Introduction
Jews in Polish and German Lands: Encounters, Interactions, Inspirations

We don't like coming to Germany to be disgraced,
and wouldn't if not for the war, had we not been displaced,
but alas we were expelled and burned out
and everyone ran wherever they could.
Yet you, German [Jews], fled to Poland some time ago
when the war in Germany struck you.
You were treated well in wealth and health –
And given money and our best for wives.

'Ayne bashraybung fun Ashkenaz un Polak' (mid-17th c satirical song)[1]

The Western Jew first feared the Eastern European Jew, then he pitied him. Now he is beginning to understand him and soon he will envy him.
Fabius Schach, 'Jüdische Aphorismen' (Vienna and Brno, 1918)

This volume seeks to present and analyze the multi-faceted topic of the encounters of Jews living in the German lands with those from further east, their interactions and the way they influenced each other from the Middle Ages up to the present. Shared history and civilization, kinship, economic cooperation as well as geographical proximity moulded this complex relationship. It has been somewhat neglected in the historiography of both German Jews and Polish Jews, each of which tends to view history in a framework set by national territories and boundaries, leaving aside the many interactions which have taken place since the Middle Ages.

Our aim is to shift the focus to the impact of those encounters that helped to shape both Jewries. It is also intended to move beyond the paradigms which see German Jewry as the model for modernization in Jewish history and Polish Jewry as either the embodiment of Jewish 'authenticity' or of an assumed backwardness, seeking rather to investigate mutual influences and interactions in the contact zone in the middle of Europe. It takes as its inspiration both the approach of 'multiple modernities' as articulated by Shmuel Eisenstadt[2] and Joseph Roth's dictum that almost all Ostjuden were once Westjuden and almost all Westjuden derive from Ostjuden.[3] Accordingly it seeks to question the sharp division between these two communities we sometimes find in historiography and to overcome the view that they were both characterized by a fixed shared identity shared by all their members.

The Medieval and Early Modern Period

It is not possible to establish a clear delineation between the lands inhabited by Germans and those in which western Slavs, of which the Poles were the largest group, predominated. From the early middle ages, Germans expanded both by peaceful colonization and by conquest into the areas east of the German ethnic core. In addition, although a Polish state was established at the end of the tenth century and was linked with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, first dynastically in 1385 and subsequently in 1569 in a constitutional union, it did not prove possible to establish a single German state in the middle ages. The German lands were thus divided into over 300 larger and smaller states, of which by the eighteenth century the two most important were the Habsburg monarchy and the rising power of Prussia. By this stage, Poland-Lithuania was in decline and at the end of the eighteenth century was partitioned by

these two states in collaboration with Tsarist Russia. An independent Polish state did not re-emerge until after the First World War.

It is also difficult to establish a clear dividing line between the Jewish communities of the two areas. Jews had settled in the German lands already under the Roman Empire and we have records of a community in Cologne on the Rhine in 321. The number of Jews in the area continued to grow and under Charlemagne they became involved in trade, commerce and money-lending. By the end of the tenth century, communities were organized in Worms, Mainz, Metz and a number of other towns. It was in Mainz and Metz that R. Gershom b. Judah (c. 960 -1040), the 'light of the Exile' (Me'or hagolah) established himself, creating in this way a spiritual centre made up of more than occasional traders. Rabbinic study now became a feature of the German lands, reaching its high point with R. Judah ha-Hasid of Ratisbon (c. 1150–1217), author of the 'Book of the Pious' who headed the hasidei ashkenaz (the pietists of Ashkenaz). Its members stressed personal humility, which went beyond resignation and was rather a refusal to respond to the humiliation with which they were frequently confronted. There was also a strong ascetic tradition—a downplaying of the pleasures of this world (hana'ah) in anticipation of those of the next. Indeed the question of reward and punishment in the afterlife was a central element in the world-view of the hasidei ashkenaz. Fear of God (yirat shamayim) should lead one constantly to question the level of one's commitment to carrying out His will and lay at the root of the need to perform penances to atone for sin. In addition, in halakhic questions, this tradition was sometimes interpreted as requiring the rejection of leniency in legal matters.[4]

As was the case everywhere in Western Christendom, the communities established in the German lands had an ambiguous status. On the one hand, they were regarded as useful by

the secular authorities for whom they performed important functions, including trading, proto-banking and acting as foreign emissaries given their wide connections and knowledge of languages. They were also an important source of revenue. These authorities granted them charters allowing them to establish synagogues and cemeteries and to conduct business freely. The Holy Roman Emperor endowed them with a further degree of protection, claiming the right to safeguard the Jews of the Empire since he was successor of the Emperor Titus, who was said to have acquired the Jews as his private property after the Judaean revolt.[5]

The Jews were, indeed, in many respects a corporation with the legal right to govern themselves as did all medieval corporations, whether those of an estate, like the nobility, or of a specific group like the burghers of a particular town. At the same time, they were a pariah group, tolerated in an inferior and degraded position, which was held to prove the truth of Christianity, a status highlighted by the constant references to them in legal documents as 'unbelieving' (infidus, perfidus or incredulus) and by the contempt in which they were held by most Christians. This also meant that various nefarious practices were attributed to them, including the murder of infants to use their blood for the unleavened bread (matza) used at Passover, the desecration of the consecrated bread and wine used in the Mass and the poisoning of wells. This led to periodic outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, as at the beginning of the first Crusade in 1096 or at the height of the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century. In the wake of these devastations, communities such as Speyer, Worms, and Mainz lost their place of prominence and gave way to a larger number of small, dispersed communities. Another result were efforts to strengthen the institutional fabric of these communities by introducing template by-laws, the so-called takanot shum (an acronym

refering to the above mentioned communities of former glory) which would have considerable impact on the constitution of Jewish communities in eastern central Europe.[6] Only generations later, larger Jewish communities would emerge in the context of growing international trade, such as in Frankfurt am Main or in Hamburg. Throughout the early modern period, trade fairs located closer to eastern central European trade networks such as Breslau (Wrocław) or Leipzig would function as arenas of encounter between German and eastern European Jewish merchants.[7]

With the growing decentralization of the Holy Roman Empire, given formal status by the 'Golden Bull' issued by the Emperor Charles IV in 1356, the Jews of Germany gradually passed in increasing numbers from the authority of the emperor to that of the lesser sovereigns and of the cities, where their rights were also guaranteed. Their situation remained precarious and they were frequently expelled. The Protestant Reformation added to the precariousness of Jews living in the Holy Roman Empire. Not only would religious prejudice remain a prominent feature in the writings of leading theologians of the new Christian confessions such as Martin Luther, in 1543 publishing his infamous On the Jews and Their Lies, they would also often be caught up and targeted in religious warfare.[8] One of the last of such expulsions took place in 1670 when the Emperor Leopold 1 expelled them from Vienna and the Archduchy of Austria. Some of these exiles found shelter in Brandenburg, where the 'Great Elector,' Frederick William (1620-88) in the spirit of the incipient Enlightenment had decided to introduce a wide degree of toleration, which was also extended to Jews, initiating a new era in Jewish history.

The Jewish community of Poland-Lithuania was slower to develop. Although some nineteenth century historians have exaggerated the degree to which the communities

established in Poland and Lithuania had their roots in eastern—Palestinian, Byzantine or Persian—Jewry, there seems little doubt that individual Jews from these countries did settle in Poland and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the tenth century on.[9] Some of them probably came from the Khazar kingdom, whose ruler and aristocracy are held by some sources to have converted to Judaism in the eighth century. Kiev, on the main trade route through northern Europe from Spain to Byzantium and the Moslem caliphate was also the home of a number of Jews, some of whom subsequently settled in Poland and Lithuania.[10]

Most Jews in the area came from the lands of Ashkenaz and from the second half of the twelfth century, a Jewish community was established (although probably without local religious leadership) in the Kingdom of Poland which was largely derived from German-speaking Europe.[11] In the following century a properly functioning communal structure was established here, creating a community which had connections with the German pietists (hasidei ashkenaz) who, as we have seen, espoused an austere and revivalist form of Judaism. Some of them may even have moved to Poland.[12] Emigration to Poland continued in the next centuries as the situation of Jews in central Europe, particularly Bohemia and other Habsburg territories as well as in Hungary, deteriorated with the expulsion of Jews from many towns and regions, including Mainz in 1420, 1438 and 1462, Austria in 1420-1, 1454 and 1491, Saxony in 1432 and Breslau and other Silesian cities in 1453-4. Above all they came from regions adjacent to Poland, such as Bohemia, Moravia, and Southern Austria, where Jewish population was outstripping the local economic opportunities and where potential emigrants had some knowledge of the conditions in the lands to which they were emigrating.

By now, the community both in the Kingdom of Poland and in Lithuania was largely Ashkenazi in character, although some remnants of Jews from the east were still to be found.

It was still quite small and has been estimated at from 6,000 to 13.000.[13] It was still dependent on the older centres of Jewish life in the German-speaking lands as well as those in Italy for rabbinic personnel and spiritual guidance. Sephardi and Italian Jews did not, however, settle in Poland in large numbers. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a group of well-educated and economically powerful Jews originally from Spain and Italy established themselves in Kraków, including the Włochowicz, Kalahora, Morpugo, Hadida, Rapoport and Luria families.[14] A similar group established itself in Lviv, which had links with the Genoese and Venetian colonies on the Black Sea (principally Caffa and Killia) and also with the Ottoman Empire. The largest Sephardi settlement was located in Zamość, a private town founded in 1571 by Jan Zamoyski, the Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland and one of the leading figures in the Commonwealth.

The Jewish population of Poland-Lithuania now began to grow rapidly. Prior to the Union of Lublin in 1569, approximately three million people lived in the Kingdom of Poland. With the union with Lithuania, the population of the Commonwealth swelled to about 7.5 million, of whom more than a third were Eastern Orthodox. By the end of the sixteenth century there were perhaps 80,000 to 100,000 Jews out of a total population of nearly eight million. By the middle of the seventeenth century, this community had become the largest in the world, the result of the establishment of a new geography of the Jewish world between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. It also meant that the centre of gravity of the Ashkenazi world shifted from Western to Eastern Europe.

The number of Jews in Poland-Lithuania by the mid-seventeenth century is disputed. The higher estimate of 350,000 has been questioned by Gershon Hundert who has argued for a figure of 150,000 out of a total population of eleven million. [15] Using a similar method

Weinryb has argued for the slightly higher figure of between 200 and 220,000, an estimate supported by Stampfer. This is in line with later population growth and is also consistent with modern scholarship which has scaled down the number of Jewish casualties in the upheavals of the mid-seventeenth century. It is now estimated that at least 13,000 Jews died in the Khmelnytsky uprising which begin in 1648 and more perished in the subsequent Swedish and Muscovite invasions.[16] Significant numbers seem to have fled the country, many moving to the German-speaking lands. Thus, the famous memoir of Glikl of Hamelin records the arrival of Jewish refugees, and the care her grandmother took for the sick and ailing among them.[17] It is in this context that the satirical song Ayne bashraybung was composed, juxtaposing mostly negative stereotypes which Polish and German Jews held of each other. The Polish Jew accuses the German Jew of lack of solidarity, stinginess, and lack of religious fervour, whereas the German Jew suspects his Polish counterpart to cheat, to steal, and to abandon his family back at home – perceptions which were compounded by the refugee status of Jews fleeing the Cossack uprising.[18]

Jewish population losses were soon made good. By 1720 the Jewish population had risen to perhaps 375,000 and by 1764 to around three quarters of a million out of a total population of between 12.3 and 14 million (5.35 per cent). By this stage, the bulk of Jews lived in the eastern part of Poland-Lithuania. Half a century later the number of Jews living on the lands of the now non-existent Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had risen to perhaps a million. The rapid rise of the Jewish population was caused most likely by early marriage, a lower infant mortality, and restraint in the consumption of alcohol among the Jewish population. It continued throughout the nineteenth century until the impact of modern methods of contraception and an increase in the age of marriage among Jews. By the late

nineteenth century, for which we have much more accurate statistics, the Jewish birth rate began to fall below that of the general population.[19]

As in Germany, the Jews were both an 'estate', like the other self-governing estates, the nobility, the burghers, the Church and the peasantry into which Poland and Lithuania, like all the states of Western Christendom, were divided, but were also a pariah group, espousing a religion which was rejected as both false and harmful by the dominant Roman Catholic Church. The Black Death appears to have had relatively little impact in Poland—indeed, this may have been one of the reasons why the Jews who were being expelled from elsewhere in Central Europe were able to settle there. At the same time accusations of child murder and of host desecration became well-established in early modern Poland-Lithuania.

Again, as in Germany, the Jews were also subject to periodic outbreaks of popular violence. In towns Jews were sometimes harassed by Jesuit students or local residents, comparable to anti-Jewish riots in the German lands, such as the Fettmilch riots of 1614 in Frankfurt am Main. The worst eruptions of anti-Jewish violence however occurred in the eastern provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth where the role of the Jews as the agents of the great Catholic (sometimes Greek-Catholic) and Polish magnates aroused the hatred of the local Orthodox peasantry and Cossacks. Thus during the Khmelnytsky Uprising and the wars which followed in the mid seventeenth century, the Jews were not only massacred by the Cossacks but also by the Swedes and Muscovites. Violence remained endemic in the Polish part of Ukraine in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much of it perpetrated by 'Haydamaky' (outlaws) who went from banditry to opposition to Polish rule.

Yet Jews were conscious of the difference between their situation in Poland-Lithuania and that elsewhere in Europe, particularly German-speaking Europe, from which most of them had their origin. The Jewish sense of relative security and rootedness had a number of sources. In the first place the Polish-Lithuanian State, to use modern, and in some ways anachronistic terms was, multi-ethnic and multi-religious. In spite of the differences from modern conditions, Jews were not the only religious or social outgroup, or indeed the largest one. In addition, the state and even more so the 'political nation' of the nobility (szlachta) was committed to the principle of toleration among different Christian denominations, however much this was attenuated, particularly after the triumph of the Counter-Reformation in Poland-Lithuania.

The Jews also occupied a defined niche in Polish society, as was realized by the Jewish elite. They had been invited into Poland by the rulers, starting with Bolesław of Kalisz in 1264. By and large they were protected by the Kings and by the charters which had been granted to them. Even more important was the relationship between the Jews and the Polish nobility. One of the main features of Polish social history in the early modern period was the way the nobility gained overwhelming political and economic power. In 1539, legislation was passed in the Sejm, giving owners of private towns (which already in 1500 constituted 56 per cent of the towns in Poland)[20] the exclusive right to exercise jurisdiction over their Jewish communities, a right which was confirmed by King Stanisław August on 28 January 1549. This right had previously been exercised by the royal wojewodowie (governors).

This was the origin of the peculiar 'marriage of convenience' between the Jews and the nobility. The Jews frequently managed the estates of the nobility which they leased. They

also acquired leases on mills, tolls and taxes and on brewing and distilling. They played an important role in the vital grain trade down Polish rivers to the Baltic. In addition, they were the indispensable craftsmen of the rural economy in small towns and villagers—carpenters, cobblers, tailors, tar-makers.

The relationship between the szlachta and the Jews did not involve much mutual respect. The szlachta looked on the Jews with contempt, while the Jews for their part regarded their noble patrons as spendthrift and immoral. Yet, for a long period both needed each other, and this formed the basis for their relations. Since the nobles needed their Jewish agents, they granted many privileges to Jewish communities in the towns on their estates. The nobles also had the upper hand in relation to their leaseholders, but the typical leaseholder was conscious of his own power and 'by no means a cowering sycophant, but a man as much aware of his rights as his obligations'.[21]

This 'marriage of convenience' with the nobles and, in particular, with the magnates[22] was a reflection of the political and economic backwardness of Poland-Lithuania and meant that the situation of the Jews was inevitably threatened as the political, social and economic hegemony of the noble estate was challenged and then undermined in the nineteenth century. As Gershon Hundert explains, 'the Jews' successful political strategy of the early modern period became a liability as political and economic conditions changed and they were left dependent for their livelihood and security on the crumbling old order'.[23]

The other constituent elements of Polish society, the Catholic Church, the burghers and the peasantry were much less friendly towards the Jews. The Church was consistently hostile to the Jewish presence in Poland. The relationship between the Christian burghers and the Jews in the larger royal towns was marked by persistent conflict and hostility. Trade was

regarded as limited and the competition of the Jews was seen by the burghers as inevitably working to their detriment. More complex was the attitude of the peasantry, particularly in the Catholic parts of the country. Peasants and Jews lived in what has been described as a 'pattern of "distant proximity" based on continued economic exchange and mutual disdain'. Most Jews were economic middlemen—'pariah capitalists' filling a necessary but unpopular position between the two major strata in the Polish lands, the peasantry and the nobility.[24]

Jewish religious life in Poland-Lithuania now began to diverge significantly from that in the German-speaking lands, above all with the rise here of hasidism, a major movement for Jewish spiritual revival in southeastern Poland during the second half of the eighteenth century which 'came to be characterized by its charismatic leadership, mystical orientation, and distinctive pattern of communal life'.[25] Its founder, Israel ben Eliezer (the Besht), was similar to the other charismatic leaders (tsadikim) of mystical circles who emerged in eighteenth century Poland-Lithuania, but seems to have modified in a significant manner the concept of the tsadik. He was transformed in hasidic thought from the 'average, more or less pious Jew, the righteous person who has been approved by the celestial court in the days between New Year and the Day of Atonement…[into a] religious superman, the leader of his community, and the mediator between the divine and the human realms'. [26] The new movement was also characterized by a rejection of ascetism, which constituted a major breach with the traditions of the hasidei ashkenaz. Even though the view that hasidism was a populist revolt against excessive rabbinic concentration on literal observance of the law can no longer be accepted, the movement did speak in a new and moving way to the average Polish Jew.

On his death in 1760 the Besht left behind him only a small circle of followers. However, under his successors, above all, Yacov Yosef of Polonne and Dov Ber, the magid of Mezerich the movement spread widely in most of the Polish lands. The fact that it did not spread either to Prussian Poland or to the German-speaking lands created a major division between the Jewries of the two areas.

The Era of Emancipation

The middle of the eighteenth century was a major turning point in the history of the Jews in Europe. Under the influence of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, many rulers now began to initiate attempts, carried still further by their constitutional successors in the nineteenth century, to transform the Jews from members of a religious and cultural community into 'useful' subjects, or, where a civil society had been established, into citizens integrated into the political nation.

In the German lands the term 'bürgerliche Verbesserung' (literally transformation into citizens), was often used to describe this process. It had a Polish equivalent 'uobywatelnienie' and also enjoyed some currency in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The term was first employed by the Prussian civil servant, Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, in his pamphlet 'Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden' published in 1781.[27] As a concept, it rested on the belief that the 'negative' characteristics of the Jews were the consequence of the conditions under which they had been forced to live in Christian Europe and would be alleviated by their transformation into citizens.[28] Dohm argued that the Jews should enjoy and the rights and duties of the other estates in Prussia, which would result in their rapid integration. More conservative thinkers such as Johann

David Michaelis (1717-1791) held that before they could be offered civic rights or citizenship, the Jews would need to demonstrate their worthiness for these rights by transforming themselves.[29] All agreed that Jews could be granted full civil rights only after having achieved intellectual and moral improvement.

Jews were divided about how to respond to these calls. There were those, particularly in Eastern Europe, who saw these demands as a new and more subtle attempt to convert the them and undermine the bases of traditional Jewish life. Such views were particularly strong in the rapidly spreading hasidic movement. Responding to Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812, Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady, one of the founders of Habad hasidism, wrote of the dangers of acculturation:

> On the first day of Rosh hashana, before the musaf service, I saw a vision. I was shown that if Bonaparte is victorious, the wealth of Israel will be restored, the hearts of Israel will however become distant from their Father in Heaven. If our Lord Alexander triumphs, even though the poverty of the Jews will be increased and indignity will continue to be their lot, the hearts of Israel will be gathered together and united with the Name of their Father in Heaven…[30]

The supporters of the burgeoning Jewish Enlightement (haskala) were much more positive. One of the main centres of the movement was Berlin, where Moses Mendelssohn (1729 –1786), argued on natural law principles that Judaism was a variant of the natural religion of mankind and that its links with Christianity needed to be understood and the two religions should live in fraternal harmony. In addition, Jews should study the languages and history of the countries where they found themselves and seek to adapt to the new opportunities open to them. One of his principal achievements was Sefer netivot

ha-shalom (The Book of the Paths of Peace, also known as the Biur), the German translation of the Pentateuch with a commentary, published in Hebrew characters in 1783. Through this translation, he sought to give a more rational character to Jewish religious belief by providing an accurate rendering of the original which would serve as a tool for the study of the text and also assist German Jews in acquiring a command of the German language.

The haskala was a European-wide movement and had a significant following not only in Germany, but also throughout Eastern Europe,[31] as is clear from the chapter by Zuzanna Krzemień. Thus, as she shows, the renowned Hebrew grammarian, Solomon ben Yoel Dubno (1738 - 1813), born in Dubno (today in western Ukraine) but who later moved to Berlin and Amsterdam, was a major contributor to Mendelssohn's German translation of the Pentateuch. Dubno had been educated in Eastern Europe in a very different tradition from Mendelssohn, but the two men were able initially to cooperate becase of the hermeneutic tradition they both shared and because of their common desire to popularize the Hebrew language and the Pentateuch among Jews. However, as Krzemień demonstrates, it soon became apparent, as the project developed, that they were committed to two irreconcilable maskilic visions. Unlike Mendelssohn, Dubno had no real interest in the study of any other language than Hebrew, seeing modern translations as only necessary because of the weak knowledge of Hebrew among Jews. For him, Hebrew grammar, which he understood in a rather traditional manner, was crucial to the success of the Biur translation, whereas Mendelssohn had little interest in this issue. This difference resulted in Dubno withdrawing from the project in the early 1780s and successfully suing Mendelssohn for the work he had undertaken. He returned to Vilna and successfully

promoted a modern corrected Hebrew version of the Pentateuch, gaining more subscribers across eastern central Europe than Mendelssohn for his translation. Dubno however never completed this translation.

The complexity of the Berlin haskala emerges clearly from the chapter by Marc Caplan which examines the changing nature of marriage and relations between the sexes through a comparison of Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz's play Die Soldaten (The Soldiers, 1776) with two maskilic comedies written in the 1790s, Reb Henoch, oder: Woß tut men damit? (Reb Henoch or What shall I do with it) by Isaac Euchel (1756-1804) and Laykhtzin un fremelay (Frivolity and bigotry) by Aaron Halle-Wolfssohn (1754--1835). Both Euchel and Wolfssohn were prominent figures in the German haskala and their significance grew in the years after Mendelssohn's death in 1786. Their plays were written at a time of greater radicalism among the maskilim who, in the aftermath of the French revolution and with increased acceptance of Jews within German society, believed they should press more strongly for equal rights.

Wolfssohn set out his position clearly in the play Laykhtzn un fremelay. It was written in a combination of German and Yiddish with many religious expressions, during the time when he was director of the modern 'Königliche Wilhelms-Schule,' founded in Breslau in 1791. Inspired by the Berlin haskala, the teaching in the school was based on the new German pedagogy and its Hebrew teachers were required to teach the language 'according to a rational method ... not in the manner of Polish Jews' and had to be 'free from silly Talmudic and rabbinic ideas.'[32] The play was intended to be performed at the school as a maskilic alternative to the traditional purimshpil.

Commented [KS1]: Maybe we could shorten the description of this play a bit, it is important though, but quite long

The play describes how Reb Henokh, under the influence of a Polish rabbi, kabbalist and Hasid, Reb Yoysefkhe, who perverts and misinterprets Jewish tradition, misusing the religious texts he constantly mouths in clearly unethical ways, has decided to marry off his daughter Yetkhen to this charlatan, who has been hired to tutor his son. The practice of employing traditionally observant Jews from the Polish lands to tutor the sons of the acculturating Jewish middle class in the German lands was already well established. The guileless Reb Henokh also intends to make over to this dubious individual his newly acquired wealth, in spite of the warnings given him by his more prudent wife, Teltse and her enlightened brother Markus. When Reb Yosefkhe reveals her father's intention to Yetkhen, she is so appalled that she runs away from home with an ardent admirer, a non-Jew named von Schnapps (who is never shown on stage). Von Schnapps betrays her trust, however, and places her in a brothel. The condemnation of hasidism and the way Ostjuden pervert Judaism is clear. Wolfssohn here even resorts to antisemitic terminology and has the non-Jewish brothel owner refer to Reb Yoysefkhe as a 'Mauschel', a pejorative word in German for a Jew.[33] The play is cautious about the future of the haskala, in which neither Yetkhen nor Markus, the principal enlightened character, seem to show any interest. Unlike the other characters in the play, Markus, who as Jeremy Dauber observes, 'represents the maskilic dream of the fully integrated German Jew,'[34] never resorts to Yiddishized religious expressions.

The haskala also sought changes in Jewish religious practice to make services more orderly with a more attractive liturgy and weekly sermons on the Protestant model. These changes were adopted by a minority throughout the region, but had most support in the German-speaking lands. Here they led to the emergence of new forms of Jewish religious

life which became the Reform movement, led by Samuel Holdheim, and the Conservative movement of Zacharias Frankel. In response, a new form of neo-Orthodoxy was developed by Samson Raphael Hirsch. More moderate attempts to reform Jewish religious practice were undertaken in the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia. In the Kingdom of Poland, this led to the creation of 'German' synagogues where, led by Jews who had came to Warsaw from Prussia after 1795, moderate reforms in the liturgy and the conduct of services were introduced, as is described in her chapter by Marie Schumacher–Brunhes.

Similar developments took place in Galicia. In her chapter, Rachel Manekin describes the difficulties which the board of the reformed Tempel in Lviv faced in hiring a rabbi in the 1850s. Under the Austrian legislation which came into effect from 1846 no district rabbi could be approved by the local authorities unless he had first successfully completed an appropriate degree at an Austrian institution. In the end, they were able to offer the position in 1856 to Dr. Samuel Adler (1809-1891), born in Worms who had served as rabbi there and afterward as district rabbi in Alzey, Germany, but he turned them down having been appointed rabbi in Temple Emanuel in New York. The Austrian authorities now relaxed their requirements and R. Shaul Nathansohn, who lacked the previously necessary qualifications, was appointed as district rabbi of Lviv (Lemberg). In that same year, a moderate reformer, the German-born Dr. Shimon Schwabacher, who had served until then as rabbi and preacher in Landsberg in Bavaria, was appointed as the Lemberg Temple preacher. Schwabacher in 1863 would be appointed rabbi in the young Jewish community of Odessa, where he contributed to the establishment of charitable and educational institutions.[35]

The defeat against Napoleon in 1806 and the ensuing Prussian state reform had considerable impact on the status of Jewish communities. Jewish entrepreneurs benefitted

from the liberalization of industries and a fiscal reforms. The emancipation edict of 1812 – introduced in a revised form in the Prussian partition in 1833 – improved the legal status of the Jews in Prussia, though still limited access for Jews to state offices or the military. The reform of Prussian universities initiated by Wilhelm von Humboldt attracted Jewish students eager to pursue academic training. Here, they faced discrimination by student associations which refused to admit them as members. These limitations, as well as the considerable shock of the so-called hep hep riots sweeping through German lands in 1819 motivated a group of Jewish students to establish a voluntary association, the 'Verein für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums' aimed at demonstrating the worthiness of Jewish history and culture as a topic of academic research on the one hand, and the potential of the historical critical method developed by the Göttingen School and Leopold von Ranke as a tool to explore Jewish civilization on the other. The members of this 'Verein' included the poet Heinrich Heine, the historian Isaac Marcus Jost, the legal scholar Eduard Gans, and Leopold Zunz, whose treatise 'Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur' of 1818 is widely considered the starting point of academic Jewish Studies.[36]

The impact of their pioneering efforts to rethink the study of Jewish civilization would resonate widely, including in eastern central and eastern Europe, although German-Jewish authors of this period looked at East European Jews with contempt. Thus, the communal activist and scholar, David Friedländer in his characteristically titled, Über die Verbesserung der Israeliten im Königreich Pohlen (Berlin, 1816), saw Polish Jewry as the hostage of rabbinical despotism and threatened by the growing success of hasidism. He believed these features as at odds with the 'religion of reason' linked with the German

haskala. In his History of the Jews, Heinrich Graetz, contrasted German Bildung with the 'irrational' hasidism of Poland and the 'superrational' Talmudic discourse of Lithuania.[37]

Progress towards Jewish emancipation in the German lands was slow and uncertain and was only completed in the Habsburg Empire in 1868 and in the newly unified German Empire in 1871. The process was accompanied by considerable opposition and the consequence was that the Jews achieved full political equality, but that social integration remained elusive. The bourgeoisie remained divided, with Jews, at least initially, predominating in its commercial and financial sections, while what was described as the 'bildungsburgertum' which provided the civil servants, teachers and university professors, remained exclusively Christian. Nevertheless, the legal changes won enthusiastic support from most German Jews.

In the lands of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was partitioned at the end of the eighteenth century, the process was even less successful and the influence of the haskala on the Jewish population less far-reaching. The transformation of Jewish life was most successful in the areas acquired by Prussia as a result of the partitions. This emerges clearly in the article by Markus Nesselrodt describing the impact of Prussian rule in Warsaw which began with the third partition of Poland in 1795 and lasted until the defeat of Prussia by France in 1805 and the establishment, under Napoleon's auspices, of the Duchy of Warsaw. During the eighteenth century the population of Warsaw had risen from around 30,000 in 1700 to perhaps 100,000 in 1792, although it fell subsequently as a result the disruption caused by the Kościuszko uprising and in 1800 amounted to 64,900.[38] The town also became increasingly multi-ethnic and multi-confessional, with a significant German population, so that by the end of the eighteenth century around eight per cent of the town's

inhabitants were German-speaking Lutherans.[39] Under Prussian rule, the ban on Jewish settlement in Warsaw, which had never been fully enforced, was lifted and the Jewish population grew rapidly, reaching 11,900 in 1805, becoming the nucleus for further expansion in the nineteenth century, which was to make this the largest Jewish community in Europe.

The Prussian authorities allowed the formation here of Masonic lodges which soon became important spaces for interaction between Germans, Poles and Jews. However, most Poles bitterly resented incorporation into Prussia and attacked Jews as the tool of the Prussian authorities. In what was perhaps an attempt to mollify the Christian burghers, on 17 July 1806 the Prussian-controlled magistracy in Warsaw ordered the removal of Jews from some of the city's principal streets for a two-year period. The defeat of Prussia by Napoleon and the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw under Napoleonic sponsorship meant that this edict was never implemented.

In those areas which were assigned to Prussia by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 Germanization and acculturation, which took the form of the adoption of the German language, proceeded rapidly and the Jews of those borderlands regions, who represented 23 percent of all German Jewry by that time, received full legal equality with those of the rest of the Reich in 1871.[40] It has often been argued that the integrationist solution of the Jewish problem, the transformation of the Jews into citizens, did not work on the Polish lands. The experience of the Jews in the Grand Duchy of Poland is the exception, although the Jews here were transformed not into Poles but rather Germans of the Jewish faith. There were a number of reasons for this development, the eagerness of the Prussian government in the first half of the nineteenth century to integrate the Jews and to transform them into the

bourgeoisie in this area, the Prussian reforms which transformed an estate into a civil society, and the fact that at the outset of this process the Jewish population constituted a significantly smaller proportion of the population than elsewhere in the Polish lands. Describing this phenomenon, the writer Ernst Toller observed that the Jews of the area

> looked upon themselves as the pioneers of German culture, and their houses in these little towns became cultural centers where German literature, philosophy and art was cultivated with a pride and an assiduousness which bordered on the ridiculous. [41]

At the same time the borderland constellation in the Eastern Prussian provinces, in which influences from Poland, Germany and also Russia intermingled, left a mark as well on German Jewry resident there. Especially in the province of Posen, a strong bond to Jewish tradition and religiosity developed, which distinguished them from German Jewry in the Western parts of the Reich or in Berlin. So it is no coincidence that the influential rabbis Akiba Eger (1761-1837), Philipp Bloch (1841-1923) und Leo Baeck (1873-1956) came from this province, as well as historians Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891), Adolf Warschauer (1855-1930), Eugen Täubler (1879-1953) und Ernst Kantorowicz (1895-1963). The journalist Arno Herzberg called Posen the home of an "specific, own Jewishness", and Rabbi Joachim Prinz accentuated the strong "Kehillabewusstsein" that Jews from Posen had transferred into the Berlin Jewish Community in the 19th and 20th century.[42] The borderlands of the German Reich with their inherited entanglement of various languages, religions and ethnicities had developed as translators of the "Other" into the "Self". This constellation on the one hand enhanced cultural pluralism, diversity and hybridity. On the other hand, in borderlands nationalism always played a meaningful and ideological role, producing national identities

and exclusion of the (often imagined) “Other”, in order to produce social cohesion and unity, and this was not different in the Posen province.

In the second part of the nineteenth century, the conflict between the Polish majority and the German government which was determined to Germanize the area became the dominant feature of political and social life in the Grand Duchy of Posen. This created serious difficulties for the local Jewish population, with its allegiance to a liberal concept of the German idea. The Jews of the area reacted to the growing radicalization of the national conflict here, which was accompanied by expressions of antisemitism by both Poles and Germans, by reaffirming their belief in liberal ideas as a way to bridge the gap between the two sides. Although by now mainly German by culture, they felt little sympathy for the growing chauvinism of the local German political elite. Many Jews sought safety by fleeing the area, while a minority reacted by arguing that the Jews could not be expected to choose between the two nationalisms struggling for control, but should rather assert their own national separateness. The growing aggressiveness of German nationalism and militarism raised concerns also beyond the Grand Duchy. Louis Meyer (1796-1869), an enthusiastic admirer of Prussian civilization of the reform era in the early decades of the nineteenth century who throughout his life drafted literary texts in German inspired among others by the poetry of Heinrich Heine, grew more skeptical over the years, bemoaning ‘German sabre rattling’ and observing that ‘a spirit of conquest of blood and iron has sprung from the moral conquests’ of the early nineteenth century.[43]

In Galicia, Germanization had only partial success and was largely brought to an end when the province was granted autonomy under the rule of the local Poles in the mid-1860s.[44] Nevertheless, the values of German culture, particularly in its Viennese incarnation

had a major impact on Jewish life in the province. As Dephine Bechtel shows in her article, the Viennese coffeehouse, with its marble tables and bentwood chairs where local newspapers as well as the Neue Freie Presse could be read by the customers came to play a large role in the life of Jews of all classes and religious orientations in Lviv as it did in other Galician towns . In 1911, there were forty six such cafés here mostly owned by Jews. They were adversely affected by the political and ethnic conflict in the town at the end of the First World War and by 1934 their number had fallen to perhaps sixteen, although they still retained the enthusiastic support of their clientele and continued to play their traditional role of mediators between high and low culture and between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds.

In the Kingdom of Poland, which had been created at the Congress of Vienna as an 'independent' Polish state in dynastic union with the Romanovs, attempts were made to integrate the local Jews, but initially made little progress. The run-up to the insurrection of 1863 changed this situation as a competition developed to win the support of the Jews between the Viceroy of the Kingdom, Alexander Wielopolski, a Pole who was trying to introduce a measure of self-rule which would also be acceptable to the Tsarist authorities, and the growing Polish national movement. As a result the Jews of the Kingdom received their emancipation on 4 June 1862 from Wielopolski. This was not rescinded after the failure of the uprising and the acculturated Jewish elite remained committed to an integrationist view of the Jewish future which they propagated through the weekly Izraelita.

One consequence of the granting of equal rights to the Jews was the progress of acculturation and the acquisition by Jews of some of the values and ways of behaving of the host society in which they lived. This occurred both in the German lands and those of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but was much more pronounced in the former. In

these conditions, many German Jews began to see a distinction between/ of their 'new' acculturated German identity and that of 'old' Jews of Eastern Europe, now described as Ostjuden. In the eyes of these acculturated German Jews who identified with a denationalized Judaism defined as a Glaubensgemeinschaft (community of faith), these Jews embodied those characteristics of Jewish life they had left behind in favour of German Sittlichkeit (morality and refinement). They had abandoned the traditional kapote in favour modern dress and saw Yiddish as a vulgar German dialect. The historian Heinrich Graetz called Yiddish 'a half-animal language', while the liturgical scholar Leopold Zunz described it as 'enclosed, degenerate German' (eingeschlossenes, ausgeartetes Deutsch).[45]

Negative views on Eastern European Jews were also represented in literature, including in writings by Jewish authors. Writers like Karl-Emil Franzos, in his stories describing life in Jewish Eastern Europe, combined a criticism of religious obscurantism in a typical Galician town, Barnow, modeled on his birthplace Chortkiv, today in Ukraine, with praise for the local enlightened minority who sought German Bildung. Characteristically he described the area as Halb-Asien (Half Asia), a world of squalor and superstition and held the Polish authorities responsible for its backwardness. This could be alleviated by the granting of equal rights to the Jews and their acculturation to German values. In 'Schiller in Barnow', he describes how a group of small-town would-be intellectuals, representative of the different national groups in Galicia, achieve Bildung, humanism and brotherhood through reading a commonly-owned copy of Schiller's works.[46] In another story from The Jews of Barnow, 'Nach dem höheren Gesetz', referred to in Sonia Gollance's chapter, he describes how Nathan Silverstein, a Jewish man whose wife Chane has fallen in love with a Christian,

finds guidance in a book of Schiller's poetry about how to respond to his wife's betrayal. He feels guilt over the fact that she is trapped in an arranged marriage to a man she does not love, but finds relief in Schiller's poetry: 'Each poem made a deep impression on him…his heart felt relieved of the load that had oppressed it'.[47] Under their influence he decides to grant his wife a divorce, even if this means she will abandon Judaism to marry the man she loves.

This hostility to Ostjuden quickly began to find concrete expression. As Małgorzata Maksymiak shows in her chapter, the immigration of Polish Jews to the territories of the Duchies of Mecklenburg in the eighteenth century, particularly after the partitions of Poland between 1772 and 1795, rapidly aroused hostility among the majority society and even among the local Jews, who had established a small community here from the mid seventeenth century. Initially the emigrants from Poland-Lithuania were mostly impoverished beggars who were frequently expelled. As their numbers increased they came to be seen as a threat to the material well-being of the society and a possible source of disease. The belief that Ostjuden endangered the economic livelihood and health of the areas to which they emigrated was to become a recurrent theme in German social discourse from now on. The ?

This relationship of paternalistic contempt was duplicated in the countries to which the two groups emigrated, above all the United States, Canada and South Africa. There was one exception. In the Yishuv (the Jewish settlement in Palestine), the German Jews who emigrated there in the 1930s and who numbered at least 50,000, came to an area where the 200,000 Jewish settlers, who had established themselves there since 1881 were mostly East European in origin. As Nathan Friedenberg shows in his chapter, in a reversal

of the relations between the two groups elsewhere, the German-Jewish immigrants here found themselves in a relationship of dependence on the local East European establishment which regarded them with a mixture of pity and contempt. This was in part recompense for the way East European Jews had been regarded by German Jews, but was much more the result of the fear that the acculturated and often deeply assimilated German Jews would not easily be integrated into the developing socialist society of the Yishuv.

In Eastern Europe, the attitude of local Jews to the daytsh, a term used for German Jews, for those who aspired to be like them and for Germans, as depicted in Yiddish literature, was more complex. As Marie Schumacher-Brunhes shows in her chapter, it reflects the changes in the political and cultural aspirations of the Jewish population here. Initially haskala novels, such as Joseph Perl's Megale Temirin (The Revealer of Secrets, 1819) or Yisroel Aksenfeld's Dos shterntikhl (The Headband, written in 1840 but only published in 1862), portray the values represented by German culture as the model to be followed by local Jews. With the passage of time, as the negative aspects of German-Jewish life became more apparent, the daytsh came to embody the spiritual dangers associated with assimilation. Accordingly, the novel Dos Vintshfingerl (The Wishing Ring), which Mendele Moykher Sforim (Sholem Yankev Abramovitsh) rewrote many times between 1865 and 1911 describes the vain attempt of the maskil to bring the poor Jews of his native Kabtsansk out of their allegedly backward state. His failure demonstrates the naivety of the maskilim who saw European culture as vastly superior to Jewish tradition. As a result, the daytsh gradually became the embodiment of the bankruptcy of the haskala. Similar views are expressed in popular Yiddish songs, in which the daytsh is mocked for his lack of faith in the context of the confrontation between

hasidism and the haskala and its successor, assimilationism. Yitzkhak Leibush Peretz was more ambiguous in his attitude to German influence. In his poem Monish (1888, modified in 1892), Monish, a talented yeshiva student, succumbs to the charms of the daughter of a wealthy traveller from Danzig identified as a daytsh. While this could lead to conversion, at the same time the poem highlights the attractiveness of European culture in accordance with Peretz's injunction two decades later: 'Take without losing'.[48]

The figure of the daytsh thus became one of the aspects which contributed to the self–understanding of Eastern Jews. Its target was not so much the assimilated Jews of Germany, who at the beginning of the haskala were seen as models to be imitated, but rather those Eastern Jews who were tempted to model their behaviour on them. Thus, more than one asimilator in interwar Yiddish literature was given a 'German' aspect, while actual German Jews appear much less frequently in this literature. The daytsh thus became the embodiment of the political and cultural integration which still proved beyond the reach of most Polish Jews.

New Understandings of the Relationship of German and East European Jews

Not all the views expressed by German Jews were hostile to their East European co-religionists. As the nineteenth century progressed, disillusionment with the negative consequences of acculturation became increasingly widespread and was intensified by the rise of antisemitism. Among the pioneers of a new understanding between East European Jewish communities and their co-religionists in the German speaking lands one should mention Isaak Rülf (1831-1902). Originating from the Hessen countryside, he took up the post of rabbi in Memel (today Klaipeda, Lithuania) on the Prussian-Russian border. Rülf

gained national and international prominence through his relief campaign for Jewish communities in the Lithuanian lands hit by a hunger crisis in 1866-67 and in the context of the pogrom crisis of 1881-82. His accounts of visits to these communities strike an almost redemptive tone:

> What did make such a deep impression on me [spending the sabbath in a park among Kovno Jews]? … Well, not much more than a nice park and the crowd moving back and forth. But this crowd awakened my deepest and innermost feelings, feelings that I had shunned away, perhaps for decades, and which unfolded more totally and purely during these hours than during my whole life. These feelings were called forth by my perception that this huge, enormous crowd was of my people, my tribe, my faith, a crowd that considered me without any reserve as one of them, and among which I could be what I always had wished to be – a Jew."[49]

The new sympathy for the values of East European Jewry were well expressed by Martin Buber in his autobiographical Mein Weg zum Chassidismus: Erinnerungen (My Road to Hasidism: Memories, Frankufut am Main, 1918). Buber was born in Vienna, but during the time he spent in Sadagóra (now Sadhora in Ukraine) with his grandfather, the renowned Talmudic scholar Solomon Buber, he encountered the vibrant world of the local hasidim. He saw hasidism as a folk culture which could enrich the life of his German co-religionists. In 1902 he established the Jüdischer Verlag to publish art works, poems and prose by both eastern and western contributors, seeking in this way to create a 'Jewish Renaissance', which would link the values which he saw in hasidism with those of the haskala and its commitment to progress and Western values. His renderings of the legends of Nahman of Bratslav (1906)

and those of the Baal Shem Tov (1908) were hugely successful. Similar views were expressed in the Berlin based journal Ost und West between 1901 and 1923.[50] Inspired by this growing interest of German-Jewish audiences for Eastern European Jewish culture and by the success of the memoir of Glikl of Hameln (published 1906), Pauline Wengeroff in her 'Memoirs of a Grandmother' (1908) reflected on the challenges to Jewish traditional life in Eastern Europe. A second volume followed in 1913, and the memoir was republished several times.[51]

In addition, from the beginnings of the twentieth century, a large amount of Yiddish literature, including the works of Sholem Aleichem, Shalom Asch, Mendele Moykher Seforim (Sholem Jacob Abramovitsh) Hersh David Nomberg, Abraham Reyzen, David Pinski, Simon Samuel Frug and Morris Rosenfeld, was translated into German. However, these translations, as Delphine Bechtel has documented, soften the satirical and self-critical character of much of this literature.[52] Thus, the first anonymous translation of Peretz's story 'Bontshe shvayg' (Bontshe the Silent) in 1897, as well the later translation by Theodor Zlocisti, downplay the biting character of Peretz's criticism of Jewish passivity. Not surprisingly, one of the works most favoured by this circle was Sholem Asch's novel A shtetl (1905) with its idealized and sentimental and idealized description of Eastern European Jewish life.

German Jewish contacts with Jews from Eastern Europe were intensified by the mass emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe in the aftermath of the pogrom wave of 1881 in the Tsarist Empire which also greatly increased their number in Germany. This grew from 15,000 in 1880 to 78,000 in 1910, reaching 90,000 in 1914 and 107,000 in 1925. During the First World War, an additional 70,000 workers were recruited to work in Germany, although

most returned home after the war.[53] Some German Jews shared the antisemitic response which this elicited, best articulated by the historian Heinrich von Treitschke in his essay 'Ein Wort über unser Judenthum' of 1879, where this leading public intellectual warned that 'our country is invaded year after year by multitudes of assiduous pants-selling youths from the inexhaustible cradle of Poland, whose children and grand-children are to be the future rulers of Germany's exchanges and Germany's press' and culminating in the exclamation 'The Jews are our misfortune', a slogan taken up two generations later by the National Socialist regime. A full-fledged public debate ensued, with other prominent historians, most notably Theodor Mommsen, rejecting Treitschke's claims.[54] It is in the years before the First World War that the term 'Ostjuden' gained currency in German- and German-Jewish parlance, with mostly negative connotations.[55]

East European Jews were also now more interested in German-Jewish culture. Certainly as Marc Volovici has argued, 'German has held a momentous and multifaceted place in the history of European Jews, serving as a catalyst of secularization, emancipation, and assimilation in various Jewish communities within and without German-speaking areas.'[56] In his chapter, he examines why the Odessa-based Zionist, Leon Pinsker chose to use German for his pamphlet Autoemancipation! An appeal to his People by a Russian Jew published in 1882 and how this was received. He also examines the problems experienced by Mendele Moykher Sforim in translating this into Yiddish and those of the various Hebrew translators, first Shmuel Leib Zitron in 1883 and then Ahad Ha-Am (Asher Zvi Ginsberg) in 1914.

As Sonia Gollance shows in her chapter, using a short story, 'Friedrich Schiller, by the Yiddish modernist writer Fradl Shtok (c.1890–c.1990), Schiller's poetry was particularly

appealing to young acculturated Jewish women, who believed their love of his work was compatible with their other activities in the domestic Jewish sphere, including embroidery, singing and properly preparing the Sabbath bread for the family each week and who saw him a writer who could assist them in negotiating the changes taking place in traditional Jewish society. Certainly, as Iris Parush has argued, it was precisely because women's education was neglected by religious authorities who were focused on male religious scholarship that 'the secular education of girls passively or quietly became acceptable', with the ultimate result that women were able to transmit modern ideas into Jewish communities.[57]

From the 1890s, as Yiddish writers and critics began to incorporate modern literary trends into the developing Yiddish cultural milieu, translations of European and, above all, German literature into Yiddish increased rapidly, as Agnieszka Żółkiewska discusses in her chapter. Translations from German vastly outnumbered those from other languages. According to Nathan Cohen between 1870 and 1939 more than two hundred and fifty books were translated from German into Yiddish in the Polish lands, while only sixty-eight were translated from Russian and even smaller numbers from other languages.[58] In addition, many translations from other European literatures reached the Yiddish-reading public through translations from German.

Initially, works by Jewish authors, above all Heinrich Heine and Lion Feuchtwanger, were translated. They were followed by the writings of classical German authors, such as Goethe, Schiller and Uhland, of contemporary poets like Richard Dehmel and Rainer Maria Rilke and of writers seen as sympathetic to the Jews such as Thomas Mann. Also translated were books that reflected the intellectual and political climate of the period, in particular anti-war literature, such as Erich Maria Remarque's All Quiet on the Western Front. However,

the largest number of items translated into Yiddish were of German popular literature, often described as shund (pulp fiction), above all the works of the eighteenth-century writer George Füllborn, who used pseudonym Georg F. Born and the contemporary writer of sensationalist novels, Bruno Traven. These were often serialized in the Yiddish daily press. Among the non-fiction translated were the works of the leading Zionist publicists like Herzl and Nordau and those of Sigmund Freud and Friedrich Nietzsche. One might add here as well the fundamental role German played as a language of science for Jews from Eastern Europe, as well in Eastern Europe as outside. Pioneering maskilim in Brody, Vilna or Warsaw such as Isaac Seiberling, Judah Bezalel Eliasberg, Mordechai Moses Jowel, and Mosheh Shtudenzki, many of them physicians, spread scientific knowledge by translating works on medicine and the exact sciences from German to Hebrew.[59] Also, many Jews who sought an university education or a scientific career, left the region for Vienna, Zürich or Berlin in the late 19th and early 20 century.

Some had reservations about the influence of German culture on the Jews of Eastern Europe. One was the Hebrew Nobel laureate Shai Agnon, as emerges clearly from Israel Bartal's chapter. Born in the late nineteenth century in Buczacz (Buchach), a small town in eastern Galicia, today in Ukraine, Agnon was influenced by both German and Polish culture and spent some time in Berlin before settling in Palestine in 1924. In his novel Shira, which is set in Mandatory Jerusalem, he attacks what he sees as the slavish devotion to German culture of German Jews, including those who had settled in Palestine after the Nazi takeover. At the same time, in his other writings, he provides a nuanced account of the process of acculturation that took place in Galicia where German (or more accurately Judeo-German) continued to function as loshn ashkenaz within Jewish society until the nineteenth century – a

pan-European Jewish language that had united Jewish communities in the early modern period and still did so in the first half of the nineteenth century.

World War One and the Interwar Period

German and Polish Jews reacted very differently to World War 1 as is described in the chapter by Alina Molisak. The outbreak of the war saw an outburst of patriotic emotion in Germany which was shared by its Jewish population. Jews enlisted in large numbers and were proud to serve in the German army. In Warsaw, by contrast, only local Russians and those paid to do so demonstrated in favour of the war and both Poles and Jews felt little enthusiasm for it. The situation was somewhat different in Russia itself, where even the Jews shared the patriotic upsurge, but this was quickly dissipated when the entry of Russian troops into Habsburg Galicia, where the Jews had shown some support for the war, led to acts of antisemitic violence.

In the Kingdom of Poland, which was occupied by German troops in 1915, the German occupying authorities found themselves obliged to balance their belief that they could win over the local Jews by improving their situation with their desire to win Polish support for their plans for Eastern Europe. In order not to antagonize the Poles, they were opposed to Jewish aspirations for autonomy, although they were willing to limit discrimination against Jews. General Hans von Beseler, the Governor-General of Warsaw during the years of the German occupation, was of the opinion that German policy should not seek primarily to achieve equal rights for Jews in the occupied territories, but should rather, through education, foster their acculturation, so that German culture would become central for them.[60] The somewhat half-hearted German attempt to win over the local Jews led the Tsarist

authorities to see those under their control as disloyal and this led to further anti-Jewish violence and mass deportations.

The end of the war was painful for both German and Polish Jews. In Germany it led to a failed communist uprising and to the intensification of antisemitism because of the presence of number of Jews, most notably Rosa Luxemburg and Kurt Eisner, in the ranks of the communists. In Poland, the whole Jewish community was adversely affected by anti-Jewish violence between 1918 and 1921 and many Jews felt ambivalence towards the emerging Polish state. Antisemitism grew as Jews were attacked for seeking an international guarantee for the rights of minorities at Versailles. The hope that reborn Poland would guarantee the Jews equality and security proved vain. In the words of Głos Żydowski on 25 October 1918:

> They speak of Poland, which is to be the mother of all, of a free Poland…. Yet in these momentous days not a single voice has spoken to us... Those who speak in the name of Poland are silent. Those who create Poland stay silent... They watch wild anti-Jewish antics, mobs beating up Jews on the streets of Warsaw; they watch, and they stay silent....
>
> Where is Poland's conscience?' [61]

At the same time the war further increased the involvement of the two Jewish communities and led to increased contact between individuals. Thus, the initial issue of Buber's *Der Jude* was marked by considerable concern over the situation of Jews in Eastern Europe. However, a degree of ambivalence remained. Shortly after the beginning of hostilities, the German-Jewish historian Willy Cohn wrote:

> We want in every way to try to lift the spirits of our Jewish co-religionists from the East, who may find themselves in the German state as a result of the war… but we also

> want and must establish a dividing line between them and us… To admit them to the community of German Jews would be to make Judaism non-German, and the emphasis is and should be on 'German'.[62]

Some German-Jews were impressed by the culture of the Ostjuden. One aspect of this was a new attitude to Yiddish. According to a pamphlet published in 1915 by the Zionist Heinrich Loewe on behalf of the Komitee für den Osten (KfdO—Committee for the East), set up to assist Jews in the East during the war:

> These Jews, who have now been settled in Poland for five hundred years, have preserved the German language in Lithuania, Volhynia, Bessarabia, and in deepest Asia, as well as in Galicia and Romania, just as they have preserved the German Middle Ages in its name ... With unparalleled faithfulness they have preserved the language they spoke in common with their persecutors. They preserved it as something sacred.[63]

As was the case in the years before 1914, contacts during the First World War also strengthened interest in the less acculturated and seemingly more 'authentic' Jews of the area. Selig Schachnowitz, who had been born in Lithuania and in Germany had become editor of the Orthodox newspaper Israelit, emphasized the important role Lithuanian Jews (Litvaks) played in Jewish identity. After all, it was in Lithuania that 'the proper source of Jewish spiritual life is located, a source influencing the entire Jewish world, from which the German diaspora has also been drawing for centuries….'[64] And it was in then Polish Vilna (later Vilnius) where the YIVO, founded at a conference in Berlin in 1925, took its headquarters, with branches of the scientific institute in Berlin, Warsaw and New York. This emphasizes the

transnational contacts and the circulation of knowledge amongst the Jews from Europe and beyond.

Another example of this entanglement is the chapter by Tessa Rajak. She describes the crucial role of a German Jew, Moshe Schwalbe (1889-1956) in the establishment of the Hebrew gymnasium in Kaunas (Kovno), the most important high school in the extensive Hebrew education system of interwar Lithuania. Schwalbe, who was educated in Halle, was a passionate Zionist who was taken prisoner by the Russians during the First World War and remained in Lithuania until his emigration to Palestine in 1925.

These years also saw the growth of antisemitism and political extremism culminating in the National Socialists achieving political power in January 1933. In these conditions, the Ostjudenfrage came to symbolize the wider 'Jewish question'. Fears of invasion by East European Jews had resurfaced in the Weimar Republic and were shared by some Jews who saw them as undermining their position. However, others grew more accepting of their eastern coreligionists, particularly as they were confronted with the impact of Nazi rule. When Joseph Roth republished his Juden auf Wanderschaft (The Wandering Jews, Berlin 1927) in the 1930s, he pointed out in its preface that the title no longer applied solely to East European refugees but also to the German Jew, who was 'more exposed and more homeless even than his cousin in Łódź'.

Just as the worsening situation of German Jewry and its persecution and disenfranchisement led to a great feeling of sympathy for the Jews of Poland, so in Poland, Jews looked with horror, compassion and apprehension at what was happening to their co-religionists. Some Polish Jews also expressed astonishment about the wait-and-see attitude of many German Jews, as expressed by reporter Bernard Singer in a series of reports from

Germany during the 1930ies that he wrote for the Polish-Jewish daily “Nasz Przegląd”. He observed a "strange, abstaining calm" among the German Jews, they would remain silent, pondering and thinking that they should be ashamed. For him they behaved "like helpless children", without the will to fight, which for him was an obvious necessity as well in Germany as in Poland.[65] With the rise of antisemitism here and the widespread sympathy for the way the Nazis were dealing with the ‘Jewish question’, they wondered if the same fate might be in store for them. In her chapter, Anne-Christin Klotz examines the way the rise of fascism and antisemitism was treated in cartoons, jokes and humour in the Yiddish press of Poland during the 1930s, above all in the mass-circulation Haynt and der Moment. In their pages all aspects of the Nazi regime were attacked, in the first place the treatment of the Jews and National Socialist ideology. These developments were linked with the rise of anti-Jewish violence in Poland and the growing influence of the Endecja (National Democrats) and its extreme-right splinter groups.

In National Socialist Germany, the long-established negative image of the ‘alien’ Ostjude now became applied to all Jews in the country. In her chapter, Aline Bothe analyzes the history of the two ‘Polenaktionen’ (literally the ‘actions against Poles’). In the first, in October 1938, Jews, on the basis of their Polish citizenship, were expelled from the German Reich in a mass deportation, provoked by fears that the Polish government would deprive of their Polish citizenship those (mostly Jews) who had been abroad for more than five years and had severed their links with Poland. The second Polenaktion, which began in September 1939, after the Nazi invasion of Poland, was more far-reaching and sought to arrest Jews throughout the Reich who were or had been Polish citizens with the goal of incarcerating them in concentration camps. Bothe is concerned with how these policies were adopted and

implemented and how they reflected the prejudices against Ostjuden widespread in Germany, rather than with the brutal wave of government-instigated anti-Jewish violence in November 1938 which followed the murder of a German diplomat in Paris by a desperate Jewish youth.

Wartime, Holocaust, post-Holocaust

Both German and Polish Jewish communities were devastated by the Holocaust. By 1939, of the approximately 522,000 Jews as defined by religion who had lived in Germany in 1933 more than half had emigrated, leaving only approximately 214,000 Jews in the country within its 1937 borders. Their situation worsened with the outbreak of the war and most were deported to Theresienstadt and to the ghettos created in Łódź, Minsk, Kaunas and Riga, from where they were sent to the killing centers of Chelmno, Treblinka, Bełżec and Auschwitz. In all, the Germans and their collaborators killed between 160,000 and 180,000 German Jews during the Second World War, including most of those Jews deported out of Germany.

The chapter by Maria Ferenc and Katarzyna Person describes the fate of around 3,800 Jewish deportees from various German cities who were sent to the Warsaw ghetto in April 1942. They were treated rather better than the other inhabitants of the ghetto and this inevitably aroused some resentment. At the same time, they were seen as a valuable source of information about the nature of German policy towards the Jews and with time sympathy for their fate grew. As Abraham Lewin wrote in his diary on 21 May 1942, 'We still feel estranged from each other, but this estrangement will soon disappear, and we will be at ease with one another, like brothers once again.'[66] Ultimately, they shared the fate of all the inhabitants of the ghetto.

The lot of the Jews in Poland was even more tragic. On the eve of the occupation perhaps 3.3 million Jews lived in Poland, the largest Jewish community in Europe. Most were murdered, initially by mobile killing squads, they died in the ghettos mainly of hunger and epidemcis, and were subsequently send off for murder to the death camps. Those who survived, in hiding or in the ghettos of the smaller towns of Poland which less tightly controlled than those in the major Polish cities, were hunted down by the German occupying authorities with the assistance of the German-controlled Polish Police and other local authorities and, in some well-documented cases, murdered by underground units or betrayed by the local population. How these issues should be evaluated has aroused considerable dispute. It should be stressed that the adoption, planning and implementation of a policy of the mass murder of the Jews here was the work of the Nazi leadership and the German people who for the most part, willingly or unwillingly followed their lead. At the same time, the Nazis gave considerable incentives, both political and material, to those who participated in this genocide and brutally punished, sometimes by death, those who attempted to assist their Jewish neighbours. Linked with this issue is the larger question of the degree of cooperation of the German controlled local authorities and Polish police in the mass murder of the Jews as well as the issue of blackmailers (szmalcownicy) who preyed off and sometimes denounced Jews in hiding. There has also been considerable debate on the evaluation of the number and motivation of those Poles, who risked their lives to rescue Jews.

At the end of the war, approximately 380,000 to 400,000 Polish Jews were still alive in Poland, the Soviet Union, or in the concentration camps in Germany, Austria and the Czech territories. The number who survived in hiding in Poland is disputed. According to the

records of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce - CKŻP) the principal Jewish body in post-war Poland, 74,000 people had registered with it by June 1945. Of these 5,500 had returned from concentration camps in Germany, 13,000 had served in the pro-communist Polish Army established in the USSR after the withdrawal of the Anders Army, about 30,000 had made their way back from the Soviet Union, 10,000 had been freed from concentration camps in Poland and the remainder, 15,500 had survived on the 'Aryan side'. [67] This last figure is clearly too low because many Jews hesitated to register with the CKŻP. It should at least be trebled. However, arguments that it should be raised to 100,000 or 150,000 are not credible.

These issues are highly controversial and have led to considerable controversy. One of the principal participants in these debates, Jan Grabowski, has criticized German historians of the Holocaust for their exclusive focus on the history of the Nazi perpetrators, at the expense of the Jewish victims and the history of local cooperation. In their chapter Laura Jockusch and Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe attempt to assess the validity of Grabowski's claims by examining how different generations of Jewish and German historians have investigated the relationship between the Nazi initiators and perpetrators of the Holocaust and the local non-Jewish populations. In this way, they hope to pave the way for a more complex, inclusive and integrative understanding of perpetrators and contribute to an understanding of the social practices under the condition of a brutal occupation regime.

After 1945, Jewish life began to re-establish itself in Germany. This was in spite of the opposition of many in the Jewish world to this development. The community was made up partly of those who had survived in Germany or had returned from abroad. The bulk of its members until 1989 when it began to be transformed by the large-scale immigration of Jews

from the former Soviet Union, was made up of displaced persons from Eastern Europe. Approximately 250,000 Jewish DPs went through Germany in the postwar years but most subsequently emigrated to Israel or North America. About ten percent remained in Germany, constituting the majority of the community which numbered around 30,000.

Most DPs came from Poland—they left because of their unwillingness to live under a communist regime, many of them having survived the war in the Soviet Union, and because of the persistent anti-Jewish violence provoked by the near civil war conditions and the widespread belief that Jews played a key role in the new communist regime. The chapter by Joseph Cronin gives an account of the general problems involved in creating this community while that of Tobias Freimüller examines how this process proceed in Frankfurt am Main, before the war the second largest Jewish community in Germany.

The post-war settlement involved the extension of Polish territory westward to the Oder and western Neisse rivers and the expulsion of most of the German population of the area. It was this area, especially Lower Silesia and Pomerania, to which the Polish officials then directed many Jews, who came back to Poland from the Soviet Union, for a variety of reasons: The Polish government on the one hand wanted to strengthen the “Polishness” of those newly gained areas, and on the other they reacted to the post-war antisemitism and immense difficulties for Jews in obtaining their former property in Central Poland. By way of taking over the properties left by the Germans, in cities like Dzierżoniów (Reichenbach) and Szczecin (Stettin) from 1945-1950 large Jewish centres emerged. For Lower Silesia for example the numbers of Jews living there in 1946 varies from 50.000-70.000, for Pomerania the numbers are slightly lower.[68] Among one of the towns involved was Wrocław, which, as Breslau, had been home to the third largest Jewish community in Germany. Most of its

members had either emigrated or been murdered during the war. The chapter by Maria Luft describes how in May and early July 1946, two trains left the town each carrying around 1,500 mostly Jewish survivors along with partners in mixed marriages and people who were partly Jewish. It describes the challenges they faced when establishing themselves in Detmold in North Rhine-Westphalia: German citizens forced to relocate after Breslau became Wrocław, they were looked at with suspicion by the British authorites as well as their neighbours, and their suffering from National Socialist persecution remained initially unrecognized.

When we look at the question how postwar societies in Germany and Poland were shaped by murder and loss in the Holocaust, emigration after 1945, but as well immigration, and how both societies have tried to come to terms with a difficult past, one needs as well to remember the immigration of more than 200,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union to Germany after 1989. This immigration added new layers and challenges to the German-East-European-Jewish entanglement. These immigrants and their descendants have quite different memories of the Second World War. They came into the land of the perpetrators and Jewish victims, though many of them identified with the victorious Soviet Union, and some de facto had, as recruits to the Red Army, liberated Auschwitz. For them and their descendents, 8 May 1945 is a day of victory, and their narratives remain to be integrated into a more complex historical memory culture in Germany, increasingly shaped by consecutive cohorts of immigrants. A further facet is the attraction of contemporary Germany, and especially Berlin, for Jewish Israelis. While many of these seem not to dwell to extensively on German responsibility for the Holocaust, Israeli

visitors too Poland often articulate their concerns about its long history of enmity to Jews. How far this is a matter of memory culture and politics of history, maybe as well of reparations, restitution, of forgiveness and perhaps reconciliation, remains a complex and so far unresolved question.

Two chapters examine how attempts have been made in both Germany and Poland to come to terms with the difficult past of the Jews in both countries. In his chapter, Michael Meng argues that in spite of their considerable differences, the Jewish museums in Berlin and Warsaw attempt to respond to the silence of the dead by seeking to remember the voices of those who have been silenced and murdered. In his words, 'they respond to the Holocaust by crafting a historical narrative that, as such, attempts to remember the dead and recover a lost moment of vitality'. There is an important difference between the two museums. That in Berlin is housed in a remarkable building by Daniel Liebeskind which imposes on it the function of a memorial to the lost world of German Jewry. Liebeskind sees his building as subverting the idea of a clear narrative of German-Jewish history. In his words:

> Although the program originally called for a chronological display, I have introduced the idea of the void as a physical interference with chronology. … The void and the invisible are the structural features which I have gathered in this particular space of Berlin and exposed in architecture. The experience of the building is organized around a center which is not to be found in any explicit way because it is not visible. In terms of this museum, what is not visible is the richness of the former Jewish contribution to Berlin. It cannot be found in artifacts because it has been turned to ash. It has physically disappeared. This is part of the exhibit: a museum where no museological functions can actually take place.[69]

This is certainly how the museum has been understood by its critics. James Young has praised Libeskind's building as 'an aggressively anti-redemptory design, built literally around an absence of meaning in history, an absence of the people who would have given meaning to their history'.[70]

The Warsaw museum, also housed in a striking building by the Finnish firm of architects of Lahdelma & Mahlamäki, is above all concerned to give an account of the long history of the Jews in the Polish lands. A memorial to Polish Jewry had already been provided by the monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising designed by Natan Rappoport and erected in 1948. The museum, built in the centre of the Muranów district, the heart of the Warsaw ghetto, which was entirely destroyed after the Warsaw ghetto uprising and rebuilt after the war, explicitly turns away from death in its mission to focus on the vibrancy of Jewish life and culture in Poland before 1939. According to the chief curator of the museum's exhibition, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett:

> The Museum of the History of Polish Jews is the first and only museum to present the one-thousand-year history of Polish Jews. Facing the Warsaw ghetto monument, the museum completes the memorial complex. The monument honors those who perished by remembering how they died, the museum honors those who perished by remembering how they lived. The museum will be a bridge across time, continents, and people.[71]

Contrasting views on how to deal with the tragic past are also to be found in two recent films, Ida (2013),whose director Pawel Pawlikowski's lives in the UK and Phoenix (2014) directed by the German Christian Petzold, which are discussed in the chapter by Mendel Weintraub. Both examine the impact of the mass murder of the Jews on

individual and national identity. Ida, which is set in the 1960s, is the story of a novice Polish nun on the brink of taking her vows. She is informed of her Jewish identity by her Mother Superior and told that she needs to meet her Jewish aunt before entering the nunnery. This aunt, Wanda, was previously unknown to her and is a judge who has been morally compromised by her involvement in the unjust communist system of justice. Wanda confronts Ida with her Jewish past and the shocking fact that several members of her family were murdered by a Polish neighbour who has taken possession of their house. This does not alter her decision to become a nun. Phoenix tells the story of the singer Nelly Lenz, who returns to Berlin hideously scarred having survived the concentration camps. After her recovery from extensive plastic surgery, she attempts to return to her estranged husband Johnny, unable to believe, as was the case, that he had betrayed her to the Nazis. The reconciliation is a failure and, realizing that the accusations against Johnny are correct, Nelly decides to leave Germany.

Both films are clearly pessimistic about the future of Jewish life in Poland and Germany. Ida comes to realize that there is no future for her should she acknowledge her Jewish identity which is too much of a burden to bear. Her decision take her vows as a nun represents not only the abandonment of her Jewishness, but also constitutes the end of her bloodline, as she is the last surviving member of her family. This is too much for Wanda and leads to her suicide which is also the result of her growing awareness of the unjust nature of People's Poland. At the same time, the film does underline the importance for Poles of coming to terms with antisemitism.

Nelly's decision to abandon Germany shows that her past life cannot be revived. However, as the title suggests, she can find a future for herself by its repudiation. She

finally comes to terms with her betrayal by Johnny and her other Jewish friends and accepts that to move forward she needs to leave the old Nelly behind and abandon Germany. At the same time, as Petzold has explained when discussing the message of the film, 'if we follow [Nelly], we are also leaving Germany, with her together'. But Germans have to stay and confront the past. 'We have to stay with the others….'[72]

A number of themes run through this volume. This first is the importance to the history of the Jewish communities in the area of migration. The Jewish community of Poland-Lithuania was largely derived from the German lands. The two communities came into contact with each other from the time of the westward migration of Jews from the Commonwealth beginning with the Khmelnytsky Uprising. The mutual stereotyping which resulted was intensified by the mass emigration of Jews from the Polish lands in the nineteenth century, some whom settled in Germany and in the lands to which both groups emigrated. The initial revival of Jewish life in Germany after 1945 was heavily dependent on Jewish DPs from Poland.

Another major theme is the complex relation of Yiddish to German. Originally loshn Ashkenaz, as the language of everyday life, was common to both groups. With the acculturation of Germany Jewry, German came to be seen among the modernizing minority in Eastern Europe as important tool in achieving the changes they hoped to introduce here in religion and cultural life. German literature, often translated into Yiddish, became a window into the modern cultural world. To the more conservative and traditional majority it was the embodiment of those changes they were determined to oppose. For the acculturated German Jews Yiddish was originally seen as a debased

German. As disillusionment with assimilation grew, so did interest in the portrayal of East European Jewish life in the emerging Yiddish literature.

Linked with the question of language was the mutual stereotyping which developed with the uneven progress in the whole area of political and social integration, acculturation and assimilation. The old view that German Jewry was the example of successful integration while that of Eastern Europe preserved the traditional values of the shtetl and religious conservatism can no longer be upheld. The transformation of Jewish life took place throughout the area beginning from the late eighteenth century, at different speeds and with different results. It is our hope that its complexity emerges from the chapters in this volume. This complexity also emerges in German-Jewish, Yiddish and Hebrew literature and in the reception of German literature in the East European Jewish world.

A further theme is the negative synergy which developed between German and Polish antisemitism. The stereotype of the Ostjude was from the eighteenth century an important component in negative views of the Jews. It also played a major role in the 1930s and in the way Nazi hostility to the Jews targeted East European Jews in the first instance. The success of the Nazis in disenfranchising German Jews and expropriating their property greatly stimulated local antisemites in Poland, who also received some financial assistance from the Third Reich.

One final theme is how to deal with catastrophe and loss. Today there are perhaps 150,000 Jews in Germany and about 50,000 people who have some connection with Jewish life in Poland. These are pale shadows of the communities which existed in these countries in the early decades of the twentieth century. Attempts have been made

through scholarship, belles lettres, films and museums to make good this loss. We hope that this volume will contribute in some small way to this process.

[1] Translations from the satirical song by Osian Evans Sharma, Ana Gordon, François Guesnet, Victoria Lisek based on M. Weinreich, 'Tsvei yidishe spotlider oyf Yidn', in YIVO Filologishe shriftn 3 (1929), 537-53, unpublished Mss.

[2] Shmuel Eisenstadt (ed.), Multiple Modernities (London, 2002)

[3] J.Roth, Juden auf Wanderschaft (Berlin 1927), 23-24.

[4] D. Hundert, 'Some Basic Characteristics of the Jewish Experience in Poland', 30 ; David I. Shyovitz: A Remembrance of His Wonders: Nature and the Supernatural in Medieval Ashkenas (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

[5] A. Teller, 'Telling the Difference: Some Comparative Perspectives on the Jews' Legal Status in Poland and in the Holy Roman Empire' in POLIN: Studies in Polish Jewry 22 (London, 2010), 109-141. See also Z. Kowalska, 'Die großpolnischen und schlesischen Judenschutzbriefe des 13. Jahrhunderts im Verhältnis zu den Privilegien Kaiser Friedrichs II. (1238) und Herzog Friedrichs II. von Österreich (1244): Filiation der Dokumente und inhaltliche Analyse' in Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung 47,1 (1998), 1-20.

[6] R. Barzen, 'The Transfer of Tradition from West to East: The Takanot Shum between the Rhineland and Poland in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period' in POLIN: Studies in Polish Jewry 34 (Liverpool, 2022), 39-54.

[7] C. Aust, The Jewish Economic Elite. Making Modern Europe (Bloomington, 2018), 48-50, 69-70; A. Teller, 'Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Economy (1453-1795)' in (eds.) J. Karp, A.Sutcliffe, The Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume VII The Early Modern World, 1500-1815 (Cambridge, 2018), 580-2.

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[12] I. M. Ta-Shma, 'Letoledot hayehudim bepolin beme'ot ha12-ha13', Zion, 53 (1988), 347-69; idem, 'Yediot hadashot letoledot hayehudim bepolin beme'ot ha12-ha13', Zion, 54 (1989, 208 and idem, 'On the history of the Jews in Twelfth-Thirteenth Century Poland', POLIN: Studies in Polish Jewry 10 (London, 1997), 287-317

[13] For these figures, see Sh. Stampfer, 'Settling down in Eastern Europe', in T. Grill (ed.), Jews and Germans in Eastern Europe. Shared and Comparative Histories (Berlin, 2018), 1-20.

[14] Weinryb, The Jews of Poland, 93.

[15] G. D. Hundert, Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2004), 21-5.

[16] These are the conclusions of Shaul Stampfer's as yet unpublished study of this problem.

[17] H.Turnianski (ed.), Glikl. Zikhronot 1691-1719 (Jerusalem, 2006), 77-8; see also the first translation into High German by A. Feilchenfeld (ed.), Denkwürdigkeiten der Glückel von Hameln (Berlin, 1913), 32-3.

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[21] M. Rosman, The Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, MA, 1990) 131, 206-10; A. Teller, Money, Power, and Influence in Eighteenth-Century Lithuania. The Jews on the Radziwiłł Estates (Stanford 2016).

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