctor the Jew is defeated, and he and his sons are baptized.²⁰ From the sixteenth century we have a wood-cut, often reproduced, of Jewish and Christian scholars in disputation.²¹

The single Jewish polemist of importance in German-speaking territory was Lipmann of Mühlhausen, [who experienced anti-Jewish measures in 1399–1400 in Prague] (see chapter iii 1, below). His *Nizzahon* is so skilful that we must assume he had unknown predecessors, or was able to draw on the northern French school of polemic (this chapter, i 4, above), with which German Jewry always had close links. His work was aimed at a renegade Jew called Peter, [who preached against the Jews in Prague,] but he also repeatedly had religious discussions with an ecclesiastical dignitary in Lindau. Both these points recall the northern French polemic; but he also knew of 'reasonable Christians' who 'revered Jesus only as prophet', a position like that of the free-thinkers in southern France. The force of Lipmann's work induced bishop Stefan Bodeker in Brandenburg to attempt a refutation in 1435. Much later, in 1644, Theodor Hackspan, professor at Altdorf in Bavaria, who was himself versed in disputation with the rabbi of nearby Schneittach, [edited the book and] concerned himself with answering it. The Christian scholars Wagenseil and Wolf later took particular interest in it.²²

It was through debate with Jewish scholars that Nicholas of Cusa (died 1464) became convinced (he says) that it might not be so hard to win Jews over to the doctrine of the trinity, whereas they obstinately refused the doctrine of the incarnation – a thought taken up by Luther.²³

Humanism and the Reformation altered the whole face of Germany.²⁴ The work of reformers like Huss, Luther, Calvin and Zwingli led to the formation of so-called regional churches with new theories and organizations. A definite step

²⁰ Frankl, *Der Jude in den deutschen Dichtungen*, 17–18; G. Liebe, *Das Judentum in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Leipzig, 1903), 59.

²¹ Liebe, *Der Jude in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, 52.

²² Graetz, *Geschichte*, viii⁴, 70 ff.; A. Geiger in Liebermann's *Volkskalender* (1854), reprint pp. 10, 47–8; Christian adversaries of Lipmann in J.F.A. de le Roi, *Die evangelische Christenheit und die Juden*, i (Karlsruhe & Leipzig, 1884), 74; [Browe, *Judenmission*, 100 n. (on Bodeker); W.-P. Eckert in Rengstorf & Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, i, 237 (on Bodeker as Hebraist), 253–4 (on Lipmann); O.S. Rankin, *Jewish Religious Polemic* (Edinburgh, 1956), 49–57, including, 50, 'the impression that Lipmann was well acquainted with the earlier' anonymous *Nizzahon* (section iii 2, below)].

²³ J. Guttman, *Die Scholastik des 13. Jahrhunderts in ihren Beziehungen zum Judentum und zur jüdischen Literatur* (Breslau, 1902), 170; [C. & D.W. Singer, 'The Jewish Factor in Medieval Thought', 278–80. On Nicholas of Cusa's attempts to impose distinctive Jewish dress see W.P. Eckert, 'Hoch- und Spätmittelalter – Katholischer Humanismus', in Rengstorf & Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, i, 210–316 (225–6).]

²⁴ [On contemporary Jewish reaction and disputes with Christians see H.H. Ben-Sasson, 'Jewish-Christian Disputation in the Setting of Humanism and Reformation in the German Empire', *HTR* 59 (1966), 369–390 and 'The Reformation in Contemporary Jewish Eyes', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 4 (1969–70), 239–326.]

forward was made insofar as all parties now had to consider and study more closely the Judaism which formed the background of their disputes. On the other hand the new generation of Christian scholars, animated by domestic quarrels, attacked Jewish teaching even more sharply than before. The defenders of Jewish literature before the Reformation, like the noble Johann Reuchlin,²⁵ who was saturated with Jewish (especially cabbalistic) ideas and prepared the way for the Reformation, and contemporary Hebraists like Paul Ricius in Germany, [the Italian Dominican] Agostino Giustiniani [in Paris], and Petrus Galatinus [in Italy; this chapter, i6, above] – all these attacked Judaism no less than their opponents like Pfefferkorn and Hoogstraaten; they declared that they studied Jewish writings, and notably the Cabbalah, in order to fight the Jews with their own weapons (see this chapter, ii 3, below).²⁶

With few exceptions all the Hebraists, too numerous to be listed here,²⁷ were animated with this desire.²⁸ Many of them were university teachers of Hebrew and 'Chaldee' (Aramaic). Thus Petrus Nigri or Schwarz, [a Dominican] who studied in Salamanca and became professor at Ingolstadt, tried unsuccessfully to provoke the Jews to debate in their chief centres of population, Regensburg, Frankfurt, Worms and Nuremberg. Nevertheless at Easter, 1474 he declared them defeated, and instigated the town council of Regensburg to put up a pulpit for him in the Jewish quarter. All Jews, male and female, young and old, were compelled to attend his sermons, but none were baptised. In revenge he wrote *Tractatus contra perfidos iudeos ... ex testibus hebraicis* (Esslingen, 1475) and (in German) *Chochef hamschiach oder Stella Meschiah* (Esslingen, 1477), grossly insulting those rabbis and Jews whom he names as his Hebrew

²⁵ On his cabbalistic *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494) and *De arte cabbalistica* (Hagenau, 1517) see L. Geiger, *Johannes Reuchlin* (Leipzig, 1871), 158, 172, [F. Secret, *La Kabbale (De Arte Cabalistica)* (Paris, 1973) (translation with introduction and notes), and *Kabbalistes*, 44–72; J. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony* (Athens, Ohio, 1983), 71–98 (literature); G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a third language* (Manchester, 1983), 23–38 (literature)]; in general S.A. Hirsch, 'Johann Reuchlin', reprinted from *JQR* 8 (1896), 445 ff. in S.A. Hirsch, *A Book of Essays* (London, 1905), 116–50; [his anti-Jewish writings in Browe, *Judenmission*, 107; his own MS. of a *Nizzahon* mentioned in Marx, *Studies*, 326n.]

²⁶ [On the ways in which Reuchlin, Pellikan, Munster and other Christian exegetes of this period also evinced and recognized a debt to Jewish culture see Anna Morisi Guerra, 'Cultura ebraica ed esegesi biblica cristiana tra umanesimo e riforma', *Ebrei e cristiani*, 209–223.]

²⁷ L. Geiger, *Das Studium der hebraischen Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des XV bis zur Mitte des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1870), and 'Geschichte des Studiums der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland während des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 4 (1891), 111–126; G. Bauch, 'Die Einführung des Hebräischen in Wittenberg, mit Berücksichtigung der Vorgesichte des Studiums der Sprache in Deutschland', *MGWJ* 48 (1904), 22–32, 77–86, 145–60, 214–23, 283–99, 328–40, 461–90; B. Walde, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1916); [R. Loewe, 'Hebraists, Christian', *EJ* 8 (1971), cols. 9–71 (literature)].

²⁸ [For this viewpoint among sixteenth-century Roman Catholic Hebraists, Stow, 'The Burning of the Talmud in 1558', 443–59.]

teachers.²⁹ Reuchlin, Konrad Pellicanus,³⁰ Pfefferkorn and others knew and used these books. In the first Schwarz demanded (as indeed Reuchlin also did) that the blasphemous *Toldoth Jesu* should be suppressed;³¹ in the second the German princes are urged to burn 'the accursed book Talmud'. The Dominican Schwarz was a true precursor of Pfefferkorn and his associates, likewise Dominicans, the opponents of Reuchlin at Cologne.

It was in Cologne, October 1484, that the much-travelled William Raymond de Moncada (Flavius Mithridates; see the preceding section of this chapter) received the title *magister artium et sacre theologie professor, apostolice sedis acolitus et linguarum hebraice, arabice, caldaice, grece et latine interpres*. He taught in many places before and after this, many of the Christian Hebraists of the period being his pupils, and ended his life in Italy (1525) as a cardinal.³² Many other Hebraists were pupils of Johann Boeschstein, the first teacher of Hebrew at the university of Wittenberg; Jews disliked him because he had learned their language, Christians because he had to do with Jews.³³ He translated into German *Confessio Judaeorum, Judenbeichte* [from the service for the Day of Atonement].³⁴ The former Jew Matthaues Adrianus, who came from Spain, taught at Heidelberg and (on Erasmus's recommendation) at Louvain,

²⁹ A woodcut of a Jewish-Christian dispute is reproduced from the second book in K. Kohler, 'Disputations', *JE* iv (1903), 614–8 (616). Bauch, 'Einführung', 29, n. 4 says (against Graetz and L. Geiger) that Nigri was of Christian parentage, 'geborener Schwab' according to John Eck of Ingolstadt ([Posnanski, *Schiloh* i, 421]; cf. M. Steinschneider, 'Christliche Hebraisten', *ZHB* i (1896), 88). [On Nigri, E. Weil, 'Zu Petrus Nigri's Judendisputation', *Soncino-Blätter* 3 (1929), 57–62; on the two books, Marx, *Studies*, 301; on Nigri in the context of anti-Jewish literature and preaching in contemporary Regensburg, Peter Herde, 'Die Kirche und die Juden im Mittelalter', in M. Treml & J. Kirmeier, with E. Brockhoff (edd.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern. Aufsätze* (Munich, 1988), 71–84 (78–80); on his writings and their influence H.-M. Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden im Deutschland des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an den Schriften Johannes Pfefferkorns* (Tübingen, 1989), 19–20 and passim.]

³⁰ His grammar, *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strassburg, 1504) was newly edited by E. Nestle (Tübingen, 1877) [bibliographical notes in Marx, *Studies*, 318–21]; his works are listed by Steinschneider, *ZHB* 4 (1900), 50, cf. 5 (1901), 122; [his *Chronicle*, recording among other things how his desire to learn Hebrew arose when, aged eleven, he saw a theologian being vanquished in debate by a Jewess, and how later on, as a friar, he borrowed a copy of Nigri's *Stella Messiae*, is summarized by Secret, *Kabbalistes*, 141–4, and less fully by Friedman, *Testimony*, 31–3].

³¹ [Krauss, *Leben Jesu*, 8]

³² Bauch, 'Einführung', 78–80; on his career in general see the literature cited in this chapter, i 6, above.

³³ Steinschneider, 'Christliche Hebraisten', *ZHB* 2 (1897), 53–4; Bauch, 'Einführung', 151–60, 214–223; Boeschstein's protest that he was of Christian parentage is accepted by L. Geiger, *Studium*, 49 and Bauch, 'Einführung', 156, but see J. Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien* (Munich, 1884), 27–8; [on editions of his grammatical and other works see Marx, *Studies*, 328–31].

³⁴ [A 1521 edition of his Latin translation is described in Marx, *Studies*, 330–31.]

and gave a Hebrew version of the Lord's Prayer in *Libellus Hora faciendi pro Domino* (against Pfefferkorn).³⁵

Another baptized Jew, Werner of Bacharach known as Einhorn (Monoceros or Monoceras), studied Hebrew for seven years at Cologne. His teacher was the rabbi who after baptism took the name Victor of Carben, and issued *Opus aureum et novum* (Cologne, about 1508; translated into German), describing Jewish life and customs as well as confuting Judaism, [and *Propugnaculum fidei Christianae* (Cologne, about 1510), a Jewish-Christian dialogue].³⁶ Einhorn never gained a university chair, but was ill-famed for his services to the university of Ingolstadt as prosecutor and witness in heresy trials.³⁷

Comparable anti-Jewish polemic came from Antonius Margarita³⁸ of Regensburg, a baptized Jew whose grandfather was the learned rabbi Jacob Margolis of Nuremberg. He imitated and somewhat enlarged Carben's work in his book *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*; in the edition of Augsburg, 1530 (several later printings are known) he styles himself Hebrew lecturer of the city of Augsburg. In a christological exposition of Isaiah liii published Vienna, 1535 he styles himself 'der hebrayschen Zungen bey der löblichen Universität zu Wienn yn Oster reych etc. dissimal Ordinari Lector'. This book includes replies to arguments from his former co-religionists and obviously also from his own conscience urging his return to Judaism. Margarita denounced the Jews before the emperor Charles V, alleging that they cursed Jesus and the Christians³⁹ and made proselytes⁴⁰; but

³⁵ L. Geiger, *Studium*, 41–8; Bauch, 'Einführung', 297–8, 331–40, 461–7; *Libellus* described in *HB* 8 (1865), 69 [and Marx, *Studies*, 325–6]. An earlier Hebrew version of the Lord's Prayer was that of Aldus Manutius in his introduction to the Hebrew language; [see Bauch, 'Einführung', 332, n. 2 with Marx, *Studies*, 308–9 (on the date of issue of Aldus's work), 325. On such translations see J. Carmignac, 'Hebrew Translations of the Lord's Prayer: An Historical Survey', in G. A. Tuttle (ed.), *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor* (Grand Rapids, 1978), 18–79, and Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, 7–11, 16–19, 64–7.]

³⁶ [Marx, *Studies*, 323; Browe, *Judenmission*, 70, 107; Eckert, 'Hoch- und Spätmittelalter', 252, 257.]

³⁷ Bauch, 'Einführung', 298–9, 328–31; [Einhorn took his Christian name Werner from the famous local boy Werner of Bacharach, who was venerated as an alleged victim of ritual murder (see Bauch, 'Einführung', 328, and W.P. Eckert, 'Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Katholischer Humanismus', 267–9)].

³⁸ Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i, 355: iii, 238: iv, 568, 815; J. Mieses, *Die älteste gedruckte deutsche Uebersetzung des jüdischen Gebetbuchs a. d. Jahr 1530 und ihr Autor Anthonius Margaritha* (Vienna, 1916); [Marx, *Studies*, 123, n. 66 (Boeschstein's translation had already appeared in 1523); Selma Stern, *Josel von Rosheim* (Stuttgart, 1959), 85–9; Baron, *History*², xiii, 223–5; Secret, *Kabbalistes*, 249–50].

³⁹ He probably alludes to the prayer *Alelu* (not to the *Birkat ha-minim*), according to a passage in Josel Rosheim published by Ad. Neubauer, 'Texte aus Josselman's *Sefer ha-Miqneh*', *Israelitische Letterbode* 6 (Amsterdam, 1880–1), 137–41 (139); see also J. Krakauer, 'Rabbi Josselman de Rosheim', *REJ* 16 (1888), 84–105 and 'Procès de R. Josselman contre la ville de Colmar', *REJ* 19 (1889), 282–93, Krauss, *Leben Jesu*, 252 [and Stern, *Josel*, 85–9].

⁴⁰ This charge is unusual, [having been less prominent in mediaeval controversy, and should be treated with caution in view of the sixteenth-century tendency to ascribe Judaizing forms of

through the intervention of Josel Rosheim, the great representative and defender of Jewry at that time, he was disowned and punished by the emperor, and found it advisable to become a Lutheran.

A number of these Hebraists had taken part in a controversy of unprecedentedly far-reaching character, the disagreement between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn leading to the Cologne dispute over Jewish books (1506–1516). The accusers of Jewish literature were Hoogstraaten, Victor of Carben, Pfefferkorn and the whole body of Dominicans in Cologne, the defenders Reuchlin and his humanist circle. To enumerate the multitude of writings on either side is impossible here;⁴¹ but their appearance evinced a state of public opinion which was to help the advance of the Reformation.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) belongs to world history, and can only be considered here in his capacity as anti-Jewish controversialist.⁴² The combination of enmity against the Jews and against ecclesiastical reform together, seen in

Christianity to Jewish missionary work; but it reappears in Luther and elsewhere, and can be connected with some Christian conversions to Judaism, and with propaganda, especially from Marranos (this chapter, i 8, below, on Poland and Hungary; i 9, below, on Nicholas Antoine; cf J. I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750* (Oxford, 1985), 81–3.]

⁴¹ See Graetz, *Geschichte*, ix⁴, 63–170, 477–506; [Baron, *History*, xiii² (1969), 182–191; Lloyd Jones, *Discovery*, 26–35; H.-M. Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden im Deutschland des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an den Schriften Johannes Pfefferkorns* (Tübingen, 1989) gives a full presentation of Pfefferkorn's writings, with an analysis of their polemical themes and a study of the debate with Reuchlin, underlining Pfefferkorn's continuation of the Dominican and Franciscan polemic exemplified by Peter Schwarz (this section, above) and Bernardino de Bustis (the previous section, above).]

⁴² [A contemporary Jewish view of Luther as a sign of the collapse of Christendom and the beginning of the redemption of the Jewish people is reflected in a Hebrew text in MS Almanzi 140 (BL Add. 27034), a compilation copied in 1530] in an Italian hand; an extract, published by S. D. Luzzatto, 'Bibliothèque du feu Joseph Almanzi', part iv, *HB 5* (1862), 43–9 (45), is discussed by R. Lewin, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden* (Berlin, 1911), 18–19. On Luther see also S. P. Rabinovicz, *Hiyye Rabbi Yoseph ish Rosheim* (Piotrkow, 1901), 113–116; Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*; E. Schaeffer, *Luther und die Juden* (Gütersloh, 1917); [S. Krauss, 'Luther und die Juden', reprinted from *Der Jude*, ii.8 (1917), 544–7 in K. Wilhelm (ed.), *Wissenschaft des Judentums im deutschen Sprachbereich* (2 vols., Tübingen, 1967), i, 309–14; W. Maurer, 'Die Zeit der Reformation', in Rengstorff & Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, i, 363–452 (375–429); Baron, *History*², xiii, 216–29; J. Brosseder, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden im Spiegel seiner Interpreten* (Munich, 1972) (bibliography); Appendix 1 in R. J. C. Gutteridge, *Open thy Mouth for the Dumb* (Oxford, 1976), 315–25 (literature); W. Bienert (ed.), *Martin Luther und die Juden: ein Quellenbuch mit zeitgenössischen Illustrationen, mit Einführungen und Erläuterungen* (Frankfurt a. M., 1982); Lloyd Jones, *Discovery*, 56–66; J. Wallmann, 'The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the Nineteenth Century', *Lutheran Quarterly* N.S. 1 (1987), 72–97; Hsia, *Ritual Murder*, 131–5; H. J. Hillerbrand, 'Martin Luther and the Jews', in J. H. Charlesworth, F. X. Blisard & J. S. Siker (ed.), *Jews and Christians* (New York, 1990), 127–50 (literature); Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden*, 197–8; E. Wenzel, 'Martin Luther und der mittelalterliche Antisemitismus', in Ebenbauer & Zatloukal, *Umwelt*, 301–19; U. Arnoldi, *Pro Iudaes. Die Gutachten der hallischen Theologen im 18. Jahrhundert zu Fragen der Judentoleranz* (Berlin, 1993), 31–6 (including comments on a 1530 written opinion for the Augsburg Reichstag in which Luther, unlike Reuchlin, takes the Jews' status in the Holy Roman Empire to be fundamentally that of captives).]

John Eck of Ingolstadt,⁴³ ought perhaps to have warned Luther against the hostility to Jews which he came to evince. Luther was indeed not yet inimical to Jewry when he wrote his German tract *That Jesus Christ was a Jew by Birth*, 1523. He then hoped to win over the Jews to a purified Christian faith. Disappointed in this expectation, he wrote in 1543 *On the Jews and their Lies* and *Schem Hamphoras*. The latter work included a translation of the eleventh chapter of Porchetus de Salvatici (1303, printed 1520; see this chapter, i 6, above), which reproduced [a text of *Toldoth Jeshu*].⁴⁴ *On the Jews and their Lies* breathes hatred and scorn, was appealed to in all later German anti-semitic writing, and bequeathed an anti-Jewish tendency to German Protestant theology.⁴⁵ In it the German princes are encouraged to burn the Jews' synagogues, destroy their houses, confiscate their books and Talmuds, prohibit their rabbis from teaching, refuse Jewish traders safe conduct, inhibit their usury, and impose on them hard physical work instead (p. 197, cf. p. 223). Luther wishes no dispute with the Jews, for they are hardened and irreformable.⁴⁶ He brings forward, however, the customary objections: their attitude to non-Jews, *Goyyim* (pp. 7, 137); the ineptitudes of the rabbis, whom he calls scamps (*Rangen*, p. 137); poisoning of wells and infanticide (the Trent and Weissensee accusations, pp. 122, 212). He mentions with pleasure the most recent expulsions of Jews, 'in my lifetime' from Regensburg and Magdeburg, 'this year' (1543?) from Bohemia (p. 193). He praises Paul of Burgos, Nicholas de Lyra, and Antonius Margarita (pp. 139, 150) (see this chapter, i 5 and 4, respectively, and this section, above). He accepts many views of Margarita.

In earlier years he had in fact disputed with Jews. During the decisive period of his life, at Worms in April 1521, two Jews called at his inn for a disputation. He asked them to explain Isa. vii. 14. They replied that *ha-'almah* in that verse means not 'virgin', but 'young woman'. Luther made objections about which the two Jews disagreed with one another, so that in the end they were turned out by Luther's servant, to the relief of all present.⁴⁷ In his Table Talk he recalled how 'two Jewish rabbis, named Shemariah and Jacob, came to me at Wittenberg,

⁴³ J. Eck, *Judenbüchleins Verlegung ...* (Ingolstadt, 1541); the full title may be rendered *Refutation of a 'Booklet on the Jews' in which a Christian, to the shame of all Christendom, maintains that the Jews suffer injustice concerning the murder of Christian children*. The work which Eck tries to refute [is probably] that of Osiander, edited by M. Stern (Kiel, 1893). [For an assessment of Eck's booklet as both anti-Jewish and linked with anti-Lutheran polemic see D. Bagchi, 'Catholic Anti-Judaism in Reformation Germany: the Case of Johann Eck', in Wood, *Christianity and Judaism*, 253–63 (literature).]

⁴⁴ [Krauss, *Leben Jesu*, 8]

⁴⁵ The copy I have used, belonging to the Library of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde in Vienna, bears the date 1543, but is already the second edition (ed. 1, Wittenberg, 1543). It lacks pagination. The citation made by Graetz, *Geschichte*, ix⁴, 299 occurs on p. 150.

⁴⁶ Cf. Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*, 48.

⁴⁷ Selnecker *Narratio* (1575), discussed by Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*, 16, nn. 1 and 2; [Baron, *History*², xiii, 422 n. 13].

desiring of me letters of safe conduct, which I granted them, and they were well pleased; only they earnestly besought me to omit thence the word *Tola*, that is, Jesus crucified; for they needs blaspheme the name of Jesus'.⁴⁸ 'Tola' appears to be used, without derogatory significance, by Luther himself; I suggest that he intended to write some such phrase as 'in the name of Jesus Christ' in his letter, and was asked by the Jews, using their customary expression 'Tola', to omit it.⁴⁹

Luther firmly believed, however, that some Jews at least would ultimately be converted. To this end he was ready to make concessions, notably the suppression of teaching on Christ as Son of God at the beginning of their catechetical instruction. To start with, he held, Christ should be spoken of to them as a man among other men, sent by God to do good to mankind.⁵⁰

Despite his opinion against disputation Luther repeatedly dwells, in homily and exegesis, on texts which appear to be of service in anti-Jewish polemic.⁵¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that controversial treatises were issued under his influence. They include *Unterredung vom Glauben zwischen Pfarrer und Rabbi* by Michael Kromer, pastor of Kunitz (1523),⁵² an anonymous Dialogue of 1524, another by Caspar Güttel of Eisleben (1529),⁵³ and *Dialogue of a Christian and a Jew* by the noted Hebraist Sebastian Münster (1539).⁵⁴ Paul Fagius, like Münster a Lutheran disciple of the Jewish scholar Elias Levita, [issued in 1542 treatises comprising the *Book of Faith*, by a Christian Jew, and a separate extract from it on the reasons preventing Jews from becoming Christians.⁵⁵ In his 1544 edition of *Actus Silvestri* Wicelius (G. Witzel) praises Münster as the

best modern writer against the Jews and describes his own disputes with them in Prague]⁵⁶

[The Strasbourg] reformer Martin Bucer gave a written Advice on the Jews to the Landgrave Philip of Hesse (1539).⁵⁷ Philip promulgated a *Judenordnung*; in the following points from it, controversy is dealt with by legal stipulation.⁵⁸

'First, the Jews are to promise on oath to our Officials and Pastors, in every place where they dwell, not to use or permit among themselves any blasphemy against Christ our Lord and his holy religion. They must hold only to that which Moses and the prophets gave them of old. They must not burden their own people with any precept of their talmudic teachers, not in agreement with the Law and the prophets, so that poor good-hearted Jews may not be above all held back from our true religion by godless talmudic fables ... Thirdly, they must promise not to dispute on religion with any of our people in any way, but only with those preachers whom we have specially appointed. Fourthly, they must and shall come with their wives and children to those preachers who shall be specially appointed, and hear sermons.'⁵⁹

Similarly on 6th May 1543 the Elector John Frederick of Saxony issued a mandate forbidding Jews to discuss the Christian faith and speak blasphemies and lies before Christian people.⁶⁰

[Jewish polemic also played a part in the thought of Calvin,⁶¹ notably in his *Responsio* to Jewish objections,⁶² and at the trial of] Michael Servetus

⁵⁶ Secret, 'Notes sur les hébraisants chrétiens', 159–62.

⁵⁷ [On Bucer, Maurer, 'Die Zeit der Reformation', in Rengstorf & Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, i, 439–41, and Baron, *History*², xiii, 239–42 and 435 f. (bibliography); on his *Ratschlag* in particular, Arnoldi, *Pro Iudaeis*, 36–40 (literature);] an early edition of the *Ratschlag* (Strasbourg, 1562) is described by M. Kayserling, 'Antijudaica', *HB* 8 (1865), 83–5, no 3.

⁵⁸ For the text see S. Salfeld, 'Judenordnung Philipps des Grossmüthigen, Landgrafen von Hessen (1504–1567)' *HB* 19 (1879), 38–40, [Browe, *Judenmission*, 32–3, and the edition by E.-W. Kohls in R. Stupperich (ed.), *Martini Buceri Opera Omnia*, i 7 (Gütersloh & Paris, 1964), 342–94]; on the circumstances, Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*, 65, 103–4, [Maurer and Arnoldi, as cited in the previous note, and Friedman, *Testimony*, 197–201. Philip did not adopt Bucer's proposals in their full stringency].

⁵⁹ On this regulation in the context of other decrees on compulsory sermons see this chapter, section ii 2, below.

⁶⁰ Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*, 103; [this was the year of Luther's treatises *Lügen* and *Schem Hamphoras*, noted above].

⁶¹ [Maurer, 'Die Zeit der Reformation', in Rengstorf & Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, i, 443–5; Baron, *History*², xiii, 279–96 (literature), and 'John Calvin and the Jews', reprinted from *The Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume*, English Section, i (Jerusalem, 1965), 141–65 in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *Essential Papers on Jewish Studies* (New York, 1991), 380–400; Lloyd Jones, *Discovery*, 71–9.]

⁶² S.G. Burnett, 'Calvin's Jewish Interlocutor: Christian Hebraism and Anti-Jewish Polemics during the Reformation', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance* 55 (1993), 113–24 (showing that the Jewish objections answered by Calvin in this treatise were probably known to him from the *Nizṣahon* Vetus, as quoted by Sebastian Münster.)

⁴⁸ Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*, 48; *The Table Talk or Familiar Discourse of Martin Luther*, translated by William Hazlitt (London, 1848), 350 (I owe this reference to Dr John Bowman); [Baron, *History*², xiii, 225 and n. 22].

⁴⁹ [See Baron, *History*², xiii, 225]

⁵⁰ Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*, 36; [for an appeal by the baptized Jew Christian Gerson to this aspect of Luther's teaching, see this chapter, i 9, below].

⁵¹ Lewin, *Luthers Stellung*, 46.

⁵² [See Judah Rosenthal, 'Polemics', no. 99, citing L. Geiger, 'Die Juden und die deutsche Literatur', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 2, pp. 343 ff.]

⁵³ J.F.A. de le Roi, *Die evangelische Christenheit und die Juden*, i (Karlsruhe & Leipzig, 1884), 47; [Maurer, 'Die Zeit der Reformation', in Rengstorf & Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, i, 430–1; Baron, *History*², xiii, 234].

⁵⁴ Notices in Azariah De Rossi, *Meor Eynaim* (ed. D. Cassel, Wilna, 1866), pp. 456, 496, and in Joseph ha-Cohen, *Emeq ha-Bakba*, trans. M. Wiener, pp. 45, 50, 53; [Maurer, 'Die Zeit der Reformation', in Rengstorf & Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, i, 436–8; Baron, *History*², xiii, 233–4 (literature); Lloyd Jones, *Discovery*, 44–8 (literature); Friedman, *Testimony*, 215–44 (also on Münster's Hebrew Matthew as a missionary treatise. Through Münster, the Hebraist antitrinitarian Matthias Vehe drew on Jewish polemic; but he also himself translated Albo's *Iqṣarim* (iii 1, below) (R. Dán, *Matthias Vehe-Glirius* (Budapest & Leiden, 1982), 71, 80–1].

⁵⁵ [de le Roi, *Die evangelische Christenheit*, i, 46–7; Friedman, *Testimony*, 99–118, 244–54 (with English translation of the second treatise)].

(1511–1552).⁶³ Spain, the land of the Inquisition, bore Servetus; Geneva, city of refuge for many reformers, condemned him to the stake. Jewish literature, possibly known to him through Marranos in Lyons, influenced his writings *De Trinitatis erroribus* and *Christianismi Restitutio*, the capital fault in which for his Christian contemporaries was denial of the doctrine of the Trinity (as in a number of ‘Judaizing’ or Unitarian sects of the period). Thus he quotes the strictures on the doctrine expressed by David Kimhi on Ps. ii.7, stating that he can scarcely refrain from tears when he sees with what frivolous arguments the defenders of this teaching have attacked the Jews. Together with Christian apologists like Petrus Alphonsi and Paul of Burgos (this chapter, i 5, above), he names Lipmann, the author of the *Nizzahon* (this section, above); this is the single instance in which he attacks a Jewish author, and he includes him here in a general condemnation of the rabbis to whom he owes his own best argument.

The French Hebraists, as compared with those of Germany, showed consideration and avoided attacks on Jews. We refer to Cinquarbres or Quinquarboreus of Aurillac (died 1587) and Jean Mercier or Mercerus of Uzès (1500–1570). Both taught in the Collège de France and were well versed in their subject.⁶⁴ Their pupil was Jean Bodin (1530–1596), the famous statesman and lawyer, who gained a real acquaintance with Jewish literature and treated the Jews with impartial justice. His work can indeed be reckoned as apologetic for Judaism. He recognized, for example, that the passage on Jesus in Josephus is of Christian origin, that the sages of the Talmud were bearers of a tradition going back to the Prophets, and that the Cabbalah is essentially nothing but interpretation of the Torah, so that Christians like Pico, Reuchlin and Galatinus are perverting it when they employ it thaumaturgically. These and many other questions concerning Judaism are treated in his *Heptaplomeres*, written about three years before his death. It takes the form of a dialogue with seven personages, including a Jew, whose preeminent role permits the surmise that Bodin’s own thoughts are being expressed in his words. Bodin’s reputation for enlightenment is injured, however, by his work *De magorum daemonomania*, published 1596. Here he presents himself as an unqualified adherent of belief in demons and witches, taking it as taught by Jewish sources.⁶⁵

Bodin’s exact knowledge of Judaism was ascribed by Hugo Grotius (who was much displeased by Bodin’s violations of Latin metre) to friendship with learned

⁶³ J. Guttman, ‘Michael Servet in seinen Beziehungen zum Judentum’, *MGWJ* 51 (1907), 77–94; [Baron, *History*², xiii, 281–5; Friedman, *Testimony*, 59–70].

⁶⁴ [R. Loewe, ‘Hebraists, Christian’, cols. 44 and 53; Secret, *Kabbalistes*, 210 and n. 97 (Bodin mentions them together); on Mercier, Secret, *Zôhar*, 96, n. 2 and *Kabbalistes*, 208 and n. 78.]

⁶⁵ For all these points see J. Guttman, ‘Über Jean Bodin in seinen Beziehungen zum Judentum’, *MGWJ* 49 (1905), 315–348, 459–489; [cf. Baron, *History*², xv, 94–6, 420–1 (literature); Secret, *Kabbalistes*, 210–11; F.E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, Mass., & London, 1992), 54–6].

Jews. This is not impossible, despite the exclusion of Jews from France since 1394, because of the steady infiltration of Spanish Jews. Bodin mentions the Marranos, noting for example a massacre of Marranos in Lisbon and the burning of Solomon Molkho.⁶⁶ There is even the opinion, rejected by Guttman, that Bodin himself was of Marrano extraction.⁶⁷ Bodin’s presentation of his Jewish knowledge is indeed best explained by connexions with Jews of this type. Their fate made them versed in religious discussion, so that Bodin puts into the mouth of his ‘Solomon’ sharp attacks on the Virgin Birth, Jesus’s descent from David, his divine sonship, and the doctrines of original sin, the sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, and so on. As in Justin’s *Trypho*, the seven partners in the colloquy learn from each other and remain friends when debate is over.

We may close these instances of controversial writing under the influence of humanism and the Reformation with the Englishman Hugh Broughton [1549–1612], who wrote against Jewish messianic expectations and engaged in disputations with Jews, including David Ferrar of Amsterdam;⁶⁸ and the Prague apostate Elhanan Paulus, who in Helmstedt about 1580 was in touch with the renowned theologian and Hebraist J. Olearius.⁶⁹ Paulus of Prague wrote, among other works, *Mysterium Novum*, [*Beweis aus der Cabbala, dass Jesus sey der Messias* (Helmstedt, 1580)] (2nd edn Vienna, 1582), and *Ein tröstlich und zu lesen sehr nützlich Buch wider den greulichen Irrthumb der verstockten Juden* (Vienna, 1581); these books bore the Hebrew titles *Sefer ha-razim* and *Sefer ha-vikkuaḥ neged ha-yehudim ha-umlalim*, respectively, [and served in the following century as a source for Christian knowledge of Jewish mystical texts.⁷⁰ On the Jewish side, polemical matter was included in the biblical comments of Moses Saertels, issued in Prague in the 1590’s (see section iii 1, below, under Kimhi, David.)]

[To illustrate the controversy in the German-speaking Roman Catholic con-

⁶⁶ Guttman, ‘Bodin’, 348, 479.

⁶⁷ Guttman, ‘Bodin’, 322.

⁶⁸ L. Herschel, *Een Godsdienstdisput te Amsterdam in het Begin der 17de Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1929); [R. Loewe, ‘Hebraists, Christian’, col. 24; Judah Rosenthal, ‘Anti-Christian Polemics’, nos. 250–1; E.I.J. Rosenthal, ‘Edward Lively: Cambridge Hebraist’, reprinted from D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to S.A. Cook* (London, 1950), 95–112 in E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Studia Semitica*, i, 147–164 (on Lively, Broughton’s controversy with him, and anti-Judaic elements in Tudor biblical study); on Broughton, L. Roth, ‘Hebraists and Non-Hebraists of the Seventeenth Century’, *JSS* 6 (1961), 204–21 (204–5, woman in Ben Jonson’s *Alchemist* (1610) ‘is gone mad with studying Broughton’s work’); Lloyd Jones, *Discovery*, 164–8 and passim (review by Basil Hall, *JTS* N.S. 38 (1987), 241–5), and van Rooden, *L’Empereur*, 62–3 (his influence in Holland)].

⁶⁹ See *Archiv für jüdische Familienforschung*, ii, 17–24; M. Seligsohn, ‘Paulus of Prague’, *JE* ix (1905), 563–4; [J.L. Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York, 1944)].

⁷⁰ [M. Friedrich, *Zwischen Abwehr und Bekehrung. Die Stellung der deutschen evangelischen Theologie zum Judentum im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1988), 70 (on J. Müller, W. Schickard, and others.)]

text about this time,] it may be added that, according to unsubstantiated reports, the 'high Rabbi' Löw of Prague (Judah Löw ben Bezaleel, 1513–1609) held a (? written) disputation with the cardinal and clergy; [he engaged, at any rate, in discussion with a Christian, and in his writing on messianism and the Talmud he had Christian positions in view].⁷¹ [In 1629 Löw's pupil] Lipmann Heller, chief rabbi of Prague, was accused of attacking Christianity in his halakhic work *Ma'adanne melekh*, and underwent trial in Vienna, although his utterances were quite harmless; [a death-sentence was commuted by the emperor Frederick II to a heavy fine].⁷² The Bohemian apostate Ferdinand Franz Engelsberger, [formerly Hayyim, won favour with the emperor Ferdinand III in Vienna; but, condemned to death for theft from the imperial treasury, he publicly abjured Christianity before his execution in 1642. Like Paulus of Prague, he had written against Judaism in German; his treatise *Moreh ha-Derekh, Der Catholische Wegweiser* (Vienna, 1640) is quoted by Wagenseil], and he is said to have written a second tract called *Toldot Jeshu, Generationes Jesu*, on the life of Jesus.⁷³ Towards the end of the seventeenth century, no insult was spared by the famous Viennese pulpit orator Abraham à Sancta Clara (1644–1709). His *Judas, der Ertz-Schelm* (4 vols, Salzburg, 1686–95) is a general attack on Judaism, [and he also continued the mediaeval tradition of polemical anti-Jewish verse].⁷⁴

⁷¹ See Ch. Bloch, *Der Prager Golem* (Vienna, 1919); [and Judah Rosenthal, 'Polemics', no. 100, on a probably legendary report of a dispute with three hundred clergy, in the book *Nifle'ot MahaRaL*; but J. Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (Oxford, 1961), 134–5, 139, notes that Löw elsewhere (*Nezah Yisrael* (Prague, 1599), chapter xxv) mentions that he had a discussion with a Christian. On Löw's messianic writing in this book see G.B. De Rossi, *Bibliotheca Judaica Antichristiana* (Parma, 1800), no. 55; G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (London, 1971), 33; an extract forms Short Passage y in Neubauer, Driver & Pusey, *Fifty-third Chapter*, i, 402; ii, 568. For Löw on the Talmud, see M. Breuer, 'Maharal of Prague's Disputation with the Christians – A Reappraisal of *Be'er Ha-Gola'*, *Tarbiz* 55 (1985–6), 253–60 (this work is a defence of the *haggadot* against criticisms which are those often levelled by Christians; the church, especially the Jesuit presence in Prague, is probably in view).]

⁷² See Lipmann Heller's autobiographical *Megillat 'eyvah* [Breslau, 1836]; [M. Seligsohn in *JE* vi (1904), 341–3].

⁷³ See G. B. De Rossi, *Bibliotheca Judaica Antichristiana* (Parma, 1800), no. 44. [Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca*, iv, 348–52, reproduces J. C. Wagenseil's account of Engelsberger from his *Tela Ignea Satanae* (Altdorf, 1681), 'Confutatio Carminis R. Lipmanni', 188 ff., and prefaces it with additional information from the Prague printer Z. D. Acsamitek, including the report that Engelsberger issued, as well as his *Wegweiser*, a second German tract *Toldot Jeshu*, 'de vita Iesu Crucifixi, iuxta Hebraeos', and that both treatises appeared in Vienna, 1640. In the *Wegweiser*, as quoted (without publication details) by Wagenseil, Engelsberger says that he is preparing a work on the gospels and miracle, a statement which, when viewed together with Acsamitek's report, suggests that this treatise was anti-Jewish polemic on the basis of the *Toldot Jeshu*, perhaps including a German translation of a text or excerpts, after the fashion of Luther (above) and S. F. Brenz (1614) (this chapter, section i 9, below).]

⁷⁴ [Frankl, *Der Jude in den deutschen Dichtungen*, 131–3, and index s. Abraham.]

8. Poland and Transylvania

Transylvania may be considered with Poland not merely because the two countries happened to be united under Stephen Batori, but also because unitarianism flourished in both. In Abraham Geiger's words, 'the sixteenth century had martyrs whose blood nourished rich seed for the future. The two new and victorious ecclesiastical polities, Lutheran and Calvinist, fought each other and united only to extirpate more extreme ecclesiastical positions. Those who professed more liberal views on the two great points of original sin and the divinity of Jesus – and hence on the doctrine of the trinity – were called at this period Ebionites, Arians, Anti-Trinitarians, Unitarians, and, most frequently, Soci-nians. In their view, baptism was by no means divinely ordained, and the term 'effectual' could not be applied to the rite of the Lord's Supper – which was to be viewed simply as a celebration of grateful remembrance. Although much that is contrary to Judaism is thus eliminated from Christianity, Jesus remains the Christ, the Son and Word of God. Even the testimonies borrowed from the Hebrew bible, the principal materials of Christian-Jewish polemic, cannot be altogether relinquished. These Christians do not deny that prophecy has a double sense, the natural, which answers to the situation and immediate aim of the prophet, and the prefigurative or typical, which signifies its loftier fulfilment in the Christian era. Thus all the audacity of these believers does not suffice to close the gap between Judaism and Christianity. Yet they were so bold and thoroughgoing that they wholly renounced the invocation of the name of Jesus in prayer. Their unfettered awareness could perceive that the prescriptions of the Hebrew bible were really in no way abrogated by the foundation documents of Christianity; thus they held the opinion that these commandments should in part be observed, and their sayings caused people to term them adherents of Judaism, *Judenzer*, iudaizantes. Followers of these lines of thought, which went beyond the Reformation position recognized in other countries, found a place of refuge in Poland and Transylvania. In the latter country they formed the preponderant ruling party, but in Poland they were tolerated as a restricted minority, protected by some of the nobility.'¹

Sixteenth century Poland, despite political dissension, flourished in the concerns of mind and spirit. Bold attempts were made with spiritual weapons to obtain liberation from the prevailing Catholicism. At about the same time the very numerous Jewish population, hitherto largely preoccupied with daily necessities, attained to a way of life full of intellectual activity.² This was indeed

¹ From A. Geiger, 'Proben jüdischer Vertheidigung', in H. Liebermann's *Jahrbuch* (1854), 15–19, with some omissions.

² See in general Graetz, *Geschichte*, ix⁴, 410–438; Israel Cohen, *Vilna* (Philadelphia, 5704–1943); [B. D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: a Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800* (Philadelphia, 1973) (on limited evidence for Jewish