

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF *HASIDUT ASHKENAZ*

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UNDERSTANDING OF *Hasidut Ashkenaz*, medieval German-Jewish pietism, has been substantially advanced by three major recent publications.<sup>1</sup> Joseph Dan has analyzed its theological doctrines and Haym Soloveitchik and Ivan G. Marcus have studied in depth its pietistic perceptions and teachings.<sup>2</sup> This enhanced understanding of *Hasidut Ashkenaz* paves the way, it seems to me, for a reexamination of the early development of this new spirituality and of some of the influences which worked upon it.

It has long been agreed that *Hasidut Ashkenaz* emerged during the middle decades of the 12th century, with the figure of R. Samuel he-Hasid, and achieved maturation during the second half of the same century and the early decades of the 13th century, under the leadership of R. Judah he-Hasid and R. Eleazar of Worms. It has often been suggested that a factor in the development of this new pietistic tendency was the bloody persecution that struck Rhineland Jewry during the spring months of 1096, although both Dan and Marcus reject this widely repeated hypothesis.<sup>3</sup> I would like to propose, as an alternative to the accepted

<sup>1</sup> Some of the issues raised in this study will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming book on European Jewry and the First Crusade.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Dan, *Torat ha-Sod shel Hasidut Ashkenaz* (Jerusalem, 1968); Haym Soloveitchik, "Three Themes in the *Sefer Hasidim*," *AJS Review*, 1 (1976), 311-57; Ivan G. Marcus, *Penitential Theory and Practice among the Pious of Germany: 1150-1250* (unpublished doctoral dissertation; New York, 1974); *idem*, *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany* (Leiden, 1981).

<sup>3</sup> In his study, "The Reflection of *Kiddush ha-Shem* in the Speculative Literature of the German *Hasidim*" (Hebrew), *Milhemet Kodesh u-Martirologiyah* (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 121-29, Joseph Dan notes the lack of specific reference to *Kiddush ha-Shem* in this literature. He suggests that the crisis of Ashkenazic Jewry is reflected in the generally pessimistic tone that pervades this literature. For our purposes it is significant that Dan found so few references to persecution and martyrdom. In *Piety and Society*, Marcus examines at some length the suggestion that the persecution of 1096 was a key factor in shaping the pietistic movement, and concludes that "the data do not permit us to recover the causal nexus in which Qalonimide pietism was created." Even more important is Marcus's corroborative

notion of the mid-12th-century development of *Hasidut Ashkenaz*, that the origins of this new tendency are somewhat earlier and that careful scrutiny of the extant Hebrew First Crusade chronicles show us the existence of a proto-*Hasidut Ashkenaz*. Such a revision of the early development of the new pietism in turn opens the way for a re-evaluation of the spiritual milieu in which it was born and the forces which impinged upon it.

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A reexamination of the early development of *Hasidut Ashkenaz* might well begin with the overt testimony of R. Eleazar of Worms himself. As an introduction to his collection *Sodot ha-Tefilah*, R. Eleazar describes at some length the sources of his knowledge of secret traditions concerning prayer.<sup>4</sup> He focuses on two sets of genealogies through which the secret lore concerning prayer reached him, the first his own family lineage and the second that of his mentor and relative R. Judah he-Hasid. Both genealogies stretch backward in time over nine generations or somewhere between two and three centuries. To be sure, R. Eleazar's claim that the doctrine which he was about to expound could be traced back to the 9th century Abu-Aharon seems highly questionable. However, as he approaches his own era, R. Eleazar provides more detailed information on two sets of special circumstances in the family tree of R. Judah he-Hasid. The first set of special circumstances involves the nexus between R. Samuel he-Hasid and his father R. Kalonymus. "For when R. Kalonymus died, R. Samuel he-Hasid his son was but a lad. He [R. Kalonymus] therefore transmitted it [the secret tradition concerning prayer] to R. Eleazar ha-Hazzan of Speyer. When R. Samuel he-Hasid matured, he received it from him [R. Eleazar] as R. Kalonymus ha-Zaken had commanded him." The same set of circumstances is noted in regard to R. Samuel he-Hasid's great-grandfather, R. Eleazar ha-Gadol. There too the father left a very young son,

observation that persecution and martyrdom are not "a major theme in *Sefer Hasidim* and the other pietistic texts." See *Piety and Society*, pp. 150-51, n. 57.

<sup>4</sup> For the text, see Dan, *Torat ha-Sod*, pp. 15-17. Cf. the fine study by Avraham Grossman, "The Migration of the Kalonymos Family from Italy to Germany" (Hebrew), *Zion*, XL (1975), 154-85.

who had to be taught by someone else, in this case by his uncle R. Simeon ha-Gadol. Thus there are perhaps questionable claims of an extremely lengthy tradition, but also somewhat more specific information on transmission of important doctrine during the early 12th and early 11th centuries. In addition, there is explicit reference to the impact of the events of 1096 on the traditions of prayer which R. Eleazar wished to convey. After speaking of the alleged transplanting of the Kalonymide family from Lucca to Mainz, R. Eleazar continues: "There they were fertile and were prolific and multiplied very greatly, until God's wrath struck those sacred communities during the year 5856 [1096 C.E.]. There we were cut down and wiped out; we were all wiped out, except for a small number that remained of the family of our relative [R. Kalonymus] ha-Zaken." Once again there is a firm sense of specific information, this time for the late 11th century. While not convincing in and of itself, R. Eleazar's testimony regarding traditions alive during the early 12th, the late 11th, and even the early 11th centuries should be borne in mind as we proceed.

Turning our attention from pietistic sources to the extant Hebrew First Crusade chronicles, we note strikingly parallel patterns of thought in the mature literature of *Hasidut Ashkenaz* and in these Hebrew narratives. Dan's study includes a detailed analysis of major theological issues and the stance or stances adopted by the pietists on these issues. The Hebrew First Crusade chronicles are of course far removed from the world of theological speculation. There is, however, one area investigated by Dan which is reflected in the historical narratives, and that is divine reward for group and individual virtue. Dan argues in his study that while the pietists recognized both Messianic times for the entire human world and celestial existence for the individual soul, the emphasis in the thinking of the *Haside Ashkenaz* was very heavily weighted in the latter direction. Interest in the otherworldly existence of the soul after physical death abounds, according to Dan, in the literature of the pietists. Among the tendencies which Dan identifies are the physical description of the life of the soul and the hierarchical structuring of rewards for the deeds of the pious. The terminology presented by Dan centers about the

<sup>5</sup> Dan, *Torat ha-Sod*, pp. 241-50.

Divine Glory and draws heavily upon imagery associated with light.<sup>5</sup>

The views reflected in the Hebrew First Crusade chronicles are remarkably similar. In the first place, the dual concepts of Messianic redemption and otherworldly existence of the individual soul are clearly present in the Rhineland communities depicted. Moreover, the relative weights accorded these two sets of symbols parallel those found in the literature of the later pietists. While there are recurrent prayers for the advent of the Messiah, these supplications pale in comparison with the vivid descriptions of the otherworldly rewards to be won by the Jewish martyrs of 1096. Let us cite but one major instance of such description, found in the martyrological exhortation attributed to the leader of the band of Cologne Jews who had found refuge at Xantes. The gifted R. Moses, referred to frequently as "the Hasid," began his speech with the immediate realities, the Sabbath table before which the group had gathered and the food which they had barely begun to enjoy. He called upon his fellow Jews to see this table as a divine altar upon which they were enjoined to sacrifice themselves. The fulfillment of this sacrificial act would result in the highest celestial rewards:

We shall then find ourselves in a world that is entirely daylight, in Paradise, in the shining light. We shall see [God] eye to eye, in His splendor and majesty. Each one [of us] shall be given a golden crown for his head, in which will be set precious stones and pearls. We shall sit there among the pillars of the universe, in the company of the righteous in Paradise. We shall be part of the company of R. Akiba and his associates and shall sit upon a golden chair under the Tree of Life. We shall each point [toward God] by finger and say, "This is our God; we trusted in Him, [and He delivered us. This is the Lord in whom we trusted;] let us rejoice and exult in His deliverance." There we shall observe the Sabbath [fully], for here, in this world of darkness, we cannot rest and observe it properly. They all responded loudly and unanimously, with one heart, "Amen, so may it be, and so may God will it!"<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Adolf Neubauer and Moritz Stern (ed. and tr.), *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1892), p. 22; Abraham Habermann (ed.), *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz we-Şarfai* (Jerusalem, 1945), pp. 48-49.

This entire speech is remarkable and the depiction of otherworldly bliss is the fullest available from the period, although the basic themes recur frequently in both original Hebrew chronicles. The parallel of conception and imagery to the later literature of the pietists is striking. There is precisely the physical description of afterlife, the hierarchical structuring of rewards, and the central imagery of light noted by Dan in his analysis of the later *Hasidut Ashkenaz*. Such a parallel suggests that Rhineland Jewry of the late 11th century had already developed a proto-pietism of which the formalized literature of the late 12th and early 13th centuries represents full maturation.

The studies of Soloveitchik and Marcus address themselves to the very core of *Hasidut Ashkenaz*. Both find the essence of its teaching in an enlarged vision of the Will of God and its demands upon the people of Israel. To cite the formulation of Haym Soloveitchik,

The vast disparity between Biblical and Rabbinic norms, and the testimony of God's actions (both His wrath and His favor) in the Bible and in daily experience, stand witness to the operation in history of standards of judgment other than those articulated in the Torah. This potent norm is the Divine Will in its plenitude, and the fabric of human destiny is woven by compliance and disobedience to its commands. This is the key to many a surprising Biblical narrative and contemporary event. Man's destiny, however, could not be shaped by this norm had he not been first summoned to compliance and given the instrument of its discernment. To recover, to lay bare this Will in its fullness, to mold their lives in its accord and to guide others through its sinuous paths was the self-appointed task of *Haside Ashkenaz*.<sup>7</sup>

Marcus puts the matter as follows:

Potentially infinite in scope, the will of the Creator demands that the Pietist fulfill not only all of the traditional religious obligations incumbent upon all Jews, not only a specific set of additional demands which the Talmud referred to as *mishnat ha-hasidim* ["the (additional) law for the Pious"] or as *dine*

<sup>7</sup> Soloveitchik, "Three Themes in the *Sefer Hasidim*," pp. 314-15.

*shamayim* ["equity"]. In addition to all these requirements, the Pietist must also make an unspecified number of safeguards around the prohibited, and exhibit an intensity of motivation and fervor unprecedented in the history of Judaism.<sup>8</sup>

Here, I suggest, we find the fullest evidence of all for a proto-*Hasidut Ashkenaz* in Rhineland Jewry of the 11th century. The Hebrew First Crusade chronicles reveal to us, first of all, a set of unusual religious requirements. The most unusual is the extreme demand for martyrdom. The Rhineland Jews who found themselves under assault in 1096 were heirs to a tradition—albeit not an extensive one—concerning martyrdom. The halakhic requirements of this tradition demanded acquiescence in death in a limited number of situations, one of which was enforced idolatry. The language of this injunction is significant—one must permit himself to be slain rather than to transgress.<sup>9</sup> The aggadic heroes of this tradition, such as R. Akiba and R. Haninah ben Teradion, were by and large those who submitted to death rather than contravene crucial divine commandments. Many of the martyrs of 1096 followed precisely this early tradition. To cite but one instance, when the crusaders forced their way into the courtyard of the archbishop of Mainz on the third day of Sivan [May 27, 1096], "there they found a few of the truly pious surrounding Rabbenu Isaac ben R. Moses, the dialectician. He stretched forth his neck and they immediately severed his head. They wrapped themselves in their fringes and sat in the midst of the courtyard, in order to effect speedily the will of their Creator. They did not wish to flee into the inner chambers in order to prolong life, for out of love they accepted upon themselves the heavenly edict. The enemy rained down upon them stones and arrows, but they did not deign to flee. The enemy struck down all those whom they found there."<sup>10</sup> All this is very much according to both the letter and the spirit of earlier tradition.

What is so striking about the behavior of the Rhineland Jews of 1096 is their tendency to go far beyond the dictates of the prior

<sup>8</sup> Marcus, *Piety and Society*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>9</sup> B. Sanh. 74a.

<sup>10</sup> Neubauer and Stern, *Hebräische Berichte*, p. 7; Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot*, p. 31.

tradition. Many of them eschewed death at the hands of the crusaders, feeling themselves bound to take their own lives. This tendency was so pronounced that in Trier, where the bishop and the townspeople were determined to force their Jewish neighbors into conversion, the Christian captors were careful not to permit their Jewish captives near the wall of the bishop's palace, "so that they not throw themselves down from the wall."<sup>11</sup> In still more radical fashion, Jews were fully prepared to take the lives of their fellow-Jews so that conversion would not be effected. In some instances this bloodletting was organized. In Altenahr, for example, where some of Cologne Jewry had unsuccessfully sought refuge, these Jews "chose five pious, righteous, sincere, Godfearing men, who slaughtered all the others."<sup>12</sup> More often the killing was done on the spur of the moment, generally in a frenzy. Particularly prominent was the slaughter of youngsters, so that they would not fall into the clutches of the enemy. All of this represents an expansion of the normal directives of halakhah in a manner parallel to the later *Hasidut Ashkenaz*.

It is not only the act of martyrdom itself that shows such parallels; they are further reflected in some of the style of the martyrdom as well. Accepted rituals are introduced in novel ways: the implements which Jews utilize to kill themselves or others are carefully examined in accordance with the requirements of ritual slaughtering; the horrible act is accompanied by intonation of a benediction; the speech of R. Moses ha-Kohen begins and ends with the normal Grace after meals, which is fashioned into a prelude for martyrdom. Perhaps most striking in this regard is the invocation of Temple imagery. The Rhineland Jews of 1096 see themselves as recreating the Temple and renewing the sacrificial order. This is expressed in the soliloquy of R. Moses ha-Kohen, from which we have already quoted:

Let us recite the benediction over completion of the meal for the living God, for our Father in heaven. Now the table is set before us as a surrogate altar. Let us therefore rise and ascend to the house of the Lord and do the will of our Creator

<sup>11</sup> Neubauer and Stern, *Hebräische Berichte*, pp. 27–28; Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>12</sup> Neubauer and Stern, *Hebräische Berichte*, p. 20; Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot*, p. 46.

speedily. For the enemy has come upon us today, so that we must slaughter on the Sabbath sons, daughters, and brothers, thus according ourselves a blessing today. Let no one spare himself or his friend. Let the last one remaining slaughter himself by [slitting] his throat with his knife, or let him pierce his belly with his sword, so that the polluted and wicked not pollute us with their abominations. Let us offer ourselves as a sacrifice to the Lord, like the burnt offering to the Almighty, which was offered on the altar of the Lord.<sup>13</sup>

Such imagery abounds throughout the Hebrew First Crusade chronicles. It reflects a novel expansion of the halakhic dictate in precisely the manner that became so central to the fully mature *Hasidut Ashkenaz*.

Ivan G. Marcus carries the analysis of *Hasidut Ashkenaz* in a number of further directions, focusing in particular on the penitential rites of the group. Two interrelated points in his study of mature Ashkenazic pietism are pertinent to our investigation. These involve, first, the pietistic sense of perpetual trial and testing, and, second, the notion of God's manipulation of these trials in order to provide opportunities for extensive celestial reward:

Divinely arranged opportunities for otherworldly reward motivate all aspects of pietism: God concealed the complete divine will so that the Pietist who searches for and discovers it may earn a reward; God continuously makes the world into a series of trials and obstacles to make it difficult for the Pietist to fulfill the complete will, again in order to provide the Pietist with increased opportunities to withstand the trials and thereby earn reward.<sup>14</sup>

Clearly these two notions are central to the Jewish martyrdom of 1096. The speeches of the martyrs and the ruminations of the later chroniclers all focus on the theme of trial; this is the key paradigm utilized in explaining the tragedy—it was a divine test imposed upon a uniquely capable generation, a demanding test to which these Jews were more than equal. The result of the

<sup>13</sup> Neubauer and Stern, *Hebräische Berichte*, pp. 21–22; Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot*, p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> Marcus, *Piety and Society*, p. 11.

successful response to God's testing will be a hastening of the process of redemption; more fully highlighted, however, are the immediate otherworldly rewards for those martyred:

Fortunate are we if we do His will, and fortunate are all those who are killed and slaughtered and die for the unity of His Name. They merit the world-to-come and shall sit in the company of the righteous, R. Akiba and his associates, the pillars of the world, who were killed for His Name. What is more, a world of darkness will be exchanged for a world of light, a world of sorrow for a world of happiness, an ephemeral world for a world eternal.<sup>15</sup>

As in the later pietism, these Jews see their situation as a trial, but a trial provided by God as a way of enabling the acquisition of the highest celestial rewards.

The wellspring of this creative adaptiveness in the fashioning of new halakhic requirements, in the reinterpretation of prior ritual acts and symbols, and in the conceptualization of human life as a series of momentous trials offering the potential for vast reward is the overriding sense of the Divine Will and its imperatives. Precisely as the later *Haside Ashkenaz*, the martyrs of 1096 are fully committed to fathoming and fulfilling this Divine Will:

Ultimately one must not question the qualities of the Holy One, blessed be He, and blessed be His Name, who gave us His Torah and the commandment that we be done to death and killed for the unity of His holy Name. Fortunate are we if we do His Will, and fortunate are all those who are killed and slaughtered and die for the unity of His Name.<sup>16</sup>

Embodied here is the notion of a powerful and peremptory Divine Will enjoining difficult tasks upon those whom God has sought out to fulfill His special covenant. It is in this connection that we are to understand the recurrent invocation of Abraham by a number of the martyrs of 1096. Abraham, the tested figure par

<sup>15</sup> Neubauer and Stern, *Hebräische Berichte*, p. 7; Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot*, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Neubauer and Stern, *Hebräische Berichte*, p. 7; Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot*, p. 31.

excellence, is distinguished above all else by his readiness to capitulate to the peremptory Divine Will. The same Abraham, who could so lengthily argue with his God over the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, when called upon to leave his homeland, to send out his son Ishmael into the wilderness, and most tellingly to make the wrenching and incomprehensible sacrifice of his beloved son Isaac, responds with alacrity and total devotion. It is this sense of the Divine Will and acceptance of its dictates that characterizes both mature *Hasidut Ashkenaz* and its forerunners of 1096.

Inevitably such a radical reinterpretation of God, His Will, and the burdens laid upon His people must entail a new understanding of humanity and its capacities. To cite the formulation of Haym Soloveitchik,

Underlying the movement of *Haside Ashkenaz* was the recent discovery of man and his hitherto unsuspected capacities. In the first fresh look at human nature since the Midrash, the Pietists uncovered a creature who (among other qualities) possessed infinite resourcefulness, restless energy, and was capable of heroic exertion in achieving his own ends, and they insisted that religion demand of man the equivalent mobilization of his abilities for the Divine service. The traditional requirements touched only a fraction of his capacities, and he who contented himself with this was no true worshiper of God.<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, reflected in the Hebrew First Crusade narratives is the same sense of man and his newly discovered capacities so carefully depicted by Soloveitchik. The martyrs of 1096 certainly exhibited "infinite resourcefulness, restless energy, and . . . heroic exertion." As we have argued elsewhere, the Hebrew narratives are essentially histories of this heroism; they focus neither on the persecution inflicted upon these Jews nor on the resultant losses; they are devoted to recounting the achievements of the Rhineland martyrs who reached the highest possible levels of human heroism:

The ears which hear this must surely ring, for who has heard anything like this and who has seen such events? Ask and see—was there ever such a sacrifice from the days of Adam

<sup>17</sup> Soloveitchik, "Three Themes in the *Sefer Hasidim*," p. 317.

himself? Were there ever eleven hundred sacrifices on one single day—each one equivalent to the sacrifice of Isaac the son of Abraham?<sup>18</sup>

One of the interesting results of this new sense of human potential is a new narrative style. The Hebrew chronicles which depict the events of 1096 are replete with a diverse set of identifiable and individuated characters. The facelessness of earlier medieval Jewish literature gives way to a galaxy of sharply etched figures of differing age, sex, and social standing.<sup>19</sup> In sum, if mature *Hasidut Ashkenaz* exhibits a new assessment of humanity and its potential, the events of 1096 and the chronicles which portray these events do indeed reveal a proto-pietism.

Thus, in some of its most fundamental perceptions, mature *Hasidut Ashkenaz* is paralleled and preceded by the Rhineland circles of the late 11th century, whose martyrdom is portrayed in the remarkable Hebrew First Crusade chronicles. If we thus push the earliest stages of the new pietism back into the late 11th century, we are, I believe, in a better position to evaluate the milieu in which this spirituality was generated and the influences exerted upon it.

As noted already, it has commonly been suggested that *Hasidut Ashkenaz* is rooted in the catastrophe of 1096. This hypothesis has been rejected on a number of grounds: (1) It has been generally agreed that the spirituality of *Hasidut Ashkenaz* cannot be explained by the tragedy of 1096; put in another way, every instance of persecution did not produce a pietistic response. (2) More specifically, there is very little evidence in the mature literature of *Hasidut Ashkenaz* of awareness of, and concern with, physical persecution. If our earlier argument is accepted, we can now conclusively say that *Hasidut Ashkenaz* did not flow from the persecution of 1096, for in its earliest form it preceded 1096.

The late Yitzhak Baer, generally averse to explaining internal phenomena in Ashkenazic Jewry by external parallels or influences, studied *Hasidut Ashkenaz* and suggested significant parallels with Franciscan spirituality. This suggestion has been criticized,

<sup>18</sup> Neubauer and Stern, *Hebräische Berichte*, p. 8; Habermann, *Sefer Gezerot*, p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> I have discussed this issue more fully in my forthcoming book.



most recently by Marcus, on the simple ground that the Jewish pietism far preceded the proposed Christian parallel.<sup>20</sup>

The suggestion of a late 11th century proto-pietism paves the way for an alternative set of parallels. Let me indicate immediately that I am not proposing direct Jewish borrowing from Christian religious circles; what I am suggesting is rather a new complex of general views and sensitivities that express themselves in parallel fashion in both Christian and Jewish society. Indeed R. W. Southern, in his analysis of 11th and 12th century spiritual innovation, sees its expression in both the religious and secular spheres; we would propose a similar expression in the Jewish religious sphere as well.<sup>21</sup> What is the nature of this new spiritual awareness? It is a greater emphasis on the individual, on self-sacrifice, on reinterpretation and intensification of traditional religious demands, on solitude and austerity, on the otherworldly rewards and punishments stored up for the individual.<sup>22</sup> All of this expresses itself dramatically in Christian crusading fervor and almost simultaneously in the Cistercian renewal of the Benedictine rule. In many ways the parallels between the Cistercians and the *Hasidim* are instructive: In both groups there is an emphasis on painstaking observance of an old regimen intensively reinterpreted; in both cases the reinterpretation involves great stringency; austerity is a leitmotif in both groups; concern with the otherworldly abounds in both circles. Again this is not to suggest Jewish borrowing from the Cistercians; it is meant rather to propose Cistercian and pietistic expressions of a new and invigorating sense of God, the world, and humanity.

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The argument advanced in this paper is presented tentatively and hesitantly. It is hoped that others will test this hypothesis.

<sup>20</sup> Yitzhak Baer, "The Religious-Social Tendency of *Sefer Hasidim*" (Hebrew), *Zion*, III (1937), 1-50; Marcus, *Piety and Society*, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1953), especially the last chapter, pp. 219-57.

<sup>22</sup> Much has been written of late on the late 11th and 12th century religious revival. See especially Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, and Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in her *Jesus as Mother* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 82-109. For fuller bibliography, see *ibid.*, pp. 83-84, nn. 2-4.

further, and if it is judged valid, will refine it. Unfortunately there seems to be no literature outside the Hebrew First Crusade chronicles which presents the early development of what I have called proto-*Hasidut Ashkenaz*. Nonetheless, on the basis of our limited data, I have suggested such an early development of early German-Jewish pietism and have proposed that this new spirituality flowed from the invigorating and innovative perspectives of the late 11th and early 12th centuries, a period which produced parallel spiritual tendencies within Europe's Christian majority and Jewish minority.

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