

Klemen Jelinčič Boeta Jews of Medieval »Slovenia« until the Expulsions of 1496–1515

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The following article is discussing the Jewish presence in Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Gorizia, Trieste and Venetian Istria. The text begins in the late Antiquity, discusses the question of Jewish villages in Carinthia, Styria and Carniola and continues on a variety of subjects concerning the Jewish life of the area until the expulsions of 1496–1515 in comparison with the other two culturally close subdivisions of the Ashkenazi cultural area, the Northern Italy and Austria proper. A special attention is given to the contemporary Jewish sources, such as Isserlein, and to the questions of culture and daily-life.

Key words: Jews, Slovenia, Middle-Ages, Isserlein, Jewish villages

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Judje srednjeveške »Slovenije« do izgonov 1496–1515

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Pričujoč članek obravnava judovsko prisotnost na področju Koroške, Štajerske, Kranjske, Goriške, Trsta in beneške Istre. Besedilo se začne v času pozne antike, nadaljuje z vprašanjem judovskih vasi na Koroškem, Štajerskem in Kranjskem in nato z razpravo o različnih vidikih judovskega življenja omenjenega prostora do izgonov 1496–1515 v primerjavi z drugima dvema kulturno sorodnima področjema aške-nškega kulturnega kroga severne Italije in ožje Avstrije. Posebna pozornost je posvečena takratnim judovskim virom, na primer Isserleinu, in vprašanjem kulture in vsakodnevnega življenja.

Ključne besede: Judje, Slovenija, Srednji vek, Judovske vasi, Isserlein

Late Antiquity

The first Jews in the latter-day Slovenian areas can be encountered at latest after 70 CE when masses of Jewish slaves flooded the market, a part of which certainly reached the already well developed city of Aquilea where the contact between Judaism and Christianity occurred at a very early stage. Not only that the spreading of Christianity in Aquilea rested on the missionary activities of Christian Jews but the Church of Aquilea also preserved certain Jewish characteristics well into the Middle-Ages.¹ A fact is that the church building in Monastero near Aquilea was constructed on the foundations of a synagogue.² The synagogue certainly operated until 388, when it was destroyed by the soldiers of Theodosius I and apparently served quite a numerous Jewish community.³ In the vicinity of Grado – Grau⁴ and Aquilea several Jews were magistrates, land owners and imperial soldiers.⁵ In Grado a tombstone of a baptized Peter, the son of Jew Olympos, from around 465 is preserved,⁶ from the text of which we can conclude that a larger Jewish community existed in town, probably created by refugees from the near-by Aquilea escaping the incursions of Alaric and Attila.⁷ In the area of latter-on Slovenian lands we encounter an oil-lamp with Menorah from the 4th–6th century found in Škocjan near Divača.⁸ Based on names appearing on tombstones we can assume that Jews

¹ Biasutti 1977, Biasutti 2005: 1–19.

² Cracco Ruggini 1977: 353.

³ Biasutti 2005: 38.

⁴ Due to the multicultural and multilingual nature of the geographical area under our research many of the localities have names in several languages of the area (Italian, Friulian, Slovenian, and German, if we disregard the once commonly used Latin names). In order to emphasize this fact, so important in trying to decipher the cultural aspects of the area's history, we presented the bilingual or even trilingual name of one place in a hyphenated form wherever these languages are still spoken and/or are officially recognized only the first time the place is mentioned. In case a language is no longer spoken in a certain area or a place is also familiar under a name in another language, the name is presented in brackets, also only the first time the place is mentioned, which as in the first case does not mean we are disregarding the multicultural nature of the place. After the first mentioning of a place only the majority or national language form is used simply to ensure an easier reading of the text without implying any possible discrimination.

⁵ Maireon Lenissa 1998b: 72.

⁶ Stafuzza 1984: 120.

⁷ Maireon Lenissa 1998b: 72.

⁸ Knific & Sagadin 1991: 68.

appeared also throughout the Roman settlements of Carinthia⁹ and based on coin inscriptions also in the area of Leibnitz (Lipnica) Field in Styria.¹⁰ In Pula – Pola a tombstone with a Jewish inscription was found dating as late as 641 CE.¹¹

Jews of Eastern Alps

Throughout the 7th and the 8th centuries we can count on occasional commercial contacts between Carantania, Friuli and Istria, which by the 9th century already developed into a long-distance trade. Ibn-Chordadbeh in approximately 850 CE mentions the ‘Raddanites’, which traveled to India and China and according to him traded in slaves, silk, fur, swords and spices.¹² It is a fact that in the 11th century there were already dozens of Jewish communities across the northern French and Imperial lands, such as Bamberg, Erfurt, Regensburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Vienna and Prague.¹³ Even though there are no testimonies to a Jewish presence within the area of Carantania until the appearance of the Jewish villages, such testimonies can be located on its western and eastern edge. The western Jews could have been from Gaul or Italy with smaller numbers of Spanish and Byzantine Jews, while those from the east Byzantine, Khazar or Babylonian Jews. To these we must add the Slavic speaking Jews that were partly descendants of converts and partly descendants of other Jews that are recorded to speak the Jewish ‘Knaanic’ language since the 10th century onwards.¹⁴ On the south-eastern edge of Lower Pannonia, in a place called Čelarevo near Novi Sad the archeologists unearthed an Avar gravesite of numerous graves with Jewish artifacts.¹⁵ It is exactly these Avar Jews that can be connected to the phenomenon of converting to Judaism among the members of different Turkic-Mongol-Altai clan groupings, such as the Goths, Alans, Huns, Avars and Khazars¹⁶ that represent an important early ethnic addition in the formation of Ashkenazi Jews. On the eastern edge of Carantania, Jews are explicitly mentioned already in the Raffelstätten Custom Regulations from 904–906.¹⁷ Chasdai Ibn Shaprut around 955 mentions Jews in Dalmatia and in Hungary that are in contact with the Land of Rus.¹⁸ Some of the Jewish settlements in Hungary were at least in the 12th century founded along the trade routes with Austrian lands, which included commercial contacts with Ptuj (Pettau), Völkermarkt – Velikovec and Judenburg.¹⁹

⁹ Babad 1945: 16.

¹⁰ GJI I: 155.

¹¹ Leon 1938: 357.

¹² Lohrmann 1982a: 287.

¹³ Haverkamp 1988: 212.

¹⁴ Weinreich 1980: 80–81.

¹⁵ Bunardžić 1980, Goldstein 1989: 28.

¹⁶ King 1992: 423, Kriwaczek 2005: 44–46.

¹⁷ Reg I, 1.

¹⁸ Graetz 1937 IV: 18, Marcus 1975: 227–232, Eventov 1971: 42, 429, Kriwaczek 2005: 48.

¹⁹ Berend 2001: 112–113.

‘Jewish villages’

When Jewish traders, for instance, wished to travel from Italy to Regensburg they were obliged to cross the Alps, along which due to security and organizational reasons an entire network of trade posts and settlements developed. And a sign of that are certainly the so-called ‘Jewish villages’ located along the trade routes in the Eastern Alps. This chain of outposts begins with Judendorf near Villach (Beljak) and runs through Judendorf (Ždovše²⁰) near Maria Saal – Gospa Sveta and Judendorf near Friesach (Breže) all the way to Judenburg in Styria. Here the path splits: one branch leads through Judendorf near Tamsweg to Salzburg and Regensburg and the other through Judendorf near Steyr to Judenau near Tulln. Along the path to Hungary we encounter Seidolach – Ždovlje and Seidendorf – Ždinja ves²¹ and then Völkermarkt (in 1105–1125 mentioned as ‘*forum iudeorum*’)²² as well as Ptuj, where despite the fact the famous tombstone isn’t dating to 1103, we can safely assume the Jews did occasionally stop. In addition to Judenburg already mentioned between 1074 and 1088²³ the map also shows one Judendorf above Graz (Gradec) mentioned in 1147²⁴ and one below Graz, as well as Judendorf near Leoben from 1269.²⁵ In addition to these the map shows another two such places along the route to Hungary near Radkesburg (Radgona) and one on the route from Carniola towards Croatia, the place called Ždinja vas near Novo mesto. Wenniger²⁶ clearly shows that the so-called ‘Jewish places’ (*Judenorte*) appear nowhere else than on the eastern frontier of the Frankish state; in Bavaria and Franconia already in the 8th century and in the area of Carantania, Salzburg and Saxony from the 9th century onwards.

Apparently the appearance of Jewish villages in the area of the Alpine Slavs needs to be positioned into the 10th century, which would somehow be in accordance with the cessation of Hungarian danger²⁷ and certainly before 1100, when places with the suffix ‘vas’, ‘ves’ or ‘dorf’²⁸ are not being formed anymore.²⁹ We can certainly speak of not so sparse Jewish settlement in Carinthia, Styria and Carniola already in the 10th and 11th centuries. Jews along the trade routes thus established trade posts that later on receive market rights (Tamsweg, Judenburg, and Völkermarkt), settle in the already existing settlements (Friesach, Villach, and Ptuj), or temporarily settle along the important center of power (Maria Saal). We can safely assume that up to the end of the 12th century permanent Jewish settlement exists in Villach, Friesach, Völkermarkt, Graz, Judenburg and possibly Ptuj. At that time

²⁰ Žid being the colloquial for ‘Jew’ in Slovenian.

²¹ Wadl 1992: 19.

²² Neumann 1962: 37.

²³ Kosi 1998: 31.

²⁴ Brunner 2000: 77.

²⁵ Ibid. 75.

²⁶ 1985.

²⁷ Popelka 1935: 59, Klein 1960: 65, Neumann 1962: 371.

²⁸ Slovenian and German terms for ‘village’.

²⁹ Kranzmayer 1956: 87–89, Grafenauer II 1965: 166.

Jewish presence settles within larger market towns, Jews no longer reside within Jewish villages, while numerous new Jewish communities start to form in many new market towns and cities that start to appear in this area, especially from the beginning of the 13th century onwards.

Jewish legal position

Certainly the Jewish legal and social position within the Latin Europe was strongly influenced by the relation of Christianity towards Judaism, which has started to be shaped already in the first centuries of the Christian era and was throughout the entire Middle-Ages marked by a certain ambiguity, if not schizophrenia. On one hand, Tertullian and Origen from the beginning of the 3rd century³⁰ and Chrysostomos from the 4th century³¹ condemn the Jews and connect them with the demonic forces, which was in the following centuries expressed, for instance, in the iconographic representations of the victorious Church and the defeated Synagogue as well as through connecting the Jews with the Devil and other monsters.³² On the other hand, though, St. Augustine (354–430) in his texts develops a doctrine of ‘witness’, which throughout the centuries served as a justification to preserve the Jews within Christendom and served as a basic principle guiding Christian views on Jews in High Middle Ages.³³ This policy of protecting the basic Jewish rights as rights of the only permitted non-Christian religious community within the Christian world was continued by the Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), who in connection with Christian imperial Jewry laws, for instance of Theodosius II,³⁴ ‘set a standard on Jewish matters that guided papacy for centuries’,³⁵ several times in opposition to the local church authorities.

As opposed to the lands of the Pyrenean Peninsula, Provance, and Southern Italy, where Jews resided prior to the establishment of medieval stately structures, and Northern Italy and the territories of the Venetian Republic, in which the position of Jews in towns where they mostly started to settle after the 13th century was regulated through contracts with city authorities, the Jews in the area of the Empire were already from the period of Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–1190) directly subordinate to the ruler and were as such designated as ‘servants of the Royal Chamber’ (*servi camerae regis*).³⁶ ‘Jewish servitude’ (*Kammerknechtsschaft*), though, despite the use of the term ‘*servus*’ didn’t imply classical servitude or vassalage, but rather only a direct subordination to the ruler, as Jews in fact represented a separate social stratum/class/estate.³⁷

³⁰ Stow 1992: 15–17.

³¹ Cohen 1996: 20.

³² Higgs Strickland 2003: 133.

³³ Sapir Abulafia 2004: 19.

³⁴ Safrai 1994: 349–355.

³⁵ Cohen 1996: 36.

³⁶ Stow 1992: 275.

³⁷ Stow 1992: 273–280, Cohen 1996: 45–49, Heil 2000, Berend 2001: 83.

The oldest Jewry law used for the Slovenian lands is certainly the co-called *Fridericianum*, issued on the 1st of July 1244 for Austria, which Frederick II of Babenberg, the duke that published the law, expanded to cover the entire Austria and Styria and has later on become to serve as a basis for most of other Jewry laws of Hungary, Bohemia, Silezia, Poland and Lithuania.³⁸ The duke preserved the exclusive power of final decision and appeal and, for instance, punished the murder of a Jew by death penalty. Of the 31 articles eleven are dedicated to money-lending and pawning, as well as to protection from abuse. This Jewry law explicitly excluded the Jews from local city jurisdiction and submitted them to the duke or his captain.³⁹ In this law we also encounter a general protection from violence, which due to the legal autonomy within the Jewish community relates only to relations with the Christians. The Jewry law was repeated and slightly altered by Otokar in 1254,⁴⁰ 1255,⁴¹ 1262,⁴² and in 1268,⁴³ as well as by Rudolph of Habsburg in 1277.⁴⁴

Even though it is hard to understand the exact meaning of the term *iudex iudeorum* (judge of the Jews) from the text the term is apparently referring to the judges of Jews known from the beginning of the 14th century onwards.⁴⁵ Of all the medieval Slovenian lands the function existed in Styria only. The documents are mentioning such judges in Bruck, Graz, Judenburg, Maribor (Marburg), Ptuj, Radkesburg and Voitsberg. Only in Maribor 30 different such judges are attested between 1333 and 1492.⁴⁶

In addition to general Jewry laws for an entire land we meet throughout the entire Middle Ages all over the Empire and other parts of Latin Europe different privileges that were issued to 'financial aristocracy'; individuals or groups of individuals mostly in connection to commercial or financial activities. A large number of such privileges are preserved from the area of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Triest (Trieste – Trst) and Gorizia – Gorica – Gurize (Görz) County, and the earliest such privilege, preserved from Carinthia, is from January or February 1328 issued by the duke Henry of Carinthia from Gorizia-Tyrol family to '*Manuel, magister* (in Jewish context therefore a rabbi) *Bonaventura the physician Jacob's son, Aaron and Pilgrim and Bonaventura, Jeremiah's sons*' from Cividale – Cividat (Čedad) and Gorizia for a free settlement in Carniola and an opening of the bank in Ljubljana (Laibach).⁴⁷ Around 1360, for instance, a privilege was also issued to Scharlat, widow of Shalom and her mother Minz,⁴⁸ who settled in Gorizia and in addition to the right of opening a bank and trading freely also received all the rights other

³⁸ Baron IX: 150, Lohrmann 1990: 200–205, Lotter 1989: 48–49.

³⁹ von Mittis 1955: 283–287, Reg I, 25.

⁴⁰ Reg I, 32.

⁴¹ Reg I, 34.

⁴² Reg I, 39.

⁴³ Reg I, 47.

⁴⁴ Reg I, 56.

⁴⁵ Lohrmann, Wadl & Wenninger 1982: 30.

⁴⁶ Rosenberg 1914: 123–124, Mlinarič 1996: 11–12.

⁴⁷ GZL I/30, Reg I, 291.

⁴⁸ Lohrmann 1990: 240.

burghers of the city had, which certainly represents an exception in the lands on the southern side of the Alps.

Jews who didn't possess personal privileges were paying taxes to the common sum, which was paid to the Captain of the Land by Jewish communities as a group. Thus, for example, all the Jews of Inner Austria in 1467 had to pay to Frederick III a sum of 4.000 gulden of regular Jewish tax for each period of four years,⁴⁹ and, for instance, in 1335 on the occasion of enthronement of the Carinthian duke Otto, the Jews of Völkermarkt and Klagenfurt (Celovec) paid an irregular tax of 100 silver marks.⁵⁰ The tax collector (or more of them) was usually a successful businessman and a *parnas*.⁵¹ In 1469 in Maribor, for instance, Aram, son of Ismael and Musch, son of Smoyel, both from Maribor, were in charge of collecting the taxes.⁵² In 1338 in Radkesburg the taxes were collected by Selda together with her husband Isaac and their son,⁵³ which represents the only recorded case of female tax collector in our area.

Of all the cities in the area of our concern, in which Jews resided, specific city/town statutes or contracts were preserved in the cases of St. Veit an der Glan (Št. Vid ob Glini), Villach, Ptuj, Bleiburg – Pliberk, Koper – Capodistria, Piran – Pirano, Trieste, Cividale, Venzone – Vençon (Pušja ves) and Gemona – Glemone (Humin). In St. Veit between 1295 and 1297 after the death of the duke Meinhardt of Gorizia a new city statute was issued, which in articles 12 to 15 deals with the Jews.⁵⁴ Provisions on Jews can be found also in the statute confirmations of 1308, 1338 and through the entire 14th and 15th centuries.⁵⁵ In Bleiburg the Jewish rights are mentioned in the statute of 1370⁵⁶ and in its confirmation of 1461, but it appears that was only a mere formality.⁵⁷ In Villach despite a very early Jewish presence in the 11th century there are no provisions on Jews in any of the preserved city statutes of 1392, 1423, 1465, and 1584, as in the years 1346/47 and 1359 the bishops of Bamberg issued a whole series of documents that created a wholesome system of protection for Jews living under their authority. The general Jewry law of Bamberg Jews is transmitted in the charter of Bishop Frederick from 1347. The charter itself says it relates to provisions of bishops Henry (1324–1328) and Wulfing (1304–1318), under which also the Jews in Wolfsberg (Volšperk) received their rights.⁵⁸ On the southern side of the Alps only two Jewish communities resided in the territory of the Archbishops of Salzburg, namely in Friesach and Ptuj. From Friesach no statute provisions on Jews exist, but there are those from the city sta-

⁴⁹ Wadl 1992: 125.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 141.

⁵¹ Community foreseer.

⁵² GJ III 2: 834–835.

⁵³ Keil 2006: 44.

⁵⁴ Neumann 1965: 380–381, Reg I, 96.

⁵⁵ Wadl 1992: 133.

⁵⁶ GJ III 1: 132.

⁵⁷ GJ III 1: 132.

⁵⁸ Neumann 1965: 391–395.

tute of Ptuj from 1376, in which five articles are dedicated to Jews.⁵⁹ Even though Jews in Trieste fell under the general land/imperial Jewry law, several contracts are preserved the city commune of Trieste signed with individual Jews. Thus in 1414 and 1420 a *condotta* was signed with Salomon Zudio of Nürnberg⁶⁰ and in 1446 with Michele, son of Salomon.⁶¹

In the cities and towns of Venetian Istria and Friuli the Jewish settlement was regulated through contracts of 'behavior' (*condotta*); a system, which established itself in connection with the founding of banks in numerous cities and towns of *Terra Ferma* (the Venetian mainland), to which Venice arrived, when Jewish communities already existed, or to which Jews came after the Venetian takeover of the area.⁶² *Condotta* was a contract between the local authorities and Jewish bankers that was regulating all matters in regard to lending money and residence of Jews in a particular place.⁶³ In addition to Cividale where Jews are mentioned already in the city statute of 1321,⁶⁴ there is a contract from 1349⁶⁵ and a first explicit *condotta* from 1396.⁶⁶ We also encounter such contracts in Venzone,⁶⁷ Gemona,⁶⁸ as well as in Poreč – Parenzo, Piran, and Koper.⁶⁹

The expansion of Jewish settlement

At the beginning of the 13th century we can no longer speak of 'Jewish villages' in Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, as there are already well-established Jewish communities in Villach, Völkermarkt, Friesach, Judenburg, in all probability in Ljubljana, as well as perhaps in Ptuj, as it is during this century that numerous new communities are formed, which depending from the community possessed their own synagogue, perhaps a separate school or *bet-midrash*, a rabbi, a *mikveh*⁷⁰, and in some localities also a cemetery. Thus Jews in the 13th century reside in the cities subordinate to the Duke: St. Veit an der Glan, Klagenfurt, Bleiburg, Völkermarkt, Slovenj Gradec (Windischgrätz), Dravograd (Drauburg), Murau, Judenburg, Bruck, Leoben, Wiener Neustadt (which at the beginning belonged to Styria), Graz, Voitsberg, Radkesburg, Maribor, Slovenska Bistrica (Windisch Feistritz), Celje (Cilli), Ljubljana; the cities belonging to the Counts of Gorizia who for a period also served as the Land-princes (Dukes) of Carinthia: Lienz, Obervellach (Gornja

⁵⁹ Kos 1998.

⁶⁰ Stock 1979: 12–13.

⁶¹ Cusin 1998: 115.

⁶² Toaff 1987.

⁶³ Peršič 1999: 36.

⁶⁴ Zenarola Pastore 1998a: 34.

⁶⁵ Ioly Zorattini 1987: 263.

⁶⁶ Zenarola Pastore 1998a: 34.

⁶⁷ Zenarola Pastore 1998c.

⁶⁸ Zenarola Pastore 1998b: 47.

⁶⁹ Peršič 1999: 35–54.

⁷⁰ A ritual bath.

Bela), Gorizia, Cividale and Venzone; cities under the Patriarchs of Aquileia (and later on Venice): Aquileia, Udine – Udin; cities under the Venetian Republic: Piran, Izola – Isola, Koper; cities under the Bishops of Bamberg: Villach, Wolfsberg; cities of the Archbishops of Salzburg: Friesach, Ptuj, and Ormož (Fridau), city under the Bishops of Gurk (Krka): Strassburg, as well as in a free and later on Habsburg city commune of Trieste. Actually we find Jews in almost all the temporary, except Carniolan, town and city settlements of the latter-day Inner Austria.

According to the number of individuals and the number of communities the Duchy of Styria certainly was the most important, and among those the community of Maribor. There the first Jewish individual is encountered between 1274 and 1296.⁷¹ Judging by the date of the first construction phase of the synagogue of Maribor the synagogue was standing already at the end of the 13th century.⁷² Jews were obliged to contribute to the city's defenses,⁷³ they possessed houses,⁷⁴ farms and vineyards,⁷⁵ and resided even outside the city walls.⁷⁶ The Jewish community of Maribor developed its own version of the Austrian Ashkenazi Jewish ritual or *minhag*,⁷⁷ possessed an important library⁷⁸ and during the time of Rabbi Isserlein (served in town between 1421 and 1450) became one of the most important communities of the southern parts of the Empire.

After a plausible Jewish existence in Ptuj already in the 12th century or even earlier, the Jews of Ptuj are encountered in the documents for the first time in 1286⁷⁹ until 1404⁸⁰ and again between 1420 and 1446.⁸¹ In addition seven tombstone remnants are preserved from Ptuj, which represents the largest amount in the area of Southeastern Alps after Cividale.⁸² In Slovenska Bistrica Jewish presence is attested between 1370 and 1427,⁸³ they possessed a graveyard, in all probability also a synagogue, and stayed in town until the expulsion. In Ormož Jews are mentioned between 1340 and 1362. In Celje, the Jewish presence is mostly connected to the family of brothers Musch and Hatschim, bankers, whose father represents in 1340 the first mentioned Jewish individual in the town.⁸⁴

Even in the late 15th century Radkesburg is in addition to Maribor, Graz, and Judenburg one of the four Styrian cities with a rabbi.⁸⁵ Apparently the Jews settled in town prior to 1338.⁸⁶ Records of burning down the Jewish quarter in 1397 together

⁷¹ GJ II 2: 522.

⁷² Mikuž 2000: 169.

⁷³ GZM XVII: 42.

⁷⁴ GZM XVII: 103.

⁷⁵ GZM VI/2.

⁷⁶ GZM III/98.

⁷⁷ LY I: 32, TD 104.

⁷⁸ PK 112.

⁷⁹ GJ II 2: 650.

⁸⁰ GJ III 2: 1100.

⁸¹ GZM VII/2.

⁸² Vivian 1981.

⁸³ GZM VI/25.

⁸⁴ MMK XVIII, 61.

⁸⁵ GJ III 2: 1164.

⁸⁶ Kurahs 2004: 59.

with the Jewish quarters of Graz and Ptuj are not confirmed by other sources and enable a conclusion on a persecution of much smaller dimensions.⁸⁷ After the 11th century Jews in Judenburg had been encountered in documents from 1290⁸⁸ onwards until the expulsion. That the local Jewish community was the most numerous one in the Old-Carantanian area is confirmed also by the fact that a judge for the Jews is in Judenburg attested already in 1305, which is also the first explicit record of such a function in the area of our concern.⁸⁹ After the two Jewish villages next datum on Jews in Graz comes from a tombstone from 1304,⁹⁰ followed by a plethora of other data until the temporary expulsion between 1438 and 1447⁹¹ and then until the final expulsion of 1496. In addition, Jews in Styria are also encountered in Bruck between 1327 and 1478, in Fürstenfeld in 1342, Hartberg in 1431, Leoben between 1369 and 1444, Murau between 1327 and 1383, even though most probably until 1496, and in Voitsberg between 1358 and 1496.

Of all the communities of Carinthia, the oldest ones were those of Friesach, Völkermarkt and Villach, where we can undoubtedly speak of a continuation between the early medieval trade-posts and the Jewish communities of the late Middle-Ages. Friesach possessed a fully developed Jewish community for certain already in the 12th century.⁹² Accordingly, Ulrich von Liechtenstein in 1224 mentions as a self-evident fact that the defeated knights of the tournament went to Jews for their money.⁹³ Nachman, the son of a Judenburg banker Hoeschel, together with the families of Haeslein and Abrech from Friesach turns Friesach around 1330 into the most important community of Carinthia.⁹⁴ Völkermarkt also possessed a fully developed community already in the beginning of the 12th century.⁹⁵ In the town Leoben is mentioned between 1459 and 1478. His son Lewi, attested in town already in 1480, has in 1487 moved to Nürnberg, where the Emperor Frederick III named him as The Chief Rabbi of the Empire (*Hochmeister der Judenschaft des Reiches*),⁹⁶ a deed also pointing to the importance of his home community. After the founding of the community in Villach up to the 11th century, Jews are mentioned in the city only in 1255 when the Bishop of Bamberg orders Rudolph von Haas to reinstate the rights he revoked from the Villach Jews. From then on the Jews are mentioned on numerous occasions.⁹⁷ Between 1292 and 1342 appears in the documents '*Nikolaus filius Taube, der Judin ze Villach*' who apparently converted to Christianity, became a member of the city council, even a city magistrate, and served as a witness also outside the town, while his mother continued to run a

⁸⁷ Brugger 2006: 220.

⁸⁸ Reg I, 72.

⁸⁹ Rosenberg 1914: 122–123.

⁹⁰ GJ II 1: 300.

⁹¹ Wenninger 2004.

⁹² Wadl 2000: 96.

⁹³ GJ I: 111.

⁹⁴ Wadl 1992: 183.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 140.

⁹⁶ GJ III 2: 1543.

⁹⁷ Neumann 1965: 383.

very successful money-lending business.⁹⁸ Due to the age of St. Veit's city statute we can certainly speak of the Jews in town in the middle of the 13th century, soon after the city was founded,⁹⁹ in which the Jews remained until the expulsion of 1496. In Klagenfurt Jews are mentioned in documents between 1293 and 1362, In Dravograd from 1383 to 1411, in Bleiburg from 1365 to 1370, in Slovenj Gradec between 1334 and 1388, in Wolfsberg from 1289 to 1369, in Gurk in 1285, and in Strassburg between 1285 and 1396. In Eastern Tyrol Jews are encountered in Lienz between the beginning of the 13th century and 1328 and in Obervellach between 1315 and 1362.

Valvasor mentions Jews in Ljubljana already in 1213 and 1290, which is due to the already well understood question of Jewish villages despite the lack of documents, quite plausible to accept. The first documented presence of Jews in the city comes from 1325, when a Jew from Ljubljana is mentioned in Cividale.¹⁰⁰ In addition to the brothers Musch and Hatschim of Celje also the Jews of Ljubljana participated in providing the loans for the colonization of Kočevje (Gottsche) between 1358 and 1364 by the Counts of Ortenburg.¹⁰¹ Jews also contributed to the maintenance of the city walls,¹⁰² lived also outside the 'Jewish' street¹⁰³ and were engaged also in trade and commerce¹⁰⁴ up to their expulsion of 1515.

The first document on Jews in Gorizia comes from 1288, when Count Albert gives a house in the town to his vassal Walchun under a condition that in case a Jew resided in the house, a special agreement would have to be signed with the count.¹⁰⁵ Data on Jews in town continue until 1406¹⁰⁶ and then from 1509 onwards, when the Emperor Maximilian I grants Isaac Morpurgo of Triest, i.e. to the son of Aram of Maribor, a charter to settle in Gorizia,¹⁰⁷ which is considered as the beginning of an organized Jewish community in town that survived until the 20th century.

In Triest Jews are after the year 1236, when a Carinthian Jews named Daniel is mentioned in regard to establishing the free city commune,¹⁰⁸ mentioned for the first time in 1348 when a contract with the city was signed on the main town square.¹⁰⁹ The number of documents increases after the Habsburg takeover of the town in 1382 and continues until the 21st century, for instance, in 1509 when the privileges of 'a protected Jew' (*Schutzjude*) are received by Isaac of Triest, son of Aram from Maribor¹¹⁰ and a new chapter in the history of local Jews begins.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 411–415.

⁹⁹ Wadl 1992: 132.

¹⁰⁰ Valenčič 1992: 6.

¹⁰¹ Wakounig 1983: 85.

¹⁰² GZL VI/43.

¹⁰³ GZL XII/II: 9.

¹⁰⁴ GZL IV/56.

¹⁰⁵ Reg I, 71.

¹⁰⁶ Vivian 1984: 93.

¹⁰⁷ Altieri 1984: 145–146.

¹⁰⁸ Reg I, 15.

¹⁰⁹ Stock 1979: 11.

¹¹⁰ GJ III 2: 1483.

In Cividale the first testimony to Jewish presence comes from 1239 when a rabbinic court met in session. Already in 1269 '*magister Bonadies*' is attested.¹¹¹ In addition to data from city statutes and contracts with individuals, ten tombstones from the 14th century are also preserved.¹¹² In 1572 the Venetian Doge Mocenigo ordered an expulsion from the city.¹¹³ In Gemona the Jews appear from mid – 14th century onwards,¹¹⁴ which also holds for Cormons (Krmín) where more important developments occur with the 16th century.¹¹⁵ In Venzone Jews appear in connection to Jews of Cividale at the end of the 13th century and around 1300 the Jews of Cividale are already running most of the money-lending business in the town,¹¹⁶ in which from the middle of the 14th century onwards payments for an armed escort (*Geleit*) were collected.¹¹⁷

The Venetian Istria differed from Trieste, Gorizia County, Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola not only according to the legal position of Jews but also by the fact that Jews in Istria appear after the 7th century only in the second half of the 14th century when in addition to immigration of Jews from the interior we witness, similar to other towns and cities of Northern Italy, also a greater immigration of Jews from the northern lands of the Empire. Even though in Venetian Istria of 14th–17th century we encounter Jewish settlement in Pula, Poreč, Umag – Umago, Rovinj – Rovigno, and in Cres – Cherso, as well as in Piran, Izola, and Koper, parts of condottas among the Jews and the city communes are preserved only in cases of Poreč, Koper, and Piran. These contracts regulate also religious autonomy, rights of burial and construction of synagogues, as well as freedom of commerce and trade. Of the contracts from Koper three articles from the contract of 1391, its confirmations from 1409 and 1425, as well as a new contract from 1459 are preserved.¹¹⁸ Jews are encountered in Koper from 1386¹¹⁹ until 1486¹²⁰ and at latest until 1550.¹²¹ In Piran Jews are in regard to money-lending mentioned for the first time in 1390¹²² and then until approximately 1583, which would be in accordance with the notices on Jews in Izola in the 16th century.¹²³ In Izola banker Abraham is mentioned in 1421, already attested in Koper in 1418¹²⁴ and between 1418 and 1421 in Trieste.¹²⁵ Jews are encountered in Izola throughout the entire 15th and 16th century and even later.¹²⁶

¹¹¹ Roth 1946: 124, Zenarola Pastore 1998a: 34.

¹¹² Vivian 1981.

¹¹³ Zenarola Pastore 1998a: 34–36.

¹¹⁴ Zenarola Pastore 1998b: 47.

¹¹⁵ Bianco Cotrozzi 1987.

¹¹⁶ Toaff 1991: 5.

¹¹⁷ Kosi 1998: 180.

¹¹⁸ Peršič 1999: 35–52.

¹¹⁹ Grison 1991: 62.

¹²⁰ Cusin 1998: 116.

¹²¹ Peršič 1999: 51.

¹²² Ibid. 59–136.

¹²³ Ibid. 64.

¹²⁴ Ibid. 53.

¹²⁵ Stock 1979: 12.

¹²⁶ Peršič 1999: 53.

The Diaspora of the Southeastern Alps¹²⁷

During the 15th century we can in general observe a great connectedness between the communities and rabbis of Northern Italy, Inner Austria and German lands.¹²⁸ A partial analysis of data shows that a great majority of Jews from 'abroad' in the cities of Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, and Gorizia County arrived from other towns and cities of the named lands, which can not be said for Koper, Izola and Piran. As shown by the data a larger part of Jews in Koper, Izola and Piran arrived from the other two cities or from the northern lands of Ashkenaz, even though through Northern Italy, with which their share in the entire local Jewish population constituted a greater part than among the Jewish communities of Inner Austria. These Jews also in all probability continued to use their original *minhag*, i.e. the *Raynus* ritual. Triest would be somewhere between the two. Thus we can clearly see that in the area under our research two culturally distinct communities existed: the one in the costal area and the other in the hinterland, i.e. the one of the Rhineland rite and the one of Inner Austria.

Around the year of 1250 the Jews of Southeastern Alps can already be designated as Ashkenazim. In regard to that their ritual particularities and approach to solving the legal questions were certainly bound to the tradition of Franco-German school and later rabbis of the Empire, to which, of course, we must add the so-called tradition of *Knaan* or the Slavic lands. A key role for the development of Judaism in the area of Empire was undoubtedly played by the *Chasidei Ashkenaz* movement.¹²⁹ The pinnacle of the development of this legal-religious-cultural tradition of the geographic area of our concern is certainly represented by Rabbi Israel Isserlein (1390–1460). Different customs were throughout the centuries appearing and forming throughout the entire Jewish Diaspora. It is quite probable that an independent Austrian custom (*Minhag Ostryach*) was formed already in the middle of the 13th century and separated from the already in the 11th century mentioned

¹²⁷ There exists a great terminological uncertainty in regard to naming the discussed diaspora. While it is clear that the Diaspora of Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Gorizia County, Triest and Venetian Istria cannot be equalized with the Austrian Diaspora or even less the Northern Italian Diaspora, it is less clear whether this Diaspora should be called »Slovenian« or rather »Inner Austrian« Diaspora as both terms are misleading to some degree. The term Slovenia/Slovenian becomes widely used only with the 16th century, but would include all of the areas that were in around 1200 characterized by the languages/dialects of the Alpine Slavs or medieval Slovenian (including the Eastern Tyrol) or geographically speaking almost the entire area of Inner Austria in its borders only after Napoleon, i.e. 300 years after the expulsion, while on the other hand the term Inner Austrian before the 16th century includes only the areas of Carinthia, Styria and Carniola but without Gorizia, Triest and Venetian Istria, where medieval Slovenian was widely spoken. The thing is further complicated by the fact that the Jews of Inner Austria proper culturally, through a smaller share of the Jews with Rhineland ritual, differed from the Jews of Gorizia, Triest and Venetian Istria. Therefore we decided to use the terms interchangeably with a slightly stronger preference for the term »Slovenian« Diaspora, as it is the only term that emphasizes the presence of a Slavic cultural pattern, even though in the northern parts of the discussed area only until 1200 and not until 1500.

¹²⁸ Spitzer 1991: 33–41.

¹²⁹ Dan 1992, Glick 1999, Kanarfogel 2000, Reiner 2004.

Rhineland custom.¹³⁰ Through the disciples of Judah He-Hasid and their disciples in connection with the already existing local Knaanic, i.e. at least partially Slavic speaking, Jews local varieties of Austrian custom developed in Styria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silezia and Poland.¹³¹

Several customs are specifically mentioned in relation to Maribor. For Chanukah candles, for instance, they had '*a custom of arranging [them] from north to south*'.¹³² Due to the hierarchical structure of individual religious communities, according to which the smaller ones were ritually subordinate to bigger ones, the question rises up to what measure the smaller communities in the vicinity of Maribor followed the ritual of Maribor. This question is especially valid for Slovenska Bistrica, Radkesburg, Slovenj Gradec, Ormož, Celje, and Ljubljana, as well as for potentially older community of Ptuj. The question is also up to what measure were the particularities of Maribor custom preserved first among the Maribor and Ptuj Jews in Triest and Gorizia and then more specifically among the members of Morpurgo family in Triest and Gorizia.

From the area of our research more than 100 different male and more than 20 different female personal names are preserved, of which the numerous varieties almost all appear firstly among Ashkenazim in general, then within the Empire and then within Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Gorizia County, and partially Triest and Istria.¹³³ Therefore, already based on names it is clear that the largest part of the Jews of Slovenian lands belonged to the Ashkenazi cultural milieu. In the sample we encounter Hebrew names, names of Romance and Oriental origin, as well as five Slavic names. A suffix *-lin/lein* and *-el* appears often with the Jewish names of our area and in general appears with an above average frequency in Eastern Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria.¹³⁴ Even more common is the appearance of such names in the documents of Lower Austria, Styria and Carinthia, in which the share of such names is even higher than in Bavaria and Swabia¹³⁵ what represents an interesting particularity of the area of our concern.

The Ashkenazic Jews have up to 1500 always been a minority in a non-Jewish milieu and they therefore always had to be bilingual. 'In those territories, where the non-Jewish population itself was divided linguistically Yiddish speakers had to know, to some extent, more than one non-Jewish language'.¹³⁶ In this sense it is also completely clear that the Jews of 'Slovenian' lands, in some areas more than in others, also spoke the medieval Slovenian. In addition to the external bi-, tri- or multilingualism also the internal bilingualism is of importance, namely the relation between the 'holy language' and Yiddish within the cultural-ideological system of Ashkenazi Jews. Taking, for instance, Hatschim, the brother of Musch, born in

¹³⁰ Keil 2006: 65, 73.

¹³¹ Zimmer 1996: 218, Kanarfogel 2000, Reiner 2004.

¹³² TD 104.

¹³³ Beider 2001, Keil 1997b.

¹³⁴ Beider 2001: 51.

¹³⁵ Ibid. 52.

¹³⁶ Weinreich 1980: 247.

Celje, who had been traveling all his life between Triest, Ljubljana, Celje, Maribor and Vienna, we can say with great certainty that he was five-lingual. In addition to the obligatory Hebrew and Yiddish he certainly knew also 'Slovenian'¹³⁷ and 'German' and in all probability to some extent (or very well) also 'Italian'. For our time and area certainly the two earliest phases of the development of Yiddish are relevant, namely the earliest Yiddish (until 1250) and old Yiddish (1250–1500).¹³⁸ For the period of old Yiddish it is clear that in the entire area of Carinthia, Styria, Carniola and Gorizia County Jews communicated to each other in Yiddish and due to the polycentric formation of the Yiddish language in its first two periods, to the vocabulary and syntax of which contributed Germanic, Romance, Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Slavic (the Elbe Basin, Bohemia-Moravia, perhaps even the Balkans) linguistic elements, it would be more than common sense to ask whether and up to what measure did also the medieval Slovenian language contribute to the vocabulary of Yiddish, as there are more than a few words that point to that direction.¹³⁹

The Community

The Jewish community in Middle-Ages represented a basic structure of Jewish political and legal self-rule that the Jews had in relation to the non-Jewish government.¹⁴⁰ Those in the community that were making decisions, i.e. the communal council, had to be elected according to the majority principle by all the tax-paying members, while extremely important decisions had to be made by all the tax-payers based on the same majority principle and not merely the elected council members.¹⁴¹ The sources explicitly mention the Jewish communities in Graz, Radkesburg, Maribor, and Ljubljana.

A certain measure of class differentiation can be observed also among the medieval Jewish society. First of all, there was, certainly, the upper stratum composed of different important bankers, community leaders and rabbis. Sources mention in addition to high amounts of cash available to them and real-estate they possessed also other signs of the luxury they lived in. Despite the importance of such families the actual backbone of the medieval Jewish communities was represented by the so-called *beinonim* (the middle ones),¹⁴² i.e. the middle class, all those that were obliged to pay the taxes and possessed the right to vote. During the 15th century the share of poor Jews in the area of entire Ashkenaz dramatically increased and Germania Judaica III estimates that in the 15th century already up to a half of the

¹³⁷ Here, of course, the term 'Slovenian', 'German', and 'Italian' refers to medieval languages and geographical identities and in no manner equalizes the medieval categories of ethnicity with the ones of the 19th century.

¹³⁸ Weinreich 1980: 9.

¹³⁹ e.g. Miesses 1924.

¹⁴⁰ Shohet 1974: 11, Lorberbaum 2001: 93.

¹⁴¹ Guggenheim 2004: 71.

¹⁴² TD 346.

Jewish population could be counted among the poor.¹⁴³ These poor Jews are in the area of our concern specifically mentioned in Judenburg¹⁴⁴ and in Koper.¹⁴⁵

In general, during the 12th and the 15th centuries a fundamental improvement of the legal position of women can be observed in Ashkenaz, France and Italy.¹⁴⁶ In addition to the fact that Jewish women worked as traders, servants, seamstresses, ritual bath managers and washers of the deceased women, a greater share of female business activities became connected to money-lending, true not only for the area of Southeastern Alps, but also for Austria and other parts of the Empire. This relatively strong position of Jewish women was further strengthened by the ideologically and theologically supported ideal that husbands, wives and children have to nurture strong emotional bonds.¹⁴⁷ All together women are mentioned in various business activities in Klagenfurt, Villach, Friesach, Graz, Judenburg, Radkesburg, Voitsberg, Celje, Maribor, Ptuj, Ljubljana, Gorizia, Gemona, Izola, and Koper.

The larger the community, the larger was the differentiation of its functionaries. The community was in charge of buildings, spaces and institutions of public character such as synagogues and *mikves* as well as of collecting charity contributions and taxes. Charity contributions were intended for orphans, poor brides, freeing the kidnapped Jews, taking care of the sick and visiting them, burying the deceased, consoling the bereaved, as well as for traveling poor Jews and poor students.¹⁴⁸ Among the community functionaries the sources mention *parnasim* or community foreseers that usually weren't rabbis, were representing the members of the community council and took care of collecting the taxes. In our area a *parnas* is mentioned in Völkermarkt and Maribor. In 1338, for instance, Selda is mentioned as a female *parnas* in Radkesburg. The most important employee of the community was the *chazzan*, who led the prayers in synagogue and was accordingly responsible for the specific melody and rituals of a particular community. A *shamesh* was confirming Hebrew documents and deeds at Christian courts and could also serve as the community scribe.¹⁴⁹ These two functions are explicitly mentioned in Judenburg¹⁵⁰ and in Maribor.¹⁵¹ The cashiers or *gabbaim* were in addition to collecting money from taxes and charity in charge of implementing charitable activities.

The title 'rabbi' has a long history and could in different situations have different meanings. What is common to all of these meanings is the fact that a man with this title was a teacher and was well-versed in Jewish law. His title was merely of local importance and his authority in most cases didn't spread over the boundaries of the community that chose him.¹⁵² In this sense Rabbi Meir of Rotenburg (died

¹⁴³ Keil 2006: 55.

¹⁴⁴ GJ III 1: 595, note 13.

¹⁴⁵ Peršič 1999: 51.

¹⁴⁶ Keil 2004: 317.

¹⁴⁷ Stow 1992: 205.

¹⁴⁸ Keil 2006: 41–42, PK 99, LY II: 35.

¹⁴⁹ Keil 2006: 50.

¹⁵⁰ Rosenberg 1914: 13.

¹⁵¹ GZM VII/81, LY II: 29.

¹⁵² Schwarzfuchs 1993: 2–10.

in 1293) was a legal authority that spread over the land borders, while Bonaventura we encounter in Ljubljana was merely a rabbi and a well educated man in the sense of a local community. In the 14th century we start to witness a growth in the importance of a rabbi as a community leader and not merely a teacher or a judge.¹⁵³ From the towns and cities of the present mono- or bilingual Slovenian language areas we know of 20 different rabbis, of which 12 are from Maribor.

One of the most important characteristics of the premodern Jewish life is the existence of an autonomous Jewish judiciary system that was in charge of all the aspects of intra-Jewish relations and was reaching its decisions based on Jewish law (*Halachah*) and local custom. During the 15th century in the area of the Empire, in which a whole network of Jewish courts developed, there were also courts composed of two or four judges that didn't necessarily have to be rabbis.¹⁵⁴ Based on the nature of individual crimes they distinguished between monetary fines, excommunication, expulsion, flagellation or incarceration.¹⁵⁵ From the area of our concern we know of the existence of a Jewish court or *bet din* only in Cividale in 1239,¹⁵⁶ as well as in Graz and Maribor, even though temporary courts existed in all Jewish communities.¹⁵⁷ We learn of the courts in Maribor and Graz from the text of R. Kolon from Mestre near Venice from the second half of the 15th century, in which we receive also a clear insight into the hierarchical relations between these courts, as it is clearly stated that the courts in Salzburg and Graz are subordinate to the court in Maribor and its rabbis.¹⁵⁸

In addition to the domestic and family life, public spaces, in which the Jews were meeting each other, represent a no less important scene of the premodern Jewish public life, of which the most important are: a 'Jewish' street or a square, synagogue, cemetery, *mikveh*, and *bet midrash*. Jewish quarters or areas, in which Jews in our area resided, were never ghettos and even the term Jewish quarter doesn't mean that only Jews lived there or even that such a quarter was clearly and strictly defined and thus separated from the rest of the town. In the area of our research such streets, squares or quarters are mentioned in Klagenfurt, St. Veit, Völkermarkt, Friesach, Graz, Judenburg, Radkesburg, Celje, Maribor, Ptuj, Ljubljana, Cividale, Koper, and Piran. The fact that also Christians lived in Jewish streets and that the Jews lived outside of it is clear from numerous examples.

The most important aspects of Jewish life come to expression in a synagogue and as a central building of a Jewish community the synagogue was usually a beautiful and a large building clearly distinguished from other Jewish houses.¹⁵⁹ Synagogues in the area of our concern were certainly in the following localities: St. Veit, Klagenfurt, Villach, Friesach, Bruck, Graz, Judenburg, Murau, Radkesburg, Voitsberg, Celje, Maribor, Ptuj, Slovenska Bistrica, Ljubljana, Piran, Koper, Triest

¹⁵³ Zimmer 1970: 104–107.

¹⁵⁴ Zimmer 1960: 67–68.

¹⁵⁵ Shohet 1974: 20.

¹⁵⁶ Roth 1946: 124.

¹⁵⁷ Keil 2006: 70.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 70–71.

¹⁵⁹ LY II: 12.

and Cividale. Of all the named buildings only the one in Maribor is preserved and it represents one of the oldest preserved synagogue buildings of Europe.

For the existence and operation of a cemetery, of course, a larger quantity of people is needed and therefore not every Jewish community possessed a cemetery. They certainly existed in Villach, Friesach, Völkermarkt, Judenburg, Graz, Maribor, Ptuj, Slovenska Bistrica, Ljubljana, Piran, Koper, Trieste, Gorizia and Cividale. Due to the importance of the Jewish community in Radkesburg it is quite plausible that a cemetery existed there at least in the 15th century. Tombstones are preserved from the cemeteries of Trieste, Gorizia, Cividale, Villach, Velikovec, Friesach, Graz, Maribor, and Ptuj. *Bet Midrash* is explicitly mentioned only in Völkermarkt and Maribor, while *mikveh* only in Maribor.

Medieval Jewish society was composed of small groups of city-dwellers with fairly common worldview, unified halachic status, and in most cases also similar economic and cultural level; if nothing else, as most of Jewish males and females were literate and involved into diverse aspects of commercial and monetary activities.¹⁶⁰ Research shows that Jewish families were already in the 11th century nuclear families with a low number of children. Similar results are shown by the *Liber Judeorum* from Wiener Neustadt, in which the average number of Jewish children is found to be between one and two.¹⁶¹ Jewish family law was strengthening the nuclear family with the protection of individual rights of the family members, especially wives. Divorce was permitted and even though a woman could not start the divorce procedures, she had the right to demand one, even on the basis of 'hatred' towards her husband.¹⁶²

Of all the numerous individuals and families a special attention is deserved by rabbi Israel Isserlein, Musch and Hatschim of Celje, Isserlein and his grandson Musch of Maribor and the sons of Seldman of Maribor and then Trieste. Israel Isserlein bar Petachia (1390, Maribor – 1460, Wiener Neustadt)¹⁶³ is considered as the most influential rabbi of the Empire in the second third of the 15th century¹⁶⁴ and as the last great rabbi of medieval Austria.¹⁶⁵ His pupils came from Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Silezia, Bavaria, and Rhineland.¹⁶⁶ His most important works are *Trumat ha-Deschen*, edited by him, and *Psakim u-Chtavim*, edited by his pupils posthumously. Hatschim and Musch of Celje, sons of Scheblein, who had been lending money since 1340, lend money from 1379 onwards and are in this period in addition to Musch, grandson of Isserlein, considered as the most important bankers of our area in the second half of the 14th century. They did business with the families of Celje (Cilli), Gorizia (Görz), Auersperg (Turjak), and Ortenburg and have based on the named business connections belonged to the top of the contemporary social ladder. Isserlein, son of Chia, who had between 1334 and 1350

¹⁶⁰ Stow 1992: 196.

¹⁶¹ Keil 2006: 104.

¹⁶² Keil 2000: 94–96.

¹⁶³ Keil 2006: 67, Spitzer 1997: 182.

¹⁶⁴ GJ III 2: 1625.

¹⁶⁵ Eidelberg 1962: 38.

¹⁶⁶ GJ III 2: 1625.

been living and lending money in Ptuj,¹⁶⁷ was a banker, and was lending money to the Lords of Osterwitz (Ostrovica), Counts of Gorizia, and Bishops of Gurk and Freising.¹⁶⁸ He died in 1361 or 1362.¹⁶⁹ His grandson Musch acted alone between 1362 and 1392.¹⁷⁰ His clients, in addition to those of his grandfather, included also the Counts of Celje and the Lords of Ptuj.¹⁷¹ Sons of Seldman are known to us from numerous documents that include lending money and trading in real-estate as well as other merchandise. Mannach is mentioned already in 1393.¹⁷² Aram, son of Seldman, is mentioned in Maribor between 1448 and 1478, was several times endowed with privileges by the Emperor (1472, 1473, and 1477) and was for a time paying a quarter of all the taxes of the Jewish community in Maribor.¹⁷³ He possessed houses in Maribor and Radkesburg and had business in Triest.¹⁷⁴ His son, Isaak of Triest is attested between 1492 and 1522 and died before 1526.¹⁷⁵ He initiated large financial operations and was in 1509 by the Emperor Maximilian granted the privileges of a *Schutzjude* (protected Jew).¹⁷⁶

The houses, in which the Jews lived, were mostly also owned by the Jews themselves¹⁷⁷ as shown by the documents, for instance, from Ljubljana, Maribor, Gorizia, Völkermarkt, which was different from the northern lands of the Empire, and apparently also from Piran, Izola, and Koper, where houses were mostly rented. Jews differed from their Christian neighbors by the form and the color of clothes they wore,¹⁷⁸ which can be also seen from the question whether a Jew is in a time of danger allowed to dress as a non-Jew.¹⁷⁹ Under their coats men were wearing long shirts made of light material narrowed in their hips by a belt.¹⁸⁰ In their daily lives the women were wearing in addition to their usual linen clothes also those with woolen sleeves,¹⁸¹ while their heads were covered with scarves, sometimes washed by Christian washer-women.¹⁸²

In addition to the usual rules of kosher food the main characteristic of contemporary Jewish cuisine was the fact that the food on Saturdays and holidays was the best. Daily meals were more modest and included milk, butter,¹⁸³ white and black

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 843.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 833.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 836.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. 833.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 839.

¹⁷² GZM V/62.

¹⁷³ GJ III 2: 835.

¹⁷⁴ GJ III 2: 842, note 95.

¹⁷⁵ GJ III 2: 1483.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. 1482.

¹⁷⁷ TD 336.

¹⁷⁸ Spitzer 1997: 221.

¹⁷⁹ TD 197.

¹⁸⁰ LY I: 33.

¹⁸¹ TD 296.

¹⁸² TD 152.

¹⁸³ LY II: 6, 11.

bread,¹⁸⁴ cheese,¹⁸⁵ soups,¹⁸⁶ vegetables,¹⁸⁷ sauerkraut,¹⁸⁸ rice,¹⁸⁹ and salted fish.¹⁹⁰ Wine was of essential importance, especially due to the dubious quality of water, and they were drinking it on all occasions, even for breakfast.¹⁹¹ Jews possessed poultry,¹⁹² sheep, goats and cattle.¹⁹³

Jewish boys started to go to school from the age of five onwards for about five years when some of them continued to study until marriage or for the rest of their lives while others were directed into more professional educational directions.¹⁹⁴ In smaller communities at least occasionally every synagogue served as a classroom or *bet midrash*. We can safely assume the existence of such a classroom in Piran, Koper, Trieste, Cividale, Villach, Völkermarkt, St. Veit, Friesach, Celje, Slovenska Bistrica, Ptuj, Graz, Judenburg and perhaps also elsewhere. In comparison to male children the education of girls was less encompassing, but nevertheless included reading, writing, knowing the prayers, domestic activities and numerous religious rules connected to domestic life.¹⁹⁵

Economic Activities

Jews in commerce are mentioned already in the Rafelstätten Custom Regulations¹⁹⁶ and were engaging in commerce and trade until their expulsion. It was this commerce that played an important role in the establishment of the network of 'Jewish' villages and the first two localities named in the Old-Carantanian area as 'market-towns' are Jewish settlements, i.e. Völkermarkt and Judenburg. *Leket Yosher*, a book written by the disciple of Isserlein, explicitly states that Jews were importing sugar and rice from Candia (Crete),¹⁹⁷ and were trading in cheese,¹⁹⁸ oil,¹⁹⁹ precious stones,²⁰⁰ textile,²⁰¹ wood,²⁰² and horses.²⁰³

There are numerous examples of Jewish minters and mint-masters in various parts of medieval Europe, such as in Aragon-Catalonia, Castile, the Empire,

¹⁸⁴ LY I: 34.

¹⁸⁵ TD 206.

¹⁸⁶ LY I: 60.

¹⁸⁷ LY II: 6.

¹⁸⁸ LY I: 124.

¹⁸⁹ LY I: 32, 34, 35, 75.

¹⁹⁰ TD 174, LY I: 52, LY II: 6.

¹⁹¹ TD 31.

¹⁹² LY I: 65, TD 299.

¹⁹³ TD 271, PK 167, LY II: 64, 69.

¹⁹⁴ Baskin 1995: 42, Keil 2006: 98.

¹⁹⁵ Baskin 1995: 42.

¹⁹⁶ Reg I, 1.

¹⁹⁷ LY I: 74–75.

¹⁹⁸ LY II: 13.

¹⁹⁹ TD 206.

²⁰⁰ TD 318.

²⁰¹ TD 320.

²⁰² LY II: 61.

²⁰³ TD 310.

Bohemia and Poland,²⁰⁴ which holds true also for the Gorizian Dukes of Carinthia and Bishops of Bamberg at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century in Villach, St. Veit, Völkermarkt, Lienz and Obervellach.

From several hundred credit deeds we can quickly see that the money-lending activity of Jews from the 13th to 15th century was extremely varied, connected the Jews to all the classes of their contemporary Christian society and brought Jews also to various areas of trade with pawned objects, wine and real estate, be it fields, houses, meadows, vineyards and even whole estates. Among the debtors to the Jewish money-lenders, among which also women were found, we therefore find ecclesiastical clients, such as Archbishops of Salzburg, Bishops of Gurk, Bishops of Bamberg, different monasteries and even parish priests, various aristocratic families, such as Gorizia-Tyrol, Ortenburg, Celje, Auersperg, Ostrowitz, Reichenberg (and through their inheritance also the Habsburgs), as well as numerous burghers and farmers.

In addition to the two stereotypical Jewish activities of money-lending and trade, the sources also mention other activities, with which the Jews earned their living. Here are first of all various professions and functions connected to the internal life of Jewish communities. Jewish women, for instance, were weaving cloth.²⁰⁵ Throughout the entire medieval Europe Jewish doctors are encountered and the first one in our area is mentioned already in the letter of the Archbishop Arno of Salzburg (798–821).²⁰⁶ Medicine is explicitly mentioned by Isserlein.²⁰⁷ Jewish craftsmen making seals and silverware are mentioned,²⁰⁸ and in Piran Marco, son of Abraham, was even a public announcer.²⁰⁹ In Ljubljana we learn of a Jewish carpenter²¹⁰ and even a miller.²¹¹ Jews are mentioned as physical laborers, cattle raisers and farmers. They participated as laborers in unloading the wood from river rafts.²¹² In addition to wine-growing, in the framework of which Jews were picking grapes,²¹³ in the vicinity of Maribor Jews raised goats.²¹⁴ They were even making cheese and were distributing it throughout the land.²¹⁵ Also from Piran it is clear that Jews possessed cattle.²¹⁶

In comparison to other imperial areas the Slovenian lands are exceptional in the great variety of Jewish economic activities, which can be compared to the lands of Southern Italy, Spain and Provence. As shown by sources, local Jewish economic activities hardly differed from the activities of their Christian neighbors, which also represent an exception in regard to other lands of the Empire.

²⁰⁴ Berend 2001: 126.

²⁰⁵ TD 152, LY I: 11.

²⁰⁶ Reg I, 1, note.

²⁰⁷ PK 210.

²⁰⁸ LY II: 12, 111.

²⁰⁹ Peršič 1999: 134.

²¹⁰ GZL XII/II: 9.

²¹¹ GZL XII/2.

²¹² TD 318.

²¹³ TD 202.

²¹⁴ PK 129.

²¹⁵ TD 206.

²¹⁶ Peršič 1999: 124.

Life with Christians and persecutions

Up to the 15th century in the area of the Empire a great majority of Jews lived in urban settlements²¹⁷ with a Christian majority, with which the Jews shared their language, territory, weather, and illnesses.²¹⁸ In addition to business, cultural and social contacts between the populations of the two religions, conversions from one religion into another also occurred. In 1399, for instance, baptized Jewish woman with her daughter are mentioned in Kamnik.²¹⁹ Jews were, of course, also returning to Judaism, which was occurring not only due to remorse but also out of material reasons, as a baptized Jew lost all his/her rights to inheritance.²²⁰ When a common place of residence was under attack, members of both faiths participated in its defense.²²¹ Jews also helped in constructing the city walls and even in guarding duties,²²² attested for Gorizia, Maribor and Ljubljana. Relations were even so good that sometimes Christians gave to their neighbors and business partners precious gifts on holidays.²²³ *Leket Yosher* even clearly states that three or four seats in the synagogue of Maribor were reserved for Christians.²²⁴

What strikes out most in regard to relations between Jews and Christians in examining the sources for Jewish history of Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Gorizia, and Trieste, i.e. the area of former Carantania and its marches or the area of latter-day Inner Austria up to the 15th century is a relative 'lack' of persecutions of Jews, especially if the area is compared to the imperial lands north of the Alps or even with Upper and Lower Austria. In this regard the 'Slovenian' lands bear more resemblance to the Italian lands. Indeed, at the beginning a relatively comfortable position of the Jews in Southeastern Alps can be compared to Austria proper, but after the year 1370²²⁵ and especially after the expulsion and massacre of 1420/21²²⁶ even this similarity disappears.

First notices of either attacks or ritual charges appear 'only' in the 14th century and even in the 15th century despite the expulsions in 'Slovenian' lands mass-slaughters like the one in Vienna in 1421 cannot be encountered. Regardless of this obvious and surprising difference, of course, the situation up to the 15th century certainly wasn't ideal and included several violent occurrences, even though from the entire documentation only one with certainty confirmed example of mass-slaughter exists. It happened in Wolfsberg in 1338, when 70 Jews were killed.²²⁷ At the time of the plague in 1348/49 there is no record of a single violent persecution in the Jewish

²¹⁷ Haverkamp 2004: 61–67.

²¹⁸ Haverkamp 1996: 103–136.

²¹⁹ Vilfan 1961: 267.

²²⁰ TD 349.

²²¹ TD 328.

²²² TD 345.

²²³ TD 78, 83.

²²⁴ LY I: 31.

²²⁵ Brugger 2006: 220.

²²⁶ Ibid. 221–224.

²²⁷ Neumann 1965: 398.

communities of the area, which holds true also for Austria, except Krems.²²⁸ In a time of danger many abandoned their houses,²²⁹ after they hid their property into walls, chimneys and caves, went into hiding themselves, while others left their money with their neighbors, much less under a threat of danger.²³⁰ It is of interest that in more than 300 years of Jewish community of Maribor we do not have a single recorded case of attacking the local Jews, which is in comparison to other areas of Europe remarkable.

Expulsions

From the 14th century onwards we are witnessing a general decline in the economic power of the Carinthian Jews, a decrease in the size of the Jewish population and its concentration in larger communities. Smaller communities disappear already by the end of the 14th century and in the 15th century also up to that time important communities of Friesach and Villach. At the time of expulsion the Jews in Carinthia live only in St. Veit and Völkermarkt. From the 15th century onwards the position of the Jews in Styria started to deteriorate. The general economic crisis and the competition of Christian population in trading and even in money-lending grew daily as also grew the limitations the burghers and the nobility increasingly demanded from the Duke. In 1418 the burghers of Styria complained to the Duke Ernest the Iron among others against the Jews, to which he forbade trading in cities, markets and villages. He also issued new regulations in regard to lending the money and pawning.²³¹ As during the 15th century also Christians started to increasingly engage in money-lending and the ecclesiastical prohibition against taking interest among Christians started to weaken, Jews were slowly pushed out also of this business, which greatly weakened their economic power. Simultaneously with the decrease in their economic power hatred of the Jews started to grow, partly due to the increased activities of the preaching monk orders. To this we must from the middle of the 15th century onwards certainly also add the Turkish incursions, which had a catastrophic effect on the general economic climate of these lands and also contributed to the decrease of the Jewish population even before the expulsion. After 1404, when there was a persecution in Salzburg, disappears the community of Friesach.²³² In the same year they imprisoned and expelled the Jews from Ptuj,²³³ where, though, the community finally withers around 1446.²³⁴ In 1410²³⁵ Herman II expelled the Jews from Celje. At the end of the 15th century the only Jewish communities found in the Southern Styria were the communities of Radkesburg, Maribor and Slovenska Bistrica.

²²⁸ Brugger 2006: 219.

²²⁹ PK 60.

²³⁰ TD 333.

²³¹ GZM XIII/5.

²³² Wadl 1992: 186.

²³³ GJ III 2: 1098.

²³⁴ GZM VII/2.

²³⁵ Rosenberg 1914: 6.

After the death of Frederick III (1493) the demands of the Land Estates increased under the new Emperor Maximilian I and at their assemblies in Maribor (1494) and Graz (1495) they offered the Emperor a compensation for the expulsion of Jews. Maximilian accepted their demands and on the 10th of March ordered that the Jews are obliged to leave Carinthia, and only a few days later, on the 18th of March, he also ordered the expulsion from Styria. The Estates of Styria paid 35.000 and the Carinthian Estates 4.000 gulden of compensation.²³⁶ Some left into the direction of Burgenland, while others into the direction of Istria, Trieste, Gorizia and Gradisca. Some of them temporarily settled in Ljubljana.

In Carniola the main opponents to Jewish presence were the burghers and not the aristocracy and the demand for their expulsion came from the burghers of Ljubljana. The burghers opposed the Jews as their debtors and competitors in trade and already in 1513 one of the imperial charters forbade the Jews from trading in the city.²³⁷ The demands of the city for the expulsion continued and Jews were finally expelled two years later on the 1st of January 1515.²³⁸ The city of Ljubljana paid for the expulsion in addition to other financial obligations to the Emperor a sum of 4.000 gulden in cash. Some of the Jews settled in Eggenburg in Burgenland, while others continued into the direction of Istria, Trieste and Gorizia County.²³⁹

Conclusion

What stands out most from the entire very rich and diverse picture of these five hundred years of history is first of all relatively high number of Jews in the 11th and the 12th centuries and then a relatively low number of persecutions until the end of the 14th century, which up to some measure holds true even until the final expulsions. Jews in the area under our discussion in the discussed period never resided exclusively within the Jewish streets, which also weren't exclusively Jewish. At least partially they also spoke the medieval Slovenian and even bore Slovenian names, were not only proprietors of the houses, in which they lived, but also possessed land, vineyards, fields, meadows, and even entire villages, estates and castles. Also, Jews who on various occasions bore arms, were economically active not only in the area of commerce and monetary affairs, but were also different craftsmen and physical laborers, bred cattle and even supported themselves with rural production. The characteristics of the treated group of Jews therefore show the correctness of the call of Eventov²⁴⁰ to research the medieval 'Slovenian' or 'Inner Austrian' Jewish Diaspora or the Diaspora of the Southeastern Alps as a special field of research, which, among others due to its Slavic language code environment, shouldn't be completely equalized with the Ashkenazi Jewry of Northern Italy, Austria proper or other lands of the Empire.

²³⁶ Schöggel-Ernest 2000.

²³⁷ GZL IV/56.

²³⁸ GZL IV/67.

²³⁹ Valenčič 1992: 24–28, Frejdenberg 2000

²⁴⁰ 1971.

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POVZETEK

Judje srednjeveške »Slovenije« do izgonov 1496–1515

Klemen Jelinčič Boeta

Pričujoč članek poskuša prikazati osnovne razvojne črte judovskega življenja »slovenskih« dežel v srednjem veku. Pregled se začne s pozno antiko, ko lahko govorimo o judovski prisotnosti v Akvileji in o posamičnih najdbah v notranjosti. Opis se nadaljuje z vprašanjem tako imenovanih judovskih vasi 10. in 11. stoletja na Koroškem, Štajerskem in Kranjskem in nato s kratkim opisom izjemno bogatega in raznolikega judovskega življenja v številnih skupnostih vseh zgodovinskih »slovenskih« dežel, izmed katerih je bila še najpomembnejša tista v Mariboru, ki je dosegla nadregionalen pomen. V sklopu tega opisa se dotaknemo procesa razvoja omenjenih skupnosti, njihovega gospodarskega življenja, vprašanja obrednih značilnosti in osebnih imen, prehrane, organizacije judovske verske občine, njihovega odnosa s krščanskimi sosedi in pregonov. Članek se na kratko dotakne tudi splošnega pravnega položaja Judov in postopnega poslabšanja njihovega položaja v 15. stoletju z izgoni iz Celja in Ptuja vse do let 1496, ko so bili Judje dokončno izgnani s Štajerske in Koroške, ter 1515, ko so bili izgnani iz Ljubljane. Po tem letu govorimo o Judih na Slovenskem do 18. stoletja le v Istri, na Goriškem in Tržaškem.

Kar še najbolj izstopa iz celotne zelo bogate slike petstotih let je najprej sorazmerno številna judovska prisotnost 11. in 12. stoletja in nato sorazmerno nizko število pregonov do konca 14. stoletja, kar v določeni meri drži še vse do izгона. Eden od razlogov za to sorazmerno znošno sožitje bi bil lahko razdrobljenost posvetne oblasti, kot na primer v Italiji, drug bi bil lahko sorazmerna raznolikost dejavnosti, s katerimi so se Judje preživljali, kot na primer v Provansi in islamskem svetu, in tretji, morda, izrazito multikulturen značaj celotnega območja naše obravnave, ki velja za stičišče romanskega, germanskega in slovanskega kulturnega vzorca. Judje na obravnavanem področju v obravnavanem obdobju niso nikoli živeli izključno znotraj judovskih ulic, ki tudi niso bile izključno judovske. Vsaj deloma so govorili tudi takratno slovenščino in celo nosili slovanska imena, niso bili samo lastniki hiš, v katerih so živeli, temveč so posedovali tudi zemljo, vinograde, polja in travnike in celo cele vasi, gospostva ter gradove. Prav tako Judje, ki so ob različnih priložnostih nosili orožje, niso bili poslovno dejavni zgolj na področju trgovine in denarnih poslov, temveč so bili tudi različni obrtniki in fizični delavci, redili so živino in se celo preživljali z ruralno proizvodnjo. Značilnosti obravnavane skupine Judov tako kažejo na pravilnost poziva Eventova (1971) po raziskovanju »slovenske« srednjeveške judovske diaspore kot posebnega polja, ki ga glede na okolje ni povsem enačiti s prav tako aškenaškim judovstvom severne Italije, ožje Avstrije in drugih dežel Cesarstva.

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