JONATHAN I. ISRAEL

EUROPEAN JEWRY IN THE AGE OF MERCANTILISM

1550–1750

The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization

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European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750

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JONATHAN ISRAEL

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Preface to the Third Edition

It was always the intention, from the inception of this book back in 1981, to attempt to provide an overall survey of, and introduction to, the early modern period of Jewish history which, at the same time, would be a fairly bold—some would say a much too bold—work of interpretation. In particular, the objective was to present this period as one with characteristics quite distinct from the Jewish Middle Ages, on the one hand, and the post-Enlightenment modern era, on the other, and as a crucially important, and decisive, period of transition.

The fact that the book did succeed in generating, and continues to generate, a considerable amount of discussion and has also been found useful by at least some teachers of Jewish Studies, both in Britain and the USA, as a vehicle for introducing students to early modern Jewish history would seem justification enough for simply republishing it at this stage. However, a great deal of valuable and important work has been published since this study originally appeared in 1985, work which changes or modifies our perspectives on quite a few of the themes and topics discussed in this volume. Consequently, in preparing this new edition and after due reflection, I have made a number of changes to the text, revised some of the statistics where these required updating and, here and there, modified some of my original judgements. For helping me to do so, and for their appreciation and encouragement, I am very much in the debt of the personnel of the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization and especially to Connie Webber, as I am also to those scholars on whose research and recent publications I have drawn in making these revisions—principally Friedrich Battenburg, Haim Beinart, Silvia Berti, Roberto Bonfil, Bernard Cooperman, Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, Gershon David Hundert, Moshe Idel, Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, Yosef Kaplan, Lionel Kochan, Henri Méchoulan, Richard Popkin, Ada Rapoport-Albert, Renata Segre, David Sorkin, Daniel Swetschinski, Renzo Toaff, Michael Toch, and Myriam Yardeni.

Central to the book is the idea that, for all their broad, and continuing, differences, Europe's diverse Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities were subjected to a common set of pressures and influences from the end of the fifteenth century through to the eighteenth, which not only makes it possible to speak of European Jewry as a whole entering the new world of early modernity during the course of the sixteenth century, but which also generated a much more extensive set of interactions between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi spheres than had ever been known previously. Also central is the proposition that it was less the internal dynamics of Jewish life and culture than the external tensions and contradictions in the wider European world around the Jews which formed the principal driving-force behind the changes within Jewish society during this period. This external

dynamic, I argue, is best conceived of as a duality—a set of economic changes on the one hand and a set of intellectual and cultural shifts on the other. The first of these, the far-reaching changes in commerce, shipping, and industry and the role of the state in economic life, are aptly subsumed under the term 'mercantilism'; the second emanated from the revolution in European thought and culture which began with humanism and the Reformation and culminated in the early stages of the European Enlightenment from the end of the seventeenth down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

THE INFLUENCE OF MERCANTILISM

The successful application of mercantilist techniques of economic and fiscal organization, giving the Jews a broader role than previously in economic life, and a more significant place in governmental priorities and policy, was most obviously a characteristic of some German and Italian states and of the English Commonwealth under Cromwell and, later, the restored English monarchy. Mercantilist attitudes also transformed Jewish life in many other places, though in less immediately obvious ways; these included the Dutch and Danish empires, those French territories—Alsace-Lorraine and south-west France—where the French crown permitted Jews to reside, and, from the 1680s onwards, Hungary and the northern Balkans. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true, as Michael Toch has emphasized and as I, in the original version of this book, failed to stress enough, that there was a growing divergence between Jewish society in many small (often southern German) states, where there was a long-established legal and fiscal framework for Jewish life and where the restrictions on Jewish activity tended to be both more rigid and of a more traditional type,[1] and the new broader and more flexible pattern of Jewish existence which, in Germany, was chiefly found in Brandenburg-Prussia, Hanover, Danish Schleswig-Holstein and the Palatinate. Here, as one recent author expressed it, 'a great transition took place during these centuries', so that the social organization of the Jews 'as well as official policy toward them changed considerably'.[2] Jews, Frederick the Great always insisted, were permitted to live in Prussia only to help develop commerce, finance, and industry. As the Prussian state grew, in territory as well as in military and economic power, there was also a remarkable expansion in the numbers of Prussian Jewry, which reached some 25,000 by 1700 and possibly around 70,000 by 1750.[3]

There was, it has to be admitted, no growth of the state, nor much application of mercantilist techniques, in the ramshackle and increasingly enfeebled Polish–Lithuanian monarchy. Nevertheless, it is an essential part of my argument that

[1] See esp. Toch, 'Aspects of Stratification of Early Modern German Jewry'.

[2] Jersch-Wenzel, 'Jewish Economic Activity in Early Modern Times', p. 92.

[3] Kochan, *Jews, Idols and Messiahs*, p. 44. For an excellent general discussion of the new 17th-cent. trends in Germany, see Battenberg, *Das europäische Zeitalter der Juden*, i. 234–62.

Polish and Lithuanian Jewry were, from the outset, profoundly influenced—as is also true of the Jews of the Ottoman Balkans—by the far-reaching changes in western and central Europe. Initially it was almost exclusively the economic shifts in the west which had a major impact on the Jews of eastern Europe and the Balkans. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the rise of mercantilist states intent on integrating the Jews into the emerging new economic and political framework had created a completely new context for the overland trade between Poland and Germany, and also between Hungary and Austria, thereby greatly reinforcing Jewish long-distance commerce throughout east-central and eastern Europe. It has been estimated that, as early as 1700, some two-thirds of Poland's overland trade with Silesia had—mainly since the middle of the seventeenth century—come into Jewish hands.[4]

A dominant Jewish role in commerce between the Balkans, under Ottoman rule, and Italy emerged at a still earlier stage—in the sixteenth century. A number of recent studies on sixteenth-century Sephardic communities in Greece and the Balkans have helped clarify the mechanisms by which the commercial interaction of the Balkans with Italy was transformed, and how and why Jews played such a large part in a process which, by 1550, had radically altered the assumptions and strategies governing the Mediterranean trading empires of Venice, Florence, and the Papal States. Among others, there have been notable contributions on the commerce of the Jews of the Dalmatian ports of Valona, Split (Spalato), and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and the Greek town of Mistra (Sparta)[5] published in recent years.

A stream of particularly impressive studies has both broadened and deepened our knowledge of the Italian Jewish communities in the early modern period, providing a good deal more detail about the impact of mercantilism, economic change, and the new intellectual climate culminating in the early Enlightenment. For the Venetian Republic, the most important volume is the collection of conference proceedings edited by Gaetano Cozzi which, besides admirable contributions on Venice itself,[6] also contains essays on Verona,[7] Friuli,[8] and Padua, as well as several pieces dealing with the position of the Jews in other parts of Italy during the sixteenth century, including a useful essay on the gradual deterioration in the position of the Jews of Naples from the late fifteenth century down to their staged expulsion from the viceroyalty under the decrees of 1533 and 1534, and the final, definitive, decree of 1541;[9] the volume also includes a key contribution by Bernard Cooperman on the emergence of a mercantilist policy towards the Jews among the Italian states in the sixteenth century. Cooperman demonstrates with greater

[4] Hundert, 'Comparative Perspectives on Economy and Society', p. 104.

[5] Valona: Veinstein, 'Une communauté ottomane'; Split: Paci, 'Gli Ebrei e la "scala" di Spalato'; Dubrovnik: Krekić, 'Gli Ebrei a Ragusa nel Cinquecento'; Mistra: Bowman, 'The Jews of Mistra'.

[6] Especially noteworthy here is Ravid, 'Religious, Economic and Social Background'.

[7] Borelli, 'Momenti della presenza ebraica a Verona'.

[8] Ioly Zorattini, 'Insediamenti ebraici nel Friuli veneto'.

[9] Giura, 'Gli Ebrei nel regno di Napoli'.

clarity than any previous scholar, and with particular reference to papal policy at Ancona and changes in policy in Ferrara and Tuscany, that the more liberal policy of the Venetian Republic towards the Jews and also towards Marranos returning to Judaism, from the late sixteenth century onwards, 'was more or less forced upon the Venetians by changing political and economic conditions, both at home and abroad'.[10] It was out of the mercantilist rivalry of the Italian states that Venetian Jewry's 'golden age' sprang.

A thorough study of the mercantilist (and anti-Spanish) background of Duke Francesco I of Modena's decision, expressed in his edict of 1652, to invite Marranos, as well as other Jews, to settle in his territory has been published by Aron di Leone Leoni;[11] his study also demonstrates the central role of Sephardic Jews in the silk trade and industry of Modena and Reggio in the late seventeenth century. An admirable monograph on the Sephardim of Livorno and Pisa and the shifts in the Jewish policy of the grand dukes of Tuscany has been published by Renzo Toaff; not the least welcome part of Toaff's work is his extensive documentary appendix, which includes the original text of Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici's *Lettere patenti* of 1591 and 1593, encapsulating one of the most important mercantilist initiatives of the late sixteenth century regarding the Jews.[12] Other noteworthy recent studies of the changing political and economic context of Italian Jewish life in early modern times are an analysis of the Jewish policy of the absolutist dukes of Savoy,[13] and an essay on the policy of the popes towards the Jews of Rome in the seventeenth century.[14]

The most vigorous and dynamic commercial, financial, and maritime centre in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe was undoubtedly the Dutch Republic, and it is not surprising that there has been an increasing interest among scholars in the economic and political context of both Dutch Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jewry. Several studies have focused on the economic contribution of the Jews of Amsterdam to the making of Holland's 'golden age'.[15] A number of essays have focused on Sephardi business organization and entrepreneurship in Amsterdam.[16] One study of my own discusses the role of the Jews on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange in the second half of the seventeenth century, and seeks to explain the dominant part the Sephardim played as brokers in the Dutch stock market.[17] I have also published some new work on the diplomatic and political

[10] Cooperman, 'Venetian Policy towards Levantine Jews'. See also, with regard to papal policy, Bonazzoli, 'Ebrei italiani, portoghesi, levantini'.

[11] Leone Leoni, *La nazione ebraica spagnola e portoghese*.

[12] R. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea*; the monograph proper has 489 pages and the documentary section 205 pages.

[13] Segre, 'Gli Ebrei piemontesi'.

[14] Rosa, 'Tra tolleranza e repressione'.

[15] See the essays on Dutch Jewry in Israel, *Empires and Entrepots*; id., 'The Sephardi Contribution to Economic Life'; id., 'The Sephardim in the Netherlands'.

[16] On this topic see Vlessing, 'New Light on the Earliest History of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jews'; id., 'The Portuguese–Jewish Mercantile Community in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam'; Swetschinski and Schönduve, *The Lopes Suasso Family*.

[17] See Israel, 'The Amsterdam Stock Exchange'.

activities of the Amsterdam Jewish merchant élite.[18] Thanks, in particular, to Yosef Kaplan at Jerusalem, there have been notable advances in our understanding of the institutional structure of Dutch Jewish life and relations between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities.[19] Finally, important work is in progress on the problem of poverty among Dutch Jewry and the organization of poor relief, as well as on the problem of criminality among the Jewish poor.[20]

Of course, one important reason for the centrality of Dutch Jewry in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century western, and central, European Jewish life was that the Dutch, together with the English, were the principal challengers to the efforts of Spain and Portugal to create an exclusively Iberian and Catholic European presence in the New World; in building up their western colonial empires they decided, expressly on mercantilist grounds, to make use of Jewish resources, skills, and settlers. In recent years a number of studies have appeared which appreciably extend our knowledge of the Jewish—chiefly Sephardi—role in Brazil, the Guyanas, and the Caribbean,[21] and also our understanding of the Portuguese New Christian crypto-Jewish penetration not only of Brazil and New Spain but also of other areas, such as Buenos Aires and the River Plate region.[22]

THE CRISIS OF THE EUROPEAN MIND

If mercantilism was one main branch of the dichotomy of impulses and pressures which transformed European Jewry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, just as important, if my argument is right, was the mounting European spiritual and intellectual crisis, rooted in humanism and the Reformation, which first became fully evident, with far-reaching consequences, in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The Reformation in itself, as is well known, did little to alter the basic relationship between Jews and Christians in Europe in a positive sense, though it is undoubtedly true that the Lutheran Reformation, despite its consistently harsh rejection of the Jews, helped to demystify the image of the Jew in early modern

[18] Israel, 'Lopo Ramirez'; id., 'Dutch Sephardi Jewry and the Rivalry of European States'; id., 'The Dutch Republic and its Jews'.

[19] See in particular Kaplan, 'The Portuguese Community of Amsterdam'; id., 'The Portuguese Community in 17th-Century Amsterdam and the Ashkenazi World'.

[20] The key researcher here is Tirtsah Levie Bernfeld. See in particular her article 'Caridade escapa da morte'.

[21] On Brazil, see Israel, 'Dutch Sephardi Jewry, Millenarian Politics, and the Struggle for Brazil'. On the Guyanas, see Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment*; Böhm, *Los Sefardíes en los dominios holandeses*; and Arbell, 'The Jewish Settlement in Pomeroon/Pauroma'. On the Caribbean, besides Böhm's useful book, see Israel, 'Menasseh ben Israel'.

[22] Important work on crypto-Judaism in New Spain (Mexico) has been carried out in recent years by Eva Alexandra Uchmany: see her essay 'El Judaísmo de los Cristianos Nuevos'. See also id., *La vida entre el judaísmo y el cristianismo en la Nueva España*. On Buenos Aires see Barnatán, 'Los criptojudíos del Rio de la Plata en el siglo XVII'.

German popular culture and thus weaken the myth of Jewish ritual murder, which in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was a potent force, especially in central Europe, and to encourage a more rational approach to the question of the Jews and their place in German society.[23] Thus, as recent research has confirmed, while most Lutheran states and Imperial Free Cities expelled their Jews, and continued to exclude Jews, toleration of Jews in central Europe in the sixteenth century was, or became, chiefly confined to the Catholic ecclesiastical states along the Rhine, in Franconia and in Westphalia.[24] Even in the two great Lutheran Imperial Free Cities—Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg—where the city governments, on expressly mercantilist grounds, favoured and protected Jewish settlement and commercial activity and where large Jewish communities evolved, the issue of whether or not they should be tolerated remained an extremely fraught and tense one right down to the late eighteenth century, the predominantly mercantilist attitude of the city senates being counterbalanced by a combination of Lutheran orthodoxy and traditional popular prejudice.[25]

Thus in the era of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation the prevailing trend was, as it had been since the mid-fifteenth century, towards expulsion and exclusion. The trauma of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 was indeed an inherent part of a wider Jewish tragedy taking in nearly the whole of western and central Europe. Only in Poland–Lithuania and the Ottoman empire was there, at that stage, a powerful countervailing tendency.[26] The turning-point, the reversal of trends, from expulsion and exclusion towards return and reintegration into western society, can firmly be dated to the last third of the sixteenth century. This crucial shift took place, I argue, because of the psychologically and intellectually unsettling consequences of the unresolved deadlock which resulted from the Wars of Religion, and of the ceaseless triangular conflict between Catholicism and the competing Lutheran and Calvinist confessional blocs. The military, political, and theological stalemate that was the final result of these wars led to the splintering of whole societies and split the body politic of France, Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, and Poland–Lithuania asunder. As a reaction both to the physical devastation, which culminated in Germany in the fury of the Thirty Years War, and to the general spiritual uncertainty, all these

[23] On this topic see Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*.

[24] Friedrich Battenberg has expanded on this point both in his *Europäische Zeitalter der Juden* and in his essay 'Jews in Ecclesiastical Territories of the Holy Roman Empire'. On the Lutheran expulsion drive see also id., 'Des Kaisers Kammerknecht'. Battenberg points out here that Bucer too was intent on driving the Jews out.

[25] Friedrichs, 'Jews in the Imperial Cities'. On the tortuous toleration debate with regard to the Jews in Hamburg, see Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg*, ch. 3, which is entitled 'The Limits of Toleration: Sephardim and Ashkenazim'; see also Böhm, 'Antijüdische Ressentiments'. Both Whaley and Böhm stress the serious deterioration in the position of the Jews in Hamburg during the 1690s.

[26] Interestingly, the lord of Dobromil, in granting a privilege for Jews to settle and trade there in 1612, expressly justified his mercantilist attitude by referring to the policy of Venice and of the popes in Rome; see Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth*, p. 83.

countries—and also Italy—produced a lively ferment of sceptical philosophizing and *politique* political thought which sought to transcend the confessional approach to social, cultural, and political questions. Thus the shift of the late sixteenth century, one of the most momentous changes in European Jewish history, arose from intellectual, philosophical, and psychological reactions to what was partly a physical and partly a spiritual crisis, rather than from economic factors or changes. The upsurge of mercantilist thinking and policies which transformed Jewish life in Europe after around 1570 was essentially a phenomenon in intellectual and cultural rather than economic history.[27]

After the end of Thirty Years War in 1648, western and central Europe was engulfed in an intensifying philosophical, theological, and scientific crisis: the retreat of confessional fervour and thought-patterns combined with the rise of the 'new philosophy' and mechanistic world-view to undermine the sagging edifice of traditional church authority linked to Aristotelian–scholastic philosophy and science. On the surface, at least, most—but not all—European Jewish communities were able to insulate themselves for a time against the rising tide of scepticism, deism, naturalism, radical Cartesianism, and Spinozism. But, partly because they had now become integrated into political and economic structures which made complete cultural isolation an impossibility, and partly because the question of the status of the Jews and Judaism moved to the very centre of the European intellectual stage during the early Enlightenment period,[28] this attempt at insulation slowly but progressively broke down, beginning in England, France, and the Netherlands.

The rise of the new critical biblical exegesis associated with Richard Simon, Spinoza, Lodewijk Meijer, and Balthasar Bekker created fundamental new dilemmas for Jewish scholarship and rabbinic authority, as well as for Christians. Moreover, the onslaught on revealed religion as a whole, from the radical early Enlightenment, tended to bracket Christianity with Judaism (and also, not infrequently, with Islam) as twin forms of superstition imposed on the credulous and ignorant masses by prophets who were impostors, and by disciples who had developed priestcraft into an ever more subtle method of exploitation. Besides out-and-out radicals and Spinozists such as the authors of the relentless *Traité des trois imposteurs*,[29] published clandestinely in Holland in 1719, many other thinkers,

[27] I stress this here because there has been a tendency in some of the recent literature to criticize my approach as a form of economic determinism, which clearly it is not. See, for instance, Foa, *Ebrei in Europa*, pp. 318–20.

[28] Numerous valuable contributions on this topic have appeared in recent years. Among the most important are Myriam Yardeni's essays on Richard Simon, Pierre Bayle, and Jacques Basnage and the Jews, gathered in her volume *Anti-Jewish Mentalities in Early Modern Europe*, and various articles by Richard H. Popkin on the place of the Jews and Judaism in the early radical Enlightenment. See, in particular, Popkin, 'Jewish Anti-Christian Arguments'; id., 'The Image of the Jew in Clandestine Literature'.

[29] There has been much discussion of this key text in recent years: see, for instance, Berti, 'Scepticism and the *Traité des trois imposteurs*'.

such as Anthonie van Dale and Pierre Bayle in Holland, Henri de Boulainvilliers in France,[30] and Johann Georg Wachter in Germany,[31] powerfully contributed to this late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century radical and deistic questioning of the social role of the major churches, and indeed of all revealed religion, including the traditions and learned apparatus of the Jews.

In the face of such a challenge from the deists, naturalists, radical Cartesians, and Spinozists, a host of European writers arose—chief among them Bossuet, Huet, Simon, Jean le Clerc, Philip van Limborch, and John Locke—to defend, theologically and philosophically, the essential principles of revealed religion, divine providence, the immortality of the soul, belief in heaven and hell, and much else which was, or was thought to be, common to Christianity and Judaism. In this context it was inevitable that Jews—not just exceptionally up-to-date rabbis in Amsterdam and London, who were seen by the Jewish community in general as deviant Jews, or that secularized, ennobled Sephardi patrician élite who delighted in discussing rare books and new ideas with Christian writers, diplomats, and courtiers[32]—but Jews collectively, should in some measure be dragged into an intellectual arena which was rapidly transforming and secularizing European civilization. This was all the more so in that the deists, naturalists, and Spinozists, as part of their campaign against Christianity, began clandestinely translating and circulating a number of key Jewish anti-Christian texts—in particular those of Isaac Troki, Eliahu Montalto, Saul Levi Morteira, and Isaac Orobio de Castro.[33] In the Netherlands there were also two Dutch-language editions of Orobio de Castro's historic debate with van Limborch, which further propagated Orobio's novel method of debating Christian claims by throwing doubt on the Apostles and the status of the text of the New Testament.

If by the middle of the eighteenth century the impact of all this on Jewish thought and culture as such was still relatively limited, there were undoubtedly already some fringes of Jewish society, especially in the Netherlands, Germany, England, and France, where deistic, sceptical, anti-rabbinical, and Spinozistic attitudes had won some ground and were causing considerable unease. Meanwhile, the advance of the Enlightenment in European civilization as a whole strengthened ideas of

[30] For a recent detailed study of Boulainvilliers's contribution to the early Enlightenment debate about Judaism and revealed religion, see Brogi, *Il cerchio dell' universo*.

[31] Our knowledge of the German early Enlightenment Spinozist and critic of Christianity and Judaism, Johann Georg Wachter, has recently been transformed by the admirable research of Winfried Schröder: see his edition of Wachter's texts on Judaism, Spinozism, and Christianity and his critical introduction in Schröder (ed.), *Freidenker der europäischen Aufklärung*.

[32] On the process of secularization among the north-west European Sephardic élite in the late 17th cent. see Israel, 'Gregorio Leti'. The question of Jewish cultural deviance in Hamburg is discussed in Kaplan, 'The Place of the Herem'.

[33] On the clandestine propagation of Jewish anti-Christian texts in the early Enlightenment see Popkin, 'Image of the Jew', and Miguel Benítez, 'Orobio de Castro et la littérature clandestine', in his collection of essays *La Face cachée des lumières*, pp. 147–54.

toleration and further weakened the confessional, social, and legal barriers, restrictions, and disabilities of the past. Yet, strangely enough, the first half of the eighteenth century, a time of rapid economic and demographic expansion in most of Europe, was not a period of comparable expansion for the Jews. On the contrary, in many places, especially in the Sephardi world, the predominant trend was one of stagnation and even decline, while in the Ashkenazi world, where there was a steady growth in numbers, it was less the Jewish economy than Jewish poverty and marginality which expanded. The explanation for this paradox, I have tried to suggest—and it still seems to me an argument which is valid—lies in the limitations of mercantilism itself. The Jews had been brought back into the mainstream of European society by princes and republics anxious to use Jewish commerce, capital, and skills to bolster economic life and the economic interests of the state. But this meant that it was chiefly, or exclusively, the commercial élite of Jewish society, a small segment of the whole, who were treated with consideration and regarded as valuable. As Frederick the Great made brutally clear, the eighteenth-century European mercantilist state had no use for the Jewish poor or for those who were modestly placed and had no special skills or trading connections to offer. What eighteenth-century Europe before the French Revolution could not, and did not, offer the Jews was an institutional widening or loosening of their constricted role and status in European society. The inevitable result in the main—at least until the revolutions of the late eighteenth century finally shattered the constraints of the past—was stagnation, impoverishment, and progressive marginalization.

London, November 1996 J.I.

Preface to the First Edition

In recent decades a most impressive and steadily mounting corpus of scholarly monographs and articles has vastly enriched our understanding of the history and culture of European Jewry in early modern times. But as more and more material and data have become available, so seemingly it has become ever harder to weld it all together into any sort of general synthesis which can be used by the general reader looking for a coherent overall view or the non-specialist scholar interested in widening his grasp of early modern European history as a whole. There is undoubtedly a crying need for new general interpretations of the role of Jewry within Europe in this period. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the number of such general surveys which have tried to recapitulate and re-interpret what the last sixty or seventy years of research have unearthed, even counting those which are now many decades old and are basically obsolete, is easily to be counted on the fingers of one hand. The present study is then an attempt to add to our meagre stock of such surveys. It is based mainly on the existing secondary literature but it incorporates the results of some new archival work mostly relating to the political and economic activities of western Sephardi Jewry. While I have endeavoured to be comprehensive, as a specialist in western European political and economic history, I have not attempted to say anything new, or impart any substantially new emphases, on the religious history of the period. Where there is an element of re-interpretation in the sphere of intellectual history it mainly concerns the cultural interaction between Jews and non-Jews. But essentially this is a secular history which focuses on the changing patterns of political and economic interaction between Europe's Jews and the states and societies amongst which they dwelt.

The rendering of place-names in a work such as this presents a number of peculiar problems. Indeed, I seriously doubt the possibility of finding a satisfactory set of rules which is at the same time fully consistent. For towns and provinces for which there exists a familiar anglicized form I have of course used it. Thus the reader will encounter Cologne, Hanover, Danzig, and Cracow rather than their German or Polish equivalents and similarly with provinces such as Bohemia, Silesia, Lithuania, and (less familiarly perhaps) Volhynia and Podolia. On the other hand, where there is an English form which, arguably, sounds antiquated or artificial, I have employed the local name instead so that the reader will find Livorno for Leghorn and Frankfurt for Frankfort. For less well-known place-names I have used the local form in the case of Iberian, French, German, Dutch, and Italian places. I have also followed this rule in the case of most Polish towns and localities still within the confines of Poland today. In the case of other east

European place-names, however, it hardly seems satisfactory to employ the local name in an English work as the Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian versions are generally less familiar to the English reader than other forms of the names, especially transliterated renderings of the Russian equivalents. What I have done, therefore, is to use these anglicized versions where they have been fairly extensively used in recent scholarly literature in English. Thus the reader will encounter Lvov (not Lwów), Pinsk (not Pińsk), Mogilev, Vitebsk, and so forth. In the same way for the city known in Polish as Wilno, in Lithuanian as Vilnius, and in German as Wilna, I have opted for the now quite frequently employed anglicization 'Vilna'. However, there is a further category of central and east European place-names, attaching to places which had unusually large Jewish populations but which were not otherwise very notable which became (and remain) so familiar to Jews everywhere, including the English-speaking world, under the Yiddish or German forms of their names that it would seem altogether artificial in a work dealing with Jewish history to use the present-day Slavonic versions of their names. And so, without intending the least offence to non-Jews who inhabit those places today, I have opted for Nikolsburg (not Mikulov), Prossnitz (not Prostejov), Lissa (not Leszno), Gross-Glogau (not Głogów), Dubno, Brody, and so on. As regards the personal names of princes and rulers, I have used English equivalents on the whole except in cases such as Gustavus Adolphus and Louis XIV where the foreign form is thoroughly familiar.

Finally, there is the pleasant task of thanking all those family, friends, and colleagues who have assisted in one way or another with the writing of this book. In the first place I would like to thank my wife, Jenny, for her constant and unfailing help and support throughout. Secondly, I gladly acknowledge having accumulated scholarly debts to quite a spectrum of historians both in Britain and abroad, especially Israel, The Netherlands, and the United States. Above all, for his close interest in the project and his helpful criticism at all stages, I wish to thank Edgar Samuel, director of the Jewish Historical Museum in London. I am also particularly indebted to Richard H. Popkin, Roberto Bonfil, Daniel Swetschinski, Benjamin Ravid, Yosef Kaplan, Bernard Cooperman, David Jacoby, Chimen Abramsky, Raphael Loewe, and Maurice Woolf. Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the British Academy for providing me with a research grant with which to pursue a number of key themes in the archives of Amsterdam and Venice.

Contents

Abbreviations xviii

Map xx

Introduction 1

I Exodus from the West 4

II Turning-Point (1570–1600) 29

III Consolidation (1600–1620) 44

IV Jewish Culture (1550–1650) 58

V The Thirty Years War 72

VI The High Point (I): The 'Court Jews' (1650–1713) 101

VII The High Point (II): Jewish Society (1650–1713) 119

VIII The High Point (III): 'A Republic Apart' 151

IX The High Point (IV): Spiritual Crisis (1650–1713) 170

X Decline and Renewal (1713–1750) 195

XI Conclusion 216

Bibliography

1. Primary Printed Sources 226

2. Secondary Works 229

Index 253

Abbreviations

ARCHIVAL ABBREVIATIONS

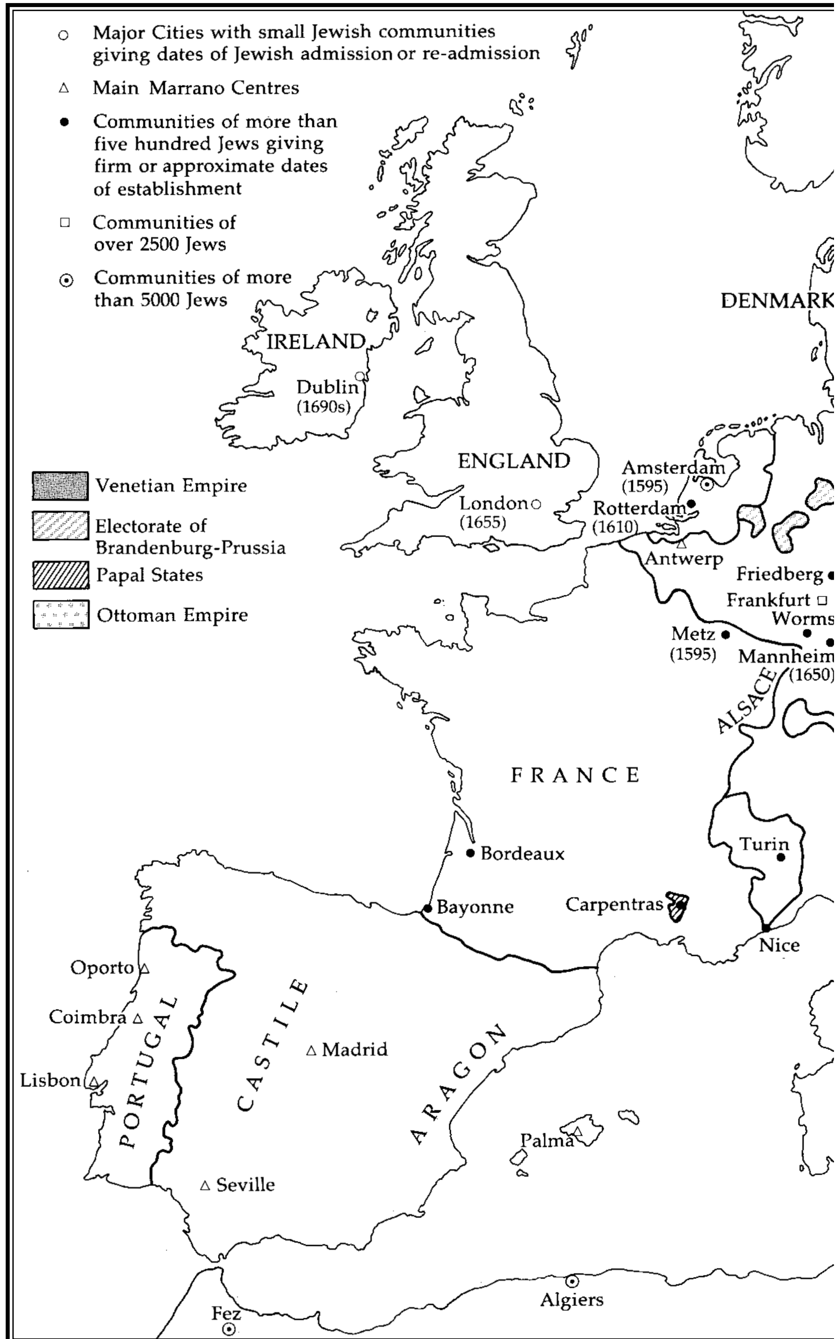
AGR SEG	Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Secrétairerie d'État et de Guerre
AGS Estado	Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid), Council of State papers
AGS Hacienda	AGS Papers of the former Council of Finance
AGS La Haya	AGS Papers of the former Spanish Embassy in The Hague
ANTT Inqu.	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Inquisition Papers
ANTT Misc. da Graça	ANTT Section known as *Miscelânea da Graça*
ARH SG	Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, archive of the former States General
ARH WIC	ARH Archive of the former Dutch West India Company
ASV CSM	Archivio di Stato, Venice. Papers of the former Venetian Board of Trade (Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia)
BL MS	British Library, London, Department of Manuscripts
GAA NA	Amsterdam City Archive. Papers of the city notaries
GAA PJG	GAA Archives of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam
PRO SP	Public Record Office, London, State Papers
SAH JG	Hamburg City Archive. Archives of the German and Portuguese Jewish Communities

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

CSP	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
CTB	Calendar of Treasury Books Preserved in the Public Record Office
BGJW	*Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Genootschap voor Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland*
BMGN	*Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*
BMHG	*Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*
BŻIH	*Biuletyn of the Żydowski Instytut Historyczny*, Warsaw
GJN	H. Brugmans and A. Frank (eds.), *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1940)
JJLG	*Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main)
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JJV	*Jahbruch für jüdische Volkskunde*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*

MGWJ	*Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*
MJV	*Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde*
MWJ	*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
RMI	*La rassegna mensile di Israel*
SHDJ	*Studies in the History of Dutch Jewry* (Hebrew), ed. J. Michman, 5 vols. thus far (Jerusalem, 1975–)
SR	*Studia Rosenthaliana. Journal for Jewish Literature and History in the Netherlands*
TJHSE	*Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*
VSW	*Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
ZGJD	*Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*
ZGJT	*Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*

Europe and its Jewish Communities 1550–1750



RUSSIA
SWEDEN
LIVONIA (UNDER SWEDEN)
Riga
BALTIC SEA
LITHUANIA
Vitebsk
Vilna
Minsk
Mogilev
Copenhagen (1684)
Königsberg (1670)
Grodno
Slutsk
Slonim
Danzig
Hamburg-Altona (1590s)
GREAT POLAND
Brest-Litovsk
Pinsk
Poznan
Berlin (1670)
Lissa
Kalisz
Lublin
Chelm
Lutsk
Ostrog
Halberstadt (c.1600)
Glogau
LITTLE POLAND
Dubno
Brody
Kremenets
Cracow
Lvov
Tarnopol
Przemyśl
PODOLIA
Hanau (1603)
BOHEMIA
Prague
Jamnitz
MORAVIA
Nikolsburg
Fürth
Vienna (c. 1580)
Jassy
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
BLACK SEA
Verona
Padua
Mantua
Venice
Reggio
Ferrara
Modena
Lugo
Belgrade
Pisa (1593)
Pesaro
Ancona
Sarajevo
Split
Sofia
Livorno (1593)
Ragusa (Dubrovnik)
Adrianople
Plovdiv
Constantinople
Rome
Salonika
Valona
NAPLES
CORFU
Smyrna
ZANTE
SICILY
RHODES
Tunis
Candia
CRETE

Introduction

In the past most authors have treated the early modern period in Jewish history as basically just an extension of the Jewish Middle Ages. Certainly it has not often been depicted as an essentially new phase intervening between the medieval and later modern eras. And yet there is much to commend the drawing of a firm dividing-line between the medieval and early modern epochs in the historical experience and consciousness of western Jewry. Following the virtual elimination of this oppressed and battered people from western and central Europe in the fifteenth and first two-thirds of the sixteenth century, an altogether different trend, toward reintegration, set in from around 1570 in much of the continent west of Poland. During the next few decades, the standing and functions of the Jews in western civilization were totally transformed. Amid a flurry of new charters, privileges, and concessions, Jews were all at once released from many, though admittedly by no means all, of the old, stifling restrictions on their economic and cultural activity and lifestyle. As a consequence, they now exerted, especially in the period 1650–1713, the most profound and pervasive impact on the west which they were ever to exert whilst still retaining a large measure of social and cultural cohesion, that is to say, whilst still displaying a recognizably national character. No doubt the contributions of Jews to modern western culture, since 1750, are a good deal more diverse and better known. But it is only (at any rate in the view of this writer) in the preceding period, down to the mid-eighteenth century, that there is, permeating the west in ways that are both novel and important, a widely ramified Jewish influence which can be seen to derive from a still largely traditional framework of Jewish activity and thought, a framework immediately distinguishable from that of the non-Jewish majority.

The key factor behind the reversal of pre-1570 trends, and thus the transformation of Jewish life in the west, it is here argued, was the political and spiritual upheaval which engulfed European culture as a whole at the end of the sixteenth century. Above all, the Catholic–Protestant deadlock, or rather realization that the only outcome of the relentless struggle between the western churches was deadlock, generated, from around 1570, a radically changed political and intellectual context. The last third of the sixteenth century witnessed the rise of *politique* philosophies and attitudes to government which cut free not just from the conflicting demands of the churches for exclusive control but, more comprehensively, from the claims of tradition, privilege, and established jurisdiction. The sudden flowering of *raison d'État* thought at this time was part and parcel of a wider shift towards a freer, more flexible society and cultural system. Inevitably, so momentous a change could not come about without plunging the west into a prolonged

theological and intellectual crisis. And at the heart of this spiritual crisis was the upsurge of radical scepticism which now pervaded the thought and writings of key figures such as Montaigne, Bodin, Lipsius, and Bacon. The shock waves emanating from the new philosophies of religion and politics profoundly jolted the European mind, and mark the beginning of modern thought. But this general upset and disruption of western religious, political, and intellectual norms did not merely coincide with the beginnings of Jewish re-entry into the mainstream of western civilization. Rather, the reintegration of the Jews has to be grasped as an integral part of the wider process of release from the doctrinal and legal shackles of the past.

In the course of this book, the term 'mercantilism' will be repeatedly encountered. Mercantilism was, indeed, one of the major currents of the epoch from the late sixteenth down to the middle of the eighteenth century. As employed here, the concept does not denote any specific package of economic policies. Rather, it signifies the new political approach to socio-economic questions which became widespread at the end of the sixteenth century, hand in hand with the *politique* approach to government of which, in fact, it formed part. Mercantilism as used here signifies the deliberate pursuit of the economic interest of the state, irrespective of the claims of existing law, privilege, and tradition, as well as of religion. This is perhaps the one use of the term which remains generally acceptable in the light of recent debate among historians as to the usefulness or otherwise of deploying the term to denote an economic system. Most scholars now agree that mercantilism was never a coherent set of economic principles, though it tended to stress certain attitudes toward economic management and regulation. What, in essence, it was, from the time of Bodin and Laffemas onwards, was a political impulse involving the systematic intervention of the state in the economic sphere in order to buttress the state. 'Most interpretations', it has been aptly said, 'emphasize the conscious quest for the economic welfare of the state by the state.'[1] And this, assuredly, was no small shift. Indeed, implicit in it is virtually the whole of the revolution which occurred in western civilization at the end of the sixteenth century. As a pre-eminent historian of mercantilism expressed it, mercantilism represented an 'emancipation', a 'secularization and an amoralization', and nothing said on the inconsistencies of mercantilist theorists on one or another aspect of economics detracts in any way from the force of this perception.[2] Mercantilism, and the *raison d'État* politics of which it was part, triggered what might be termed Europe's first great emancipation, a process of release from the restrictions of the past, arising two whole centuries before the better-known, but not necessarily more fundamental, emancipation which swept Europe in the nineteenth century, with the partial triumphs of liberalism. And just as the latter set in motion a crucial shift in Jewish history, finally releasing the Jews to enter the

[1] Coleman, *Revisions in Mercantilism*, pp. 2–4.

[2] Ibid., pp. 31–2.

mainstream of European life unimpeded in any formal sense, so, at least as far as many of the more oppressive restrictions were concerned, did the former, the chief difference being that the emancipation of the seventeenth century ushered the Jews into the western world as a tightly cohesive group, not as uprooted individuals stripped of their former political and social autonomy and culture.

A word of explanation as to one or two other key terms would also seem in order. In recent years, there has been a mounting controversy among historians whether or not a genuine crypto-Judaism, with authentic links with pre-1492 Spain, really existed in the Iberian Peninsula after around 1550. My own view is that the evidence of such crypto-Judaism throughout the Peninsula, and especially in Portugal and Mallorca, is overwhelming, but that one must also recognize that many, and possibly most, descendants of medieval Spanish Jewry who stayed in the Peninsula after 1492 were completely Christianized and absorbed into the majority culture. For this reason I have differentiated between the term 'New Christian' on the one hand, meaning any supposedly Christian descendant of medieval Iberian Jews whether his or her real allegiance was Catholic, Jewish, or ambivalent, and on the other hand the term 'Marrano', which here designates an ostensible Christian who is a crypto-Jew. There are, admittedly, some objections to this use of the terminology. In Italy, where there were frequent references to *Marrani* in sixteenth-century political and ecclesiastical correspondence, the term normally referred to those former Iberian Christians who had gone the whole way and reverted to normative Judaism in Italy. But in a work dealing with Europe as a whole, it seems best to use the term to encompass ostensible Christians who were living in Spain, Portugal, and the Iberian colonies, and practising a secret Judaism, as well as those growing colonies of Portuguese crypto-Jews in France and at Antwerp who retained a thin veil of perfunctory Christianity to cover a private Judaism which, at least from the 1630s onwards, they took less and less trouble to conceal.

I
Exodus from the West

I

THE first near-elimination of Jewish life from western and central Europe occurred at the end of the Middle Ages and at the dawn of the modern era. Despite the brutal massacres of Jews perpetrated by the Crusaders in the Rhineland and Bohemia, in 1096, and the sporadic persecution which followed during the next two centuries, western and central Europe remained the heartland of the Jewish world throughout the later medieval era. Indeed, the ascendancy of the west in Jewish life was reinforced by the steady decline of the Jewries of Egypt and elsewhere in the Near East in the period after 1300. By the late thirteenth century when the famous 'Altneu' Synagogue—the oldest Jewish building still standing north of the Alps—was completed in Prague, a substantial if scattered Jewish population had arisen in eastern Europe, especially Poland; but the Jews of the west were still incomparably more numerous and possessed a far more developed religious and general culture. It was also the western Jews, especially of Italy, Spain, and Provence, who enjoyed the closest contact with the ancient and numerous but now inexorably dwindling communities of the Islamic world and of the Holy Land. While the expulsions of the Jews from England and France, in 1290 and 1394 respectively, were notable setbacks, in the early fifteenth century the Jewries of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Provence still greatly eclipsed in numbers and importance the Jews dwelling in the Slavonic lands. In the late fifteenth century, the Jewish population of Poland and Lithuania—the main centres of east European Jewry, for there were at that time only a negligible number living to the east of Polish territory—totalled, as near as historians can tell, around 25,000, small indeed compared with the roughly 100,000 Jews still in Spain, or the 50,000 or so surmised to have been then living in Italy.

Following the horrific Black Death massacres of 1348–9, in Germany, when the Jews were accused of having poisoned the wells, the pressure on the Jews in the west gradually increased. Despite the catastrophic loss of population and contraction of economic activity which characterized most of Europe in the century 1350–1450, the persecution of the Jews intensified virtually everywhere except in Italy. In Spain, where the Jews had previously enjoyed exceptionally favourable conditions, there was a sharp deterioration in the late fourteenth century, culminating in a massive outbreak in 1391, when dozens of large Jewish communities, including those of Toledo, Burgos, Seville, and Valencia, were brutally pillaged, thousands being slaughtered and tens of thousands being dragged forcibly to the baptismal font.

And yet, remarkably, despite the twin catastrophes of the Black Death massacres in central Europe and the 1391 pogroms in Spain, the Jews in the west were mostly able to regroup and stabilize their society once more. In Germany, the survivors, encouraged by the princes, rapidly rebuilt much of the fabric of pre-1348 German Jewish life. Vibrant communities formed again in Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Mainz, Worms, and many other cities where the Jews had temporarily been all but destroyed. It was only from 1421, with the massacre of the Jews of Vienna, and their being banned from that city, and the ensuing expulsions from Linz (1421), Cologne (1424), Augsburg (1439), Bavaria (1442 and 1450), and the so-called 'crown cities' of Moravia (1454), that a powerful impulse toward expulsion and exclusion developed. Even so, in Spain there were only sporadic, local incidents during the century after 1391. Despite the conversion to Christianity of over 100,000 Jews in the years 1391–1415, the process of disintegration was temporarily halted when the worst frenzy of persecution was over and between half and two-thirds of the original Spanish Jewish community, numbering around 200,000, managed to reconstitute a large part of Spanish Jewish life. In Italy, meanwhile, in contrast to Spain and Germany, the position of the Jews improved throughout the post-Black Death century.

Thus the real mass exodus of Jews from western and central Europe which finally shifted the focus of European Jewish life to Poland, Lithuania, and the Ottoman Balkans began only in the later fifteenth century. It was the outcome of a rising tide of anti-Jewish agitation which swept the whole of Europe from Portugal to Brandenburg and from the Netherlands to Sicily. This new and vast process continued relentlessly down to the 1570s, by when the exodus was almost complete. Thus this new phase, a sequence of expulsions which drastically restricted Jewish life west of Poland, was essentially a product of the dawning modern era—of the age of the Renaissance—rather than of the Middle Ages. Paradoxical though it may seem, this new and more thorough-going rejection of Jews and Judaism coincided with what in other respects represented a dramatic broadening in culture and attitudes, including a deeper Christian involvement in Hebrew and Hebrew literature than had ever been seen previously.

It is therefore evident that the installing of the Inquisition in Spain in 1481 and the general expulsion from Spain of all Jews who refused baptism in 1492, as well as the expulsion from Navarre in 1498 and the mass forced baptism of the 70,000 or so Jews (mostly Spanish *émigrés*) who were in Portugal in 1497,[1] by no means represent a solely, or specifically, Iberian phenomenon. While it is doubtless true that the expulsions from Spain and Portugal lingered more poignantly than the other calamities in the collective memory of the Jewish people, these events really need to be seen in a wider European context. The 100,000 or so who refused

[1] Though the standard accounts report that 150,000 Spanish Jewish émigrés entered Portugal in 1492, this figure is certainly a gross exaggeration, and even 70,000 may well be too high: Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, p. 43; Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus*, i. 74.

baptism and departed Iberian shores for North Africa, Italy, and particularly the Levant were joined in their trek eastwards by thousands more expelled by Ferdinand from Sicily and Sardinia in 1492, by the French crown from Provence in 1498, and from many parts of the German lands at this time.

At the same time, in Italy, a new popular anti-Semitism, whipped up by itinerant Franciscan and Dominican preachers—it was also the Dominicans who led the anti-Semitic campaign in Spain and Germany—spread across the country. The most notable agitator was Bernardino da Feltre who, like Savonarola and other popular religious leaders of the time, was a fierce critic of the lax and permissive manners and morals of the Italian courts. Bernardino, it is true, railed furiously against devotees of luxury, promiscuity, and sodomy, as well as Jews, but the Jews were always his prime target and wherever he went on his pious travels he stirred up feeling against them. The ultimate objective of the campaign, in Italy as elsewhere, was to expel the Jews; but, in Italy, it seemed necessary, as a preliminary step, to replace the Jewish loan-banks with civic institutions known as *monti di pietà*, for, in many areas, the Jews were the only source of credit for the poor.[2] The clamour, and setting-up of *monti di pietà*, was accompanied by sporadic rioting. At Ravenna, in 1491, the synagogue was destroyed and the Jewish quarter ruthlessly sacked. Some expulsions were put into effect. Driven from Perugia in 1485, the Jews were expelled from Vicenza in 1486, Parma in 1488, Milan and Lucca in 1489, and, following the downfall of the Medici in 1494, from Florence and other Tuscan towns.[3] A few years later, in 1510, King Ferdinand, having beaten the French out of Naples and secured what was the largest principality in Italy, drove out the bulk of the Jews living south of Rome.

In the German lands, the anti-Semitic fervour of this period was also mainly urban and popular in character, an explosive fusion of economic grievance and religious passion. Linking the agitation in Italy with the ferment in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland was Bernardino's inflammatory preaching at Trent, in 1475, which further aroused feeling against the Jews either side of the Alps. Bernardino's demagoguery led to a terrible sequel following the disappearance of a Christian boy, Simon, and the old medieval accusation that the Jews had murdered him to use his blood for ritual purposes. A group of Trent Jews were seized, tortured, and burned at the stake; the rest were expelled. A widely disseminated woodcut of the torment and burning of Trent Jews further excited passions north and south. Such was the fury this episode aroused that the Papacy, despite its reluctance, felt impelled to beatify Simon and sanction the entire proceeding.

The expulsions from Switzerland and the German lands reached their peak in precisely the same decade, the 1490s, as the Jews were driven from the Iberian Peninsula, Provence, and Sicily.[4] Sent out of Geneva in 1490, and from the

[2] Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, pp. 456–60.

[3] Ibid.; Cassuto, *Ebrei a Firenze*, pp. 55–63; Carpi, 'Alcune notizie', p. 20.

[4] Nordmann, 'Histoire des Juifs à Genève', p. 35.

duchies of Mecklenburg and Pomerania in 1492, they were driven from Halle and Magdeburg in 1493, from Lower Austria, Styria, and Carinthia in 1496, from Württemberg and the archbishopric of Salzburg in 1498, and from two of the most important Imperial Free Cities—Nuremberg and Ulm—in 1499. There were riots against the Jews in Berlin in 1500, and a general expulsion of the Jews from the electorate of Brandenburg in 1510. Having been ejected from most of Alsace during the second half of the fifteenth century, the Jews were driven from Colmar, Mulhouse, and Obernai in 1512; by 1520, there were scarcely 120 Jewish families left in the whole of Alsace.[5]

A key feature of this first phase of the early modern expulsions, from the mid-fifteenth century down to the expulsion from Regensburg in 1519, the expulsions of the pre-Reformation, is that the momentum emanated chiefly from the towns and the lower clergy, especially the friars. By and large, the senior clergy, including the prince-bishops of Germany and, indeed, the Papacy as well as Europe's secular authorities, held aloof from the agitation. The Papacy not only dissociated itself from what occurred but took steps to protect the Jewish communities of the Papal States. If the Venetian authorities failed to prevent the expulsion from Treviso, in 1509, they intervened to stop the Jews being expelled from Conegliano in 1511, and again in 1522, as well as from other places in the Veneto.[6] In Tuscany, where the Medici had a long tradition of protecting the Jews, their fate was closely bound up with that of the ruling house. The Jews were turned out of Florence along with the Medici but returned on their restoration, in 1513; ejected again with the Medici, in 1527, they returned once more in their wake, in 1531.[7] At Mantua, the ruling Gonzaga refused to yield to the demands of the guilds and lesser clergy for the expulsion of the Jews, despite repeated bouts of anti-Semitic violence in the 1480s and 1490s. At Ferrara, the House of Este not only protected the Jews already dwelling in the duchy but welcomed new arrivals fleeing from Spain.[8] While the Jews were forced out of Austrian Alsace in 1474, and the Emperor Maximilian I acquiesced in their expulsion from Styria and Carinthia in 1496, he insisted on financial compensation (for himself) and allowed the exiles to settle elsewhere in his domains. Though the Jews had been driven out of the cities of Cologne and Mainz, the prince-archbishops of these two electorates permitted the exiles to remain in the villages and small towns around. Thus, in 1513, the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz confirmed the privileges of the Jews of his territory, designating the village of Weisenau as the seat of its rabbinate. Meanwhile, in Brandenburg, Elector Joachim II, having found that the thirty-eight Jews tortured and burned alive at the stake in Berlin in 1510 had been falsely charged with desecrating the host, invited the exiles to return.[9] Several dozen Jewish families percolated back to

[5] Weill, 'Recherches', pp. 53–4.

[6] Luzzatto, *Comunità ebraica di Conegliano*, pp. 7–8.

[7] Cassuto, *Ebrei a Firenze*, pp. 80, 83–90; Cassuto, 'Famille des Medicis', pp. 132–45.

[8] Balletti, *Gli ebrei e gli Estensi*, pp. 206–9, 219; Milano, *Storia*, pp. 264–9.

[9] Davidsohn, *Beiträge*, pp. 15–19, 62.

Berlin, Frankfurt an der Oder, and Stendal, though not to all the Brandenburg towns from which they had been ejected.

The second—and last—phase of the exodus from the west was integral to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. This later stage differed from that of the 1470–1520 period in that the driving force was now princely and ecclesiastical as much as popular. This final push towards the liquidation of Jewry from the life of western and central Europe was fitfully sustained for about half a century. As regards actual numbers of Jews driven out, this last drive was less virulent than that of the late fifteenth century. But as regards the curtailing of Jewish participation in Europe's economy and culture, the post-1530 campaign was in fact a more systematic, total, and ideological assault than any which preceded it.

Initially, Luther, Bucer, and other Reformation leaders were by no means overtly hostile to the Jews. Indeed, they hoped that now, at last, the renewed and purified Christianity they were offering would win over Jewish hearts and that those who had been obstinate for so long would now accept baptism. In his pamphlet *Das Jesus Christus ein geborener Jude sei*, of 1523, Luther held that the Jews had been right to reject the claims of Papist Christianity and that he himself would have done so had he been one of them. What was expected was that they would now embrace Christ. For their part, the Jews at first reacted to the split in Christendom with scarcely disguised satisfaction.[10] Luther, after all, rejected papal supremacy and insisted on the primacy of Scripture, a major shift which seemed momentarily to indicate a mitigation of the age-old antagonism of Christianity and Judaism. But, in reality, Luther's appeal to Scripture, far from softening, further aggravated the clash of Christian and Jewish teaching. For the Reformers staked their position on their construing of the Bible. But the Jews insisted not only that their Hebrew Bible was the only authentic version of God's word but that they alone were equipped, with their commentaries and Talmud, to construe it correctly. This was not just an affront, but a challenge to the new basis for religious authority. It was more than unsettling, it was totally unacceptable. By 1526, Luther was already vehemently complaining of the Jews' stubbornness.[11] From that point on his bitter frustration at what he called the 'impossibility' of arguing with Jews, such was their obduracy, steadily intensified, culminating in his tract *Von den Juden und iren Luegen* of 1543. In this tract Luther treated the Jews to the full blast of his invective, assailing them as 'disgusting vermin' and their synagogues as 'devils' nests of insolence and lies'.[12] It was owing to his realization that the Jews were impervious to his arguments that Luther switched to a policy of driving them out. Luther specifically urges Christians, as Christians, to be foes of the Jews, politically and in a physical sense as well as doctrinally. Thus he instigated the decision to expel the Jews from Saxony in 1537, and wrote to

[10] Ben-Sasson, 'Reformation', pp. 286–9.

[11] Feilchenfeld, *Rabbi Josel*, pp. 120–1; Poliakov, *Histoire*, pp. 242–4; Oberman, *Wurzeln*, pp. 160–2.

[12] Luther, *Von den Juden*, Aiii–iv, Fi, Ji, Lii–iii.

Joachim II of Brandenburg in 1545, expressing anger and disapproval at the Elector's having readmitted the Jews to his territory.[13]

In spite of their increasingly precarious position, the Jews of the Holy Roman Empire were not mere silent onlookers of the Reformation debate. Indeed, Josel of Rosheim, the then 'gemeiner Judischait Bevelhaber in Teutschland', the Alsatian rabbi who was acknowledged by princes, prelates, and Jewish communities alike as the chief spokesman of German Jewry, played a remarkable role in the proceedings. It was Josel who obtained from the young Emperor Charles V in 1520 renewal of the privileges and letters of protection conceded to German Jewry by his predecessors. In 1530, Josel presided over a meeting of the delegates of the German Jewish communities, at Augsburg, which was held simultaneously with the Imperial Diet then and there in progress. This was a routine synod of German Jewry and it was partly concerned with internal matters, as well as new restrictions on Jewish money-lending then before the Diet, but as it was being put about in princely and ecclesiastical circles that it was the Jews who had inspired Luther to challenge the Papacy, it was inevitable that the Jewish leadership should be drawn into the religious controversies of the time.[14] Charles personally ordered Josel to engage in disputation with Antonius Margarita, son of a former rabbi of Regensburg who had converted to Catholicism and just published, at Augsburg, an inflammatory attack on the Jews entitled *Der Gantz Jüdisch Glaub*. Josel succeeded in persuading the Emperor that Margarita was a scoundrel whose charges that rabbinic literature flagrantly reviles Christ and Christianity were spurious. Margarita was imprisoned on the Emperor's orders and later banished from Augsburg. He subsequently became a Lutheran, his book being cited by Luther in his anti-Jewish tirades.

While Josel's encounter with Margarita did not directly touch on Luther, the Augsburg Jewish synod of 1530, meeting under the eye of the Emperor, could not help distancing itself from the Lutherans and their readings of Scripture. Gradually, Josel's rejection of Protestant claims became more emphatic as the Reformers themselves increasingly espoused the anti-Semitism of the populace. When the Elector of Saxony, prompted by Luther, prepared to expel the Jews from his territory in 1536, Josel travelled to Saxony armed with texts refuting Luther's charges against the Jews.[15] Luther refused to see Josel. Finding that the elector was at Frankfurt, Josel followed him there and obtained a hearing before several princes in which he strove to combat Luther's teaching. The elector nevertheless went ahead with the expulsion from Saxony. Having failed to see Luther, Josel did obtain an interview with Martin Bucer, at Strasbourg, which, however, degenerated into indignant abuse on Bucer's part, the latter threatening Josel with the

[13] Ibid., Oiii; Davidsohn, *Beiträge*, p. 15.

[14] Feilchenfeld, *Rabbi Josel*, p. 183; Zimmer, *Jewish Synods*, pp. 62–5.

[15] 'Journal de Joselmann', p. 92; Feilchenfeld, *Rabbi Josel*, p. 121; Stern, *Josel von Rosheim*, pp. 125–9.

imminent destruction of the Jewish people. In a hearing before the Strasbourg city council in 1543, Josel offered to engage in a public disputation with Martin Luther so that 'with the help of God and the words of the Prophets, with uprightness and sincerity, in the presence of leading scholars' he could show that Luther's construings of Scripture were false.[16]

Ejected from electoral Saxony in 1537, the Jews were driven from Zwickau, Mühlhausen, and other Thuringian towns in the 1540s. There was also a wave of riots against the Jews in Brunswick in 1543, followed by general expulsion from the duchies of Brunswick, Hanover, and Lüneburg in 1553. As a result of this anti-Semitic upsurge in Protestant Germany, Luther acquired a more evil reputation in Jewish literature than almost any other figure in the history of the Christian churches. One of the exiles from Brunswick who later made his way to Safed, in the Holy Land, where there was then a community of German, as well as larger groups of Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Jewish exiles, wrote of the expulsion from Brunswick 'on the advice of this foul priest Martin Luther and the other scoundrels who derive from the stock of the arch-heretic'.[17] The anti-Semitic ferment in the Lutheran states continued through the 1560s, culminating in new riots and the sacking of the synagogue in Berlin in 1572, followed by the re-expulsion of the Jews from the whole of Brandenburg the following year. There was also much agitation in Silesia which led to the expulsion of the Jews from that territory except for three communities—Gross-Glogau, Zulz, and Hotzenplotz—in 1582.

But not all the Reformers were as hostile to the Jews as Luther and Bucer. Others, notably Wolfgang Capito and later Calvin, were markedly more conciliatory.[18] Calvin probably met Jewish leaders during his sojourns at Frankfurt and Strasbourg, possibly including Josel himself. The great French theologian ran up against the same basic contradiction over Scripture as Luther, but overall his teaching tended to mitigate rather than inflame Christian–Jewish antagonism. He avoided the anti-Semitic invective of the Lutherans and considerably modified the traditional Christian stance on usury in his tract *De Usuris*. In his late treatise, *Ad Quaestiones et Obiecta Judaei cuiusdam Respondio*, Calvin is remarkably objective in reporting the arguments of the Jew.[19] Of course, Calvin joined in the stock Reformation practice of denouncing opponents as 'Judaizers', condemning Michael Servetus, for instance, for his 'Jewish interpretations', meaning his rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity. Even so, Calvin's relative lack of animosity toward the Jews, as well as his abiding preoccupation with the Old Testament, lent a certain weight to the repeated Lutheran charges that he was a 'Judaizer'.

Yet Calvin's moderation did not prevent the Calvinist Reformation from lending added momentum to the drive to exclude the Jews from western and central

[16] 'Journal de Joselmann', p. 92.

[17] Ben-Sasson, 'Reformation', p. 289.

[18] Stern, *Josel von Rosheim*, pp. 125–7.

[19] See Salo W. Baron's observations on Calvin and the Jews in his *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, xiii. 281–90.

Europe. The Jews had been driven from Geneva and Lausanne in the 1490s, but their request for readmission in 1582, after the Calvinist Reformation, was rejected overwhelmingly by city council, clergy, and populace alike.[20] In Germany, the principal Calvinist state was the Palatinate, where in 1550 there were 155 Jewish families resident.[21] These were driven out 'for all time' by the Elector Frederick III in 1575, though as it turned out this expulsion was only temporary.

While it may seem that the spreading campaign against the Jews, whether popular or Lutheran, ran counter to the humanist ideals of the period, this is in fact hardly so, except perhaps in Italy, where the distancing from Christian tradition in the work of certain humanists went furthest. The rise of Hebrew learning among Christian scholars had begun in Italy in the later fifteenth century with the work of Manetti and Pico della Mirandola. Hebrew studies became an important strand in German humanism from the second decade of the sixteenth century. Yet immersed though Pico was in Hebrew—and in his case in cabbala, the writings of Jewish mysticism, especially the *Zohar*—he saw cabbala as essentially a means of demonstrating 'Christian truth' and overcoming 'Jewish obstinacy'. Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), the chief figure among the German Hebraists of the period, had little or no sympathy for Jews and Judaism as such. The same is true of Sebastian Münster, another outstanding Hebraist, who became Professor of Hebrew at Basel University in 1528.[22] Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), one of Luther's principal lieutenants, was another accomplished Hebraist who was nevertheless deeply imbued with Luther's anti-Semitic attitude, though he did denounce the blood libel and other crudities of medieval popular anti-Semitism. All these scholars acknowledged that the Jews had preserved crucially important ancient texts but deemed the entire body of post-biblical non-cabbalistic Hebrew commentary and interpretation to be generally obdurate, wicked, and worthless.

But the towering exponent of Christian humanist anti-Semitism was Erasmus himself. Indeed, Erasmus may be regarded as having preceded both Luther and the Papacy in enunciating the new, more ideological anti-Semitism of the sixteenth century. In his letters to Wolfgang Capito, a Reformer with Hebraist leanings, Erasmus expressed his disapproval of the new Hebraism, fearing that, whatever the intentions of its practitioners, Christian Hebraism would in some way lead to a Jewish revival. He felt in his bones that study of the Talmud, cabbala, and rabbinic books, even too much interest in the Old Testament, could only deflect the Christian scholar from Christ, not draw him nearer. Greatly though he detested the medieval schoolmen, Erasmus felt closer to them on this issue than to his Hebraist colleagues. He saw Jewish learning and Jewish interpretations as more dangerous to Christian truth than any medieval obscurantism. 'Nothing more adverse and nothing more inimical to Christ', he wrote, 'can be found than

[20] Nordmann, 'Histoire des Juifs à Genève', pp. 35–9.
[21] Arnold, *Juden in der Pfalz*, p. 9.
[22] Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, pp. 82–6.

this plague.'[23] It is true that Erasmus' tireless struggle against 'Judaism', which for him signified the very antithesis of the 'philosophy of Christ', was directed not so much against actual Jews and Judaism as against all that seemed to him false and detrimental in contemporary Christian piety. Nevertheless, 'Judaism' for Erasmus was the symbol of all that he reviled most in contemporary devotion. His was a rigorously abstract anti-Semitism in which true Christianity and 'Judaism' are diametrically opposed principles. For Erasmus 'Judaism' is less an actual faith than the 'flesh', the power of the law, the insidious predominance of ritual. It was out of his most deeply felt convictions that Erasmus refused to side with Reuchlin against the assortment of Inquisitors, monastic obscurantists, and unscrupulous converts who opposed him in the bitter battle over Hebrew books which raged in Germany in the years 1518–19. Erasmus did not believe that the study of Hebrew and post-Biblical Jewish literature was desirable from a Christian point of view.[24]

The collapse of Jewish life in western and central Europe in the century 1470–1570 would have been virtually complete, outside Italy, were it not for the policy of the Emperor. At the Imperial diets of Augsburg (1530) and Speyer (1544), Charles confirmed his protection of German Jewry. At the Regensburg diet of 1546, Josel obtained wording more favourable than any conceded previously.[25] Meanwhile the Catholic prince-bishops, caught by the rising tide of Lutheranism in their towns, were also forced to rely more heavily than before on the Emperor and tended to see their Jews as a kind of counterweight, however limited in scope, to the Protestant bourgeoisie. Charles's success in preventing a total Protestant triumph in Germany was therefore a major factor in the survival of the Jews in the Holy Roman Empire. Of particular importance was the provision of the 1555 Augsburg religious settlement which specifically excluded the ecclesiastical states (roughly one-quarter of Germany) from the otherwise generally agreed rule that henceforward each individual prince should be sole arbiter of religion in his territory. This precluded the likelihood of prince-bishops turning Protestant in the expectation of converting their states into conventional dynastic principalities with the support of the other secular princes, most of whom were Lutheran. Thus the ecclesiastical states stayed Catholic under the Emperor's eye and the Jew remained in the archbishoprics of Cologne (outside the city), Mainz, and Trier, in the prince-bishoprics of Münster, Minden, Halberstadt, Paderborn, Würzburg, Bamberg, and Speyer, and in the abbey-principality of Fulda.

The Jews for their part followed a definite policy. Josel considered Luther a lout and a scoundrel, but the Emperor he deemed an 'Angel of the Lord'. During the War of the Schmalkaldic League (1546–7), prayers were recited morning and evening in the synagogues for the triumph of the Emperor's arms, remarkably

[23] Gundersheimer, 'Erasmus', pp. 40–7.

[24] Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews*, pp. 7–10, 142; Augustijn, 'Erasmus und die Juden', pp. 32–6; Oberman, *Wurzeln*, pp. 50, 75.

[25] 'Journal de Joselmann', pp. 95, 101; Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, i. 292–5.

enough even in the Imperial Free City of Frankfurt, even though this city participated in the Protestant coalition against the Emperor. Nor did the Jews rally to Charles with prayers alone.[26] They actively joined in his war effort with subsidies and loans and contributed 'over fifty wagons' full of 'bread and wine' to his baggage-train. Doubtless this is why Charles went out of his way to be courteous to the Jews at Regensburg in 1546. It is also recorded that when some of the Emperor's Spanish troops began pillaging Jewish homes, Charles exerted himself with vigour to ensure the Jews' protection. When Frankfurt eventually submitted to the Emperor, the city's Jews were specifically exempted from having troops billeted on them, in contrast to the rest of the citizenry.

Charles's Jewish policy within the Holy Roman Empire stands out all the more in that he generally emulated the intolerance of his Spanish grandparents Ferdinand and Isabella in his territories outside the Empire.[27] Thus he went ahead with the final expulsion of the Jews from the viceroyalty of Naples, in 1541, despite contrary advice from local officials. After adding Gelderland to his Netherlands inheritance, he confirmed the exclusion of the Jews from the province, and ordered the partial expulsion of the Portuguese Marranos from Antwerp in 1549–50. It was also he who finally persuaded a reluctant Papacy to authorize the setting up of an Inquisition on the Spanish model in Portugal in 1543.[28] Charles V's Jewish policy in the Empire was thus exclusively a matter of political expediency, though none the less significant for that.

The Reformers' attack on Jewry was soon followed by the anti-Semitic onslaught of the Counter-Reformation. By the 1550s, the hapless Jews were getting it in the teeth from both sides in Europe's theological war. Down to the 1550s, the Papacy had been, next to the Emperor, the foremost protector of Jewish life in the west. Not only did Renaissance popes express strong doubts as to the justifiability of forced baptism, and the mass forced baptism of 1497 in Portugal in particular, as well as dissociating themselves from popular agitation against Jews, but they permitted a sizeable influx of Jewish refugees from Spain and Portugal, as well as from Sicily and Provence, showing the immigrants many tokens of their favour. In the early sixteenth century, about half of Rome's large Jewish population was of Iberian or Sicilian origin; the separate 'Catalan' and 'Castilian' synagogues became enduring features of Roman Jewish life.[29] In 1541, Paul III invited those whom Charles drove out of Naples to settle in his port of Ancona and, in 1547, issued a strikingly liberal bull inviting both Spanish-speaking 'Levantine' Jews and Marranos from Portugal who had reverted to Judaism to settle there in order to help stimulate trade with the Balkans. By 1552, there were

[26] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, i. 296–300; Stern, *Josel von Rosheim*, pp. 160–70.

[27] Schmidt, *Histoire*, pp. 14, 23–6; Poliakov, *Banquiers juifs*, pp. 194–5; van Agt, 'Joodse gemeente van Nijmegen', p. 173.

[28] Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, pp. 106–9.

[29] Morosini, *Via della Fede*, p. 227; Cara Baroja, *Judíos*, i. 259–63; Shulvass, 'Jewish Population', p. 142.

over 100 Portuguese Jewish families in the papal port of Ancona, besides 'Levantine' Jews and a flourishing 'Italian' Jewish community.[30]

The dramatic volte-face in the Papacy's Jewish policy began in 1553, at the instigation of Cardinal Caraffa, shortly to become Pope Paul IV, who was as virulently anti-Jewish as he was anti-Protestant. But the change was by no means merely a matter of personalities. Rather it was inherent in the Counter-Reformation, the great reorganization and reform of the Church in response to the Protestant challenge, which began in the 1550s. The campaign against the Jews, like other features of the Counter-Reformation, was not really a reversion to pre-Renaissance papal attitudes, but rather something basically new. Before 1450, whatever the humiliations heaped on the Jews, the spiritual gulf between them and Christian society had been so vast that no one spoke of the necessity of driving the Jews out, or squeezing them into walled ghettos. There was an uneasy coexistence which seemingly posed no threat to Christian culture and modes of thought, medieval Christian scholars knowing nothing about, and taking no interest in, the Hebrew language and Jewish literature. There were set-piece, ritual disputations, in which Jewish spokesmen were subjected to the crudest psychological intimidation, but there was no genuine dialogue or critical examination of texts. After 1450, however, there was a profound change of the cultural scene, at any rate in Italy. The upsurge of interest in pagan Roman and Greek culture generated, in many minds, an initial distancing, however tentative, from traditional Christian attitudes. This created a Christian–Jewish dialogue which made it possible for such Italian Jewish scholars as Judah Abrabanel, commonly known in Italy as Leone Ebreo, Elijah Levita (1469–1549), and Azariah de' Rossi (*c.*1511–*c.*1578) to participate, if not fully, then extensively, in the learned debates of their time. Whilst, in the minds of Manetti and others of the first generation of Italian Christian Hebraists, the point of the Christian scholar's immersing himself in Hebrew was to convert Jews, this polemical purpose was to some extent lost sight of and Hebrew became an integral part of the culture of the High Renaissance. Several popes and cardinals took an interest in Hebrew literature, especially cabbala. The volte-face of the 1550s was thus a reaction, specifically a rejection, of a previous spiritual *rapprochement* of however tentative a kind. Paul IV's Jewish policy had two specific purposes: to accelerate the process of Jewish conversion, by piling heavier pressure on the Jews, and, no less important, to insulate the Catholic world against Hebrew influences.[31] At bottom, the anti-Judaism of the Counter-Reformation derived from the perception, shared by Erasmus, that Jewish learning was not a valid adjunct to Christian faith, or a supplement to other scholarship, but a living force capable of 'seducing' minds, as it was put, from Christ and, in particular, of deflecting baptized Marranos from allegiance to the Church.

Papal hostility to Jews and Judaism in the late sixteenth century was thus a symbol of the new age, and was to remain integral to papal attitudes throughout

[30] Ariel Toaff, 'Nuova luce', pp. 263–4.

[31] Stow, *Catholic Thought*, pp. 5–13.

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well. The repression began with an event which said much of its general purpose: the burning alive on the Campo dei Fiori in Rome of a Franciscan friar found guilty of having been persuaded by Jewish arguments, having denied Christ, and espoused Judaism. Word of his martyrdom spread among all the Jewish communities of Europe. In August 1553, the Pope condemned the Talmud, the basis of post-biblical Jewish tradition and law, as sacrilegious and blasphemous, banning its possession and use. The condemnation applied also to Talmudic summaries and commentaries. Italy erupted in an orgy of pious vandalism, great heaps of Hebrew books and manuscripts being burned in Rome, Bologna, Florence, in the Piazza San Marco in Venice, and in numerous other places, including the Venetian colonies of Crete and Corfu.[32] The oppression intensified in 1555 when Paul IV issued his bull *Cum Nimis Absurdum*, enforcing a rigid segregation into ghettos on all the Jews of the Papal States. Modelled on the already well established ghetto of Venice, the first ghetto in Italy, the ghettos in the Papal States henceforth confined the Jews to heavily overcrowded, walled-off precincts, which were bound to be insanitary traps in times of epidemic, governed by a host of petty regulations intended to minimize Christian–Jewish contact. Paul IV also reversed previous papal policy condoning the reversion of forced converts, and their children, from Christianity to Judaism, decreeing that the Portuguese mass baptism of 1497 should henceforward be valid and irreversible. A legate was dispatched to Ancona to root out Marranos who had reverted to Judaism. Many Portuguese lapsed Catholics living in the port escaped in time to the duchies of Urbino and Ferrara, but fifty-one were caught, interrogated, and tortured, some being sentenced to the galleys, twenty-five being burned alive by the Pope's Inquisitors, at Ancona, in April and June 1555.

The burning of the Ancona martyrs aroused Jewish feeling everywhere. An attempt at retaliation against the Papacy was instigated by the powerful Nasi or Mendes family who, after many years living as ostensible Christians in Lisbon, Antwerp, and Venice, had reverted to open Judaism in Turkey and risen high in the Sultan's favour. As the Ancona Jews were chiefly involved in trade with Constantinople and Salonika, moves were made in the Balkans to impose a commercial boycott on Ancona, re-routing Jewish trade between the Balkans and Italy through the nearby port of Pesaro, in the duchy of Urbino. The Sultan also lodged a diplomatic protest in Rome. The boycott had some initial effect but ultimately failed, partly because Ancona was better situated than Pesaro on the route between the Balkans and Florence, which at that time was still one of the main suppliers of cloth to the Near East, and partly because the boycott hit not only papal interests, and the city of Ancona, but also the non-Portuguese Jews who were still there.[33]

[32] Kaufmann, 'Verbrennung der talmudischen Litteratur', pp. 533–8; in 1558, the Jews of Corfu, a fairly recent community composed chiefly of Spanish, Sicilian, and Neapolitan exiles, numbered around 2,000, those of Crete, an ancient community reaching back to Roman times, around 1,000.

[33] Kaufmann, 'Marranes de Pesaro', pp. 61–5; Ariel Toaff, 'Nuova luce', pp. 274, 278.

Jewish reaction within Italy was more muted. Italy's Jewish communities, like those of Germany, had convened occasional general synods to frame policy on matters of common concern since at least the early fifteenth century. Delegates now gathered from all over central and northern Italy at Ferrara, in 1554, to confer on the various aspects of the papal campaign and deliberate the banning of the Talmud. The Jews' leaders agreed to try to appease the Papacy by offering to delete offending passages, a delegation being later sent to petition the council of prelates meeting at Trent to hold back from a total prohibition of the Talmud. Helped by Paul IV's early decease, and the less rigid attitude of his successor, the Jews and the episcopal committee drawing up the papal Index of forbidden books reached a compromise whereby the Index of 1564 prohibited the 'Talmud', but stipulated that, if the title 'Talmud' and specified passages were removed, the text could be used. And the next printed edition of the Talmud, published at Basel in 1578–80, was expurgated accordingly so that it could be used in Italy.

The campaign against the Marranos, to ghettoize Jewish life and to expurgate Jewish literature, soon led to papal pressure on the north Italian states to follow suit. Venice at this stage was regarded as something of a model, having been the first of all to squeeze the Jews into a walled-off ghetto, under night curfew, and having expelled its Marranos in 1550. Notably more tolerant toward the Jews in this period were the dukes of Urbino, Tuscany, Mantua, and Ferrara. Ferrara, which then had one of the largest Jewish communities in Christian Europe, exceeding 1,000, had taken in a particularly large number of Iberian exiles and was now the most liberal of all the Italian states toward the reversion of Marranos to Judaism, ironically enough under a safe-conduct to the 'nazione hebraica lusitana et spagnola' issued by Duke Ercole II in 1550, modelled on the clauses of the papal charter of 1547.[34] Pius IV indignantly demanded that the Este Duke expel the 'perfidious and abominable race of Marranos', but Ercole refused, citing previous papal practice. The Papacy had more immediate success, however, with the duchy of Urbino, which expelled its Marranos in 1558 and, eventually, with Cosimo I of Tuscany who, in return for papal favours, embarked on a series of anti-Jewish measures in the 1560s.

One prime papal object was to stop the printing of Jewish books in European vernacular languages, a new phenomenon which arose at Ferrara and Venice in the early 1550s. Before 1550, all printed Jewish books in Christian lands were in Hebrew, knowledge of which was restricted to professing Jews and a handful of Christians. But there was now a growing demand for Jewish material in vernacular languages, mainly among Marranos resident in Italy and France who had little Hebrew but who wished to revive their links with Judaism. In 1552, there were almost simultaneous, though not identical, publications of Jewish prayer-books in Spanish, at Ferrara and Venice, and in 1553, the Marrano printer Abraham Usque published the famous Ferrara Bible, a literal Spanish rendering from the Hebrew

[34] Balletti, *Gli ebrei e gli Estensi*, pp. 220–1.

which diverged markedly from, and was an outright challenge to, the Catholic Vulgate.[35] In the same year, Usque also published in Portuguese the *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, a long mystical and historical work by his relative Samuel Usque, which was the first Jewish apologetic publication to appear in a European tongue. All this amounted to an undisguised appeal to the Marranos of Spain and Portugal to defect from Christianity and an insufferable affront to the newly militant Papacy. The 1552 Spanish renderings of Jewish prayers percolated into the Peninsula and had a considerable impact on the formulation of the crypto-Jews' prayers in Portugal in subsequent decades.[36] Doubtless they also had some effect on non-Marrano Christians with a tendency toward crypto-Judaism. On this issue, Duke Ercole did comply with the Pope's wishes, and, in 1555, the printing of Jewish books in European languages ceased for over a quarter of a century.

The papal offensive against the Jews culminated in the pontificate of Pius V (1566–72), who abhorred them with a passion exceeding even that of Paul IV. Under his bull *Hebraeorum Gens* (1569), he expelled the Jews from all the localities where they lived in the Papal States except for the port of Ancona, the main commercial entrepôt of the Papal States, and the city of Rome itself. At a stroke, dozens of Jewish communities, some of which had survived in unbroken continuity since ancient times, were liquidated. In all, 108 synagogues were sequestrated by the Pope's officials and closed. Many thousands of refugees streamed out of their forcibly abandoned homes in Orvieto, Viterbo, Forlì, Tivoli, Ravenna, Rimini, and a good many other localities. The heaviest blow was the expulsion of the 800 Jews of Bologna, previously one of the most flourishing communities in Italy. Pius's relentless policy applied also to the Jews of the Papal States in France—Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin; the Jews of those regions likewise packed their bags and prepared to leave. Many did leave but there were repeated delays in enforcing the decree of expulsion in France and eventually, with some hundreds still remaining, the decree was suspended.[37] In this way, reduced Jewish communities survived at Avignon, Carpentras, and two or three neighbouring places.

At the same time, the campaign against the Jews was intensified in Tuscany. All the contracts for Jewish loan-banks in the small towns of Tuscany were ended in 1570–1, leading to expulsion from Prato, Arezzo, Cortona, and other localities. As in the case of the Papal States, some of the refugees migrated to Ferrara, Mantua, and beyond, others crammed into the one or two places where ghettos were authorized. In Tuscany, Jewish settlement was restricted to Florence and Siena where ghettos were now formed.[38] Meanwhile, more restrictive measures were introduced in Urbino and in the duchy of Parma, where the number of places where Jews were allowed to live was reduced from sixteen to eight. In 1579, Duke

[35] Verd, 'Biblias romanzadas', pp. 344–51; Morreale, 'Sidur ladinado', pp. 332–8.

[36] Salomon, 'Portuguese Background', pp. 116–21.

[37] Moulinas, *Juifs du Pape*, pp. 37–9.

[38] Cassuto, *Ebrei a Firenze*, pp. 112–14; Poliakov, *Banquiers juifs*, p. 206.

Ercole's more amenable successor as ruler of Ferrara, Alfonso II, effectively expelled the Marranos from his territory, allowing some of them to be dragged off to Rome in chains. There was a pause in the campaign during the pontificate of Sixtus V (1585–90), who relaxed some of the draconian restrictions on Jewish economic activity introduced by his predecessors and allowed the refugees from the Papal States to return to the places from which they had been forced out.[39] And communities were briefly reconstituted at Bologna, Ravenna, and some other places. But there was to be no lasting reintegration in the Papal States outside Rome. In 1593, Pope Clement VIII reverted to the policy of Pius, ordering the Jews out again from all his domains except the cities of Rome, Ancona, and Avignon, hoping that by thus restricting the Jews to so few places, they could be so pressured and tightly regulated as to make them accept Christ. The last of the Italian expulsions was that from the Spanish Milanese (outside the city of Milan, from where the Jews had been expelled in 1489). Philip II had provisionally decided to expel the Jews from the rest of the Milanese, in 1565, but the decision was temporarily suspended on the advice of his governor Requesens, who believed that the presence of the Jews was useful to the state and, in particular, to the support of the military garrison.[40] Christian merchants of those towns where Jews were permitted to reside, particularly those of Cremona, now mounted a strident campaign, alleging every sort of ill of the Jews, to overcome official doubts and hesitation. Finally, when the King was on his deathbed, in 1597, he ruled that expediency must submit to the dictates of faith and the 500 or so Jews remaining in the duchy were ordered out. There was one curious exception, however, in that the Vitale family were permitted to continue living and operating their loan-bank at Alessandria, an exemption which provided the basis for a small community which grew to 120 individuals by the mid-seventeenth century and to 231 Jews by 1684.

2

The century 1470–1570 thus witnessed the near-destruction of Jewish religion, learning, and life in western and central Europe. Open allegiance to Judaism was now entirely extinguished in Spain, Portugal, Italy south of Rome, the Netherlands, and Provence outside the Papal territories of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin. And in Germany and Italy, where the last remnants persisted, Jewish life had suffered a drastic contraction. By 1570, the Jews had been cleared from every major German secular territory except Hesse, and from every Imperial Free City of any importance except Frankfurt. What was left was a much reduced remnant largely confined to the ecclesiastical states of the Empire and some,

[39] Milano, 'Ricerche', pp. 456–8; Stow, *Catholic Thought*, pp. 24–6.

[40] Segre, *Ebrei Lombardi*, pp. 56–8, 80–1, 112–13; Simonsohn, *Jews in the Duchy of Milan*, iii. 1702, 1725, 1756.

though not all, of the principalities of northern Italy. Economically, the role of the Jews had been reduced to an extremely narrow span of functions. As money-lenders they still had a certain significance here and there. William of Orange was one of Europe's great men who turned to Jews in this period to help assuage his need for cash, even before he embarked on his fateful struggle against Spain: in September 1563 he borrowed 20,000 Frankfurt gulden for six years at 5 per cent interest from the Jewish money-dealer Wendel of Deutz, who lived in the village of that name outside Cologne.[41] But, beyond money-lending, the Jewish role in western and central Europe had become altogether marginal practically everywhere.

All told, the disruption and loss to Jewish society were incalculable. Yet this vast catastrophe had many paradoxical aspects. Indeed, this immense process of uprooting culminated not just in the most fundamental restructuring of Jewish life in Europe down to the twentieth century but in a remarkable expansion and strengthening both of Jewish culture internally and, what is most striking, of its role in Europe's economic life and politics. Communities which, collectively, had long been the core of the Jewish world were now entirely erased or savagely diminished. By 1497, the year of the mass baptism in Portugal, a majority of what had been Spanish and Portuguese Jewry, totalling over 200,000 men, women, and children, had been forcibly baptized in the Iberian Peninsula. Even so, a sizeable minority, possibly over 50,000 (including post-1391 exiles and Marranos), had already departed Iberian shores and re-established their communities and way of life principally in Muslim lands. Outside the Peninsula, there had been numerous conversions to Christianity, in Sicily, Naples, and the Papal States, but further north such conversion had been relatively rare. The vast majority of the Jews formerly living in Provence and central Europe, and a high proportion of those forced out of southern and central Italy, remained Jews and trekked to eastern Europe and the Levant. Furthermore, there now began a steady stream of Marranos, or secret Jews, who had been compulsorily converted in Portugal, to the Near East, where they reverted to Judaism. For the 70,000 or so 'New Christians' subjected to compulsory baptism in Portugal consisted in their majority of former Spanish Jews who had been prepared to uproot themselves (and in many cases undergo great suffering and financial despoliation) to avoid baptism in 1492 and were scarcely likely to submit tamely to forced Christianization in Portugal.

Portugal, indeed, was a central factor in the subsequent evolution of European Jewry, owing to the continued vitality of crypto-Jewish tradition there, which survived in places even down to the twentieth century and which supplied a ceaseless flow of Judaizing emigrants over the next two and a half centuries. There were three major reasons why an enduring, resilient crypto-Judaism took root in Portugal but not in Spain. Firstly, in Portugal, in contrast to Spain, there was no Inquisition until the 1540s and even then it was not a very effective force until around 1580;

[41] Zuiden, 'Over de relaties van Prins Willem van Oranje', pp. 214–15.

this meant that little danger attached to the cultivation of private Judaism at any rate throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. Secondly, the Portuguese converts, consisting largely of those who had uprooted themselves to avoid baptism in Spain in 1492, were, as a group, much more loyal to their past than those who had preferred to remain in Spain.[42] Added to this was a factor which the great philosopher Spinoza thought more important than anything else in consolidating crypto-Judaism in Portugal, namely, that in Portugal, in contrast to Spain, New Christians were effectively excluded from all honours and offices. This ensured the perpetuation of a rigid caste system which was bound to generate feelings of resentment and separate identity.[43] Meanwhile, in Spain, except for Mallorca and Ibiza, where a clearly identifiable New Christian (and crypto-Jewish) caste did evolve, the Inquisition made rapid inroads into the remaining vestiges of Jewish belief, assisted by the migration of many of the more hardened Spanish crypto-Jews in the period 1497–1540 to Portugal where, as yet, the Inquisition did not exist. Judging from the large numbers of Inquisition trials in many parts of Spain, crypto-Judaism remained fairly widespread in both Castile and the realms of Aragon down to around 1540, but with the gradual disappearance of the generation which had been educated in Judaism before 1492, intermarriage and absorption of New Christians into civic, military, and ecclesiastical positions led to a process of rapid assimilation. Discrimination on grounds of racial descent received official sanction in Spain from the 1550s, but, by that stage, the process had gone too far for this to affect anyone other than those who had had relatives punished for Judaism or Portuguese New Christians who later moved back into Spain. By the 1570s it is correct to speak of a mass crypto-Jewish sub-culture in Portugal, which had dwindled to around 50,000 owing to heavy emigration since 1497, contrasting with an effectively Christianized and mostly no longer identifiable convert element in Spain.

The migration of Iberian Jews to the Balkans and the Levant is thus characterized by waves of *émigré* Spanish Marranos and Jews who left by sea, or via North Africa, down to 1497, together with some thousands from Sicily, followed by several thousand Portuguese who departed surreptitiously in waves, particularly in 1497–1500, in the 1530s, and again in the 1580s, when the Portuguese Inquisition began to bite hard. Though never as large as the original Spanish exodus, the subsequent Portuguese migration was of considerable importance as it remained culturally and linguistically distinct from the Spaniards throughout the Near East. Separate Portuguese synagogues arose not only in Salonika and Constantinople but throughout the Near East including Syria, Lebanon, and the Holy Land.[44]

[42] Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, pp. 109, 120; Revah, 'Les Marranes', pp. 45–53; Paulo, *Os cripto-judeus*, pp. 33–40; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 31–47.

[43] Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, p. 56; exactly the same point was made by Vieira; see Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, iv. 44, 50–1.

[44] Galanté, 'Hommes et choses', pp. 5–7; Cohen and Lewis, *Population and Revenue*, pp. 156, 158, 160; in Safed, there was an entire quarter known as 'Purtughal'.

From Turkish tax records we know that at Safed, in Galilee, which increasingly emerged as the devotional and intellectual centre of the Jewish world in the mid-sixteenth century, there were in 1567 143 Portuguese families compared with around 300 families of Spanish Jews, some 80 families of Italian exiles and under 50 families of German and Hungarian Jews. Similarly in Jerusalem, Hebron, Gaza, and Tiberias there were considerable numbers of Portuguese as well as Spaniards and to a lesser extent Italians and Germans. The Portuguese friar Pantaleão d'Aveiro, who toured the Holy Land in the 1580s, found that the Portuguese Jews, whom he considers very numerous, having formerly been Christians themselves, were the most vehement critics of and—to his horror—scoffers at Christianity in the Levant.[45]

The refugees from Italy settled all over eastern Europe and the Levant, being especially numerous on the Dalmatian coast and in Salonika, Morea, and Constantinople.[46] The great bulk of the German exiles migrated to Poland-Lithuania, which, together with the Ottoman Balkans, now emerged as one of the twin centres of the newly reconstituted Jewish world. The Polish King and the great landed magnates of Poland, though Christian, proved just as receptive as the Sultan to large numbers of Jewish immigrants. For the vast expanses of Poland-Lithuania, like those of the Ottoman empire, were not just underpopulated but conspicuously backward economically and technically compared with western Europe, the Jews being wanted essentially for their crafts, skills, and wealth. Thus the greater tolerance of eastern and south-eastern Europe to the Jews in the sixteenth century is directly tied to a willingness to allow them to perform a far greater range of activities and functions than had been the case in western and central Europe. Well before their actual expulsion, the Jews of Provence, Germany, and Italy had been effectively squeezed out economically by the general development of Christian trade, industry, and banking. Christian merchants and craftsmen wanted no Jewish competitors and, as and when they became sufficiently powerful, the aim of their guilds was to eradicate Jewry from the crafts and trade. In Italy, by 1450, the Jews had virtually no important commercial functions other than pawnbroking and providing petty loans to the poor. In large-scale banking the role of the Jews was of some significance in Rome, but was dwindling.[47] Only in Spain and Portugal had the Jews continued to fill a much wider range of occupations, being active in the woollen-cloth, silk, and leather industries, as well as in general commerce. But in Spain, by 1492, total expulsion of the Jews, without excessive economic damage, was feasible owing to mass conversion from Judaism as well as substantial immigration of Italian and Flemish merchants. It was thus the mass forced baptism of 1391–1415 in Spain which prepared the ground economically and socially for 1492, shielding the essential interests of crown, nobles, and towns.

45 Aveiro, *Itinerário da Terra Sancta*, pp. 226, 302, 307v, 309, 326v.
46 Milano, *Storia*, pp. 234–5.
47 Poliakov, *Banquiers juifs*, pp. 80–4, 147–56; but this too had sharply declined by 1570.

The sixteenth-century expansion of Jewish life in Poland-Lithuania, fuelled by immigration from central Europe and Italy, is really astounding.[48] In 1500, Polish Jewry is thought to have amounted to around 30,000, a total then less than the Jewish population of Italy. In a total Polish population of around five million, the Jews at that time constituted a mere tiny minority. By 1575, whilst the population as a whole had risen to around seven million, the Jews had multiplied by four or five times to between 100,000 and 150,000, a figure probably slightly more than that of Spanish Jewry on the eve of its expulsion. After 1575, Polish Jewry continued to increase rapidly both as a percentage of the whole and in absolute terms.

This growing Polish-Jewish population was by no means evenly distributed across the lands of the Polish monarchy, its distribution revealing a good deal about the place of the Jew in eastern European life. The most developed part of the country, the Baltic seaboard around Danzig and Elbing, was dominated, as were Courland and Livonia, by an entrenched German Lutheran bourgeoisie who were vehemently opposed to the Jews and for the most part did their best to exclude them from any role. In Danzig itself, there was a complicated residence system which allowed a small, partly transient, Jewish community to form, though there are signs that this too became larger and more settled from the late sixteenth century onwards. In the central and western parts of Poland where the towns were also fairly strong, the Jews were far more numerous than along the Baltic seaboard. Nevertheless, they were either excluded altogether from such towns as Warsaw, Toruń, and Kielce, which enjoyed the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, or else, as at Poznań and Cracow, encountered a favoured Christian merchant and artisan class which were at constant pains to restrict Jewish involvement in trade and the crafts.[49] In some parts of south-central Poland, around Nowy Sącz and Sanok, Jewish settlement remained rather sparse until well into the seventeenth century, even though at Nowy Sącz the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* was cancelled at the demand of local magnates at the end of the sixteenth century.[50] It was only further east, where the country was more open as well as less developed, and where the great landed magnates wielded undisputed control, that the Jews were in a position to participate in a wide range of crafts and to dominate trade. By the 1570s, the Jews had become the preponderant bourgeoisie in the newly colonized regions to the east of Lublin and Lvov, to almost as great an extent as were the Lutheran Germans along the Baltic seaboard.[51] The vast eastern fringe of the Polish monarchy, though much the most thinly populated part of the kingdom, was at that time of rapidly growing importance owing to the burgeoning of exports of grain and timber down the big rivers, via Danzig, Königsberg, and Elbing, to

[48] Baron, *A Social and Religious History*, xvi. 207, 414.

[49] Perles, *Juden in Posen*, pp. 15, 32–3; Bałaban, *Historja*, i. 230–7.

[50] Mahler, 'Zdziejów żydow w Nowym Sączu', pp. 3–5; Leszczyński, 'Żydzi w Choroszczy', pp. 5–9.

[51] Hence Carew's assertion 'allmost all trade is in their handes, the Poles esteeming it sordide', Carew, *Relation*, p. 68; Baron, *A Social and Religious History*, xvi. 270–8.

Holland and the west. Western Europe's mounting appetite for cheap Polish grain—wheat and rye sold at Danzig for a mere fraction of its cost in Amsterdam, Seville, or Venice—made the Polish landowning class rich and further galvanized the settlement of Poland's eastern territories.

To develop their immense domains in the east, what the great Polish and Lithuanian landed dynasties chiefly needed was not so much capital or modes of transportation, for those regions were marvellously well served by eastern Poland's river network, as manpower, skills, and general business expertise. Ability to manage estates and tolls and handle long-distance trade was especially in demand. Thus all the great families, the Radziwiłł, Lubormirski, Ostrogski, Sobieski, Zamojski, and others adopted markedly pro-Jewish policies, the motive for which was purely and simply to stimulate the economic growth of entire regions comparable in size to many of the principalities of Germany and Italy. The Ostrogski owned dozens of small towns and hundreds of villages in the western part of the Ukraine and allocated to the Jews the role of intermediaries between themselves and the toiling peasantry, ignoring the objections of their Christian townsmen.[52] Much the same is true of the other leading dynasties. Jan Zamojski, Polish Chancellor in the 1580s, besides settling local Jews on his domains, arranged, through his connections at the Turkish court, for a group of Spanish and Portuguese Jews to settle in his chief town, Zamość. For, besides developing production and sales on his lands, he hoped to focus on Zamość Poland's then flourishing Levant trade, via Lvov and the Black Sea, and overland across Romania.[53]

It was this diffusion of large sections of Poland's Jewish population in small towns and villages belonging to the great magnates which opened up the possibility of major new Jewish population growth. For in those crown cities further west where Jews were permitted to live, the presence of a sizeable Christian bourgeoisie and artisan class, backed by an elaborate network of restrictions on Jewish settlement and activity, placed a tight ceiling on Jewish demographic growth. Nowhere in Poland-Lithuania was it possible, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, for a really large concentration of Jews to accumulate, such as was then to be found in Constantinople or in Salonika, both of which by 1550 had Jewish populations exceeding 20,000 individuals. In Constantinople, where, before the expulsion from Spain, there had been between 2,500 and 3,000 Jewish households, the census of 1535 indicates that the community had by then expanded dramatically to over 8,000 families; meanwhile, in Salonika, the Jewish community had grown from an insignificant number before 1492 to around 15,000 people (3,143 households and 930 unmarried men) as early as 1519.[54] Indeed, even Safed, in the Holy

[52] Kardaszewicz, *Dzieje dawniejsze miasta Ostroga*, pp. 117–19; Horn, 'Żydzi przeworscy', pp. 5–6, 10.

[53] Horn, 'Skład zawodowy', pp. 12–13.

[54] Hacker, 'Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire', pp. 110–11; however, these two were the only communities in the Balkans of real size. Sofia, the next largest, had only some 800 Jewish families. Other substantial communities with more than 300 families were Kavalla, Trikkala, Plovdiv, Monastir (Bitola), and Adrianople; see Panova, 'On the Social Differentiation', pp. 135–6.

Land, where, in the 1560s, around half of the town's population of 10,000 was Jewish, far outstripped in the size of its Jewish community, any existing community in Poland-Lithuania. By 1570, only Poznań, Cracow, Lublin, and Lvov had Jewish populations which exceeded the 1,000 mark and none of them by very much. But in Poland-Lithuania, the proliferation of thousands of small communities on the lands of the magnates created a new framework which, during the course of the next century, was destined to transform the demographic balance of the Jewish world.

The key institution fixing the economic nexus between Polish Jewry and the great landowners of Poland's eastern territories was the so-called *arenda* or lease. However eager to profit from the growing demand for Poland's produce in the west, Polish nobles showed little inclination to manage their properties and business affairs themselves and from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards the leasing of their estates and properties to Jews became increasingly frequent. Jewish managers and leaseholders ran estates, mills, and distilleries and arranged the sale of produce and its transportation down river, ultimately to Danzig and other Baltic ports. Jews were thus the main agents at the eastern terminus of a vast traffic encompassing the whole of Europe, the intermediate stages of which were handled by the Lutheran burghers of the Baltic ports—and the Dutch, who supplied some 70 per cent of the shipping which transported Polish grain and timber to the west. At all stages the Jews' management of noble estates in Poland's eastern territories was closely tied to the rhythms of international trade; for just as they sold the produce of the land for shipment to Holland and beyond, it was they who distributed the western cloth, salt, wine, and luxuries, such as spices and jewellery, shipped from Amsterdam and Hamburg via Danzig and Königsberg.[55] And the Polish nobility, or at least its wealthy élite, could afford to spend lavishly on a wide variety of foreign imports.[56] While most leases were small, a few wealthy Jews were able to take on colossal packages of leases. Thus Israel of Złoczew, in 1598, took on the management of an entire region together with all its tolls, taverns, and mills from a consortium of nobles for 4,500 złoty yearly. The big lessees tended to sub-let the mills and taverns to relatives and adherents. The management of distilleries and the selling of spirits to the peasantry on noble *latifundia*, on behalf of the nobility, became one of the most typical strands of Jewish activity in Poland's eastern territories. From the time they first became numerous in the regions of Lvov, Chełm, and Sambor, to the east of Lublin, there was also a widespread Jewish involvement in crafts such as soapmaking, tanning, glaziery, and fur-processing, with relatively little resistance from Christian townsmen.[57]

The Jewish migrations of the sixteenth century, plainly, did not merely effect a transfer of population from west to east but shifted an entire people from a rigid,

[55] Morgensztern, 'Udział Zydów', pp. 18–22, 24–9; Horn, 'Żydzi przeworscy', pp. 21–2.

[56] Maczak, 'Money and Society', pp. 74–7.

[57] Horn, 'Działalność gospodarcza', pp. 22–4.

narrowly confined, economic framework to a much broader-based economy, encompassing a wide spectrum of crafts, trade, and management.[58] Thus in some ways the great trek to the east was a form of economic emancipation. Not only was the range of Jewish activity vastly expanded but the Jews, by bringing western techniques and knowledge to Poland and the Levant, were at once in a far more advantageous position within society than had been the case previously. Despite many tokens of submission and inferiority heaped on the Jewish communities by both the Sultan and the Polish crown, the fact is that the Jews were now a dynamic and crucially important force in the east whereas in the west they had been squeezed into the tightest and obscurest margins of economic life.

This revolution in Jewish life was accompanied by a corresponding transformation in Jewish culture. The catastrophes of the century 1470–1570, and above all the expulsion from Spain in 1492, the greatest single disaster to descend on the Jews between the destruction of the Second Temple and Hitler's holocaust, transmitted shock waves to the furthest reaches of the Jewish world. For a time uprootedness, disruption, and despair prevailed. But very soon the expulsion began to have an unforeseen creative impact which, from spreading turmoil and disintegration, generated an unprecedented extension and maturing of Jewish activity and culture. Economically, this transformation of the mid-sixteenth century meant a wider Jewish role and a much more intensive interaction with Gentile society than had been known before, at any rate outside the Iberian Peninsula. And yet, and this is the central paradox of the Jewish revolution of the sixteenth century, psychologically and culturally it meant that the Jews now turned in on themselves and became more distant from non-Jewish society. They were foreigners in Poland and Turkey in a way that they had not been in western Europe. In place of cultural fragmentation and roots in a variety of western languages, the migrations created a more unified and integrated Jewish culture but one which was increasingly remote from that of the peoples among whom Jews lived.

The immigrants into Polish and Turkish lands were westerners bringing western techniques and languages, and these they now adhered to in their changed milieu. Furthermore, such was their ascendancy over the indigenous Jews of eastern Europe and the Levant that they rapidly imposed their culture and their two principal languages—Spanish and German—on the Greek, Arabic, Hungarian, and Slavonic-speaking synagogues which they encountered where they settled. In Salonika, there were by 1532 thirteen Jewish congregations in all, organized by region of origin, including Greek-speaking, Italian and Sicilian synagogues as well as three Portuguese. But by the late sixteenth century all the Greek and Italian, and to some extent the Portuguese Jews, had been absorbed into the dominant Spanish Jewish culture. Much the same was true of Constantinople and a host of other Levantine communities,[59] including those of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Albania.

[58] Nehama, *Histoire*, ii. 125; Panova, 'On the Social Differentiation', pp. 136–8.

[59] Nehama, *Histoire*, ii. 28–9, 39; Angel, *Jews of Rhodes*, pp. 22–3.

By the end of the sixteenth century, all the 500 Jews of Rhodes, though some belonged to families which had lived in the Near East for centuries, had adopted the 'Ladino', or Spanish, speech of the newcomers. At Jerusalem, Safed, and the other communities of the Holy Land a parallel process, whereby Italian, Provençal and other immigrants were absorbed into speaking Spanish or German, was under way.

In western Europe, the Jews had in the past spoken Italian, Spanish, German, or French according to which country they resided in. The same had been true of the Greek, Arabic, and Slavonic-speaking Jews. By the late sixteenth century, however, Spanish and Portuguese had emerged not merely as the common tongues but as the principal spoken languages of all the Jews of the Balkans south of Belgrade, and of the Levant, even though no non-Jews in those regions spoke those languages. A parallel process took place simultaneously in eastern Europe north of Belgrade and Bucharest. It is true that most Polish Jews spoke Yiddish (or Jewish German) even in the fifteenth century. But there were also significant groups of old-established Jews who spoke Slavonic languages or Crimean Tartar while, after 1500, there was also a trickle of immigration from Italy, Provence, and Spain. Yet, during the sixteenth century, virtually all these elements became German-speaking even though most of the Lutheran German population in the Polish Monarchy was concentrated in regions from which Jews were effectively excluded. The one notable exception was the Karaites, a heretical Jewish sect which had come into being in the eighth century and whose adherents in Poland-Lithuania continued to speak Tartar. Apart from the use of Hebrew terms for religious concepts and procedures, the language of the Polish Jewish communities, as we encounter it in the communal records and correspondence of the time, is basically pure High German.[60] Sixteenth-century Polish Jews themselves called their language 'German'.

This dual process of Hispanicization of Levantine, and Germanization of east European Jewry, in a milieu where few others spoke Spanish or German, created a Jewish world in which the sort of intellectual interaction between Christians and Jews characteristic of Renaissance Italy, and pre-1492 Spain, became much more difficult. But, in a unique fashion, it also imparted a remarkable degree of cultural cohesion to a people scattered in small groups over vast distances in a score of lands. What is more, the two spheres, the Hispanic and the Germanic, were now brought into a high degree of interaction, the whole responding to intellectual and cultural stimuli emanating from Safed, Salonika, and Constantinople, on the one hand, and Prague, Cracow, and Lublin on the other.

Constant social, cultural, and economic contact between the Hispanic and Germanic spheres was evident during the early modern period throughout the zone of Jewish settlement from Jerusalem to Lithuania. On one level, the linguistic divide, and the small but significant differences in ritual as between Sephardi and

[60] Bałaban, 'Krakauer Judengemeinde-Ordnung', pp. 300–2.

Ashkenazi usage, assured the perpetuation of two distinct Jewish cultures. Where both groups lived side by side, as in many places in the Balkans and Near East, separate congregations and avoidance of intermarriage were the rule. Yet at a deeper level the two spheres developed intellectually and spiritually largely as one, at any rate in the period 1550 to 1750, the age of maximum cohesion in the history of Jewish culture.

In the long run, the transplanting of Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jewish life from the west to eastern Europe and the Levant undoubtedly strengthened the position of the Jews in Europe as a whole, despite the apparent collapse of Jewish life west of Poland. And, in the long run, it was the demographic implications of Jewish settlement in the eastern territories of Poland which mattered most. But, regarding the reversal of the trend towards exclusion and collapse in the west—and this reversal definitely took place in the period 1570–1600—what mattered most was the swift rise of the Spanish exiles to commercial preponderance in the Balkans. Before 1492, non-Jews, particularly Greeks, Ragusans, and Armenians, had dominated exchange between Constantinople and the Dalmatian coast while most trade between the Balkans and Italy had passed in Venetian ships. But during the first third of the sixteenth century the picture changed dramatically. Spanish Jews fanning out from Salonika and Constantinople, and also from Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Split, and Valona, the principal Dalmatian entry-points for Iberian Jews migrating to the Ottoman empire via Italy,[61] rapidly captured all the internal trade routes of the Balkans. By 1540, the buying up of wool, silk, and cotton in Greece, Serbia, and Bosnia was mainly a Jewish activity, as was the distribution of cloth, whether Venetian or Florentine, or locally produced by the now flourishing Sephardi woollen-cloth industry of Salonika.[62] The Ragusans in particular strove to stem the tide. The Jews were expelled from the Ragusan Republic in 1515.[63] But this had no wider impact, as Jewish merchants in the Balkans generally retained the favour of the Ottoman authorities. By the 1530s, Spanish Jews had largely ejected the Ragusans from the key inland commercial centres of Belgrade and Sarajevo, and, working with Ashkenazi immigrants, won control of the overland traffic between the eastern Balkans and Poland across Romania. The changes in the interior then in turn placed Balkan Sephardi Jewry in a strong position to dominate commerce along the Dalmatian coast and to enter the commerce between Dalmatia and Italy.[64] By 1520, the port of Valona had one of the largest Jewish communities in the Ottoman empire, numbering some 2,500 souls. It is not without significance that as early as 1518, a Jewish merchant of Valona negotiated a papal–Ottoman agreement regarding the customs status of good belonging to Ottoman subjects leaving and entering papal territory.

[61] Veinstein, 'Juifs d'Avlonya', pp. 785–7; Krekić, 'Ebrei a Ragusa', pp. 836–8.

[62] Emmanuel, *Hist. Israélites de Salonique*, pp. 254–61; Gold, *Gesch. Juden der Bukowina*, i. 3–7; Paci, *'Scala' di Spalato*, pp. 33–5.

[63] Krekić, 'Ebrei a Ragusa', pp. 838–9.

[64] Cooperman, 'Venetian Policy', pp. 70–1.

As a sort of prelude to the eventual reversal of state policies towards the Jews in Italy, the Ragusan Republic, beaten out of its inland markets, was forced to make a volte-face in its Jewish policy as from 1538. Either Ragusa acknowledged the new realities of Balkan commerce or else the Republic faced virtual extinction as a commercial power. The Jews were recalled and allowed to take over a considerable part of the Republic's trade.[65] The settlement of Iberian Jews in Ragusa was then placed on a permanent basis in 1546 when the immigrants were confined to an autonomous ghetto.

[65] Krekić, 'Ebrei a Ragusa', pp. 839–41.

II
Turning-Point (1570–1600)

The tentative readmission of Jewry into western and central Europe from the 1570s onwards signalled a reversal of trends which had previously prevailed everywhere west of Poland. And this post-1570 shift is, without doubt, a historical phenomenon of the first significance. In several ways it marks the real beginning of modern Jewish history. For, in a matter of a few years, the whole hitherto fixed pattern of restricted interaction between western Christendom and the Jews was transformed in a way which continued to shape subsequent development for some two centuries. The transformation in European Jewry's status was rapid, dramatic, and profound, affecting and affected by much else that was then in flux, for at bottom Jewish readmission was merely a symptom of the more general revolution which convulsed and renewed western life and thought at the close of the sixteenth century. Nor did this change in Jewish status occur first in any one place and then spread. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the change of policy toward the Jews is discernible at pretty much the same moment in the Czech lands, Italy, Germany, France, and the Netherlands.

Not infrequently intellectual historians date the first stirrings of modern attitudes and modes of thought, of the 'philosophic spirit' as the seventeenth century called it, to the years around, or just before, 1600—and with good reason. Of course, in their way, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation had already sent vast, unsettling waves and counterwaves rampaging in all directions. The whole sixteenth century was an age of turmoil. But, through the period down to 1570, western culture, whatever the theological rift and ensuing disputes, always remained securely rooted in its Christian allegiance and outlook. Pre-1570 western Europe was a Christian world. All its more articulate minds were filled with a total and sufficient sense of possessing truth and the true explanation of things. Compared with this underlying certainty, the implacable quarrel between Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist was but a surface froth which contemporaries confidently imagined would soon cease with the overwhelming and definitive triumph of one side or another. This does not mean that earlier giants of the intellect such as Pico, Erasmus, and Reuchlin did not contribute substantially to the break-up of traditional modes of thought, or were not profoundly innovative in their rejection of scholasticism, and in immersing themselves in Classical and Hebrew studies. But, to all appearances, their researches did not weaken but, on the contrary, reinforced western Europe's adherence to Christianity. If Erasmus was apprehensive that research into Hebrew literature could undermine this conscious unity of outlook, none of the great Christian Hebraists of the age ever doubted that Jewish interpretations were fundamentally perverse and misconceived.

During the final third of the sixteenth century, though, both Reformation and Counter-Reformation lost their former momentum and the hitherto universal Christian foundations of western culture began to crack and contract. It was now that Christianity embarked on that age-long retreat which has since become its familiar role in western culture—no longer the all-embracing, universal whole but what, to all appearances, has been a shrinking force compelled to compete with a host of rival outlooks and attitudes and, in particular, a rising tide of doubt, deism, and atheism. But what lay behind so basic a shift and why should it have come so suddenly rather than imperceptibly over a much longer span? Intellectually, this most fundamental of all modern revolutions stemmed from the erosion of confidence in Christian teaching, that upsurge of radical scepticism which began to permeate western thought in the age of Montaigne, Bodin, Lipsius, and Bacon. Suddenly, in the 1570s, Europe's foremost thinkers were enveloped in the seemingly infinite difficulty of accepting received 'truths' handed down from the past and of ascertaining truth with the aid of existing scholarship and learning. Thinkers began to wrestle feverishly with the question of how one is to attain what Bacon termed 'good and sound knowledge' as distinct from what society had hitherto accepted as being knowledge. Montaigne's great philosophical essay, the *Apologie de Raimond Sebond*, written in 1575–6, mirrors the collapse of Europe's intellectual world into a chaos of doubt infused with the sense of what he called the 'faiblesse de notre jugement'.[1] A lesser figure, but symptomatic of his time, was Francisco Sanches (1552–1623), a Portuguese New Christian who became a philosophy lecturer at the University of Toulouse, and who, in 1576, compiled his *Quod nihil scitur*, rejecting all previous systems and theories of knowledge. Most far-reaching and radical of all, Jean Bodin set out on a spiritual quest which eventually led to total divorce from Christian belief and his adherence to what has been termed a 'non-ritual Judaism'. Bodin's intellectual odyssey culminated in 1593 when he wrote his *Colloquium Heptaplomeres*, a powerful dialogue about religion which is perhaps the first outright rejection of Christianity composed in the early modern west.[2]

But the upsurge of radical scepticism was an intellectual process, and such processes, history teaches, tend to derive from deep-seated shifts in life and experience. What shook confidence in past belief so severely, as the literature of the time abundantly documents, was the unbreakable deadlock into which the Wars of Religion in France and the Low Countries, indeed on the whole continent, had now lapsed. There was no clear decision anywhere. In France, the Huguenots did not triumph but they did force a far-reaching compromise, the Edict of Nantes, which ensured the public practice of Calvinism in large parts of the country. In the Netherlands, Protestant and Catholic had fought each other to a standstill which

[1] Popkin, *History of Scepticism*, pp. 38–41, 44–57.

[2] Bodin, *Colloque*, pp. 101–39; Baxter, 'Jean Bodin's Daemon', pp. 7–17; Roellenbleck, *Offenbarung*, pp. 146–8, 152–3.

left the one entrenched in the north and the other in the south. And just as France and the Low Countries were now irretrievably sunk in an exhausting and exhausted stalemate, so equally were Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia-Moravia, and Poland. Indeed, by the 1570s, religious deadlock was the rule practically everywhere north of the Alps and Pyrenees. And it was precisely this lack of a decision and the resulting proliferation of new sects and theologies which, as Bacon put it, 'move derision in worldlings and depraved politics who are apt to contemn holy things'. The profound sense of shock caused by this totally new and unsettling predicament also inspired revulsion, fear, and, in some, such as Giordano Bruno and not a few other esoteric intellects of the late sixteenth century, a plunge from Christianity into visions of a purer, 'hermetic' religious tradition which would somehow supersede, even eventually conjure away the wretchedness, misery, and inhumanity associated with Christian strife.[3] But Bruno, like Bodin and Lipsius, was a critic of his times, not just a dreamer of some unrealizable 'Egyptian' religion, and he knew that, in part, the solution he so earnestly hoped for could come about only with the aid of such *politique* practitioners of statecraft as Henri IV of France (whom he much admired) and radically new political solutions.

Confronted by the unprecedented and shocking dilemma of irresolvable religious deadlock, momentous and far-reaching intellectual adjustments were inevitable. In France and the Netherlands especially, key thinkers, most notably Bodin and Lipsius, now developed an entirely new vision of politics directed at achieving the restored wholeness, stability, and good of society, through the power of the state, rather than the fulfilment of the aspirations of churchmen.[4] They preached a new message, a philosophy of worldly action orientated to the here and now. And just as these scholars built their thought on an essentially non-Christian basis, so also key political leaders and princes chose, or were forced, to adopt policies which cut clear across the claims of church and faith. These *politique* leaders, such as Henri IV, William of Orange, and Maximilian II of Austria, created a statecraft which was the political counterpart of the new radical scepticism of the philosophers. Politicians and thinkers alike were seeking an escape from the relentless antagonism of rival theologies, dissociating themselves in the process from the demands of the churches. Thus, the political turmoil, and the strong undercurrents of scepticism, deism, and atheism which arose at this time, fed on and nourished each other. And in this radically changed milieu, it was no longer possible, as Bodin's ideas so strikingly illustrate, to assume as a matter of course that Jewish interpretations were groundless.

The first signs of a general trend towards the readmission of the Jews came just before 1570 under the aegis of the Emperor Maximilian II (1564–76). The middle years of the sixteenth century, disastrous for the Jews of the Empire as a whole, had brought particular disruption to Jewish life in Bohemia. Indeed, Maximilian's

[3] Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 211–12, 225, 286.

[4] Skinner, *Foundations*, i. 253–4; Oesterich, *Neostoicism*, pp. 43–56.

father Ferdinand I, in contrast to Charles V, had pursued an actively anti-Jewish policy in the Czech lands, where, as elsewhere, a surge of anti-Semitic feeling accompanied the spread of Protestantism. In 1541, a wave of anti-Jewish agitation culminated in major pogroms in Raudnitz, Saaz, and elsewhere, and in the expulsion of the Jews from all the crown cities of Bohemia except for Prague.[5] Subsequently, in 1557, on a request from the Prague city council for the expulsion of the Jews from that city too, Ferdinand determined on a final eviction of the Jews from Bohemia altogether, though not from Moravia, where there was stronger pressure from the nobles to retain them and where the voice of the towns was weaker. Ferdinand duly published his decree of expulsion and most of the Jews departed, but the measure was not fully enforced and a remnant in Prague solicited and obtained repeated extensions of permission to delay their departure, to settle debts and other matters. So it was that when Maximilian became Emperor, in 1564, Jewish life in Bohemia was at a nadir but not wholly extinguished. Radically diverging, as he did in most things, from his father's policy, the new Emperor cancelled the expulsion from Bohemia and granted permission for the few Jews still in Prague to stay indefinitely.[6] Their position was now more secure. But, as late as 1570, there were still only around 413 families, some 2,000 Jews, in the entire realm of Bohemia.

Maximilian II, outwardly a Catholic ruler, is known to have nurtured strong Protestant leanings during his youth and, the indications are, was throughout his life torn within by the relentless religious conflicts and doubts of his time.[7] Evidently, he also evinced a certain sympathy for, and interest in, the Jews, which contrasted as sharply with the attitudes of his father and his Spanish uncle, Philip II, as did his lack of religious militancy. The Prague Jewish chronicler David Gans (1541–1613) wrote of the 'love' that Maximilian showed the Jews and describes a famous occasion, in 1571, when the Emperor visited the Prague Jewish quarter (*Judenstadt*) as a mark of favour, accompanied by the Empress and his whole court.[8] However, it was Maximilian's successor Rudolph II (1576–1612) who, in the 1570s, created the political and legal framework which made possible the rapid expansion of Jewish life and activity in Bohemia. In February 1577, Rudolph issued a charter to Bohemian Jewry, assigning major new privileges and promising that they would never again be expelled from Prague or from the realm as a whole—though they remained excluded from the other crown cities.[9] Under the 1577 charter, there ensued a rapid growth in Bohemian Jewry, both in Prague and in the villages and small towns outside the lesser crown cities. It was also during Rudolph's reign that Jewish communities were reconstituted in Vienna and at

[5] Bondy and Dworsky, *Gesch. Juden in Böhmen*, i. 337–8.
[6] Ibid. i. 418–22, 428–9, 438–9.
[7] Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 19–20.
[8] Gans, *Zemach David*, p. 118; Neher, *David Gans*, pp. 37, 87.
[9] Bondy and Dworsky, *Gesch. Juden in Böhmen*, ii. 554–5.

Innsbruck. These remained small, however, compared with the community in Prague, which grew from a few dozen, in 1564, to over 3,000 Jews by 1600. This represents the first important build-up of Jewish population west of Poland since the thirteenth century and there can be no doubt that it marks the beginning of the reversal of the Jewish migration from west to east, for many of the immigrants to Prague came from Poland or were German exiles who came there via Poland.

Rudolph's court at Prague was a key cultural manifestation of the late sixteenth century. Its flavour differed markedly from the Catholic and Protestant militancy which reigned officially elsewhere. And this could hardly have been otherwise given the ostensible Catholicism of the court surrounded by a then dominant Protestantism, not only in Bohemia and Moravia but in the towns of Austria. The tolerant, cosmopolitan atmosphere, strongly influenced intellectually by the Neostoicism of the Netherlands scholar Lipsius, arose from an inescapable need to transcend the Catholic–Protestant conflict. Yet, beyond this, Rudolph, like Maximilian, showed an unmistakable partiality for the Jews and their culture. This Emperor, who so immeasurably strengthened the position of the Jews in Czech lands, on a famous occasion requested an interview with the pre-eminent intellectual figure of Prague Jewry, Rabbi Judah Loew, a personage shrouded in legend and known in Jewish tradition as the Maharal. This interview took place at the Hradschin palace, in Prague, on 16 February 1592, where these two remarkable personalities doubtless indulged their common preoccupation with mystical prophecy and matters esoteric.[10]

Rudolph's concessions to the Jews of Prague included the right, previously denied them, to engage in a range of crafts, including the working of jewellery, gold, and silver. It is this curtailing of the monopoly of the Christian guilds, this partial economic emancipation, which made possible the astounding growth of Prague Jewry, within three or four decades, to become the largest urban Jewry in Christendom—that is, outside Ottoman territory—after Rome. In addition to the old-style money-lenders, pawnbrokers, and pedlars, there now arose in Prague groups of Jewish artisans and shopkeepers as well as numerous merchants. This sudden expansion in activity in turn made possible the emergence of the 'Court Jew', the large-scale Jewish merchant-financier with court connections, a type which was to become a key feature of central European life in the century 1650–1750. The first of these personages in the Habsburg lands was Markus Meysl of Prague (1528–1601) who, in 1593, in recognition of his financial services to the crown, received unprecedented privileges placing him directly under the Emperor's protection. Meysl in fact enjoyed the legal status, if not the title, of a noble. At his death, he bequeathed over 500,000 florins, without counting numerous benefactions made during his life.[11] In Prague, he supported Jewish scholars,

[10] Sherwin, *Mystical Theology*, pp. 15–16.

[11] Stein, *Juden in Böhmen*, pp. 62–8; Bondy and Dworsky, *Gesch. Juden in Böhmen*, ii. 657, 670–1, 757.

repaved the *Judenstadt* at his own expense, and built a hospital for the Jewish sick. With the Emperor's permission he also built a handsome new synagogue, known as the 'Meysl shul', which survives to this day. He is also known to have donated money, Torah-scrolls, and other religious items to the Jews of Jerusalem and various Polish communities with which he had links.

In Germany, the revival of Jewish life begins at the same time as in Bohemia and Austria, in the 1570s. In this period, Frankfurt Jewry outstripped any single community in Poland-Lithuania, and this fact is particularly striking when we observe that in 1500 there were a mere 130 Jews in the city.[12] During the period of expulsions from other parts of Germany, the Frankfurt city council would allow only a very modest increase in the size of Frankfurt's Jewish population. In 1542, there was still a total of only 419 souls in the Frankfurt ghetto. It was, in fact, only in the 1570s that this community began to grow rapidly out of all proportion to the overall expansion of the city.[13] As in Prague, this acceleration was caused by a sudden relaxation of previous restrictions leading to a dramatic broadening in the scope of Jewish economic activity, particularly in general commerce. By 1613, Frankfurt Jewry numbered nearly 3,000 out of the city's total population of 20,000, the number of Jews being some six times the figure for 1550. Historians of Frankfurt traditionally link this spurt in Jewish activity with the setback to the rest of the city's economy which arose from feuding between the Lutheran majority and the large groups of Dutch and Flemish Calvinists who arrived in the 1560s and 1570s. The friction between Lutherans and Calvinists in Frankfurt erupted in crisis in the years 1593–1607 when numerous Netherlanders were forced out of the city. The Jews then supposedly stepped into the gap. Yet the fact is that the expansion of Jewish activity in Frankfurt must have begun in the 1570s, when the rise in the city's Jewish population began to accelerate, and that is precisely when the influx of Calvinists bringing new wealth and trade was at its height. It would seem, therefore, that it was the arrival of the Netherlanders which gave the Jews their chance, by breaking up the traditional guild-structure, enabling Jews, for instance, to participate in the distribution of imports from the Low Countries through South Germany.

Meanwhile, in the German ecclesiastical states, there ensued an equally radical change. Down to around 1570, the often vociferously Lutheran towns of the ecclesiastical principalities had generally succeeded in throwing their prelate-princes onto the defensive. Once Protestant momentum began to flag, though, the prince-bishops slowly regained the initiative and began to assert themselves once more. Consequently, the position of the Jews in such bishoprics as Mainz, Speyer, Minden, Paderborn, and Strasbourg suddenly improved markedly.[14] Here and

[12] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, i. 311.

[13] Ibid., i. 312, 320–3; Bothe, *Beiträge*, pp. 60–73; Dietz, *Stammbuch*, p. 433.

[14] Salfeld, *Bilder*, pp. 35–6; Arnold, *Juden in der Pfalz*, p. 23; Krieg, 'Juden in der Stadt Minden', p. 116.

there, where Jews had been expelled altogether during (or before) the Reformation, they were now readmitted, on the initiative of ecclesiastical princes and invariably over strong objections from the local citizenry. Thus, the Jews were recalled to the bishopric of Hildesheim in 1577, to the abbey-principality of Essen in 1578, and slightly later, to the bishopric of Halberstadt. The tussle between the prince-bishop and town of Hildesheim over the readmission of the Jews dragged on for years, the case ultimately coming before the Emperor who, predictably, found in favour of the bishop and the Jews.[15] By 1600, when there were thirty Jewish families living in the town, and a dozen more in the surrounding countryside, Hildesheim was already one of the principal Jewish communities of North Germany. The same princely prelate, Ernst, who brought back the Jews to Hildesheim, later became Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, where he again combined an uncompromising anti-Lutheranism with notable favours to the Jews, enabling them to resettle, in the 1580s, in the towns of Hallenberg, Geseke, Werl and Rüthen.[16]

Among the most important of the new Jewish communities in Germany was that of Fürth, a small town close to Nuremberg. Nuremberg, a solidly Lutheran city, was one of the principal manufacturing, trading, and banking cities of central Europe, lying astride the main overland routes between North Germany and Venice. There were several small Jewish communities scattered around the city outside its jurisdiction. Fürth came under the joint jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bamberg and Margrave of Ansbach, both of whom now took to encouraging Jewish settlement as a method of diverting part of Nuremberg's business onto their own territory. By 1582 there were 200 Jews in Fürth and the number grew rapidly in subsequent decades. Before 1600 Fürth had emerged as the pre-eminent Jewish community located on the main routes linking Frankfurt with Prague and with Vienna.

Meanwhile, along the North German coast, there had never been a Jewish presence of any significance during the Middle Ages, owing largely to the exclusionist attitude of the Hansa which controlled trade in the region; what communities had existed, as in East Friesland, had disappeared—like medieval Netherlands Jewry—during the course of the fifteenth century. But now, in the 1570s and 1580s, a remarkable change set in. The Count of East Friesland took to encouraging Jewish settlement at Emden and Aurich.[17] Very likely his initiative was linked to the departure from the region at that time of Dutch refugees who had fled there during Alva's regime in the Netherlands and who now drifted back, as the revolt against Spain was consolidated, taking capital and trade with them. Apparently, most of the Jewish immigrants into late sixteenth-century East Friesland came from ecclesiastical states in Westphalia. At the same moment, other groups of

[15] Rexhausen, *Rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Lage*, pp. 50–5.
[16] Holthausen, 'Juden im kurkölnischen Herzogtum', pp. 55–6, 66.
[17] Gans, *Zemach David*, p. 125; Anklam, *Judengemeinde in Aurich*, p. 5.

Jews, likewise chiefly from Westphalia, began percolating into the environs of Hamburg, though definitely not into the city itself. Most notably, Count Adolf XII of Holstein-Schauenburg allowed a group to settle in his port of Altona, outside Hamburg, in 1584.[18] He also granted them land for a cemetery at nearby Ottensen. The city of Hamburg had never before admitted Jews but, in the 1590s, while still excluding German Jews, allowed a dozen Portuguese refugee families, whom the city council knew to be crypto-Jews, to settle within the city limits and engage in trade.[19] This was the origin of what, before long, was to develop into the second most important Sephardi community in northern Europe (until London overtook it in the eighteenth century) after that of Amsterdam. Meanwhile the Count of Wandsbek invited a group of Jews to settle in his township of that name, on the east side of Hamburg, around 1600. To some extent, notably at Altona, the admission of the Jews would seem to be part and parcel of a general liberalization in the sphere of religion, designed to attract a variety of immigrants and thereby to boost the local economy. Thus religious freedom was granted to Catholics in Altona, in 1591, and to Calvinists and Mennonites in 1601. On the other hand, at Stade, in the archbishopric of Bremen, the town council began to negotiate first, in 1611, with a group of Portuguese Jews, and then, in 1613, with a group of German Jews, agreeing to Jewish admission only after a group of Walloon Calvinists and the English Merchant Adventurers had damaged the local economy by departing.[20]

The general revival of German Jewish life at the end of the sixteenth century is clearly reflected in the resolutions of the general synod of German Jewry convened in 1582. This assembly renewed several forms and procedures which had lapsed since the fourteenth century, restoring a comprehensive judicial and fiscal machinery encompassing all the Jews of Germany. This convention stipulated five principal rabbinic courts, namely those of Frankfurt, Worms, Fulda, Friedberg and Günzburg, of which only one, that of Frankfurt, was located in a major city, two—those of Worms and Fulda—being under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, one—Günzburg, a small town near Ulm—being territory of the Emperor and the fifth—Friedberg—coming under a lesser secular lord. Additionally, a handful of other major German Jewish communities, or at any rate major by the standards of the time in Germany, from which so many Jewish communities had been eliminated over the previous century, were recognized as tax-collecting centres subordinate to the five leading communities. These included Wallerstein, a village outside Nördlingen, and Schnaittach, outside Nuremberg, a largely Jewish village which at that date still retained precedence over Fürth. Friedberg was acknowledged as head of the Jewish communities of Hesse. Frankfurt enjoyed much the widest jurisdiction, being made responsible for Jewries as far afield as those of Münster, Paderborn, and East Friesland.

[18] Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, pp. 6–7; Marwedel, *Privilegien der Juden in Altona*, pp. 69, 71, 90.
[19] Feilchenfeld, 'Portugiesengemeinde in Hamburg', pp. 200–1.
[20] Asaria, *Juden in Niedersachsen*, pp. 180–1.

In Italy, as in Germany, Bohemia, and the Netherlands, the decisive turning-point comes in the 1570s. But in Italy unmistakable signs of a dawning mercantilist attitude toward the Jews had appeared sporadically in the earlier sixteenth century even before the Counter-Reformation took hold. From 1553 for roughly twenty years, the Counter-Reformation, then at its height, effectively interrupted, indeed largely nullified the effects of the earlier trend. But then the process resumed, tentatively at first, in the early 1570s. What is more, this Italian mercantilist policy toward the Jews resumed along much the same lines as it had proceeded on in the quarter of a century before 1553. In the years around 1530, it was the increasing ascendancy of Sephardi Jews in Balkan commerce which had first induced Italian princes to disregard local vested interests and privileges and grant generous concessions to those Jews who had connections with the Ottoman empire, that is in the main to Spanish and Portuguese exiles drifting into Italy from the Ottoman empire. It was these 'Levantines' whom the Duke of Ferrara principally had in mind when issuing his charter of 1538. And it was this Ferrarese charter, seemingly, which finally persuaded the Venetian Senate which, in the past, had always been resolutely opposed to Jewish participation in Venice's trade, to grant 'Levantine' Jews, that is Jews who were Turkish subjects (albeit usually Spanish-speaking), permission to sojourn for periods as transients, supposedly without their families, alongside the small 'German' Jewish community already inhabiting the ghetto. After prolonged debate the Venetian government took this momentous step, in 1541, expressly because the 'commerce of Upper and Lower Romania [i.e. the whole Balkans] was being diverted from this city, being now principally in the hands of Levantine Jews'.[21] A few years later in 1547, and again in 1553, just before the decision was taken to switch over to militantly anti-Jewish policies, the Papacy offered liberal terms to Balkan Jews prepared to settle in the papal Adriatic port of Ancona. Again, it was transparently obvious that the measure was taken in response to the recent initiatives of Ferrara and Venice. Indeed, so it seemed, no Italian ruler with an eye on the Levant traffic could afford to hold back from the scramble to attract Levantine Jews and, in 1551, the Grand Duke of Tuscany followed suit, issuing fulsome charters which attracted groups of Sephardi merchants from the Balkans to Pisa from where they traded with the Dalmatian emporia using the overland routes to Ancona and Pesaro.[22] This is why in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the main synagogue in Pisa was known as the *sinagoga levantina* and the Jews who tended it the *nazione ebrea levantina di Pisa*. The Duke of Urbino also invited in Balkan Jews. The ruling groups at Genoa, by contrast, concentrating increasingly in this period on their growing trade with Spain and the west, and having largely discarded their old ambitions in the Levant, expelled all Jews first from the city, in 1550, and then, in 1567, from the rest of their territory.

[21] ASV CSM, 1st ser., cxxxvii, fos. 135^{v}–6 and cxliii, fos. 20^{v}–1.

[22] Cassuto, *Ebrei a Firenze*, pp. 89–90, 179.

But considerable though the appeal of Balkan Jewry and its Levant trade was, it could not and did not withstand the impact of the Counter-Reformation once the Papacy embarked in earnest on its anti-Jewish drive. A good many Levantine Jews as well as Marranos departed Ancona in 1554–5 and the city's trade slumped.[23] Once the Papacy was geared to answer the challenge of Protestantism it was clear that local commercial interests would have to be sacrificed to the wider requirements of Church and doctrine. And this reaction in the Papal States was soon reflected elsewhere, first in Urbino, then Tuscany, and then Venice. In March 1570, on the verge of war with the Sultan, the Venetian government resolved to detain all 'Turks, Levantine Jews, and other Turkish subjects and their goods' anywhere on Venetian territory and many Jews fled.[24] At Venice, the wave of anti-Jewish feeling culminated amid the euphoria following the victory of Lepanto over the Turks in the Senate's decision of 18 December 1571 to expel all Jews, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, from the city of Venice and her Adriatic islands.[25] And whilst this drastic measure was not actually enforced it is probable that some more Jews did leave.

It was only when the Turkish war ended that the Italian states, despite papal pressure to the contrary, resumed the courting of Levantine Jewry and this time with more widespread and permanent results. On this occasion, the initiative was taken by Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, the first Italian prince to adopt a generally, if not altogether consistently pro-Jewish policy. Earlier, in 1560–1, this prince had decided to follow the example of his Genoese neighbours and expel the Jews entirely from his territory. A large part of Piedmontese Jewry did in fact leave. In 1565, however, the Duke changed his mind and invited them back. More controversially, in 1569–70, he invited some of the refugees from the Papal States, including émigrés from Avignon, to settle on his lands. Then, in 1572, after negotiations with Jewish leaders, the Duke issued a sensational charter inviting both Levantine Jews and former Marranos to come to his port at Nice, both to develop Levant trade and to set up textile factories, under guaranteed protection against the papal Inquisition.[26] This was an open challenge to the Papacy and Spain, both of which now applied pressure on Turin to retract. Under protest, and with repeated appeals to the Pope to stop Venice playing host to Marranos and assigning privileges to Levantine Jews, the Duke gave way. In 1574, his recent guarantees to the Jews were withdrawn. However, he did take in many of the 900 Jews expelled from the Milanese in 1597, and the main communities in the Savoyard state—Turin, Vercelli, Asti, Acqui, Moncalvo, Nice, and later Saluzzo—expanded appreciably during the last third of the sixteenth century.

[23] Nehama, *Histoire*, iii. 57–8.

[24] Ravid, 'Socioeconomic Background', pp. 41–2, 47.

[25] Ibid., Kaufmann, 'Contributions', pp. 228–30.

[26] Foa, *Politica economica*, pp. 15–18; Beinart, 'Venuta degli ebrei', pp. 110–19; Pullan, *Jews of Europe*, pp. 182–3.

Venice meanwhile had not only allowed the 1571 expulsion to lapse but began to reverse its stance on the Jews even before peace was signed with the Sultan in 1574. It seems that Levantine Jews were being encouraged to resettle in the city as from 1573. Moreover, this time, unlike before, Marranos were also welcome and were, it would seem, entering Venice unimpeded from 1573–4 onwards. When, in 1581, the new Duke of Ferrara yielded to papal pressure and permitted the arrest of Portuguese suspected of having defected from Christianity to Judaism, the bulk of the Ferrarese Marranos migrated to Venice, having probably ascertained beforehand that they would be afforded protection.[27] Venice, unlike Ferrara and Savoy, was now openly defying papal Jewry policy, a point underlined by the resumption, after a gap of nearly thirty years, of the printing of Jewish books in Spanish, at Venice, in the early 1580s. Then, in 1589, the Senate went a step further, issuing a new charter granting full rights of residence to both 'Levantine' and 'Ponentine' (western) Jews, the latter term being a euphemism for 'Marranos'. The 1589 charter was an act of defiant *raison d'État* decided on in the economic interest of the Republic as a whole. It provided the basis for the subsequent rapid increase in the Jewish population of Venice, signifying the final abandonment of Venice's age-old hostility toward the Jews.

As in Savoy, Jewish spokesmen played a prominent part in the reversal of policy at Venice. The key figure was an enterprising Dalmatian Spaniard named Daniel Rodriguez who, it seems, first visited Venice in 1563 on a mission to buy cloth for the Bosnian market. His connections with the Turkish governor of Bosnia, and experience of the traffic in Venetian wares in the Balkans, enabled him to address the Venetian Senate with some authority. Beginning in 1573, he submitted a series of petitions, arguing that Venice could restore, indeed tighten, her grip over Balkan trade, by linking the internal land-routes of the Balkans (dominated by Jews) with Venice by developing an entrepôt on the Dalmatian coast close to Venice. Though, as yet, there as little traffic there in the 1570s, he recommended the port of Split.[28] One need only recall for how long, and how completely, fleets of Venetian vessels had dominated the sea lanes to Constantinople and the Black Sea, as well as to Cyprus, Crete, and Egypt, to realize how revolutionary a departure for Venice such a scheme implied. In the past, Venice's Balkan trade, chiefly in the hands of her ruling oligarchy, had passed by sea around the Peloponnese, in her ships. To re-route her trade with Constantinople and Salonika via Split and Sarajevo, as Rodriguez was proposing, was to turn the Serenissima's age-old commercial strategy upside down, and we can well imagine how long and agonizing were the deliberations devoted to Rodriguez's proposals.[29] But in the end it was felt that the Republic had no choice. By this date foreign, and especially English,

[27] Roth, 'Marranes à Venise', p. 205; Zorattini, *Processi*, pp. 32–5.

[28] ASV CSM 1st ser., cxxxvii, fos. 73^v, 96^v–7, 105–6, 188^v–90.

[29] Luzzatto, *Discorso*, pp. 31–41; Novak, *Židovi u Splitu*, pp. 13–18; Ravid, *Economics and Toleration*, pp. 30–2.

shipping was rapidly displacing Venetian vessels from the sea lanes of the eastern Mediterranean. Increasingly, Venice's ruling oligarchy were pulling their capital out of trade. If Venice did not accommodate Balkan Jewry, then other Italian states would—and at her expense.

The 1589 charter, and the adoption of Rodriguez's schemes for an entrepôt at Split, did indeed bring about the change in the structure of Venice's Balkan trade that he advocated, except that Valona, on the Albanian coast, far to the south of Split, on the overland route to Salonika, developed into a scarcely less important Dalmatian depot for Venice's re-routed Balkan trade. As early as the 1590s, most Venetian exports to the Balkans and Black Sea passed via Split and Valona, being transported overland and distributed mainly by Jews.[30] Much of the shipping of goods to and from the Dalmatian depots from Venice remained in Christian hands, though the Sephardi Jews who now settled in Venice itself did capture a sizeable share, amounting perhaps to twenty or thirty per cent. At the same time, Jews now dominated Venice's trade with her island colonies of Corfu and Zante. In contrast, Venice's sea-borne commerce with Egypt and Syria remained almost entirely in Christian hands. Swollen by the influx of 'Levantines' and 'Ponentines', the number of Jews in the Venetian ghetto rose from 900 in 1552, to 1,694 in 1586, and at least 2,500 by 1600. By 1590, Marrano emigrants from Portugal had virtually ceased migrating to Salonika and other Ottoman ports.[31] Most now settled in Venice or Tuscany. Rodriguez, who played a prominent role in the Venetian–Turkish negotiations and agreement over the Dalmatian depots, and who also negotiated the release of some Venetian prisoners from the Uskoks, was publicly proclaimed 'inventor' of the Split entrepôt and appointed head of the Jewish community which now took root there. Many of the Jewish merchants who settled in Split and Valona around 1590 moved from Ragusa, where traffic passing between Florence and the Balkans, via Ancona and Pesaro, now slumped.

Outdone by Venice in the matter of the Dalmatian depots, the Grand Duke of Tuscany answered with a dramatic liberalization of his own Jewish policy. Already, in the 1580s, the Grand Duke had abandoned his former subservience to Rome in the matter of the Marranos and had began to encourage refugees from Portugal to settle in Pisa, condoning their defection from Christianity to Judaism. Then, in response to the Venetian charter of 1589, Ferdinand I issued a charter for his new port at Livorno, the so-called 'Livornina' of 1593, a document guaranteeing both 'Levantine' and 'Ponentine' Jews who settled there unprecedented freedoms and privileges besides full protection from pursuit by papal Inquisitors. Thus, in contrast to the Jews of Venice and Florence, those of Pisa and Livorno were not obliged to live in ghettos and evaded most of the irksome restrictions which the Counter-Reformation had imposed on the majority of Italian Jewry. In 1570 there had been only 710 Jews (130 families) in the entire grand duchy of

[30] Tenenti, *Naufrages*, pp. 15, 88, 199, 243; Blumenkranz, 'Commerce maritime', pp. 144–51; Paci, *'Scala' di Spalato*, pp. 103–10.

[31] Nehama, *Histoire*, iii. 57–8.

Tuscany, the two largest communities, those of Pisa and Florence, being home to 94 and 86 Jews respectively, and a majority of Tuscan Jewry being scattered in small towns such as Prato, Cortona, Arezzo, Montepulciano, and San Giovanni. Over the next three or four decades, Tuscan Jewry grew dramatically, but also became more concentrated in the chief commercial centres. By 1613 the community of Pisa alone had quintupled to 441 Jews (93 families), while the community of Livorno, non-existent in 1570, by 1601 consisted of 134 Jews, and by 1622 had more than five times that figure, 711 Jews—the total for the whole of Tuscany in 1570.[32]

Nor was the re-expansion of Jewish life in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century by any means confined to Savoy, Venice, and Tuscany. There was, almost certainly, some growth in Jewish numbers at Padua, Verona, and other centres in the Veneto and in Friuli, and probably also at Ferrara. In the case of the duchy of Mantua there was a particularly dramatic increase in Jewish numbers. Back in 1500, Mantuan Jewry had still been very small, numbering a mere 200 souls. But like the Dukes of Ferrara and Savoy (and unlike those of Tuscany and Urbino), the Duke of Mantua had permitted the Jewish exiles from papal territory to settle in his domain and later also received refugees from Milan. By 1587, Mantuan Jewry had increased to 960 souls. But the most emphatic increase came during the next two decades, the number of Jews in Mantua rising to a high point of 2,325 by 1610, which means that Mantua at that time had one of the four or five largest Jewries in the Christian West.[33] There were also another 700 Jews in the Mantovano, outside the city, making a grand total of over 3,000. Thus we see that the period of fastest increase in the numbers of Mantuan Jewry, which must have been largely due to immigration, coincided with an acceleration of Jewish immigration into Venice, Savoy, and Tuscany.

The Netherlands, in contrast to Italy, had been effectively cleared of Jews by 1549 except for a rump of Marranos who were allowed to remain in Antwerp. But, once again, readmission and reintegration were essentially a phenomenon of the closing decades of the century. A key factor here was the collapse of stable government, following the revolution of 1572, and the general turmoil which now engulfed much of the country. This served both to disrupt old-established rules and privileges and to create a situation in which elements of the rebel leadership believed it politic to turn to the Jews for material assistance in their struggle against Spain. William of Orange also hoped, through the Jews, to pull more weight at the court of that other arch-enemy of Spain, the Turkish Sultan. It is true that the sack of Antwerp, in 1576, caused most of the Antwerp Portuguese to disperse, some settling temporarily in Cologne, but many of these drifted back within a year or two or settled elsewhere in the Netherlands, notably at Middle-

[32] Laras, 'Delatore', pp. 66–7; Toaff, 'Cenni storici', pp. 356–9; Luzzati, *Casa dell'Ebreo*, pp. 272–3; R. Toaff, *La Nazione ebrea*, pp. 60, 119.

[33] Simonsohn, *History*, pp. 191–3.

burg and Rotterdam.[34] In 1577, the rebel States General, through the Antwerp city council, opened negotiations with the leaders of Frankfurt Jewry, inviting them to establish a Jewish community in Antwerp in return for financial assistance against Spain.[35] Nothing came of this, presumably owing to the insecurity then prevailing at Antwerp. Even so, groups of German Jews, mainly from East Friesland, did now enter the north-eastern parts of the Netherlands, especially the province of Groningen, where, as recent research on Jewish tombstones has shown, a network of village communities arose in the 1570s and 1580s.

Despite the recapture of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1585, most of the Marranos in the Low Countries continued to congregate in Antwerp, traditionally the chief business centre, until, in 1595, the Dutch decided to extend their blockade of Antwerp by preventing ships entering and leaving the Flemish sea-ports, from where Antwerp merchants were transporting their imports of Portuguese colonial products via the inland waterways. This wider blockade meant that the New Christian exporters of Lisbon and Oporto could no longer use Antwerp as a depot from which to distribute Portuguese colonial products in northern Europe. For this reason they now switched to other entrepôts and this is why the Portuguese crypto-Jewish community in Amsterdam was established in 1595, and not ten years earlier, and why the Marrano colonies in Hamburg, Emden, and Rouen arose more or less simultaneously with that of Amsterdam.[36] By 1600, the Portuguese crypto-Jewish community in Amsterdam was probably already quite substantial though still smaller than the community in Antwerp, which then numbered around 400 souls.

In France, the disruptive impact of the civil wars and the succession to the throne, in 1574 and 1589 respectively, of the *politique* kings Henri III and Henri IV, tended to the subordination of the churches, vested interests, and ancient privileges to the requirements of *raison dÉtat* and national unity. It is true that even before the outbreak of civil war in 1562, some Portuguese New Christians had settled in Bordeaux and Bayonne and that in 1550 Henri II issued *lettres patentes* granting them protection so as to promote 'trade and industry'. But at that stage the numbers involved were minute. The subsequent turmoil seems to have encouraged not only increased immigration but also increasingly dissident behaviour in point of religion. In November 1574, Henri III issued new *lettres patentes* not only reaffirming royal protection but pointedly, even cynically, dismissing protests about their religious conduct as 'groundless'.[37] With the intensification of Inquisition pressure in Portugal from 1579, what previously had been a trickle of Marrano immigration into France became a broad stream. Several thousand Portuguese settled, at first mainly at Bayonne, St Jean de Luz, and Bordeaux but, from the 1590s, also at Nantes, Rouen, and Paris.[38] Henri IV, like

[34] Pohl, *Portugiesen in Antwerpen*, pp. 65–7.
[35] Prins, 'Orange and the Jews', pp. 96–101.
[36] Israel, 'Economic Contribution', p. 508.
[37] Léon, *Histoire*, p. 19.
[38] Brunschvigg, *Juifs de Nantes*, pp. 13–14; Revah, 'Autobiographie', p. 54.

his predecessor, took little or no notice of the mounting mercantile, ecclesiastical, and popular protests against this 'Jewish' penetration. The King did seemingly yield to the pressure in the case of Bayonne, in 1602, when a local decree of expulsion received royal assent. But nothing was done to enforce this expulsion or prevent those Portuguese who did leave the city from settling wherever else they wished in the realm. Nor was Henri IV's liberal attitude reserved only for the Portuguese, with one of whom, Manoel de Pimentel, a man who later became a professing Jew in Venice, he is known to have personally played cards and whom he reportedly called the 'king of gamblers'.[39] On France's eastern border, the King took the step of sanctioning the seepage of German Jews into the garrison town of Metz, a trend in progress since shortly after the outbreak of the civil wars. But not only did Henri tolerate the Jewish community in Metz; in 1595, he issued privileges guaranteeing the public practice of Judaism in the city. This laid the basis for the emergence of Metz during the course of the seventeenth century as one of the principal Jewish communities in western Europe.

[39] *Mémoires du Maréchal de Bassompierre*, i. 206–8; Franco Mendes, *Memorias*, pp. 13, 21.

III
Consolidation (1600–1620)

Radical scepticism was a negating force which brought in its wake the impulse to construct models of state and society divorced from traditional theology. Bodin, the first major western intellect to envisage society outside the framework of Christian doctrine, was, at the same time, the discoverer of sovereignty as a political reality divorced from religious sanction and, as part of such sovereignty, economic policy based on the material and social interest of the state. It might be tempting to dismiss Bodin as an exception whose more radical ideas, as expressed in the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres*, were little known about at the time. But this would in several ways be an error. For Bodin's impulse to distance himself from the doctrine of the churches and mould an encompassing world-view on a non-Christian basis is, in many ways, profoundly typical of his age. Montaigne was not just a sceptic but sought a new morality, new criteria for life. Justus Lipsius, probably the most influential scholar of his time, spent part of his career at Calvinist Leiden and part at Catholic Louvain; yet, what he wrote was equally acceptable to both. For decades, Lipsius's influence was preponderant in central Europe and pervasive in Spain and Italy as well as the Low Countries. Acknowledged as the most accomplished Latinist and Classicist of his time, Lipsius, like Erasmus earlier, constructed a monumental synthesis of classical and early modern ideas. But there was a crucial difference. Where Erasmus was steeped in Christianity and Christ was the centre of his world, in Lipsius Christian allegiance is reduced to occasional lip-service. His values and attitudes he derives from Seneca, Tacitus, and other Roman writers, of whom he is a tireless advocate.

Inherent in the revolutionary outlook of the post-Wars-of-Religion era was the increasing separation of natural law from the teaching of the churches. This dichotomy, already manifest in Bodin, who postulates the Mosaic Law as the best basis for defining and perceiving the natural rights of peoples and individuals, attained its definitive expression in the works of the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). Assuredly, Grotius did not share Bodin's propensity to 'promote the Old Testament to the position of Natural Law'.[1] But his great legal works presented a fully developed philosophy of natural law which is essentially independent of Christian doctrine. As a prop to *politique* attitudes, the work of men such as Bodin, Lipsius, and Grotius had much practical as well as theoretical significance. For, at the outset of the sixteenth century, Machiavelli had postulated a rudimentary *raison d'État* stripped not just of Christian but of all moral and legal restraint. After Machiavelli, such theorizing had been submerged for decades by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation only to surface again after 1570. But in the rebirth of

[1] Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, prolegomena; Ettinger, 'The Beginnings of the Change', p. 198.

raison d'État concepts at the close of the sixteenth century, the west absorbed not a revamped Machiavellianism but a political philosophy which dwelt on the duties and responsibilities of the state to society, an outlook rooted at once in *raison d'État* and natural law. Thus, whatever his own religious beliefs, Grotius redeemed the rights of all individuals, groups, and states, accounting all mankind a unity possessed of dignity and worth irrespective of the claims of the churches.

No less inherent in the intellectual revolution of the late sixteenth century was the sudden, explosive rise of modern science and speculative philosophy. For amid the theological deadlock, the question what truth is and how it is to be ascertained took on immense urgency. The propositions of Bacon and Descartes were the quest of an age absorbing the implications of doubt, loss of confidence, and rampant *raison d'État*. Moreover, it was inevitable that the spiritual crisis should revolutionize all studies. Scholars devoted to the pursuit of truth were now impelled to embark on a voyage of discovery. Just as some immersed themselves in the new astronomy, others began to ransack languages and literatures which had never been studied or taken seriously before. Especially in France and the Netherlands, there was now a marked resurgence in Hebrew and Aramaic studies, a systematic exploration of Talmud and rabbinic literature and the beginnings of Arabic, Turkish, and Koranic studies. And the new search through oriental languages and texts was quite different from the blinkered preoccupations of Reformation Hebraists. The mood had changed from confident self-assertion to an attitude hesitant, searching, and perplexed.

Perhaps the greatest western orientalist of the age was Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the son of an Italian humanist father who became caught up in the turmoil in France, discarded his early Catholicism and eventually, in 1593, took up Lipsius's former chair at the Calvinist University of Leiden. The immensely erudite and critical Scaliger became convinced that all western renderings of Scripture, Beza's New Testament and the Vulgate alike, were seriously corrupt and divergent from the originals on which they were based. As he saw it, Scripture could only be rescued by means of study in fields previous scholars had known little or nothing about. His private jottings about the Jews are as remarkable as his doubts about the texts of the New Testament. Much to their astonishment, he debated with learned Jews in Hebrew at Avignon and in Rome. 'On ne saurait croire', he noted, 'combien les Juifs sont savants et subtils.'[2] It was typical of Scaliger that he was in favour of allowing the Jews to resettle in the west not just because 'they bring wealth' but because 'we need to learn from them'. He was quite ready to acknowledge that generally speaking, Jews took care of their poor more conscientiously than did Christians. He even went so far as to acknowledge that most Jewish converts to Christianity were worthy only of contempt. 'Rarement', he averred, 'un juif converti au Christianisme est homme de bien; les convertis sont généralement mauvaises gens.' Most radical of all, Scaliger believed

[2] Reinach, 'Joseph Scaliger', pp. 173–5.

that, until his own time, Christians had totally failed to grasp the significance of post-biblical Jewish literature and therefore had been, and still were, unable to confront Judaism intellectually: 'il faut les convaincre à l'aide du Talmud', he wrote, 'non du Nouveau Testament qui les fait rire.'

Few matched Scaliger's learning, but many emulated, or shared, his profoundly critical approach to traditional scholarship and attitudes. In Holland, there were the Hebraists Drusius, Coddaeus, and Rhaphelengius, as well as Ferdinandus, a converted Polish Jew who, in 1599, became first Professor of Arabic at Leiden. Grotius was one of those who imbibed the new critical scholarship and, although his own Hebrew was limited, his excursions into the field of biblical commentary, culminating in his *Annotationes* on the Old and New Testament, treat traditional Christian interpretations with such scant regard that one irate divine denounced him as 'deterior Judaeis'. Similar trends were evident in France and England and even in Spain, the great hebraist Benito Arias Montano (1527–98) not infrequently giving preference to rabbinic over Church construings of Scriptural passages, a habit which eventually led to his trial by the Inquisition. Even those Hebraists who remained basically anti-Jewish in the old mould, such as the famous Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), Professor of Hebrew at Basel, shared the new approach in so far as he emphasized Talmud and post-Talmudic Hebrew literature and the need for genuine study of Jewish tradition, dismissing the blood libel and other crudities of popular anti-Semitism.

Philosemitic scholarship was thus born at the same moment, and in the same context, as philosemitic mercantilism, both mercantilism and the 'philosophic spirit' of the seventeenth century being fruits of the distancing from Christian tradition. Mercantilist attitudes, like radical scepticism, may have existed before 1570 and even, at least in Italy before the Counter-Reformation, been sporadically fashionable; but it took the shock of religious stalemate, ensuing from the deadlocked Wars of Religion, to render the pursuit of the economic interest of the state, irrespective of religion, tradition, and privilege, a prevalent social ideal. Intellectually, mercantilist thought was an offshoot of late sixteenth-century *raison d'État* political philosophy, and it is no mere chance that Bodin was at the centre of both initiatives. And, like Bodin, many other early mercantilists—Laffemas, Montchrétien, Gomes Solís, Lopes Pereira, Thomas Shirley—were *politiques*, doubters, or Judaizers, or all three at once. But, of themselves, neither the new Hebraism, nor *raison d'État* philosophy, nor mercantilism, necessarily implied the adoption of philosemitic attitudes. If some Hebraists combined old prejudice with new techniques, there were different ways of arguing the economic interest of the state. While, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in Italy, there was a tendency for rulers to invite Jews in so as to stimulate commerce, there were numerous commentators on trade who insisted that the commercial activity of Jews harmed the state.[3] Outside Italy, mercantilist anti-Semitism was still more

[3] Ravid, *Economics and Toleration*, pp. 42–6.

prevalent. Certainly, the French mercantilist Montchrétien, in his *Traicté de l'œconomie politique* of 1615, maintained that the Marranos in France were undesirable not just because they denied Christ and spread Jewish ideas, but because they were sucking wealth out of the country rather than bringing it in.[4] And similar sentiments continued to permeate some mercantilist writings throughout the seventeenth century.

Yet mercantilism, along with *raison d'État* politics and the new learning, did powerfully contribute to the fundamental shift in ideas about the Jews then in progress. By and large, the anti-Semitic strand in mercantilism was a minority stance. The senators who staffed the Venetian board of trade repeatedly reiterated, from the 1570s onwards, that they regarded the Jews as an indispensable prop of the Venetian economy.[5] The Spanish *arbitrista* Martín González de Cellorigo urged the Spanish crown, in 1619, to curb Inquisition persecution of Portuguese Marrano immigrants in Spain, arguing that this group should be tolerated and encouraged out of reasons of 'razón de Estado', to improve Spain's finances and trade. In his tract there is at least the implication, bold enough in Spain, that such considerations ought to take precedence over any suspicions that might arise as to the sincerity of their Christianity.[6] The Portuguese mercantilist Duarte Gomes Solís, himself a New Christian, urged Philip III not just to restrain persecution of New Christians but to allow professing Jews to settle in the Portuguese colonies in Asia, and have ghettos there 'as they do in Rome and other parts of Italy' as a means of defeating Dutch and English commercial rivalry in the east.[7] Thomas Shirley, assuring the English monarch that the 'Duke of Savoy were not able to maintain his state without their help and the benefit he reaps from them', urged James I to invite the Jews back into England 'by privilege of trade only, without a synagogue'. Should that be too much, James being 'most zealous' in his Christianity, then the Jews should at least be invited to settle in Ireland—a neat reconciling of anti-Semitism and mercantilist philosemitism which was taken up again later by the mid-seventeenth-century political writer, Harrington.[8] Another Spanish mercantilist, Francisco Rétama, combined anti-Semitism with acknowledging that economic benefits to the state accrued from Jewish activity, advising Philip III that he could sap the economic strength of Spain's enemy, the Dutch Republic, by employing agents in Holland to incite feeling against the Jews and provoke their expulsion to Germany or Poland.[9]

And the changed intellectual and political climate did make an immense difference. For European Jewry, the opening decades of the new century were a time of rapid and mostly successful consolidation. Where readmission had already been

[4] Montchrétien, *Traicté*, pp. 191–2; Cole, *French Mercantilist Doctrines*, pp. 139–40.

[5] ASV CSM 1st ser., cxl, fos. 8^{v}–11, 34^{v}, cxli, fos. 168^{v}–9, and cxliii, fos. 19^{v}–21.

[6] González de Cellorigo, *Alegación*, preface and fo. 22^{v}.

[7] Gomes Solís, *Memoires*, pp. 12, 16.

[8] Samuel, 'Sir Thomas Shirley's "Project"' p. 195.

[9] AGS Estado 634, expediente no. 322, fos. 13–14.

secured, in the previous period, there was now a further increase in Jewish population, notably in Prague, Frankfurt, Mantua, Venice, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Livorno. At the same time, many more principalities—though rarely any free cities—invited the Jews to return, mostly after prolonged negotiation and on the basis of elaborate charters. This increasing stream of Jewish population and resources into western and central Europe flowed from three main external sources, though in Germany the major factor was internal migration, with Jews from the old-established communities in the ecclesiastical states fanning out to the north and south. The immigration from outside derived, firstly, from the Marrano population of Portugal: whereas during the middle decades of the sixteenth century, Portuguese New Christians reverting to Judaism had migrated mainly to Ottoman territory, by 1590 most of those leaving Portugal settled in Spain, France, Italy, the Low Countries, and Hamburg.[10] A second source of immigration was the Balkans from where Spanish-speaking Jews settled mainly in Venice, Livorno, and other parts of Italy, though a few moved on to Holland. Finally, there was also a steady trickle of immigration from Poland into Bohemia and Moravia and, to a lesser extent, Germany.

The influx of Portuguese into Spain had begun in the 1580s, following the annexation of Portugal to the Spanish crown in 1580. Qualitatively, this post-1580 immigration into Spain probably differed from earlier waves of Portuguese Marrano migration to Ottoman territory in being less specifically crypto-Jewish in character. Around 1580, the Portuguese Inquisition, its powers recently strengthened, began to arrest far more suspects and confiscate more New Christian property than previously, and it is likely that the new wave into Spain consisted as much (or more) of families fleeing their increasing vulnerability in Portugal, or seeking the economic opportunities now available in Spain, as of families concerned to preserve their Judaism, though, of course, all these motives frequently coalesced. But, whether or not those Portuguese Marranos who chose Spain rather than northern Europe or Ottoman territory were more Catholic than others, there can be no doubt that they formed a distinct sub-group in Castilian society, rarely intermarrying or assimilating socially with other Spaniards. Though the Portuguese Inquisition was now more virulent than the Spanish, cases of Judaizing crop up with increasing frequency in Spanish Inquisition files from the 1580s onwards, the prisoners being almost always 'Portuguese' immigrants or their children.[11] Thus, while many of the immigrants into Spain were content to live as good Catholics, Spaniards tended to view the whole group with a prejudiced eye, and there certainly were numerous crypto-Jews among them.

Despite meeting a habitual disdain—the anti-Semitic outbursts of Lope de Vega and Quevedo are all too characteristic—the Portuguese New Christian influx into Castile met with surprisingly little resistance. Within the space of half a century, several thousands of them settled in the Castilian cities, especially

[10] Nehama, *Histoire*, iii. 57–8.

[11] Caro Baroja, *Judíos*, i. 474–81.

Madrid, Seville, and Málaga, and quickly invaded Spanish commerce, particularly the wool trade, the import of cloth, and the traffic with the Indies. Sizeable groups also settled in the Spanish viceroyalties of Peru and Mexico, where they frequently acted as commercial agents of their relatives in Spain.[12] Yet the backlash remained largely psychological and literary. Inquisition persecution, down to the 1640s, continued to be rather muted compared with the situation in Portugal. Nor were there calls for the expulsion of the newcomers such as were voiced in this period by the city councils of France's Atlantic seaboard.

No doubt one reason for the ease of Portuguese Marrano entry into Spain was the lack of any vigorous native entrepreneurial class. In 1580, most of Spanish commerce was in the hands of immigrant Genoese, Flemings, and others who lacked the standing in the Castilian cities to prevent the incursion of fresh competition. Indeed, there are signs that the Genoese may have been even more unpopular than the Portuguese New Christians. Moreover, as from 1599, when a virulent epidemic swept the country, there was a sharp fall in the population of most Castilian cities, and this too eased matters for Marrano immigrants. And then account must be taken of the change in the attitude of the Spanish crown. Philip II (1556–98), the archetypal Counter-Reformation monarch, had been vehemently hostile to Jews and Portuguese New Christians alike. But the succession of Philip III in 1598 changed matters appreciably. The Duke of Lerma, the new favourite, was as close to being a *politique* as was then possible in Spain and softened his predecessor's policies in a variety of ways, including the granting of immunity, on Spanish soil, to English and Dutch Protestant seamen and merchants. Lerma also entered into negotiations with leaders of the Lisbon New Christian community, being eager to barter concessions for money. Despite vehement opposition from the Portuguese clergy and towns, he both eased the restrictions on New Christian emigration from Portugal and in 1605 arranged a papal general pardon for past religious offences which led to a temporary emptying of Portugal's Inquisition goals.[13] As part of this policy, Lerma took no steps to block the increasing Marrano percolation into Castile and pointedly began signing government contracts, for instance for naval supplies, with recently arrived Portuguese New Christian financiers.

The rapid progress of the 'Portuguese' in Castile during the Lerma period was debated several times by Philip III's councillors of state and finance. By 1620 most ministers acknowledged, were indeed prone to exaggerate, the success of the newcomers from Portugal in Castile's finance and trade. While most accepted that this had some advantages, others believed that the economic activity of the 'Portuguese' in Spain was damaging.[14] This emerges especially from deliberations

[12] García de Proodian, *Judíos en América*, pp. 27–31, 66–80.

[13] Gomes Solís, *Discursos*, pp. 12–13; Lúcio de Azevedo, *História*, pp. 155–68; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 66–7.

[14] AGS Hacienda 592, *consultas* 26 July 1620, 25 Feb. 1621, 24 July 1622; Cantera Burgos, 'Dos escriots', pp. 40, 45–7; Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda*, p. 128.

about contraband dealings and the problem of evasion of the Spanish crown's intricate system of commercial regulations. For the 'Portuguese' were notoriously active in the illegal export of Spanish silver to northern Europe and in evading the crown's numerous restrictions on trade with the Spanish Indies.[15] There is also evidence that it was mainly the Portuguese New Christians in Spain who were responsible for the damaging influx of counterfeit copper coinage, manufactured in Holland and imported surreptitiously, which greatly aggravated the monetary chaos experienced in Spain in the years 1615–21. Thus, it is not surprising that ministers disagreed over the wisdom of allowing 'Portuguese' financiers to take over the farming of customs duties and other royal revenues which in the past had been allocated to Genoese or other tax-farmers. One such debate concerned João Nunes da Veiga who, in 1620, applied for the farm of the customs imposts on overland trade between Castile and Aragon.[16] Despite strong misgivings, his bid was accepted and this merchant joined the growing band of Portuguese New Christians who held contracts with the Spanish government in the 1620s.

The debate about the Portuguese in Spain echoed the wider debate about Jews then in progress throughout western Europe. By 1600, Jewish activity was basic to the economy of Venice, but it was noticeable that it was spreading beyond the confines of Balkan and Adriatic trade. During the 1600–20 period, Portuguese Jews in Venice became active in Iberian trade, importing not only sugar and other colonial goods from Lisbon and Seville but also a sizeable share of the Spanish wool and Spanish American dyestuffs which were vital to Venice's principal industry, the manufacture of fine woollen cloth. Most of the ruling oligarchy accepted this expanding Jewish role, but not all. One who did not was Alvise Sanuto, a member of the Venetian board of trade who strongly dissented from the decision to renew the privileges of Venetian Jewry taken on the recommendation of most of his colleagues, in 1604.[17] Sanuto claimed that there were now more 'perfidious' Jews doing business on the Rialto than Christians and that the policy of the state since the 1570s had, in effect, favoured Jews at the expense of Christians, which he regarded as intolerable in a Christian Republic. Nor were Venice's Jews performing any indispensable function. As he saw it, there were Christians enough who could handle the merchandise the Jews dealt in.

Yet in Venice, as in Tuscany, there was, in general, remarkably little opposition to the shift in the balance of commercial power now underway. In Tuscany, indeed, that shift was more marked than at Venice. In the early sixteenth century, Florentine merchants had still been one of the leading mercantile groups in the Mediterranean. On the wane since the 1520s, when Florentines disappeared from the markets of the Balkans, they had steadily weakened in the late sixteenth century with the decline in Florence's cloth exports. Finally, in the decades

[15] AGS Estado 2308, expedientes 113 and 114.
[16] AGS Hacienda 592, *consulta* 26 July 1620.
[17] Ravid, *Economics and Toleration*, pp. 42–5.

1600–20, they effectively ceased to be an active trading group, the bulk of Tuscany's overseas trade now falling into the hands of the Portuguese Jews living in Pisa and Livorno. It was the Jewish merchants who acted as the main distributors of the English and Dutch products which were increasingly capturing the Italian market. But then Tuscany was an absolutist principality and both Ferdinando and his successor Cosimo II deemed it in the best interests of their state to favour the progress of the 'Portuguese'. As Shirley put it, the 'politique Duke of Florence will not leave his Jews for all other merchants whatsoever'.[18] Such a mercantile strategy inevitably provoked hostile comment yet would scarcely have been practicable had there been any really determined opposition.

In the Dutch provinces, the debate was as localized as were the country's politics generally. As usual in early seventeenth-century Europe, lip-service was paid to religious considerations, but it was the economic arguments and counter-arguments which counted. In practice, each city made its own decision, though at times, notably in the years 1614–15, there was some attempt to forge a Jewish policy for the province of Holland as a whole. At Amsterdam (and Hamburg), in contrast to Venice and Florence, the local bourgeoisie was burgeoning at this time, and yet there was the same lack of resistance to the rapid Jewish penetration, essentially because the Jews who settled there—mainly Marranos who came direct from Portugal—were bringing new trade which the city had previously lacked. As the freight-contracts drawn up before Amsterdam notaries reveal, in the period 1595–1620 nearly all Dutch Jewish commerce was with Portugal and the Portuguese colonies: their importing of sugar, Brazil-wood, and Indian diamonds, via Oporto and Lisbon, added to Amsterdam's stock of trade without competing with any pre-existing interests. The diamonds and other Asian products which they shipped in the early stages, notably cinnamon from Ceylon, came from Portuguese colonies where the Dutch East India Company had as yet failed to penetrate.[19] It is true that, at first, they also imported pepper; but this soon lapsed as the Company began shipping larger quantities of pepper to Europe than the merchants of Lisbon. However, the Christian guilds, in Amsterdam and Hamburg, successfully intervened with the city councils to block Jewish entry into shopkeeping and most of the crafts. Despite this, at any rate at Amsterdam, the Portuguese did gradually develop a flourishing, if somewhat narrow, craft sector based chiefly on the processing of colonial products imported from the Indies. This was already noticeable by 1620, though Amsterdam Jewish crafts then still consisted mainly of diamond-processing.[20] Jewish entry into the field was assisted by the prominence of Portuguese Jewish merchants in the importing of diamonds, most of which came via Goa and Lisbon. However, the techniques of diamond-cutting and polishing were learned from Christian craftsmen who had themselves recently migrated

[18] Samuel, 'Sir Thomas Shirley's "Project"', p. 195.
[19] Israel, 'Economic Contribution', pp. 508, 511.
[20] Fabião, 'Subsidios', pp. 476–80.

to Amsterdam, from Antwerp. Amsterdam had no previous flourishing jewel trade or industry and it is this which opened the way for the Jews, for there was no established guild to block their path.

Other Dutch towns were caught between a desire to emulate Amsterdam and fear of prejudicing the interests of their existing populations. And certainly Amsterdam was not the only attraction for the Jews themselves. Amsterdam treated its Jewish immigrants liberally in point of trade but refused to allow them into retailing and the crafts and for a long time would not allow public practice of Judaism in the city, only private prayer-sessions in the Jews' homes. Doubtless many were content with that, but others were intent on building a fuller Jewish community and life. In particular, there was a group, a mixture of Portuguese and 'Levantines', who arrived in the years around 1600, from Venice, and were used to a more developed form of Judaism than those who were fresh from Portugal or who had been living as New Christians in France or Antwerp. It was these Venetian Sephardim who applied to Haarlem in 1604–5 for permission to transfer there from Amsterdam with their families and erect a public synagogue.[21] The applicants styled themselves, no doubt somewhat to the bafflement of the burgomasters, as members of the 'Portuguese and Spanish nation, both Levantine and western Hebrews by origin, formerly living and professing the Jewish religion in Italy and parts of Turkey'. They offered to bring Haarlem trade with Venice and the Levant. This sparked a good deal of controversy in Haarlem, but the city council was interested enough to draw up a charter providing for the settlement of fifty Jewish families in the city and specifically allowing the public practice of Judaism and a public synagogue. Nothing came of the scheme, probably due to hard-line Calvinist opposition rather than failure to persuade enough Jews to move from Amsterdam. Either way, the orthodox tried again in 1610, when, once more embroiled in controversy, they secured a charter conferring the right to erect a public synagogue at Rotterdam.[22] But such were the protests that the city council cancelled the contract after just two years, whereupon a group of seven Jewish families moved back from Rotterdam to Amsterdam. Then, in 1612, the more committed element went ahead with the construction of a public synagogue in Amsterdam, lacking written permission but probably with a vague verbal assent from members of the city administration.[23] Again there was a furious outcry, this time partly fomented by Spanish agents, under orders from the Spanish minister in Brussels to incite Calvinists against the Jews. The more liberal members of the Amsterdam city council were forced to back down and the projected synagogue was stopped half-built. It was to take another twenty-seven years until a public synagogue was finally inaugurated in Amsterdam in 1639.

Following the controversies in Haarlem, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, the issue

[21] Seeligmann, 'Het marranen-probleem', p. 112; Reinach, 'Joseph Scaliger', p. 173.

[22] Hausdorff, *Jizkor*, pp. 8–11.

[23] AGS Estado 627, *consulta* 7 July 1612; Zwarts, *Eerste rabbijnen*, pp. 65–71; *SR*, vi. 116–17.

of the Jews and their religion was raised formally in the States of Holland, at The Hague, in 1614–15. Two written reports were drawn up and submitted to the States, one of which was composed by Grotius, who had already been involved in the Jewish debate in Rotterdam. Grotius's paper was liberal on some points, reactionary on others.[24] In his opening, he echoed Erasmus's dictum that nothing was more fundamentally at odds with Christianity than Judaism. And yet, he refused to regard the Jews as enemies or advocate their exclusion from the country, which in any case was no longer practicable as several town councils had already decided to admit them. He justified Jewish settlement in Holland on the grounds that opinion in some Dutch towns was receptive to them, by which he meant that their economic usefulness was widely perceived, and because it was the duty of every Christian to strive for the conversion of the Jews, which was hardly to be expected if the only Christianity they knew was the idolatrous cult of the Catholics. In any case, he averred, Christians needed to learn Hebrew and this was best done from Jews. Grotius, echoing the then policy of his own city, came out strongly against allowing public synagogues anywhere in the province. He also advocated that Christians be forbidden to attend Jewish worship, that conversion from Christianity to Judaism be outlawed, that Jews be rigorously excluded from public office, and that Jewish shops be made to close on Sundays and Christian holidays. Conventionally, he also wanted sexual contact between Christians and Jews forbidden. This may sound harsh, but such were the attitudes of the age that what is remarkable about all this is its relative generosity towards the Jews. For Grotius did not advocate segregation of Jews into sealed-off ghettos and, most noteworthy of all, did not demand their exclusion from shopkeeping and the crafts—as was then the policy of Amsterdam. Both this debate, and another States of Holland discussion on the Jews in 1619, proved inconclusive. No policy for the province, or the Dutch Republic as a whole, was ever formulated.

Meanwhile, in Germany, Jewish life continued to expand along the same lines as in the period 1570–1600, that is, principally in the ecclesiastical states and at Frankfurt and Hamburg. At Halberstadt, where Jews reappeared at the close of the sixteenth century, their resettlement in the town was formally confirmed by the bishop in 1606, and, with the latter's permission, a public synagogue was erected in 1621.[25] In the bishopric of Strasbourg, Jews now resettled in several localities from which they had previously been excluded.[26] Similarly, there are clear signs of expanding Jewish communities in the archbishoprics of Cologne and Mainz and in bishoprics such as Speyer, Paderborn, Bamberg, and Münster. Nevertheless, Jews continued to be shut out of episcopal capitals such as Münster and Würzburg and restricted to a handful of families in the cities of Mainz, Minden and others. The Imperial Free Cities by and large continued to debar

[24] Grotius, *Remonstrantie*, pp. 112–16.
[25] Frankl, 'Politische Lage', p. 322; Saville, *Juif de cour*, p. 17.
[26] Weiss, *Juden im Fürstbistum Straßburg*, pp. 21–3.

Jews altogether. The Hamburg Senate placed its protection of the Portuguese community and its right to practise Judaism on a formal footing under a charter drawn up in 1612.[27] But German Jews continued to be excluded from Hamburg, as they were from Lübeck, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and the city of Cologne. Moreover, the Hamburg Portuguese were debarred from all crafts and shop-keeping and obliged to practise Judaism, like their relatives in Holland, only in the privacy of their homes.

Like Hamburg, and in contrast to Lübeck, a number of small towns along the north German coast, and also the Danish crown in its territory in Schleswig-Holstein, showed interest in attracting Portuguese if not German Jews. Emden acquired a small, if mostly transitory Portuguese community in the years around 1600. Stade, to the west of Hamburg, negotiated a contract with a group of Amsterdam Jews in 1611, inviting them to set up a sugar-refinery, the Jews providing the capital, equipment, and skilled personnel.[28] A small, probably short-lived community does seem to have taken root. More significant was the initiative taken by Christian IV of Denmark, a keen mercantilist, in 1619. This Danish king had recently founded a new town in Holstein, some forty miles down river from Hamburg towards the sea, which he called Glückstadt, and which he hoped would one day rival Hamburg in trade, though the Jews joked that it neither was a *Stadt* nor enjoyed much *Glück*. Needing merchants and capital, which were both in short supply in the Danish lands, the king sought to attract Dutch Arminians and Portuguese Jews. In 1619, he drew up terms with a group of Hamburg Portuguese, following this up, in 1622, with a royal letter offering generous terms, sent to the Portuguese community in Amsterdam.[29] Christian offered greater religious and economic freedom than was currently on offer from either Hamburg or Amsterdam. It is noticeable that several of the Portuguese who did move to Glückstadt around 1620 proceeded to set up sugar, soap, and olive-oil refineries. By 1623, there were twenty-nine families of Portuguese Jews in Glückstadt, representing 8 per cent of the town's population. Friedrich III, Duke of Holstein-Gottorf, who purchased jewels from, and had other dealings with, Sephardim in Hamburg, emulated Christian's example and sought to attract both Dutch Remonstrants and Portuguese Jews to his ports of Friedrichstadt and Tönning in the 1620s, though it is not clear with how much, if any, success as regards the Jews.[30]

Given the appeal of the Portuguese in North Germany, it is curious to find that Frankfurt, which tolerated the largest Ashkenazi community in the empire after that of Prague, refused to admit a group of Venetian Portuguese Jews who applied

[27] Cassuto, 'Neue Funde', pp. 58–63.

[28] *SR*, vi. 116–17; Asaria, *Juden in Niedersachsen*, p. 180.

[29] Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 61–3; Köhn, 'Ostfriesen', pp. 81–3; meanwhile at Altona the Jewish population grew from four families, in 1611, to thirty families by 1622: Marwedel, *Privilegien der Juden in Altona*, p. 50.

[30] Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 70–1.

to settle there in 1609. It may be that, whereas the Portuguese in North Germany were bringing in new products and types of trade at a time when commerce with the Iberian Peninsula was being increasingly dominated by Holland, so that admitting Jews meant gaining ground commercially without damaging vested local interests, in the case of Frankfurt the transit trade overland, from the Low Countries to Italy, was shrinking (owing to the success of Dutch shipping) but well established, so that admitting Venetian Portuguese would have harmed local merchants. But, whatever the reason, no Portuguese community seems to have taken root anywhere in central or southern Germany, though the group turned away from Frankfurt did negotiate also with the Count of Hanau. The Ashkenazi community of Frankfurt continued to increase after 1600 but much more slowly than in the period 1570–1600 when it multiplied by at least three times. The ghetto's inhabitants increased from around 2,500 in 1600 to still under 3,000 by 1620. An even more marked arrestation of growth is noticeable at Friedberg, where the Jewish population nearly doubled, from 56 to 107 families, in less than three decades, from 1585 to 1609, before falling back to 99 families in 1620.

The probable reason for the slowing down in growth in the established Jewish centres of central Germany was the increasing tendency of secular states which had previously debarred Jews to change their policy. Jews returned to several localities in the Palatinate at this time, including the town of Landau from which they had been expelled in 1545.[31] The Margrave of Ansbach allowed Jewish resettlement in his principality, from which they had been expelled in 1561, under a charter drawn up in 1603; Jews were not, as yet, allowed back into the town of Ansbach itself but were permitted to form communities at Crailsheim, Creglingen, and neighbouring places.[32] In the county of Hanau, Jews were allowed to resettle following a famous three-sided theological disputation between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Jews, one of the participants being the English Puritan controversialist Hugh Broughton. In 1603, the Count designated a 'Jewish Street' in Hanau and settled the first ten Ashkenazi families there.[33] By 1607, there were already 159 Jews in Hanau, a number which rose rapidly thereafter. The Count also permitted the building of a public synagogue which was inaugurated in 1608.

In Germany, as in Italy, the change of policy toward the Jews owed something to a handful of urban patricians but was chiefly the work of princes. The increasing reintegration of Jewry into the mainstream of European life was thus inseparable from the growing trend towards princely absolutism. Wherever princely power continued to be restrained by representative assemblies and diets, as in the electorates of Brandenburg and Saxony or in the Lower Rhine duchies, Jewish re-entry rarely, or never, occurred. In France, similarly, it was the crown which protected the Marranos and which had allowed Jewish settlement at Metz, and the

[31] Arnold, *Juden in der Pfalz*, pp. 20–2.
[32] Cohen, 'The "Small Council"', pp. 371–2; Sauer, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden*, pp. 59, 63.
[33] Rosenthal, *Juden im Gebiet der ehemaligen Grafschaft Hanau*, pp. 50–2.

Papacy which permitted Jewish life in Avignon. The towns and clergy were altogether more hostile, and the last meeting of the French States-General, in 1614, led to an eruption of renewed anti-Jewish feeling. It was in response to this that the regency government reissued the fourteenth-century decree expelling the Jews from France, though nothing of a practical nature was done to enforce it. But neither did the ill-feeling against the Portuguese in the Atlantic ports desist. The worst incident occurred at St Jean de Luz, in 1619, when a certain Catherine Rodrigues, newly arrived from Portugal, was burned at the stake for having emerged from church and spat out the holy wafer. Her execution sparked fierce popular riots against the Marranos followed by their expulsion from the town. Most moved only a short distance, however, to Bayonne and neighbouring places, notably Labastide-Clairence and Peyrehorade.

Nor was there any sign of change in popular attitudes in Italy. There were riots against the Jews in Verona in 1599. At Mantua, in 1602, there was a particularly vicious upsurge of popular fury incited by a Franciscan friar. Such was the uproar that the Duke deemed it politic to hang seven Jews for blasphemy and introduce additional measures to limit contact between Jews and Christians. But the most widespread agitation was in central Germany in the lands of the Margrave of Bayreuth and especially on the Middle Rhine in and around Frankfurt.[34] The departure of the Dutch Calvinist community from Frankfurt, in the early years of the century, pushed the city into sharp decline at a time when the Jewish population and its activity continued to expand. In particular, the Lutheran cloth guilds were feeling the pinch and local textile production was in full decay. The invasion of German markets by Dutch and English cloth at this time was in any case inevitable, but Jews were active in the importing of foreign cloth and for those who suffered they were the only available scapegoat. Once the Calvinists had been ejected there was no one else on whom the guilds could vent their deepening sense of economic grievance. Thus the Fettmilch rising of 1614–15, the biggest in Frankfurt's history, was essentially economic in character, though it made use of Luther's abusive rhetoric and also evinced hostility towards the ruling patricians. But, in form, the revolt was an attack on the Jews.[35]

The ferment in central Germany began around 1610. In 1612, guild-leaders in Frankfurt, headed by Vincent Fettmilch, began to submit a series of vehement complaints against the Jews to the city council. The working people's leaders reprinted Luther's tract *On the Jews and their Lies* and adroitly manipulated the economic and religious sentiments of the artisan masses. Tension became so acute that the Emperor Mathias intervened, trying to mediate between the guilds and the city council. Finally, on 22 August 1614, Fettmilch triggered a full-scale

[34] Eckstein, *Juden im Markgrafentum Bayreuth*, pp. 25–30; Kracaueer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, i. 358–70.

[35] Wagenseil, *Belehrung*, pp. 112–17; Schaab, *Diplomatische Geschichte*, pp. 202–7; Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, i. 370–92.

insurrection against the patriciate and seized the city hall. Having taken control, the insurgents then turned their attention on the barricaded ghetto. After some hours of tumult, the mob broke in and pillaged the homes of the Jews. It is remarkable, though, that there was no mass slaughter. In that respect times had indeed changed since the massacres of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Apparently only two Jews were murdered. The rest of the community, beaten and humiliated, were herded into their cemetery from where they were summarily expelled from the city. The news of events at Frankfurt spread rapidly along the Rhine valley. At Worms, the guilds took to the streets, ransacked the city's ancient synagogue, and expelled the 1,400 Jews who lived there. Further south, with the assent of the Margrave, the Jews were expelled from the territory of Baden.

The riots, and especially the risings in Frankfurt and Worms, were regarded as a challenge to their authority by both the ecclesiastical princes and the Emperor. And it was the princes who had their way. Troops were raised by the Emperor and the Elector of Mainz to restore order. Frankfurt was taken and Fettmilch and his fellow ringleaders caught and hanged. The former city council was restored to power and the order expelling the Jews rescinded. The exiles were escorted back into the city by soldiery under the Emperor's banner.[36] Edicts were proclaimed ordering the restitution of property stolen from the Jews. The city council even agreed to pay towards the cost of repairing the synagogue and Jewish houses damaged in the riots. In January 1616, the Jews were escorted back into Worms, again under armed guard and the Imperial banner. To conclude the proceedings, Mathias conferred new privileges on the Jews of Frankfurt and Worms, taking them under his special protection and curtailing the rights of the city councils over the Jewish communities in their own cities.

[36] Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, ii. 61–2.

IV
Jewish Culture (1550–1650)

In his *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, a difficult, somewhat rambling work in Portuguese, published at Ferrara in 1553 and reprinted at Amsterdam in 1559, Samuel Usque, a western Jew thoroughly versed in Latin, Christian theology, and the vernacular literatures of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, agonized over the tragedy of the expulsions from the west, probing for hidden meanings and striving to relate such suffering and turmoil to his certainty of the uniqueness of Israel and its mission among mankind. The book is profoundly western and European. And yet it derives from no specific regional milieu. Rather, it expresses a distinctively Jewish outlook and mentality. It diverges radically from the prevailing attitudes of western culture while yet being profoundly European itself. Its content is a coherent but rather startling mix which in several ways exemplifies the new Jewish culture which began to form and take root during the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Usque's book is at once realistic and enquiring, preoccupied with general history and politics and yet also mystical and poetic, permeated with longing for what is felt to be an imminent redemption and ingathering of the Jews to Jerusalem.[1] Expressions of resentment against Spain and the Papacy, and of appreciation of Ottoman Turkey, alternate with mystical effusions proclaiming the pending revival and triumph of the House of Israel.

The radical transformation of Jewish culture which occurred during the middle decades of the sixteenth century was, assuredly, one of the most fundamental and remarkable phenomena distinguishing post-Temple Jewish history. Whereas medieval and Renaissance Italian Jewish intellectual life was essentially Talmudic, confined in the main to ritual and legal matters which left European Jewry either impoverished culturally (as in Germany and France) or else closely attuned to the philosophical, literary, and artistic pursuits of their Muslim and Christian neighbours (as in Spain and Italy), the changes of the mid-sixteenth century produced an altogether more rounded, complete, and coherent Jewish culture. Jewish society, indeed Jewish nationhood, as something distinct from Jewish religion, now emerged as much more definite realities than before. As late as the early sixteenth century, some Italian Jewish scholars, perhaps including, in a certain sense, the great Azariah de' Rossi, had adhered to traditional Judaism rather than inhabited a specifically Jewish cultural world.[2] Intellectually, they had immersed themselves in the learning of their non-Jewish contemporaries. From around 1550, by contrast, Jewish scholars, in Italy and all parts of Europe, lived and worked in a cultural atmosphere increasingly removed from that of their neighbours, even

[1] Usque, *Consolaçam*, iii. 53^{v}, 62–75.

[2] Barzilay, *Between Reason and Faith*, pp. 183–91; but see Bonfil, 'Some Reflections', pp. 32–3, 37.

though, and here is the central paradox, in close touch and constantly interacting with it. Allegiance to traditional Judaism now fused with a whole package of new elements: a much intensified political and historical awareness, a new involvement in poetry, music, and drama, an urgent, if somewhat rambling, quest to incorporate fragments of western philosophy and science into the emerging corpus of Jewish culture, all welded by a far more potent current of mysticism than had ever pervaded the Jewish world previously.

A radical reorientation was, in any case, inevitable given the immensity of the changes of the material and social context of Jewish life, resulting from the transfer of the bulk of the Jewish population of western and central Europe, during the century 1470–1570, to Polish and Ottoman territory. And certainly the vastly changed social and economic environment had a good deal to do with the reshaping of European Jewry's outlook and mentality during the mid-sixteenth century. But it would be a mistake to infer from this that the new culture was something forged in the east and then, over a period of two or three decades, transferred to the reviving communities in the west. Rather, the mid-sixteenth-century flowering of Jewish civilization, with its distinctive mix of political and mystical, secular and religious themes, seems to have arisen simultaneously in the east and west and with only a slight time-lag as between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi zones. Indeed, it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that post-Temple Jewish culture attained its highest degree of cohesion, as well as autonomy from Christendom and Islam, precisely in the centuries 1550–1750. There was, of course, much in it that was anti-rationalist and resistant to intellectual trends in the non-Jewish west, but there can be no mistaking its novel and, in some ways, rather modern character.

The great influx into Poland and the Levant moulded a preponderant central mass of the Jewish people which was German- or Spanish-speaking in lands where non-Jews spoke neither German nor Spanish. This was one factor lending unity and cohesion of outlook while, at the same time, interposing distance between Jewish culture and that of the surrounding populace. Among the spiritual centres of mid-sixteenth-century Jewry, the most important was not Cracow, Salonika, or Jerusalem but Safed, in Galilee, which, owing to its flourishing textile industry, at this time had more than twice the Jewish population of Jerusalem. The quickening of spiritual activity in the Holy Land communities, and the recently arisen ascendancy there of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and German immigrants, helped tighten the links between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi zones and reinforced the overall cohesion of Jewish culture. As conditions changed in western and central Europe, from around 1570, these Galilean influences spread westwards, fusing with local trends which display a clear affinity with those in the Levant, at any rate in Italy, by as early as 1550.

In Italy, the radical reorientation of the mid-sixteenth century was caused less by the influx of immigration from Spain, Portugal, and the Balkans (though this was a factor) than by the programme of ghettoization and the upsurge of conver-

sionist zeal and propaganda emanating from the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Before 1555, Italian Jews did not dwell in ghettos and had participated if not fully, then extensively, in the intellectual pursuits of the Renaissance, including philosophical debate. Now this was impossible, not only due to the much intensified ideological assault which denounced Judaism, as one scholar has put it, as 'theologically inconsistent, idolatrous, irrational and immoral',[3] but also because of the ghetto itself. The ghetto, as an instrument of the Counter-Reformation, was specifically designed to segregate Jews from Christian life—to reduce contact at every level—and this it certainly did. But while the ghetto was a mark of humiliation, intended to remove Jewish influences from Italian life, this powerful cultural device enhanced Jewish political and educational autonomy and powerfully boosted the vitality and comprehensiveness of Jewish culture.

Following the Papacy's imposition of ghettos at Rome and Ancona in 1555, and Cosimo I's forming of ghettos at Florence and Siena in 1571, the programme of ghettoization spread steadily down to the 1630s.[4] The 400 Jews of Verona were forced into a ghetto at the time of the troubles there, in 1599, and the 900 Jews of Padua, soon afterwards, in 1601–3. At Mantua, the ghetto was imposed in 1612, at Rovigo, after three years of deliberations, in 1615, at Ferrara in 1624–6, in the duchy of Urbino (three ghettos) in 1634 and at Modena in 1638. It is true that, at Turin and the other communities of Savoy, the Jews were not made to live in ghettos until much later, and that in Livorno they were never subjected to it. But Livorno, for all its centrality in commerce during the seventeenth century, was a medium-sized, rather isolated town, many of whose Christian residents were in fact foreign Protestants. In any case, the main Jewish language in Livorno was Portuguese, not Italian. Culturally, Livorno can in some respects be said to have been the ghetto of Tuscany.

Many of the ghettos, including that of Venice, were surrounded by high walls and possessed only two or three gateways. The strategy pursued by Church and State was to isolate Jews from Christians not just at night but also during the evening. The gates were closed from sunset to dawn and during these hours it was forbidden for any Jew to be outside, except where special exemptions applied, and these were infrequent. The inevitable effect was to compress Jewish social and intellectual life, largely, if not entirely, within the ghetto. This meant that Jewish literary, musical, and artistic activity had no choice but to become much more inward-looking than previously. It was natural, in these circumstances, that inspiration should tend to derive from other Jewish communities, however distant, rather than from the local environment. For these reasons there occurred in the 1570s and 1580s a sudden tremendous proliferation of local Jewish societies and fraternities. Many were charitable, concerned with helping the poor or the sick,

[3] Bonfil, 'Some Reflections', p. 36.

[4] Ciscato, *Ebrei in Padova*, pp. 79–83; Luzzatto, 'Comunità ebraica di Rovigo', pp. 513–14; Milano, *Storia*, p. 264.

but others were study groups, or concerned with mystical piety, or furthering education, and all contributed to the burgeoning social life of the ghetto.[5]

In Germany, there was no exact parallel to the ghettoization programme in Italy, for the Jews were anyway mostly excluded from the towns and cities. At Frankfurt, the community had been transferred to a ghetto as early as 1462. Like the ghettos of Rome and Venice, that of Frankfurt suffered by 1600 far worse overcrowding than applied even in the most disadvantaged Christian neighbourhoods. But, by and large, Jewish segregation in pre-1620 Germany took the form of confining Jews to villages and small towns close enough to the main centres for purposes of commerce but too remote for participation in cultural and social life. Schnaitach was somewhat exceptional in being largely a Jewish village but, apart from Frankfurt and Worms, nearly all the synagogues and study centres were tucked away in such locations as Deutz, Warendorf, Friedberg, Günzburg, and Weisenau.

The growing historical consciousness of early modern Jewry manifested itself in the large number of chronicles of various kinds composed during the sixteenth century.[6] Especially notable, and most novel, was Selomoh ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehudah*, compiled in the 1520s, an account of the persecutions of the Jews from the devastation of the Second Temple to the early sixteenth century. Ibn Verga, a Spanish exile who lived for a time as a forced Christian in Portugal, before reverting to Judaism in Italy, poignantly grapples with the problem of hatred of the Jews and the question of his people's destiny. He is notable for his disdainful attitude towards medieval culture, Jewish and non-Jewish, his entwining of Hebrew and non-Hebrew sources, and a generally critical attitude mixed with a certain poetic fervour. The work was first published in 1554, possibly in Adrianople. In the same year, there appeared Joseph HaCohen's remarkable history of the kings of France and the Turkish sultans. Shortly after, Benjamin Nehemiah of Civitanova treated the problem of papal hostility in his chronicle of Pope Paul IV. Gedaliah ibn Yahya (1515–78), born into an eminent Portuguese Jewish family, after it had transferred to the Papal States, wrote the famous history *Shalshelet ha-Cabbalah* (Chain of Tradition) which was published at Venice in 1587 and on many occasions subsequently. On the expulsion from the Papal States, in 1569, ibn Yahya moved first to Ferrara and later to Egypt, where he died. Another noteworthy chronicler was David Gans (1541–1613), a Westphalian Jew who migrated to Bohemia and spent most of his life in Prague. Gans was much interested in astronomy as well as history and knew both Kepler and Tycho Brahe personally. But, for all his eagerness for a broader, more secular Jewish culture, he showed little true scientific inclination. His chronicle, published at Prague in 1592, concentrates on general history but selects events meaningful from the Jewish point of view, such as the

[5] Simonsohn, *History*, pp. 549–53; Shulvass, *Jews in the World of the Renaissance*, pp. 80–2.

[6] Shulvass, *Jews in the World of the Renaissance*, pp. 299–303.

burning of the Franciscan friar Cornelio at Rome in 1553, for adopting Jewish ideas, and the burning of Servetus at Geneva in 1554, for denying the divinity of Jesus.[7]

One of Gans's main preoccupations is with the rising tide of theological strife and political dissension within the Christian world surrounding European Jewry.[8] The unmistakable strain of optimism which permeates Gans's chronicle assuredly derives from his perception that it was the split in western Christendom which had revolutionized his world and, at long last, eased the terrible burden of oppression from the shoulders of his people. He is not just deeply fascinated by the spectacle of Christian dissension but, understandably enough, comforted and heartened by it. Gans's political attitudes and psychology are highly evocative of the changing outlook of European Jews of his time. He extols the ideal of the wise and upright ruler, able and willing to curb the violence and fanaticism of the masses, safeguarding the well-being of dissenting minorities. He fears the people and the churches, placing his confidence in the growing strength of rulers. What we have here is that clear leaning toward absolutism which permeated the outlook of European Jewry generally in the early modern period.

The rise of a Jewish secular culture and set of attitudes was a key manifestation of the dawning new age. Amid the proliferation of ghetto fraternities and societies began to flow a stream of new communal music and poetry, needed to alleviate and uplift the teeming congestion of the potentially demoralizing ghetto milieu. The poetry was mainly composed in Spanish, Italian, and Hebrew and as a rule focused on historical or Old Testament themes. To some extent, the Jewish music of this period emulated conventional western techniques and styles, but it also incorporated Levantine elements and was adopted to a specifically Jewish milieu, being usually much less ornate than contemporary courtly music. From this point on, the presence of substantial numbers of musicians, especially string players, was a typical feature of virtually all Jewish communities, even very small ones, in Italy, Germany, and Poland alike. At least in Italy, the cultivation of choral music was also very popular. Among the most notable of the poets was Selomoh Usque (*c.*1530–*c.*1596), who published both Spanish and Italian verse, including his much-admired rendering, into Spanish, of Petrarch's sonnets which was published at Venice in 1567. Another was the accomplished Venetian poetess, Sarah Coppio Sullam (*c.*1592–1641), who was acclaimed for her beauty, wit, and imperviousness to the attempts of Catholic priests to convert her, as well as her sonnets. Another was Paulo de Pina (Reuel Jesurun; *c.*1575–1634), a Portuguese Marrano who originally intended to become a friar, in Italy, until persuaded to reject Christianity by the polemicist Eliau Montalto. De Pina reverted to open Judaism at Amsterdam, in 1604, and there composed a dramatic poem in justification of Judaism entitled *Dialogo dos Montes* which was recited in the *Bet Ya'acov*

[7] Gans, *Zemach David*, p. 109; Neher, *David Gans*, p. 87.
[8] Breuer, 'Modernism and Traditionalism', pp. 71–4, 78.

synagogue in Amsterdam, in 1624, interspersed with musical interludes.[9] But the most impressive of the poets was a Portuguese crypto-Jew of Rouen, João Pinto Delgado (*c.*1585–1653), whose poems reflect many of the Jewish cultural pre-occupations of the time. His moving *Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah* scans the tragedies of Jewish history in search of consolation and salvation.[10] Pinto Delgado's Jewish poems, all in Spanish, were published at Rouen in 1627.

The Spanish migrants to the Levant of 1492 had brought with them a tradition of Hebrew chant for the synagogue and a rich collection of Spanish folk song and ballad (as well as guitar and vihuela playing) which survived down to the twentieth century. In the new milieu, however, their non-synagogal music became largely divorced from any non-Jewish context and developed into a distinctive mix of Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish melodies. Several song-books, such as that printed by Selomoh ben Mazal Tov, in 1545, helped give form to this new musical culture which received added impulse from the mystical Neoplatonic currents emanating from Safed, which placed much emphasis on music. Then, from the 1570s, as Levantine Spaniards began to return westwards to Italy, and later Holland, their musical heritage began to mix with the native Italian tradition which was also grappling with the problem of integrating secular music into a Jewish milieu. In Italy, the trend was influenced by the courtly styles then prevalent, a number of late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Italian Jews being active as court musicians. Of these, the most notable was Salomone de' Rossi, at Mantua. Most of de' Rossi's secular music was not composed for Jews and is typical of the courtly works of the time, but he also compiled a corpus of less ornate music for the synagogue and the Jewish community. Encouraged by members of the Sullam family and by Leone da Modena, as great an enthusiast for music as for poetry and the theatre, he published his settings of Hebrew hymns and psalms, for groups of three to eight voices, at Venice in 1622.

The invasion of a broader musical culture into the tight framework of Jewish community life raised new controversies among the rabbis as to whether, and when, instruments and choirs could be used in synagogue. The introduction of choirs into Italian synagogues in the years around 1600 provoked much argument and moved Leone da Modena, one of the chief promoters of the practice, who instituted a choir to accompany services in his synagogue at Ferrara in 1603, to issue a judgement berating those who disapproved of the innovations.[11] The Amsterdam and Hamburg Sephardi communities followed Venice in the use of choirs and musical renderings. While all rabbis agreed that musical instruments were debarred from synagogue on the sabbath and most festivals, there was disagreement as to whether their use was permitted on Simchat Torah, the most joyous festival in the Jewish calendar. Despite opposition, the use of instruments, or, at any rate, of harpsichord accompaniments to choirs, on Simchat Torah as

[9] Adler, *Musical Life*, p. 15.
[10] Oelman, *Marrano Poets*, pp. 99–119.
[11] Rivkin, *Leon da Modena*, p. 56; Adler, *La Pratique musicale*, pp. 52–3.

well as on ordinary days did spread from Venice to Amsterdam, Hamburg, and other Sephardi centres.[12]

Just as music was adapted and incorporated into the emerging pattern of early modern European Jewish life, so had Jewish culture to absorb at least some elements of western philosophy and science. The rabbis argued intermittently over how much of such learning could be permitted, but the general trend, in the formative period 1550–1650, was to allow a tentative synthesis of traditional Talmudic and the new western learning, though the new, doubting, 'philosophic spirit' itself was definitely rejected, as it had to be. Nor was secular learning to have any independence from Talmudic pursuits: what was allowed was the fusing, or rather subordination, of certain ingredients, notably mathematics and astronomical speculation, into the rabbinic system. This was the hallmark of the cultural efflorescence of Prague at the end of the sixteenth century. It is also true of the great rabbinical scholars of Poland, though the latter were somewhat more conservative than their counterparts at Prague. Moses Isserles (*c.*1530–72), the chief luminary of Jewish Cracow, strove above all to order and systematize the vast mass of traditional learning while at the same time reconciling it with the new mysticism and with some ingredients of philosophy and science. The foremost scholar of the eastern territories, Solomon Luria (*c.*1510–74), was similarly occupied, though he was hostile to philosophy.

One of the most remarkable of the great synthesizers was Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo (1591–1655), a mind obsessed with the problems of reconciling Talmudic erudition with cabbala, and both of these with western philosophy and science.[13] Born in Crete, Delmedigo became a medical student at Padua (then the only European university to accept Jewish students) where he also studied astronomy under Galileo. From Italy, Delmedigo passed to Egypt and Constantinople before moving on to Poland, and then Vilna, where he was appointed physician to Prince Radziwiłł around 1620. Subsequently, he spent periods in Hamburg and Amsterdam before moving on to Frankfurt and finally Prague, where he died. Delmedigo was neither profound nor an innovator, but he does stand out for the vast range of his interests and tireless efforts to reconcile and weld the components of his thought into a coherent whole. Restlessness, a vast range of interests, and periodic confusion pervade his life and writing, but his intellectual and spiritual quest, inconclusive as it was, epitomized that of his whole people in its new stage of cultural development.

But undeniably the most powerful factor shaping early modern Jewish culture was the new cabbalism emanating from Safed.[14] It is, of course, true that the tradi-

[12] Adler, *Musical Life*, p. 20.

[13] Barzilay, *Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo*, pp. 169, 175–6, 292–3.

[14] Scholem, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 244–6; Barzilay, *Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo*, pp. 223–38; Bonfil, *Rabbis and Jewish Communities*, pp. 280–98; Idel, 'Spanish Kabbalah', pp. 168–78; id., 'Religion, Thought and Attitudes', pp. 130–8.

tion of cabbala reached back over the ages to its founding work, the *Zohar*, compiled in Spain in the late thirteenth century. Yet in the later Middle Ages and through the first half of the sixteenth century, cabbalistic mysticism remained a marginal phenomenon in Jewish life, the partially hidden preserve of small coteries of initiates. The main stream went largely unaffected. But, in the Holy Land during the sixteenth century, Jewish life was dominated by the community at Safed; and Safed now came heavily under the sway of cabbalistic cliques and schools. The principal figures in this upsurge of mystical endeavour and speculation in Galilee were a Spanish Jew, Moses Cordovero (1522–70), and Isaac Luria (1534–72), a holy man of Ashkenazi descent who spent most of his life in Egypt before settling in Safed towards the end of his life. During the third quarter of the sixteenth century the ferment in Galilee was at its height. Cordovero completed his chief work, the *Pardes Rimmonim*, around 1550, and, from this point on, cabbalistic influence emanating from Safed spread rapidly through the Jewish communities of the Balkans and Italy, fusing with local trends toward a more mystical Judaism. Although the *Pardes Rimmonim* was not printed until it appeared at Salonika, in 1584, one of the chief promoters of the new cabbalism in Italy, Menahem Azariah da Fano (1548–1620), was propagating Cordovero's system as an integral part of *yeshivah* studies in Venice as early as the 1570s. Subsequently, he and his disciples also transmitted the system of Luria, though without wholly displacing Cordovero.[15] Apart from Venice, the cities of Modena, Reggio, and Mantua all emerged as key centres for the propagation of cabbala in this period.

Gradually, Cordovero's cabbala also percolated further north, the *Pardes Rimmonim* being reprinted at Cracow, the main publishing centre of Polish Jewry, in 1592. But the spiritual transformation that came about after 1550 was not merely a broadening and popularization of cabbala. Isaac Luria, whose life, visions, and teaching made a unique impact on his following in the Holy Land, eventually came to exert a pervasive influence over the innermost workings of the Jewish soul.[16] Though Luria himself never set down his teaching in written form, his sayings and concepts were collected by his disciples, most notably by Haim Vital, in a key compilation known as the *Ets Haim* (Tree of Life) assembled in the 1570s. In Luria, the deeds of man are invested with deep significance, everyday acts of piety being linked to a vast cosmological drama which is enacted to set right the defects of the world and ultimately restore all to its proper place. According to Luria, the Almighty, though infinite and perfect, does not fully manifest His perfection in the world until a certain point. The role of the Messiah, in Luria, was not to bring about redemption: rather, the task of redeeming humanity and the world is imposed on the whole Jewish people in mystical communion with God through prayer, observance, and deeds of piety. Only when this process of spiritual preparation and building is accomplished is the world ripe for the coming

[15] Tishby, 'Confrontation', pp. 8–20; Bonfil, *Rabbis and Jewish Communities*, pp. 280–98.
[16] Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, introduction.

of the Messiah. Thus, Luria arrived at an original explanation of evil, and the way man surmounts evil, a vision which came to exert an immense fascination on a people reeling from heavy setbacks yet buoyed by a formidable inner vitality and capacity for growth. Luria activated their underlying and intensifying messianic expectations, linking these to the doings of every individual.

Little by little, mainly through the medium of sermons and study groups, the Lurianic system percolated into the Balkans and Italy where it was first propagated in the 1590s by Israel Sarug. After 1600, it began to reach into Poland, Germany, and Holland. One of its principal exponents in the early seventeenth century, a key figure in western European Jewry's intellectual history, was Abraham Cohen Herrera (*c.*1570–1635). In early life, Herrera dwelt by turns as a New Christian and a Jew in Lisbon, Tuscany, Venice, and Morocco before passing to Cadiz, with a special licence from the Spanish crown, on the business of the Moroccan Sultan. In 1595, he was captured by the English, in their raid on Cadiz, and taken to London where he was imprisoned for a time before being released on the intercession of the Sultan. Around 1600, he settled in Ragusa where he studied the Lurianic system under Israel Sarug. After this, he joined the trickle of other former Marranos who had acquired their Judaism in Venice and the Levant and who moved to Holland soon after 1600. He spent the rest of his life at Amsterdam. Writing in Spanish, Herrera compiled a philosophic-cabbalistic work, the *Puerta del Cielo*, which set out to express Luria's system in terms of western Neoplatonic vocabulary.[17] His thought became a prime influence on the intellectual formation of Amsterdam Jewry, much as other Levantine and Venetian Jews shaped Amsterdam Sephardi Jewry's early organization and music.

Meanwhile, the pre-eminent figure in central European Jewish culture was Rabbi Judah Loew, the Maharal of Prague (*c.*1525–1609). The Maharal, like Luria, was deeply involved in the problem of Jewish exile and suffering and their meaning for the redemption of mankind. He reflected many of the cultural impulses of his time, preoccupying himself with mathematics and sanctioning scientific study which did not infringe Jewish practice and belief. Like his Polish contemporaries, he incorporated various cabbalistic ideas into his concept of higher study. It was also typical of him to impart radically new interpretations to traditional rabbinic texts and issues. The Maharal's various writings span a vast range of topics. One work, *Nesah Israel* (Eternity of Israel) (1600), is entirely devoted to the problem of redemption.[18] Here, a radical twist is given to traditional Jewish messianism, imparting an active role to the Jewish people in a way rather different from, and more specifically historical than, that envisaged by Luria. Loew sees the relationship between Israel and the other nations of the world—he takes nationhood to be the primary unit of mankind—as a perennial dialectic, the fundamental confrontation underlying history. The election of Israel he interprets

[17] Scholem, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 257–8, 410.

[18] Gross, *Messianisme juif*, pp. 85–99, 115, 126; Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, pp. 65–6.

as a divine burden, a continuing partnership between the Almighty and Jewry designed to lift the nations step by step from idolatry, superstition, and impurity.

The Maharal's vision of Israel interacting with the peoples surrounding it, while preserving its national and cultural separateness, corresponds in some senses to what became the actuality in late sixteenth-century Europe. The Jews of the west, though culturally now more removed from their neighbours than previously, yet began to impinge on them more actively than had their medieval forebears. One sign of this is the shift that now took place in the sphere of dispute with, and polemicizing against, Christianity.

Of course, there had been, throughout the Middle Ages, a long history of theological confrontation and dispute. But, if the quarrel between Christians and Jews is an old one, reaching back to the first century, it had passed through several stages. From 1240 onwards, starting in Paris, a series of grand disputations took place in the presence of rulers, lords, and bishops. On occasion, Jewish participants in these disputations had expressed themselves with surprising boldness, as in the case of Nahmanides' role in the Barcelona disputation of 1263. Yet these disputations had been more in the nature of trials than debates, and overwhelming intimidation was the rule. Nor could Jews ever proselytize, for this was punishable by death. It is true that there was never a time when some Christians were not convinced by Jewish objections to their faith, but, before the sixteenth century, conversion to Judaism in Christian Europe was rare and involved the convert in migrating to distant parts or facing certain death.

Several changes came about during the sixteenth century. In the first place, the theological rifts within western Christendom caused an upsurge of perplexity and questioning which significantly increased the pull of Old Testament notions and, occasionally, of Judaism on some Christians. Luther several times expressed anxiety over sporadic 'Judaizing' tendencies among Germans. In Poland, a report of 1539 tells us that the Reformation disputes had *inter alia* led to a wave of Christian conversions to Judaism, the converts fleeing to Ottoman territory to escape torture and death.[19] Above all, in France, the mood of scepticism which began to pervade French culture in the 1570s was clearly more conducive to the spread of a Jewish polemic against Christianity than the situation prevailing before the civil wars. We see this from the writings of Bodin and from many other references in the French literature of the period. Most notable, perhaps, was the spiritual quest of Jean Fontanier, a Montpellier lawyer who adopted Calvinism, and then reverted to Catholicism, before rejecting Christianity altogether, propagating Jewish notions in his book *Trésor inestimable* and finally being burnt at the stake in Paris in 1621. Another such quest was that of Nicholas Antoine, a Lorraine Catholic who became a Calvinist pastor and then a Jew 'in his heart'. He tried unsuccessfully to gain admittance to one of the Jewish communities in Italy before being burned at the stake for Judaizing at Geneva, in 1632.[20]

[19] Zivier, 'Jüdische Bekehrungsversuche', p. 98.

[20] Weill, 'Nicolas Antoine', pp. 165–72.

The push to dislodge belief in Christ was intensified by the curious situation which arose in the 1570s and 1580s when, for the first time, there was a sizeable emigration from Portugal of New Christians who were either sincere Catholics or (more often) religiously indifferent alongside those who were crypto-Jews. Most of these more Christianized 'New Christians' settled in France or Italy, showing little inclination toward Judaism. They had fled the Peninsula for one reason only—to escape suspicion and to secure their property from the threat of confiscation by the Inquisition. Thus, whereas the pre-1579 emigration from Portugal was mainly directed towards Ottoman territory and was overwhelmingly crypto-Jewish in character, the growing stream of New Christian refugees, stampeded by the increased powers of a ruthless and none too fastidious Inquisition, was more mixed in allegiance. Furious divisions arose among the *émigrés* in France, Italy, and at Antwerp, sometimes even within one family. The outcome was that, for the first time since the early Middle Ages, a Jewish proselytizing movement, albeit clandestine, aimed at winning over whole groups from Christianity, took root in western Europe. And this movement was quite a potent one. According to the great Portuguese Jesuit António Vieira, who was in a position to know, the pressure brought to bear by the Jewish proselytizers, even in France (where in theory Judaism was forbidden), was so intense that only the most committed Catholics among the *émigrés* were able to withstand being sucked into Judaism and a Jewish milieu.[21] There was also considerable smuggling of Jewish material into Spain.[22]

The new apologetic literature of the Jews assumed two guises, the printed and a much more forthright body of work circulating in manuscript. After the short burst in 1552–5, and the subsequent pause, the printing of Jewish books in vernacular languages resumed in the 1580s at Venice, and later elsewhere, so that there was now an uninterrupted stream of such literature. Much of this output consisted of prayer-books in Spanish which, besides being used in Italy, France, and the Netherlands, were evidently smuggled into Spain and Portugal in sufficient quantity to influence decisively the language and prayers used in crypto-Jewish prayer-meetings in the Peninsula.[23] Added to this was a corpus of apologetic literature, mostly couched in guarded and cautious terms, though Usque's *Consolaçam* is often surprisingly bold. Among this category of works were Immanuel Aboab's *Nomologia*, published at Amsterdam in 1629, Pinto Delgado's Spanish Jewish poems printed at Rouen in 1631, and, least offensive of all, Leone da Modena's *Historia de riti ebraici*, written in Italian at the request of the English ambassador in Venice for presentation to James I and later printed at Paris in 1637.

But what chiefly mattered, as regards both Jewish proselytizing and the impact of this campaign on European culture as a whole, was the much more vehement body of writings circulating in manuscript. For this literature, even if mainly intended to dissuade Marranos from Christianity, or, as in the case of Modena's

[21] Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, iv. 30.

[22] Lemos, *Zacuto Lusitano*, pp. 360–1.

[23] Morreael, 'Sidur ladinado', pp. 332–3; Salomon, 'Portuguese Background', pp. 116–23.

Magen ve-Herev, to combat the papal offensive to convert Italian Jewry, did gradually percolate more widely. While, to be sure, this batch of polemics was a secondary factor in the broad forum of European intellectual life, it was not negligible as a strand in the burgeoning complex of scepticism and rejection of the dominant faith. It is obvious that the tracts of writers such as Immanuel Aboab (*c.*1555–1628) and Eliau Montalto (d. 1616), written in Portuguese and Spanish, were accessible to others beside Marranos. But even the Hebrew polemics circulated much more widely than might be supposed. One of the most systematic (and among Christian clergy notorious) attacks on Christianity of this period, the *Hizuk Emunah* by the Lithuanian Karaite Isaac of Troki (*c.*1533–*c.*1594), was composed in Hebrew, in the 1590s, on the farthest fringes of Europe. Yet this scathing attack on the basic texts dealing with Christ's divinity and messiahship apparently became known everywhere, circulating in Latin, Spanish, and German, a whole century before it caught the eye of Voltaire and was taken up by the *philosophes*. The Lutheran pastor Johann Müller of Hamburg, who vented his fury against the Jews in his compilation *Judaismus oder Judenthumb* of 1644, was in part motivated, as he explains in his preface, by revulsion at how Troki's arguments against Christianity were spreading clandestinely in Hamburg without ever being systematically rebutted.[24] The irony was that by denouncing Troki in the most outraged terms, Müller simply lent added currency to his arguments in Germany. Meanwhile, in Holland, Jews could speak more or less openly against Christianity.[25]

Perhaps the most interesting of the new Jewish polemicists was Montalto. A medical graduate of the University of Salamanca, and a successful physician in Lisbon until his flight through France to Italy, Montalto was known in Portugal as Felipe Rodrigues. It emerges from Inquisition evidence that he stood out among Marrano circles for the fervour of his anti-Christianity even before leaving Portugal, which is of some significance in light of the fact that not only during his first stay in France but even while living for some years in Italy, in Florence and Pisa, he continued to dissimulate as a New Christian rather than openly proclaim his Judaism.[26] No doubt he remained an ostensible Christian in the interests of his highly successful medical career, for in the space of a few years he gained renown at the University of Pisa for his lectures and, more widely, for his medical writings which he published in Latin. Eventually, though, he joined the 'Ponentine' Jewish

[24] Müller, *Judaismus*, preface; Müller, 'Christlich-jüdisches Religionsgespräch', pp. 520–3; Dietrich, 'Jüdisch-christliche Religionsgespräch', pp. 2, 10–11.

[25] Broughton, *Ovr Lordes Familie*, preface; Broughton held a series of controversies with Jews at Worms, Basle, Hanau, Frankfurt, and Offenburg, as well as in Holland but seems to have been particularly shocked by the anti-Christian utterances of the Sephardi *parnas*, David Farar of Amsterdam, a former New Christian; see Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, iv. 272–3.

[26] There are several statements in the Lisbon Inquisition files to the effect that even when Montalto was living in Portugal 'hera grande letrado nas cossas da Ley de Moyses e sabia muito dellas'; see, for instance, ANTT Inqu. de Lisboa vol. 7192, 'Proceso de Duarte Nunes da Costa', fos. 9, 12v; see also Popkin, 'Jewish Anti-Christian Arguments', pp. 162–3.

community in Venice, where he wrote a series of furious tracts and letters, some of which he dispatched to Marranos in France, burning with a resentment which, no doubt, derives in part from his own experiences and those of his family, in Portugal. In Marrano Judaizers such as Montalto one encounters an anti-Christianity which is quite different in tone, being altogether more passionate and personal, from anything known to medieval Jewish literature. Montalto is not simply arguing that Christians misinterpret Scripture. Rather he is responding in kind to the growing virulence of Counter-Reformation attacks on Judaism as obdurate, irrational, inconsistent, and immoral, denouncing Christianity, with all the force of his being, as superstitious, idolatrous, hypocritical and, above all, 'cruel'.

In 1612, Montalto was invited to return to France by the Queen Regent, Marie de Médicis no less, who desired him to attend her as court physician. Since Montalto would not go unless he were permitted to conduct himself as a professing Jew, the Queen Regent obtained a papal dispensation allowing Montalto and his attendants to observe Judaism in France. Montalto and his young disciple Saul Levi Morteira, who late became a renowned and (in private) vehemently anti-Christian rabbi in Amsterdam, were thus placed in the unprecedented position of embodying Judaism at the French court and, indeed, in France. Nor need we suppose that, while in Paris, they confined their anti-Christian propaganda to fellow Marranos. Montalto was close to Leonora Galigai, wife of Concini, favourite of the Queen Regent, and Galigai's circle, which included a number of Portuguese New Christians one of whom, by the name of Manoel Mendes, was her *parfumier*, was widely suspected of highly unorthodox opinions. Had Montalto not died in 1616, at Tours, he might well have been entangled in the trial of Galigai which followed her husband's downfall in 1617. She was hauled before the Parlement of Paris charged among other things with unbelief and 'Judaism'. Morteira, meanwhile, conveyed Montalto's body to Amsterdam for a Jewish burial.

The intensifying counter-polemic against Christianity, like Lurianic cabbala and the general urge to consolidate, systematize, and iron out inconsistencies from traditional rabbinic and Talmudic learning, were, in large measure, aimed at restoring the confidence, lifting the morale, and soothing the doubts of a people reeling from immense mishaps and disasters in the recent past and now, in the face of a stepped-up bombardment of Lutheran and Counter-Reformation conversionist zeal, striving to achieve a new stability and equilibrium. All Jews needed reassurance that catastrophe, suffering, and humiliation were at, or were coming to, an end, that Jewish suffering at Christian hands had a deep meaning, and was soon to be followed by redemption and release, including the restoring to the Jews of an honoured, indeed the most honoured, place among nations. Thus nothing was more typical of Jewish culture in the century 1550–1650 than the tendency to invest Jewish suffering with some special, albeit hidden significance pregnant with promise for the future. In this respect, Menasseh ben Israel reflects much that is

typical of the cultural world of early modern European Jewry when he both promises, in his *Esperança de Israel* (Hope of Israel) of 1650, imminent release from humiliation and oppression and sees signs of pending redemption in the very persecution of his people.[27] In particular, he glorifies recent martyrs who, in Spain, Portugal, and Spanish America, had been burned alive at the stake by the Inquisition for their Jewish beliefs. 'And seeing our perseverance amid such great hardships', concluded Menasseh, 'we judge that the Almighty has preserved us for great rewards to come.'

[27] 'Although we cannot specify the exact moment of our redemption,' wrote Menasseh, in a well-known passage, 'we consider that it is now very close'; see Menasseh ben Israel, *Esperança de Israel*, pp. 95–6, 99–100, 101–2.

V
The Thirty Years War

THE Thirty Years War (1618–48) marked a new phase in the interaction between Jews and European society in several respects. Especially in central Europe, the long and terrible conflict accelerated the reintegration of Jewry in progress since the 1570s, preparing the way for the 'Court Jews' of the later seventeenth century. For while, as we have seen, significant changes had already taken place in the period from 1570 down to the commencement of the Thirty Years War, care must be taken not to exaggerate the extent of central European Jewry's gains by 1618. The expansion of Jewish activity and communities was then still at a comparatively early stage. The Jews were still excluded from nearly all the larger territories of the Empire except for the lands of the Bohemian crown and Hesse. They were shut out of all the major Imperial Free Cities except Frankfurt and (in respect of the 'Portuguese' only) Hamburg. Furthermore, they were excluded from the great majority of the lesser Imperial Free Cities. Even where Jewish life was most strongly entrenched, in the ecclesiastical states of western and central Germany, they had only very limited rights of residence in such ecclesiastical capitals as Mainz and Speyer and were completely excluded from the cities of Würzburg and Münster, being confined to the villages and small towns around.

The first point to take into account in explaining the proliferation of Jewish communities in Germany, the Czech lands, and Alsace during the Thirty Years War is the special relationship between German Jewry and the Emperor. Of course, it had long been a fact that the chief protector of the Jews of the Holy Roman Empire was the Emperor. But, in the sixteenth century, even the most sympathetic emperors, such as Maximilian II and Rudolph II, had always been obliged to balance concessions, or favours, to Jews against their constant need to placate regional assemblies and towns which, down to the 1620s, were permeated with Lutheranism and a vigorous particularism. And, virtually everywhere, the hostility of the towns to the Jews remained implacable.

The further shift in favour of the Jews, from 1618, is all the more remarkable in that Ferdinand II (1619–37), in contrast to his predecessors, was personally inspired by the militant Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation which in Italy (as later in Austria) had led to an intensification in anti-Jewish policies rather than the reverse. But, from the outset of his reign onwards, Ferdinand was chronically short of the cash and supplies he needed to maintain forces strong enough to confront his Protestant rebels and foreign fores. Without massive Spanish aid, his cause would probably have been wrecked in any case for in the years 1618–19 Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and even parts of Austria itself were overrun by insurgents and the towns and assemblies of the rest were decidedly unenthusiastic

about helping him out of his predicament. In the midst of this great crisis of the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy, the Jews were one of very few local assets which the Emperor could readily mobilize. Jewish victuallers had already shown their usefulness in supplying Austrian troops in the south during the recent confrontation with Venice.[1] And this capacity to provide cash, munitions, and food to the soldiery was now again to play a substantial part. Though most of the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia were in areas controlled by the rebels, Ferdinand raised sizeable subsidies from the Jews of his territories through the elders of the community in Vienna.[2] Very likely some of the money came from Frankfurt and elsewhere in southern Germany. Nor is it hard to see why Jews were more willing than others to advance cash to the Emperor at this critical juncture: Catholics or Protestants had no reason to offer cash except for repayment at interest, of which, especially in the years 1618–20, there was scant prospect. Jews, on the other hand, could be repaid in a different form, in concessions and privileges of which they alone had need and which were within the Emperor's power to grant.

The rewards for this co-operation began to accrue almost directly following the crushing of the Bohemian Protestants at the battle of the White Mountain, in November 1620. With the rebel forces dispersed, the city of Prague was ruthlessly pillaged, all, that is, except for the *Judenstadt*. The Emperor's soldiery were under strict instructions, which they obeyed, not to enter the Jewish quarter.[3] To commemorate the Imperial victory, and their own escape from peril, Prague Jewry instituted a special *Purim* celebration which survived as a distinctive feature of Prague Jewish life down to the days of Maria Theresa. The privileged treatment continued under the new governor of Bohemia, Karl von Liechtenstein, a nobleman with close links with Jacob Bassevi, the financier who was at the centre of the efforts to raise Jewish subsidies for the Emperor. A large number of confiscated Protestant houses adjoining the ghetto were allocated for purchase by the Jews. The Emperor, apparently, transferred two of the best houses to Bassevi as a present. In this way the Prague *Judenstadt* was substantially enlarged during the 1620s. More far-reachingly, in January 1623, an Imperial edict lifted or curtailed the stringent restrictions on Jewish dealings in grain, wine, and cloth previously in force throughout Bohemia.[4]

In the same way, the Jews obtained favours in Vienna and elsewhere in the Austrian lands. In December 1624, disregarding local protests, Ferdinand allocated the Leopoldstadt district, on the outskirts of Vienna, as a precinct of the Jews where they might congregate and erect a public synagogue, something forbidden previously since 1421.[5] The concession of a *Judenstadt*, free of control

[1] Wolf, *Ferdinand II*, pp. 22–4.

[2] Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer*, pp. 16, 20; Markbreiter, *Beiträge*, pp. 18–19; Hodik, *Beiträge*, p. 13.

[3] Spiegel, 'Prager Juden', pp. 117–18.

[4] Ibid., pp. 128, 130; Gindely, *Geschichte*, pp. 339–40.

[5] Wolf, *Juden in der Leopoldstadt*, pp. 3, 9; Přibram, *Urkunden*, pp. 84–8.

by the Vienna city council—the Jewish community was placed directly under the Imperial Chancery—was deemed a major privilege and cause for celebration by the Jews. Numbering around fifty families in 1625, Viennese Jewry grew rapidly thereafter to reach approximately 2,000 by 1650. In 1627, in return for a further loan of 40,000 gulden, the Emperor granted the Jews of his territories access on equal terms with Christians to all the trade fairs of Bohemia and Silesia, a very radical change in economic policy which greatly stimulated Jewish activity throughout the Habsburg lands in central Europe.[6]

Bassevi's role as a Thirty Years War financier is well known. He specialized in handling the output of Bohemia's silver mines and, generally, in the buying and selling of silver. In 1622, he entered the notorious consortium licensed by the Emperor to supervise Bohemia's supplies of silver and 'mint' (in reality debase) the coinage. The four main members of the consortium were Liechtenstein and Wallenstein, who provided the political clout, and Hans de Witte and Bassevi, who organized the financial side. De Witte, a Calvinist Netherlander, and then one of the principal bankers of Europe, put 402,652 silver marks into the operation, nearly three times as much as Bassevi and his associates who invested 146,353. Even so, Bassevi ranked as the second financier of the Austrian lands. In its first year, the clique manufactured 42 million debased gulden, registering a huge profit which was shared between the participants and the Imperial Treasury. In the 1620s, Bassevi, who had been ennobled—the first Jew to receive such an honour from a Holy Roman Emperor—by Matthias in 1614, dominated the politics of the Prague *Judenstadt* and its board of elders. But at length his domineering personality and questionable methods aroused some determined Jewish opposition. In the early 1630s, he slipped from influence and was forced to take refuge with Wallenstein who protected him until his own assassination. Bassevi died in 1634, a broken man but nevertheless something of a symbol of Jewish access to the Emperor.

After the reconquest of Bohemia came the subjugation of the Rhenish and upper Palatinate, the lands of the Elector Frederick, the Winter King, who had sought to dispossess Ferdinand of the crown of Bohemia. In 1622, both Protestant and Catholic armies manoeuvred close to Frankfurt, both sides vociferously demanding cash and supplies from the Jews, threatening reprisals should they fail to comply. The Frankfurt Jewish council did in fact promise 10,000 gulden to the Protestant commander Mansfeldt, but this subsidy was never paid.[7] A combination of Catholic success and sheer luck enabled Frankfurt Jewry both to remain loyal to the Emperor and to escape Protestant retribution. During the years 1623–5, the Habsburgs and their allies swept northwards across Germany pursuing the remnants of the opposition. Numerous towns and localities with Jewish populations were overrun, including Halberstadt where, shortly before, in 1621, the local Lutheran populace had rioted against the Jews and destroyed the recently

[6] Brilling, *Juden in Breslau*, pp. 18–23.

[7] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 2–5.

constructed synagogue.[8] In all known cases, Ferdinand's instruction that the Jews be protected was observed. This Imperial protection also extended to other localities which remained unoccupied by Habsburg or Catholic League troops but which were now firmly under Habsburg dominance. In July 1627, for instance, the Emperor intervened, at the request of the elders of the Vienna *Judenstadt*, on behalf of the Jews of Hanau, a now substantial community, terrorized by a wave of popular anti-Semitic agitation incited by local clergy who blamed the Jews for the war and the misfortunes befalling the German people.[9]

Meanwhile, further north, notable gains were made during the opening years of the war by the fledgeling Jewish communities on the Lower Elbe. The key factor here was the benefit which accrued to the Portuguese Jews of Hamburg and Glückstadt from the economic embargoes imposed by the Spanish crown, in April 1621, against Dutch ships and cargoes.[10] From 1621 down to 1641, in the case of Portugal, and down to 1647, in that of Spain, the Dutch were officially excluded from trade with the Iberian Peninsula and colonies. Though not entirely effective, these measures had an appreciable impact on patterns of trade generally and especially on the North German maritime zone. For with or without the Dutch, Spain and Portugal required naval stores and other munitions from the Baltic as well as supplies of Baltic grain and Swedish copper. Hamburg became the chief entrepôt for this diverted north–south carrying trade avoiding Holland. This, in turn, meant that the Lower Elbe region now began to rival Amsterdam as a distribution centre for colonial merchandise, especially Brazil sugar, diamonds, indigo, cochineal, and, of course, silver. Each year, throughout the rest of the Thirty Years War, large convoys sailed from Hamburg and Lübeck, circumventing Scotland and Ireland so as to avoid the Dutch navy, which was under orders to stop the flow of munitions to the Peninsula. From the records of the Hamburg *Admiralitätskollegium*, it is possible to extrapolate a reasonably detailed picture of this wartime convoy trade.[11] Between 1621 and 1648, Iberian trade accounted for at least 20 per cent of Hamburg's business in terms of bulk and a much higher proportion in terms of value. Much of this new Iberian business was with Portugal, and something like half of this was handled by Hamburg's Portuguese Jewish merchants. The Jewish share of Hamburg's temporarily burgeoning commerce with Spain was much smaller but nevertheless appreciable.

Since most of Dutch Jewry's pre-1621 trade had been with Portugal and its colonies, the shift in the centre of gravity in Iberian commerce from Amsterdam to Hamburg was fraught with implications for the Portuguese Jewish diaspora in northern Europe as a whole. In the years 1620–5, there was in fact a substantial

[8] Frankl, 'Politische Lage', p. 322.

[9] Wolf, *Juden in der Leopoldstadt*, p. 20.

[10] Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 93–5, 134–43.

[11] For lists of which Hamburg merchants were sending what cargoes to Spain and Portugal during the Thirty Years War, see SAH Admiralität series F4/1–15.

migration of Portuguese Jews from Holland to the Lower Elbe region.[12] It is quite possible that as much as a quarter of the then Sephardi community of Amsterdam moved to North Germany. Moreover, the *émigrés* included some of the most eminent Jewish merchants of Amsterdam such as Duarte Nunes da Costa (Jacob Curiel), who settled first in Glückstadt and then, in 1627, in Hamburg where he was the wealthiest member of the Hamburg Portuguese Jewish community down to the arrival of the Teixeira family in 1646.[13] The Hamburg Jewish community now swelled to several hundred persons. Thus North German Portuguese Jewry was substantially reinforced by the effects of the Thirty Years War in both numbers and wealth. The number of Portuguese Jewish accounts with the Amsterdam Exchange Bank fell from 114 to only 76, or by more than a quarter, between 1620 and 1625: the corresponding figure for Sephardi accounts with the Hamburg Bank rose from 28 in 1619, to 43 by 1623 and, doubtless, a considerably higher figure subsequently.[14]

Admittedly, though, these developments had only very limited ramifications for the immigrant German Jews of the maritime region, of 'Hochdeutsche Juden' as they were known on the Lower Elbe. The imports from Spain and Portugal were mainly luxuries and included few items needed by the marauding armies further south. There was, clearly, a vast upsurge in imports of foodstuffs and materials, especially from Holland through Hamburg, during the Thirty Years War. But this traffic in supplies for the soldiery was largely controlled by Hamburg's Christian merchants. There was some rise in the numbers of Ashkenazi Jews in and around Altona and Wandsbek at this time, but only a slight one.[15] The policy of excluding German Jews from Hamburg proper continued at any rate down to the early 1640s when a number were allowed in on a temporary basis. In general, there was in the northernmost regions of Germany little or none of that fanning out, that proliferation of new communities, which was so striking a feature of developments further south.

The Danish defeats of 1626–7 involved something of a setback for the Jews on the Lower Elbe, but only a temporary one. Glückstadt, the chief Danish base on the Elbe, was tightly blockaded and traffic along the river heavily disrupted. The entire region along with Mecklenburg, East Friesland, and the Lower Weser valley swarmed with victorious Habsburg and Catholic League soldiery. The slump at Hamburg generated a short-lived counterflow of recent Portuguese Jewish immigrants back to Holland.[16] But commercial expansion soon resumed along the same lines as before.[17] The diplomatic volteface of May 1629, whereby the Danish king came to terms with the Emperor, switching to a non-belligerent but unmistakably pro-Habsburg stance, heralded a resumption in the migration of Portuguese Jews

[12] Israel, 'Economic Contribution', p. 516.
[13] Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 40, 47, 167–9.
[14] Israel, 'Economic Contribution', p. 510; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 257–9.
[15] Feilchenfeld, 'Älteste Geschichte', pp. 274–5.
[16] Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, p. 90.
[17] Israel, 'Central European Jewry', p. 15.

from Holland to North Germany. In October 1630, Christian IV also signed a treaty with Spain which, among other things, assured Glückstadt an appreciable role in the revived commerce with the Peninsula. In this connection, the Danish monarch simultaneously issued fresh privileges to the Portuguese Jews of Glückstadt, this charter of 1630 being notably more generous than that of 1619, allowing, for instance, a public synagogue to be erected for the first time on Danish territory.[18] As an extension of his Jewish policy, the king subsequently, during the 1640s, extended his protection and issued new privileges to the Ashkenazi communities of Altona, Wandsbek, and also Moisling, situated on Danish territory outside Lübeck.

The Austrian and Spanish preponderance in Germany of the 1620s ended abruptly with the Swedish invasion of July 1630. With a series of crushing hammer blows, Gustavus Adolphus, the new champion of the Protestant cause, pulverized his Habsburg foes and their allies at Breitenfeld (September 1631), Rain (April 1632), and Lützen (November 1632). The Swedes swept all before them, most of German Jewry soon passing under their control. Gustavus's troops entered Frankfurt, Hanau, and Friedberg, the centre of Hessian Jewry, all in November 1631. At once, the Jews of these and many neighbouring places, including those of Mainz, Worms, Würzburg, and Wertheim were subjected to heavy exactions by the Swedish commanders.[19] These forced loans of 1631–3 coincided with a sudden sharp deterioration in the economic circumstances of central and southern Germany. In the 1620s, the Jewish population of Frankfurt had continued to increase both in absolute numbers and in proportion to the overall population of the city, rising from 2,200 in 1620 to around 2,400, or slightly more, by 1630. By contrast, during the ensuing decade 1631–40, Frankfurt Jewry contracted in line with the overall population of the city, by about one-third, down to 1,600.[20] This decline was due to a mixture of migration and epidemic, particularly the outbreak of 1635 which killed 222 people in the ghetto, mostly children. The fall in numbers was accompanied by an even more marked drop in the financial power of Frankfurt Jewry. The number of Frankfurt Jews assessed for tax purposes as possessing 15,000 gulden or more fell from nineteen, in 1624, to only five by 1645.[21] While there is no hard evidence, there are also grounds for supposing that the other main communities in the central area, Hanau, Fulda, Worms, and Friedberg, likewise diminished in numbers and wealth as from 1630.[22]

In view of the clear preference for the Emperor's cause displayed by German Jewry from the outset of the Thirty Years War, it is pertinent to ask why there was no

[18] Balslev, *Danske jøders historie*, pp. 4–5; Hartvig, *Jøderne i Danmark*, p. 52.

[19] Schaab, *Diplomatische Geschichte*, pp. 209–10; Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 15; Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte der badischen Juden*, pp. 85–6.

[20] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 31–3; Dietz, *Stammbuch*, p. 433.

[21] Ibid.; Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, iv. 8–9, 20–2.

[22] Kober, 'Documents', p. 23; Rosenthal, *Juden im Gebiet der ehemaligen Grafschaft Hanau*, 58.

major reaction against the Jews among the Lutheran German populace, following the tremendous Swedish victories of 1630–2. The staunchly Lutheran Swedish crown had always rigorously excluded Jews from Sweden's Baltic territories adjoining Poland as well as from Sweden proper. Furthermore, with the exception of the Lower Elbe region, the economy and conditions of life were now worsening rapidly throughout Germany. Yet it was precisely under the Swedes, from 1630 onward, and during the period of relentless economic decline, that the Jews achieved, or were allowed to achieve, their real breakthrough to an altogether new level of involvement in German life, politics, and trade. For the Swedes and their allies were in urgent need of cash and supplies for their armies and garrisons, and the logistics of the war presented commanders with chronic and increasing difficulties. It is this which explains the pathbreaking Jewish policy which evolved, more or less haphazardly, under Gustavus Adolphus and, after his death, under his generals. It was an attitude tough, pragmatic, and calculating, a policy born of necessity. To the outraged objections voiced by burgomasters, merchants, and clergy against the rapid Jewish economic penetration which now ensued, Swedish garrison commanders turned a deaf ear. Frequently, there evolved a regular collaboration between Swedish paymasters, quartermasters, and provisioners and Jewish financiers, victuallers, and horse-dealers (trade in horses being one of the main specialities of the Jews of central Germany). Why were Jews so prominent in the purveying of provisions to the garrisons? Aside from the fact that most German Jews lived in villages and small towns and were used to acting as intermediaries between town and country, cash was so scarce that the Swedes were compelled to seek ways of obtaining supplies without paying for them in money. The simple fact was that it was both easy and convenient to procure much of what they needed from the Jews in return for favours, concessions, and protection. It is true that the Swedes levied some heavy forced loans on the Jews, especially at first, but they also took care not to pillage, disrupt, or otherwise endanger what to them was a useful captive asset. No Jewish community of any size is known to have been attacked or looted by the Swedes or the Lutheran populace under their control. Some sporadic despoliation of Jews and debauching of their women by Swedes and their allies went on in south and central Germany but only in the case of a few small and isolated rural communities.[23] What is really remarkable is that wholly unprotected communities in towns such as Fulda and Friedberg which were constantly being occupied and reoccupied by the soldiery of either side escaped totally or largely unscathed. Friedberg was a notorious 'whore of war', repeatedly changing sides, and yet its Jewish community remained largely intact.

That the Swedes, like the Imperialists, generally treated the Jews better than the rest of the population emerges from a good deal of contemporary evidence.[24] It is equally clear that this fact, even a hint at it, was in the past deeply disturbing to

[23] Eckstein, *Juden im ehemaligen Fürstbistum Bamberg*, pp. 17–18; Arnold, *Juden in der Pfalz*, p. 23.
[24] Schaab, *Diplomatische Geschichte*, pp. 209–10; Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 1–2.

German Jewish historians who habitually swept it under the carpet with profuse assurances that the Jews were treated during the Thirty Years War 'no better and no worse than their Christian neighbours'.[25] Thus, the assimilationist instincts of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German Jewry were projected back to pervade the historiography of the 'Great War' as it was once known. And, indeed, from their standpoint this instinct was sound enough, for the realization that during the Thirty Years War Jews were not just exempt from recruiting drives but were specially 'favoured' by both sides was accutely offensive to the conservative, anti-Semitic element in German historical scholarship and was later seized on by historians during the Nazi period.[26] Yet, for all the twisted sense of outrage, the Nazi contention on this point was actually more accurate than the assumptions and wishful thinking of pre-1939 German Jewish historians.

It is frequently assumed that, owing to the chronic insecurity prevailing in the countryside, large numbers of rural Jews drifted to walled towns in search of security.[27] To some extent this did indeed happen. We even have a record of a rabbi from a village near Hanau who migrated from town to town in the 1630s and 1640s looking for a secure haven.[28] But it is quite wrong to infer from this that the Thirty Years War marked a reversal of previous trends, away from the countryside to the towns, and the beginnings of the re-urbanization of German Jewry.[29] It is also erroneous to argue that, because some rural Jews moved to walled towns while some urban Jewish communities such as those of Frankfurt, Hanau, Worms, and Hildesheim did, or may have, declined, 'total Jewish demographic losses may not have been much smaller than those estimated for the entire German population'.[30] For both assumptions entirely ignore the unquestionable fact that many new Jewish communities, urban and rural, arose during the Thirty Years War as well as the equally unchallengeable fact that some previously existing urban communities, notably those of Prague, Vienna, Speyer, and Hamburg–Altona–Wandsbek, actually increased in size or remained stable during the war. Urban communities in such fortress towns as Gross-Glogau, Breisach, and Philippsburg, not to mention Glückstadt, often grew vigorously, despite being repeatedly occupied and re-occupied, and became more strongly rooted than before.[31] The truth is that there is not a scrap of evidence to show that central European Jewry declined at all in size during the Thirty Years War, much less that it declined only slightly less than the population as a whole.

What the evidence does show is that there was now a fanning out in all directions from the localities where Jews were living in 1618, not only geographically

[25] Rosenthal, *Juden im Gebiet der ehemaligen Grafschaft Hanau*, p. 58; Carlebach, *Juden in Lübeck und Moisling*, p. 11; Salfeld, *Bilder*, pp. 37–8.

[26] Sander, 'Juden und das deutsche Heerwesen', p. 339.

[27] Arnold, *Juden in der Pfalz*, p. 23; Baron, *Social and Religious History*, xiv. 269.

[28] Bloch, 'Vielbegehrter Rabbiner', pp. 116–17.

[29] Baron, *Social and Religious History*, xiv. 269.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid. xiv. 269, 403; Brilling, *Jüdische Gemeinden Mittelschlesiens*, p. 4.

but also in the sense of penetration of economic sectors from which they had previously been wholly or largely excluded. This happened practically everywhere except in north-eastern Germany, beyond Halberstadt and Dessau. From Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and electoral Saxony, the Jews continued to be rigorously debarred. This expansion of Jewish life in central Europe in the Thirty Years War occurred both in areas occupied by one side for prolonged periods and in districts which constantly changed hands. In north-west Germany, the rise of new Jewish communities and growth of older ones took place within a context of largely undisturbed Swedish and other foreign Protestant predominance. At Minden, the city council had permitted the existence of a small Jewish community since the 1590s but one officially restricted to five families. By the end of the war, the Minden Jewish community had increased by four or five times, specifically because the Swedish garrison commander took no notice of the burgomasters' objections.[32] In the neighbouring principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, there was a marked increase in the number of Jewish inhabitants of the towns of Bückeburg and Stadthagen, again due to the fixed proximity of Swedish troops.[33] At the same time, other Jewish immigrants (mostly from nearby ecclesiastical states) resettled in Herford, the other side of Minden, a town from which Jews had previously been completely excluded.[34] In and around Hanover, Jewish resettlement dates from slightly before 1618 but clearly gathered momentum during the 'Great War'.[35] And yet, while there is evidence to suggest some decline in the Jewish population of the bishopric of Hildesheim, in the other ecclesiastical states of the region—Münster, Paderborn, Halberstadt, and Cologne—the Jewish population continued to increase.[36] This is particularly clear in the case of the towns of the duchy of Westphalia and in Warburg and Paderborn.

Further south, Swedish control was more sporadic, the impact of the great conflict generally more disruptive. But, as far as the Jews were concerned, the situation was again one of general expansion. In 1630, before the entry of the Swedes, the Elector of Mainz granted the Jews of his territory the right to establish a rabbinate and communal institutions in his capital city from which they had been debarred in the sixteenth century and to which they had had only tentative access since around 1600.[37] But the Swedish occupation of 1631–6 occasioned a further expansion in the Jewish role in the city. The size of the community increased and, in 1639, acknowledging the changed situation, the Elector granted new and more generous privileges, including the right to erect a public synagogue. In the

[32] Krieg, 'Juden in der Stadt Minden', pp. 116–19.

[33] Hasselmeier, *Stellung der Juden in Schaumburg-Lippe*, pp. 4–5.

[34] Stern, *Preußischer Staat*, ii. 68, 72.

[35] Löb, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 5–6; Wilhelm, *Jüdische Gemeinde . . . Göttingen*, p. 60.

[36] Holthausen, 'Juden im kurkölnischen Herzogtum', pp. 103–4; Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, iv. 178; Evers, *Juden in der Stadt Warburg*, pp. 19, 24, 58–9.

[37] Stadtarchiv Mainz MS 6155; Belegbuch 1614, p. 311; Schaab, *Diplomatische Geschichte*, pp. 207–10.

bishopric of Speyer there was a notable growth in the Jewish communities both in the town of Speyer itself and Bruchsal and Grombach as well as in the key fortress-town of Philippsburg, on the Rhine opposite Heidelberg.[38] There was a parallel expansion in the Jewish role in the county of Wertheim where Jewish merchants now obtained the contract to supply the mint with silver and other financial concessions.[39] In the extensive region around Mergentheim, Weikersheim, Dörzbach, and Crailsheim, it is possible to speak of systematic Jewish colonization during the Thirty Years War with a whole network of new communities arising in the 1620s and 1630s.[40] It may be that some of the Jewish immigrants to these small country towns were coming from larger centres such as Frankfurt and Worms; in any case, in this area there was a marked strengthening of the Jewish presence in rural society. In Weikersheim, Hohebach, Hollenbach, and neighbouring places, permanent Jewish settlement arose directly from the Emperor's temporary confiscation of the district from the counts of Hohenlohe, in 1637.

In the east-central zone of Germany, the position was very similar. At Fürth, a few Jewish houses were destroyed and the newly completed main synagogue (1617) damaged by Mansfeld's soldiery, at the beginning of the war, but subsequently Fürth Jewry suffered remarkably few mishaps, aside from a Croat cavalry contingent using the damaged synagogue as a stables, in 1634.[41] Once again, the Jewish communities in and around Fürth, Bamberg, Bayreuth, and Ansbach were respected by Imperialists and Swedes alike.[42] Gustavus Adolphus himself issued guarantees to the Fürth community which was now the largest in Franconia. In the lands of the Margrave of Ansbach, some Jews had returned, as we have seen, since around 1609; but this did not apply to the town of Ansbach itself or to several other towns in the principality. In the towns, the Jews first regained a foothold under Swedish occupation in the 1630s. Of course, the Swedes soon left, but the Jews stayed. The town council of Ansbach acknowledged the permanent right of a limited number of Jews to reside there in 1643.[43] A year later, recognizing the increased and increasing importance of the Jews in his territory, the prince-bishop of Bamberg lifted previous restrictions on their dealing in textiles and wine. But whilst there was a clear strengthening of the Jewish position in the towns, there are also definite signs of Jews percolating into ruined and half-ruined villages, including villages where they had not lived before.[44] In some cases, it is by no means impossible that they were the first to recolonize devastated villages. In any case, around Bamberg and Ansbach, as in the region further west, a strengthening of

[38] Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte*, pp. 133–4; Arnold, *Juden in der Pfalz*, p. 23.

[39] Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte*, pp. 59–61.

[40] Sauer, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden*, pp. 40, 49, 59, 63, 68, 70, 107, 188–9.

[41] Haenle, *Juden im ehemaligen Fürstenthum Ansbach*, pp. 5, 180–1.

[42] Ibid., p. 63; Eckstein, *Juden im ehemaligen Fürstbistum Bamberg*, p. 267–9; Eckstein, *Juden im Markgrafentum Bayreuth*, pp. 24–30.

[43] Haenle, *Juden im ehemaligen Fürstenthum Ansbach*, p. 140.

[44] Pfeifer, *Kulturgeschichtliche Bilder*, pp. 2–3.

Jewish life in the towns went hand in hand with expansion of their activity in the countryside.

Further east, in Bohemia and Silesia, the picture is by no means dissimilar. The Swedish victories of the early 1630s did precipitate a vast upheaval in these regions with Gustavus Adolphus's Saxon allies advancing on several fronts. As they approached, several thousand Bohemian *Landjuden* fled into Prague so that the *Judenstadt* there was filled to bursting point. Yet, under the terms of Prague's surrender to the Protestant commander in 1632, the safety of the roughly 7,000 Jews then in the city was expressly guaranteed and this clause was fully respected.[45] Before long, the rural Jews seeped back to their villages. At the same time, the chaotic conditions prevalent since the 1620s had enabled appreciable numbers of Jews to settle in the many Bohemian and Moravian towns which, before 1620, had strictly excluded them. The now half-ruined town of Kaaden (Czech Kadaň), for example, close to the Saxon border, had had no Jews at all before 1620, in the century since their expulsion from the town in 1520, but contained a quite sizeable community in the 1630s.[46] In the same way, the re-emergence or strengthening of the Jewish communities of Stampfen, Feldsburg, Jamnitz, and many other towns of the Czech lands dates specifically from the 1620 and 1630s.[47] At Kolin, the only Bohemian royal town other than Prague which officially admitted Jews, the community, which had occupied thirty-two houses in 1615, comprised forty-five houses by 1630.[48] In Silesia, the Jewish presence remained much less significant than in Bohemia or Moravia, and was still confined to just three or four communities, but here, too, there was very definitely a steady expansion in the Jewish role stimulated by the presence of Swedish and Saxon occupation forces.[49]

In the southernmost regions of Germany, Jewish life on the eve of the Thirty Years War was of an extremely fragmented and marginal nature. After the expulsion from Baden-Baden, in 1614, the Jews were debarred from all the larger principalities of the region and from all the important cities, being confined to a few small towns and some small scattered territories belonging either to lesser lords or else to the Emperor. The most important of these southern Jewries were those of the Burgau, a small Austrian enclave situated between Ulm and Augsburg, of the Breisgau, another Austrian jurisdiction around Breisach on the Rhine, and of the duchies of Öttingen-Spielberg and Öttingen-Wallerstein, encircling the Imperial Free City of Nördlingen.[50] There was also an assortment of tiny communities further south around Saulgau, Stühlingen, and along the northern shore of Lake Constance. Even though local efforts to expel the Jews from the Burgau in

[45] Spiegel, 'Prager Juden', p. 120.

[46] Hoffmann, 'Juden in Kaaden', pp. 110–17.

[47] Marmorstein, 'Juden in Jamnitz', pp. 30–4; Schwenger, 'Zweite Ansiedlung', pp. 37–40; Herzog, 'Juden in Stupava (Stampfen)', p. 124.

[48] Grunwald, 'Contribution', p. 444.

[49] Brilling, *Juden in Breslau*, pp. 120–3, 152, 169–70; Brilling, *Jüdische Gemeinden Mittelschlesiens*, pp. 148–9.

[50] Tänzer, *Juden in Tirol*, pp. 12, 16, 18–21; Sauer, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden*, p. 31.

the years 1617–19 were blocked by the Emperor (despite his then weakness), there was a noticeable fanning out of Jews from the territory during the 1620s and 1630s. Burgau Jews took the lead in founding the new community at Hohenems on the south-eastern corner of Lake Constance, in part of the Vorarlberg which was then not yet under Austrian rule. Other Burgau Jews moved westward and were among the small groups which percolated back into Baden-Baden during the 1630s, taking advantage of the mounting turmoil to evade the recent decree of expulsion from that territory.[51] Jews from the Burgau also figured prominently in the resettlement of Jews in the Palatine county of Neuburg (Pfalz-Neuburg), a sizeable jurisdiction lying between the duchies of Württemberg and Bavaria from which the Jews had been expelled in 1553. Jewish re-entry into this district preceded the arrival of the Swedes, the Duke of Neuburg having allowed Jews to settle at Weiden in the 1620s and negotiated a contract with the financier Abraham of Goldkronach for the supply of silver and copper to the ducal mints. But the brief Swedish occupation of 1632–4 does seem to have accelerated the process of Jewish reintegration.[52] A Jewish community formed in the garrison town of Lauingen, in 1632, precisely when the Swedes arrived, and, as happened elsewhere, stayed after they left. In 1636, there were fifty-eight Jews living in Lauingen, virtually all migrants from neighbouring parts of South Germany. Inevitably, the resistance to this process of Jewish penetration was most intense in the Imperial Free Cities; but a small group of Jews did manage to settle for some years even in Augsburg.[53]

The favourable consequences of the Swedish occupation for the Jews were paralleled by the effects of other foreign occupations around the fringes of Germany. This can be seen, for instance, in the resettlement of Jews in the territory under Dutch occupation on the Lower Rhine. By 1618, Dutch forces already garrisoned several border towns on the German side and, after capturing Wesel from the Spaniards in 1629, held the entire duchy of Cleves.[54] Even so, there were repeated Spanish and Imperialist incursions into this area during the 1630s, so that much of the countryside was devastated. This combination of circumstances, the dislocation of the local economy and the presence of Dutch garrisons in the walled towns, gave rise to a network of new Jewish communities, albeit very small ones, where previously Jews had been completely shut out. It is instructive that in the town of Cleves itself, where there was no fixed garrison, the Jews were less successful in establishing themselves than in Emmerich, Rees, and Wesel where there were permanent garrisons and Dutch military governors.[55] At Wesel, the community seems to have formed before 1629 under Spanish occupation. Emmerich became the base of the Gomperz family, destined to become one of the

[51] Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte*, pp. 77, 189, 196.
[52] Volkert, 'Juden im Fürstentum Pfalz-Neuburg', pp. 582–5.
[53] Grünfeld, *Juden in Augsburg*, p. 46.
[54] Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 97–9, 178–9.
[55] Baer, *Protokollbuch*, pp. 13–17.

principal dynasties of 'Court Jews' of the later seventeenth century. The founder of the family's fortunes, Gumpert Salomon, amassed his initial capital in the 1620s and 1630s selling foodstuffs and tobacco to the Dutch soldiery.[56]

The Jews who settled in Cleves and Mark at this time mostly originated from the nearby ecclesiastical principalities of Cologne and Münster or from East Friesland. Gumpert Salomon became the acknowledged leader as well as rabbi of Cleves Jewry. His great rival was the still more prominent figure of Berend Levi, originally from Bonn, who had settled in the village of Warendorf, the centre of Münster Jewry. Like Gumpert Salomon, Berend Levi made his initial fortune by supplying the soldiery but by the 1640s had already graduated to handling fiscal operations in the territories of Mark and Ravensburg on behalf of the Elector of Brandenburg. Levi succeeded in extending his financial influence all over Westphalia and the Lower Rhine, his brother, Salomon Levi, being for a time the leading figure among Paderborn Jewry. By the mid-1640s, Berend's financial status was such that the Great Elector, Frederick William, entrusted him with the handling of the finances of the Brandenburg delegations to the Münster and Osnabrück peace congresses.[57]

As for the impact of the French invasions, from 1635, this undeniably expanded further the Jewish role throughout the south-west and middle Rhine areas. The Jewish community which had formed at Metz in the sixteenth century had long been closely involved with the French garrisons in the area, so that even before France's entry into the Thirty Years War French commanders on the borders of the Empire were accustomed to purchasing horses and provisions from the Jews.[58] Indeed, in 1632, while on a visit to Metz, Louis XIII himself praised the Jewish community there for its contribution to the upkeep of the border garrisons. From 1638, when the French overran large parts of Alsace and captured the Austrian fortress of Breisach, much the same collaboration developed between French commanders and the Jews of Alsace in the upper Rhine valley. Despite continuous heavy fighting in Alsace, it is evident that the revival of Alsatian Jewry, which had declined steadily during the two centuries from 1400 to 1600, owing to local expulsions, and which had reached a low point of only a few dozen families in the entire region by the end of the sixteenth century, really begins during the Thirty Years War.[59] By 1650, there were a number of new Jewish communities in Alsace and the total Jewish population of the territory had increased to around 2,000. Similarly, the French garrisons in Breisach and Philippsburg attracted a good deal of Jewish commercial activity while the emergence of new Jewish communities east of the Rhine in towns such as Heilbronn, from which Jews had previously been rigorously excluded, is once again directly attributable to the disinclination of French generals to pay any attention to the vociferous protests of the local Christian

[56] Baer, *Protokollbuch*, pp. 57, 64, 68–9, 72.

[57] Ibid., pp. 19–21; Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, i. 97–101.

[58] Baron, *Social and Religious History*, xiv. 286.

[59] Weill, 'Recherches', pp. 53–5.

burghers.[60] However, at Heilbronn, an Imperial Free City, Jewish resettlement was a temporary phenomenon which ended with the withdrawal of the French at the close of the war. In the electorate of Mainz which they occupied in the years 1644–8, the French proved as protective of the Jews as had been the Swedes in the 1630s.

The initially favourable attitude shown by the Emperor toward the Jews continued subsequently after the crushing defeat inflicted on the Swedes at Nördlingen, in 1634. The Imperialists were now once again in the ascendant, at least in southern Germany. The numerous and intricate links between Jewish communities and Protestant armies do not seem to have produced any change in the Jewish policy either of Ferdinand II or of his successor, Ferdinand III (1637–57). On the contrary, eager to rebuild their shattered authority in Germany, the Habsburgs continued to emphasize their role as protectors of the Jews. In 1636, as was to be indignantly recorded centuries later by at least one Nazi historian, Ferdinand II issued instructions to his commanders that the Jews of Worms were not to be subjected to billeting, forced loans, or any interference whatsoever.[61] These orders were issued after Worms Jewry had lodged complaints with the elders of the Vienna *Judenstadt*. The Worms city council subsequently tried to increase its control over the Jews in the city and impose special financial exactions on them. Again the Jews appealed to Vienna and not without effect. In November 1641, Ferdinand III drew up new privileges for Worms Jewry, restating his protective claims over them in unprecedently emphatic terms.[62]

In the final stages of the Thirty Years War, the Swedes regained something of their former momentum at any rate in the eastern regions of the Empire. Following their victory of Jankov, in 1645, Swedish forces ranged right across Bohemia and parts of Austria and, in 1648, the last year of the war, laid siege to Prague. This was one of the most renowned episodes in the history of the city. The Jews participated energetically, not only in supplying and financing the defence, but manning a section of the walls at the cost of twenty-two men killed. Eventually, the Swedes raised the siege and pulled back. In recognition of their contribution to the defence of Prague, Ferdinand III further amplified the privileges of Prague Jewry, allowing them, among other concessions, to adopt an emblem—a Swedish helmet within a star of David—which was now affixed to all the communal buildings of the *Judenstadt*. The siege of Prague may have been brief, but Bohemia and Moravia suffered severely from the ravages of war in the 1640s, as they had in the previous two decades, and on top of this there was a major epidemic in 1639 and several lesser ones. Nevertheless, there is no sign of any serious decline in the Jewish population of either realm in general or of Prague in particular.[63] On the contrary,

[60] Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte*, pp. 87, 133–4; Franke, *Juden in Heilbronn*, pp. 39–40.

[61] Wolf, *Ferdinand II und die Juden*, pp. 62–3; Sander, 'Juden und das deutsche Heerwesen', p. 339.

[62] Wolf, *Juden in Worms*, pp. 22–3.

[63] Spiegel, 'Prager Juden', pp. 121, 174, 182.

it is established that the city's Jewish population continued to increase down to 1638, and while it may have fallen back somewhat during the last decade of the war, there is little doubt that this community was larger at the end of the conflict, when it numbered between four and five thousand, than it had been at the beginning.

But if many new communities arose in central Europe, and some older ones expanded, how is one to account for the undoubted emigration of some German Jews during the Thirty Years War? Networks of German Jewish communities formed in the 1620s and 1630s in the Dutch Republic and Switzerland while at least some German Jews migrated to Poland. It is important, though, not to jump to the conclusion, as some historians have done, that such migration was essentially flight from the ravages of war.[64] In fact, the seepage of Ashkenazi Jews into Holland was remarkably sparse in the period before 1648. It was not until 1635 that the Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam was sufficiently numerous to form its own congregation and, as late as 1650, there were at most a few hundred of them in the city.[65] It is true that some poor German Jews requiring charity from the Sephardi community in Amsterdam were shipped off, with their fares paid by the Sephardi elders, to Poland, but the numbers were not enough substantially to alter the picture.[66] The real influx of German Jews (as well as, to a lesser extent, of Polish Jews) into Holland began only after 1648.[67] In Rotterdam, organized Ashkenazi communal life began only around 1660, not before. Similarly at Leeuwarden, Workum, and several other places in Friesland where Jews settled in the seventeenth century, the formation of organized communities took place in the 1660s and 1670s but not earlier.[68] And precisely the same is true of Amersfoort which, in the late seventeenth century, evolved into one of the principal Dutch Jewish communities.

In Switzerland, by contrast, the sudden proliferation of scattered Jewish groups in the 1620s and 1630s did mark the high point of Jewish penetration into the country, at least as far as the early modern period is concerned. After 1648, most of these newly formed Swiss Ashkenazi communities disintegrated, the majority disappearing altogether, as the bulk of the migrants moved back into Germany.[69] But it seems that their activity in Switzerland was, all along, chiefly confined to the border areas and was mainly concerned with procuring cattle, forage, and other supplies for nearby military garrisons in Germany rather than with the Swiss interior as such. Thus, the Jews were expelled from the environs of Basel, in 1637, expressly for having cornered so much grain and other local produce for transportation into Baden and Alsace that they were distorting food prices in Basel. It

[64] As is frequently done: see, for instance, Fuks, 'De Amsterdamse Opperrabbijn David Lida', p. 166.

[65] Gans, *Memorboek*, pp. 54–5; Meijer, '*Moeder in Israël*', p. 16.

[66] Vaz Dias, 'Nieuwe bijdragen', pp. 153–4, 162.

[67] Zwarts, 'Joodse gemeenten', pp. 413–14; Rijnders, '*Joodsche Natien' tot joodse Nederlanders*, pp. 132, 140.

[68] Beem, *Joden van Leeuwarden*, pp. 1–3.

[69] Ulrich, *Sammlung jüdischer Geschichten*, 252–3, 259–60; Haller, *Rechtliche Stellung der Juden im Kanton Aargau*, pp. 413–14; Weldler-Steinberg, *Juden in der Schweiz*, pp. 19–22.

would therefore seem that the string of mostly minute communities which took shape at this time, at Rheineck, Mammeren, Klingnau, Lengnau, and neighbouring places, was essentially an extension of the expanding activity of Jews in Germany itself. Only two of these new Swiss communities took root permanently, those at Lengnau and Endingen, both in the Aargau. In any case, the extent of the Ashkenazi migration into Switzerland, comprising at most a few hundred individuals, is scarcely plausible evidence of a major disruption of Jewish life in Germany. In all likelihood, the relatively small number of German Jewish migrants to Switzerland and the Dutch provinces during the years 1618–48 was more than counter-balanced by the simultaneous immigration into the Empire of several hundred Portuguese Jews settling on the Lower Elbe, and North Italian and Polish Jewish newcomers settling in and around Vienna and doubtless also other localities. For while it is true that there was a large exodus of Bohemian and Moravian Jews to Poland in the years 1618–20, especially to the Cracow region, it is no less true that most of them seem to have returned to Bohemia in the later 1620s and that they were joined in this westwards trek by a number of Polish Jews who moved to various parts of the Empire, penetrating, in some cases, as far west as Alsace.[70]

But if the seepage of German Jews into the Dutch provinces during the 1618–48 period was nothing like the large-scale influx it is sometimes imagined to have been, it remains true that the Thirty Years War exerted a profound influence on Dutch Jewry. Due essentially to the Spanish measures cutting the Dutch out of direct trade between northern Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, the period was one of acute difficulty and temporary decline for Dutch Sephardi Jewry.[71] As we have seen, a sizeable proportion of the Portuguese Jews in Holland migrated to North Germany. But it was not just a period of setbacks. It was also a time of fundamental restructuring which helped pave the way for the golden age of Dutch Jewry which can be said to have begun with the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648. Among the changes of the period 1618–48, perhaps the most important was the temporary Dutch conquest of north-east Brazil (1630–54) which made possible the founding of the first organized Jewish community in the New World—at Recife, the main Dutch base. By 1644, the Jews of Dutch Brazil numbered 1,450, which amounted to approximately one-third of the white civilian population of the colony, though it is true that a few of the Jews were mulatto half-castes. The Jews played only a marginal role in the running of the colony's sugar plantations and in actual production of sugar, but they handled a large part of the colony's trade with Holland and stood high in the favour of the West India Company, the directors of which regarded them, their skills, and their resources, as indispensable to Dutch colonial expansion in the Americas. And, indeed, the rise of the Sephardi community in Brazil made Dutch Jewry for the first time into a truly trans-Atlantic

[70] Bałaban, *Historja*, i. 290–2; Halpern, 'Jewish Refugees', p. 200–3; Shulvass, *From East to West*, pp. 21, 23, 34, 46.

[71] Israel, 'Economic Contribution', pp. 516–17.

social and commercial network. Despite the collapse of Dutch Brazil, in 1654, and the dissolution of the Jewish community at Recife, Dutch Jewry retained a large part of its newly forged link with the Americas, many of the *émigrés* from Brazil settling in the Caribbean, where they laid the basis for Amsterdam Sephardi Jewry's flourishing post-1650 trade with the Dutch and (eventually) the Spanish colonies as well as with Barbados and Martinique.[72]

Lack of alternatives ensured that Iberian trade remained the basis of post-1621 Sephardi activity, as it had been before that date, despite the formidable obstacles now obstructing their activity. Putting up with astronomical insurance and freight charges, and using false papers and seals, Dutch Sephardi merchants continued sending cargoes to the Peninsula, often for re-export to India, Africa, or the Americas, in most cases using Hamburg or other Hanseatic ships, and receiving their returns via Hamburg, London, or some other neutral port. Of course, the volume of this contraband trade was much less than the traffic which they had carried on legally (except in so far as Dutch Jews had had to conceal their Jewish names and identities from the Spanish authorities) before 1621. Moreover, even the cleverest subterfuge constantly risked detection by the *Almirantazgo*, Olivares's new inspectorate for commerce, and there were some spectacular losses. In 1626, three Hamburg ships loaded with textiles and other merchandise by Francisco Lopes d'Azevedo and other Amsterdam Sephardim were seized in Lisbon, their cargoes, worth thousands of gulden, being condemned and confiscated by the *Almirantazgo* court in Madrid.[73]

Yet, paradoxically, the harsh pressures of the Thirty Years War also tended to reinforce the Jewish role in what was left of Dutch trade with the Peninsula. And this increased role in the remaining traffic was pregnant with implications for the future. Working hand in hand with local Portuguese New Christian factors who were often relatives, rather than expatriate Flemings or Hanseatics resident in the Peninsula, Sephardi traders were less exposed than other Dutch merchants to Spanish scrutiny, and their activity harder for the *Almirantazgo* to eradicate. And where the Jews had already, before 1621, been handling a large part of Dutch trade with Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, it would seem to have been precisely the Thirty Years War which first gave Dutch Sephardi, as distinct from other Dutch merchants, an important role in trade with Spain. Thus, from 1621, with Dutch ships excluded from Spanish ports, there arose a thriving contraband trade between Amsterdam and Madrid, chiefly textiles in exchange for silver and wool; the goods were carried overland to and from Bayonne across Navarre and the Pyrenean passes, Bayonne being the closest port to which Dutch ships had access. There survive several Spanish reports on this overland contraband traffic in the 1620s and 1630s to and from Bayonne, and they all stress that the trade was mainly carried on by Amsterdam Jews working hand in hand with the Portuguese New

[72] Wolff, *A Odisséia*, pp. 84–5 ff.

[73] Van Dillen, 'Vreemdelingen', p. 32.

Christians of Bayonne and Madrid.[74] At the same time, Amsterdam Sephardim were active in collecting cargoes of Spanish American goods and silver from the Moroccan ports of Saleh and Tetuan where such wares were transferred (presumably via the Portuguese North African enclaves at Tangiers and Ceuta) by Portuguese New Christian merchants residing in Seville, San Lúcar, Cadiz, and Málaga.

In December 1640, taking advantage of the rebellion against Philip IV in Catalonia, Portugal seceded from Spain and the new king of Portugal, John IV, promptly threw open his ports to Spain's enemies. There ensued a rapid resurgence of traffic between Holland and Portugal so that Dutch Sephardi Jews were now once again able to import sugar, tobacco, and other Portuguese colonial goods via Lisbon and Oporto. The Portuguese secession also greatly stimulated Dutch Sephardi involvement in the European arms and munitions trades. Before 1641, Jewish participation in such traffic had been marginal, being largely confined to occasional shipments of powder and naval stores to Morocco. But now most of the guns, ammunition, and naval stores used by Portugal in her long war of independence against Spain (1640–68) were imported from Amsterdam and Hamburg, a large part of this business being handled by Sephardi Jews. What was probably the largest of John IV's arms and munitions purchases, a contract for 100,000 *cruzados* worth of muskets, powder, shot, siege equipment, and ship's rigging, was signed in Amsterdam, in July 1641, by the newly arrived first Portuguese ambassador to the United Provinces and the Portuguese Jewish merchant Lopo Ramires (David Curiel, 1594–1666), who had left Portugal, under threat of arrest by the Inquisition, in 1611, settling in Amsterdam three years later.[75]

Just as several German Jews, such as Gumpert Salomon and Berend Levi, emerged in the closing stages of the Thirty Years War as 'Court Jews', able to offer sought-after services to princes, so a number of Sephardi Jews, of whom Lopo Ramires and his older brother, Duarte Nunes da Costa (Jacob Curiel) of Hamburg, are prime examples, began in the 1640s to deal with governments on a regular basis. It was this decade which saw the beginning of that much wider involvement of Jews in statecraft, state finance, and large-scale provision of military supplies, which was to remain a central feature of Jewish activity in Europe down to the middle of the eighteenth century. For some years, Lopo Ramires acted as the Amsterdam agent of John IV's bankers in Lisbon, most or all of whom were themselves New Christians; he also handled the finances of the Portuguese embassy in The Hague as well as remittances from Lisbon, through Amsterdam, to the various itinerant Portuguese envoys seeking help for renascent Portugal against Spain. However, in 1646, the none too reliable Ramires switched sides and became Amsterdam agent of the Conde de Peñaranda, one of Spain's

[74] See, for instance, AGS Estado 2139, *consulta* 23 July 1621, AGS Hacienda 592, *consulta* 31 Oct. 1622 and AGS Hacienda 664, *consulta* 15 Sept. 1630.

[75] GAA NA 1555B, pp. 1103–4, 1563; Rau, 'A embaixada', pp. 115–16.

chief ministers, taking responsibility, among other things, for the finances of the Spanish delegation to the Münster peace congress.[76] He also fitted out several warships and shipped at least one major consignment of gunpowder to Spain. This happened after both he and his brother, Duarte, had been ennobled by John IV and made knights (*cavaleiros fidalgos*) of the Portuguese royal household. Duarte Nunes da Costa did remain loyal to Portugal and was frequently commended for his zeal and willingness to take risks on behalf of the Portuguese cause. He was nominated 'Agent' of the Portuguese crown at Hamburg in 1644 and, in 1649, played a substantial role in the setting up of the Portuguese 'Brazil Company' for which he purchased and fitted out several warships.[77] Meanwhile, in 1645, Duarte's eldest son Jerónimo Nunes da Costa (Moseh Curiel, 1620–97) who, like his father, was one of the most active of the western Sephardi élite in synagogue affairs, was appointed 'Agent' of the crown of Portugal in the United Provinces, a post which involved his acting as Portuguese *chargé d'affaires* during the prolonged periods in which there was no ambassador of Portugal at The Hague.[78]

John IV, first king of a resurgent Portugal, was more willing than other princes of his time to confer honours on Jews; for, being locked in conflict with Spain, and later also the Dutch, he could not afford to discard any possible source of help. But Portugal's predicament, if more acute, was not essentially different from that of Spain and many other later seventeenth-century states in its urgent need for financial links with Holland and North Germany and for supplies and munitions. Jewish assistance was now an asset worth seeking in a way that it had not been before 1618, while the price for Jewish co-operation—concessions which would ease the oppressive restrictions which tradition and the churches imposed on Jewish life—was now easier to contemplate, with the progress of *raison d'État* attitudes and princely absolutism. Hence the strengthening during the Thirty Years War of those post-1570 trends which we have ventured to call 'political philosemitism'. The great Portuguese Jesuit missionary and political adviser, António Vieira, had deep mystical as well as practical reasons for wanting to ease the situation of the Jews (and New Christians), believing that it was Portugal's mission finally to win the Jews over to Christ, but in the meantime he ardently advocated the forging of links between the Portuguese crown and the New Christians (both at home and in France) and with north European Sephardi Jewry, for reasons of state: Portugal was struggling for its independent existence and needed Jewish help if it was to finance its war effort, build up its fleets, and retain its colonies.[79] Vieira, moreover had the ear of the King. Hampered by popular bigotry and the Inquisition, John IV could not go as far as Vieira advocated, or he himself may well have wished, but he did take some steps to restrain the Inquisition and, in 1649, when setting up the

[76] See the correspondence of Lopo Ramires with Spanish financial officials in Antwerp in the Antwerp city archive, section IB vols. 1933 and 1934.

[77] Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, i. 87–9.

[78] Israel, 'Jerónimo Nunes da Costa', pp. 169, 172–3, 187–8.

[79] Saraiva, 'António Vieira', pp. 25–6.

Brazil Company, decreed that capital invested in the company by New Christians—even, the King implied, if they were acting for professed Jews abroad—was to be wholly exempt from confiscation by the Inquisition.[80] Thus Duarte Nunes da Costa, who was for many years a leading figure in the Sephardi synagogue in Hamburg, had some reason to believe that his services on behalf of John IV helped to ease the position of the New Christians in Portugal with not a few of whom he had close commercial connections.

Meanwhile, in Spain, Olivares, Philip IV's chief minister in the years 1621–43, strove heroically to sustain a vast military effort against the numerous enemies of the House of Habsburg, deploying large forces in Italy and Germany as well as in the Low Countries, Brazil, and the Caribbean. The strain on Spain's economy and the logistical problems involved were unprecedented. Acutely aware of his need to tap new resources and enlist the aid of fresh groups able to assist, Olivares ended the former monopoly of the Genoese over the servicing of Spain's state finances, in 1626, and from then on allocated roughly half of the Spanish crown's financial contracts, or *asientos* as they were called, to Portuguese New Christian bankers, some of the wealthiest of whom now moved, at the Count-Duke's invitation, from Lisbon to Madrid. These newly arrived financiers from Portugal became especially prominent in handling the payments from Madrid to Antwerp for the upkeep of the Spanish army of Flanders.[81] Before long, there were a dozen or fifteen main Portuguese firms in Madrid in which hundreds of lesser New Christians invested capital as did also an assortment of courtiers and noblemen. The Portuguese New Christian banking network, based in Madrid and Antwerp, and created by Olivares, also drew on commercial capital lodged at Seville and Lisbon.[82] Simultaneously, Portuguese New Christians now took over the farming of more and more of the king's customs and excise duties and most of the contracts for supplying Spain's fleets and the North African garrisons.

Of course, by no means all of these Portuguese New Christian businessmen active in Spain were crypto-Jews. Indeed, it is clear that quite a number, including Jorge de Paz de Silveira, who was probably the richest of all, were sincere Catholics who did not adhere to Jewish beliefs and were not interested in developing links with the Sephardi Jewish diaspora outside the Peninsula.[83] On the other hand, it is equally evident that some members of this financial élite, most notably the powerful families of Cortizos, Montezinos, and Passarinho, were crypto-Jews who secretly rejected Catholicism and developed strong links with Sephardi Jewish communities both in Holland and in Italy.[84] Furthermore, as we shall see, the immense financial power which these families accumulated in Spain during

[80] See Hanson's sections on Vieira and the New Christians.

[81] Dominguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda*, pp. 65–9, 108; Israel, 'Spain and the Dutch Sephardim', pp. 43–8.

[82] Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, iv. 18, 49.

[83] Boyajian, 'The New Christians Reconsidered', pp. 134–40, 155.

[84] Caro Baroja, *Judíos*, ii. 115–32; Israel, 'Spain and the Dutch Sephardim', pp. 44, 49.

the years of Olivares's chief ministry was later to be of great significance for Sephardi Jewish life generally in the Holy Land and the Caribbean, as well as in Europe.

That Olivares consciously adopted a *politique* attitude in his policy toward the Portuguese New Christians is hardly to be doubted. The fact that he himself was partly descended from Jews and that he was notoriously tolerant of those of Jewish background—one of his underlings, Manuel López Pereira, a member of the Spanish Council of Finance in the 1630s, had brothers occupying prominent positions in the Amsterdam Sephardi community—signally contributed to the seething undercurrent of opposition to his political ascendancy. It was even rumoured among anti-Olivares circles in Spain, during the 1630s, that the Count-Duke was scheming to cancel the general expulsion of the Jews of 1492.[85] No doubt this was beyond the bounds of what was politically feasible, but Olivares did make it much easier for the Jews of Oran and Ceuta, and other Spanish and Portuguese North African enclaves, to obtain permits for temporary residence in the Peninsula. And quite a number came for a variety of purposes. Indeed, Olivares himself consorted with a leader of the Oran community, Jacob Cansino, royal interpreter in Arabic, who spent years living in Madrid as an openly professing Jew, armed with an Inquisition licence, under the Count-Duke's protection.[86] But the most dramatic manifestation of Spanish philosemitic mercantilism at this time was the project, deliberated several times in the Council of State, to secure the return of the Sephardi Jews living in Holland, France, and Hamburg on generous terms, with a full pardon for past religious offences and guarantees of immunity from the Inquisition.[87] The plan was that such 'Portuguese' as accepted the terms would only be required to conform outwardly to Catholicism, as was the practice in France, so as to veil what would have amounted to a government licence to practice Judaism in private. Such a policy, ministers calculated, might dilute the purity of the Catholic religion but it would greatly strengthen the Spanish state and damage Spain's enemy, the Dutch, in both Europe and the Americas.

In Italy, the ravages of the Thirty Years War were less fearful than in Germany or the Czech lands. Even so, several regions where there were important Jewish communities, notably Mantua, the Monferrato, and Piedmont, were severely dislocated. Yet everywhere recovery was rapid and, in general, the long-term trend of expansion in Italian Jewish life, manifest since the 1570s, continued unabated. And nowhere was this more evident than in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany where the preponderance of the Portuguese Jewish community over the principality's foreign trade, and the commercial eclipse of the great city of Florence, were now

[85] Cantero Vaca, 'Relación', p. 102; Castro, *Judíos de España*, pp. 219–20; Cantera Burgos, 'Dos escritos inéditos', pp. 40–6.

[86] BL MS Add. 28442, fos. 251^{v}–2; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 167–8.

[87] Alcalá-Zamora, *España, Flandes y el mar del Norte*, pp. 249–50; Israel, 'Jews of Spanish North Africa', pp. 74, 84; this, essentially, was also Vieira's plan for Portugal in the 1640s, Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, iv. 11, 50, 59–60.

complete. By the war's end, trade focused firmly on the Jewish quarters of Livorno and Pisa. The Jewish population of Livorno increased from 711 in 1622 to 1,250 in 1645, and probably to over 2,000 by 1655.[88] At over 10 per cent of the city's population—Livorno had a total of 12,978 inhabitants in 1642—the Jews of Livorno represented, by the late 1640s, by far the largest percentage of Jews of any substantial city in western Europe. By the 1640s, Livorno had outstripped Venice and Genoa and become the single most important entrepôt for Dutch and English shipping and goods in the Mediterranean, the key distribution-centre from which northern and colonial wares, and Spanish American silver, were remitted to North Africa and the Levant, and Near Eastern merchandise stockpiled for shipment to Amsterdam and London. Thus, by the war's end, the unchallengeable fact that Livorno was now the chief port of the Mediterranean, and its business community mainly Jewish, had become the second most potent argument in the repertoire of philosemitic mercantilism generally, the favourite argument being the Jewish contribution to the greatness of Amsterdam.[89]

In contrast to Livorno, Venice was indisputably in decline. Yet, as the Venetian rabbi Simone Luzzatto pointed out, in his *Discorso* of 1637,[90] the one still flourishing Venetian trade route—the overland traffic, via Split and Valona, to Constantinople and Salonika—was predominantly in Jewish hands, and this is confirmed by a range of evidence. As Venice declined, the proportion of Jews in the city's population grew perceptibly from around 1 to 3 per cent between 1600 and 1650; but the importance of the Jews to Venice's decaying economy increased more dramatically. The nadir of Venice's fortunes was reached during the war of 1645–69 between Venice and the Turks, an exhausting and ruinous struggle over Crete. It is true that what was a disaster for Venice also paralysed Venetian Jewish commerce, links with the Turkish Balkans being severed for a quarter of a century. It is clear also that one major reason for the acceleration in the increase of Livorno's Jewish population was migration from Venice, from 1645. But we know from a variety of post-1669 evidence that the setback by no means diminished the now considerable influence of the Jews over the city's economic life.[91] If the trade through Split never fully recovered its former importance, the Jews increased their role in the shipping of grain, oil, and other basic foodstuffs to the city from Puglia, Sicily, Corfu and Zante.

The setback to Jewish activity at Venice from 1645 was compensated for not only by the surge of new immigration to Livorno but by the revival in the fortunes of the papal Adriatic ports of Ancona, Pesaro, and Senigallia, in all of which the Jews were the predominant trading element, since most business involved the overland Balkan routes (via Dubrovnik) to Salonika and Constantinople. Goods

[88] Alfredo Toaff, 'Cenni storici', pp. 360, 363–4; R. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea*, pp. 119, 121.

[89] See, for instance, Menasseh ben Israel, *The Humble Addresses*, p. 2.

[90] Luzzatto, *Discorso*, fos. 17^{v}–19.

[91] BL MS 10130, fos. 80–80^{v}; Ciriacono, *Olio ed ebrei*, pp. 62–7.

arriving from Bosnia in these ports then passed, via Florence, to Livorno for reshipment to the west. Admittedly, the growth of the Jewish communities in these towns was to some extent counter-balanced by a narrowing of Jewish life in the region of Urbino as a whole. When the duchy was incorporated into the States of the Church in 1631, Pesaro had a Jewish population of 500, Urbino of 370, and Senigallia of about 200.[92] The papal government then decided to congregate all the Jews of the duchy into these three centres, in ghettos, and to eliminate the small rural communities at Pergola, Fossombrone, and neighbouring places. Even so, the substantial increase that now took place, at least at Pesaro and Senigallia, was also partly due to outside immigration and the increased role of these ports.

During the Thirty Years War, the ghettoization process in Italy was also extended to Ferrara and Modena. Having acquired the duchy of Ferrara in 1597, in 1624 the papal government decided to abolish the small rural communities of the duchy and congregate the Jews again in three centres—at Ferrara, Lugo, and Cento. In Lugo, there were 606 Jews in 1639, about 10 per cent of the town's population. The Jewish population of Ferrara itself, still one of the foremost Jewish communities of Italy, seems to have held steady at around 1,500 throughout the century, though this too was really expansion since the population of the city as a whole declined.[93] The Jews of Modena were subjected to ghettoization in 1638, but there too Jewish numbers increased.

A most perplexing aspect of Italian Jewish life in this epoch was the disparate impact of the great plague of 1630–1 on different communities. This, the most devastating epidemic in the history of early modern Italy, inflicted heavy losses on most major cities of northern Italy. Venice is estimated to have lost some 50,000 or nearly one-third of its inhabitants and, like Florence and Milan, languished at well below its pre-1630 population level for the rest of the century. In many, and possibly most cases, the Jews, despite the enforced overcrowding and insalubrity of the ghettos, came through the ordeal rather better than did their Christian neighbours.[94] Certainly at Venice and Livorno losses seem to have been slight and failed to halt the steady increase in the Jewish population. Nor did it make much impact in a good many other places. And yet, in some cases, notably at Verona and Padua, the plague struck the Jews harder than anyone. At Padua, no fewer than 421 out of a total of 721 Jewish inhabitants were said to have perished.

Sack and pillage arising from the war was mainly confined to Mantua, Monferrato, and Piedmont, though even here, with the partial exception of Mantua, the damage seems to have been mainly in the short term. The Duke of Savoy being allied to Spain against France, Piedmont was heavily devastated in the fighting. Yet, as in Germany, the situation tended to lead to tightening of links between the state, mobilizing its energies for war, and the Jewish communities. To raise loans, pawn

[92] Milano, *Storia*, p. 298; Paci, *'Scala' di Spalato*, pp. 114–16.
[93] Angelini, *Ebrei di Ferrara*, pp. 57–8.
[94] Ciscato, *Ebrei in Padova*, p. 88; Roth, *Jews of Venice*, pp. 95–7.

jewellery, and pay his soldiery, Duke Charles Emmanuel I made extensive use of the Jewish loan-banks scattered throughout his territory and the neighbouring marquisate of Saluzzo.[95] Thus all the principal Jewish banking houses of the region, such as those of the Lattes, Treves, Foà, Momigliano, Segre, Jona, and Avigdor, were drawn into the mechanism of military finance and military provisioning. The Monferrato, a classic area of Jewish loan-banks, found itself in the thick of the fighting. Its chief town Casale, as well as being a Jewish centre of some significance, was one of the most crucial fortresses in all Italy, dominating the route between Genoa and Milan, and was the scene of a long and terrible siege. The town's Jewish community soon recovered, however, and grew to around 600 by the later seventeenth century.[96] The capture of Mantua by Austrian troops in 1630, on the other hand, was for the Jews a major catastrophe. In contrast to the conduct of the Austrians in Bohemia and Germany, at Mantua the Jewish quarter was brutally sacked, after which the 1,600 survivors were summarily expelled from the city. Italian Jewish leaders, through the elders of the Vienna *Judenstadt*, appealed to the Emperor who ordered that the expulsion be cancelled and the Jews recalled.[97] Thus the Jews of Mantua, or at least most of them, returned. But the community never again rose to its previous level of cultural and economic vitality.

Did the pressures of the Thirty Years War also expand the role of Jews and crypto-Jews within the French monarchy? Again the answer is an unequivocal yes. The role of Metz Jewry and of the Alsatian communities in the provisioning and supplying of horses to the French soldiery has already been referred to. But the most striking development at this time, in France, is Richelieu's decision further to extend crown protection to the Portuguese crypto-Jews in the French ports. The story is a classic instance of *raison d'État* politics and mercantilism. The Spanish embargoes against the Dutch had given rise to a flourishing contraband route, as we have seen, linking Amsterdam and Madrid, via Bayonne, the Pyrenean passes, and Pamplona. This, in turn, despite the expulsion of the 'Portuguese' from St Jean de Luz in 1618, stimulated an increased immigration of Portuguese New Christians into the extreme south-west corner of France as well as to a lesser extent to Bordeaux, Nantes, and Rouen. A report of 1633 reveals that there were then sixty Portuguese New Christian families, or around 300 individuals, in Bayonne, eighty families, or around 400 Portuguese, at Labastide-Clairence, more than forty families at Peyrehorade, ten at Dax, around forty in Bordeaux, another twenty families at Rouen—which we know from other sources to be a slight underestimate—twelve families in Paris, and a few more at Nantes.[98] This fresh influx further aggravated the simmering feud among the opposing Portuguese New Christian factions in France, 'Catholics' versus 'Jews'. The increasingly

95 Foa, 'Banchi e banchieri ebrei', pp. 520–5.
96 Ibid., p. 528.
97 Simonsohn, *History*, p. 54.
98 BL MS Egerton 343, fo. 259; Nahon, 'Inscriptions', i. 355–6.

acrimonious contest reached its climax in the early 1630s, at Rouen, when the 'Catholics' secured the condemnation of their adversaries in the courts, as 'Judaizers'. The regional high court of Normandy was mobilized against the crypto-Jews, several of whom were arrested and imprisoned. At this point, Richelieu, influenced by his (probably) Marrano confidant, Alphonse López, stepped in, stopping the proceedings and turning the tables on the 'Catholics', who were being spurred on by two disguised Spanish priests.[99] Louis XIII's decree of 12 July 1633 on the 'Portuguese' in France is a consummate piece of *politique* fudging on the part of Richelieu. The case against those charged with 'Judaism' was halted on the cynical grounds that their Portuguese accusers were known to be of Jewish extraction and, in some cases, to have been punished in Portugal for the 'crime of Judaism', which rendered their testimony worthless. The good people of Rouen were forbidden to insult or otherwise harass the released 'Portuguese'. It is worth adding that the leaders of the group rescued by Richelieu—the Rodrigues Lamego and De Caceres families—can be definitely shown, from other evidence, to have been active crypto-Jews, a fact of which Richelieu was doubtless perfectly aware.[100]

The implications of Richelieu's *politique* stance for the Portuguese New Christians in France were profound. For these were now crypto-Jews in a quite different sense from their counterparts in the Iberian Peninsula. Their obligation to conform outwardly to Catholic practice was from now on a mere charade which probably no one took too seriously. In their homes they practised a relatively highly developed form of Judaism helped by Hebrew-reciting Dutch relatives who were frequent visitors to Portuguese homes in Rouen, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. In Peyrehorade, second largest of the inland communities of Portuguese in France—there were roughly 275 members of this community in 1640—it became usual to inscribe Jewish rather than Catholic names on gravestones from as early as 1641.[101] The same is true of Labastide, which, for a time, was the largest concentration after Bayonne, as from 1659. In practice, the fact that most of these Portuguese were really Jews was perfunctorily veiled rather than actively concealed. Not only did leading crypto-Jewish families in France freely intermarry with Dutch Sephardi Jews, they participated by post in Dutch Jewish societies such as that for providing marriage portions for poor Portuguese Jewish girls which, indeed, also allocated dowries to young New Christian women in France who subsequently married in synagogues abroad.[102] Thus Richelieu can be said to have knowingly condoned the shift to Jewish rather than Catholic allegiance in France, a policy subsequently continued by Colbert. It was this government stance which made possible that steady transition from the 1630s down to the 1680s by when the Portuguese communities in France had cast off all remaining pretence

[99] Revah, 'Autobiographie d'un Marrane', pp. 63–76.
[100] ANTT Inqu. 7192, 'Proceso de Duarte Nunes da Costa', fos. 14^{v}, 15^{v}, 40–4.
[101] Nahon, 'Inscriptions', i. 355–8 and ii. 349, 351.
[102] Revah, 'Le Premier Règlement', pp. 660–1.

and openly organized as Jewish congregations with rabbis and services in Hebrew.[103]

If the dictates of war often induced a mercantilist stance favourable to the expansion of Jewish life within Europe, this was not the case everywhere, as is evident from Swedish policy. In Germany, during the 1630s and 1640s, Swedish forces, as we have seen, were pivotal in the spread of Jewish communities, because there the Swedes required provisions and did not need to heed the objections of the populace. The situation was quite otherwise, however, in Sweden's newly secured Baltic provinces of Livonia and Ingria. Here Swedish strategy was to hold ground with as few troops as possible while concentrating most of Sweden's strength in Germany. And this could only be done, in the face of Poland and Muscovy, through close collaboration with the Lutheran German bourgeoisie of the eastern Baltic seaboard. This is why the Lutheran merchants of Sweden's Baltic provinces were finally successful in winning their ancient battle to prevent Jewish encroachment on their trade in grain, timber, and naval stores.[104] Poland, the main threat to Sweden's political hegemony, was likewise the chief menace to this Lutheran German ascendancy over the Baltic seaboard's commerce. When Riga was temporarily annexed to Poland, in 1581, the Polish governor, Prince Radziwiłł, had allowed Jewish merchants from Lithuania to become active in the area. But when Gustavus Adolphus captured Riga in 1621, he specifically undertook to exclude Jews from the city and its surroundings, and this became a pillar of Swedish policy in her Baltic provinces generally.

South of Riga, wedged between Swedish territory and Lithuania, were the autonomous duchy of Courland and bishopric of Pilten, principalities loosely under Polish protection. Both of these had substantial Jewish communities. Duke James (1642–82), the most famous ruler of Courland, was a tireless devotee of mercantilist projects, not just in the Baltic but throughout Europe and beyond. Keen to eclipse the nearby emporium of Riga, Duke James strove, with some success, to build up a large merchant fleet and exploit the rich resources of his underdeveloped duchy. As part of this programme, and ignoring the protests of the Christian burghers of Mitau, he invited in more Jews with various privileges and concessions. Besides dealings with local Lithuanian Jews, James was for many years in contact with Sephardi merchants of Hamburg, Amsterdam, and the Caribbean.[105] In 1649, through the Nunes da Costa, he became a participant in the Portuguese Brazil Company, not only supplying naval stores to Lisbon but sending whole ships and cargoes to sail in the convoys to Brazil. In 1645, the Duke purchased the West Indian island of Tobago from the Earl of Warwick—a transaction recognized by Cromwell in 1657. The Duke then collaborated with a group of Dutch Caribbean Sephardi families in trying to develop sugar and tobacco production on the island.

[103] Nahon, *'Nations' juives*, 3, 133, 259.
[104] Baron, *Social and Religious History*, xvi. 174–5.
[105] Mattiesen, *Kolonial- und Überseepolitik*, pp. 37, 115, 213; Kellenbenz, *As relações*, pp. 25–6.

In the 1620s, Swedish action on the Baltic seaboard, combined with the effects of the Spanish embargoes against the Dutch, caused a severe but temporary disruption of Baltic trade. But exports to the west of grain, timber, and naval stores from the hinterland picked up after 1630 and there was a final boom in the years down to 1648, powered by the heavy demand for war supplies in Holland and Germany. This period was also the final phase of Polish political and military expansion eastwards. In a series of campaigns, Polish forces pushed the Russians back beyond Smolensk, initiating a period of stable Polish rule over White Russia. In the wake of the Polish armies came a rapid spread of Jewish colonies through the regions of Minsk, Polotsk, Vitebsk, and Mogilev. There was also some Jewish settlement in and around Smolensk. Not unnaturally there was considerable resistance from the burghers and guilds to this influx, and at Vitebsk, Polotsk, and Mogilev the Jews congregated and built their synagogues in outlying communities rather than in the towns themselves. There was an outbreak of rioting against the Jews in Mogilev in 1645.

This expansion in the east went hand in hand with a continuing rapid growth in the older Jewish communities which had formerly been on the eastern fringes of Jewish life. The Jewries of Vilna, Pinsk, Slutsk, and Slonim, where a magnificent stone synagogue was erected in 1642, now developed into large and vibrant communities with a varied economic life. Vilna Jewry, still quite small in 1600, and despite an outbreak of pogroms in 1635, numbered over 2,000 by 1648. The Pinsk community, numbering 275 in 1566, had grown to over 1,000 by 1648.[106]

But if the growth in the northern parts of the Polish monarchy was considerable the enlargement of Jewish life in the Ukraine was still more dramatic.[107] Here, in contrast to further north, there was little in the way of pre-existing towns, crafts, and agriculture, so that Christian merchants and guilds were either few or non-existent. The driving force in the colonization of the Ukraine was the Polish landlords, eager to extend their latifundia and create private towns often from scratch. Poland was their state. Its institutions were designed to further their interests; and the readiest tool available for advancing the programme of colonization was the Jews. In the footsteps of hundreds of wealthier Jews who took over the contracts for administering estates, marketing produce, operating mills and distilleries, collecting tolls and the like, came a much greater number, many thousands of poor Jewish pedlars and artisans who effectively captured petty trade and the crafts throughout the new territories in the south. In the Ukraine, the undisputed primacy of the Polish nobility, combined with the absence of any real economic rival to the Jews, created, in the zone around Brody, Belz, Lutsk, Dubno, Ostrog, and Bratslav, uniquely broad and varied base to the Jewish role.[108] Here, in the

[106] Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Pinsk', pp. 153–64.

[107] Ettinger, 'Jewish Participation', pp. 113–18, 135–7; Horn, 'Żydzi województwa bielskiego', pp. 40–6; Kardaszewicz, *Dzieje dawniejsze miasta Ostroga*, pp. 117–19.

[108] Horn, 'Żydzi województwa bielskiego', pp. 40–6.

western Ukraine, to a much greater extent than in western or central Poland, or in White Russia, it would be true to say that the Jews occupied most, as opposed to much, of the middle ground between the peasantry, on the one hand, and the nobility and clergy on the other.

Burgeoning in the east, Polish Jewry also expanded its role in the west, in part owing to the diffused impact of the Thirty Years War. The new privileges conceded to the Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia by Emperor Ferdinand II, together with the rise of the Vienna ghetto, generated a vibrant new Polish Jewish overland traffic, based on Cracow, to Prague and Vienna. The provisioning of Gross-Glogau and other garrison towns in Silesia also stimulated a vigorous export of foodstuffs and livestock from Poland into the eastern regions of the Empire, which accounts for the growth in this period of the Jewish communities of Poznań, Kalisz, and Lissa, where the Christian bourgeoisie was now in decline.

The most terrible catastrophe suffered by the Jews of Europe during the early modern era—the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648—was less a major turning-point in the history of Polish Jewry than a brutal but relatively short interruption in its steady growth and expansion. This is not to belittle a horrific episode which dwarfed every other Jewish tragedy between 1492 and the Nazi holocaust. But the widely accepted notion that this appalling episode marked the end of the long period of expansion, and a decisive turn for the worse in the fortunes of Polish Jewry, seems in the light of recent research to place this key event in a misleading light.[109]

Bogdan Chmielnicki (1595–1657), son of a minor noble, unfurled the banner of revolt against Polish rule in the Ukraine among the Cossacks of the eastern part of the territory during 1647. Drawing support from the downtrodden Ukrainian peasantry, as well as from the Crimean Tartars, Chmielnicki achieved the swift collapse of the Polish regime throughout the Ukraine. The insurgents vented their grievances in a savage slaughter of all the Polish nobles, Catholic clergy, and Jews they could lay hands on; but, as the Jews were more numerous than these other categories, they inevitably took the brunt of the losses. The worst massacres occurred during the spring and summer of 1648. Having killed virtually all the Jews who refused to convert to Christianity either side of the Dnieper, the insurgents advanced westwards. The mass of rural Jews fled into the fortified towns which is where the big massacres took place. The first of these was at Nemirov, where several thousand Jews are said to have been butchered, the synagogue destroyed, and its Hebrew scrolls strewn through the streets.[110] The fortress town of Tulchin fell at the end of June, the garrison handing the Jews over in exchange for their own lives. At Ostrog, there was a frightful slaughter in which 7,000 Jews

[109] Traditional conceptions are partly based on Hannover's grossly inflated figures for the slaughtered; see Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, pp. 192–9; Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Pinsk', pp. 190–6; Horn, 'Skład zawodowy', pp. 15–28.

[110] Hannover, *Yeven Mezula*, pp. 19–20.

reportedly met their end, a figure which is certainly greatly exaggerated.[111] At Tarnopol there was another mass killing, while at Dubno, the Polish soldiery refused to take the Jews into the fortress and the whole community was butchered. Lvov survived a siege by Chmielnicki's army but several thousand Jews in the surrounding region, who failed to get within its walls in time, or flee far enough westwards, were massacred in their homes, on the roads, and in the fields.

As the rebels swept west and north, the terror they inspired preceded them, causing a vast scattering of the Jews to the west. By the time Chmielnicki captured Pinsk, in October, most of the Jews of eastern Lithuania had escaped to Vilna, Grodno, or into central Poland, though assuredly many scores of old and infirm were dispatched with appalling brutality. In south-eastern Poland, the Cossacks failed to take Lublin or Zamość, though both suffered siege and the less defensible towns around were fearfully ravaged. Some Jews were massacred in Tarnogród, Bilgoray, and especially further south, at Narol, where hundreds were slain in the synagogue which was then burned down with the bodies inside.[112] Yet again, as in the cases of Volhynia, Podolia, and White Russia, the vast majority of the Jews survived by fleeing either into the walled fortresses which did not fall or sufficient distances to the west and south.

Following the provisional agreement of August 1649 between the Polish crown and Chmielnicki, the Cossacks pulled back east of the Dnieper. Almost at once the nobles began to recolonize their lands and, with their encouragement and assistance, the Jews streamed back. Fighting flared up again in the spring of 1651 but the Polish forces now offered more effective defence, and it is noticeable that the Polish commanders, especially Prince Wiśniowiecki, went to some lengths to shield the Jewish population. In some places, such as Bar, where there had been fearful massacres in 1648, hundreds of Jews were again slaughtered in 1651. But, on the whole, the losses now were much smaller. Finally, in 1654–5, the Muscovites, in alliance with Chmielnicki, poured into the eastern territories of Lithuania, sacking Mogilev, Vitebsk, and Minsk, and brutally pillaging and burning Vilna. Some thousands of Jews were massacred. But again the bulk escaped westwards and to the south.

[111] Meisl, *Juden in Polen*, pp. 13–14; Kardaszewicz, *Dzieje dawniejsze*, pp. 171–4.
[112] Hannover, *Yeven Mezula*, pp. 41–5.

VI

The High Point (I): *The 'Court Jews'* (1650–1713)

The age of the 'Court Jew' (1650–1713) marked the zenith of Jewish influence in early modern Europe. The remarkable role of the Jews in European affairs at that time rested on the solid foundations laid during the Thirty Years War. By 1650, a scattered but socially closely intertwined élite of provisioners and financiers had emerged who, in contrast to European Jewish bankers of a later age, were simultaneously agents of states and the effective leaders of Europe's Jewish communities. Sometimes, they showed a strong sense of commitment to one particular government, but this was, in fact, both unusual and untypical. Generally, Jewish court factors, or *Hoffaktoren* as they were known in Germany, lived outside, even far away from, the states which they served. Not infrequently, they acted for several governments at once. Most typical of all, the close collaboration and interdependence between them, interlocking with the correspondence between *kehillot* in different countries, made their activity more thoroughly international and specifically Jewish than the banking and contracting of later times. Assuredly, the system centred on Germany, Austria, and Holland, but it ramified far beyond these limits, exerting an appreciable influence also on affairs in Spain, Portugal, the Spanish Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, Hungary, Italy, England, and Ireland.

It was inherent in the rise of the Levi, Gomperz, Oppenheimer, and other German financial dynasties, through the supplying of garrisons during the Thirty Years War, that one chief function of the Court Jews was military purveying and, indeed, on a grander scale, army contracting. The drawing up of contracts to supply whole armies, with financiers who were professing Jews, occurs only after 1650. However, at an earlier stage, certainly from the 1630s, several Portuguese New Christians in the service of the Spanish crown branched out from handling payments for the Spanish forces into regular provisioning of entire armies. In particular, García de Yllan, a Portuguese banker at Antwerp, handled the shipments of bread, forage, and gunpowder to the Spanish army of Flanders for several years during the 1630s and 1640s.[1] Although not himself a crypto-Jew—he remained a Catholic throughout his life and later became a baron in the Spanish Netherlands—he had Jewish relatives in Amsterdam and many of his sub-contractors were professing Jews. In the years 1639–41, for instance, the gunpowder which he delivered to the Spanish troops in Flanders was supplied, from the Baltic, by a group of Portuguese Jews at Hamburg, headed by Duarte Nunes da Costa, the

[1] On Yllan, see Salomon, 'The "De Pinto Manuscript"', p. 30.

same who later switched his allegiance to Portugal.[2] To avoid interception by the Dutch and French, the gunpowder was shipped through Danish territory, via Glückstadt and Dover, and into the Spanish base at Dunkirk on English ships. At the same time, one of the principal Portuguese contractors in Spain, Manuel Cortizos of Madrid, chief supplier of horses, forage, and other necessities to the Spanish forces on the Catalan front during the 1640s, is definitely known to have been a secret Jew who sent much of his capital to Holland.[3] But, as a fully fledged system, Jewish army contracting matured only in the 1670s, its heyday continuing down to the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1713.

The most important of the Jewish army contractors was Samuel Oppenheimer of Heidelberg (1630–1703), who first emerged in the 1660s as a main supplier to the garrisons of the Elector of the Palatinate. During the 1673–9 war between Austria and France, he was entrusted by the Emperor Leopold I with provisioning the entire Austrian army on the Rhine. Oppenheimer sent his factors all over South Germany to procure grain and fodder, and obtained clothing for the troops, as well as their horses, gunpowder, and ammunition, mainly from Jewish dealers at Frankfurt, though some items he purchased much further afield, notably at Hamburg and at Amsterdam, where his agent was Moses Gomperz.[4] It is true that Oppenheimer never relied exclusively on fellow Jews, but the lists of his suppliers show that he did depend overwhelmingly on relatives and other Jews. As his influence increased so did the opposition to him at court, in Vienna. When Austria made peace with France, in 1679, his position temporarily collapsed. It soon revived, though, with the outbreak of war between Austria and Turkey, in 1682. During the Turkish siege of Vienna, in 1683, it was Oppenheimer who organized the defenders' logistics. When the siege was lifted, he took up permanent residence in Vienna and was entrusted with supplying the rapidly advancing Austrian forces in Hungary. His most celebrated device was the fleet of river barges he built to victual the Emperor's soldiery besieging Budapest in 1686, and, again, using the river system crossing Hungary, the forces confronting Belgrade in 1688–9.[5] While Oppenheimer himself remained in Vienna, his son, Emmanuel, who became well known throughout central Europe in his own right, took charge of provisioning Philippsburg and other Austrian garrisons on the Rhine.

The power of the Austrian counter-offensive of the 1680s, which brought Hungary, Croatia, and Belgrade under Habsburg sway, was one of the great dramas of the late seventeenth-century Europe. For the Jews, the fighting involved the utter disruption of the Hungarian communities, the Jewish quarters of Budapest, Belgrade, and many other places being brutally sacked by the Austrian soldiery. But the war also meant a rapid extension of the central European Jewish financial

[2] AGR SEG 558, fo. 92: Christian IV of Denmark to the Cardinal-Infante in Brussels, Glückstadt, 3 July 1639; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 131, 163, 167, 275.

[3] Caro Baroja, *Judíos*, ii. 115–19.

[4] Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer*, pp. 39–41, 55; Kober, 'Reichsstadt Köln', pp. 415–17.

[5] Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer*, pp. 58–61, 70–1.

and communal network right across Hungary. Besides the sheltering of thousands of refugees, especially in Moravia, a vast financial operation was initiated by the surrounding Jewish communities, with Oppenheimer at its head, to ransom and rehabilitate the Jewish captives. At the same time, Oppenheimer's factors in Hungary organized an elaborate garrison supply network which did much to create the basis for a remodelled and revived Hungarian Jewry supplied with fresh settlers from Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. Oppenheimer's principal agents in Hungary were Lazarus Hirschel, who supervised the victualling of the Austrian forces at Budapest and Belgrade, and Simon Michael, an ancestor of the poet Heinrich Heine, who moved from place to place, eventually securing permission, the first Jew to do so, to settle in Pressburg (Bratislava). Michael's speciality was the gathering up of Turkish coin from all over Hungary which he then delivered for melting down at the Imperial Mint, in Vienna.[6]

Oppenheimer's career reached its culmination during the Nine Years War (1689–98) when he simultaneously organized the supplies both of the Austrian armies in Germany, fighting the French, and the forces in Hungary. Nor did he handle just the basic necessities. He supplied the officers with their wine and the troops with their tobacco while at the same time supplying the court, in Vienna, with its wine, spices, jewels, confectionery, and the costumes of its coachmen and lackeys.[7] To distinguish him from lesser *Hofjuden* such as Hirschel and Michael, Oppenheimer bore the official titles of *Oberhoffaktor* and *Oberkriegsfaktor*. Cardinal Kollonitsch, the doyen of anti-Semitism in Vienna, concerted two attempts to dislodge Oppenheimer, in 1692 and 1697, and replace him with 'loyal, patriotic, Catholic factors' but without success. Nevertheless, in the interval between the end of the war, in 1698, and the start of the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1702, Oppenheimer's standing again collapsed. The Emperor no longer needed him. In July 1700, a raving mob ransacked his Vienna mansion, destroying his papers. Oppenheimer's death in 1703, with large sums still owed him by the Imperial Treasury, brought on a financial crisis not only in Austria but throughout central Europe.[8] There was a flood of claims from different parts of Germany. At the instigation of their own Court Jews, and that of Emmanuel Oppenheimer, several princes put pressure on the Emperor to repay Emmanuel's far-flung creditors. The Dutch States General, anxious for the sums raised for Oppenheimer in Amsterdam, also intervened. Finally, matters were patched up with the aid of Samson Wertheimer, who now emerged as the senior Jewish *Hoffaktor* in Austria. Emmanuel Oppenheimer and his organization resumed the provisioning of Austria's armies, throughout the War of the Spanish Succession (and subsequently), though he never enjoyed quite the power or prestige of his father.

[6] Ibid., pp. 266–73; Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, pp. 4–7.

[7] Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer*, pp. 78–9.

[8] Ibid., pp. 150–7; *The Life of Glückel*, pp. 135, 146–7; *Weensche Gezantschapsberichten*, ii. 260–1, 275, 281.

Other German Jewish army contractors operated on an altogether smaller scale than the Oppenheimers. The Great Elector, and his son King Frederick I of Prussia, employed the Gomperz on a regular basis for provisioning their garrisons on the Rhine and, on a more occasional basis, did use the services of one or two Jewish suppliers in the east, notably Aaron Israel of Gross-Glogau, founder of the revived Berlin Jewish community in the 1660s. Reuben Elias Gomperz (1655–1705) of Emmerich and Cleves, the most pre-eminent of his family, also supplied munitions to the Elector of Cologne.[9] But if Prussia, like Denmark, never permitted Jewish contractors the overall control of logistics that the Emperor assigned to the Oppenheimers, several lesser states did. Nor were these simply insignificant armies such as that of the Margrave of Ansbach, equipped by Marx Model. Lemle Moses of Mannheim, *Obermilizfaktor* of the Palatinate from the 1680s, was a key figure in German military provisioning in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, working closely with the Oppenheimers in victualling garrisons on the Rhine which played a pivotal part in the efforts to prevent Louis XIV dominating Germany.[10]

The closest parallel to the Oppenheimers in the scale of their operations, however, were the group of Dutch Sephardi army contractors provisioning the armies of William III (1672–1702), Stadhouder of the United Provinces and later King of England. Indeed, for a time, it was The Hague as much as Vienna which was the centre of the Jewish army provisioning network in Europe. The French invasion of the United Provinces, in 1672, was one of the great turning-points in Dutch and all European history, precipitating a tremendous conflict which engulfed much of the world for over four decades. This immense struggle between Louis XIV and adherents on one side, ranged against the Dutch, Austria, Spain, several German states and, later, also England, unfolded in stages, punctuated by short intervals of peace, down to the peace settlement of Utrecht in 1713. For most of this period, The Hague was effectively the nerve-centre of the anti-French coalition. The Dutch military leader, down to his death in 1702, was their Stadhouder William III, a prince who, probably from as early as 1672, was in frequent contact with Jewish leaders. From early on in the 1672–8 war, two Dutch Sephardi contractors, Antonio (Moseh) Álvarez Machado and Jacob Pereira, son of the Abraham Pereira who had once participated in the Spanish military payments system, emerged as the chief suppliers of bread, wagons, horses, and fodder to the Republic's fixed garrisons and army in the field.[11] They, in turn, employed other Portuguese Jews as their commissaries to arrange their grain-ships and river barges, procure horses and wagons, and handle deliveries. Year in, year out, from 1674 down to the early eighteenth century, the Dutch States-General signed contracts with the firm of Machado and Pereira for the provisioning of the Republic's land forces.

When, as in 1689, Dutch troops spread into north-west Germany, towns such

[9] Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, i. 79–80, 84.
[10] Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer*, pp. 211–12.
[11] Ten Raa, *Staatsche Leger*, vi. 28, 42, 53; Meijer, *Zij lieten hun sporen*, pp. 83–4.

as Cologne which debarred Jews from living, staying, or trading within their limits were forced by the government in The Hague to allow Machado and Pereira's Jewish factors who, in that year, were named as Abraham Pereira, David Pereira, Pedro de Palma, Manuel Pimentel, Jacob Bravusa and four or five Ashkenazi assistants, to take up temporary residence.[12] At Cologne they stock-piled munitions and supplies and transported them to the army. Soon, the Emperor followed the Dutch example and compelled the Cologne authorities to permit Samuel Oppenheimer's agents to enter and purchase munitions in the city. In the next few years, the electors of the Palatinate and Brandenburg followed suit and arranged for the factors of their Court Jews to stay and conduct their affairs in Cologne.

The business of army contracting required the use of very large sums and Machado and Pereira, officially designated 'Providiteurs Generaal', operated using a combination of advances by the state and capital invested by themselves and fellow Dutch Sephardi Jews. They also drew on their links with New Christians in Antwerp and Spain, an important factor once Spain threw in its forces in the South Netherlands to fight alongside the Dutch against Louis XIV. The Spanish crown was beset with chronic financial problems and was only able to mobilize and supply significant forces with financial and logistical aid from Holland. The Amsterdam Sephardi élite, headed by Antonio Lopes Suasso, himself a former New Christian from Antwerp who had migrated to Holland in 1652, supplied cash advances, gunpowder, and other munitions to the Spanish army of Flanders, in concert with Machado and Pereira.[13] According to the English ambassador in The Hague, Sir William Temple, this Dutch logistical aid to Spain in Flanders was one of the key factors which eventually enabled William to turn the military tide against the French. The Sephardi *providiteurs* also figured prominently in equipping the Dutch expeditionary force which William landed in England in 1688. William's bid for the English throne was a uniquely bold adventure on the part of the Dutch and one which incurred considerable risks, as James II was effectively in alliance with France. Despite the dangers, it proved possible to mobilize resources with great speed. Besides Machado, Pereira, and the second Baron Lopes Suasso, another Dutch Sephardi Court Jew involved in the venture was Jerónimo Nunes da Costa who handled the transit costs of the contingent sent to participate in the expedition by the Duke of Württemburg. In concert with the English opposition, William's bid succeeded and James II was deposed. The Dutch leader's triumph in securing the English throne for his Stuart wife Mary and himself, as joint sovereigns, effectively captured England for the anti-Louis XIV coalition. Immediately, the operations of William's Sephardi *providiteurs* spread across the Channel. In particular, Isaac Pereira, a younger son of Jacob, moved from Holland to London and became 'commissary general', handling the bread, wagons, and fodder of the army William took with him to Ireland. The sums

[12] Kober, 'Reichsstadt Köln', pp. 514, 425.

[13] Swetschinski and Schönduve, *The Lopes Suasso Family*, pp. 33–8.

involved in Isaac Pereira's Irish operations were vast: in the year from September 1690 to August 1691 he was paid £95,000 for the supplies and shipping services he provided.[14]

William also soon coaxed the London Jewish community to contribute to the state's advances to Isaac Pereira, using methods with English Jewry which were somewhat cruder than he was wont to employ in Holland, English Jewry being both much weaker and less secure than its Dutch counterpart. In February 1690, the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to the Lord Mayor of London that

> Taking into consideration that the Jews residing in London carry on, under favour of the Government, so advantageous a trade, it was thought that they ought to be called upon to shew their readiness to support that Government by advancing such sums of money under the late Acts of Parliament as they are agreeable to lend. They have been asked what they are willing to furnish towards supplying one of their brethren, Mons. Pereyra, in part of the contract made with him for providing bread for the army and have made an offer only of £12,000 which is below what his Majesty expected from them, and he directs you to send for their elders and principal merchants and let them understand the obligations they are under to his Majesty for the liberty and privileges they enjoy, and how much it is to their advantage to make suitable returns of affection and gratitude for the kindness they have received and may expect. And since the money demanded carries with it more than the ordinary interest allowed, it was supposed they would, without difficulty, raise among them £30,000, or if not that amount, that they could not propose less than £20,000; and his Majesty believes that, upon second thoughts aided by such representations as your Lordship may make to them, they will come to new resolutions and such as may be accepted by his Majesty.[15]

Meanwhile Machado and Pereira took over the contracts for supplying the English as well as the Dutch forces in Flanders. Their agent in London, who signed contracts with the English crown on the firm's behalf, remitted the English payments to the firm, and handled such of the firm's grain purchases as were made in England, was Solomon de Medina (*c*.1650–1730), a Dutch Jew who also now moved to London.[16] Medina, together with other leading London business houses, notably the Mendes da Costa, who were bankers and diamond and bullion merchants, also handled the English payments to Machado and Pereira for the pay and supply of the German contingents sent to Flanders in support of the Dutch and English by the rulers of Brandenburg, Hanover, Hesse, and Münster. As a token of regard for Medina, the King himself dined on a November evening, in 1699, at his home on Richmond Hill. The following year, in a ceremony at Hampton Court, Medina became the first professing Jew to be knighted in England. After William's death, in 1702, he continued as the regular supplier of bread and wagons to the English forces both on the continent and in Ireland, in concert with

[14] CTB ix. 1318–19.

[15] CSP 13 Feb. 1689–Apr. 1690, p. 453; also quoted in Swetschinski, 'Portuguese Jewish Merchants', i. 283–4.

[16] CSP 1691–2, p. 50; CTB x. 1065, 1361 and xi. 1696–7.

Machado down to the latter's death. He thus handled the logistics for all Marlborough's campaigns, though towards the end of the War of the Spanish Succession he seems to have badly miscalculated and ended up virtually bankrupt.[17]

Another pre-eminent Jewish contractor of the Spanish War of Succession was Joseph Cortizos (1656–1742), a former Antwerp Marrano who became a Jew in Holland and probably began as a factor of Machado and Pereira. He was a descendant of the Manuel Cortizos who was prominent in Spanish army contracting in the 1640s. In 1705, he was appointed principal supplier to all the allied armies fighting in Spain on behalf of the Austrian Archduke Charles against the French candidate for the Spanish throne, Philip V. With occupied Catalonia as his base of operations, Cortizos built a complicated supply network linking eastern Spain with Lisbon, English-occupied Gibraltar, and Morocco, from where he transported much of his grain.[18] The British government undertook to pay him for the provisions of both the British and Portuguese forces fighting the Bourbons in the Peninsula. But, like Medina, he overreached himself. When he finally settled in London, in 1711, he was owed some £100,000 by the English crown but seemingly only ever recovered about half that amount. Eventually bankrupted, by the time of his death, in 1742, he had sunk into utter destitution.

The spectacle of Jews provisioning the armies of the coalition ranged against Louis XIV excited comment and not infrequent disapproval almost everywhere in central and western Europe. Vienna constantly echoed with talk of the alleged unscrupulousness of the Oppenheimers. The fact that the Duke of Marlborough took bribes from Solomon de Medina was ruthlessly exploited during the campaign to discredit the famous general in the years 1711–12. If bribery and corruption were integral to the functioning of the military (and much other) finance in the Europe of the time, it was hardly to be avoided, given the prejudices of society, that Jewish involvement in such corruption should be singled out for special blame. In 1711, Medina admitted that he had paid over around 66,000 gulden, some £6,000, yearly to Marlborough in the years 1707–11 for the 'contracts for supplying bread and bread-wagons to the forces in the Low-Countries in the Queen of Great Britain's pay' and that Antonio Álvarez Machado before him had paid Marlborough a like sum for the contracts for bread for the forces 'in the English pay' during the years 1702–6.[19] But whoever aspired to secure and keep such contracts had to sweeten the generals with such sums, not to mention frequent gifts of wine and other wares. The chief reason that Jewish contractors predominated was not that they had greater effrontery, or means, in the matter of enveloping generals in bribes, but that on the whole they proved efficient and reliable, having the necessary organization, in supplying the required provisions.

[17] Rabinowicz, *Sir Solomon de Medina*, pp. 48–54.

[18] Rubens, 'Joseph Cortissos', pp. 123–7.

[19] *The Report of the Commissioners . . . with the Depositions at Large of Sir Solomon Medina . . .*, pp. 3–5.

There can be no other reason why William III stuck to Jewish provisioners throughout his wars against France and in Ireland. And if Marlborough spoke approvingly of Machado and (until 1711) of Medina, and Princes Eugene of Savoy and Louis of Baden of the Oppenheimers, these renowned commanders were certainly motivated by military as much as any other considerations. The standards of financial morality of the Jewish contractors have to be measured against the standards of those with whom they dealt. The Earl of Peterborough, who commanded the allied troops in Spain, remarked of Joseph Cortizos, another target for smear and innuendo, that in fact he 'dealt better with other people than they did with him', an allusion to Cortizos's treatment at the hands of British ministers.[20]

No less important than army contracting, and perhaps more so, was the increasing role of Jews in state finance and international payments generally. This rested essentially on Amsterdam's role as Europe's chief bullion and money market combined with Jewish dominance of the gold, silver, and other metal trades in central Europe. It arose also from the Jews' particular need of government favours and concessions as well as from their exceptional vulnerability to government pressure. But most crucial of all was the wide, not to say pervasive, reach of the closely knit Sephardi–Ashkenazi financial network and its ability to raise large sums with great speed, often on mere trust, and to remit the money swiftly from one part of Europe to another. In a Europe of empty treasuries and armies operating on overstrained credit, all this amounted to a unique and formidable factor in international affairs. In Germany, Austria, and Hungary, Jewish involvement in state finance would seem to have been as closely linked with the precious and non-precious metal trades as with army contracting. The entire system resembled a pyramid, the middle strata of which consisted of the metal dealers of Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Prague and the base of which was composed of thousands of poor Jewish pedlars who scoured the villages and towns of central Europe buying up old metal and coin which they fed into the major ghettos. It is true that even before 1600 there had been Jewish mint-masters and suppliers to mints in Germany. But during the Thirty Years War this trade had become more frequent and after 1650 still more prevalent. In 1629, Jews had supplied 29 per cent of the silver delivered to the Austrian Imperial Mint in Breslau; by 1656, when Zacharias Lazarus was appointed official supplier to the Breslau mint, this figure had risen to around 50 per cent; by 1704, when Lazarus Hirschel was appointed *Hoffaktor* in Breslau, the proportion of silver supplied to the mint by Jews had risen to 80 per cent.[21]

The pre-eminent German Jewish court financier was Samson Wertheimer (1658–1728) whose sensational career was built on his ability to assemble packages of loans raised, with the help of fellow Jews, in a dozen different places at once. While Wertheimer was not an army contractor, and was never directly involved in the provisioning of armies, his financial operations were inexorably geared to the

[20] Rubens, 'Joseph Cortissos', p. 127.

[21] Brilling, *Juden in Breslau*, pp. 69–70.

demands of war. At crucial points in his career, speed was the prime ingredient of his success. His prompt provision of cash, when nothing else was immediately available, during the Austrian siege of Landau in 1702, earned him the lasting gratitude of the Austrian Crown Prince Joseph, who was commanding his father's troops.[22] As we have seen, it was Wertheimer who rescued the Austrian Treasury from the fracas of the collapse of the Oppenheimers. From then until the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, he advanced millions of gulden each year to the Emperor, being repaid out of the revenues (when they came in) of Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary. Without Wertheimer's advances, or some equivalent, the Emperor could not have waged war on France and on his Hungarian rebels simultaneously. But neither could Wertheimer have assembled his packages of loans without his wide-ranging network of associates, prominent among whom were Aaron Beer and the Kann family of Frankfurt. Nor was it only for Austria's own armies that Wertheimer had to procure funds. Subsidies were needed for the Emperor's allies in Germany and one of Wertheimer's main tasks was to remit cash, on behalf of the Emperor, to the Palatinate, Mainz, Trier, and elsewhere.[23] For his incalculable services, Wertheimer was the recipient of honours and privileges unique among German Jews of his day. He and his son Wolf were present at the coronation of the Emperor Charles VI at Frankfurt, in 1711, an occasion at which he was presented with a golden chain.

The capacity to summon up large sums swiftly and transfer them secretly was crucial to the execution of sudden, bold initiatives of state. And for this the Court Jews of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries proved peculiarly well suited. Many or most of their more dramatic interventions reveal a definite leaning on their part towards The Hague and Vienna and against Louis XIV. If Samson Wertheimer was the most important of the Ashkenazi financiers, pre-eminent among the Sephardim were Antonio (Isaac), 1st Baron Lopes Suasso (1614–85) and his son Francisco (Abraham), 2nd Baron Lopes Suasso (1657–1710). In 1674, Antonio Lopes Suasso, who had financial connections everywhere from Vienna and Venice to the Spanish Caribbean, smuggled funds into southern France for the use of malcontent Huguenots whom William III was attempting to stir into revolt against the French king. In 1675, Spain came close to losing Sicily to the French, who were forestalled chiefly by the timely intervention of a Dutch fleet under De Ruyter: this Dutch intervention, largely negotiated by Spain's Jewish agent in Amsterdam, Manuel de Belmonte, was much facilitated by Lopes Suasso who advanced cash to the Dutch admiralty authorities on behalf of Spain on the sole security of promises of honours and repayment from the Spanish ambassador in The Hague.[24] It was for these and like services that Charles II of Spain conferred on Lopes Suasso, a practising Jew, the unheard of honour of making him a Baron of the Spanish Netherlands. And the contributions of the second

[22] Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, pp. 23, 35.
[23] Ibid., pp. 20, 28.
[24] Swetschinski, 'Portuguese Jewish Merchants', i. 263.

Baron were even more spectacular. A well-known story has it that he advanced William III two million gulden which the Stadhouder needed to make ready his expedition to England in 1688, without requiring any security whatever, remarking merely 'Si vous êtes heureux, je sais que vous me les rendrez; si vous êtes malheureux, je consens de les perdre.'[25] True or not, it is known for certain that in the same year the second Baron did advance 600,000 urgently needed thaler to clinch the election of the pro-Dutch candidate to the strategically vital bishopric of Münster: and again Louis XIV was thwarted, the Dutch candidate, Bishop Friedrich Christian von Plettenburg (1688–1706) winning and then committing Münster's forces to the anti-French coalition. At stages during the Nine Years War (1689–98), Lopes Suasso played the most important role of any financier in handling the payments from Spain for the Spanish army of Flanders. In the summer of 1696, for instance, after the great effort of the previous year in which the forces of the coalition had pushed the French back from Brussels and retaken Namur, it was Lopes Suasso's *galantería*, as Spanish ministers called it, in taking the risk (which no other Dutch financier was willing to do) of advancing large sums months ahead of the agreed schedules which staved off a disastrous breakdown of the Spanish finances.[26] Max Emmanuel of Bavaria, the then governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who had, in his own words, 'many experiences of the zeal with which Baron Suasso serves his Majesty', was nevertheless awed by this latest display of financial *sang-froid*.

Admittedly, Louis XIV had allies in Germany and some Court Jews did collaborate intermittently with the French. But instances of this are relatively rare. When Ernst Augustus of Hanover deserted the Emperor and the Dutch, in 1691–2, in return for a French subsidy, Leffman Behrends (1634–1714), his court factor and one of the principal Court Jews of North Germany, smuggled the French cash from Metz to Hanover concealed in wine barrels. But Behrends's most renowned feat concerned Hanover's subsequent defection from the French side and *rapprochement* with the Emperor which, indeed, had possibly been the intention all along, in exchange for the conferment of the much-coveted title of 'Elector' on Hanover's ruler. Behrends was entrusted with the negotiation with Vienna and raised the 500,000 gulden, demanded as the price of his prince's elevation, chiefly from Hamburg. Subsequently, he handled the Dutch subsidies paid to a string of North German princes, including the payments to Bishop von Plettenburg of Münster. During the War of the Spanish Succession, he collaborated closely with Samson Wertheimer in the packaging of loans for the Austrian treasury.[27] Behrends's last major intervention was his raising of the 700,000 thaler which George, Elector of Hanover (later George I of England), lent to Denmark,

[25] Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 101; Meijer, *Zij lieten hun sporen*, p. 85.

[26] AGS Estado 3890, Max Emmanuel of Bavaria to Charles II, Noirmont, 13 July 1696; and *consulta* of the *Consejo de Estado* on Baron Lopes Suasso, Madrid, 2 July 1696.

[27] Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, ii. 22–30.

in 1711, on the security of the districts of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, near Bremen.[28] This was an intricate manœuvre intended to further the Elector's designs on the two localities and which paved the way to a subsequent alliance between Denmark and Hanover against Sweden, Denmark's perennial enemy. Behrends raised and transferred the cash through his usual consortium of Hamburg Ashkenazi bankers, negotiating in Hamburg, and with Danish ministers, through two delegates, his book-keeper and right-hand man, Michael David, originally from Halberstadt, and Isaac, son of Jost and Esther Liebmann of Berlin, who, though primarily court jeweller to Prussia's first king, had recently visited Copenhagen and had close financial links with both Hanover and Denmark as well as Gotha and Weimar. Behrends died shortly before the Elector became George I of England and so it was left to his successor as court factor at Hanover, Michael David, to style himself 'königlich Gross-Brittanischer Hof- und Kammeragent'. In December 1715, David was presented to King Frederick IV of Denmark, at Stralsund, and entrusted with 39,000 thaler of Danish public funds with which to bribe Hanoverian officials to adhere to the Danish alliance.

One of the best-known exploits of Jewish financiers at the expense of Louis XIV was the operation mounted in 1696 by the Court Jew Behrend Lehmann of Halberstadt (1661–1730) on behalf of Elector Augustus II of Saxony. The demise of King John Sobieski precipitated a furious clash between the pro- and anti-French factions in Poland over who was to succeed to the Polish throne. William III and the Emperor decided to back Augustus against the French candidate and it fell to Lehmann to find the funds for his publicity campaign and to sweeten enough Polish nobles to clinch his election.[29] This was politics of the sort apt to be settled by a swift deployment of ready cash. Lehmann raised funds on all sides, from the Sephardi families de Pinto and Teixeira of Amsterdam and Hamburg, as well as from numerous North and South German agents and relatives. Samson Wertheimer travelled personally from Vienna to Breslau with 300,000 thaler in cash to lend a hand. The French could not compete with this. Their effort faltered and Augustus won Poland's crown. As his reward, Lehmann received concessions and privileges in both Saxony and Poland and, while continuing to live in Halberstadt, was appointed 'Polish resident in Brandenburg', a post which gave him a regular role in diplomatic interchanges between the Polish and Brandenburg courts. Reportedly, he owned the best residence in Halberstadt.

And indeed the financial and agency roles of the Court Jews not infrequently created opportunities to influence the course of diplomacy proper. It is true that Christian states, in contrast to Turkey or Morocco, did not appoint Jews as ambassadors or representatives at international congresses, except perhaps for the case of Dr Israel Conegliano, chosen to join the Venetian delegation to the Congress of Karlowitz in 1698, owing to his unrivalled knowledge of Turkish

[28] Arnheim, 'German Court Jews and Denmark', pp. 126–9.

[29] Lehmann, *Polnische Resident*, pp. 17–20, 30–1; Saville, *Juif de cour*, pp. 89–98.

affairs. But in the early modern period important international dealings were not handled exclusively by the formal representatives of the states concerned. On the contrary, it was an era in which unobtrusive, backstairs diplomacy played a large and often vital part. In the negotiations over the Dutch fleet for Sicily, in 1675, for instance, it was Spain's Jewish 'agent-general' in Amsterdam, Manuel de Belmonte, and not the Spanish ambassador in The Hague who played the main role. Jerónimo Nunes da Costa, Portuguese 'Agent' in the United Provinces, effectively represented Portugal in the Republic during the tense and difficult years 1651–8, when there was no Portuguese ambassador in Holland and the two states teetered on the brink of war over Brazil, Angola, and their differences in Asia.[30] He also played a central role in the making of the Dutch–Portuguese peace treaty of 1661. Again, after 1661, when there was usually no Portuguese ambassador in the Republic, Jerónimo routinely represented the Portuguese crown to the States General. But none of the Jewish diplomats made more of a splash than the intriguing figure of François van Schoonenbergh, a possibly baptized relative of Belmonte, whose name was merely a Dutch translation of that patronymic.[31] This personage stood high in the esteem of William III and represented him as a sort of unofficial ambassador for many years in both Madrid and Lisbon. His personality and taste for intrigue—the Austrian ambassador, Lobkowitz, described him as 'a very dangerous Jew'—caused no little scandal in Spain, but the efforts of Spanish ministers to be rid of him proved unavailing. Among other spheres, his influence was repeatedly felt in that of commercial relations between Spain and Holland and he was much involved in the 1690s in the arrangements for the slaving *asientos* whereby the Spanish Indies were supplied with slaves by the Dutch.

On a more routine level, many European states now found it useful to employ Jewish agents, especially in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Vienna, and Livorno, to supply regular political and financial information as well as gold, silver, and jewels, and sign contracts on their behalf. The Amsterdam and Hamburg agents were also much involved in the procurement of military supplies and naval stores, those entrepôts being Europe's principal munitions exchanges. Besides the Spanish and Portuguese agents in Amsterdam and Hamburg, the Polish crown likewise employed Jews as factors in those cities. In the late 1640s, the Sephardi Isaac Pallache was acting simultaneously as agent in Amsterdam on behalf of the Polish king and the Moroccan sultan.[32] In the reign of Jan Sobieski, the Polish agent in Amsterdam was an Ashkenazi Jew, Simon de Pool.[33] Meanwhile, Daniel Abensur (d. 1711) served for decades as agent of the Polish crown in Hamburg, for part of that time simultaneously acting as a 'commissioner for commerce' of the Danish

[30] Israel, 'Diplomatic Career', pp. 174–6, 178–83.

[31] His real name was Jacob Abraham Belmonte; see Caro Baroja, *Judíos*, ii. 167–9.

[32] ARH SG 6906, Isaac Pallache to States General, The Hague, 27 May 1647.

[33] Fuks, 'Simon de Pool', pp. 3–12.

crown, which chiefly involved him in shipping silver for the royal mint in Copenhagen.[34]

The only Jew in Holland to accumulate German agencies was the merchant-jeweller, David Bueno de Mezquita, who at his peak, in the 1670s and 1680s was Amsterdam agent simultaneously of the Duke of Brunswick and the Margraves of Ansbach and Bayreuth.[35] But in Vienna, Samson Wertheimer, whilst co-ordinating the Austrian finances, at the same time acted, at the Imperial Court, as *Oberfaktor* for the Palatinate, the ecclesiastical electorates of Mainz and Trier, and Saxony. At Frankfurt, Aaron Beer and Jakob Kann acted as financial agents for various German princes. And, again, at Hamburg, several Jews, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, held official agencies for German states, notably Andrés Henriques, Hamburg agent of Saxony from 1669 to around 1680, and Jeremias Fürst, Hamburg factor and supplier of silver to the court of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. However, these German agencies at Hamburg did not confer the same status as the agency for Portugal, held in Hamburg as in Amsterdam by the Nunes da Costa, or the commissions held by Hamburg Jews for Denmark. The Teixeira, by far the wealthiest Jewish family in Hamburg during the second half of the seventeenth century, enjoyed the highest standing of all but without holding a regular agency for any state, though after her abdication from the Swedish throne, Queen Christina of Sweden, in 1655, appointed Diogo Teixeira her personal 'resident' in Hamburg.[36] The Teixeira were responsible for handling her financial affairs and, when she stayed in Hamburg, as she did on a number of occasions, she generally lodged in the Teixeira residence which, indeed, became something of a hotel for visiting Catholic dignitaries. Before becoming a professing Jew, and moving to Hamburg, Diogo Teixeira had lived as a New Christian banker in Antwerp and been heavily involved in handling the payments from Spain for the Spanish army in Flanders. His flight from Antwerp, in 1646, had caused a sensation as well as considerable financial dislocation.[37] But none of this prevented him, or his son Manoel, subsequently, from becoming the key financial intermediary handling subsidies and other payments passing between Spain and Scandinavia, nor from acting as host to Spanish ambassadors stopping in Hamburg on their way to, or from, Copenhagen and Stockholm. And despite Manoel Teixeira's involvement with Spain and the European bullion trade, he also endeavoured to cultivate links with the French.

Another significant function, at any rate of the Sephardi agents, was their role in state management of colonial trade outside Britain and France. As we have seen, the Nunes da Costa, in Amsterdam and Hamburg, were leading participants in the setting up of the Portuguese Brazil Company, and aided the colonial schemes of Duke James of Courland, while the Belmontes were intimately connected with the

[34] Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 397–9.
[35] GAA NA 4092, unpag. deed dated 23 Nov. 1679; Schutte, *Repertorium*, pp. 292–3, 377, 380.
[36] Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 387–8.
[37] AGS Estado leg. 2066, *consulta*, Zaragoza, 27 Sept. 1646.

Spanish slaving *asientos* signed in favour of the Dutch. Many other indications of Jewish involvement in the evolution of colonial policy can be shown. The Danish Guinea, West India and East India Companies all relied quite heavily on Sephardi factors in Glückstadt, Hamburg, and Amsterdam.[38] Shortly after the founding of the Brandenburg Africa Company in 1682 (another organization in which Sephardi Jews were involved), the Great Elector's minister of marine, Raule, corresponded over the feasibility of setting up a Brandenburg East India Company, to be based in Emden, with Manoel Teixeira and Jorge Nunes da Costa, younger brother of Jerónimo and 'Agent' of Portugal in Hamburg.[39] As for Jerónimo, who regularly reported to the Portuguese colonial council in Lisbon, the *Conselho Ultramarino*, as well as to the Council of State, he from time to time functioned as a liaison officer between the Dutch colonial companies, in which he was a prominent investor, and the Portuguese. In 1682, for instance, he had several meetings with directors of the Dutch East India Company, in Amsterdam, to discuss the possibility of Holland and Portugal swapping Cochin, in southern India, then held by the Dutch, for the Portuguese colony of Macao.

The aspect of courtly life most closely associated with Jewish activity was the purchasing of diamonds and jewellery. Because both the importing of rough diamonds into Europe, from India, and the cutting and polishing of diamonds were dominated by Jews, the distribution of jewellery to the European courts tended to be controlled by Jewish merchants, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi. In Germany and Poland the jewellery trade was almost entirely in Jewish hands.[40] Firms with branches in Holland as well as Germany, such as the Gomperz, played an especially prominent part in the traffic. So important was this business that virtually all the Court Jews were expert in handling jewels. Jost Liebmann (1640–1702), who resided in Berlin as a court factor to the Great Elector from the 1670s, and was the Berlin agent of the house of Teixeira, apart from handling remittances and providing some silver, confined himself almost entirely to supplying jewels. In Amsterdam, Jerónimo Nunes da Costa was for many years one of the chief importers of rough diamonds and pearls which he supplied to local workshops for processing. He also sold finished jewellery and, in 1679, drew up a contract with Moses and Reuben Gomperz to export diamonds on a regular basis to Germany through the house of Gomperz in Cleves.[41] It is likely that David Bueno de Mezquita's German agencies were connected with his activity as a merchant-jeweller. A notable link between the selling of jewellery to courts and court finance more generally was the recurrent need of princes, in times of emergency, to pawn jewels brought in easier times for ready cash.

Another strand in the activity of the Court Jews, though a less universal one, was the farming of imposts and tolls. Like military contracting, this was a capital

[38] GAA NA 4111B, pp. 196–7; Larsen, *Danske i Guinea*, pp. 20–8.

[39] Becher, *Politische Discvrs*, pp. 150–1.

[40] Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral*, pp. 124–60.

[41] GAA NA 4089, pp. 345–6; Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, i. 83.

intensive business but one much less dependent o having a far-flung network of factors. There was therefore no specific reason for Jews to cultivate this line of activity except in underdeveloped regions, such as the eastern territories of Poland, where Jews held a preponderant share of available liquid capital. As we have seen, since the late sixteenth century Polish Jews had been accustomed to farm tolls on the estates of large land owners, while Portuguese New Christians, who were often crypto-Jews, were active farming customs duties, salt taxes, and the like in Spain from around 1620. But, generally speaking, the incidence of tax-farming among the Court Jews of central Europe, after 1650, was much less than in Poland or Spain. Even so, there were some notable instances. Israel Fürst, the merchant-jeweller who was the first Jew to settle in Copenhagen, in 1673, subsequently took to farming several Danish tolls. Bendix Goldschmidt and Reuben Fürst, of Hamburg, operated the state tobacco monopoly in Mecklenburg-Schwerin in the 1680s and 1690s. In 1698, Aaron Beer and Jacob Kann, of Frankfurt, took over the management of the state salt monopoly in the Palatinate.[42] Altogether exceptional was the allocation of a prestigious fiscal post to Reuben Elias Gomperz, around 1700, when King Frederick I of Prussia appointed him receiver-general of the taxes of Cleves and Mark.[43]

The Court Jew is conventionally regarded as essentially a central European phenomenon. There is ample reason, though, to consider this too narrow an approach. As we have seen, the activities of the Jewish financial élite of Vienna, Frankfurt, and Hamburg were too closely tied to those of the Sephardi contractors and agents of Amsterdam, The Hague, and London, for it to make much sense to treat the two phenomena apart. It is clear, moreover, that several leaders of Polish Jewry, such as Moses Markowicz, who secured the confirmation of the privileges of Polish Jewry at the coronation of King Michael, in 1669, and subsequently had frequent dealings with the King and his ministers, also deserve to be categorized as 'Court Jews'.[44] The same is true, in Italy, in the case of Israel Conegliano or Isaac Avigdor of Nice, a prominent figure in Savoy in the 1650s and 1660s, who was often engaged in raising loans for the Duke, on one occasion contriving the speedy advance of 20,000 lire, by Jewish bankers, on the pledge of a diamond-encrusted sword.[45] In many parts of Italy, including Turin, Mantua, the Monferrato, and Rome, Jewish bankers and merchants were intimately involved in the provisioning of garrisons.

Account must also be taken of the continuing prominence of Marranos in Spanish state finance and military provisioning. During the Spanish–Portuguese war of 1640–68, all the Spanish garrisons and armies around Portugal were serviced by New Christian contractors.[46] The firm of Montezinos, which was probably

[42] Dietz, *Stammbuch*, p. 161.

[43] Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, i. 86.

[44] Meisl, *Juden in Polen*, ii. 28–31; Bałaban, *Historja*, ii. 119–22.

[45] Foa, *Politica economica*, pp. 42, 57–9.

[46] AGS Hacienda leg. 894, *consultas* 16 Oct. 1646 and 22 Sept. 1646.

crypto-Jewish, continued for many years supplying Spain's North African fortress of Ceuta and participating in the financing of the army of Flanders. Relatives of Manuel Cortizos—including Don Sebastian Cortizos, who, much to the amazement of Philip IV's courtiers, was appointed Spanish envoy to Genoa in 1657—also continued playing a key role in the payments for the army. Yet another leading participant in Spanish military finance was the 'Portuguese' Simon de Fonseca Piña, who also for many years farmed the duties on wool exports from Castile.[47] By the 1680s, however, the heyday of the 'Portuguese' financiers in Spain was definitely over, the bulk of Spain's military finance now being handled by Genoese, Catalans and others. The last major Marrano figure was Francisco Báez Eminente, who farmed the duties on trade between Spain and the Indies, at Seville, and provisioned the royal garrisons and fleets of Andalusia. He was arrested by the Inquisition as a Judaizer in 1689, though the firm continued under the direction of his son.

In the course of time, the Court Jews not only accumulated riches and honours but evolved a life-style to match. Gradually, they were exempted from many, though by no means all, of the irksome restrictions and curtailments which the Christian state imposed on the Jew. Many were granted the right to ride in carriages drawn by four, or six, horses and to be attended by liveried footmen. In Germany, they were also, in some cases, exempted from the prohibition on Jews buying land. A few titles of nobility were granted but obviously lower ones than the recipients would have been given had they not been professing Jews. In May 1673, the Emperor Leopold made Manuel de Belmonte a count of the Empire, in recognition of his services, but hastily cancelled the patent on learning that he was a Jew. It was only in 1693 that Charles II of Spain finally made him a baron.[48] Jerónimo Nunes da Costa was a knight of the Portuguese royal household and 'Agent' of the Portuguese crown in the United Provinces but was pointedly never accorded the higher rank of 'resident' or a noble title. Antonio Lopes Suasso, for his appreciable services, was made 'Baron d'Avernas de Gras' and granted lands in the Spanish Netherlands,[49] but, as a Christian, he would undoubtedly have gained much more. In Hamburg, none of the Court Jews, except the Teixeira, had the right to own real estate outright: they were obliged, as Jews, to lease their homes from Christians.

In general, the Sephardi élite went further in adopting a fashionable, clean-shaven look and the refined cultural pursuits of the time than their Ashkenazi counterparts. This certainly made them more acceptable as hosts to royalty, princes, and ambassadors than the bearded Germans. If Queen Christina's sojourns in the Teixeira residence in Hamburg, and her use of Sephardi rather than Lutheran physicians whilst there, ensured a stream of lesser princely visitors

[47] Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century*, pp. 305, 363–4.
[48] Swetschinski, 'Portuguese Jewish Merchants', i. 270.
[49] Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 101.

to Hamburg Sephardi residences, Dom Duarte, younger brother of the Duke of Braganza, afterwards John IV of Portugal, is known to have lodged with Jerónimo's father, Duarte Nunes da Costa, in Hamburg, as early as 1639, though it is true that he was then not yet a king's brother.[50] In 1679, the Duke and Duchess of Hanover, parents of the future George I of England, lodged for some time in Jerónimo's home whilst visiting Amsterdam. The Duchess, Sophia, writing to her brother, the Elector of the Palatinate, warmly approved of the cleanliness and refined manners of the Portuguese Jews; she contrasted them sharply with the German Jews, whom she and her brother clearly held in lower esteem.[51] On another occasion, whilst visiting Amsterdam, William III himself is said to have lodged for three days in the home of Jerónimo Nunes da Costa.

The cultural strategy of the Sephardi patriciate was to integrate what they regarded as the essentials of Jewish life-style with the best in contemporary cosmopolitan European culture.[52] From the middle of the century onwards, the principal Sephardi households at Amsterdam and Hamburg, and later at The Hague and London, were deliberately turned into internationally noted show-pieces of contemporary culture. The idea was to elevate the image of the Jew, and especially of the Sephardi patriciate themselves, in the eyes of the fashionable world of visiting diplomats, courtiers, and noblemen. To heighten the impact of their elegant life-style, the Sephardi leadership extended lavish hospitality to travelling foreign notables and loved to show off their collections of rarities, including their Judaica, and in the case of Jerónimo Nunes da Costa what is described as one of the best town gardens in Amsterdam.[53] They also acquired correspondingly elegant manners and an impressive fluency in a variety of western languages. Several of them liked to cultivate non-Jewish writers and literary conversation with which to grace their dining tables.

As regards the German *Hoffaktoren*, they seemingly remained remarkably conservative amid the luxury and temptation that now surrounded them. In this period, unlike the eighteenth century, they were inhibited not just by a still formidable piety but by their need to retain reputation and standing among the mainstream of their communities, as well as the respect of fellow Court Jews, collaboration and interdependence with other Jews being indispensable to their operations. Behrend Lehmann lived in a palatial town residence, rode in a six-horse carriage, and was the proud owner of several country villas. But he also dressed traditionally and insisted on retaining his beard. This reportedly so exasperated the Elector of Saxony that on one occasion, having unsuccessfully offered him 5,000 thaler to shave it off, the prince personally seized some scissors and removed it. Samson Wertheimer was immensely wealthy, possessed at least eight

[50] ANTT Misc. da Graça, cela O, caixa 17, tomo 4B, pp. 552–3: Duarte Nunes da Costa to Conde de Vidigueira, Hamburg, 27 June 1643.

[51] *Briefwechsel der Herzogin Sophie*, p. 369.

[52] Leti, *Ritratti historici*, ii. 375; id., *Raguagli historici*, raguaglio 1, pp. 31, 122–8; id., *Teatro belgico*, ii. 334–7.

[53] Leti, *Teatro belgico*, ii. 406.

residences—in his birth-place Worms, in Frankfurt, Vienna, Prague, Eisenstadt, and Nikolsburg—and was popularly called the *Judenkaiser*. But he retained his beard and was said to have dressed 'like a Pole'. Certainly the inventory of his movable possessions, drawn up after his death, displays a monumental abstemiousness, his only appreciable collection being his books and old manuscripts.[54]

Still, it would be as wrong to conclude that the German Jewish élite made no effort to involve themselves in the courtly and bourgeois cultures around them as it would to assume that their more aristocratic Portuguese counterparts showed little real commitment to Jewish community life and tradition. Indeed, what is most special about the German Court Jews of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in contrast to their descendants of the later eighteenth century, is precisely their determination to keep one foot in either world and sustain a balance between them. In their way, they became part of Europe's higher culture too. Their expertise in jewellery soon extended to the art market and all kinds of rarities and exotica, which they both dealt in and collected for their own homes. The house of Aaron Beer, in the Frankfurt ghetto, resembled an art museum, containing a dozen landscapes and seven biblical scenes, in oils, besides portraits, Dutch flower-pieces, and woven tapestries.[55] Very likely he acquired many of these during his own visits to Amsterdam. Jacob Kann's household was less splendid, but he too had tapestries and at least five oil-paintings as well as an impressive collection of silverware and *objets*. Nor should we suppose that there was no contact socially between the princely class and German Court Jews, despite very real inhibitions on both sides. The account given by the diarist Glückel von Hameln of the wedding of her daughter Zipporah to Kossmann Gomperz, in Cleves, around 1685, reveals a glittering occasion at which the choicest food and drink was served to a mighty throng of guests, who included the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick, and the Stadhouder of Cleves, as well as lesser nobles and Portuguese Jews who had travelled for the occasion from Amsterdam.[56]

[54] Taglicht, *Nachlässe*, pp. 39–45.
[55] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 219–21.
[56] *The Life of Glückel*, pp. 78–80.

VII
The High Point (II): *Jewish Society* (1650–1713)

I SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT

The climax of the European debate over Jewish readmission came during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. For a quarter of a century, conferences, commissions, petitions published and unpublished over whether or not to tolerate Jews, and if so on what terms, abounded from Poland to Portugal and from Hungary to Ireland. Why did the political and intellectual process of readmission culminate at this particular time? Several factors converged to intensify previous trends but what, almost certainly, was the most crucial was the widespread backlash in Germany, following the evacuation of the Swedish, French, and other foreign garrisons at the end of the Thirty Years War. The substantial gains made by the Jews of central Europe during the conflict, of Austria and the Czech lands as well as Germany, had aroused intense opposition and controversy, so that the coming of peace was almost bound to be accompanied by a formidable reaction. This, in turn, forced the princes of Germany to take a stand on a matter which previously, except in the case of the Emperor, had been outside their hands. They could go along with the populace and opt for re-expulsion, or else resist the pressure, which would mean taking decisive steps to protect the Jews from their foes. In fact, a good many princes, anxious to revive their territories ravaged in the recent fighting, and reduce the power of the towns, so as the better to enhance their own, chose the latter course. But such post-1648 controversy in Germany was not the only factor generating renewed debate. Also important was the sudden upsurge in Marrano and Sephardi immigration into western Europe, involving many hundreds of refugees in the years 1645–60, arising from the post-1645 Inquisition onslaught in Spain, which put an end to the period of less harshly intolerant policies which had begun in that country with the death of Philip II in 1598, and also from the collapse of Dutch rule in Brazil over the years 1645–54, which forced all openly professing Jews there to abandon their homes. A final factor stimulating debate over the Jewish question at this time was the state of flux in England, after the Civil War, which opened up new possibilities by disrupting previous patterns of commercial and church organization.

In central Europe, the post-1648 backlash followed more or less automatically on the withdrawal of the foreign garrisons. This new wave of anti-Jewish agitation emanated chiefly from the towns and at its head were the burgomasters, clergy, and guilds. As one would expect, the reaction was sharpest in the Imperial Free

Cities, these being free from princely control.[1] Within the space of a few years, the Jews were re-expelled from Augsburg, Lübeck, Heilbronn, and Schweinfurt, while at Hamburg the bulk of the German Jews who had settled in the early 1640s were sent packing to Altona and Wandsbek, though some twenty families did remain as servants and employees in the homes of the Portuguese Jews. But a few princes also yielded to the pressure, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach expelling the Jews who had drifted back into his territory and the Duke of Neuburg acquiescing in re-expulsion from the town of Lauingen, in 1653, and from the entire palatine county of Pfalz-Neuburg by 1670.[2] There were also concessions to the agitation in Hesse, notably the expulsion from Giessen in 1662. But the most serious blow—apart from the expulsion from Vienna itself—was the decision in 1677 to drive out the bulk of the Jews of Fulda, one of the most ancient communities in Germany. In all some 300 were expelled from the abbey-principality.

The Austrian lands were the focal point of the intensified anti-Semitism of the 1650s and 1660s. By 1648, Protestantism in Austria and Bohemia was a largely broken force. A militant, Counter-Reformationary Catholicism had arisen which was bound, sooner rather than later, given the outlook of the Counter-Reformation and the recent economic gains of the Austrian and Bohemian Jews, to turn heavily against Jewry. Until 1648, the Emperor had consistently favoured and protected the Jews because he needed their assistance. But in the changed circumstances of the 1650s, with Austria at peace and the Catholic Church triumphant, the young, inexperienced Emperor Leopold I, who succeeded his father in 1657, hesitated to block the prejudices of the clergy and people. The new era of European peace was rung in for the Jews of Vienna (now one of the largest communities in Europe) by an upsurge of popular demonstrations against the *Judenstadt*, mostly incited by Jesuit students. More ominous still were the resolutions passed in the Estates of Bohemia and Moravia, in 1650, to drive out those Jews who, during the war, had settled in Bohemian and Moravian towns which had debarred Jews before 1618.[3] A substantial number of Jews were in fact re-expelled from Kaaden, Feldsburg, and other towns, though, apparently, most of these were able to settle, instead, in nearby villages belonging to great noblemen such as the Dietrichsteins and Liechtensteins, whose attitude, as always, differed markedly from that of the towns.

In Vienna, there was a ceaseless ferment until, in 1669, the Emperor bowed to the appeals of Bishop Kollonitsch and the city council, and consented to the setting up of a commission to report on the Jewish presence both in Vienna itself and in Lower Austria generally where, during the Thirty Years War, a network of

[1] Grünfeld, *Gang*, p. 46; Franke, *Geschichte,* p. 40; Baasch, 'Juden', p. 370; Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, pp. 5, 8–10.

[2] Volkert, 'Juden im Fürstentum Pfalz-Neuburg', p. 589; Bodenheimer, 'Beitrag', pp. 14–15; Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte*, p. 196.

[3] Stein, *Juden in Böhmen*, p. 59; Schwenger, 'Über die zweite Ansiedlung', pp. 37–40; Hoffmann, 'Juden in Kaaden', p. 303.

communities had grown up along the Danube valley. Kollonitsch, the most implacable antagonist of the Jews, was appointed to chair the commission. Its findings were a foregone conclusion. The presence of the Jews was judged detrimental to the well-being, spiritual and temporal, of the Christian populace. Swayed by a promise of financial compensation from the Vienna city council, and the bigotry of his Spanish wife, Leopold finally gave the order for what was to be the largest and, for the Jews, most disastrous expulsion to have occurred in Europe since the Jews were driven from the Papal States (except Rome and Ancona), in 1569, precisely a century earlier. The elders of Vienna Jewry mobilized whatever counter-pressure they could, including, through the offices of the Hamburg Sephardi banker Manoel Teixeira, the intercession of ex-Queen Christina of Sweden. The Emperor was offered the handsome sum of 100,000 gulden to allow 1,000 Jews to remain. But the die was cast. The expulsion was carried out in stages, the bulk of the Viennese and outlying communities being ejected in 1669, a residue of wealthy Jews leaving in early 1670.[4] In all, approximately 4,000 Jews were exiled from Vienna, Krems, Langenlois, and neighbouring places, dispersing in all directions especially to Prague, Nikolsburg, and Fürth. Simultaneously, there was also a temporary expulsion of the Jews from Eisenstadt and other communities of the Burgenland. The Swedish resident in Vienna remarked on the dignity of the exodus with, as far as he could ascertain, not a single Jew preferring to submit to baptism as the price of remaining.

But the Emperor, on the threshold of long and exhausting wars with France and the Turks, was soon to change his tune and despite the many local expulsions of the 1648–70 period, it remains true that most of the gains made by the Jews during the Thirty Years War, except in Vienna, were preserved and consolidated. For, on the whole, the tendency among the princes of central Europe was to forge Jewish policies which went flat against the inclinations of the populace and clergy. Even in Vienna, a Jewish community was soon reconstituted, in the late 1670s, and while this remained small compared with that of the *Judenstadt* in the 1621–69 period, it must be looked at in conjunction with Leopold's other post-1673 concessions to the Jews in Bohemia, Silesia, Hungary, Tyrol, and Trieste. In Silesia, where new communities formed at Breslau in 1657, and at Oels, Brieg, and neighbouring vicinities after 1673, the Jewish population rose from only two or three hundred in 1650, to around 800 by 1690.[5]

In Germany, the prince who stood out most strongly against the anti-Semitic backlash of the period was Frederick William of Brandenburg-Prussia (1640–88), known as the 'Great Elector'. It was this prince who first achieved a measure of centralization in the Prussian state, centring on Berlin, and launched Brandenburg-Prussia on the European scene as a major power. In line with his general

[4] Wolf, *Juden in der Leopoldstadt*, pp. 37–43; Kaufmann, *Letzte Vertreibung*, pp. 106–42; Moses, *Juden in Niederösterreich*, pp. 23, 84, 110.

[5] Brilling, *Juden in Breslau*, pp. 70–1; Brilling, *Jüdische Gemeinden Mittelschlesiens*, pp. 4–5, 16.

strategy of weakening the towns and estates, Frederick William's policy toward the Jews developed in stages. First, in the years around 1659, he blocked the attempts of the Christian townsmen of his new acquisitions, Minden, Herford, and Halberstadt, as well as of Cleves and Mark, to go back to the *status quo ante* of 1618 and re-expel the Jews.[6] Next, this tireless enthusiast for grandiose mercantilist schemes lifted the restrictions on Polish Jews visiting the fairs at Frankfurt an der Oder, hoping thereby to divert part of the Polish-German overland trade from Breslau and Leipzig. Then, in the 1660s, he embarked on a further phase of his Jewish policy, allowing readmission of certain limited categories of Jews to Brandenburg, Pomerania, and East Prussia, a project linked to his schemes for encouraging Rhinelanders, Dutchmen, and later Huguenots to settle in his eastern territories.

The introduction of Jews into East Prussia was hotly disputed by the towns, especially Königsberg, which, on this, as on other issues, spearheaded the opposition to the Great Elector's plans.[7] As late as 1700, there were only a few Jews settled in the province. Nevertheless, this tentative appearance of Jews in East Prussia was of some commercial and political significance. The Great Elector wanted to build up the port of Memel as a counterweight to Königsberg—a typically mercantilist project which fused political with economic goals—and to do this he invited a number of Jewish merchants to settle at Memel, most notably the Dutch Ashkenazi Moses Jacobsen de Jonge and his son Jacob, who were to dominate Memel's foreign trade for some decades, down to 1720.[8] In the years 1694–6, the Jacobsens, who had close connections with Vilna and Grodno and imported a wide range of goods from Holland, especially salt, paid more customs duties to the Prussian treasury than the rest of Memel's citizenry put together.

Numerically much more significant though was the resettlement in Brandenburg. Landsberg seems to have been the first of the Brandenburg communities to be reconstituted, in the late 1650s.[9] Although the army supplier Israel Aaron was the first Jew to obtain a permit to live in Berlin, the real beginning of the modern Jewish community there lay in the Elector's decision, in 1670, to invite some of the wealthier families then being ejected from Vienna to settle on his territory. He instructed his resident in Vienna to find 'forty or fifty' families of suitable means who would be interested in such an offer. As a result, three Viennese Jewish elders came to Berlin to discuss terms with the Elector's ministers. They asked for a public synagogue, but this was refused on the grounds that such a concession would excessively inflame the already furious hostility of the townspeople to the Elector's policy. In contrast to Halberstadt, in Brandenburg the practice of Judaism was, at first, confined to the privacy of the Jews' homes. The Viennese duly arrived, the largest group settling in Berlin, others in Potsdam, Frankfurt an

[6] Krieg, 'Juden in der Stadt Minden', p. 119; Stern, *Preußischer Staat*, I/i. 9–10.
[7] Ibid., I/i. 66–8; Krüger, *Judenschaft von Königsberg*, p. 7.
[8] Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, i. 106–9.
[9] Lassally, 'Zur Gesch. d. Juden in Landsberg', p. 405.

der Oder, and Landsberg.[10] Later, in the 1680s, the Elector initiated further readmissions of Jews when he added Halle and Magdeburg to his burgeoning state. Both of these cities, which had rigidly excluded Jews since the fifteenth century, were now obliged to admit them and their right to practise Judaism, which, in the case of Halle, included, by 1700, the privilege of a pubic synagogue.[11] Berlin acquired its first public synagogue only at the close of the Spanish Succession war, in 1714.

The liberal Jewish policy of the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia was matched or imitated by an appreciable number of other German princes. The Dukes of Hanover were hesitant about placing Jewish readmission on a formal basis, but, under the leadership of Leffmann Behrends, Hanover Jewry grew to be several hundreds strong in the late seventeenth century and the city became a regular stopping-place for Jewish merchants travelling between Frankfurt and Hamburg.[12] In 1703, Behrends was given permission to build a proper synagogue in Hanover (which he paid for himself), this being a clear sign of the now entrenched position of the Jews in the electorate. Still more important, in the Palatinate, a territory particularly severely devastated during the Thirty Years War, Elector Karl Ludwig (1632–80), yet another keen mercantilist as well as a forthright absolutist, encouraged Jewish (and later also Huguenot) settlement in several places, including Heidelberg and especially Mannheim. Eager to develop the latter into a major Rhine depôt for the Low Countries trade, this prince issued a charter in 1660 granting Mannheim Jewry privileges which were among the most liberal in Europe and allowed work to commence on a public synagogue which was completed in 1664. He was especially eager to attract Portuguese Jews to Mannheim, but in this met with scant success, netting only three or four families. But Mannheim's German Jewish community grew rapidly from a mere fifteen families, in 1663, to seventy-eight families by the time of his death, in 1680.[13] It is a recurrent theme of early modern German history that the Jews received the best treatment from insecure Catholic rulers of predominantly Protestant states; under a charter of 1693, Karl Ludwig's Catholic successor, Johann Wilhelm von Neuberg, went even further, effectively removing what restrictions on Jewish commerce remained. By 1699, Mannheim Jewry consisted of 150 families and was one of the largest, freest, and most flourishing in the Holy Roman Empire.

Meanwhile, in Baden-Durlach, whence the Jews had been driven in 1648, small groups were readmitted in the 1670s and allowed to form communities in Durlach and Pforzheim.[14] In Anhalt, where the princes had allowed some Jewish settlement since the early seventeenth century, out of mercantilist motives, there was a

[10] Ibid.; Ackermann, 'Gesch. d. Juden in Brandenburg', p. 66; Stern, 'Niederlassung d. Juden in Berlin', pp. 140–9.

[11] Stern, *Preußischer Staat*, I/i. 77.

[12] Löb, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 6; Schnee, *Hoffinanz*, ii. 36–7, 42–3.

[13] Ibid., iv. 180–1; Stern, *Jud Süß*, p. 6.

[14] Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte*, pp. 197, 200; Rosenthal, 'Aus den Jugendjahren', p. 207.

notable acceleration in Jewish settlement in the principality's chief town, Dessau, especially from the 1680s, when Moses Benjamin Wulff became *Hoffaktor* there and a public synagogue was opened. Wulff was one of the most able and widely influential of the Court Jews ensconced in the lesser German states. A no less interesting, if more marginal example of German princely patronage of Jews in the late seventeenth century was Duke Christian August of Pfalz-Sulzbach's invitation to them to settle in his town of Sulzbach near Nuremberg. This occurred in 1666, the motives in this case, seemingly, being less the usual mercantilist calculations of the time than this prince's predilection for Hebrew studies and especially cabbala. Following the granting of a liberal charter to the Jews, in 1685, a house was converted into a synagogue. There were fifteen Jewish families in the town in 1699. It was owing to the patronage of Duke Christian August that Sulzbach developed into a major centre of Christian cabbalistic studies, the pre-eminent Latin compilation of cabbala to be published in early modern Europe, the *Kabbala Denudata*, compiled by Knorr von Rosenroth, being printed there in the years 1677–84.

When Altona passed under Danish rule in 1641, the Danish king had confirmed and extended the privileges of that community and later extended his protection also to the Jewish communities of Wandsbek and Moisling. The Jews continued for a time to be debarred from Denmark proper but, in 1673, after much deliberation in court circles in Copenhagen, it was resolved that Jews should be permitted to settle also on Danish soil. This reversal of Denmark's traditional exclusion of the Jews followed advice from the Danish Board of Trade, urging ministers that Jewish immigration would help stimulate Denmark's incipient commerce with Guinea and the Caribbean and revive her flagging links with the Iberian Peninsula.[15] It is clear from this that the Danish court was chiefly interested in drawing Portuguese Jews from Hamburg, perhaps with the help of the Teixeira and other great Sephardi families which had close financial ties with the court in Copenhagen, but the offer was open to the Ashkenazim also and it was they who were much the more responsive to it. By 1682, there was a community of eleven German Jewish families living in Copenhagen besides an assortment of tiny scattered groups in Fredericia, Aarhus, Nyborg, and other Danish towns. Admission to Denmark proper was followed by admission also to the Danish crown's recently acquired duchy of Oldenburg.[16] Meanwhile, though Lübeck persisted in its ancient policy of rigid exclusion of Jews, Hamburg notably liberalized its stance in the 1660s and, for the first time, permitted an organized German Jewish community to take root in the city proper, alongside the existing Portuguese Jewish community.[17] This fledgling Hamburg German Jewish congregation was for many years under the dominance of the Fürst and Goldschmidt families.

[15] Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 73–4; Hartvig, *Jøderne i Danmark*, pp. 63–4.
[16] Trapp, *Oldenburger Judenschaft*, pp. 22–3.
[17] Baasch, 'Juden', pp. 371–2; Feilchenfeld, 'Älteste Geschichte', pp. 280–2.

For the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy, and its economy, the later seventeenth century was, by and large, a dismal period of decay and contraction. Poland's exports of grain and timber to the west steadily waned. Gradually, Polish agriculture was divested both of its profitability and of its previous high productivity, while the nobility lost much of its former affluence. The German bourgeoisie of the Baltic coast progressively declined. Yet, for Poland's Jews, contrary to what is usually supposed, or how traditional Jewish historiography would have it, this period, though one of some difficulty in the luxury trades, was as much one of rapid expansion and strengthening of Jewish life as it was for the Jews of central and western Europe. The notion that the disruption of the 1648–60 period must have prefaced a century of despair, setback, and disintegration is, with the partial exception of the cultural sphere, as misconceived and misleading as are traditional accounts of the Chmielnicki massacres themselves. Indeed, in some respects, the expansion of Jewish life in Poland-Lithuania was now even more vigorous than in the pre-1648 period. Once again, the overriding factor was the patronage of the nobles and their urgent preoccupation with reviving and recolonizing Poland's eastern territories. But of considerable weight also was the pronouncedly mercantilist stance of the Polish kings of this period, especially John Casimir (1648–68), Michael Wiśniowiecki (1669–73), and John Sobieski (1674–96), who all adopted policies favourable toward the Jews.[18] Indeed, the period of Poland's attempted, if largely unsuccessful, recovery from disruption and decline was precisely the time of closest collaboration between the Polish crown and Poland's Jews in the early modern period. 'Under John Sobieski', wrote an English clergyman who travelled extensively in Poland some decades later, 'they [the Jews] were so highly favoured, that his administration was invidiously called a Jewish junto: he farmed to the Jews the royal demesnes, and put such confidence in them as raised great discontent among the nobility.'[19]

Demographically and economically, if not culturally, Polish Jewry now staged a dramatic recovery throughout the Polish lands and at the same time continued to nourish the expansion of Jewish life elsewhere. There was a constant, if modest, trickle of Polish Jews westwards, as there had been since the 1570s, into Bohemia, Germany, and further west, and a rather more substantial flow south and south-east into Moravia, Hungary, and Romania. Plainly, the most impressive growth in Jewish population within the Polish monarchy, after 1650, was in the east, especially Volhynia and Podolia. But there was also a marked strengthening in the position of the Jews in western and central Poland due essentially to the devastation wrought in those areas by the Swedish and Muscovite invasions of the 1650s and the waning

[18] Meisl, *Juden in Polen*, ii. 27–35; Penkalla, 'Singagoa i gmina', p. 63; see also Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, vii. 86–7, 99.

[19] 'After his death', Goxe continued, 'an ancient law of Sigismund I was revived and inserted in the *Pacta Conventa* of Augustus II, that no Jew or person of low birth should be capable of farming the royal revenues', Coxe, *Travels into Poland*, i. 135.

of the German bourgeoisie along the Baltic littoral. Some royal towns, including Warsaw, Kielce, and Radom, continued to enjoy the privilege *de non tolerandis judaeis*, but others were now stripped of that right by the crown, usually at the instigation of local nobles, as well as Court Jews such as Markowicz. In the region of Białystok, four out of eight royal towns, including Augustów, now lost the right to exclude Jews and became foci of intensive Jewish settlement.[20] To help repair the havoc spread in the south by the Swedes, new concessions were granted the Jews of Tarnów, in 1670, and, in 1673, King Michael lifted almost all remaining restrictions on Jewish settlement and economic activity in Nowy Sącz; by the end of the century, almost all the trade and crafts of this town, which had excluded Jews entirely down to a century before, were in Jewish hands.[21] At Zamość, there had been only a small community before 1648, partly Sephardi: it was precisely in the 1650s that began the large influx of Jews into Zamość's trade, crafts, and distilleries.[22] At Łuków, in 1659, and many other towns around this time, there were drastic modifications in guild regulations in favour of the Jews, reflecting a general weakening in the position of the Christian guilds discernible throughout the monarchy.[23] At Grodno, after decades of struggle, the Christian hat-makers were finally defeated in their efforts to keep the Jews out of their craft, in 1652. In other Lithuanian towns such as Vilna and, a decade or two later, in Pinsk and Slutsk, there was likewise a marked strengthening in Jewish involvement in urban crafts. Only in the largest Polish cities where Jews lived, notably Poznań, Cracow, and Lublin, can Christian guild restrictions be said to have remained a formidable obstacle to Jewish activity.

At the same time that Jewish crafts, shop-keeping, and inn-keeping steadily expanded, the proportion of Poland–Lithuania's long-distance internal and external commerce in Jewish hands slowly rose, though it has to be borne in mind that the biggest merchants in Poland still tended to be Germans based in, or trading with, the Baltic ports. The steady growth of the Jewish role in Poland's long-distance commerce was certainly partly due to the increasing prominence of Jewish traders in the overland trade of Germany and the growing presence of Jews at the Leipzig, Breslau, and Frankfurt an der Oder fairs. But it was also the direct result of the series of wars, especially the Polish–Swedish war of the 1650s and the Great Northern War (1700–21), in which Sweden's Baltic territories of Estonia and Livonia were devastated and overrun by the Russians, paralysing the trade of Narva, Reval, and Riga. These developments fundamentally weakened the Polish trade of the German merchant class based on the Baltic littoral. Consequently, the proportion of Poland's long-distance commerce in Jewish hands, still well under

[20] Leszczyński, 'Żydowski ruch osadniczy', p. 45.

[21] Mahler, 'Z dziejów Żydów', pp. 3–6.

[22] Morgensztern, 'O działalności gospodarczej', pp. 25–30.

[23] Wischnitzer, 'Jüdische Zunftverfassung', pp. 439, 446–7; Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Pinsk', pp. 165–9.

half in the early seventeenth century, gradually rose to reach around, or probably slightly over, 50 per cent by the early eighteenth century.[24] Meanwhile, the class of Jewish estate-managers, or *arendator*s, further tightened its grip on economic life in many rural regions belonging to the great Polish landowners whom they served. Some of these factors, working together with the local Polish authorities, and not infrequently selling supplies to the commanders of army garrisons, amassed an influence which extended over a wide area, a phenomenon especially noticeable in the Ukraine. Eager to gain control of the retailing of spirits and of a wide range of other goods in the districts under their economic sway, some of these men were not above behaving in an extremely tyrannical fashion towards Jewish small businessmen and retailers, as well as others.

But nowhere was the expansion of Jewish life in the second half of the seventeenth century more evident than in the Dutch Republic. The influx from Spain and Brazil in the years around 1650 gave, as we have seen, a powerful boost to both the numbers and the resources of Dutch Sephardi Jewry. It is true that many of the refugees left again within a year or two to participate in colonizing ventures in the Caribbean, or settle in Italy or London. But others stayed, some migrating to Rotterdam and Middelburg, both of which Portuguese communities were notably strengthened in the 1650s. But the most important factor was the influx of Ashkenazi Jews from Germany and (to a lesser extent) Poland, a much larger movement in terms of numbers if not in skills and resources. This migration from Germany was stimulated not only by the growing importance of Jewish trading links between Holland and Germany, and the liberal attitude of the Amsterdam and Rotterdam burgomasters, but also by the changing attitude on Jewish admission of other Dutch towns and cities, several of which now withdrew their former refusal to permit Jews to settle. Everywhere there was debate and discussion over both the economic and religious implications of Jewish admission. In some cases, Jewish settlement was resolved upon by lesser towns close to predominant regional centres which continued to exclude Jews. Thus Jews were now admitted, in the 1650s, to Amersfoort, the second town of the province of Utrecht, and to Maarssen, but were kept out of the city of Utrecht itself until far into the eighteenth century.[25] In the province of Overijssel, Deventer debated Jewish readmission but decided against in 1654, as did Zwolle in 1657. But Kampen, the province's third town, decided to admit Jews, in 1661, while Zwolle reversed its previous stand in the 1680s. In the province of Groningen, there was a continuing increase in Jewish population in the villages whilst the provincial capital persisted in debarring Jews from settling until 1711. By contrast, at Leeuwarden, the provincial capital of Friesland, an Ashkenazi community began to form around 1670, as did

[24] Hundert, 'Comparative Perspectives', pp. 104–5; id., 'Conditions in Jewish Society', pp. 49–50; Rosman, 'Social Conflicts', pp. 52–4. See also Hundert, *Jews in a Private Polish Town*, pp. 50–60.

[25] Zwarts, 'Portugeesche Joden te Maarssen', pp. 50–1; Rijinders, *Van 'Joodsche Natiën*, pp. 140–3.

several other communities at Workum and neighbouring places.[26] At The Hague, Jewish settlement also began in the 1670s.

The increasingly pivotal role of Dutch Jewry in the Jewish world generally was due also to the rise of new Dutch Sephardi colonies in the Caribbean. Jewish Amsterdam now became one corner of a trans-Atlantic triangle, tightly linked, as from the 1660s, with Curaçao and from the 1670s also with Surinam. Curaçao was the largest of the Sephardi communities which arose in the West Indies during the second half of the seventeenth century and acted as a hub for the lesser communities on Barbados, Jamaica, Martinique, Tobago, and other islands. Functioning as it did as the principal entrepôt in the direct transit trade between Holland and the Spanish Indies for about a century, from the late 1650s onwards, this small island, with its magnificent harbour, became a veritable Amsterdam of the Caribbean. By 1700, there were roughly 4,000 Sephardim in the West Indies, the majority in the Dutch colonies, and while this sizeable settlement was in part governed by the Amsterdam *parnasim*, it should not be forgotten that they were admitted, as a matter of policy, by the Dutch West India Company which had already collaborated closely with Jews in Brazil.[27] The community on Curaçao originated in contracts and patents for Jewish colonization signed and issued by the Company in 1651, 1652, and 1659.

Meanwhile, in 1653, shortly before the final collapse of Dutch Brazil, a government committee convened in Brussels to consider the question of Jewish readmission to the Spanish Netherlands. This was done on the orders of the then governor, the Austrian Archduke Leopold, but without the knowledge of ministers in Madrid. This extraordinary procedure arose from an offer put to the Spanish ambassador in The Hague by a group of Dutch Sephardim, headed by Lopo Ramires, who were then at odds with the Amsterdam *parnasim*. The proposal consisted of a promise of a subsidy for the depleted Brussels treasury in return for the privilege of establishing an organized Jewish community in the Antwerp suburb of Borgerhout.[28] Moreover, the committee, headed by the primate of the Spanish Netherlands church, the Archbishop of Mechelen, decided that there was no legal or ecclesiastical impediment to Jewish readmission to Brabant. The Papacy, however, was determined to prevent the return of Judaism to the Spanish Netherlands and demanded of the Spanish King that he firmly block this initiative. Philip IV and his ministers were indeed horrified and ordered Leopold to desist. Yet, despite the shelving of the original scheme, the Archduke did admit Ramires, his associates, and their families, with special exemptions from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Antwerp which amounted to a government licence to practise Judaism in private. We know that this group continued, through the 1650s, to follow the observances of normative Judaism and that, from this point on, the existence of a

[26] Beem, *Joden van Leeuwarden*, pp. 2–4, 10.

[27] Emmanuel, *History*, i. 40, 42, 45–6.

[28] AGR SEG 257, protocole 11 Dec. 1653; AGS Estado 2185, *consulta* 7 Feb. 1654; Ouverleaux, *Notes et documents*, pp. 29, 38–41.

clandestine Dutch synagogue in Antwerp, distinct from, but also interacting with, the vestigial crypto-Judaism of the Portuguese New Christians already there, was a more or less open secret.[29]

In North Italy the princely invitations to Jews of the post-1648 period once again reflect a determined assertion of the economic interest of the state over vested commercial interests. Here a special factor was the severe slump in trade and industry which set in throughout Italy following the 1630 outbreak of plague. This paralysis further stimulated the now traditional interest of the Italian princes in attracting Jewish immigration from abroad. Thus a wave of Italian charters inviting Jews coincided with the migrations of Marranos and Sephardim from Spain, Brazil, Holland, and North Africa in the period from 1645 down to the late 1660s. A high proportion of the newcomers were Portuguese New Christians who had been living, often for several decades, in Spain. Most of them arrived at Livorno and then stayed in Tuscany under the protection of the Grand Duke who now tolerated and condoned defection from Christianity on an unprecedented scale. Because of the wealth and skills possessed by a proportion of the new immigrants, the princes vied with each other more and more in their efforts to attract them. Venice acquired very few as its trade was still so severely hampered by the effects of the war with the Turks over Crete. But other states competed rather more successfully with Tuscany. The Duke of Modena issued no fewer than three charters in the years 1652–3 inviting foreign Jews to settle, proclaiming them 'wealthy people and very apt to introduce traffic and commerce' which the Duke thought especially needful 'in these present times when trade is in serious decline'. Illustrative of the success of his policy is a surviving list of sixty Sephardi families who settled in Modena and Reggio between 1652 and 1657.[30] The majority of these were former Marranos from Spain who had recently reverted to Judaism, usually in Tuscany, but it is interesting to note that no fewer than nine of these families had migrated from Amsterdam and Hamburg.

Meanwhile, in Savoy, Duke Charles Emmanuel II was eager to attract at least a certain sort of Sephardi Jew to his free port of Nice. He issued his invitations through his Court Jew, Isaac Avigdor. Again, it is noteworthy that quite a number of the Sephardim who settled in Nice in the 1650s were Dutch or from Dutch Brazil.[31] In 1669, the Duke issued a fresh invitation through Avigdor, this time to the more than 400 Spanish Jews expelled that year from Spain's North African enclave of Oran. Nevertheless, Savoyard policy towards the Jews was distinctly more restrictive than that of Tuscany, and the majority of the exiles from Oran, those who were comparatively poor, were soon made to leave. The English envoy at Florence recounted the incident as follows:

[29] GAA NA 2242A, fo. 14; Schmidt, *Hist. d. Juifs à Anvers*, pp. 44–5; Libermann, 'Découverte d'une synagogue secrète', pp. 38–43.

[30] Balletti, *Gli ebrei e gli Estensi*, pp. 223–4.

[31] Menasseh ben Israel, *Esperança de Israel*, p. 108; Foa, *Politica economica*, pp. 52–5.

For of the 470 Jewes banish'd from Oran in the Africa coast . . . all which came to Villa Franca [i.e. Nice], the Duke of Savoy has fix'd all the rich ones in that port and sent away 300 of the poor ones. Those Jewes which are full of ready mony there have wrote to the Jewes in Livorno, telling them of the benigne reception they found [there]. This letter the Jewes in Livorno sent to the Great Duke who made Count Bardi write another to them in Livorno, assuring them that their poor should be received here, and that the said Duke would treat all their nation with more regard then they should meet with from any other Prince.[32]

Still more indicative of the limits of Savoy's Jewish policy was the incident of 1685. In July of that year there arrived at Nice a ship full of escaped crypto-Jews fleeing from Mallorca where, since the 1670s, the local Inquisition had launched a fierce onslaught against them. The refugees threw themselves on the mercy of the Duke, beseeching his (tacit) permission for them to revert to open Judaism.[33] This placed the Duke in an insoluble dilemma, being the first time the government in Turin was being asked to condone a mass defection from Christianity to Judaism. A fierce and widely publicized controversy erupted with the Bishop of Nice rousing the clergy and populace against the crypto-Jews. The newcomers' lawyers maintained that the exiles could not be classified as having been 'real' Christians in Spain and that it was the privilege and duty of the Duke to decide their fate in accordance with the interest of the state. Here then was a classic instance of a clash of mercantilist *raison d'État* with established law, tradition, and papal policy. In the end, the Duke found it best to fudge the issue. The Mallorcan refugees were first arrested and then released without any specific declaration in their favour. Most of them then moved on to other parts of Italy, especially Livorno.

In England, public debate over the readmission of the Jews erupted in 1655 on the arrival of Menasseh ben Israel in London and the publication of his *Humble Addresses* to the Lord Protector Cromwell. This was precisely the time when the influx of Marrano refugees from Spain, and Sephardi exiles from Brazil, into Holland, was at its height and Dutch Sephardi Jewry at its most preoccupied with schemes for Jewish colonization. The approach to the English government was, thus, part of a wider package including the negotiations in Brussels, and with the Dukes of Savoy and Modena, as well as the schemes for settlement in the Caribbean. Menasseh was not in any formal sense an envoy of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community but he can hardly have proceeded with his grandiose project without its collaboration and, indeed, it is now known that the scheme had been discussed secretly by Jacob del Monte—the presiding *parnas*—Selomoh Salom, and other key members of the Amsterdam Mahamad, who approved but were, at the same time, anxious that the Dutch authorities should

[32] PRO SP 98/10, fo. 232. Sir John Finch to Lord Arlington, Florence, 15/25 June 1669; two Spanish sources which specify the number of Jews expelled from Oran in 1669 give 466 and 476 respectively, see Israel, 'Jews of Spanish North Africa', p. 71.

[33] Foa, *Politica economica*, p. 55; Bulferetti, *Assolutismo e mercantilismo*, pp. 227–8; Braunstein, *Chuetas of Majorca*, pp. 67–8, 77–8.

not know that they supported the initiative. Cromwell for his part clearly inclined in favour of readmission. But most of the clergy and the entrenched mercantile élite of London, as well as the populace at large, were strongly against.[34] Menasseh, and those who supported him, ultimately succeeded essentially because the recent Civil War had disrupted Church, City, and traditional privilege to such an extent that the government had more or less a free hand, or at least a much stronger hand than had had the Stuart monarchs who preceded it. Admittedly, a fringe among the clergy, a number of radical Puritan ministers, were fervently in favour of readmission, believing that this would hasten the conversion of the Jews, judged in some quarters to be a precondition for the Second Coming, of which a few enthusiasts were now in excited expectation. But the influence of this fringe was slight and even they, in the interests of their cause, espoused the mercantilist arguments which Menasseh himself proclaimed, asserting that Jewish commerce would assuredly benefit the English nation overall even if it proved detrimental to the entrenched interests of London's élite.[35] Besides these few clergymen, certain elements of the mercantile community, such as the shipowners, who had done well during the Thirty Years War but who had lately lost much ground to the Dutch, especially in Iberian trade, probably supported readmission. Menasseh's efforts also gained from Cromwell's preoccupation at this time with expanding English power in the Caribbean, the area where Jewish activity seemed likely to be most useful to the furtherance of English interests.

Allowing the Jews back into England was thus basically an act of *raison d'État* in the face of powerful theological and popular objections, inspired by a mixture of political and economic considerations. The millenarian factor was definitely subsidiary. The famous Whitehall Conference of December 1655 fully reflected both the clash of views and the preponderance of exclusionist opinion. To Cromwell's chagrin, the conference was wound up after a few weeks without reaching any firm conclusion. But it did not rule out the possibility that 'Jewes deservinge it may be admitted into this nation to trade and trafficke'.[36] Indeed, expecting the government to rule in favour, the conference recommended that drastic restrictions be imposed to prevent Jews 'seducinge the people of this nation . . . in matters of religion'. It was urged that the Jews 'be not allowed to print anything which in the least opposeth the Christian religion in our language' and that 'some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from Christianity to Judaism'. But, without issuing any formal law of readmission, Cromwell provided informal guarantees which enabled a small Sephardi community to form in London thus keeping controversy to a minimum.

On the restoration of the Stuarts, in 1660, the City of London resumed its campaign against readmission, petitioning the new King, Charles II, to expel the newly formed and still insecure community. Various arguments were adduced to

[34] Katz, *Philosemitism*, pp. 225–9. [35] Ibid.
[36] Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission*, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv.

demonstrate that Jewish commerce was harmful to London, including the fact that Jews were selling English cloth on the continent more cheaply than established London merchants. Charles and his ministers rejected the appeal, perceiving clearly the disparity between the interest of the state, including the benefits of maximizing exports of what was England's principal product, and the privileged profits of the City's merchant oligarchy. But the issue of whether or not the Jews should be permitted into the country refused to die away. Commenting on the continuing opposition to the Jews on the part of most merchants, Sir Josiah Child wrote that the

> subtiller the Jews are, and the more Trades they pry into while they live here, the more they are like to increase Trade, and the more they do that, the better it is for the Kingdom in general, though the worse for the English merchant . . . .[37]

In France, the process of resettlement, in progress since the end of the sixteenth century, continued during the early part of Louis XIV's reign.[38] But, as with much else, it was followed by a partial reaction after 1680. Admittedly, Louis showed his basic aversion to Jewish re-entry into France as early as 1663, when he rejected a proposal by a group of Amsterdam Jews to settle in Dunkirk which the French had recently captured from Spain, and draw trade to that port, if the King would authorize the public practice of Judaism there. But, generally speaking, the *politique* ideas of Richelieu and Mazarin remained the guiding principles of government policy. Indeed, the middle decades of the seventeenth century, down to 1680, were the crucial period for the shift from an essentially New Christian, or largely Christianized Marrano existence, to an essential Judaism so thinly veiled that even government ministers now switched to describing the Portuguese of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Peyrehorade as 'Jews' in official correspondence. Colbert, Louis's great minister of commerce and finance, inclined in favour (at least initially) not only of protecting the Jews already in France but of encouraging more to follow. It was on his initiative that it was decided, in 1669, to permit a group of Livornese Sephardim to settle on a trial basis in Marseilles in the expectation that this would help stimulate French trade with North Africa and the Levant. A contract was signed with two Sephardi merchants, Joseph Váez Villareal and Abraham Athias, who brought their families and employees to Marseilles and were soon followed by other Jews from Nice and Avignon as well as Livorno. And they did establish a fairly substantial Levantine business.[39]

In the early years of Louis XIV, the situation in the French West Indies paralleled the position at home. The Sephardi *émigrés* from Brazil who had migrated to Martinique and Guadeloupe in the 1650s were permitted to stay and engage both in plantation agriculture and trade, exporting sugar and tobacco in Europe and importing slaves and cloth. For the time being, the fact that most of these settlers

[37] Child, *New Discourse of Trade*, pp. 123–4.
[38] Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, iv. 18.
[39] Crémieux, 'Établissement juif à Marseille', i. 121–6.

had intimate Dutch connections was ignored.[40] In the same way, the sizeable group of Portuguese Jews from Livorno, who had been settled in Cayenne under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company in the late 1650s, were allowed to remain when this territory was seized by the French in 1664.[41] The main Jewish colony, established at Remire, near Cayenne, stayed under French rule until 1667 when an English force raided the territory and removed the entire group of Jewish settlers to Surinam which was then still under the English. When Surinam, in turn, was captured by the Dutch a few months later, the Jewish colonists had turned full circle and mostly now remained under the Dutch.

The reversal of the pre-1680 trend, which began with increasing harassment and trials of Judaizers in and around 1680, and the stopping of Jewish migration into France from Avignon and Savoy, was doubtless prompted in the main by Louis's increasingly militant Catholic stance, though the Dutch connections of the Portuguese Jews in France and the West Indies certainly also played a role. The change in atmosphere was closely linked to Louis's mounting campaign against France's much more numerous Protestant community. But the King's prejudices and predilections were strongly reinforced by a whole crop of mercantilist arguments. Apart from the close involvement of France's Sephardim with the Dutch, it was alleged that the Jews of Marseilles were supplying information about the movements of French ships to the Barbary pirates in Algeria and were not above offering for resale in France goods auctioned off by their Sephardi associates in Livorno which had been transferred there by Algerians who had captured them in the first place from the French. After hearing a variety of evidence for and against the Jews, the King and his ministers began to edge towards a concerted anti-Jewish policy. The intendant of Marseilles was instructed by Colbert to investigate and report on the role of the Jews, taking care to discount the objections against them made by 'interested' Christian merchants and reach conclusions on the sole basis of whether or not Jewish activity in Marseilles was 'avantageux à l'Estat'.[42] The intendant's findings were presumably negative. At any rate, during 1682 the King made up his mind, and the Jews of Marseilles were expelled both from the city and from France.[43] The next year, Louis jettisoned what had previously been a major plank of France's colonial policy and (with vociferous encouragement from the Jesuits) decreed the expulsion of the Jews from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Cayenne.[44] But the presence of a network of long-established Portuguese Jewish communities in the south-west of France which carried on a considerable trade with Spain, Portugal, Holland, and the Caribbean caused the King to hesitate. Following a case in which two Bordeaux Sephardim were arrested for sacrilege against the Catholic sacraments in 1682, Louis resolved to

[40] GAA NA 2898, pp. 57–9, 185, 197 and NA 2901, deeds of 3 Jan. and 11 March 1670; Emmanuel, 'Juifs de la Martinique', pp. 511–16.

[41] Loker, 'Cayenne', pp. 111–16.

[42] *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, vi. 159.

[43] Crémieux, 'Établissement juif à Marseille', i. 142–3.

[44] Cahen, 'Juifs', pp. 105–7.

act but cautiously. In an instruction of January 1683, Colbert explained to the intendant of Bordeaux that

> Sa Majesté connoist qu'il seroit dangereux de punir rigoureusement ce crime, parce que l'expulsion générale de tous les Juifs s'ensuivroit; et comme le commerce presque général est entre les mains de ces sortes de gens-là, Sa Majesté connoît bien que le mouvement qui en arriveroit au royaume seroit dangereux.[45]

Accordingly, Colbert continued, the King desired first to reduce the numbers and economic significance of the Jews in France, and gradually undermine their position, so that at a later date they could be expelled with impunity. Thus, the intendant was ordered to allow no more Portuguese Jews to settle in Bordeaux, to expel a few families in connection with the sacrilege and later a selection of other families 'et ainsy Sa Majesté croiroit qu'en huit ou dix années elle pourroit les chasser entièrement du royaume; et comme cette expulsion se feroit insensiblement, le commerce qu'ils font pourrait passer entre les mains des marchands françois sujets du Roy.'

Similar orders were sent to other intendants in the south-west, and during 1684 an initial list was drawn up of ninety-three Portuguese Jewish families deemed disloyal on account of contacts with Amsterdam or else poor and 'd'aucune utilité au commerce'.[46] Probably some of these families did leave, but there were appeals and a good deal of controversy and, finally, in January 1686, the order of expulsion on these families was lifted, mainly on account of the massive exodus of Huguenots from France which had begun the previous year with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The scale of the Huguenot flight was so great, as was the damage to the country's trade and industry, that the government was panicked into emergency measures to try to stem the flight of both Protestants and Jews. Thus the flight of so many Huguenots stopped the campaign against the Jews. The Sun King's drive against a people he despised collapsed after five years, never to be revived. Even so, it is possible that the episode served to accentuate the tendency among the Jewish leadership in western and central Europe to align with William III and the Emperor against France in the great struggles of this period.

2 POPULATION GROWTH

The seventeenth century was a time of stagnant or falling population in much or most of continental Europe. In this respect, the baroque era contrasts sharply with the other centuries of modern times, the others being periods of steady and usually rapid growth. But the position was quite otherwise for Europe's Jews. Indeed, the seventeenth century was one of exceptionally rapid increase in almost all of the regions where the European states permitted them to live. Admittedly, some of

[45] *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, vi. 188–9.

[46] Malvezin, *Juifs à Bordeaux*, pp. 132–3; Cirot, *Juifs à Bordeaux*, p. 6; Nahon, 'Inscriptions', ii. 356; Nahon, '*Nations' juives*, p. 3.

this impressive demographic growth was due to immigration from Poland and the Levant, but the main factor does seem to have been internal demographic increase from within western and central Europe. Before 1650, the principal Jewish centres in Europe, those with over 2,000 Jews, were mostly great inland metropolises such as Prague, Vienna, Frankfurt, Cracow, Lvov, Lublin, Mantua, and Rome. Among maritime centres, only the Jewish communities of Amsterdam and Venice could compare. But after 1650, while there arose only two or three new main communities, there was a definite shift in weight from the inland to the seafaring category. The Vienna *Judenstadt* was suppressed but for a few dozen souls. Prague did remain one of the foremost Jewish centres but nevertheless suffered some decline towards the end of the century owing to the fearful epidemic of 1680 and a major fire in 1689. The Frankfurt ghetto slowly recovered from the impact of the Thirty Years War but, as late as 1700, had barely regained the 2,000 mark, and, relative to other centres, was obviously losing ground throughout the century. Meanwhile Lvov, Cracow, and Lublin all tended to stagnate in size. In Amsterdam, the combined Sephardi-Ashkenazi population amounted to over 3,000 by 1650 and then increased steadily, mainly as a result of immigration from Germany, rising to around 6,200, perhaps slightly more, by 1700.[47] This amounted to over 3 per cent of the total population of Amsterdam and represented the largest concentration of Jews outside the Balkans, Amsterdam having outstripped Prague and Rome during the last third of the century. Meanwhile, Livorno moved forward to join the leading group, its Jewish population rising from 1,250 in 1645 to double this figure, around 2,500, by the 1690s, mainly as a result of immigration from Spain and Venice.[48] It is true that Venetian Jewry declined somewhat during the second half of the seventeenth century, but by 1700 it probably still amounted to around 3,000, or some 4 per cent of the city's population. Figures are lacking for Hamburg–Altona–Wandsbek as a whole, but we do know that, in Hamburg proper around 1660, there were approximately 120 Sephardi and between 40 and 50 Ashkenazi families, giving a total of around 800; for the entire city, including Altona and Wandsbek, the combined Sephardi–Ashkenazi population had probably outstripped that of Frankfurt by 1700 to become the second-largest concentration of Jews in the Empire after Prague.

But despite the steady growth and diffusion of Jewish communities in the west, there is no doubt that by far the greatest increase in numbers occurred in Poland–Lithuania, especially the eastern fringes of the Polish monarchy. It is true that the Chmielnicki massacres temporarily halted the rapid accretion of Jewish population east of Lvov, but it is becoming increasingly clear that traditional Jewish historiography greatly exaggerated both the numbers killed and the demographic impact of the catastrophe on the Jews of Poland's eastern territories. Most Jews in the areas ravaged by Chmielnicki's bands were not in fact butchered but fled

[47] Bloom, *Economic Activities*, p. 31.

[48] Alfredo Toaff, 'Cenni storici', pp. 361, 368; R. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea*, pp. 121–3.

westwards and subsequently moved back again once the risings were suppressed.[49] Briefly, the refugee problem, in all the Polish and Lithuanian centres which survived intact, strained the communal fabric to the utmost; but this very cramming of the Polish ghettos with unsustainable, surplus population ensured a swift and massive trek back to the east as soon as conditions would allow. Admittedly, some of the refugees drifted further west, into Germany, Holland, Italy, and especially Moravia. But again the significance of this Polish Jewish migration westwards during the mid-seventeenth century has in the past been absurdly exaggerated.[50] For it is now clear that the great majority of Ashkenazi immigrants into the Dutch provinces and the Hamburg region in the 1650s and 1660s were 'High German' and not 'Polish' while the bulk of the newcomers to Livorno, Modena, and Venice were 'Spanish', or rather Portuguese Marranos from Castile. Of 252 Ashkenazi Jews who married in Amsterdam between 1635 and 1670 whose places of birth were registered, only thirty-five, or less than 14 per cent, were born in Poland or Lithuania.[51] Indeed, there were nearly as many Ashkenazi immigrants to Holland coming from Metz, Charleville, and elsewhere along France's eastern borders as there were from the whole of eastern Europe. There was a separate Polish Jewish community in Amsterdam in the years 1660–73, with its own synagogue, but it was diminutive compared with the 'High German' congregation which before long swallowed it up.[52] The fact is, the movement of Polish Jews to the west—except for Moravia where they were fairly numerous—was of little significance compared with the massive trek back to Volhynia, Podolia, and White Russia.

Notwithstanding the post-1650 decline of the Baltic grain trade, and the concomitant impoverishment of the nobles' estates, the Jewish role in Poland's decaying economy continued to grow. For what chiefly mattered from the Jewish point of view was not the weakness or strength of the Polish economy but the weakness or strength of the Christian guilds. And it was the virtual absence of such institutions east of Lublin, at any rate outside the city of Lvov, which made possible Jewish entry into a much wider spectrum of occupations in the eastern parts of the Polish monarchy than was feasible elsewhere. This broad occupation structure in turn paved the way for the rapid proliferation of large and largely Jewish communities, even in areas where there were only meagre possibilities for trade and industry. Weakness of Christian guilds, together with the almost autocratic sway of the great noble landowners, accounts for the steadily rising proportion of Jews to non-Jews in many Ukrainian and White Russian towns. Thus, despite the massacres, there is not a shadow of doubt that the Jewish population to the east of Lublin grew a good deal faster after 1650 than did that of central and western Poland. A census of all the Jews in Poland–Lithuania

[49] Bałaban, *Historja*, i. 226–7; Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Pinsk', pp. 165–9.

[50] For examples, see Roth, *History*, p. 107; Feilchenfeld, 'Älteste Geschichte', pp. 275–7; Fuks, 'Amsterdamse Opperrabbijn', pp. 166–7.

[51] Vaz Dias, 'Nieuwe bijdragen', pp. 165–6.

[52] Sluys, 'Bijdrage', pp. 140–5.

compiled in 1764–5 reveals that there were then 749,968 Jews in the monarchy, only about one third of whom lived in Poland proper. The Ukrainian provinces, even without White Russia, accounted for no less than 45 per cent of the total.[53]

Furthermore, it is evident that a vigorous demographic recovery was under way in the eastern territories almost as soon as the insurrections were suppressed. At Lutsk, Dubno, Brody, Belz, and many other places, appreciable increases over the figures for 1648 had been achieved as early as 1670.[54] At Tarnogród, near Lublin, one of the communities supposedly erased in 1648, Jews owned, as we now know, 20 per cent more houses in 1668 than they had done before the arrival of the Cossacks twenty years before! The building of a series of splendid stone synagogues at Zholkva, Tarnogród, and other places to the east of Lublin in the 1670s and 1680s tells the same story. Indeed, it may even prove that the decisive rise in the proportion of Jews to non-Jews in the towns of Poland's eastern territories was a phenomenon of the immediate post-Chmielnicki decades, or at any rate of the second half of the seventeenth century, rather than of the eighteenth century. At Pinsk there were approximately 2,000 Jews by 1700, as compared with about 1,000 in 1648, the eve of the massacres, the figure for 1700 representing well over 50 per cent of the town's total population.[55] And in towns such as Dubno, Brody, and Belz, Jewish preponderance, before 1700, was even greater. At Berdichev, there were 1,220 Jews in 1765 out of a total population of 1,541, but this pattern of preponderance was certainly established many decades before.

Meanwhile, in ethnic Poland and old Lithuania, the Jewish population of the traditional centres—Poznań, Cracow, Lublin, Grodno, and Brest-Litovsk—did stagnate. But this does not signify that there was no expansion of Jewish activity and numbers in regions west of Lublin. On the contrary, despite the undoubted deterioration of the Polish economy, there was an appreciable growth of the Jewish communities especially in the extreme west along the borders with Silesia and Moravia. Most notable was the rise of Lissa and Kalisz, close to Germany, Lissa Jewry rising from a few hundred before 1650 to between two and three thousand by 1700, by which date this was one of the largest communities in Poland and indeed Europe.[56] The decline of the Christian guilds in western Poland and Lithuania everywhere stimulated Jewish entry into the crafts, generating a steady increase in the size of Jewish communities, if not in the old centres, where the Christian guilds were strongest, then certainly in Zamość, Nowy Sącz, Kraśnik, and numerous other secondary centres.[57]

There was also a constant increase in the size of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry

[53] Mahler, *Yidn in Amolikn Polyn*, statistical tables.

[54] Bałaban, *Studja Historyczne*, pp. 47–50; Horn, 'Skład zawodowy', pp. 15, 22.

[55] Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Pinsk', 190–6.

[56] Lewin, *Gesch. d. Juden in Lissa*, pp. 28–9, 134.

[57] Morgensztern, 'O działalności', pp. 25–30; Morgensztern, 'Udzial Żydow', pp. 18–24; Mahler, 'Z dziejów żydów', pp. 5–8.

after 1650 despite the slight contraction of Prague Jewry in the 1680s.[58] Many key communities grew spectacularly, by three or four times. Nikolsburg, the principal community of Moravia, expanded from 146 families in 1657 to more than twice this by 1690, and to 620 families by 1724. Prossnitz, the second community of Moravia, more than quadrupled from sixty-four families in 1669 to no fewer than 318 families by 1713. There is not a shadow of doubt that the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia, like those of Poland and Germany, were reproducing much faster in this period than was the rest of the population, and that sizeable increases were registered at Trebitsch, Austerlitz, Kremsier, Jamnitz, Ungarisch Brod, and elsewhere. At the same time Bohemia, and especially Moravia, supplied most of the settlers percolating into northern and western Hungary at this time, including the Burgenland region astride the Austro-Hungarian border. Expelled in 1670, Jews began to drift back into the district almost immediately. Under the protection of the Princes Esterhazy, who issued a notably liberal charter to the Jews in 1694, as part of their policy of developing the area, the so-called 'seven communities' of the Burgenland flourished.[59] By 1715, 600 Jews, about half the total belonging to this *Landjudenschaft*, dwelt in Eisenstadt, another 300 or so in Mattersdorf, and the final 300 in the five lesser congregations—Frauenkirchen, Lackenbach, Kittsee, Deutschkreutz, and Kobersdorf.

In the rest of western and northern Hungary and Slovakia, immigration from Bohemia and Moravia (and to a lesser extent from Poland) was substantial but sporadic, punctuated by two major reverses. These were the 1682–3 and 1703–11 Hungarian rebellions against Habsburg rule which engulfed several Jewries in sack and massacre. What was perhaps the worst slaughter occurred at Ungarisch Brod, in July 1683. But both revolts were followed by renewed immigration, in part drawn into the garrison supply network focusing on Budapest, Raab (Györ), and Pressburg, operated by the agents and representatives of Oppenheimer and Wertheimer. It was a case of expansion amid tremendous upheaval and disruption. In Ottoman Hungary, Jewish life had been largely urban in character but now the whole pattern was transformed by the Austrian advance.[60] Before the Austrian siege of 1686, Budapest Jewry had numbered around 1,000 but only a very small community arose in its place after the triumph of Austrian arms. When the Austrians took Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg) again the Jewish quarter was sacked and afterwards Jews were debarred from living there. The Emperor's authority remained much more limited in Hungary than in Austria or the lands of the Bohemian crown, and most of the Hungarian towns were able to obtain the right to exclude Jews completely which they continued to enjoy throughout the

[58] Gold, *Juden und Judengemeiden*, pp. 422–3, 491–2; Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte*, pp. 1–2, 10.

[59] Markbreiter, *Beiträge*, pp. 20, 25, 47; Wachstein, *Urkunden*, pp. 557–9; Hodik, *Beiträge*, pp. 15, 17.

[60] Bergl, *Gesch. d. ungarischen Juden*, p. 65; Mandl, 'Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Gemeinde in Holitsch', pp. 180–3; Kaufmann, 'Joseph ibn Danon', pp. 287–9; Moses, *Juden in Wiener-Neustadt*, p. 96.

eighteenth century. Only in Budapest, Raab, and Pressburg were small communities allowed to take root. But many Magyar nobles followed the example of the Esterhazy and most of the expelled Jews from the towns, as well as the new immigrants, settled in the many new rural communities which arose at this time, notably in and around Tritschin, Nové Mcsto, Holitsch, Prešov, Komárom, and further south around Nagykanizsa.

Like Polish Jewry, the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia during the later seventeenth century were spreading south and east rather than westwards. While a few Bohemian Jews did migrate to Germany and Holland, most of the evidence points to the conclusion that the rapid expansion of Ashkenazi Jewry in the west was principally due to a vigorous accretion in, and fanning out from, central Germany. The new communities around Hamburg, in Holland, and in Denmark were predominantly 'High German' in character. The same is true of the Ashkenazi congregation which formed in London around 1690. In Alsace, a combination of local increase and infusion from adjoining German lands boosted the Jewish population from around 2,000 in 1650 to more than three times as many, at least 6,500, by 1716.[61]

Data indicating the dimensions of Jewish demographic growth exist for several German territories. In the duchy of Westphalia, for instance, the number of registered protected families rose from fifty-nine in 1672 to 136 by 1712, and besides these there was an increasing number of pedlars and other unregistered immigrants.[62] Officially, the *Landjudenschaft* of Münster more than doubled in only sixteen years from twenty-three families in 1667 to fifty families by 1683.[63] Berlin Jewry increased from a few dozen in 1671 to nearly 1,000 individuals by 1700. The Jewish community of Mannheim, as we have seen, increased from a handful in 1660 to nearly 1,000 by 1700. At Hanover, the Jews multiplied from scarcely a handful in 1650 to several hundred by the end of the century. Hildesheim Jewry nearly trebled from twenty-five families in 1633 to over seventy families by 1672. And many more examples can be given. As we have seen, Silesian Jewry approximately quadrupled during the second half of the seventeenth century, though admittedly in this case immigration from Poland was a preponderant factor. At Landsberg, in Brandenburg, the Jewish community rose from four or five families in 1671 to twenty-one families in 1690 and 417 individuals by 1717.[64] Halberstadt Jewry, which counted 669 souls in 1699, had at least doubled since 1650. Fürth Jewry, steadily increasing, reached around 400 families, some 2,000 souls, by 1675, while Hanau Jewry was 700 strong by 1700. It is also certain that there was vigorous growth in the Jewish population of the principality of Anhalt, particularly the town of Dessau, which was the nearest community to Leipzig with its great

[61] Weill, 'Recherches', pp. 54–5.
[62] Holthausen, 'Juden im kurkölnischen Herzogtum', p. 132.
[63] Rixen, 'Geschichte und Organisation', pp. 8–9.
[64] Lassally, 'Zur Gesch. d. Juden in Landsberg', pp. 407, 410.

commercial fairs, a public synagogue being built at Dessau in 1687. At Minden, where there was also a notable increase, a list was drawn up, in 1700, giving the birthplaces as well as occupations of Jewish taxpayers in the territory; not only were virtually all the immigrants German but most were from neighbouring districts.[65]

Is it possible to estimate the size of European Jewry outside the Ottoman Empire in the late seventeenth century? The Jews of Poland–Lithuania are estimated to have numbered some 350,000 at the end of the century, and the Jews of Bohemia–Moravia around 50,000. To this 400,000, we should add 10,000 for Hungary and, at a very rough approximation, 60,000 for Germany. For Italy, Simone Luzzatto estimated 25,000 Jews, in 1637, a figure we can readily accept as we know that the five largest communities alone—Rome, Venice, Livorno, Mantua, and Ferrara—comprised over half this number of Jews. In the later seventeenth century there was some increase in a few places, notably Livorno, Modena, Casale, and in and around Trieste; however, at Rome, Venice, and Mantua there were probably slight falls while at Turin, where there were 700 Jews in 1630 and 763 in 1702, and other places, there was little or no change.[66] An acceptable estimate for Italy in 1700 would be 30,000. To this should be added around 15,000 for Dutch Jewry, including the Sephardim in the Caribbean colonies, some 10,000 for the Jews in France and approaching 2,000 for the Jews in England and the English West Indies. This yields a grand total of approximately 527,000 without counting the remaining crypto-Jews in Portugal, or the Jews of the Balkans. If we throw in the Jewries of Salonika, Constantinople, and Dalmatia, as well as the Marranos, it emerges that we are dealing with a people numbering approximately three-quarters of a million, or somewhat over half of world Jewry.

3 THE JEWISH ECONOMY, 1650–1713

In 1550, apart from pawnbroking and money-changing in North Italy and central Germany, the Jews were all but eliminated from the economic life of western and central Europe. At the same time, their trade in Poland–Lithuania and the Balkans was of rapidly increasing importance, a fact which of itself did much to prepare the ground for a new and enlarged Jewish role in the west. By the 1650s, the picture had changed dramatically. The Jews were now participating prominently in many sectors of international trade, as well as colonial commerce and industry, and had entered the main stream of economic life in many parts of continental Europe as far west as the United Provinces and the south-western corner of France. On one or two main routes, notably the overland trade between Poland and Germany, and the routes linking Italy with the Balkans, Jews actually predominated. In the

[65] Krieg, 'Juden in d. Stadt Minden', p. 122.

[66] Foa, *Politica economica*, pp. 80–1, 85; Milano, *Storia*, pp. 292, 298–9; at Mantua, the Jews declined from around 2,325 in 1610 to 1,758 in 1702: Simonsohn, *History*, pp. 191–3.

second half of the seventeenth century, in contrast to the century 1550–1650, there was little further structural change. The characteristic forms of Jewish activity in Europe were now fixed. But the post-1650 period was a time of sustained expansion which marked the culmination of the Jewish economic role in early modern Europe. The Jewish economy fashioned in the century 1550–1650 now reached its point of fullest development, what one might term its apogee preceding subsequent decline.

The characteristics of the Jewish economy were, of course, reflected in the structure of Jewish society. Generally speaking, the latter conformed hardly at all to the Marxist notion of class differentiation and struggle. Almost always, the vertical ties which lent Jewish society its inner cohesion—commercial collaboration and the patronage network implicit in Jewry's institutions, charities, and welfare system—were of much greater significance than any occasional friction between rich and poor. It is nevertheless useful to differentiate horizontal strata determined by economic status. But to do this meaningfully it is necessary to identify some five or six classes. First, at the apex of the pyramid, stood the élite of financiers, Court Jews, and princely agents; next came the much more numerous body of substantial merchants, manufacturers, and factors; thirdly, and probably most numerous of all, was the mass of pedlars, hawkers, old-clothes men, and other petty tradesmen; fourthly and less numerous but, nevertheless, a substantial proportion of Jewish bread-winners, were the craftsmen and artisans; finally, at the base of the pyramid was a depressed mass of vagrants, beggars, and other unemployed and destitute.

From Court Jew to pedlar these divergent groupings penetrated and depended on each other economically, as well as in religious and communal life. It would be idle to deny that there was exploitation as well as collaboration and interdependence, but such exploitation existed at all levels and operated all ways. If the success of the Court Jews was based on the activity of lesser Jewish traders and artisans, it is equally true that the latter benefited from the operations of the Court Jews. In the same way, more generally, it is as true to say that Jews exploited Christians as it is to maintain that Christians oppressed Jews. While the Jews did make an appreciable contribution to the economic greatness of Amsterdam, particularly in the post-1650 period, they were at the same time helping to divert trade from other parts of Europe and, within Amsterdam, infiltrated sectors which would otherwise have been wholly in Christian hands. Jewish activity was frequently detrimental to Christians and their guilds; just as Christian society was perennially striving to repress the Jews. Absolutist monarchy and mercantilism tended to protect and favour Jews only because both trends were themselves fundamentally at odds with many features of traditional Christian society.

In Germany, the two main functions of the Jewish élite were court finance and army provisioning, and this very much reflects the orientation of Jewish trading generally. Most German Jews, urban or rural, dealt in the metal or money trades,

handling gold, silver, copper, and iron, or else traded in horses and cattle, or bought up wool and other rural produce (with the partial exception of wine) which they sold in the towns, or else retailed manufactures and luxuries imported from abroad. Jewellery, another main aspect of the activity of the Court Jews, was likewise a central component of German Jewish commerce generally. In Lübeck, itinerant Jewish traders who entered the town were almost entirely involved in buying and selling gold and silver.[67] Dealing in horses and cattle remained one of the most characteristic occupations of Hessian and other central German Jews. Increasingly, Jews figured as distributors of foreign manufactures, especially metal goods and cloth.[68] It has often been remarked that there is a connection between the eclipse of the German textile industries (outside Silesia) after the Thirty Years War and the expanded activity of the Jews. At Frankfurt, clothmaking all but ceased in the 1630s, opening a gap as regards supply and distribution which in no small measure was filled by the Jews. The 1694 list of occupations of Frankfurt Jewry shows that at that time cloth merchants were in fact the largest category of Jewish traders in the city.[69] The list also indicates that they mostly handled fabrics shipped up the Rhine from Holland, including a good deal of English cloth, or brought overland from Silesia via Leipzig. Thus the contention of Johann Becher, Germany's foremost mercantilist writer, that the Jews were eroding local industry and crafts by facilitating the penetration of foreign wares, by no means lacked force.[70]

The main routes connecting eastern European Jewry with the west were, as we have seen, the overland trade linking Poland and Germany, via Breslau and Leipzig, and the trans-Balkan routes from Constantinople and Salonika to Italy, via Split and Dubrovnik. Of some significance also, from the 1670s, was the importing, by Jews, of Hungarian cattle, via the upper Danube valley, to the Rhine. Although Jews were not allowed to settle in Leipzig, or anywhere in electoral Saxony until the beginning of the eighteenth century, they attended the Leipzig fairs in growing numbers and there was a flourishing community in nearby Dessau. In the 1650s, as we have seen, a community also formed in Breslau and, from this point on, there was a rapid expansion of the communities on the crossing-points between Poland and Silesia, particularly Lissa, Kalisz, and Gross-Glogau, communities which enjoyed their golden age during the latter half of the seventeenth and first third of the eighteenth century.

The essence of the Jewish overland trade between Poland and Germany was the exchange of Polish wools, flax, and leather, and also Russian furs, for Silesian and Dutch woollens and linens bought at Breslau and Leipzig.[71] The Polish raw materials were mainly for use in the flourishing Silesian woollen and linen

[67] Baasch, 'Juden', pp. 370–2.

[68] Holthausen, 'Juden im kurkölnischen Herzogtum', pp. 103–4; Evers, *Juden in d. Stadt Warburg*, pp. 59–62.

[69] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 109–11.

[70] Becher, *Politische Discvrs*, pp. 218–19, 230.

[71] Lewin, *Gesch. d. Juden in Lissa*, pp. 28–31; Berger, *Zur Handelsgeschichte*, pp. 10–12, 20–1.

industries and so were principally supplied to Breslau. From Breslau, Leipzig, and (to a lesser extent) Frankfurt an der Oder, Polish Jewry procured not just cloth but the expensive and exotic products of European's tropical colonies—spices, drugs, tobacco, and jewellery—which they then sold to the nobles and clergy throughout Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine.[72] While the tiny Jewish communities in Danzig, Memel, and other Baltic seaports participated during the later seventeenth century in importing Dutch goods by the maritime route, the Baltic sea-trade continued to be handled mainly by the Dutch and the Lutheran Germans of the Baltic coast, this trade mattering chiefly to Polish Jewry as an outlet for the grain and timber transferred down the big rivers to Danzig and Königsberg.

From 1648 down to the high point, around 1710, there was a steady increase in the number of Jewish merchants visiting the Leipzig fairs.[73] The surviving data indicate that relatively few Polish Jews travelled as far as Leipzig, the bulk of the Jewish visitors to this key fair emanating from Dessau, Breslau, Halberstadt, Gross-Glogau, Berlin, and Prague. Polish Jews generally bought the merchandise obtained there in Breslau, Lissa, Kalisz, or Gross-Glogau, all of which were vibrant focuses of the overland trade between Poland and Germany. But, if most of the Jewish merchants visiting Leipzig came from neighbouring parts of Germany, there was also a substantial number who came from much further west. It was quite typical for German Jewish traders to move back and forth across Germany regularly taking in both the fairs, at Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main. Indeed, as we read in Glückel's memoirs, it was by no means uncommon, especially for dealers in jewellery, to peregrinate ceaselessly between Hamburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Amsterdam, stopping at dozens of small centres *en route*. Much of the importance of such Jewish communities as Hanover, Cleves, Dessau, Fürth, and Halberstadt derived from their location on the main roads between the great commercial entrepôts. There was also a constant stream of itinerant Dutch Jewish traders, including a handful of Amsterdam Portuguese, visiting Leipzig as well as Frankfurt.

Although the trans-Balkan trade via Split and Valona to Venice was frequently disrupted during the later seventeenth century by war between Venice and the Turks, this Venetian traffic, sporadically diverted via Dubrovnik and Ancona, remained crucial.[74] In the 1680s, for example, some 80 per cent of Venice's remaining cloth output was sold in the Balkans, chiefly by Jews. At the same time, Venetian Jewry continued to expand its role within Venice's declining economy. Though in the sphere of retailing and distribution, owing to Venice's laws against Jewish participation in shopkeeping, Jews figures prominently only in the selling of tobacco and old clothes, it is clear that they handled a large and rising

[72] Bałaban, *Historja*, i. 230–7; Horn, 'Żydzi przeworscy', pp. 21–2; Hundert, *Jews in a Polish Private Town*, pp. 57–8.

[73] Freudenthal, *Leipziger Meßgäste*, pp. 14–17, 21.

[74] Paci, '*Scala' di Spalato*, pp. 115–21; Milano, *Storia*, pp. 298–9.

proportion of the city's imports of grain, salt, and olive oil.[75] In particular, the Jews dominated shipments from Corfu and Zante which supplied over half of the Veneto's consumption of olive oil. This growing participation in the provision of basic foodstuffs acted in turn to broaden the role of the Jews in many towns of the Veneto which acted as distribution-centres for grain, salt, and oil imports from the southern Adriatic.[76] At Ferrara too, there was a notable broadening of the Jews' commercial role in the late seventeenth century, to encompass basic foodstuffs. At the same time, an increasing proportion of the transit traffic between the Balkans and Italy now by-passed Venice and the Veneto entirely, passing via Ancona, Pesaro, and Senigallia through Florence to Livorno, which by this period had become the most important and flourishing commercial entrepôt not just in Italy but in the entire Mediterranean. And the transit trade from Ancona, Pesaro, and Senigallia to Livorno was essentially a Jewish trade. Indeed, Livorno's status as the principal Dutch and English depot in the Mediterranean combined with the fact that 'les juifs . . . font presque tout le commerce du Levant', as the French agent at Livorno put it in 1692, enabled Livorno Jewry to play a much greater role in the organization of Mediterranean trade as a whole than is commonly realized.[77] Between one-third and half of all Dutch trade with the Mediterranean passed through the depot at Livorno in the century 1650–1750, as did a high proportion of English Mediterranean trade, and the resale of the manufactures, spices, and other goods stockpiled there, in North Africa and the Levant, was chiefly handled by Livornese Sephardi Jews.

But if the economic life of Italian Jewry—at any rate outside the Papal States—was transformed during the second half of the seventeenth century, it is scarcely to be doubted that there was also much that was still rooted in the past. Pawnbroking and loan-banks remained a typical feature of Italian Jewish life, especially in Piedmont and Modena, right through to the early eighteenth century. In Piedmont and the Monferrato there were loan-banks in most places where there were Jews, and down to around 1700 there was still a rough correlation between the number of loan-banks and the size of the Jewish population. The three largest Jewish communities in the Savoyard state—Turin, Nice, and Alessandria—were all exceptional in various ways; but if we take the next four largest Piedmontese communities—Vercelli, Asti, Cuneo, and Fossano—with Jewish populations ranging between 130 and 230 in the mid-eighteenth century, it is noticeable that all of these had been characterized by exceptionally large numbers of loan-banks, up to eight or nine in each case.[78] Even so, there is no doubt that pawnbroking and loan-banking finally ceased to be the mainstay of the inland Italian Jewish

[75] BL MS Add. 10130, 'Relazione della città e republica di Venezia' (*c.*1675), fos. 80–80^{v}; Becher, *Politische Discvrs*, p. 219; Ciriacono, *Olio ed ebrei*, pp. 62–7.

[76] Luzzatto, *Cronache storiche*, pp. 73, 89–90; Angelini, *Ebrei di Ferrara*, pp. 62, 309.

[77] Wätjen, *Niederländer im Mittelmeergebiet*, pp. 122, 355; Milano, 'Sguardo sulle relazioni', pp. 143–5, 148–9.

[78] Foa, 'Banchi e banchieri ebrei', pp. 525–9.

economy during the late seventeenth century. At Rome, the survival of Jewish loan-banks alongside, and in competition with, the *monti di pietà*, now became increasingly controversial until, in 1682, Pope Innocent XI took the signal step of suppressing the Jewish banks, first in Rome itself, and then, in the next year, at Ferrara and other localities where there were ghettos under his control. Then, through the 1680s and 1690s, the suppression of the Jewish loan-banks spread to Parma, the Mantovano, and many parts of the Veneto.[79] By and large, in northern Italy, the ending of Jewish loan-banking tended to hasten the drift of the Jews into general commerce and industry. In Rome, though, the abolition of the banks, combined with the relentless rigidity with which the papal government excluded its Jews from shopkeeping and most sectors of trade and the crafts, combined to undermine the precarious economy of the ghetto. By 1720, Roman Jewry had been substantially reduced in size, markedly impoverished, and faced a mounting crisis of communal debt.

If the economic importance of German Jewry and, in some respects, that of Italian Jewry, greatly expanded during the second half of the seventeenth century, this is truer still of Dutch Jewry. As before, the essence of Dutch Jewry's role was the importing and processing of colonial wares, generally for re-export within Europe, and interaction in the precious metal and jewel trades with the Jews of central Europe. But within this framework there was now an extensive restructuring and reorganization as well as growth. Before 1648, Dutch Jewry's German trade was still of limited significance while most of its overseas trade was with the Portuguese colonies, especially Brazil, via the New Christian business communities of Lisbon and Oporto. But in the years after 1648, owing essentially to the influx of new immigration from Germany and the Marrano influx from Spain, coupled with the rise of Caribbean sugar as a formidable competitor to the Brazilian product, the pattern changed rapidly and fundamentally.[80] Amsterdam Sephardi commerce with Portugal and the Portuguese colonies steadily contracted while contact with Spain, the Spanish colonies, and the non-Spanish Caribbean became the linchpin of their activity. It is true that there was a vigorous expansion in all Dutch trade with Spain after 1648 and that the Jewish share in this was never a dominant one. It has been estimated that in the 1650s Jews handled about 20 per cent of Dutch dealings with Spain, including the shipping of goods to Cadiz for re-shipment on the trans-Atlantic convoys to the Spanish Indies.[81] But 20 per cent was a very substantial part of what was one of the most important branches of Dutch trade during the second half of the seventeenth century. And such a proportion is evidence of Dutch Jewry's having made an outstanding contribution to Holland's economic golden age especially when we note that Dutch Sephardi Jews did play a preponderant role in Holland's other trade with Spanish America, the direct transit

[79] Luzzatto, *Cronache storiche*, pp. 83–90; Poliakov, *Banquiers juifs*, pp. 249, 255–6; Colorni, 'Ebrie a Sermide', p. 42.

[80] Israel, 'Economic Contribution', pp. 521–4.

[81] Swetschinski, 'Spanish Consul', p. 165.

trade from Amsterdam, via Curaçao, with New Granada and Venezuela.[82] Dutch Jews were active on both routes in importing silver bullion to Amsterdam. At the same time, despite energetic attempts by the English and French to block Dutch economic penetration of their Caribbean colonies, the Sephardim of Amsterdam plied a lively trade with Barbados, Martinique, and other islands at any rate into the 1680s.[83] Subsequently, as the English and French measures began to bite, the Dutch developed Surinam as their prime source of sugar and other Caribbean cash crops. And here again Dutch Sephardi Jews played a major role, not only in trade to and from Surinam but also in the production of sugar and the running of the plantations. By 1694, there were 500 Jews in Surinam owning forty sugar plantations and 9,000 slaves.[84] By 1730, 115 of the 400 plantations in what was then Holland's most flourishing colony were Jewish, an appreciable stretch either side of the township known as Joden Savanneh—Savannah of the Jews—along the Surinam river constituting what was virtually a Jewish autonomous region.

In England and France, the Jewish role in commerce was, in general, a good deal less important than in central and eastern Europe, or than in Holland and Italy. Even so, the Sephardi involvement in the import–export trades of south-west France, especially to the Caribbean, Iberian Peninsula, and Holland, was substantial enough to make Louis XIV hesitate over his plan to expel them during the 1680s. And in London, the Sephardi immigrants did make an appreciable impact not only in the bullion trade and the importing of rough diamonds from India but also more generally in London's trade with Portugal, Spain, the West Indies, and Italy. Jewish prominence in London's silver market reflects the fact that several London Sephardi merchants, most notably Álvaro da Costa, who was pre-eminent among Jewish merchants in England during the 1660s and 1670s, shipped substantial quantities of light woollen cloth, especially *bays*, to Cadiz, as well as Bilbao, Málaga, and Bayonne (for Madrid), and imported from Spain sizeable amounts of American silver, cochineal, and indigo, as well as olive oil, wool, and wine from Málaga and the Canaries.[85] At the same time, London Jews imported a not insignificant proportion of England's sugar imports from the Caribbean, though this does seem to have declined from the early eighteenth century onwards if not before.[86] In addition, London Jews regularly imported linens from Hamburg and Amsterdam and red coral beads from Livorno with which to pay for their imports of colonial goods and, in the latter case, diamonds from India.

It seems clear that colonial trade, or rather the importing of colonial commodities into Europe by the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, and

[82] See ARH WIC Curaçao books for the years 1700–10, and AGS La Haya xliii, fo. 94, xlvii, fos. 109, 115.

[83] Emmanuel, 'Juifs de la Martinique', pp. 511–16.

[84] Oudschans Dentz, *Kolonisatie*, p. 17.

[85] On the role of London Jews in England's overseas trade in the 1660s and 1670s, I am indebted to Maurice Woolf for allowing me to see his lists of data extracted from the London Port Books.

[86] Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral*, pp. 63–4.

south-west France, was a factor of overriding significance in the post-1650 expansion and revitalization of Jewish commercial activity in every part of Europe. The grip of Ashkenazi Jewry over the jewel, precious metal, tobacco, and spice trades in central and eastern Europe would have been largely, or totally, unrealizable without Sephardi Jewry's far-reaching penetration of trans-Atlantic and Far Eastern trade. However, the role of colonial commodities in the post-1650 expansion and revitalization of Jewish crafts and industry seems to have been of somewhat less significance, at any rate outside Holland. At Amsterdam, certainly, the colonial trades were the very basis of Jewish craft activity. Indeed, the size of Amsterdam's Jewish population, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, in the late seventeenth century, surpassing that of any other community in Christian Europe, was attained only because sizeable numbers of Jews found employment in processing Asian and American products. If most of the rough diamonds were imported, after 1670, in the first instance to London, extensive Jewish involvement in the cutting and polishing of jewels was largely confined to Amsterdam with only a token involvement of Jews in these crafts at London and Venice.[87] Chocolate-making, which became a major Jewish activity in Amsterdam from the 1660s, when Venezuelan cacao first began to be shipped in quantity via Curaçao to Holland, did spread to other parts of the western European Sephardi diaspora, notably Bayonne and Bordeaux,[88] and probably London, but also seems to have been chiefly a Dutch Jewish activity. Sugar-refining never became a major Jewish industry, but what Jewish sugar-refining there was, at any rate outside Italy, was again mainly confined to Amsterdam. Amsterdam, finally, but not London or Hamburg, developed into a major centre for tobacco-spinning workshops. In these tobacco workshops, as in the diamond-processing establishments, Sephardi and Ashkenazi workers were to be found labouring side by side but usually with the latter occupying the more menial jobs.

Only in Holland, then, can colonial goods be said to have been the preponderant factor in the formation and growth of Jewish crafts. In Italy, where industry was as basic to Jewish life as anywhere, its structure and composition was much more diverse. This was partly because in Italy, unlike in northern Europe, governments had tolerated, indeed actively promoted, the silk-weaving and other textile manufacturing traditions of medieval Spanish and Sicilian Jewry. At Amsterdam, where Portuguese Jews had been the first to introduce a silk industry, in the early seventeenth century, they were subsequently squeezed out of business, in the 1650s, once the city's Christian silk-weavers were strong enough to organize a guild from which Jews could be excluded.[89] A Jewish silk-weaving establishment did survive for some years more, at Maarssen, but eventually this too lapsed. In Italy, by contrast, Jewish silk-weaving establishments were fairly numerous in towns such as

[87] Israel, 'Economic Contribution', pp. 513–15.
[88] Leon, *Juifs de Bayonne*, pp. 69–76.
[89] Zwarts, 'Portugeesche Joden te Maarssen', pp. 61–2.

Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, and Verona, though not in Venice or Rome.[90] At the same time, it is certainly true that Italian Jewry's industrial role was considerably enhanced by the addition of new crafts such as sugar-refining, tobacco-processing, and coral-polishing. Indeed, one of the principal themes pervading Italian princely charters to Jews in the seventeenth century was the presumption that Jews were useful to the state, as the Duke of Savoy expressed it, in 1652, as 'inventors and introducers of new crafts'.[91] At Nice, the Sephardi influx of the 1650s precipitated a proliferation of new factories, beginning with a sugar-refinery set up in 1649. The most widespread Jewish manufacture in Savoy was tobacco-spinning and blending based on the mixing of imported tobaccos with home-grown tobacco, the cultivation of which was apparently introduced into Savoy by Jews. Also of note were the Jewish workshops manufacturing soap and candles, typically Jewish products throughout not only Italy but much of central and eastern Europe as well. One of the workshops in Nice was producing 'Damascus soap', using a Near Eastern technique which was presumably novel in Italy.

In Tuscany, there were clusters of Jewish workshops at Pisa and Livorno. The former were chiefly set up around 1600 by Levantine Spanish Jews, concerned with producing specialized luxury fabrics, including silks, using techniques which, we may surmise, had been transferred from Salonika.[92] At Livorno, the leading Jewish industry was the polishing of red coral obtained from off Naples and the Tunisian coast. Some of this coral jewellery was on sale in the jewel boutiques of Rome, Frankfurt, and Prague but most was absorbed into the colonial trade network based on Amsterdam and London.[93] It was especially in demand as an export to India where it was greatly prized and regularly exchanged for diamonds. Indeed, Livorno coral was one of the main items dealt in by London Jews. At Venice, guild-restrictions were tighter than in the Tuscan centres and most poor Jews lived by *strazzaria*, selling rags and second-hand goods in the streets. Even so, there was an appreciable Jewish involvement in the local diamond and tobacco industries.[94] Tobacco-processing had been one of the main industries of Salonikan Jewry since the sixteenth century and was probably introduced to Venice by Balkan Jews. Through most of the seventeenth century there was also at least one Jewish workshop with a furnace and special privileges from the Venetian Senate, manufacturing sublimates and other chemical compounds.[95] In Rome, guild-restrictions were tighter still; nevertheless, most of the city's large Jewish population lived from crafts, mainly tailoring, the repairing of old clothes, and button-making.[96] There were also several silk and leather workshops in the ghetto,

[90] Ciscato, *Ebrei in Padova*, pp. 110–13, 121.

[91] Foa, *Politica economica*, p. 43.

[92] Segre, *Ebrei, industria e commercio*, pp. 7–8.

[93] Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral*, pp. 103–7.

[94] It is striking that even in Holland, several of the more successful tobacco firms were established by Venetian Jews; Cohen, 'Zoogenaamde portugeesche gemeente', pp. 22–3.

[95] ASV CSM 1st ser., clv, fos. 157–157^v, clvii, fo. 107, and clviii, fos. 4^v–5; this factory belonged for many years to the Serfati family.

[96] Blustein, *Storia*, p. 181.

saddle-making being a well-established activity. Rome Jewry was also responsible for supplying barrack beds for the papal garrison. At Mantua and Ferrara the Jews had rather more scope for involvement in new industries as well as production of silk and other luxury fabrics. Abraham Haim Fano established a paper mill near Goito in 1690, receiving a monopoly for the manufacture of paper in the Mantovano. But the weaving of silk remained the main Jewish craft in towns such as Mantua, Padua, and Verona.[97]

Crafts were also central to the life of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry. According to the 1724 census and occupation statistics, some 19 per cent of Bohemian Jews outside Prague were involved in the crafts and in Prague the figure was around 30 per cent.[98] Unlike in Amsterdam, Rome, or Venice, Prague Jews enjoyed an unrestricted right of manufacture for Jewish customers, and this resulted in a more varied mix of activity than existed elsewhere in Europe. In a few cases, notably the processing of furs, they also possessed more general rights of manufacture. As in the major Polish communities, the Jewish artisans of Prague were grouped into guilds, on the lines of the Christian guilds, complete with their own insignia and welfare-system. Most of the Prague artisans were tailors, furriers, jewellers, cap-makers, and leather-workers. Outside Prague, and in Moravia, the principal Jewish industries, beside tailoring and tanning, were candle-making and the distilling of slivovitz and other spirits.[99] As in Poland, wealthy Jews frequently leased distilleries on the estates of noblemen and numerous poor Jews were involved in servicing these establishments. In the Burgenland, where again some 20 per cent of employed Jews were in the crafts, brandy and slivovitz preparation seems to have been the second occupation after tailoring.

In western and central Poland, guild restrictions were fairly extensive but there was a clearly defined Jewish craft sector, comprising tailoring, hat-making, bookbinding, and leather-working, in some cases for the Jewish public only, and the processing of luxury products from abroad, especially jewellery, furs, drugs, tobacco, and confectionery. It is striking that the general economic decline of Poland in the mid-seventeenth century, and particularly the disruption spread by the Polish–Swedish war of 1655–60, tended to work in favour of the Jews, enabling them to penetrate the crafts more extensively than before in many western districts.[100] In the same way, further east, in the new territories, though Christian guilds had always been much weaker there, the upheavals and Muscovite invasions of the mid-century finally consolidated Jewish preponderance in the crafts at Pinsk and doubtless also a large number of other White Russian and

[97] Ciscato, *Ebrei in Padova*, pp. 110–13, 121.

[98] Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte*, pp. 4, 12–13.

[99] Flesch, 'Urkundliches', pp. 203–14; Grunwald, 'Contribution', pp. 439–49; Hodik, *Beiträge*, p. 34.

[100] Wischnitzer, 'Jüdische Zunftverfassung', pp. 438–9; Morgensztern, 'O działalności gospodarczej', pp. 25–30; Mahler, 'Z dziejów Żydow w Nowym Saczu', pp. 4–6.

Ukrainian towns.[101] In these furthermost territories of the Polish monarchy the prime Jewish occupations were again tailoring, tanning, candle- and soap-making, and distilling spirits.

German Jewry fell heavily between the two stools of a weak guild structure in the east and the new crafts based on colonial trade in the west. Jewish participation in industrial activity would seem to have remained more marginal in Germany, at least down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, than anywhere else. The outstanding contribution of Prussian Jews to the development of the textile industry in Berlin and other towns in Brandenburg was essentially a post-1713 phenomenon.[102] Before 1713, German Jews neither owned factories nor toiled as artisans in workshops. The 1694 list of occupations for Frankfurt Jewry, for instance, shows that the only artisans in the ghetto were butchers and bakers serving the ritual dietary requirements of the Jews themselves.[103] Much the same story is told by a surviving list of occupations for the Jews of Minden of 1700. At Hamburg, while the Portuguese community imported many of the same colonial wares as did their fellow Sephardim at Amsterdam, including sugar, cacao, spices, and jewellery, there was far less development of crafts based on such products, chiefly owing to the rigid attitude of the Hamburg Senate which proved immovable on the issue of allowing Jews into the crafts. The repeated efforts on the part of the Hamburg *Mahamad* to persuade the Senate to permit Hamburg Jews to set up sugar-refineries, for instance, proved unavailing despite the obvious benefit that would have accrued to the city from this.[104] It is true that there was more freedom outside Hamburg, especially at Glückstadt and Altona under Danish jurisdiction, and that Jewish sugar-refineries and soap factories were set up at Glückstadt in the 1620s. But it would seem that these failed to survive for very long. Presumably, the preponderance of Amsterdam was simply too great. Thus, while tobacco and jewel importers and retailers were among the principal categories of German Jewish traders in the later seventeenth century, the processing of the diamonds, pearls, and tobaccos they handled took place almost entirely in Holland.

[101] Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Pinsk', pp. 190–6.

[102] Stern, *Preußischer Staat*, I/i. 130.

[103] Bothe, *Beiträge*, pp. 159–65; Krieg, 'Juden in der Stadt Minden', p. 122.

[104] SAH JG 993/i. 88, Res. 16, Adar 5417; Feilchenfeld, 'Älteste Geschichte', pp. 326–7; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, p. 101.

VIII
The High Point (III): *'A Republic Apart'*

POLITICALLY, as in other ways, the period 1650–1713 marked the culmination of a distinctive Jewish culture within Europe. While Jews, at least in many parts of Europe, had always tended to congregate in their own quarters, the need to live within walking distance of their synagogues encouraging this process, the changes of the sixteenth century—the vast expansion of Jewish life in Poland–Lithuania and in the Ottoman lands and the compulsory subjection to the ghetto system in Italy—combined to propagate a much more developed and intricate pattern of Jewish self-government than had existed previously.[1] And in the political as in the cultural sphere, perhaps the most striking feature of the general transformation was the large measure of conformity and cohesion applying across the continent. This is not to say that there were no significant divergences as between diverse parts of Europe, but by and large the essential similarities in the institutions of Jewish organized life held true everywhere. And there was a particularly notable uniformity regarding the chronology of the evolution of Jewish self-rule: practically everywhere the system reached its fullest development after 1650 and then gradually waned as from the early years of the eighteenth century. Possession of a viable and generalized system of interlocking and autonomous judicial, fiscal, and welfare institutions thus clearly distinguishes European Jewry of the baroque era from the dissolving political and cultural framework of the (later) eighteenth century as well as from the scattered, less structured pattern of the sixteenth.

In Poland–Lithuania, the typical elements of Jewish autonomy took shape between 1550 and the 1580s.[2] Under an edict of August 1551, King Sigismund II (1548–72) abandoned previous attempts to foist a royally appointed chief rabbi on the Jews of his kingdom, conceding control over the administration of justice within the ghettos to the Jews themselves. This started a process which rapidly gathered momentum along with the steady proliferation of Jewish communities throughout the Polish lands. In 1569, the King dropped his attempts to intervene in the selection of Jewish community leaders at Lvov, granting its Jews full control over the elections and procedures of its governing body as well as over its archives, communal property, and welfare provision. This much esteemed privilege was then acquired by a string of other major Polish Jewish communities. In the 1570s, additional edicts forbade Polish town governors and city councils to interfere in

[1] Bałaban, *Historja*, i. 326–7; Simonsohn, 'The Italian Ghetto', pp. 240–1.

[2] Schorr, *Rechtstellung*, p. 24; Bałaban, *Judenstadt von Lublin*, pp. 20, 36–7; Bencionas Teimanas, *L'Autonomie*, pp. 45–6.

the passing of judgement and the imposing of punishments and fines within the Jewish communities. Finally, in 1581, the growing trend towards Jewish self-rule culminated in the establishment of a general Polish Jewish diet, or parliament, which to begin with convened annually, at Lublin. This assembly, known as the Va'ad Arba Arzot, or Council of the Four Lands, quickly succeeded in asserting itself in a supervisory capacity over the entire network of Jewish regional and communal organizations in Poland. From around 1590, it began to meet twice yearly, usually once at Lublin and once at Jarosław, at the times of the trade fairs held in those cities. Down to the early eighteenth century, the Council of the Four Lands remained a largely effective central agency for Polish Jewish life, after which the Council began to lose influence and to meet less frequently.

In Poland there was a crucial intermediate layer of institutions mediating between the *kehillot*, or communities, on the one hand, and the central diet, in Lublin and Jarosław, on the other. These were the regional assemblies of the 'Lands', provincial gatherings of delegates from the *kehillot* which as a rule were heavily dominated by the representatives of the largest and most powerful communities, whose overall ascendancy was reflected, in turn, in the workings of the Council of the Four Lands.[3] This lent a tightly oligarchic character to the system of Jewish self-rule in Poland which was probably unavoidable if the system was to work. The provincial assembles of the four lands from which the central council of Polish Jewry took its name had likewise evolved during the course of the sixteenth century and were 'Great Poland' based on Poznán, 'Little Poland' headed by Cracow, 'Red Russia' which centred on Lvov and which included Podolia, and finally Volhynia. As the Lublin area, and later several other districts, had a separate status outside the 'four lands', the central council's designation was always something of a misnomer. There had also evolved during the sixteenth century a provincial assembly for Lithuania, headed by the community of Brest-Litovsk, which initially participated in the meetings of the Council of the Four Lands at Lublin. But then, in 1623, Lithuania separated from the Polish 'Lands' and began to function as a distinct judicial and fiscal entity though it did still occasionally convene in joint session with the diet in Lublin.[4] In all, the assembly of Lithuanian Jewry met forty-two times between 1623 and 1764, on nineteen occasions in Brest-Litovsk, eight times in Grodno, five in Pinsk, and the rest in Lublin, Slutsk, or Vilna. Although it met less frequently than the assemblies of the Polish 'Lands', or than the diet in Lublin, the Council of Lithuania nevertheless exerted a very tight control over Jewish life in the Grand Duchy, reflecting the again intensely oligarchic structure of Lithuanian Jewry.

In the Habsburg lands in central Europe, in contrast to Poland, no central agency with overall control ever emerged. But there was a closely related parallel trend towards autonomous institutions at both regional and local level. The two

[3] Lewin, *Landessynode*, pp. 19, 31–2, 46.

[4] Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, vi. 353–5; Tänzer, *Juden in Brest-Litowsk*, p. 38.

principal regional Jewries, or *Landjudenschaften* as they were called, were those of Bohemia and Moravia.[5] The jurisdiction of the Council of Moravia was subdivided into three areas each centring on a principal community, and whilst the *kehillot* of Nikolsburg and Prossnitz carried the most weight among the Moravian communities, there was a much wider distribution of influence and power in Moravia than in Bohemia or the Polish 'Lands'. Most frequently the council met at Nikolsburg, near the Austrian border, this ghetto also being the seat of the chief rabbinate of the Moravian *Landjudenschaft*. The Council of Bohemia was an altogether less cohesive force, chiefly owing to the absence of any possible counterweight to the overwhelming preponderance of Prague. Outside Prague, Bohemian Jewry was mostly scattered in tiny village communities which were generally much smaller than the typical Moravian community. From 1659, the Jews of Bohemia outside Prague took to meeting separately in order to achieve a measure of independence from the capital. From that point on there were in practice three administrative bodies supervising Jewish affairs in the Czech lands—the *Landjudenschaften* of Bohemia and Moravia and then Prague.

Meanwhile in Germany (as in medieval France), general synods of lay and rabbinic leaders had been characteristic of Jewish life since at least as far back as the eleventh century. Yet these medieval synods had tended to meet only occasionally, separated by long intervals, and are not really comparable with the regular assemblies of Jewish delegates meeting twice yearly in central and eastern Europe during the seventeenth century. During the sixteenth century, following the Reformation and the renewed drive towards expulsion which attended it, there arose a temporary trend towards more frequent meetings of the supra-regional type.[6] But then, as German Jewish life began to expand once more, after 1570, and with the growing political weakness of Charles V's successors, the convening of all-German synods came to make less and less sense. The last such general assembly convened at Frankfurt in 1603. By all accounts, it was a chaotic affair which abundantly demonstrated the unsuitability of such gatherings to the changed situation. From this point on, the emphasis switched to regional organization, the *Landjudenschaft*, the earliest instances of which, such as those of Cologne, Hesse, and Paderborn, reach back to the late sixteenth century.[7] Predictably, such a shift brought about a swift decentralization in the framework of German Jewish life and some reduction in the jurisdiction and influence of the chief rabbinical courts of Frankfurt, Worms, Friedberg, Fulda, Schnaittach, Günzburg, and Wallerstein. But the new pattern resulted in a more viable as well as more intricate edifice of institutions than had existed previously.

Thus there was nothing else comparable in scope in Jewish Europe to the Polish

[5] Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte*, pp. 24–5.

[6] Zimmer, *Jewish Synods*, pp. 102–6.

[7] Rixen, 'Geschichte und Organisation', p. 32; Baer, *Protokollbuch*, pp. 79–81; Cohen, 'The "Small Council"', pp. 351–3.

Council of the Four Lands. Its meetings were usually attended by some thirty lay representatives selected by election from the provincial assemblies and known as the *rashei ha-medinot*. The presiding figure was an elected president styled '*Parnas* of the House of Israel of the Four Lands' who was *ex officio* Polish Jewry's *shtadlan*, or lay representative entrusted to deal with both the King and the Polish national diet dominated by the nobility. At no stage was there a chief rabbi responsible for the whole of Poland, but the Council of the Four Lands did include, in addition to the assembly of lay delegates, a bench of provincial chief rabbis, from Poznań, Cracow, Lvov, Lublin, and Ostrog, and this august body constituted the highest Jewish court in the Polish monarchy. One of the principal tasks of the Council of the Four Lands was the appointment of annual tax-quotas among the 'Lands' and *kehillot*, a process which invariably generated much wrangling. Before the early eighteenth century, no royal officials attended these deliberations and the entire supervision of Jewish tax-collection was left to the Council. Besides its fiscal preoccupations, the diet regularly addressed itself to more general social issues, especially questions of poor relief, relations with Polish town councils, and relations with the Catholic Church.[8] The Council also took responsibility for fixing guidelines on such problems as begging, vagabondage, gambling, settling disputes over jurisdiction between communities, and coping with disasters national and local. Yet, at times of major catastrophe, such as the Chmielnicki massacres, the Council of the Four Lands tended to be virtually paralysed by the extent of the disruption. In practice, at such times the task of administering relief and appealing for aid from abroad devolved largely on the main regional centres.[9]

In addition to an unquestioned ascendancy over Polish Jewry and the Silesian communities, as well as a certain influence in Lithuania, the Council of the Four Lands enjoyed a wider, if undefined, primacy within Ashkenazi Jewry generally. During the prolonged and bitter controversy at Frankfurt in the years 1615–28 over that community's procedures and methods of self-government, the Council of the Four Lands repeatedly intervened on the side of those who opposed the excessively oligarchic stance of the existing leadership, insisting on annual elections and short terms of office as was the practice among the principal Polish communities and Prague Jewry.[10] The Council at Lublin eventually placed the Frankfurt *parnasim* under a temporary ban until they submitted, acquiescing in the introduction of new constitutional procedures on the required lines. The unique standing of the Lublin diet was also on occasion reflected in the spiritual sphere. Although the Council of the Four Lands only belatedly condemned Shabbetai Zevi and his mystical following, in 1670, its ban was regarded as authoritative far beyond the confines of Poland.[11] Indeed, even in Amsterdam the voice of the Council of the Four Lands had a certain weight. In the years 1660–73, for example, whilst a separate 'Polish' congregation fought to maintain itself in Amsterdam,

[8] Bałaban, *Judenstadt von Lublin*, pp. 38–9.
[9] Halpern, 'Aid and Relief', pp. 338–40.
[10] Halpern, 'A Dispute', pp. 86–90.
[11] Bałaban, *Judenstadt von Lublin*, p. 41.

the Lublin diet was appealed to and sought to mediate between the 'Polish' and 'German' communities, though this failed to prevent the latter eventually absorbing the former.[12] The Council of the Four Lands again intervened in Amsterdam during an acrimonious quarrel in 1680–4 between rival 'German' and 'Polish' factions of the newly merged Ashkenazi community over its young and controversial Polish rabbi, David Lida. Not only the Ashkenazi but also the Sephardi *parnasim* of Amsterdam corresponded with Lublin over this prolongation of the 'Polish'–'German' split in Holland, though neither the one nor the other leadership was much impressed by Lublin's proffered solution—the imposing of draconian penalties on Lida's opponents. By 1684, it would seem, the prestige of the Council of the Four Lands among Dutch Jewry was decidedly on the wane.

The assemblies of the 'Lands' in Poland and Lithuania were prone to perpetual wrangling over allocation of representations and influence among the individual *kehillot*. As Polish Jewry proliferated, the initially iron grip of a few pre-eminent communities over the rest was increasingly challenged by newer up-and-coming communities so that a gradual but constant and relentless shift towards further decentralization is evident. The regional assembly of 'Great Poland' normally met once or twice yearly at Gniezno, but in the period down to 1650 was overwhelmingly dominated by Poznań.[13] Later, as the burgeoning overland trade with Germany drew thousands of Jews to settle in Lissa and Kalisz, near the German border, these towns surged to the fore and to some extent eclipsed Poznań. While the provincial chief rabbi continued to reside in Poznań, from the 1670s onwards Lissa and Kalisz each carried more weight than the older community in determining regional Jewish policy in 'Great Poland'. In 'Little Poland', by contrast, Cracow never lost its preponderance, but the number of recognized major communities in the region increased during the seventeenth century and the Cracow *parnasim* and rabbinate were forced to make concessions to communities such as Opatow and Pinczów, Opatów for two short periods being the seat of the provincial chief rabbinate.[14]

In the large region of Lvov-Podolia, or 'Red Russia', the community of Lvov virtually monopolized the formulation of provincial policy (and representation at Lublin) over many decades. It was only after a protracted struggle that Brody, Zholkva, and Buczacz eventually succeeded in securing permanent seating on the provincial council and altering procedures for choosing the region's delegates to the Council of the Four Lands.[15] Later, there was renewed friction as Brody increasingly pulled ahead of the others in numbers and importance and by the early eighteenth century rivalled Lvov itself. Brody by this time was one of the pre-eminent Jewish centres of Europe. Volhynia meanwhile was no less prone to power struggles than Red Russia. Originally, control over the region's affairs had

[12] Sluys, 'Bijdrage', pp. 140–5; Fuks, 'Amsterdamse Opperrabbijn', pp. 169–73.
[13] Lewin, *Landessynode*, pp. 51–2; Lewin, *Juden in Lissa*, pp. 37, 46.
[14] Horowitz, 'Jüdische Gemeinde Opatow', pp. 11, 15.
[15] Bencionas Teimanas, *L'Autonomie*, pp. 80–9.

rested firmly with the community of Ostrog, the seat of the chief rabbinate of the 'Land'. After 1650, though, Ostrog gradually lost its former standing as 'first and leading' community of the region, yielding ground to its principal rivals Dubno and Lutsk. Like Brody, the largely Jewish town of Dubno had by the early eighteenth century emerged as one of the most prestigious Ashkenazi communities in Europe. Flourishing under the rule of the Princes Lubomirski, 'Dubno the Great' became renowned far and wide as a centre of Jewish life unobstructed by Christian guilds or municipality.

Like the assemblies of the Polish 'Lands', the Council of Lithuania divided its territory into zones subordinated in matters of rabbinical authority, jurisdiction, and tax-collection to its chief communities. Originally these were only three—Brest-Litovsk, which had much the largest jurisdiction, extending eastwards as far as Mogilev and the Muscovite frontier, and then Grodno and Pinsk.[16] Eventually, after much wrangling, Vilna and Slutsk also acquired the status of 'chief communities' and were allocated zones of jurisdiction. Even so, Vilna never seems to have obtained a jurisdictional role commensurate with its position as the most flourishing of the Lithuanian communities in the late seventeenth century. At any rate only one meeting of the Council of Lithuania was ever held in Vilna.

The individual *kehillot* of Poland–Lithuania were headed by elected executive committees, or boards, which exhibited many of the characteristics of early modern city councils which, in many ways, they were. They took care of the poor, supervised trade and markets, regulated begging and vagrancy, enforced the authority of the Jewish clergy and paved and cleaned the Jewish quarters.[17] They appointed the heads of the educational and charitable fraternities of the community and upheld the regulations of the Jewish guilds. Each major community also had an elected *shtadlan* whose job it was to represent the community in negotiations with burgomasters, bishops, and other Christian authorities. It is true that in great cities such as Lvov, Poznań, Cracow, or Lublin, the role of the community leadership did not compare with that of the Christian city councils in the overall shaping of social and economic life. But in some respects the power of the Jewish councils was greater. For the burgomasters of the Christians were obliged to defer in matters touching faith and education, and in much that concerned poor relief and charity, to the dictates of the Church, while they were obliged to share the administration of justice with the crown and the national diet. The *parnasim*, by contrast, appointed and paid the Jewish clergy, enjoyed full autonomy in matters of taxation and justice, and exercised sole control over Jewish schools, hospitals, and charities. Furthermore, the frequent need to co-ordinate responses to emergencies gave rise to a far-flung correspondence between the *kehillot* which ranged right across not only Poland–Lithuania but Germany, Holland, Italy, and the Holy Land as well.

[16] Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, vi. 354–5; Tänzer, *Juden in Brest-Litowsk*, pp. 39–41.

[17] Perles, *Ges. d. Juden in Posen*, pp. 68–71.

By and large, the communities of Poland–Lithuania, like those of western Europe and the Near East, were dominated by tight cliques of affluent patricians, together with a sprinkling of university-trained physicians.[18] Status within the *kehillot* was the exclusive preserve of the rich and the highly educated. Yet, narrowly oligarchic though these communal structures were, ordinary folk played a prescribed part in the processes of community politics and all the communities evolved highly complex consultative and electoral procedures, though none of the Polish community constitutions quite rivalled the astounding intricacy of those of the Prague *Judenstadt*.[19] In Poland, Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia, the usual pattern of *kehilla* government among the large communities was for annual election by the tax-payers of a community council of elders which might consist of thirty, forty, or a hundred members.[20] From this council were elected each year an executive board or college of seven to twelve elders consisting usually of four full *parnasim* and three to five lesser *parnasim* or *tovim*. Chairmanship of the executive alternated month by month among the full *parnasim*, the presiding *parnas* being known as *Parnas hahodesh* or '*parnas* of the month'. The exact balance of power between the councils, executive boards, and tax-payers varied somewhat from place to place. Prague, for instance, was considered more democratic than Frankfurt. It was not uncommon for the appointment of rabbis and cantors to be decided by mixed committees chosen from among the *parnasim*, the elders, and non-council members according to the most elaborate procedures.

In Germany, Jewish self-government was essentially a mix of autonomous main communities, such as Frankfurt, Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbek, Fürth and so forth, and territorial entities, the *Landjudenschaften*, which organized the affairs of the many small rural congregations. The territorial jurisdiction of the German *Landjudenschaften* was much less extensive than those of Bohemia or Moravia, or of the Polish 'Lands', as they corresponded to the political boundaries of the principalities where Jews were permitted to live. For not only was each principality a self-regulating fiscal unit which meant that Jewish tax-collecting had necessarily to conform to such boundaries,[21] but there was also a growing tendency in the second half of the seventeenth century, on the part of absolutist princes, to forbid Jewish litigants to appeal to rabbinic courts outside their principalities. The Elector of Mainz came to insist on this even in the case of his Jewish community at Aschaffenburg which was situated on the other side of Frankfurt from the rest of his territory.[22] Since the number of Jews living in any one state was usually quite small, the assemblies of the German *Landjudenschaften* did not consist of elected delegates, like those of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Polish 'Lands', but

[18] Bałaban, *Historja*, pp. 299–308.
[19] Spiegel, 'Prager Juden', pp. 147–50; Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte*, pp. 23–4.
[20] Bencionas Teimanas, *L'Autonomie*, p. 57; Kaufmann, 'Extraits', pp. 116–17.
[21] Baer, *Protokollbuch*, pp. 80–1; Cohen, 'The "Small Council"', pp. 350–6.
[22] Schaab, *Diplomatische Geschichte*, pp. 223–4.

were eventually open to all the householders living in that principality. In the margravate of Ansbach, an evolution can be traced reaching back to 1603 when the few families then living there (having previously dealt individually with the treasury) obtained recognition as a self-administering fiscal corporation under a council of six representatives. In the 1620s, the system was broadened into assemblies of the 'most eminent' Jewish residents of the principality. Regular assemblies of all the Jewish householders of the principality of Ansbach began in 1677.

Among the *Landjudenschaften* which drew up statutes and commenced regular assemblies around the middle of the seventeenth century were those of Paderborn (1649), Cleves (1650), Münster (1650), Mainz (1661), Trier, Bamberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Jülich-Berg. As the evidence from Mainz, Ansbach, and Münster clearly shows, the princes played a key role in the evolution of the *Landjudenschaften*. In the bishopric of Münster, it was Prince-Bishop Christoph-Bernard, through his court Jew, Nini Levi, who gave the decisive impetus to the emergence of a Jewish territorial organization in his principality with its centre in the village of Warendorf. In some cases, as with the cluster of Jewish communities to the south of Würzburg, in and around Mergentheim and Weikersheim, no *Landjudenschaft* developed owing to this group's cutting across political borders.[23] Yet it would be wrong to see the *Landjudenschaft* as primarily a product and instrument of German princely policy. For princely influence was more or less limited to determining the territorial make-up of the organization; it scarcely touched the *Landjudenschaft*'s inner processes. Thus Jewish self-government was inherent in the circumstances of the time and would have developed within one territorial framework or another irrespective of princely intervention. In the case of Cleves, it would seem that the *Landjudenschaft* was in fact organized by the communities who merely sought permission from the Elector in Berlin.[24]

The *Landjudenschaften* were headed by elected executive committees which met several times yearly to regulate the affairs of the 'Land'.[25] In the electorate of Trier—where there were some 170 Jewish families by 1700, the largest *kehilla* at Koblenz—the governing board consisted of twelve *parnasim*, seven representing Koblenz and five the western part of the territory, around the town of Trier. The boards kept the records of the *Landjudenschaft*, collected its taxes, and supervised its court in conjunction with the *Landesrabbiner*, the rabbi for the principality. Leading families, such as the Wallich family of Koblenz, perennially strove to increase their influence over the workings of the boards. Indeed, in some *Landjudenschaften*, a single family did manage to secure an unbreakable grip on Jewish life in the territory over several generations. In Cleves, the Gomperz dynasty wielded hegemony for over a century. In this situation, the offices of *shtadlan, Landesrabbiner*, chief *parnas*, and treasurer tended to converge within the family or even a single individual. In 1653, the Court Jew Mordechai Gomperz, already chief

23 Sauer, *Jüdischen Gemeinden*, pp. 40, 70, 188–9.

24 Baer, *Protokollbuch*, pp. 81, 85.

25 Ibid., p. 93; Kober, 'Kurtrierer "Judisch Ceremonial Verordnung"', pp. 103, 106–8.

parnas, also became *Landesrabbiner* and treasurer of the *Landjudenschaft*. In Hanover, Leffmann Behrends, who was an accomplished Talmudist as well as a financier, presided over the religious, political, and financial life of the community, the main synagogue being in his home. Though he lacked the title, he was in effect *Landesrabbiner* for the duchy until he gained the right to appoint one with this title in 1687.

The group of seven communities headed by Eisenstadt and Mattersdorf in the Burgenland represents something of a variant of the central European *Landjudenschaft*. All seven *kehillot* came under the same set of privileges and all were located on the territory of the Princes Esterhazy. The Eisenstadt *parnasim* and rabbinic court were always dominant within the group and this *kehilla* regularly paid nearly three-fifths of the contributions levied on the seven.[26] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Samson Wertheimer, one of whose homes was in Eisenstadt and who built a synagogue there, exercised both rabbinic and lay dominance over the community and the group as a whole. Under the patronage of the Esterhazy, the Burgenland *kehillot* achieved something near to complete autonomy.

However, the large communities of central Europe, including Vienna, Berlin, and, after 1659, Prague, stood outside the *Landjudenschaft* system. These, like the Polish *kehillot*, were governed by elaborate electoral procedures which balanced factions one against another, generally preventing excessive accumulation of power within any one individual or family. Their intricate constitutions provided an elaborate forum for the pent-up tensions and rivalries of ghetto life but they also excessively nourished internal frictions and strife.[27] At Prague the system of dividing tax-payers into three classes—rich, middling, and poor—each voting for a fixed proportion (weighted in favour of the rich) of an electoral college of 200 which in turn elected a small college of thirty-five which, finally, proceeded to select the executive council, proved an infallible recipe for almost perpetual turmoil. In 1635, the Emperor had been obliged to intervene and insist on constitutional reforms but, despite some changes, the system remained highly complex and prone to disputes.

At Hamburg, the situation was uniquely intricate owing to the division of the Jewish population into Ashkenazi and Sephardi groupings, and its further division between Hamburg proper and the suburbs of Altona and Wandsbek under Danish rule. The Altona community retained its original primacy over all the Ashkenazi Jews in and around Hamburg but was prone to fierce internal squabbles which more than once led to the intervention of the Danish King.[28] By and large, the Portuguese community conducted its affairs in a more dignified manner, but here too there were strong undercurrents of rivalry between various patrician clans, notably between the de Lima with their connections with the Danish court and the

[26] Markbreiter, *Beiträge*, pp. 36–7, 47; Wachstein, *Urkunden*, pp. 557–9, 568.
[27] Spiegel, 'Prager Juden', pp. 149–54; Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 47–9.
[28] *The Life of Glückel*, pp. 18–19.

Nunes da Costa with their links with the Portuguese crown. Traditionally, ever since their rise in the years around 1600, the western Sephardi communities were even more rigidly exclusive than their Ashkenazi counterparts. At both Amsterdam and Hamburg, the governing boards consisted of 'colleges' of seven *parnasim* nominated annually by their outgoing predecessors, no one else having a say in the matter. To resolve a major dispute in 1662, the Hamburg *Mahamad*, in conjunction with a consultative assembly of former *parnasim*, did agree to broaden the procedure somewhat, switching to a system whereby householders voted for a short list of candidates from which each outgoing executive selected the members of its successor.[29] This more democratic method of choosing the community leadership persisted until 1678 but then lapsed when the householders themselves voted to revert to the original closed system. Meanwhile, in 1669–70, negotiations between the Hamburg Portuguese and Altona 'High German' *parnasim* produced an agreement which henceforward governed the entire structure of Jewish life on the Lower Elbe. Provision was made for various forms of collaboration including a joint supply of kosher meat.[30] The Portuguese now recognized the authority of the Altona *parnasim* over the German Jews in Hamburg proper—these having previously come under the protection of the Portuguese—as well as over the community as Wandsbek. The Hamburg *Mahamad*, it was agreed, should be responsible for the group of Portuguese living in Altona as well as for the larger Sephardi congregation at Glückstadt.

In Italy, the institutions of Jewish self-government before 1500 had been mostly rudimentary and undefined, even 'primitive'.[31] This was true even in the case of the largest community, Rome. The trend which developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries toward occasional synods of delegates from all over Italy proved temporary, the last such general congress being, apparently, that of 1586.[32] By the second half of the sixteenth century, the emphasis lay increasingly on elaboration of community institutions at local rather than regional or supra-regional level, though communities such as Padua and Mantua did also govern the small outlying congregations of the Padovano, Mantovano, and other such limited districts.[33] The only real parallel to the *Landjudenschaft* pattern of central Europe was the regional organization of the duchy of Savoy where there were many communities within one state. Although the evolution of new and more elaborate local institutions began before ghettoization, as we see in the cases of Rome, Mantua, Padua, and other centres, there is little doubt that the ghetto greatly stimulated the process by forcing Jewish social life to turn inwards and by pressing the Jews entirely in on one another. How far this process may also have been influenced by 'Spanish', 'Sicilian', and 'German' immigrants remains unclear.

[29] SAH JG 993/i. 233–4, 993/ii. 151–3.
[30] Feilchenfeld, 'Älteste Geschichte', pp. 281–2, 322–3.
[31] Simonsohn, *History*, p. 319.
[32] Shulvass, *Jews in the World of the Renaissance*, p. 90.
[33] Ibid., p. 110; Carpi, *Pinkas*, pp. 470, 480.

At Rome, the constitutions which shaped Jewish self-rule throughout the early modern era were drawn up in 1524 amid arguments between the 'Italian', 'Spanish', 'Portuguese', 'Sicilian', and 'German' elements as to how to achieve greater co-ordination in communal life.[34] Henceforward, the community was ruled by a general council of sixty which in turn elected each year a small executive consisting of three *parnasim* and several treasurers and other officials. Essentially, the system adopted at Rome was similar to that evolving among the *kehillot* in Poland, except for the intricate rules at Rome for balancing power between the groupings, basically in the proportion of two to one, in favour of the 'Italians' and 'Sicilians' as against the 'Spaniards' and 'Portuguese', with the 'Germans' playing a much inferior role. At Mantua, where the Jewish institutions, apart from the synagogues, hardly existed before 1500, the intricate structure characteristic of the early modern period came into existence during the middle decades of the sixteenth century.[35] Again, there was a general council which varied in size between fifty and one hundred members which, in turn, annually elected an executive, headed by three *parnasim*, and a number of intermediate councils and committees. At Padua, where the constitutions were drawn up in 1577, a community council of twenty-three, elected by the higher tax-payers, in turn annually elected the *parnasim* and governing board.[36]

In Venice, the division of the Jewish population into three 'nations' arising from the special circumstances of the 1580s persisted from then on throughout the early modern era.[37] This unique triangle of 'Ponentine', 'Levantine', and 'German' communities dwelt together, as in so many other places, in severely overcrowded conditions but with a rough segregation of the 'Germans' into the so-called New Ghetto and the rest in the adjoining Old Ghetto. In fact, there were four principal synagogues and community boards—the Ponentine, Levantine, German, and 'Italian'—the last being mainly a grouping of less recently arrived 'Germans' who continued to be grouped officially with the latter although they prayed separately. Of the three nations, the Ponentines were the wealthiest, comprising some 60 per cent of the ghetto's higher tax-payers in the early seventeenth century, but the Germans the most numerous. As at Rome, there was a fixed balance between the 'nations' in the co-ordination of policy for the ghetto as a whole. The ghetto was ruled by the so-called *Va'ad katan*, or small council, which, as from 1645, consisted of ten *parnasim*, or *capi* as they were known in Italian. Of the ten, the Ponentines and Germans each had four representatives, the Levantines the remaining two.

In contrast to Rome and Venice, the Jewish community of Livorno was overwhelmingly Portuguese in character and its institutions were modelled on those of the Ponentine community at Venice. Although Livorno Jewry was different from that of the other large Italian communities in that it was not confined to a closed ghetto, in practice the Jews were concentrated in their own sections of the town and for most purposes were segregated from the Christian population. Despite the

[34] Blustein, *Storia*, pp. 118–20, 122, 178.
[35] Simonsohn, *History*, pp. 322, 325–6, 340–2.
[36] Carpi, *Pinkas*, p. v.
[37] Roth, *History*, pp. 127–9.

lack of ghetto regulations, the *parnasim*, or *Massari*, ruled Jewish life in Livorno with just as stringent a hand as they did elsewhere. In contrast to the Livorno community, which kept its records in Portuguese, the Levantine community at Pisa kept its records in Spanish and modelled its institutions on those of Balkan Jewry.[38]

At Amsterdam, unlike Venice and Rome, there was never any form of joint executive. From 1639 onwards, there were just two community governing boards—the Portuguese and the 'High German'— except during the years 1660–73 when there was also a separate 'Polish' community. The constitutions of the Portuguese community, like those of Livorno, and indeed of Hamburg and London, were expressly modelled on those of the Ponentine community of Venice.[39] The Amsterdam Portuguese *Mahamad*, nominated each year from among the 20 per cent or so wealthiest members of the community by their seven predecessors, was probably the most powerful, as well as exclusive, Jewish executive of early modern times, carrying real influence with the city burgomasters and the States of Holland of a sort which was often remarked on by foreign diplomats,[40] and exercising a general hegemony over the other Portuguese Jewish communities in the Dutch Republic—Rotterdam, The Hague, Middelburg, Maarssen, Amersfoort, and Naarden. The Amsterdam *Mahamad* also exerted a strong influence over the actions of the two large Dutch Sephardi colonies in the Caribbean—Curaçao and Surinam—and to some extent over the *Mahamad* at Hamburg. Unlike the Jewish leadership in Poland and Germany, the community councils of Dutch Jewry were not required to collect taxes for the state, but in other respects their role was identical to that of Jewish governing boards elsewhere. They controlled charity, sick-care, and education, exercised moral and intellectual censorship, and maintained a generally formidable grip over Jewish life-style.

That Jewish self-rule in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was oligarchic, authoritarian, and not infrequently despotic is undeniable. In the constitutions of the Amsterdam, London, and other Sephardi communities it was laid down that the gentlemen of the governing board 'shall have authority and supremacy over everything', and this was no idle boast.[41] The universal precariousness of Jewish life militated strongly in favour of subjection to discipline and authority. It was not simply a question of upholding the Torah and pursuing the moral ideals of Judaism. Anything likely to exacerbate the ever-present reality of popular hatred was deemed a threat to the community. Unseemly conduct, licentiousness, extravagance, the presence of too many beggars, any sort of provocative behaviour was liable to be promptly suppressed. The boards of elders kept a vigilant eye on costume, morals, and every aspect of life-style and this

[38] R. Toaff, 'Il "Libro Nuovo"', pp. 232–43.
[39] *Libro de los Acuerdos*, p. 3; Swetschinski, 'Portuguese Jewish Merchants', i. 368.
[40] See, for instance, AGS Estado 2091, Vincent Richard to Philip IV, The Hague, 3 Sept. 1658.
[41] GAA PJG xix. 106–11; SAH JG 993/i. 1–10; *Libro de los Acuerdos*, p. 4.

congregants had no choice but to accept. In December 1663, the Hamburg *Mahamad* actually forbade the use of sleighs and sledges during the winter snows by any member of the community lest they 'provoke Christian neighbours' or cause injury to themselves: in cases of emergency, permission to ride a sleigh had to be sought from the chief *parnas*.[42] The right to admit or refuse admittance to newcomers to the community was exercised everywhere. In 1673, the gentlemen of the London *Mahamad* decreed that they would admit no one who could not satisfy them as to his or her financial circumstances.

The intellectual censorship exercised by the governing boards was, of course, much tighter in Poland and the Balkans than in the west. In countries such as Germany, Holland, and England, the *parnasim* could not stop their congregants reading books which were freely available in vernacular languages, and in Holland and (after 1695) in England there was considerable freedom of the press. This meant that in western countries Jews were potentially subjected to precisely the same heterodox, freethinking, and philosophical ideas as anyone else. Even so, a vigilant censorship was exercised on everything published, or distributed, in Hebrew, Yiddish, Spanish, and Portuguese and these were the languages that western as well as eastern European Jewry normally used. It was not until the early eighteenth century that the Sephardi population in Holland can be said to have been more familiar with Dutch than with Spanish or Portuguese.[43] The medieval compilation of erotic Hebrew poetry by Immanuel of Rome was universally prohibited. Yoseph Delmedigo encountered several censorship problems, especially in Amsterdam, in 1629.[44] Quite a number of Spanish and Portuguese works were wholly or partially censored, ranging from Uriel da Costa's 1624 tract assailing rabbinic authority and denying the immortality of the soul, which was prohibited *in toto*, to the works of the historian and poet Daniel Levi de Barrios, whose various writings were subjected to repeated expurgation.[45] In 1656, the year of Spinoza's expulsion from the Amsterdam Sephardi community, a book of poems in Spanish by Jacob de Pina, a Marrano who had reverted to Judaism in Amsterdam, was condemned as 'lascivious' by the *Mahamad*, the stock of copies being seized and publicly burned. Moreover, the action was promptly repeated by the gentlemen of the Hamburg *Mahamad*.[46] When an influential cousin of the author happened to come on to the Amsterdam *Mahamad* some years later, the ban was solemnly revoked only to be reimposed two years later when the patrician in question had come off the governing body. Somewhat perplexed, no doubt, the Hamburg *parnasim* dutifully followed Amsterdam's example on both occasions. Yet, in many respects, the Sephardi boards of elders proved more liberal than their

[42] 'Hamburg Protokollbuch', *JJLG* x. 232.
[43] Hirschel, 'Cultuur en volksleven', pp. 59–60.
[44] Swetschinski, 'Portuguese Jewish Merchants', i. 414–20.
[45] Revah, 'Les Écrivains', pp. lxxv–lxxvii.
[46] Ibid.; 'Hamburg Protokollbuch', *JJLG* vii. 181, 183.

Ashkenazi counterparts, especially as regards frequenting musical recitals, plays, and opera which most German Jewish *kehillot* prohibited at all times except at Purim and one or two other especially joyful festivals. It was not until the early eighteenth century that there was some relaxation in the rules.[47]

The Jewish community boards of elders were likewise perpetually at pains to enforce modesty in dress and public demeanour. There were rules against groups gathering in their sabbath best outside synagogues. The sumptuary laws, or enactments on matters of costume, decreed by the *kehillot* generally entered into a host of restrictive minutiae often seemingly of the most trivial kind. Doubtless these rulings were constantly breached in practice but, in view of the immense zeal which went into enacting them, there is reason to suppose that they had an appreciable impact in imposing outward restraint and modesty at any rate down to the middle of the eighteenth century when a marked relaxation set in. The result was that a certain sumptuousness of dress was displayed by the better-off, in synagogue and in the home, which was largely veiled outside. Thomas Coryat glimpsed something of this veiled splendour when he visited the synagogues of Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century, noting especially the finery of the women.

> Whereof some were as beautiful as ever I saw, and so gorgeous in their apparel, jewels, chaines of gold, and rings adorned with precious stones, that some of our English countesses do scarce exceede them, having marvailous long traines like princesses that are borne up by waiting women.[48]

Without exception, Jewish women were subjected to a high degree of seclusion. There were strict rules against their walking in the streets, or to and from synagogue, unaccompanied by relatives or other women. We can readily believe the numerous references in the travel literature of early modern Europe to the beauty of Jewish women and their unimpeachable chastity in view of the fact that they were given not the slightest opportunity to mix with Christian men or engage in any unseemly or frivolous activities with their own. The menfolk, inevitably, were less tightly restricted; but they too were forbidden to frequent inns and taverns or attend Christian carnivals or any common festivities where bawdy scenes and lewd behaviour were to be expected.[49] Brothels were generally excluded from the ghettos, though in Italy this was not invariably the case. Jewish prostitutes did exist, but mainly in Italy and the Balkans and then only very sporadically. There is no evidence of Jewish harlots as a regular feature at Venice, which until the rise of Amsterdam was Europe's most noted centre for numbers and variety of prosti-

[47] Grunwald, 'Luxusverbot der Dreigemeinden', pp. 229–30; Graaupe, *Statute der drei Gemeinden*, i. 85–7.

[48] *Coryat's Crudities*, i. 299.

[49] Grunwald, 'Luxusverbot der Dreigemeinden', pp. 229–30; though here again, for inns, as for plays and opera, there was a notable relaxation of the rules as applied at Hamburg–Altona–Wandsbek, at least as far as men were concerned, following the revision of the Ashkenazi communal statute-book in 1725; see Graupe, *Statuten der drei Gemeinden*, pp. 6–8 ; Paci, '*Scala' di Spalato*, p. 138.

tutes. While it was universally true, even in Amsterdam, that public and civic law forbade sexual relations between Jews and Christians, there were many places where Jewish men clearly did frequent Christian prostitutes. A report on the Jews of Split, of the year 1638, asserts that liaisons between Jews and Christian girls were frequent and that it was not uncommon for Jewish youths to parade publicly through the streets of the town in the company of loose women and girls.

The primary concern of the community boards in the area of sexual conduct was to minimize extra-marital liaisons within the Jewish quarters, such relationships being prevalent both in the overcrowded, cramped conditions of the ghetto and in the more relaxed atmosphere of Amsterdam and Livorno. In particular, the presence of maidservants in the homes of the wealthy, and the defencelessness of such girls at the hands of the master of the house, or of his sons, gave rise to a constant stream of illegitimate births. In such cases, the community boards needed to know who the father was and, where it proved difficult to discover this, it was not uncommon for committees of enquiry to be set up to investigate.[50] When the culprit's name was known, he would be required to pay towards the cost of the girl's confinement and the subsequent upkeep of the infant. In Holland (though not in Hamburg), and sometimes elsewhere, notably in the Balkan countries, there were often Christian maidservants and wet-nurses in the homes of the Jewish well-to-do and here again seduction, rape, and extra-marital pregnancy were fairly common.[51] It was no idle flourish which led the eighteenth-century Dutch Jewish *philosophe* Isaac de Pinto to list 'passion des femmes' as one of the chief failings of Dutch Sephardi Jewry.[52] Numerous written agreements were drawn up before Amsterdam notaries whereby Portuguese Jews undertook to pay compensation to Christian mothers (often German or Scandinavian immigrants) of their illegitimate children.

For all its shortcomings, it would be wrong to dismiss Jewish self-rule as just another instrument of social repression, adding unwanted extra burdens to the daily lot of the early modern Jew. Until the eighteenth century, there is no evidence of significant opposition to the rule of the Jewish patricians and, despite the inequalities and wide differences of means in the ghettos, there were rarely, if ever, any true instances of class friction. The former Marrano Isaac Cardoso, who, in later life, dwelt under the vigilant eye of the wardens of Venice and Verona, devotes several passages in his book *Excelencias de los Hebreos* (1679) to what he calls the 'inner beauty' of Jewish life, accounting Jewish political autonomy a universally precious consolation for the humiliations and hardships imposed on Jews by Christians. As he saw it, Jewish self-rule was an integral and essential part of Jewish culture: 'the Jews are not the serfs of the nations', he wrote, 'but a

[50] Simonsohn, *History*, p. 544.

[51] See the many examples in Koen, 'Notarial Records'; Paci, '*Scala' di Spalato*, p. 139.

[52] De Pinto, *Lettres de quelques Juifs*, i. 16–17.

Republic apart which lives and governs itself by its laws and precepts which God gave them at Sinai.'[53]

One of the chief tasks of the community boards, in conjunction with the charitable societies which had begun to flourish since the end of the sixteenth century, was to dispense aid to the Jewish poor. In every European country which tolerated Jews it was expressly understood that responsibility for the Jewish destitute lay with the Jews alone as was also the case with Jewish orphans, unmarried mothers, and the sick. Thus every *kehilla* from London to Mogilev maintained a community poor-chest which consumed a great part of the revenue the community boards levied from their congregations for communal purposes. This Jewish community revenue was raised through a combination of obligatory taxes levied on those able to pay, graded according to means, and voluntary donations given regularly as part of routine piety and as bequests to the 'Jewish poor' which were a common feature of the wills of the wealthy. Inevitably, all the *kehillot* were under constant pressure from their members to limit the number of poor on the books. The lists of eligible needy were constantly scrutinized by the community treasurers, and impoverished newcomers and vagrants frequently sent packing. Many communities also assisted the passage of widows and able-bodied poor from one region to another, at times even from one end of Europe to the other, where family circumstances or opportunities were judged to be better. In the case of Amsterdam's Portuguese community this amounted to a systematic policy of colonization, whole shiploads of Sephardi poor, sometimes sent on from Livorno or Venice, being sent out, at the expense of the community, to settle in Curaçao or Surinam.[54]

The community chests thus provided basic aid, often including ritual bread and pretzels on the eve of sabbath or festivals, and assisted the passage of the needy. But in the field of poor relief the governing boards worked extensively in conjunction with the burgeoning charitable societies. Of these there were many, especially in the larger communities, and they tended to follow fixed patterns. The most common and oldest were the societies for burial, which helped pay the costs of funerals for the poor. To these were gradually added a variety of other poor-relief fraternities such as those devoted to supplying firewood and fuel to the poor or for providing marriage portions for poor girls. In Mantua, the society *Mazal Bethula* (Maiden's Fortune) held a lottery each year on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, the winners receiving the collected money. The societies for endowing poor Sephardi girls established at Venice and Amsterdam, in 1613 and 1615 respectively, were remarkable institutions which conducted an extremely wide-ranging correspondence, having associate members not only in Pisa, Livorno, and Hamburg but among the New Christian communities of Antwerp, the French ports, and even Brazil.[55] As regards eligibility for their annual lotteries no distinc-

[53] Cardoso, *Excelencias*, pp. 374–6; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 469.
[54] Zwarts, 'Joodse gemeenten', pp. 390–2; Emmanuel, *History*, i. 47.
[55] Revah, 'Le Premier Règlement imprimé', pp. 651–2, 659–61.

tion was made between Marrano girls living where Judaism was forbidden and Sephardi Jewish girls. Indeed, one of the chief purposes of these fraternities was to proselytize, offering dowries to New Christian girls who came to 'places of Judaism' to contract Jewish marriages. Later, the dowry societies of Curaçao and Surinam were also affiliated to the parent body in Amsterdam.

A universal feature of the system was the provision of professional medical care for the poor. After 1550, it became usual for the larger *kehillot* to employ university-trained physicians to tend impoverished or orphaned sick who were unable to pay. Many of the foremost Jewish intellectuals of the seventeenth century were to be found in the post of community physician, and in this connection it happened frequently that prestigious Sephardi doctors were signed on by the larger Ashkenazi communities. Thus Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo signed on as community physician at Frankfurt in 1631, and Moseh, son of Eliau Montalto, settled and died at Lublin, in Poland.[56] Isaac Cardoso, invited to come from Venice to fill the post of community physician in Verona, in 1653, was unusual, we learn from the community records, in that he took 'it upon himself to visit the sick among the poor in the ghetto for nothing'.[57] Of course, the usual arrangement was a communal salary. In 1673, the London Sephardi community, 'considering the necessity for a doctor to tend the sick of the poor of the nation', agreed to appoint Dr Abraham Perez Galvão to this position at an annual salary of ten pounds sterling to be paid at fifty shillings per quarter 'for which the said doctor shall be bound to attend and visit at due times as may be needful in service and care for the poor'. The larger *kehillot* generally had reserve doctors or even two full-time physicians in their employ.[58] Thus Isaac Bacharach was community physician for many years at Poznań where he worked together with his Sephardi father-in-law, Dr Judah de Lima (who in 1629 was also a delegate for Poznań to the regional assembly of Great Poland), and later with the latter's son, Moseh de Lima. Typically, these physicians prescribed drugs for destitute patients at the expense of the community—but only after obtaining signed chits for this from the *parnasim*. Nor could a community physician leave town for more than two days without the permission of the chief *parnas*.

To supplement the funds and care provided by the community boards, the societies known as *Bikur Holim* (Visiting the Sick) were a universal feature of Jewish community life throughout Europe. These fraternities were allowed to set up collection boxes in public places in the ghettos and practise various forms of fund-raising on behalf of the sick. As their name implies, members took it upon themselves to visit and comfort the sick and dying as well as assist with money. In what may well be an indication of how all the charitable societies spread across Europe, these *Bikur Holim* confraternities are known to have originated in late

[56] Barzilay, *Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo*, p. 83; Bałaban, *Judenstadt von Lublin*, pp. 26–7.

[57] Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, p. 214.

[58] Lewin, 'Jüdische Ärzte', p. 374.

medieval Spain and been introduced by Spanish exiles in Italy and the Balkans during the sixteenth century, from where they spread to the rest of Europe.

Education was another constant concern of the Jewish governing boards. In theory, all adult Jewish males were literate and grounded in the rudiments of Jewish law, and so the boys, and some girls below the age of puberty, received their primary education in community schools. In Amsterdam, Sephardi boys began school at the age of four. All the *kehillot* had primary teachers in their employ. The lessons were invariably given in Judeo-German, Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian. The larger communities also maintained religious colleges, or *yeshivot*, where more advanced Talmudic and rabbinic learning was dispensed. Following the setbacks of the fifteenth century, hardly any *yeshivot* survived in central Europe outside Frankfurt and Prague and, in the sixteenth century, it became customary for substantial numbers of German Jewish youth to trek to Poland for their higher studies. After the Thirty Years War, however, with the rapid re-expansion in German Jewish life, *yeshivot* proliferated at Hamburg, Fürth, Halberstadt, where Berend Lehmann founded the community college in 1687, Nikolsburg, where the college was founded by David Oppenheimer, Eisenstadt, where Samson Wertheimer founded a college in 1707, and Mannheim, where the college was established by Lemle Moses, again in 1707.[59] The best equipped of the Jewish religious colleges was that of Ets Haim, at Amsterdam, founded in 1639. This renowned institution, administered by an annually elected board of six governors, attracted some sizeable bequests and amassed a highly important library and collection of manuscripts.

Finally, all the European *kehillot* raised regular annual subsidies for the Jews of the Holy Land and for the redemption of Jewish captives taken by Muslims or Christians in the Mediterranean, ransomed through a special fund administered in Venice. There was also wide-ranging collaboration in the raising of special disaster funds at times of emergency in one part of Europe or another. In 1627, for instance, the Sephardim of Holland, alerted from Venice to the disruption of Jewish life in Jerusalem at the hands of the despotic Turkish governor Muhammad ibn Farruk, collected a subsidy to mitigate the 'great calamity and misery in which our breathren dwelling in the holy city of Jerusalem now find themselves.'[60] Both the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities in the west contributed liberally to the disaster relief programme in Poland–Lithuania following the Chmielnicki massacres. At the time of the terrible epidemic of 1680, which is said to have killed 3,000 Jews in the *Judenstadt* of Prague, funds were remitted to Bohemia from all over Europe, Ashkenazi community treasurers working hand in hand with their Sephardi counterparts.[61] The same occurred during the emergencies of 1686 and 1688, when first Budapest and then Belgrade were captured and sacked by the

59 Unna, 'Verordnungen', pp. 133–45.
60 GAA PJG xiii, fo. 19^{v}, termo 7 Feb. 1627.
61 SAH JG 993/ii. 292–3, 297, 301.

armies of Austria. Thousands of Jewish captives were ransomed in Hungary and Moravia, the money being channelled from all sides via Prague, Vienna, Livorno, and Venice.[62]

But the most important remittances were those to the Holy Land. Every year contributions flowed, usually via Venice, Constantinople, and later also Livorno, for the upkeep of the so-called 'four holy communities', namely Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron. Many of the major communities in the west had annually elected 'treasurers for the Holy Land' who collected the subsidy and arranged for its remittance. As there were Polish, German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies in all of the four holy *kehillot*, the provisions governing the distribution of the funds were highly intricate. Various Italian communities experimented with different methods of dividing their contributions between diverse groupings. The Sephardim in the west generally distributed their contributions through the hands of trusted Portuguese representatives. Thus, in 1682, the Sephardi subsidy from Holland was remitted, via Livorno, to Rabbi Simson Gomes Pato and two other Portuguese in Jerusalem, who were probably all of recent western origin, for distribution.[63] The Dutch Sephardi subsidies included the contributions sent by the Portuguese Jewish colonies in the New World; thus, in 1639, the subsidy, sent through the hands of the banker Abraham Aboab in Venice, included the proceeds from a consignment of sugar shipped to Holland on behalf of the poor of Jerusalem by the Dutch Sephardi congregation in Brazil.[64]

[62] GAA PJG xix. 408 and v. xx. 131, 134.

[63] GAA PJG xx. 31, 56, 87.

[64] GAA PJG xix. 98; the Curaçao Jewish community regularly sent its contributions for the Holy Land to Amsterdam each year from at least as early at 1671, if not before: Emmanuel, *History*. i. 154.

IX
The High Point (IV): *Spiritual Crisis* (1650–1713)

1 THE SHABBATEAN FRENZY

DURING the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Jewish world was shaken spiritually more profoundly than at any time since the expulsions of the late fifteenth century. A mounting turmoil of inner pressures erupted in the 1650s and 1660s in a drama which was to convulse world Jewry for decades. Furthermore, although this Jewish upheaval had some separate and independent roots, unconnected with the current intellectual preoccupations of Christian Europe, it took place during, and shared some causes with, the deepening crisis besetting seventeenth-century European culture as a whole. Inevitably, the ferment within the Synagogue interacted on the wider upheaval within European devotion and thought, the one chain of encounters pervading the other in a remarkable process of cultural transformation.

Ultimately, the upheaval is perhaps best understood as a cultural reaction to the immense disruptions and migrations of the previous two centuries and the many unresolved contradictions the vast treks, first to the east and then to the west, had given rise to. The expulsions, and especially the experience of 1492 in Spain, had had an immensely unsettling effect, creating a uniquely mobile, shifting society, despite its cohesion of language and institutions. The question of the meaning of Jewish exile and separateness had now been posed in a new and more urgent form.[1] And yet, paradoxically, whilst the new Jewish culture was an entity cut adrift from its old geographical moorings, detached from rootedness in any specific locality, in some respects Jewry, from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, was being reintegrated into the life and civilization of the west. It may be true that this reintegration was more economic than cultural, yet the rifts and disintegrative tendencies within western Christendom had placed the age-old confrontation of Christianity and Judaism on a totally new basis. The west was no longer wholly Christian. The west had lost its doctrinal unity and self-assurance and become prey to scepticism and philosophic perplexity. It was precisely this which enabled European Jews to become part of western civilization; but the corrosive forces at work generally now also entered the body politic and spiritual of Jewry.[2]

Foremost among the unsettling pressures which now beset the Jewish world was the sudden vast upsurge of messianic expectations. Of course, yearnings for redemption and the ingathering of the Jewish people from exile, together with the

[1] Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, pp. 18–20.

[2] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 46–9.

reconstitution of mankind in a new age of peace, had always been basic to Judaism and Jewish tradition. Intermittently, through the Middle Ages, and in the early sixteenth century, there had also been disturbing outbreaks of messianic frenzy centring around one or another popular religious leader. But these had been short-lived and local. The Shabbatean movement which arose in 1665 was much the most enduring and widespread phenomenon of this type within Judaism since the rise of Christianity. From the end of the sixteenth century, Lurianic cabbala, emanating from Galilee, and its idea of imminent redemption which could be hastened by personal acts and piety, spread far and wide, pervading every corner of Jewish life and awareness. It was diffused through preaching, through the *yeshivot*, and through the proliferation of pious societies and fraternities which now spread across Europe. About half a century after Lurianic cabbala had first become an active force in Italy and the Balkans it began to achieve its greatest impact. In 1648, Naphtali ben Jacob Bacharach published his *Emeq ha-Melekh* (Valley of the King), at Frankfurt, a work which popularized Luria's teaching, imparting to it a decisive new impetus in the lands north of the Alps. Bacharach's work was suffused with a mystical exaltation perceiving Luria's system as an instrument of the general uplifting of the Jewish people from the depths and degradation into which it had been pushed by Christendom and Islam.[3] It was a mystical theology, tinged with elation, deriving ultimately, perhaps, from the lessening of Christian pressure since the end of the sixteenth century and the palpable gains which Jewry had made since that time.

The messianic turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century also exuded a strong strain of mystical Zionism. Another of the cabbalistic writers of the time, Nathan Shapira, who published his *Goodness of the Land* at Venice in 1655, stressed the pivotal role of the Holy Land in bringing about the redemption of the Jews, and therefore of mankind, insisting that it was in the promised land that the true preparations for redemption were taking place. Nor did such effusions originate from a purely Jewish milieu. Very close in spirit was the book *Du Rappel des Juifs* by the French Calvinist of Marrano extraction, Isaac de la Peyrère, published at an unknown place in 1643. La Peyrère, admittedly, tried to synthesize Christian and Jewish messianism, claiming that the imminent Messiah would be Christ on his second coming and that the Jews would at last acknowledge Christ. But what he chiefly emphasized was that the redemption of the Jews, which he insisted must be physical and political as well as spiritual, their ingathering to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, was the prerequisite and instrument of the salvation of all mankind which, clearly, he did not believe Christ's first appearance had achieved.[4]

Shabbatai Zevi (1626–76) was born into an affluent family at Smyrna, trained as a rabbi, and early on took to withdrawing for long spells into mystical seclusion. He suffered from an acute manic-depressive illness, long bouts of depression

[3] Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, pp. 69–71.
[4] La Peyrère, *Du Rappel des Juifs*, pp. 11–13, 78–9, 149, 374–5.

alternating with periods of exaltation which increasingly led him to commit extravagant and blasphemous acts. A strikingly handsome man, burdened by some sexual impediment, he contracted two marriages whilst in his twenties, both of which remained unconsummated and were dissolved. Banished from Smyrna for his sporadic outbursts of wild behaviour, he wandered to Salonika, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Cairo. He eventually married a Podolian Jewess, a refugee from the Chmielnicki massacres, who had lived in Amsterdam and Livorno and is said to have been a prostitute. The crucial point in Shabbatai's life occurred early in 1665 when he travelled to Gaza, to visit Nathan of Gaza (1643–80), a cabbalist locally renowned for his visions, who he hoped would cure him of his mental sickness. It was Nathan, a much more energetic mystic and propagandist than Shabbatai himself, who effectively created the movement by fanning Shabbatai's delusions, finally leading him to proclaim himself the Messiah of the Jews, in May 1665.

Notwithstanding determined opposition from the rabbis of Jerusalem, Nathan soon overawed the communities of Gaza and Hebron, skilfully promoting Shabbatai's 'miracles' and rituals. Nathan of Gaza, at once the John the Baptist and the Paul of the Shabbatean movement, showed a rare, uncanny grasp of how to arouse the religious emotions of the common people. He particularly stressed individual repentance and 'inner renewal' as the way to prepare and precipitate mankind's salvation, exploiting for messianic purposes what was a central feature of Luria's method of mystical communication with God. Nathan took to sending letters of joyful tidings to Constantinople and Cairo, rapidly widening the dimensions of the movement. Moving back to Smyrna, soon after the launching of his Messiahship, Shabbatai was able to place himself at the head of that community.

Word of the coming of the Messiah, buoyed by a wave of reports of prophecies, visions, and miracles, swept western Europe in October 1665. Letters from the Near East were read out in the Portuguese synagogues, the fervour being heightened by a spate of Dutch and German news-sheets reporting the agitation and the strange events afoot in the Levant. Though it was the Sephardim who received the missives from the Holy Land and Constantinople, via Venice and Livorno, German Jews in Venice, Hamburg, and Amsterdam flocked to the Portuguese synagogues to hear the word and proved no less susceptible to the general intoxication.[5] From the main centres, and the Balkans, the ferment rapidly spread across Germany, Bohemia–Moravia, and Poland–Lithuania. Not only was there no split in responses along Sephardi–Ashkenazi lines, but neither was there any rift according to wealth or social status. It is true that the writings of Bacharach, Shapira, and other messianic authors of the period were tinged with criticism of the rich and that the legends and penitential fervour of the movement appealed strongly to the poor and downtrodden. But it is no less true that the intoxication gripped many, or most, of the Amsterdam and Hamburg Portuguese and German Jewish patriciate, including the super-wealthy Pereira and Nunes da Costa.[6]

[5] *The Life of Glückel*, pp. 45–6.

[6] Scholem, 'An Italian Note-Book', p. 66.

Everyone donned their best clothes to which they attached green silk ribbons (green being the colour of Shabbatai Zevi) and vowed repentance and a new striving for moral perfection. Many or most of the leading rabbis joined in. Yair Haim Bacharach (1638–1702), outstanding among late seventeenth-century German rabbis in learning and renown, took to meeting daily with a circle of Shabbatean enthusiasts to help hasten the day of redemption.

No less astonishing, for approximately six to eight months virtually all the governing boards and assemblies were swept up in the fervour.[7] At Amsterdam, the *Mahamad* fiercely condemned the perpetrators of a printed tract circulating among the Jews deriding the pretensions of the presumed Messiah, threatening opponents of the movement with excommunication. Everywhere, the *parnasim* sanctioned the penitential upsurge and, in a good many cases, authorized the use of musical instruments in synagogue on Shabbat and the major festivals, something forbidden by rabbinic tradition, accompaniment by musical instruments having previously been allowed only in some Sephardi synagogues on Simchat Torah, the most joyful festival of the year. To make communal decisions in these exceptional circumstances, the *parnasim* convened large councils of past and present office-holders or mass assemblies of all the householders. Lvov, Livorno, and other communities sent envoys to Smyrna to bow down before 'our king' as he is called in Jewish community records. At Hamburg, the leadership split. First, the council of elders decided that an 'embassy' should be sent out to the Levant on behalf of the community.[8] Then, under pressure from a crowd of non-elders, it was agreed that major decisions should now be made by mass assembly. Later both decisions were suspended.

Christian reactions ranged from initial perplexity and curiosity to widespread popular indignation at the insolence of the Jews in believing that their Messiah had come. No doubt the more hostile manifestations were in some measure provoked by gleeful insinuations on the part of Jews that the boot would soon be on their foot. There were riots in Vilna, Pinsk, and Lublin, and right across southern Germany. The students of Cologne University marched on nearby Deutz and set about sacking the Jewish quarter, though eventually they were driven off, apparently with the aid of the villagers.[9] Inevitably, the Jews' suddenly inflated pretensions were universally derided. In Germany, the blowing of trumpets at night outside Jewish homes became a favourite taunt. The Jewish governing boards became seriously alarmed at the prospect of further violent outbreaks, such anxiety being one reason why the Hamburg *Mahamad* chose to cancel its delegation to the Near East. The same anxiety moved the Hamburg *parnasim* to petition the city senate to stop the printing and distribution of news-sheets reporting the Shabbatean upsurge to the German public. They also dispensed large tips to the

[7] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 46–7; Kaplan, 'Attitude of the Leadership', p. 202.

[8] 'Hamburg Protokollbuch', *JJLG* x. 292–3, 295 and *JJLG* xi. 5–6.

[9] Brisch, *Gesch. d. Juden in Cöln*, p. 121.

city militia in return for a tightening of the guard on the Jewish quarter. Elsewhere alternative forms of preventive action were taken. In February 1666, the Bamberg *parnasim* obtained from the Prince-Bishop a decree forbidding Christians publicly to mock and throw stones at Jews under pain of a hefty fine.[10] Meanwhile, the feverish state of the Jews everywhere aroused the Christian clergy.[11] The Jesuits, in particular, were much exercised as to how to meet the challenge. But they were by no means alone. At a gathering of the Calvinist church council of Utrecht, in May 1666, it was agreed to mount a 'powerful' effort now that the Jews were in such a frenzy over their supposed Messiah and were 'in the midst of great expectations, to bring them over to Christ'.

But for the moment nothing could damp down the messianic excitement among the Jews. It was a mass movement which gripped rich and poor alike from one end of Europe to the other. At Amsterdam and Hamburg, wealthy Sephardi patricians began selling off their possessions and houses and preparing for the journey to the Holy Land. Among them was the wealthy mystic and benefactor Abraham Pereira who at this time published at Amsterdam a fiercely penitential work, entitled *La Certeza del Camino* and then travelled overland to Venice where he waited months, in vain, for shipping to take him and his family to Palestine. João de Yllan, who formerly had led a Jewish colonizing expedition to Curaçao, now prepared at Amsterdam to ship fifty poor families to the Holy Land since, as he wrote, 'God in his mercy has begun to gather in his scattered people'.[12] It was just the same in southern Europe. Sir John Finch reported to London from Florence, in April 1666, that 'many families of Jewes have come to Livorno from Rome, Verona, and Germany to embarque to find their Messia'.[13] It is evident also that the temporary paralysis of shipping in the Mediterranean, caused by the second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–7), which was then at its height, caused immense frustration and congestion among the Jews at Livorno, Venice, and doubtless elsewhere.

Finally the bubble burst in September 1666 when the Sultan, tiring of the commotion, summoned Shabbatai to Constantinople. Shabbatai was presented with the choice of death or conversion to Islam. He chose the latter, his apostasy taking place on 15 September 1666. Within weeks the entire Jewish diaspora was reduced to dejection and shock as total as had been the previous euphoria. The governing boards quickly moved to restore everything to the *status quo ante*, but, by this time, no small damage had been done spiritually. The Jews were so blind to truth, thundered Protestant and Catholic clergy alike, that they could be led hopelessly astray by a ridiculous impostor while all the while they spurned the true redeemer, Christ, who stood before them. In Holland, there was a flurry of conversionist

[10] Eckstein, *Gesch, d. Juden in Bamberg*, p. 21.

[11] Buchenroeder, *Eilende Messias-Juden-Post*, Biii; Brugmans, 'Houding van staat en kerk', p. 635.

[12] Emmanuel, *History*, i. 42–3.

[13] PRO SP 98/6. Finch to Arlington, Florence, 2/12 Apr. 1666.

tracts.[14] The derision and mockery reached a crescendo. There were many hundreds of conversions to Christianity, especially in Italy but also in many other parts.[15]

But if the Shabbatean movement momentarily collapsed and never regained its former supremacy, it remained a potent force within Judaism. The feelings of inner renewal experienced by countless enthusiasts had, in many cases, run so deep that it proved impossible to accept the non-validity of what had transpired. It is this which explains Nathan of Gaza's astonishing success over the next few years in generating a widespread heretical belief in Shabbatai, the 'apostate Messiah'. On hearing of Shabbatai's acceptance into Islam, Nathan had set off with a large entourage and travelled, via Damascus, to see him. On the way, he defended the apostasy as a deep mystery, to be penetrated only by the paths of cabbala. He claimed that the apostasy was a necessary sign of Shabbatai's messianic mission. After meeting the would-be Messiah, in Adrianople, and renewing their collaboration, Nathan started out on a tour through Greece, Corfu, and Italy, preaching a progressively more elaborate heresy, honouring those of Shabbatai's adherents who had followed him into Islam, but not requiring further conversions. On visiting Venice, in March 1668, Nathan spent two weeks debating with the rabbis. His 'errors' were sharply condemned, but both in Venice, and in Livorno and Rome, where he went subsequently, before returning to the Near East, he found numerous believers whose faith he reinforced.

Shabbatai and those of his adherents who had become Muslims followed the Islamic faith in public but, in private, they continued to practise Jewish ritual and immerse themselves in cabbala. Nor did they seek to propagate Islam among Jews. In 1673, the Turks forced Shabbatai to retire to a remote place in Albania and there, in 1676, he died. His death, followed by that of Nathan, in 1680, precipitated a fresh crisis among believers, but this too was surmounted, Shabbatai's decease being interpreted as a necessary preliminary to his second coming. Indeed, Nathan's cabbalistic, messianic heresy continued to show great vitality almost everywhere. Through the 1680s and 1690s, Shabbatean seers and visionaries were active throughout Jewish Europe, insisting on provisional loyalty to rabbinic law but also on the imminent return of Shabbatai Zevi and pending redemption of the Jewish people and mankind as a whole. A key heretic, for whom the Torah 'as it now exists' will soon be 'no longer necessary', was the former Marrano Abraham Cardoso (1626–1706), brother of the rationalist apologist Isaac Cardoso. Abraham wandered ceaselessly throughout the Near East, being expelled from community after community, propagating his own mystical interpretation of Shabbatai's mission. Despite the closeness of several of his formulas to Christian modes of thought, he attacked both Christianity and the rationalist tradition in Judaism, especially the anti-Shabbatean views of his brother, and those who thought like

[14] Bovenkerk, 'Schrijvers', pp. 130–1.

[15] Morosini, *Via della Fede*, i. 76–8; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, pp. 348–9; Graupe, *Rise of Modern Judaism*, p. 55.

him, with fierce passion. Others went still further in their departure from traditional Judaism. In 1683, after fresh revelations, in Salonika, a large group of 300 families converted to Islam, merging with Shabbatai's original fellow converts to form a crypto-Jewish sect, known as the Dönme, which survived, preserving a rich mystical literature, almost down to the present day. Around 1700, a splinter group of the Dönme, under Baruchiah Russo, carried what was previously only a sporadic revolt against the obligatoriness of the moral law to an extreme, discarding many Mosaic precepts regarding sexual conduct and relationships. This was presaged in the writings of Abraham Cardoso which contain more than a hint of imminent release from the sexual code of the Torah. Erotic imagery had always been integral to the language of cabbalistic speculation but was now emerging as an instrument of radical change at least among a coterie at the extreme fringe of the Shabbatean movement.[16] Orgiastic rituals involving exchange of wives and incestuous liaisons became part of the tradition of the Dönme.

In Ashkenazi Europe, the pre-eminent Shabbateans in the years after 1680 included some notable figures. Heschel Zoref (1633–1700), a Vilna silversmith who had been one of the leading Lithuanian enthusiasts in 1665–6, gathered a fervent circle to whom he revealed the 'secrets' of the first and second coming. Haim Malakh (*c.*1660–1716) of Kalisz, a child at the time of the original eruption, emerged as a powerful popular preacher and ascetic, a precursor of the eighteenth-century hasidic leaders except for the heretical messianic theology to which he adhered and which, in his later years, he propagated in Podolia.[17] Judah Leib Prossnitz (1670–1730), a Moravian pedlar, underwent spiritual rebirth around 1696 and took to wandering through Moravia and Silesia preaching renewal through penitence and the imminence of redemption and Shabbatai's return. Another notable enthusiast for self-mortification, fasts, and pending salvation through the second coming of Shabbatai Zevi—which he believed would take place in the year 1706—was Judah Hasid (*c.*1660–1700) of Dubno.[18] These and other leaders of the heretical movement met at a secret congress at Nikolsburg, in 1699, which precipitated a fresh wave of excited frenzy. A remarkable mass migration of some 1,500 Polish, Moravian, and German Jews to Jerusalem took place in the following year. This *aliyah* to the Holy Land, in 1700, has been described as the largest Ashkenazi ingathering to that date and a landmark in the history of spiritual Zionism. But once again the excitement ended in disillusionment and internal splits, partly owing to the death of the immigrants' leader, Judah Hasid, a few days after his arrival in Jerusalem. Some of his flock stayed on but most returned to Europe. A few of the disillusioned converted to Islam, many more to Christianity.

Meanwhile, in western Europe, the post-1666 messianic controversy persisted under the surface. For a time, the governing boards prevented overt manifesta-

[16] Scholem, *The Messianic Idea*, pp. 74–5.

[17] Krauss, 'Die Palästinasiedlung', pp. 56–66.

[18] Ibid., pp. 62–6.

tions of Shabbatean belief and, indeed, encouraged the circulation of tracts condemning the mystical frenzy.[19] The *parnasim* strove to restore faith in tradition and authority in place of the spent frenzy and shattered hopes. But controversy over the messianic claims of Shabbatai Zevi continued to simmer. In 1713, Nehemiah Hiyya Hayon (*c.*1655–*c.*1730), a Balkan Shabbatean, having succeeded in publishing, at Berlin, the only overtly Shabbatean tract to be printed after 1666, brought his stock of copies to Amsterdam for distribution. Initially, Hayon succeeded in enlisting the support of the Portuguese congregation for his venture, as the then leading Sephardi rabbi in Amsterdam, Selomoh Ayllon, was himself a Shabbatean. He met with stiff opposition, though, from the Ashkenazi rabbi, Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi (1660–1718), echoes of the ensuing controversy reaching far beyond the confines of Holland. Tracts attacking the heretical views of Hayon issued forth from Livorno and London, as well as Amsterdam, together with adverse rabbinic judgement from Constantinople and Salonika. Hayon was forced to return to the Levant in disgrace; but Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, who had offended the Amsterdam Portuguese *parnasim*, was also forced to leave, and there is no doubt that the cells of Shabbatean heresy in Holland, as in Italy and Germany, remained largely intact.

2 THE SPINOZIST REVOLT

There were sceptics and doubters among the Marrano diaspora of the early seventeenth century: the most notable was Uriel da Costa (*c.*1584–1640), who was excommunicated at Hamburg and Amsterdam several times, and whose book *Exame das tradições phariseas* (Examination of the Pharisaic Traditions), which attacked rabbinic authority and denied the immortality of the soul, was so thoroughly suppressed by the Amsterdam burgomasters after its publication there in 1624 that there is only one known surviving copy of the original edition, in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. However, a sustained revolt against the intellectual foundations of rabbinic Judaism began only in the 1650s among a small circle in Amsterdam who gathered initially around the figure of Dr Juan de Prado (*c.*1615–*c.*1670).[20] This Sephardi coterie included a schoolmaster, Daniel de Ribera, but its most notable member was the budding philosopher Spinoza. Prado, a physician trained at the Universities of Alcalá and Toledo, had joined the exodus from Spain of the 1640s and then spent some years in France, still as a New Christian. He arrived in Amsterdam, in 1655, and nominally reverted to normative Judaism but, almost at once, joined Spinoza in rejecting the pretensions of the rabbis. Spinoza may already by that date have been close to the Amsterdam Socinians and other

[19] Fuks, 'Sebastianisme in Amsterdam', pp. 20–8; Kaplan, 'Attitude of the Leadership', pp. 212–16.

[20] Revah, 'Aux origines', pp. 368–9, 379; Revah, *Spinoza*, pp. 22–8; Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*, pp. 114–33.

anti-Trinitarian Christians of whom he was soon to be seeing a great deal, as well as the ex-Jesuit freethinker Franciscus van den Enden, and it is unclear how far Prado can be said to have influenced him.[21] What is clear is that, together with Ribera, they now systematically denied that the Torah and Jewish tradition had any divine origin or sanction and, thus, came directly into collision with the authority of the rabbis and *parnasim*. Spinoza refused to compromise his views and, after several warnings and lesser penalties, was expelled from the community on 27 July 1656. Prado at first recanted and then relapsed before finally being expelled in 1657. In the years 1657–9, Prado and Spinoza remained in close proximity, in Amsterdam, meeting for example at the house of a certain Spaniard, named José Guerra, together with both Christian dissenters and Jewish sceptics, one of whom was a former Marrano confectioner from Seville, well known in Amsterdam, named Samuel Pacheco.

What was new in the Spinozist revolt was assuredly not its intellectual content; for the revolt began long before Spinoza formulated the more original parts of his system. What defined the 'sect', as it was commonly known at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth,[22] was the denial of all revealed religion, the claim that God did not exist other than 'philosophically', that is as a First Cause which did not intervene in the affairs of men, and a thoroughgoing materialism which denied the immortality of the soul.[23] All these elements had been articulated by some Marranos, as well as non-Jewish sceptics and deists, long before 1655. What was new was the peculiar circumstances which prevailed in Holland after 1650. It was the unprecedented degree of freedom of expression and assembly encountered in the Dutch Republic in the later seventeenth century which made it possible for groups opposed to conventional religion, Christian or Jewish, to meet, co-ordinate, and propagate their views in print. The adherents of this 'atheistical' philosophy were, from 1670 until after 1700, commonly known as 'Spinozists' in France, England, and Germany, as well as in Holland, and were the first wave of a flood of radical pantheism and deism which swept north-western Europe in the eighteenth century.

Around 1660, Spinoza settled in Rijnsburg, near Leiden, then, in 1664, he moved to Voorburg, near The Hague, and finally, in 1670, to The Hague itself. Much of his early effort went into a long manuscript which was a direct, systematic attack on rabbinic Judaism—and only by implication on Christianity—a justification for his break with the synagogue, which, for whatever reason, remained unpublished and largely unknown, and is now lost.[24] Parts of it were incorporated, however, into his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which he published unsigned, in Latin, in 1670. This work was a watered-down version of his real

[21] Méchoulan, 'Morteira et Spinoza', pp. 54–9.

[22] Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique*, iv. 253–71; Toland, *Letters to Serena*, pp. 134–6.

[23] Strauss, *Spinoza's Critique of Religion*, pp. 67–8, 263; Revah, *Spinoza*, pp. 27, 32, 36.

[24] Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique*, iv. 255; Revah, *Spinoza*, p. 35.

critique, but nothing like it had been published before and it made a tremendous impact among the learned. Then, in 1678, three simultaneous French editions appeared, at Amsterdam, Leiden, and 'Cologne', and Spinoza, at a stroke, became a sensation among the courts and higher nobility of Europe, though he himself had died the year before. Despite the widespread hostility that he provoked, and the furious campaign of vilification directed against him, his works, and his followers, much of the reaction to the French edition of his *Tractatus* was enthusiastic, though it was not considered decent to express approval openly.[25] The clergy thundered but a great many of the thinking laity silently applauded.

Though the *Tractatus* was, in essence, a critique of Judaism, and only secondarily of Christianity, its initial effect, in some quarters, was to enhance the standing of Judaism and rabbinic learning. For Spinoza's barbs, if valid, struck at the roots of both Judaism and Christianity, so that to rebut Spinoza one had to stress the validity and sanctity of the Hebrew Bible. However, idealizing the ancient Israelites, which now suddenly came into fashion, proved to be perfectly compatible with perpetuating anti-Semitic attitudes toward their descendants, as we see from such conservative Catholic replies to Spinoza as Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica*, sections of Bossuet's *Universal History*, and the Abbé Fleury's *Les Mœurs des Israelites* (1681). According to the Abbé Fleury, in a book which served Europe as the classic account of the ancient Hebrews until well into the eighteenth century, ancient Israelite society had been the most admirable and excellent on earth, but the Jews had subsequently suffered an 'entière reprobation' and were now the most 'sordid, despicable people' known to man.[26]

It is true that Spinoza's *Tractatus* momentarily further focused attention on the Hebrew language, that he refers frequently to earlier Jewish philosophers such as Maimonides and Ibn Ezra, who gained greater currency among Christians as a result, and that there was a certain affinity between aspects of his metaphysics and Lurianic cabbala. But it was Spinoza himself who forcefully stressed the limitations of the Hebrew tongue and cast doubt on rabbinic readings and renderings of the ancient texts.[27] This, in turn, contributed to the growing reaction, evident in the late seventeenth century, against the existing Hebrew Bible, and the validity of Hebrew studies generally, in favour of a renewed confidence in the Septuagint, the Greek versions of Scripture.[28] At the same time, Spinoza's biting scorn for the observances and ceremonies of Judaism which, as he saw it, had 'emasculated the minds of the Jews', helped stoke up the deep-seated animosity towards Judaism which eventually pervaded almost the entire output of the European Enlightenment.

[25] *Briefwechsel der Herzogin Sophie*, pp. 351, 353, 368.

[26] Fleury, *Mœurs des Israelites*, pp. 1–3, 196–7.

[27] Spinoza, *Tractatus*, pp. 108, 140–4, 165.

[28] Lebram, 'Streit um die Hebräische Bibel', pp. 21–5; Le Clerc, *Sentimens de quelques théologiens*, pp. 94–5, 330–1.

There is, of course, no way of quantifying the drift into Spinozism, or philosophic deism generally, among Portuguese and other Jews in north-west Europe at the end of the seventeenth century. But there is little reason to doubt that Spinoza struck a chord among many Jews just as he did among non-Jews. It is clear, at any rate, that the apologists for official Judaism in Amsterdam, London, and Hamburg soon became acutely sensitive to the Spinozist threat. Initially, in the 1660s, the drive to combat philosophic deism among the Jews was directed chiefly against Juan de Prado. But after the publication of his *Tractatus*, in 1670, Spinoza himself was usually the main target. Just as several Dutch Protestant clergymen fell foul of charges of Spinozism in the years around 1700, so this happened in the case of at least one rabbi. In 1703, dispute erupted in London after the Sephardi rabbi, David Nieto, delivered an address to his students demolishing the philosophic deists but also employing, or seeming to employ, some of Spinoza's terminology, designating Nature as God working through his Providence.[29] Nieto had already contrived to antagonize several groups in London, in particular owing to his anti-Shabbatean views, and now charges that he was a 'Spinozist' rang about his ears. He responded with the pamphlet *De la Divina Providencia* (1704), a vigorous rebuttal of Spinozism, but it took years of further controversy, and the intervention of the Ashkenazi rabbi, Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, before he was finally freed from the taint of Spinoza's heretical ideas. But, especially in western Sephardi society, elements of Spinozism were now firmly embedded.

3 APOLOGETICS

Anxious to stabilize Jewish life once more, in the aftermath of the Shabbatean fiasco, and counter the ridicule, derision, and shaken self-confidence of the later 1660s, European Jewry now strove to reassert itself, its traditions, and its arguments. Given the countless restrictions on the Jews' freedom of expression, this could mostly be done only by word of mouth, in manuscript, and, to a limited extent, in print. But at Amsterdam in the early 1670s, the Jews, both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities, received permission, for the very first time in the history of Europe, to express themselves, relatively free from restriction, in stone; that is, to build tall, splendid new synagogues with façades which reflected not just growing wealth but renewal, reviving confidence, and even claims to grandeur. These two new synagogues built at Amsterdam in the early 1670s were not just revolutionary structures in the history of synagogue design, they were a revolutionary landmark in the long, slow, history of the liberation of the Jews from Christian oppression. The great Portuguese synagogue, designed by Elias Bouman, built at a cost of 185,000 gulden, and inaugurated amid great splendour, in 1675, was, with its grandiose allusions to what was thought to have been the

[29] Petuchowski, *Theology of Haham David Nieto*, pp. 15–16; see also the opening pages of Nieto's *De La Divina Providencia*.

shape of Solomon's Temple, one of the largest and most imposing buildings in Amsterdam and caused a sensation among foreign visitors. The papal nuncio at Cologne, who visited Amsterdam the following year, was appalled that so 'vile' a people should be allowed to erect so splendid a structure, while in his *Travellours Guide*, around 1680, William Carr, English consul in Amsterdam, remarked that the 'Jewes, who are verie considerable in the trade of this citie have two synagogues, one whereof is the largest in Christendom, and as some say in the world, sure I am, it far exceeds those in Rome, Venice, and all other places where I have been'.[30]

The need to restate their case now produced an efflorescence of Jewish polemics directed against all the ideological movements, old and new, which seemingly threatened Judaism. Tradition may have been under assault from every side but, for roughly half a century or so after the fiasco of 1665–6, the Jewish leadership succeeded by and large in restoring a viable framework of intellectual cohesion, tradition, and authority. The Jewish polemics of the post-1666 period were thus defensive and therapeutic in origin. But in their sweep, vigour, and vehemence they far outstripped what had gone before. David Nieto's struggle with heretical messianism and Spinozism was, in fact, a mild example of the increasingly outspoken apologetic effusions which now poured forth on all sides. Besides assailing Cartesianism, Spinozism, Socinianism, and Shabbateanism, the new crop of Jewish polemics contributed to, and pervaded, the widening revolt against traditional Christian belief, a revolt which laid the foundations of the European Enlightenment.

Each of the specific challenges confronting traditional Judaism elicited its own response among the polemical replies of the period. But there was also a constant interweaving and overlapping of the various strands. Saul Levi Morteira (*c.*1596–1660), whose life and intellectual endeavour spanned the gap between Montalto and the new ideological phase which begins in the 1650s, typifies this remarkable interplay. None of his four or five polemical tracts (written in Spanish) was ever published; but they circulated widely in western Europe and thoroughly pervaded the western Sephardi milieu. In the manner of Montalto, Morteira assails Christian teaching as contrary to reason and common sense; but, after 1650, mixes this with polemics against radical scepticism and Socianianism.[31] Morteira was perhaps the first Jewish writer to realize that a Gentile ideology which rejected the divinity of Christ, along with the Trinity and the Cross, and which urged that nothing should be believed which was not readily evident to reason, was just as antagonistic to Judaism as the pretensions of the churches. And, indeed, as we know, there was a very close connection between Spinoza, Prado and their circle, and the Amsterdam Socinians in the 1650s.

After Morteira came a host of younger Jewish controversialists. Among the most notable was Jacob Sasportas (*c.*1610–98), for many years Sephardi rabbi at

[30] Carr, *The Travellours Guide*, p. 23; the papal nuncio at Cologne, Opizio Pallavicino, wrote 'fra i nuovi edificii viddi la synagoga degl' hebrei, fabrica veramente magnifica e della quale non e degna quella gente vile', see *BMHG* xxxii (1911), p. 91.

[31] Méchoulan, 'Morteira et Spinoza', p. 59.

Hamburg, a fierce opponent of the Shabbateans who frequently compared Shabbateanism with Christianity. Isaac Cardoso, physician at Verona, engaged in bitter controversy with Shabbateans, sceptics, and Christians, strenuously disputing the low esteem in which modern Jews were held by most contemporary authors in his *Excelencias de los Hebreos* published at Amsterdam in 1679. Moseh Raphael d'Aguilar (d.1679), a Dutch Sephardi rabbi who spent some years in Brazil, circulated various Portuguese tracts in manuscript assailing materialism, scepticism, and Christianity. But the most important of the new controversialists was Isaac Orobio de Castro (1620–87), a former Marrano who had studied medicine and philosophy at Alcalá and Salamanca before falling foul of the Inquisition, being made to abjure at an *auto da fé* in Seville, in 1656, and finally fleeing to France. Briefly, still as a New Christian, he taught medicine at Toulouse. Finally, in 1662, he settled in Amsterdam, reverted to normative Judaism (he claimed always to have been a Jew at heart) and at once took up his pen against the philosophic deism of Prado and, later, Spinoza. In 1665–6, his reputation as an opponent of the Shabbateans spread beyond Italy to the Levant. Later, in the 1680s, he was chiefly known as an opponent of Christianity.

But while it is possible to discern stages in the development of Orobio's polemical writing, all the elements were present at the outset and continued to interact throughout. In Orobio's mind, scepticism and unbelief were a particular vice of the Iberian New Christians which he saw in large measure as a microcosm of a Christian Europe unable to believe in its own professed faith. He accepts that most Europeans are sincere Christians and that the Almighty has not destined this majority to damnation. But, according to Orobio, what excuses the Christian belief of the masses is their illiteracy and ignorance, their honest incapacity to reason. The position was quite otherwise, he averred, in the case of men of learning whether New or Old Christian. These he sees as 'culpable and fit for punishment, for they wilfully stifle their own reason . . . and whilst very erudite in other sciences, do not wish to understand what they believe, nor believe what they understand, and seek to justify with sophisms and meaningless forms of words what they do not perceive through reason.'[32] For Orobio, the post-1666 drift of many Jews into Christianity was a sign not of changed belief but of scepticism and apathy. In his mind, the political supremacy of the Christian churches was little more than a cover, even a stimulus, for the spread of unbelief. Orobio's writing is suffused with deep veneration for 'reason'. To believe in a Messiah who is at once human and divine and who has supposedly come, but has not significantly changed the world for the better, is, he says, unreasonable. This means that what is, in the case of the untutored masses, a partial monotheism, albeit heavily tinged with superstition and idolatry, is in the case of the Christian learned unadulterated idolatry.

[32] Orobio de Castro, *Carta al hijo*, pp. 50–2; Revah, *Spinoza*, pp. 36–40; see also Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*, pp. 132–7.

Apart from Spinoza, Orobio was the most systematic opponent of Christianity in late seventeenth-century Holland, and therefore Europe, as well as being one of Spinoza's foremost critics, and the question arises as to how far his critique surfaced outside a specifically Jewish milieu. Most of his writing was too outspoken to be published, even in Holland. But we know that his polemical manuscripts were much sought after in the early eighteenth century in avant-garde clandestine philosophical circles in western Europe, and were utilized by, among others, the English deist Anthony Collins and the French deists Jean Levesque de Burigny and his friend Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe, both of whom surreptitiously promoted Orobio's ideas and reputation during the 1720s and 1730s in France and England as well as in the Netherlands. By that stage Orobio's manuscripts were circulating more widely in French translation than in their original Spanish and Portuguese versions. Moreover, despite the Amsterdam *Mahamad*'s efforts to prevent Jews arguing religion with Christians, following a protest by the Dutch Calvinist clergy to the States of Holland, in 1676, over the freedom with which Jews were speaking against Christianity, Orobio did debate with Christians, and his views became a recognizable strand in the spreading anti-Christian revolt characteristic of early Enlightenment Holland.

Orobio's most notable face-to-face encounter was his disputation with the liberal Christian theologian Philippus van Limborch, at the house of Dr Egbert Veene, before an audience of scholars, in the mid-1680s.[33] Subsequently, Limborch published a Latin account of the discussion which appeared at Gouda, in 1687, giving considerable publicity to Orobio's views. Most of the debate centred on the messianic issue, many pages being devoted to Orobio's assertions that it is unreasonable to believe in a Saviour at once human and divine who has failed to change mankind in any significant way. 'Neither in conducting their lives, nor in the disposition of their hearts, nor in the practice of their religion, do I see Christians manifesting a higher spirituality than other peoples, though assuredly they pride themselves on doing so.'[34] Orobio points out that there were still many parts of the world where the inhabitants were pagan, and God unknown, and that Israel was now just as dispersed as it had been before Jesus's coming, if not more so.

Limborch's published account of his encounter with Orobio was reviewed at length, apparently by John Locke, in Jean le Clerc's *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* vii (1687), Locke being unsympathetic to Orobio's opinions but giving them additional currency.[35] Later, the contents not only of this Latin text but of Orobio's own anti-Christian tracts began to percolate into the literature of the Enlightenment. The Huguenot pastor and historian Jacques Basnage maintained in his *L'histoire et la religion des Juifs* (1706–11) that the honest Christian had to face up to the arguments of Jewish controversialists, acknowledging in particular

[33] Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*, pp. 243–7.
[34] Limborch, *De Veritate religionis*, pp. 67, 70–9.
[35] *Bibliothèque*, vii. 289–330.

the force of Cardoso and Orobio de Castro.[36] Several of Orobio's manuscripts circulated in French translation, both in France and England, well before the Baron d'Holbach published one of his most vehement pieces, under the title *Israël Vengé*, at London, in 1770.

4 PHILOSEMITISM

The wave of philosemitism that manifested itself in Europe during the mid- and late seventeenth century is assuredly a most striking phenomenon and a most revealing one. It is best seen as a product of the drift away from an exclusively Christian culture and as characteristic of the transitional phase preceding the later ascendancy of philosophic deism and the Enlightenment. Those who had departed from a firm faith in Christ often, like Bodin (who in some respects was a precursor of the movement) still immersed themselves in Biblicism and messianic expectations. Even among those who remained Christians, there were many who were prey to spasmodic doubt. The age-old theological tension between Christianity and Judaism was surfacing in new ways. As Pascal expressed it, 'il faut que les Juifs ou les Chrétiens soient méchants'.[37] It was the increasing difficulty of being sure 'which' that made the Jews an object of growing fascination for many Europeans at this time.

More than anything it was the mood of messianic expectancy which swept England and Holland, in particular in the 1640s and 1650s, which generated the phenomenon of philosemitism. The idea that the conversion of the Jews to Christianity was a prerequisite for the redemption of mankind, and that this was now at hand, became suddenly widespread in certain circles. It is true that expectation that the Jews were about to acknowledge Christ does not in itself imply philosemitism, but the notion certainly generated interest in, and the desire for involvement with, the Jews, and it was from this that philosemitism evolved. In Isaac de la Peyrère's *Du Rappel des Juifs* (1643), the Christian content is reduced to a minimum and the whole stress is placed on the reconciliation of Christians and Jews, their underlying brotherhood, and the imminence of the ingathering of the Jews to the Holy Land.[38] And although La Peyrère was probably of Marrano extraction, it would be wrong to dismiss his books as untypical of the broader trend. The Latin letter of Nathaniel Holmes and Henry Jesse to Menasseh ben Israel, of 1649, exudes a longing for reconciliation, mutual forgiveness, and common redemption. And while contemporary Jews had strong reservations about the vestigial Christian content in such outpourings, this Gentile messianism did coincide in time with the mid-century upsurge in Jewish messianism and there clearly was some scope for collaboration of the sort that led to Menasseh ben

[36] Basnage, *Histoire*, ix. 736–8, 1017–25, 1043–55.
[37] Pascal, *Pensées*, p. 287.
[38] La Peyrère, *Du Rappel*, pp. 78–9, 149, 374–5.

Israel's mission to London. Both sets of messianists believed that universal redemption was at hand. Both de-emphasized, or dismissed, the role of the historical Jesus, the whole emphasis being placed on a future and supposedly imminent messianic event.

A key instance of this intertwining of Christian and Jewish messianism was the compilation entitled *Bonum Nuncium Israeli* published by Paul Felgenhauer, at Amsterdam, in 1655. Felgenhauer was a Bohemian pietist and mystic of fiercely anti-Catholic and anti-Calvinist views. He dedicated his book to none other than Menasseh ben Israel, who, in turn, contributed a discreet postscript. Felgenhauer, a fervent messianist whose overwrought mind discerned tokens of pending salvation at every turn, longed for the reunification of Christian and Jew in one church.[39] But the new messianism was not confined to dissenting Protestant circles. The most notable of all the mid-century messianists was the Portuguese Jesuit mystic, preacher, and mercantilist, António Vieira.[40] Vieira, who spent many months in Holland in the late 1640s, taking the opportunity to frequent the synagogues and Jewish homes, like other Christian messianists of the period,[41] fused elements of the Protestant–Sephardi messianic mix, which he encountered in Amsterdam, with Sebastianism or traditional Portuguese messianic folklore, itself a *mélange* of Old Christian and Judaic components. Though the Inquisition never managed to pin him down as a heretic, owing to his impeccable connections in Rome, Vieira's theology was highly unconventional, not to say eccentric. It was also uniquely philosemitic and couched in the most masterly Portuguese prose of the age. Vieira's philosemitism was theological, practical, as we see from his many contacts with Jews—and vigorously mercantilist. Several English millenarians, it is true, also employed mercantilist arguments in pressing for closer contact with Jews, but only as a debating device to advance their theological preoccupations. In Vieira, philosemitic mercantilism ran deeper. The pre-eminent Portuguese mercantilist writer of the mid-seventeenth century, during the 1640s and early 1650s the great Jesuit also carried considerable personal influence with the Portuguese King. His political objective was to harness the financial potential of Portugal's New Christians, and of the Portuguese Jewish diaspora in northern Europe, behind his country's desperate struggle for independence (and survival as a colonial power) against Spain and Holland.[42] Beyond this, he aimed to recall the Jews to Portugal and Brazil to live as New Christians once more but this time with the Inquisition bridled and on conciliatory terms. Ultimately, as we discern from his mystical *História do Futuro*, Vieira envisaged the political rebirth of Portugal and its empire as the harbinger of the Second Coming, it being the mission of the

[39] Felgenhauer, *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, pp. 5–9; Schoeps, *Philosemitismus*, pp. 20–3.

[40] Saraiva, 'António Vieira', pp. 42–50.

[41] *Cartas do Padre António Vieira*, pp. 161–8, 183, 187.

[42] Boxer, 'Padre António Vieira', pp. 474–80; Hanson, *Economy and Society*, pp. 88–90, 116; Saraiva, 'António Vieira', pp. 42–50.

Portuguese, according to his vision, finally to accomplish the calling of the Jews to Christ.

Philosemitic messianism involved mixing with Jews, collaborating with them, and learning about them. It therefore also demanded a willingness to shock and scandalize contemporary opinion. La Peyrère's *Praeadamitae* published at Amsterdam in 1655, and in London the following year, caused a sensation on account of its totally novel construings of Scripture, its cutting across all accepted theological barriers, and its stress on the centrality of modern Jewry in the affairs of men.[43] Among those who applauded was that most provocative of baroque ladies, Queen Christina of Sweden, who had recently abdicated the Swedish throne and was residing in Antwerp in 1654 when La Peyrère passed through the city *en route* to Amsterdam. She greeted him and his ideas enthusiastically. Queen Christina, as well as being something of a Hebraist herself, is well known for having cultivated amicable relations with Jews; not only with her agent in Hamburg, Teixeira, but with several others including the Hamburg Sephardi physician Bento de Castro who treated her illnesses while she was in Hamburg, was seen riding with her in her carriage, and was widely rumoured to have been taken into her bed. In part, Christina's cultivation of Jews derived from her delight in shocking conventional opinion and, in particular, her loathing of Lutheran divines. She once put on a firework display to celebrate the enthronement of a new pope, in Protestant Hamburg, which, not surprisingly, provoked a full-scale popular tumult. But there was a serious side to her studies, as her interest in Hebrew and La Peyrère shows. She also had dealings with Menasseh ben Israel who came to visit her while she was in Antwerp, where she stayed in the house of the Portuguese New Christian financial baron, García de Yllan, a cousin of the João de Yllão who later led Jewish colonizing expeditions to Curaçao and the Holy Land.[44] Menasseh came to Antwerp primarily to claim payment for Jewish books he had procured for Christina; but doubtless he also indulged her taste for messianic and theological speculation. Later, in Rome, the former Queen of Sweden had much to do with Vieira, whom she greatly admired. She remained true to her philosemitic proclivities, submitting a protest to the Emperor on the occasion of the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna.

The de-Christianizing tendencies, already implicit in La Peyrère and Felgenhauer, came progressively to the fore as the century progressed. In 1688, the Swedish messianist Anders Pedersson Kempe published his *Israels erfreuliche Botschaft* at Hamburg, dedicating it to Christina's Jewish agent there, Manoel Teixeira, who (wisely) disowned the work, since in it Kempe outspokenly denounced Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic Christians alike as 'Godless heathens'.[45] Oliger Pauli, a Danish messianist who gravitated to Amsterdam in 1695, pro-

[43] La Peyrère, *Praeadamitae*, ii. 49–58, 64–70; Popkin, 'Menasseh ben Israel', pp. 62–3.

[44] Denuće, 'Koningin Christina', pp. 31–6; Katz, 'Menásseh ben Israel's Mission', pp. 57–9.

[45] Valentin, *Judarnas Historia*, p. 36; Schoeps, *Barocke Juden*, pp. 35–42.

claimed the return of the Jews to Zion as the key to universal salvation and submitted petitions asking (in turn) King William III of England, the Danish monarch, and the French Dauphin to support his schemes for returning the Jews to the Holy Land and rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem.[46] Pauli called himself and his followers 'Jehovanists'. After a time, his preaching against conventional Christianity proved too much even for the Amsterdam burgomasters and he was sent unceremoniously back to Denmark. In the 1690s, several German messianists and ex-Socinians in Holland jettisoned the last vestiges of allegiance to Christ and openly converted to Judaism. Three or four such joined the Sephardi community in Amsterdam, the most noteworthy being Johann Pieter Späth (1644–1701), also known as Moses Germanus. An Augsburg Catholic who spent most of his life sampling the varieties of Protestantism, Späth finally became a Jew in 1697 and in the last four years of his life achieved notoriety throughout Europe as an anti-Christian controversialist, attacking Christianity in print as well as in debate.[47] One of his memorable encounters in Amsterdam was with the German scholar Johann Georg Wachter, who subsequently denounced him in print as a 'Spinozist', pantheist, and atheist, as well as cabbalist and Jew. For his part, Späth attributed to the Socinians, Mennonites, 'Coccejans', and 'Philadelphians' praiseworthy Judaizing tendencies which, however, none of these groups had properly followed through. Other German messianists, stopping short of the Synagogue, likewise discarded Christ, embracing Pauli's biblical 'Jehovanism', a quasi-Judaism stripped of rabbinic law. One of these personages, Heinrich Bernhard Küster, published the philosemitic Jehovanist work *Hebräer Schechinah* at Amsterdam in 1701.

The roots of philosemitism, then, lay in conflict with official Christianity, as shows through in numerous seventeenth-century contexts. Späth's 'Socinians, Mennonites, Coccejans, and Philadelphians' were all groups in revolt against the orthodoxies of Calvin, Luther, and the Papacy. To those filled with doubt concerning the claims and official theology of the major churches the Jews were precious as a lifeline, a thread leading back to the hidden essence of divine revelation and a purer, pre-church spirituality. 'Ce peuple', as Pascal put it, 'est le plus ancien qui soit en la connaissance des hommes: ce qui me semble lui attirer une vénération particulière et principalement dans la recherche que nous faisons, puisque, si Dieu s'est de tout temps communiqué aux hommes, c'est à ceux-ci qu'il faut recourir pour en savoir la tradition.'[48] John Milton, whose *De Doctrina Christiana* (1658–60) reveals powerful messianic and anti-Trinitarian leanings, combined an intense Biblicism with a marked interest in Talmud and cabbala, which also infuses his poetry. The key Dutch Christian mystical chiliast, Petrus Serrarius (1600–69), developed an intensely personal millenarian theology, rejecting

[46] Gelber, *Vorgeschichte*, pp. 14–23; Schoeps, *Philosemitismus*, pp. 53–67.

[47] Wachter, *Spinozismus im Jüdenthumb*, preface; Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, iv. 309–10; Schoeps, *Barocke Juden*, pp. 83–91.

[48] Pascal, *Pensées*, p. 237.

the official churches and their teaching and aspiring to an eventual reunion of all Christians in a deeper, truer Christianity based on reconciliation with a reconstituted, Christianized Judaism and the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land.[49] He showed a fervent and sympathetic interest in Shabbatai Zevi.

The mid- and late seventeenth-century preoccupation with the Old Testament was so strong that in Rembrandt, Milton, and Racine themes from ancient Jewish history rival, even at times take precedence over, scenes from Gospel and classical mythology. This development was paralleled by the expansion and intensification of Old Testament, Talmudic, cabbalistic, and other Hebrew studies. Assuredly, many or most post-1650 Christian Hebraists were orthodox Protestants or Catholics just as their predecessors had been. The objective of using Hebrew to promote the conversion of the Jews remained habitual. Nevertheless, Hebrew studies now attained an altogether higher level of priority and sophistication. For the first time, powerful interest was shown in the Lurianic as well as the Old Cabbala, as well as in the Karaites, a medieval Jewish heretical group, and many other facets of Jewish spirituality and history. If both conservative churchmen and the Spinozists were busily undermining the standing of the Hebrew Bible, a school of liberal Christian Hebraists, of whom the Dutchmen Johannes Cocceius (1603–69) and Johannes Leusden (1624–99) were leading representatives, emphasized its centrality and the necessity of studying Talmud and post-Talmudic rabbinic literature to understand it properly.[50] At the same time, in parts of Europe, such as Sweden, where Hebrew studies had not previously percolated, there was now a remarkable flowering of interest, particularly in the last two decades of the century.[51]

Two results of the new Hebraism were the increasingly systematic classification of rabbinic literature by Christian scholars and the rendering of more of the salient writings into Latin. Guilio Bartolocci (1613–87), Professor of Hebrew at the Collegium Neophytorum, a college for Jewish converts in Rome, and keeper of the Vatican Hebrew Collection, was certainly a faithful Catholic, devoted to the conversion of Jews. But his *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica* (4 vols., Rome, 1675–93) was the first detailed bibliography about Jews and Judaism and frequently reflects a more objective, as well as sympathetic, attitude than Catholic scholars had been apt to show in the past. Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739), a professor at Hamburg, later built on the foundations laid by Bartolocci, using what was then the foremost Jewish library in Europe, that of David Oppenheimer, housed at Hamburg, producing a more complete bibliography, his monumental *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (4 vols., Hamburg, 1715–33). Another salient instance of Christian–Jewish scholarly collaboration was the historic Amsterdam Hebrew Bible of 1667, produced by Leusden, Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, and the Sephardi printer

[49] Van der Wall, *De mystieke chiliast Petrus Serrarius*, pp. 394–8, 617–22.
[50] Lebram, 'Streit um die hebräische Bibel', pp. 47–54; Hirschel, 'Johannes Leusden', pp. 30–5.
[51] Schoeps, *Philosemitismus*, pp. 157–62.

of bibles, Joseph Athias, who obtained access for him to the oldest Iberian Hebrew medieval bibles possessed by the Sephardim in Holland.[52] Willem Surenhuis (1666–1729), Professor of Hebrew at Amsterdam, compiled the monumental *Versio Latina Mischnae* (6 vols., 1698–1703), a bilingual rendering in Hebrew and Latin which for the first time introduced what was the most essential part of the Talmud to the non-Hebrew-reading learned public.

Interest in Lurianic cabbala, which, as has become increasingly evident, attracted more than passing attention from such central figures as Henry More, Milton, and Isaac Newton, was cultivated in many parts of Protestant Europe. Its foremost interpreter within European culture was the Silesian mystic and Hebraist, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–89). A devotee of the pietism of Jakob Boehme (whose mysticism shows an uncanny kinship to that of Isaac Luria), Knorr studied with numerous Ashkenazi cabbalists in both Germany and Holland. From 1668, he resided at Sulzbach, as an adviser and intellectual adornment to the court of Duke Christian-August. He was the chief compiler of the monumental *Kabbala Denudata* (Sulzbach, 1677–84), a key anthology of Latin renderings of Lurianic writings, sections from Naphtali Bacharach, and, most influential of all, an abridged version of Abraham Cohen Herrera's *Puerta del Cielo*. However, most non-Jews who preoccupied themselves with matters cabbalistic, including More and Knorr's associate, the Flemish mystic Frans Mercurius van Helmont (1614–98), evinced no further interest in Judaism and principally saw cabbala as a mystical aid to the general reconciliation and reunification of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.[53] Johann Georg Wachter, having previously condemned the whole of Jewish cabbala as equivalent to Spinozism and 'atheistic' in his book *Der Spinozismus in Jüdenthumb* (Amsterdam, 1699), reversed his position entirely seven years later in his 78-page booklet *Elucidarius cabalisticus* (1706), in which he warmly praised the cabbala (and cleared Spinoza of the charge of atheism). The work was published clandestinely, with the place of publication falsely given as Rome; it shocked many of those who read it and amazed the great philosopher Leibniz.

A more definite parallel to the bibliographical and textual endeavours of the new Hebraists, including Knorr, was the rise of scholarly interest, for the first time, in post-biblical Jewish history and folklore, and in Yiddish. These trends were almost totally new. A central figure here was Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705), who opened up several new fields of study. Wagenseil assembled the first comprehensive study by a Christian of Jewish observances and ceremonies. It is true that much of what he investigated he accounted superstitious and absurd. It is true also that he was motivated in part by his desire to bring the Jews to Christ. But for all that an unmistakable admiration for Jewish life and life-style insistently creeps through. 'it is undeniable', he wrote,

[52] Franco Mendes, *Memorias*, p. 63; Basnage, *Histoire*, x. 1026.

[53] Schulze, 'Einfluß der Kabbala', pp. 78–83, 97.

that they show far more care, zeal, and constancy in all this (their religious duties) than Christians do in practising their true faith, and that, furthermore, they are far less given to vice; rather they possess many beautiful virtues, especially compassion, charity, moderation, chastity, and so forth, so that at the Last Day they will shame and see damned many Christians—for, unquestionably, as regards compassion and charity, they far, far surpass Christians in that they give generously to the poor and destitute, as far as they can, and all this, by God's grace, I can attest to by my own experience.[54]

Wagenseil's study of Jewish life extended also to the vernacular of Ashkenazi Jewry, Judaeo-German, or Yiddish, which he was the first to investigate systematically, assembling a unique collection of Yiddish tracts and manuscripts. Others, especially in Germany and Scandinavia, followed up aspects of Wagenseil's pioneering researches. One of his pupils, Johann Jakob Schudt (1664–1722), in his *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* (1714–18), compiled what is still a valuable compendium of Frankfurt Jewish folklore, customs, and prayers, even if occasionally marred by anti-Semitic comment. Meanwhile, in Holland, the Huguenot refugee pastor and historian Jacques Basnage composed the first serious Christian history of the post-biblical Jews in his *L'Histoire et la religion des Juifs depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent* (5 vols., 1706–11). Among other noteworthy features of this work, it is striking that Basnage draws his readers' attention to the anti-Christian arguments of Morteira, Cardoso, and Orobio de Castro, pointing out that the honest Christian has to face up to them.[55]

5 THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

European anti-Semitism during the age of the Court Jews was a *mélange* of traditional ecclesiastical and popular hostility mixed with several novel elements. A new age was dawning intellectually, an age which has aptly been termed the 'Crisis of the European Mind', and it was from this ferment that the Enlightenment was to emerge. Where Bossuet and the Abbé Fleury echoed the traditional doctrine of the Church, accounting the Jewish people as 'autrefois le plus heureux du monde, maintenant la fable et la haine de tout le monde',[56] the Spinozists and other pantheists and deists who pioneered the ideological terrain of the Enlightenment deemed the Mosaic Law itself a 'yoke' of superstition which had not just stunted the development of the Jews but, what was a good deal more deplorable, also that of much of the rest of mankind. The notion that Judaism was a tenacious, as well as ancient, superstition, a device of priests to promote their own power, which, in some measure, still held modern minds in thrall, so thoroughly permeated Enlightenment thought that it may, without exaggeration, be described as one of its fundamental principles. Some of the later *philosophes*, such as Voltaire, may

[54] Wagenseil, *Der Jüden Glaube und Aberglaube*, pp. 184–5; Wagenseil, *Belehrung*, foreword.
[55] Basnage, *Histoire*, ix. 736–8, 1017–25, 1043–55. [56] Truchet, *Prédication de Bossuet*, ii. 31–2.

have been given to personal anti-Semitism, but, fundamentally, animosity towards Jewish tradition was ingrained in the ideology of philosophic deism from the outset.

Spinoza, who, in his anti-Judaism, as in so much else, was a true precursor of much of the spirit of the Enlightenment, believed that the Jews' adherence to the Mosaic Law had blocked and imprisoned their minds.[57] And so it was with the Spinozists generally. While John Toland (1670–1722) is generally classified as a 'philosemite', owing to his opposition to religious and racial prejudice, and to intolerance of Jews as people, as well as his judging Jews to be useful economically, in fact he followed Spinoza not only in his pantheism, rejection of revealed religion, and contempt for priests, but in his basic anti-Judaism. In Toland's eyes not only was the entire corpus of Talmudic and rabbinic literature 'useless' but it acted as a perennially 'deforming and distorting' influence.[58] The appraisals of Judaism to be found in the works of Toland's fellow deists, Collins, Tyndal, and Trenchard, were by and large still harsher.

Richard Simon, the outstanding French biblical critic of the late seventeenth century, moved from an initial philosemitism to an anti-Semitism which was a curious blend of old and new elements. His stress on the centrality of the Hebrew Bible, and the necessity of studying rabbinic literature in order to cope with it, was rejected from opposite standpoints by deists and conservative churchmen alike. Simon also recognized certain qualities in the Jewish way of life. 'Il semble', he wrote, 'qu'on voit éclater dans la compassion qu'ils ont pour les pauvres, l'image de la charité des premiers Chrestiens pour leurs frères.'[59] Simon's antipathy to the Jews arose from his conviction that their faith in their ways and tradition had totally closed their minds to modern science and literature, leaving them proud, aloof, and adrift from the rest of mankind. Moreover, he believed that they nurtured hidden longings to dominate Christians and their society. Even their charity, which they reserved for their own people, and their pride in a special relationship to God derived, as he saw it, from this supposed Jewish quest for ascendancy. Thus, Simon's anti-Semitism, at bottom, emphasized the suspected cultural and social traits of the Jew rather than the theological objections of the Church.

The populace, however, adhered to more traditional modes of anti-Semitism. If there were no further expulsions after 1670, apart from those from Fulda, Marseilles, and the French Caribbean, this was only because European states were now firmly set against the pressure. The city of Trieste repeatedly petitioned the Emperor to clear the Jews from its vicinity, but Leopold refused; indeed, in 1694–6, the Austrian government imposed a ghetto on Trieste over the objections

[57] Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, p. 56.

[58] Toland, *Christianity not Mysterious*, pp. 51, 115, 151–2; Toland, *Letters to Serena*, p. 39; Pierre Bayle, another key precursor of the Enlightenment, fully shared this new 'rationalist' aversion to Judaism and Jewish tradition: 'L'antijudaisme de Bayle', M. Yardeni has written, 'procède d'une vision du monde, dont le point de départ est une nouvelle morale fondée non pas sur la religion, mais sur la raison', Yardeni, 'Vision des Juifs' (Pierre Bayle), p. 86.

[59] Yardeni, 'Vision des Juifs' (Richard Simon), pp. 201–2.

of its city council.[60] In 1683–4, during and after the Turkish siege of Vienna, and at the start of the Austrian advance into Hungary, a wave of anti-Jewish violence swept central Europe, with riots in Bohemia, Moravia, and as far afield as Padua.[61] In 1699, in the bishopric of Bamberg, bread shortages precipitated months of peasant unrest which led to a few attacks on noble landowners but which mainly took the form of pogroms on defenceless village Jewries.[62] Certainly the Emperor was prepared to curb the worst excesses. The *shtadlan* of the Bamberg *Landjudenschaft* was a brother-in-law of Samson Wertheimer, and his, and the Bishop's, appeals to Vienna were vigorously acted upon. Troops were raised throughout Franconia and the risings suppressed. Yet the court at Vienna remained a hotbed for the dissemination of Catholic anti-Semitism, the most inflammatory preacher of anti-Semitism in all Europe at the close of the seventeenth century being the Austrian court preacher Abraham a Sancta Clara (1646–1709). It was typical of the sermons of this immensely influential Augustinian that, even though both the Turks and the Lutherans were each of them a much more tangible and visible menace to Catholic supremacy of the Danube than were the Jews, his fury against Islam and Protestantism was moderation itself compared with the savage virulence and appalling abuse he heaped upon the Jews.[63]

But the most notable anti-Semitic happening around the turn of the eighteenth century was the furore over the infamous diatribe against Jewry compiled by Johann Andreas Eisenmenger (1654–1704), Professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg. Like so many other violent effusions of the day, Eisenmenger's attack was, at bottom, the result of shaken confidence. On a visit to Amsterdam in 1680–1, Eisenmenger had been profoundly shocked to discover the openness with which Jews in Holland spoke against Christianity and by the sensational conversion at that time, in Amsterdam, of three former German Protestants to formal Judaism. He poured his rage into a vast, 2,000-page attack, entitled *Entdecktes Judenthum*, which he had printed at Frankfurt in 2,500 copies, in 1699. Eisenmenger's object was to defame the Jews by convincing the public of the truth of the medieval blood-libel that Jews had killed Christian boys to use their blood for ritual purposes and by vindicating the charge that they had poisoned the wells during the Black Death and perpetrated all manner of other vile and insidious deeds. To support his case, this Heidelberg professor compiled a farrago of falsehood and twisted constructions, massively citing Talmud out of context and falsely translated. To stop Eisenmenger, the Frankfurt *parnasim* turned, like their colleagues at Bamberg, to the 'Judenkaiser', Samson Wertheimer, who interceded with the Emperor. Leopold duly forbade distribution of the book until its contents had been investigated by a mixed commission of Jesuits and rabbis. But the Frankfurt city council, indignant

[60] Cervani and Buda, *Comunità israelitica di Trieste*, p. 8.
[61] Ciscato, *Ebrei di Padova*, pp. 202–3.
[62] Eckstein, *Juden im Fürstbistum Bamberg*, pp. 25–37.
[63] Kann, *A Study*, pp. 74–9.

with the *parnasim* for appealing to Vienna over their heads, agreed to lend Eisenmenger firm backing. The stage was set for a sensational *cause célèbre* which spread ripples throughout German-speaking Europe.

The Court Jews once more demonstrated their cohesion, pooling their influence to mobilize the machinery of the Empire against Eisenmenger.[64] Leffman Behrends besought the Elector George of Hanover (afterwards George I of England), first in the name of the *Landjudenschaft* of Hanover, and then in that of all the Jews of the Empire, to intercede with the Emperor. This he did through his resident in Vienna, as did the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz, and several other princes. But the Elector of the Palatinate backed his academic protégé, as did King Frederick I of Prussia, who was generally less friendly towards the Jews than had been his father. These princes pressed the Emperor to permit publication. Privately, Eisenmenger himself was ready to call the whole thing off—in return for an appropriate payment from the Jews; but they preferred to confront his challenge politically. On Eisenmenger's death, in 1704, his heirs fought on, eventually securing permission, from the Prussian monarch, to print and distribute a new edition of 3,000 copies, in Berlin. Thus the book finally appeared in 1711, the title-page of this second edition falsely stating Königsberg as the place of publication, that city lying outside the jurisdiction of the Empire. However, Leopold, and his successor, Joseph I, maintained their ban on the compilation as being 'prejudicial to the public and to the Christian religion, and especially to the unlearned'.

Eisenmenger's text was a disreputable and turgid fabrication, but his outrage at the seepage of Jewish polemics against Christianity into the mainstream of European life and thought was symptomatic of the times. By the second decade of the eighteenth century Europe's theologians were everywhere on the defensive and there was no denying that the writings of Isaac of Troki, Montalto, Morteira, and Orobio de Castro, as well as of men like Späth, were compounding the impact of the burgeoning mass of anti-Christian doctrine heralded by Spinoza and the Spinozists. In central Europe, it was Wagenseil who took the lead in taking up cudgels against the rising tide of irreligion, Spinozism, and Jewish 'blasphemy'.[65] Wagenseil, a Lutheran but, as we have seen, not in any traditional sense an anti-Semite, launched into a powerful crusade against Jewish intellectual influence. But, paradoxically, his tactics in trying to persuade Protestant rulers to bridle the Jews and stop the diffusion of their anti-Christian arguments, by showing how such texts could be put to use against Christianity by deists, Spinozists, and atheists simply helped give Jewish polemical literature wider currency than before. By re-translating, from Hebrew into Latin, Isaac of Troki and other controversial pieces, collected in Germany, Holland, and as far afield as Gibraltar,

[64] Wiener, 'Des Hof- und Kammeragenten Leffmann Berens Intervention', pp. 52–4; Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 104–6; Ettinger, 'The Beginnings of the Change', pp. 208–9.

[65] Wachter, *Spinozismus im Judenthumb*, foreword; Wagenseil, *Tela Ignea Satanae*, foreword; Dietrich, 'Jüdisch-christliche Religionsgespräch', pp. 2, 10, 15–17.

and publishing them in his *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1689) and *Denunciatio Christiana de Blasphemiis Judaeorum* (1703), Wagenseil sought to equip Christians to confront Jewish denials of Christ. He also advocated a generally tighter repression of Jewish life, and a more determined effort to convert the Jews to Christianity, though he refused to sanction the use of force. But the only result of his endeavours was to add impetus to the very propositions he strove with all his might to combat.

X
Decline and Renewal (1713–1750)

During European Jewry's age of expansion (1570–1713), the increase and fanning out of Jewish population was virtually universal and all the more remarkable for being totally out of phase with European demographic trends generally. For in most of Europe (other than Britain and Ireland) population stagnated or actually declined during the seventeenth century. This arrestation of population growth, so untypical of the modern era otherwise, was particularly noticeable in Spain, central Europe, Poland, and Italy, countries where New Christians and Jews were able to achieve a much expanded role. Thus, during the seventeenth century, not only was European Jewry steadily increasing but, almost everywhere where Jews were permitted to live, they were a rapidly growing proportion of the population. In many parts of Poland, Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia, the increase was nothing less than dramatic. The same is true of Venice, Livorno, and Amsterdam, where the Jewish population roughly trebled in the period 1640–1700, rising from around 2 per cent to some 6 per cent of the city's total population. Much the same occurred in Hamburg. In Alsace, the number of Jewish families rose by 150 per cent, from 522 families in 1689, to 1,269 families by 1716. Virtually everywhere there was a vigorous increase in Jewish numbers.

The period 1713–50, by contrast, was one of sharp deterioration in European Jewry's demographic position. It is true that a steady, if usually considerably slower, increase persisted in many parts, but, from the second decade of the eighteenth century onwards, the population of Europe as a whole began to burgeon once more so that, generally speaking, other than in the eastern territories of Poland, Jewish population growth now lagged well behind that of the rest. Furthermore, and a more immediately relevant factor in the economic and cultural decline of European Jewry during the eighteenth century, practically all the leading Jewish urban centres, including those of Poland, displayed a marked incapacity for growth. Most of what increase in Jewish numbers there was, west of Vilna and Lublin, tended to disperse geographically, extending the scope of Jewish settlement into the countryside and small towns, especially in Poland, Germany, and Holland, and south-eastwards into Hungary and Romania, but, at the same time, contributing to the decline of the Jewish role in the main centres.

The faltering of the principal Jewish urban centres after around 1713 is a key historical phenomenon which has certainly not attracted the scholarly attention it deserves. To some extent, the shrinking process is noticeable everywhere. In the Balkans, the economic and cultural waning of the Jewish communities went hand in hand with appreciable reductions in the size of the main Jewish communities. That of Salonika is estimated to have fallen from 30,000 to around 25,000. Similar

contraction occurred at Constantinople, Sofia, Adrianople, and Belgrade. Meanwhile Venice, now in full decay, lost something like half her Jewish population in the period 1700–66, the number of Jews falling to around 1,700 by the latter date. The collapse of Venetian Jewry was fully evident to the Florentine Jewish traveller, Moseh Cassuto, when he visited the city in 1735.[1] Rome Jewry similarly shrank, by approximately half, during the eighteenth century, down to about 3,000 by 1800, both because of migration away from Rome and a continuing high level of conversions to Christianity. It is true that the disastrous losses at Venice and Rome were untypical and are partly to be accounted for by migration to other parts of Italy induced by changes in patterns of commerce.[2] Trieste, for instance, now took over much of Venice's former trade in the Adriatic. But the growth of Trieste Jewry, which in the nineteenth century was to be the fourth largest in Italy, was painfully slow during the first half of the eighteenth century, rising from a mere 103 Jews in 1735 to only 120 in 1748. The fact is, and this was indeed a sign of the times, the Jews played little part in the rise of Austria's entrepôt in the Adriatic. Admittedly, Livorno did continue to attract Jews from elsewhere and remained a flourishing business centre throughout the century, and yet the further growth of Livornese Jewry after 1700 slowed down compared with that of the previous half-century, rising from 2,800 in 1710 to 3,476 in 1738, and only 4,327 as late as 1784. Otherwise, the general trend in Italy was one of stagnation. Mantuan Jewry stood at 1,758 in 1702, and only 1,842 in 1747; and the pattern was much the same at Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and Padua.[3] Relative to the rest of the population, which was then rapidly increasing, all this added up to a pattern of irreversible decline.

Meanwhile, in Bohemia, rapid increase in Jewish numbers continued down to the issuing of the so-called Familiants Law of 1726, which imposed a ceiling of 8,541 families (around 35,000 souls), the then pertaining level, above which Bohemian Jewry was not permitted to increase. The Jewish population now began to decline, in relation to the rest of the population, moving from stagnation to absolute decline as a result of the policies of the Empress Maria Theresa, a zealous Catholic with strong feelings of dislike, amounting to physical aversion, for Jews. Her official anti-Semitism culminated in the famous episode in 1744, when she banished the Jews from Prague, arousing a storm of protest in much of Europe, as well as practical difficulties which finally induced her to cancel the expulsion in 1748. While most of those whom she had expelled then returned, they did not all do so. By 1754, Bohemian Jewry was down to around 29,000, of whom about one-third lived in Prague. In Moravia, under restrictive laws issued in 1725, the number of Jewish families was held down to 5,106 or some 20,000 people, condemning Moravian Jewry to zero growth at a time of otherwise rapid demographic

[1] *The Travels of Moses Cassuto*, pp. 97–8.

[2] Pavoncello, *Ebrei in Verona*, pp. 44–5; Cervani and Buda, *Comunità ebraica di Trieste*, pp. 20, 52–3; on the decline of Ancona Jewry in the eighteenth century see Laras, 'Notizie storiche', pp. 87–8; for Livorno see R. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea*, p. 120.

[3] Simonsohn, *History*, p. 193.

increase. As late as 1803, the Jews of Moravia still numbered only 28,396. Jewish population growth likewise slowed, or ceased, in the Burgenland; Eisenstadt, for instance, had 600 Jews in 1700 and only 650 in 1750 which is especially remarkable in view of the emigration from Bohemia and Moravia.

In Germany, the pattern was one of little or no increase in the principal centres, representing a fast dwindling percentage of the population of the major cities, combined with a further dispersion into the countryside. This was partly a matter of increases in the village communities of areas such as Hesse, Franconia, and Münster, where Jewish village life was already well established, and partly an extension of this rural existence into the Palatinate, Baden, and Württemberg, where Jewish settlement had previously been sparse.[4] The number of Jewish families in the villages of the bishopric of Münster more than doubled from 61 in 1720 to 126 by 1749. Meanwhile all the principal Jewish centres in Germany either decayed or, very exceptionally, achieved a slight growth. Frankfurt Jewry, after a spurt of growth during the War of the Spanish Succession, when Jews flooded into the *Judenstadt* to escape the fighting, bringing the number of inhabitants of the ghetto up from around 2,300 to 3,000, then stagnated at that level for the rest of the century, still numbering 3,000 in 1800.[5] Hanau Jewry dwindled from 700 in 1700 to only 540 in 1805. The community at Friedberg shrank from 72 families in 1729 to 42 by 1805. In the new city of Mannheim, where the Jewish population had grown by leaps and bounds during the late seventeenth century, reaching 200 families by 1717, there was very little further growth, the community standing at only 225 families as late as 1761. The picture was much the same at Worms, Speyer, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, and Bamberg. At Hamburg, while the Ashkenazi community continued to grow, the Sephardi community certainly declined both in numbers and even more in commerce. Even Berlin, now emerging as one of the foremost centres of German Jewish life, failed to register more than a modest amount of new Jewish settlement owing to stringent government restrictions, including the expulsion of 387 poor Jews from the city in 1737. Having reached nearly 1,000 souls in the first thirty years of its existence, and well over 1,000 by 1713, Berlin Jewry had reached only 1,945 at late as 1743.

One principal cause of the unbalanced pattern of Jewish demographic development in post-1713 Germany was the increasingly negative stance adopted by the Prussian crown.[6] Retreating from the policy of the Great Elector, and of King Frederick I (1688–1713), Frederick William I (1713–40) embarked, from 1714, on a series of measures to restrict Jewish immigration into Brandenburg–Prussia. In 1730, a revision of the Jewry laws actually reduced the quotas of tolerated Jews stipulated for particular localities and reinforced guild privileges excluding Jews

[4] Arnold, *Juden in der Pfalz*, p. 1; Pfeifer, *Kulturgeschichtliche Bilder*, 2–6; Rixen, 'Geschichte und Organisation', pp. 8–9; Kahn, *Juden in Sulzburg*, pp. 17–22.

[5] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 106–7; Dietz, *Stammbuch*, p. 433.

[6] Stern, *Preußischer Staat*, II/i. 11, 21–3; Krüger, *Judenschaft von Königsberg*, pp. 4, 7.

from the crafts. Thus, Jewish life ceased expanding almost everywhere in Prussia, except Berlin and in Silesia, which Frederick the Great forcibly annexed in 1740. This reaction against the more liberal trends of the second half of the seventeenth century was especially harsh in East Prussia, where the sprinkling of Polish Jews who had previously percolated into villages were re-expelled in the 1720s. Meanwhile the position of the communities in Königsberg and Memel steadily deteriorated.

In Poland–Lithuania, the demographic power-house of modern European Jewry, the increase in Jewish numbers continued but, as in Germany, this took the form of dispersal, and especially dispersal towards the east and south-east, rather than growth of the main communities. For Lublin province, we possess statistics for a number of small communities which show startling increases over the ninety years 1674–1764, that of Bilgoray, for instance, up from 40 Jews to 644; Kurów from 61 to 904, and Kraśnik from 52 to 901.[7] But, in this same period, the major communities of Lublin, Poznań, Grodno, and Pinsk scarcely increased at all. The Jewish population of Cracow, estimated at 2,060 in 1578, had reached only 3,458 by 1764, almost two centuries later. And according to the census of 1764, there were only five other communities in the whole of Poland–Lithuania which exceeded the 3,000 mark in size—Brody (7,198), Lvov (6,159), Lissa (4,989), Vilna (3,390), and Brest-Litovsk (3,175).[8] Thus there were in the entire monarchy only three communities which surpassed that of Livorno in size and not one that approached that of Amsterdam.

In Amsterdam, while the size of the Sephardi community stagnated at around 3,000 souls, after 1700 the Ashkenazi community continued to grow rapidly, rising from around 3,200 in 1700 to 9,000 by 1725 and around 14,000 by 1750, and this at a time when the total population of Amsterdam remained static at around 200,000; as a consequence, the percentage of Jews in Holland's chief city rose from 3 per cent in 1700 to about 8.5 per cent by 1750.[9] In the Netherlands as a whole, moreover, as in parts of Germany, but in contrast to the Balkans and Italy, there was a continuing expansion of Jewish life with appreciable growth in the communities of Rotterdam, The Hague, Amersfoort, Leeuwarden, Zwolle, and Groningen.[10] As a sign of this continuing vitality, three imposing synagogues were completed in successive years, in 1725–7, at Rotterdam, The Hague, and Amersfoort. But whilst Dutch Jewry as a whole still grew, the Sephardi community in Amsterdam not only stagnated but even dwindled somewhat in numbers, and much more in its trade and general vitality.

The unbroken flow of German Jewish immigrants into Holland, after 1700, was paralleled by a steady trickle also into England, Denmark, and Alsace. And yet the dimensions of this movement in the eighteenth century, at any rate into England

[7] Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, p. 319.

[8] Mahler, *Yidn in Amolikn Poyln*, i. 29–46.

[9] Israel, 'Republiek', p. 111.

[10] Zwarts, 'Joodse gemeenten', pp. 399–400, 413–14; Beem, *Joden van Leeuwarden*, pp. 13–17.

and Denmark, remained modest, even meagre. Britain was now outstripping the Netherlands as Europe's economic leader. Her trade throughout Europe and the wider world, and her industrial output, were burgeoning. Yet the role of the Jews in England's rise to economic dominance was surprisingly restricted and solidly anchored in the past. Apart from dominating the trade in diamonds and coral, a central strand in Britain's commerce with India, and participating prominently in the trade with the Spanish Indies via Cadiz (the Jews handling a not inconsiderable slice of Britain's silver imports), Jewish activity counted for relatively little.[11] Lack of scope in retailing and the crafts depressed Ashkenazi immigration into England to a modest trickle. Outside London, Jewish communities simply failed to take root. What was probably the oldest provincial congregation, at Portsmouth, was not formed until 1746. There was no community in Liverpool until after 1750. And as regards London Jewry, not only did its growth totally fail to compare with that of Amsterdam, during the previous century, it remained notably sparse. There was a sizeable influx of Marrano immigrants into northern Europe in the 1720s, when a last wave of intense Inquisition persecution of crypto-Jews swept both Spain and Portugal; but, after 1730, the flow of refugees from the Iberian Peninsula dried up. By 1750, except in a few remote parts of northern Portugal, Iberian Marranism had all but ceased to be a living force and was certainly no longer capable of lending sustenance to the Jewish role within Europe as a whole. It is true that much of the influx of the 1720s came to London, and that there was some Sephardi migration to England from Holland and Italy. Yet despite all this the London Sephardi community remained relatively weak. It rose in numbers from 1,050 souls in 1720 to around 1,700 by 1740, but then fell back noticeably during the middle decades of the century, owing to a high rate of re-emigration to the Caribbean and a substantial level of conversions to Christianity.[12]

Not only was Jewish immigration into England and Denmark decidedly sluggish but, in the years after 1713, there were very few attempts to seek admission to new regions of settlement and still fewer princely initiatives to attract Jewish settlement. From Stuttgart, where the Dukes of Württemberg had allowed a Jewish community to form around 1700, there was a partial re-expulsion following the fall of the Court Jew Joseph Süss Oppenheimer in 1739: by 1770, there were only four Jewish families living there, compared with seven in 1721. Jewish settlement in Dresden and Leipzig, in electoral Saxony, was only marginally more buoyant. Even the Jewish community of Karlsruhe, the newly established capital of Baden, founded in 1715, and something of an exception among eighteenth-century German Jewish communities, grew vigorously only at first, rising from nine families in 1720 to fifty families by 1733.[13] As late as 1770, Karlsruhe Jewry had risen to just eighty families. Outside Germany, there was a similar loss of momentum. In

[11] Samuel, 'Jews in English Foreign Trade', pp. 134–9.
[12] Diamond, 'Problems', pp. 40–1.
[13] Rosenthal, 'Aus den Jugendjahren', pp. 207–8.

1745–6, the King of Sweden did try to attract Sephardi Jews to Gothenburg as part of a scheme to revitalize Swedish colonial enterprise.[14] It was hoped to set up a Swedish West India Company which, with the help of Jewish investment and connections, would carve a niche in Caribbean commerce, and establish a Swedish colony in the vacant area between the Dutch and Spanish settlements in the Guyanas. But the Swedish crown's letters of invitation to the Sephardi communities of Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London fell flat, eliciting virtually no response. In Sweden, Jewish settlement began only belatedly, in the 1770s, and then on the part of a handful of Ashkenazim. All the signs were that the old dynamism had gone out of European Jewry.

Following the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, a prolonged period of peace descended on most of Europe and, as a consequence, the role of the Court Jews sharply declined. A wave of damaging bankruptcies set in continuing down to the 1720s, the most disastrous being that of the sons of Leffmann Behrends, at Hanover in 1721. The standing of the Court Jews did revive somewhat during the War of the Austrian Succession, in the 1740s, but it was never again to attain its pre-1713 levels. The co-ordinated response to Maria Theresa's expulsion of the Jews from Prague in 1744, and her simultaneous threat to expel the Jews from Moravia, demonstrate that there was still a measure of cohesion between the Court Jews of central Europe and collaboration between them and the Jewish financiers of Holland and England.[15] But leading Jews were now involving themselves less closely in Jewish community affairs and, increasingly, there was a drift away from relying on other Jews as associates, correspondents, and factors. This loosening of seventeenth-century patterns is particularly noticeable among the Sephardim, who, in most cases, now lost their former zeal for community service. After 1713, it became increasingly common in the Portuguese community in Amsterdam for members of leading families elected to the *Mahamad* to refuse office.[16] This loosening of ties with the community, and with tradition, is clearly discernible also in England. The withdrawal of the Marrano financier Joseph da Costa Villareal from the London Sephardi community and his cancelling of his project to bequeath large sums to Jewish charities was only one of a series of dramatic defections. The Jewish ties of Samson Gideon (1699–1762), the most important Jewish financier in mid-eighteenth-century England, had ceased to mean much, even with regard to his business, long before he formally withdrew from the synagogue in 1753.[17] Gideon's ambition, like that of increasing numbers of Jews of his generation, was not for Jewish status but for standing in Gentile society. He married a Protestant Englishwoman and had his children baptized into the

[14] Valentin, *Judarnas historia*, pp. 121–7; Barnett, 'Correspondence', pp. 22–3.

[15] Mevorah, 'Jewish Diplomatic Activities', pp. 146–51; the Court Jews arranged protests against the Empress's policy from the Dutch government, the kings of England, Denmark, and Poland, the Sultan, the Senates of Hamburg and Venice, and the Archbishop of Mainz.

[16] GAA PJG 334, 'Taboa dos ssres que servirão cargos neste Kaal Kados'.

[17] Sutherland, 'Samson Gideon', p. 85.

Anglican Church. Even so, he himself was repeatedly refused a title, despite major services to the English crown, though finally, in 1759, he did obtain a baronetcy for his eldest son.

At Vienna, no one figure inherited the position of Samson Wertheimer, but even in peacetime, the court needed the services of Jewish bankers, purveyors, and agents, not least to supply their snuff, tea, coffee, confectionery, and jewellery, and a mixed bag of Court Jews evolved which was partly traditional in life-style and partly of a new type. Bernard Gabriel Eskeles (1692–1753), son of the *Landesrabbiner* of Moravia, was a highly learned and strictly orthodox Jew, as well as being a court supplier and munitions dealer. His ambition was definitely backward-looking. In 1725, he succeeded to Wertheimer's former title of 'Chief Rabbi of Hungary'. The next generation of Eskeles, by contrast, were altogether more assimilated, indeed fashionable courtiers. Emmanuel, son of Samuel Oppenheimer, was an early representative of the clean-shaven, fashionably dressed fraternity.[18] However, another leading Viennese dynasty, that established by Isaac Aaron Arnstein, who hailed from Arnstein near Würzburg, and his son, Adam Isaac Arnstein (1721–85), remained bulwarks of conservatism, retaining their beards and a modest black attire down to, and beyond, the middle of the century.[19] Another of the clean-shaven was Moseh Lopes Pereira (Diego d'Aguilar) (*c.*1699–1759), one of the Marranos who fled Spain in the 1720s. After settling in Vienna, Pereira leased the Austrian state tobacco monopoly from the government in the years 1723–39 at a price of seven million florins yearly; meanwhile, a London Sephardi firm, in which he was a partner, regularly imported large amounts of bullion from Spain and Portugal into England. His role in raising Anglo-Dutch loans for the Austrian treasury, in the 1740s, afforded him a certain leverage even with the arch-bigot Maria Theresa and he was at the centre of the efforts to block the expulsion from Prague. In 1749, however, the Empress co-operated with moves to extradite him to Spain, to face trial by the Inquisition as a lapsed Spanish Catholic. He promptly abandoned Vienna and retired to London, giving up his involvement in state finance for a notoriously miserly life of leisure.

The most courtly Court Jew of the early eighteenth century, and a figure decidedly representative of the trend away from traditional Jewish values and culture, was Joseph Süss Oppenheimer (1699–1738), whose father, a relative of Samuel Oppenheimer, had been a *Hoffaktor* of the Palatinate, at Heidelberg. 'Jud Süss', as he became known, combined a successful business, which he established at Frankfurt, with a sophisticated knowledge of the state finances of Austria and the Palatinate. In 1732 he was appointed court 'agent' of the Duke of Württemberg, swiftly rising to become a Württemberg state councillor and then, in 1734, being placed virtually in charge of the finances and economic policy of the Duke. He was placed in this unprecedented position by the Catholic Duke Karl Alexander, a confirmed absolutist, as well as a foreigner, profoundly at odds with the

[18] Stern, *Jud Süß*, p. 18.

[19] Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein*, pp. 71–2.

mass of his Lutheran subjects. While serving the court as an official, Oppenheimer still continued his business, both in Frankfurt and Stuttgart, where he concentrated on supplying the court with jewellery. His life-style and attitudes mirrored the rapidly changing outlook of the European Jewish élite.[20] A deist who did not trouble to conform to the more onerous demands of his faith, he dressed as a nobleman and was accustomed to have non-noble Christians rise to their feet in his presence. His library consisted almost entirely of German works on politics, history, and law. His two residences, at Frankfurt and Stuttgart, were crammed with paintings, mainly Flemish and Dutch, including a Rembrandt, several copies of Rembrandts and four van der Velde seascapes. He pursued women with zest, bedding an impressive number of both noble ladies and servant-girls. But he never sought to conceal or deny his Jewishness and in certain situations enjoyed dramatizing the fact of his Jewish allegiance. In fact, he was a complex double-being, the courtier in him coexisting uneasily with his Jewish background. He was well aware that his polished manners and elegant attire both smoothed his path and added to his enemies. When Duke Karl Alexander suddenly died, in 1737, Oppenheimer was arrested and tried for collusion in subverting the constitutions of the state. Condemned and sentenced to death, he was beheaded before a jeering crowd of thousands.

While some German Court Jews were becoming more aristocratic in life-style and less observant Jews, the waning prestige of their Sephardi counterparts was mirrored in the lapsing of their diplomatic agencies. By the 1690s, there were no longer any Jewish agents of major courts at Hamburg. While Manoel Teixeira was provisionally appointed Danish 'resident' at Hamburg, in 1697, the Senate, under heavy pressure from the populace, refused to recognize him as such.[21] The Amsterdam agencies of Spain and Portugal were transferred from Jewish hands, seemingly as a result of the anti-Semitic outburst in the Peninsula of the 1720s. Manuel de Belmonte was succeeded as Spain's 'resident' in Amsterdam by a nephew, Baron Francisco de Ximenes Belmonte, who held the agency in the years 1706–13;[22] his successor, Manuel Levi Ximenes, was the last of the series. Around 1725, a Catholic Spaniard was appointed to the post and from then on Jews were rigorously debarred. The agency for the crown of Portugal remained in the hands of the Nunes da Costa, down to the death of Jerónimo's youngest son, Álvaro, in 1737. Ministers in Lisbon then refused to transfer the title to the latter's heir on the grounds that he was 'a Jew'. From then on, Jews were excluded from that post too.

In the economic sphere, the Portuguese community of Amsterdam did not decline as seriously, or as rapidly, as the Sephardi communities of Hamburg and Venice, but there too stagnation and loss of dynamism were unmistakable. By

[20] Stern, *Jud Süß*, pp. 130–7, 293–6.
[21] Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, iv. 58; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, p. 394.
[22] Schutte, *Repertorium*, p. 611.

1750, the wealthy Portuguese Jews in Holland were mainly leisured *rentiers* who participated less and less in active trade, enjoying a luxurious existence on the interest of their accumulated investments in the Dutch colonial companies and an assortment of Dutch, English, and Venetian public funds. One should not exaggerate the falling-off in their business activity. While their links with Portugal were now greatly reduced, owing to the virtual extirpation of the Marrano business class in Lisbon and Oporto, in the 1720s and 1730s, and their trade with Italy and the Levant also much diminished, they continued to ship goods to Cadiz for re-export to the Spanish Indies on an appreciable scale and maintained a lively trade with the Caribbean, at least with the Dutch colonies, down to the 1780s. Still, in general terms, the picture was one of slow eclipse.

The post-1713 contraction of the Dutch Sephardi commercial network had serious long-term consequences for the whole of Dutch Jewry and, in some respects, also for Jews in neighbouring countries. One development which added considerably to the growing impoverishment of Dutch Jewry was the collapse of the Amsterdam tobacco industry after 1720. This was essentially a consequence of new protectionist barriers against the importing of processed goods of all types which were erected in Germany and Scandinavia in the 1720s and 1730s. As a result Dutch exports of spun and blended tobacco and snuff plummeted, the number of tobacco workshops at Amsterdam falling from around thirty in 1720—roughly half of these being Jewish-owned and employing large numbers of Jews—to only eight by 1750.[23] In theory, the new tobacco workshops which now sprang up in Prussia, Hanover, Denmark, and Sweden might have offered compensating employment. But while most of these concerns did adopt Dutch methods and machinery, even the few that were Jewish-owned, such as the workshops in Hanover belonging to Leffmann Behrends, were permitted by the government to employ only a tiny number of Jews.[24] In the main, the work-force of the new tobacco workshops in Germany and Scandinavia was solidly Christian.

This development was a typical manifestation, albeit one of the most serious, of a wider malaise which gripped almost the whole of the Jewish economy in Europe especially during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. Previously, from 1570 down to 1713, the economic policies of the European states, concentrating on the promotion of long-distance commerce, had encouraged the increasing integration of the Jewish trade network into the European economy as a whole, and this had laid the basis for the revival of Jewish life in progress in central and western Europe since the late sixteenth century. After 1713, however, a less favourable trend set in. Whilst the European states were still ruled by mercantilist notions, they now adopted more comprehensively protectionist policies, concentrating on the promotion of manufacturing activity rather than long-distance trade. The essential value of the Jews to the mercantilist regimes of the seventeenth century

[23] Westermann (ed.), 'Een memorie van 1751', p. 73.
[24] Boehn, 'Gesch. d. Juden in Celle', pp. 11–12.

lay in their close ties with distant markets, especially Poland–Lithuania, the Iberian Peninsula, the Levant, and the Caribbean. During the early eighteenth century, however, the emphasis in the economic strategies of the European states tended to shift from encouraging long-distance commerce to cutting back the flow of processed goods emanating from the more advanced economies such as Britain and the Dutch Republic. The governments of northern, central, and, in the case of Russia, eastern Europe, now aimed at self-sufficiency in cloth, silk, ship-building, and metal goods and at processing their own tobacco, sugar, and chocolate.

Admittedly the drive to set up new industries met with very mixed results. But the drive to cut back the flow of manufactures and processed goods from the west tended to be the most successful part of the programme. The effects of this on the Dutch economy were particularly severe. During the 1720s and 1730s most of Holland's industries began to disintegrate.[25] Britain's exports of manufactures to northern Europe also declined during the first half of the eighteenth century, but she was much less adversely affected owing to the burgeoning empire of captive markets in North America, Ireland, and elsewhere and her growing dominance over Portugal and the economic life of Brazil.

The new trade strategies had various unfavourable implications from the Jewish point of view. In the (now) kingdom of Prussia, a general ban on the export of raw wool was imposed in 1718 and on the importing of all types of foreign cloth in 1720.[26] Jewish merchants in the Prussian lands were adversely affected by these measures and were quickly identified by the Prussian crown as being an obstacle to the efficient implementation of the new policy. Special steps were taken to intimidate the Jews into compliance not only in Brandenburg proper but in the other territories, including Cleves and Mark, thereby affecting the overland transit trade between north-west Germany and the Dutch provinces.[27] Under the new Danish strategy introduced in the 1730s, Jews were prevented from importing all kinds of products which had previously been prominent in their trade.

It would be wrong to exaggerate the adverse consequences of the new economic strategies of the 1720s and 1730s for Europe's Jews, though for Dutch Jewry they were certainly very serious. Many strands of the pre-1713 European Jewish trade system remained more or less intact. The Jewish role in the German–Polish overland transit traffic, for instance, was largely unaffected, for Poland was a state too weak and disorganized politically to participate in the new protectionism. There was a falling-off in the number of Jewish merchants attending the Leipzig fairs after about 1710. But this was owing to a further diversion of the traffic to the Brandenburg fairs at Frankfurt an der Oder.[28] The desire to coax as much as possible of Leipzig's commerce with Poland to Prussian territory had been the

[25] Van Dillen, *Van rijkdom en regenten*, pp. 501–8.
[26] Hinrichs, *Die Wollindustrie in Preußen*, pp. 41–3.
[27] Ibid., pp. 51, 89, 95–7; Jersch-Wenzel, *Juden und 'Franzosen'*, pp. 96, 188.
[28] Freudenthal, *Leipziger Meßgäste*, pp. 14–15; Stern, *Preußischer Staat*, II/i. 72.

principal motive for the Great Elector's decision to invite Jews to settle in Brandenburg in the first place. During the eighteenth century the vigorous trade plied by Berlin and Frankfurt an der Oder Jewry with Poland continued to be one of the main justifications in the eyes of the Prussian government for their presence. It is also true that if German and Scandinavian states now took to excluding processed colonial goods from the west, they still needed the raw sugar and unprocessed tobacco-leaves without which their new workshops could not function. Indeed, the quantity of raw sugar and tobacco, as well as of pepper and spices, imported into Germany and Scandinavia from Holland, England, and France steadily increased, and in this traffic Jews continued to play a prominent part.

The adverse impact of the new economic strategies on the Jewish commercial system was, in itself, not especially severe. Rather, the malaise consisted in the fact that Jewish commerce in Europe was prevented from sharing in the dramatic expansion characteristic of other sectors of the European economy during the eighteenth century. At the heart of the crisis was the fact that while the Jewish population was increasing, there was no expansion of the Jewish economy and no relaxation of the countless stifling restrictions on Jewish economic activity in force in Germany, Italy, Bohemia–Moravia, or western Poland. Just as before, Jews could neither own land, keep shops, nor obtain employment in the crafts, or, with certain exceptions, in the newly set-up factories. It is true that in Prussia, Hanover, and other states, a few wealthy Jews were permitted, or compelled, to set up industrial enterprises of one sort or another, and that the Jewish silk-factories in Berlin attained some importance.[29] But the effect of this on the Jewish economy and occupation structure was extremely limited owing to the tight restrictions on the employment of Jewish labour. As a result, the Jewish occupation structure in Germany in 1750 differed little from what it had been half a century before. Commerce remained overwhelmingly the main outlet for Jewish activity.[30] In 1750 there were 2,188 Jews living in Berlin which was equivalent to 1.9 per cent of the total population of the city, a slightly smaller percentage than in 1700. Of 455 Berlin Jews with occupations at least 353 were involved in commerce of one sort or another, 49 being money-lenders and -changers and another 40 dealing in colonial products and imported luxury wares.

In Germany and Bohemia-Moravia, economic restrictions upheld by governments, combined with the spreading policy of imposing a *numerus clausus* on the Jewish population in urban centres, constituted a progressively tighter socio-economic corset.[31] By 1750 well over half the 60,000 or so Jews living in the German states, excluding Austria, lived a marginal existence of peddling, begging, and petty crime.[32] In Bohemia–Moravia the situation was even worse.[33] The only way

[29] Stern, *Preußischer Staat*, II/i. 89–97; Jersch-Wenzel, *Juden und 'Franzosen'*, pp. 98, 190.
[30] Jersch-Wenzel, *Juden und 'Franzosen'*, pp. 51, 96–8.
[31] Ibid., pp. 92, 96.
[32] Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry*, p. 43.
[33] Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte*, pp. 14–15.

out was emigration either to increasingly remote rural localities of central Europe or else further afield. But either way the improvement secured was often meagre in the extreme. The new Jewish communities which arose in remote corners of Germany during the early eighteenth century were often desperately poor.[34] The fate of those poor German, Bohemian, and Polish Jews who reached England was frequently little better.

In Britain, the new world economic leader, the marginality of the Jewish role compared with that of the Jews in the Dutch Republic was due to several factors. Restrictions and disabilities certainly played a role. Whereas Jews were numerous in brokerage at Amsterdam, for example, at London the number of Jewish brokers was fixed by the city corporation in 1697 at only twelve, a limit which remained in effect until 1830.[35] But probably the main reason for the failure of Jewish immigrants to make any great impact in England was the declining role of Jews and Marranos in trade elsewhere. After 1700, crypto-Jews were much less significant than they had been previously in the commerce of Spain and Portugal. Similarly, in the Adriatic and the Balkans the Jewish role was now in full decline. At the same time, England lacked the overland trade with Germany which was the life-blood of the Dutch Ashkenazi community. Even in the English Caribbean colonies, the Jewish role tended to diminish as the century progressed.

The narrowing of the Jewish role in Holland and Germany went hand in hand with the virtual exclusion of the Jews from the major new mercantilist initiatives in progress in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark–Norway. When Peter the Great annexed Riga and conquered Latvia, Estonia, and Ingria from Sweden, establishing his capital at his newly established city of St Petersburg in 1703, a new era began in the social, economic, and cultural development of Russia. Owing to Peter's statecraft, the burgeoning Russian empire impinged on European Jewry, as it did on all European life, to a much greater extent from the end of the 1690s than it had before; but until the 1760s, the impact of this was largely negative. Peter initiated a whole package of industrial mercantilist projects, some of which were at any rate partially successful, and took good care to draw the newly annexed German Lutheran Baltic population, as well as other foreigners, into his schemes and into the new Russian reality. But the expanding Russia of Peter the Great and his immediate successors offered no significant role to the Jews. During his stay in Holland in 1697–8, Peter had personal contacts with Jews and, through the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicholas Witsen, received a formal approach from the Jewish leadership requesting that the Tsar lift the age-old ban on Jewish settlement in Russia.[36] The Tsar declined to do so and never officially changed the old policy.

Peter was nevertheless heartily contemptuous of the prejudices of the Russian Orthodox tradition and his rule led to a general easing of the restrictions on

[34] Lemmermann, *Gesch. d. Juden im alten Amt Meppen*, pp. 1, 8.
[35] Pollins, Economic History, p. 56.
[36] Raptschinsky, *Peter de Groote in Holland*, pp. 127–8.

foreigners and non-Orthodox in Russia, which made possible a certain amount of Jewish settlement in border areas such as Riga and Smolensk. Peter was also well disposed to certain individual Jews such as an Amsterdam Portuguese Jew whom he met during his stay in Holland and who, as a convert, later became one of several remarkable personalities of Jewish extraction at the Russian court, eventually becoming, under the title Count Anton Divier, police commissioner of St Petersburg. After Peter's death, however, the position of the incipient Russian Jewish community sharply deteriorated. During the era of Catherine I, Peter II, and Anna (1725–40), a number of measures were taken to reduce the Jewish presence in Russia, including the general expulsion of 1727. Then under the Tzaritsa Elizabeth (1741–62), who was inspired by a deep religious aversion to the Jews, the position deteriorated further.[37] Her general expulsion of 1742, which was brutally implemented, did not totally eliminate the Jewish presence from the border areas but it did reduce it drastically, several thousand Jews being expelled over the border into Poland. The laying of the foundations for the great expansion of Russian Jewish life in the nineteenth century was to begin only after the accession of the more enlightened Catherine the Great in 1762.[38]

The waning of the European Jewish trade system of the seventeenth century in a context of exclusion from agriculture, the crafts, and employment in industry, in an age of expanding population—Jewish and non-Jewish—both diminished the relative importance of the Jewish presence in European society and was one of the main causes of the degradation and cultural impoverishment which are the hallmarks of Jewish decline in eighteenth-century Europe. The most obvious contribution of the tightening economic corset to the degradation of Jewish society lay in the relentless increase in Jewish poverty. This was an almost universal phenomenon. In Italy destitution gripped the Jewish masses of Rome, Venice, and Livorno. In Germany, the older urban Jewish centres such as Frankfurt, Hanau, Worms, and Fürth may have stagnated, or grown only very slowly, after 1713, but levels of poverty and Jewish communal poor-relief tended to rise sharply.[39] In Frankfurt, though there was no increase in Jewish numbers, the list of those receiving charity and too poor to pay communal taxes steadily lengthened. The problem posed by the growing impoverishment of the Jewish masses became a central theme of discussion about the Jews during the eighteenth century in Germany. Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751–1820), the Prussian official who became the most noted authority on the subject and who showed considerable sympathy for the plight of German Jewry, laid particular stress in his famous work, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (1781) on the need to remove the economic restrictions which he saw as the root cause of Jewish degradation.[40]

[37] Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, i. 257–8; Baron, *The Russian Jew*, p. 11.

[38] Pipes, 'Catherine II and the Jews', pp. 4–5, 18–19.

[39] Kracauer, *Juden in Frankfurt*, ii. 145, 295–301.

[40] Dohm, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, pp. 11–12, 35.

Meanwhile in Holland the nature of the economic predicament confronting Jewry was clearly formulated and discussed, long before Dohm, by the Sephardi *philosophe* and deist Isaac de Pinto (1717–87). De Pinto was deeply preoccupied with the problem of increasing Jewish destitution, which he saw as a general Jewish and not simply as a Dutch Sephardi issue, and which he regarded as an inevitable process as long as what he termed the 'Jewish nation' retained a totally unnatural occupation structure.[41] As long as the Jews remained excluded from the crafts, agriculture, shopkeeping, and government employment, Jewish impoverishment was bound to go on increasing. De Pinto's life-long concern with schemes for Jewish colonization in the Caribbean was rooted in the urgent need felt by the Amsterdam Sephardi community of the mid-eighteenth century to cut back the ever mounting burden of poor-relief.

Increasing destitution was as much the central social issue in Jewish life in Holland as in Germany, Bohemia–Moravia, or Italy. During the three decades 1720–50, when there was a serious deterioration in the state of the Dutch economy as a whole, and during which the Amsterdam tobacco industry, one of the main sources of Jewish employment in the city, collapsed, there was an alarming increase in the scale of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi poor-relief. De Pinto calculated in his *Reflexoens politicas* of 1748 that in the quarter of a century down to the mid-1740s the number of Sephardi families in Amsterdam on poor-relief had quadrupled from 115 to 415 and that by the time of his writing the destitute comprised approximately 40 per cent of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community which, after all, was still the wealthiest Jewish community in Europe.[42] In the other Dutch Jewish communities the position was generally as bad or worse. In 1738 the city of Leeuwarden raised the problem of the increasing number of Jewish destitute and vagrant in the Frisian provincial assembly.[43] In 1754, 48 out of 140 Jews living in Leeuwarden, or over one-third of the community, were on the communal poor-list and in receipt of charity.

Impoverishment and the mounting burden of poor-relief were major symptoms of crisis. But from the standpoint of the rabbis and *parnasim* there were other and more alarming manifestations of decay. The whole trend of European life during the eighteenth century was towards a more secular life-style and a general weakening of ecclesiastical authority. This general tendency was fully evident, and at an early stage, within the western and central European Jewish world. Jewish historians used to suppose that, with the possible exception of the Dutch and English Sephardim, traditional patterns of authority, thought, and observance remained largely intact among European Jewry down to the late eighteenth century when an Enlightenment movement and ideology (the *Haskalah*) first arose among central European Jewry. But increasingly research has revealed the inadequacy of such conceptions.

41 De Pinto, *Reflexoens politicas*, A2–7.

42 Ibid., p. 6; Mendes dos Remédios, *Judeus portugueses*, pp. 46–8.

43 Beem, *Joden van Leeuwarden*, pp. 14–15.

Until the end of the seventeenth century only tiny numbers of Jews, usually Sephardi, Marrano, or Italian, had studied at European universities. Around 1700 this became increasingly common, however, as dozens of Ashkenazi Jews began to be admitted, usually to study medicine, at a large number of different German universities.[44] By 1750 hundreds of Ashkenazi as well as Sephardi Jews had been shaped intellectually by Europe's rapidly changing academic milieu. At the same time, several trends arising from the worsening social and economic situation of European Jewry tended to reinforce the growing impact on Jewish life of Enlightenment ideas and attitudes. The stagnation of the principal communities, and the diffusion of large numbers of tiny rural communities through the Dutch provinces, Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Romania as well as the Russian borderlands, tended to weaken the hold of the main centres of rabbinic authority and learning over Jewish society as a whole. In England there were no organized Jewish communities outside London before 1746; but there were substantial numbers of itinerant traders and hawkers frequenting the countryside and the ports especially of southern England. These Jews rarely lost contact with organized prayer and rabbinic authority completely but there is no question that the grip of Jewish tradition over Ashkenazi life-style in this new context was rapidly and severely weakened.[45] All this reinforced the trend towards a more secular outlook and reduced deference towards Jewish community structures and tradition.

As a result of this general social and cultural shift, by the early eighteenth century the rabbis themselves were sanctioning a certain liberalization of life-style, in an attempt to adapt to fast-changing circumstances. In 1725 the rabbis agreed to a revision of the statutes of the three committees of Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbek, easing restrictions on dress and behaviour.[46] The ban on visiting Hamburg's theatres and opera-house was lifted. But at the same time as they yielded ground at the edges, the communal and rabbinic authorities launched into a vast struggle to stem the impact of new attitudes on morals and life-style. There were frequent condemnations of those who discarded traditional dress and shaved off their beards, and in general emulated the ways of the Gentiles. The republication of the long, moralizing work, the *Regimiento de la Vida* (1564) by the sixteenth-century Salonican rabbi Moses Almosnino, by the Amsterdam rabbis in 1729, expensively transliterated into Latin characters and rendered into modern Spanish, is a typical manifestation of this conservative rearguard action. For Almosnino's work, an interesting instance of the impact of the sixteenth-century European Renaissance on the Jewish spirit, grounds its strictures less on scriptural or rabbinic authority than on worldly considerations and the admonitions of ancient philosophers such as Socrates, Aristotle, and Seneca. Almosnino's work is addressed especially to

[44] Mack, 'Juden an den hessischen Hochschulen', pp. 281–92; Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry*, p. 53.

[45] Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 121–2, 135.

[46] Graupe, *Statuten der drei Gemeinden*, i. 86–7.

highly educated young people and urges great moderation in drinking and every other aspect of life-style, and especially the absolute minimum of sexual activity compatible with orderly married life, showing particular approval of the puritan element in ancient Stoicism.[47]

The challenge to tradition, rabbinic authority, and community structures took many forms. The most overt form of defection was, of course, conversion to Christianity. There are signs that a general increase in Jewish conversion to Christianity set in following the collapse of the Shabbatean movement, an event which undoubtedly plunged much of the Jewish world into turmoil and deep disillusionment. Certainly by 1700 conversion was becoming more frequent in some parts of Europe, including Poland, and the converts—as we see in the instance of those who followed Judah Hasid to the Holy Land in 1700—were often disillusioned sectarians and devotees of emotional messianism.[48]

But the crux of the challenge facing the Jewish leadership was the inexorable decline in religious observance and deference to rabbinic authority. By 1740 the Jews of Metz had shaved off their beards, taken to dressing fashionably, and frequently caused scandal to the conservative by their drinking, gaming, and studied attentiveness to women.[49] In England, the Jewish middle class as a whole, and also much of the pedlar element, clearly regarded much of Jewish tradition as outmoded as early as the 1720s.[50] Beards and traditional Jewish garb were discarded, married women ceased covering their hair with wigs, the Jewish dietary laws were observed increasingly haphazardly. In England, Holland, France, and Germany, at least, the better-off elements among the Jewish population turned their backs on Yiddish and Portuguese and increasingly conformed in their speech to the majority societies around them. Throughout western and central Europe, at least as far east as Berlin and Vienna, Ashkenazi as well as Sephardi womenfolk who could afford it adopted elegant, low-cut dresses. In Amsterdam, male Sephardi Jews had been noted for their sexual libertinism even in the early seventeenth century. But after 1700 this tendency became more pronounced. At the same time Jewish male libertinism, Ashkenazi as well as Sephardi, became a much more extensive phenomenon than before throughout western Europe. At London, The Hague, and other cities there were numerous cases of Jews being closely connected with brothels and courtesans.[51]

The rise of secular values and growing freedom of the individual are hardly likely to strike the liberal-minded reader of nowadays as deep manifestations of corruption and decay. But the erosion of traditional restraints on life-style went hand in hand with a deeper process of rejection which unquestionably was a mani-

[47] Almosnino, *Regimiento*, pp. 21, 119–20.

[48] Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, i. 210; Goldberg, 'Getaufte Juden in Polen-Litauen', p. 57.

[49] Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, p. 164.

[50] Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, pp. 122–3.

[51] Ibid., pp. 129–30.

festation of decline—the growing lack of respect for Jewish tradition and rabbinic learning. This too owed much to the Shabbatean upheaval, which, in the end, had led to the heaping of ridicule on Jewish pretensions and a universal shaking of confidence. One response to the spiritual crisis, as we have seen, was a fervent clinging to visions of imminent messianic redemption in spite of everything. A strong strain of mystical messianism, usually linked in one way or another to the figure of Shabbatai Zevi, persisted obdurately in Holland, Italy, and Germany as well as Bohemia–Moravia and eastern Europe for many decades to come. But at the same time many rabbis, convinced of the dangers of messianic speculation, reacted strongly against the cabbalistic tendencies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The ensuing controversies, which at times became extremely bitter, in turn served to undermine the standing of rabbinic learning and authority as a whole.[52] One of the most publicized of the encounters was the clash between Jacob Emden (1697–1776), a son of Zevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, and Jonathan Eybeschütz (*c.*1695–1764), rabbi at Hamburg from 1750 until his death. Emden, a relentless uncoverer of questionable messianic allusions and Shabbatean hints, published a vehement attack on Eybeschütz in 1751, accusing him of gross superstition and Shabbatean leanings. The battle which followed split German Jewry, its reverberations extending as far as Lithuania and Moravia.

Emden, despite his vehemence, was more than just a religious propagandist. An indefatigable scholar, his work represented a genuine attempt to adapt and reinterpret traditional rabbinic erudition in the light of the intellectual criteria of his age. In some respects, he was a precursor of Moses Mendelssohn and the *Haskalah*. He knew Latin and other western languages and showed some interest in the advancement of secular studies. But such figures were all too rare in the European Jewish world of the first half of the eighteenth century and there is little doubt that in general the prestige of the rabbinate in western and central Europe was gravely diminished. By the middle of the eighteenth century, even the conventional German or Dutch Ashkenazi Jew who adhered loyally to Jewish ritual and the dietary laws was capable not just of disrespect but of the most sarcastic contempt for rabbinic pretensions and erudition.[53] The prevailing characteristic of the western European Jewish mind from the second quarter of the century onwards was one of increasing rejection of its own intellectual culture and tradition.[54]

The intellectual decadence of Jewish life was a more or less universal phenomenon during the first half of the eighteenth century. It is true that by the middle decades of the century there were definite signs of creative reorganization and spiritual renewal around the eastern fringes of European Jewry in Lithuania and the Ukraine. But this spiritual reawakening in eastern Europe came only after decades of instability and upheaval arising from the aftermath of the Shabbatean

[52] Cohen, *Jacob Emden*, pp. 154, 264; Graupe, *The Rise of Modern Judaism*, pp. 65–6.
[53] Yogev, *Diamonds and Coral*, pp. 267–8.
[54] Scholem, *Jews and Judaism in Crisis*, pp. 74–7.

fiasco and the periodic resurgence of messianic sectarianism.[55] The last major manifestation of mystical messianism, and possibly the most damaging, was the movement led by Jacob Frank (1726–91). Frank was the son of a Ukranian Shabbatean messianist who migrated to Romania. He himself spent many years travelling in the Balkans and Turkey, where he mixed in esoteric Shabbatean circles and made contact with followers of Baruchiah Russo. On returning to Podolia, in 1755, he initiated a new movement of Shabbatean agitation and penitential fervour, which quickly spread to other parts of the Ukraine and Poland. In 1756, in one of its last major actions, the Council of the Four Lands proclaimed the excommunication of Frank and his followers, unleashing a campaign of persecution against them. The Council also took steps to restrain the study of cabbala, and in particular the works of Luria, especially among the young. But the furore was not over yet. Frank showed great acumen in attracting fresh adherents and later in forging an alliance with elements of the Catholic Church. In 1759 matters came to a head in a great disputation between orthodox rabbis and Frankists staged in the cathedral at Lvov under the supervision of the bishop. Frank and many of his followers now converted to a formal Christianity, but others of his followers continued formally as Jews. Eventually Frank migrated with his retinue to Moravia. A network of Frankist adherents survived, especially in Moravia, until well into the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile traditional rabbinic learning in Poland–Lithuania had sunk into a phase of mediocrity and arid casuistry. It was one thing to reject stolidly both the Enlightenment, on the one hand, and the mystical fervour of the sectarians, on the other, insisting on the supremacy of tradition and established authority, but quite another to rework mainstream rabbinic tradition into a creative synthesis capable of sustaining the cultural and intellectual life of eastern European Jewry in the new circumstances of the eighteenth century. Eventually this feat of erudition was achieved by Elijah of Vilna (1720–97), the so-called Vilna Gaon, a great foe of the Enlightenment, and of all philosophy, yet undoubtedly one of the greatest, most influential, and most inspiring spiritual leaders of modern Judaism. However, the lofty synthesis which took shape in his study during the 1740s and 1750s only began to make an impact on the wider Jewish world after 1760, when he began to lecture to groups of eminent scholars. His creative activity centred on a drive to re-encapsulate rabbinic tradition, together with a firmly subordinated dose of cabbala, into an orderly intellectual and spiritual whole, employing secular studies such as history, geography, and astronomy as handmaidens to elucidate Torah, Talmud, and medieval commentary.[56] Elijah, in other words, combined rigorous methods of textual analysis with a stress on wide-ranging intellectual synthesis.

If Elijah of Vilna restored stability by subordinating mystical speculation and messianic emotion to the intellectual exposition of Torah, Talmud, and rabbinic

[55] Scholem, *The Messianic Idea*, pp. 78–85, 120–7.

[56] Ben-Sasson, 'Lithuania', pp. 126–7.

literature, seeing a Torah-based, all-encompassing programme of study as the path to individual and communal salvation, that other great symbol of Jewish renewal of the mid-eighteenth century, Israel Baal Shem Tov (1700–60), otherwise known as the Besht, built a rival and no less enduring edifice by subordinating intellectual analysis to a revived, anti-Shabbatean mysticism, using as Gershom Scholem expressed it 'those elements of cabbalism which were capable of evoking a popular response, but stripped of their messianic flavour to which they owed their chief successes during the preceding period'.[57] Israel Baal Shem Tov grew up, and carried on his spiritual mission, in Podolia and Volhynia, which were among the areas of Ashkenazi Europe where spiritual turmoil and Shabbatean mysticism persisted most obdurately. In essence the Hasidic movement which the Besht founded in the 1740s, and which grew to become one of the major trends within modern Judaism, was both a reaction to, and the successor of, the mystical messianism which had been so widely prevalent over the previous century.[58] What Hasidism inherited from the Shabbatean movements of the past was not only their mystical fervour and emotionalism, and a deep preoccupation with restoration and salvation, but also the habit of following charismatic heroes who were taken to embody special virtues, the notion that the people, through close allegiance and contact with the Hasidic leader, of whom the Besht himself was the prototype, could share in and absorb his special sanctity and wisdom. The Besht left no writings. Instead he established his movement through the power of his personality: his sayings, parables, visions, faith-healing, and some curiously cryptic aphorisms were the foundation on which the rest was built. At his death he left an admiring circle which gradually evolved into a vast network of interacting, and sometimes warring, groups, led by charismatic religious leaders, and eventually encompassing the Ukraine, White Russia, and parts of Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania.

Hasidism was a sign of renewal within Judaism. But it was also a symptom of the growing dispersal of Jewish population around the eastern fringes of Poland and of the erosion of traditional structures of authority.[59] By splitting the congregations of the Ukraine, White Russia, and Poland, and creating new foci of loyalty superseding the organized *kehillot*, the movement also further contributed to the gradual dissolution of established communal patterns. If the first half of the eighteenth century was a period of socio-economic and cultural decline for European Jewry, it was also a period in which the old institutional framework began to disintegrate. This latter phenomenon is best seen as a consequence both of inner decay arising from changes in culture and outlook and of the progressive secularization and centralization of the European state itself.

The waning of many, or most, of the principal communities of Poland–Lithuania during this period was thus the result of a combination of demographic, cultural,

[57] Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 329.

[58] Ibid.; Buber, *Hasidism*, pp. 7, 12; Scholem, *The Messianic Idea*, pp. 194–202.

[59] Katz, *Tradition and Crisis*, pp. 241–2.

and religious factors as well as the general economic malaise.[60] Little by little the main centres lost their juridical, fiscal, and spiritual grip over a proliferating mass of small communities which not infrequently invoked the protection of local nobles in challenging the hegemony of the major *kehillot*. The economic malaise contributed significantly to undermining the viability of the old edifice through the mounting burden of indebtedness which the communities incurred as a result of the steady rise in the numbers on poor-relief. At the same time the poor and disadvantaged were no longer as ready to accept the communal supremacy of the élite families as they had been in the past. Internal friction became more frequent, especially in the form of clashes between the community governing boards and the Jewish guilds. Finally, in 1764, after decades of decline, the Polish Sejm took the step of abolishing both Polish Jewry's Council of the Four Lands and the assembly of Lithuanian Jewry, forbidding the convening of such Jewish parliaments in future.

The final liquidation of Jewish self-government in Poland–Lithuania took place under Russian, Prussian, and Austrian occupation, following the successive partitions of Poland. This began at Mogilev and Vitebsk, the first two major Jewish communities to come under Russian rule, following the first partition of 1772. Under Catherine the Great's municipal reforms of 1775–9, the Jews of these districts were formally released from the judicial and fiscal jurisdiction of the *kehillot*. When most of the rest of Polish–Lithuanian Jewry came under Russian rule, as a result of the second and third partitions of Poland, the abolition of Jewish self-government was extended to all the communities which now lay within the Russian empire.

In the Austrian empire, which following the partition of 1772 now included Lvov and much of Galicia, Jewish self-government was abolished by Joseph II. This Emperor, one of the leading proponents of the enlightened ideas of his time, wished to remove the barriers which had traditionally segregated his Jewish from his non-Jewish subjects. His prime object was to render the Jews 'useful' citizens of the state. To achieve this he decided to dismantle the framework of institutions which appeared to be primarily responsible for perpetuating Jewish separateness within his empire. Integrating the Jews into Austrian society, education, and the army meant sweeping away the now seemingly obsolete apparatus of Jewish autonomy. This was accomplished in stages, beginning with the removal of the fiscal powers of the Jewish communities. Finally, under decrees of 1785 and 1788, the *Landjudenschaften* of Bohemia and Moravia were abolished.

In western and central Europe there was no sudden dissolution or removal of the apparatus of Jewish self-rule before the French Revolution. In Germany, the characteristic form of communal organization which had matured during the seventeenth century, the *Landjudenschaft*, remained at least formally intact

[60] Abramsky, 'Crisis of Authority', pp. 13–15.

through the eighteenth.[61] But there nevertheless set in a process of inner decay, an unmistakable loss of grip over the basic mechanisms of Jewish life resulting from the steady undermining of the prestige of the rabbis and *parnasim*. Among western Jewry the conceptual demolition of Jewish communal autonomy preceded its realization in fact. Moses Mendelssohn's hostility to the principle of Jewish self-government was thoroughly representative of the Jewish outlook of his time.[62] When abolition became a fact under the impact of the French Revolution it was everywhere accepted with alacrity. At Bordeaux the governing board of the Sephardi community simply noted, at the conclusion of their minutes, in February 1790, that 'since the Jews of Bordeaux can no longer be considered a national community', the community as a political, judicial, and fiscal body had dissolved itself.

[61] Cohen, 'Entwicklung der Landesrabbinate', pp. 234, 238–42.

[62] This was one point on which Mendelssohn disagreed with Dohm, who continued to believe in the desirability of Jewish self-government; Malino, 'Attitudes toward Jewish Communal Autonomy', pp. 95–7.

XI
Conclusion

No doubt not a few readers will be somewhat bemused, if not shocked, to find the eighteenth century in European Jewish history characterized as an epoch of 'decline'. The whole weight of traditional historiography seems to lean heavily against such a designation. We are so used to thinking of Jewish integration into modern western civilization as an accelerating process, fed by the increasingly secular tone, tolerant atmosphere, and vibrant economic life which we all tend to associate with the eighteenth century that to speak of the 'decline' of European Jewry in the era of Enlightenment seems a virtual contradiction in terms. One contemporary historian who did give a new twist to traditional views on the subject, Ellis Rivkin, shifted the emphasis in his analysis from 'liberating ideas', which most previous scholars identified as the crucial factor, to the beneficial impact of what he calls 'developing capitalism'; but he too still saw the eighteenth century, a period of accelerating economic growth in the west, as an era which immeasurably strengthened the position of European Jewry. Rather than growing freedom of expression and toleration of their religion, Rivkin stressed increasing freedom of economic opportunity and movement. And while not everyone will be willing to accept that 'developing capitalism is the prime factor in the liberation and emancipation of the Jews',[1] few will dispute that intellectual developments do indeed have to be looked at in their economic context. But the basic question remains: taking all the new eighteenth-century freedoms together, intellectual and economic, is it true that these nourished and enhanced the Jewish role in the west? The answer, I believe, at any rate as regards Europe before 1800, is no.

In fact, much of the evidence for decline is well known to scholars, but the indications for the various parts of Europe are rarely brought together and looked at *in toto*. The economic deterioration of whole networks of Jewish communities during the Age of Enlightenment and of the early, pre-1800 Industrial Revolution, accompanied by the pauperization of the Jewish masses, is obvious enough in specific instances, being well known, for instance, to specialists in Dutch, German, Italian, and Polish Jewish history. Yet there has long been a curious reticence, or unwillingness, to gather the strands together and draw conclusions about the overall situation. Could it be that the facts simply do not fit in with the entrenched assumptions and prejudices of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Jewish historiography, infused as it is with a powerful, at times excessive, reverence for the forms and processes of political and legal emancipation? It is hard to deny, in any case, that what was an age of tremendous economic vitality and increasing

[1] Rivkin, *The Shaping of Jewish History*, p. 160.

opportunity was, generally speaking, for the Jews an era of stagnation, decay, and impoverishment, both economic and cultural.

The crumbling of Jewish self-government, education, and community welfare was integrally linked to a deeper transformation in attitudes and outlook which transformed Jewish life during the eighteenth century at any rate in western and central Europe. What one scholar has aptly termed the 'decline of the will to separate existence on the part of the Jewish communities' and the 'receding of the old Israel centredness and messianism in Jewish outlook'[2] definitely preceded the later process of political emancipation. For the Enlightenment, by the early eighteenth century, permeated much of Jewish as it did non-Jewish life, and the Enlightenment was, in significant respects, fundamentally hostile to Jewish tradition. Here it is not a question of citing the personal anti-Semitism of Voltaire or d'Alembert or of denying that the Enlightenment launched a generalized assault on prejudice, ecclesiastical power, and Christian dogma, the very forces principally responsible for the degradation of Jewish life in Europe. No doubt the Enlightenment did throw up the occasional figure such as Basnage or Dohm capable of showing a deep and sympathetic interest in the Jewish predicament. After 1760 the Enlightenment also opened up major new opportunities for the Jews in secular life, especially in Russia and the Austrian empire. No doubt the Enlightenment did permit far more Jews than in the past to study at European universities and participate in general intellectual life.

But at bottom the Enlightenment reacted strongly against the seventeenth-century baroque tendency to stress the centrality of the Bible and ancient Israel in the interpretation of world history and systematically disparaged Jewish learning and tradition. Bayle in his *Dictionnaire Critique et Historique*, of 1697, regularly belittles the central figures of the Pentateuch and among the Prophets. For Toland and other English deists rabbinic learning and post-biblical Hebrew literature in general were not just 'useless' but repellent. Leti, however appreciative of the worldly talents and moral potential of individual Jews, abhors Jewish ritual with its 'gesti ridicolosissimi'. Montesquieu attacks prejudice, intolerance, and the Inquisition but shows no particular sympathy for the Jews.[3] Up to a point the predominantly anti-Jewish strain in Enlightenment thought and writing can be dismissed as inconsistency on the part of its exponents, a denial of their own values, in short, prejudice. De Pinto scathingly referred to Voltaire's 'calomnies atroces contre les Juifs'.[4] But neither can there be any doubt that in the final analysis the anti-Jewish tendencies of the Enlightenment amounted to much more than this. Clearly the Enlightenment did secularize Europeans' perceptions of historical cause and prevailing conceptions about world history, removing the Bible and divine revelation to the people of Israel from the centre of the stage.[5] The Enlightenment

[2] Kochan, *The Jew and his History*, p. 60.
[3] Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment*, pp. 274–6.
[4] De Pinto, *Traité*, p. 211.
[5] Gay, *The Enlightenment*, ii. 391.

also idealized reason and universality in ways which were totally incompatible with the self-centredness, and presumed narrowness, of Jewish culture and learning. For Montesquieu the rabbis are the slaves of ancient superstition who not only perpetuate a tradition which is sterile and dead but do not even understand their own sacred texts.[6] Thus, it is clear that Voltaire's 'on sait assez que les Juifs, esclaves de la lettre, n'ont jamais pénétré comme nous le sens des Écritures' amounts to far more than an expression of his personal prejudice; it is inherent in the basic suppositions of Enlightenment ideology.[7] By drastically lowering the prestige of Hebrew learning, and generally denigrating the Judaic heritage, the Enlightenment was a key factor in the cultural and intellectual degradation of European Jewry after 1700, a decline which came to be just as much publicized by friends and enemies of the Jews as their economic and social degradation.

The immense intellectual gulf which so deeply divided eastern from western European Jewry in the nineteenth century first opened up during the early eighteenth. If Elijah of Vilna uncompromisingly rejected the Enlightenment and all it stood for, the Jews of the west accepted it with open arms and with all its adverse implications for their cultural and intellectual traditions. Moses Mendelssohn, who came closest to reconciling Jewish tradition with Enlightenment ideology, did so by rejecting the messianic, separatist, and mystical tendencies which characterized Jewish life and culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He strove to project Judaism as essentially a rationalist tradition of thought and a code of individual practice. For Mendelssohn, the philosophical approach of Maimonides represented the true essence of Jewish learning and what was most valuable in it.[8] Much of the hostility of the late eighteenth-century Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskalah*, to Jewish separateness and communal autonomy, a hostility which Mendelssohn fully shared, emanated from the realization that without abolishing Jewish communal autonomy it would be impossible to introduce drastic reforms into the education of the Jewish young and to promote Jewish participation in general intellectual culture.[9]

If the Enlightenment eventually opened up new opportunities for Jews in the secular sphere, it totally failed during the half-century or so after 1713 to demolish the deadening network of economic disabilities which extended almost across the whole of Europe, excluding Europe's Jews from agriculture, the crafts, shopkeeping, and most forms of employment in industry. But while the cultural and intellectual decay of eighteenth-century western Jewry was essentially an outcome of Enlightenment ideology, the deepening economic and social degradation of the mass of the Jewish population arose from institutional patterns and structures firmly rooted in the past. A vast wall of rejection extending from France to Russia,

[6] Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment*, p. 275.
[7] Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, p. 283.
[8] Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem*, pp. 51–7; Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn*, pp. 534–52.
[9] Hiegentlich, 'Een onderzoek', pp. 118–20.

and from Italy to Denmark, continued to shut the Jewish masses out of most forms of economic activity.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, down to the 1570s, the overwhelming trend in European life had been towards the rejection and exclusion of Judaism and the Jews. The attitudes of Erasmus, Luther, and the Counter-Reformation Papacy towards the Jews differed but all were fundamentally negative. Luther was not a direct precursor of the modern holocaust. He did not urge physical attacks on or the liquidation of the Jews. But he came to believe that the expulsion of the Jews was a necessity for Christian society.[10] The re-expansion of Jewish life in western and central Europe in the period 1570–1713 flowed from the weakening of Christian allegiance in the west in the aftermath of the Wars of Religion and the rise of *politique* attitudes and statecraft. At bottom, the recovery of European Jewry was due to the fundamentally secular pressures of *raison d'État* and mercantilism. In some cases, such as Jewish readmission to Tuscany, Venice, and later Denmark and Brandenburg–Prussia, the link between Jewish revival and mercantilism is absolutely clear and explicit.[11] In other cases, notably Jewish readmission into England, the exact role of mercantilist pressures remains debatable; but even there it is clear that considerable weight has to be given to the mercantilist factor. But the usefulness of the Jews from the mercantilist perspective resided almost exclusively in their overseas connections, their enduring links with distant markets. Once Jewish numbers in western and central Europe began to grow, the niche assigned to the Jews in European society by mercantilism no longer sufficed to sustain the momentum and vitality of Jewish communal life.

The continual and vigorous resistance to the process of Jewish reintegration in western and central Europe, as in Russia and the Baltic provinces of the Swedish empire, emanated from large sections of society and was to a large extent orchestrated and fomented by the churches, not least by professors of theology. Admittedly in Germany during the Reformation, the Catholic ecclesiastical princes played a crucial role in protecting the remnants of German Jewry from the full impact of popular anti-Semitism and the Lutheran onslaught. But this was out of political and economic motives at a time when they were under particularly heavy pressure. More generally, it has to be said that it was precisely the revived Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation, as well as the Lutheran and Orthodox churches, which furnished the ideology and provided much of the impetus for the opposition to Jewish reintegration. So effective was this campaign that it not only succeeded in limiting the extent of Jewish re-entry, keeping up a constant pressure on the Jewish communities, and, in the case of England in 1655, in preventing a clear-cut decision by the state in favour of Jewish readmission, but in some places,

[10] Bienert, *Martin Luther und die Juden*, pp. 152–3, 181, 192.

[11] Paci, '*Scala' di Spalato*, pp. 51–9; Cooperman, 'Venetian Policy', pp. 73–5; Jersch-Wenzel, *Juden und 'Franzosen'*, pp. 51–3; Katz, *Jøderne i Danmark*, pp. 65–9.

notably the Papal States outside of Rome, and Vienna in 1669, managed to reverse the shift in favour of the Jews.

It is especially important to re-emphasize the role of the Papacy and the western churches because certain (rather disturbing) revisionist trends have emerged in recent historiography which have tended to obscure this crucial part of the picture. There has in some quarters been a marked reluctance to acknowledge anything like the full extent of ecclesiastical oppression of the Jews during the early modern period or of the role of the Papacy in concerting it. Indeed, some claims now being made are highly objectionable. A particularly blatant instance is the assertion in a recent book—on the rise of toleration no less—which asserts that the papal government in Rome 'allowed complete freedom to its Jewish community', a view which is not just wrong but preposterous in view of the innumerable and crushing disabilities, economic, social, sexual, religious, and political—not to mention the compulsory, weekly, conversionist preaching which was regarded by the Enlightenment as an intolerable infringement of human dignity[12]—to which the Jewish communities of the Papal States in both Italy and France were subjected. In other parts of Italy, in Austria, Bohemia–Moravia, in the Spanish Netherlands—where the Papacy intervened in 1653 to quash the scheme for settling Jews outside Antwerp, making strong representations in Madrid to emphasize its hostility to any extension of Jewish life within Europe—and in Poland, papal attitudes and in some cases direct papal intervention did much to stiffen ecclesiastical opposition to mercantilist initiatives involving the Jews.

A related tendency is to be noted in some recent revisionist comment on the subject of the Inquisition in Spain.[13] Historians have recently woken up to the (long obvious) fact that most Inquisition investigations in early modern Spain were into alleged 'heretical propositions', blasphemy, and marriage offences.[14] Recent research has confirmed that the Inquisition rarely had to deal with cases of Protestantism. But the gloss increasingly being put on these findings that the Spanish Inquisition was in fact a relatively benign institution which, by the standards of the age, conducted itself in a moderate fashion and which dealt harshly with comparatively few victims is a grotesque distortion of the truth. Such claims imply that the Jews were not singled out by the Spanish Inquisition for especially harsh treatment. But with what justification? Anyone who has researched in Inquisition files, or has worked through a sizeable body of *relaciones* (accounts) of *autos-da-fé*, knows that the vast majority of the Old Christians hauled up for 'propositions' (which were frequently as trivial as asserting in private conversation that sex with a woman who is not one's wife is not a sin) were given light punishments and sent home with a telling off.

[12] Dohm, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, p. 84; Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, pp. 244–62.

[13] See, for instance, Kamen, *Spain*, pp. 185–7.

[14] Henningsen, 'El "Banco de datos" del Santo Oficio', pp. 563–5; Bennassar, *L'Inquisition espagnole*, pp. 29–32.

It is therefore worth restating that during its opening phases, from 1481 to 1525, the vast majority of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition, approximately nine-tenths of the total, were Jews who had been forced into baptism or were reluctant to relinquish Jewish practices and beliefs, and that during this period the Holy Office was almost exclusively concerned with the eradication of Judaism.[15] Far from there being a mere handful of victims, by the beginning of the sixteenth century around 20,000 Judaizers had been subjected to severe punishment and loss of property. No other example of organized religious intolerance in early modern Europe, not even the witch-hunt of the sixteenth century in northern Europe, compares in scale and intensity with the assault of the Spanish Inquisition on the forcibly baptized Jews except for the no less virulent campaign launched by the Portuguese Inquisition against the descendants of Portuguese Jewry from 1580 down to 1740. It is perfectly true that in Spain, in the period from 1530 down to 1740 (after which date Inquisition activity tailed off rapidly) cases of investigation for 'propositions', blasphemy, and marriage offences substantially outnumbered trials for heresy. But most of the former involved little of the Inquisitors' time and energy and had no serious consequences. If we take into account only those who suffered torture, lengthy imprisonment, confiscation of property, and death by burning at the stake or incarceration, there were again many thousands of victims, and—except in Aragon, where Muslims provided a majority of the victims—the great bulk were descendants of Jews rightly or wrongly charged with Judaic practices and beliefs. Over this period of more than two centuries, the number of Jews tried for heresy in Castile outnumbered all other trials for formal heresy, that is for Protestantism and Muhammadanism combined, by more than three times, while in Portugal and Spanish America the predominance of trials of descendants of Jews was even more overwhelming.

The Inquisition onslaught on that part of the Iberian population which refused to relinquish Judaic concepts, like Luther's policy of expulsion, was part of a wider, theologically justified response to the persistence and resurgence of Judaism within Christendom. Nevertheless, the unique severity of Inquisition treatment of the Jews in Spain, Portugal, and Spanish America, and Luther's eventual insistence on totally driving the Jews out,[16] were deviations from what might be termed the mainstream of western Christian ecclesiastical policy towards the Jews. In the main the approach adopted by the churches throughout the age of mercantilism and into that of the Enlightenment was a different one. The Papacy's view was that the Jews should not be driven out completely but confined to a few places, shut in, and made to feel the full burden of their alleged guilt and obstinacy through a great weight of social and economic restrictions designed to humiliate,

[15] Bennassar, *L'Inquisition espagnole*, pp. 26–7.

[16] Henningsen, 'El "Banco des datos" del Santo Oficio', pp. 563–5; Bienert, *Martin Luther und die Juden*, pp. 120–32.

degrade, and inflict hardship.[17] In this sense Eisenmenger's Jewish proposals were more representative of Church tradition than those of the later Luther: for Eisenmenger, though he regarded the Jews as the most despicable and reprehensible of men, did not advocate their extirpation or expulsion.[18] His solution was that they should be inexorably weakened and their numbers sapped, that they should be made to feel more acutely the burden of their Judaism, through the piling on of more and more oppressive disabilities.

The Jewish revival in the west thus took place in the face of tremendous opposition, which was, in part, theologically inspired. But this general European phenomenon was by no means entirely religious in character. A great part of it was fundamentally economic. If the churches constituted one of the two great poles of the adverse pressure, the other unquestionably was composed of the guilds. The period 1570–1713 was one of proliferating, state-inspired plans and projects for the resettlement of Jews in western and central Europe. If the response was, on the one hand, a barrage of complaint dressed in theological garb, this was balanced by a no less potent barrage of protest at the likelihood of damaging competition for Christian merchants and artisans. Even where clerical power was at its weakest, as in the Dutch Republic, Jewish participation in the crafts, shopkeeping, and many other sectors of economic life was still drastically curtailed by the force of the economic opposition.

But what precisely was the contribution of the Jews to seventeenth-century European civilization? It is not easy to arrive at a succinct but comprehensive formulation and not many attempts to do so have been made. It is reasonably clear, though, that the general significance of the Jews has to be assessed under two main heads—the economic and the cultural. The problem is to specify the exact nature of the Jewish role. There is no indication that Jews introduced any important innovations, or lent any special impetus to the progress of capitalism, as Sombart believed. The techniques of Jewish commerce and finance differed not a jot from other commerce and finance except in that a vast array of restrictions cut the Jews out of most guilds, most retail trade, and the ownership of land and buildings.

The key factor which imparted a certain importance to the post-1570 Jewish role, in contrast to their increasing marginality in western and central Europe over the previous two centuries, was the simultaneous penetration during the sixteenth century of both Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews, as well as of the Marranos living in Portugal and the Portuguese empire, into maritime and overland long-distance transit trades linking the Levant with Italy, Poland with the Levant, Poland with Germany, and Portugal and the Portuguese empire with northern Europe. The commercial importance gained by the Jews in the Levant and Poland, largely as a result of the previous expulsion from the west, in other words, formed the basis of

[17] Blustein, *Storia*, pp. 180–1; Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, pp. 244–62, 296; Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, pp. 5–13, 24–6.

[18] Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction*, pp. 20–3.

the Jewish revival in Italy, Germany, Bohemia–Moravia, and the Low Countries after 1570. This entrenched position in so many crucial but distant markets proved a factor of great potency, especially in view of the close correspondence and intimate cultural contact between western Jewry and the Jews of the Levant and Poland. It frequently occurred, as foreign ambassadors in Holland often had occasion to notice, that the Jews, for this reason, were able to transmit information, credit, and bullion from one part of the western hemisphere to another more quickly and efficiently than any other network or grouping. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13), British ministers on more than one occasion received early news of military events in the interior of Spain from Jewish circles in Amsterdam! If one or two other groups, such as the Genoese bankers and their factors, disposed of greater financial power than the Jews within a defined area of Europe, in their case the western Mediterranean, no other grouping could match the Jews in the vast scope and range of their operations. And this, at a time of over-stretched and often empty state treasuries, was bound to become a significant factor in all European statecraft and army-provisioning from Portugal to Poland and from Ireland to the Balkans. This does not imply that the Jews either possessed or appropriated a large part of Europe's capital resources. But the Jews were uniquely well placed to handle transfers of precious metals in central and eastern Europe, to influence the flow of bullion in and out of Holland—Europe's financial as well as commercial entrepôt—and to transfer credit promptly from one part of Europe to another. The leading Jewish financiers and contractors, Ashkenazim such as Samuel Oppenheimer, Samson Wertheimer, and Leffmann Behrens, as well as Sephardim such as Diogo Teixeira, Antonio Lopes Suasso, or Jerónimo Nunes da Costa, were what they were, key intermediaries in the contest of European states, essentially because they could draw on the assistance and resources of a host of money-changers, metal-dealers, colonial wholesale merchants, and brokers, who then, in turn, depended on an abject mass of Jewish pedlars and hawkers whose activity, despite their modest means and unkempt, outlandish appearance, nevertheless exerted a strong influence on the movement of gold and silver between Holland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Poland. And if the Jewish leadership could provide financial services of a kind that others could not, they were doubly inclined to respond to the pleas of rulers for assistance, having no other means than their financial and commercial power to secure the concessions, favours, and security which they lacked.

It was neither an accident nor some deep and hidden mystery that Sephardim and Ashkenazim should have re-entered, gained ground, reached the peak of their importance, and then declined, hand in hand, as it were *pari passu*. For both were responding to, and interacting with, a common set of European circumstances, cultural, political, and economic. Fernand Braudel admittedly puts forward the very different notion that the European Sephardim declined in the later seventeenth century (when in fact they were at their peak) and that there was then a

period of 'relative decline for Jewish merchants everywhere' before the rise of the Ashkenazim, which, according to him, began in the eighteenth century.[19] But then Braudel on the subject of the Jews (as on so much else) diverges so far from what the evidence shows us that there is little need to apologize for dismissing his observations, without more ado, as nonsense. The reality could not have been more different from what he claims. Sephardim and Ashkenazim rose and fell together.

But the significance of the Jews in early modern European life is not to be assessed solely in terms of their economic role, vital as this was to their position. If by 1750 even Jewish intellectuals felt impelled to apologize for, and excuse, what was generally perceived as the cultural backwardness and degradation of the mass of Jewry, this was a state of affairs of comparatively recent origin. Part of the price for Jewish self-government, self-censorship, and the elaborate educational structure which European Jewry created in the sixteenth century, and sustained through the seventeenth, was a creeping intellectual paralysis which by around 1700 had drained the vitality and dynamism of Jewish scholarship and creative writing. But less than two centuries separated the universal contempt for Jewish learning prevalent in the mid-eighteenth century from the remark at the end of the sixteenth by one of Europe's foremost scholars, Joseph Justus Scaliger, that the Jews should be retained in the west not only for economic reasons but because 'we need to learn from them', a point echoed by Grotius and many another late humanist.

The ghettoization of the Jews of Italy and much of central Europe pressed the Jews in tightly on one another, creating a distinctive new Jewish civilization. It was a culture cramped and bizarre in its peculiar relationship to spatial reality and its own surroundings.[20] But it was also a culture which was extraordinarily intense, permeated by a mystical vitality which forms an important component of the civilization of baroque Europe as a whole. The culture of seventeenth-century Europe, in contrast to that of the Enlightenment, was one in which Old Testament imagery, the Hebrew language, Talmud and rabbinic literature, and the new Jewish mysticism emanating from the Holy Land, exerted a profound influence on scholarship, dissident theology, art, and literature, as well as mainstream liberal Protestant thought. One has only to recall the impact not just of Old Testament themes but of rabbinic learning and cabbalistic concepts on figures such as Scaliger, Grotius, Vieira, Rembrandt, Vondel, Coccejus, Milton, Newton, Pascal, Racine, and Richard Simon, to appreciate how pervasive this influence was. It is true that Spinoza, the heretical philosopher who sought to overturn divine revelation, and was expelled by his own community in Amsterdam, was the only Jewish cultural figure who is generally recognized as of sufficient stature to stand alongside the great names of early modern Europe. But a good case can be made for Isaac Luria too, and in any

[19] Braudel, *Wheels of Commerce*, p. 159.
[20] Bonfil, 'Cultura e mistica a Venezia', pp. 470–2.

case the collective impact of the Jews' spiritual and intellectual leaders, men such as Luria, Judah Loew, Herrera, Montalto, Leone Moden, Levi Morteira, Menasseh ben Israel, and Orobio de Castro did leave a great many traces in the European culture of the age.

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Index

A

Aboab, Immanuel (*c.*1555–1628), anti-Christian proselytizer among the Marranos 68
absolutism, and the Jews 119–24, 129–30, 132–4, 199–202, 214–15, 223
Aguilar, Moseh Raphael d' (d. 1679), Dutch rabbi and anti-Christian polemicist 182
Albania, Jews in 25, 27, 40, 175
Alessandria (Spanish Lombardy; later part of the Savoyard state), Jews of 18, 144
aliyah, to the Holy Land 174, 176, 184, 210
  see also Zionism
Almosnino, Moseh (*c.*1515–*c.*1580) 209–10
Alsace, Jews of 7, 84, 139, 195
Altona (Hamburg) 36, 76–7, 120, 124, 135, 150
  Ashkenazi *kehilla* organization at 159–60, 209
Amersfoort 86, 127, 162, 198–9
Amsterdam:
  construction of synagogues at 52, 180–1
  German Jews at 86, 127, 139, 147
  as Jewish cultural centre 63, 66, 180–1
  Jewish emigration from 54, 86, 128–9
  Jewish institutions at 162–3, 166–7, 183, 200
  Jewish policy of city council 51–3, 54, 127
  Jewish population of 42, 135, 195, 198
  Jewish tobacco industry at 147, 150, 203
  Polish Jews at 136, 154–5, 162
  Sephardi settlement at 42, 51–2, 76, 127
  Shabbatean movement at 173–5, 177
  trade of Jews of: with the Caribbean, *see* Caribbean trade; with Germany 143, 145, 150; with Portugal 51–2, 87–9, 145, 203; with Spain 88–9, 145, 203
  yeshivah Ets Haim at 168
Ancona (Papal States), Jews of viii, 13–14, 15, 17, 37, 40, 60, 144, 196 n.
Ansbach, Jews of 55, 81–2, 104, 158
Antoine, Nicholas (1603–32), French pastor converted to Judaism, burnt at the stake in Geneva 67
Antwerp:
  attempts to settle German and Dutch Jews in 42, 128–9, 220
  Portuguese Marranos at 13, 41–2, 52, 128–9, 166, 186
arenda 24, 115, 127, 136–7
Arezzo (Tuscany) 17, 41
army contracting, involvement of Jews in 101–9, 115–16, 223
art collecting 118, 202
Aschaffenburg (electorate of Mainz) 157
Ashkenazi, Zevi Hirsch (1660–1718), Amsterdam rabbi 177, 180
Asti (Piedmont), Jews of 38, 144
Augsburg 5, 12, 83, 120
Augustów (Białystok) 126
Aurich (East Friesland) 35
Austria, and the Jews 7, 32–3, 72–4, 102–3, 108–9, 119–21, 169, 191–2, 196–7, 201, 214, 217, 220, 223
  see also Burgenland; Vienna; Vorarlberg
Avigdor, family of Court Jews in Piedmont 95, 115, 129
Avignon (Papal States), Jews of 17–18, 38, 45, 54, 132–3

B

Baal Shem Tov, Israel (the Besht; *c.*1700–60), founder of Hasidism 212–13
Bacharach, Naphtali ben Jacob (1st half of 17th c.), German cabbalist 171, 189
Bacharach, Yair Haim (1638–1702), German rabbi 173
Bacon, Francis (1561–1626) 2, 45
Baden-Durlach 57, 83, 120, 123, 197, 199
Balkans, trade of vii, 13, 25–6, 37, 39–40, 50, 52, 93, 140, 142–3
Bamberg:
  bishopric and town of 12, 35, 81–2, 174, 192, 197, 240
  Landjudenschaft of 158, 174, 192
banking 21, 91, 108–11, 168–9, 200–1, 223
  petty loan-banking 21, 33, 144–5
  see also state finance
baptism, forced 14–15, 19–20, 99
Barbados 88, 128, 146, 206
Barrios, Daniel Levi (Miguel) de (1635–1701), Dutch Sephardi chronicler 163
Bartolocci, Giulio (1613–87), Professor of Hebrew at the Collegium Neophytorum at Rome 188
Basel (Basle) 11, 16, 46, 84 n., 86, 105

Basnage de Beauval, Jacques (1653–1725), Huguenot historian of the Jews 183–4, 190, 217
Bassevi von Treuenberg, Jacob (1570–1634), Court Jew of Prague ennobled by the Emperor Matthias 73–4
Bavaria 5, 81, 83, 192
Bayle, Pierre xii, 191 n., 217
Bayonne, Sephardi Jews of 42–3, 56, 88–9, 95–6, 132, 146
Bayreuth 81, 113
Becher, Johann Joachim, German mercantilist agent and writer 142, 226
Beer, Aaron (late 17th c.), Frankfurt Jewish banker 109, 113, 115, 118
Behrends, Leffmann (1634–1714), Hanover Court Jew 110–11, 123, 159, 193, 200, 203
Belgrade 27, 102, 168–9, 196
Belmonte, Baron Manuel de (Isaac Nunes; d. 1705), Sephardi 'Agent' of Spain at Amsterdam 109, 112, 116, 202
Belz (Ukraine) 98, 137
Berdichev 137
Berlin:
  expulsion of Jews from (1510–73) 7, 8, 10
  expulsion of poor Jews from (1737) 197–8
  Jewish population of 139, 197, 205, 240
  Jews and the textile industry at 150, 204–5
  public practice of Judaism at 122–3
  publication of Eisenmenger's *Entdektes Judenthum* at 193
  resettlement of Jews in 121–3, 159
Białystok 126
Bikur Holim confraternities 167–8
Bilgoray (Lublin) 198
Bodin, Jean (1530–96) 2, 30–1, 44, 46, 67, 184
Bohemia:
  Jewish population of 32, 39, 137–8, 140, 195–7
  Jews of 31–3, 74, 82, 85–6, 95, 120–1, 125, 139, 149, 205–6, 214, 223
  Landjudenschaft of 152–3, 157, 214
Bologna 17–18
Bordeaux, Sephardi Jews of 42–3, 95–6, 132, 134, 215
Bosnia 25–6
Bossuet, Bishop Jacques Benigne (1627–1704), French theologian and polemicist xii, 179, 190
Brandenburg, electorate of vi, 7–8, 10, 55, 121–3, 150, 197–8
Brandenburg Africa Company, and the Hamburg Sephardim 114
Braudel, Fernand 223–4
Brazil ix, 75, 87–8, 97, 112, 132, 141, 166, 169
  collapse of Netherlands Brazil and the Jews 119, 129, 132
  Jewish population of Netherlands Brazil 87
Brazil Company (1649), Sephardi participation in 97, 113
Breisach (Breisgau) 79, 82–3, 84
Breslau (Wrocław) 121–2, 142–3
Brest-Litovsk 137, 152, 156
  Jewish population of 198
Brody (Lvov) 98, 137, 155–6, 198
  Jewish population of 198
Broughton, Hugh (1549–1612), English Puritan Hebraist and controversialist 55, 69 n.
Bruno, Giordano 31
Brunswick, expulsion of Jews from 10, 113
Bucer, Martin (1491–1551), Protestant reformer at Strasbourg 9–10
Budapest 102–3, 168
Bueno de Mezquita, David (late 17th c.), Amsterdam 'Agent' of the Duke of Brunswick 113–14
Bulgaria 23 n., 25–6, 196
Burgau, the (Ulm), migration of Jews from 82–3
Burgenland (Austro-Hungarian border) 138, 149, 159, 197
burial societies 166
Buxtorf, Johannes (1564–1629), Professor of Hebrew at Basel 46

C

cabbala 64–7, 170–6
  Christian 14, 124, 187, 189
  Lurianic 65–6, 70, 171, 189
Cadiz, Dutch, English, and Hanseatic trade to 89, 146, 199
Calvin, Jean 10–11, 186–7
Calvinists, and the Jews 10–11, 34–6, 52–3, 55
candle-making 148, 150
Cansino, Jacob (d. 1666), Jewish leader at Oran 92
Capito, Wolfgang, Protestant reformer and Hebraist 10–11
Cardoso, Abraham (Miguel; 1626–1706), Sephardi mystical messianist 175–6
Cardoso, Isaac (Fernando; 1604–81), Sephardi physician and controversialist 165–6, 167, 175, 182, 184, 190
Caribbean trade, Sephardi involvement in ix, 87–8, 124, 133–4, 145–6, 200, 203–4
Carpentras (Papal States in France) 17–18, 133

Casale Monferrato, Jews of 95, 140, 144–5
Castro, Bento de (Baruch Nehamias; 1597–1684), Hamburg Sephardi physician and Shabbatean 186
Catherine II, the 'Great', Empress of Russia 207, 214
Cayenne ix, 133
Ceuta (Morocco) 89, 92
charity, organized, in the Jewish communities 60, 166–8, 189–90
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1518–56) 9, 12–13, 32
Charleville 136
Child, Sir Josiah, English mercantilist writer 132
Chmielnicki, Bogdan (1595–1657), Ukrainian insurgent leader, and slaughter of Jews in the Ukraine, White Russia, and south-east Poland 99–100, 135–6, 154, 168
chocolate-making 147
Christian IV, King of Denmark (1596–1648), and the Jews 54, 65–6, 76–7, 124
Christianity, in the West, weakening of in early modern era 29–31, 44–5, 170–1, 219–20
Christina, Queen of Sweden (1632–54), and the Jews 116–17, 121, 186
class structure, of early modern Jewish society 140–2, 157, 214
Clement VIII, Pope (1592–1605), and the re-expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States 18
Cleves, Duchy of 83–4, 118, 122, 143
  Landjudenschaft of 104, 158–9
cloth trade 141–3, 146–8, 204
Coccejus, Johannes (1603–69), Dutch Hebraist and founder of the theological school of 'Coccejans' 187–8, 224
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (1619–83), and the Jews 96, 132–4
Cologne, electorate of 5, 12, 19, 35, 53–4, 80, 85, 104–5, 173
  Landjudenschaft of 153, 187
  Portuguese New Christians in 41
colonization, Jewish:
  in the Caribbean ix, 87–8, 124, 132–3, 140, 162, 166–7, 199–200
  in Thirty Years War, Germany 81–3
  in the Ukraine 22–3, 98–100, 136–7
Constantinople 20, 23, 26–7, 93–4, 169, 173–4, 177, 195–6
conversion:
  of Christians to Judaism 3, 15, 38–40, 42–3, 68–71, 187
  of Jews to Christianity 20, 45–6, 174–6, 194, 199, 200–1; *see also* baptism, forced
  of Jews to Islam 175–6
Copenhagen 124, 140
coral trade, see Livorno
Cordovero, Moses (1522–70), Safed cabbalist 65
Corfu, Jews of 15 n., 40, 93, 114, 144, 175
Cortizos, family of Marrano financiers in Spain 91, 102, 116
Cortizos, Joseph (1656–1742), Sephardi army contractor 107–8
Cosimo I (1519–74), Grand Duke of Tuscany 16
Cosimo II (1590–1620), Grand Duke of Tuscany 51
Costa, Alvaro de, London Sephardi merchant 146
Costa, Uriel da (*c.*1584–1640), Marrano sceptic 163, 177
Council of the Four Lands 151–2, 154–6, 212–14
Counter-Reformation, the, and the Jews 8, 14–18, 29–31, 38–9, 60–2, 72–3, 94, 120–1, 213
Courland 22, 97, 113
Court Jews 33–4, 73–4, 83–4, 89, 101–18, 129, 158–9, 192–3, 199–203
Cracow 22, 26, 64, 126, 135, 137, 152, 154–5
  Jewish population of 198
crafts, Jewish 21, 24–5, 34, 51–2, 54, 64, 143, 146–50, 197–8, 205, 208
Cremona 18
Crete:
  Jews of 15, 25–6, 39–40, 78
  War of (1645–69), effects of on Venetian Jewry 93, 129
Croatia 102–3
Cromwell, Oliver, and the Jews 130–1
Curaçao (Dutch West Indies), Sephardi Jews of 88, 128, 145–6, 162, 167, 169, 174

D

Dalmatia, Jews of vii, 21, 27–8, 39–40, 140, 142–3
Danzig (Gdańsk) 22–4, 143
David, Michael (late 17th c.), Hanover Court Jew 111
deism, *see* Bodin, Jean; Enlightenment; Spinoza, Benedict de; Spinozists
Delmedigo, Yoseph Shlomo (1591–1655), Cretan Jewish physician, philosopher, and cabbalist 64, 163, 167
Denmark vi, 54, 76–7, 104, 110–11, 140, 159–60, 198–9, 203–4, 219
  Ashkenazi settlement in 124, 139, 199

Dessau 124, 139–40, 142–3
Deutz (Cologne) 19, 61, 173
diamond trade, Jewish preponderance in 51–2, 114, 143, 147
distilleries producing vodka and slivovitz, leasing of 24, 149–50
Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von (1751–1820), Prussian writer on the Jews 207–8, 215 n., 217, 220
Dominicans, role of in 16th-c. persecution of the Jews 6
Dönme, the Shabbatean mystical sect in the Balkans 176, 212
dowry societies, Jewish 96, 166
Dubno (Volhynia) 98, 137, 156, 176
Dunkirk, proposal for Sephardi settlement in (1663) 132
Dutch Republic, Jewish population of 140, 198
see also Amsterdam; Holland; Rotterdam etc.

E

East Friesland 35–6, 42
East India Company (Dutch) 51, 114, 139
East Prussia, Jews in 122, 198, 240
education, Jewish community 151, 162, 168
Eisenmenger, Johann Andreas (1654–1704), Professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg and anti-Jewish polemicist 192–3, 222
Eisenstadt (Burgenland) 121, 138, 159, 168
Jewish population of 138, 197
Samson Wertheimer and 118, 168
Elijah of Vilna (the Vilna Gaon; 1720–97) 212, 218
Emden Jacob (1697–1776), German rabbi 211
Emden, Jews of 27, 35, 42, 114
Emmerich (Cleves), Ashkenazi settlement in 83, 104
Endingen (Aargau), German Jews settle in 87
England, and the Jews vi, 4, 47, 130–2, 140, 191, 199–201, 205–6, 209
Enlightenment, anti-Judaism of xi–xii, 179–80, 183–4, 190–1, 216–18, 224
see also Spinoza, Benedict de
ennoblement of Jews 33, 74, 106, 116–17, 201–2
Erasmus, and the Jews 11–12, 29, 219
eroticism, in Jewish mysticism 176
among Dutch Sephardim 164–5
Essen 35
Este, Italian princely house, and the Jews viii, 7, 16–17, 18, 37
Esterhazy, Hungarian noble family, and the Jews 138, 159
Eybeschütz, Jonathan (*c.*1695–1764), German rabbi 211

F

Feldsburg (Bohemia) 120
Felgenhauer, Paul (mid-17th c.), Moravian Christian pietist and messianist 185
Feltre, Bernardino da (1439–94), Franciscan preacher against the Jews 6
Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor (1556–64), and the Jews 32
Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor (1619–37), and the Jews 72–5, 85, 99, 159
Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor (1637–57), and the Jews 85
Ferrara:
Jewish population of 94, 196
Jews in 15–18, 37, 39, 58, 60, 94; economic activity of 144–5, 148–9
Ferrara Bible (1553) 16–17
Fettmilch, Vincent (d. 1616), Frankfurt anti-Jewish guild leader 56–7
Fleury, the Abbé Claude, French prelate and historian of the ancient Hebrews 179, 190
Florence, and the Jews 7, 15–17, 41, 50–1, 92–3, 94, 129–30
France:
Jewish population of 140
and the Jews vi, x, 3–4, 29–31, 42–3, 55–6, 67–8, 95–7, 146–7
Franconia 12–13, 81, 197
Frank, Jacob (1726–91), messianic sectarian leader 212
Frankfurt am Main:
and the Fettmilch rising 56–7
ghetto of 12–13, 34, 42, 48, 54–5, 61, 77, 79, 118, 142–3, 150
Jewish crafts at, lack of 150
Jewish leadership at 12–13, 74, 154, 157, 192–3
Jewish population of 34, 55, 77, 135, 197
rabbinic courts at 36, 153, 157
Frankfurt an der Oder 8, 122–3, 143, 204–5
Frederick I, King of Prussia (1688–1713), and the Jews 104, 193, 197
Frederick William, the 'Great Elector' of Brandenburg–Prussia (1640–88), and the Jews 84, 104, 121–3, 139, 197
Frederick William I, King of Prussia (1713–40), anti-Jewish policy of 197–8

Friedberg (Hesse), Jewish community of 36, 55, 61, 77–8, 153, 240
decline of 197, 240
Friesland, Jews of 86, 127, 198, 253
Fulda (Hesse), Jewish community of 12, 36, 77–8, 120, 153
Fürst, Jeremias (late 17th c.), Hamburg Court Jew 113, 124
Fürth (Franconia):
Jewish community of 35–6, 81, 121, 143, 168, 252
Jewish population of 35, 139

G
Galilee 21, 23–4, 26, 59, 65, 169
Gans, David (1541–1613), Prague Jewish chronicler 32, 61–2
Gaza 21, 172
Gaza, Nathan of (1643–80), mystical messianist, founder of the Shabbatean movement 172, 175
Gelderland 13
Geneva 6, 10, 67
Genoa, and the Jews 37–8, 49, 93
ghetto, the, and ghettoization 14–15, 57, 59–61, 94
Gibraltar 107, 193
Gideon, Samson (1699–1762), Anglo-Jewish financier 200–1
Glückel of Hameln (1645–1724), Hamburg Yiddish diarist and businesswoman 118, 143, 172 n.
Glückstadt (Holstein), Jewish settlement in 54, 75, 77–9, 102, 114, 150, 160
gold bullion, and the Jews 142, 146
Gomes Solís, Duarte (early 17th c.), Portuguese New Christian mercantilist writer 46–7
Gomperz, family of Court Jews 83–4, 102, 104, 114, 118, 158–9
Gomperz, Mordechai (d. 1664), Court Jew and *Landesrabbiner* of the Duchy of Cleves 158–9
Gomperz, Reuben Elias (1655–1705), Court Jew in Cleves 104, 114
Gonzaga, Italian princely family, and the Jews 7
Gothenburg 200
grain trade:
Adriatic 144
Polish 22–3, 24, 143
Grodno (Grand Duchy of Lithuania) 122, 126, 137, 152, 156, 198
Groningen, Jewish settlement in 42, 127, 198
Gross-Glogau (Silesia), Jews of 10, 79, 99, 126, 142–3
Grotius, Hugo (1583–1645) 44–5, 46, 53, 224
guilds:
Christian, and the Jews 21, 33, 35, 51, 56–7, 98, 126, 136–7, 141, 147
Jewish 149–50
Guinea trade 114, 124
Günzburg (Ulm), Jewish community of 36, 61, 153
Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden (1611–32) 77, 82

H
Haarlem, debate over Jewish admission to (1604) 52
Hague, The, Jewish settlement in 104, 128, 162, 178, 198
Halberstadt, bishopric of 12, 35, 53, 80, 122, 143, 163, 197
anti-Jewish riots at (1621) 74–5
Jewish population of 80, 139, 197, 240
Jews in 80, 143, 168
Halle 7, 123
Hamburg:
Bank of 76
Court Jews at 110–11, 113–14, 116–17
German Jews at 36, 54, 76, 79, 80, 120, 124, 135, 139, 197, 209
Jewish crafts at, lack of 51, 54, 150
Polish Jews at 136
Sephardi population of 79, 135, 197
Sephardi settlement in 36, 42, 48, 51, 54–5, 75–7, 80, 88, 197
Shabbatean movement at 173–4, 211
see also Altona; Wandsbek
Hanau:
Jewish population of 55, 139, 197
Jews of 55, 75, 77, 79, 84 n., 240, 252
Hannover, Nathan Nata (d. 1683), Ukrainian Jewish mystic and chronicler 99
Hanover, Jews of 10, 80, 123, 135, 139, 143, 159, 193, 200
Hansa, The 17–18
Hasid, Judah, of Dubno (*c.*1660–1700), Ukrainian Jewish mystic and colonizer in the Holy Land 176, 210
Hasidism 213–14
Haskalah, the (the Enlightenment in Hebrew literature) 208, 211, 218
Hayon, Nehemiah Hiyya (*c.*1655–*c.*1730), Shabbatean mystic and polemicist 177

Hebraists, Christian 11–12, 29, 45–6, 188
Hebrew Bible, the, controversies over 178–9, 190–1
Hebron 21, 169, 172
Heidelberg 81, 84, 123, 201
Heilbronn, and the Jews 84–5, 120
Henri IV, King of France (1589–1610) 31, 42–3
Herford 80, 122
Herrera, Abraham Cohen (*c.*1570–1635), Sephardi cabbalist and philosopher 66, 189
Hesse, Jewish communities of 18, 36, 72, 120, 142, 158, 197
Hildesheim, bishopric of, Jews in 35, 79–80, 139, 197
Hirschel, Lazarus (late 17th c.), Austrian Court Jew 103, 108
Hohenems (Vorarlberg) 83
Holbach, Baron d' 184
Holland:
  Ashkenazi migration to 48, 86, 127–8, 136, 139, 198
  exceptional freedom of thought and speech in 69 n., 163, 178, 181–3, 192
  States of 52–3, 183, 200 n.
  see also Amsterdam; Haarlem; Rotterdam *etc.*
horse-trade 78, 104, 142
hospitals, Jewish 156, 167
Huguenots 30–1, 109, 123, 134
Hungary:
  chief rabbinate of 201
  export of cattle from 142
  Jewish population of 138, 140
  Jews of 102–3, 121, 125, 138–9, 168–9, 195–7, 213

I

illegitimacy 165
Imperial Free Cities, of the Holy Roman Empire x, 18, 35, 83, 120
Index, Papal (1564) 15–16
Innocent XI, Pope (1676–89), and the suppression of Jewish loan-banking in the Papal States 144–5
Inquisition:
  in Italy 15, 40
  in Mallorca 2, 130
  in Portugal 19–20, 48–9, 185, 199, 221
  in Spain 19–20, 48–9, 92, 116, 119, 199, 220–1
Ireland, and the Jews 47, 105–6
Isserles, Moses (*c.*1530–72), Polish Talmudist 64
Italy, Jewish population of 4, 140, 196
  see also Counter-Reformation; Papacy *and under individual Italian states and cities*

J

Jamnitz (Jemnice), Moravia 120, 138
Jerusalem 21, 26, 58–9, 64–5, 168–9, 172, 176, 187
Jesuits, and the Jews 120, 133, 174
  see also Vieira, António
jewellery trade, *see* diamond trade
Joachim II, Elector of Brandenburg (1535–71), and the Jews 7–9
Joden Savanneh, chief Sephardi settlement in Surinam 146
John IV, King of Portugal (1640–56), and the New Christians 89–91, 116–17
John Sobieski, King of Poland (1674–96), favourable policy of towards Jews 111–12, 125–6
Josel of Rosheim (also Joselmann or Joseph ben Gershon of Rosheim; *c.*1478–1554), leader of German Jewry 9–10, 12
Joseph II, Emperor of Austria (1780–90), and the Jews 214
Jülich-Berg, duchies and *Landjudenschaft* of 83–4, 158

K

Kaaden (Kadeň), Bohemia 82, 120
Kalisz, Great Poland 99, 137, 142, 155
Kampen (Overijssel), admission of Jews to 127
Kann, Jacob (late 17th c.), Frankfurt Jewish financier 109, 113, 115, 118
Karaites, Jewish anti-rabbinic sect in eastern Europe 26, 69, 188
Karlsruhe, Jewish settlements in 199
kehilla (Jewish community), organization of 58–62, 152–3, 155–7, 161–9, 213–15
Kempe, Anders Pedersson (late 17th c.), Swedish religious controversialist 186
Kielce, exclusion of Jews from 22, 126
Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian (1636–89), Christian cabbalist 124, 189
Koblenz, electorate of Trier, Jews of 84, 158
Kolin (Bohemia) 82
Kollonitsch, Cardinal Leopold (1631–1707), leader of the anti-Jewish agitation in Vienna 103, 120–1
Königsberg (East Prussia) 22, 24, 122, 193, 198
Kraśnik (Lublin), Jews of 137, 198
Krems (Lower Austria) 121

L

Labastide-Clairence (south-west France), Sephardi settlement at 56, 95–6
Ladino language (Balkan and Turkish Judeo-Spanish) 25–6, 168
Landjudenschaften 153, 157–60, 214–15
Landsberg an der Warthe (Brandenburg):
  Jewish population of 139
  Jews settle in 123, 139
Lauingen (Pfalz-Neuburg) 83
  Jews readmitted to 83
  Jews re-expelled from 120
Leeuwarden, Jews of 86, 127, 198, 253
Lehmann, Behrend, of Halberstadt (1661–1730), German Court Jew 111, 117, 168
Leipzig 122, 139, 143, 199, 204
Lengnau (Aargau), Jewish community of 87
Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor (1657–1705), and the Jews 120–1
Lerma, Duke of, chief minister of Spain (1598–1618), and the Portuguese New Christians 49–50
Leti, Gregorio (1631–1701) 117 n., 217
Leusden, Johannes (1624–99), Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht 188–9
'Levantine' Jewish communities in Italy 37–41, 52, 148, 161–2
Levi, Behrend, of Bonn (mid-17th c.), German Court Jew 84
libraries, Jewish 118, 168, 188, 202
Lida, David (late 17th c.), Polish rabbi in Amsterdam 155
Liebmann, Jost (*c.*1640–1702), Berlin Court Jew 111, 114
Lima, Judah de (early 17th c.), Sephardi physician at Poznań 167
Limborch, Philip van (late 17th c.), Dutch liberal theologian xii, 183
Lipsius, Justus (1547–1606) 2, 30–1, 33, 44–5
Lisbon 19, 42, 49, 51, 88–9, 203
Lissa (Leszno), Great Poland:
  expansion of Jewish life at 99, 137, 142–3, 155
  Jewish population of 137, 198
Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, Jewish autonomy in 136, 151–2, 156, 176, 198, 213–14
  see also Brest-Litovsk; Courland; Grodno; Pinsk; Slutsk; Vilna
Liverpool 199
Livonia, exclusion of Jews from 22, 126
Livorno (Leghorn):
  coral industry and trade at 146, 148
  Dutch Sephardi links with 133, 144, 169
  Jewish institutions at 60, 161–2
  Jewish population of 41, 48, 60, 93–4, 136, 140, 195–6, 198
  Sephardi community: Levant trade of 40–1, 93–4, 133, 144, 169; settlement in 40–1, 48, 51, 129, 136
  Shabbatean movement at 172–4, 175
Locke, John (1632–1704) 183
Loew, Rabbi Judah (the Maharal of Prague; *c.*1525–1609) 33, 66–7, 225
London 130–2, 146–7, 199, 210
  Jewish institutions at 162–3
  Jewish population, slow growth of 139, 140, 199–200
  see also England
Lopes Pereira, Moseh (Diego, Baron d'Aguilar; *c.*1669–1759), Sephardi Court Jew at Vienna 201
Lopes Suasso, Antonio (Isaac Israel; 1614–85), 1st Baron d'Avernas de Gras, Dutch Sephardi financier 105, 109, 116
Lopes Suasso, Francisco (Abraham Israel; 1657–1710), 2nd Baron d'Avernas de Gras 105, 109–10
López, Alphonse (early 17th c.), political agent of Richelieu 96
López Pereira, Manuel (1582–*c.*1650), Marrano protégé of Olivares, and mercantilist writer 46–7, 92
Louis XIV, King of France (1643–1715), and the Jews 105, 107, 109, 132–4
Lübeck 54, 77, 120, 124, 142
Lublin 22, 24, 100, 126, 136, 156, 173, 198
  and the Council of the Four Lands 152, 154–5
Lubomirski, Princes, and the Jews 23, 156
Lugo, ghetto of 94
Luria, Isaac (1534–72), mystic and holy man of Safed 65–6, 171, 188, 212, 225
  see also cabbala
Luria, Solomon *(c.*1510–74), Polish Talmudist 64
Luther, Martin, and the Jews ix–x, 8–12, 56, 219
Lutsk (Volhynia) 98, 137, 156
Luzatto, Simone (1583–1663), Venetian rabbi 93, 140
Lvov, Jews of 23–4, 100, 136, 156, 198, 214

M

Maarssen (Utrecht), Sephardi community of 127, 147, 162

Machado, Antonio (Moseh) Alvarez (late 17th c.), Dutch Sephardi army contractor 104–6, 107–8
Madrid 48–9, 88–9, 91–2
Mainz, electorate of 7, 34, 57, 72, 85, 157
  Jews in 7, 80, 85
  Landjudenschaft of 80, 158
Malaga 49, 89, 146
Mallorca, Marranos of 2–3, 20, 130
Mannheim, Jewish settlement at 104, 123, 139, 168, 197
Mantovano, the 41, 144–5, 149, 160
Mantua:
  Jewish institutions at 60, 160–1, 166
  Jewish population of 41, 48, 140, 196
  Jews of 7, 16–17, 48, 56, 60, 63, 65, 115, 140, 148–9
  sack of (1630) 94–5
Margarita, Antonius (b. *c.*1490), Jewish apostate and anti-Jewish polemicist 9
Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria (1740–80), and the Jews 196, 200–1
Markowicz, Moses (mid-17th c.), Polish Court Jew 115, 126
Marlborough, Duke of (John Churchill) 106–8
Marranos 3, 13–16, 18–21, 36, 38–9, 48–9, 68–70, 90–2, 95–7, 115–16, 119, 136, 203, 206, 209
  burning of, at Ancona (1555) 15
  desecration of Christian rites by 56
  see also Mallorca; Portugal; Spain
Marseille 132–3, 191
Martinique:
  expulsion of Jews from (1683) 132–4
  Sephardi settlement on 88, 128, 146
Mattersdorf (Burgenland) 138, 159
  see also Burgenland
Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor (1564–76), and the Jews 31–2, 72
meat, provision of *kosher* 160, 162
Mecklenburg 7, 80, 113
Medici family, Jews and viii, 7, 16–17, 40–1, 129–30
Medina, Sir Solomon de (*c.*1650–1730), Dutch Sephardi army contractor 106–8
Melanchton Phillip (1479–1560), German Protestant Reformer 11
Memel (East Prussia) 122, 143, 198
Menasseh ben Israel (1604–57), Dutch Sephardi rabbi 71, 129 n., 130–1, 184–6, 225
Mendelssohn, Moses (1729–96) 211, 215, 218
Mennonites 36, 187
Mergentheim (Würzburg) 80, 158
metal trade 141–2, 147, 223
Metz, Jews of 42–3, 55, 84, 95, 136, 210
Meysl, Markus, of Prague (1528–1601), Prague Court Jew 33–4
Michael, Simon (late 17th c.), Austrian Court Jew 103
Middelburg (Zeeland) 41–2, 127, 162
Milan, Duchy of, expulsion of the Jews from (1597) 6, 17–18
Milton, John 187, 188–9, 224
Minden, Jews of 12, 34, 53, 80, 122, 140
Minsk 98, 100
Modena, Jews of viii, 60, 65, 94, 129, 136, 140, 144, 196
Modena, Leone da (1571–1648), Venetian rabbi and controversialist 63, 68, 225
Mogilev, White Russia, Jews of 98, 100, 156, 166, 214
Moisling, village on Danish territory near Lübeck, Jews of 124, 142
Momigliano, Jewish loan-banking family in Piedmont 95
Montaigne, M. de 2, 30, 44
Montalto, Eliahu (Felipe Rodrigues; *c.*1550–1616), Sephardi anti-Christian polemicist and medical writer 62, 69–70, 167, 181, 193
Montalto, Moseh (early 17th c.), Sephardi physician in Poland 167
Montchrétien, Antoine de (early 17th c.), French mercantilist writer 46
Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, baron de 217–18
Montezinos, Portuguese New Christian banking family of Madrid 91, 115–16
monti di pietà 6, 145
Moravia:
  Jewish population of 140, 196–7
  Jews of 4, 82, 120, 125, 149, 153, 169, 205–6, 211
  Landjudenschaft 152–3, 157, 214
Morosini, Giulio (Samuel ben David Nahmias; 1612–83), convert to Catholicism and anti-Jewish polemicist 13 n., 175 n.
Morteira, Saul Levi (*c.*1596–1660), Dutch Sephardi rabbi and anti-Christian polemicist 70, 181, 190, 193
Moses, Lemle, of Mannheim (late 17th c.), Palatine Court Jew 104, 168
Müller, Johannes (mid-17th c.), Hamburg Lutheran anti-Jewish polemicist 69

Münster:
bishopric, Jews of 53, 72, 80, 134–5
Jewish population of 80, 139
Landjudenschaft of 139, 158
peace congress at 84, 90
Münster, Sebastian (1489–1552), Professor of Hebrew at Basel 11
music:
in early modern Jewish culture 60, 63, 164
in synagogues, controversies over 63, 173
mysticism, Jewish, *see* cabbala

N
Nantes 42, 95
Naples, viceroyalty of, expulsion of Jews from (1510 and 1541) vii, 6, 13, 19, 148
Narol (south-east Poland) 100
Navarre, viceroyalty of 5
Bayonne Sephardim trade through, to Madrid 88, 95
expulsion of Jews from 5
Nazi historiography, and the Jews 79, 85
Neuburg, Palatine county of, Jews in 83
Nice:
Jewish factories at 148
Sephardi settlement at 38, 115, 129, 144, 148
Nieto, David (1654–1728), London Sephardi rabbi and controversialist 180–1
Nikolsburg (Mikulov):
head of Jewish community of Moravia 118, 121, 138, 153, 168
Shabbatean congress at (1699) 176
Nördlingen 36, 82
Nowy Sącz, Jews of 22, 126, 137
Nunes da Costa, Alvaro (Nathan Curiel; d. 1737) 202
Nunes da Costa, Duarte (Jacob Curiel; 1587–1664), Sephardi 'Agent' of Portugal at Hamburg 76, 89–91, 97, 101–2, 117
Nunes da Costa, Jerónimo (Moseh Curiel; 1620–97), Sephardi 'Agent' of Portugal in the United Provinces 90, 105, 112, 114, 117, 172, 223
Nuremberg 7, 35, 54

O
Olivares, Conde-Duque de, chief minister of Philip IV of Spain (1621–43) 91–2, 102
Opatow 155, 189
Oppenheimer, Emmanuel (d. 1721), Austrian Jewish army contractor 102–3, 108–9
Oppenheimer, Joseph Süss (1699–1738), Württemberg Court Jew 199, 201–2
Oppenheimer, Samuel, of Heidelberg and Vienna (1630–1703), Austrian Jewish army contractor 101–4, 108–9, 223
Oran (Spanish North Africa), Jews of 92
expulsion from (1669) 129–30
Orobio de Castro, Isaac (Balthasar; 1620–87), Dutch Sephardi controversialist 182–4, 190
Orvieto (Papal States), expulsion of Jews from 17
Ostrog, head Jewish community of Volhynia 23, 98–9, 154, 156
Ostrogski, Polish noble family, and the Jews 23
Ottoman empire, the, and the Jews 21, 24–5, 37–8, 48, 52, 58, 68, 138–9, 174–5, 195–6, 200 n.
Overijssel 127

P
Paderborn, bishopric of 12, 34, 36, 80, 84, 158
Padua:
Jewish institutions at 60, 160–1
Jewish population of 94
Jews of 41, 60, 148–9, 160, 196
Palatinate, the, and the Jews 11, 102, 105, 109, 123, 193
Pamplona, *see* Navarre
Pantaleão d'Aveiro, Fr. (late 16th c.), Portuguese traveller in the Near East 21
Papacy, the, and the Jews 7, 13, 14–17, 27, 37, 56, 94, 128, 220
Papal States, Jews in 7, 15, 18, 38, 93–4, 121, 144–5, 220
paper-making 149
Paris 42, 95
Parma, Duchy of, Jews in 6, 17, 144
parnasim, see *kehilla*
Pascal, Blaise 184, 187, 224
Paul IV, Pope, anti-Jewish campaign of 14–17
Pauli, Oliger (late 17th c.), Danish messianist 186–7
pawnbroking 21, 33, 144–5
pedlars, Jewish 33, 108, 141–2, 208–9, 223
Pereira, Abraham (Tomás Rodríguez Pereyra; mid-17th c.), Sephardi merchant, moralist, and Shabbatean 104, 172, 174
Pereira, Isaac (early 18th c.), Dutch Sephardi army contractor 105–6

Pereira, Jacob (late 17th c.), Dutch Sephardi army contractor 104–5, 107
Pesaro:
Jewish population of 94
Jews of 15, 37, 40, 93–4, 144
Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia 206–7
Peyrehorade (south-west France):
Jewish population of 95
Sephardim in 56, 95–6, 132
Peyrère, Isaac de la (*c.*1595–1676), French Calvinist millenarian and controversialist 171, 184, 186
Philip II, King of Spain (1556–98), antipathy of to Jews and Marranos 18, 38, 49
Philip IV, King of Spain (1621–65), and the Portuguese New Christians 49–50, 91–2, 116, 128
physicians 157, 167
Piedmont, *see* Savoy
Pimentel, Manoel de, Marrano courtier 43
Pina, Jacob de, Dutch Sephardi merchant poet 163
Pina, Paulo de (Reuel Jeshrun; *c.*1575–1634), Marrano poet and polemicist 62
Pinsk (Grand Duchy of Lithuania):
Jewish population of 137
Jews of 98, 100, 126, 137, 149, 156, 173, 198
Pinto, Isaac de (1717–87), Dutch Sephardi *philosophe* and economist 208, 217
Pinto Delgado, João (Moseh; d. 1653), Marrano poet of Rouen 63, 68
Pisa, Sephardi community of 37, 40–1, 69, 148, 162, 166
Pius IV, Pope (1559–65), hostility of to Marranos 16
Pius V, Pope (1566–72), and the expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States (1569) 17–18
plague 77, 94, 135, 168
Podolia (Ukraine), Jews of 98–9, 125–6, 136–7, 152, 154–5, 198, 211, 213–14
Poland:
Jewish institutions of 151–7, 213–14
Jewish life in 5, 22–5, 26–7, 62, 125–7, 135–7, 149–50, 157
Jewish population of 4, 22, 135–7, 140, 198
migration of Jews from to the West 21, 87
overland trade of with Germany vi–vii, 137, 142–3, 204–5, 223
regional rabbinic courts of 152–6
see also Cracow; Poznań *etc.*
politiques, and *politique* attitudes to government x–xi, 1–2, 29–31, 44–7, 95–6, 132–4, 219
poor relief, among the Jews 45, 60–1, 166–9, 189–90, 207–8
Portsmouth 199
Portugal:
Dutch and Hanseatic trade with 75–6, 88–91, 202–3
Marrano emigration from 3, 13, 16–18, 20–1, 25–7, 48–51, 68, 199
poverty 145, 166–9, 204–8
Poznań (Posen), Great Poland, Jews of 22, 126, 137, 152, 156, 166, 198
Prado, Dr Juan de (*c.*1615–*c.*1670), Marrano sceptic 177–8, 181
Prague 4, 31–4, 48, 73–4, 85–6, 135, 168–9
Jewish crafts at 33, 149
as Jewish cultural centre 61, 64, 66–7
Jewish institutions at 74, 85, 154, 157, 159, 168
Jewish population of 33, 82, 85, 135, 138, 196
Jews of: expulsion from (1557) 32; (1744–8) 196, 200; and plague (1680) 135, 168
Pressburg (Bratislava) 103, 138, 168–9
printing, Jewish, in vernacular languages 16–17, 68
Prossnitz (Prostejov), Moravia 138, 153, 215
prostitutes:
Christian, and Jews 53, 164–5, 210
Jewish 164–5, 172
Provence, expulsion of Jews from (1498) 4, 6, 13
Prussia, kingdom of, and the Jews vi, 104, 150, 158, 193, 197–8, 204–6, 219

R

rabbis, and rabbinic courts 36, 64, 153, 155, 157–9, 214–15, 218
Radziwiłł family, and the Jews 23, 64, 97
Ragusa (Dubrovnik) 27–8, 39–40, 66, 143
Ramires, Lopo (David Curiel; 1594–1666), Amsterdam Sephardi merchant and banker 89, 128
Ravenna 6, 17–18
Reformation, the, and the Jews ix–x, 8–13, 29–31, 219
Reggio, Duchy of Modena, Jews in viii, 65, 129
Reuchlin, Johannes (1455–1522), German Christian Hebraist 11–12, 29
Rhodes 26
Richelieu, Cardinal, chief minister of Louis XIII of France, and the Jews 95–6, 132
Riga 97, 126, 206, 207
Rodrigues Lamego, Portuguese Marrano family settled at Rouen 96

Rodriguez, Daniel (late 16th c.), Sephardi spokesman and mercantilist writer at Venice and Split 39–40
Romania, Jews in 26–7, 37, 125, 195, 212, 209
Rome, Jews of 13–15, 60–1, 135, 140, 175, 181
  aliyah of to the Holy Land 174
  community institutions at 161
  decline of community 144–5, 196
  economic activity of 144–5, 148–9
  Papal oppression of 13–15, 60, 144–5, 220
  poverty of 148–9
  Spanish 13–15, 161
Rossi, Azariah de' (*c.*1511–*c.*1578), Italian Jewish humanist 14, 58
Rossi, Salomone de' (early 17th c.), Mantuan Jewish musician 63
Rotterdam:
  Ashkenazi settlement in 86, 127, 198
  Sephardi settlement in 41–2, 52, 162, 198
Rouen, Portuguese Marrano community at 42, 63, 94, 96
  see also Pinto Delgado, João; Rodrigues Lamego
Rovigo, ghetto at 60
Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor (1576–1612), and the Jews 32–3, 72
Russia, and the Jews 4, 97–8, 100, 206–7, 211–14, 217
Russo, Baruchiah (d. 1720), and the radical Dönme 176

S
Safed (Galilee) 10, 20 n., 21, 23–4, 26, 63–5, 169
Salomon, Gumpert (early 17th c.), founder of the Gomperz family 83–4, 89
Salonika:
  Jewish population of 23, 195
  Jews of 20, 23, 25–7, 39–40, 93, 140, 142, 172, 195
Sanches, Francisco (1552–1623), Portuguese New Christian philosopher 30
Sancta Clara, Abraham a (b. 1644), Austrian court preacher 192
Sanuto, Alvise (early 17th c.), Venetian senator 50
Sarajevo 39
Sardinia 6
Sasportas, Jacob (*c.*1610–98), Hamburg Sephardi rabbi and controversialist 181–2
Savoy, Duchy of, Jews in 38, 41, 129–30, 144, 148
Saxony, electorate of:
  expulsion of Jews from (1537) 8, 10, 55
  readmission of Jews to (early 18th c.) 142–3, 199
Scaliger, Joseph Justus (1540–1609), Huguenot professor at Leiden 45–6, 224
scepticism 29–31, 44–7, 177–8
Schaumburg-Lippe, Jews in 36, 80
Schmalkaldic League, War of (1546–7), role of German Jews in 12–13
Schnaittach (Nuremberg), Jewish community at 36, 61, 153
Scholem, Gershom (1897–1982), historian of Jewish mysticism 170–6, 213
Schoonenbergh, François van (alias Jacob Abraham Belmonte; late 17th c.), Dutch Sephardi diplomatic envoy in Spain and Portugal 112
Senigallia, Jews of 93–4, 144
Septuagint, the, and the controversy over the Hebrew Bible 179
Serrarius, Petrus (1600–69) 187–8
servants, Christian, in Jewish homes 117, 165
Seville 4, 23, 49–50, 89
sexual relations between Jews and Christians, Church ban on 53, 164–5, 202
Shabbatean movement 170–7, 180, 182, 188, 210–13
  see also Dönme; Gaza, Nathan of; Zevi, Shabbatai
Shirley, Thomas, English mercantilist writer 47, 51
shop-keeping, restrictions on Jewish involvement in 52, 54, 149–50, 205–6, 222
Sicily 6, 13, 20, 93, 112, 147, 161
Siena 17, 60
Silesia:
  Jewish population of 121, 139
  Jews of 10, 72, 82, 99, 142, 176
silk industry, Jewish involvement in 21, 147–9, 205
silver bullion, and the Jews 103, 108, 113, 116, 142, 145–6, 199
Simon, Richard (1638–1721), French bible scholar, and the Jews xii, 191, 224
slave trade, to the Caribbean 112, 114, 128, 132, 200
Slutsk (Grand Duchy of Lithuania) 98, 126, 152, 156
soap manufacture, Jewish involvement in 148, 150

Sobieski family, and the Jews 23, 125
Socinians 181, 187
Sofia 23, 196
Spain 4–5, 19–20, 26–7, 48–50, 58, 61, 77, 91–2, 177
  Dutch, English, and Hanseatic trade with 88–90, 145–6, 206
  exodus of Marranos from (1645–65) 48–50, 91–2, 177
  expulsion of the Jews from (1492) 4–5, 19–20, 26–7, 170
Spanish Netherlands, debate over Jewish readmission to (1653–4) 42, 105, 128–9, 186, 220
Späth, Johann Pieter (Moses Germanus; 1644–1701), Christian convert to Judaism and anti-Christian polemicist 187, 193
Speyer, bishopric of, Jews in 12, 34, 72, 79, 81, 197
spice trade 42, 51, 103, 142–3, 147
Spinoza, Benedict de (Baruch; 1632–77) xi–xii, 20, 163, 177–80, 182–3, 189, 191, 193, 224
Spinozists xi–xii, 177–80, 181–2, 187, 189, 191, 193
Split (Spalato), Sephardi settlement in 27, 39–40, 93, 143, 165
Stade (Elbe estuary) 36, 54
state finance, Jewish involvement in 72–5, 89–92, 101–18
Strasbourg 9–10, 34–5, 53
strazzaria, *see* pedlars, Jewish
Stuttgart, Jewish settlement in 199, 202
sugar:
  refining 54, 146–7, 150
  trade in 51, 88, 145, 150, 169
  see also Barbados; Brazil; Martinique; Surinam
Sullam, Sarah Coppio (*c.*1592–1641), Venetian Jewish poet 62
Sulzbach (Nuremberg), admission of Jews to (1666) 124, 189
sumptuary laws 164–5, 209–10
Surinam:
  Sephardi population of 146
  Sephardi settlement in 133, 162, 166, 208
  sugar plantations of 146
Sweden 78, 81, 97, 113, 126, 186, 200, 203, 206
  upsurge of Hebrew studies in (late 17th c.) 188
  see also Christina; Gustavus Adolphus; Kempe, Anders Pedersson
Switzerland, Jews in 6, 10, 31, 86–7
synagogue architecture 180–1, 198
synods, Jewish 152–3
  at Augsburg (1530) 9
  at Ferrara (1554) 16
  at Frankfurt am Main (1603) 152–3

T

tailoring 148–50
Tangiers 89, 93, 116
Tarnogród (Lublin) 100, 137
Tarnopol (Lvov) 100
taxation 115, 151–62
Teixeira, Diogo (Abraham senior; 1581–1666), Hamburg Sephardi financier 76, 113, 186
Teixeira, Manoel (Isaac Haim senior; *c.*1630–1705), Hamburg Sephardi financier 111, 113, 114, 116, 202
Tiberias (Galilee) 21, 26, 169
tobacco:
  spinning of 147–50, 203
  trade in 103, 132, 142, 146, 148, 150, 203, 205
Toland, John (1670–1722), Anglo-Irish deist and controversialist 191, 217
Trebitsch (Trebic), Moravia 138
Trent, persecution of Jews at (1475–6) 6
Trier:
  electorate of 12, 109
  Landjudenschaft of 158
Trieste 191–2, 196
  ghetto of 191–2
  Jewish population of 140, 196
Troki, Isaac of (*c.*1533–*c.*1594), Karaite anti-Christian polemicist 69, 84, 193
Turin:
  Jewish population of 140
  Jews of 38, 60, 144
  see also Savoy
Tuscany, Grand Duchy of viii, 7, 17, 37–8, 40–1, 51, 92, 129–30, 148

U

Ukraine, the, *see* Lvov; Podolia; Volhynia *etc.*
Ulm 5, 7, 36, 83
Ungarisch Brod (Uhersky Brod), Moravia 138
Urbino, Duchy of:
  Jewish population of 94
  Jews in 15, 16–17, 37–8, 41, 60
Usque, Abraham (Duarte Pinhel; mid-16th c.), Sephardi printer at Ferrara 16–17

Usque, Samuel (mid-16th c.), Sephardi chronicler 17, 58, 68
Usque, Selomoh (*c.*1530–*c.*1596), Sephardi poet 62
Utrecht 127, 174

V

vagrancy, among Jews 141, 154, 166, 205–6
Valona (Albania) 27, 40, 93, 143
Venaissin, Comtat, Jews of 17–18, 56
Venezuela, Sephardi trade with 146–7
Venice:
  decline of Jewish community of 93, 140, 196
  ghetto institutions at 15, 60, 62, 161–2, 168
  Jewish crafts at 143–4, 148–9
  as Jewish cultural centre 60–2, 65, 161
  Jewish emigration from 52, 55, 93, 135, 148 n., 166, 196
  Jewish population of 93, 135, 140, 196
  Jewish settlement in 7, 37–40, 50–1
  and remittances to the Holy Land 169
  Shabbatean movement at 174–5
Vercelli (Piedmont), Jewish community of 38, 144
Verga, Selomoh ibn (early 16th c.), Sephardi chronicler 61
Verona, Jews of 41, 56, 60, 94, 148, 174, 196
  aliyah to the Holy Land (1665–6) 174
Vieira, António (1608–97), Portuguese Jesuit statesman, mystic, and mercantilist writer, and the Jews 68, 90–1, 185–6
Vienna:
  anti-Semitic preaching at 120, 192
  first expulsion of Jews from (1421) 5; resettlement in (1570–1669) 32–3, 73–4, 79, 87, 159
  formation of *Judenstadt* in (1624) 73–4, 159
  Jewish population of 74, 121, 135
  second expulsion of Jews from (1669–70) 120–1, 123; resettlement in (late 17th c.) 121, 135
Vilna (Grand Duchy of Lithuania) xv, 64, 152, 156
  Jewish crafts at 126
  Jewish population of 98, 198
  Jews of 98, 100, 152
Vitebsk 98, 100, 214
Volhynia, expansion of Jewish life in 98–100, 125, 136–7, 152, 155–6, 212–14
  see also Chmielnicki, Bogdan; Dubno; Lutsk; Ostrog *etc.*
Voltaire, and the Jews 69, 190, 218
Vorarlberg 83
Vulgate, the 16–17, 46

W

Wachter, Johann Georg (1663–1757), German controversialist xii, 187, 189
Wagenseil, Johann Christoph (1633–1705), German Yiddishist and Hebraist 189–90, 193–4
Wallerstein (Nördlingen), Jewish community of 36, 82
Wallich family, of Koblenz 158
Wandsbek (Hamburg) 36, 77, 124, 135, 197, 209
Warburg 80
Warendorf (Münster), Jewish community of 61, 84, 158
Warsaw, exclusion of Jews from 22, 126
Weikersheim 81, 158
Weisenau (Mainz) 7, 61
welfare, Jewish communal, *see* charity; education; hospitals; poor relief
Wendel of Deutz (mid-16th c.), German Jewish money-lender 19
Wertheimer, Samson (1658–1724), Court Jew at Vienna 103, 108–9, 117–18, 159, 168, 192, 201, 223
Wesel (Cleves) 83–4, 158
West India Company (Dutch) 87–8, 127–8, 133
Whitehall Conference (1655) 131
William the Silent, Prince of Orange 19, 31, 41
William III, Prince of Orange, Dutch Stadholder (1672–1702), King of England (1688–1702), and the Jews 104–6, 112, 117, 134, 187
Wolf, Johann Christoph (1638–1739), German Hebraist and bibliographer 188
wool trade:
  Balkan 27
  Polish 142–3
  Spanish 88–9, 146
Worms, Jews of 36, 77, 79, 85, 153, 197
Württemberg 83, 197, 199, 201–2
  see also Stuttgart
Würzburg, bishopric of, Jews in 12, 53, 72, 77, 158

Y

yeshivot 65, 168, 171
Yiddish language 25–7, 163, 168, 189, 190
Yllan, García de (early 17th c.), Antwerp Portuguese New Christian banker 101, 186

Yllan, João de (mid-17th c.), Dutch Sephardi colonizer and messianist 174, 186

Z

Zamojski, Jan (late 16th c.), Polish Chancellor 23
Zamość 23, 100, 126, 137
Zante 40, 93, 144
Zevi, Shabbatai, Turkish Sephardi mystic and false messiah 154, 171–6, 177, 211
see also Shabbatean movement
Zholkva (Galicia) 137, 155
Zionism 174, 176-7, 187, 210
Zoref, Heschel (1633–1700), Vilna mystic and Shabbatean 176
Zwolle (Overijssel) 127, 198