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**Ethnography in the works of Victor von Carben,
Johannes Pfefferkorn and Anthonius Margaritha,
1507-1530**

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Figure 1, *In disem buchlein vindet Jer ain entlichenn furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten unnd besünderlich wie das Abentmal gessen wirt. Weiter würdt außgetruckt das die Juden ketzer seyn des alten und newenn testaments. Deßhalb sye schuldig seyn des gerichts nach dem gesatz Moysi* (Augsburg: Erhard Öglin, 3/1/1509)

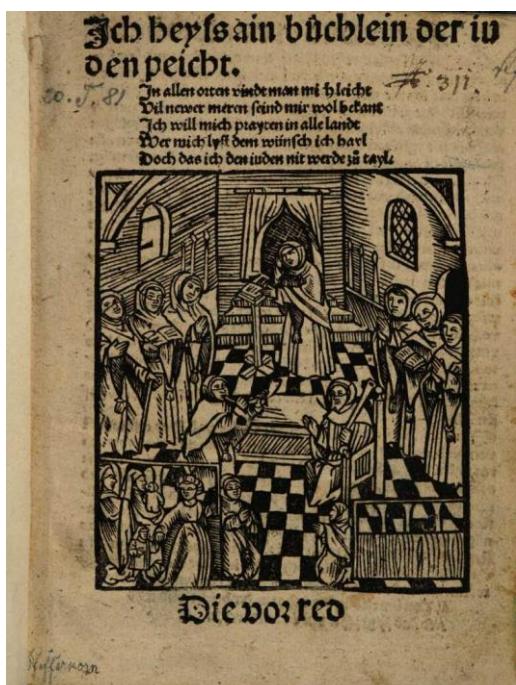


Figure 2, *Ich heyss ain büchlein der iuden peicht. In allen orten vindt man mich leicht Vil newer meren seind mir wol bekant Ich will mych prayten in alle landt Wer mich lyst dem wünsch ich hayl Doch das ich den iuden nit werde zü tayl* (Augsburg: Jörgen Nadler, 1508)

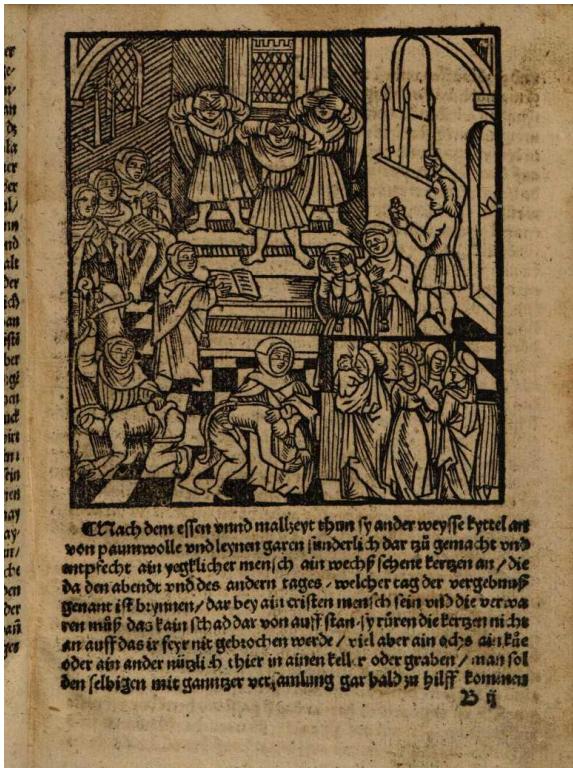


Figure 3, source same as figure 2

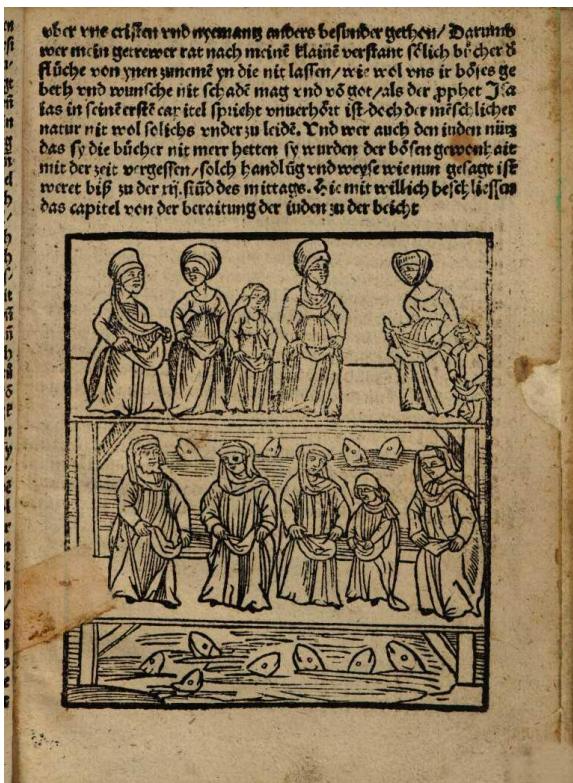


Figure 4, from same source as figure 2.



Figure 4, from same source as figure 2.

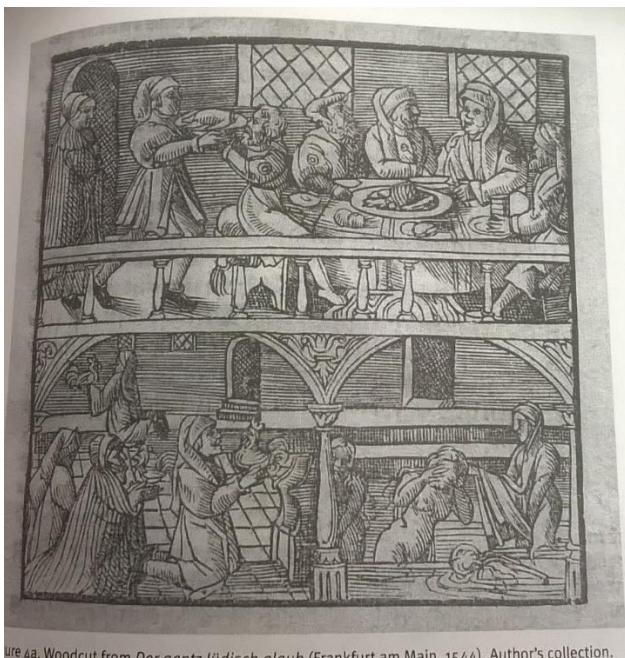


Figure 5. Woodcut from *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* (Frankfurt am Main, 1544). Author's collection.

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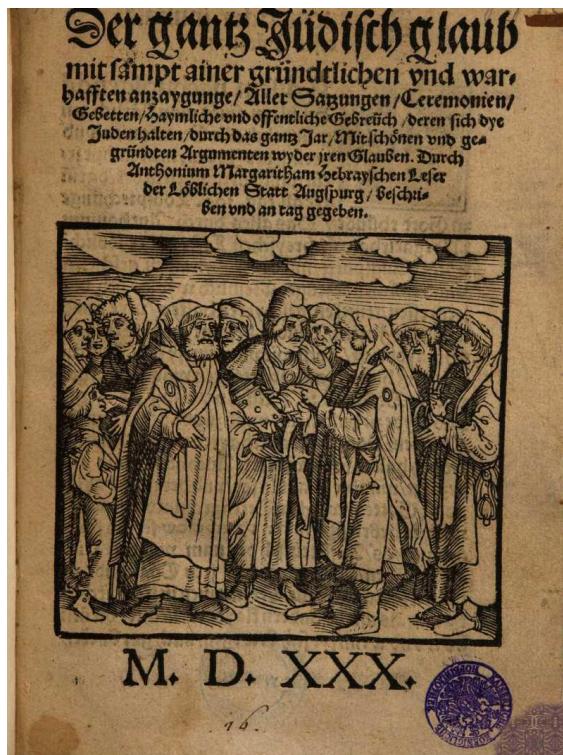


Figure 7, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt ainer gründtlichen vnd warhafften anzaygunge/ Aller Satzungen/ Ceremonien/ Gebetten, Haymliche und öffentliche Gebreüch, deren sich dye Juden halten/ durch das ganz Jar, Mit schönen und gegründten Argumenten wyder jren Glauben. Durch Anthonium Margaritham Hebrayschen Leser der Löblichen Statt Augspurg/ beschriben und an tag gegeben* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1530)

INTRODUCTION

Having ascended and descended the 533 steps to and from the viewing area of the south tower of Cologne cathedral, with leg muscles still jelly-like from their efforts, a visitor may recover with a walk around the interior of this most impressive place of worship. Among the countless items that draw the eye, on two piers in the right-hand, southern portion of the transept, one can see seven sculptures given by the same donor, *victor sacerdos olim judeus* - Victor, priest, once a Jew.¹ Through his gift, Victor von Carben's (1423-1515) name is witnessed by the thousands who visit the famous cathedral every day. As well as through his donations, the figure of Victor resonates to a group of scholars rather smaller in number than the cathedral's visitors due to his writings on the life, rites and habits of the Jewish people who he once called his co-religionists. Two other 'once Jews' who converted to Christianity, Johannes Pfefferkorn (1468/9 – 1521) and Anthonius Margarita (1499 – 1542/3), alongside von Carben, make up a trio of writers whose writings represent the earliest examples of texts from the early modern age which have been described as ethnographic accounts of the Jewish people.² Von Carben and Pfefferkorn made their home as Christians in the Dominican order in Cologne. Von Carben was the first to convert, in the 1470s, and lived as a Christian for decades before writing his only work on Jewish life, *Juden Büchlein*, in 1508. Of the Cologne duo, Pfefferkorn was the more famous both then as now. Also under the patronage of the Dominicans of Cologne, Pfefferkorn converted in the first decade of the 1500s and engaged in proselytising throughout German speaking lands, as well as rapidly releasing pamphlets on Jews and Judaism including *Der Juden Spiegel* (1507), *Juden beicht* (1508), *Judenfeind* and *Österbüchlein* (both 1509). Most notoriously, Pfefferkorn embroiled himself in a

¹ It is possible that by inscribing *victor* without capitalisation, a play on words was intended by the donor to cast him as 'victorious priest, once a Jew' as well. Carola Maria Werhahn, *Die Stiftung des Victor von Carben (1423-1515) im Kölner Dom: Glaubenspropaganda zwischen Judentum und Christentum in Text und Bild* (München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2013), p.134.

² Throughout the work, these three individuals will be described in terms including but not limited to; 'the converted Jewish authors' and 'early ethnographers of Judaism'. If another converted Jewish author or ethnographer of Judaism is being discussed, their name will be included as an addition to the terms I have outlined, ensuring the two above terms refer only to von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margarita in the following pages.

pamphleteering debate with lawyer, humanist and author Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522). It is certain that von Carben and Pfefferkorn knew each other, as they collaborated during Pfefferkorn's attempt to confiscate and burn Jewish books, in 1509/1510, an inquiry which went as far as Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor. Where von Carben and Pfefferkorn had based themselves in the Rhine valley, Anthonius Margaritha lived both his Jewish and Christian life further south and east, first in Regensburg before eventually settling in Vienna. He converted around 1519, used both von Carben and Pfefferkorn's works as inspiration (sometimes copying almost verbatim) to create a far more extensive account of Jewish life that became the foundation text for the genre, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* (1530). Rather than enter a religious order, Margaritha worked as a Hebrew teacher in universities, although his actions also brought him into contact with the highest Imperial powers, culminating in debating Jewish life with Josel of Rosheim (c. 1480-1554), *Befehlshaber* (leader) of the Alsatian Jews and Jewish representative at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Throughout this thesis, these three and their works will be referred to as 'the converted Jewish authors', 'the texts of the early converted Jewish authors' or close variations on that theme. This work is first and foremost study of these three authors' texts, and in particular their use of ethnography, something which they are credited with introducing to Christian writings on Jews and Judaism.

The primary question that this thesis seeks to answer is as follows: **How did the published works of converted Jewish writers, Victor von Carben, Johannes Pfefferkorn, and Anthonius Margaritha, employ ethnography to write about Jewish life, culture, rites, habits, folkways and praxis?**

At the time of the converted Jewish authors, ethnography was far away from the modern socio-cultural field of study that it is in the twenty-first century.³ The early decades of the sixteenth century was a period when western Christians were increasingly coming into contact, often for

³ Some have written that 'ethnography' now comes under the umbrella of anthropology. 'Ethnography and ethnology are the terms most often used to describe the early work of anthropology'. Emily Varto (ed.), *Brill's Comparison to Classics and Early Anthropology* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 2.

the first time, with non-Christian cultures around the world. The texts written by the converted Jewish authors that are studied in this thesis were published between 1507 and 1530, a timeframe which coincides with the beginning of a boom period for the proliferation of ethnographic writing of other cultures across Europe. An increase in the distance and frequency of travel gave Europeans more opportunities to encounter and report on cultures different to their own. To the east, what had previously been a trickle of documented journeys to the Ottoman Empire by Europeans in the medieval period turned into a steady stream from the 1520s onwards.⁴ To the west, following the first voyages to the ‘New World’ after 1492, reports of the indigenous cultures of Central America began to be circulated around Europe where previously there had been none. Yet the Jews did not need to be ‘discovered’ or travelled to in the spatial sense by Europeans; Christians and Jews had lived side by side for thousands of years, and yet Jewish society had never been recorded in an ethnographic manner by Christians. Therefore, it cannot be the simple fact of discovery or increased exposure which acted as a catalyst for the beginning of ethnographic writing on Jews, as it can for the other societies Europeans documented in the same time span. So long as we discount the idea that ethnographic writing of Judaism coincidentally started at the same time and yet was completely unrelated to the rapid increase of ethnographic writing of other cultures, different factors associated with the development of ethnographic writing, must be at least partially responsible for the works of the converted Jewish authors. Most of those other contributing factors to the development of ethnography were intellectual advancements and changes, such as a renewed interest in the Classical ethnographers during the Renaissance period.⁵ Travelling further and discovering new peoples gave the Europeans of this period the opportunity to report on new cultures, but it was the growing readership of the classical *auctores*, Herodotus, Tacitus, Ptolemy and others, which gave ‘both a method of description and a stable

⁴ Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs dans L’Empire Ottoman: Bibliographie, Itinéraires et Inventaire des lieux habités* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société Turque d’Histoire)

, p. 14. The ‘Nombre de récits de voyage par an’ shows how there were only two such journeys from 1500-10, and none from 1503-10, the 1510s and 1520s saw journeys to the Ottoman Empire into double figures.

⁵ John Howland Rowe, ‘The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology’, *American Anthropologist* (67, 1, 1965) p. 8.

frame of reference within which newly discovered people could be placed'.⁶ Additionally, a recognition of there being a point of difference between the contemporary and the ancient worlds was only realised after the medieval period.⁷ This appreciation of cultural distance between the past and present in this time was then transferred to a greater understanding of the differences between contemporaneous cultures. The realisation of what could be summed up in the famous maxim that, 'the past is a foreign country', meant that the process of cultural translation from, for instance, ancient Roman to sixteenth century Italian society was developed.⁸ These kind of cultural translations through time subsequently laid the groundwork for cultural translations between contemporaneous cultures. Peter Burke has written of how these cultural translations were 'messy compromises', a 'process of negotiation', loss and renunciation, in order to make the subject culture comprehensible in the culture of the reader.⁹ The works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha are examples of this cultural translation. Published in German (in various dialects) and often Latin as well, the converted Jewish texts explicitly translated short passages of Hebrew to a language comprehensible to the target readership. Furthermore, this cultural translation is evident as the works of the converted Jewish authors tried to position themselves within a genre of work quantifiable to Christians: the pamphlets and chapters on items of Jewish life that Christians already 'knew'. These included themes such as the presence of slurs against Mary or Jesus in the Talmud, or parts of Jewish culture which had similar rituals to Christianity, like marriage or Passover celebrations. By regularly focusing on already 'known' aspects of Jewish life, the works of the converted Jewish ethnographers portrayed characteristics held commonly with other early modern ethnographies. Most significant among these is the idea that ethnographies of the time, although outwardly purporting to uncover information on a foreign society, ended up

⁶ Marshall T. Poe, "*A People Born to Slavery*: Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476-1748" (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 14.

⁷ Ibid. p. 8.

⁸ The term 'cultural' translation is borrowed from Peter Burke. [...] when each side tries to make sense of the actions of the other'. Peter Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in early modern Europe in Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 8.

⁹ Burke, 'Cultures of translation' in Burke and Hsia, *Cultural Translation*, p. 9.

revealing more about the traits and concerns of the author's own society than they did about the society they were trying to depict.¹⁰

Furthermore, the value of 'unmediated observation' greatly increased in ethnographic writing in the early modern period as well as the tone, losing its 'fictional' quality.¹¹ While lucid commentary on different cultures did exist before the sixteenth century, it could be found alongside fanciful statements, the author of which had no intention of supporting with statements of observable fact.¹² Later in the sixteenth century, this new appreciation of different cultures and the desire to go out into the world and document them with one's own eyes would begin to be adapted in Europe with Pierre Ramée's (1515-1572) *ars apodemica* (Art of Travel), and its instruction to readers of how to observe a culture distinct to one's own.¹³ At the heart of these 'how-to' guides was the importance of empiricism, and also a kind of check list of things to observe in a new place, from topography of the land to political structures to how the people led their lives. 'Method began to replace memory'.¹⁴ While Ramée's writing came a little late for the converted Jewish authors, *ars apodemica*'s very production suggests that in the preceding years, a method to the documentation of foreign societies was beginning to be formulated.

However, it is important to stress that this narrative of an advancement of the notion of curiosity, method and empiricism in the intellectual developments of the Renaissance does not necessarily provide all the answers regarding the study of the polemical ethnographies written by von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha. In terms of the description of Jewish life, the early converted Jewish authors were the first to include ethnographic information into their works, and the first converts

¹⁰ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 7.

¹¹ Yaakov Deutsch, 'Religious Rituals and Ethnographic Knowledge: Sixteenth-Century Depictions of Circumcision' in Asaph Ben-Tov, Yaakov Deutsch and Tamar Herzig (eds.), *Knowledge and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 120.

¹² Rubiés, 'The Emergence of a Naturalistic and Ethnographic Paradigm in late medieval travel writing', p. 45. Rubiés cites Marco Polo and John Mandeville as examples of this kind of ethnographic writing. In Joan Pau Rubiés, (ed.) *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

¹³ Stagl, *The History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur [etc.]: Harwood, 1995), p. 70.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 79.

from Judaism to Christianity to do so.¹⁵ Because of this position as forerunners of the genre, the 'ethnography' implied in the hypothesis on page 2 was not a fixed, codified, methodological set of rules for empirically observing a culture foreign to one's own. The converted Jewish authors were neither following an ethnographic tradition in their writing, nor were fully conforming to the type of ethnographic writing that was beginning to proliferate at the same time.

It is hard to justify von Carben and Pfefferkorn, both trained under the scholastic, conservative, Dominican run University of Cologne as at the cutting edge of the Renaissance period, utilising the new tools of rationalism, empirical enquiry and humanism that are regularly cited as typical of that time. The medieval Catholic Church had been a major obstacle to intellectual progress in the late medieval period, cordoning off education from the secular world and blocking attempts at independent curiosity and thought.¹⁶ The converted Jewish authors' works, von Carben's and Pfefferkorn's in particular, sat squarely in this conservative Catholic tradition against new ways of thinking in the early modern period. In some cases, these often rudimentarily educated converted Jews were the targets of the kind of intellectualized, humanist elites that were at the forefront of increased rational enquiry and empiricism. For example Pfefferkorn was the butt of many a joke in the humanist satire *Letters of Obscure Men* (1516), where top humanist minds such as Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) and Johann Crotus (c.1480-c.1539) wrote correspondence posing as university lecturers in order to sneer at Pfefferkorn's uneducated, unsophisticated worldview.¹⁷

This makes the case of the ethnographies of the Jews a unique one in relation to other early modern ethnographies, where the Renaissance era trends of empiricism, travel and curiosity are not the defining influences of the ethnographic work. It is necessary to look further than these established tropes of Renaissance thought to discover the influences on the converted Jewish

¹⁵ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 35.

¹⁶ Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, p. 43.

¹⁷ *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum: The Latin Text with an English Rendering, Notes, and an Historical Introduction*, trans. by Francis Griffin Stokes (London: Chatto and Windus, 1909), pp. 432-35.

authors' usage of ethnography. There are two major factors that this thesis will continually analyse as key to influencing the creation of the converted Jewish writers' ethnography: firstly, the influence of tradition of Christian anti-Jewish polemic on the formation of their texts. Already centuries old by the time of the converted Jewish authors, a deep well of Christian anti-Jewish polemic acted as the textual foundations for the converted Jewish authors' texts. Secondly, the status of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha as converts. It was conversion, a relatively rare phenomenon in Ashkenazi society in the early modern period, which gave von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha the ability to have had experienced Jewish life and yet have the credibility (although it was a battle to gain this for converts) and platform to transmit this experience to a Christian readership. The following section will summarize the existing scholarship on the three converted Jewish authors studied here, and will begin to show where this work will supplement and diverge from this body of work.

RESEARCH OVERVIEW

In modern scholarship, the works of the first three converted Jewish authors have been identified as the time when ethnographic style traits were first introduced into writings on Judaism. It was in this field that the convert authors used their status as converted Jews to their advantage, using their knowledge of Judaism to publish works for a Christian readership. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Yaakov Deutsch have alluded to the convert authors in terms such as 'ethnographers in spite of themselves',¹⁸ and their works as 'polemical ethnographies'.¹⁹ Terms such as these show us how the genres of ethnography and Christian anti-Jewish polemics are inextricable when reading texts of this period - one could not read a Christian account of the Jews without encountering

¹⁸ Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, "Christian Ethnographies of Jews in Early Modern Germany", in Raymond Waddington and Martin Williamson (eds.), *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After* (New York: Garland, 1994), p.226.

¹⁹ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.246.

preconceived, negative ideas on the Jews that had existed before the first 'ethnography of Judaism' was ever written. I believe that the perception of the beginning of an improvement in Jewish lives in Europe in the first decades of the sixteenth century and the production of the first converted Jewish works at the same time has affected the modern scholarship of the works of the converted Jews. This simultaneity has encouraged the notion that the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha acted as crucial catalysts for a change for the better in Christian-Jewish relations and were part of a new scion of ethnographers. In my view, this idea is partially a syllogism and that this emphasis has come at the expense of studying how the converted Jewish authors used ethnography as a new method of writing to confirm old stereotypes of Jews, to bolster their own personal conversion narrative or to reflect their Dominican education. That is not to say that the ethnographies of the Jews had no effect on Christian-Jewish relations: the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha were the first of their kind and they did represent a new approach to exposing aspects of Jewish life that interested a Christian readership. But rather than being a brand new genre that stood apart from previous Christian writings on Jews, the new ways that were introduced were all too often used to confirm un-ethnographic, pre-existing views that were seen in older styles of writing, such as disputation accounts or Marian devotional literature. The way in which the three converted Jewish authors wrote did not represent a new growth in the world of Christian-Jewish writing, but only a new branch on the deep-rooted, ancient tree of Christian-Jewish relations in Europe. The ethnographic traits of our writers must not be completely overlooked, but this work will consistently try to show the close relationship between the converted Jewish authors and the centuries old polemics of anti-Judaism.

The classification of the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha as 'ethnographies of Jews' was first instituted a generation ago, in 1992, when Ronnie Po-chia Hsia presented a paper entitled "Christian Ethnographies of Jews" at a conference entitled "The Expulsion of the Jews:

1492 and after" at the University of California.²⁰ Hsia published a short article two years later, the mission statement of which was to consider,

'those writings of Christians on Jews between the late fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries which I describe as ethnographic; that is, writings which have as their primary subject matter the marriage customs, religious rituals, language and other cultural practises and symbols that constitute the domain of contemporary ethnographers'.²¹

Hsia qualified this bold statement on the status of these writers by suggesting that similarities between the ethnographers of Judaism and modern ethnography could only be mapped to a limited extent. He was at pains to point out that the Christian ethnographies of Judaism consistently 'displayed different degrees of distortion and selectivity'²² as products of a time when an anti-Jewish attitude was the norm. As the instigator of the debate on these texts, Hsia went on to elaborate that this new phenomenon developed out of the strong and popular European tradition of anti-Jewish polemic, 'in Christian writings about Jews a new emphasis emerged during the fifteenth century: a fresh interest in Hebrew, the Kabbala, and in the cultural practises of the Jewish people [...] beyond the scholastic tradition of polemics against Judaism'.²³ After Hsia, scholars such as Maria Diemling reinforced the converted Jews' connection to early modern ethnography with her work on the 'Christian ethnographies' of von Carben and Margarita,²⁴ while Elisheva Carlebach used the term continued the trend by classifying the three convert authors as part of an "ethnographic" genre'.²⁵ The 'polemics against Judaism' mentioned by Hsia was the centuries old tradition of anti-Jewish Christian exegesis and literature. The main tropes of this body of literature were the discrediting of the rabbinical Judaism followed by the Ashkenazic Jews, in particular attacks on the Talmud, and also the more lurid accusations of Jewish ritual practices, including host desecration and child murder. As such, the works of the

²⁰ Stephen G. Burnett, 'Distorted Mirrors: Antonius Margarita, Johann Buxtorf and Christian Ethnographies of the Jews', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, (25, 2, 1994) p.276.

²¹ Hsia, 'Christian Ethnographies', p.223. It is worth emphasising here that Hsia, in referencing the 'domain of contemporary ethnographers' cast a comparison between the work of the sixteenth century Jewish ethnographers like von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margarita to a *modern-day* standard of ethnography.

²² Ibid. p.224.

²³ Ibid. p.223.

²⁴ Maria Diemling, '*Christliche Ethnographien* über Juden und Judentum in der Frühen Neuzeit : Die Konvertiten Victor von Carben und Margarita und ihre Darstellung jüdischen Lebens und jüdischer Religion', Dissertation (Jerusalem: Universitat Wien, 1999).

²⁵ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.171.

converted Jewish authors did not constitute the birth of a wholly independent genre of writing on Judaism, but rather came about as an extension of a centuries old anti-Jewish tradition in Christian Europe. Yaakov Deutsch advanced the debate on the ethnographies of the Jews in his 2012 book, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, by summarising the development of the Christian discourse on Judaism in the early modern period as, ‘a shift from an interest in Judaism (the religion) to an interest in Jewry (the ethnic group)’.²⁶ These early examples of polemical ethnographies continued to associate all aspects of Jewish life with the Jewish religion, and in particular the Talmud.

Yaakov Deutsch’s book *Judaism in Christian Eyes* has become a central text for the study of the ethnographies of Judaism of this academic generation. Deutsch’s monograph includes extensive tables, charting the history of the ethnographies of the Jews from 1508 to the late eighteenth century. Such extensive quantitative study invaluable shows the scale and the development of the ethnographies of the Jews over a period of two and half centuries. They also show which authors throughout the history of the ethnography of Judaism studied which aspects of Jewish life, those who were converted from Judaism, and those who were Christian born Hebraists.²⁷ However, this work’s great strength, the tabulation and collation of these sources, also opens up other avenues of enquiry. The first of these avenues is that, by adopting a macrocosmic approach to seventy-five ‘polemical ethnographies’ over a period of more than two centuries, *Judaism in Christian Eyes* leaves the reader with the sense that the earliest of the ethnographers who head Deutsch’s tables - Pfefferkorn, von Carben and Margaritha - were in some way forefathers or leaders of the new desire to ethnographically survey the Jews of Germany. This approach naturally encourages readers to project the works of these early converted Jewish authors forward onto later ethnographers of Jews. This thesis will instead look backwards at historical trends that affected the creation of the early converted Jewish authors’ works. The second way to diversify and deepen Deutsch’s overview is the requirement to address each work that is included in Deutsch’s tables on an individual basis. Where *Judaism in Christian Eyes* gives an overview of the whole corpus in

²⁶ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.10.

²⁷ Ibid. pp. 50-64.

a 250 year time period, this thesis will be to consider only the first three converted Jewish authors. The aim of this is to give a more focused, micro-historical approach that can highlight the polemical influences in a clearer fashion.

Other than Deutsch's work, analysis of 'polemical ethnographies' remains quite limited. This is evidenced by the fact that Maria Diemling's 1999 dissertation on von Carben and Margarita, *Christliche Ethnographien' über Juden und Judentum in der Frühen Neuzeit* remains one of the few texts to address the genre of ethnographies of Judaism in a longer format.²⁸ Instead, research conducted into the converted Jewish authors and their relationship with the genre of 'polemical ethnographies' has tended to be limited to articles and other shorter items of research. These articles include Hsia's work, as well as Burnett's article 'Distorted Mirrors' (1994),²⁹ and Diemling's 'Anthonius Margarita and "Der gantz Jüdisch glaub"' (2006).³⁰ This is not to say that the converted Jewish authors are wholly neglected in modern scholarship, but that they are often studied in relation to a theme other than ethnography. Works which focus solely on von Carben are few in number, but Carola Maria Werhahn's *Die Stiftung des Victor von Carben* (2013)³¹ main focus is on the sculptures he donated to Cologne cathedral. For Pfefferkorn, scholarly interest in his pamphleteering debate with Johannes Reuchlin dates back 150 years with Heinrich Graetz (1869)³² and Ludwig Geiger (1910).³³ Pfefferkorn scholarship has been broadened by German and Anglophone scholars more recently, while tending to retain particular focus on the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin debate. Prime examples of this scholarship include Erika Rummel (2002),³⁴ David Price

²⁸ Maria Diemling, *'Christliche Ethnographien' über Juden und Judentum in der Frühen Neuzeit: Die Konvertiten Victor von Carben und Antonius Margarita und ihre Darstellung jüdischen Lebens und jüdischer Religion*, Dissertation (Jerusalem: Universität Wien, 1999)

²⁹ Stephen G. Burnett, 'Distorted Mirrors' pp. 275-287

³⁰ Maria Diemling, 'Anthonius Margarita and the "Whole Jewish Faith:" A Sixteenth-Century Convert from Judaism and his Depiction of the Jewish Religion' in Dean Philip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (eds). *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth Century Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2006)

³¹ Carola Maria Werhahn, *Die Stiftung des Victor von Carben*

³² Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart, aus den Quellen neu bearbeitet*, vol.9 (Leipzig: Oskar Leiner, 1869)

³³ Ludwig Geiger, *Die Deutsche Literatur und die Juden* (Berlin: Georg Reimer Verlag, 1910)

³⁴ Erika Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth Century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

and Avner Shamir (both 2011)³⁵ ³⁶ in the last two decades, while Ellen Martin (1994)³⁷ and Hans-Martin Kirn (1989)³⁸ formed the most exhaustive studies of Pfefferkorn's works in the German language. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß's edited work (2017)³⁹ on Pfefferkorn also represents a step forward in evaluating all aspects of Pfefferkorn's life and work. Margaritha scholarship is the corpus that looks most consistently into the role polemical ethnography played in the writing of its converted Jewish subject. Aside from Diemling's dissertation, Peter von der Osten Sacken's monograph on Margaritha's *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* centres on the work's influence on the views of Martin Luther.⁴⁰ Michael Walton (2012) has provided a much-needed monograph to diversify the scholarship.⁴¹ Elisheva Carlebach's *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany 1500-1750* (2001) gives unparalleled insight into the unique issues faced by the converted Jewish authors.

THESIS LAYOUT

This thesis will be divided into four chapters. The first chapter of this work will be anomalous to the others in that it will not focus on an individual author's corpus of texts. Instead, it will address the broader methodological questions surrounding the application of the terms 'ethnography', 'conversion' and 'polemic' to these texts and this period of study. Already, the unique problems of

³⁵ David Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

³⁶ Avner Shamir, *Christian Conceptions of Jewish Books: The Pfefferkorn Affair* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculum Press, 2011)

³⁷ Ellen Martin, *Die Deutschen Schriften des Johannes Pfefferkorn: Zum Problem des Judenhasses und der Intoleranz in der Zeit der Vorreformation* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1994)

³⁸ Hans-Martin Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden im Deutschland des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989)

³⁹ Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings about Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017)

⁴⁰ Peter von der Osten Sacken, *Martin Luther und die Juden: Neu untersucht anhand von Anthonius Margarithas "Der gantz Jüdisch glaub"* (1530-31) (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002).

⁴¹ Michael T. Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha and the Jewish Faith: Jewish Life and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2012)

discussing ethnography in conjunction with the texts of the converted Jewish authors have been touched upon, and chapter 1 will flesh this out further, with a discussion of the history of ethnography or a socio-scientific term and as a literary genre. Additionally, we will study closely the conversion narratives of the ethnographic authors, a factor which all three of the authors studied in this work experienced. ‘All conversions are products of specific circumstances and particular personalities, yet they are also the products of broader cultural and historical forces’.⁴² This spiritual and literary process played an indispensable role in the formation of their texts, which included, to differing extents, autobiographical elements of the ‘egodocument’, as well as the well-entrenched signifiers of the medieval conversion tale. The genre of the conversion narrative was one to which the three converted Jewish ethnographers attached themselves, and the issue of what it meant to be a ‘convert’ must also be searched in to in order to effectively answer the question I have posited. Although the converted Jewish authors did not assimilate themselves into an ethnographic tradition in their writings, these writings did not exist in a vacuum, and took inspiration from other Christian literary traditions that had far longer histories, namely conversion narratives and most extensively, anti-Jewish polemic. This thesis will show how these two traditions were infused with ethnographic precepts in the works of the converted Jewish, and their subsequent interplay and reliance on each other to create a text on Jewish life and society.

Finally, ‘polemic’ will cover more specifically the state of Christian-Jewish relations in late medieval and early modern German speaking lands, in order to give the reader the idea of the world the early modern converted Jewish authors inhabited. The section will also discuss the ancient Christian tradition of anti-Jewish writing, with the aim of understanding the literary backdrop to the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha. This chapter will construct the frame into which the later chapters can be added, and will give the reader clarity in terms of methodology and terminology, as well as the social and cultural milieus the early converted Jewish

⁴² Elisheva Carlebach, ‘Divided Souls: The Convert Critique and the Culture of Ashkenaz, 1750-1800’, *The Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 46* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 2003), p. 4.

authors were surrounded by during their lifetimes. Discussion of ethnography, conversion and polemic will not end in chapter one, but in later chapters they will be studied in much closer conjunction with the converted Jewish authors' texts on a case by case basis.

Chapters two, three and four will focus in tightly on the corpus of work on one specific author. Chapter two will be dedicated to the work of von Carben, the third chapter will look at Pfefferkorn's series of pamphlets, and the fourth will deal with Margaritha's publications. Although chapter two to four will focus on one specific individual's works, they will not resemble isolated studies of individual authors. Instead, the different circumstances in which each text was created, and the different emphases that were accentuated in the authors' various publications will be fully fleshed out. This will result in a thematic approach, singling out factors which especially influenced a certain text and will ensure that chapters two, three and four are not just formulaic individual character studies of each author. For example, in chapter two, the chapter focusing on von Carben's work, special attention will be aimed towards the role of the Dominican order in his home city of Cologne, and in von Carben's text, the sanctity of the Virgin Mary and treatment of less saintly women. The third chapter on Pfefferkorn's pamphlets will delve into the medieval Christian tradition of disputing Jews, represented by the book confiscation campaign, as well as *Kapparot* and *Aleinu*, specific rites and prayers of Jewish life that were consistently revisited in Pfefferkorn's writing. The fourth and final chapter centred on Margaritha looks mostly at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg, as well as at how the 'domestication' of Jewish life aided the transmission of ethnographic knowledge. Within the broad term of domestication, the removal of the rabbi from Margaritha's text, and replacement with the homelier *Hausvater* will be researched, as well as the centrality of hygiene, cleanliness and eating rites.

VON CARBEN, PFEFFERKORN, MARGARITHA'S WORKS: A NETWORK OF INTERTWINED TEXTS

At this point, it is necessary to introduce the works of the authors that will be most closely studied throughout this thesis. This section below will aim to show the reader the network of texts that resulted from the original publications of a selection of works from von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha, in order to justify the studying of these three authors in parallel. An introduction to all the texts that will be read in this thesis will shed light on how all three corpuses complement each other. As the majority of the works of the four authors ran into multiple editions and received subtle, or sometimes obvious changes to their content and format, it is important to specify the exact texts I will be referencing throughout this thesis, and the reasons for choosing those texts. A full exposé of the lives and the entire corpus of each individual author, including texts which did not employ elements of an ethnographic approach and subsequently will be cited less frequently throughout this work, will be posited in the later chapters.

Victor von Carben

The first German publication of von Carben's work was entitled *Dem durchleutigsten hochgeborenen furstē vnd herren herre Ludwign Phaltzgrauen bey Rein Hertzogē in Obren und Nidern Bayern des Heyligē Romischē Reichs Ertz/ truchsen. und Curfursten Meinē gnedigisten liebsten herrn zc Hier inne wirt gelesen wie Her Victor von Carben. Weliche eyn Rabi Judē gewest ist zu Christlichem glawbn kommen Weiter vindet man dar Jn.eyn Costliche disputatz eynes gelerten Cristen. und eyns gelerten Judē. dar innē alle Irthumb der Juden durch yr aygen schrifft aufgelost werden.* This text reappeared in almost identical form in 1550, also published in Cologne, entitled, *Juden Büch/lein. Hyerinne würt gelesen/ Wie herr Victor von Carben/ welcher ein Rabi der Juden geweßt ist/ zü Christlichem glaubem kommen. Weiter findet man darinnen ein köstliche disputatz eines gelerten Christen/ und eins gelerten Juden/ darinne alle jr thumb der Juden durch jr eygen schrifft auffgelöt werden.* Between the two texts there are next to no changes to the ethnographic text other than spelling and formatting – the dedication *Dem durchleutigsten...* is moved from the title page in the 1510 edition to the second page in the 1550 edition. Due to its more sophisticated formatting, clarity, regularity of spelling and near identical content, this thesis will most regularly

cite the 1550 version, and for ease of reading will be abridged to *Juden Büchlein* throughout the remainder of this work.

Johannes Pfefferkorn

Pfefferkorn's ethnographic style works are different to the other authors' works considered in this thesis as they were released in much shorter pamphlets, rather than as a single work. This method of presentation suited Pfefferkorn's needs, as each pamphlet reacted to and bolstered the arguments and counter-arguments that epitomised his political aim of confiscating and burning Jewish books. His literary career began with the release of *Der Juden Spiegel*, first published in 1507.⁴³ When citing this work, I will use Ruth Cape's modern translation, which displays the original German alongside modern English.⁴⁴ Other Pfefferkorn works which will be used include; *Ich heyss ain buchlein der iuden peicht*, printed in Augsburg in 1508;⁴⁵ *Ich bin ain Buchlinn der Juden veindt ist mein namen...*⁴⁶ also published in Augsburg in January 1509 and *In disem buchlein vindet Jer ain entlichenn furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten unnd besunderlich wie das Abentmal gessen wirt/ Weiter würdt ausgetruckt das die Juden ketzer seyn des alten und newenn testaments/ Deshalb sye schuldig seyn des gerichts nach dem gesatz Moysi* from Augsburg, in 1509.⁴⁷ The final pamphlet of Pfefferkorn's which will be drawn upon regularly in this work was entitled. *In lob und eer dem Allerdurchleutigsten Großmechtigsten fursten[...]*, first published in 1510.⁴⁸ Pfefferkorn continued to publish a raft of pamphlets after 1510. However, these were concerned with his debate with the humanist scholar Johannes Reuchlin, which need not concern us here, but will be fully accounted for in chapter three.

Anthonius Margaritha

⁴³ In the Cologne Ripuarian Dialect, this work was styled *Der Joeden Spiegel*.

⁴⁴ Pfefferkorn, *The Jews' Mirror (Der Juden Spiegel)*, trans. by Ruth I. Cape (Tempe, Arizona: ACMRS, 2011).

⁴⁵ This thesis will style this pamphlet as *juden beicht*.

⁴⁶ This pamphlet will be referred to as *judenfeind*.

⁴⁷ This work will be contracted to *Osterbüchlein* when cited in this thesis.

⁴⁸ This pamphlet will be referred to as *In lob...* in the remainder of the work.

The principle text authored by Anthonius Margaritha that I will be citing throughout the thesis is entitled *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt ainer gründtlichen vnd warhafften anzaygunge/ Aller Satzungen/ Ceremonien/ Gebetten/ Haymliche und öffentlicht Gebreüch/ deren sich dye Juden halten/ durch das gantz Jar/ Mit schönen und gegründten Argumenten wyder jren Glauben. Durch Anthonium Margaritham Hebrayschen Leser der Löblichen Statt Augspurg/ beschrieben und an tag gegeben*, published by Heinrich Steyner on 7th April 1530. This April edition is the from the second print run of the work, which was unchanged from the first, which took place just two weeks before in March 1530.⁴⁹ The remainder of this thesis will refer to this work as *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*.

The connections between the three authors' ethnographic works, making a network of texts

It is clear that the works of these three authors are all connected by their ethnographic content. However, this is not enough to justify their study side by side. To prove the utility of studying these particular authors together, we must examine the uniquely close connections these three authors' works have. It is important to make these connections between the texts rather than the individuals, because other individuals could be involved in the formulation of these ethnographic accounts. This was not a trend limited to Georg's original work. For example, in the works of von Carben and Pfefferkorn, it is known that the Latin editions were translated by the Dominican scholar Ortwin Gratius (1475-1542).⁵⁰ Carlebach has gone as far as to doubt whether von Carben wrote the German account, citing glaring errors in the description Jewish customs as the reason for believing this.⁵¹ Therefore, connections between texts rather than authors are the links which will bind this thesis – these texts appeared alongside each other in compounded editions, were interacted with by the same readers, and of course contained similar subject matter. For the entire listings of all the primary material of the four authors analysed in this thesis, and to therefore see the full picture of similarities in time, theme and publisher that exist between the three authors,

⁴⁹ Diemling, 'Christliche Ethnographien', p.24.

⁵⁰ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.

⁵¹ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.178.

please consult the primary bibliography. The network of connected texts created by these relationships will now be outlined.

Pfefferkorn's ethnographic corpus and *Juden Büchlein*

The cases of von Carben and Pfefferkorn's works are reconcilable in clear and obvious ways. In terms of when and where their ethnographic works were published, the picture is almost identical. Pfefferkorn's works were published in between 1507 and 1510, while von Carben's were released between 1509 and 1510, and both were based in the same city of Cologne. It is certain that von Carben and Pfefferkorn would have known each other personally. They were both members of the Dominican order of Cologne, von Carben as a priest (*sacerdos*)⁵² and Pfefferkorn as a *factotum*, a kind of general helper or 'jack of all trades'.⁵³ They both published their ethnographic style works with the same publishers. In Cologne, both authors utilised the services of Heinrich von Neuss, Johann Landen and Heinrich Quentell in the publishing both the German and Latin versions of their works.⁵⁴ Additionally to their similar literary aims, the two Cologne converts had a close professional relationship. Von Carben gave recommendations at the Frankfurt book seizure and burning controversy that began in 1509, which Pfefferkorn himself had started, an aspect that will be analysed in the third chapter of this thesis.

Juden Büchlein*, Pfefferkorn's ethnographic corpus and *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub

Although Margaritha did not know the other two converted Jewish authors personally, he did know their works intimately. This is known, as some parts of Margaritha's *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* are copied almost verbatim from von Carben's *Juden Büchlein*, while the woodcuts that appear in Margaritha's work are copies of those found in Pfefferkorn's *Juden beicht*.⁵⁵ Due to their proximity in time and content, the three converted Jewish authors encountered similar issues arising from

⁵² Carola Maria Werhahn, *Die Stiftung des Victor von Carben (1423-1515) im Kölner Dom: Glaubenspropaganda zwischen Judentum und Christentum in Text und Bild* (München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2013), p.44.

⁵³ Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p.33.

⁵⁴ Please see the bibliography of primary materials for full information.

⁵⁵ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.181.

their works. All three were affected, for example, by Christian-Jewish disputations: von Carben wrote of one in his *Juden Büchlein* and acted as an advisor for Pfefferkorn's book confiscation debate of 1509/10, while Margarita debated with the *Befehlshaber* of the Jewish communities of the Holy Roman Empire, Josel of Rosheim at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg, a subject which will be explored fully in the fourth chapter of this thesis. During our period of study in which von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margarita were active as writers, no other German, converted Jew or otherwise, published a work on the Jews containing ethnographic style information.⁵⁶ Writing a generation after the two authors based in Cologne, Margarita's text is more of an outlier in terms of its length, systematic approach and depth of analysis and objectivity. However, modern scholarship has been quick to cite Margarita's developments of the polemical ethnographic genre as progressions of von Carben and Pfefferkorn's work rather than as a split from them.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, pp.51-65. Deutsch's invaluable tables show us that the next converted Jewish ethnographer after Margarita was Paul Staffelsteiner, who published his first work in 1536. During the 1508-1530 period studied, only François Tissard, a born Christian French humanist, published an 'ethnography' of Judaism.

⁵⁷ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.181.

CHAPTER 1: CONVERSION, POLEMIC, ETHNOGRAPHY

Having introduced the corpus of texts that form the foundation of this thesis, and having outlined the close connections that these texts have, this section will analyse the discourses that were crucial in the creation and reception of this corpus. Three concepts; conversion, polemic and ethnography, are central to all of the texts that are studied in this thesis. This chapter will look at these three discourses in a wider view than just the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha. It will show the situation in which these authors lived as Jews and converts to Christianity. Additionally this chapter will look at literary examples of conversion, polemic and ethnography in works from before the early modern period which served as a background to von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha's works. Many of these works, particularly older conversion narratives and anti-Jewish polemical tracts, would have been known to von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha – in some cases, their own texts were modelled on them. By understanding the history of the conversion narrative, of anti-Jewish polemic and of the usage of ethnography in publications that preceded the first converted Jewish authors' texts, we will be able to appreciate the traditions and the history of the literary narratives into which von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha were inserting themselves. While 'ethnography' was not an established literary trend like conversion narratives or anti-Jewish polemics were in the early sixteenth century, this chapter will also outline the history and proliferation of the concept in areas outside of Christian-Jewish relations. The converted Jewish authors' primary intention in the publication of their works was not to be ethnographic, and their texts lack many of the traits common to other strands of early modern texts which were ethnographic in style. Therefore, the final section of this chapter will look into the unique circumstances of the ethnographies of Jews and Judaism; discuss the differences between other ethnographies that were emerging at the same time, and justify their inclusion under the umbrella of early modern ethnographies. Having completed this, subsequent chapters will be able to focus closely on the specific applications of conversion, polemic and

ethnography in each publication in the corpus. This chapter will construct the frame onto which the circumstances of each individual text can be mounted.

THE EARLY MODERN GERMAN JEWS

If there is any currency remaining in a ‘grand narrative’ of the history of the Ashkenazi Jews, the most prevalent view is one of a steady decline in fortunes for them throughout the fifteenth century. The kingdoms of England and France had already expelled their entire Jewish populations, and the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal followed suit in 1492 and 1497 by expelling the Sephardi Jews who lived in those realms. In areas without political unity, local expulsions of urban Jewish populations in Germany and ghettoization in Italy were key factors in this decline in the quality of Jews’ lives, which reached its nadir in the years just before the Reformation.⁵⁸ There is a consensus that Christian-Jewish relations underwent an improvement from this low point as the early modern period developed, an improvement which would continue all the way through to the Jews’ emancipation in the nineteenth century. What drove this improvement is not a subject unanimously agreed upon: scholars such as Amos Funkenstein and Hartmut Lehmann attributed the change in fortunes directly to the Reformation, a splitting of the church prompting strife between Christians, shifting the focus away from Judaism.⁵⁹ A second school of thought, which includes Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Jonathan Israel, subscribes to a model of ‘disenchantment’ of the Jews – an increase in Christians’ empirical understanding of Jewish life leading to more balanced attitudes – as the primary contributor that first arrested the slide, and was then followed by an

⁵⁸Jonathan Israel, ‘Germany and Its Jews: A Changing Relationship (1300-1800)’, in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann (eds.), *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Christian Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.296.

⁵⁹Sixteenth-century Christian infighting relieved some of the pressure that had fallen on the Jewish minority’. Hartmut Lehmann, ‘The Jewish Minority and the Christian Majority in Early Modern Europe’ in Hsia and Lehmann (eds.), *In and Out of the Ghetto*, p.306.

improvement in Christian-Jewish relations in the final third of the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Unfortunately for those seeking broad brush answers as to the changing fortunes of the German Jewry in the early modern period, any number of factors could profoundly alter the nature of Christian-Jewish relations, and the patchwork political nature of the Holy Roman Empire in the sixteenth century means that it is impossible to make generalisations. For example, one cannot generalise the situation of the rural Alsatian Jewish populace, who were restricted from entering Strasbourg's city walls between 1390 and 1791,⁶¹ with the situation of the Regensburg Jewry, the largest urban settlement of Jews in the Empire before its removal in 1519. Expulsions and bans were not tactics used exclusively against Jews: the Reformation created new religious minorities throughout Europe and their persecution released the pressure on the Jews throughout the sixteenth century.⁶² The example of the city of Münster in the sixteenth century shows that although the Jews were not spared the religious hatred of the majority Catholic population, some of this hatred was being directed towards other religious groups. In 1554, the Jews were banned from living in Münster, a fate they had also suffered at the end of the fifteenth century. Yet as well as the Jews, Anabaptist leaders were executed and their followers expelled from the city following their famous failed rebellion of 1534-5, Calvinists were persecuted on a similar level as Jews and Lutherans were banned from worshipping in the city.⁶³ Furthermore, multiple expulsions from cities like Münster show that although Jews may have been expelled on paper, the actual situation could be somewhat cloudier, with Jews returning to cities from which they had been expelled in order to live or conduct business. It is impossible to paint a definitive picture of Jewish fortunes across all German speaking lands in the early modern period, although it can be said in the most

⁶⁰Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p.148.

⁶¹ Debra Kaplan, *Beyond Expulsion: Jews, Christians and Reformation Strasbourg* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), p.19.

⁶²Hartmut Lehmann, 'The Jewish Minority and the Christian Majority in Early Modern Central Europe' in *In and Out of the Ghetto*, p.306.

⁶³R. Po-chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p.199.

general of terms that between the late fifteenth and mid sixteenth centuries, the timeframe which thesis operates within, was a time of particularly poor Christian-Jewish relations.

Expulsion and precariousness were hallmarks of early modern German Jewish life. The cases of Cologne in 1426, Munich in 1442, Ingolstadt in 1450, Mecklenburg-Pomerania in 1492 and Nuremberg and Ulm in 1499 give a snapshot but by no means an exhaustive account of all the cities and regions that expelled their Jews in fifteenth century Germany. These individual expulsions, although piecemeal, led to the re-orientation of the Jews from a people and culture that were predominantly urban in the medieval period to one that was rural by early modern times. Debra Kaplan has detailed this shift in the region of Alsace in the 2011 book *Beyond Expulsion*. She stated that this process was begun by the Black Death of 1347-50 and that by 1479, there were more rural Jewish settlements in that region than there were urban ones.⁶⁴ This enforced change from a predominantly urban to rural existence also necessarily brought with it a contraction in size of Jewish communities, with Jewish populations in individual villages comprising of just two or three families per settlement.⁶⁵ Jews also moved southwards and eastwards away from what had been their heartlands in the Rhine valley in the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ In all, the Jews were a minuscule and disparate group in the wider demographic picture of the Holy Roman Empire. Estimates range from twenty-five to thirty thousand Jews in the Empire between 1350-1400,⁶⁷ to a later estimate of around thirty-five to forty thousand Jewish subjects by the year 1600, around 0.2% of the overall population of around twenty million.⁶⁸ As well as expulsion, there were other types of persecution that Jews suffered. Between 1349 and 1520, thirty-three synagogues were demolished and replaced with churches or other Christian religious buildings.⁶⁹

⁶⁴Debra Kaplan, *Beyond Expulsion: Jews, Christians and Reformation Strasbourg* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp.26-27.

⁶⁵Ibid. p.29.

⁶⁶Yaacov Guggenheim, 'Meeting on the Road: Encounters between German Jews and Christians on the Margins of Society' in Hsia and Lehmann (eds.), *In and out of the Ghetto*, p.125.

⁶⁷Ibid. p.125.

⁶⁸Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.30.

⁶⁹Allyson F. Creasman, 'The Virgin Mary against the Jews: Anti-Jewish polemic in the Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg, 1519-25', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (vol.33, 4, 2002), p. 968. Indeed, von Carben writes approvingly of a synagogue being converted to a nunnery in the *Juden Büchlein*.

Erasure of Jewish buildings from German speaking cities was as prevalent as expulsion of Jewish populations.

Another thorn in the side of the Jewish population were those who abandoned Judaism and turned to Christianity. Two of these Jews who converted to Christianity, von Carben and Pfefferkorn, turned their attentions to writing accounts of Jewish customs in 1508, uncovering the secrets of their former co-religionists to a Christian readership. A generation later, Margarita joined them in publishing an account of Jewish folkways. As a result of their apostasy, these converts would be utterly rejected by members of their old faith, a fact the converts themselves were keen to impress on their Christian readers. The work of von Carben highlighted how their conversion caused converts to leave their families behind in their old faith, and led them to be hated by the Jewish community as a whole.⁷⁰ While writing a work on the secrets of Jewish life could give the author a measure of fame,⁷¹ converting to the dominant religion was by no means a guarantee of religious respect from Christians. It seemed that many Christians believed that all the 'Jewishness' of converts could not be washed off by the waters of the baptismal font.⁷² Von Carben complained bitterly of being mocked by Christians after his conversion,⁷³ while Pfefferkorn had to suffer being abused as a character 'who can hardly be called half-Jew' by Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) in letters to his humanist friends.⁷⁴ In leaving Judaism, converts were in danger of discrimination from the Christian population as well, while at the same time their conversion attracted hatred from the Jews, leaving converts wholly rejected from one camp while only being conditionally

⁷⁰von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 3r.

⁷¹or infamy – Pfefferkorn was the figurehead of the scholastic movement which was so famously attacked by the humanists in *The Letters of Obscure Men* (1516), and had direct correspondence with Emperor Maximilian I (r.1493-1519). Later, Margarita disputed in front of Maximilian's successor, Emperor Charles V (r.1519-1556), at Augsburg in 1530, only to be evicted from the city after being soundly defeated)

⁷²Despite Erasmus' and others' comments, there was no doctrine of *Limpieza di sangre* (purity of blood) in Germany and there would come to be in Spain and Italy, which would bar many 'New Christians' and *conversos* from becoming members of the mendicant orders in the sixteenth century. Anna Foa, '*Limpieza versus mission: Church, Religious Orders, and conversion in the Sixteenth Century*', in Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers (eds.), *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p.305

⁷³Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 7r. 'das sprichwort so gemeynglich auff die getauften Juden geredt würt/ also lautende/ ein alter Jud würt selten güt Christ welichs wol erfunden mag'.

⁷⁴Erika Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), p.143.

accepted into the other. However, unlike in Spain, where the full forces of church and state were united in the Inquisition from 1478, which led to tens of thousands of Sephardi Jews of that country being forcibly converted or expelled fully from the country,⁷⁵ converts from Judaism to Christianity were notably rare within the territory of the Holy Roman Empire in the same period. Because of this, individual Ashkenazi converts were remarkable characters who occupied a very visible space in society. As a caveat to this, however, Endelman has written of how it is wrong to cast a paradigm of ‘forced’ versus ‘voluntary’ conversions. Although the Ashkenazi Jews may not have experienced the kind of state led missionizing campaign that Iberian Jews encountered, Christian cultural dominance over Jews ensured that no conversion from Judaism to Christianity was ever wholly elective.⁷⁶ For example, the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 decreed that all Jews should wear distinctive yellow badges on their clothing,⁷⁷ an example of the subjugation of the Jews that permeated all of Christian society, from the highest ecumenical council to the Jewish person in the street, whether the street was in Spain, Italy or Germany. Measures such as these immediately set up a situation of domination and submission, from which it was impossible to move from one religion to the other with an entirely objective conscience. ‘All conversions are products of specific circumstances and particular personalities, yet they are also the products of broader cultural and historical forces’.⁷⁸ The circumstances of the conversions of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha were not exempt from these forces.

The Jewish point of view on the problem of their coreligionists moving to Christianity was damning. Conversion was perceived by Jews as ‘treachery and as a desertion of religious and social

⁷⁵James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), p.163.

⁷⁶Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, p.30.

⁷⁷This stipulation of Lateran IV was something that famed thirteenth century convert from Judaism Pablo Christiani campaigned for in northern France in the 1260s. Jeremy Cohen, ‘The Mentality of the Medieval Jewish Apostate: Peter Alfonsi, Hermann of Cologne, and Pablo Christiani’ in Todd M. Endelman,(ed.), *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), p.36. *Judenringel* – yellow fabric rings that signified a wearer’s Jewish status, can be seen on the frontispiece of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, which shows a group of Jews in a heavily stereotyped context.

⁷⁸Elisheva Carlebach, ‘Divided Souls: The Convert Critique and the Culture of Ashkenaz, 1750-1800’, *The Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture 46* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 2003), p. 4.

loyalties'.⁷⁹ In the medieval period, martyrdom was often seen by Jews as a preferable course of action to conversion.⁸⁰ The importance of this religious approach was made all too real among Ashkenazi Jews in 1096, when the First Crusaders devastated Jewish populations, particularly in the Rhine valley, either through murder or forced conversion. According to many Jews, martyrdom was the highest form of worship, whereas conversion was 'spiritual pollution and annihilation'.⁸¹ So dismal were Jews' opinions of converts that they wrote targeted literature which aimed to deal with the problem, such as the *Sefer-ha-Nizzahon* (Book of Victory), authored by Rabbi Lipmann in fifteenth century Mulhouse, a scathing polemic against converts.⁸² The Alsatian Jew Josel of Rosheim saw converts as a force that needed to be fought, as he himself would do successfully against Margarita at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.⁸³ Converts from Judaism would often be harassed and disowned by their previous coreligionists.⁸⁴ The strength of feeling against converts among northern Europe's Jews is indicative of a Jewish society that had been fragmented throughout the middle ages into smaller and smaller groups, and had been forcibly shifted from an urban to a predominantly rural environment, where the loss of even one individual was keenly felt. Converts from Judaism to Christianity may have carried the baggage of their Jewish pasts with them into their new lives, but as far as Jews were concerned, converts were unforgivable, implacable enemies.

CONVERSION NARRATIVES

⁷⁹Ora Limor and Israel Yacob Yuval, 'Skepticism and Conversion: Jews, Christians, and Doubters in Sefer-ha-Nizzahon' in Alison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)p.160.

⁸⁰Elisheva Carlebach, 'The Convert Critique', p.5. The mass martyrdom of the York Jewry in Clifford's Tower in 1190 is a prime example of the choice of martyrdom being made over conversion.

⁸¹Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, p.26.

⁸²Limor and Yuval, 'Skepticism and Conversion', p.160.

⁸³Dean Philip Bell, *Jewish Identity in Early Modern Germany: Memory, Power and Community* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p.113.

⁸⁴Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.127.

One factor in which applies to each of the three converted Jews studied here is in the common experience of conversion. Their position as converts was the key element in allowing von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha to be ethnographers – without conversion, they would have lacked sections of the knowledge of a different culture, as well as the desire or requirement to create ethnographic texts. However, their publications were not just ethnographies, but also contained information on their conversions. It is therefore necessary to discuss the ‘conversion narrative’ as a Christian literary trope in the early modern period, which acted as a key influencer of the formation of the authors’ texts.

Conversion, conversion narratives and other egodocuments⁸⁵ have been the recipient of a considerable amount of academic attention in recent decades, as scholars have attempted to open the window onto the lives of people who were not elites in society, and were therefore not so greatly documented by second-hand sources.⁸⁶ Previously, the rise of autobiographical writing was seen as a way of demonstrating on an individual/personal level the grander narrative of the ‘rise of individualism’ in the West that drove the Renaissance and became a key indicator of modernity, an approach epitomised by the nineteenth century Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt.⁸⁷ In more recent years, Burckhardt’s approach has been refined, and egodocuments (among which conversion narratives can be counted) have been used in the development of the discipline of historical anthropology, a concept closely related to ethnography, as well as microhistory.⁸⁸ They have been seen as ideal for this task, as not only do conversion narratives recount highly personalised experiences that are unique to the author, allowing intense focus on an individual,

⁸⁵An egodocument is a term first introduced in Dutch scholarship in the 1980s, which encompasses all writings which include writings on the self, not just autobiographies. Egodocuments include journals, memoirs and personal correspondences as well as autobiographies. Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick, Angelika Schaser, ‘Écrits autobiographiques et personne : perspectives transculturelles’, in Danièle Tosato-Rigo (ed.) *Appels à témoins. Écrits personnelles et pratiques socioculturelles (XVIe – XXe s.)* (EDL 300, 2016, 1-2), p.218.

⁸⁶Ulbrich, et al. ‘Écrits autobiographiques’, p.218.

⁸⁷Peter Burke, ‘Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes’ in Roy Porter (ed.) *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the present* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.17.

⁸⁸‘Historical anthropology is deliberately qualitative and concentrates on specific cases’. Peter Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy: Essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.3.

but they also cast light on a much wider perspective by positioning themselves within the long history of conversion literature, and can be used as case studies to reflect wider trends.⁸⁹ The conversion narratives which are analysed throughout this work show this clearly, as all the authors give different reasons for their conversion, but all of which link the authors' experiences to a much wider tradition of recording the process of moving from one faith to another. In the Christian tradition, this dates back to St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), and Paul, from which nearly all medieval and early modern conversion narratives drew inspiration, with Augustine's *Confessions* in particular acting as a literary role model for the majority of later Christian conversion narratives.⁹⁰ For the authors of the conversion narratives themselves, the writing of their experiences was also part of the ongoing process of conversion, as its formulation was part of the process of remembering, forgetting, emphasising and trivialising that converts and their convert stories were required to undergo in order to be fully accepted and integrated into the new societal or religious group which the author had placed themselves into by converting.⁹¹ Because of this, conversion accounts are, 'always poetic fictions, always works of narrative composed by inclusion, omission, and deployment',⁹² rather than an objective report of 'the truth'. All three authors studied in this thesis portray these trends to varying extents. Although the conversion narrative element of the converted Jewish authors' works was not necessarily the central thrust of their works, by writing of their own conversion experience, however briefly, von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha did not just write ethnographic documents on Jews, but also held up a mirror to their own religious lives. Constantin Rieske has analysed how the creation of the conversion narrative was of importance to the process of conversion, of similar standing to more obvious moments of

⁸⁹'[...] it is important not to have 100 instances which are imperfectly understood but to have ten, or even five, in which one can disclose something of the personal history of the victims, the flagrancy of the events, the kinship relations in the neighbourhood, the insights afforded by some revealing phrase in a deposition'. E. P. Thompson, 'Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context' *Midland History* (1, 3, 1972), p.50.

⁹⁰Constantin Rieske, 'Doing the Paperwork: Early Modern Converts, Their Narratives and the (Re)Writing of Religious Lives', *Medieval History Journal* (18, 2, 2015), p.406.

⁹¹Rieske, 'Doing the Paperwork', p.407.

⁹²Karl F. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992), p.4.

conversion, such as divine inspiration, or baptism.⁹³ The case of von Carben, who described his conversion in the *Juden Büchlein* around forty years after the event, is proof that, if the writing of a conversion narrative was part of the process of conversion itself, conversion ought to be seen not as a snapshot moment in time, but a sequence that could take decades to play itself out.

Christian conversion literature began with the most famous of all converts, Paul. His conversion still resonates in modern English parlance – people speak of ‘road to Damascus moments’ - and can be described as a sudden event that radically changes the outlook of the individual. These Pauline ‘event’ conversions were employed as a trope in many medieval conversion narratives, including that of von Carben.⁹⁴ Carlebach has noted how ‘very few converts credited such spiritual experience as their primary motivation for conversion’ in the period 1500-1750.⁹⁵ However, von Carben, who converted in the 1470s, credited God’s direct intercession with his conversion, and compared his own experiences to those of Paul.⁹⁶ Paul’s conversion on the road was also important for future conversion narratives as it gave a spatial dimension to conversion: the idea that conversion was comparable to a journey.⁹⁷ As well establishing the paradigm of the conversion narrative, both Paul and Augustine were central to the development of Christian theology on the conversion of the Jews. In Romans 11:2, Paul encouraged Christians not to ‘gloat’ over the Jews. Using the allegory of an olive tree, Jews were described as fallen olive branches, while Christians were branches that had been ‘grafted in their place’.⁹⁸ Augustine rearticulated and developed this idea by stating that Jews were ‘book-bearers’ for Christians. In the early modern period, this notion would return as *Hebraica veritas*, the idea that, as Hebrew was one of the original languages of the

⁹³Rieske, ‘Doing the Paperwork’, p.407. ‘[...] the process and the art of composing a conversion narrative were crucial to the construction of a narrative identity and the recovery of an early modern religious self.’

⁹⁴Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.90.

⁹⁵Ibid. p.90.

⁹⁶Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fols. 3r-4r.

⁹⁷Duane J. Corpis, ‘Paths of Salvation and Boundaries of Belief: Spatial Discourse and the Meanings of Conversion in Early Modern Germany’ in David M. Luebke et. al. (eds.), *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Berghahn, 2012), p.19.

⁹⁸Todd M. Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold: Conversion and Radical Assimilation in Modern Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p.19.

Bible, it contained a unique truth that was worthy of study.⁹⁹ As well as their importance as book-bearers, Jews, according to the Church Fathers, were essential to the understanding of the world, as their misery and suffering was proof of Christianity's supremacy.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Paul had ascribed to Jews an important role in Christian doctrine on the end times, decreeing that a necessary precondition for the second coming was the conversion of the Jews. These aspects of Christian belief and eschatology broadcast by Paul and Augustine were essential to the Jews' survival in Europe until around the thirteenth century, ensuring a place for them in the Christian worldview.¹⁰¹ Medieval accounts of conversion from Judaism to Christianity were sporadic enough for there not to be a set pattern or narrative to their creation. Jeremy Cohen, in comparing the conversion narratives of Petrus Alfonsi (born 1062), Hermann the Jew (born 1109) and Pablo Christiani (converted in the 1230s) demonstrated how concepts of rationalism (in the case of Alfonsi), or spiritual and allegorical factors (in Hermann's experience) could be pivotal factors in a medieval Jew's conversion to Christianity.¹⁰² What was common between these conversion stories was the desire to portray Judaism as the polar opposite and adversary to Christianity. For example, Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogus Petri et Moysi Iudei* saw the Christian Petrus debate and educate the Jewish Moses (Petrus Alfonsi's previous Jewish self),¹⁰³ The convert Pablo Christiani disputed for real against Nahmanides in Barcelona in 1263, while Hermann's *Opusculum de conversion sua* was preoccupied with the contemporary 'obsession' to caste Judaism as the antithesis of Christianity.¹⁰⁴

One of the most widely cited and extensive works on converts in Germany in the early modern period is Elisheva Carlebach's *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany 1500-1750*, a work which is an indispensable source when dealing with this subject. As its title suggests, *Divided Souls* describes converts in this period being almost split individuals, with one foot in the Jewish world,

⁹⁹Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, 'Introduction', in Adams and Heß, *Revealing the Secrets of Judaism*, p.6.

¹⁰⁰Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, p.22.

¹⁰¹Ibid. p.19.

¹⁰²Cohen, 'the Medieval Jewish Apostate', pp. 20-47.

¹⁰³Ibid. p.24.

¹⁰⁴Ibid. p.32.

and another in the Christian world to which they had moved to. These converts, who ‘were at the forefront of the public consciousness’, acted as mediators between the two cultures,¹⁰⁵ as well as being a ‘means of communication’ and a bridge between Jews and Christians.¹⁰⁶ However, while underlining how converts established links of understanding between Judaism and Christianity, describing converts as ‘mediators’ is in my view slightly problematic because it suggests an overtly positive, constructive character to the links made by von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha, seeing them as a kind of objective overseers of the struggle between the two faiths. This is hard to reconcile with the fact that all three converted Jewish authors were heavily biased against Jews and Judaism. Although their writings would eventually lead to increased knowledge, understanding and ultimately limited reconciliation between Judaism and Christianity in the later early modern period, so much of their Jewish-Christian interaction was consciously negative and destructive. David Ruderman has introduced the concept of converts possessing ‘mingled identities’, describing converts as ‘highly complex individuals who were literally boundary crossers, moving from Judaism to Christianity’.¹⁰⁷ As well as converted Jews, Ruderman considered Hebraists (writers on Judaism who had always been Christian) to be equally a part of the mingling of identities, stating that Christian scholars who spent lifetimes studying Jewish language, literature and history ‘could hardly be motivated by intellectual reasons alone’.¹⁰⁸ In antiquity, the border between Judaism and Christianity had been ‘fuzzy’ for worshippers,¹⁰⁹ and Ruderman’s writing of a ‘mingled identity’ maintains this idea of there no being a stark border between a convert’s Jewish and Christian self. I believe this concept is valuable when considering the cases of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha because of the way in which they were forbidden from forgetting their Jewish pasts by their new Christian brethren. We have already seen how disparaging maxims against converts were widespread, how converts remained ‘baptized Jews’ in

¹⁰⁵Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.48.

¹⁰⁶Limor and Yuval, ‘Skepticism and Conversion’, p.160.

¹⁰⁷David Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p.180.

¹⁰⁸Ibid. p.173.

¹⁰⁹Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, p.21.

the eyes of early modern Christians, and also that the three converted Jews studied in this thesis all, to a greater or lesser degree, claimed that their Jewish identities and knowledge made them authoritative Christian reporters of the Jewish world. Duane Corps has split the idea of conversion into two by outlining how ‘interreligious’ and ‘intrareligious’ conversions were widespread in early modern Germany, especially after the onset of the Reformation. Intrareligious conversions occurred without a jump from one belief system to another and could instead represent an ‘inner spiritual change’ resulting in an increase in piety from a believer, or a move to more orthodox observance.¹¹⁰ Intrareligious conversion was not exclusively an early modern trend. In the medieval period, those who entered the monastery were said to be ‘converting’ from one way of life to another, despite never moving outside of Christianity.¹¹¹ In contrast, the ‘interreligious’ mode of conversion involved movement from one religious community to another. Another outlook on the process of conversion is offered by Rieske, who, in focusing on the religious self, describes conversion as the disintegration and reformation of religious ‘performative self-making’.¹¹² This approach focuses on how the converts presented themselves to the world through their texts. However, I believe it cannot fully apply to the conversions of the three authors studied in this thesis, as their conversions gave them not just a reformed, reordered version of their previous selves: it also gave them new, extra aspects to their lives as they could act as experts on their previous religion. The move from Judaism to Christianity was one that the converted Jewish authors wanted to be clear cut, to prove their absolute adherence to their new faith and to have their old faith erased. But their Christian present could never fully erase their Jewish pasts.

THE CHRISTIAN ANTI-JEWISH POLEMICAL TRADITION

¹¹⁰Ibid. pp. 14-16.

¹¹¹Corpis, ‘Paths of Salvation’, p.17.

¹¹²Rieske, ‘Doing the Paperwork’, p.410.

As well as the tradition of the conversion narrative, it is necessary to frame the anti-Jewish polemical tradition in which the texts of Pfefferkorn, Von Carben and Margaritha were anchored, as this was vitally important in their texts' formation. The history of anti-Jewish writing was one that the converted Jewish authors were aware of. For example, Pfefferkorn was familiar with the anti-Talmudic disputation in Paris in 1240, as the tracts that he tried to requisition in his book burning campaign were almost identical to the ones that had been put on trial in the French capital 270 years earlier.¹¹³ What would become the genre of polemical ethnographies was borne out of this purely polemical Christian understanding of Jewish life and literature. Doing this will help us understand that the converted Jewish authors' works were not something new with no historical background, but will conversely root them in a centuries-old tradition, emphasising the medieval aspects of their work. This is important because one of the recurring themes of this project is the analysis of how deeply the works of the converted authors were continuations of older Christian tropes of the Jews. None of the works of the convert ethnographers were texts that were independent of the established Christian anti-Jewish tradition. Just as conversion narratives influenced all of the authors' works studied in this thesis, polemical beliefs about Jews and Judaism saturate the pages of the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha. Negative Christian writings about Judaism have a history dating back to antiquity, and were based predominantly on themes of Jews as Christ killers, and the notion that their subjugation throughout the world was punishment for them being blind to the true faith.¹¹⁴ But it was the Christian 'discovery' of post-biblical rabbinical Jewish literature, and especially the discovery of the Talmud, that sharpened and diversified Christian anti-Jewish polemic from the twelfth century onwards.¹¹⁵ Before Christians learnt of the Talmud, their understanding of Jews was hermeneutical, that is to say that they were understood only through scripture, 'as a cornerstone of Christian self-understanding'.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.65.

¹¹⁴ Amos Funkenstein, 'Basic Types of Christian anti-Jewish polemics in the Later Middle Ages', *Viator*, 2 (1972), p.374.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p.373.

¹¹⁶ Ryan Szpiech, 'Polemical Strategy and the Rhetoric of Authority in Abner of Burgos/ Alfonso of Valladolid', in Carmen Caballero-Navas and Esperanza Alfonso (eds.), *Late Medieval Jewish Identities: Iberia and Beyond* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), p.56.

Jews' role in the Christian written world was only to confirm Christianity rather than question Judaism.¹¹⁷ It was a shock for Christians to discover that Jews were not like the characters they read of in the Bible, but had changed and diversified, and followed the teachings of more than just the Pentateuch that Christians were familiar with. The revealing of the Talmud to non-Jews by individuals such as Peter the Venerable (1092-1156), was facilitated by Jewish converts such as Petrus Alfonsi (converted 1106) in Spain, and one can therefore say that the history of converted Jewish literature also began in this period.¹¹⁸ Alongside converts from Judaism, the tradition of Hebraism, began to proliferate in the medieval period. An example is the school of St Victor in Paris, where in the twelfth century, two abbots of St Victor, Richard (1110-73) and Andrew (died 1175), were some of the earliest scholars to conduct translations of sections of the Talmud.¹¹⁹ These early Hebraists paved the way for the likes of Johannes Reuchlin and other Renaissance humanists in our own period of study. The relationship between Hebraists and converted Jews was not always an easy one, and a dichotomy was cast between the knowledge garnered from lived experience of the converts versus the learnt skills of the Hebraist.¹²⁰ It was all too easy for a convert, trying to prove the sincerity of their Christianity, to accuse an enthusiastic Hebraist of being a 'Judaizer', as Pfefferkorn did to Reuchlin during their pamphlet debate, and on the other hand, for Christians to accuse of converted Jewish authors of being compromised by their Jewish past.

The 'discovery' of post-biblical Jewish literature by Christians meant that attacks against Jews could now be made on two new fronts. Firstly, that rabbinical literature contained blasphemies against Jesus and Mary, and secondly, in a strategy that was developed slightly later, that the whole Talmud in and of itself was heretical, and that those who followed its teachings were also.¹²¹ This anti-Talmudic attack was first played out in disputations such as in Paris in 1240, and at Barcelona in 1263, but can also clearly be seen to have been retained in Margarita's sixteenth century brand

¹¹⁷Ibid. p.56.

¹¹⁸Funkenstein, 'Basic Types', p.378.

¹¹⁹Beryl Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p.106.

¹²⁰Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.53.

¹²¹Funkenstein, 'Basic Types', p.380.

of anti-Judaism, the following being one of scores of examples of anti-Talmudic remarks in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*: ‘Listen here blind Jews, and not to your Talmud that blackens the truth about your cockerels’.¹²² Another way Christians attempted to use rabbinical literature to their advantage was to prove how the Jews’ books proved the divinity of Jesus. The idea that the Jews could be brought down ‘from within’ was an idea championed by Johannes Reuchlin during the commission set up by Pfefferkorn to burn Jewish books in 1510. Margaritha stated, ‘Isaiah says more regarding how a cockerel is not a person, and yourselves similarly admit on the chapter on the Messiah’s existence, namely the fifty third chapter’.¹²³ After further asserting the primacy of the Old Testament scripture by citing Leviticus, rabbis and the Talmud were explicitly attacked by Margaritha for the creating a theological blindness that, ‘your Talmudic teacher leaves you in, hearing your prayers and charms, that should be shown to be shameful in character, that itself is inferior’.¹²⁴ Johannes Pfefferkorn also adhered to similarly traditional polemical attacks on the Jews’ books, claiming Mary’s divinity was made clear in the Talmud: ‘Oh! You poor, dark, creatures, open your blinded eyes, and see how clearly your books describe and present Mary’s virginity and her pure and chaste birth’!¹²⁵ It will be shown in the chapters on the individual converts just how ubiquitous these types of polemical attacks were within the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha. Contemporaneous to the development of the Christian viewpoint of Jews as blind and beholden to the Talmud in the medieval period, artistic impressions of Jews became more caricatured and uniform in their negative portrayal. Sara Lipton has written extensively on this subject, and identified the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the beginning of anti-Jewish caricature in Christian art. ‘Moral meaning’ began to be depicted in Jewish faces: ‘fierce and scowling expressions, heavy brows, squinting or staring eyes, and a variety of distorted noses, long

¹²²Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 19r. ,Höre hie zü blinder Jude/ und nicht deinem Thalmudt der die hi emit dem hanen die wahrheit verdunklet hat’.

¹²³Ibid. fol. 19r ‘Ein han thüts nicht ist aber dise person davon Esaias mer sagt/ und jr selbs bekennt das dasselbig cap. Auf den Moschiach geet und ist nemlich das 53. Capittel’. Isaiah 53 was the biblical verse which Margaritha credited with convincing him to convert to the Christian faith.

¹²⁴Ibid. fol. 19r. ‘dz jr euch ewer Thalmudische lerer bethoren und bezaubern laßt/ dz ein figure und schat solt auff ein ding zaigen/ das minder ist dann es selbs’.

¹²⁵Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.51.

and twisted, large and hooked, or fleshily bulbous'.¹²⁶ By the end of the medieval period, literary and artistic representations of Jews by Christians had been formed and, to a large extent standardized.

At the same time as Christian theologians were honing their attacks on the Talmud, a second new strand of hateful rhetoric against Jews was also emerging. The first accusation of Jewish ritual murder, also known as blood libel, (the notion that Jews killed Christians and especially children) for use in perverted religious ceremonies was that of William of Norwich, made in 1144 by Thomas of Monmouth.¹²⁷ The creation of this myth became the bedrock for a powerful antisemitic trope of Jews as murderous, which developed and diversified to include accusations that Jews poisoned wells, were responsible for the Black Death in the mid fourteenth century, and also that Jews desecrated the Christian Eucharist wafers in their own rituals.¹²⁸ Gavin Langmuir has asserted that the rise of these new, irrational attacks on Judaism was due to a fundamental change in mind-set of the Christian in medieval Europe, brought about by religious doubts of their own.¹²⁹ The key difference between these accusations against Jews and the anti-Talmudic, exegetical style attacks that constituted anti-Judaism was that myths of ritual murder, well poisoning and host desecration had no basis in the truth. Before the advent of the blood libel myth, Christian anti-Jewish attacks were vehement and powerful, but there was an essential kernel of truth in those attacks, no matter how extremely it was interpreted, in the idea that the Jews had a role in Christ's crucifixion, or that the Talmud blasphemed Jesus, or that Jews interpreted the Old Testament in a different way to

¹²⁶Sara Lipton, 'The Jew's Face: Vision, Knowledge and Identity in Medieval Anti-Jewish Caricature', in Carmen Caballero-Navas and Esperanza Alfonso (eds.), *Late Medieval Jewish Identities: Iberia and Beyond* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), p.262.

¹²⁷The first cases in Germany were in Würzburg in 1147, after which twenty Jews were killed in retribution. Robert Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom, 1000-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.184.

¹²⁸There is a well-developed corpus of modern scholarly literature on this subject. Hsia's *Myth of Ritual Murder* deals with the subject in early modern Germany, while Rubin's *Gentile Tales* looks at the trend in the late medieval period. A good summary of the secondary literature can be found written by Hannah Johnson, *Blood Libel, the Ritual Murder Accusation at the Limit of Jewish History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012).

¹²⁹Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.6.

Christians.¹³⁰ However, the irrational, antisemitic¹³¹ Christian beliefs of twisted rituals and murderous Jews constituted a different set of Christian fears, a set that the converted Jewish ethnographers of Judaism did not adhere to. Pfefferkorn clearly demonstrates how it was possible to remain stridently anti-Jewish whilst refuting the more far-fetched Christian beliefs of Jews, asking Christians to ‘disregard such unfounded talk’ as ‘that the Jews have to have Christian blood and also have the monthly flow’ He continues: ‘It is quite possible that some Jews [...] kill children of Christians [...] However, they do not do this for the blood but in order to dishonour and harm the parents’.¹³² This is as close as any of the converted authors come to endorsing the belief of Jewish ritual murder of Christians. A reaction of this nature illustrates perfectly how a converted Jew could maintain a high level of anti-Jewish rhetoric, while denying that Jews were involved in the more lurid allegations of sixteenth century Christian minds. Additionally, von Carben opened his book *Juden Büchlein* by addressing and discrediting well-known sayings, or *Sprichwörter* which doubted the sincerity of newly baptised Jews. ‘[a] very common saying about the baptised Jews is said loudly: an old Jew will seldom make a good Christian’.¹³³ Von Carben, like Pfefferkorn, robustly defended converted Jews of this charge, at least partly due to a degree of self-preservation. This strain of popular sixteenth century belief held that ‘a Jew is a Jew, baptized or circumcised, for all

¹³⁰Ibid. p.11.

¹³¹My definition of antisemitism is largely inspired by Gavin I. Langmuir’s work mentioned above. The distinction between ‘rational’ anti-Jewish beliefs based on the truth and ‘irrational’ ones based on falsehood and rumour is one of paramount importance. While antisemitism is a type of anti-Judaism, not all strains of anti-Judaism are antisemitic. See in particular p.1-19. Langmuir’s formulation has received criticism more recently, particularly that it is not suitable when discussing modern cases of antisemitism. For example, Kenneth L. Marcus has advanced that using any form of ‘anti-Semitism’ to describe actions against Jews is troublesome due to the fact that a committed anti-Semite, Wilhelm Marr, was the first to coin the term in 1879. Kenneth L. Marcus, *The Definition of Anti-Semitism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 6-10. The lack of specificity when using the term anti-Semitism has also been criticised – “anti-Semitism” covers everything from personal prejudices to genocide’. Jonathan Judaken, ‘Rethinking anti-Semitism’, *American Historical Review* 1 (October 2018), p. 1128. Judaken has proposed to use the word ‘Judeophobia’ to describe attacks against Jews, stating that Langmuir’s development of antisemitism is too chronological, and the ‘chimerical’, that is to say monstrous or fantastical, prejudicial views against Jews could also be found displayed in attitudes in early modern witch hunts, or Jim Crow era lynchings. Judaken, ‘Rethinking anti-Semitism’, p. 1129. However, I am amenable towards Langmuir’s anti-Judaism/antisemitism formulation because it avoids the hyphen of anti-Semitism, which avoids the problem of misappropriating a linguistic term (Semitic) for a religious group, while at the same time it creates a boundary between the anti-Jewish rhetoric of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margarita, and the irrational myth of ritual murder and well poisoning that those authors never espoused in their works.

¹³²Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.93.

¹³³Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 5r. ‘das sprichwort so gemeynglich auff die getauften Juden geredt würt/ also lautende/ ein alter Jud würt selten güt Christwelichs wol erfunden warden mag’.

I care [...] who in the end with his servants, will go to the Devil's oven'.¹³⁴ This kind of mind-set resulted in the belief in some sectors of sixteenth century society, from the humanists who discredited Pfefferkorn's conversion in the *Letters of Obscure Men* to the Christians who mocked von Carben in his daily life, that all those born Jewish were entirely beyond salvation and that attempts at proselytising or conversion were ultimately fruitless. For some, the important role Jews had played in St Augustine's worldview as 'book bearers', crucial to Christian eschatology, had been replaced by something bleaker. For converts, this mode of anti-Jewish thought was of course unthinkable, as they claimed to have been saved through their conversion, and often looked to proselytising as a way of proving their worth in Christian society. Although the first converted Jewish ethnographers of Judaism were inextricably linked to the tradition of polemics against Jews, anti-Judaism by the sixteenth century had diverged in many ways, causing some ways of anti-Jewish thinking to be contradictory. Von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha never ascribed to these irrational Christian attitudes towards Jews, as to do so would have been to implicate themselves as former Jews in something that even conversion to Christianity could not forgive.

BEFORE AND DURING THE AGE OF EARLY CONVERTED JEWISH ETHNOGRAPHY

By associating the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha with ethnography, Hsia and subsequent scholars of the Christian ethnographies of Judaism added another strand to the already complex discourse of ethnography, which sees the term applied in starkly different ways across different subjects. A word of Greek origin, the simplest and widest etymological description of what ethnography means is to describe it as 'writing of peoples' (*grapho + ethnos*). This tradition of writing about cultures other than one's own is thousands of years old, and is widely agreed to date back to Herodotus (484-425 BC), whose work *Geographia* is considered to be the first

¹³⁴Georg Schwartz's *Juden Feind* (1570), in R. Po-chia Hsia, 'The Usurious Jew: Economic Structure and Religious Representations in an Anti-Semitic Discourse', in Hsia, *In and Out of the Ghetto*, p.169.

surviving work which dedicates itself, at least in part, to the description of peoples throughout the world.¹³⁵ Modern definitions of ethnography tend to emphasise a comprehensive, systematic or scientific element to ethnography as an academic discipline. Raymond Madden in *Being Ethnographic* writes that, 'ethnography has historically been most closely associated with anthropology and qualitative sociology, and has focused on the indigenous, the exotic, the subaltern, the disadvantaged'.¹³⁶ This ties the birth of ethnography to modern social sciences. A further example of this view of ethnography as a purely modern phenomenon is found in the work of Roger Sanjek, who, under a heading within his book entitled 'A Brief History of Ethnography' states that 'the first ethnography' was *The League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois*, written by Louis Henry Morgan in 1851.¹³⁷ Sanjek writes that what qualifies this account as ethnographic, in comparison to those from other explorers, missionaries, military agents, travellers and reformers was Morgan's use of a native Iroquois as 'translator and cultural interpreter'.¹³⁸ However, these works written by modern social scientists chart only the history of the *academic discipline* as found in university departments, not the history of the millennia old human desire to write about cultures foreign to their own, something that is 'coeval with mankind'.¹³⁹ Louis Henry Morgan's book of 1851, Sanjek's *point zéro* for ethnography, 'detailed Iroquois matrilineal kinship, political and ceremonial life, material culture, and religion'.¹⁴⁰ These characteristics are remarkably similar to the traits Hsia identified ('marriage customs, religious rituals, language and other cultural practises') as being present in the works of the converted Jewish authors of the sixteenth century, which he believed made them ethnographic in character.

¹³⁵Hsia, 'Christian Ethnographies', p.223. 'In European civilization, the act of writing something about alien cultures and unfamiliar peoples has enjoyed a venerable tradition since Herodotus'. Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, 'It is customary to view Herodotus as the father of ethnography', p.4.

¹³⁶ Raymond Madden, *Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography* (London: SAGE, 2010), p.1.

¹³⁷ Roger Sanjek, *Ethnography in Today's World: Color Full before Color Blind* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p.60.

¹³⁸Ibid. p.60.

¹³⁹Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, p.1.

¹⁴⁰Sanjek, *Ethnography in Today's World*, p.60.

The history of ethnographic writing in fact has a history dating back much further than ethnography the academic discipline. One only has to consider Tacitus' *Germania*, a first century CE monograph on the German people running to forty-six chapters, to see that lengthy, systematic accounts of cultures that fulfil the many of the criteria of the modern definition of ethnography have existed for millennia: The *Germania* began by defining its subject: "The first twenty-seven chapters discuss the Germans in general, their origins and physical appearance, the landscape, their styles of fighting and of government, German women, religion, their conduct of business and battle, their entertainment, residences and clothing, marriage, sexual habits and child raising, their banquets and their attitudes to slavery, gambling and death".¹⁴¹ The other nineteen chapters deal with the differences between the various tribes that Tacitus encountered. In addition to the literary evidence of an author such as Tacitus or Herodotus, Margaret Hodgen surmised that it would only be natural to think that traders or warriors or missionaries who had travelled to foreign lands would recount their encounters with other cultures back to their local communities when they returned. 'Few village communities, princely courts, or aggregations of learned men could have been wholly or permanently isolated [...] from information concerning the lives and habits of faraway contributors to European convenience and luxury'.¹⁴²

In the medieval period, travellers and missionaries produced accounts of alien cultures. In the centuries prior to the early modern period, aspects of ethnography could be seen in accounts of authors such as the *Travels of Marco Polo* (1298). Joan-Pau Rubiés believes that works such as Polo's show evidence of an emerging ethnographic paradigm to travel writing of the late medieval period. This paradigm did not make ethnography an independent genre in its own right, but rather as being contained in types of literature as wide ranging as geographical literature, ambassadorial reports, missions and pilgrimages.¹⁴³ However, Polo's book combined fact with

¹⁴¹Greg Woolf, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West* (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), p.9.

¹⁴²Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, p.79.

¹⁴³Joan-Pau Rubiés, "The Emergence of a Naturalistic and Ethnographic Paradigm in Late Medieval Travel Writing", in Joan-Pau Rubiés (ed.), *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p.45.

fiction – ‘The book [Polo’s] [...] was a combination of pure ethnography and historical or legendary material based on hearsay’.¹⁴⁴ Polo’s mixture of his own observation and falsehood was typical of ethnography in this late medieval period, and works such as the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (c.1371) showed that one could comment on far away cultures without ever experiencing them first hand. John Mandeville was an English knight who existed only in the mind of the abbot of the abbey of St Omer, Jean le Long, and whose travels were largely based on the mission of Odoric of Pordenone, a Franciscan who conducted a mission to India in 1330.¹⁴⁵ The entirely stationary *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* are a prime example of how, at the beginning of the early modern period, ethnography was a genre as associated with imagination and creation as much as it was with empirical experience.

As well as documenting Jews and Judaism, Christian authors also studied Islam and different Muslim societies. There had been medieval travel reports of the eastern Mediterranean, mainly through pilgrimages and crusader accounts. These often used the denomination of ‘Saracen’, ‘Moor’ or ‘Turk’ to describe every race they met on their travels, describing ‘Mahommedism’¹⁴⁶ as a sect rather than a religion in its own right. Indeed, the denomination of ‘Turk’ precedes the Ottomans, dating back to the First Crusade of the late eleventh century when it was a ‘catchall’ identity for all who lived in the East.¹⁴⁷ Daniel Vitkus has written of how popular Christian views of Islam and Muslims were blurred between fact and fiction in the medieval period, with ‘tales of Christian knights and crusaders who vanquished sinister Islamic foes’, while a tiny portion of learned Christian population studied Islamic society and theology.¹⁴⁸ Just as there was the trope of the ‘imagined’ perfidious, greedy Jew in medieval Christianity, Ottoman Turks were ‘very

¹⁴⁴Ibid. p.49.

¹⁴⁵Ibid. p.53.

¹⁴⁶The term ‘Islam’ was not used until 1613 in England, and 1687 in France. David R. Blanks, ‘Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches’ in David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (eds.), *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1999), p.14. Almut Höfert describes how the term ‘Turk’ within the dynamics of *Türkengefahr* was a catch-all for all those who believed in the Mahomedan sect. *Den Feind beschreiben*, p.180.

¹⁴⁷Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.47.

¹⁴⁸Daniel J. Vitkus, Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century Europe. In Blanks and Frassetto (eds) *Western Views*, p.208.

consciously constructed' to be depicted as senselessly violent Orientals that could be juxtaposed to the chivalrous Christian knight.¹⁴⁹ A prime example of Christian medieval writing about Muslims came from Vincent de Beauvais (1200-1264) and his *Speculum Maius*, within which twenty-nine chapters were devoted to 'the sect of Mohammed', and included information on the prophet's life, and the manners of the followers of the religion he constructed.¹⁵⁰ Even the most basic concepts of Islam were misunderstood, whether deliberately or accidentally, by Christian medieval writers. For example, it was widely reported that Muslims were polytheists or idol worshippers. Such beliefs can be found into the thirteenth and fourteenth century writings on mendicant orders, who rarely differentiated Muslims from general category of 'heathen'. In *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (c.1240), Alexander von Bremen described Mohammed as a dog-headed deity, while the fourteenth century *Marienleben*, authored by Wernher der Schweizer, depicted Muslims as worshippers of Gods of sea and land.¹⁵¹ The early fifteenth century writings of Hans Schiltberger (1380-c.1440) demonstrate clearly how the 'Turk' was described as a scion of the heathens rather than being a codified, established religion.¹⁵² By the late fifteenth century, attitudes in Christian writings on the Ottomans and Islam began to be based on empirical evidence. Accounts such as those *Tractatus de moribus...* written by Georg von Ungarn in 1480 even broadcasted a view of Islam as a sophisticated monotheistic culture from which Christians could learn, and that the Sultan himself may well be favourable towards Christianity.¹⁵³ The growing superiority of the Ottomans in military and societal terms, as well as their increasing geographic proximity throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, made it impossible for Christian writers to dismiss Islam as a mere sect, unable to be mentioned in the same breath as Christianity.

¹⁴⁹ Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans*, p.46.

¹⁵⁰ Höfert, 'The Order of Things', p.45.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p.23.

¹⁵² Ibid. p.51.

¹⁵³ Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517)* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1967), p.209. The text cited by Schwoebel states that Sultan Mehmed II visited the cloister at Pera, sitting for some time in the choir, watching the ceremonies and mass unfold. Von Ungarn, *Chronica*, p.24. 'Zu Pera ist er yn der Christenn Kirchen gangen/ wie mir die brüder gesagt haben/ und sich yn Chor gesetzt/ zu sehen yr ceremoni und ampt der meß'.

Almut Höfert rightly contends that the coinciding of the invention of printing press in 1454 helped to augment and proliferate the feeling of the ‘Turkish threat’ (*Türkengefahr*¹⁵⁴), was essential to the development of the production of *Turcica*.¹⁵⁵ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that one of the first ever items printing on Gutenberg’s press was a work entitled *Eyn manung der cristenheit wider die durken*, printed on 22nd October 1454. This call to arms against the armies of the Turks was the first of hundreds that would be printed on the Ottoman threat throughout the early modern period.¹⁵⁶ The proliferation of accounts of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was essential to the development of what Höfert terms as, ‘Occidental anthropology’.¹⁵⁷ Central to the idea of the Turkish threat was a distinct sense of Christians’ own inferiority, whether that be militarily or societally, to Islamic civilization.¹⁵⁸ It was a dual threat, with Islam challenging the Christian faith as well as the geo-political threat of Ottoman conquest.¹⁵⁹ While Christian authors of pamphlets on the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period never doubted the rightness of their religious convictions, the question of societal, political and military superiority was very much open to debate. While these different ways of writing about the Turkish threat focused on different aspects to the Turkish threat, one theme is especially prevalent in all kinds of accounts of the Ottomans, namely that much of the ascendancy the Ottomans had enjoyed was down to Christian religious vice, and that only by reforming their own society could Christians then turn outwards and defeat the Turks. This is the main argument, for

¹⁵⁴ *Türkengefahr* as a historiographical concept first appeared in the late nineteenth century in German works. It is not used widely outside of Germany however. Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich (1450-1600)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2003), p.51.

¹⁵⁵ ‘...traditionelle Motive der christliche Heilsgeschichte...gestützt auf das neue Medium her Druckerresse, sich zum mächtigen Diskurs der *Türkengefahr* verdichteten’. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, p.57.

¹⁵⁶ Silke R. Falkner, ‘Perverted Spaces: Boundary Negotiations in Early-Modern *Turcica*’, James R. Hodkinson and Jeff Morrison (eds) *Encounters with Islam in German literature and culture* (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2009), p.57.

¹⁵⁷ Höfert, ‘The Order of Things’, p.40.

¹⁵⁸ Blanks, ‘Western Views on Islam’, p.14.

¹⁵⁹ Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.72.

example, of the 1522 anonymous pamphlet *Türcken biechlin*, reprinted seven times throughout the early modern period.¹⁶⁰

USING THE TERM 'ETHNOGRAPHY' WHEN DISCUSSING THE CONVERT ACCOUNTS OF THE CONVERTED JEWISH AUTHORS

Converted Jewish ethnography does not neatly slot into all the discourses surrounding the development of other types of ethnography in the early modern period. It has already been shown how travel, so important to most early modern ethnographies, was not a foundation of ethnographies of Judaism, and how, conversely, conversion was an essential aspect in their creation, whereas ethnographies of other societies rarely featured authors who had converted to Christianity. The following section will demonstrate how the converted Jewish authors' works are atypical early modern ethnographies, but how that should not disqualify them from being referred to as such.

As Europeans began to observe foreign cultures with their own eyes, alongside a willingness to challenge the intellectual monopoly of the church, so their ability and tendency to write about foreign cultures with ethnographic accuracy increased. Within the historiographical discourse of early modern ethnography, this notion has been developed in the last fifty years. Margaret Hodgen identified first-hand observation as a sharpening of curiosity, while Rubiés identified it with the increase in the value of empiricism, and Peter Burke has articulated it as messy compromises that resulted in cultural translation. Yaakov Deutsch has written that 'ethnographic writing attests to the rising importance, particularly from the sixteenth century on, of observation in European

¹⁶⁰ John Bohnstedt, 'Infidel Scourge of God, the Turkish Menace as seen by German pamphleteers of the Reformation era', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (58, 9, 1968), p.11.

society'.¹⁶¹ It is these qualities of observation and curiosity which began to give ethnography the characteristics which would transform it from a medieval genre of first-hand experience mixed with legend into the more systematic field it would become. This new trend for observation and the encouragement of curiosity was born out of the rise of Humanism in Renaissance Europe. Humanism encouraged learned and inquisitive Europeans to question the world around them, revisit the works of antiquity and to use rationality and reasoning to explain differences in human cultures. This began to erode the hold the medieval church had had on knowledge, writing and administration, and transformed curiosity from something sinful into something worthy.¹⁶² In terms of dealing with Jews, the medieval attitude espoused by French king Louis IX (1226-1270) deemed that a blind faith was a better strategy in dealing with Jews, rather than engaging in a dialogue with them. Louis' seneschal and aide Jean de Joinville (1224-1317) wrote in his memoirs of the King's outlook on Jews: "I therefore tell you", continued the King, "that no one, however learned or perfect a theologian he may be, ought to dispute with the Jews; but the layman, whenever he hears the Christian faith condemned, should defend it, not by words, but with a sharp edged sword".¹⁶³ Only at the beginning of the early modern period, did this mistrust of curiosity and learning begin to be transformed by more independently minded scholars such as Erasmus, allowing the development of social research in early modern Europe.¹⁶⁴ The problem with applying this line of argumentation to the works of the converted authors is that they (von Carben and Pfefferkorn in particular) were representatives of a Dominican order which was directly in opposition to the humanists who pioneered this new, curious approach to social research. This is most clearly shown by the book burning controversy of 1509, in which Pfefferkorn and von Carben, siding with the Dominicans, wished to burn Jewish books, while the humanists, represented by Johannes Reuchlin, wished to keep them, in order to study them so the Jews could be defeated using their own scripture, and simultaneously, Christian understanding of their own

¹⁶¹Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.7.

¹⁶²Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, p.43.

¹⁶³Jean de Joinville, *Memoirs of John Lord of Joinville, volume 1*, trans. by Thomas Johnes (Hafod Press, 1806), p.102.

¹⁶⁴Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, p.49.

religion could be enriched.¹⁶⁵ The Dominican approach, endorsed by von Carben and Pfefferkorn, was to burn Jewish books in order to eliminate them and bring the Jews to the Christian faith, a suppression of curiosity and imposition of uniformity. This is a factor which must be accounted for when describing the works of the converted Jews as ethnographic in nature – one of the key shifts in the early modern period, the transformation of curiosity from a negative quashed by the church into a positive encouraged by secular thinkers – was in opposition to the standpoint of von Carben and Pfefferkorn, who did not see the new tendency for empiricism and curiosity in a positive light when it came to the question of the Jews.

Another factor which differentiates the ethnography of the Jews from other facets of early modern ethnography is the issue of travel. Due to the geographical space between Europe and all the other societies which were the subject of ethnographies, movement became a central pillar of early modern ethnography, an issue which marks converted Jewish ethnography out as being significantly different to other early modern ethnographies. Despite writing accounts of a society existing within instead of outside of the Christian world, the converts still had to make journeys of their own, namely journeys through faith to arrive at a position where they could make observations of Judaism for a Christian readership. As mentioned previously, the quintessential Christian conversion story, that of Paul, took place while travelling to Damascus, and the concepts of conversion and movement are, in my opinion, closely linked in the converted Jewish ethnographies. Movement into Christian institutions, whether it was the Dominican order of Cologne for von Carben and Pfefferkorn, or the universities in which Margaritha worked as a Hebrew teacher after his conversion, were essential in allowing the convert authors to be able to frame their works in a fashion that Christians would understand. Additionally, despite the Jews having a close geographical proximity to Christians, their way of life remained somewhat of a mystery in the Christian imagination. Avner Shamir has written on how, in early modern Germany, the ‘actual Jew’ was a rare phenomenon, while the ‘imagined Jew’, the vicious money-lending,

¹⁶⁵Erika Rummel, ‘Humanists, Jews and Judaism’ Dean Philip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (eds.), *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p.11.

perfidious Jew who blasphemed Christ, was an important part of Christian imagination.¹⁶⁶ Numbers of Jews were minuscule in early modern Germany: the Jewish community of Frankfurt, at the time Pfefferkorn arrived to confiscate their books in 1509, numbered no more than two hundred and fifty subjects, and was one of the largest in the Empire.¹⁶⁷ In fact, expulsions from territories throughout the Holy Roman Empire had caused a shift of the hub of Ashkenazic Jewish literary and cultural life from Germany to Poland during the Reformation era.¹⁶⁸ Although Jews and Christians had co-habited the same lands for centuries, a vast majority of Christians in Germany had next to no idea of how Jews really lived, relying instead on established stereotypes for their views on Jews. The distance between the real and imagined Jew was one which the converted Jewish authors regularly inserted themselves. For example, within his first publication *Der Juden Spiegel*, Pfefferkorn played up to the stereotype of all Jews being greedy usurers who bribed vulnerable Christians, while at the same time denying that Jewish men menstruated.¹⁶⁹ Hsia began to address the problem in describing the works of the converted Jewish authors as 'inner ethnographies', which he contrasted to the 'outer ethnographies', which were the European accounts of extra-European cultures, a terminology which allows ethnographies to exist independent of travel.¹⁷⁰ Due to this position between the real and imagined Jews, societal rather than geographical distance was maintained in the minds of those who read the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha. While the converted Jewish authors did not have to travel far to find their subjects, there was an extensive bank of extant erroneous information on the Jews. This meant that the Jews' proximity to Christians did not translate directly into more accurate knowledge of Jewish culture than a culture that was on a different continent, making an ethnographic approach to Jews and Judaism a suitable one. Travel was an important aspect to the

¹⁶⁶Shamir, *Christian conceptions*, p.9.

¹⁶⁷Ibid. p.37.

¹⁶⁸Jay Berkovitz, 'Jewish Law and Ritual in Early Modern Germany', in Bell and Burnett (eds.), *Jews, Judaism*, p.481.

¹⁶⁹Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.77-81, p.93.

¹⁷⁰Hsia, 'Christian Ethnographies', p.226.

converted Jewish authors' works, just in a way that was different to most other early modern ethnographies.

The converts who wrote accounts of the Jews may not have had to travel far geographically, but their work still represented a journey into the unknown for the largely ignorant Christian reader. Like those authors of ethnographies who had to travel long distances to reach their subjects, the converts recognised the need to make their accounts of Jewish life compatible with their intended readership. All authors of ethnographic texts in the early modern period were obliged to do this, if they wanted their work to be understood and accepted by Christians.¹⁷¹ In one of countless examples of this, Margaritha wrote of a Jewish festival which took place between Easter and Pentecost, irrelevant in the Jewish society he was ostensibly describing but an aid to Christian reader.¹⁷² This strategy of comparison to aid the understanding of reader saturates sixteenth century ethnographic works. Duarte Barbosa wrote in 1518 how the people of Narsinga on the Indian subcontinent 'marry in our manner', from the king to the country-folk, despite the practice of polygamy in Narsingan society, which could not be more different than emphasis placed on the sanctity of monogamous marriage in Christendom.¹⁷³ Furthermore, the Hindu gods of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva were often translated into the Christian Trinity to aid Christian understanding.¹⁷⁴ On the other side of the world on the Yucatán peninsula in modern day Mexico, Franciscan friar Diego de Landa (1524-1579) described in the 1560s how the native population 'had a very great number of idols and of temples, which were magnificent in their own fashion', comparing the city of Chichen Itza to Rome and Jerusalem, helping the reader form an understanding of the importance of the site to the Mayans.¹⁷⁵ These examples from early modern ethnographies show a commonality between the works of the converted Jewish authors and accounts of other peoples.

¹⁷¹Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, p.4.

¹⁷²Anthonius Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* (Augsburg: 1530), fol. 15r.

¹⁷³Barbosa, *Description of the Coasts*, p.87.

¹⁷⁴Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p.221.

¹⁷⁵Diego Landa, *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*, trans. by Alfred M. Tozzer (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1941), p.108.

All early modern ethnographies described the non-Christian, non-European societies into Christian, European terms in order to be understood.

An additional difference the early converts' literature has with other more widely accepted ethnographic style works of the period is the level of experience the converted Jews had of their subject matter. Unlike Christians who travelled to the new worlds to observe new cultures with Christian eyes, von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha were in a different position whereby they had lived lives as Jews. If curiosity was a core driver of ethnography in the early modern period, then neither it, nor a spirit of exploration can be cited as a reason for the converts' desire to write about Jews, as they already had experience of Judaism, and they did not need to travel to write their accounts of Jews. The converted Jewish authors placed great importance on the depth of their knowledge of their subject matter, as contemporaries of Pfefferkorn cited his knowledge of Hebrew and the Talmud as giving his pamphlets on Judaism 'special status', with a level of information that could not be acquired elsewhere.¹⁷⁶ But the converts' valuable 'ethnographic' skill of having knowledge of the native language of their subject society was acquired not through a learned experience but from their earlier lives as Jews. Conversely, the depth with which sixteenth century ethnographers studied their topic became a hallmark of quality for ethnographers of non-European societies, with learning a language and culture put in a position of great importance.¹⁷⁷ This is best demonstrated in works of the first decades of Spanish settlement in the Americas, great emphasis was placed on interpreters who claimed to be able to conduct complex negotiations with Amerindians. Although Bartolomé de las Casas (1484-1566) derided their skills, saying they were limited to 'gimme bread' or 'take this, gimme that' in this early period of first contact.¹⁷⁸ This requirement to understand alien cultures had developed from Las Casas' time and is typified by the approach of de Landa, who operated as a missionary in the Yucatán province of what had become the Spanish Empire by the mid-sixteenth century. His exhaustive anthropology

¹⁷⁶Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, p.33. Despite these claims, we will see in chapter three how Pfefferkorn's claims to be authoritative on the Talmud and Jewish scripture were rather shaky.

¹⁷⁷Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p.207.

¹⁷⁸Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p.95.

of the Mayan civilization, *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatán* (1566) was evidence that de Landa had devoted much time to missionizing and understanding the native culture, with a strong emphasis on recording the religious structure and ritual performances of the native Mayans. He noted how he and the other friars of the Yucatán 'had learned to read and write the language of the Indians'.¹⁷⁹ De Landa further described how the Mayan language did not use as many letters as European languages, even going as far as to describe the sounds and different movements of the mouth required to enunciate different words.¹⁸⁰ Landa's feat of learning the language and engaging in Mayan culture was not through overriding respect or desire to inform Europeans of linguistic differences. Rather it was indicative of the overall mind-set behind the European drive to understand and learn about new cultures in the early modern period in order to dominate them: the need to prove European culture, and particularly European religion, as superior to the new ways of living encountered in the Americas. It is well documented that although de Landa expended considerable effort in learning the language of the native population of the Yucatán and observed their religious and social makeup, he also was the driving force behind a zealous Inquisition in the province in the 1560s. This Inquisition began in the Yucatán town of Maní, after de Landa had found evidence of idolatry among the newly baptized populace. De Landa took advantage of the newly appointed Bishop of Yucatán, Francisco Toral (1502-1571), being absent from his post and went beyond his remit as a Franciscan friar to rapidly transform a case of local idolatry into an Inquisition which encompassed all of Mayan society, burning books and torturing numbers of people that potentially reached the thousands.¹⁸¹ De Landa's case is an example of how penetration into a rival culture was perceived as being able to help undermine it, and help to establish the superiority of the Christian faith over any potential rivals. Landa's tendencies were the same as the converted Jewish authors: in order to assert the superiority of Christendom, it is necessary to understand the ways of other cultures, peoples, or societies.

¹⁷⁹Landa, *Relacion*, p.74.

¹⁸⁰Ibid. p.74.

¹⁸¹David E. Timmer, 'Providence and Perdition: Fray Diego de Landa Justifies His Inquisition against the Yucatecan Maya', *Church History*, 66, 3 (1997), p.478.

The works of the converted Jewish authors are far from typical examples of early modern ethnographies. Early modern ethnography was a varied and uncodified subject in the first half of the sixteenth century, with the extra-European regions of the world being targeted by ethnographers for several reasons and with different approaches. It would be fascinating to incorporate and compare other ethnographic accounts into this thesis, particularly Christian accounts of Muslim or Central American societies. A potential point of departure for this kind of study could be into how the role of mendicant orders influenced the different ethnographies. In addition, reading the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha as conversion narratives first and ethnographies second could allow a fascinating comparison between them and the accounts of Christians taken captive by the Ottomans. However, those types of comparisons are too ambitious and disparate for this work, as I wish to retain a sharp focus on the bodies of work of just three authors. It is to those works that this project will now turn.

CHAPTER TWO: VICTOR VON CARBEN

VICTOR VON CARBEN'S LIFE

Victor von Carben was born in 1422 or early 1423 and led a remarkably long life, dying on 2nd February 1515. His birthplace is unclear, but it is clear that the village of Karben, a few hours walk north of Frankfurt-am-Main, played a role in his life important enough for him to known as of Victor of the village of Karben. The fact that von Carben lived into his tenth decade has been questioned, but the extensive research undertaken by Maria Diemling and Carola Werhahn has uncovered evidence that increases the probability of Victor having lived into his nineties. The span of his life is literally set in stone – his gravestone in the church of Gross St. Martin in Cologne states his death as 2nd February 1515, and that he lived for ninety-two years.¹⁸² A handful of other dates in Victor's life can be discerned from his own accounts. Von Carben himself states in the first pages of *Juden Büchlein* that in order to convert to Christianity he had to leave his wife and three children and entire family and friends behind, comparing himself to Abraham, leaving the land of Judaism and his old way of living into the new Christian faith.¹⁸³ He also remarks on his Jewish life as a rabbi,

'born a Jew, for many years a Jewish rabbi, day and night industriously teaching and learning to protect those of my [previous] unfounded faith, to push against the teachings of Christ, and found in such fundamental obstinate disbelief, until the age of fifty'.¹⁸⁴

This would place von Carben's date of conversion around 1472. His children and self-described long stint as a rabbi underline his experience and length of time in the Jewish faith.

¹⁸² Werhahn, *Die Stiftung*, p.29.

¹⁸³ Von Carben, *Jüden Buchlein*, fol. 3v. 'nachgefölget translation? mein weib mit dreyen kinden/ brüder/ schwester/ und ander meine freunde/ sampt aller meiner narung übergeben und verlassen hab/ bin gleicher weiß wie Abraham.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 'ein Jud geborn/ läge jar Rabi in der Judischeyt geweßt/ auch tag und nacht möglichs fleiß in embsiger lere und studierung den selben meinen ungründten glauben zübeschirmen/Die lere Christi zü widertreiben/ gestanden/ und in solichem ursetzigen hartneckendē unglauben/ biß zü dem alter seiner l. jar veraltet ist/befunden'.

From a paper trail of his actions as a Christian, more concrete facts of von Carben's later life can be discerned. The Frankfurt Jewry were noted as against him in July and December 1477, which would heighten the probability of von Carben being converted by this point.¹⁸⁵ By 16th August 1486 von Carben had definitively moved into his new faith, as he enrolled in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Cologne, described upon his enrolment as *mittellos*, or destitute.¹⁸⁶ This lack of material gain from converting is something von Carben was keen to stress in the introductory pages of his book, where he complained that although a convert may well expect a honeymoon period of eight, nine or ten days where Christians supported a new convert, afterwards he was mocked and despised.¹⁸⁷ The path to financial and social betterment through conversion was often a dead end throughout the early modern period.¹⁸⁸ Whether von Carben remained as destitute when he wrote his complaint in *Juden Büchlein* as he was when enrolling at the theology faculty in 1486 is doubtful, as he gained powerful patrons. Diemling and Werhahn have noted that the records of the Cologne *Rat* show von Carben as being financially supported to the tune of twenty marks annually after his conversion, which was increased to forty in due course. Additional to this, in later years he received a stipend from Abbey of St Goar in Marburg, which he received through his position as an employee of the Landgrave of Hesse.¹⁸⁹ Von Carben, like his contemporary converted Jew colleague Pfefferkorn, did not lack for contacts in society's upper echelons. As well as having local nobility as patrons, on 15th October 1487 Von Carben appealed directly to Emperor Maximilian I for further money for his cause, although he was unsuccessful on this occasion.¹⁹⁰ From this it can be regarded as certain that von Carben had converted by 1486 when he joined the theology faculty, and highly probable that he had done so before 1477 when he angered the Jewish population of Frankfurt, and most likely in 1472/3

¹⁸⁵ Werhahn, *Die Stiftung*, p.37.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p.38.

¹⁸⁷ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 7r. 'also sey es auch mit einem newgetauften Juden in den ersten viii. neun oder zehn tagen/ nach der tauff so werde ihm von yederman gegeben und geholfen/ aber nach der zeyt werde er von maniglich wie dann vorgesagt ist verachtet und verspottet'.

¹⁸⁸ Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom*, p.257.

¹⁸⁹ Werhahn, *Die Stiftung*, p.42.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p.42.

around his fiftieth birthday. Von Carben's own omission of the crucial facts and dates surrounding his baptism mean an exact date cannot be established, but Diemling and Werhahn's assertion of a conversion date between 1465 and 1477 is the most precise judgement available. This meant that a period of at least thirty years had passed before von Carben put his thoughts on Judaism into print – as his first works were published in 1508.

Von Carben credited direct divine inspiration for his conversion and for persuading him to leave his Jewish life and family to follow the Christian faith. In his account, there is no evidence of a slow shift away from Judaism towards Christianity, but rather a short, sharp, life-changing shock that inspired his conversion. He does not mention a person who baptized him or where and when it was done (this is something common to all three of the converts studied in this thesis), and he credits God directly as giving him the staunchness to continue in his new faith, resulting in the reward of eternal holiness.¹⁹¹ Von Carben allows himself to reflect on his near-unique position as a Jew who converted to Christianity, musing:

'I often think "why do I deserve to be so loved by God, and to be taken into the number of the blessed?" and I cannot find any reason other than that God knows my heart better than even I do, that he is a knower of all secret and hidden things'.¹⁹²

While other converts such as Antonius Margaritha credited personal study of scripture as pushing them towards conversion, von Carben's personal conversion narrative was entirely divinely inspired. Von Carben embellishes further the story of how he came to Christianity by citing Paul's experience whilst describing his own conversion, stating that as God had changed Paul's soul, von Carben's had been changed too:

Then at the end, whether one has been good or evil, is hidden and nobody knows. Alone God the almighty in His power fully understands the sinner, how long, deep and hard in sin the sinner is, [whether they can] convert. This is seen most clearly in the Apostle Paul, who chased the Christians from Jerusalem and utterly destroyed and separated the memory of Christ. But it

¹⁹¹ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 3v. 'Gott mein Herr were mir vor solichs zübelonung geben/ vollkommene bestendigkeyt in meinem angefangne Christlichen glauben/ und nach disem ellenden leben/ die freüde ewiger säligkeit'.

¹⁹² Ibid. fol. 4r. 'der halb ich offt gedenck auß was verdiensts mich Gott so sere geliebt/ und in die zal der säligen genommen hab/ aber ich kan nichts finden anderst dann das Gott mein hertz bas dann ich selbst erkennet hab/ dann er ist ein erkener aller heymlicher und verborgner ding'.

pleased God to change his mind, and [Paul's] heart turned to Christ, and he said, "Lord what do you want me to do?" He was now a servant of Him, he who had once hated him. Such a Godly calling is also to me, poor sinner, who began in great sinful error, born a Jew, many years a Rabbi [...]¹⁹³

It is of course possible that a moment of divine inspiration did cause von Carben to switch religions, but it cannot be denied that such a view of his conversion corroborates with many medieval conversion narratives, which tended to prioritize Pauline-style 'events' over slow processes of conversion. A notable example of this in the field of conversions from Judaism to Christianity was the thirteenth century conversion account of Hermann the Jew.¹⁹⁴ By comparing himself to Paul, von Carben achieves two aims desirable for a convert to Christianity. Firstly, he ascribes to himself a heroic role in his own story, that of the figure chosen from the many to be elevated by God. By stressing this personal connection to God, readers could reflect on the rarity of von Carben's case as a medieval convert from Judaism, as well as compare him to one of the apostles. Secondly, by casting himself alongside Paul, the *Juden Büchlein* is attributed with extra authorial heft. Jean-Claude Schmitt has written of how medieval authors would often invoke 'authorities', such as biblical verse and the writings of church fathers, in order to lend credence to their writing. '...les modèles, les arguments, les citations dont ils <<s'autorisent>> pour écrire et dont l'agencement dans leur propre texte constitue souvent l'essentiel de leur stratégie de l'écriture'.¹⁹⁵ By mentioning Paul, von Carben gives Christians a framework through which to understand his own conversion, as well as serving the purpose of legitimizing his writing to his readership.

¹⁹³ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 3r. 'Dann das ende ob bas güt oder bose sein soll/ ist manigklich verborgen unnd nyemandt wisszlich/ alleyn Gott dem almechtigen in des gewalt und macht gentzlich steht den sunder wie lang tieff und hart der insünden verwickelt geweßt ist/ zü bekeren/ als in vilen und sonderlichen in dem Apostel Paulo gesehen ist/ der von Hierusalem die Christgläubigen züueruolgen und die gedächtnuß Christi gantz aufz züreüten und vertilgen abschide/ aber do es Gott gefiel/ wurdt sein gemüt verendert/ sein hertz zü Christo gewendet/ und sprach/ Herre was wiltu das ich thū/ warde also ein diener des/ den er hertzlich gehasset het. Sollich sein Göttlich berüffung ist auch an mir armen sunder/ der in grossem sündigem jrrthumb entpfangen/ ein Jud geborn [...]'

¹⁹⁴ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.91.

¹⁹⁵ Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La Conversion d'Hermann le Juif: Autobiographie, histoire et fiction* (Editions du Seuil, 2003), p.63.

THE JUDEN BUCHLEIN

The main point of departure for studying von Carben has been his publication, originally made in 1508, named *Dem durchleutigsten hochgeborenen fürsten und herren Ludwig Phaltzgrauen bey Rein Hertzoge in Obren und Nidern Bayern*, printed by Heinrich Quentell in Cologne. A later printing from 1550 abridged this unwieldy title to the easier to handle *Juden Büchlein*. This latter title is the version that will be relied upon throughout this thesis.¹⁹⁶ Compared to the 1508 original, the 1550 version shows no changes in terms of content. The 1550 version stated that it was 'corrected and improved'.¹⁹⁷ A title page was added, which is fascinating in that it makes no mention of the information on Jewish way of life von Carben revealed in the book. Instead, the 1550 title page states that the reader can learn of how von Carben converted, and also how an excellent disputation between learned Christians and Jews can be found, 'within which all the errors of the Jews will be undone through their own writings'.¹⁹⁸ Despite the ethnographic information not being deemed important in 1550, von Carben's work has received attention, particularly from German historiography but increasingly from Anglophone authors too, due to its ethnographic qualities, which uncovers aspects of Jewish daily life ranging from Jewish marriage and divorce to food preparation laws and items of clothing. This part of *Juden Büchlein* is in fact the first part of a tripartite work; the first of which is on the customs of the Jews and runs to twenty-eight chapters totalling around eighty pages in length. As well as containing the ethnographic information on the Jews which has garnered so much attention from modern

¹⁹⁶ The primary reason for using the 1550 version is its availability in microfiche and digitized forms, allowing unrestricted access to the document. Described as a typographically and orthographically updated edition of the 1508 [original] version'. The editor of this text was anonymous, but added Michael Kramer's *Unterrednung vom Glauben* as an appendix, which was first published in 1522. Diemling, 'Patronage, Representation', p.173.

¹⁹⁷ *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 1r. 'Auffs new corrigiert und gebessert'. The corrections and improvements are nearly exclusively limited to small changes in language.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. 'Hyerinne würt gelesen/ Wie herr Victor von Carben/ welcher ein Rabi der Juden geweßt ist/ zu Christlichem glaubem kommen. Weiter findet man darinnen ein köstliche disputatz eines gelerten Christen/ und eins gelerten Juden/ darinne alle jrthumb der Juden durch jr eygen schriftt auffgelößt werden.'

scholars, the first part of the *Juden Büchlein* also acts as von Carben's platform to describe and justify his conversion.

The second part (or 'dans andere Buch' as described by von Carben) of *Juden Büchlein* is of a disputation between a learned Christian and Jew, in which von Carben casts himself as an arbitrator between the two adversaries, runs to nineteen chapters also of around eighty pages, a similar length to the first part of the work. Disputations of this nature, in which converted Jews were used to bolster Christian inquiries into Judaism, had a history dating back to the turn of the twelfth century and polemicists such as Gilbert Crispin, author of *Disputatio Iudaei et Christiani* (c.1096) and Jewish convert Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialoga contra Iudeos* (1108-10). Within this latter work, the converted Christian Alfonsi debates his former Jewish self, convincing 'himself' to convert to Christianity.¹⁹⁹ It is probable that the disputation presented within *Juden Büchlein* was based on an actual disputation that von Carben himself had conducted at Poppelsdorf, now a suburb of Bonn, at the end of the fifteenth century. Selma Stern noted how von Carben, in the presence of Hermann, the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne (reigned 1480-1508) had conducted a heavily polemicized debate with the most learned rabbis of the Rhineland.²⁰⁰ One of von Carben's central attacks against the Jews was that their continuing unbelief was caused by their devotion to the Talmud, a common theme for any disputer wishing to attack Judaism in the late middle ages.²⁰¹ Von Carben himself does not explicitly state that the model disputation that forms the second part of *Juden Büchlein* is based on his own experiences, however he does insert himself into the disputation by specifying who was speaking at the start of each of the nineteen chapters of the disputation. '*Der Jud*' or '*Judeus*' argues against '*Der Christ*' or '*Christianus*', and two chapters

¹⁹⁹ Kathleen Biddick, *The Typological Imaginary: Circumcision, Technology, History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p.67.

²⁰⁰ Selma Stern, *Josel von Rosheim: Befehlshaber der Judenschaft im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (Gotthold Müller Verlag: München, 1959), p.87.

²⁰¹ Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, p.40. It must be noted here that neither Stern nor Gilman cite von Carben directly. Von Carben's own account of the disputation is highly stylized, with himself cast in the starring role as an refuter of Jews and educator of Christians. However, it is likely that von Carben would have been a useful asset to the Christian cause in disputes, and his later role as a giver of *Gutachten* (recommendations) during the Jewish book burning controversy of 1509 would suggest that he would have had personal experience sharing platforms with Jews throughout his Christian life.

are headed by a third character 'Victor'. In my opinion, the addition of 'Victor' reinforces the notion that von Carben was recounting a disputation he himself took part in, as one of a team of Christian disputers arguing against *der Jud*. While 'Victor' the third character in the debate, is the author Victor von Carben, it must be stressed that 'Victor' the character is subtly different to von Carben the author. Von Carben the author occasionally appears in the disputation section of the *Juden Büchlein* as '*unterredner*', a kind of editorial role. The function of von Carben the author in his role of *unterredner* was to add Hebrew translations for the reader and to supply additional information to the chapters in which 'der Christ' was speaking. Von Carben employed the *unterredner* role for example in a passage in which the Christian cites Psalm 67. The *unterredner* adds, 'The Jews [have] total fear for this text, and fear he who was born of Mary'.²⁰² Conversely, the function of 'Victor' the protagonist in the disputation was to interject and challenge the Jew. The *unterredner* appears only in chapters in which the Christian voice is heard, and 'Victor' appears only when the Jew is speaking, or as a voice of a chapter in its own right. Elisheva Carlebach wrote of how converts were 'mediators' between cultures in sixteenth century Germany.²⁰³ While 'Victor' was certainly not an objective voice, he acted as a link between the Christian and the Jew, and by always attacking the Jew, reconfirmed Christian conceptions of their own cultural superiority.

The fourth chapter of the disputation, entitled 'how it is said by the Christian that the Jews rather live under Christians than other peoples',²⁰⁴ is in the voice of the protagonist 'Victor'. In these chapters, 'Victor' addresses Jews in a direct manner, 'I know that you Jews much rather live among Christians than under heathens or other people'.²⁰⁵ The sixteenth chapter is the second 'Victor' chapter in the disputation which compares Jewish belief in their messiah to the beliefs of simple minded Christians who believe in comets and stars as bad omens.²⁰⁶ While in both chapters the

²⁰² Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 62v. 'Dem Juden greüwelt übel vor disem Text/ und fürchten/ er wer auff Maria gezogen'.

²⁰³ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.47.

²⁰⁴ Von Carben, *Juden Büchein*, fol. 49v. 'Würt durch den Christen gesagt wie die Juden lieber under den Christen dann anderen völckern wone'.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. fol. 49v. 'ich weiß wol das jhr Juden vil lieber bei den Christen dann under den heyden/oder ander menschen wonet'.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. fol. 75r. 'Wie sich diezeit unnd hoffnung jhrs Messias halb/ gantz geendet hab/strafft darneben die einfeltigen Christen/ die glauben das die Cometen oder andre stern zü bosen noten'

voice of Victor is negative towards the Jews, it is noteworthy that in one case, Victor's voice is employed to confirm a Christian belief about Jews, namely that they would rather live under Christians than other peoples, and in the other, Victor is employed to make a comparison between Jews and (simple-minded) Christians. By positioning the character Victor as having experience of both Christians and Jews, von Carben highlights just how useful converts could be in disputation against the Jews. 'Der Christ' can only argue from the Christian perspective whereas the converted Victor has experienced both sides of the argument, and can confirm that the Christian way of thinking is correct: that Jews really do prefer to live under Christians over any other people. From his unique position of having experience of both groups, Victor can also confirm that the Jewish belief in their messiah is as silly as Christians who see portents in the sky. Victor, a convert, adds something new to the Christian attack on Jews, and therefore shows the intrinsic worth of the convert. In addition to these chapters, there are further interjections from Victor within chapters in which the Jew speaks. His interjections immediately refute words spoken by the Jew, and because they are embedded within the Jew's speech, suggest a more spontaneous, argumentative style to the disputation. This conversational style of interruptions and immediate rebuttals adds weight to the notion that the disputation section of the *Juden Büchlein* was inspired by von Carben's own experiences in debating against the Jews.

The third and longest part of *Juden Büchlein* retains the same Christian against Jew oppositional style as the disputation, with further contributions from Victor, but focuses more specifically on the issues of the Trinity and Mary's virginity (*Marie Junckfrawschaft unnd der heyligen Drifaltigkeyt*).²⁰⁷ In 1510 this third section was published in a stand-alone form, *Marienbüchlein*,²⁰⁸ originally in Cologne. Few changes to the text were made although a series of woodcuts were added to embellish it. That his work on Mary and the Trinity was deemed worthy of further publication, not his work on Jewish customs, suggests that von Carben, his benefactors and his

²⁰⁷ Ibid. fol. 85r.

²⁰⁸ The pamphlet's full title is: 'Ain schön und seüberlich Tractat von der edlen rainen und unbeflecten junckfrawschaft Marie der hymelischen künigin/ müter unsers herren jesu Christi/ ain sun des lebendigen gottes/ und auch darneben würt gesagt von seiner göttlichen macht [...]', and is today known as *Marienbüchlein*,

readership felt the Jews' views on Mary and the Trinity were the most noteworthy features of the Jews that lived among them. Unlike the larger *Juden Büchlein*, *Marienbüchlein* was reprinted further afield than the Rhine valley, in Augsburg in 1511 and Paris in the same year.²⁰⁹ As with the writings of Johannes Pfefferkorn, both *Juden Büchlein* and *Marienbüchlein* would be translated into Latin in the months after their original publication in German, by Ortwin Gratius (1475-1542), a fellow Dominican of the University of Cologne in the book burning controversy that began in 1509.²¹⁰ This episode gripped the intellectual classes of Europe, and soon mutated from a debate about the rights of the Frankfurt Jewry to keep their books into a wider argument pitting the Dominican order and their scholastic colleagues within the theology faculty at the University of Cologne against a group of humanist scholars whose champion was the doctor of law and Hebraist, Johannes Reuchlin.²¹¹ Von Carben's role within this controversy²¹² was as an expert employed to provide *Gutachten*, kind of expert reports, on whether the books of the Frankfurt Jews, which had been confiscated by Johannes Pfefferkorn on 28th September 1509, should be burned or returned.²¹³ Von Carben's recommendation has been lost, but it is safe to assume that he offered similar opinions of his colleagues, the university theologians from Cologne, as well as scholars of Mainz, Erfurt and Heidelberg, none of whom recommended the books by reinstated to the Jews.²¹⁴ Such a recommendation would have put von Carben very much in the pro-Pfefferkorn camp, which Reuchlin and the humanists opposed. Presumably von Carben's wealth of experience in Christian-Jewish disputes, and his publication of *Juden Büchlein* were judged to make him suitable for such a role.

By analysing the second the third section of *Juden Büchlein*, it appears that although modern historiography chooses to focus the spotlight on the ethnographic features of von Carben's work,

²⁰⁹ Werhahn, *Die Stiftung*, p.55.

²¹⁰ The Latin work's title was, *Opus aureum ac novum et a doctis viris diu expectatum dni Victoris de Carben...* (Köln: Heinrich von Neuß, 1509).

²¹¹ Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, p.48.

²¹² This controversy will be analysed in greater depth in the following chapter on Johannes Pfefferkorn.

²¹³ "Reports on the Confiscation of Jewish books from Frankfurt, 1509" in Erika Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin*, p.128.

²¹⁴ Avner Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.8.

its original author and readers' primary focus was elsewhere, prioritizing the more traditional themes of anti-Judaism over the newer ethnographic style first section. It has already been shown how the title page of the 1550 version of von Carben's work did not mention the inclusion of ethnographic information on the Jews. Both the *Juden Büchlein* and *Marienbüchlein* were originally published in Cologne. Cologne by the year 1500 had become a centre for conservative theological publishing, which favoured publishing works of the authors of antiquity and church fathers such as St Augustine, as well as more contemporary theologians from Cologne's hinterland areas of the Rhine valley and the Low Countries, and it would continue to be a bulwark of Catholic printing throughout the Reformation period.²¹⁵ Deep seated orthodoxy and conservatism in the print culture of Cologne would have contributed to a text such as *Marienbüchlein* being favoured and republished, as Christians had believed for centuries that blaspheming Mary and questioning her virginity was a key part of the Jewish character.²¹⁶ As well as a societal popularity of Marian themes, von Carben personally held deep seated devotion to Mary. This is evidenced by the extensive research of Carola Maria Werhahn into a collection of sculptures that are still extant in the cathedral in Cologne to this day. These can be divided into two groups, the first representing Mary and the angel Gabriel, the second a wider group of saints and biblical figures, in a series entitled *Große Heilige Familie*. At the base of all these sculptures is the inscription 'victor sacerdos olim judeus' (Victor, priest once a Jew), indicating his patronage and key role in financing the works.²¹⁷ These sculptures have been dated to 1505-10, the precise time of the printing of the *Juden Büchlein*, and show that as von Carben approached his nineties, he had not only the financial resources to fund such works of devotional art but that also that Mary was central to his thoughts around the period of *Juden Büchlein*'s publication. It is possible to view such sculptures, alongside his written works, as a desire for von Carben to leave a legacy, the clear inscription 'victor sacerdos olim judeus' on his sculptures, his miraculous account of his own conversion and insertion of a

²¹⁵ Werhahn, *Die Stiftung*, p.50.

²¹⁶ William C. Jordan, 'Marian Devotion and the Talmud Trial of 1240' in Bernard Lewis and Friedrich Niewöhner (eds.), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), p.64.

²¹⁷ Werhahn, *Die Stiftung*, p.1.

separate ‘Victor’ character throughout the disputational sections of *Juden Büchlein* do suggest a man wishing to leave his mark for posterity. The re-publication of the *Marienbüchlein* and the prevalence of the Virgin in the sculptures marked with his name show how she was at the centre of that legacy.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS OF THE JUDEN BUCHLEIN

Although it was the least feted at the time of its publication, the first, ‘ethnographic’ part of the *Juden Büchlein* is what attracts the most attention now. Such a style is so noteworthy because it was new in Christian-Jewish discourse – along with the work of his direct contemporary Pfefferkorn – the *Juden Büchlein* was the first of its kind. Yaakov Deutsch has described von Carben as a ‘link between the medieval Dominican tradition and the new trends that were evinced in, among other platforms, the ethnographic writing of the early modern period’.²¹⁸ While wholeheartedly agreeing with this statement which puts the work of the early converts from Judaism in between two eras, I believe it is essential to fully explain the relative insignificance of the role that the ethnographic elements of *Juden Büchlein* had in its composition. We have already seen how the second and third parts of the work anchored von Carben and his work inextricably to the medieval Dominican tradition of Jewish writing. Now I wish to demonstrate, through a close reading of the first portion of the book, how we are able to see how the *Juden Büchlein* is concerned almost entirely with broadcasting medieval anti-Jewish polemic, even in the chapters which most explicitly display ethnographic traits, as well as glorifying the role of the convert, which had the aim of making von Carben himself an essential tool in the battle against sixteenth century Judaism.

²¹⁸ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.235.

The twenty-six chapter titles²¹⁹ in the first section of the *Juden Büchlein* are indicative of a systematic, ethnographic style approach to early modern Jewish society. They cover a spectrum of anti-Jewish beliefs, and taking the titles of the chapters as indicative of the content of the chapters (which is not necessarily an entirely accurate method when studying the *Juden Büchlein*, as tangential information occasionally dominates some chapters), nine of the chapters can be seen as explicitly containing ethnographic information. The other seventeen are a combination of chapters which are purely polemical - for example the second chapter - 'how hard and stubborn the Jews are in their faith. Alongside that [how] there is no more vengeful people on earth'.²²⁰ As well as the purely polemical and ethnographic style chapters, there are also chapters on von Carben's own conversion (chapter one), the abuse newly baptized Jews suffer and wider issues of converted Jews (chapters three, seventeen, nineteen), the history of the Talmud (four) and the problems of Christian-Jewish relations (chapter twenty, twenty-two, twenty-three and twenty-five). At this juncture therefore, it is important to note that although von Carben is known for his ethnographic qualities, they make up less than half of one of three parts of his main publication if one considers the titles of the *Juden Büchlein*'s chapters.

A number of these chapter headings clearly convey a desire to uncover how Jews lived among the Christians. For example, the ninth chapter is entitled, 'How the Jews hold their weddings or bridal ceremonies'.²²¹ The following chapter, 'How the Jews [are] with their food, and wear their clothes'.²²² The fifteenth chapter exposes the Jewish 'new year' celebrations – 'Of a great celebration that the Jews hold, and is named their New year, and how [during the ceremony] they partake in many strange confessions'.²²³ It is in these chapters in which von Carben's previous life

²¹⁹ There are twenty-eight chapters in total in the first part of the book, but chapters four and five are subsumed into chapter three, and as such do not have titles. Von Carben jumps straight from chapter three to six.

²²⁰ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 4r.

²²¹ Ibid, fol. 12r. 'Wie die Juden hochzeit oder Breütlauff halten'

²²² Ibid. fol. 12v. 'Wie sich die Juden mit jrem essen/ und jren Kleydern halten'.

²²³ Ibid. fol. 18v. 'Von einem grossen fest/das die Juden hälte/ und jr New jar genant würt/ und wie sye sich mit vil abenthewrlichen beichten darzü bereyten'. The use of the word 'abenthewrlichen' is in my opinion used to convey a sense of how protracted and different the Jewish confession during the time around Rosh Hashanah was to a Christian confession. Throughout the chapter von Carben stresses the length of the celebration, and focuses on elements of the ceremony which a Christian audience may not

as a Jew come to the fore. He is not afraid to describe Rosh Hashanah as a ‘great, delightful celebration’²²⁴ which, if viewed through the lens of his writing, sounds rather like fun, with horns being blown loudly with great happiness and deliciously cooked chickens eaten after the *Kapparot* ceremony.²²⁵²²⁶ In my opinion, such descriptions hint at a slight nostalgia for a celebration that von Carben took part in for fifty years, and it is in these chapters that von Carben moves furthest away from a medieval anti-Jewish polemical tradition, into something which could be described as ethnographic in style. The importance of the loudness and quality of the horn blow is described by von Carben, and how the most pious Jew will blow it, so long as he has the strength.²²⁷ In these passages scripture is used not as a tool to mock the Jews’ misinterpretation of it, but more as a historical reasoning for why the Jews undertake their ceremonies in such ways. Additionally to the content of chapter fifteen of *Juden Büchlein* having ethnographic qualities, the way von Carben couches Jewish ceremonies in Christian terms was typical of early modern ethnographic texts. This is most explicitly displayed when von Carben, despite naming the Rosh Hashanah ceremony as a New Year celebration, describes it as happening on the first day of the seventh month in the Latin calendar, September, rather than explain the Hebrew calendar.²²⁸ In a more implicit way, von Carben engaged with a mind-set that would dominate early modern ethnography as it developed in later decades. In considering European encounters with New World civilizations, Stephen Greenblatt highlighted that the men from the Old World documenting newly discovered societies had a marked feeling of superiority over the people they were writing about, and also that the writings Europeans produced tell us more today about the author’s own society rather

associate with a sober, contemplative act such as confession - the blowing of the Shofar ram’s horn, throwing their sins to the fish during *Kapparot*, and also how the Jews take their clothes off ‘with pleasure’ (‘heben sye mit freüden jre kleyder uff’, fol. 19r.). In this disapproving sense is the word ‘adventurous’ used, to accentuate the difference, otherness and oddity of Jewish ceremony.

²²⁴ Ibid. fol. 18v. ‘ein groß kostlich fest’.

²²⁵ Ibid. fol. 18v. ‘und uff diß fest seind sye sehr frölich blasen mit einem Horn’.

²²⁶ Ibid. fol. 20r. ‘So würt dann zü herde geschlagē/ und kostlich gekocht nach dem und dann ein yeder vermag’

²²⁷ Ibid. fol. 19r. ‘und diß heylig Horn würt von dem frümbsten Juden (so er die sterck hat zü blasen) geblasen, unnd so er das laut unnd ungeheyser blast/ seindt sye all frölich’.

²²⁸ Ibid. fol. 18v. ‘Welichs sich anfacht uff den ersten tag des sibenden monats/ der von lateynischen September genant würdt’.

than the one ostensibly depicted.²²⁹ This sense of superiority can be seen in von Carben's use of the word 'adventurous' to describe Jewish confession. It can also be seen in how von Carben lingers in describing how the ram's horns, cockerels and fish are used in Jewish ceremony. Chapter fifteen epitomises an ethnographic tendency which broadcasts a feeling of Christian superiority, a feeling that although the Jewish new year celebrations may well be joyous, they are not as religiously sophisticated as Christian ones, that using livestock during a religious ceremony of great importance is fascinating, but not as worthy as a Christian rite. The term 'polemical ethnography' is employed regularly by scholars of the field to describe von Carben's work. His chapter on Rosh Hashanah is an example of how some of von Carben's ethnographic style passages brought with them a set of prejudices which, while similar to the prejudices which medieval anti-Jewish polemic had been demonstrating for centuries, manifested themselves in new ways.

Examples such as the fifteenth chapter of *Juden Büchlein* do show that there is a small pool of examples of what could be termed as ethnographic within the first section of the book. However, these are dwarfed in number and significance by examples which are not ethnographic at all, or at first glance appear to contain the same ethnographic style descriptions, but which are used instead as new ways of repeating older points attacking Judaism from a medieval, Dominican perspective. As well as making old point on how the Talmud was at the heart of all Jewish evil, von Carben's polemic would also make the new point of highlighting how indispensable converted Jews were as a weapon in the assault on Ashkenazi Judaism, and how, instead of besmirching them with curses and discrimination, converts should be glorified and revered. The rest of this chapter will be dedicated towards asserting that von Carben employed elements of an ethnographic style in the *Juden Büchlein* to serve two ends; firstly to echo the thoughts of his Dominican sponsors in Cologne, who believed in the fundamental wrongness of the Talmud, and secondly that converts such as himself had become essential tools of anti-Judaism that were worthy of respect.

²²⁹ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, p.7.

ETHNOGRAPHY USED AS A NEW TOOL OF MARIAN ANTI-JUDAISM

The mendicant orders of St Dominic and St Francis, according to Jeremy Cohen, 'directed and oversaw virtually all the anti-Jewish activities of the Christian clergy in the West' after their foundation in the first decades of the thirteenth century.²³⁰ Twelfth century authors such as Peter the Venerable and the converted Jew Petrus Alfonsi were among the first to raise awareness of the existence of post-biblical Jewish literature, a development which led to the diversification of anti-Jewish polemic in Europe. Following the Christian 'discovery' of rabbinic literature, Christian polemicists could attack Jews and their books on new fronts: firstly that post-biblical Jewish literature was heretical, and secondly that these books actually proved the supremacy of Christian dogma.²³¹ Tasked with the basic aim of going out into the world to missionize the Jews, these anti-Jewish attacks were often manifested through Dominican and Franciscan led disputations in the medieval period, such as the Disputation at Paris in 1240 and the Disputation of Tortosa in 1413. Von Carben's life and work were a continuation of this tradition: in the second part of the *Juden Büchlein* recounted a disputation von Carben took part in himself in the late fifteenth century at Poppelsdorf. Von Carben also placed himself at the centre of exposing the Jews' anti-Marian beliefs to the local liege lord, Archbishop Elector Hermann. Von Carben claims for himself a heroic role in the episode, crediting himself with shaping Hermann's opinion of Jews, but what it also shows is how von Carben wishes to portray the issue of Jewish views on Mary within *Juden Büchlein* as of central importance to the Archbishop Elector, the spiritual and temporal ruler of Cologne.

'One time when I had first come to the Christian faith, his Grace sent for me and had many discussions with me, and from these discussions he [formed an opinion] that the Jews were evil and mischievous.'²³²

Then when referring to the disputation between Christians and Jews at Poppelsdorf:

²³⁰ Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1982), p.13.

²³¹ Funkenstein, 'Basic Types', p.373.

²³² Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 42v. 'Auch sein Gnad auff ein zeit als ich erst zum Christlichem glauben kommen was/ nach mir gesandt/ vil unnd mancherley rede mit mir gehabt/ und uff das er der Juden bößlistig und schalckhaftigen duck ? dester grundtlicher bericht werden mocht'.

'I proved to his princely Grace, and his learned advisors, and all the knights, that I must argue with the same educated Jews: and as I disproved and muted their criminally formed, uneducated and deceitful opinions, using their own Scripture, his princely Grace earnestly asked me what the Jews believed about our blessed Mary the mother of God. I said loudly to his princely Grace, within earshot of the Jews, that I was truly too horrified to say, as I am now too horrified to write it, because it is so shameful and blasphemous'.²³³

Von Carben goes on to say that once the Archbishop Elector did find out about the Jewish belief regarding Mary (during the disputation), Hermann could not suffer the Jews in his lands and they were expelled, and in Brühl, between Cologne and Bonn, the synagogue was replaced with a Franciscan monastery.²³⁴ In this account, von Carben's description of the Archbishop's exceptional reaction to hearing the Jews' beliefs on Mary echoes reports of the disputation in Paris in 1240. Jewish accounts of the Paris disputation noted that Christian reactions to different items of Jewish religion ranged from laughter to disbelief, but the Jews' interpretation of Mary as an adulterer was the only subject that truly angered the Christian accusers.²³⁵ In his report of the Poppelsdorf disputation, von Carben combines two quintessentially Dominican practices; the first, of disputation with the Jews, which had a history that went back to the earliest decades of the mendicant orders; and the second, the notion of deep Marian devotion, was at its peak in the Rhine valley in the late fifteenth century. Combined, they made a powerful and historically supported argument against Jews on the grounds of anti-Marian thought. The connection between Mary and anti-Judaism was also another compelling reason to believe in the centrality of Mary to von Carben's interpretation of Christianity. In *Jüden Buchlein*, von Carben applauds and suggests further that Archbishop Hermann should have built more Marian chapels on the sites of old synagogues, a widespread practice across German speaking lands, which had been done in

²³³ Ibid. fol. 42v. 'daselbst ich in beweysen seiner f. G. [abbreviation of fürstlichen Gnaden] und seiner f. G. gelerten räthen unnd gantz Ritterschafft mit den selben gelertē Judē hab müssen arguiren/ unnd als ich die selben Juden jrer ingebildten trutzigen meynung sträfflich gemacht/ unnd jhr widerfechten auß jrher eygner schrifft gedempft hab/ hatt sein f. G mich ernstlicher frage angesucht seinen Gnaden zü sagen/ was die Juden von unsrer lieben frawē Marie der müter Gottes hielten/ dz ich dann seinen f. G. in anhören der Judē gesagt/ und klarlich erzält hab/ des ich mich warlich der selben zeit zü sagen und yetz zü schreiben erschreckt/ dann es zü mal schändlich und sehr lästerlich ist'.

²³⁴ Ibid. fol. 43r. '[...] ließ sein f. G. sich ernstlich hören keynen Juden in seinem gebiet zü leiden/ das auch seine gnade gethon/ die Ernstlichen allenthalben und sunderlich zum Bruel do sye mit gantzem hauffen gewont haben/ vertribē/ und daselbst an die statt jrer Synagog ein herrlich zierlich schön Obseruantem Kloster mit seiner f. G. gelt'. The *Altes Franziskanerkloster* is still extant in Brühl today.

²³⁵ Jordan, 'Marian Devotion', p.67.

Nuremberg in 1358, Cologne in 1426 and Regensburg in 1519 in order to atone for the Jews' belief of Mary's impurity.²³⁶

It has been shown how the second (the disputation at Poppelsdorf) and third (the *Marienbüchlein*) sections of the *Juden Büchlein* corroborate closely with the traditional anti-Jewish polemic that the Dominicans played a central part in maintaining and broadcasting. Looking more closely at the first, 'ethnographic style' section, it becomes clear that von Carben's belief in Jewish anti-Marianism is just as evident here as in the later parts of the work. As he had done with the older Dominican strategies of disputation and polemic in defence of Mary, von Carben used the newer medium of ethnographic information in the first section of the *Juden Büchlein* to besmirch the Talmud, and to equate Jewish rites and customs with anti-Marian beliefs. The sixth chapter of the first section of *Juden Büchlein* is a prime example of how these Dominican beliefs took centre stage in von Carben's thinking regardless of whether recounting a disputation or describing Jewish society. Entitled 'how the Talmud had its beginning',²³⁷ chapter six of *Juden Büchlein* is ostensibly an account of the history of the Talmud. But the text beneath is a slanderous account, which addresses the Talmud's density to compare it unfavourably to the Bible. Von Carben states it was originally a small book, but now it is bigger than two bibles, and that the Jews are wholly beholden to it.²³⁸ Ronnie Hsia has written of how Judaism underwent a process of 'disenchantment' throughout the sixteenth century. A major part of this decoding of Judaism was undertaken by Protestants who wished to study Hebrew as a language of original scripture.²³⁹ In the pre-Reformation period in which the *Juden Büchlein* was first published, the study of Hebrew in Germany was in its embryonic stage.²⁴⁰ Engagement with Hebrew texts such as Talmud was extremely limited, and it is reasonable to say that von Carben's emphasis on the length of the

²³⁶ Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin*, p.45.

²³⁷ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 10r. 'Wie der Talmut seinen anfang gehabt hab'.

²³⁸ Ibid. fol. 10r.' [...] ein kleyn büch geweßt/ aber nun grosser dann zwo Biblen welichs Talmuts gebot sye gar hart und schwer halten'.

²³⁹ Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, p.148.

²⁴⁰ The Dominican itinerant preacher Petrus Nigri (1434/5-1483/4) has been described as the first German Hebraist, despite his very limited impact in terms of popularity of his works. Nigri's *Stella Meschiah*, a response to the Regensburg Jews, whom he had challenged to religious debate, was published in 1477. Diemling, 'Petrus Nigri', pp.306-311.

Talmud was to emphasise its unintelligible nature. A second stratagem used by von Carben in his chapter on the beginnings of the Talmud uses Proverbs 10, also known as the Proverbs of Solomon. In using the Proverbs of Solomon as a biblical basis, von Carben establishes a simple dichotomy of Bible and Christianity ‘good’, and rabbis and the Talmudic Judaism ‘bad’, stating that at the birth of Christianity, rabbis were worried that their religion would decrease to the benefit of Christianity, ‘as has happened’.²⁴¹ Anti-Talmudic attacks had been the bread and butter of Dominican anti-Jewish polemic for centuries. Although the title of von Carben’s chapter on the Talmud would suggest an ethnographic style approach, nothing of the history of the Talmud is relayed to the reader, and the chapter in fact serves to reinforce simplistic anti-Jewish rhetoric.

Once von Carben begins his attack on the Talmud in chapter seven, anti-Talmudic and other medieval anti-Jewish criticisms are present in other chapters which have ostensibly ‘ethnographic’ titles. Having established the fundamental error of the Talmud in chapter seven, chapters eight to twelve all begin with an introductory sentence reminding the reader that all the information that follows comes from the Talmud. Chapter nine, for example, on Jewish marriage, is typical with beginning with the phrase ‘further it is written and ordered in the Talmud’.²⁴² Immediately, the reader, already influenced by traditional anti-Talmudic mind-set either held from before reading the book, or from the preceding anti-Talmudic chapters in the *Juden Büchlein*, devalues or adds a caveat to the ‘ethnographic’ information in the passage offered by von Carben. The account of the Jewish marriage ceremony is, when viewed alone, insightful. It is described how the bridegroom, bride and rabbi head the procession into the synagogue. When it comes to the wedding ring, it ‘should be placed on the foremost finger next to the thumb’.²⁴³ This is a genuine insight into how the Jews conduct their marriage ceremony. But immediately after, von

²⁴¹ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 10r. ‘Dann do der Christen glaub angefangen/ hetten die Rabi der Juden sorg/ das der zü und jr glaub abnemen/ und vergehn solt/ als auch geschehē ist/ wo vor sich der schalck fürcht/ widerfärt im gern.’ The final two clauses of this quotation is the first part of Proverbs 10:24 - ‘The fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him: but the desire of the righteous shall be granted’.

²⁴² Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 12r. ‘Weiter schreibt und gebeüt der Talmut’.

²⁴³ Ibid. fol. 12r. ‘den er jr der Braut an den vordersten finger neben dem daumen stecken soll’.

Carben discredits this ‘ethnographic’ snippet by stating that the ring must be on the first finger because Mary wore hers on the middle finger when she was married.

Of that [the ring on the first finger], the rabbi and the friends [of the bride] diligently note that, the ring must be on this finger and not the middle finger, and the reason for that comes from the Talmud. As Mary was married, the ring was placed on her middle finger. Therefore, no woman or maiden should wear any ring on this finger, according to Jewish law.²⁴⁴

This epitomises the approach of von Carben to discussing Jewish life, by saturated it with Talmudic and anti-Marian references, both of which polemicize the information given. By giving Judaism a fundamentally anti-Marian nature, the ethnographic nature of the description of the ring ceremony is heavily coloured by the established Dominican rhetoric of Judaism as steadfastly against Mary. This description is a prime example of the alterations made by von Carben, due to his Dominican inspired beliefs, which impacted upon his readers’ understanding of Jews and Judaism. By giving a false reason for why Jewish brides wear their wedding ring on their forefinger, von Carben paints a picture of Judaism as being wed to the dogma of the Talmud (which he has asserted is wholly wrong), and that a profound hatred of Mary saturates their religious practices. As well as the author knowingly altering the meaning of Jewish rituals to taint any ethnographic element to his writing, it is also doubtful whether early sixteenth century readers, who were already mindful of what they perceived to be a fundamental anti-Marian nature to Judaism, would have been willing or able to sift the polemical parts of von Carben’s work from the ethnographically accurate passages. With modern eyes and knowledge, it is easier to identify the parts of the *Juden Büchlein* that accurately represented Jewish society and which were written to satisfy an already prejudiced Christian readership. However, I believe that the early modern reader, who arrived with their own preconceptions of Judaism, would have learnt hardly anything new about Jewish life and praxis from the *Juden Büchlein*, but would rather have had their prior, polemical views on Judaism confirmed for them by an author who, while introducing new avenues

²⁴⁴ Ibid. fol. 12r. ‘darauff der Rabi und die freünde gar ein flessig auffmercken haben/ das er an den selben unnd nit den mittelste finger gesteckt werde/ und das auß der ursach der Talmut spricht. Do Maria grtrawt oder vermehelt worden/ sey jr der ring an den mittel finger gesteckt worden. Deshalb soll keyn fraw oder maydt im Judischen gesetz keynen ring am selben finger tragen’.

of information to readers, peddled an orthodox, centuries old Dominican anti-Jewish argument. It is in light of this interpretation that I would suggest we view von Carben's work: yes, there are ethnographic style descriptions presented sporadically throughout the first part of *Juden Büchlein*, which are polemicized. However, the extent and nature of the polemic, which was included by a knowledgeable author who had lived fifty years as a Jew, deliberately obscured the ethnographic meaning of the ceremonies of which he wrote. Von Carben obscured it by playing to the preconceptions Christian society already had about Jews: that they blasphemed Mary, and that their religion was mired in Talmudic dogma, and in so doing, compromised the ability of readers to glean any accurate, 'ethnographic' information about the Jews from the *Juden Büchlein*.

Cologne was the Catholic Church's great bastion on the Rhine throughout the late medieval and Reformation eras, and one of the primary ways in which the city manifested this steadfast adherence to Catholic theology was through the creation of *Rosenkranzbrüderschaften*, or Rosary confraternities. These brotherhoods capitalized on the widespread cults of devotion to Mary that were prevalent in northern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Miri Rubin has described how the phenomenon of the Rosary was a 'quintessentially northern [European] creation', encompassing Germany and the Low Countries, the epicentre of which was Cologne.²⁴⁵ The first of these confraternities was organised by Alain de la Roche (c.1428-1475) in Douai in 1470, but the city of Cologne, driven in particular by its University, soon initiated their own *Rosenkranzbruderschaft* which would become the most significant. Its founder was the Dominican friar Jacob Sprenger (c.1436-1495), and soon after its establishment in 1475, his confraternity had the membership of Emperor Frederick III (reigned 1452 – 1493) and the blessing of Sixtus IV (Pope from 1471-1484).²⁴⁶ There were many similar brotherhoods and guilds in cities throughout medieval Europe, and there were over one hundred and twenty confraternities in Cologne alone, of which over a third were dedicated to Mary.²⁴⁷ But the key point of difference between these and

²⁴⁵ Rubin, *Mother of God*, p.334.

²⁴⁶ Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), p.34.

²⁴⁷ Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.39.

Sprenger's Rosary brotherhood was inclusivity. While many similar groups required their members to be of certain profession or wealth, the only requirement to maintain the benefices of Sprenger's confraternity was to recite the Marian psalter once a week, with this paltry requirement ensuring high numbers of members.²⁴⁸ The lenient membership requirements ensured an enormous number of Cologne's citizens were members, inspiring devotion to Mary on a scale even more omnipresent than was normal in pre-Reformation German society that was fixated with the glorification of the Virgin. It is inconceivable that von Carben and his colleague Pfefferkorn would not have been members of such a society, patronised as it was by the Dominican masters of the university. Examples of frontispieces from both von Carben and Pfefferkorn pamphlets reflect the centrality of devotional images of the Mother of God. The woodcut title page of *Marienbüchlein* depicts the Virgin and Child. More remarkably, given that the pamphlet's content addresses Passover, Pfefferkorn's pamphlet *Osterbüchlein* has as its title page an image of the *Schützmantelmadonna* (figure 1), with her cloak spread wide to signify her role as a protector of Christians.

It was into this environment of Marian fervency that von Carben began his life as a Christian, and it is undoubted that such levels of Marian devotion had a profound effect upon his writing and his portrayal of Jews. By consistently equating Judaism with anti-Marian views in the ways that have been analysed previously, and by prioritizing Mary and the *Marienbüchlein*, the *Jüden Buchlein* reflected not just von Carben's own views, but those of the city of Cologne across many social strata. The role of Mary in von Carben's work can be interpreted in two ways, although the two are, to a large extent, mutually supporting. The first is that von Carben himself had a deep religious attachment to Mary, and thus wished to make her an integral part of his publication. This interpretation is strongly corroborated by his patronage of sculptures within Cologne cathedral, depicting Madonna and child, as well as the pre-eminence of *Rosenkranzbruderschaften* in the city. The second interpretation is that, as an author whose immediate audience was the citizens of

²⁴⁸ Ellington, *Sacred Body*, p.34.

Cologne, von Carben knew that making strong associations between Judaism and anti-Marian practices would be the most obvious way to arouse strong anti-Jewish feelings within his readership, something which, as a convert from Judaism and a Dominican, was in his interest to do. By adopting this into his writing, von Carben used ethnography as a tool that, laced with anti-Marian accusations, guaranteed that these anti-Jewish feelings would be as extreme as possible. If the environment in Cologne was not especially pro-Marian in comparison to the rest of Europe, we would not expect to see a remarkable amount of references to her in von Carben's colleague Pfefferkorn's work. Yet it is plain to see that Mary was just as important an inspiration for Pfefferkorn as she was for von Carben, which helps us prove the hypothesis that that city was as important in shaping belief as any other paradigm. *Der Jüden Spiegel*, *Osterbüchlein* and *Judenfeind*, three of Pfefferkorn's pamphlets, were all devoted to Mary, the title page of *Osterbüchlein* even carrying her image in the artistic form of a *Schützmantelmadonna*. Within *der Jüden Speigel*, Pfefferkorn explicitly credited the power of Mary, alongside God, as a key aid in his realisation his religious error, as well as with his conversion into Christianity.²⁴⁹ In Margaritha's work, written away from Cologne, Mary figures far less prominently.

In a city so fervently devoted to the Mother of God, von Carben intensified the pro-Marian, anti-Jewish rhetoric further still by reserving a special polemical focus for Jewish women in his writing, especially when describing their role in blocking men from leaving Judaism to join Christianity.²⁵⁰ However, it is also true that von Carben's own personal experience comes through the text, hinting at memories of his own wife and family.²⁵¹ A particularly good example of this comes from the nineteenth chapter of the *Juden Büchlein*, which states, 'as is often seen and experienced, many a man loses his senses through love of women'.²⁵² This could be seen as the general warning of a priest against the vice of lust, but when viewed through the wider prism of von Carben's

²⁴⁹ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.39.

²⁵⁰ Maria Diemling, 'The Image of Women in the Writings of Victor of Carben', *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1997), p.95.

²⁵¹ Ibid. p.96.

²⁵² Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 28r. 'Als dann offt gesehen und erfarn ist/ das manig man durch lieb der Weiber sein sinne verloren hat.'

(described as ‘unique’ by Diemling²⁵³) emphasis on women in his writing, it gives rise to the feeling that von Carben is writing from his own personal experience. However, while von Carben’s writings on Jewish women give us a window into his own Jewish experience, there is also a larger polemical point at stake: the comparison of Jewish women with the cult figure of Mary, which, as we have already seen, was an integral part of von Carben’s own beliefs, the Dominicans, and the city of Cologne as a whole.

The seventeenth chapter of *Juden Büchlein* establishes this comparison by giving an example of Jewish women being infanticides, who went against the wishes of their husbands. After a description of the curses Jews say against Christians, particularly on Jewish New Year, the text swiftly changes tack stating: ‘And one finds many of the women to be much more evil than the men, therefore I must write a truthful example [of this observation].’²⁵⁴ What follows is the story of a Jewish boy of five or six years old, ‘Menichen’, who played with Christian children in his home town, and in so doing, entered the Christian church. When Menichen told his mother of the beauty of the church of the Gentiles, his mother beat him. Menichen’s parents then disagreed as to how to punish the child further, with his mother disobeying and arguing with her husband, pushing for harsh punishment while the father preached leniency, stating that the boy was ‘still young and did not know what he was doing’.²⁵⁵ This, remarked von Carben, was meant to silence the mother, but instead she struck her husband and showered him with scripture, including Zechariah 13, ‘you should not live when you have said lies in the name of the Lord’.²⁵⁶ Eventually, the wife tried to openly convince her husband to murder Menichen, who refused. Upon his refusal, the woman secretly undertook to kill the child herself.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Diemling, ‘The Image of Women’, p.93.

²⁵⁴ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 21v. ‘Und man findet vil der weiber die vil böser dann die mann sein/ deßhalb ich ein warhaftig Exempel schreiben müß’.

²⁵⁵ Ibid. fol. 22r. ‘das kindt were noch jung and wißte nit was es thet’.

²⁵⁶ Ibid. fol. 22r. ‘Du solt nit leben wann du hast in dem nammen des Herren lügen gesagt’. The precise passage quoted by von Carben is Zechariah 13:3, which calls on parents to kill their children if they live in speak lies in the name of the Lord.

²⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 22v. ‘das böß Weib gedacht jr das kindt heymlich zü todte.’

The story of Menichen affords us valuable insight into the aims of von Carben's writing. The first insight is that, somewhat bizarrely, this tale of the murder of Menichen is the second part of a tripartite chapter, the third portion of which recounts the Jewish Sabbath. The full title of the chapter is 'How Jews, both women and men, curse Christians, shown alongside an example that the Jewish women are much more hateful towards the Christians than the men, and how they conduct their Sabbaths'.²⁵⁸ This pairing of the polemical accusation that Jews curse Christians, and of a tale of child murder alongside a facet of Jewish belief as fundamental as the Sabbath gives strong proof that writing an account of the Jews that accurately represented the core tenets of their lives was not part of von Carben's aims for the *Juden Büchlein*. To minimise the importance of the Sabbath to the extent of including it only as an afterthought to a chapter on curses and murder is an indictment on the ethnographic credentials of von Carben's work. Secondly, by occupying the same space in the text as the Sabbath, von Carben creates an impression that evil women are just as prevalent in Jewish life as the Sabbath is. While the connection is not explicitly made, in light of the dominance of Mary within von Carben's personal Christian belief system, the aim of the cautionary tale of Menichen was to contrast the image of the angry, infanticidal Jewish woman with the motherly, serene image of Mary in Christianity.

VON CARBEN JUSTIFYING HIS POSITION AS A CONVERT IN THE *JUDEN BÜCHLEIN*

It has already been discussed that the *Juden Büchlein* is a publication with many aims and facets: it does display some evidence of ethnographic information, which is used to further the anti-Jewish agenda of von Carben and his Dominican colleagues. It also contains other traditional anti-Jewish themes, such as a disputation and a third section highlighting the perceived anti-Marian nature of Judaism. Up to now it is the ethnographic style parts of von Carben's work that have

²⁵⁸ Ibid. fol. 20r. 'Wie die Juden Weib und Mann die Christen verflüchten/ würt darneben ein exemplum angezeygt/ das die Juden den Christen vil mehr dann die Mann hesszig seind/ und wie die Juden jrn Sabathen halten'.

garnered the most attention. The remainder of this chapter shall focus on the importance of the convert in reaffirming Christian beliefs about Jews. How von Carben introduced himself as an intermediary character within the disputation section of the *Juden Büchlein*, knowing the Jewish viewpoint intimately whilst also attacking it, has been shown. We shall now return to the first, ethnographic style section of the book, in order to show that another of von Carben's aims was to constantly remind his readership of his and other fellow converts' importance to Christians' relations with Jews. He achieved this by discussing Christian views of converted Jews, and by glorifying fellow converts through highly stylised stories of murder and martyrdom, both of which will be shown in the following pages.

Perhaps the primary reason as to why von Carben felt it so necessary to defend and promote the role of the convert was because of how lowly they were regarded in sixteenth century Germany. The first chapters of the *Juden Büchlein* directly address the phenomena of anti-convertism by detailing a list of common sayings, or *Sprichwörter*, which were used against von Carben and his like. Chapter three begins a long list of such sayings, 'the saying most commonly said about the baptized Jews, loudly, "an old Jew will seldom be invented into a good Christian"'.²⁵⁹ Along similar lines, another saying notes how 'a good wine is spoiled in a bad barrel',²⁶⁰ suggesting that in the minds of the general Christian population, once one is born a Jew, Jewishness is impossible to completely renounce and will always remain. Such beliefs were found at all strata of early modern German society. Von Carben was just as likely to hear such sayings from a farm labourer as from the great humanist scholars of his time. The satire *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum (Letters of Obscure Men, 1516)*, written by the humanist friends of Johannes Reuchlin, and attacking von Carben's colleagues at the University of Cologne, stated that: 'the Jew remains a Jew, just as a bastard remains a bastard, because of birth'.²⁶¹ However, the inclusion of these sayings in *Juden Büchlein* is not purely to rail against those who have abused him and his colleagues. The title of

²⁵⁹ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 5r. 'Das sprichwort so gemeynglich auff die getauftten Juden geredt würt/ also lautende/ ein alter Jud würt selten güt Christ/ welichs wol erfunden mag'.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. fol. 8v. 'ein güter wein verdirbt wol in einem bösen faß'.

²⁶¹ Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, p.49.

chapter three makes a clear link between these kind of sayings, which demean converted Jews, and why so few Jews make a success of becoming a Christian: ‘How the newly baptized Jews retain their Christian faith, shown alongside the reason through which many of those fall again out of the Christian faith, and with it move back again into Jewish habits’.²⁶² The abuse, von Carben asserts, is this main reason why so many new converts relapse into Judaism. In a passage in which he addresses human nature, von Carben speaks directly to his Christian readership in ordering them to avoid saying such shameful words against converts, and instead to be friendly and instruct them in crafts, with which converts will be able to earn their daily bread.²⁶³ More than just score settling, von Carben includes and discusses these everyday maxims in order to warn Christians that they are turning potentially wavering Jews away from the light of Christian faith. Positioned at the beginning of the *Juden Büchlein*, in the chapters after von Carben’s account of his own conversion, which he credited as divinely inspired, the refutation of the *Sprichwörter* establishes that converts deserve to be treated in a more favourable manner and that they should not be seen as second-class Christians by early modern German society.

The sayings that are discussed by von Carben were not only the ones came from Christian mouths, he also used Jewish sayings to underline the utility of converts to the Christian cause. From his position as an ex-Jew, von Carben could reveal Jewish maxims too, and he uncovered one which asserted that converted Jews were hated by their old faith. Chapter seventeen of the first section of the *Juden Büchlein*, ‘How Jews who moved from them into the Christian faith are hated’,²⁶⁴ details how a curse is uttered against converts twice daily by the Jews. Von Carben gives the details of the curse in Hebrew and in German. ‘So the curse about me and others of us who have moved from them is greater than [the curse] about the other Christians, from the reason that they say that through me and my like all their secrecy is broken, and maybe they will come under the

²⁶² Ibid. fol. 5r. ‘Wie man die Newgetaufften Juden bey dem Christen glauben behalten mag/ meldet darneben die ursach/ durch welche vil der selben wider von dem Christen glaubē fallen/ auch so werden darmit eingezogen etlich der Juden gewonheyt’.

²⁶³ Ibid. fol.5v.

²⁶⁴ Ibid. fol. 23r. ‘Wie sehr die Juden die/so von jhn zü dem Christem glauben getreten sein hasszen [...]’

Christians'.²⁶⁵ By ascertaining that converts were cursed by Jews more than ordinary Christians, von Carben employs an element an 'enemy of my enemy is my friend' approach, that Jews' hate was a good reason for Christians to be more positive towards converts. As well as underlining how hated converts are, von Carben also manages to remind us of the value of converts by mentioning how the secrecy, which Christian anti-Jewish rhetoric held was so crucial to Jewish life, is broken by them. Von Carben returns to a Jewish *Sprichwort* to reinforce this notion that converts are tools to be valued by Christians:

Take an example from a smith, who had made many axes that were one year being carried over fields through the country, until they had to go through a great forest, and all the small young trees saw the axes, they began to tremble through great worry and fear. The older trees asked the younger ones the reason for their fear. The younger trees said, "do you not see our enemies?"²⁶⁶

The Jews, or trees in this example, fear the metal axe heads, signifying the Christians. However, von Carben finishes the story with the older trees telling the younger ones to be silent not to worry about the axe heads. The trees meant, von Carben explained, that the axe head only becomes dangerous if a handle, made from the same material as the trees, is attached to it.²⁶⁷ Although elucidated in a fairy tale fashion of talking trees, von Carben manages through this story to encapsulate why converts are so important, and deserve to be treated with respect: converts and Christians together make a combination that threatens the existence of the Jews.

The second way in which von Carben used common sayings to change Christian minds on the converts was through a highly stylised tale of murder that proved Jewish hatred of converts, whilst at the same time glorifying them as victims of Jewish vengefulness. Found in the seventeenth chapter of the first part of *Juden Büchlein*, the plight of a convert named 'Gotzman' is recounted by von Carben, 'one who moved from them [the Jews] to the Christian faith, and was killed'.²⁶⁸ The

²⁶⁵ Ibid. fol. 23v. 'doch so ist die maledeyung über mich unnd andere so von jn grtretten seind/ grosser dann über die andern Christen/ auß die ursach sye sagen das durch mich und meins gleichen alle jr heymligkeyt außgebrochen/ und under die Christen kommen sey/ mag wol sein'.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. fol. 23v. 'Haben des ein beyspil von einem Schmidt/ der her vil beyhel gemacht/ die er über feldt uff einen jar marck tragen wolt/ der müst durch einen grossen waldt gehn/ und als die kleynē junge bäum ersahen die beyhel/ begundten sye von grosser sorge und angst ser zü zittern und förchten/ des die alten bäume die jungen fragten die ursach jrer forcht/ rüfftten die junge bäume/ O sehet jr nit unser feinde [...]'

²⁶⁷ Ibid. fol. 23v. 'schweigt still und seidt wol gemüt/ sye mögen uch nit groß schaden thün/ damit meynten sie wo die höltze stiel die von jne kommen weren/ so we es srglich geweßt'.

²⁶⁸ Ibid. fol. 23r. 'einer so von jn zü Christlichem glauben getretten/ getödt worden ist'.

story could be a purely a figment of von Carben's imagination, or an embellished reconstruction of a real murder of a converted Jew. Whether true or not, it is important to recognize that von Carben employed the story as an example to prove the depth of hatred Jews held for converts. The text states that von Carben saw the Jew who would become the Christian Gotzman baptized before his own conversion.²⁶⁹ It is unclear whether von Carben himself baptized him or whether he was merely present at Gotzman's baptism. Gotzman's baptism bears similarities to von Carben's account of his own conversion, as neither a time, place nor baptizer is named. Furthermore, the name 'Gotzman', or God's man, is most apposite for an author who, through the account of his own conversion, was most keen to impress the close and direct connection a convert had to the divine. Naming his convert Gotzman only reinforces the link between the convert and God. Whether this was an emotive strategy to connect the convert to God in the reader's mind or a truthful account is unclear. However, the gruesome climax of the story clearly shows an author aiming to improve the image of converted Jews by converting Gotzman into a true Christian martyr. Von Carben begins by establishing Gotzman's Christian credentials by saying that after his baptism, Gotzman cursed members of his old faith wherever he saw them.²⁷⁰ According to the story, so extensive was Gotzman's abuse, it caused a plot to be hatched by two Jews, involving a Christian friend of Gotzman's. As the convert was travelling through a thick wood, the two Jews struck him to the ground. He was given the chance by the Jews to recant, and return to Judaism, but Gotzman declined the chance. Instead, as he was murdered, von Carben places these words in Gotzman's mouth:

"Listen here you traitors and murderers, I have before been baptized in water, now I will be baptized in my own blood". Then, with his own hand, he put blood over his head, called with a strong voice as loud as he could, "now I want to die as a pious Christian!"²⁷¹

As well as the bloodiness of the murder, von Carben achieves his main aims with his story of the convert Gotzman. He confirms the long-held belief that Jews are vengeful, wicked people (which

²⁶⁹ Ibid. fol. 24v. 'der vor mir getaufft und Gotzman genant was'.

²⁷⁰ Ibid. fol. 24v. 'und wo er die [Juden] sahe spottet er jr'.

²⁷¹ Ibid. fol. 26v. 'hört jr verrhäuser und mörder/ ich bin hye beuor in wasser getaufft/ nun werde ich geteufft in meinem eygnen blüt/ goß da mit seiner eygnen handt das blüt über sein haubt/ rüfft darnach mit heller stimmen so laut er mocht/ nun will ich sterben al sein frommer Christ'.

he covers in chapter two, on how the Jews are the most wicked people in the world).²⁷² Furthermore, by having Gotzman baptize himself in his own blood, converts are once again shown as being individuals who do not need a born Christian go-between to connect them to God. He also, by giving the convert a martyr's death, encourages his Christian readership to feel respect, possibly even veneration for the convert, rather than to curse and mock him. Von Carben ends his story of Gotzman with a prayer, 'God give over my soul to go mercifully with him, Amen',²⁷³ indicating von Carben's desire to try to get his readership to pray for a convert, rather than to retain their negative views of them. The story of Gotzman is indicative of von Carben's primary aims in writing the *Juden Büchlein*, namely to carve out a position of respect for converts in the society in which he lived, as well as reaffirming old Christian preconceptions of Jews.

The *Juden Büchlein* is a book with many aspects; part polemical ethnography, part disputation account, part devotional to Mary against the Jews. It was written by an octogenarian who held the institutionalized anti-Jewish outlook of one who had been ensconced in the Dominican order for a generation. The inclusion of an account of a disputation in the second part of the *Juden Büchlein*, a form of anti-Judaism which the mendicant orders had been at the forefront of for centuries, is an example of von Carben projecting this worldview. As well as upholding this anti-Jewish view, the *Juden Büchlein* was written with the aim of improving the reputation of converted Jews, which is a dominant theme of the first part of the work. It appears that von Carben personally was more interested in Marian themes at the late point in his life at which the *Juden Büchlein* was written, an interest that was stoked by the exceptionally high levels of devotion to Mary found in Cologne, von Carben's city of residence. His patronage of a group of statues depicting her and the holy family that remains extant in Cologne cathedral to this day. The separation of the third part of the *Juden Büchlein* and its republication as the *Marienbüchlein* also proves that the Jewish view of Mary was the prime concern of the Cologne reading public. Where von Carben does adopt an ethnographic style of writing, it was nearly always to pursue the end of attacking the Talmud, a

²⁷² Ibid. fol. 4r. 'keyn rachsåliger volck auff erden ist/ dann die Juden'.

²⁷³ Ibid. fol. 26v. 'Gott verlyhe meiner seelen genediglich mit jm zü faren/ Amen'.

traditional attack of anti-Jewish polemicists. In my view, the impression that lingers most having read and analysed the *Juden Büchlein* is that of a document that is deeply personal and local. This begins with the account of von Carben's conversion, continues into his role in the disputation and ends with the glorified story of the convert Gotzman. The ethnographic passages that exist in the book supply polemical ammunition to the specific brand of anti-Judaism held by the Dominicans of Cologne, which was especially pro-Mary, and traditionally anti-Talmudic. Rather than using von Carben's work to look forwards into the polemical ethnographies of the early modern period, I believe that more can be gleaned from the ethnography of the *Juden Buchlein* by looking backwards, to the life of its author and to the attitudes of the Dominican order who patronised it.

CHAPTER THREE: JOHANNES PFEFFERKORN

JOHANNES PFEFFERKORN'S LIFE AND OVERVIEW OF HIS PUBLICATIONS

According to Pfefferkorn himself, Johannes Pfefferkorn the Christian was 'born' in Cologne 1504, in the thirty sixth year of his life, making his year of actual birth either 1468 or 1469. This peculiar method of ageing oneself pertained to baptism, and Pfefferkorn regularly stated in his publications that the author had 'been a Jew before, now a Christian, in the fifth year of my rebirth'.²⁷⁴ Almost nothing is known of why he chose to convert to Christianity, as Pfefferkorn never addressed the issue directly in his own writing, stating only that he regretted not converting earlier in his life.²⁷⁵ Before his 'rebirth', Johannes had been named Joseph in his Jewish life, and was tutored by his uncle, the rabbi Meir Pfefferkorn, who Johannes claimed had instructed him in rabbinical Judaism.²⁷⁶ Pfefferkorn's life, particularly after his conversion, was typified by movement around the cities of the Holy Roman Empire. His younger years were spent in Prague and its surrounding hinterland, up until 1491, while it is probable that he lived in Nuremberg some time before the expulsion of that city's Jewish community in 1499.²⁷⁷ His livelihood as a Jew is subject to some debate. His great adversary Johannes Reuchlin claimed he had been a butcher and an imprisoned thief, who regained his freedom only by converting to Christianity. Reuchlin based his claim on a letter from the Count of Gutenstein to the Jews of Regensburg, after Pfefferkorn had attempted to confiscate their religious books as part of his campaign of 1509.²⁷⁸ While this explanation of Pfefferkorn's life and conversion was advanced by scholars such

²⁷⁴ Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Ich bin ain Buchlinn der Juden veindt ist mein namen* (Augsburg: 1509), fol. 135v. 'Diß büchlin ist gemacht und geodinirt durch mich Johannem Pfefferkorr vormals ainn Jud nun ain Crist in dem funften iar meiner widgeburt Außgangen zü Cöln am Rein J MCCCCC. Unnd ix. Auff den dritten tag Januarii'.

²⁷⁵ Maria Diemling, 'Conversion, Anti-Judaism, Controversy: The Rise and Fall of Johannes Pfefferkorn', in Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.13.

²⁷⁶ Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden im Deutschland des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: dargestellt an den Schriften Johannes Pfefferkorns* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1989), p.11.

²⁷⁷ Ibid. p.10.

²⁷⁸ Ibid. p.12.

Heinrich Graetz in the nineteenth century, all sources contemporary to Pfefferkorn which describe him as a butcher and thief had a strong agenda against him,²⁷⁹ often wishing to emphasise his ignorance or lack of experience in the practices of the Jewish religion.²⁸⁰ Pfefferkorn denied having ever been imprisoned, stating instead that he had been a merchant and money-lender in his Jewish life.²⁸¹ On balance, I believe that Pfefferkorn the usurer is more credible than Pfefferkorn the butcher, due to the sources supporting this theory being less polemical in nature. He had a wife, Anna, and son, Laurence, who, unlike von Carben's family who were left behind upon his conversion, joined Johannes in becoming Christians.²⁸²

Pfefferkorn left us very little evidence of his conversion to Christianity. *Der Juden Spiegel*, the first book authored by him just three years after his conversion, gives us the best evidence of what compelled Pfefferkorn to switch sides. He credited God with giving him the strength to continue to follow Christ, however, he did not describe a sudden instant in which he was inspired to move to Christianity. More likely is that the failure of the arrival of the Jewish Messiah, so strongly heeded in the first years of the sixteenth century by Jewish preachers such as Asher Lemlein, played a far more significant role for Pfefferkorn in turning his back on the Jewish faith. He wrote scornfully about Jews who falsely expected His coming, and recalled the excitement that Lemlein

²⁷⁹ Not just those contemporary to Pfefferkorn. Graetz clearly harboured a racial hatred for Pfefferkorn when describing his 'repulsive build' and hideous, 'distinctive Jewish features'. Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart, aus den Quellen neu bearbeitet*, vol.9 (Leipzig: Oskar Leiner, 1869), p.75. The line between fraudster and convert could be a fine one, as Jewish criminals could be offered more lenient sentences for conversion, and some fraudsters were 'converted' many times in different places, to receive *Taufgeld*, money gifted upon one's baptism. Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, p.36.

²⁸⁰ David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.99.

²⁸¹ Ibid. p.99. Ludwig Geiger managed to combine the two theories on Pfefferkorn's life to describe him as being uneducated, dishonest craftsman who was imprisoned for theft, who led a wandering life and also a money lending business in Ludwig Geiger, *Die Deutsche Literatur und die Juden* (Berlin: Georg Heimer Verlag, 1910), p.33. This negative portrayal of Pfefferkorn in this period of scholarship was thanks in no small part to his role as Johannes Reuchlin's rival, at a time when Reuchlin was revered for his status as pillar of German humanism, Geiger, *Deutsche Literatur*, p.25, Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.5. Maria Diemling, along with the bulk of modern scholarship, subscribes to the view that Pfefferkorn was a money lender in, 'Conversion, Anti-Judaism, Controversy', p.11.

²⁸² Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.10.

inspired among the Jews, claiming to be a forerunner of the Jewish Messiah.²⁸³²⁸⁴ The short timespan between Lemlein's preaching in 1501/02 and Pfefferkorn's conversion in 1504 indicate that it is likely to have played a role. The brevity of the gap (less than three years) between Pfefferkorn's conversion and the publication of *Der Juden Spiegel* ensured that remarks on his switch from Judaism to Christianity remained raw. In this time, Pfefferkorn was also travelling around the Empire proselytising, engaging, disputing, and coming into conflict with Jews on a regular basis. While he continued to have contact with Jewish communities after he had become Christian, it was through a medium that threatened Jews' very existence and was highly antagonistic. The fact that Pfefferkorn's family converted with him to Christianity would also have made it easier for a clean break with the Jewish past to be made. Pfefferkorn's own writing suggests that he saw his conversion as a total change of state rather than a reversible shift. By describing his conversion as a 'rebirth', the implication was that his Jewish and Christian lives were discrete; that he considered his Jewish self entirely different to his Christian self. The official Christian representation of a baptism as a dramatic transformation of an individual chimes with Pfefferkorn's own words.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, as well as his role in actively causing friction with Jews through proselytising, Pfefferkorn was so scornful in his anti-Jewish writings, and also rapidly became so notorious within the Jewish world for his attempts to burn their books, and later through his pamphlet dispute with Johannes Reuchlin, it is highly unlikely that he would have been able to maintain meaningful ties to the Jewish society which he left. A geographical shift in Pfefferkorn's life also may have helped to achieve the notion of a clean break in Pfefferkorn's mind. As a Jew, he had lived predominantly in Prague and Nuremberg, yet as a Christian he operated primarily in the Rhine valley, centred on the Dominican order of Cologne. Pfefferkorn's own writing of 'rebirth', his profession, his pamphlets and the especially negative reaction of his previous coreligionists make it difficult to justify a description of Pfefferkorn's conversion as

²⁸³ Elisheva Carlebach, 'The Last Deception: Failed Messiahs and Jewish Conversion in Early Modern German Lands', in Matt D. Goldish and Richard M. Popkin (eds.), *Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World* (London: Kluwer, 2001), p.130.

²⁸⁴ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.71.

²⁸⁵ Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, p.36.

anything other than a clean, decisive break with Judaism, with his only links back to the old faith being his anti-Jewish pamphlets.

Although Pfefferkorn followed von Carben into the patronage of the Dominican order of Cologne, his status as a married man prevented him from becoming a priest, as von Carben had done. Where von Carben had been employed as a *sacerdos*, Pfefferkorn's original role in the order was as a *factotum*, a position without a fixed role.²⁸⁶ Instead, Pfefferkorn devoted himself to a life of itinerant preaching immediately after his conversion to Christianity, which took him around the cities of Germany. Official records afford us a paper trail of Pfefferkorn's Christian life, which begins by showing that he and his family were in Nuremberg on 20th August 1506, where the conversions of Anna and Laurence were ratified. Five days later they had obtained a letter of safe passage from Prince Philip of the Palatinate (1480-1541), allowing them to pass through the area in order to encourage their Jewish family and friends to follow their example and convert. This suggests that Pfefferkorn may have had children other than the converted Laurence.²⁸⁷ 1509 saw Pfefferkorn in Frankfurt, where he confiscated 168 books from the synagogue, the most notable of his boom expulsions around the Rhineland region.²⁸⁸ On 21st January 1510 he was in Dachau, obtaining a character reference in response to those aforementioned accusations of thievery from the Regensburg Jews.²⁸⁹ If Pfefferkorn himself is to be believed, he was a persuasive man, who claimed to have converted fifteen Jews to Christianity by 1516.²⁹⁰ Whether this number is true or not, we can be sure that missionary activity and travel epitomised Pfefferkorn's life for the first decade after his conversion. This life of movement was eventually restricted in 1513, when the University of Cologne appointed him *Spitalmeister* of the hospital of St Ursula/St Revilien, a position that anchored him more permanently to Cologne.²⁹¹ In his final publication, written in

²⁸⁶ Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, p.33.

²⁸⁷ Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.10.

²⁸⁸ Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.7.

²⁸⁹ Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.11.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. p.10.

²⁹¹ Werhahn, *Die Stiftung*, p.44.

1521 shortly before his death, Pfefferkorn would sign himself as *Meister im Spital*, indicating the significance of the position to Pfefferkorn.²⁹²

After his conversion, Pfefferkorn was a prolific author and pamphleteer, who published fourteen works in fourteen years from 1507 to 1521.²⁹³ These works can be split into two main parts: from 1507-09 he devoted himself primarily to works which supported his aim of beginning a campaign to confiscate and burn Jewish books, which he believed would lead Jews to abandon their rabbinic Jewish ways which had been blinding them to the truth of their biblical scripture. These works were populist 'rabble-rousing',²⁹⁴ infusing standard anti-Jewish themes including Talmudic criticisms, tirades against money-lending and advising princes to expel their Jews with his own, more personalized aims of book confiscation. Titles among this corpus of his early work include *Der Juden Spiegel* (1507), *Ich bin ain Buchlinn der Juden veindt ist mein namen* (1508), and *In lob und Ere des aller durchleuchtigsten [...]* (1510), as well as the two pamphlets which have been described as 'polemical ethnographies', *Ich heyss ain buchlein der iuden peicht* (1508) and *In disem buchlein vindet Ier ain entlichenn furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten* (1509).^{295 296} As well as agitating for burning Jewish books, all these works were written with the determined aim of undermining the Jewish people of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁹⁷ Evidence of this can be found in all of Pfefferkorn's early works. In his first work, *Der Juden Spiegel*, Pfefferkorn writes that the Talmud distracts the Jews from the truth of the Holy Scripture. If one were, 'to take the false

²⁹² Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.10.

²⁹³ Diemling, 'Conversion, Anti-Judaism, Controversy', p.11.

²⁹⁴ Price, *Johannes Reuchlin*, p.101.

²⁹⁵ There are regional differences in the German dialect used in the different cities in which Pfefferkorn's works were published, Price, *Johannes Reuchlin*, p.100. In this case, the titles are written how they were presented in the pamphlets published in Augsburg. As a southern German city, Augsburger printers tended to publish in High German dialect, Cologne was an 'interface' city, in which vernacular publications were found in High and Middle-Low German, as well as the local dialect, Ripuarian. For example, the Ripuarian title of Pfefferkorn's first work was *Der Joeden Spiegel*, Heß, 'Jew Hatred Sells? Anti-Jewish Print Production in the German Dialects', in Adams and Heß, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews*, p.131.

²⁹⁶ These unwieldy titles will be abbreviated in this work to *Der Juden Spiegel*, *Judenfeind*, *In lob...*, *Juden beicht*, and *Osterbüchlein* respectively.

²⁹⁷ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.52.

Talmud away from them, they would learn of the right way and would indeed have to follow it.

Therefore, confiscate their books and burn them'.²⁹⁸ In *Juden beicht*, a year later, Pfefferkorn's

'loyal advice [...] is to take from them the books containing these execrations [blasphemies against Christianity] and not leave them in their possession [...] It would, moreover benefit the Jews not to have these books any more. Thus their evil customs would fall into oblivion'.²⁹⁹

A third indication of Pfefferkorn's agenda is found in *Osterbüchlein*, where the issue of usury is particularly strongly represented, but with the same ultimate result:

You should not desire that they [the Jews] are killed or expelled – God does not want the death of a sinner, but rather that he lives and converts. Yet you should ask and desire that they be banned from usury, which is a father of all sins, a leader of Jews and corrupter of Christians. You should ask that their books be taken from them, and that they be left only the pure text of the Bible, the other false books that they have are the mother of all wickedness.³⁰⁰

Such a pattern is evidence of the ends Pfefferkorn was attempting to achieve with all of his early writing, namely the conversion of Jews through removing the books which were blinding them to the truth. The trend in the most recent scholarship, such as in Yaakov Deutsch's *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, has been to approach the corpus of Pfefferkorn's work in a two pronged manner, splitting his works into those containing elements of ethnography, *Juden beicht* and *Osterbüchlein*, and those which do not, including *Der Juden Spiegel*, *Judenfeind* and *In lob....* This way of viewing Pfefferkorn's work has coincided with the rise in studies of 'Christian ethnographies' or 'polemical ethnographies' from Hsia onwards. However, I believe that studying Pfefferkorn in this way detracts from the original aim Pfefferkorn had for his work, which was to have a unified bloc of texts with the aim of convincing secular powers to allow him to confiscate Jewish books. This has already been shown by the similarity of Pfefferkorn's statements on book confiscation throughout the early period of his writing, but is backed up further by the fact that Pfefferkorn himself cross

²⁹⁸ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.91.

²⁹⁹ Pfefferkorn, 'The Confession of the Jews' in Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin*, p.73.

³⁰⁰ Johannes Pfefferkorn, *In disem buchlein vindet Ier ain entlichenn furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten* (Augsburg: Jörg Nadler, 1509), fol. 148v. 'So solt yr nit begeren das sie getodt noch vertryben werdenn dan got will nit den tod des sunders sunder das er lebe und bekert werde Sunder yr solt biten unnd begern ynen zu verbieten den wücher welicher ist ain vater aller sünden ain furer der Juden ain verderber der Cristen und verer solt yr bitten das man von in auffheb alle bücher und ynen allain laß den blossen tex der biblen/ dan die andren faltzen bucher so sy haben sein ain müter aller boßhait'.

referenced within his pamphlets, strengthening the idea that he devised them all with the same aim. In *Osterbüchlein*, Pfefferkorn begins to exhort what he terms the *Christlichen Regiment*, the governments of the Empire, to expel the Jews, asking them if they want robbers on their streets, before adding, 'Of that I have written another booklet'.³⁰¹ It is unclear which of the booklets he was precisely referencing, as most contained requests to princes and lords to expel their Jews. Beseeching local governments to expel their Jews was the subject of the fifth chapter of *Juden beicht*,³⁰² and the second part of *Der Juden Spiegel*, as well as being the primary focus of *In lob....*³⁰³ Additionally, the early pamphlets are formatted in a similar fashion, with Pfefferkorn formulating lengthy numerated lists to make his points. This strategy can be seen in the second section of *Judenfeind*, a pamphlet not considered to contain ethnographic traits, and *Osterbüchlein*, one that does.³⁰⁴³⁰⁵ *Der Juden Spiegel* also uses this strategy.³⁰⁶ The five pamphlets published in a time span of three years repeated a consistent message of Jewish conversion and expulsion, both of books and populations, under the guise of different title subjects. In wishing to view the early works of Pfefferkorn as a single corpus with unity of purpose, as opposed to the more recent trend of splitting them based on their ethnographic traits, this thesis is following the style of Hans-Martin Kirn. Writing before (in 1989) Hsia first framed the field of the Christian ethnographies of Judaism, Kirn viewed Pfefferkorn's early work as one body, not differentiating them due to their ethnographic character. All of Pfefferkorn's early works were classified by Kirn as *Streitschriften*, polemical works that were always with the aim of converting Jews.³⁰⁷ It must be acknowledged that *Juden beicht* and *Osterbüchlein* do contain descriptions of Jewish rites and customs, but to divide Pfefferkorn's early work based solely on those descriptions from the larger corpus overplays their significance and stops us from viewing Pfefferkorn's early pamphlets in the way

³⁰¹ Ibid. fol. 147v. ,Dar von ich ainn ander büchlinge/ macht hab'.

³⁰² Pfefferkorn, *juden beicht*, fol. 1v. 'Das funft helt in im diemütige ūmanung zü den cristē fursten/ die dy iudē hausen und beschirmen'.

³⁰³ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.39.

³⁰⁴ Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Ich bin ain Buchlinn der Juden veindt ist mein namen* (Augsburg: Johannes Pfefferkorr, 1509) fol. 128r. 'Das ander tail'.

³⁰⁵ Johannes Pfefferkorn, *In disem buchlein vindet Jer ain entlichenn furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten...* (Augsburg: Johannes Pfefferkorn, 1508), fol. 141r. 'Das ander tail/ des andern Capitels'.

³⁰⁶ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.42.

³⁰⁷ Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.8.

they were originally meant to be shown, as one series with the stated aim of campaigned to confiscate Jewish books. The ethnographic qualities of these texts function within the corpus of pamphlets in a supporting role, inserted by Pfefferkorn in order to buttress his desire to confiscate and to convert, and not through a desire to communicate information on Jewish life and custom to his Christian readership. This notion of ethnography employed as a tool to reinforce traditional anti-Jewish aims is one that will be consistently revisited through this chapter.

The 1507-10 period German publications of Pfefferkorn's pamphlets were initially printed by the Cologne publisher Johann Landen. An estimated eighty per cent of Landen's publications were of theological nature, with a popular, traditional, moralistic character.³⁰⁸ Cordelia Heß has asserted that Pfefferkorn's pamphlets were the popular spark that pushed Landen into printing more vernacular texts.³⁰⁹ His later works would be published by the same house as published von Carben's German works, Quentell.³¹⁰ Eight of Pfefferkorn's pamphlets were translated into Latin by Ortwin Gratius. Six of these eight Latin translations (of the other two, one was published in Nuremberg by Johannes Weyssenburger, the other's place of publication is unknown) were published by Heinrich von Neuß, a publisher who printed many theological tracts from the period, including the witch-hunting guide *Malleus Maleficarum* in 1487, as well as advice on the works of Martin Luther in 1520.³¹¹ Of Pfefferkorn's entire corpus of original German pamphlets, four can be fixed as being published in Cologne as well as the longer *Der Juden Spiegel*, a further four were published Augsburg and five more have no noted place of publication, although it can be inferred that at least two of those five were published in Cologne, due to there being six Latin releases there.³¹² A summary of Pfefferkorn's publishers and translators indicates two things; that they

³⁰⁸ Werner Greve, *Der Kölner Frühdrucker Johann Landen und die Druckwerke seiner Offizin* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), p.44. 'volkstümlich belehrenden oder erbaulichen Charakter'.

³⁰⁹ Heß, 'Jew Hatred Sells?', p.130.

³¹⁰ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.4.

³¹¹ Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.56.

³¹² Publication information for Pfefferkorn's works has been taken from Hans-Joachim Köhler, Hildergard Hebenstreit-Wilfert and Christoph Weisman (eds.), *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (IDC, Brill, 1999), p.169. This catalogue only mentions thirteen of Pfefferkorn's publications. The fourteenth, *Der Juden Spiegel*, is too long to be considered a pamphlet, and therefore was not included in Köhler et al's catalogue of pamphlets.

were heavily influenced by the Dominican order of Cologne, and that in their own time, they were viewed as coming from a popular, theological tradition. In terms of reception, Pfefferkorn's works, although being released at almost the same time as his contemporary von Carben, had a greater general impact upon release, and were 'more polished' and 'more comprehensive' than that of his convert colleague.³¹³

19th August 1509 saw Pfefferkorn realise his plan to begin investigating Jews' books, as Emperor Maximilian I signed a warrant which gave the convert wide ranging personal powers to seize Jewish books.³¹⁴ Six weeks later, Pfefferkorn had seized one hundred and sixty eight texts from the synagogue of the Jewish community of Frankfurt, the first stop on a tour of the Rhine region which Pfefferkorn himself claimed to have yielded some 1500 confiscated books.³¹⁵ In response, the Jews lobbied the Emperor, and representative of the Frankfurt Jewry, Jonathan Levi Zion, had reached Maximilian by 15th November, and succeeded in getting the Emperor to halt Pfefferkorn's right to confiscate.³¹⁶ By May 1510 a committee had been appointed, headed by Uriel von Gemmingen, Archbishop of Mainz (1468-1514), to solve the matter.³¹⁷ The panel consisted of seven experts, charged with providing *Gutachten* on whether the Jews' books should be confiscated and burned. These were representatives of the universities of Cologne, Erfurt, Heidelberg and Mainz, as well as von Carben, Johannes Reuchlin and Jacob von Hoogstraaten (c.1460-1527), inquisitor general of the Cologne region.³¹⁸ The experts from Mainz and Cologne, as well as Hoogstraaten, recommended burning Jewish books. Von Carben's advice has been lost, but it is safe to assume he followed his employers, the University of Cologne, in advising for

³¹³ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.178.

³¹⁴ Price, *Johannes Reuchlin*, p.110.

³¹⁵ Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.7, 37. Shamir estimates the real number of books confiscated to be nearer 650. Shamir, 'Johannes Pfefferkorn and the Dual Form of the Confiscation Campaign', in Adams and Heß, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews*, p.67.

³¹⁶ Rummel, 'Reports on the Confiscation of Jewish books from Frankfurt, 1509' in *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin*, p.130.

³¹⁷ Chava Fraenkel-Goldschmidt, *The Historical Writings of Joseph of Rosheim: Leader of Jewry in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p.115.

³¹⁸ Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.8.

burning.³¹⁹ The *Gutachten* of the Erfurt expert advised the books to be burned in cases where the books exhibited explicitly blasphemous passages. The Heidelberg theologian thought that a new commission should be launched, and finally Johannes Reuchlin was the only expert to advise that there should be no confiscation of Jewish books.³²⁰ Although Pfefferkorn did not have a voice on the panel, the report by his patrons at Cologne explaining their reasons for recommending confiscation allows us an insight into Pfefferkorn's thinking on the matter:

Because the Jewish book called Talmud manifestly contains not only errors and false statements, but also blasphemies and heresies against their own law [...] Gregory and Innocent ordered the said book to be burned [...] We consider it advisable, praiseworthy, godly, salutary, reasonable, and in the interest of the Christian faith as well as of the Jews' salvation that all these and other books [...] be taken away [...] and be set aside with a public and official declaration that this is done solely to distinguish between the books which the Jews are permitted to have for the true understanding of the Old Law and those which they are not permitted to have or read.³²¹

Two key points can be gleaned from this report. Firstly, it references the Popes Gregory IX (pontiff from 1227-1241) and Innocent IV (1243-54), who reigned during the trial of the Talmud which took place in Paris in the early 1240s. The converted Jew Nicolas Donin (died 1273) had made a path which Pfefferkorn followed over two hundred and fifty years later, by leaving Judaism, joining a mendicant order (in Donin's case it was the Franciscans, in Pfefferkorn's the Dominicans, although Pfefferkorn definitely had close contacts with the Franciscans, shown by his close relationship with Kunigunde, sister of Maximilian I, who had retreated from public life to a monastery under the Third Rule of St Francis, and it was she who introduced Pfefferkorn to the Emperor³²²) and uncovering blasphemies within Jewish texts, the Talmud in particular.³²³ There were some key differences between the controversies of 1240 and 1510. The Paris episode pitted Christian clerics against rabbis in the form of a disputation, and the trial resulted in a thousand

³¹⁹ Pfefferkorn omitted von Carben's recommendations in his report in order to 'keep the account brief', Diemling, 'Patronage, Representation, and Conversion', p.177

³²⁰ Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.8.

³²¹ 'Two reports by the Faculty of Theology at Cologne' Submitted November 1510 in Rummel, *Case Against Johann Reuchlin*, p.132.

³²² Diemling, 'Conversion, Anti-Judaism, Controversy', p.24.

³²³ Chazan, *Medieval Jewry*, p.126. In this statement I agree with Yaakov Deutsch, who, despite including Pfefferkorn among his 'polemical ethnographers', stated that 'Pfefferkorn basically followed in the footsteps of Nicolas Donin, who presided over the anti-Talmud struggle in the thirteenth century'. Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.235.

copies of the Talmud being burnt on the Place de Grève on the right bank of the river Seine,³²⁴ whereas Pfefferkorn's efforts in burning Jewish books involved no dialogue with Jews and were ultimately unsuccessful.³²⁵ But it is undoubted that the prior history of book burning was at the forefront of the minds of both convert and Dominican patron alike when Pfefferkorn's campaign was launched. Avner Shamir posits that all of the university experts invited to give their *Gutachten* had based their opinions on the age old formal condemnations of the Talmud by Gregory IX and Innocent IV in the thirteenth century.³²⁶ This notion is backed up further by the accusations Pfefferkorn brought against the Talmud whilst conducting the attempted confiscations. When demanding the Frankfurt Jewry's copies of the Talmud, Pfefferkorn asked that only thirteen of thirty seven tractates be confiscated. Eleven of these thirteen, which contained anti-Christian passages, were also demanded by Gregory IX in 1239.³²⁷ By demanding the same passages as Gregory had done, Pfefferkorn shows us that his knowledge of the Talmud came from a Christian perspective, taught to him by the Dominicans from their knowledge of previous Jewish book trials in France, rather than from Pfefferkorn's Jewish life. If the pamphlets written before 1510 were written with the aim of bringing about a movement to confiscate Jewish books, and the judgement of his like-minded patrons at the University of Cologne invoked papal ruling from the thirteenth century, it is clear that Pfefferkorn viewed his work as a continuation of an ancient tradition, involving converts and mendicants alike.

The extent of intellectual influence the Dominican order of Cologne had on Pfefferkorn and his writings has long been a hotly debated subject, with many seeing Pfefferkorn as merely a Dominican stooge with little or no personal initiative.³²⁸ This view was borne of the scything satire of the *Letters of Obscure Men*, a 1515-19 series of sham letters written by humanists, writing under

³²⁴ Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, p.63.

³²⁵ Although ultimately a failure, Price has described Pfefferkorn's actions in the maze of Imperial politics as proof of a skilled negotiator, and somebody who adapted well to the machinations of the Emperor's government. David H. Price, 'Johannes Pfefferkorn and Imperial Politics', in Adams and Heß, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews*, pp. 27-36.

³²⁶ Shamir, *Christian Conceptions*, p.65.

³²⁷ Ibid. p.43.

³²⁸ The best of example of this is Graetz, who saw Pfefferkorn as 'a tool in the hand' of the Dominicans. Diemling, 'Conversion, Anti-Judaism, Controversy', p.8.

the guises of university theologians, as the Pfefferkorn versus Reuchlin debate began to metamorphose from a dispute over the confiscation of Jewish books into a wider, more generalised struggle of scholastics and humanists. The authors, which included Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), Johann Crotus (died c.1539), personally demeaned Pfefferkorn and his family. The level of Dominican input in Pfefferkorn's publications was questioned by the satirical authors.³²⁹

An example of this can be seen in letter number eighteen, in which a fictional 'Doctor of Sacred Theology, Simon Wurst', writes to the real Ortwin Gratius, translator of Pfefferkorn's pamphlets from German to Latin. 'Wurst' references those who cast doubt onto Pfefferkorn's credentials: 'Many folk – especially the lay Magisters, and the priests and friars of the Franciscan Order – roundly declare it to be a thing impossible that Pfefferkorn composed that book, seeing that he never learned a word of Latin.'³³⁰ After an attack on his Latin abilities, the humanists continued to use Wurst as a vehicle to satirically attack Pfefferkorn:

"I [Wurst] reply that this objection is futile [...] I added, moreover, that Johann Pfefferkorn avoweth of himself – without boasting – that he can apply, without help, everything contained in the Bible or in the Holy Gospel, to any purpose, good or evil, and that in German or in Hebrew. He knoweth too, by rote, all the gospels that are read throughout the year, and he can recite them to the letter – and this is more than the Jurists and Poets [i.e. the Humanists] can do [...] Let them therefore be put to shame who have falsely spread it abroad that Johann Pfefferkorn hath not composed his own books, but that they have been written by the Doctors and Magisters at Cologne: let Johann Reuchlin, too, blush, and groan to all eternity, in that he declared that Pfefferkorn composed not the *Handspiegel* himself – concerning which there hath been before now much discussion amongst the learned".³³¹

This entire passage is meant as satire: Reuchlin is right to have accused Pfefferkorn of not penning the *Handspiegel* himself, and Wurst's compliment of Pfefferkorn as a man who has memorised the Bible and the Gospels is to be taken as criticism of a man with no intellectual independence of his own. The whole premise of the satirical *Letters of Obscure Men*, which has the primary aim of demeaning Pfefferkorn, means that their accusations of Pfefferkorn's lack of intellect must be taken with a healthy pinch of salt. However, when combined with the evidence shown above, of

³²⁹ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.178.

³³⁰ *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum: The Latin Text with an English Rendering, Notes, and an Historical Introduction*, trans. by Francis Griffin Stokes (London: Chatto and Windus, 1909), p.433.

³³¹ Ibid. p.434.

Pfefferkorn mimicking the demands of thirteenth century popes when confiscating Jewish books, it does strongly suggest that Pfefferkorn learnt the bulk of his knowledge of Judaism that formed the subject matter of his early pamphlets from a Christian perspective rather than from his own Jewish experience. On the other hand, suggestions of Pfefferkorn having no individual drive and acting merely as a mouthpiece of the Dominicans are wide of the mark. The years immediately after his conversion saw Pfefferkorn roaming across all the German-speaking lands, directly engaging Jews in an attempt to convert them, a zeal which was echoed in the vigour with which he pursued his book confiscation campaign in 1509. Pfefferkorn showed this independence in the closing notes of a second edition of *Der Juden Spiegel*, in which he stated: 'This booklet has been edited a second time by me, Johannes Pfefferkorn, formerly a Jew and now a Christian',³³² suggesting Pfefferkorn was at least attempting to portray himself as an independent writer. The original German pamphlets, riddled with errors of language but infused with the anti-Jewish zeal of a new convert, would have been well within Pfefferkorn's intellectual capabilities. It is undoubtedly that a heavy Dominican influence can be seen in the learning and outlook of Pfefferkorn, but it is also clear that Pfefferkorn did play the major role in the creation of his pamphlets from 1507-10.

After the book burning controversy of 1510, the central focus of Pfefferkorn's pamphlets shifted from Jewish books to Johannes Reuchlin, the doctor of law who had gone against the grain in recommending that the Jews' books should be returned to them, rather than confiscated permanently. As these later pamphlets outgrew the debate about Jewish books and morphed into a more generalized debate pitting the scholastic Dominicans against the humanists on Reuchlin's side, it is necessary only to briefly outline them here. Beginning with *Handtspiegel* in 1511, which was a response to Reuchlin's report defending the right of the Jews to keep their books, Pfefferkorn published a series of pamphlets debating Reuchlin's position. *Brantspiegell* (1512), *Sturm Johansen Pfefferkorn...*(1514), *Beschyrmung...*(1516), *Defensio...*(1516),

³³² Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.109.

Streydtpuechlyn...(1516) and *Ain mitleydliche claeg vber alle claeg...*(1521) complete a summary of his work on this topic.³³³ As his pamphlets after 1510 moved away from discussing Jews and towards arguing against the humanists, Pfefferkorn's later works (post 1510) will not be included in the discussion of Pfefferkorn's ethnographic qualities. While Pfefferkorn's subject matter changed after the book burning controversy, he approached the Jews and Johannes Reuchlin in similarly polemical styles, and with the same overarching aim of promoting his anti-Jewish, book confiscating platform.³³⁴ The debate quickly became personal, with Pfefferkorn accusing Reuchlin of Judaizing, which resulted in a back and forth trial of Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* (1511), which would see the humanist's pamphlet cleared, and then finally convicted of heresy by Leo X in 1520.³³⁵ By dividing Pfefferkorn's work through chronology and overall subject rather than on the theme of ethnography, it allows us to focus our readings of Pfefferkorn's works whilst still remaining true to how they were supposed to be read in the early sixteenth century.

Ethnography and describing Jewish custom effectively played only a subsidiary role in Pfefferkorn's writing, and when 'ethnographic' passages were used, it was always with the wider polemical agenda of confiscating and burning Jewish books. Hsia has described this, when combined with Pfefferkorn's ethnographic traits, as evidence of Pfefferkorn being 'an ethnographer in spite of himself'. Hsia's description is correct in so far as any ethnographic information that can be gleaned from Pfefferkorn's texts was incidental and in spite of his overarching polemical anti-Jewish goal of book confiscation. But by stratifying Pfefferkorn's work in this 'ethnographic vs. non-ethnographic' way, we lose sight of how the early pamphlets of 1507-10 were intended to be read – as texts aimed at convincing the reader that Jewish books ought to be taken from their owners, in order to help convert them to Christianity.

PFEFFERKORN'S ETHNOGRAPHIC TEXTS

³³³ Kirn, *Das Bild*, pp.201-04.

³³⁴ Price, 'Johannes Pfefferkorn and Imperial Politics', p.34.

³³⁵ Diemling, 'Conversion, Anti-Judaism, Controversy', p.25.

Having overviewed Pfefferkorn's publications in their entirety, we will now focus on two pamphlets, *Juden beicht* and *Osterbüchlein*, in order to show the multi-faceted nature of the documents, and most importantly for this work, how ethnography was used as a tool to advance Pfefferkorn's anti-Jewish aspirations. In the case of *Juden beicht*, the title of the pamphlet claims to cover how the Jews 'confess' – the Christianized term Pfefferkorn used to describe the ceremonies around Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah. In the case of *Osterbüchlein*, Pfefferkorn describes how the booklet will describe 'how the Jews hold their Easter', describing the Passover ceremony for a Christian readership. However, how Pfefferkorn chose to divide his pamphlets proves the adage that one must not judge a book by its cover. Although *Juden beicht* does cover Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah ceremonies, Pfefferkorn proposed to split his pamphlet into six chapters (in practice Pfefferkorn formally splits the work into five chapters, skipping directly from the first to the third chapter).³³⁶ The first chapter is on the preparation for Jewish confession, the 'other' is how the confess and who absolves them, the third, why Pfefferkorn has revealed this information, the fourth tells of the shame that comes from too much fraternizing with Jews, the fifth admonishes the princes who protect and house the Jews, and the sixth chapter gives the reason why many Jews, despite being inclined to believe in the Christian faith in their hearts, stay in their Jewish ways.³³⁷ From this, it is clear to see that only two of six chapters in the pamphlet deal specifically with the subject of Jewish confession, with chapters four five and six being on different topics entirely. A similar situation is found in *Osterbüchlein*, which Pfefferkorn proposes to split into four parts. The first chapter on how and at what time Jews have their Easter, the second on how the Jews eat the communion of their Easter, the third is a summary of the Hebrew

³³⁶ Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Ich heyss ain büchlein der iuden peicht* (Augsburg: Jörgen Nadler, 1508), fol. 1v. 'Diß büchlein will ich tailen in sechs tayl'.

³³⁷ Ibid. fol. 1v. 'Das erst tail ist von der beraitung zu der judischē peicht. Das ander wie sy peichten und wer sy absolviert. Das dryt/ warumb ich dise materie offenbar und außgeben han. Das vierd/ wie groß schade und schand auß erstee und kumm den die zuvil gemainschafft und gesellschaft mit den judē hältē. Das funft helt in im diemütige ümanung zü den cristē fursten/ die dy judē hausen und beschirmen. Das sechste ist auß welcher ursach vil iuden die im herten wol zu dem christē glauben genaigt sein doch in der iudische weyse bleiben'.

language and how Jews do not follow the letters of the law of Moses, finally the fourth speaks of the anger of the Jews and how they hinder Christendom.³³⁸ These chapter breakdowns show that, alongside the ‘polemical ethnography’ chapters on Jewish ceremonies, there are other chapters which have purely polemical aims. Pfefferkorn shares this characteristic in his writing with his contemporary von Carben, who also blended chapters containing polemicized information of Jewish ceremony with those which were profoundly anti-Jewish in nature.

Another similarity Pfefferkorn’s work shares with von Carben is the prevalence of Marian devotion and the importance of the Trinity within their works, reinforcing the trend that Pfefferkorn’s writing was steeped in traditional themes. Throughout the corpus of Pfefferkorn’s work before 1510, dedications to the Virgin are an equally constant feature, appearing in all of his early pamphlets. *Der Juden Spiegel*, *Juden beicht* and *Osterbüchlein* are all primarily dedicated to Mary and the Trinity, while she is also mentioned in the preface to *Judenfeind*.³³⁹ The woodcut found on the title page of *Osterbüchlein* is a representation of the crowned Virgin Mary, her arms spread wide and shielding four figures with her outstretched cloak, a devotional trope known as a *Schützmantelmadonna*. Three of the four wear crowns and the other wears distinctively Jewish costume, perhaps showing Pfefferkorn himself coming under Mary’s protection personally.³⁴⁰ The importance of Mary to the converted Jewish authors comes as no surprise, as anti-Judaism and Marian devotion had gone hand in hand for centuries, helped in part the perceived blasphemies found in the Talmud and subsequently disputed at events such as at Paris in 1240.³⁴¹ This was the subject of the first chapter of *Judenfeind*, with Pfefferkorn parroting old anti-Jewish rhetoric that

³³⁸ Ibid. ‘Das Erst capitel sagt wie und auff was zeyt die Juden yr Ostern halten’, fol. 138r; ‘Das ander Capitel sagt wie die Juden das abentmall yrer ostern Essen’, fol. 140v; ‘Das tritte Capitel darinich sage und bewern wil mit yrer sprach der hebreuscher das die Juden nach dem büchstaben dz gesatz Moysi mit den propheten sich berümen’, fol. 143v; ‘Das vierd Capittel sagt von schlackhaftiger böslistikait der Juden damit sie sich d cristenhait auffhaltē’, fol. 146r.

³³⁹ For example, the preface of *Osterbüchlein* is dedicated thus: ‘Zu lob und er der unzerdailten drifeltigkayt Marie der mutter des aller hochsten’, Pfefferkorn, *Osterbüchlein*, fol. 137v. While in *Der Juden Spiegel*: ‘Zum Lobe und zur Ehre der heiligen und ungeteilten Dreifaltigkeit, dem namen Jesu Christi, Mara, seiner gebenedeiten Mutter, der Himmelskönigin samt dem ganzen Himmlichen Heer [...].’

³⁴⁰ Pfefferkorn, *Osterbüchlein*, fol. 137r.

³⁴¹ For more on this, see Jordan, ‘Marian Devotion’, in *Ideology and Royal Power in Medieval France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Jews cursed Mary daily in their prayers.³⁴² Back in Paris in 1240, the Jewish reports of the Talmud trial recorded that while their Christian adversaries reacted with laughter and disbelief at the Jews' explanations of their teaching, the only time they became truly angered was when discussing Mary as an adulterous figure within the Talmud.³⁴³ This anger had not subsided in Pfefferkorn's readerships' hearts nearly three hundred years later. From the late medieval period onwards, Marian theology became a key tenet of attempts to convert Jews. Representations of Mary in the late medieval period often depicted her in sculpture playing the role of *ecclesia*, the pure antithesis of the corrupt, debauched *synagoga*, representing Judaism.³⁴⁴ According to Miri Rubin, the most common way for Christian to reflect upon the Jews' role in history, namely the crucifixion of Christ, 'had become so imbued with Mary that a triangular drama emerged between Mary and the Jews over her son's dead body'.³⁴⁵ Mary had become inextricably tied to anti-Jewish feeling, especially in the city of Cologne. This meant that for a convert wishing to prove the zeal of his new found Christianity, Marian devotion was a good medium through which to display it, so ubiquitous was she in anti-Jewish discourse.³⁴⁶ Furthermore, Marian miracles were often experienced on sites of synagogues, leading to cults such as that of the *Schöne Maria* in Regensburg, after Mary had saved a man who had been crushed by the roof of the synagogue which was demolished upon the Jews' expulsion from that city in 1519.³⁴⁷ Devotion to the mother of God, who Pfefferkorn claimed the Jews secretly said was 'outlawed' and was not a virgin, was a well-established trope of anti-Judaism which occurred regularly in the works of both Cologne converts.³⁴⁸ Such omnipresence of Marian themes throughout Pfefferkorn's early work suggest that, just as in the case of von Carben, they were at the forefront of his mind as he wrote after his conversion.

³⁴² Pfefferkorn, *Judenfeind*, fol. 126r. 'Das Erste Tayl dises Büchs sagt von der unerlichn blasphemirung so die Juden teglich got Marie seiner gebenedeitē muter und allem himlischē her an thun'.

³⁴³ Jordan, 'Marian Devotion', p.67.

³⁴⁴ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), p.164.

³⁴⁵ Ibid. p.164.

³⁴⁶ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.35.

³⁴⁷ Creasman, 'The Virgin Mary', p.963.

³⁴⁸ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.49.

Now we will examine the specifics of the descriptions of Jewish rites and ceremonies that Pfefferkorn included in his works, firstly in *Osterbüchlein*. Pfefferkorn opens the main text of *Osterbüchlein* by describing the date for the Jews' 'Easter':

On the day fourteenth day of the month of March, the Jews have their Easter, which would be until the twenty first day of the mentioned month and [they] take that from the twelfth chapter of the book of Exodus [...]³⁴⁹

An immediate problem when weighing up the ethnographic accuracy of this description is the Christianized naming of the Passover ceremony as 'Easter'. Passover, the celebration of God delivering the Jews from slavery, shares similarities Christian Easter, which commemorates and celebrates the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, but to equate one with the other is a distortion of both. Describing Passover as an equivalent to Easter is problematic for judging its ethnographic value, something which Pfefferkorn writes in the preface, 'The Jewish Easter is nothing other than a figure and representation of our Easter'.³⁵⁰ A similar incorrect naming of Jewish ceremony is found in the title of *Juden beicht*, a booklet which claims to detail Jewish 'confession'. What the pamphlet actually describes in the rituals of Jewish atonement, such as *Kapparot* and *Tashlikh*, and the New Year celebrations of Rosh Hashanah, as well as Pfefferkorn's oft repeated aims of expulsion and conversion of the Jews. Both of these titles which compare Jewish rites to Easter and confession, suggest to the reader that the rituals of Judaism are poor imitations of Christian items of belief, rather than ceremonies in their own right, that are not directly comparable to Christian rites, and are empty and meaningless.³⁵¹

Osterbüchlein delves deepest into an ethnographic manner of description when detailing the various rites which are performed by Jews in the build up to Passover. However, Pfefferkorn then interprets these ceremonies in a way that does not hold true to the Jewish interpretation of the rite, but rather reinforces Christian anti-Jewish rhetoric. Readers who had digested the ethnographic style descriptions of the first chapter were then told by Pfefferkorn how to

³⁴⁹ Pfefferkorn, *Osterbüchlein*, fol. 138r. 'Auff den. Xiiii. Tag des monats Mertz halten de Judenn yr Osternn welche weren bis auff den.xxi.tag geruerts Monats und nemē das auß dē xii. Capitel des buchs Exodi'.

³⁵⁰ Ibid. preface. 'Dan der Juden ostern ist anderst nit da ein figur und anzaygung unser ostern'.

³⁵¹ Diemling, 'Anthonius Margaritha', p.316.

'correctly' interpret them in the second chapter of *Osterbüchlein*. Echoing his proclamation in the foreword, Pfefferkorn makes it clear that the Jewish 'Easter' effectively anticipates Christian belief when outlining his second chapter: 'The other part of the first chapter, which is split into fifteen parts, teaches who the preparation for the Jewish Easter symbolizes in a religious sense [and] the preparation for our Christian Easter'.³⁵² The theme of cleanliness and purity is one that is constantly referred back to by Pfefferkorn when interpreting the symbolism of Jewish Passover preparations. This theme served many purposes for Pfefferkorn; firstly, to dispel the worst rumour about Jews in early modern Germany, namely blood libel;³⁵³ secondly, to bolster the traditional Christian belief that Judaism was somehow subordinate to and anticipating Christianity, and with customs so pedantic and impenetrable that they deserved to be scorned by Christians; and thirdly to advance a very clear Christian agenda, encouraging his readers to confess to priests and atone for their sins.

The first of these ways in which Pfefferkorn employs ethnographic descriptions can best be shown through his description of the unleavened *matzo*, a central culinary item of Passover. Pfefferkorn identifies for his Christian readership the utmost importance of removing all items that are *chametz*, products that are leavened with yeast. The family completes this task by moving through the family home with a single candle after sunset, burning anything that is deemed 'unclean'.³⁵⁴ Pfefferkorn uses this opportunity to interpret the Jews' spring clean of their houses as proof that the Jews' houses are dirty at every other time of year, rather than reflecting on the religious reason for the cleaning.³⁵⁵ As Pfefferkorn's emphasis on *chametz* then moves to the recipe for the *matzo*

³⁵² Pfefferkorn, *Osterbüchlein*, fol. 139r. 'Das ander Tayl des ersten Capitels welichs yn. xv. tayl getaylt wirt. unnd lernt wie die züberaitung der Judischen Ostern durch aynen gaistlichen syn bezaihnnet die beraitung unser Christlichen Ostern'.

³⁵³ In later pamphlets such as *Beschyrnung*, which debated Reuchlin, Pfefferkorn stated that he could not categorically deny ritual murder accusations. By his final pamphlet in 1521, he stated it was 'clear' that Jews tortured and murdered Christian children. Price, 'Johannes Pfefferkorn and Imperial Politics', p.36. However, I believe that these later accusations were a result of a desperation to prove that the Jews needed to be censured and converted, and were made at a time where it was far less damaging for him, as a converted Jew, to make accusations of blood libel. In the earlier ethnographic pamphlets, there is no suggestion he held these irrational beliefs.

³⁵⁴ Pfefferkorn, *Osterbüchlein*, fol. 140v. 'zü dem zwelfften wo sy die Juden dann etwas unrains funden haben das Brennen sy zü pulver dan so sein die heüser ganz volkümen und rain'.

³⁵⁵ Ibid. fol. 139v. 'habt yr gehört wie die heüser der Juden durch dz gantz iar unrein sein'.

wafers, which form a central part of the Passover meal: ‘On the second day before Easter is held, [they] make a dough in which there is no salt nor yeast’,³⁵⁶ and Pfefferkorn stresses the fact only water and ‘pure wheat’³⁵⁷ are used. The subtext of this ethnographic description of the *matzo* is that Christians had been accusing Jews of using Christian blood in their ceremonies, or to pervert Christian ones, since at least the case of William of Norwich in 1144.³⁵⁸ Cases of blood libel were relatively regular events in Germany in the late medieval and early modern period, with Regensburg and Passau in 1476 and 1477 respectively seeing accusations of blood libel against Jews.³⁵⁹ Pfefferkorn’s pointed emphasis on the purity of the wheat, unsullied by salt, yeast, or anything else refuted these accusations, and also protected himself from the most extreme antisemitic claims about his own Jewish past. This ethnographic description of the purity of the *matzo* is written by Pfefferkorn to exonerate himself from his Jewish past. In so doing, Pfefferkorn also exonerates the Jews as a whole, and as a by-product, enlightens his Christian readership with accurate ethnographic information on how the Jews prepare for Passover.

The second purification rite that comes into Pfefferkorn’s focus is the ritual cleaning of the tableware which was to be used on Passover. A long passage is devoted to this rite: the items used are sturdy, and made from silver or pewter.³⁶⁰ This crockery is then placed into a fishnet type sack, which is then placed into a cauldron of hot water, then cold, then the Rabbi was then summoned, who inspected the tableware, then the word *rechtfertig* (kosher) was said three times.³⁶¹ In the ‘other part’ of the first chapter of the booklet, Pfefferkorn explains this rite in an entirely Christian way. In a fifteen point explanation of the preparation of Passover, five of these explanations are

³⁵⁶ Ibid. fol. 138r. ‘auff den zwaiten tag Vor Ostern geholt ist Machen dar auß ainem tayg dar under kain saltz noch heffen.’

³⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 138r ‘Rainen waytz’

³⁵⁸ Gavin I. Langmuir, ‘Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder’, in Alan Dundes (ed.), *The Blood Libel Legend: A Case in Anti-Semitic Folklore* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp.3-41.

³⁵⁹ Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p.xiv.

³⁶⁰ Pfefferkorn, *Osterbüchlein*, fol. 138r. ‘Verrer was sie von silber oder zyngeschir (das gantz und nit brüchig noch zü stossen ist) haben.

³⁶¹ Ibid. fol. 138r. ‘[...] das als zusammen in eyn gestrickt garn.gelich ainē vischnetz stost es in aynnem kessel mit hayssem sidenden wasser.der dar zü berait und ob dem fewrr hangenn ist.zuckt es bald wider heraus.geust kalt wasser dar auff sprechende dry mal das wort Rechtfertig’.

dedicated to tableware preparation (parts five to nine), and Pfefferkorn interprets them all as signs that Christians should give whole-hearted confessions to their priests. In one such point, Pfefferkorn interprets the cooking utensils being removed from the boiling water by the Rabbi:

'as the Rabbi quickly pulls out the tableware out of the hot water [...] [we] understand by that the priest [...] is instructed that we are like the tableware in the hot kettle. So he pulls us out of the kettle and pours over us the water of absolution'³⁶²

Further from this comparison, Pfefferkorn mentions numerous times how Jewish ceremony should remind the Christians to confess. This is demonstrated in the sixth point of Pfefferkorn's fifteen part interpretation, where the practice of the Rabbi being shown the crockery is made comparable to Christians confessing to their priest, to see if they are worthy, like the kitchenware.³⁶³ Interpretations such as these create problems when attempting to describe *Osterbüchlein* as an ethnographic booklet. Yes, the preparation of the kitchenware is accurately described by Pfefferkorn, but his interpretation of the description is divorced from the true meaning of the rite. The reader is left with the impression that, while Christian clergymen confess humans, Jews have rabbis bless their knives and forks. The reason why Pfefferkorn offers constant encouragement to his readers to confess does not have a clear answer. Confession was an item of belief central in Pfefferkorn's thinking; he wrote a pamphlet on Jewish 'confession', and constant references to it throughout *Osterbüchlein* may suggest a strong level of influence from his employers, the scholastics of the University of Cologne, who as a 'citadel of Dominican zeal'³⁶⁴ would have been keen to exert control and religious orthodoxy throughout the region. My opinion is that the primary reason why Pfefferkorn chose to juxtapose a rite such as the preparation of cutlery with Christian confession was so that Jewish rituals were made to seem obscure and overcomplicated. Carlebach has written of how the impenetrable, legalistic nature of Jewish

³⁶² Ibid. fol. 140r. 'so zückt d Rabi das geschir schnellich auß dē kessel geüst kalt wasser dar auff und spricht dry mal Rechtfertif Dar bei wirt verstanden so uns der briester...ist under wisen hat das wir ain geschyrdes heissen kessels gewest sein so zückt er uns aus dem kessel geust über uns dz wasser d absolutz'.

³⁶³ Ibid. fol. 139v. 'reyben sye die Juden yr zynen und sylber geschir bringen das yrem Rabi zü besehen bezeichnet das wyr uns sollen beweysen dem briester durch ain volkumne beicht der als dann bekennen soll ob wir reyn und wirdig seyn'.

³⁶⁴ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.178.

ceremony, stating that the converted authors encouraged Christians to see Jews as trying to achieve salvation through following codes of law, not through faith.³⁶⁵ To reassert this point, Kirn has described how Pfefferkorn's style gives the impression that the Jews don't understand their own ceremony.³⁶⁶ I believe both of these writers' observations can be seen clearly in the above passage on kitchenware – inordinate attention is given to it to emphasise the more complicated legalistic side of Jewish ritual, while at the same time it is interpreted by Pfefferkorn in a confessional, Christian manner to prove that the Jews do not interpret their own ceremony correctly. In so doing, Pfefferkorn puts Judaism in Christian terms. The information given is correct, but the interpretation Pfefferkorn offers skews the reader's understanding of the true nature of ceremony. Conversely, Pfefferkorn's interpretation reinforces older Christian beliefs about Jews; that their ceremonies are fossilized in obscure laws, and that their Judaism is a poor interpretation of the one true religion, Christianity. Ethnography is employed as a way to reinforce the old Christian worldview of Jews as mistaken and inferior to their Christian counterparts.

Pfefferkorn showed in his other pamphlets in the 1507-10 that he was not afraid or unable to tackle difficult subjects and to translate them for his Christian readers when it suited his polemical aims. In *Judenfeind*, Pfefferkorn included multiple passages of Hebrew text, unintelligible to all but a handful of people throughout Christendom at the time, in order to describe the slanderous names the Jews supposedly used to curse Jesus and Mary daily, among other topics such as maledictions against converts like himself.³⁶⁷ For these themes, which served traditional polemical purposes or to accentuate his own notoriety among his previous co-religionists, he was prepared to fully decode Judaism rather than giving a flawed facsimile as he had done with describing Passover. For example, Pfefferkorn offers a long Hebrew transcription of a text which he claims speaks of 'no hope for the baptized', and that all unbelievers should die quickly.³⁶⁸ Of this curse, Pfefferkorn offers the Hebrew text, above which there is a Latinized version of the

³⁶⁵ Ibid. p.171.

³⁶⁶ Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.47.

³⁶⁷ Pfefferkorn, *Judenfeind*, fols. 126r-127v.

³⁶⁸ Ibid. fol. 127r. '...] zu den getauften ist kain hoffnung und alle unglaubigen sollen schnelliglich vergon'.

Hebrew, as if he is encouraging his readers to attempt to speak the words themselves, followed by a full explanation in German.³⁶⁹ This Hebrew to Latinized Hebrew to German translation served two purposes for Pfefferkorn. The first was to prove his own proficiency in the Hebrew language in order to give a sense of authority to his work.³⁷⁰ Pfefferkorn ‘gloried in his distinguished rabbinic pedigree’, which he claimed to have received from his uncle, the rabbi Meir Pfefferkorn.³⁷¹ In later years, this pedigree would come under attack from the humanists, but at the time of *Judenfeind*’s publication in 1509, Pfefferkorn was not as yet on the defensive for his command of Hebrew. The second benefit that was gained from including the Hebrew, and in particular the Latinized Hebrew transcriptions in his publications was that Pfefferkorn could foster a sense of incredulity and mystique that Christians had for Judaism. According to Hsia, the late medieval period had seen an ‘obsession’ with Jewish magic and sacrifice.³⁷² Additionally, Hebrew had been a ‘magical’ language with a ‘force of enchantment’.³⁷³ I believe that the inclusion of the Latinized Hebrew translation, which was as useful as an aid to understanding the meaning of the text as gobbledegook to Christians, was included to reaffirm the oddness and peculiarity of the language of Jewish prayer and ritual. When allied with the fact that Pfefferkorn’s translation was of questionable accuracy (as Reuchlin pointed out), the two translations of the original Hebrew became less about understanding the text and more about maintaining the mystery of Hebrew and warping Jewish prayers to serve traditional anti-Jewish themes, the blasphemies against the holy family, and Christians as a whole.

³⁶⁹ Ibid. fol. 127r. An example of the Latinized Hebrew runs, ‘Jelamschomudim al they dickfa vechol hamim kerega jouedu vechol oyfe amcho beß Israel mehera ykoreson umalchus zodon mehera teacker usschaber ussmager fesachnia kol oyfenu bymhera beyomenu’.

³⁷⁰ *Judenfeind* was the pamphlet that Johannes Reuchlin critiqued extensively in his *Gutachten* for the book-burning controversy of 1510, criticizing Pfefferkorn’s understanding and translations of Hebrew, including the one I have cited in footnote 66. Johannes Reuchlin, ‘Report about the Books of Jews’ in Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin*, p.90. It is clear that Reuchlin was criticizing the translations and not the anti-Jewish content, because he himself had accused the Jews of blaspheming Mary daily in the *German Missal* of 1505. Hsia, *Ritual Murder*, p.119. Reuchlin’s criticisms of *Osterbüchlein* in his 1510 *Gutachten* set in motion the debate against that would dominate Pfefferkorn’s later publications.

³⁷¹ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.122.

³⁷² Hsia, *Ritual Murder*, p.151.

³⁷³ Ibid. p.148.

KAPPAROT AS AN EXAMPLE OF PFEFFERKORN'S ETHNOGRAPHY AND ITS FUNCTION AS AN AFFIRMER OF ANTI-JUDAISM

By moving in closer to look at Pfefferkorn's descriptions of the ceremonies of Jewish atonement in *Juden beicht*, we can begin to understand the reasons why Pfefferkorn chose to illuminate certain aspects of Jewish ritual in an ethnographic fashion. Like his convert colleague von Carben, Pfefferkorn singled out the ceremonies around Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur for extensive description, the pamphlet covers chronologically the eleven day period between the eve of Rosh Hashanah and the culmination of Yom Kippur. The first chapter of *Juden beicht* takes the reader throughout the month of their 'confession', beginning with the daily blowing of the *shofar* horn throughout the month of August.³⁷⁴ It continues with a detailed description followed by the New Year's celebrations of Rosh Hashanah, while chapter two focuses on the build up to and day of Yom Kippur in a systematic fashion. Ceremonies that Pfefferkorn singled out for particular attention include *Kapparot*, involving the transferal of a person's sins onto a cockerel or hen, depending on the sinner's gender and *Tashlikh* where Jews ritually bathed in a river and cast their sins onto fish. For example, Pfefferkorn recounts how, during *Kapparot*, the Jews say to the cockerel: 'you are a forgiver of my sin, which is transferred from me to you, and will be carried over. I am now freed from my sins, you are guilty for me. You go to death and I go on to eternal life'.³⁷⁵ While this translation gives an accurate portrayal of *Kapparot* (Deutsch states that a comparison between this and contemporaneous Jewish accounts indicates that Pfefferkorn's description of *Kapparot* is a credible one³⁷⁶), Pfefferkorn subtly altered the original text to give the words a meaning which encourages comparison with the Christian carrier of sins, Christ. 'You are

³⁷⁴ Pfefferkorn, *Juden beicht*, fol. 2r. As seen in *Osterbüchlein*, Pfefferkorn translates the Jewish calendar (in this case, the month Elul becomes August) into the Julian calendar, causing discrepancies.

³⁷⁵ Ibid. fol. 5v. 'du bist ain vergeber meyner sund/ welche von mir zü dir verwandelt und übertragē gesetzt werden. Ich bin nun von meinen sunden gefreyhet aber du bist schuldig fur mich/ du geest in den tod und ich in das ewig leben'.

³⁷⁶ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.89.

a forgiver of my sin', instantly brings a Christian mind to thoughts of their own forgiver, and therefore on to a comparison between the Jewish cockerel and Christ. In my opinion, this alteration was deliberately included to inspire scorn and disbelief of Jewish ceremony among Pfefferkorn's Christian readers. The modern Koren-Sacks *siddur* translation states the passage thus: 'Let this be my exchange, let this be my substitute. Let this rooster go to death while I go and enter a good long life, and peace'.³⁷⁷ This manufactured comparison between Christian and Jewish confessors is played up to further by Pfefferkorn, when the *Juden beicht* states, 'As evening approaches they sit down at a table in happiness and gorge on those who confessed them and their own sins until they are sated.'³⁷⁸ Not only do Jews rely on birds as confessors, they then eat those confessors, thus reinvesting themselves with sin. In this way Pfefferkorn brought to the fore what he saw as Jewish stupidity as well as the unfavourable comparison between *Kapparot* and the Christian confession.³⁷⁹ As well as calling the roosters 'confessors', Pfefferkorn anthropomorphises them further when discussing the *Kapparot* prayer. It is stated that the Jews 'speak to the cockerel'³⁸⁰, using the verb *sprechen*, whereas in other passages Pfefferkorn tends to use *beten* (to pray) or *beichten* (to confess) to describe Jewish prayer. The Jews are then said to address the birds as humans, using the *du* pronoun, leaving the readers in no doubt that they are supposed to interpret that the Jews ascribe real confessional qualities to the cockerel in the *Kapparot* ceremony. Pfefferkorn's description of this ceremony was aimed at emphasising the superficiality of Jewish confession.³⁸¹ Pfefferkorn is clearest in his desire to witheringly ascribe human qualities to the cockerel when he states that the head of the household, as part of his thanksgiving to God, '[...] gives thanks on behalf of the whole people [...] for having given the

³⁷⁷ The Koren Siddur: With Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Chief Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks (Jerusalem: Koren Publishers, 2013), p.884.

³⁷⁸ Pfefferkorn, *iuden beicht*, fol.5v. 'dan der tag zum abent felt/ sitzen sy zum tisch in frölichkait und essen dann von iren peicht veternd und iren aygen sünden biß das sy gesettiger werden'. The meaning of 'veternd' is not entirely clear, I used Ortwin Gratius' Latin translation for this particular passage, '[...] vescuntur et de illis, imo rillos vorant suos confessores absolutoresqz simul cum peccatis suis que in eos transmiserunt usqz ad plenam'.

³⁷⁹ For Hans-Martin Kirn, the description of the *Kapparot* ceremony was, 'die polemisch-spöttische Spitze' of the pamphlet. Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.39.

³⁸⁰ Pfefferkorn, *juden beicht*, fol. 5v. '[...] und spricht zu dem hanen/ du bist ain [...]'

³⁸¹ Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.40.

roosters the intelligence to differentiate between night and day'.³⁸² Once again, Pfefferkorn proved himself adept at taking ethnographic information on Jewish life and presenting it in the most acutely anti-Jewish terms possible. Firstly by selecting *Kapparot* for study, and then equating the Christian confessor to anthropomorphised roosters, the Cologne author represented the ceremony in a highly polemical way, ensuring his readers took away what was the key fact about Jewish life for Pfefferkorn: its anti-Christian nature, meaning that it must be censured.

Within *juden beicht*, there are four woodcuts which act as visual representations of elements of Jewish ceremony that Pfefferkorn describes in his pamphlet. Two of the four images show the Jews in the synagogue; the first depicts the blowing of the *shofar* horn (this image is also shown on the front page of the pamphlet) (figure 2), and the second shows a ritual flagellation ceremony performed on the eve of Yom Kippur (figure 3). The other two show Jewish ceremonies which involve animals; the *Tashlikh* ceremony (figure 4), in which the Jews cast their sins onto fish in local rivers, and the atonement ritual *Kapparot* (figure 5). Anthonius Margaritha also used these woodcuts to embellish his work on Judaism, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* in 1530. All of these woodcuts work in close relationship to the text, as they all represent ceremonies described in the text of *juden beicht*, none of them act as 'stand-alone' images, and all of them serve to enhance the understanding of Pfefferkorn's writing.³⁸³ Erika Rummel has stated how the text of *juden beicht* was 'horrible toward the Jews', but that the woodcuts did show 'authentic representations of Jewish customs'.³⁸⁴ In a somewhat different appraisal of the woodcuts, Hsia has written of how the woodcuts were 'caricatures' which 'ridiculed' Judaism, albeit in a starkly different way from Christian representations of Jewish host desecration or ritual murder'.³⁸⁵ In fact, a combination of the two interpretations is needed to fully understand the woodcuts, which were accurate

³⁸² Pfefferkorn, *juden beicht*, fol. 2r. [...] Er lobet got den herren und danckt ym von des gantzen volcks [...] das er dem hanen [text illegible, in the Latin translation, the word is *intelligētiā*] geben hat tag und nacht zu vutterschayden'.

³⁸³ Pfefferkorn 'was fully aware of at least the main features of the woodcuts that were incorporated in his booklet' as he 'obviously' referred readers in his text to the images. Naomi Feuchtwanger-Sarig, 'Synagoga Veritas? Johannes Pfefferkorn and his Synagogue Descriptions in the *buchlijn der iuden beicht*', in Adams and Heß, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews*, p.99.

³⁸⁴ Rummel, *Johann Reuchlin*, p.69.

³⁸⁵ Hsia, 'Christian Ethnographies', p.228.

representations of Jewish ceremonies while also ridiculing them, a level of sophistication which belies their relatively crude appearance. All four woodcuts found in *juden beicht* corroborate the notion that Pfefferkorn presented valid ethnographic information to his readers, only to modify it in such a way so as to add weight to his overall aim of instigating anti-Jewish feeling and help his quest to confiscate Jewish books. It has already been shown how Pfefferkorn took the *Kapparot* prayer and overly emphasised the confessional nature of the practice to instigate an unfavourable comparison to Christian confession. The *Kapparot* woodcut also exhibits similar themes, subtle (and some less subtle) changes to the nature of the *Kapparot* ceremony which encouraged the Christian readership to confirm its long held stereotypes of the obscurity and superstition of Jewish religious praxis. Although the images themselves are fairly rudimentary in terms of their quality and detail, there is a multiplicity of anti-Jewish themes running throughout them, complimenting those which are found in the text.

Two factors in the woodcuts in particular encourage anti-Jewish feeling. The first and perhaps most obvious of these is the veils covering the faces of all of the Jews in the *Kapparot* woodcut, a theme which is found throughout all four pictures. The purpose of the veils was not to show Jewish modes of dress, but was included as a polemical attack on the Jews, associating them with the age-old anti-Jewish trope of blindness and an inability to see the errors of their ways under the Jewish faith. This blindness to the truth of Christianity was the keystone criticism Pfefferkorn adopted throughout his early publications in trying to achieve his aim of Jewish book confiscation. In *Der Juden Spiegel*, Pfefferkorn stated that demonic influences beclouded Jewish eyes from seeing the truth.³⁸⁶ While in *juden beicht*, the woodcuts supplemented the text. One of many examples of Pfefferkorn's exasperation with the blind Jews can be seen when, in *juden beicht*, which exclaimed, 'Oh, how blind and ignorant is this poor suffering people?!'³⁸⁷ The veiled Jew is the pictorial representation of Pfefferkorn's primary theme of highlighting that Jewish books are the primary cause of Jewish misbelief. This close working relationship between the woodcut and the text

³⁸⁶ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.45.

³⁸⁷ Pfefferkorn, *Juden beicht*, fol. 3r. 'Ach wie verplint und unuerstendig ist das arm ellendig volck.'

shows how these images were employed by Pfefferkorn as a part of his wider aims to encourage the anti-Jewish attitudes of his readers. Depicting the Jews as veiled whilst conducting their ceremonies does not disprove that the woodcuts offered an ethnographic representation of Jewish life, but is concurrent with Pfefferkorn's textual style, which added layers of traditional Christian polemic to his descriptions, which altered the way his readers consumed the largely information he proffered.

The second factor is not as explicit as the veils covering the eyes of the Jews, but plays, in my opinion, a more sophisticated role in encouraging a negative, anti-Jewish reaction from the reader. The interaction in the *Kapparot* woodcut between the cockerels and the humans is shown in a somewhat inaccurate way. Particular attention must be directed towards the way the Jews are depicted handling the cockerels and hens. In the image, the Jews hold their bird in one hand, by the feet. Some of the birds flap their wings, the Jews are facing in different directions, but all are facing the birds. One bird in the bottom right hand corner of the image appears to be escaping its captor. Movement exists throughout the woodcut, and the image encourages thoughts of Jews chasing the birds around the room in different directions as they attempt to escape. What is conspicuously lacking from the image are themes of solemnity and religiosity. There are no religious books in the woodcut (unlike the other two woodcuts which depict scenes inside the synagogue), and the movement invoked by the image gives an image far more of chaos and noise rather than the serious business of sin, confession and atonement. A female figure on the right-hand side of the image is without a bird, and is shown kneeling and folding her hands, a posture Pfefferkorn's Christian readership would have identified as one of prayer. In this woodcut this figure is somewhat ambiguous – does the kneeling woman act as a reminder to the viewer that the action going on around her is religious in nature, or does it encourage viewers to contrast the motionless, 'birdless', worshipper with the commotion caused by the standing Jews with birds elsewhere in the woodcut? My opinion is that this particular woodcut was depicted in this way in order to encourage readers to think of Judaism as a superstitious religion mired in customs that

seemed strange and almost laughable to Christians, just as Pfefferkorn had done in *Osterbüchlein's* text when describing the preparation and blessing of kitchenware.

A comparison with other woodcuts depicting the *Kapparot* ceremony underline how Pfefferkorn used his images to constantly remind his readers of the superstition and peculiarity of Jewish praxis. Margaritha's *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, which also employed the Pfefferkorn woodcuts, ran through multiple print runs, one of which was printed at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1544. This edition also updated the woodcuts: while retaining the same subject matter of Pfefferkorn's woodcuts, they exhibit less of the polemical bent which encouraged readers to reconfirm the belief of Jews being blinded by superstition. In this woodcut (figure 6), greater prominence is given to the eating of the cockerel, while the ceremony of sin transferral is found in the bottom left hand corner. Unlike the Pfefferkorn image, typified by movement, chaos and the veiled Jews, the 1544 Frankfurt image shows Jews kneeling, grasping the cockerel with two hands, and their eyes uncovered. These small changes do not affect the ethnographic accuracy of the woodcut, but they do greatly reduce the amount of polemical pointers the viewer is given to confirm their previously held suspicions of Jewish ceremony being inadequate. In place of the veil, the 1544 woodcut shows the Jews wearing *Judenringel*, a yellow circle attached to clothes to identify them. Where the veil represented a polemical metaphor for blind Jews, the *Judenringel* reflected a reality in the sixteenth century Holy Roman Empire, that all Jews were legally obliged to identify themselves using the *Judenringel*. A second woodcut showing *Kapparot*, from a Jewish book of customs printed in Venice in the later sixteenth century shows us a different perception of the ceremony. Coming from a Jewish book of customs, it was naturally devoid of the overtly polemical veils that are found in the Pfefferkorn woodcuts and served a Jewish readership rather than a Christian one. However, it is instructive for us to use as a tool of comparison with the representation of *Kapparot* found in *juden beicht*. The major difference in the Jewish book of customs' *Kapparot* woodcut is that the cockerels are held upside down by the Jews, and they do not look at the birds directly, as

if ‘speaking’ to it, as the Jews were shown to do in *juden beicht*.³⁸⁸ To compound this, a book is given just as much prominence as the bird, reminding the viewer of the leading role of prayer and scripture in the *Kapparot* ceremony, a theme which was entirely lacking from the Pfefferkorn woodcuts. Viewed in isolation, some of the more subtle aspects of Pfefferkorn’s polemic are difficult to identify. But the way in which the birds are shown, as part of a chaotic, incredulous scene in which their role is heavily anthropomorphized is thrown into sharp relief when compared with the 1544 woodcut and the Jewish book of customs. Despite their artistic simplicity, the Pfefferkorn woodcuts display a multiplicity of polemical themes, which, just as in the text of his pamphlets, alters the way in which his Christian readership consumed information on Jewish ritual life and customs.

THE ALEINU PRAYER IN PFEFFERKORN’S WRITING

Historians of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha in modern scholarship are consistently careful to point at that describing the publications of these three converts as ethnographic comes with strong caveats attached. Hsia, the initiator of the ‘Christian ethnographic’ genre, describes our authors as ‘ethnographers in spite of themselves’; Diemling and Carlebach made sure to use quotation marks around the word ‘ethnographic’ to describing Pfefferkorn’s works in that way;³⁸⁹ while Deutsch adhered to the term ‘polemical ethnographies’. These caveats show us that, although the works of the convert authors were heavily polemicized, that does not extinguish their ethnographic value. If one adopts such an approach that information on Jewish life can be polemicized and altered to suit a Christian readership and retain its ethnographic value, then in my opinion, one can consider Christian accounts of Jewish prayers as ethnographic in style.

³⁸⁸ Constance Harris, *The Way Jews Lived: Five Hundred Years of Printed Words and Images* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2009), p.63. Harris gives neither an author nor a year of publication for the *Book of Customs*, stating only that it was from the sixteenth century. However, the piece remains valuable as a comparative tool for Pfefferkorn’s woodcuts.

³⁸⁹ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.179. Diemling, ‘Conversion, Anti-Judaism, Controversy’, p.35.

Prayers such as *Aleinu le'Shabeah* and the fifteenth century polemic *Sefer-ha-Nizzahon* did contain anti-Christian blasphemies, but not nearly to the same extent as was claimed by the convert authors, and they were subsequently polemicized by Christian authors to suit their anti-Jewish agendas.³⁹⁰ The tradition of enquiring into Jewish prayers began with the first translations of the Talmud by Richard and Andrew of St Victor, in Paris in the twelfth century, with the former accusing the latter of Judaizing and being too receptive of Jewish scripture.³⁹¹ Andrew was the first to make frequent reference to postbiblical Jewish material, expanding on the initial drive, first led by Stephen Harding (d. 1134), to produce a 'corrected text' of the Latin Bible by studying the 'Hebrew Truth'.³⁹² This had developed by the late middle ages into Christians pinpointing certain tracts of the Talmud in their search for blasphemies.³⁹³ Deutsch highlights *Aleinu* as a prayer that was interpreted in a polemical fashion by Pfefferkorn. *Aleinu*, Pfefferkorn claimed, 'proclaims that the Christians pray to a God that is unable to help them'.³⁹⁴ He went on to state:

'In this prayer, the name of the king is heard three times, denoting the Holy Trinity, which they do not recognise [...] Next they shout and call in clear voices, and say: 'You are our God, and no other.' By this they give the understanding that Christ, the son of Mary, who has delivered us from the violence of the devil and from eternal damnation through his blood on the holy wooden cross, is no God. Their prayer is called in the Hebrew language 'olenn laschabeha [*Aleinu*],' and is a daily prayer'.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ *Sefer-ha-Nizzahon* is instructive in this case because it was written c.1407 by Rabbi Lipmann Mühlhausen (d.1421) as an anti-Christian polemic, in response Christian anti-Jewish polemic. R. Lipmann's work describes a converted Jew, Peter, who criticized aspects of Jewish ceremonial, including the burning of the *Chametz* (leavened bread) on Passover Eve, which the convert interpreted as 'a deliberate scorn of the host'. Ora Limor and Israel Yacob Yuval, 'Skepticism and Conversion: Jews, Christians, and Doubters in Sefer-ha-Nizzahon' in Alison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p.163. It was a popular text for our converted authors to attack because it singled out converts for especially vehement criticism. Descriptions such as of the burning of *Chametz* led the Limor and Yuval to suggest that, 'Peter can be seen as a forerunner of the ethnographic study of Judaism, whose roots first emerged, therefore, at the turn of the fourteenth century. However, unlike other, such as Victor von Carben and Anton Margaritha, Peter did not study Judaism in order to convince other Jews to convert, but only find them guilty of defaming Christianity and consequently worthy of destruction. Ibid. p.176.

³⁹¹ Beryl Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p.106.

³⁹² Michael A. Signer, 'Polemical and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth-Century Hebraism', p.24.

³⁹³ Funkenstein, 'Basic Types', p.381.

³⁹⁴ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.105.

³⁹⁵ Pfefferkorn, *Juden beicht*, fol. 6v. 'in welchem gebett under die namen des künigs drey mal erhillt die hailig driviltgait der sy durch ire verhörte boßhait und hartneckighait nit erkennen wollen begryffen wirt/ furter so schreyen und rüffen sy mit heller stymn und sprechen du bist unser got und nit ain ander/ dar durch geben sy zuuersteen das christus der sun Marie der unns mit seinem theuren plüt an dem holtz des hayligen creützes von der gewalt des teüfels und ewiger verdampnus starcklich erlöst hat/ kain gott sey/ solchs ir gepet haift in hebreyscher sprach olenn laschabeha und ist ain teglichs gepet'.

Pfefferkorn's interpretation of the *Aleinu* prayer is a prime example of him recording an item of Jewish daily life, in this case, a prayer, in a largely accurate fashion, and then representing it in such a way that gives the prayer a profoundly anti-Christian meaning, his standard *modus operandi* when employing the concept of ethnography in his texts. The clearest example of this is in how Pfefferkorn equates the repetition of the word 'king' three times to be indicative of the Trinity, something which is very important to his own faith, proved by the fact he dedicates the majority of his publications to it, alongside the Virgin Mary. In his account of *Aleinu*, Pfefferkorn uses the same method of recording information on Jewish life in an ethnographic fashion, and then subsequently moulded that information to serve his polemical aims. In the case of *Aleinu*, the polemical aim was to make Jews and Judaism seem as anti-Christian as possible. If one compares his analysis of the *Aleinu* prayer with his analysis of *Kapparot*, one finds the same appropriation of information for polemical purposes. In Pfefferkorn's description of *Kapparot*, the prayer said to the cockerel was given a more confessional tone to encourage the comparison of a bird carrying Jewish sins to Christ who carried Christian sins. Gavin Langmuir described whilst distinguishing between anti-Judaism and antisemitism - that 'kernels of truth' lay in traditional anti-Jewish attacks that Jews did show secret contempt for Christians or that they played a role in the crucifixion of Christ.³⁹⁶ Langmuir contrasted these anti-Jewish criticisms with the entirely untrue accusations levelled against Jews such as well poisoning and ritual murder. These small nuggets of truth were then shrouded in polemic. A near identical process of transformation, from kernel of truth to fully formed anti-Jewish polemic, can be seen in Pfefferkorn's descriptions of the *Kapparot* ceremony and his wider description of Jewish atonement.

These prayers and religious books which Pfefferkorn considers, including not just *Aleinu* but also *Kol Nidrei*, and Jewish prayer books such as *Sefer-ha-Nizzahon*, which von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha all targeted,³⁹⁷ have not been considered under the 'ethnographic' umbrella because

³⁹⁶ Langmuir, *Antisemitism*, p.11.

³⁹⁷ Limor and Yuval, 'Skepticism and Conversion', p.161.

they were criticisms of Jewish theology and rabbinics. Conversely, the ethnographic information of Yom Kippur, Passover and others has been defined as being exceptional due to it describing Jewish customs, rites and way of living, which 'did not have a direct bearing on doctrinal controversy'.³⁹⁸ But *Aleinu* should be placed alongside the rest of Pfefferkorn's exceptionally polemicized brand of ethnography on two counts. Firstly, *Aleinu* was not an obscure Talmudic tract but a prayer that played an important role in Jews' everyday lives, making it a part of Jewish society, and more than just Judaism the religion. Lifting Jews' lives off the page of post-biblical scripture and in to the real world was a key tenet that differentiated polemical ethnography from what had gone before. Secondly, from what we have seen of Pfefferkorn's aims behind his publications in the period 1507-10, his aims *were* focused precisely on creating a doctrinal controversy out of a medieval tradition, namely the book burning controversy that began in 1509 - Pfefferkorn dedicated the later chapters of *Juden beicht* to this purpose. The case of the attack on the *Aleinu* prayer in *Juden beicht* highlights the problem of selecting discrete elements of Pfefferkorn's works, and separating them from the rest of his corpus by describing them as ethnographic. An artificial sense of difference is created between the ethnographic information of *Kapparot* and the polemicized information of *Aleinu*, even though they are almost the same in practice; kernels of truth of Jewish life, which are appropriated for the reason of mounting an attack on Jews, their literature, and their way of life. To cast the sixteenth century convert authors' interpretations of *Aleinu*, a traditional exegetical attack which pre-dated the convert authors by centuries and *Kapparot* an ethnographic description, as similar in nature would have striking consequences on the labelling of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha as forerunners in the field of Christian ethnographies of Jews, making the forerunners come much earlier. This alternative, earlier application of forerunner status has been posited for the closely related field of Hebraism, which some authors have seen as having origins in the twelfth century.³⁹⁹ Frank E.

³⁹⁸ Hsia, 'Christian Ethnographies', p.228.

³⁹⁹ Hebraism is the sister of the works of the convert authors. Hebraists were lifelong Christians, who performed the same role as converted authors in the early modern period by writing on Jewish culture and folkways. Yaakov Deutsch writes about both convert ethnographies and Hebraism side by side. Beryl

Manuel cites the rise of the mendicant orders and the cathedral school of St Victor in the mid twelfth century as a break with the Augustinian, allegorical approach to Judaism,⁴⁰⁰ while Michael A. Signer went further in stating that, 'the development of theological inquiry in all ecclesiastical institutions, the monastic schools, the new open school of the Augustinian canons of St. Victor Abbey in Paris [in the twelfth century], and the schoolrooms of Paris all shared an interest in Hebraism'.⁴⁰¹ Such scholarly interpretations which put the birth of Hebraism in twelfth century Paris serve to highlight the notion that the process of Christian interpretation of Jewish prayer, something Pfefferkorn himself did with *Aleinu* and other prayers, had a history already centuries old by the early sixteenth century. In my opinion, we could better understand Pfefferkorn's anti-Jewish pamphlets by introducing his interpretations of Jewish prayer, a practice that originated well before his time, into the same discussion as his ethnographic descriptions, which have been described as a new genre of polemical ethnography. Rather than differentiating between the new practice of describing Jewish ceremonies such as Passover and Rosh Hashanah, and the old practice of describing Jewish prayers such as *Aleinu* and *Kol Nidrei*, we could better understand Pfefferkorn's aims, as well as the wider issue of the beginning of the genre of ethnographies of the Jews, to identify both descriptions of Jewish life and Jewish prayer as undergoing the same process of change: how the presentation of information on Jewish life was predominantly accurate, and then how this presentation was subjected to a Christianized interpretation in order to reaffirm traditionally held Christian beliefs about Jews. In the case Pfefferkorn's inclusion of the *Aleinu* prayer, the result was the reaffirmation of the belief that Jews cursed Christians, in the case of the inclusion of items of Jewish rite, whether it be *Kapparot* or preparations for Passover, the result was the reaffirmation of the belief that Jewish ritual was a mix of the superstitious and the legalistic. In this way, the artificial binary of the what is 'new' and what is 'old' in Pfefferkorn's

Smalley first forwarded the idea of Hebraism's birthpoint as the late twelfth century in *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952).

⁴⁰⁰ Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992), p.15.

⁴⁰¹ Michael A. Signer, 'Polemics and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth-Century Hebraism', in Limor and Yuval (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas?*, p.28.

polemical works can be avoided, and instead the unity of purpose of Pfefferkorn in authoring his pamphlets, namely to the desire to convert Jews through missionizing and book confiscation, or to expel the Jews from German lands, can be brought to the fore.

Ronnie Hsia, when first defining the field of ‘Christian ethnographies’, expressed that much of what Pfefferkorn wrote was familiar: ‘the superiority of the Christian faith, the corruption of rabbinic learning, the condemnation of the Talmud, and the true messiahship of Jesus’.⁴⁰² However, he also noted that there were the detailed descriptions of Jewish customs in some of the writings which did not have ‘a direct bearing on a doctrinal controversy’. In my opinion, a revision of this final clause is necessary to reflect how, in everything Pfefferkorn wrote from 1507-10, including his ethnographic pamphlets, was with the aim of promoting an anti-Jewish outlook, and most specifically to agitate for the confiscation of Jewish books.⁴⁰³ *Kapparot* was explained so extensively because it showed the superiority of the Christian faith to a Christian reader, and it nudged readers into reflecting on the true messiahship of Jesus, compared to the cockerels and hens used in *Kapparot*, or the fish to whom the Jews would cast their sins during *Tashlikh*. The *raison d'être* of the first chapters of *Osterbüchlein* was to compare Yom Kippur with Easter in an unfavourable light, juxtaposing Christian faith and confession with Jewish rabbis blessing kitchenware. And by presenting the detailed information of Jewish customs in this way, Pfefferkorn aped and appropriated for himself the tradition of casting Jewish prayers in an anti-Christian fashion. In *Juden beicht* and *Osterbüchlein* there were elements of a description of a Jewish ceremony, be it Rosh Hashanah or Passover, which had not been published to a Christian readership before. Yet they were published by Pfefferkorn precisely because these descriptions aided and abetted his profoundly traditional outlook, of writing anti-Jewish polemic in order to slander rabbinic Judaism, and in order to missionize the Jews, and in order to convince princes of the need to expel Jews from their lands, and in order to win the fight to confiscate their books. To describe Converts introduced ‘Jewish ceremonial life, as it was currently practiced, a new subject,

⁴⁰² Hsia, ‘Christian ethnographies’, p.228.

⁴⁰³ Price, ‘Johannes Pfefferkorn and Imperial Politics’, p.34.

into the oldest religious argument'.⁴⁰⁴ This quotation demonstrates how the introduction of ethnographic elements of descriptions of Jewish ceremonial life did not change the argument. What Pfefferkorn did do was to supplement the traditional arguments of anti-Jewish polemic; of Jewish inferiority compared to Christianity, of anti-Christian blasphemy and of the obscurity and misunderstanding of their ceremony. In so doing, Pfefferkorn's ethnographic information, while new to Christian readers, was moulded in such a manner as to reaffirm these traditional aims.

⁴⁰⁴ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.170.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANTHONIUS MARGARITHA

ANTHONIUS MARGARITHA'S EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION

Having spent the majority of this thesis studying individuals and events situated in the Rhine valley, an analysis of the third main publication in this thesis is focused to the south east towards Bavaria and Austria, and to Anthonius⁴⁰⁵ Margaritha. He was born between 1492 and 1498,⁴⁰⁶ in Nuremberg, into the Margoles family, a family of high social standing among the German Jews, a fame which affords us greater knowledge of his family than of either von Carben or Pfefferkorn. His grandfather, Jacob Margoles (died 1501), was the last chief rabbi of the Nuremberg Jewry, before that population's expulsion from the city in 1499.⁴⁰⁷ Upon this banishment, Jacob, who was also an eminent rabbinic scholar, moved with his family and became a rabbi in the city of Regensburg until his death, where the Jewish population numbered around eight hundred inhabitants, the largest in the Holy Roman Empire in the first decades of the sixteenth century.⁴⁰⁸ His maternal grandfather, with the surname Straubinger, was questioned and tortured by the Regensburg authorities in the ritual murder process surrounding the death of Simon of Trent in 1475.⁴⁰⁹ Regensburg would finally expel its Jews in 1519. After this, Anthonius' father, Samuel (died 1551), and his brother Moses Mordechai became rabbis in Cremona and Krakow, a geographical spread which underlines the disparateness of early modern Jewish communities.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁵ In secondary works, Margaritha is named Anton, Antonius and Anthonius. The majority of Anglophone scholars in calling him Antonius, whereas most German language works use Anton. For his own part, on the title page of the 1530 Augsburg edition of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, Margaritha Latinized his name to Anthonium Margaritham, and in 1533 named himself Anthonius. His Jewish name is unknown, Walton suggests it may have been Nathan or Yonathan, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.6.

⁴⁰⁶ Being born in Nuremberg in this decade, it is possible that Pfefferkorn, who is likely to have lived in Nuremberg up until the 1499 expulsion, would have known Anthonius as a young child, and attended services given by Jacob.

⁴⁰⁷ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.1.

⁴⁰⁸ Diemling, 'Christliche Ethnographien', p.17.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. p.17.

⁴¹⁰ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.14.

A second brother, Baruch, was a cantor first in Regensburg, and then Verona, where he became wealthy enough to become one of that city's principal taxpayers from 1539-53.⁴¹¹ Anthonius wrote after his conversion to Christianity that his family regularly offered him financial incentives to revert to his previous faith.⁴¹² Although Anthonius elected to stick with Christianity, the monetary offers show his family's relative success after expulsion, as well as his own poverty relative to them. The flight of the illustrious Margoles family after their expulsion from Regensburg in 1519 is indicative of the shift throughout the sixteenth century of Ashkenazic literature and culture from Germany to other areas in Europe, in particular towards Poland.⁴¹³ His family's eminence in the Jewish communities of Germany would have afforded Margaritha a relatively privileged upbringing in contrast to other Jews, and also gave him an extensive rabbinic education which would become the cornerstone of his work of revealing Jewish secrets and folkways to a Christian readership in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub.* However, Margaritha's Jewish life was also characterized by expulsions; from Nuremberg in 1499 and later Regensburg in 1519. While they cannot be reason alone for Margaritha's later conversion to Christianity, such obvious Jewish impotency in the face of Christian authorities must have been disheartening, perhaps especially so for Margaritha, whose family was supposedly powerful within the Jewish community.

As with Pfefferkorn, who within secondary literature is so often identified in his role as Reuchlin's great opponent, scholarship on Margaritha has often been devoted to his relationships with other more luminous characters that bestrode sixteenth century Germany. One such figure is the *Befehlshaber* of the Jews in the Empire, Josel of Rosheim, with whom Margaritha disputed at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Selma Stern and Chana Fraenkel-Goldschmidt's biographies of Josel have looked in particular at this period of Margaritha's life, and Stern in particular in *Josel von Rosheim: Befehlshaber der Judenschaft im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (1959)

⁴¹¹ Ibid. p.18.

⁴¹² Ibid. p.71. The offer also suggested that he move to Turkey.

⁴¹³ Berkowitz, 'Jewish Law and Ritual' in Bell and Burnett (eds.), *Jews, Judaism*, p.481.

discredited Margaritha's character in a positive portrayal of Josel. Others have framed the figure of Margaritha in relation to Martin Luther, to whom *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* was a central core text in changing his view of Jews for the worse, a change which culminated in the infamous anti-Jewish text, *On the Jews and their Lies* of 1543.⁴¹⁴ Authors of this ilk include Peter von der Osten Sacken, whose 2002 work *Martin Luther und die Juden: neu untersucht anhand von Anton Margarithas "Der gantz Jüdisch glaub"* remains the best example. Margaritha and his publications have gained recognition in the last two decades as important in and of themselves with the rise of the study of polemical ethnographies of Judaism, which to some extent has placed him on a pedestal as the first of the truly ethnographic authors of Jewish life.⁴¹⁵ In this regard, Margaritha is often mentioned in the same breath as von Carben and Pfefferkorn, and is compared favourably as a more systematic, refined version of the Cologne pair's earlier works. Maria Diemling's 1999 dissertation on 'Christliche Ethnographien', with special emphasis on von Carben and Margaritha, is widely seen as the point of departure for a focus on Margaritha within the field of polemical ethnographies. Stephen Burnett was the first to plot the immense impact of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* on the history of the genre throughout the early modern period in the 1994 article, 'Distorted Mirrors: Anthonius Margaritha, Johann Buxtorf and Christian Ethnographies of the Jews'. The full extent of Margaritha's influence on later ethnographic accounts of Judaism was fleshed out fully by Yaakov Deutsch's *Judaism through Christian Eyes* in 2012, which documented all 'polemical ethnographies' in the early modern period. Most recently, Michael Walton is perhaps the first modern author to devote a book entirely to a much-needed biography of Margaritha in isolation, with his work *Anthonius Margaritha and the Jewish Faith*. In the 2012 publication, Walton synthesises the extensive research undertaken by Diemling with his own analysis of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, as well as a focus on the role of messianism in Margaritha's life, and makes the text of Margaritha's work more widely available.

⁴¹⁴ *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Benz, Band 8 Nachträge und Register* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), p.208.

⁴¹⁵ Carlebach described *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* as 'a sixteenth century convert classic', *Divided Souls*, p.93, while Diemling described it as 'the first example of a new literary genre' in, 'Anthonius Margaritha on the "Whole Jewish Faith" in Bell and Burnett (eds.), *Jews, Judaism*', p.308.

Life in Margarita's childhood hometown of Regensburg in the years leading up to their final expulsion was a thoroughly precarious one for Jews, hanging only by the thread of imperial protection. The arrival of Peter Schwarz (1434-1483/4) in the 1470s enflamed tensions between Christians and Jews in the city. Schwarz, who had learnt Hebrew amongst Jewish children in Salamanca, forced Jews to attend anti-Jewish sermons, in which he demonstrated his relatively strong command of Hebrew.⁴¹⁶ These sermons became public spectacles, and attracted huge crowds of Christians, as well as the Jews who were impelled to be there by the Regensburg city council.⁴¹⁷ On top of this, ritual murder trials dogged the city in the 1470s, in which Margarita's grandfather was tortured. These further deepened divisions between the Christian city authorities and the Regensburg Jews, which would never fully heal.⁴¹⁸ In Margarita's own lifetime, a similarly zealous anti-Jewish cleric, Balthasar Hubmaier (c.1480-1528), came to Regensburg preaching sermons focusing on the supposed greed and parasitic role Jews played in society, claiming that Christian souls were in danger because of the Jews' usurious ways.⁴¹⁹ Another anti-Jewish voice came to Regensburg in Margarita's lifetime in the form of Johannes Pfefferkorn, whom in 1509 attempted to confiscate that city's Jewish literature.⁴²⁰ It is fascinating to consider how a young Margarita would have viewed Pfefferkorn in 1509, a man coming to confiscate his culture, in contrast to how he would have regarded him in 1530, when he used Pfefferkorn's work as a foundation for his work *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*. In this period, the Jews of Regensburg were forced largely into moneylending in order to make a living and to 'justify their existence' to Christians, and a decline in Jewish wealth meant

⁴¹⁶ Maria Diemling, 'Petrus Nigri (Peter Schwarz): Fifteenth Century Polemicist, Preacher and Hebraist' in Füllenbach, Elias H. and Gianfranco Miletto (eds.), *Dominikaner und Juden/ Dominicans and Jews: Personen, Konflikt und Perspektiven von 13. Bis zum 20. Jahrhundert/ Personalities, Conflicts and Perspectives from the 13th to the 20th Century* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), p.305, 311.

⁴¹⁷ Christopher Ocker, 'Contempt for Friars and contempt for Jews in Late Medieval Germany', in McMichael and Myers (eds.), *Friars and Jews*, p.131.

⁴¹⁸ R. Po-chia Hsia, 'The Usurious Jew: Economic Structure and Religious Representations in an Anti-Semitic Discourse' in Hsia and Lehmann (eds.), *In and Out of the Ghetto*, p.163.

⁴¹⁹ Creasman, 'The Virgin Mary', p.966.

⁴²⁰ Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.12.

only smaller loans were made to people of lower financial status.⁴²¹ This helped only to increase conflict and prejudice between these Christians and the Jewish city dwellers.⁴²² The Regensburg authorities had tried to have the Jews expelled in 1518, and in their letter of defence to the Emperor Maximilian I, the Jews complained of how Regensburger bakers had refused to sell them bread, forcing the Jews to import it, at higher prices from further afield.⁴²³

As well as Christian attacks on the Regensburg Jewish society in which Margarita lived, the Jews themselves were riven with intra-communal strife. Moses Wolf moved to Regensburg around 1505 and immediately upset the balance of the Jewish community there, creating a struggle for the leadership of the community, into which Wolf dragged the dreaded Christian authorities, by stating that the Jews had compared the Captain of the City to Haman, the murderous antagonist of the book of Esther.⁴²⁴ Both Josel of Rosheim and Margarita himself recorded this discord. Josel, writing after Margarita had converted to Christianity, stated how two traitors, Wolf and Margarita, were equally to blame for the Regensburg expulsion.⁴²⁵ To compare the instability caused by Wolf to a personal enemy and apostate in Margarita proves how much of a ruction Wolf's actions created in Regensburg. A Jewry which had experienced two generations of spikes of extreme anti-Judaism through ritual murder trials and anti-Jewish sermons, against a backdrop of general anti-Jewish feeling to the extent that they could not buy basic commodities without problems. Margarita's early life in Regensburg was one marked by continual conflict, both from intra- and inter-community forces, in which the sense of terminal decline and overt danger to the existence of the community must have been ever-present.

The thread on which the presence of Jews in Regensburg depended finally snapped in January 1519, with the death of their imperial protector, Maximilian I. The power vacuum this created

⁴²¹ Walton, *Anthonius Margarita*, p.9.

⁴²² Ibid. p.9.

⁴²³ Ibid. p.12.

⁴²⁴ Diemling, 'the "Whole Jewish Faith"', p.319.

⁴²⁵ Walton, *Anthonius Margarita*, p.13.

before election of a new Emperor was long enough for the Regensburg city authorities to finally expel the Jews. Their centuries old synagogue was demolished on 22nd February 1519, during which a man injured during the demolition was miraculously healed by the Virgin Mary. Within weeks, a wooden shrine dedicated to the *Schöne Maria* had been erected on the old synagogue. The profound fervency (as has been shown in earlier chapters, Marian devotion was tied tightly to anti-Jewish attitudes⁴²⁶) this shrine inspired is depicted in a woodcut of the shrine by Michael Ostendorfer (c.1494-1549), which shows devotees prostrating themselves in front of the statue of Mary and the Christ child.⁴²⁷ An average of twenty three masses a day were held in the church at its zenith, which served up to fifty thousand attendees a day, which happened on St George's Day of 1520.⁴²⁸ The huge popularity of the *Schöne Maria* cult in the months and years immediately after the destruction of the Regensburg synagogue show us the depth of Jewish hatred that was present in Regensburg and its hinterland in Margarita's time.

It was out of this environment of fierce anti-Judaism and Christian fervency that two years later, Margoles became Anthonius Margarita, and converted to Christianity in Wasserburg, a town near Munich on the River Inn, in 1521 or 1522. He was baptized as a Catholic, and remained so throughout his life. Unlike von Carben, who claimed to have received direct divine inspiration for his conversion, it was scripture that convinced Margarita to transition into his new faith. Isaiah 53, and the 'suffering servant' (which Christians see as proof of the Old Testament anticipating Christ) which was the catalyst for his conversion.⁴²⁹ Isaiah 53 had such a profound effect on him that he was moved to write an exegesis of that biblical passage that exceeded even *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub* in length. In the foreword to his commentary of Isaiah, he stated:

The first reason [I am writing is to explain] why this noble, salutary and most Christian 53rd Chapter of Isaiah caused me to switch, and why I bear a special love for this comforting chapter. [The reason] was that this chapter was the first stimulus and movement in my mind and spirit, and was also a very great and special one, I believe, in my conversion to and recognition of

⁴²⁶ Rubin, *Mother of God*, p.161.

⁴²⁷ Pilgerzug zur Kirche der Schönen Maria in Regensburg, woodcut by Michael Ostendorfer, 1520.

⁴²⁸ Creasman, 'The Virgin Mary', p.973.

⁴²⁹ Diemling, 'the "Whole Jewish Faith"', p.305.

Christianity. This chapter still, every hour of the day, strengthens the Christian faith. I wrote this chapter in my daily prayer book.⁴³⁰

The contrast with a character such as von Carben, who had received sudden 'Pauline' moment of inspiration for his conversion, is remarkable. Margaritha engaged with the scripture not just through reading it, but also by writing it down. He said this change of religion occurred in his mind and spirit (*gemüet und gaist*), indicating a conscious reassessing of his own belief system. It can be assumed that the words of the prophet Isaiah were already present in Margaritha's Jewish belief system before they became the cornerstone of his Christianity. Unlike von Carben, who suddenly had the Christian God introduced into his life through the medium of a religious experience, the tools Margaritha required to convert to Christianity were always present in his Jewish life. As the book of Isaiah forms part of Jewish scripture as well as Christian, it is clear that Margaritha's transition in religion cannot be described as a sudden revelation, as he would have been exposed to the text that he eventually credited with his conversion for a long time previous. In contrast, a slower, more conscious transition, based on a critical reading of scripture and considering the merits of Christian interpretation of Isaiah, is how Margaritha's journey from Judaism to Christianity is to be viewed.

In addition to the studying of the scripture, Walton has claimed that the actions of the Italian Jewish preacher Asher Lemlein, who wrongly heeded the arrival of the messiah in 1502, were an important factor in Jewish conversions to Christianity around that time, and possibly with Margaritha.⁴³¹ Pfefferkorn also scornfully references Lemlein's false predictions in *Der Juden Spiegel* when discussing his own conversion. However, as Margaritha would have been a young

⁴³⁰ Anthonius Margaritha, *Erklärung, wie aus dem...53. Capittel des Propheten Esaie grüntlich aufgefűert...das der verhaischen Moschiach (wellicher Christus ist) schon khomen, die Juden auf khainen annndern mer wartten sollen* (Wien: Joannem Gingrenium, 1534), foreword, p.i. 'Die erst ursach und bewegung/warumb ich eben diß edel haylsam und Christlichs. 53. Capitel Esaie züverteütschen für mich genomen/ und warumb ich auch ain sonderliche liebe zü disem trostlichem Capitel trage. Nemblich das diß Capitl/ die erst anraigzung und bewegung in meinem gemüet und gaist was/ und auch ain gar grosse sonderliche fürdernuß zü meiner bekerung und bekantnuß Christenlichens glauben/ welches Capitel mich auch noch alle tag und stundt ganntz vestigelich im Christlichem glauben stercket und befestiget Derhalben hab ich diß Capitl in mein teglich pettbüchel geschriben'.

⁴³¹ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.11. The story of Lemlein is mentioned by Pfefferkorn in *Der Juden Spiegel*, when he mocks Jews for not believing that the Messiah has already come in the form of Jesus, (Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.71.) It is possible that, having converted in 1504, the failed preachings of Lemlein in two years before actively contributed to Pfefferkorn's conversion to Christianity.

boy at the time Lemlein was active around 1500, it seems unlikely to have had too great an effect on his personal conversion narrative twenty years later. In an identical fashion to Pfefferkorn, Margaritha signed off his publications by stating the year in terms of his 'rebirth'. For example, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* is dated as written 'in the ninth year of my rebirth'.⁴³² It is unclear whether this is an example mimicking Pfefferkorn's style of dating as found in *Der Juden Spiegel* and *Osterbüchlein*, or whether it represented how Margaritha viewed his own conversion. It is certain that Margaritha had come into contact with Pfefferkorn's *juden peicht*, as the woodcuts from that pamphlet were used in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*. Margaritha's fiancée also converted to Christianity with him, closing off the route of becoming a priest, as von Carben had done after he converted without the support of his wife and family. Instead, the first decade of Margaritha's life after his conversion was one of movement and insecure employment. He may have moved to Italy with his family immediately after the Regensburg expulsion of February 1519.⁴³³ If he did, he returned to Germany swiftly. Public records reveal that he lived in Altzella, an abbey near Dresden, around 1522, spent time in Tübingen, Augsburg (1530), Meissen (1530-31), Leipzig (1531-33), before finally settling long term in Vienna in 1533.⁴³⁴ Margaritha spent his Christian life teaching Hebrew, first instructing a Lutheran Hebraist Bernhard Ziegler (1496-1552) in Altzella between 1522 and 1525.⁴³⁵ At this point, Ziegler had just made the transition to Protestantism – one of the most remarkable aspects of all Margaritha's work is that the Protestant Reformation going on around him is hardly mentioned, despite close contact with Martin Luther and other Protestant reformers through the Diet of Augsburg and his own writings. In comparison to von Carben and Pfefferkorn, who used their Jewish skills and knowledge in tasks that only disparaged their old faith, Margaritha's position as a teacher of Hebrew, meant that he also used the skills acquired in his Jewish life for transmitting knowledge of the Jewish language through tutelage, a more positive way of employing his unique knowledge. To further illustrate this point, while von Carben and

⁴³² Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 93r. 'Im neundten jar meiner Widergepurt'.

⁴³³ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*. p.14.

⁴³⁴ Ibid. p.70. This shows Margaritha's movement all around the southern and eastern portions of German speaking lands.

⁴³⁵ Ibid. p.70.

Pfefferkorn made an elective choice to engage with their Jewish pasts when writing their works – for Margaritha, looking back to Judaism was the only way in which he could survive and add worth to Christian society. If Margaritha did not teach Hebrew, and publish books revealing the secrets of Jewish life or of the Jewish prayer book, he would not be able to provide for himself and his family, and he reminded his readership that his Jewish past allowed him to show the mysteries of Jewish life. An additional link back to Margaritha's Jewish past was the continuing influential position of his Jewish family after his conversion. They attempted to entice Margaritha back to his former faith, with offers of money and repatriation to Turkey on multiple occasions. While he stayed steadfast in his new faith, the fact that he mentioned these familial attempts to bring him back into the Jewish fold suggests that they were notable events in his life. No such events are mentioned in von Carben of Pfefferkorn's accounts. Converting in the first years of the Reformation era, it is also possible to suggest that in Margaritha's world, as Catholics became Protestants, conversion and crises of faith were more commonplace activity than during the lives of von Carben and Pfefferkorn.

DER GANTZ JUDISCH GLAUB

It was in 1530, after he had moved to Augsburg, that Margaritha published the work for which he would become known. *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* (the whole Jewish faith, figure 7) was first published in March of that year.⁴³⁶ It was so popular that a second run was commissioned on 7th April, just weeks later.⁴³⁷ A total of four runs were published in Augsburg in 1530, where Margaritha was living at the time, by Heinrich Steyner, a publisher with over eight hundred titles in his career, who had previously printed the Augsburg version of Pfefferkorn's work.⁴³⁸ With a

⁴³⁶ Diemling, 'Christliche Ethnographien', p.24.

⁴³⁷ Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 93r. All references to Margaritha's work in this thesis are from this second print run. Deutsch states that for any book to exceed ten runs was rare. Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.44.

⁴³⁸ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.179.

print run consisting of a minimum of five hundred copies, at least two thousand copies of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* were circulating inside a year.⁴³⁹ Although Diemling is equivocal on the idea, it is possible that Margaritha knowingly waited to publish his work to coincide with the Diet of Augsburg, the gathering of the Imperial court, which ran from 15th June to 23rd November.⁴⁴⁰

The speed with which the first print run sold out would indicate that there was a degree of anticipation before its release, suggesting that Margaritha had finished *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* sometime beforehand, and had deliberately waited to maximize the book's impact. This kind of 'marketing strategy' was not without precedent; Pfefferkorn and Reuchlin had timed releases of pamphlets in their debate in order to exploit sales at the biannual Frankfurt book fair.⁴⁴¹ Just as with von Carben and Pfefferkorn's works, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* was not a book devoted exclusively to describing Jewish customs and rites in an ethnographic manner. In a book of around one hundred and eighty pages, just under half of the pages are devoted to the ceremonies and life cycle of the Jewish year. It is this first section which is outlined on the title page of the book, with Margaritha promising an account of 'the entire Jewish faith [...] all statutes, ceremonies, prayers, secret and open customs that are held by the Jews throughout the year, with good and reasoned arguments against their beliefs'.⁴⁴² The second, slightly larger part of the book is the first ever translation of what Margaritha termed the Jewish 'prayer book that they use every day in the synagogue to pray and to sing', the *siddur*.⁴⁴³ Margaritha foregrounded the ethnographic elements of his book in the title, omitting any mention of the *siddur* translation, an innovation that neither von Carben nor Pfefferkorn used. Coupled with the speed with which it was reprinted, this gives us a clear indication that there was a hunger among readers for information on Jews and how they

⁴³⁹ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.139.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid. p.180.

⁴⁴¹ Peter Weidhaas, *A History of the Frankfurt Book Fair*, trans. by C.M. Gossage, W. A. Wright (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007), p.85. Hsia, *Myth of Ritual Murder*, p.124. Price stated two of Pfefferkorn's pamphlets were deliberately timed to coincide with the 1510 Diet of Augsburg (*Zu lob...*) and the 1521 Diet of Worms (*Ajn mitleydliche claeg*). Price, 'Johannes Pfefferkorn and Imperial Politics', p.30.

⁴⁴² Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 1r. 'Der gantz Jüdisch glaub [...] Aller
Satzungen/Ceremonien/Gebetten/Haymliche und öffentliche Gebreüch/ deren sich dye Juden halten/
durch das gantz Jar/ Mit schönen und gegründten Argumenten wyder jren Glauben'.

⁴⁴³ Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 41v. 'der Juden Betbüchlein: des sye alle tag in jrer Synagoge
Betten und Singen'.

lived. Unlike in the work of the earlier Cologne convert authors, the section of Margaritha's book which did not deal with Jewish way of life, namely the prayer book translation, was not re-hashed medieval anti-Jewish polemics, but rather an entirely original contribution to Christian scholarship of Judaism. If one compares Margaritha's *siddur* with, for example, von Carben's *Marienbüchlein*, Margaritha's work was far more original and valuable to understanding Judaism. Deutsch described the converted Jewish authors as shifting the Christian focus from Judaism the religion to the Jews the people.⁴⁴⁴ I have demonstrated that von Carben and Pfefferkorn failed to make this transition. However, although Margaritha's *siddur* was still a more to do with Judaism than the Jews, it introduced a Jewish religious book which was not the Talmud to a Christian readership. Furthermore, with Margaritha describing the *siddur* as the prayer book that was used 'every day in the synagogue to pray and to sing', he was describing to his readership a book that was a central part of Jews' lives.

The reach of Margaritha's book would go far beyond the immediate impact of 1530. Instead, the book would be printed at least thirteen times in total between 1530 and 1713, when it was last published.⁴⁴⁵ The 1531 edition contained additional material that was added by Margaritha after the Diet of Augsburg, and was published in Leipzig.⁴⁴⁶ A 1544 edition printed in Frankfurt-am-Main was furnished with new, more sophisticated woodcuts, as described in the previous chapter on Johannes Pfefferkorn. Further editions were printed in Frankfurt in 1556, 1561 and 1689, as well as in Leipzig in 1705.⁴⁴⁷ Nearly all modern day scholars of Margaritha have anointed his work as 'setting the literary standard for ethnographic discussion of the Jews'.⁴⁴⁸ Others go as far to describe *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub* as 'the first example of a new literary genre'.⁴⁴⁹ As well as the modern day scholar, early modern converted Jews and Christian Hebraists also held Margaritha's work in high esteem, and it became the bedrock source for those wishing to write about Jewish

⁴⁴⁴ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.10.

⁴⁴⁵ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.82. The 1530 edition was printed twice, the 1531 edition eleven times.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid. p.82.

⁴⁴⁷ Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age 1200-1600* (Leiden: Brillm 1995), p.261.

⁴⁴⁸ Burnett, 'Distorted Mirrors', p.276.

⁴⁴⁹ Diemling, 'the "Whole Jewish Faith"', p.308.

life. Those who borrowed Margaritha's words included Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564-1629) in his *Synagoga Judaica: Das ist Jüden Schul* (1603), and dozens of the other seventy-five works identified by Yaakov Deutsch as early modern ethnographies of Judaism drew on Margaritha's work too.⁴⁵⁰ An example of Buxtorf's mimicry of Margaritha can be seen in the descriptions of the *Kapparot* ceremony. Both describe the action of a Jewish man striking himself on the head three times with the cockerel, the words said to the cockerel, and that this is done three times; for himself, his children and for servants and others in his home.

Margaritha's passage states:

Und so sie haim/nimpt der haußuatter seinen hanen am erstē und schlecht in jm selbs dreymal umb das haupt unnd spricht/ der hane far hin für mich/ diser komn an mein stat [...] Also spricht er dreymal/von erst auff sich/ das er im von erst die sünde verzeyhe/darnach auff seine kinder/ zü letst auff die eehaltē und frembdlingen die bey yhm inn seinem hauß seindt.⁴⁵¹

In comparison to Buxtorf's words seventy years later:

Hernach machet er die Versünung/ und schlagt ihm selbst den Hanen drenmal umb den Kopff/ und sagt zu jetlichem mal: Dieser Han soll ein Tausch unnd Wechsel senn für mich/ dieser komme an meine statt [...] Dieses thut er drenmal nach ainander/ für sich/ für seine kinder/ und für die frembden die ben ihm sind.⁴⁵²

It is clear from this comparison that Buxtorf had Margaritha's work at his side when composing his own. While it is right to highlight the importance of Margaritha in the development of the 'ethnographies of Judaism' genre, it is equally noteworthy that, although *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* may have refined or epitomised the genre, it too borrowed elements from its predecessors. We have seen that Margaritha borrowed Pfefferkorn's woodcuts, and it has been noted how Margaritha was influenced von Carben's work as well.⁴⁵³ While there is not the same near-verbatim copying from one to the other as is seen between Margaritha and Buxtorf, there are similarities which demonstrates the transferral of ideas between von Carben and Margaritha. Returning to *Kapparot* for a further example, both authors explain that the bird used for the ceremony must be white, or at least not red. The reason both give is that it is stated in Isaiah 1 that

⁴⁵⁰ Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes*, p.36

⁴⁵¹ Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 18r.

⁴⁵² Johannes Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica: Das ist Jüden Schul* (Basel: Sebastianum Henricpetri, 1603), p.508.

⁴⁵³ Stern, *Josel von Rosheim*, p.85.

sins are scarlet, and that white is their pure antithesis.⁴⁵⁴ Both then elaborate that the innards of the birds must be thrown on the roofs for the birds to eat. In *Juden Büchlein*:

Nun möcht gefragt warden/warumb die Hanen weiß unnd von keyner ander farb sein sollen/ antwort ich den selben darumb das jr sünd vor Gott rodt und blütfarb seind. Esaie I [...] Soliche hüner werden dann gewürgt/ und das ingeweydt darauf werffen sye uff die tächer/ da die vögel kommen und die mit jren sünden hinfüren sollen⁴⁵⁵

And in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*:

Befleissen sych aber fast/ das sie ain weyssen hanen zü wegenn bringen/ künden sy kain weissen züwegen bringen/nemen sye in keinen weg kein rotten [...] die sünde aber ist rodt wie Esa. I stehet [...]

[...] lößt also den hanen und hennen von got wider abe/ das ynngewayde aber werffen sye auff die dächer/ das es die rappen fressen/ dann sye sprechen/ die sünde sey ein ynnerlich ding/ und sey auff die seele und ynngewayde des hanen hinein gangen/ Darumb se yes unrain/ unnd sollens die rappen fressen/ und die sünde also mit jnen dahin führen.⁴⁵⁶

In my opinion, the similarities between the two passages demonstrate that Margaritha used von Carben as a source when writing his own work. It is correct to state that Margaritha set a new standard in terms of literary quality and depth to his work in comparison to von Carben and Pfefferkorn. In addition to this, the lineage of early modern ethnographies of Judaism can be extended further back than Margaritha. It is equally important to remind ourselves that just as *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* was used as a foundation text on Jewish life for centuries to come, Margaritha too ‘incorporated and advanced’ on ideas first set out in the earlier works of von Carben and Pfefferkorn.⁴⁵⁷

THE 1530 DIET OF AUGSBURG

The apogee of Margaritha’s fame came on the day of his disputation with the Alsatian Jew Josel of Rosheim during the Diet of Augsburg on 25th July 1530. The Diet of 1530 is best known for being

⁴⁵⁴ Isaiah 1:18, ‘Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.’

⁴⁵⁵ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 20r.

⁴⁵⁶ Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 18v.

⁴⁵⁷ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.181.

the event in which the Augsburg Confession was read, twenty-eight articles which codified Lutheran beliefs and teachings, but it was also a crucial episode for the Jews of the Empire, with Margarita's attacks putting their rights and Imperial protection in jeopardy. The debate was held midway through the Diet sessions, and was attended by the full retinue of the Imperial court of Charles V. Three accusations were levelled by Margarita at the Jews; the first was that Jews cursed Christ and Christians, that they sought to proselytize among Christians, and finally that Jews sought to destroy their temporal rulers, meaning the Emperor.⁴⁵⁸ *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub* was shown to the Emperor during the Diet, who immediately called upon Josel to respond the accusations levelled by Margarita 'promptly and without delay'.⁴⁵⁹ Margarita was unsuccessful in the disputation and was arrested, and upon his release, was banished from Augsburg. Most probably due to his wholesale defeat, the disputation is conspicuous by its absence from Margarita's works. The 1531 edition of *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub* did contain amendments and edits which improved the language of the work,⁴⁶⁰ with small additions made on some of the points discussed during the disputation,⁴⁶¹ but no explicit report of the happenings of the Diet. In a case which fulfils the adage of history being written by winners, we must turn to Josel's writings to discover an interpretation of the debate.

From the chronicle of Josel of Rosheim:

In 5290 [1530], there was an assembly of all the princes of the Empire and the nobles, as well as countless ladies, in order to establish preventive laws and regulations, and the price and nobles intended to abolish usury. At that time, with God's help, I stood firm, and I obtained from the Emperor the renewal of our privileges from the Emperor Sigismund [reigned 1433-37]. The accusers were silenced and there was peace in the land for a little while'.⁴⁶²

In the above passage, 'the accusers' refers to Margarita. In a later Letter of Consolation to Jews of Hesse from 1542, Josel named Margarita personally:

⁴⁵⁸ Stern, *Josel von Rosheim*, p.87. With regard to Jews slandering Christ and Christians, particular attention was given to alleged attacks within the *Aleinu* prayer. Walton, *Anthonius Margarita*, p.75.

⁴⁵⁹ Goldschmidt, *Joseph of Rosheim*, p.178.

⁴⁶⁰ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.93.

⁴⁶¹ Walton, *Anthonius Margarita*, p.77. For example, Margarita contested that a learned Christian, Johannes Stramburck, reported that Jews had tried to convince him to be circumcised.

⁴⁶² Goldschmidt, *Joseph of Rosheim*, p.321.

And behold, by the grace of God, I stood up at Augsburg in the (15)30s before His Majesty the Roman Emperor and King, and before all the Imperial Estates, against the Jewish apostate known as Margaritha, who had libelled us unfortunate ones on three counts. Because he had alleged that we curse the stranger under whose yoke we reside, ignorant people caused us harm and renegades circulated calumnies about us. One of the three arguments [I advanced] was that they [the Jews] pray for the peace of Kings, etc. Consequently, he [Margaritha] was expelled from Augsburg, as the honourably city council of Augsburg knows, and for that reason, the present chancellor of His Majesty the Emperor, the learned Dr. Matthias Helldt and Dr. Brandtner, were obliged to end the disputation'.⁴⁶³

From this it is clear to see how Josel finds his defence of Jews' attitude towards Kings particularly noteworthy, reflecting how the Emperor had in the year before the writing of this letter, extended Jewish rights and privileges, in particular with regard to moneylending.⁴⁶⁴ The question as to why Margaritha did not win the debate can be addressed in various ways. For centuries, converted Jews had been used as a key weapon by Christian authorities in disputations against Jews, and the official 'result' of disputation invariably went against the Jews. Therefore Margaritha's defeat can be seen as running against the grain, especially as Margaritha's attacks - that Jews cursed Christians in the *Aleinu* prayer, or that Jews circumcised proselytes after their conversion - had their basis in truth and could be found in Jewish scripture.⁴⁶⁵

Jerome Friedman has suggested that the wider political agenda of Charles V played a role in Josel's victory over Margaritha, with Jews, directly under Imperial control, being a potentially useful pawn in newly Protestant cities in which the Emperor's word often meant little. Friedman wondered 'whether Charles was making German Jewry a personal political tool at the expense of Protestantism, declaring Josel the winner of this confrontation was daring, controversial, and very anti-Protestant'.⁴⁶⁶ However, if anti-Protestant motives were the drivers behind Charles and his two commissioners' (Helldt and Brandtner) decision, then neither of the disputations' protagonists alluded to it in their later writings, and I there were other factors at play in Josel's victory over Margaritha. The first was Josel's experience of the Diet environment and personal rapport with the Emperor. Josel was the most significant Jew in the Empire politically and a

⁴⁶³ Ibid. p.372. Translated from the German. Josel, describes the episode as a 'disputation' in the original.

⁴⁶⁴ Jerome Friedman, 'The Reformation in Alien Eyes: Jewish Perceptions of Christian Troubles', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 14, 1 (1983), p.36.

⁴⁶⁵ Goldschmidt, *Joseph of Rosheim*, p.179.

⁴⁶⁶ Friedman, 'The Reformation in Alien Eyes, p.35.

familiar face, holding enormous responsibility and with extensive experience of defending Jewish rights.⁴⁶⁷ In contrast, Margaritha, with his book written in imperfect German and relative poverty could not have cut an equally convincing figure - neither academically nor physically - in an imperial setting. Backing up this notion, despite being a Christian, Margaritha was the 'outsider' of the two protagonists, having been catapulted to significance just weeks before the Diet, whereas Rosheim had been attending Diets and securing privileges from the Emperor since his Charles' coronation in Aachen in October 1520.⁴⁶⁸ This personal relationship between Charles and Josel would have been especially beneficial in refuting the attack that Jews wished the destruction of the Emperor. A second, broader reason for a decision in favour of the Jews that is more persuasive than the anti-Protestant argument for Josel's victory is the mistrust and disrespect of converts in sixteenth century Germany. It has previously been shown in our analysis of the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin debate how Reuchlin's supporters continually questioned Pfefferkorn's credentials as a true Christian, with Pfefferkorn himself complaining that commonly known phrases such as 'an old branch can hardly be bent' meant that converts faced a constant lack of respect.⁴⁶⁹ Such prejudices were held against Margaritha too. In addition, it is essential to note that, although the episode was denoted a 'disputation' by Josel of Rosheim, it bore very few of the hallmarks of those medieval disputations which were always won by Christians throughout the medieval period. It was Josel who was the 'establishment' candidate – he was defending his people in front of the Emperor, an individual Josel had a long prior relationship with, and to whom the Jews owed their direct allegiance and paid their taxes directly. Was it in the interest of the Emperor to punish the leader of a group who helped finance his wars?⁴⁷⁰ In contrast to von Carben's disputation with Jews, where the convert had the backing of the local liege, Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, Margaritha was without influential patrons in the disputation. In medieval Christian-Jewish disputations, converts from Nicolas Donin, to Petrus Alfonsi, as well as von Carben in the last

⁴⁶⁷ Stern, *Josel von Rosheim*, p.87.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid. p.89.

⁴⁶⁹ Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, p.39.

⁴⁷⁰ For example, in 1544, the Jews of the Empire gave three thousand florins for the Emperor's war with France. Friedman, 'The Reformation in Alien Eyes', p.39.

fifteenth century, relied not just on their own unique position as a convert to be able to attack Jews and Judaism, but on the machinery of a Christian institution, often that of a mendicant order, to corroborate and add backing to their polemical attacks. Being the outsider in the disputation of Augsburg, Margaritha did not enjoy such a strong position; his reputation suffering due to his Jewish past, but not being protected by the Dominicans as in the cases of von Carben and Pfefferkorn. While at first glance it is somewhat surprising to learn that the Jew defeated the Christian in a disputation judged by Christian commissioners and the Holy Roman Emperor, all of these factors meant that the odds were always stacked against Margaritha in the case of the disputation of Augsburg.

It was not just intellectual defeat that came to Margaritha on 25th July 1530, but also the humiliation of imprisonment and banishment. It appears that the length of Margaritha's incarceration was short, as he was able to edit and amend *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* by 1531, and he was released by sympathiser Johann Fabri (1478-1541), the Bishop of Vienna. After the prison term, he was banished from Augsburg.⁴⁷¹ As a resident of Augsburg at the time, this would have entailed moving cities and jobs for Margaritha and his family. He does not comment in his work on the irony that having converted to Christianity, he underwent an expulsion not dissimilar to the one he had experienced in his Jewish life in Regensburg in 1519.

LATER LIFE AND PUBLICATIONS

Evidence of a high demand for a book of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*'s nature goes beyond its own impressive printing figures. Margaritha's other publications, all written after 1530, pale in comparison to his first work in terms of their scope and their success, and prove it was the subject, not the author, that made *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* a relative bestseller. In May 1533, Margaritha

⁴⁷¹ Diemling, 'the "Whole Jewish Faith"', p.306.

authored a tract on the Psalms, which had a title in both Hebrew and German and was published in Leipzig by Melchior Lotter.⁴⁷² A year later, after he had moved to Vienna, Margaritha wrote a commentary on the fifty third chapter of the book of Isaiah, and how it proved that the Jews' wait for the Messiah would be in vain.⁴⁷³ Isaiah 53 was a regular field of religious conflict between Christians and Jews.⁴⁷⁴ 'For Christians, Jesus was the figure groundlessly despised and persecuted; for Jews, that figure was the people descended from the prophet Isaiah, the Jewish people'.⁴⁷⁵ But it was also of immense personal importance to Margaritha. He also believed that if Jews read his commentary on Isaiah, they too would be compelled to convert.⁴⁷⁶ This book was longer than *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* and began in a more personal fashion, but demand for it was not great enough to justify it being reprinted. In this period Margaritha also authored a work on the interpretation of the word Halleluiah, as well as three other publications that have been lost, but were mentioned by authors in the eighteenth century.⁴⁷⁷ A final work, *Ain kurtzer Bericht und anzaigung wo die Christlich Ceremonien vom Balmesel in bayden Testamenten gegründt sei*, was published in 1541.⁴⁷⁸ It is interesting to note that, in the case of von Carben, it was his *Marienbüchlein*, which dealt with well-established polemical anti-Jewish themes, that proved more popular than his ethnographic text, the first part *Juden Büchlein*. For Margaritha, although he did produce exegetical texts in the well-grooved genre that was the book of Isaiah, for him it was the less well-known type of book in the ethnographic style text that went into multiple print runs and has remained the more impactful. It would not be correct to ascribe this switch in popularity to a sudden desire of German readers to consume ethnographic information in 1530 compared to twenty years previous, as it

⁴⁷² Diemling, 'Christliche Ethnographien', p.24.

⁴⁷³ Ibid. p.25. Entitled, *Erklerung, wie aus dem....53. Capittel des Propheten Esaie grüntlich aufgeführt...das der verhaischen Moschiach (wellicher Christus ist) schon khomen, die Juden auf khainen anndern mer wartten sollen.*

⁴⁷⁴ Samuel R. Driver and Adolf Neubauer, *The "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah: According to the Jewish Interpreters* (Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock, 1999) p.iii.

⁴⁷⁵ Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.254.

⁴⁷⁶ Margaritha, *Erklerung*, foreword, p.i.

⁴⁷⁷ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.82.

⁴⁷⁸ Diemling, 'Christliche Ethnographien', p.26.

was *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*'s coincidence with the Diet of Augsburg was the most important driver behind the work's initial explosion in popularity.

All of Margaritha's later works were conducted under the auspices of the University of Vienna, which employed him as a lecturer in Hebrew from 1533 until his death nine years later. Vienna was not a large university, boasting less than thirty students in 1529.⁴⁷⁹ A constant theme of Margaritha's life after conversion was an ongoing struggle for financial support. The University promised him a salary of eighty *gulden* per year, although this was never completely paid.⁴⁸⁰ As well as financial instability, Margaritha's position as a lecturer was insecure due to his inability to teach in Latin and had to battle to keep his post due to his lack of training in formal grammar.⁴⁸¹ Whereas von Carben and Pfefferkorn had the institution of the Cologne Dominicans behind them to broadcast their writings in Latin, Margaritha published only through German.⁴⁸² He died in Vienna in 1542, a relative pauper, possibly due to the outbreak of the plague in that city in February of that year. An inventory compiled by his final employer upon his death, the University of Vienna, showed that his possessions in his two-room apartment, where he lived with his wife and two children, were 'few, worn and with the exception of perhaps his books, were of little value'.⁴⁸³ Diemling has written recently how social networks were vital for the lasting success of conversions.⁴⁸⁴ In comparison to von Carben and Pfefferkorn certainly, Margaritha was not adept at building these networks and securing his and his family's finances. In total, Margaritha spent the last twenty-one years of his life as a Christian. The disputation with Josel of Rosheim was arguably the high-water mark of Margaritha's life, in the presence of all the luminaries of the Holy Roman Empire. However, in many ways, Margaritha's conversion initiated a step down in social significance from the prominent position his family held in Jewish society. Unlike Pfefferkorn, who

⁴⁷⁹ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.79.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. p.80.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid. p.80.

⁴⁸² Margaritha knew Hebrew and Aramaic, but his lack of knowledge of Latin hindered him greatly throughout his professional life as a Christian. Stephen G. Burnett, 'Luther's Chief Witness: Anthonius Margaritha's *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* (1530-31)' in Adams and Heß, *Secrets of the Jews*, p.185.

⁴⁸³ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.87.

⁴⁸⁴ Maria Diemling, 'Patronage, Representation, and Conversion: Victor von Carben (1423-1515) and his Social Networks', in Adams and Heß, *Secrets of the Jews*, p.157.

was a well-known in academic circles in the first decades of the sixteenth century, Margaritha, after 1530, faded into near anonymity, his works living on vicariously through Luther's, and later Buxtorf's writings.

THE FUNCTION OF ETHNOGRAPHY IN *DER GANTZ JUDISCH GLAUB*

In focusing solely on the three earliest converted Jewish authors in this thesis, the works of von Carben and Pfefferkorn, written in the same years, in the same city, and under the auspices of the same Dominican order in Cologne, are guaranteed to share some themes in common. *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, written a generation later in Augsburg hundreds of kilometres to the south east, is the outlier of the three corpuses. However, it is not just the differences of geography and time that make *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* significantly different to the Cologne authors. This portion of the chapter will concern itself exclusively with the ethnographic section, the first half, of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*. A study of these sections will reveal to us how profound differences in Margaritha's intended readership and Jewish life resulted in the presentation of a more personal, domesticated account of the Jews and their ceremonies. It will not be asserted that *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* was an entirely new type of book, inspired as it was by the works of Pfefferkorn and von Carben and older anti-Jewish polemical tropes, but that it undoubtedly developed and deepened the literature concerning the way Jews lived.

No ethnography of Judaism was devoid of stinging anti-Jewish rhetoric in the first part of the sixteenth century, and Margaritha's work was no exception. Just as in Pfefferkorn and von Carben's work, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* regularly criticises the Talmud. What might be called Christian 'stock criticisms' of the Talmud can still be found, but they are used more sparingly than in Pfefferkorn and von Carben's works, and they are not as integral to the overall tone or polemical thrust of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*. Margaritha was the only one of the three authors in this study who employed marginalia, and often it was on these margins that he chose to employ more

polemical remarks. For example, when the main body of text is concerned with what Margaritha dubs ‘their real new year’,⁴⁸⁵ the fast leading up to this ceremony, the blowing of the *shofar* in the synagogue and other aspects of the ceremony are described in sober fashion, with the author describing how the horn is blown because, according to the book of Zechariah, the Messiah will come blowing a great horn.⁴⁸⁶ However, in the margin, Margaritha adds a polemical caveat to this statement on Jewish horn blowing. He accuses ‘their scribes’ of concocting great lies from this story of the Messiah.⁴⁸⁷ Throughout the majority of the main body of the text, Jews are described by Margaritha as ‘foolish’ and ‘blind’ in their interpretations of the Sabbath and New Year respectively.⁴⁸⁸ In addition to using marginalia, Margaritha often separates his description of a facet of Jewish life from his own, often polemical opinion. This is often achieved through the usage of the first person. This projects viewpoints that often contradict the ethnographic text that has come before. A good example of this comes from the Sabbath section, in which Margaritha describes how the Jews must not work, or talk of work. ‘They write that they cannot talk at all about worldly things on the Sabbath [...] But I say on my reputation, that the Jews do not talk and advise as much about lending, buying and selling as much as they do on the Sabbath’.⁴⁸⁹ A polemical attack undoubtedly, but in comparison to von Carben’s writings on the Sabbath, which are squeezed into the end of a chapter of the *Juden Büchlein* which has the primary aim of informing the reader of how Jewish women and men curse Christians with the already discussed story of Menichen, the boy murdered by his Jewish mother, Margaritha’s Sabbath section looks objective and balanced by comparison.⁴⁹⁰ In this instance on the Sabbath, Margaritha highlights the difference between theoretical and actual Jewish practice. This point is reflected and can be

⁴⁸⁵ Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 15r. ‘jr recht new jar/des am erstē des Herbst monats anfacht’.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid. p.30. ‘...und sprechen wann der Moschiach kommen werde/ werde er mit einem grossenn horn blasen/ als Zach. 9. stehet’.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. fol. 15r. ‘Vonn disem horen des Moschiachs schreyben yre scribenntenn grosse grewseuliche lugē’.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid. fol. 9v, 15r.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid. fol. 9v. ‘Sy schreiben auch das sie am Sabbath gar nichts von weltlichen dingen reden sollen...Ich sage aber mein trew/ das die Juden in der gantzen wochen nicht als vil vom wücher/ kauffen und verkauffen reden und ratschlagen als auff den Sabbath’.

⁴⁹⁰ Von Carben, *Juden Büchlein*, fol. 20r. ‘Wie die Juden Weib und Mann die Christen verflüchten [...] und wie die jrn Sabathen halten’.

illustrated in greater depth by analysing the section on Yom Kippur, when Margaritha outlines the importance of forgiveness in the synagogue:

When they are all together in the church, they find two people who have some kind enmity with each other, and they must perform [the act] of forgiving each other, and each goes one to the other, and says: "Forgive me as God will forgive you".⁴⁹¹

Left unqualified, this description seems an objective description of the ceremony. However, Margaritha immediately questions the validity or religiosity, by immediately stating: 'But I have seen that only great envy and enmity comes of this [ceremony]. Seldom do two come forward who have great issues, only small ones'.⁴⁹² This method of splitting the ethnographic description from the polemical opinion was a subtly different way of polemicizing Jewish ceremonies and way of life. Authors such as Pfefferkorn or von Carben tended to incorporate negative interpretations of their subject into their text, or to use them the dominant force in a description. This gave the impression that the practices described by these authors were wholly wrong. By creating a textual gap between the description of the ceremony and his own personal belief or experiences, Margaritha does not give this impression. Instead, he hints that the Jews themselves did not hold true to the original meaning of their religious practices, usually employing polemic as a supplementary tool to undermine Jewish life in a less transparent manner.

Polemical attacks of this nature are not especially remarkable in the majority of the text, but in one section, discussing *Kapparot* and the book of Isaiah, the extremity of the polemic became far more severe. The reason for this is because of Margaritha's personal affinity with the text of Isaiah 53, which caused him to convert to Christianity, and that *Kapparot* gives, in his interpretation, Jesus' role as a confessor and forgiver of sin to chickens. The tone of *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub* is normally relatively balanced, certainly when compared to the two earlier authors, yet when discussing *Kapparot* and the book of Isaiah, this changes markedly. In this passage, Margaritha

⁴⁹¹ Margaritha, *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 20v. '[...] sie dann in der kirchen versamlet seind/ besehen sie wo zwē etwan feindschaffet zūsamen haben/ müssen sie sich verrichten vergleichen und ainander verzeyhen/ und geet ye einer zū dem andern/ und spricht/ Verzeyhe mir so wirt dir Got auch verzeihen'.

⁴⁹² Ibid. fol. 20v. 'Aber ich habe wol gesehen/ das nur grosser neyd und feindschafft auß dem erwachsen ist/ kommen auch gar selten zwenn zūsamen die ein grossen span haben nur die ein klaynen span haben [...]'.

directly addresses the Jews, something unique to this section in the book, and significantly polemicizes the rhetoric against them:

Listen up blind Jews, and not to your Talmud that has hidden the truth from you about the chickens. A cockerel cannot carry sin. A person has sinned, therefore a person must pick up and atone for such sin. A cockerel cannot, but the person [Christ] of whom Isaiah says more [can carry sins], and you yourselves recognize the same chapter on the Messiah coming, and is namely the 53rd chapter.⁴⁹³

The nature of this attack is exceptional within *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, in terms of being addressed directly to 'blind Jews' and also for the withering tone of the passage. It reveals to us that Margaritha harboured deep anger against the Jews but only at specific points, and this general tone of rage does not pervade throughout the book. It shows us that *Kapparot*, a ceremony singled out for ridicule by all three of the authors, alongside Isaiah 53 inspired greater emotion within him than any other aspect of Judaism. Jewish interpretation or corruption of the figure Jesus was what most irked Margaritha about the Jewish faith. The suffering servant of Isaiah 53 which so inspired Margaritha is interpreted in the Christian tradition as foreshadowing the arrival of the Messiah, while *Kapparot* was, in the mind of all the converted Jewish writers, a corruption of Jesus' role within Christianity. In comparison, it has already been shown how the Jewish practice that most incensed the two earlier Cologne based authors was perceived Jewish attacks upon Mary: whereas for Margaritha, the Virgin was a far more peripheral figure in his worldview. This cannot be explained merely by Mary being less present in Margaritha's life, as in 1519 his community's synagogue had been demolished and a shrine to Mary had been hastily erected in its place.⁴⁹⁴ The capability for Mary to greatly influence Margaritha's Christian life did exist, but was not adopted with the same zeal as it was by Pfefferkorn and von Carben. *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* reveals to us how Margaritha's Christian fervour was fuelled not so much from his life experiences, as from his own interpretation of the Bible. Where Pfefferkorn and von Carben were most incensed by Jewish

⁴⁹³ Ibid. fol. 19r. 'Höre hie zü blinder Jude/ und nicht deinem Thalmudt der dir hi emit dem hanen die warheit vertucklet hat/ Ein hank an deine sünnde nicht ertragen/ ein mensch hatt gesündigt/ ein mensch müß sollich sünd winderumb auffheben und büss'en/ Ein han thüts nicht ist aber diese person dauon Esaias mer sagt/ und jr selbs bekennt das dasselbig cap. Auf den Moschiach geet und ist nemlich das 53. Capittel...'.

⁴⁹⁴ Creasman, 'The Virgin Mary', p.967.

challenges to Mary, Margarita was far more sensitive to Jewish corruptions of Jesus, the figure anticipated by the suffering servant, and corrupted by the *Kapparot* ceremony.

While Margarita's ire was drawn primarily from perceived Jewish corruptions or misinterpretations of Jesus, the consistent polemical aim of the ethnographic section of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* is to remind the reader that Jewish prayer exists primarily to curse Christians. On nearly every occasion that Margarita mentions a prayer as part of a Jewish ceremony, it is backed up with a statement to the effect that the prayer was meant to disparage Christians. One example of this can be drawn from the description of prayers on Yom Kippur: 'On this day they pray very much, wonderfully strange prayers [which] curse and damn all people, including the Christians. They say such prayers and damnations very often on this day'.⁴⁹⁵ Another typical statement on Jewish prayer is found in the section on the Sabbath: 'they sing many songs, in which the Christians are often cursed'.⁴⁹⁶ Similar statements are found throughout the book. This kind of concerted attack on Jewish prayer as a whole can be seen as a development of the medieval anti-Jewish theme, propagated by Pfefferkorn, that certain prayers, and in particular the *Aleinu* prayer, were anti-Christian in nature.⁴⁹⁷ As already discussed in the earlier chapter on Pfefferkorn, some Jewish prayers, such as *Sefer-ha-Nizzahon*, were anti-Christian in nature, but to tar all Jewish prayers with an anti-Christian brush was misleading to the reader. This shows that while overall it is correct to say that Margarita authored the most measured work on Jewish life and faith of the early sixteenth century, this did not stop him from advancing anti-Jewish falsehoods if it suited his work.

⁴⁹⁵ Margarita, *Der gantz Jüdsch glaub*, fol. 21r. 'An disem tag betten sye seer vil/ unnd wunder seltzam gebett verflüchen/ und verdammen alle völcker/ mit sampt den Christen/ solliche flüch und verdammunge thond sye an disem tage offt'.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid. fol. 10v. 'Darnach fahen sy an zü singen/ ein yeder in seinem hauß/ vilerley gesang/ in welchem gesangen den Christenn oft geflüchet wirt'.

⁴⁹⁷ Both Pfefferkorn and Margarita targeted the *Aleinu* prayer for specific polemical attack. For Margarita, it was not the text of the prayer that was especially inflammatory, but that the Jews spat three times on the floor to covertly direct the prayer against Christ. Burnett, 'Luther's Chief Witness', p.185.

Another way Margarita advances the notion that Jews cursed all Christians in their prayer was by claiming that their prayers were coded with anti-Christian references.⁴⁹⁸ Margarita claimed that words such as *Edom* (meaning Rome) signified not just the Romans who destroyed the Temple but all modern-day Christians too.⁴⁹⁹

O, Christian reader, you must realize, that where the Jews rudely curse Edomites, Esau and Seir, they always mean [to curse] all rulers and subjects of the Holy Roman Empire. No Jew can deny that. Their commentators from many places write that. It comes from Titus Vespasian [destroyer of the Second Temple], who was a Roman and was born from Esau, according to their Talmud.⁵⁰⁰

This kind of accusation is a prime example of the kind of ‘secret rite’ (*Haymliche [...] Gebreüch*) that the title page of *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub* claimed to uncover. Stephen Burnett has described this type of explanation as a way for Margarita to ‘decode’ Jewish prayer for his Christian readership.⁵⁰¹ The final way in which Margarita asserts that Jews curse Christians is through the accusation - which is made multiple times - that Jews pray for the downfall of Christian hegemony. This accusation surfaces in the description of weekly Sabbath prayer, proof that Margarita wished to accuse Jews of cursing Christians very regularly. Margarita claims that Jews pray for a worldwide war and that they pray against all Christian powers, calling it at Godless kingdom.⁵⁰² In fact, they prayed against Christians so much, Margarita claimed, ‘that I cannot show them all’.⁵⁰³

The answer as to why Margarita is so keen to impress upon his readership the untrue accusation that *all* Jewish prayer was saturated with anti-Christian rhetoric and secret codes lies in the proceedings of the Diet of Augsburg, and more specifically in his debate with Josel of Rosheim on

⁴⁹⁸ Diemling, ‘the “Whole Jewish Faith”, p.324.

⁴⁹⁹ Margarita, *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 10v.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. fol. 24v. ‘O Christlicher Leser du müsst das mercken/ das wo die Judenn rach bitten und flüchen über die Edomiter/Esaу/Seyr/ maynen sy all mall/ alle überkeit mit sampt den underthanen des Römischen Reichs. Das kain kein Jude leugnen/ dann solchs schreiben all yr CОmmendatores an vil orten/ und auch jre betbücher zaigen solches an/ solches alles aber/ kompt daher/ von Tito Vespasiano der ein Römer was/ und von Esau geboren/ nach ynhalt jres Talmuds’.

⁵⁰¹ Burnett, *Luther’s Chief Witness*, p.186.

⁵⁰² Margarita, *Der ganz Jüdisch glaub*. fol. 10v. ‘Darnach bitten sy got/ das er ein grosse forcht und angst auf alle völker und Christen werffe/ und sole ein schwert und großen kreig/ von Orient biß zü Occident/ unter den Christen erwecken/ Darnach betten sie wider alle oberkeit der Christen und nennen sye ein gotloses und schalckhaftigs künigreich’.

⁵⁰³ Ibid. fol. 10v. ‘[...] das ich alles nit kan von der lenge wegenn anzaigenn’.

25th July 1530. In his dispute, Margaritha accused Jews of cursing Christians and the Holy Roman Empire in their prayers. In reality, the Jews, during the period of Josel of Rosheim's leadership, had generally a good relationship with whoever was on the Imperial throne. As is evidenced by the Regensburg expulsion that occurred in the power vacuum immediately after Emperor Maximilian's death in January 1519, the Jews had little defence against more stridently anti-Jewish city authorities when there was nobody occupying the position of Charlemagne's successor. By stressing this point in his book, Margaritha was preparing the ground for the upcoming proceedings. We know that the accusation of anti-Christian Jewish prayer was one of the centrepieces of Margaritha's debate strategy because it was this element that Josel of Rosheim recounted as being two of three principle points of dispute between himself and Margaritha at the Diet.⁵⁰⁴ While this was not an attack unique to Margaritha's writing – it has already been shown how anti-Christian Jewish prayer was a cornerstone of Pfefferkorn's work - Margaritha's work was the first to ascribe an anti-Christian nature to *all* Jewish prayer. In a similar way to which much of Pfefferkorn's ethnographic writing was written with the aim of convincing readers of the need to confiscate Jewish books, Margaritha's spurious accusation of all Jewish prayer existing mainly to curse Christians, ensured that his book would achieve Margaritha's principle aim of gaining the attention of the Emperor and those at the Diet of Augsburg.

Having understood the polemical aims of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, we can now investigate further into the ethnographic description that Margaritha used in his book. Regularly throughout this thesis, modern scholars have been referenced as describing Margaritha's work as the first of its kind, as the primary example of a new genre of ethnographic writing of Jews, or words to similar effect.⁵⁰⁵ This last portion of our analysis on Margaritha will look at exactly what set his work apart from what had gone before, and how he employed the new information he gave his readership in such ways that he could influence how his readers viewed Jewish life. The main way in which Margaritha employed polemical ethnography in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* was by regularly

⁵⁰⁴ Goldschmidt, *Josel of Rosheim*, p.372.

⁵⁰⁵ Diemling, 'the "Whole Jewish Faith"', p.308.

diminishing the rituals and ceremonies of Jewish life from the religious to the mundane. The use of the word ‘mundane’ in two ways; not just to mean the boring or the menial, but also to emphasise how Margaritha presented an everyday kind of Jewish life which had home life, not synagogue life or postbiblical Jewish literature at its heart. This begins with the way Margaritha’s book is set out. What Margaritha presents in the first half of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* is a male perspective on a day and year in the life of a Jew. This begins in the least spiritual, most visceral of settings, as one of first aspects of Jewish life Margaritha mentions is visiting the ‘secret chamber’ after waking up.⁵⁰⁶ This is not a reference to a hidden anti-Christian rite, but actually details using the toilet. The description of this part of the Jewish day also introduces the reader to what becomes a regular, almost obsessive feature of the book. An incomplete survey shows that hand washing and cleanliness are mentioned to do with ceremonies and living practices as wide ranging as; personal hygiene, clothing, the Sabbath, diet and food preparation, during Yom Kippur.⁵⁰⁷ As has already been discussed in previous chapters, hand washing and cleanliness are undoubtedly important to many Jewish ceremonies. Ridding the home of *chametz*, or the ritual hand washing before touching the Torah are essential elements to Jewish ceremony. But by devoting extra attention to such everyday practices in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, and by discussing ritual cleanliness outside of this religious framework, Margaritha introduces Christian readers for the first time to more basic facets of Jewish life. A similar attention to detail can be seen in the regularity with which candles and the lighting of candles are discussed. This can be seen in preparations for Erev Yom Kippur. ‘They carry their candles into the synagogue, and light them. Every Jew must have a candle on this “long day”, which must burn for at least twenty-four hours [...] I have seen one candle [valued] up to 24, 28 and up to 30 Pfund’.⁵⁰⁸ There is also a considerable analysis of the candle lit at the end of the Sabbath, which is called ‘*Haffdolo* [...] this candle shows

⁵⁰⁶ Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 6v. ‘haimlichen gemache’. Margaritha is not shy in describing what hand performs what task in an ‘ethnographic’ manner

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid. fols. 6r, 6v, 8v, 13v, 20r, 21r.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid. p.39. ‘da tragen sy jr kertzen vollend in die schül/ und steckens auff/ dann ein yed Jud mûß auff disen langen tag ein kertzen haben/ die auff minst 24. Stund brinn [...] Hab wol gesehē dz einer ein kertzē gmacht hat/ biß auf 24.28 und biß auf 30. pfund...’

the difference between the Sabbath and the rest of the week'.⁵⁰⁹ By adding the price into the description of the candles, Margaritha makes Jewish life relatable to Christians, their high value stressing perhaps Jewish foolishness but also how highly they value their candles. The currency was a thing that Jews and Christians had in common, by couching Jewish life in those terms, the barriers of language and mystery, which had always been emphasised by Christian authors of works on Judaism,⁵¹⁰ began to be broken down. Before *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, Christian readers, who could find information on how the Talmud, or rabbinic Judaism, or the Bible, influenced Jewish life and praxis. By describing practices such as hand washing and candle lighting in more mundane terms, Margaritha introduced a type of Judaism that is domestic and relatable to the lives of his readers. The Sabbath candle or Jews wearing clean white clothes for their ceremonies may have been things that Christians had seen Jews doing – facts of Jewish domestic life which they were now informed on. Although the cover page of the book promised to uncover secret Jewish rites, the inclusion of these rites that were practiced openly by the Jews, only described in a new way, would have been equally novel to Christians. Elisheva Carlebach has written of how one of the primary aims of the early authors of works on the Jews was to portray a picture of Jewish life as one completely hamstrung by the endless superstitions and rabbinical legalism of the Talmud.⁵¹¹ Whether intentional or not, the consistent inclusion of mundane tasks such as hand washing and candle lighting were what made the Jewish life portrayed in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* unique and accessible to the Christian readers.

Margaritha's domestification of Jewish life can be explored further by investigating the centrality of home life in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*. Pfefferkorn and von Carben had been adept at uncovering life in the synagogue, introducing ceremonies such as Rosh Hashanah, Passover or Yom Kippur, as well as mocking others such as *Kapparot*. One can see from the four woodcuts that were first produced in Pfefferkorn's *juden beicht*, that only one, showing the *Kapparot* feast, shows a

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid. fol. 10v. 'Nach sollichem ziden sy ein grossen kertzē an/ Die sy Haffdolo kertzen nennen/ welche kertz den underscheid zeight zwischen dem Sabbath und der wuchen'.

⁵¹⁰ Hsia

⁵¹¹ Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.170.

domestic scene.⁵¹² While Margaritha incorporated the woodcuts in his own publication, the text sheds far more light on life in the Jewish home, in which the domestic, rather than religious context comes to the fore. A clear separation between the synagogue and the Jewish home is regularly cast by Margaritha. Furthermore, it is often the domestic rituals of the ceremony that are described in more detail in *Der gantz jüdisch glaub*. This can be seen in the description of Passover, in which Margaritha gives a long description of the preparation of *matzo*, showing how in their kitchens the Jews make the wafers full of holes, made only of flour and water. While this was not unique to Margaritha's work, the synagogue aspect of the ceremony is then dismissed in a sentence: '[...] they go in the church, there they pray very much, and thank God highly that he freed them from Egypt.'⁵¹³ After this brief interlude, Margaritha immediately refocuses on the Jewish home during Passover: 'After the prayer, each goes back home, where they find on their table the most lavish and beautiful meal they can afford, with silver and gold tableware [...]'⁵¹⁴ After this, Margaritha spends as long describing the cushions and silks⁵¹⁵ which adorn the table and chairs as he did on describing the significance of the synagogue prayers. The example of Passover is by no means an isolated one. A similar tendency to minimize the synagogue can be found in the section which details Jewish New Year. Of the synagogue service on the eve of Rosh Hashanah, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* reveals to the reader only that 'in the night of the New Year's evenings, they go in the Synagogue to pray and sing very much'.⁵¹⁶ Moving forward to the next day, and the prayers of New Year's morning are dismissed as 'many long prayers' (*vil langem gepett*), the content or significance of which is left unexplained. Margaritha dwells for longer on the ceremonies of Rosh Hashanah that are held within the synagogue; such as horn blowing and the burning of candles.

⁵¹² The other three woodcuts showing the blowing of the *shofar*, casting sins to the fish in *Tashlikh* and the ritual flagellation in Yom Kippur.

⁵¹³ Margaritha, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 13v. '[...] das sye in die kirchen geend/ da betten sye vil/ und dancken Got hoch/ das er sye auß Egypten erlöset hat'.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 14r. 'Nach dem gepet geet ain yeder wider zühauß da befindt er auff das köstlichst sein tisch hüpsche nach seynem vermügen gericht/ mit silbern und guldin geschyrren zc.'

⁵¹⁵ The luxuriant items in his description of the Passover meal, including gold and silk, suggest that Margaritha was describing the Passover celebrated by his own, high status Jewish family. By stating that each man prepared the most lavish feast 'according to his capabilities', Margaritha tells the reader that not all families could afford such expensive items.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 16r. 'Darnach zü nacht am newen Jars abendt gond sy in die Sinagog betten und singen gantz vil'.

Yet it is the domestic practices, and particularly the clothes that Jews wear, that are described for the reader in most detail, and the religious significance of which is most clearly elucidated. The reader learns that all the Jews wear white on the eve of Rosh Hashanah, as well as the next morning, and that this is taken from Ecclesiastes 9, as well as from Zechariah 9.⁵¹⁷ Also described is how at home the New Year is also blessed with wine, and the Jews eat honey and apples, and the Jews wish each other a good, sweet year ahead.⁵¹⁸ This new emphasis on domestic life did not compromise Margaritha's ability to couch these ceremonies of the home in religious, and therefore negative terms. The very passage mentioned above on the Jews' white clothes at New Year, is criticised as a misinterpretation on the part of the Rabbis. Margaritha states sarcastically, 'This passage [of Zechariah 9] speaks of the innocence of the heart, not of outer clothing. Here one has insight into what the Jews have for Rabbis, how masterfully they can interpret the scripture'.⁵¹⁹ Of the Passover in the Jewish home, Margaritha also describes many of their ceremonies as 'childish'.⁵²⁰ However, although the anti-Jewish rhetoric may have been similar whether Margaritha was describing a prayer in the synagogue or a domestic practice, the simple fact that *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* was a book concerned equally with domestic life as it was with church ceremony is one of its most noteworthy facets, because it showed a new tendency, however tentative, to begin to separate Jews and Judaism.

The theme of domesticity is further evidenced through the role of the *Hausvater*⁵²¹ in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*. First published in 1530, Margaritha's work came too soon for the raft of *Hausvaterliteratur* that became so popular later in the early modern period. This style of literature became particularly popular in Protestant Germany by portraying the ideal male role model in family life, as the most highly regarded male state changed from the celibacy of the cloister to the

⁵¹⁷ Ibid. fols. 16r-16v. The passage Margaritha specifically references is Ecclesiastes 9:8, where Solomon says, 'Let thy garments be always white; and let thy head lack no ointment.'

⁵¹⁸ Ibid. fols. 16r-16v. 'Darnach geend sye haim segnenn das fest über tisch mit dem wein ein/ und essen ein honig/ und ein wenig apfels, und sprechē [...] auff teutsch das sey zü ainem gütten süßen Jar'.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 16v. 'Dise sprüche aber reden vonn der unschuld des hertznes/ nicht bonn den außwendigen klaydern/ hie man aber sycht was die Juden fr Rabinos habend/ wye maysterlich sy die schrifft füren künden'.

⁵²⁰ Ibid. fol. 16v. 'Haben darnach vil kindischer Ceremonien an stat [...]'.

⁵²¹ Literally meaning 'Father of the House', *Hausvater* is similar to the Latin *paterfamilias*, or patriarch.

leader of the family unit.⁵²² While Margarita's *Hausvater* did not fit into this genre, the term was employed regularly throughout *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* because the book was set so regularly within the homes of Jewish families. Pfefferkorn and von Carben also employed the term, the ceremonies they described often being framed through the actions of the *herr des hauß* or *haußuatter*, but the figure is far more prominent in the Augsburg author's work. The *Hausvater* is the dominant character in Margarita's description of the Sabbath in Jewish homes: 'And so when everyone comes home, the children and grandchildren come to the *Hausvater*, and wish him a good Sabbath.'⁵²³ The centrality of the *Hausvater* is then reinforced by a description of him blessing and laying hands on the younger generations, as God had done to Ephraim and Manasseh. An especially interesting aspect of this description of the *Hausvater*'s role in the Sabbath is how Margarita compares the role of family patriarch with the role of a rabbi in the community in saying 'the same [as mentioned in the above quotation] goes for all the young lads, who can go to the synagogue to the highest Rabbi, who also gives them this blessing, with the laying of the hands'.⁵²⁴ It was not that the rabbi was replaced by the *Hausvater* in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, but the inclusion of more domestic ceremonies in the book created the space for the *Hausvater* to appear more often, and thus seem more important to the reader. Christians had been able to read of the (mis)guiding role of the rabbis in Jews' lives in earlier works on Judaism, now they could learn how the Jews were led in their beliefs by their *Hausvater* too. The section which outlines the beginnings of the Passover feast describes how one of three *matzos* is broken in half, and the *Hausvater* hides one of these halves. A page long description, annotated multiple times, with translations of Hebrew terms follows on how one must not have crumbs in their beard, how the *matzo* is a replacement for the 'Easter lamb' (*Osterlamlein*), how the hidden piece of wafer is

⁵²² Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), p.7.

⁵²³ Margarita, *der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, fol. 9r. 'Und so er dann also haim kommen ist/ kommen die kinder und encklin/ zum hauß vatter/ und wünschē im ein gütten Sabbath'. The fact that Margarita includes both children and grandchildren in his description is indicative to me that he is recounting the actions of his grandfather, the rabbi Jacob Margoles, in this description.

⁵²⁴ Ibid. fol. 9r. 'dergleichē gond auch alle junge knaben/ so man auß der Sinagog geen wil zü dem obersten Rabi/ der gibt in auch disen segen/ mit aufflegung der hēde'.

symbolic of their Messiah who is yet to be revealed, and many other explanations surrounding the Passover feast.⁵²⁵ It is one of the most profoundly detailed explanations of a ceremony in the entire book, and the *Hausvater* is at the heart of it. Comparing the detail and prominence of this quotation, which looks at the role of the *Hausvater* in Passover with the role of the rabbi in Passover, we see a stark difference in the depth of the description. The rabbi is not mentioned, and neither are the prayers which are said in the synagogue. It is only said that when they go into the ‘church’, the Jews pray a lot and are thankful for being delivered from Egypt.⁵²⁶ The first thing Margaritha notes in his section on Passover is that ‘whoever wants to describe all the rites and ceremonies of this festival would need a large book; this book will be too small. But in the shortest way, I will say a little about it’.⁵²⁷ What is remarkable about *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* is that the area of rabbinic expertise is brushed over while it is the *Hausvater* and ethnographic descriptions of Jewish ceremonies in the home which occupy the centre stage. Near the beginning of *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, Margaritha states that many of the prayers he will be mentioning will be discussed in greater depth in the second half of the book, wherein he had translated the *siddur*.⁵²⁸ This shows a step change in how Margaritha used the ethnography in his work compared to the earlier converted Jewish authors. This separation of prayer from practices freed up the first half of his text to focus on domestic facets of Jewish life that had not been adequately explored for a Christian readership before. The separation of ethnography from prayer allowed Jewish life, rites and ceremonies to be liberated from the Talmud and rabbinic Judaism. This encouraged readers to absorb the information on the Sabbath, or Rosh Hashanah, without being constantly reminded of the essential error at the heart of Jewish religious life.

On balance, it is the *Hausvater*, and not the rabbi, who is portrayed as the dominant figure in Judaism by Margaritha, driving home the notion that *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* had an interest in

⁵²⁵ Ibid. fols. 13v-14r.

⁵²⁶ Ibid. fol. 13v.

⁵²⁷ Ibid. fol. 13r. ‘Wer an disem fest allen brauch und Ceremonien der Juden beschreiben wolt/ wurde ym ein groß büch hie zü klein werdenn/ aber auffs kürzest wil ich ein wenig daouon sagen’.

⁵²⁸ Ibid. fol. 8r. In its own right, the translation of the *Siddur*, the first attempt of its kind to make Jewish prayers available to German speaking readers in full has been described as ‘pioneering’. Diemling, ‘the “Whole Jewish Faith”’, p.304.

Jewish home affairs that was entirely unique for its time. The increased visibility of the *Hausvater* in the book is partly because of the volume of the text devoted to Jewish domestic life, but I believe that the dominance of the *Hausvater* in the text is due equally as much to Margaritha's familial situation, and demonstrates that the book is an especially personal account of his own Jewish experience. Margaritha's brother, father and grandfather were all rabbis, and the older of these rabbis would have acted as his family's *Hausvater*, meaning that both the role of rabbi and family leader were played by the same man in Margaritha's Jewish life. This hypothesis would mean that, to Margaritha at least, the *Hausvater* and the rabbi were almost interchangeable. Although this symbiosis of *Hausvater* and rabbi may have been normal for Margaritha, by presenting this personal account of Jewish life as systematic of all Jewish lives, the effect was to consistently expose the life in Jewish homes at the expense of life in the synagogue. The consistent focus on the *Hausvater* rather than the rabbi in the book may also be indicative of the fact Margaritha did not wish to direct vitriol against his own family. His grandfather especially had been an eminent rabbinic scholar,⁵²⁹ and to follow the lead of Pfefferkorn and von Carben, who so readily attacked rabbis and their teaching in their polemical ethnographies, would have been, for Margaritha, akin to a personal attack on his elders. The Augsburg author still had contact with his family, as they tried on at least one occasion to bribe him back into the Jewish fold,⁵³⁰ and turning his focus away from rabbis in *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* was a way of protecting a family who clearly still harboured feelings for their apostate son.

Taking all of the aforementioned factors into consideration, the major point of difference between the works of Margaritha and Pfefferkorn and von Carben in how ethnography is employed is that *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* is a much more profoundly personal account of Jewish life. This personal touch was manifested in many ways. Firstly, in the emotions portrayed in the parts of the book which were most personally important to Margaritha, namely Isaiah 53 - the cause of his conversion - and *Kapparot*, the ceremony he perceived as being the most blatant Jewish

⁵²⁹ Walton, *Anthonius Margaritha*, p.5.

⁵³⁰ Ibid. p.71.

corruption of Christianity and mockery of Jesus. Furthermore, the way in which Margaritha's prioritized the role of the *Hausvater* allowed his readers to see, from a male perspective, what happened in Jewish homes rather than just the synagogue and religious ritual. The dominance of the *Hausvater* in the book should also be interpreted as Margaritha wishing not to attach too much vitriol to the role of the rabbi. We can see that when he describes the rich banquets that accompanied Jewish ceremonies throughout the year, he is remembering elements of his own past, where his wealthy, high status family would have been able to afford silk chair backings and luxuriant food which he describes. Finally, he also often separates his own personal, polemical opinion from the main ethnographic descriptions in his text with selective use of the first person and marginalia. This gave the work a more rounded outlook than the earlier writers, in which anti-Jewish views were often additions, acting as an accompaniment to the work rather than acting as its main ingredient. An impression left by *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* is that Margaritha's work was not ghost-written, edited, or inspired by anyone else other than himself, something which has been doubted in the cases of Pfefferkorn and von Carben.⁵³¹ This is perhaps what is meant by modern scholars when they describe Margaritha's work as the first true polemical ethnography of the sixteenth century. Margaritha took what Pfefferkorn and von Carben did and built upon it, discarding the clear agenda in Pfefferkorn's work and the Marian devotion of von Carben that was influenced so strongly by the Dominicans, and adding more ethnographic description, more depth, and a domestic point of view to Jewish life.

⁵³¹ Kirn, *Das Bild*, p.181, Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, p.178

CONCLUSION

Although this thesis has drawn conclusions on the importance of diverse literary genres in the formulation of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha's work, this is far from the end of the matter. A rewarding way forward in this field could be to broaden the scope of the discussion of polemical ethnographies, taking it outside of the field of Christian-Jewish relations. Potentially fruitful avenues of enquiry could include an analysis of Christian accounts of the Ottoman Turks. Additionally, a study into Franciscan and Dominican friars and their accounts of Amerindian civilizations could diversify the discussion on the subject of polemical ethnographies. A comparison between the converted Jewish authors and texts from these areas would shed new light on von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha's works, and I wholeheartedly hope that others will be able to make those connections and comparisons.

Throughout this thesis, I hope to have shown how the works of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha are a blend of many literary influences. These combine in various ways to form works that at first seem contradictory at first: in even the same sentence, an anti-Jewish belief can be read alongside a revealing and insightful comment on Jewish life and praxis. But a deeper appreciation of these texts suggests that this contradictory nature was always the only likely outcome for publications written by individuals who themselves were deeply contradictory. Alongside the vitriolic anti-Judaism, which undoubtedly caused the Jewish population of German speaking lands pain and added to the difficulty of their situation, the publications studied in this thesis contained in them the personal struggles of von Carben, Pfefferkorn and Margaritha, three individuals who had lost their place in the religion of their birth and were struggling to find relevance and security in their new one. I hope that the reader now has a better understanding of what is meant by a 'polemical ethnography' of Judaism, and understands that that description will never be a fully adequate one to describe these works of the converted Jewish authors. Established literary traditions, whether that be Marian anti-Judaism, or Christian-Jewish disputations, or

conversion narratives, or Christian anti-Talmudic scholarship, all played their part in the creation of these texts which sit at the beginning of the ethnographic genre of Judaism in early modern Europe. Primarily, I hope to have kept the texts, which were what originally drew me to this subject, at the heart of all that has been posited, argued and analysed.

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Speculum adhortationis Judaice ad Christū (Cologne: Martin von Werden, 29/8/1507)

Speculum adhortationis iudaice ad Christū (Speyer: unknown publisher, 1507)

Speculum adhortatio/nis Judaice ad Christū (Cologne: Martin von Werden, 6/1/1508)

Der Juden Spiegel (Cologne: unknown publisher, 1508)

JUDEN BEICHT

Jch heysch eyn boichelgyn der ioeden bicht. Jn allen orten vint men mich licht. Vil neuwer meren synt myr wail becant Jch wil mich spreyden in alle landt Wer mych lest. den wüschen ich heyl. Doch dat ich den ioeden niet werde tzo deyl (Cologne: Johann Landen, 1508)

Jch heyß eyn buchlijn der iuden beicht. Jn allen orten vint man mich leicht Vil neue meren synt myr wall bekant Jch will mich spreyden in alle landt Wer mich lyst den wüschen ich heylDoch das ich den iuden nit werde tzu deyl. (Cologne: Johann Landen, 1508)

Ich heyss ain büchlein der iuden peicht. In allen orten vindt man mich leicht Vil newer meren seind mir wol bekant Ich will mych prayten in alle landt Wer mich lyst dem wünsch ich hayl Doch das ich den iuden nit werde zü tayl (Augsburg: Jörgen Nadler, 1508)

Jch heiße ein büchlin der iuden peicht Jn allen orten vindt man mich leicht Vil neuer meren sind mir wol bekandt Jch wil mich preyten in alle landt Wer mich list dem wünsch ih hayl Doch das ich den iuden nit werde zü tayl (Augsburg: Hannsen Froschauer, 1508)

Jch heysz ein buchlein der iudē peicht. Jn allen orten vindt man nicht leicht. Vil newen meren synt mir woll bekant Jch will mich preyten in allen landt Wer mich lyst dem wunsch ich heyl Doch das ich den iuden nit werde zu teyl (Nürnberg: Hanssen Weissenburger, 1508)

Libellus de Judaica cōfessiōe siue sabbato afflictionis. per Johānem pefferkorn factū ex iudeo christianum nuper editus (Cologne: Johann Landen, 1508)

Libellus de Judaica confessione siue sabbato afflictionis. per Joannē Pfefferkorn factum ex iudes christianum nuper editus (Nürnberg: Joannes Weyssenbrger, 1508)

JUDENFEIND

Ich bin ain buchlin. der Juden veindt ist mein name, Yr schalckheit sag ich vnd wil mich des nit schamē. Die lang zeit vborgen gewest als ich thu betewten Das wil ich utz offenbarn allen Cristen lewten. Dā ich bin mit jren hebreischē schriftē wol vwart Vnd dē verkerten geschlecht die warhait nit gespart... (Cologne: unknown publisher, 3/1/1509)

Ich bin ainn büchlein der juden veindt ist mein namen Jr schlackheit sag ich vnnd wil mich des nit schamenn Die lang zeyt verborgen gewest ist als ich thün bedeütenn Das wil ich yetz offenbarn allen Cristen leüten (Augsburg: Erhard Öglin, 3/1/1509)

Hostis judaeorum hic liber inscribitur, qui declarat nequicias eorū circa vsuras et dolos etiam varios... (Cologne : Heinrich von Neuss, 1509) translated by Ortwin Gratius.

OSTERBÜCHLEIN

In disem buchlein vindet y rein entlichē furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten/ unnd besonderlich wie das Abentmal gessen wirt/ Verer wurdt außgedruckt das die Juden ketzer seyn/ des alten und neuwen testaments/ Deshalb sye schuldig seyn des gerichts nach dem gesetz Moysi. (Cologne: Johann Landen, 3/1/1509)

In disem buchlein vindet Jer ain entlichenn furtrag wie die blinden Juden yr Ostern halten unnd besünderlich wie das Abentmal gessen wirt/ Weiter würdt außgetruckt das die Juden ketzer seyn des alten und newenn testaments/ Deßhalb sye schuldig seyn des gerichts nach dem gesatz Moysi (Augsburg: Erhard Öglin, 3/1/1509)

In hoc libello cōparatur absoluta explication quomō ceci illi iudei suū pascha seruēt: maxīe quo ritu paschalem eā cenā māducent. Exprimitur pterea iudeos esse hereticos desertores veteris.

Oppugnatores noui testamēti. obrem iudicij rei sunt scdm legē moysi (Cologne: Henricum de Nussia, 2/1509) translated by Ortwin Gratius

IN LOB...

In lob und eer dem Allerdurchleuchtigsten Großmechtigsten fursten und heren hern Maximilian vō gots genaden Romschen kaysers zu allen zeytē merer des Reych.zc. In Germanien zu Hungren/ Dalmacien/ Croaciē.zc.koenigk. Ertzhertzogen zu Osterrich. Hertzog zu Burgundi. zu Brabant.zc.Graff zu Tyrol.zu Flandern.zc.und Pfaltzgrauen.zc. Unserm allergnedigstē hernn hat Jo/hānes Pfefferkorn vormails ein Jud und nun ein Cryst dyß buchlyn auffgericht/ und in.xvi.capitel getaylt (Cologne: Henrich von Nuß, 1510)

In laudē et honorē Illustrissimi Maximiq principis domini Maximiliani dei gratia Romano impatoris semper augsti... (Cologne: Henricus de Nussia, 1510), translated by Andreas Kanter

Zu lob und Ere des aller durchleichtigsten und großmechtigisten Fürsten und herren.Herr Maximilan von gottes gnaden Rōmischen Kaiser zü allen zeiten merer deß Reichs Teüscher nacion Hungarn Dalmacia Croacia Jünig Ertzhörtzog zü Osterrich Hertzog zü Burgundia zü Braband. Graffen zü Tyrol Flander... (Augsburg: Erhard Öglein, 1510)

VON CARBEN'S WORKS

Opus aureum ao nouum et a doctis viris diu expectatum dñi Victoris de Carben olim iudei [...] (Cologne: Heinrich von Neuss, 1509)

Dem durchleutigsten hochgebornen furstē vnd herren herrē Ludwign Phaltzgrauen bey Rein Hertzogē in Obren und Nidern Bayern des Heylige Romischē Reichs Ertz/ truchsen. und Curfursten Meinē gnedigisten liebsten herrn zc Hier inne wirt gelesen wie Her Victor von Carben. Weliche eyn Rabi Judē gewest ist.zu Christlichem glawbn kommen Weiter vindet man dar Jn.eyn Costliche

disputatz eynes gelerten Cristen. und eyns gelerten Judē. dar inne alle Irthumb der Juden durch yr aygen schriftt aufgelost werden. (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, 1510)

Eyn schoin vnd suberlich tractat von der edele reyne vnd vnbefleckte junckfrouschafft Marie der hymelsche konigyn [...] (Cologne: Johann Landen, 1510)

Ajn schoen vnd seüberlich Tractat von der edlen rainen vnd vnbefflecten junckfrauschafft Marie der hymelischen künigin [...] (Augsburg: Jörgen Diemars, 3/1510)

Propugnaculū fidei christiane Victoris de Carben primū iudei Rabi [...] [the disputation part of his work in Latin] (Cologne : Johann Landen, 1512)

Juden Büch/lein. Hyerinne würt gelesen/ Wie herr Victor von Carben/ welcher ein Rabi der Juden geweßt ist/ zü Christlichem glaubem kommen. Weiter findet man darinnen ein köstliche disputatz eines gelerten Christen/ und eins gelerten Juden/ darinne alle jrthumb der Juden durch jr eygen schriftt auffgelöt warden (unknown place: unknown publisher, 1550)

DER GANTZ JÜDISCH GLAUB

Der gantz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt ainer gründlichen vnd warhafften anzaygunge/ Aller Satzungen/ Ceremonien/ Gebetten/ Haymliche und öffentlicht Gebreüch/ deren sich dye Juden halten/ durch das gantz Jar/ Mit schönen und gegründten Argumenten wyder jren Glauben. Durch Anthonium Margaritham Hebrayschen Leser der Löblichen Statt Augspurg/ beschrieben und an tag gegeben (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 3/1530)

Der gantz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt ainer gründlichen vnd warhafften anzaygunge/ Aller Satzungen/ Ceremonien/ Gebetten/ Haymliche und öffentlicht Gebreüch/ deren sich dye Juden halten/ durch das gantz Jar/ Mit schönen und gegründten Argumenten wyder jren Glauben. Durch Anthonium Margaritham Hebrayschen Leser der Löblichen Statt Augspurg/ beschrieben und an tag gegeben (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 7/4/1530)

Der gantz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt eyner gründlichenn vnd warhaftigen anzeygunge/ aller satzungen/ Ceremonien/ gebetten/ heymliche vnd öffentliche gebreüch/ deren sich die Juden halten/ durch das gantz Jar/ mit schönen vnnd gegründten Argumenten wider jren glauben/ durch Anthonium Margaritham/ Hebreyschen Leser/ der löblichen Vniuersitet vnd fürstlichen Stat Leyptzigk/ beschryben vnd an tag gegeben. (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531)

Der gātz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt eyner grüntliche vnd warhaftigen anzeygunge/ aller satzungen/ Ceremonien/ gebeten/ heimliche vñ öffentliche gebreuch/ deren sich die Jüden hältē/ durch das gantz Jar/ mitt schönen vñ gegründten argumēten wider yhren glaubē/ durch Anthonium Margaritham/ Hebreyschen leser/ der löblichen Vniuersitet vnd Fürstlichen statt Leyptzigk/ beschrieben vnd an tagk gegeben. (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1531)

Der Judisch glaub/ Mit allen Ceremoniē/ satzügen/ heimliche und öffentliche gebreüch wie sich die Jüdē hältē/ Mit schönen und gegründten argumenten wider jren glauben/ Durch Anthoniū Margarithā beschribē (Cologne: Jaspar von Gennep, 1540)

Der gantz Jüdisch Glaub. Mit sampt einer gründlichen vnd warhaftigen anzeigenge/ aller satzungen/ Ceremoniē/ gebetten/ heymliche und öffentliche gebreüch/ derē sich die Juden hältē/ durch das gantz Jar/ mit schönen vnnd gegründten Argumenten wider jren glauben/ durch Anthonium Margaritham Hebreischen Leser/ der löblichen Uniuersitet unnd fürstlichen Statt Leyptzigk/ beschrieben vnnd an tag gegeben. (Frankfurt am Main : Jacob Cyriacus, 1544)

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