Zoë Schwartz

SHARED SPACES AND SOCIAL COHESION: JEWISH-CHRISTIAN COEXISTENCE IN MEDIEVAL REGENSBURG AND WORMS

MA Thesis in Comparative History - Track: Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University Private University

Vienna

May 2024

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by

Zoë Schwartz

(USA)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Author's declaration

I, the undersigned, **Zoë Schwartz**, candidate for the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History- Track: Late Antique, Medieval and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Vienna, 16 May 2024

Signature

Abstract

Living amongst each other, as neighbors and inhabitants of the same city, Jews and Christians interacted on a daily basis in the medieval cities of Worms and Regensburg. The question of how the two groups coexisted in the same space might be answered utilizing the concept of social cohesion. To understand the circumstances and sources of social cohesion, this thesis compares two case studies of Regensburg and Worms for a deeper analysis of Jewish-Christian coexistence in the Middle Ages. In order to uncover alternative sources of social cohesion, beyond the traditional ties like kinship and religious affiliation, this thesis undertakes an interdisciplinary approach, utilizing both written and archeological sources and combining elements of sociology, Jewish studies, and medieval studies. I argue both topographical factors and shared security interests were possible unifying factors for Jews and Christians as well as influential for community building, developing solidarity, and fostering intergroup inclusion. With the framework of social cohesion and the analysis of both daily life and specific events, the dynamics and everyday life in medieval Regensburg and Worms are viewed through a lens that unveils cohesion in different everyday spaces and contexts.

Acknowledgements

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I am most thankful for my parents and grandmother, who enabled my caffeine addiction and supported me financially. My previous computer should also be recognized, for functioning when it did and for its service in the preparation of this thesis. Lastly, my favorite café played an important role in my research. I thank the establishment for fostering productivity and being one of the cafés in town to say open until 18:00.

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List of Abbreviations

HStAD	Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
RUB I	*Monumenta Boica 53: Regensburger Urkundenbuch, Bd. 1: Urkunden der Stadt bis zum Jahre 1350.* Edited by Josef Widemann. Munich: Der Wildische Buchdruckerei Gebr. Parcus, 1912.
VHVO	*Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*

Introduction

In common understanding, social cohesion is used to describe a collective's functionality and resiliency, which are the result of the quality of communication, economic cooperation, peaceful conflict resolution, in the community. While often discussed in policy making and sociology for decades, social cohesion has been utilized as a tool for historical research.[1] Researchers of multifarious disciplines have shown interest in the concept and have found the term useful for analyzing and critiquing various modern social dynamics and societal ills. Utilizing social cohesion as a framework assists in discovering what develops bonds of solidarity between diverse groups and what creates social tensions.

Previous discussions on social cohesion sought to answer questions about what connects people are quite relevant for this thesis.[2] The traditional notion is that social cohesion is formed from a shared culture, religion, and/or political allegiance. Alternatively, everyday interactions and mutual support between people from disparate and sometimes antagonistic groups can lead to social cohesion. Both options easily pertain to an investigation of the social dynamics between the majority and Jewish inhabitants in a medieval city. Thus, the concept provides a lens through which one can qualify social interactions and power exchanges in medieval cities. My thesis applies the concept of social cohesion to the medieval cities of Regensburg and Worms to identify the alternative sources of cohesion that bind together disparate cultural groups. Through

[1] Yuri Kazepov ed., *Cities of Europe: Changing Contexts, Local Arrangements, and the Challenge to Urban Cohesion* (Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

[2] David Schiefer and Jolanda van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," *Social Indicators Research* 132 (2017): 583.

an application of sociological theory to archeological and textual sources, I will analyze the influence of space and the effect of shared security interests on social cohesion.

This thesis follows a case-study design, with a comparative analysis of the cities of Regensburg and Worms between the years 1096 and 1349, with mentions of events in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Both cities were cathedral cities with an array of conflicting and cooperating authorities, including the king, the bishop, the secular prince (count Palatine or duke of Bavaria), the city council, and the guilds. Meanwhile, the topography of Jewish settlement in the two cities contrasted. The Jews in Worms were more isolated, while the Jews of Regensburg occupied the center of the city. The difference was influential for the level of social cohesion in the city, specifically during the Black Death persecutions (1349). However, between the years 1349-1519, the Jews of Worms avoided expulsion, unlike the Jews of Regensburg.

Such a comparative approach for medieval urban Jewish communities is preceded by Gregor Maier's dissertation from 2011, in which Maier compares the Jewish and Christian inhabitants in multiple Bavarian cities in the Late Middle Ages.[3] Maier, however, covers a limited geographical region while the cities I have chosen for comparison have quite different regional governing or authoritative forces. Another point of difference is the aim: Maier sought to reveal the web of relations between Jews and Christians at the local and regional levels. While also highlighting Jewish-Christian interrelations, this thesis intends to explain what circumstances created cohesion within medieval Regensburg and Worms.

[3] Gregor Maier, "Juden und Christen in den Kathedralstädten Augsburg, Regensburg, Salzburg und Passau während der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts" (PhD. diss., University of Trier, 2011).

An abundance of research already exists about medieval Jewish communities of Regensburg and Worms. In the past two centuries, historians have investigated the coexistence of medieval Christian and Jewish communities, however, the framework of social cohesion has scantly been applied to evaluate and compare periods of cohesion and discord in this context. The framework is based on modern, recent literature, in which contemporary society and the modern state are both the assumed condition of society and create the ideal society which sociologists aim to achieve or capture. Although a modern theory, this thesis attempts to extract the relevant and applicable hypotheses of social cohesion and evaluate them in the context of medieval cities. Drawing upon Regensburg and Worms, the following pages attempt to understand how cohesion may have manifested from alternative sources in the medieval society in Regensburg and Worms.

With the following definition of social cohesion and examples of social cohesion as a tool for analysis in historical research, the following two chapters considers and compares sources of cohesion in the medieval cities of Regensburg and Worms. Rather than focusing on the political and legal realities of urban life, urban space and shared spaces are at the center of this thesis. In both cities economic spaces, food establishments, and facilities in and around the Jewish quarter, where usages of space that could have created social and economic relationships. However, only a few of these spaces were selected for study. In Regensburg, the focus is aimed at the nearby markets, latrines, and bathhouses. For Worms, the focus is on markets, latrines, bakeries, and bathhouses.

From this study, frequent interactions are found to be more apparent in Regensburg where both court records and archeological excavations provide evidence that Jews and Christians were living as neighbors and shared certain facilities. In Worms, the location of the

Jewish quarter and the fallout of the 1349 persecution worked to created distance between the Jews and Christians in the city. Besides proximity, security interests potentially shared by Jews and Christians in both cities may have fostered and manifested in some form civic participation, inclusion, and orientation towards the common good.

Before explaining the specifics of the methodology concerning social cohesion, the issues of historical narratives specific to (medieval) Jewish history is ever present. Historical debates and trends in the past centuries have highlighted the important aspect of balance in the emphases placed in Jewish history. The focus on balance is paramount because an uneven report could skew historical understanding of the medieval urban experience of Jewish communities to one of only suffering and bloody persecutions. Over the last century, the issue of balance between narratives of suffering and normalcy in the retelling of medieval Jewish history has received considerable critical attention. The scales in historiography have tipped in both directions, until scholars began suggesting a compromising equilibrium.

Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891) is said to have "dominated the Jewish historiography of the nineteenth century," with his magnum opus *History of the Jews,* published in eleven volumes between 1853-1876.[4] Graetz defined the Diaspora as "the eighteen-hundred-year era… of unprecedented suffering, of uninterrupted martyrdom."[5] Graetz's impact for future historians can be seen in the work of Salo Wittmayer Baron beginning in the 1920s. Baron termed the trend, "History of Sufferings and Scholars," pointing the blame on Graetz, who popularized the trend in

[4] Michael Meyer, *Ideas of Jewish History* (New York: Behrman House, 1974), 217.

[5] Heinrich Graetz, "Introduction to Volume Four from History of the Jews," in *Ideas of Jewish History*, ed. Michael Meyer (New York: Behrman House, 1974), 229.

Jewish studies.[6] Baron's work brought forth a new wave or rethinking of Jewish history. As part of Baron's rebuttal of the "lachrymose conception of Jewish history," Baron shifted the historical narrative from themes of Jewish victimhood to more positive aspects of historical Jewish existence in Europe.

Like Graetz before him, Baron's thinking is being revisited. Baron's lasting impact on Jewish studies scholars can be seen in the emergence of the "neo-Baronian school" in the last few decades of Jewish historiography. The neo-Baronian counterargument seeks to further emphasize the "continuities instead of ruptures in Jewish history," although sometimes exaggerated like in the research of David Nirenberg and Jonathan Elukin.[7]

Special attention should be given to Elukin, who studied the long-term resilience of Jewish-Christian relations in medieval Europe in *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages*. Elukin argues the narrative of medieval Europe as a persecuting society creates a single narrative of the Jewish of victimization. Instead, Elukin asks how Jews and Christians interacted, and describes the continuity of a relatively stable relations between Jews and Christians.[8] Like Baron, Elukin places violence as a normal part of a balanced society consisting of various religious groups and argues that memory and violence of

[6] Salo W. Baron, "Heinrich (Hirsch) Graetz, 1817–1891," in *History and Jewish Historians: Essays and Addresses* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964), 267. See Heinrich Graetz, "Judaism Can Be Understood Only Through its History [1846]," in *Ideas of Jewish History,* ed. Michael Meyer (New York: Behrman House, 1974), 219-228; I. Abrahams, "H. Graetz, the Jewish Historian," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 4, no. 2 (1892): 165-203; Michael Brenner, "Between Religion and Nation: Graetz and His Construction of Jewish History," in *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History*, trans. Steven Rendall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[7] David Engel, "Crisis and Lachrymosity: On Salo Baron, Neobaronianism, and the Study of Modern European Jewish History," *Jewish History* 20,3-4 (2006), 245.

[8] Jonathan Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 6.

the Middle Ages gave Jewish communities "confidence in their abilities to survive in western European societies."[9]

An even more recent current trend is encapsulated by Adam Teller's book, *Rescuing the Surviving Souls: The Great Jewish Refugee Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,* that searches to bring both aspects of continuities and persecution. A shift in focus can be best seen between Elukin, whose spin on violence emphasized the more prominent "good" inter-religious relations, and Teller, who focused on the reactions and the lasting-consequences of anti-Jewish violence in the mid-seventeenth century. In asking how Jewish communities reacted to the anti-Jewish violence in Poland-Lithuania by examining the history of anti-Jewish violence and responses in the past, Teller demonstrates a more nuanced reform to Baron's approach. The book aims to illustrate how the violence fostered "significant, sometimes long-term, processes of social, cultural, and religious change" and had significant role in determining the experience of daily life.[10] Teller's short return to the lachrymose perspective is, as Teller argues, "actually an essential tool" for understanding Jewish history.[11]

Historiography of the last two centuries established that emphasis, in either direction, could alter an accurate impression of the situation in the following case studies. Thus, a balance must be made between the approaches of Baron, Elukin, and Teller. The turn away from themes of Jewish victimhood and insecurity, while not ignoring nor downplaying the role of violence in Jewish life, in favor of a more nuanced understanding of Jewish and Christian coexistence, leads to insights into certain aspects of everyday life in the Middle Ages.

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[9] Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart*, 138.

[10] Adam Teller, *Rescuing the Surviving Souls: The Great Jewish Refugee Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 37.

[11] Teller, *Rescuing the Surviving Souls*, 36.

Similarly, the objects of research in scholarship evolved in three steps. First example is the study of Christian attitudes towards Jews. For example, in the works of Christian historian James Parkes' focused on understanding the hostilities that afflicted Europe in the 1920s and 30s by uncovering the origins of antisemitism in the Middle Ages.[12] His conclusion was that Jewish people were just like other people, and the hostilities that existed in the twentieth century were actually crafted centuries before. This approach was an external analysis, studying Christian rhetoric and behaviors to understand contemporary hostilities towards Jews. Later historians, like Jacob Katz, studied the opposite —Jewish attitudes to Christians. Katz's *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, published in 1961, examined attitudes of Jews towards their non-Jewish environment to understand Jewish-Christian relations in "its entirety."[13]

Lastly, scholars of the third evolution explored the mutual relationship between Jews and Christians, like Ivan Marcus, Israel Yuval, Ephraim Shoham-Steiner. The first, Ivan Marcus, posited a "new model" for understanding medieval European Judaism culture in 1998, by researching Jewish acculturation and Jewish-Christian interactions in a society they were both "actively present."[14] Marcus's treatment of education and cultural assimilation, examined Jewish acculturalization and the cross-cultural context that influenced Jewish rituals.

Similarly, Israel Yuval's *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 2006, described Jewish and Christian religious symbols that were exposed to the inter-faith society. The exposure led to the adoption and reinterpretation of Jewish symbols into Christian culture and vice versa. In addition

[12] James Parkes, *The Jew and His Neighbour: A Study of the Causes of Anti-Semitism* (London: Pub. for International Student Service by the Student Christian movement Press, 1930).

[13] Jacob Katz*, Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (New York: Behrman House, 1961), xi.

[14] Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

to Jewish self-perceptions, Yuval studied Christian self-perceptions as well, through these shared symbols that began in Antiquity and developed in the Middle Ages (example: Jewish Martyrdom and Christian blood libels).[15]

Finally, Ephraim Shoham-Steiner's research investigates the "margins" of society and Jewish society, revealing all sides of Jewish life and society.[16] Shoham-Steiner's *On the Margins of a Minority: Leprosy, Madness, and Disability among the Jews of Medieval Europe* examines how both Christian and Jewish communities marginalized Jews with disabilities or illnesses, and the complex position of these marginalities inside Jewish community.[17]

Edited by Shoham-Steiner in 2016, *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages* features contributions from many CEU faculty and contains various chapters that consider the influence of economic contacts and special proximity on behavior and the interreligious influence between Christians and Jews.[18] The book is a turn towards the history of "everyday life," rather than the often discussed Jewish–Christian relations and polemics.

With this historiographical debate in mind, this thesis provides a retelling of sources of coexistence and social cohesion in the search for alternative sources of cohesion, outside traditional ties, like kinship, beliefs, and rituals. Like Elukin, I search for sources of coexistence. Unlike Teller, ruptures in Christian-Jewish coexistence and violence against Jewish communities

[15] Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[16] Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, J*ews and Crime in Medieval Europe* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2020).

[17] Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, *On the Margins of a Minority: Leprosy, Madness, and Disability among the Jews of Medieval Europe* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2014).

[18] Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, "'For in every city and town the manner of behaviour of the Jews resembles that of their non-Jewish neighbours': The Intricate Network of Interfaith Connections — A Brief Introduction," in *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages: Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts*, ed. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, vol. 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016)," 5.

is not the focus. At the same time violence is an inevitable subject for most medieval Jewish communities. The focus does not lie in the consequences of the violence in the overarching development of Jewish and Christian dynamics, rather on the immediate consequences, specifically, topographically and on the development or existence of social conduits.

It is worth noting that dissolution occurred in Worms and Regensburg at different points in time, and unevenly, over the Middle Ages. The Jews of Worms and the Jewish inhabitants of Regensburg both experienced the First Crusade in 1096 to different degrees, but their respective medieval expulsions had distinct long-term impacts. The Regensburg expulsion contrasts with the relatively short-term expulsions of the Jews in Worms (1348-1353, 1615-1616, 1689-1699), whose quarter and residency remained intact until the Holocaust.[19] In Regensburg, expulsion in 1519, Jews would not return to Regensburg proper until the eighteenth century.[20]

The overall structure of the study takes the form of three chapters, which address these main topics: shared spaces, and security interests and forms of civic participation. To apply the elements of social cohesion to the Jewish communities and their respective cities, I have taken broad approach in regard to sources. This thesis synthesizes and integrates written primary sources, archaeological findings, and secondary literature to uncover evidence of social cohesion in Regensburg and Worms.

[19] Fritz Reuter, "Die heilige Gemeinde Worms," in *Juden in Deutschland*, ed. Michael Matheus (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 78-80.

[20] Some Jews were permitted to live in Stadtamhof after the expulsion, under the rule of the Bavarian Duke. Siegfried Wittmer, "Juden in der Oberpfalz von den Anfängen bis 1918," *VHVO* 132 (1992): 40, accessed May 16, 2024, https://www.heimatforschung-regensburg.de/2349.

Methodology

Definition of Social Cohesion

The first step in applying the concept of social cohesion is establishing a definition fitted for the specific research. The Latin origin of cohesion, *cohaerere,* means stick or tie together, similarly social cohesion today is defined as how well people in a society "stick'' to one another.[21] While most can agree with this etymological impression of social cohesion, unfortunately the term remains a poorly defined in spite (or perhaps a consequence) of the great multitude of suggested elements in the last few decades. From this literature, I have combined the most relevant hypothesis of social cohesion: tradition, commitment, authority, and contact. I elaborate the four hypothesis of social cohesion that will be applied to the following chapters. Together, they assemble loose guidelines, these measures will be used to evaluate the degree of social cohesion in medieval Regensburg and Worms.

The distinction between vertical and horizontal orientations allows for nuances in the structure of social cohesion. The vertical dimension refers to relations between individuals and institutions, whatever formal superordinate authority force that is responsible for regulating how people live together. In contrast, horizontal means interactions between members in society or cohesion between social groups.[22] In sum, the vertical dimension measures up the existing power hierarchy and horizontal refers to interpersonal relationships.

[21] Joseph Chan, Ho-Pong To, and Elaine Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research," *Social Indicators Research* 75, no. 2 (2006): 289.

[22] Chan, To, and Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion," 295.

1. Tradition

Traditional ties of communities are characterized as inherited through common ethnic origin, religious and cultural traditions, and adhesion to political and moral norms. One learns tolerance and social order through kinship and intragroup social networks, through which people develop shared identities and solidarity. Neighborhood or community based social networks are developed through "traditional" ties of communities like "shared space, close kinship links, shared religious and moral values" foster social cohesion.[23]

People tend to adhere to a wide set of social rules and norms depending on culture, ethnic or religious group, and location. In a diverse society there are also diverse social norms. Cohesion can be based on the pursuit of cultural homogeneity and even lead to xenophobic and anti-Jewish extremes, but it will in this case develop a lesser degree of intergroup cohesion. Historically and today, many societies that were/are xenophobic or anti-Jewish still function(ed) with a certain degree of social cohesion, even if it is just intragroup (existing or occurring within a singular social group) cohesion.

2. Commitment

The commitment theory relies on solidarity and the orientation towards common good. Both ideally entails caring for one another, regardless of identity. At the horizontal level, people in a socially cohesive society may feel responsible for each other and the well-being of others.

[23] Ray Forrest and Ade Kearns, "Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood," *Urban Studies,* 38, no.12 (2001): 2125.

Additionally, orientation towards the common good entails some level of commitment towards a community and to place the welfare of the community over one's personal needs.[24] At the individual level, commitment looks like charity, voluntarism, and is seen in one's willingness to help or give to others. The feelings of responsibility for the common good is linked to the compliance to social rules and order. Likewise, solidarity and inclusion greatly influence the willingness needed to help for voluntary civic engagement.

Trust between people is based on the expectancy that the other persons' behavior is predictable with positive intentions and is present in everyday activities involving interactions with strangers.[25] There are different divisions of trust within and between different social networks. In the economic and social sphere trust allows people to carry out their everyday activities and interactions without the fear of being cheated or disappointed. Economic activity or trade depends on people adhering to whatever is stipulated in their contracts. Trust between traders, moneylenders, or craftsmen in economic interactions with their customers/clientele would encourage the development of exchanges. At the same time, economic interactions, like those between moneylenders and their patrons, between individuals of contrasting levels of wealth and privilege would not necessarily be productive for trust or solidarity.

Higher intergroup (existing or occurring between two or more social groups) trust likely equates to a greater degree of tolerance between groups. Tolerant groups may have less interruptions of social dissolution and display higher degrees of inclusive identities or commitment. Intolerant majority groups react poorly to perceived or actual increases in the size

[24] Schiefer and Van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," 589.

[25] Marc Hooghe, "Social Capital and Diversity Generalized Trust, Social Cohesion and Regimes of Diversity," *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 40, no. 3 (2007): 716.

of the outgroup (for purposes of the case studies both in number of members and space occupied by that outgroup). Likewise, changes to a stable heterogenetic society counteracts the development of "familiarization," that had promoted some level of intergroup tolerance.[26]

3. Authority

Social cohesion may be purposefully enforced and based on the infrastructure governing bodies and law enforcement. Both the role of authority figures, perception of social order, and education towards the common good are influential in maintaining or in the development social cohesion. Social order may be understood as the compliance to social (written or unwritten) rules and norms. In the vertical dimension, social order manifests in laws, which were issued with/or without the consent of the people. From the modern perspective, a dissonate understanding of social norms from multiple groups can cause ruptures in society, although authorities may attempt to retain social order through laws, education, and law-enforcement. The enforced compromises and tolerance between different social groups may create shared behavioral practices or create certain distance between groups that maintained social order between social groups.

Whether there needs to be respect for these rules and norms is debatable. Although according the idea of "acceptance versus rejection," a socially cohesive society entails acceptance of social order, as well as accepting concerns for the common good.[27] Instead, perhaps order requires only compliance, a willingness to tolerate (on a very basic level), without

[26] Tom van der Meer and Jochem Tolsma, "Ethnic diversity and its effect on social cohesion," *Annual Review of Sociology* 40 (2014): 29-30.

[27] Paul Dickes and Marie Valentova, "Construction, validation and application of the measurement of social cohesion in 47 European countries and regions," *Social Indicators Research,* 113, no. 3 (2012): 827–846.

necessarily conforming to the logic or sharing the same values engineered by authorities.[28] One can argue that a precedent to the "acceptance" of institutionally regulated social order is a sufficient degree of legitimacy or trust in institutions to establish and regulate these rules with the people's benefit in mind. An adequate amount of people must trust that institutions are oriented towards the common good, otherwise upholding their regulations might not appear logical or convincing enough to comply. In the medieval society, authority figures may forbid an activity, but socially a great deal of people could still find the activity perfectly compliant with established social norms although challenged vertically.

The element of participation, also influential on social cohesion, plays a major role in Chapter 3 in which the financial contributions to the city of Worms and evidence of civic participation in both Jewish communities are identified. Sometimes called civic engagement, participation in public life has various forms and manifestations, such as involvement in unions (or guilds), non-governmental organizations, and political parties. Additionally, engagement relies on legal status and limitations, financial standing, then societal feelings of inclusion and trust.[29] There is also the idea of socio-cultural participation like membership in cultural associations or voluntary work. In its broadest definition civic engagement or participation are the ways one works to improve the community by "pursuing community issues, or "[work] that is done publicly and benefits the public and is done in concert with others."[30] Andy Green, Jan

[28] This assertion can be compared to various interpretations of Social Contract Theory. For further arguments, one might consider the theory's range of arguments on maintaining social order and the negotiation between the governed and governing.

[29] Xavier Fonseca, Stephan Lukosch, and Frances Brazier, "Social cohesion revisited: a new definition and how to characterize it," *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 32, no. 2 (2019): 247.

[30] Richard P. Adler and Judy Goggin, "What Do We Mean By "Civic Engagement"?" *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3, no. 3 (2005): 238.

Germen Janmaat, and Christine Han (2009) draw a definitive line between voluntary and coerced participation. They equate social cohesion with a society, in which individuals are bound together through "action of specific attitudes, behaviours, rules and institutions which rely on consensus rather than pure coercion."[31]

While voluntary versus involuntary participation may in some way impact or wrongly reflect the level social cohesion, there is something to be said about inclusion and the role of those tasked (involuntarily) with a duty assigned to them. Involuntary civic participation could also be seen as a manifestation of social order developed by authorities, as the nature of participation would be duties, placed on groups or individuals that help govern the community and maintain social order. Enforced common good in the form of civic participation can be unbalanced, demonstrating intolerance (for example, singling out a particular group to perform tasks not shared across different groups), and facilitating tolerance, by bringing together groups of people in the spirit of common good.

4. Contact

Theoretically, interactions between groups, like Jews and Christians, may lead to higher levels of tolerance through the process of familiarization, this is called the "contact hypothesis."[32] The contact hypothesis posits cohesion between groups occur spontaneously through proximity in space and quotidian interaction. Through familiarization, shared identities,

[31] Andy Green, Jan Germen Janmaat and Christine Han, "Regimes of social cohesion," (London: Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies. Institute of Education, 2009), 19.

[32] Hooghe, "Social Capital and Diversity Generalized Trust," 719.

group recognition, patterns of contact, and segregation, are attitudes of society, both on the individual and collective levels, that can deal with diversity in a way that influences may increase solidarity and trust.[33] The shared identities are social identities, which are relevant for the cohesiveness of groups and whole societies.[34] Examples of familiarization and trust in relation to social cohesion and space will be discussed in Chapter 1 and 2. The following case studies on Regensburg and Worms combine these theories of space as facilitators of social cohesion.

The idea that "social cohesion is a by-product of the routines, demands and reciprocities involved in everyday life," will be used to analyze places of daily interactions and how they represent various elements of social cohesion.[35] Research on "neighborhood social conduits" explores how land use influences the perception of social cohesion. These conduits are spaces that provide opportunities for social interaction, the physical spaces are locations where "social practices" unfold, and particular place characteristics help to shape the actions of groups and individuals.[36] R. Wickes et al. specifies the types of land use that empirically facilitate social interactions. "Anchoring conduits," sites that service residents both in- and outside the neighborhood in which it is located, were found to be the most conducive for social cohesion. As locations of frequent, routinised interactions, they encourage the development of shared social identities, perception of community, and familiarization.[37] In general, as places that support the

[33] Hooghe, "Social Capital and Diversity Generalized Trust," 728.

[34] Julia Leininger et al., *Social cohesion: a new definition and a proposal for its measurement in Africa*, Bonn: German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), 5, accessed September 15, 2023, https://doi.org/10.23661/dp31.2021.v1.1.

[35] Kearns and Forrest, "Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance," 998.

[36] R. Wickes, et al., "Neighbourhood social conduits and resident social cohesion," *Urban Studies,* 56, no.1 (2019): 229; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[37] Wickes, et al., "Neighbourhood social conduits and resident social cohesion," 238.

development of social networks or that bridge different racial, gender, religious and other demographic personal identities, anchors are necessary for new or the development of social identities, which in turn encourages people to be more willing to protect the community.[38]

Similarly, “local exposure conduits,” are places of unscheduled encounters at sporadic and points in time, they increase neighboring social networks through exposure. The interactions here are likely to eventually develop into elements of social cohesion.[39] The places fostering daily or frequent interaction and communication inside and around the Jewish quarter give insight into Christian-Jewish relationship and the city’s level of social cohesion. These are spaces that illustrate how the Jewish and Christian population were "getting on” in the everyday social practices and mundane routines.[40]

Even in the absence of religious unity or traditional ties, the strength of neighborhood social ties has consequences for the “basic building-blocks of social cohesion.”[41] Measuring belonging or self-perceptions of identity in the far past is not straight forward. Rather physical locations, i.e., social conduits, represent places where familiarity could develop via routinized interactions. As I examine interactions in relation to the interfaith use of bathing places and other banned interactions between Christians and Jews that took place, pragmatics often overruled laws placed by institutions, like the Church. The sources describing Regensburg’s interreligious shared baths and latrines, posit the potential that these shared spaces may have fostered friendly

[38] Aaron Clopton and Bryan Finch, “Re-conceptualizing social anchors in community development: Utilizing social anchor theory to create social capital's third dimension,” *Community Development* 42 (2011): 81.

[39] Wickes, et al., “Neighbourhood social conduits and resident social cohesion,” 238.

[40] Ade Kearns and Ray Forrest, “Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance,” *Urban Studies* 37, no. 5/6 (2000): 998.

[41] Forrest and Kearns, “Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood,” 2125-2130.

relationships, despite such activities being banned elsewhere. The following section will discuss some of the notable applications to medieval history.

Social Cohesion in Medieval Studies

Emphasizing the importance of the sense of belonging and shared values, Eivind Heldaas Seland published an article in 2013 about medieval cross-cultural trade in the Indian Ocean. Seland found that a common religion, language, and geographical origin were vital for the "infrastructure of trust," were vital social and trade networks.[42] Flocel Sabaté's book on late-medieval Catalonia examined the function of capital punishment within the framework of social cohesion.[43] Sabaté concluded that a degree of trust in the governing bodies was reinforced by shared Christian values and society's common goal of justice. Additionally, Sabaté places instances of anti-Jewish violence in multiple perspectives. By including the perspective of Jews experiencing social disruption, conflict, is diminished when viewing society in its entirety. Whether cohesion must be felt by all groups in society remains is a useful question. Can a society truly be cohesive if only a portion of the population is cohesive within themselves? For how "cohesive" was society for those miscreants sentenced to death?

In the wider scope, urban communities of the past and present are frequently examined with reference to social cohesion.[44] I would like to place a special emphasis on an example of

[42] Eivind Heldaas Seland, "Networks and social cohesion in ancient Indian Ocean trade: geography, ethnicity, religion," *Journal of Global History,* 8, no. 3 (2013): 373- 390.

[43] Flocel Sabaté, *The Death Penalty in Late-Medieval Catalonia: Evidence and Significations* (London: Routledge, 2019).

[44] Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel, "Cities and solidarities Urban communities in medieval and early modern Europe," in *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe,* ed. Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel (London: Routledge, 2017), 1-24.

topographical analysis of urban communities by Colin Arnaud. In "Mapping urban communities: A comparative topography of neighbourhoods in Bologna and Strasbourg in the late Middle Ages," Arnaud maps the distribution of neighborhood centers (churches, baker's shops, bathhouses), as well as the spatial relationship between residences and their workplaces, concluding that Strasbourg's (and not Bologna's) topography indicates thorough neighborly interactions, thus a more active community life. [45] Arnaud's comparative approach of evaluating participation, social networks, and community solidarity by analyzing the organization of urban neighborhoods and communal places is a precedent for the two case studies of this thesis, which highlights the most relevant conception of social cohesion: "social cohesion is about getting by and getting on at the mundane level of everyday life."[46]

The case studies and Chapter 3 concern themselves with shared spaces in and in the immediate vicinity of the medieval Jewish quarter, that is, primarily "places where basic daily services were provided," as Colin Arnaud explored in Strasburg and Bologna.[47] Arguably, places like markets, latrines, and bathhouses, give insight into the frequency of interactions, sociability of neighbors, and familiarity with people that otherwise belong to separate communities. Within these daily service locations, people had the opportunity to meet each other and share common spaces, strengthening their social bonds, and create and maintain relationships.[48]

[45] Colin Arnaud, "Mapping urban communities: A comparative topography of neighbourhoods in Bologna and Strasbourg in the late Middle Ages," in *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe,* ed. Justin Colson and Arie van Steensel (London: Routledge, 2017), 60-78.

[46] Kearns and Forrest, "Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance," 998.

[47] Arnaud, "Mapping urban communities," 61.

[48] Arnaud, "Mapping urban communities," 66.

1. Regensburg: The Influence of Daily Interactions on Social Cohesion

In Regensburg and Worms, the Jewish inhabitants had a specific quarter with the synagogue and other community institutions, but in the periphery, there were places shared with non-Jews. These places that functioned as "a contact zone" for Jews and Christians are the points of focus for my thesis. Both case studies are an investigation of such facilities that were required regardless of faith or identity, simply because Jews and Christians share the same economic, human, and social needs, that can be fulfilled at markets, latrines, and bathhouses,

Potentially, these locations of frequent contact between Jews and Christians can provide insight into the extent and consequences of shared spaces in addition to how these places might have motivated familiarization and solidarity. What sort of compromises had to be made for Jews and Christians to coexist and why? In an attempt to understand these dynamics, a few locations of potential Christian-Jewish contact in both will be examined in Regensburg.

The places discussed in this chapter are analyzed in reference to their proximity to the Jewish quarter. Segregation can indeed occur in close spaces since limitations of space also factor into instances of tolerance and compromise. However, the existence of shared space meant that as neighbors, Jews and Christians were more likely to be familiar with one another. In turn, this frequent contact may have influenced social harmony through the process of familiarization. Likewise, distance between the two groups and segregation would theoretically lead to the opposite, social dissolution.

I decided to focus my case study not on the sites of negotiation and long-distance trade, but on the markets, latrines, and bathhouses that existed in and around the Jewish quarter, because I presume that all these spaces facilitated the everyday interactions of neighbors. Due to the multifunctionality of the Jewish quarter and the Wahlenwacht district (which encompassed the Jewish quarter, the merchant's quarter, and a great amount of the city in the south) in Regensburg, such places could also be locations of regular contact between Jews and Christians.

1.1 Long Distance Trade

The significance of Regensburg at the geographical level can be deduced from its mere location (Figure 1). Besides being the central urban location in the Bavarian region, the city borders the Danube River. Traders, kings, and armies utilized the extensive Danube trade network throughout history, connecting many prominent cities in western and eastern Europe. In the third century CE, the Roman general Marcus Aurelius purposefully chose this location on the Danube to build a fort, strategically at northern-most point of the river. The Roman fort, Castra Regina, had four major gates, porta praetoria, in the north, the southern gate, porta decumana, and the western Roman gate (porta principalis sinistra) connected by road directly east to the porta principalis dextra, the eastern gate.[49]

Since waterways were a valuable tool for merchants, so too are ways across for long distance trade and accessibility. A reliant means of crossing meant a reliable connection of the southern and northern long distance trade routes. In 792, Charlemagne built a "Schiffbrücke," a

[49] Karl Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 5th ed. (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druck & Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1997), 491.

wooden ship-bridge, over the Danube at the porta praetoria, which survived for around 300 years, about 100 meters east of today's Steinerne Brücke.[50] The Steinerne Brücke (Stone Bridge) was constructed around 1146 exists in some form today located at the medieval Brücktor (adjacent to the porta praetoria*)* on the Danube, connecting the city with the island, Stadtamhof, in the north.

In the Middle Ages, the city was divided into eight districts or *Wachten,* that are still are used in the municipal city organization of Regensburg. Inside the Roman *Castra* (or *Altstadt)* are the Paulserwacht, Wahlenwacht/ Walerwacht, Wittwangerwacht, while the rest are in the sounding area. Westnerwacht, Schererwacht, Wildwercherwacht, along with Donauwacht are districts in the west and in the east the Ostnerwacht (Figure 2).[51]

The city was dependent on diverse merchants and craftspeople to supply food and goods for daily use.[52] With the economic growth and development of the profession of merchants in Regensburg during the early Middle Ages, markets were likely already developed. The first mention of such a market was referred to the "mercatus" was in 934, when the Ebersberg monastery's founder Count Eberhard von Sempt-Ebersberg gifted a property to the monastery.[53]

The originally unspecified market was located by Sydow in 1961, based on primary sources (and what archeological information existed at that time), to Kohlenmarkt, near today's

[50] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 11.

[51] Johann Mayr, et al., *Grundriss Der Fürstlich Primatischen Residenz-Stadt Regensburg: Nebst Deren Neuen Gartenanlagen Ausser Den Thoren*, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*, 1808, accessed December 10, 2023, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00092200?page=1

[52] Roland Schönfeld, "Regensburg im Fernhandel des Mittelalters," *VHVO* 113 (1973): 3, accessed October 3, 2023, https://www.heimatforschung-regensburg.de/1998/.

[53] *RUB I,* 1, Nr. 3.

Altes Rathaus (Figure 3).[54] While the name "Kohlenmarkt" is modern, named after coal traded there, Sydow found that all major and important streets coalesce at this location in the Middle Ages.[55] His research on city topography illustrated that Kohlenmarkt was the *mercatus* of the High Middle Ages, since most of the business of short and long distance traders returning from their travels took place at this market. [56] The market was even larger than the size today, originally it extended from today's Kohlenmarkt to the fish market to the Danube.[57] As the hub for business the main market was eventually reduced in size due to the overbuilding of market stall properties.[58] Being the only market mentioned in early medieval documents, its size, plus evidence that major early medieval city streets all converged at Kohlenmarkt, the *mercatus* was the central market zone.

Laying just northwest of Wahlenstraße, the market location was convenient and close for the residents of the pagus mercatum and the Jewish quarter. The merchants' quarter was also referred to as "inter Latinos" in 1138.[59] The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw Regensburg flourishing with business and riches that came with it. The merchants' quarter, pagus mercatorum on Wahlenstraße, was built by rich merchant families out of stone, most with an

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[54] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 236; Diethard Schmid, "Das Regensburger Judenviertel-Topographie und Geschichte im Licht der Jüngsten Ausgrabungen," in *Juden in der Stadt,* ed. Fritz Mayrhofer und Ferdinand Opll, vol. 15 (Linz: Österreichisches Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1999), 172.

[55] Amongst others, Minoritenweg at Porta principalis and Bachgasse which began at St. Emmeram led directly to Kohlenmarkt. Also, the the road connecting the city to Straubing led o Kohlenmarkt as well. Jürgen Sydow, "Der Regensburger Markt im Früh- und Hochmittelalter," in *Cum Omni Mensura Et Ratione: Ausgewählte Aufsätze: Festgabe zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Maurer (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), 301.

[56] Sydow, "Der Regensburger Markt im Früh- und Hochmittelalter," 301.

[57] Sydow, "Der Regensburger Markt im Früh- und Hochmittelalter," 301.

[58] Arnaud, "Mapping urban communities," 61.

[59] Wahlenstraße means romantic (as in Roman people) street. Likely, in the area of the later Wahlenstraße a residual settlement of Romans might have maintained itself. *RUB I,* 74, Nr. 143; Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, s.v. "walhisch," by Benecke, Müller, Zarncke, digitalisierte Fassung im Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, last modified January 2023, www.woerterbuchnetz.de/BMZ/walhisch.

interior courtyard and wide driveways.[60] The merchants' quarter ran parallel to the western wall, ending at porta principalis sinistra, that is the crossroads of Wahlenstraße and Gesandtenstraße, the latter at one point connected porta principalis sinistra and porta principalis dextra.

The southern side of this junction would be occupied by an Augustinian monastery, when the area, referred to as "in ponte Judaeorum," was gifted to the Regensburg order of Augustinian Heremits (confratribus Eremitis, ordinis beati Augustini) curtesy of Albertus de Porta, the "Magister civium et universitas Ratisponensis" on July 27, 1267.[61] In the east of the inner city, the Alter Kornmarkt was located closer to the porta principalis dextra, just east of the cathedral on Domstraße. In the same area, the Agilofinger dukes of Baiern built a palace in the north-east corner of the Castra, when Regensburg was chosen as the capital (the Herzoghof was established at Regensburg by at least, seventh century).[62]

Additionally, the proximity of the merchant's quarters near the Jewish quarter hints at the location's connivence, not only to the Danube but to markets within the city. Based on the trade networks and Jewish merchants traveling around the continent, it was clearly not a coincidence that the location of the quarter gave undisruptive access to major transport routes via wide streets to the banks of the Danube.

[60] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 11.

[61] *Regesta sive Rerum Boicarum Autographa Band III*, eds. Karl Heinrich von Lang, Josef Widemann, and Maximilian Freyberg (Munich: Impensis regiis, 1825), 290; Maier, "Juden und Christen in den Kathedralstädten Augsburg, Regensburg, Salzburg und Passau," 38.

[62] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte,* 52.

1.2 The Jewish Quarter

The first extant written record of Jewish presence in Regensburg is from 981 with the sale of Scierstadt (today's Stadtamhof).[63] However, evidence for Jewish inhabitants of Regensburg and a Jewish quarter was first mentioned in a charter dated to 1010-1020. When the dying Rizaman, a citizen of Regensburg, gifted three courts (tria curtilia) "prope Judaeorum habitacula" (nearby the residences of the Jews) to the St. Emmeram monastery.[64]

The reason, an invitation or any other explanation, for Jewish settlement or placement of the Jewish quarter is not denoted in any charter or primary source. However, in relation to the Jewish quarters of Regensburg and Worms, archeological excavations and studies of city topography illustrate the purposeful location of the Jewish quarter. For Regensburg, the central location was a key factor for settlement in the growing city.

By the tenth and eleventh centuries, Jews in Regensburg already represented a fundamental part of the "economic fabric" burgeoning.[65] As long-distance merchants, Jewish merchants used caravans to import and sell desirable luxury goods to elite courts.[66] Specifically, merchants imported slaves, furs, horses, wax, and precious metals into the city from Kiev, the

[63] Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Kloster St. Emmeram Regensburg Urkunden (0794-1800) BayHStA, Kloster St. Emmeram Regensburg Urkunden 28, in Monasterium.net, accessed October 3, 2023, https://www.monasterium.net/mom/DE-BayHStA/KURegensburgStEmmeram/000028/charter.

[64] *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters St. Emmeram,* ed. Josef Widemann (München: Beck, 1943), 245, Nr. 324; Wilhelm Volkert, "Der spätmittelalterliche Judengemeinde in Regensburg," in *Albrecht Altdorfer und seine Zeit*, ed. Dieter Henrich (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992), 130.

[65] Silvia Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries): Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer; 20-25 October 2002* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 391.

[66] Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 391.

Volga region, and Byzantium.[67] Local Jewish merchants vending would have had frequent interactions with Christians in markets and trade may have had an impact on interpersonal trust, at least in the economic sphere.

The northern access to the Jewish quarter was through the Christian part of the Tändlergasse in the north, then through the Kramwinkel into the interior of the Jewish quarter.[68] Here, there were casual interactions between the Christian neighbors and the Jews, as neighbors and as people, who entered or exited the Jewish quarter. The "Winkel," of Kramwinkel, means angle, referring to a narrow passageway that turns west at almost 90-degree angle towards Tändlergasse (Figure 4). The exit was likely closed by a "türl," a small gate, the northern most entrance into the Jewish quarter through the Christian portion of Tändlergasse through Kramwinkel.[69]

In the thirteenth century, the Jewish quarter was about a 150x150 meter area with an estimated population of 500-600 people. The houses within the quarter lined three alleys, that measured about 5 meters in width leading north to south.[70] The Jewish quarter of Regensburg comprised about 39 houses at its height, with facilities of public life, for the Jews and urban dwellers of Regensburg in general. These facilities include the synagogue complex, likely the baths and possibly a mikvah, a hospital, Judenstadel (store house for merchants) behind the

[67] Schönfeld, "Regensburg im Fernhandel des Mittelalters," 7-48; Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 391; Silvia Codreanu-Windauer and Stefan Ebeling, "Die mittelalterliche Synagoge Regensburgs," in *Monumental: Festschrift für Michael Petzet zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. April 1998*, eds. Susanne Böning-Weis, Karlheinz Hemmeter and York Langenstein (München: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege; Vertrieb, K.M. Lipp, 1998), 449.

[68] Silvia Codreanu-Windauer, "Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie des mittelalterlichen Judenviertels," in *Der Neupfarrplatz. Brennpunkt - Zeugnis - Denkmal. Regensburger Herbstsymposium zu Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege 1999*, eds. Martin Dallmeier, Hermann Hage und Hermann Reidel (Regensburg, 2002), 16.

[69] Codreanu-Windauer, "Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie des mittelalterlichen Judenviertels," 16; Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 401.

[70] Codreanu-Windauer, "Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie des mittelalterlichen Judenviertels," 12.

Dompropstei, bakery a butcher's shop, wells, and outside of the quarter was the Jewish cemetery (Figure 4).[71] Furthermore, prior to 1519, records about the inhabitants of Spielhof and Kramwinchel describe Christian-Jewish neighborhoods.[72]

The major streets inside the Jewish quarter include Judengasse, which began at Gesandtenstraße (an east-west road that at one point connected the eastern and western Roman gates) turns north into the Jewish quarter (Figure 4). The other end of the medieval Judengasse was at the northeastern corner of the Jewish Quarter in the direction of Regensburg's Cathedral, i.e. the crossroads of today's Residenzstraße and Drei-Helm-Gasse.[73] The width of the street was around 5 meters, a generous size allowing carts to easily traverse north to south.[74] The convenience of traversing trade on Judengasse becomes evident when considering Judenstadel was situated at the northern entrance into the quarter, where shipments would arrive from the Danube into the quarter.[75] Most importantly, Judengasse was also the shortest connection from the inner city to the stone bridge crossing the Danube (finished in 1146). Archeologist Silvia Codreanu-Windauer suspects that since the route was the fastest avenue towards the main means of transport, non-Jewish merchants also utilized this street to transport goods further inland.[76]

Similarly, on the northwestern side of the quarter was another convenient route to the Danube's stone bridge, potentially also used as a route by Jewish merchants as it was closer to

[71] Codreanu-Windauer and Ebeling, "Die mittelalterliche Synagoge Regensburgs," 449; Andreas Angerstorfer, "Die jüdischen Friedhöfe in Regensburg," in *Jüdische Lebenswelten in Regensburg: Eine Gebrochene Geschichte*, ed. Klaus Himmelstein (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2018), 92-106.

[72] Astrid Riedler-Pohlers, "Häuser – Menschen – Transaktionen Archivalien als Hilfsmittel zur Erschließung eines mittelalterlichen jüdischen Viertels," in *Tür an Tür im Mittelalter. Jüdisch-christliche Nachbarschaft vor dem Ghetto*, eds. Rachel Furst und Sopia Schmitt (Munich: Abteilung für Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2020), 70.

[73] Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 400.

[74] Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 400.

[75] Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 400.

[76] Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 400.

Kohlenmarkt. On the western boundary of the quarter, Tändlergasse (the street leading north out of the Jewish quarter) once met Brückstraße (bridge street) at around today's famous Goliath house. For centuries this route led uninterrupted and directly north to the bridge, until the road was blocked by the building of the so-called Goliath Block in 1260.[77]

1.3 The Smaller Markets

Both quantity of and level of satisfaction from economic exchanges influence trust between traders, moneylenders, or craftsmen with their customers and each other. However, It is clear that economic interactions are not equal to the everyday social interactions. Markets were more than economic hubs, but also the central gathering space. On one hand, the frequency of interactions/exchanges signal enough trust, when one or both parties feel safe to conduct business without the fear of being cheated. Without trust continued exchanges would be avoided (if people had the privilege of choosing). The concurrence of higher intergroup trust and greater degree of tolerance between groups, points to familiarization and social cohesion. On the other hand, economic exchanges are more a product of social cohesion than a source.[78] Social and personal interactions, which also take place at markets, are more of a focus.

Tändlergasse/Kramgasse/Kramwinkel's naming origins likely derive from the stalls or shops set up belonging to merchants that peddled smaller everyday items and secondhand

[77] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 129.

[78] See, Christoph Sommer, "Social cohesion and economic development: Unpacking the relationship," *Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik* (DIE) *Briefing Paper*, No. 16 (2019), accessed May 16, 2024, https://doi.org/10.23661/bp16.2019.

wares.[79] The area was referred to as "inter utensilia," in 1279, translating to "among utensils/materials," or items of daily use.[80] Throughout the fourteenth century, the area was called "unter den Chramen."[81] Many references to the market appear in names sighed in various charters, like "her Ulrich der Håderår undern chramen" in 1330.[82] By 1529, the street was labeled "Cramgasse" and in 1613 it was known as "Tandlermarkt."[83] Additionally, according to Karl Bauer, the name "Kramwinkel" was used for today's Tändlergasse in a city map of 1808 (Figure 2).[84] The various words for this street, area, and market all signal that most of the wares sold here were basic affordable, everyday items, not luxury products for rich consumers. Likely frequented by people of lower socio-economic standing, those who may not be able to afford a newly manufactured basic kitchen tools (pots, pans), or new clothes or pairs of shoes.

Kohlenmarkt, the *mercatus*, with its location near the Danube, attracted a diversity of consumers and local and long-distance merchants. The market was much larger than Tändlermarkt, and as the central medieval market, the market was likely another shared space for Jewish merchants to peddle their luxury wares, like wine, slaves, furs, horses, wax, and precious metals. While other Jewish businesspeople peddled their second-hand or pawned goods at their even more immediate *Kramladen* on Tändlergasse.[85]

[79] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte,* 128.
[80] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 128.
[81] *RUB I,* Nr. 299, 346, 529, 811, 972, 1044; Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 128.
[82] *RUB I,* 334, Nr. 608.
[83] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 128.
[84] Mayr, et al., *Grundriss Der Fürstlich Primatischen Residenz-Stadt Regensburg*.
[85] In Karl Theodor Gemeiner's *Chronik*, he described the medieval Jewish quarter as one with "kramladen, Fleischbänke und andere Buden." According to him, the Jewish quarter didn't just neighbor the secondhand market, but Jews were actively facilitating trade with their *kramladen.* Karl Theodor Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik 2* (Regensburg: Montag und Weiß, 1803), 14.

The business that took place at *inter utensilia* and the *mercatus* would allow people from outside the neighborhood to interact, potentially develop trust in both the economic and social spheres and build tolerance. While tolerance does not necessitate that one must agree on moral values, the trust required for and familiarization of frequent transactions and business in the markets required a compromise between the groups and for both to follow the social order that supports non-violence. Both markets were spaces for frequent, routinised, everyday interactions that encouraged the development of shared social/occupational identities, as merchants or craftspeople, as people living in the city, and people who frequent the market, which begets the perception of community and tolerance.

1.4 Everyday Facilities: Latrines and Hygiene

1.4.1 Shared Latrines

Just south of the exit onto Tändlergasse, a 1994 excavation uncovered what historians consider to be the hospitale judeorum mentioned in the early thirteenth century (Figure 4).[86] The plot, Tändlergasse 20, was on the western side of the street connecting the west and eastern sides of Tändlergasse. Today the middle of the building lies under the street, as evidenced by the discovery of a steep, very narrow cellar staircase leading south along the edge of today's Tändlergasse, where Tändlergasse was once cellared, i.e., built over. [87]

[86] Codreanu-Windauer, "Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie des mittelalterlichen Judenviertels," 15.
[87] Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 398.

The medieval *hospitale* provided accommodation and medical care for those in need of help, the *hospitale* was a social institution helping the old and the poor, the sick and invalids. The excavation of Tändlergasse 20 uncovered multiple latrines in the backyard (Hinterhof), the youngest was used at least since the fifteenth century and had a stone-built shaft 9.2 meters deep.[88] This elaborate privy likely once belonged to this public building, the *hospitale judeorum*. Although the latrine was used by the hospital, it is unclear as to if Jews were the only people the latrine or *hospitale* serviced. The drama and arguments surrounding privies in (and around) medieval Regensburg found in medieval records must be explained to open the possibility that the latrine was accessible by the house on the opposite side in Wahlenstraße.

Latrines are a reoccurring topic in Regensburg's medieval records. Most disputes were between Christians in late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, who both had a claim on a privy because of its location in between houses or in shared courtyards (sometimes referred to as "hof"). In the *Regensburger Urkundenbuch I* alone, about seven latrine disputes, the majority of which were brought to relevant authorities between 1287 and 1349.[89] The cases were more often brought to the appropriate *Wachtmeister,* leader of their respective *Wacht* (municipal district). The Wacht offices were an "Unterorgane des Rates" (a subsidiary body of the city council).[90] Residents in the district registered with the Wacht and as a result the Wacht offices knew best about local conditions and could compose tax lists.[91] The office of the Wachtmeister required

[88] Codreanu-Windauer, "Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie des mittelalterlichen Judenviertels," 15.
[89] *RUB I,* Nr. 143, 273, 469, 816, 985, 1240, 1244.
[90] Berta Ritscher, "Die Entwicklung der Regensburger Ratsverfassung in der gesellschaftlichen Struktur der Zeit von 1245–1429: Teil II," *VHVO* 115 (1975): 34, accessed May 18, 2024, https://www.heimatforschung-regensburg.de/2036.
[91] Ritscher, "Die Entwicklung der Regensburger Ratsverfassung," 33.

some court or construction experience as they would deal with construction disputes and preside over a special civil court for such matters.[92]

While different city officials ruled on the cases, most decided the best solution was for neighbors to share the latrine. Besides those who had the right to utilize a privy, the question of upkeep and cleaning was of great importance. To provide some context of the typical latrine quarrel, a few examples will be provided. In 1312, Hartmann, the Wachtmeister of " under den scherern," settled a dispute between neighbors in Regensburg.[93] Hartmann ruled that the two houses both owned the "privet" in the shared "hofstat" and that both should monetarily contribute to the cleaning and repairs of the latrine when the need arose.[94] In 1342, Stephan der Prunnhofer "wahtmaister in der Walhe wahtt" (the Wachtmeister of Wahlenwacht) decided on a property dispute between his brother-in-law and the brother-in-law's neighbor. Like other settlements judged by other authorities, Stephan determined that the building and upkeep of a latrine between the houses should be financed by both parties.[95] On May 12, 1349 in a deed of sale of house near Obermünster described explicitly the shared responsibility for cleaning and upkeep of the latrine.[96] Another in July 1349, Wachtmeister Chunrad der Sterner of the

[92] Ritscher, "Die Entwicklung der Regensburger Ratsverfassung," 34.

[93] "Unter den Scherern" was also known as the Schererwacht, the city district just west of Wahlenwacht.

[94] "deu hofstat deu gelegen ist under dem grözzen haus, da ligt ein privet inne, daz gehört zů beiden heusern, zů dem grözzern und zů dem minnern. Und swann dez not und durft ist, daz man daz özfüren schol oder bezzern, so schol daz grözze haus geben zwen pfenning und daz minner haus ainen pfenninch." *RUB I,* 141-142, Nr. 274.

[95] *RUB I,* 561, Nr. 985.

[96] "Man schol auch wizzen, daz man von irem haus und von unserm haus zů der grůb dez privetes von payden håusern gemainchleich get, und da von swanne man die selben privet gråben auz füren wil, swaz daz chost, daz schol man von payden håusern geben ze gleichem tail." *RUB I,* 668, Nr. 1240.

"Wiltbercher wacht" ruled that the "lantnær" (latrine) in the shared garden between two houses belonged to both neighbors. As for the cleaning of the "privet," both houses should pay for it.[97]

The instances of shared latrines between neighbors inside the city provides insight into architecture of multiple houses all over the city, that can be verified by city maps of Regensburg even in the modern era (Figure 2). Houses often shared a courtyard, and sometimes residents owned a latrine accessible for more than one house. Alternatively, on the occasion of the construction of a privy, the settlement stipulated the mutual responsibility and authorized its use by both houses.[98]

Codreanu-Windauer argued that due to the substantial number of Jewish and Christians homes built right next to each other, segregation was more difficult.[99] I suggest segregation was also less practical, as suggested in the case of Gnenlin and his neighboring monastery manor and the ruling in favor of (as Codreanu-Windauer calls) a non-denominational, shared latrine.

On 25 July 1287, Regensburg's Bishop Heinrich declared that the manor of Rohr monastery had agreed to the construction of a privy (locus privatus) at the bishop's request and the insistence of Gnenlin, son of Moses haLevi, referred to as "Gnenlini iudei Ratisponensis" (Genlin, Jew of Regensburg). On the property of the future latrine, Gnenlin along with his son lived in a house connected to "conventus Rorensis ecclesie."[100] Between the two homes, the

[97] "So gehört der lantnær an den Perchtold von dez Adelmans hof und daz chint; Ez schol auch Perchtold von dez Adelmans hof alz gelt halbs geben, waz zu der privet grub gehort mit zimer oder mit auzfüren, und Hnr. der gartner halbs, oder wer paideu hæuser inn hat, so schol ietweders haus daz gelt halbs geben." *RUB I,* 326, Nr. 589.

[98] "herm Gotfrit in dem Swal und meinem swager herm Ulrich dem Håderer umb daz auzfüren und pezzerung eines privates gelegen an der Håwbart… man schol daz privat durch dez Hæderer haus auz fåren, und swaz daz auzfüren chostet oder swaz man auf daz privet pezzert, daz schůln si paidenthalben geleich mit einander tragen." *RUB I,* 561, Nr. 985.

[99] Codreanu-Windauer, "Regensburg: The Archaeology of the Medieval Jewish Quarter," 402.

[100] *RUB I,* 74, Nr. 143.

place could be used for "egestiones" in perpetuity by both the manor and Gnenlin's household.[101] Permission was given to build the privy in the courtyard between the monastery and Gnenlin's own house, as long as it was permanently accessible and usable for both houses.[102] However, Gnenlin would be solely responsible for the upkeep and cleaning of the privy and the two groups must use the facility separately and privately.[103]

In the twelfth century the Rohr monastery was gifted properties in Regensburg throughout the city by the citizens and Regensburg's bishop. To name a few properties, the Bishop Heinrich (Heinricus) gifted a tower close to the Danube, a house "inter Latinos," on Wahlenstraße, and a house in the market.[104] Multiple citizens of Regensburg gifted other properties in the mid-twelfth century (no specific date is given); only one of note was gifted by Adalbertus —two areas in the Jewish quarter (inter iudeos).[105] Of all the gifted estates the manor in the merchants' quarter or either area in the Jewish quarter, could be the manor referred to in 1287. While the exact location is unclear, what is known is that the monks, the lay Christians, and the Jews of neighboring estates shared a space in the area of the Rohr church or Rohr manor and Gnenlin's house, however only at the extreme edge of his property.[106]

[101] "qui quidem locus utramque domum inhabitantibus pro querenda egestionis necessitate perpetuo sit communis." *RUB I,* 74, Nr. 143.

[102] *RUB I,* 74, Nr. 143.

[103] "ita tamen quod sine sumptibus quibuslibet prepositi et conventus ecclesie memorate per iudeos inhabitantes pro tempore dictam domum ipsius private purgacio procuretur, quando et quotiens fuerit oportunum. Est autem condicio hec adiuncta, quod queque stillicida de tectis prefate curie Rorensis decurrentia meatum suum per locum sepedicte private, sicut habuerunt, hactenus obtinebunt." *RUB I,* 74, Nr. 143.

[104] "in civitate turrim iuxta Danubium, inter Latinos domum, in foro dimidiam domum cum archa," *RUB I,* 5, Nr. 23.

[105] *RUB I,* 6, Nr. 28.

[106] "in area predicte Rorensis ecclesie prefate curie Rorensi adiacenti et in area Gnenlini prefati in extrema parte tantummodo," *RUB I,* 74, Nr. 143.

For the Rohr monastery, this deal was most advantageous. Not only would there be a latrine in a convenient location, but they held no responsibility for its construction, cleaning, or upkeep. The reason the bishop of Regensburg was involved could be due to the nature of the issue, which involved a monastery or church. Nevertheless, the bishop commented on the conditions of the agreement, in particular outlining how much contact the monks and Jews were allowed to have while sharing the latrine. To this point the bishop insisted on the separation of monks and Jews at the privy.

The proximity of these Jewish and Christian estates led to shared latrines, as was the case among Christian neighbors. Considering the existence of a latrine in the courtyard of the hospitale judeorum, it is difficult to conclusively argue that this latrine was shared with Christian neighbor on Wahlenstraße, as this was the case between the monks and Gnenlin. Yet another latrine existed at the Kramwinkel bakery, where records show Jews and Christians were neighbors.[107] These latrines at the hospital and bakery were on the border of the Jewish quarter, and where Jews were either next-door neighbors, or closer still, shared a courtyard with Christians.

The quality of the frequent interactions at the latrines between Jews and Christians is unknown. Was there small talk? Were there perhaps in some cases other casual discussions between Jewish and Christian neighbors about the cleaning of the privy and paying for repairs? When these sort of interactions were as common as the 1287 order implies and as the frequency of Jewish-Christian neighbors, then "familiarization" between neighbors could have promoted some level of intergroup tolerance. The closeness meant that complete segregation of the Jewish

[107] Riedler-Pohlers, "Häuser – Menschen – Transaktionen," 70.

quarter was both impractical and improbable in Regensburg, as neighbors Jews and Christians had to negotiate and discuss matters pertinent to those who shared a courtyard or latrine.

1.4.2 Hygiene: Baths

In the archaeological excavation in 1996, a Romanesque well was uncovered in the synagogue complex. Dated to the twelfth/thirteenth century, the well was eventually walled with hewed stone.[108] With a depth of 9 meters, the well was a fresh water source and had the characteristics of a mikvah. However, the time when the well was walled and became nonfunctional is unknown. Based on Regensburg's expulsion of the Jews in the sixteenth century, the well was probably walled sometime after 1519, when the Jewish quarter and the synagogue complex were completely razed.

Besides the mikvah attached to the synagogue, another bathhouse existed near the corner of Judengasse and Gesandtenstraße, at the corner of Spielhof. The bath there may have been a mikvah, intended for use by the Jewish community, since the depth of the bath was deep enough to reach the clean ground water (about 8-9 meters) (Figure 4).[109] A similar bath was solely identified by the Rabbi Dr. Seligmann Meyer in 1885 after it was uncovered during construction in the southeast corner of the medieval Jewish quarter and northwest of St. Kassian church, toady's Neupfarrplatz 10.[110] While the possibility of a mikvah in that location is possible,

[108] Bauer, *Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte*, 135.
[109] Codreanu-Windauer, "Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie des mittelalterlichen Judenviertels," 16.
[110] Sebastian Schott, "Die Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde in Regensburg im Mittelalter," in *Regensburg im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit,* ed. Martin Angerer (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1995), 255.

considering other medieval synagogue complexes, a ritual bath is most likely situated in the synagogue complex (like in Worms or Cologne).[111]

Of course, other bathing facilities, not connected to the mikvah and not exclusively for Jewish use, existed in the city, either private or public *Badestuben* (bathhouses).[112] Bathhouses in the Middle Ages were multifunctional and part of everyday life, comprising everything involved in maintaining good hygiene and health. One example is a private bath found north of Jewish quarter in the courtyard of the previously mentioned Goliathhaus. There may have been a public bathhouse between 1325 and 1536 at St.-Kassians-Platz, further southeast of the Jewish quarter, but its exact location is unknown.[113] Bathhouses, like bakeries or meat stalls, were mundane places of routinised attendance and could be regarded as "local exposure conduits." In turn the connections and social interactions that took place at bathhouses could be important for building community.

Not only did bathhouses function for basic hygiene needs, but the *Bader* (bathers) were akin to non-academic physicians. Their knowledge was not based on medical literature from the Mediterranean, rather their profession was learned through apprenticeship. Despite these differences in medical understanding, both Jewish doctors and *Bader* likely provided services such as bloodletting or cupping.[114] In Regensburg, on the eve of the expulsion of the Jews, on June 28, 1519, the Christian bather guild of Regensburg wrote a complaint to the imperial

[111] Codreanu-Windauer, "Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie des mittelalterlichen Judenviertels," 16.

[112] Iris Nießen and Barbara Perlich, "Private Badestuben am mittelalterlichen Stadthaus – Neuinterpretation archäologischer Befunde aus Regensburg," *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt,* 51, no. 4 (2021): 585-604.

[113] Bauer, Regensburg: Kunst-, Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte, 801.

[114] The specifics of Jewish doctors' and Christian bathers' relationships in Regensburg is discussed in detail by Astrid Riedler-Pohlers, who analyzes a complaint of the Christian *Baders* in Regensburg against Jewish doctors in 1518. Astrid Riedler-Pohlers, "Jüdische und christliche Mediziner im spätmittelalterlichen Regensburg," in *Jüdische Lebenswelten in Regensburg: eine gebrochene Geschichte,* ed. Klaus Himmelstein (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2018), 71.

government in Innsbruck.[115] By the sixteenth century, the rise of guilds and increasing perception of competition led to complaints about Jewish doctors, citing the laws that forbade Christians accepting medical care from Jews. Seemingly they were embarrassed by the incessant disregard for the law and their own services in bathhouses because they, despite being Christians, were ignored in favor of Jewish medical care.[116]

Places of Jewish-Christian interaction are especially clear in two ecclesiastical orders issued in 1327 by the bishop of Regensburg. The two related documents, one in Latin, another in Middle High German, both shed light not only on the types of interactions between Jews and Christians, but of pursuits of security and social order in general.[117]

The context of the 1327 letters is an alleged incident between the priest Chunrad from the bishopric of Constance and multiple Jewish persons, i.e. Isserl and his companions/brothers.[118] On April 3, 1327, Regensburg's Bishop Nycolas wrote to "discretis viris maioris, s. Cassiani, Inferioris, Superioris, s. Emmerammi, s. Pauli parrochiarum plebanis" warning the city's Christians about an incident involving a priest in Constance.[119] He alleged that Isserl (Isserlino iudeo de Rat. Suisque conplicibus) committed a violent offense against priest Chunrad of the Bishopric of Constance (qui manus violentas in Ch. Clericum de Constancia).[120]

[115] Veronika Nickel, *Widerstand durch Recht: der Weg der Regensburger Juden bis zu ihrer Vertreibung (1519) und der Innsbrucker Prozess (1516-1522).* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018.

[116] "Das macht uns zum Gespött und bringt uns Nachteil und Schaden." (This makes us a laughingstock and brings us disadvantage and harm). Riedler-Pohlers, "Jüdische und christliche Mediziner im spätmittelalterlichen Regensburg," 73.

[117] *RUB I,* 293-294, Nr. 525, Nr. 526.

[118] *Codex Chronologico-Diplomaticus Episcopatus Ratisbonensis. 2: Continens DL diplomata, omnisque generis chartas a saeculo XIV, ad finem saeculi XVI*, ed. Thomas Reid, (Ratisbonae: Schaupp, 1816), 816, Nr. DCCCXLV; *RUB I,* 292-293, Nr. 525, 293, Nr. 526.

[119] *RUB I,* 292-93, Nr. 525.

[120] *RUB I,* 292-93, Nr. 525, 293, Nr. 526.

In the Latin letter, the Bishop relayed the results of an investigation. These Jews were not satisfied when the principal of a debt was paid, presumably this was the debt of a cleric or the church in Constance. Absolving the debtor of any interest still owed was, however, the rule and any violation would result in excommunication. The bishop explained that since these Jews had despised this rule, no faithful to Christ shall engage with these Jews. Specifically, no one should trade with Isserl and his companions, nor grind wheat, nor bake bread for these Jews.[121] Penultimately, Christians were directed to not admit these Jews to the bath(house), and not display any form of tolerance towards them. [122]

A week later, the details of the violence against the cleric were expanded upon in a letter written in the vernacular to Jewish inhabitants of Regensburg: "Isserl der Jud und sein Bruder" chased (geiagt) Chunrad, a cleric or priest (pfaffen) and wanted to attack him with a knife in the men's choir room.[123] The Jews in the city were also directed to convince Isserl to settle this matter by the eighth day after Easter. To conclude the order, the bishop threatens the Jews: if they do not comply with the directive, the mercy from the bishop would be gone.[124]

Whether the accusation against Isserl reflected reality is less important than the directives that the bishop imparts in the first notice. Regarding the bath mentioned, "balnea" may be plural, potentially referring to multiple baths, like those in a bathhouse rather than a private bath, however there are exceptions in which "balnea*"* is singular.[125] Understanding the "balnea" as a

[121] "bladum molat, panem coquat, ad balnea recipiat aut alia obsequia exhibere presumat." *RUB I,* 292-293, Nr. 525.

[122] *RUB I,* 292-293, Nr. 525.

[123] *RUB I,* 293, Nr. 526.

[124] "Un wizzet, tæt ir des nicht, daz wir wellen, daz alle di genad, di ir von uns habt, ab sei." *RUB I,* 293, Nr. 526.

[125] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 246.

bathhouse, the letter suggests that shared bathing experiences occurred often, either in private or public spaces, since the activity belonged to a list of mundane occurrences such as trade and food preparation. Possibly, the bishop was speaking in a less literal sense, giving typical examples of ordinary, everyday activity that Jews and Christians might jointly engage in, in the economic or social sphere, from which only these *Jews* would be excluded.

Many other normative sources from the church similarly forbade Christians and Jews from interacting with each other in several ways. At multiple church councils taking place throughout medieval Europe, like the 1267 Vienna Council, repeatedly addressed "urgent" problems that arose from the disregard of Christian-Jewish regulations.[126]

While enumerating the anti-Jewish legislation developed in other church councils in parts of Europe farther west, the Vienna Council 1267 forbade Jews to frequent or enter the "stupas" and baths or shops/taverns of Christians.[127] In comparison to the Vienna Councils, the 1327 letters from the Bishop of Regensburg were more exceptional orders, not a reminder of the rules banning Jews from Christian baths or doing business with each other. Rather the April 3, 1327, missive was for faithful Christians to refuse *specific* Jewish individuals from their usual inter-group interactions, lest they be punished. Since the 1327 order only mentioned banning Isserl and his companion(s) from Christian bathhouses, one might assume the city's Jewish community were known to frequent baths outside of the Jewish quarter.

[126] René Richtscheid, "Judenbetreffe in Synodal- und Konzilsstatuten (1237–1347)," in *Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, eds. Alfred Haverkamp und Jörg R. Müller (Trier, Mainz: 2011), accessed August 9, 2023. http://www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/SK01/einleitung.html

[127] "Prohibemus insuper, ne stupas et balnea seu tabernas christianorum frequentare seu intrare presumant." "Continuatio Vindonenis," *MGH Scriptores*, vol 9, ed. G.H. Pertz (Hannover, 1851), 702.

From the 1327 documents, the image of everyday life is depicted, including frequent Jewish-Christian interactions at communal centers and businesses. Furthermore, the frequent reissuing of rules at medieval church councils regulating Christian and Jewish interactions indicates that these were rules were often not followed. The practice of Jewish people frequenting communal or private baths alongside Christians also appears in other areas of medieval Europe. Like the latrines in the Jewish quarter, the known bathing facilities near Spielhof and on St. Andreasplatz may have been locations shared by Jews and Christians.

Not complying with laws is commonly seen as an indicator for social dissolution, as social order plays a significant role in various elements of social cohesion (like orientation towards the common good and solidarity). This argument insists that a stable society requires respect for institutional and social rules to preclude behavior that would interrupt social harmony. The vertical orientation of social order can, however, enter into conflict with horizontal contacts.

1.5 Conclusion

When considering the idea of social cohesion as a "by-product" of daily interactions and exchanges, spaces like latrines and bathhouses were perhaps locations of frequent contact.[128] Likewise, the marketplaces near the Jewish quarter were highly likely locations of economic interactions and a place where Jews and Christians would frequently trade and negotiate. In these spaces involved in everyday life of hygiene and economic exchanges, Jews and Christians could mutually utilize a space. The quality of these exchanges is difficult to establish, however, since

[128] Kearns and Forrest, "Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance," 998.

social cohesion is about getting by and getting on at the mundane level, Jews and Christians of Regensburg may illustrate a level of tolerance sufficient enough for the two groups to function as neighbors and demonstrate how these diverse groups co-operated to reach common goals.

The logical reason why the Jews and Christians of Regensburg had to cohabitate, can be explained by the Jewish quarter's central location and the roles of Jews in the economic sector. Both proximity and practicality led to these shared behavioral practices.

2. Worms: The Influence of Distance and Ruptures in Tolerance on Social Cohesion

2.1 Trade

In the Roman province Germania Superior, the Roman settlement in Worms, called Borbetomagus, was placed under a civil administration in the first century CE as the administration center of the Civitas Vangionum.[129] By the second century CE, the types of occupations and business in the administrative center are exhibited in many epitaphs of the local elite, which mention their role as traders. In addition, archaeological evidence points to a plethora of wholesalers and retailers conducting business in Worms at that time.[130]

Worms' location of the Rhine River was likely a major factor in the establishment of the Roman *civitas*. The Roman preoccupation with merchantry continued into the Middle Ages, with the retention of the central mercantile street (today's Kämmererstraße), previously an older Roman road, as one of the major thoroughfares followed by merchants in the medieval city (Figure 5).[131] Although the Roman settlement area and first city walls only reached as far north as the Runderturm, just south-west of the medieval Martinspforte, by 900 the city walls

[129] Mathilde Grünewald, "Worms in der Spätantike: Archäologie am Dom – Festungsbau – Grabfunde," in *Das Rhein-Main-Gebiet in der Spätantike. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte. Akten der Tagung in Obernburg am Main vom 12.–13. April 2018*, ed. Alexander Reis (Büchenbach: Verlag Dr. Faustus, 2022), 59.

[130] Ralph Häussler, "The Romanisation of the Civitas Vangionum," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 15, 1993* (1994): 63; Mathilde Grünewald, "Worms von der vorgeschichtlichen Epoche bis in die Karolingerzeit," in *Geschichte der Stadt Worms,* ed. Gerold Bönnen (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2005), 92.

[131] See, "Stadtplan 1904" in Alfried Wieczorek ed., *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms: Archäologie in der Stadt* (Lindenberg im Allgäu: Kunstverlag Fink, 2012), 23.

expanded in every direction (Figure 6).[132] Most notably the new city fortifications incorporated the merchant Frisians, who settled in the northern-eastern part of the city by 829. [133] As traders of textiles between Alsace and Frisia, they were first mentioned in a confirmation of custom duties of merchants by King Ludwig the Pius and Lothar I in 829, "so that no matter how many traders or artisans or Frisians came to the Vangion city [Worms]" (quanticumque negotiatores vel artifices seu et Frisiones apud Uuangionem civitatem devenissen).[134] In 900, the *Mauerbauordnung* or *Descriptio Wormatiensis civitatis*, located the Frisians' settlement in the north-eastern part, while stipulating the construction and upkeep of the city wall.[135]

The ordinance mentions two locations of note: "Frisonen-Spira," and the ambiguous "porta mercati" or market gate (Figure 5).[136] The porta mercati was located in the northeastern corner of the city walls, where the later Judengasse meets Kämmererstraße (Figure 5). The actual naming of the gate remains ambiguous because across the multiple transcriptions of the original Latin (itself only existing through two sixteenth-century manuscripts), the gate is either "porta mercati" or "porta Mart." The latter refers to the St. Martin parish church just south of the gate, established in Worms by Bishop Burchard (1000–1025) (Figure 5).

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[132] Karl Heinz Armknecht, "Die Wormser Stadtmauern," *Der Wormsgau* 9 (1970-1971): 64.

[133] Specifically coats and cloth out of sheep's wool from the south that was brought to Worms to be traded. Wieczorek, *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms*, 18.

[134] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I. Teil: 627 – 1300*, ed. Heinrich Boos (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886), 9, Nr. 17.

[135] *Monumenta Wormatiensia: Annalen und Chroniken,* ed. Heinrich Boos (Berlin: Weidmann, 1893), 223.

[136] "De loco qui dicitur Frisonen-Spirra usque ad Rhenum ipsi Frisones restauranda muralia procurent… Ab hinc [St. Andreae portam] omnes ex utraque parte fluvii qui Isana vocatur sedentes usque ad Nittenheym muros civitatis usque ad portam mercati procurent." *Monumenta Wormatiensia*, 223-224. Across the multiple transcriptions of the original Latin (itself only existing through two sixteenth-century manuscripts), whether the gate is either "porta mercati" or "porta Mart." is still ambiguous. "Porta Mart.," which only appears in Friedrich Zorn's Wormser Chronik must refer to the St. Martin church (which was/would be very near to this gate). See Friedrich Zorn, *Wormser Chronik* (Stuttgart, 1857), 39.

The relative topography of Worms helps identify why the Frisians and, most importantly for our purposes, Jewish merchants would choose the northern edges of Worms: the area's advantages for trade. There is no definitive answer if the name of porta mercati referred to the traders who passed through the gate or to the merchant Frisians, who lived nearby. Another possibility could be another market closer to the gate. Thus, a marketplace located where today's Karolingerstraße and Friedrichstraße converge generally accepted, just south of the Frisian settlement and today's Jewish quarter.[137]

The space between the Merchant's Gate and the area of Friesenspitze was increasingly populated by new Jewish inhabitants over the course of the tenth century (exact size at the time is unknown). Less than fifty years after the construction of a synagogue in 1034, the area of Frisonen-Spira (or Friesenspitze) received another name in a record from 1080. According to the charter the boundary of St. Paul's parish extends to the "gate of the Jews or Friesenspitze" (usque ad portam iudeorum sive ad Frisonum spizam).[138]

2.2 The Jewish Quarter

The Jewish quarter of Worms is bound in the north by the city walls. A total of five city gates and towers lined the northern border (Figure 7). Over the course of the Middle Ages, the Jewish inhabitants occupied a space at the northeast curve inside the medieval city wall, including the Judengasse with its four smaller alleys or courtyards: Kleine Judengasse, Hintere-Judengasse, a

[137] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," 18. Frank G. Hirschmann, "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," *Der Wormsgau* 18 (1999): 12.

[138] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I*, 49–50, Nr. 57.

small cul-de-sac Schlüsselgasse, and Raschistraße (Figure 8).[139] The Judengasse stretches from Bärengasse and Kämmererstraße and is sandwiched between the northern city wall and Sterngasse in the south (Figure 8). By 1500 the quarter housed a synagogue complex (including a women's synagogue and mikvah), bakery, butcher, wells, latrines or cesspits, a dance hall, a bathhouse, and a hospitale iudeorum, while outside the quarter is Europe's oldest Jewish cemetery in situ (Figure 7, Figure 5).[140]

The medieval population of the quarter, including children and servants, was calculated by Fritz Reuter, about 250 persons, about 4 percent of the total population in Worms of around 6000 persons.[141] The Jewish quarter was not homogenous, according to Fritz Reuter, at some point before the pogrom of 1349 (and even after that) Jews and Christians alike lived and owned properties in the Judengasse.[142] Deadly persecution of Jews in May 1349 was a rupture for Jewish-Christian relations in Worms. Reuter argues that this limited other opportunities for Jews in the city. Thus, Jews focused more on money transactions and small trade.[143]

Like the analysis demonstrated in the Regensburg case study, the local or neighborhood spaces and potential points of frequent interactions will be examined in this case study. In Worms, many tax lists of the late-fifteenth century and a register of houses were drawn up by the city council aid in the effort to understand the quarter's topography (Figure 7). Although at the end of the Middle Ages, unlike Regensburg's *Hauszinsverzeichnis Wahlenwacht* of 1350 (house

[139] I. Elbogen, A. Freimann, and H. Tykocinski, eds., "Worms," in *Germania Judaica: Band I Von den ältsten Zeiten bis 1238* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1963), 444.

[140] Mathilde Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," in *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms: Archäologie in der Stadt*, ed. Alfried Wieczorek (Lindenberg im Allgäu: Kunstverlag Fink, 2012), 133.

[141] Fritz Reuter, "Warmaisa – das jüdische Worms. Von den Anfängen bis zum jüdischen Museum des Isidor Kiefer (1924)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Worms,* 2nd ed., ed. Gerold Bönnen (Darmstadt: Theiss, 2015).

[142] Reuter, "Warmaisa."

[143] Fritz Reuter, "Die heilige Gemeinde Worms," in *Juden in Deutschland*, ed. Michael Matheus (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 79.

tax registry), these lists describe the medieval Jewish quarter and are useful in understanding the quarter's topography and its inhabitants, providing clues about the development of the Jewish quarter.[144]

As the picture of the medieval Jewish quarter becomes clearer, so does the disparity between the topography of Regensburg and Worms. The Jewish quarter of Worms, when recreated, appears sparse, as houses are situated to avoid blocking any of the city gates that border the northern edge of the quarter (Figure 7). The quarter in Worms is on the outskirts of the city, outside of the late antique *Castra*, the extreme northern area of the medieval walled city. Thus, its location differs greatly from the unavoidable Jewish quarter in central Regensburg. However, like in Regensburg, the Jewish quarter of Worms was perhaps placed strategically for Jewish economic pursuits in the Early Middle Ages.

2.3 Markets Near and Far

Since the quarter lies about 570 meters north of the central market square by St. Peter's Cathedral, the location of the quarter may appear disadvantageous for a Jewish population of mostly merchants. However, the porta iudeorum was an immediate city gate that led directly to the Carolingian Rhine harbor with its warehouses; creating a convenient location for the Frisians and Jewish merchants alike to efficiently conduct business.[145]

[144] "Hauszinsverzeichnis Der Wahlenwacht," by Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bavarikon, accessed September 12, 2023, https://www.bavarikon.de/object/bav:GDA-OBJ-00000BAV80043806?p=14&lang=de.

[145] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," 100.

The equivalent of Kohlenmarkt in Worms was the medieval central marketplace, referred to as the antique forum or Marktplatz (Figure 5).[146] Like other central markets, the Marktplatz was the main assembly place for the city, both economically and socially.[147] Situated in front of the Domplatz, the market was located on the southern part of Kämmererstraße, the street that led directly north to porta mercati. Its location along the former roman street, the market attracted the city's craftspeople, traveling merchants, and peddlers.

A document from 1141 that speaks of "forum siperior" implies that there was a second market in the south and indeed, the expression "foro inferiori," in a document of 1262 (mentioned again in 1357) mentions this market explicitly.[148] It was located southeast of the antique forum, somewhere on Pankratiusgasse near Wollgasse (Figure 5). [149]

The type of businesses associated with the lower forum were the trade of textiles, bread, and meat. In 1249, Gudelmannus, the son of Embrichon Bukkelini, had a certain area situated in the lower forum where he sold cloth.[150] Later, in 1262 and 1357, documents locate the *Fleischbänke* in "foro inferior."[151] In addition, the butcher's guild of Worms recorded in 1398 listed five master butchers and twenty other butchers of "upper and lower stalls" in Worms (obere und nyder Scharren Wormze), namely the superior and inferior markets.[152] However, of the two markets only the market near the cathedral survived the Middle Ages.

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[146] Hirschmann, "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," 13.

[147] Hirschmann, "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," 13.

[148] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I*, 58-59, Nr. 71; *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I,* 206, Nr. 308; Hirschmann, "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," 15.

[149] About the location of Pankratiuskapelle, see Eugen Kranzbühler, *Verschwundene Wormser Bauten. Beiträge zur Baugeschichte und Topographie der Stadt* (Worms: H. Kräuter, 1905), 66; Hirschmann, "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," 14-15.

[150] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I*, 152, Nr. 223.

[151] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I*, 206, Nr. 308; Hirschmann "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," 15.

[152] *Scharren* can be understood as "Fleischbänke." *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I*, 690-693, Nr. 1045.

While the quarter was far from the cathedral square, the central hub for activities and trade, there is evidence of another market closer to the Jewish quarter. The presumed location of the Roman market was near the developing quarter. In Frank Hirschmann's research on Regensburg's medieval markets, he located a market, with some surety, in the area between today's Karolingerstraße and Friesenstraße.[153] The rule that early Jewish settlements in the Middle Ages tended to settle near markets (like in Regensburg) further supports the assumption of a closer market.[154] While knowing little of the immediate Frisian marketplace, it is hard to argue when exactly that market existed and when its activity ceased. What can be understood is that the market was likely a major influence for Jewish settlement at Friesenspitze —a location between the river, a market, and the rest of the city.

The early medieval hub of long-distance trade near the northern gates lost its importance to the cathedral area, and Jews stayed more isolated, their non-economic interaction with the Christian citizens diminished and they became vulnerable in the face of the 1349 persecution.

Both central markets were more than half a kilometer south of the Jewish Quarter. Since there is no mention of the market near the Jewish quarter by the High Middle Ages, whatever market lay south of the quarter had disappeared, perhaps due to the prominence of the market in front of the Domplatz. The primary trade of Jews in Worms (besides moneylending) in the Middle Ages was selling wine, dyes, and medicines, making these marketplaces sites of economic and social interactions.[155] But their distance from the markets, Jews may have

[153] Hirschmann, "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," 12; Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen."

[154] Hirschmann, "Zu den Wormser Märkten im Mittelalter," 10.

[155] "Die Urkunden Kaiser Heinrichs IV," *MGH Diplomata* vol. 6, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss (Hahn 1941-1978), 547–549, Nr. 412.

appeared as foreigners in the city, perhaps like those that arrive from the country to sell their wares.

2.4 Everyday Activities: Latrines, Food, and Bathing

2.4.1 Archaeological Finds: Cesspits

Latrines and wells are not associated with the Jewish hospitale judeorum in Worms. Instead, their placement was in the heart of Jewish quarter by the synagogue complex and eventually in connection with a bakery. In 1985, a building contractor started construction work for an underground garage at the plots Hintere Judengasse 5 and 7, a few meters away from the synagogue, without notifying the responsible city authority. When archaeologists finally arrived, the excavation was done. However, they were able to observe a round well set in sandstone filled with concrete, a box pit (latrine), and a Roman period pillar (Figure 9, Figure 10).[156]

In the medieval context, today's Hintere Judengasse 5 and 7 properties are on/near the "Haus hinter der Schule" (house behind the school) mentioned in 1500, and the house of the doctor, who lived just south of the "schulklopper" (beadle).[157] Later the plot was called the "former" Jewish bakery in 1760, even later in 1834 a well was mentioned, referred to as the "Brunnen am Judenbackhaus" (Figure 11).[158]

The well was marked after the 1985 excavation, which found that the well's walls were constructed of irregular sandstone masonry and the well was filled with gravel from the Rhine

[156] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," 120.
[157] Stern, "Zur Statistik der Wormser Juden im 15. Jahrhundert," 2.
[158] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," 122; Mathilde Grünewald, "Die Judengasse in Worms, archäologisch," *Heimatjahrbuch für die Stadt Worms* (2022): 147.

(Rheinkies) in the Early Modern Period.[159] Adjacent to the well was a "Kastengrube" (box-pit) or cesspit, located in the rear of Hintere Judengasse 7.[160] The construction of the pit (of sandstone and limestone) was dated to the fourteenth century, but how long the latrine was used prior to that is undiscernible.[161] However, as Mathilde Grünewald describes in detail, the waste found there was "heavily interspersed with cherry and grape pits and other organic residues."[162] Those who disposed of waste in the latrine cesspit had a diet of fish, poultry, especially chicken, and some beef, but no pig bones were found, which signals that those who used the cesspit were likely Jewish.

Another, or the same as the Hintere Judengasse 7 cesspit/latrine, was mentioned in a complaint, reminiscent of the latrines-disputes Regensburg in 1554. In the dispute we learn that Jews had used a cesspit behind the synagogue for a long time before the neighboring garden was sold to the municipality.[163] In 1554, a Christian, who recently bought that neighboring property, complained to the municipal council about the cesspit. Jewish representatives argued against the subsequent fine imposed on the Jewish community, that "das cloack hinder unser schul" (the cesspit behind our synagogue) was officially closed and there were plans to build a new one. The reason for its continued use and unsavory condition was blamed instead on the "frembde schulder und buben" (foreign students and youths), who continued to use the latrine.[164]

[159] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen,"122
[160] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," 122
[161] Grünewald, "Die Judengasse in Worms, archäologisch," 147.
[162] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," 122
[163] Christoph Cluse, et al., "Written Sources on the History of ShUM Sites Speyer, Worms and Mainz, 10th to 17th Century," in *ShUM Sites of Speyer, Worms and Mainz: Nomination for the World Heritage List*, Teil 3: Appendices (Mainz: Land Rheinland-Pfalz, Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur, 2020), 79, Nr. 168, accessed October 15, 2023, https://online.fliphtml5.com/rtymp/dkqq/.
[164] Cluse, et al., *Appendices,* 79, Nr. 168.

Although the specifics of another latrine probably found in the area of Judengasse 6 are lost, a fragment of an enameled painted cup was recovered and dated to 1280-1350.[165] Based on the fragment, the latrine was likely used in the Middle Ages and located by what seemed to be a residential house, which probably had neighbors on either side or two attached houses in the rear (Figure 7).

In comparison to the latrines in Regensburg that were shared with Christian neighbors outside the quarter, most of the surrounding houses of the cesspit at Hintere Judengasse 5 and 7 were occupied by Jewish people until 1554. Based on the house register drawn up in 1500 of the Jewish quarter (*Verzeichnis der Judenhäuser 1500*), the surrounding houses on all sides were either occupied by Jews, or were community buildings like the Tanzhaus (directly south of the synagogue) and a the warm bathhouse just south of Hintere Judengasse 5/7 (Figure 7).[166] In addition, the lack of terefah animal remains in the cesspit findings also suggests the latrine was utilized by Jews alone.

2.4.2 Bakeries and the Shared Oven

Both the *Fleischbänke* and *Brothalle* were located in the lower forum. As in other medieval cities, Worms probably also featured interreligious cooperation to supply necessary foodstuff to the Jewish community, although records failed to mention Jewish butcher or meat table until 1440. Jewish bakeries, on the other hand, appears in sparse sources. Located outside

[165] Grünewald, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," 100

[166] Moritz Stern, "Zur Statistik der Wormser Juden im 15. Jahrhundert," *Israelitische Monatsschrift. Wissenschaftliche Beilage zur "Jüdischen Presse"* (1897): 2.

the quarter, and likely existed for a time before 1339, while inside the quarter the former bakery was located identified in 1760.

As mentioned earlier, Jews and Christians lived amongst each other inside the quarter, even as late as 1554. Likewise, Jews and Christians of Worms were once neighbors outside the Jewish quarter, when Jews were not necessarily restricted to properties inside the Jewish quarter. Evidence of at least one property owned by a Jew can be found in the aftermath of the deadly persecution of Jews in Worms in 1349.

The Black Death persecution of March 1, 1349 in Worms was followed by a charter from King Charles IV later that month on March 29.[167] The charter pardons the citizens of Worms from the events of March 1 and gave them the rights of (individual and collective) properties once owned by Jews in Worms.[168] The right came to fruition for example on May 28, 1354, when the city council sold to citizen Reinhold of Sinsheim one of the former Jewish properties, a *backhus* (bakery). The sale deed stated the council had debated the issue for a long time, and decided there was no other choice but to sell the properties left behind by the Jews.[169] The *backhus* was located near Martinspforte, between the house named "zu der Stegen" and the "herren zu sante Martin."[170]

Following 1349 and 1354, the Jewish quarter had lost the whatever Jewish-owned bakery outside the Jewish quarter. It is possible that the Jewish quarter continued to lack a bakery, since

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[167] *MGH Consitutiones,* vol. 9, ed. Margarete Kühn (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1974-1983), 154, Nr. 198.

[168] *MGH Consitutiones,* vol. 9, 154, Nr. 198.

[169] "…lange dar über sin geseszen und geratslahet, wie wir der ansprachen und an grifens entaden mothen werden, und enkunden oder en mothen keine andere wege finden, dan daz wir griffen an der Juden husere und die vorkeuften und die lychen herren da miedde entlehten." *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms II. Band: 1301-1400,* ed. Heinrich Boos (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1890), 317, Nr. 472.

[170] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms II,* 317, Nr. 472.

in 1438 the Jews paid a fee to the "bischöflichen Kellner," for the use of an oven in which they baked the unleavened bread for Passover.[171] Unlike before 1349, when the unleavened bread was perhaps baked at the Jewish bakery, the new situation of 1438 actually created a revenue for the bishop. Inside the quarter was a different situation. A bakery owned and intended for Jews likely existed at the location of today's Hintere Judengasse 5 and 7 properties for some time before 1760, when the bakery there was referred to as the "former" Jewish *Backhaus* (Figure 11).

2.4.3 Hygiene: Bathhouses at Judenpforte and the Bathmaster(s)

The mikvah in Worms, which still exists today, was donated by Josef ha-Levi after the remodeling of the synagogue, circa 1185-1186. The mikvah is situated in the courtyard of the synagogue and held 700-800 liters of water.[172]

For purposes of non-ritual cleansing, there was at some point another bathhouse, either inside or nearby the Jewish quarter. Transcribed by Mortiz Stern in 1897, the *Steuerliste of 1470* was a list of those taxed by the city council and listed a total of 33 houses. There in, the entry for house 12 was "Baleator nichil," which Stern understood as the *Bademeister,* who failed to pay the city tax.[173] Another register of houses was drawn up after the Imperial Diet of Worms in 1495, which created a poll tax (called the "Common Penny") consisting of a fee of 1 florin for each Jewish individual in Worms.[174] This list mentions perhaps a different "Beder" (bath

[171] "April 15, 1438: "Item XXII d. von den iuden uffgehabt, das da gefellet von dem wyßen molle, als sie gebacken han in der fasten." Franz-Josef Ziwes, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittleren Rheingebiet während des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), 94.

[172] Reuter, "Die heilige Gemeinde Worms," 67.

[173] Stern, "Zur Statistik der Wormser Juden im 15. Jahrhundert," 1.

[174] Cluse, et al., *Appendices,* 75, Nr. 156.

master), who was most probably responsible for the warm bathhouse, not for the mikveh.[175] Likely, the *balneator* and the *Beder*, were references to the same occupation: the person in charge of a warm bathhouse. There was a warm bathhouse in the Middle Ages situated just south of house 17 (occupied by the unnamed "artztin*"*) (Figure 7).[176] Perhaps this bathhouse was the same establishment that was still operated by the *balneator* or *Beder* according to early sixteenth-century tax lists.[177]

As a side note, in the Regensburg section, I mentioned that bathers were mainly responsible for bathing their customers, however they often offered medical care.[178] Unlike in Regensburg, where the Christian *bader* (the bathers) were hostile towards Jewish medical professionals, such a problem does not seem to be a appear in the sources of Worms. A multitude of factors could explain why the situation was different in Worms.

It is possible that Jews seeking non-ritual bathing facilities frequented a nearby bathhouse outside of portam iudeorum (Judenpforte), which is first mentioned in 1260. In the record, citizen Gertrud Semer transfers this bathhouse and other estates to Heinrich Cippur and Johannes Füchschen.[179] Probably the same bathhouse was mentioned again in 1299, "de estuario apud portam iudeorum."[180] On August 14, 1299, Konrad Bonne and his wife Hildburg gave to the dean and the chapter of the church of St. Andrew in Worms multiple estates inside and outside

[175] Cluse, et al., *Appendices,* Nr. 156, 157, 75.
[176] Stern, "Zur Statistik der Wormser Juden im 15. Jahrhundert," 2.
[177] Cluse, et al., *Appendices,* 75, Nr. 156.
[178] Riedler-Pohlers, "Jüdische und christliche Mediziner im spätmittelalterlichen Regensburg," 71.
[179] HStAD, Urkundenfotos, moderne Urkundenfotos, moderne Abschriften und Auszüge (Hassiaca in fremden Archiven) A 14, fol. 1101-1300, 2877, https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v2785586.
[180] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I,* 337, Nr. 502.

the city of Worms; one such property was the bathhouse near the Judenpforte.[181] Then, a decade later in 1309, the dean and the chapter of the Church of St. Martin bought interest on a house, called "zu der Rusen," next to the bathhouse at the Judenpforte.[182] Whether this is the same bathhouse sold by St. Martin's from 1299 is difficult to evidence, however, one must wonder how many bathhouses can have existed near the Judenpforte between 1260 and 1309.

Lastly, in 1509, St. Martin's Church sold the corner house next to the old bathhouse and the courtyard to the stove-fitter Werner Michel.[183] Considering the proximity to the Judenpforte, perhaps, the bathhouse mentioned in 1509 was the same bathhouse St. Martin's had purchased in 1309. It seems more likely that Jews would visit the bathhouse inside the quarter, since its location was central and presumably operated by the bathmaster, who was possibly Jewish living inside the Jewish quarter.

2.5 Conclusion

Although the markets in Worms are difficult to connect topographically to Jewish space, the nearby market just south of the quarter's lasting influence on Jewish-Christian interactions cannot be evaluated because of the lack of sources describing the beginning and end of the market. Meanwhile, more immediate facilities existed in the Jewish quarter, including the

[181] "WO01, Nr. 84," *Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp und Jörg R. Müller, Trier, Mainz 2020, accessed November 20, 2021, http://www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/WO01/CP1-c1-00pr.html.

[182] "uxta estuarium prope portam iudeorum." HStAD, Urkunden der Ehemaligen Provinz Rheinhhesse A 2, 20.23 Worms (St. Martin), Nr. 255/281, accessed September 25, 2023, https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v12539.

[183] HStAD, Urkunden der Ehemaligen Provinz Rheinhhesse A 2, 20.23 Worms (St. Martin), Nr. Worms 1509 Dezember 29, accessed September 25, 2023, https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v3961669.

archeologically identified cesspit at Hintere Judengasse 5/7 or the cesspit near the synagogue in the 1554 complaint. Both latrines were particularly central inside the quarter and the archaeological investigation of the cesspit near the synagogue implies that Jews were the primary (and perhaps only) users of the cesspit based on the plant and animal bone remains. The warm bathhouse was also located centrally across from the synagogue and likely was intended for Jewish use. Compared to Regensburg, considering the lack of close Christian neighbors in Worms, the interreligious use of such facilities remains unsubstantiated.

The events and aftermath of 1349 deeply affected the daily life of Jews in Worms. Only one element of the aftermath was examined in this case study: the disappearance of the Jewish bakery outside the quarter after 1354. By 1448, the Jewish community likely lacked its own bakehouse, or there was another reason for the Jews paying the bishop a fee to use an oven. The connection between segregation and hostility towards the out-group (in this case the Jews) was discussed earlier. Since the Jewish quarter occupied a more isolated location at the corner of the city, the effects of segregation on trust and social cohesion could be connected to 1349 when the Jewish-Christian relations violently collapsed. Later however, when compared to the fate of the Jews of Regensburg leading up 1519, segregation was perhaps more protective for the Jewish community of Worms.

Case Studies Comparison and Conclusion

The city plan of medieval Worms was almost a foil for the topography of the Jewish quarter in Regensburg. Regensburg's quarter was unavoidable in the center of the city, immediately near Krammarkt and the important Kohlenmarkt. The major streets leading to the bridge also passed though the Jewish quarter and Jewish houses were closely surrounded by

Christian neighbors. In Worms, the Jewish street was at the northern periphery, and the location of houses in 1500 shows large gaps had existed between the majority of residents and those (probably Christian) neighbors living just south on Sterngasse.

I have tried to show that these different orders of space are reflected in the evidence on intercommunity relations in everyday life. Most interesting point of comparison is the distance between the Jewish quarter and the market, Jews appeared as more foreigners in Worms than in Regensburg. Then in 1287 the bishop of Regensburg approved of the shared privy between a Jew, Gnenlin, and a monastery. Contrastingly, the latrines-disputes in Worms were not nearly as common as in Regensburg as only one complaint takes place in the Jewish quarter.

The dynamics of Jewish-Christian relationships were never stagnant in the Middle Ages, so behavior that occurred in the thirteenth century, cannot directly reflect any similar sentiments centuries later. What this research does show us is that Christian neighbors had the potential to be hostile or accepting. On one hand a neighbor might take advantage of Jews to clean and build a latrine in Regensburg, on the other hand a Christian neighbor in Worms may bring a somewhat normal dispute about latrines to authorities.

The nature of contact between Jews and Christians varies between Regensburg and Worms. In Regensburg it is likely that Jews visited external spaces of contact, like bathhouses, which existed remarkably close to but outside the Jewish quarter. The warm bathhouse was instead located inside the Jewish quarter in Worms, and quite centrally as well. Regensburg's shared baths may have enforced social harmony by fostering casual interactions. In the medieval and modern context vertical orientation of social order can, however conflict with necessary horizontal contact. It appears from the practice of sharing baths that there were compromises and

tolerance between Christians and Jews, while remaining problematic. The protests of the bathers prior to the expulsion in 1519, illustrates the negative aspects of shared spaces.

Another point of difference is in the date of imperial confiscation of Jewish property. A Jewish person in Worms once owned a bakery outside the Jewish quarter nearby St. Martin's, but the Black Death persecution ruptured whatever tolerance previously existed for Jewish space outside the quarter.[184] In Regensburg, during the turbulent years between 1298 and 1349 (the Rintfleisch Persecution, Black Death persecutions, and ritual murder accusations), either the city authorities, the king, and/or urban elites blocked assaults from seriously endangering the Jews of Regensburg.[185] The connections of Jews vertically was a serious factor for the safety and longevity of the Jews in Regensburg in the Middle Ages.

As either "anchoring conduits" or "local exposure conduits" markets, bathhouses, bakeries, and latrines in medieval cities were places of frequent interaction. Spatial proximity, the demands that came with sharing space, and similar hygiene or other bodily needs may have influenced the level of trust and familiarization between Christians and Jews. However as proximity may have influenced (among other factors) the solidarity in Regensburg during the Black Death persecutions, Jews were simultaneously had ties with the authorities of the city.[186] The expulsion of 1519 reflects the possible benefits of distance between Christians and Jews in Worms. The segregation of Jews and Christians in Worms, plus its peripheral location may have

[184] Also mentioned in Ulrich Hausmann, "Kontroverser jüdischer Raum. Der *Eruv* in vormodernen Städten," in *Räume, Orte, Konstruktionen. (Trans) Lokale Wirklichkeiten im Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit*, *Mittelalter. Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Rezeptionsgeschichte* (blog), eds. Marcus Handke et al., posted November 20, 2023, https://mittelalter.hypotheses.org/29107.

[185] Angerstorfer, "Von der Judensiedlung zum Ghetto in der mittelalterlichen Reichsstadt Regensburg (bis 1519)," 165-166.

[186] Christopher Cluse, "Zwischen Vorurteil und Vertrauen, 371.

been key for avoiding the litany of expulsions in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries experienced by other Jewish communities in the Holy Roman Empire.

3. Security Interests and Forms of Civic Participation

By examining the written sources, both privileges and local chronicles provide instances of Jewish inclusion and participation in larger local, regional, and imperial affairs. In Worms, fires, flood, conflicts, and issues of security came at a great cost. A cost that was transferred to its inhabitants, who were not always prepared to pay alone. As citizens of the same city and as others who suffered damage at the hands of various perpetrators and city fires, what motivated the Jews of Worms to give such financial support? Security interests manifested different in the city of Regensburg, where Jewish inhabitants were involved in the fire procedures of 1450-1462 and the guard duties mandated in 1462 and 1471.

The major themes of this chapter, divided between the two case studies and extending from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, revolve around other sources of social cohesion. Both in Worms and Regensburg, Christians and Jews were united in some degree in their common interest of security. This interest manifested itself both in the guard duty in Regensburg and the donation for rebuilding the city wall in Worms. Moreover, Worms' Jews often secured the rights of citizens and were included in the pledges of bishops as well as in the peace agreement of the Rhenish League.

I see such participation as evidence of both inter- and intragroup interactions, created or fostered by solidarity felt both vertically and horizontally. Several types of civic participation thus reflect elements of social cohesion, orientation towards the common good and solidarity, while fostering the development of solidarity and common identities.

3.1 Peace Agreements and Promises

3.1.1 Rhenish League

In response to intensifying civil wars in the land, regional peaces (*Landfriede*) were proclaimed in Bavaria and the first Rhenish League (1254-1257).[187] The first Bavarian Landfriede in 1244 was initiated by various city and regional leaders: Otto, the *Pfalzgraf* (count palatine) of the Rhine, and duke of Bavaria, Bishop Siegfried von Regensburg, and their counts and nobles concluded a peace alliance for three years from the feast of St. James. The peace agreement mentions the Jews, though only in a chiefly economic (and religious) stipulation. The Landfriede of 1244 stipulated that no Christian should take interest, although Jews may take interest.[188]

A similar Landfriede in Worms, called the Rhenish League, was concluded in 1254 as a diplomatic and military alliance. It was short lived, ending in 1257 due to disputes about the contested imperial election of the King.[189] First in February 1254, the cities of Mainz and Worms initiated a peace, "by putting aside their recent enmity and renewing their original alliance." As the year progressed, other cities joined.[190] In May 1254, shortly after the death of Conrad IV,

[187] Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 174.

[188] "Item nullus christianus accipat usuras nisi ad Iudeos, alioquin pacem violavit." *Monumenta Wittelsbacensia: Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Hauses Wittelsbach. 1: von 1204 bis 1292,* ed. Franz Michael Wittmann (Munich, Aalen: Franz, Scientia-Verl.,1857) 90; Julius Aronius ed., *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reiche* (Berlin: L. Simion, 1902), 237, Nr. 549.

[189] Joseph Huffman, "The Rhenish League of 1254–1257 in historiographical perspective," *History Compass* 18, no. 11 (2020).

[190] David S. Bachrach, trans., "Annales Wormatienses," in *The Histories of a Medieval German city, Worms c. 1000-c. 1300: Translation and Commentary* (London: Routledge, 2016), 144; Joseph Huffman, "Urban Diplomacy: Cologne, the Rhenish League (1254-1257) and the Rhenish Urban League (1381-1389)," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 19 (2015-2016): 193-219.

representatives from sixty Rhenish cities gathered for council in Mainz.[191] The participants agreed to give each other assistance against highwaymen, violent aristocrats, unjust tolls, and taxes.[192]

First and foremost, this peace alliance appears to result, as Arno Buschmann states, in a "menschenfreundlichen Handhabung" (philanthropic operation).[193] As specified in the sources, the peace was to be enjoyed by clerics, seculars, monks, nuns, and all religious people of any order, even lay people and Jews (clerici, seculars, monachi, moniales, et omnes religiosi cuiuscumque ordinis, laici etiam et Iudei).[194] The inclusion of Jews in the provisions of the Rhenish League is also mentioned within the agreement concluded on October 6, 1254.[195] On the day of the League's meeting in Worms, the new union stated that peace should also be enjoyed by the Jews. Those who resisted peace and the union should be granted neither food, nor arms, nor support, neither by Christians nor by Jews.[196]

After the death of Conrad IV, the princes quickly recognized Wilhelm von Holland as the legitimate German king, who in turn provided royal sanction for the Rhenish League's own existence.[197] As documented at the federal assembly at Oppenheim on 10 November, 1255, King Wilhelm confirms the land peace concluded by the Rhenish League, certifying that all clergy,

[191] Huffman, "Urban Diplomacy," 201.
[192] Zorn, *Wormser Chronik*, 101-102; Huffman, "Urban Diplomacy," 201.
[193] Arno Buschmann, "Der Rheinische Bund von 1254-1257: Landfriede, Städte, Fürsten und Reichsverfassung im 13. Jahrhundert," *Kommunale Bündnisse Oberitaliens Und Oberdeutschlands Im Vergleich* (1987): 174.
[194] Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden*, 261, Nr. 620; *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I,* 176, Nr. 265.
[195] Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 257, Nr. 602.
[196]
[197] Huffman, "Urban Diplomacy," 203.

laymen and Jews should enjoy it.[198] With this, the alliance conjured up in 1254 was provided with royal confirmation and supplemented by a number of further provisions.

Peace was restored to Worms but enforcing this peace came at a high cost. In 1254 a part of the cost of the League fell upon the Jews of Worms in the form of a *Beisteuer* (tribute tax).[199] The city reports that it spent considerable sums recruiting mercenaries to conduct campaigns against peacebreakers and nearly one fifth of which was raised by the Jews.[200] The great cost of 1255 "for the affairs of peace," states that the citizens of Worms spent a thousand marks, while the Jews contributed 150 pounds Heller for the recruitment of mercenaries.[201] To what effect the Jews benefited from the peace and the high costs of protecting the newly founded land peace is unclear. Likely the Jews profited from the efforts to protect the city from outside forces and the roads from highway robbers. By helping maintain regional peace through financial contributions, the Jews demonstrated their worthiness of remaining in the city for the governing Christian bodies and perhaps also in the eyes of the fellow citizens, thus working to keep their community safe from persecutions or unjust actions.

The inclusion of Jews in pledges to protect rights were not limited to the Rhenish League, rather the securing of citizen rights including the Jews was introduced and repeated in Worms before the League. Likewise, the heavy burden to fund various city protection efforts was placed on the Jews of Worms repeatedly during the thirteenth century.

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[198] "volentes et desiderabliter affectantes, ut clerici, seculars, monachi, moniales, et omnes religiosi cuiuscumque ordinis, laici etiam et Iudei huius pacis et tranquilitatis comodo gaudeant perpetuo et fruantur." *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I,* 176, Nr. 265; Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 261, Nr. 620.

[199] Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 257, Nr. 604.

[200] Buschmann, "Der Rheinische Bund von 1254-1257," 171.

[201] "negotium pacis generalis constitit cives Wormacienses mille marcas et plus et dederunt ludei hoc anno rursus centum et quinquaginta libras Hallensium ad conquirendos soldarios in subsidium pacis." Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 262, Nr. 622; Zorn*, Wormser Chronik*, 102.

3.1.2 Promises and Securing the Rights of Citizens

The Rhenish League reflected a regional, shared orientation towards the common good, and the financial support by the Jews contributed to this common goal of peace. On a smaller scale, the city of Worms experienced conflicts between the bishops and the city councils in the thirteenth century, whose resolutions consistently included Jews in the rights of the citizens.

A series of events in 1232-1233 led to the restructuring of the city council. This process occasioned one of the first pledges by the bishop of Worms to protect and better the rights of Christians and Jewish in the city. Beginning in 1232, Heinrich II, the Bishop of Worms excommunicated the city of Worms. According to the *Chronicon Wormatiense*, the punishment was ultimately due to the political and power struggle between the city council of Worms, the guilds, and the bishop. In a letter written in January that year, Bishop Heinrich II voiced his grievances to King Friedrich II's court in Ravenna.[202] Disgruntled about his position in the city, the bishop complained about a lack of respect from the citizens, who thought of him as "just another prelate." He blamed his diminished position on the "multitude of consuls and the society of fraternities" (guilds).[203]

As punishment, the bishop placed the city under interdict for almost an entire year. Eventually the council finally sought an agreement, and the resulting new privilege required the bishop to be involved in the reorganization of the city council.[204] When the bishop lifted the

[202] Bachrach, "Chronicon Wormatiense," 89.
[203] Bachrach, "Chronicon Wormatiense," 89.
[204] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I,* 119, Nr. 159, 122-123, Nr. 163.

interdict in late February or early March 1233, he appointed nine new citizen councilors, who then appointed six knights to the city council. Along with pledging loyalty to the bishop, these councilors promised, they would defend and even increase the rights and good customs of the citizens. They would fairly judge clergy, laity, and Jews (iuste iudicarent, clero, laico, Judeo).[205] Likewise, the bishop promised the citizens to "protect and improve their rights in all matters."[206]

Renewed disputes between the city council and the bishop in 1283 and 1293 resulted in the latter's pledge to maintain the rights of the citizens, both Christians and Jews. In June 1283, nine councilors caused a disturbance when they refused to pay homage to the new bishop until he promised to maintain all the liberties of the city and act against the lords of Bertwartstein and Drachenfels.[207] Creating the precedent for the next bishop, Bishop Simon declared in August that he would observe or improve all handfastings, rights and freedoms, and good customs for all his "dear citizens of Worms," be they Christians or Jews (beyde, cristene unde iuden)[208] The bishop also conceded that his predecessors (Bishop Eberhard I and Bishop Friedrich I) had unjustly ruled the citizens of Worms, Christians and Jews alike. For the future, Bishop Simon promised that the bishop seat would no longer be detrimental to their rights and customs.[209]

A decade later in 1293, the new Bishop Eberhard II, similarly condemned the treatment of the citizens of Worms, both Christians and Jews, by some of his predecessors, who had acted

[205] Bachrach, "Chronicon Wormatiense," 91.
[206] Bachrach, "Chronicon Wormatiense," 91.
[207] Worms, Stadtarchiv Worms, Charter Abt 1, A I, I - 0060, in Monasterium.net, accessed June 30, 2023, https://www.monasterium.net/mom/DE-StaAWo/Abt1AI/I-0060/charter; "WO01, Nr. 27," *Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, eds. Alfred Haverkamp and Jörg R. Müller, (Trier, Mainz: 2020), accessed June 25, 2023, https://www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/WO01/CP1-c1-00ml.html.
[208] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I*, 267, Nr. 408.
[209] Worms, Stadtarchiv Worms, Charter Abt 1, A I I - 0063, in Monasterium.net, https://www.monasterium.net/mom/DE-StaAWo/Abt1AI/I-0060/charter; *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms I,* 267, Nr. 408.

against their rights or good custom. Likewise, he promised that he would not harm their rights in the future and not hinder the council of Worms in its decisions to grant citizenship rights to "our servants or other people, Christian or Jewish".[210]

It remains unclear whether the costs of the Rhenish League, or the Bavarian Landfriede were beneficial for the Jewish inhabitants. Similarly, records of other financial contributions of the Jews in Worms during the thirteenth century do not reveal if these investments were worth the monetary cost. What one can assume from these contributions is that the entire cities, including the Jews, worked together in their common goal for security.

The Bishop and the city council agreed on the security of rights in an analogous way as the land peace protected its respective regions. The protracted conflicts between the city representatives and the bishop all concluded in the latter's promise to uphold the rights of the citizens, whether Christian or Jewish.

Furthermore, the pledges were actions orientated toward the common good for all inhabitants in the city. The resolutions of these conflicts with promises to respect and better the rights of Christians and Jews in the city are promises of solidarity. They all demonstrated that the Jews in Worms were considered by regional and local authorities, i.e., the bishop and councilmen, to be part of the local community of Worms and the larger Rhineland community. Their status was high enough to be listed along with clerics, seculars, monks, nuns, and citizens. This status, however, was abruptly uprooted after the 1349 Black Death pogrom in Worms, when Jews were murdered and expelled.

[210] "WO01, Nr. 57," *Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, accessed August 12, 2023, https://www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/WO01/CP1-c1-00oi.html.

These agreements were contracts securing the city council, bishops, and other regional authorities' vertical orientation to the common good. This mutually beneficial or transactional relationship is also evident during the disasters that Worms had to face in the thirteenth century. As will be shown, such donations fostered and reflected social cohesion in Worms.

3.2 Security Through Financial Contributions in Worms

The capital that the Jews possessed is quite clearly hinted at in the Latin written record. Their financial subsidies were a form civic participation, and if voluntary, they were even manifestations of solidarity, and orientation towards the common good. Though the Christian chronicles of *Annales Wormatienses* and *Chronicon Wormatiense* described the contributions as *donations* to help the city in times of need, it is not clear in how far they were indeed voluntary. Regardless, the inclusion of Jews in the required civic duties may reflect certain elements of social cohesion.

Shortly after the Rhenish league, the *Annales Wormatienses* describe an agreement (albeit smaller) that was made on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul in 1259. In this case the citizens of Mainz, Worms, and Oppenheim renewed their "pact of friendship and pure confederation."[211] The peace agreement included the keeping of paid troops for defense. The most palpable result of the pact, much like the Rhenish League, was its financial toll. Reportedly, the citizens of Worms spent 400 Marks of silver for mercenaries in 1259, which the Jews of Worms supplemented with 200 pounds Heller and 50 Marks of silver.[212]

[211] Bachrach, "Annales Wormatienses," 148.
[212] Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden*, 270, Nr. 645.

However, treacherous conditions in the land were still an issue in 1260, when the dangers in the country and on the roads caused the Jews to request that Bishop Eberhard I of Worms make a copy of the privilege granted to the Jews by Heinrich IV.[213] The concerns of the Jews were not unwarranted. Days later, on 14 March 1260, the family of Jakob von Stein inflicted severe damage on the citizens of Worms by robbery. Since the citizens lacked funds to raise an army, the Jews contributed 300 pounds Heller.[214] During this extended fight between the citizens and bishop of Worms and "their adversaries," Jacob von Stein and his accomplices burned grain storehouses, causing a loss of more than 2,000 marks for the citizens of Worms.[215] During the summer 1260, the citizens of Worms advanced with numerous territorial lords to destroy the so-called "den of thieves."[216] The expedition cost for the citizens of Worms was over 1000 marks, of which the Jews of Worms contributed almost half, namely 400 pounds of Heller.[217]

Disturbances in and around the city were often followed by a large monetary contribution from the Jews. Moreover, in 1261 the Jews gave a grant to the city that was unprompted by any immediately preceding event. The purpose of the payment of 230 pounds Heller were the repairs of the city wall (including 20 pounds Heller for the wine tax).[218] The monetary aid was perhaps

[213] "cum propter viarum discrimina et dubium terre statuin ad diversas partes littera bullata caute nequeat transportari, ubitamen eius copia necessario ex-hibetur, nos ad instanciam Iudeorum Wormaciensium etc." Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 274, Nr. 658.

[214] "Iudei vero videntes cives in hoc facto denariis indigere, dederunt ipsis trecentas libras Hallensium." Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 275, Nr. 659.

[215] Bachrach, "Chronicon Wormatiense," 125.

[216] Bachrach, "Annales Wormatienses," 148.

[217] "in cuius subsidium Iudei civibus dederunt quadringentas libras Hallensium in Iulio." Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 276*,* Nr. 662.

[218] "dederunt Judei civibus ad refectionem muri ducentas et triginti libras Hallensium et ungeltum de vino dederunt viginti libras Hallensium." Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 83, Nr. 677.

related to the damages incurred three years prior during the flood of 1259 outside of St. Andrew's Gate near the Jewish cemetery.[219]

In 1270, the city confronted the cannons of the cathedral John of Richenbach (decan), Gerhard of Liechtenstein (subdeacon), and Gisebert, the son of Knight Dizo of Bolanden, who joined forces with a nobleman from Löwenstein. Together, the *Annales* reported, the group "took hostile actions against the friends of the people of Worms and attacked them with fire and rapine."[220] Judicial action was taken in the village of Heppenheim in 1271, where the canons, Gerhard and John, were judged and condemned to make good of all the damages they had caused the citizens of Worms. One year later, according to the *Annales*, the Jews of Worms "gave" 250 Heller to relieve the expenses that the citizens had undertaken against the individuals allied with Liechtenstein.[221]

Throughout the thirteenth century, Worms had also faced internal threats in the form of city fires and a flood. These seemingly accidental disasters were not followed by any explicit mention of Jews participating in firefighting efforts. The fires , however, affected the Jews, especially when they spread to "portam Iudeorum" (like the fire of 1231). It is reasonable to assume that the fires that ravaged "half of the city" in April and May 1242, also effected Jewish property, though the sources do not list the extent of the damage.

The relationship between city wide emergency, whether that be for fire, flood, and for damaged city walls, and the involvement with the Jews was not consistent. At times in Worms, the Jews provided financial assistance when the city could not otherwise bear the damage or, in

[219] Cluse, et al., *Appendices*, 30, Nr. 48.
[220] Bachrach,"Annales Wormatienses," 158.
[221] "dederunt Iudei ducentas et quin-quaginta libras Hallensium in allevationem expensarum quas habuerunt contra illos de Liechtenstein." Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden,* 317, Nr. 752.

one case, fund the persecution of criminals. If the financial contributions or any other capital taken by or given to the city after disastrous events were completely voluntary is difficult to ascertain. If the agency in these instances of financial support to the city belonged to the Jews, then their motives reflected their feelings of solidarity and an orientation towards the common good. In this case, their donations were perhaps mutually beneficial or transactional, rather than exploitative.

On the other hand, as citizens of the same city, who suffered damage at the hands of various perpetrators or were threatened by the same outside forces, Jews took part in rebuilding the city walls both within the Jewish quarter and the rest of the city. The Jews were perhaps motivated by security, both in the immediate and general sense to avoid attacks towards the Jews and the broader city. Additionally, the donation of money to the city to offset various expenses likely placed the Jewish inhabitants in a position where their presence was perceived by the rest of the city to be more advantageous than threatening or undesirable. The Jews' financial status and wealth made them profitable for the city of Worms, much like their assigned status as *Kammerknechte* in the imperial treasury. Their role in the city were seen as a necessity for the medieval city for their capital, until the community was increasingly problematic for Christian residents leading up to the Black Death.

Even after the violence of 1349, the Jews of Worms were viewed (perhaps reluctantly) as necessary inhabitants to solve various financial issues. After the surviving Jews of Worm were expelled in 1349 and even though many years had passed, the mayor and city council with the permission of the guilds, resolved to reaccept Jews into the city on May 9, 1353. Their explanation was that after the expulsion of the Jews, the city was caught up in a messy financial situation, as many lords and noblemen were claiming payment, which the city was very

unwilling to pay.[222] The city thus agreed to readmit the Jews fourteen years later, so they would not have to pay the various feudal lords.[223] The economic situation of the city was reaching a point where the listed lords were asking for 2136 pounds Heller, but as the council states, there were many more noblemen unlisted.[224]

In the thirteenth century, various disasters were to blame for the damaged economic activities in the city. In these situations, it is unclear if the Jews were quite the deus ex machina for the city, as they were explicitly expected to be in 1353. But, seeing that Jews were relied on to provide capital in an illiquid economy and the frequency of Jews financing the city during times of hardship, their role was still to the advantage of the city. One could also question if the Jews of Worms had their own interests in restoring the damages to the grain houses and other properties in the city after a fire, or to the Marktplatz, since all could have affected the economy and trade in a way that would negatively impact all business in the city.

Another possibility is that the Jews of Worms had freely given this money, without pressure from the city itself before 1353. In this scenario, generosity might be the instigator, stemming from a sense of belonging in a city-wide community or perhaps from an attachment to the city of Worms. The damage felt in the city, and by their fellow citizens in Worms, were felt by the Jewish inhabitants, as they belonged to the same community.

After listing the many possibilities there is perhaps no one answer, since motivations are often multi-dimensional. However, the grants could still be interpreted as acts of solidarity and

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[222] "die von Worms mit vielen herren, rittern und grafen in mishell deriehen halben kommen, welche sie auf der judiscbeit vom reich zu lehen getragen, als mit" Cluse, et al., *Appendices,* 50, Nr. 94; Zorn, *Wormser Chronik*, 139.

[223] "damit die Stadt die lehen nit entrichten düft." Zorn, *Wormser Chronik,* 139; Cluse, et al., *Appendices,* 50, Nr. 94.

[224] Zorn, *Wormser Chronik,* 139

orientation towards the common good. These very elements make an appearance in Regensburg, especially in the *Feuerordnungen* (pl., fire procedures or regulations) and *Wachtpflichten* (pl., guard duties) in the fifteenth century.

3.3 Protection of the City: Fire Procedures and Guard Duty in Regensburg

Regensburg also faced at least one city fire in the thirteenth century. Although, as other researchers and historians have found, extensive records for fires are missing from the surviving city records. The evidence that does exist is partially from chronicles and some archaeological evidence. A fire took place in Regensburg in 1272 or 1273. Gemeiner's *Chronik* described a "great fire" that broke out in the bishop's courtyard and spread to the cathedral towers on April 73, 1273.[225] The extent of the fire was not detailed, but in Rainer Drewello and Roman Koch's investigation of porta praetoria, their findings raise the possibility that the 1273 fire had spread to the northern roman gate. Drewello and Koch found damages on the stone on the east and north sides, and inside the round-arched windows on the upper floor.[226]

While records of city fires in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are hard to uncover in Regensburg, multiple *Feuerordnungen* exist from the fifteenth century. An entry dated to 1450 in the *Rotes Stadtbuch*, legislated by the city council, ordered twenty Jewish men to attend to a fire, "XX Iuden manne mit spritzzen… zum feuer" (*Spritzzen* refers to a hand tool that

[225] Karl Theodor Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik 1* (Regensburg: Montag und Weiß, 1800), 402; Rainer Drewello and Roman Koch, "Porta Praetoria. Neue Konzepte in der Kalksteinkonservierung," *VHVO* 143 (2003): 9, accessed September 3, 2023, https://www.heimatforschung-regensburg.de/2496.

[226] Farther away in Kohlenmarkt, there were two small fires in 1348 reported at the blacksmiths and meat tables. But these were not close enough nor big enough to account for the damage at *porta praetoria*. Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik 1*, 54; Drewello and Koch, "Porta Praetoria," 10.

sprays water).[227] The *Feuerordnung* (sing., fire procedures or regulations) also specified other citizens' roles in the case of a fire. While the city servants and watchmen were responsible for organizing the firefighting and to bring the required equipment (ladders, axes, and water buckets), other citizens might be asked to help, but were to stay away from the fire and any violations could be punished by imprisonment.[228]

Similarly, the order instructed Jews to keep ladders and hatchets inside the Jewish quarter for fire emergencies. As of 1450, the city authorities seemed to view the Jewish men tasked with attending to fires, as they viewed the city-employed servants and watchmen, since they fulfilled similar roles in firefighting. There was a shift in the 1459 *Feuerordnung,* as it now mandated that the "people" (including Jewish people) living in the *Wacht* should come to the fire.[229]

Between 1450 to 1459 the policy was revised to further include other citizens in this civic participation. By including all people in the city in firefighting, the fire code of 1459 did not distinguish Jewish citizens from the rest of the citizens, who were previously told to stay away from the fire. So, the new procedure that extended the fire-fighting force to the average citizen assigned these obligations and duties in protecting the city more equally between Jews and Christians.

The *Ausgebbuch vom Jahre 1459-1464* listed fire regulations in a few entries. Dated by Raphael Straus to "before October 1462," this regulation also ordered twenty Jews with fire

[227] "Rotes Stadtbuch," in Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bavarikon, 272, accessed September 12, 2023, https://www.bavarikon.de/object/bav:GDA-OBJ-00000BAV80043805?p=272&lang=de.

[228] "Rotes Stadtbuch," 271.

[229] "Nota ab ain feur bey tag oder nacht auskam, in welicher wacht das war, so sullen die leut, die in derselben wacht gessesn sint, zu dem feur laufen, und darzu sullen komen all maurer…, die J. sullen darzu auch kommen." Raphael Straus, ed. *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg 1435-1738,* vol. 18 (Munich: C.H. Becksche Verlagshandlung, 1960), Nr. 42, 11.

extinguishers to the fire ("spritzen zum feuer").[230] The return of specific numbers of Jews contrasts with undistinguished "people" mentioned in the *Rotes Stadtbuch* in 1459. The reason may not be deep, rather the change could have been due to simply a new scribe employed a different rhetoric and employed more specific instructions to avoid any confusion.

In addition to the firefighting duties, Jews were directed to armor forty men day and night, and they would report to Herr Sigmund Graner, the Wachtmeister of Wahlenwacht.[231] The guard's duties were not fully explained, but the guards were to report to the same supervisor as other Christian guards. This illustrates another kind of kind of civic participation was expected of the city's Jewish population, maintaining security.

Later, arrangements made for a specific day(s), "für den christlichen Tag," (lit. for the Christian day) were made on May 2, 1471.[232] The order describes a guard duty, where a total of sixteen Jewish guards were to be stationed at all city gates on a Christian holiday.[233] Since the Jews were tasked with standing guard under the direction of the Wachtmeister, the same overseer of regular watchmen, their role was that of a regular city guard at specific points in time. As a guard of the city, even if temporary, placed Jews at the same level of other civil servants. Regardless of the Jews' willingness to help, it could have still been a show of solidarity.

The inclusion of Jews in fire regulations and guard duty illustrate a deeper interdependence between Christians and Jews in the city. During the "Christian" days, the

[230] "Item di J. sullen fuderlich 20 mann mit spritzen funderlich zum feuer schicken." Straus, *Urkunden*, Nr. 64, 54. Regensburg, Stadtarchiv Regensburg, 1 Reichsstädtische Zeit, 1.12 Cameralia, 15 Ausgebbuch vom Jahre 1459-1464 (Amtsbuch), 375, accessed September 12, 2023, https://stadtarchiv.regensburg.de/detail.aspx?ID=118779.

[231] "Item di Judischait sind 40 mann oder wappner angelegt stats tag und nacht in harnasch zu haben. Sullen si bestellen, wie in herr sigmund Graner schafft." Straus, *Urkunden,* Nr. 64, 54.

[232] Straus, *Urkunden,* Nr. 118, 32.

[233] Straus, *Urkunden,* Nr. 118, 32.

Christians were dependent on the Jewish men guarding the city gates (likely in their stead, or to supplement guards for those observing the holiday). Likewise, the Jews were dependent upon Christian guard and town servants to assist in fighting fires. While the city was reliant on Jewish men to keep firefighting equipment inside the quarter, and for twenty Jewish men to attend to a fire with manual water fire extinguishers (*Spritzzen).* Nonetheless, the level of mutual help described in mid-fifteenth-century Regensburg could reflect a higher degree of social cohesion, demonstrating solidarity, as Jewish men were expected to assist in fires like other citizens. Participation, even if regulated and depending on the attitudes of the people engaging in the activity, can be tied to concepts of identification, sense of belonging, solidarity, and orientation towards the common good.

The 1470s, and the end of the fifteenth century in general, was a tumultuous time for Jewish-Christian relations in Regensburg. The lead up to the 1476 trial which accused seventeen men of ritual murder consumed most of the decade. But, the *Wachtpflict* established in May 1471, was at the beginning of the of the decade, prior to the ritual murder accusation.[234] This duty also might or might not have been a new duty for the Jews of Regensburg depending on previous city books explicitly referring to Jews in their ordinances (which does not seem to be the case in the *Gelbe Stadtbuch* of the late fourteenth century). Nonetheless, the types of interactions resulting from the regulations of *Rotes Stadtbuch* and *Ausgebbebuch* of Regensburg

[234] R. Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation* (Yale University Press, 1990),

may have helped promote an element of social cohesion through inclusion and "regulated participation."[235]

3.4 Comparison and Conclusion

Both the *Feuerordnungen* and *Wachtpflichten* were instances of civic participation/engagement that were perhaps the result of "successful government, bureaucratic administration or regulated participation."[236] Since both measures were advanced by the city council, it is unclear the extent of Jewish inhabitants' willingness to help in these scenarios. However, these laws illustrate the various roles the city government assigned to or expected from the Jewish inhabitants of Regensburg and Worms.

Because of the city council's decisions, the Jewish inhabitants of Regensburg were given tasks like those assigned to the municipal employees. As both Jews and city employees were tasked with running to a fire, with fire extinguishers and other equipment to stop fires in Regensburg. While in Regensburg, active participation came in the form of monetary aid from Jews of Worms to support the city during difficult periods of time and financial crisis. Both forms of participation of the Jews in either city were indeed representative of broader role of Jews in those communities.

At the same time, to compare the two, whether these forms of civic participation either active (as in Regensburg) or monetary (as in Worms) were assigned and not voluntary is unclear.

[235] Walter Pohl, "Social cohesion, breaks, and transformations in Italy, 535–600," in I*taly and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, eds. Ross Balzaretti, Julia Barrow, and Patricia Skinner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 23.

[236] Pohl, "Social Cohesion, Breaks, and Transformations in Italy," 23.

The overall benefit for these roles is also difficult to ascertain, as both were participants in some form of protecting the city. The question if mandatory roles could have been conducive to the devolvement of a community or solidarity could be further investigated and compared to today's society.

Like similar roles assigned to Jews and city employees, the Rhenish League's explicitly included Jewish inhabitants of Worms. The inclusion of Jewish inhabitants and the promises of the bishop and the city of Worms, placed the Jews on a similar level as Christians in the matter of rights. The shared interest in the security of all citizens of Worms was shared between Christians and Jews (and for the bishop, in fear of losing his own bishop seat), and came in the form of inclusive pledges and in the peace agreement of the Rhinish League. The Jews in Worms were included in these protection of rights and were not featured as an exception. In Regensburg, civilian Jewish men were singled out of all inhabitants in Regensburg's 1450 *Feuerordnung*, which forbade other citizens to help under threat of punishment.

Further distinction can be made about the inclusion of Jews in the fire procedures and guard duty from the form of inclusion in Worms. Different from the role of Jews in the thirteenth century as donators, rather than supplying only money to pay guards, the Jews were active in the protection of the city, internally (firefighting) and externally (guarding city gates 1471). The regulations paint a picture of the more active participation of the Jews in Regensburg in city security in the fifteenth century. While it may seem logical that Jews should police and protect their own quarter, the fire procedure in Regensburg extends that duty to the larger district of Wahlenwacht and the city in general for the guard duties.

These various avenues of civic participation in Worms and Regensburg in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, reflected a shared interest in security of Christian citizens, city officials,

and Jews. It does seem clear that whatever security measures were taken, in the form of monetary aid or firefighting, either from those who assigned or pressured the civic participation or those who willingly participated, were likely motivated by some sense of the orientation towards the common good, whether it was organic or manufactured by authorities.

Final Comparison and Conclusion

The preceding pages have examined potential sources of cohesion as it developed or existed in Regensburg and Worms through various sources. Space and security are elements that impact and influence social cohesion, however, its exact effect on Regensburg and Worms appears to have varied over time. In Regensburg and Worms, the topographical layout of the city differs greatly, which may be a reason the experiences of the two communities diverge during times of widespread persecutions.

Explored in Chapters 1 and 2, the sources of cohesion for everyday life might be found in the spaces of trade, food, and hygiene. The social conduits centering around trade, food, and hygiene in Regensburg and Worms differ greatly. Pragmatic relationships in both Worms and Regensburg appear in various avenues and can be connected to social cohesion. The consequences of sharing space involved compromises that often-circumnavigated normative rules of Jewish-Christian segregation. The full extent of these interactions is not explicit, however, Regensburg's topography, diverse neighborhood, and the primary source evidence attested to shared spaces and frequent daily interactions. The Jewish quarter's central location in Regensburg readily offered services for people inside and outside the quarter, and the diverse traffic traveling through the city of Regensburg contrasts with the quarter in Worms. Regensburg's Jewish inhabitants were unavoidable while navigating the medieval city. Whether for trade to and from the Danube, for the merchants on Wahlenstraße, and for those who sought a nearby bathhouse or a second-hand market, the Jewish quarter of Regensburg was in a central

location for the city. In contrast, Jewish properties and businesses in Worms were limited to the periphery of the city and even more so after 1349.

The contact theory hypothesizes that intergroup contact and interactions, which would occur more often in unsegregated societies, would familiarize the disparate groups and increase trust, and increase social cohesion. In Regensburg, the sharing of latrines and baths may illustrate that a level of tolerance existed —at least to a degree required for Jews and Christians to function as neighbors and allowed these diverse groups to cooperate to reach a common goal. The influence of shared space may also be identified in the commitment of the city of Regensburg to protect the Jews inhabitants at certain points in time. However, shared space was eventually a factor in the expulsion of the Jews in 1519, when the oscillating Jewish-Christian relationship destabilized completely.

Unlike in Regensburg, which pledged to protect the Jews during the 1349 Black Death persecutions, the Jews of Worms were persecuted, expelled, and their properties taken away by the king and city council in 1349.[237] However, their relationship with the city was renewed when Jews were allowed to live in Worms after 1353, where they lived even more segregated. The same cannot be said for Regensburg.

The truth of this hypothesis is dependent upon when it is tested. While the contact theory may help explain the avoidance of violent persecution of Jews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the visibility and prominent role of the Jews in medieval Regensburg was detrimental in the decades leading up to their expulsion in 1519. In Worms, the segregation was perhaps a protective measure protecting the Jews of Worms from expulsion until the seventeenth century.

[237] Cluse, "Zwischen Vorurteil und Vertrauen," 362-375.

Civic participation was explored in Chapter III, when security interests led to the inclusion of the Jews in various city matters. The analysis of city expectations of its Jewish population and various forms of civic participation potentially indicates the existence or potential for the devolvement of orientation towards the common good and solidarity. In the thirteenth century, the Jews of Worms were financially funding the city, assisting in city's recovery after violence or natural disasters. In both cases, the exact circumstances that prompted the contributions or participation is unclear. Nonetheless, the financial contributions, like the participation of Jews in city security in Regensburg, illustrated instances of inclusion and civic participation, both of which foster various elements of social cohesion like solidarity. However, medieval city regulations and inclusion of Jews relating to city disasters of various scale, such as fires or floods, in Worms and Regensburg demonstrated the existence of shared interest in city security for Christians and Jews.

Although encompassing centuries, the analysis of space and shared goals has placed social cohesion into the narrative of medieval Worms and Regensburg. The preceding interdisciplinary evaluation of social cohesion was aided by the diverse sources from both cities. Through archeological excavation reports, charters, tax lists, *Stadtbücher*, chronicles, and secondary sources I was able to locate specific locations of interactions, where compromise took place and where interactions were perhaps manifestations of social cohesion.

Despite these findings, many questions remain. Perhaps, answers can be found in the future provided that there are other documents or archeological findings that illustrate more places were indeed shared by Jews and Christians in medieval Regensburg and Worms. Additionally, records illustrating the participation of the Jews of Regensburg in the issuing of the fire procedures and the *Wachtpflicht,* would show the community's willingness to help. In turn, it

would show how the duties affected Jewish-Christian relationships and how far these duties reflected the true status of social cohesion in the city. Meanwhile, to distinguish whether the financial contributions of the Jews of Worms was coerced or given freely requires the Jewish perspective to discern the motivation—pressured or voluntary.

Although more research on the topic would answer these questions, this research into alternative sources of cohesion in Regensburg and Worms connects the topography to frequent interactions where perhaps community was developed, and solidarity was built. While interests in security was another bridge for intergroup divides. The orientation towards the common good and the shared need for security was demonstrated by the financial contributions in Worms and the inclusion of Jewish men firefighting and guarding in Regensburg.

This thesis has emphasized some neglected spaces in medieval history and how the possibility of such places as locations for interactions and familiarization. Similarly, the role of Jews in the cities were examined via the lens of security interests. In the end, the study of social cohesion and how it relates to societal dynamics, intergroup interactions, and space is avenue of research that would benefit other medieval cities and could be further connected with anti-Jewish violence.

Figures

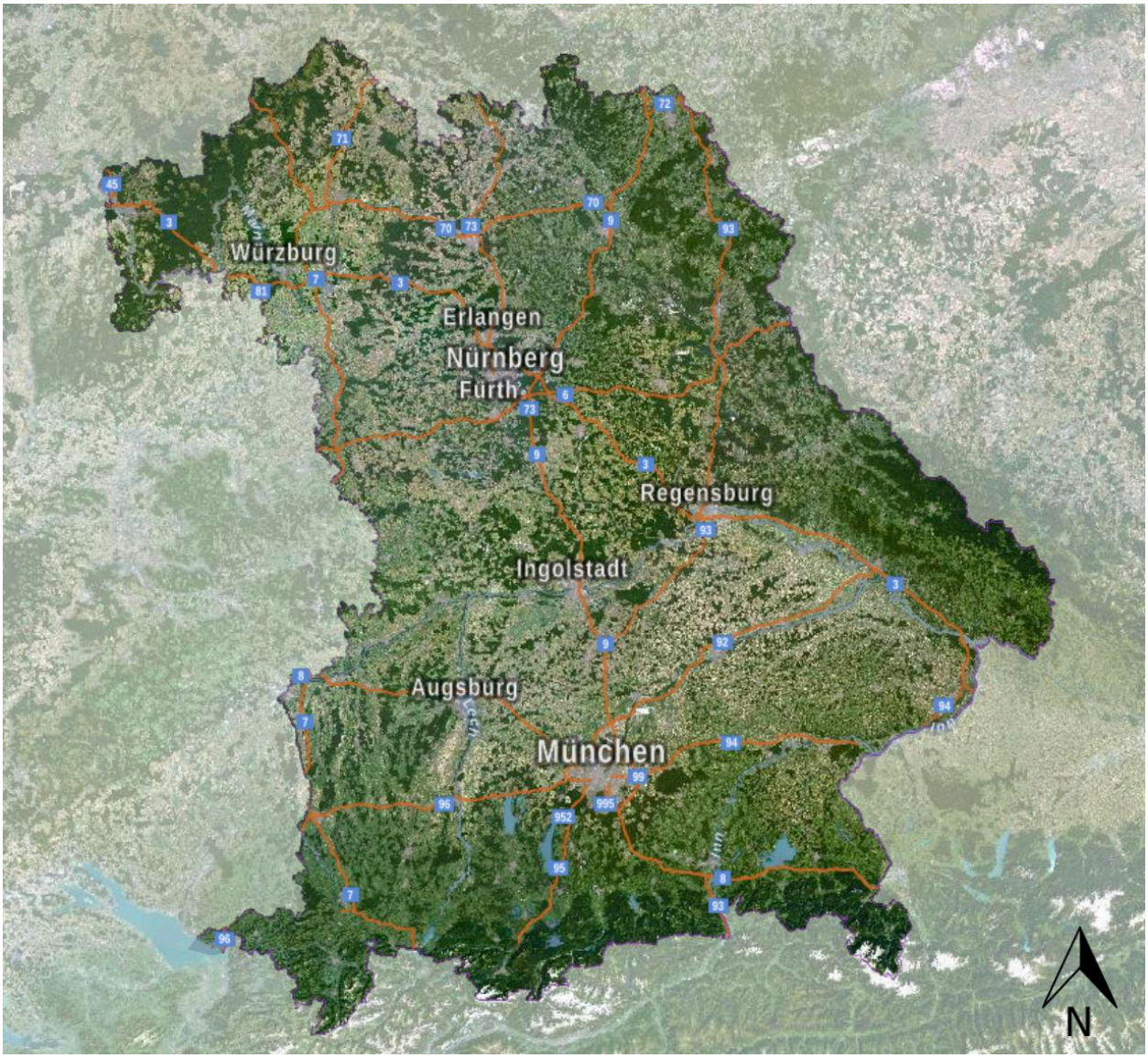


Figure 1. Regional map of the modern German state of Bavaria. Bayernatlas, https://v.bayern.de/j55krß, accessed September 25, 2023.

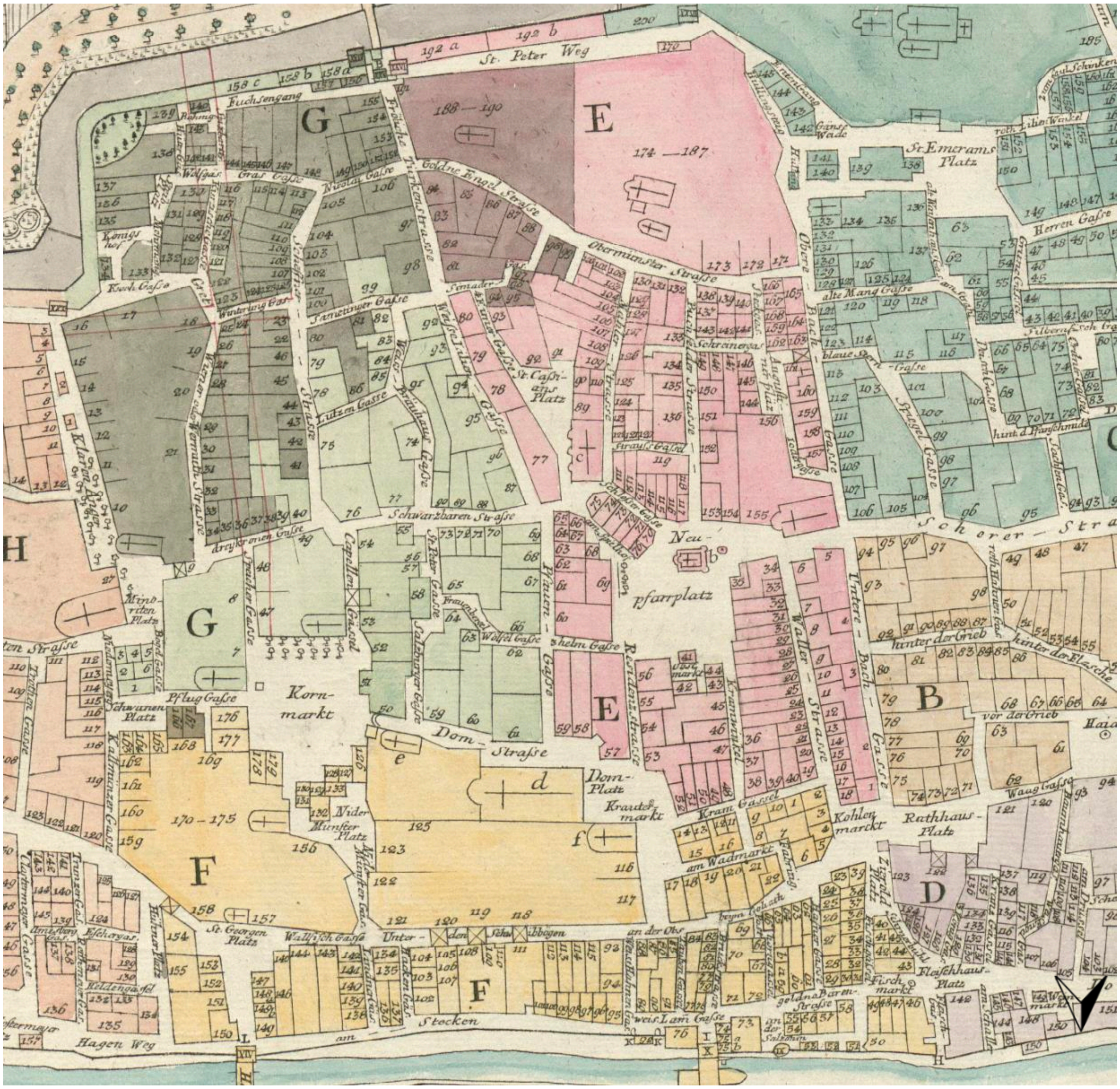


Figure 2. Portion of Regensburg, view from north in 1808: Pink (E) Wahlenwacht District. Mayr, et al., Grundriss der Fürstlich Primatischen Residenz-Stadt Regensburg, 1808, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum. https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00092200?page=1, accessed October 5, 2023.

Figure 3. City plan of the Neupfarrplatz area including the Steinerne Brücke and Danube in the north, circa 1811. Neupfarrplatz replaced the Jewish quarter in Regensburg after the expulsion of the Jews and destruction of the quarter in 1519. (Bayern Atlas, https://v.bayern.de/kgm8d, accessed September 30, 2023.)

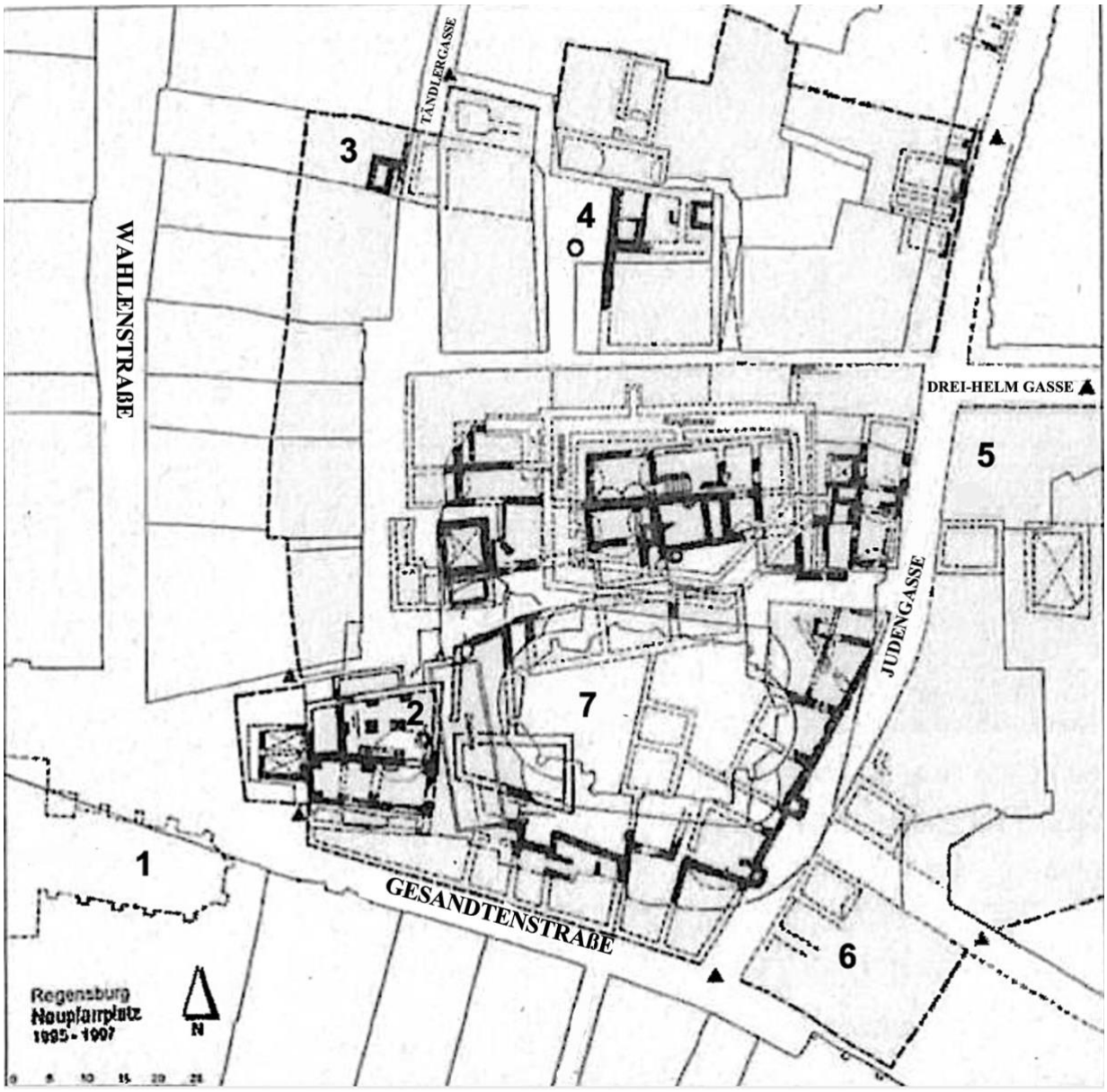


Figure 4. Detail of medieval Jewish quarter based on the Neupfarrplatz excavation 1995-1997: 1. Augustinian Church; 2. Synagogue; 3. Hospitale Iudeorum; 4. Kramwinkel (location of bakery and well); 5. Judenstadel; 6. Spielhof; 7. Neupfarrkirche; Black triangles are possible gates. Silvia Codreanu-Windauer, Peter Müller-Reinholz, and Bernd Päffgen, Map, 2018, "Das jüdische Viertel im mittelalterlichen Regensburg und die Ausgrabungen am Neupfarrplatz," in *Jüdische Lebenswelten in Regensburg: eine gebrochene Geschichte,* 22; Labels by Zoë Schwartz.).

Figure 5. City map of Worms circa 1521: 1. Jewi ո Cemetery; 2. Andreaspforte (Andreas Gate); 3. St. Peter's Cathedral (Domplatz); 4. Marktplatz; 5. Neupforte; 6. Kämmererstraße; 7. St. Martin's Church; 8. Martinspforte/porta mercati; 9. Jewish quarter/Frisonen-Spira; 10. Rheinpforte; 11. the Woog; 12. Pfauenforte; 13. Wollstraße. (Reconstruction of Worms as it Looked in Martin Luther's Time, 3-D Rendering by FaberCoutial, https://www.worms.de/de/web/luther/Worms_1521/Worms_1521/, accessed September 30, 2023; Labels by Zoë Schwartz.)

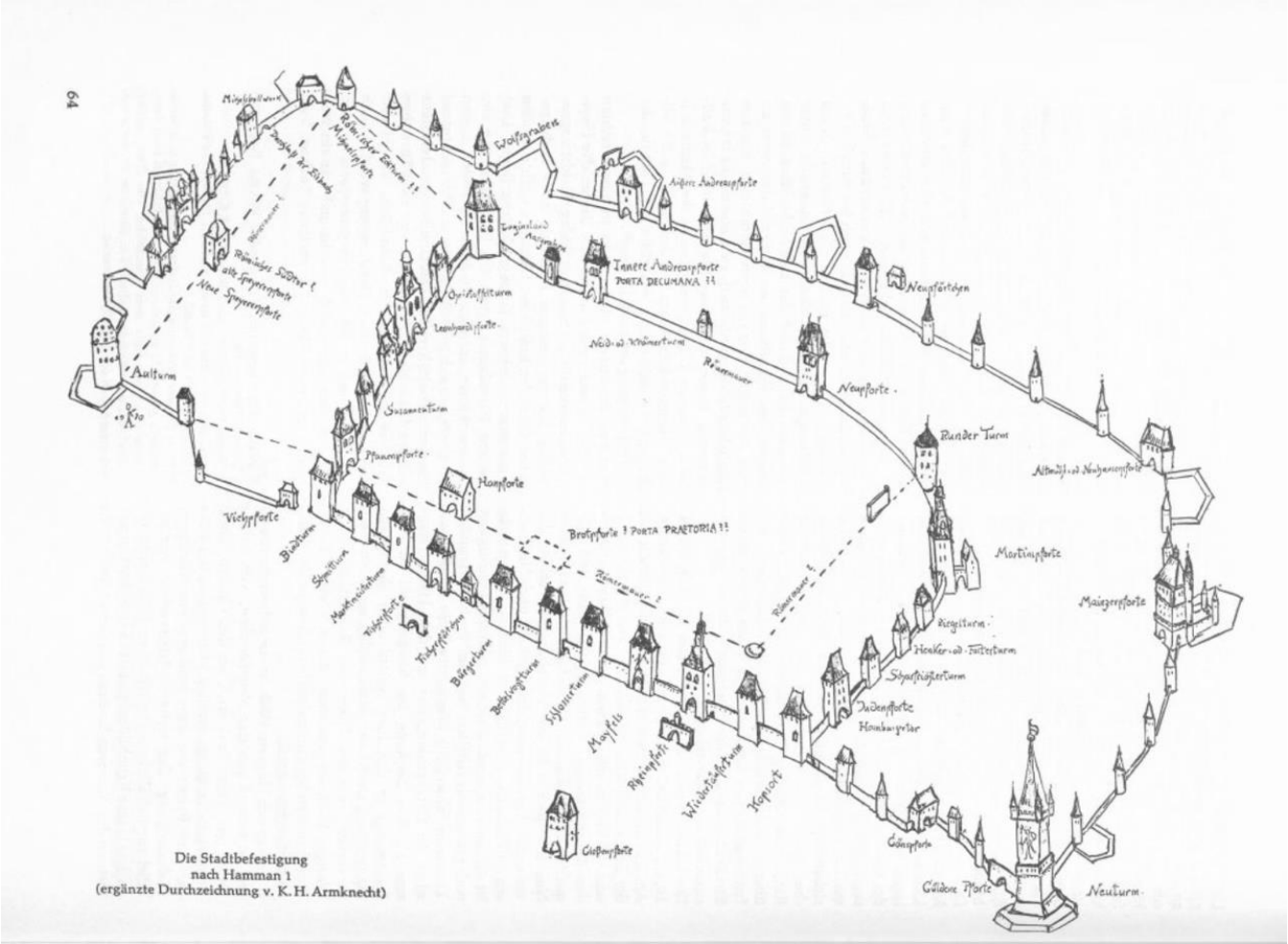
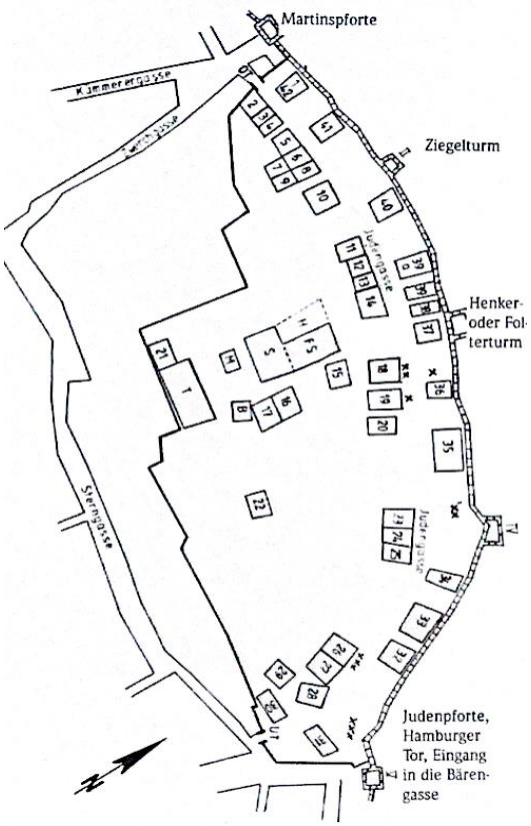


Figure 6. The city fortifications and gates of Worms. Karl Heinz Armknecht, "Stadtbefestigung," 1970-1971, "Die Wormser Stadtmauern," *Der Wormsgau* 9, 64.



Das Verzeichnis beginnt am Obertor (Westen) mit der Südseite:

2. *Zur Flasche an der Pforte*
3. *Daran angebautes Haus*
4. *Zum halben Mond*
5. *Zur Rose*
6. *Zum Hirschhorn*
7. *Haus im Gäßchen am Hirschhorn*
8. *Zum Stern*
9. *Dahinter im Gäßchen ein Haus*
10. *Zur Kante (Kanne)*
11. *Zum Roß*
12. *Zur Sichel*
13. *Neues Häuschen daneben*
14. *Zum Teufelskopf (später Zur Sonne)*
15. *Häuschen bei der Schule*
16. *Haus hinter der Schule*
17. *Haus dahinter*
18. *Zum Hasen (später auf der Nordseite genannt)*
19. *Zum Kessel (später auf der Nordseite genannt)*
20. *Haus*
21. *Haus neben dem Judenspital (?, lag wahrscheinlich neben 22)*
22. *Häuschen auf dem Platz*
23. *Neues Eckhaus*
24. *Zum Rad*
25. *Zur Heppe*
26. *Zum Hirsch (später auf der Nordseite genannt)*
27. *Zum Rebstock*
28. *Zum Wolf*
29. *Steinhaus zwischen Wolf und Rebstock*
30. *Haus neben der untersten Pforte*

Untertor (Osten) mit der Nordseite:

31. *Haus unten an der untersten Pforte*
32. *Zum Blech*
33. *Haus*
34. *Zum Krug*
35. *Zur Büchs*
36. *Zum Einhorn*
37. *Zum Grünbaum*
38. *Haus*
39. *Haus*
39a *Zur Gans*
40. *Zum Affen*
41. *Zum Bären*
42. *Haus nächst der Martinspforte (zugleich Nr. 1)*

Figure 7. Houses of the Jewish quarter in Worms around 1500. Matching Stern,"Zur Statistik der Wormser Juden im 15. Jahrhundert," Tax list in 1495: *IV,* Sharfrichterturm (today's Raschi-Tor); *OT*, above Judentor (Jewish gate); *UT*, below Judentor (Jewish gate); *B,* Bathhouse; *S,* Synagogue/Schule; *FS,* Women's Synagogue, *H,* Synagogue courtyard; *M,* Mikvah; *T,* Tanzhaus (dance hall). Mathilde Grünewald, *Die Häuser der Judengasse 1500*, 2012, in *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms: Archäologie in der Stadt*, 133.

Figure 8. Map of the today's Jewish quarter in Worms. Mathilde Grünewald, Judenviertel, 2012, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," in *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms: Archäologie in der Stadt*, 101.

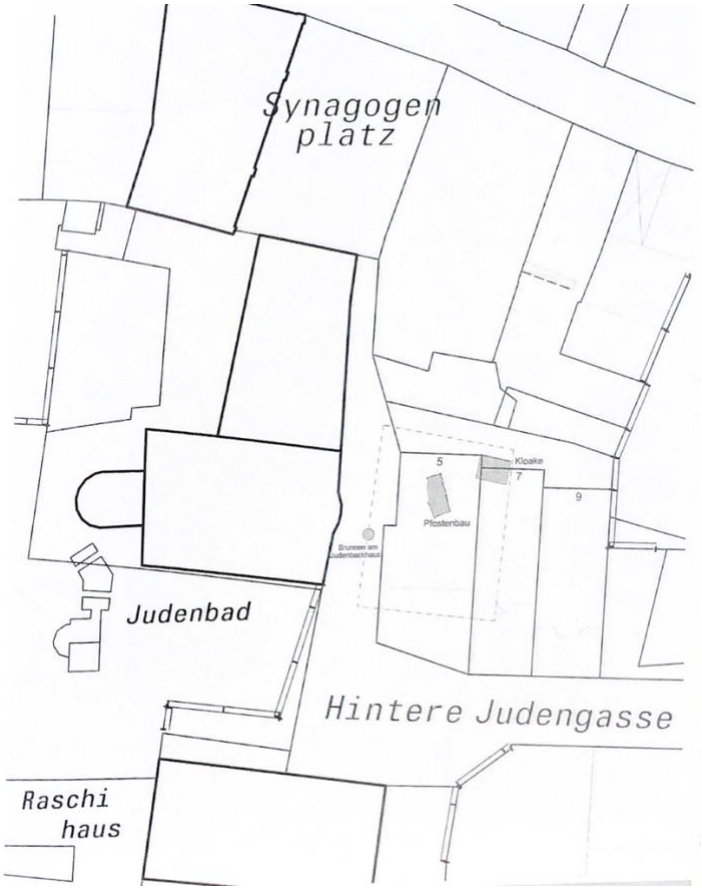


Figure 9. Map of Hintere Judengasse. Mathilde Grünewald, Hintere Judengasse 5-7 Lageplan, 2012, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," in *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms: Archäologie in der Stadt* 2012, 123.

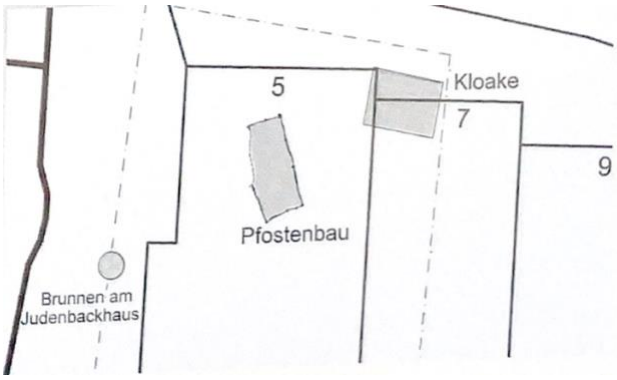


Figure 10. Hintere Judengasse 5-9. Detail of Figure 9. Left to Right: Jewish Bakery, the Pillar, the cesspit. Mathilde Grünewald, Ausschnitt, 2012, "Judenviertel im nördlichen Stadtmauerbogen," in *Unter dem Pflaster von Worms: Archäologie in der Stadt* 2012.

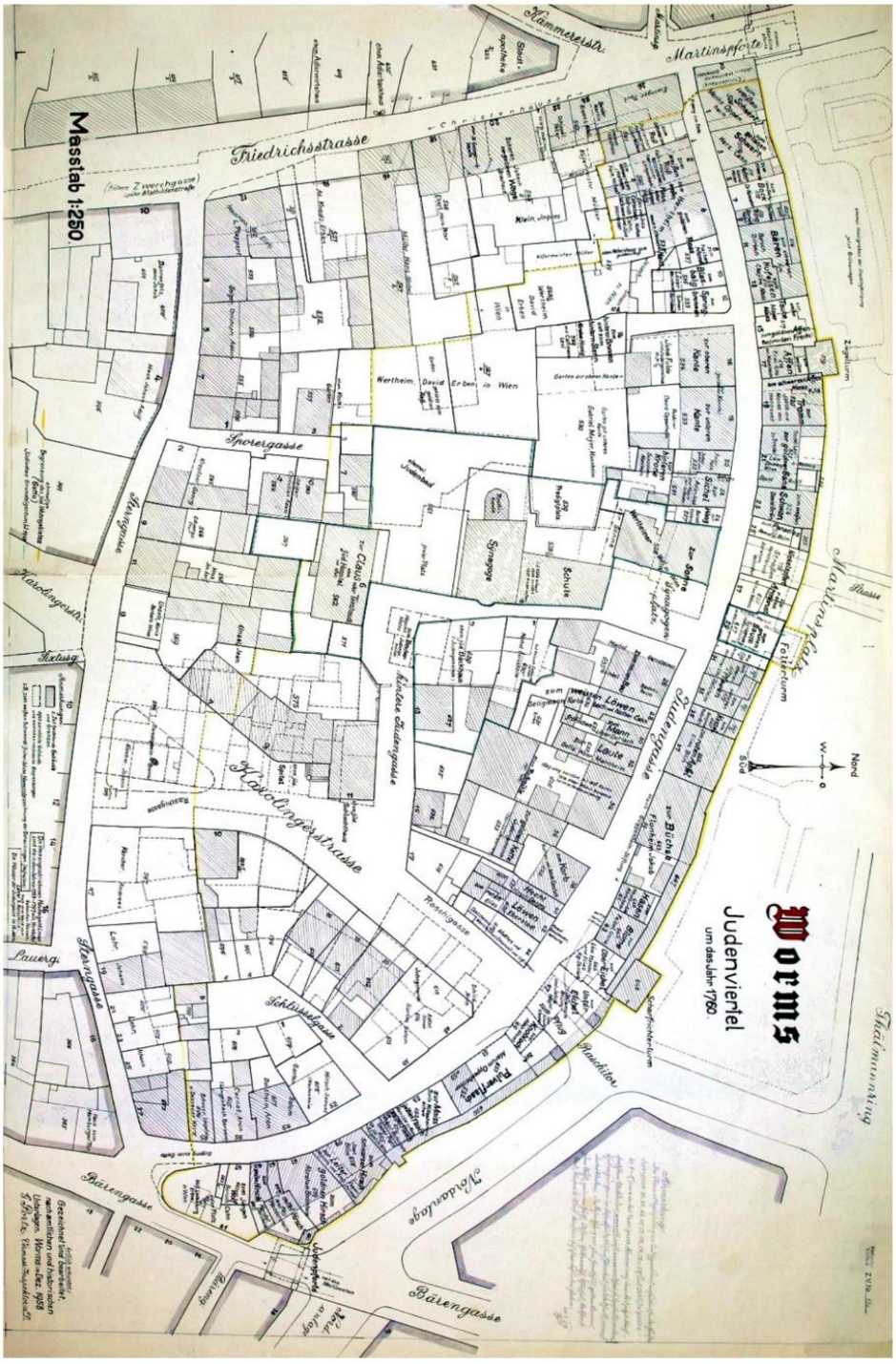


Figure 11. Map of the Jewish Quarter in Worms circa 1760. G. Portz, Portz zeichnete den Plan nach amtlichen und historischen Unterlagen der Stadt Worms, d.h. wir sehen den Plan des Judenviertels in Worms um 1760, 1958, Stadtarchiv Worms, https://schumstaedte.de/media/juden_als_teil_der_stadt_worms.pdf (accessed October 5, 2023); © Stadtarchiv Worms.

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