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The editors of the "Frankfurt Jewish Studies Bulletin," Elisabeth Hollender and Annelies Kuyt, have kindly offered us the opportunity of publishing this collection as a first special issue of the journal; they also devoted much time and energy on editorial issues. We are confident that the present collection will significantly enhance scholarship on Johann Jacob Schudt and his world, and it is our sincere hope that it will not be the last occasion for collaboration between the two research centres at Frankfurt and Trier.

Christoph Cluse; Rebekka Voß

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Rebekka Voß

Johann Jacob Schudt’s “Jewish Notabilia”: Historical Context and Historiographic Significance *

On January 14, 1711, a fire destroyed Frankfurt’s ghetto on the “Judengasse” (Jews’ Lane). Within twenty-four hours, all but one house had burned to the ground. Fortunately, only five of its residents perished, but the majority lost all of their possessions.¹ The flames and smoke from the great fire that broke out at 8 pm must have been seen and smelled throughout the city center. The municipal grammar school (“Gymnasium Francofurtanum”) was located less than half a kilometer to the east of that site, housed in the buildings of a former Franciscan monastery (“Barfüßerkloster”), where St. Paul’s Church stands today. At that hour, the school’s deputy rector, Johann Jacob Schudt, might still have been at his desk, whether finishing administrative tasks, preparing his classes or, perhaps, immersing himself in historical research and philological work as a Hebraist; he described these latter activities as preferred leisurely pursuits that alleviated the burden of his professional chores.² We cannot know what occupied Schudt on the night of the great fire, which coincided with his 47th birthday. From his own testimony, however, we know that this catastrophic event prompted him to chronicle the city’s vibrant Jewish history and culture.³

* I extend my thanks to Christoph Cluse and Elisabeth Hollender for their insightful comments on an earlier draft of this essay. My appreciation also goes to the participants in the Frankfurt’s “Jewish Notabilia” Conference, June 23–25, 2014; I benefited greatly from the discussions in that forum.

¹ Isidor Kracauer, *Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden in Frankfurt a. M. (1150–1824)*. Frankfurt a. M. 1925–1927, vol. 2, pp. 121–125.

² “Nicht nur / was die schuldige Ampts-Pflicht erfordert / sondern auch die übrige Neben-Arbeiten / welche bei müßigen Stunden / zu selbsteigenem Vergnügen / oder zur Erleichterung des von mancherley fastidien / (so bey dergleichen Ampt in ziemlicher Anzahl sich einstellen) ermüdeten Gemüths vorgenommen werden”; *JM*, vol. 1, fol. A3^r [see n. 4 below].

³ *Ibid.*, fols. B1^{r-v}. For detailed treatment of Schudt’s complex objectives, see below.

Stephan Laux

“Ersatzbürgertum” in the Wake of Confessionalization: Jews, Protestants, and French Royal Administration in Metz (16th–17th Century)

Introduction

“Ce ne sont donc pas des Juifs qui seraient venus en France, c’est bien plutôt ... la France qui est venue vers eux.”¹ With these words Bernhard Blumenkranz (1913–1989), the Viennese-born French Historian of Jewish belief and pioneer of the history of French Jewry, characterized the revival of the French Jews in the 16th and 17th centuries. What he had in view was of course not the whole of France but the very unique manifestations on the state’s periphery, in Alsace and Lorraine in particular, which became homes of the French Jews after the expulsions of 1306 and 1394.

The “permanence juive” in these regions still assumed by Blumenkranz,² though, must be regarded as a construct: For almost a hundred years after the last expulsion of the Jews from the Duchy of Lorraine in 1477 the Jewish history in the region never attained more than an “episodic character”.³ In Metz, especially, no Jews at all are reported to have lived in the city since the end of the 14th century.⁴ However, a virtually new Jewish community steadily emerged in the city since the middle of the 16th century, owing its very existence to the vicissitudes of territorial and confessional politics. In this city of

¹ Bernhard Blumenkranz, “Les Juifs en Lorraine”, in: *Annales de l’Est* 5 (1967), pp. 199–216, at p. 204.

² Blumenkranz, “Les Juifs en Lorraine”, p. 199. See also Pascal Faustini, *La communauté juive de Metz et ses familles (1565–1665)*. N.p. 2001, p. 21; regarding the alleged continuity of Jewish settlement in Metz after the high medieval period, cf. Jean-Bernard Lang; Claude Rosenfeld, *Histoire des Juifs en Moselle*. Metz 2001, p. 274.

³ Jean-Luc Fray, Art. “Lothringen”, in: Arye Maimon; Mordechai Breuer; Yacov Guggenheim (eds), *Germania Judaica III: 1350–1519*, Part 3. Tübingen 2003, col. 1140 (my translation).

⁴ See Pierre Mendel, “Les juifs à Metz avant 1552”, in: *Mémoires de l’académie nationale de Metz* 15 (1971–72), pp. 77–79.

about 22,000 inhabitants around 1700,⁵ thus almost as big as Frankfurt, the Jewish community at the time amounted to approximately 1,000 souls, compared to 2,426 in Frankfurt in 1703.⁶ The sheer size of Metz's *qehilla* placed it in one league with Frankfurt. It is no wonder then that Johann Jacob Schudt made various references to the Jews of Metz who, after all, held various connections with their Frankfurt fellow brethren.

The uniqueness of Jewish Metz is thus out of question. As a scholar of modern days has pointed out,

Metz was perhaps the only French city of this era to have this particular formula of religious diversity in clear evidence, for while Protestants still lived in many areas of France under the protection of the Edict of Nantes, the Jewish community of Metz was one of the very few groups living openly as Jews in the kingdom.⁷

Given the fact that even those Imperial cities in the Holy Roman Empire that were either officially or de-facto bi-confessional had mostly expelled "their" Jews sometime between the late-14th and early-16th centuries with permanent effect, the case of Metz was almost as unique in Germany as it was in France. This paper sketches some problems of the Jewish history of Metz roughly within the lifespan of Johann Jacob Schudt, i.e., from the middle of the 17th century through the early decades of the 18th. Its focus is on the effects that went along with the transition of the city's status from a Free Imperial City of the Empire to a part of the French crown dominions. As long as a broad-based Jewish history of Metz has yet to be written, no detailed portrayal of Jewish life in the city is possible. Nor is such a portrayal in the interest of this essay – what is aimed at is rather a holistic approach to Jewish existence in the midst of the confessional conglomerate and social dynamic that characterized the situation in Metz in the 16th and 17th centuries.

⁵ Cf. Christine Petry, *Faire des sujets du roi: Rechtspolitik in Metz, Toul und Verdun unter französischer Herrschaft (1552–1648)*. München 2006, p. 30; Yves Le Moigne, "Das französische Königtum und die Aufteilung des lothringischen Raumes (1608–1697)", in: Michel Parisse (ed.), *Lothringen – Geschichte eines Grenzlandes*. Saarbrücken 1984, pp. 281–329, at p. 287.

⁶ See Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Frankfurt/Main in der Frühen Neuzeit: Familien, Netzwerke und Konflikte eines jüdischen Zentrums*. Berlin et al. 2010, p. 20.

⁷ Patricia Behre Miskim, *One King, One Law, Three Faiths: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Metz*. Westport Conn. et al. 2002, p. XIV.

A Look at Historiography

The present essay owes much credit to the work of regional and local researchers, which is limited but often substantial. As far as Jewish Metz is concerned, the early historiography is characteristically marked by a considerable number of essays of a local and regional outlook, published by non-academic Jewish scholars in somewhat remote forums such as the "Revue juive de Lorraine", which appeared from 1925 until the German invasion in 1940. Roger Clément's doctoral thesis of 1903⁸ is particularly useful because it includes a considerable selection of sources in an appendix. Bernhard Blumenkranz, who added a number of articles on the Jewry of Lorraine, was already mentioned.⁹ A great step forward was made by Pierre-André Meyer, whose book on the Jewish community of Metz in the 18th century was published in 1993 and translated into German in 2012. This socio-historical analysis is widely based on the civil marriage documentation, available since 1701.¹⁰ Focusing primarily on the social, demographic, and economic history of the Jewish community, Meyer's study offers a meritorious advancement over earlier accounts concerning the economic situation of the Metz community during the 17th and 18th centuries.¹¹ The reconstructions of Jewish families of Metz by Jean Fleury¹² and Pascal Faustini¹³ are of much value, too, even if their methodological claims may be modest.¹⁴ Gilbert Roos's book on Jewish-governmental relations in the northeastern France in the 17th century has also paid much attention to the Jews of Metz and the *Messin*.¹⁵ The "Histoire des Juifs en

⁸ Roger Clément, *La condition des juifs de Metz sous l'ancien régime*. Paris 1903. Clément (1878–1950) served as "Conservateur de la bibliothèque et des Musées de la Ville de Metz". It may be noteworthy that he was not Jewish.

⁹ Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs en Lorraine" and further publications by the same author.

¹⁰ Pierre-André Meyer, *La communauté juive de Metz au XVIII^e siècle: Histoire et démographie*. Nancy et al. 1993. I used the German translation, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz im 18. Jahrhundert. Geschichte und Demographie*, transl. by Rainer Prass. Trier 2012.

¹¹ Cf., for example, Robert Anchel, "La vie économique des Juifs de Metz aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles", in: Robert Anchel (ed.), *Les Juifs de France*. Dijon 1946, pp. 153–212; Zosa Szaikowski, *Jews and French Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848*. New York 1970², chapter II/7.

¹² Jean Fleury, *Contrats de Mariage juifs en Moselle avant 1792: Recensement à l'usage généalogique de 2021 contrats de mariage notariés*. Paris 1989.

¹³ Faustini, *La communauté juive*.

¹⁴ For an "ego-centered network analysis" regarding the Jewish community of Frankfurt, see Kasper-Holtkotte, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Frankfurt/Main in der Frühen Neuzeit*, p. 14, n. 16.

¹⁵ Gilbert Roos, *Relations entre le gouvernement royal et les juifs du nord-est de la France au XVII^e siècle*. Paris 2000.

Moselle" by Jean-Bernard Lang and Claude Rosenfeld published in 2001 offers a broad historical survey of the region, together with a catalogue of geographical places of Jewish settlement, thus providing a basis for the encyclopedic work done as part of the "Nouvelle Gallia Judaïca" project since 2003. However, no comprehensive book on Jewish Metz on an empirical basis is available yet, and what we have often fails to integrate its history into the general history of the city.¹⁶

The difficulties in writing a history of the Jews in Metz are aggravated by the neglect of the city's early modern period in historical research. As a matter of fact, the historiography of early modern Metz is still far out of proportion with the sheer weight the city had during this period. It was not until Gaston Zeller's groundbreaking thesis on the "Réunion de Metz à la France (1552–1648)" of 1926 that the shift of power from German to French rule was treated in depth. At the time, Zeller asserted that the lack of substantial interest in the older history of the city on the French side was due to the ramifications of the German annexation in 1870/1871.¹⁷ Paying tribute to the French policy of integrating the imperial city, Zeller entitled the two volumes of his opus "occupation" and "protection". Despite the modesty of his judgements, the Alsatian Zeller (1890–1960) was relentlessly attacked by a considerable number of German historians who, in the aftermath of the First World War, held up the French takeover of Metz, Toul and Verdun as a historical archetype of their own "Versailles" experience.¹⁸ Unlike French historians, these German scholars in turn gave much room to studies of the medieval past of Metz and the Lorraine region.

After some rather descriptive urban histories had appeared in the early 1980s,¹⁹ three scholars have recently taken up Zeller's theme and shed new light on it. In 2002 Patricia Behre Miskimin published a book on early modern Metz with the programmatic title, "One King, One Law, Three Faiths: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Metz". Her study addresses the role of religion in the process of absolutist state building and concludes that the social, political, and confessional fractions that had existed in Metz since the Reformation period at last facilitated the establishment of royal control

¹⁶ See, e.g., René Bour, *Histoire de Metz*. Metz 1979².

¹⁷ Gaston Zeller, *La Réunion de Metz à la France (1552–1648)*. 2 vols Paris 1926, at vol. 1, p. 2.

¹⁸ Cf. Petry, *Faire des sujets du Roi*, pp. 55–60. Steffen Kaudelka, *Rezeption im Zeitalter der Konfrontation: Französische Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichte in Deutschland 1920–1940*. Göttingen 2003, pp. S. 78–96, on Gaston Zeller and the reactions of German historians.

¹⁹ René Bour, *Histoire de Metz*; François-Yves Le Moigne (ed.), *Histoire de Metz*. Toulouse 1986.

over the city. Two succeeding monographs on the French rule of the city have taken a look back to the period between 1552 and 1648; both reject the notion that absolutism was simply imposed on the population: In 2006, Christine Petry focused on the legal policy of the French kings towards the 1552 acquisitions, drawing attention to a changing concept of supreme power in relation to the city, which became evident when judicial institutions were being established since the 1630s.²⁰ Martial Gantelet's thesis of 2012²¹ portrays the interplay between the kings, their administrative body, and the still leading bourgeois families – the "trois angles d'un contrat politique".²² The agents involved in this interplay coined an informal regiment over the city on the basis of arcane negotiation, not an archetype of absolutist city regiment. Gantelet's emphasis is on questions of fiscal and military practice, while the overall dynamics of social change yet remain to be examined.

Protestant Metz: Decline and Dissolution

Before Jews came to settle anew in early modern Metz, the city had seen the consolidation of other religious minority groups – Lutherans and even more, Calvinist Protestants. The history of Protestantism in Metz is painted in many colours.²³ From the earliest days of the Reformation movement its impact was felt at Metz. Already in 1521 the "causa Lutheri" had echoed in the city, and during the following years various predicants were active here, among whom we find no less a figure than Guillaume Farel, "the pioneer of the French Reformation in many respects".²⁴ It thus may seem odd that, unlike most free cities of the Holy Roman Empire, Metz never officially adopted the Refor-

²⁰ Petry, *Faire des sujets du roi*.

²¹ Martial Gantelet, *L'absolutisme au miroir de la guerre: Le roi et Metz (1552–1661)*. Rennes 2012.

²² Ibid., chapter III.

²³ For a survey see Pierre Bronn, *Le protestantisme en pays messin: Histoire et lieux de mémoire*. Metz 2007, chapter 2 (16th–18th centuries). The main account on the history of Protestantism in Metz and the Pays Messin by Henri Tribout de Morembert, *La réforme à Metz*, vol. 1: *Le Luthéranisme (1519–1552)*, vol. 2: *Le Calvinisme (1553–1685)*. Nancy 1971, needs revision. Substantial recent research, with special focus on the reformed community, is owed to Julien Léonard, "Le poids politique des réformés dans la ville de Metz au temps des Guerres de religion (1559–1598)", in: *Annales de l'Est* 1 (2007), pp. 313–326; id., *Être pasteur au XVII^e siècle: Le ministère de Paul Ferry à Metz (1612–1669)*. Rennes 2015.

²⁴ Francis Higman, "Farel, Guillaume", in: Hans J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2. New York – Oxford 1996, pp. 99f., quote p. 100.

mation until its transition to France and that still Protestantism did consolidate in the second half of the 16th century. Between 1559 and 1562 the French kings tried by draconian measures to violently suppress any further political and confessional organization of Protestantism in France.²⁵ While they long refrained from taking action against the Protestants of Metz, the undecided legal status of the city left it as "une ville paradoxale" (Jean-Bernard Lang) for almost one century.²⁶

Whereas military and civic control under the French kings since 1552 had not visibly changed too much for the Protestants in Metz, the arrival of the Jesuits in 1622 certainly did. In fact, it marked a turning point for Protestantism – and ultimately posed a threat to the Jews.²⁷ Two protagonists of the anti-Protestant religious orders should be named here, the Franciscan Observant friar Martin Meurisse (1584–1644) and the Jesuit Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704).²⁸ From 1629 until 1644 Meurisse acted as suffragan at Metz cathedral. He was formally bound to Bishop Gaston Henri de Bourbon, Duke of Verneuil (1601–1682), a legitimized son of King Henry IV and his mistress, invested as Prince-Bishop of Metz (the last of his kind) in 1612. Upon his deposition in 1652, Henri de Bourbon was succeeded by no less a figure than Jules Mazarin. It is worth noting that these prelates were men of letters as much as men of action. Meurisse in 1634 published his "Histoire des Évêques de l'Église de Metz", allegedly against the resistance of the magistrate. Meurisse, who was a sincere historian but an uncompromising confessionalist,²⁹ intended to restore the prince-bishops' authority over the city against the resistance not only of the council, but also of the diocesan chapter and the royal administration. As to the Counter-Reformation, he praised the Catholic clergy for promoting the physical extinction of the Protestants ("donnerent orde que le fer & le feu y fousent soigneusement appliquez").³⁰ There is no doubt that his views had not changed by 1634, when an estimated 6,300 Prot-

²⁵ See Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France, 1580–1730*. New Haven – London 2014², p. 21.

²⁶ Jean-Bernard Lang, "Les Juifs de Metz à l'époque de Bossuet, une communauté en devenir", in: Anne-Élisabeth Spica (ed.), *Bossuet à Metz (1652–1659): Les années de formation et leurs prolongements*. Bern 2005, pp. 191–206, with the quote at p. 191.

²⁷ For a survey see Bronn, *Le protestantisme en pays messin*, pp. 52–66; François-Yves Le Moigne; Gérard Michaux (eds): *Protestants, messins et mosellans, XVI^e–XX^e siècles*. Metz 1988, pp. 24f., 130. See the account given by Behre Miskimin, *One King, One Law, Three Faiths*, p. 67; Léonard, "Le poids politique des réformés", p. 313.

²⁸ Julien Léonard, "La révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, un traumatisme oublié pour Metz", in: *Les cahiers lorrains: Actes des Journées d'études mosellanes* 2006, pp. 60–69, here p. 62.

²⁹ See Tribut de Morembert, *La Réforme à Metz*, vol. 2, p. 178.

³⁰ Martin Meurisse, *Histoire des Évêques de l'Église de Metz*. Metz 1633, p. 603.

estants still lived in Metz, about one-third of the city's population of 19,092.³¹ And certainly Meurisse was involved whenever decisions concerning the Protestants were taken, as when the Protestant church erected in 1576 in the rue de la Chèvre (at the time called "Crève-Cœur") was ultimately closed. It was taken over by the Jesuits in 1642, who had the building completely renovated and henceforth used it as their main residence in Lorraine.³² Meurisse had intended the publication of his "Histoire" in the same year both as a sign of triumph over Protestantism and as an agenda for the advancement of Catholicism. Outwardly, his chief argument was that Protestantism was only a form of republicanism, directed against the French King and altogether a state of "desordre & une confusion funeste, & horrible". It is therefore worth noting that Meurisse towards the very end of his book found warm words for the establishment of the *Parlement* in Metz in 1633, which he hoped would provide a cure for all grievances.³³ In fact, he struggled for the restoration of episcopal autonomy, desired by the prince-bishops ever since the appropriation of the city.

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet for his part is best known as a staunch defender of royal sovereignty from his posthumously published writings.³⁴ It is less well-known that he was socialized in Metz, where he settled in 1652 coming from a Jesuit school in Dijon. His father had been appointed to the newly founded *Parlement* of Metz in 1633 and he was influential enough to procure for his thirteen years old son the expectancy of a canonicate at Metz Cathedral. Having passed the ordination of priests and his doctorate in 1652, the young "Doctor of Divinity" instantly started preaching against Protestants and Jews. He also immediately pitted himself against Paul Ferry.³⁵ In 1657 he took over

³¹ See Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority*. Philadelphia 1991, p. 35; Marie-José Laperche-Fournel, "Stratégies matrimoniales en milieu protestant: Quelques réseaux familiaux messins au XVII^e siècle", in: *Histoire, économie et société* 16 (1997), pp. 617–646, at pp. 618, 646; Françoise Duchastelle, "L'Eglise réformée de Metz (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles): le témoignage d'une exposition", in: Le Moigne; Michaux, *Protestants*, pp. 13–46, here p. 29; Jean Rigault, "La population de Metz au XVII^e siècle: Quelques problèmes de démographie", in: *Annales de l'Est* 2 (1951), pp. 307–315; Roos, *Relations entre le gouvernement royal et les juifs*, pp. 125f.

³² Bronn, *Le protestantisme en pays messin*, p. 53.

³³ Martin Meurisse, *Histoire des Évêques de l'Église de Metz*, n. p. 1634, p. 613.

³⁴ In 1670 the court favourite became the tutor of the "Grand Dauphin" (1661–1711, the eldest son of Louis XIV), and in 1681 (until 1704) he became the bishop of Meaux (a city which had been one of the few strongholds of early French Protestantism in the 16th century).

³⁵ Already in 1655 Bossuet had published a "Réfutation du catéchisme de Paul Ferri" against the leading Protestant theologian of Metz. Lew light is shed on Bossuet's role in Metz by Spica, *Bossuet à Metz (1652–1659)*.

the direction of the "Maison de la Propagation de la Foi", a new conversion monastery for girls, founded immediately after the visit of Louis XIV in Metz. In his own instruction he gave hope to the conversion of "filles juives et hérétiques qui se jetteront entre leurs bras pour être instruites de la doctrine de vérité et dans une piété vraiment chrétienne".³⁶ In 1665, Bossuet founded another institution of the same kind, for males.³⁷ These conversionary efforts were probably not very successful,³⁸ so that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which since 1681 had been preceded by "dragonnades" against those Protestants who would not convert to Catholicism, drove thousands of Protestants out of Metz and the *Messin*. Within the city coercive measures began in the summer of 1686.³⁹ Among the exiles were considerable numbers of traders, bankers, and craftsmen in export-oriented sectors.⁴⁰ The leading Protestants in the generality of Metz (including the city itself) had held by far the greatest amounts of capital and were clearly perceived as an elite in commerce and production. In many cases their settlement in Berlin was preceded by a more or less prolonged stay in Frankfurt, where approximately three hundred *Messins* were registered between 1685 and 1696.⁴¹ With thousands of refugees passing since 1685, traditional ties, confessional affinity, and geographic position made Frankfurt a hub city particularly for the Huguenots from Metz.⁴²

³⁶ See Bossuet's "Règlement du Séminaire des Filles de la Propagation de la Foi établies en la Ville de Metz", in: *Œuvres Complètes des Bossuet, Evêque de Meaux*, vol. 7, Paris 1836, pp. 301–309, at p. 301.

³⁷ See Duchastelle, "L'Eglise réformée", p. 38; Gérard Michaux, "Réforme catholique et Contre-Réforme à Metz au XVII^e siècle", in: Le Moigne; Michaux (eds): *Protestants*, pp. 47–70, at p. 68.

³⁸ See Catherine Martin, *Les Compagnies de la Propagation de la Foi (1632–1685): Paris, Grenoble, Aix, Lyon, Montpellier. Etude d'un réseau d'associations fondées en France au temps de Louis XIII pour lutter contre l'hérésie des origines à la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*. Genève 2000, pp. 209f. See also Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 133f., 139, who states that between 1650 and 1750 the cloister only housed 15 converts, and that of the 36 individuals who were baptized in Metz from 1737 until 1750, only six came from the city.

³⁹ See Roos, *Relations entre le gouvernement royal et les juifs*, p. 41.

⁴⁰ See Le Moigne, "Das französische Königtum und die Aufteilung des lothringischen Raumes", p. 326; Frédéric Hartweg, "De Metz à Berlin: Les réfugiés huguenots du pays messin dans la capitale du Brandebourg", in: Étienne François; Egon-Graf Westerholt (eds), *Berlin: Capitale, Mythe, Enjeu*. Nancy 1988, pp. 15–31.

⁴¹ See Hartweg, "De Metz à Berlin", p. 18.

⁴² See Michelle Magdelaine, "Francfort-sur-le-Main, plaque tournante du Refuge", in: Michelle Magdelaine; Rudolf von Thadden (eds), *Le Refuge huguenot*. Paris 1985, pp. 31–44.

Johann Jacob Schudt was an eyewitness to all this in so far as Frankfurt was both a terminus and a hub for the Protestant emigration from the *Messin*. To mention just the administrative elites that left Metz, there was David Ancillon (1617–1723) who left the city in 1685, settled in Frankfurt and later became a minister of the French Church at the Prussian court. The Ancillon family held elevated positions in the French colony and notably in the leading Prussian bureaucracy.⁴³ It has been estimated that the *Messinois* represented 23.3 % of all Huguenot *Réfugiés* at Berlin around 1700.⁴⁴ If the number is correct, this should come up to approximately 4 % of all French Huguenots. At the same time, the Protestants lost their political weight in Metz.

The Jews of Metz since the middle of the 17th century

For Schudt the case of the Jews of Metz appeared clear and simple: In his passage on the Jews of Metz which mainly deals with their medieval past, he concluded that "The King of France tolerates Jews only in those towns that he has conquered from his neighbours". And he states: "Particularly in the capital town of Lorraine, Metz, there are quite many Jews, who make their livings mostly from trading horses to supply the French cavalry".⁴⁵ In fact, Metz around 1700 was much praised for its services towards equipping the cavalry (horses, grain).⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, the garrison in Metz was so large and so poorly financed and equipped that Jews seemed perfectly apt for its provision as traders and intermediaries. Thus, horse traders made up for a substantial – and substantially rich – professional group of Jewish Metz at the time. Another

⁴³ See Fiammetta Palladini, *Die Berliner Hugenotten und der Fall Barbeyrac: Orthodoxe und 'Sozinianer' im Refuge (1685–1720)*. Leiden et al. 2011, pp. 379–381; Julien Léonard, "Le parcours du pasteur David Ancillon (1617–1692)", in: Philippe Hoch (ed.), *Huguenots: De la Moselle à Berlin, les chemins de l'exil*. Metz 2006, pp. 109–126.

⁴⁴ See Hartweg, "De Metz à Berlin", p. 19.

⁴⁵ Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten [...]*. Vols 1–3, Frankfurt a.M. 1714, vol. 4, Frankfurt a.M. – Leipzig 1717, here vol. 1, p. 125 (book IV, ch. 7, § 11; my translation).

⁴⁶ As stated explicitly, for example, by Charles-Étienne Turgot de Sousmont (1670–1722), intendant of Metz since 1697. Turgot, the grandfather of Charles-Étienne Turgot (1727–1781), the later Controller-General of Finances, left unedited memoirs of his service at Metz (see Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, p. 12 with n. 5, and p. 51); Philippe Bourdel, *Histoire des Juifs de France*. Vol. 1: *Des Origines à la Shoah*. Paris 2004, pp. 131–133; Roos, *Relations entre le gouvernement royal et les juifs*, p. 309. For the role of Jewish army suppliers see, among others, Blumenkranz, *Histoire des Juifs en France*, pp. 110–113.

er field of their Jewish economic activity was banking and money lending, a field widely controlled by the former Protestant elites prior to 1685.⁴⁷ According to Pierre-André Meyer, "big business" peaked in the period 1689 until 1714, thus in the rather unfortunate late reign of Louis XIV.⁴⁸

The rebirth of the Jewish community of Metz can be dated to May 1564, when the newly-established city magistrate – certainly not of his very own volition – gave concessions to three Jews of settling in Metz and lending money in the city.⁴⁹ Notwithstanding protests by some inhabitants, in August 1567 another four Jewish individuals were admitted – not by the *maître-échevin* but by the King's Marshal de Vieilleville, first governor of Metz. For an unlimited period they were allowed to reside with their families outside the city centre and act as pawnbrokers, in return for an annual payment towards the communal poor relief. Remarkably, they could move into the houses of former burghers, where they were not supposed to keep more than four households. Ever since, the Jews of Metz remained protégés of the French crown.

From 1595 the Jews of Metz, whose numbers had already grown to 120, formed a "corps solidaire", no longer merely liable to special taxation but formally organized as a religious community.⁵⁰ By order of the French Governor, Jean-Louis de la Valette, Duc d'Epéron, in January 1614 the community was entitled to live at Metz with 58 families, allegedly descended from the first settlers and the 24 families of earlier days.⁵¹ By the same ordinance, the Jews received the special favour of buying houses in the Saint-Ferroy quarter, which they had to separate from the Christian quarters by means of boundary stones and gates. The nomination of a chief rabbi and his responsibility for the Jewish jurisdiction were recognized in the 1620s and formally accepted by the king in 1636.

The year 1657 marked another step in the consolidation of Jewish life in Metz: During a trip to muster the French fortifications the young Louis XIV, accompanied by his younger brother Philippe d'Orléans (* 1640), on 25 September visited the synagogue to attend the celebration of *Sukkot*. On occasion of this first ever visit of a synagogue by a French king, Louis granted an audience to the trustees of the community and the rabbi, Moïse Cohen Narol from Poland. The same day Louis signed Letters patent for 96 families in Metz.⁵²

⁴⁷ See Le Moigne, *Histoire de Metz*, p. 255.

⁴⁸ For details see Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 153–163. For the role of the Jews in credit, *ibid.*, pp. 163–168.

⁴⁹ Clément, *La condition des juifs de Metz*, annex, no. I (6 August 1567).

⁵⁰ See Faustini, *La communauté juive*, pp. 49f.; Mendel: "Juifs à Metz", pp. 251f.; Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, p. 108.

⁵¹ Clément, *La condition des juifs de Metz*, annex, no. V (7 January 1614).

⁵² Ed. by Clément, *La condition des juifs de Metz*, annex, no. XVII; see also Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs en Lorraine", p. 207.

This visit of the city and the *Messin* was symbolical in many another respect: Whereas the Jesuit theologian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet had occasion to preach before the King's mother, Anne of Austria and soon after received the honorary title of a "Prédicateur ordinaire du roi",⁵³ the representative of the Protestant community, Paul Ferry, was ignored by the delegation.⁵⁴

By Bossuet's time there were almost a hundred Jewish households in Metz. The community saw a steady growth in the 17th century, constantly nurtured by the influx of newcomers.⁵⁵ In 1718, when Metz had about 20,000 inhabitants, 480 Jewish families lived in Metz, and almost 3,000 Jews were counted in 1748 – an estimated proportion of 7 or 8 % of the city's population.⁵⁶ This considerable population increase was brought about mainly by the influx of external families.⁵⁷ When in 1680 strict regulations for the immigration to Metz were lifted, Jews found it much easier to contract marriages.⁵⁸ The places of origin of the Metz community in the 17th century have not yet been fully reconstructed. It has to be kept in mind that the Imperial city possessed a considerable territory outside the walls – the *Pays Messin*. For this reason, many of the Metz Jews can be identified as "country Jews"; others came from places in the vicinity such as Bitche, Crehange, Dieze, Ennery, or Boulay⁵⁹ (today Boulay-Moselle, east of Metz), where a Jewish community formed during the Thirty Years War with 13 households in 1664 and a synagogue six years later. The Duchy of Lorraine, after all, allowed for 73 Jewish families in 1721 and 180 in 1733, before the territory was integrated into the royal dominion.⁶⁰ Owing to the works of Meyer, Faustini, and Fleury we know quite much about the origins of Jewish families in Metz. Claudia Ulbrich has observed how marriages among family relations were used to build regional

⁵³ See Cécile Joulin-Fresina, "Les deux premières oraisons funèbres des Bossuet", in: Spica (ed.), *Bossuet à Metz (1652–1659)*, pp. 77–95, at p. 89; Amable Floquet, *Études sur la vie de Bossuet jusqu'à son entrée en fonctions en qualité de précepteur du dauphin*. Vol. 1, Paris 1855, pp. 424–459.

⁵⁴ See Julien Léonard, "Les harangues de Paul Ferry ou la prise de parole politique d'un pasteur réformé à Metz sous le régime de l'Edit de Nantes", in: Stefano Simiz (ed.), *La parole publique en ville des Réformes à la Révolution*. Villeneuve d'Ascq 2012, pp. 85–103, at p. 88.

⁵⁵ For a detailed account of the demographic development, see Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, ch. 1.

⁵⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50f.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–51.

⁵⁹ See Lang-Rosenfeld, *Histoire des Juifs en Moselle*, pp. 219f. (Bitche), 222–225 (Boulay), 231–233 (Crehange), 236–239 (Dieuze), 240 (Ennery).

⁶⁰ See Yves Le Moigne, "Auf dem Weg zur Eingliederung (1698–1789)", in: Parisse (ed.), *Lothringen*, pp. 331–379, at p. 342; Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 55 and 60.

networks.⁶¹ Toponyms of the Moselle region used as Jewish family names give evidence to immigration from the German neighbourhood. By the end of the 17th century Metz had also become a refuge for Jews from the heavily afflicted Palatinate region.⁶²

Several families of Metz bore the name "Francfort".⁶³ One "Alcan Francfort", who signed his name "Elhanan Ruthshilt" at Metz in 1651, is likely to be an descendant of Isaac Elchanan (d. 1585), the name giver of the Rothschild family.⁶⁴ For the time around 1792, when an estimated 2,500 individuals lived in the quarter, Fleury has listed 14 husbands, mostly from Metz, and 18 wives by the name "Francfort".⁶⁵ Schudt confirms the strong transregional and transnational interconnections of the Metz community and with Frankfurt in particular, mentioning that the Frankfurt *Purim* play was also performed in Metz by comedians from Frankfurt.⁶⁶ From genealogical research conducted by Fleury, who has listed 2,021 marriage contracts made in front of the rabbinic court,⁶⁷ and by Meyer we know that in the 18th century, while the lion's share of marriages were arranged in the vicinity of Metz, many marriage partners also came from Frankfurt, Gelnhausen, Friedberg, or Hanau. From Frankfurt alone came four husbands and 15 wives, the latter bringing their dowries to Metz.⁶⁸

One of the newcomers was Glikl bas Judah Leib, who arrived in Metz in 1700. We read about this stage of her life in the last section of her memories. They open with her wedding preparations and the move from Hamburg (Altona) to Metz, followed by reports on her marriage and on the economic decline of her husband. In marrying Cerf Levy, Glikl had followed the advice of her son-in-law, Moses Krumbach-Schwab, who was married to her daughter Esther.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Claudia Ulbrich, "Eheschließung und Netzwerkbildung am Beispiel der jüdischen Gesellschaft im deutsch-französischen Grenzgebiet", in: Dorothea Freise; Christophe Duhamelle (eds), *Eheschließungen im Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts: Muster und Strategien*. Göttingen 2003, pp. 315–340.

⁶² Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, p. 50.

⁶³ This includes one of the newcomers among the 49 community members listed in 1627, *ibid.*, p. 47. See also Faustini, *Communauté juive de Metz*, pp. 261 (Trier) and 255–257 (Schweich).

⁶⁴ See Faustini, *Communauté juive de Metz*, pp. 192f.

⁶⁵ See Fleury, *Contrats de Mariage*, pp. 67f. and 194f.

⁶⁶ Schudt, *JM*, vol. 3, p. 315 (book VI, ch. 35, §19), and cf. the contribution by Simon Neuberg in the present collection.

⁶⁷ See Claudia Ulbrich, *Shulamit and Margarete: Power, Gender, and Religion in a Rural Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Boston et al. 2004, p. 27 with n. 88.

⁶⁸ Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 303 and 306. Ulbrich, "Eheschließung und Netzwerkbildung", p. 322.

⁶⁹ Alfred Feilchenfeld (ed.), *Denkwürdigkeiten der Glückel von Hameln, 1645–1724*. Frankfurt a.M. 1987 (reprint of the 4th edition, Berlin 1923), pp. 254f. All translations are my own.

Moses's father was Abraham Krumbach,⁷⁰ a member of the Jewish economic elite and *parnas*. In her own words, Glikl had decided on the marriage because "I had thought I would take a man of high esteem – such a great businessman that he would help my children to enter into favourable businesses. But just the opposite has happened".⁷¹ Cerf died in 1711 or 1712 as a bankrupt man, having lost his own money and that of his wife and her daughter's dowry, thus leaving his family behind in poverty and Glikl dependent on her relatives. It was a situation she had always feared.⁷² While Glikl looks back at her marriage in grief and calls her decision a divine retribution, she also gives some hints that Levi's bankruptcy was not caused primarily by personal negligence but rather by the ill-fated circumstances that arose from the wars of Louis XIV in the late 1660s, which brought about inflation and limited the Jews' mobility in the *Pays Messin*.⁷³ Unfortunately, no more detail is given in her report. However, we owe her at least some notable insights into the everyday life of the Jews at her time, ending with the tragic collapse of the women's section of the Metz synagogue in 1715.

As in Frankfurt, the Jews in Metz were assigned a single street to live in. However, the character of the Metz ghetto must have been different from that in Frankfurt.⁷⁴ The Saint-Ferroy quarter was confined by the city walls, the Moselle river (with no wall), the convent of the Carmelites, and the Sainte-Collette monastery of the Poor Clares. At the time the quarter was still also inhabited by Christian butchers, bakers, shoemakers, coopers, vintners and, of course, boatmen who all lived side by side with Jews. In the long run, however, they gave way to the Jewish house owners and their families (who, according to Meyer, held sixty houses in 1630, a hundred in 1678, and 161 in 1742).⁷⁵ The traditional notion of a clear segregation between Christians and Jews is challenged by the topographical structure of early modern Metz. In fact, there is no evidence of separation barriers except only for the boundary stones between the rue Saint-Ferroy and the rue de la Boucherie Saint-Georges, erected in 1617. Contemporary observers such as Augustin Calmet (1672–1757) report that the Jewish community had significantly outgrown the geographical and social limits set in earlier days: In Calmet's perception the street assigned to them had changed into a "goodly town" ("une bonne bourgade"). At the same time, he followed the traditional stereotype (of which Schudt is a prominent example)⁷⁶ that the Jews were unkempt, impious, de-

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 266f.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁷² See *ibid.*, pp. 254, 258.

⁷³ See *ibid.*, pp. 282, 288, 290.

⁷⁴ See Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 74–80.

⁷⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 82.

praved, and dishonest. This strategy testifies to an anxiety to give "objective" arguments for an essential difference between Jews and Christians. Calmet himself had to concede that in his time the Jews were no more visibly distinguishable from "des autres bourgeois de Metz", if only for the brown coats they usually (and voluntarily) wore.⁷⁷ The taqqanot of Metz passed in 1769 and recently published by Stefan Litt make extensive provisions in terms of dress code and other sumptuary laws; they, too, appear to corroborate the impression that, in daily life at least, outward differences between Jews and Christians had blurred in the course of the 18th century.⁷⁸ Thus, Jay Berkovitz recently argued that "together, the linguistic, social and cultural evidence of acculturation and integration in eighteenth-century Metz is substantial".⁷⁹ The lay-oriented urban Jewish elite tried to keep a distance from the rabbinate, while the rabbinic and conservative lay leaders' measure against the "erosion in the religious lifestyle of Metz Jewry" can generally be read as efforts at restoring their declining authority.⁸⁰

The community, however, was burdened with numerous ordinary taxes – the capitation, commercial and real estate taxes, the levy of quartering and socage – and various special duties. The latter included the infamous "Brancas Tax", an annual sum of 20,000 livres first levied in 1715 by the Duke of Brancas, who profited from his proximity to the Regent, Philippe d'Orléans,⁸¹ and notably

⁷⁶ See Maria Diemling, "Daß man unter so viel tausend Menschen so fort einen Juden erkennen kan": Johann Jacob Schudt und der jüdische Körper", in: Fritz Backhaus et al. (eds), *Die Frankfurter Judengasse: Jüdisches Leben in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Frankfurt a.M. 2006², pp. 77–89.

⁷⁷ See Augustin Calmet, *Notice de la Lorraine, qui comprend les duchés de Bar et de Luxembourg, l'Électorat de Trèves, les trois Évêchés (Metz, Toul et Verdun)*. Vol. 2, Lunéville 1840, pp. 65f. For the outer appearance of the Jews see Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 127–132.

⁷⁸ See Stefan Litt (ed.), *Jüdische Gemeindestatuten aus dem aschkenasischen Kulturraum 1650–1850*. Göttingen 2014, pp. 353–359. See also Meyer, *Jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 131f; on Jewish community regulations against "luxury".

⁷⁹ Jay R. Berkovitz, "Acculturation and integration in eighteenth-century Metz", in: *Jewish History* 24 (2010), pp. 271–294, at p. 285.

⁸⁰ Jay R. Berkovitz, "Social and religious controls in pre-revolutionary France: Re-thinking the beginnings of modernity", in: *Jewish History* 15 (2001), pp. 1–40, at pp. 18f. Berkovitz underlines that the taqqanot of Metz referred to the immediate social practice: "Unlike the medieval laws, the Metz takkanot did not draw their authority from the religious tradition but were formulated in response to new social, economic, and political conditions in the surrounding region and within the *kehillah*" (pp. 3f.).

⁸¹ See Szaikowski, *Jews and French Revolutions*, pp. 232f.; Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 171–173; Roos, *Relations entre le gouvernement royal et les juifs*, p. 126.

justified as a recompense for the alleged cost of protecting the Jewish community against the hostility of the populace (including the merchants). The tax was only abolished under the Revolution, by which time the debts of the community are said to have reached 500,000 livres.

Very generally speaking, though, the Jewish community was in a sound condition throughout the 17th century. They owned a cemetery since the early century, a synagogue, an elementary school, and a poorhouse. Among the chief rabbis, who were chosen with the consent of the Kings, we find scholars of high renown from abroad such as R. Jonah Teomin-Fraenkel of Prague (1660–1669), R. Gabriel b. Judah Loew Eskeles of Cracow (1694–1703), and R. Jonathan Eybeschuetz (1742–1750). In 1657, as was mentioned before, Rabbi Moses Hacoheh *Narol* had the honour of receiving King Louis XIV in the synagogue of Metz. Among the most prominent families were the Cahen d'Ennery, notably represented by Salomon Alexandre Cahen, the richest Jew of his time in Metz (d. 1718). Before he went bankrupt Cerf (Hertz) Lévy, the above-mentioned second spouse of Glikl of Hameln, was equally affluent. Cerf was also strongly engaged in the grain trade and in 1709, at the peak of a European hunger crisis, he offered to support the Jewish community suffering from want.⁸² These individuals stand for the very few who had the enormous means required to protect the community.⁸³

Benefits and Dangers

Even though the Jews were protégés of the French kings and of their local administrations, it is beyond doubt that their existence in the city remained fragile. Thus, in February 1574 – strikingly, just before the accession of Henry III to the French throne – the new lieutenant of Metz, Jean de Thévalle, urged the complete community of Metz to leave within two months, "for Violations and abuses committed since the regulations of 6 August 1567 ... and for the hardness and obstinacy in which they said they wanted to continue their current lives, for the corruption of morals and the scandal they introduced in the said city and government ..."⁸⁴ Reportedly, King Henry III inter-

⁸² Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, p. 155.

⁸³ See Lang-Rosenfeld, *Histoire des Juifs en Moselle*, p. 275.

⁸⁴ Clément, *La condition des juifs de Metz*, annex, no. II (5 February 1574): "Pour les Contraventions et abus que les Juifs ont commis depuis le Règlement à eux baillé le 6^e jour d'août 1567 qui fut receu en cette dite Ville de Metz, et pour la dureté et obstination, en laquelle ils ont déclaré vouloir demeurer leur vie durant, la corruption des moeurs et le scandal qu'ils introduisent en ladite Ville et gouvernement, le tout veu avec Mons[ieu]r Le Président, et par l'avis du Conseil."

vened in favour of the Jews and revoked the expulsion edict after the Jews, it seems, had indeed been dismissed from Metz.⁸⁵ The case is just one indication of the overlap that existed between the military, territorial, and municipal fields of legislations. With Lang and Rosenfeld one may as well speak of an "anarchy"⁸⁶ – a situation not yet sufficiently elucidated. For instance, the policy of the magistrate towards the Jews is still widely obscure. In 1598 they asked their peers in Frankfurt about their practice in dealing with the Jews, and received a copy of the "Stättigkeit".⁸⁷

The toleration policy of the governors towards the Jews was persistently challenged by the magistrate and the guilds. During the 1630s, writes Calmet, Martin Meurisse's authority was frequently invoked by the clergy, the merchants, craft guilds, "et autres bourgeois", who hoped to expropriate and finally scare away the Jews from the city and the *Pays Messin*.⁸⁸ Meurisse himself gave expression of his involvement in his "Histoire de la naissance, du progrès et de la décadence de l'hérésie dans la ville de Metz et dans le pays messin". He argued that Protestants and Jews likewise were representations of moral bankruptcy and owed their presence to the failure of the authorities to block their "monstreuse & effroyable multiplication".⁸⁹ He regarded the Protestants as closer to Jews than to Catholics.⁹⁰ As to the Jews (in his words, "maranes, gens incognus sans loy et Religion, blasphemateurs de Dieu et de son Fils"), he suggested that their settlement in Metz had by far surpassed the initial numbers admitted and that their expulsion would accord to the King's will.⁹¹ All in all, in Meurisse's eyes Metz had become a "petite Babilone" and it

⁸⁵ While Clément, *La condition des juifs de Metz*, p. 23, saw no proof of an expulsion of the Jews, Zeller affirmed it, quoting a letter of the King to the governor Piennes and president Viart (Zeller, *La Réunion de Metz à la France*, vol. 2, p. 133).

⁸⁶ See Lang-Rosenfeld, *Histoire des Juifs en Moselle*, p. 275; Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs en Lorraine".

⁸⁷ See Dietrich Andernacht, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in der Reichsstadt Frankfurt am Main von 1520–1616*, 2 vols. Hannover 2007, vol. 2, p. 850, no. 3404 (14 September 1598). It is not clear which of the "Stettigkeiten" was referred to (possibly that of 1424).

⁸⁸ See Calmet, *Notice de Lorraine*, p. 68.

⁸⁹ Meurisse, *Histoire de la naissance*. Metz 1670, p. 145.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 145, 203, 281.

⁹¹ "Les Juifs, maranes, gens incognus sans loy et Religion, blasphemateurs de Dieu et de son Fils, nostre Seigneur, ont esté introduits en la ville de Metz depuis la protection de Sa Majesté en petit nombre, maintenant grandement multipliez et espars ça et là par la Ville, sans reglement; ayans synagogue, où ils font exercice d'une Religion fantastique, au grand mespris et scandale de la Religion Chrestienne, ruinant le peuple par usures desbordées et excessives, sous couverture de prester argent, et sont de tres-mauvais exemple aux Bourgeois de la Ville qui les veulent imiter. Pourtant s'il vous plaist, Monseigneur, ordonnerez que toutes usures qui se trouveront passer

was the mission of the young king to extirpate both heresies. In 1642, though, it seems that the attention of the Counter-Reformation protagonists was mainly directed against the Protestants. Behre Miskimin has pointed out that in the minds of the staunch Catholic combatants Protestants represented a much greater religious danger because casual interaction between Christians on both sides of the divide was incomparably closer. Conversion to Protestantism appeared a latent temptation and source of corruption, while – as it seemed – the Jews remained in complete religious and social isolation.⁹²

The royal patents of protection for the Jews were registered by the *Parlement* in 1633, which evoked heavy criticism by the guilds.⁹³ For them the expulsions of 1306 and 1394 under kings Philip IV and Charles VI still defined the status quo, so that the ratification of privileges for the Jews constituted an irregularity.⁹⁴ While such commemoration of an allegedly good regimental practice was a typical and constant feature of anti-Jewish polemics, it is quite clear that the city's corporations were equally taking position against the royal administration, which by means of new institutions now clearly showed that it was moving from "protection" of the city to its "integration" into the royal domain. How this transition affected the Jews is of utmost importance, given the fact that shifts of Jewry-policy in favour of the Jews regularly provoked social groups and individual actors to emphasize their alleged liberties and privileges.⁹⁵ Widely perceived as partisans of the King, the Jews became a focus of popular disfavor against the royal institutions. Under the reign of Louis VIII, protests against the economic activities of the Jews became particularly visible when in the 1630s the city was burdened with economic crisis and

l'ordonnance, seront confisquées et les Iuifs chassés hors de la Ville et du pays, comme tant de fois sa Maiesté a commandé et n'a encore en cela esté obey. Et ne seront reçeus lesdits Iuifs aux terres de son obeissance, non plus que les Bohemiens et Ægyptiens, comme il est porté en l'article 104. des Estats d'Orleans" (ibid., p. 425).

⁹² See Behre Miskimin, *One King, One Law, Three Faiths*, pp. 119–133 (ch. 6).

⁹³ See Mendel, "Juifs à Metz", pp. 246f.; Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs en Lorraine", p. 52. AD Moselle 17J8 Ap.1: "Extrait des Registres du Parlement, 1633 23 mai": "Entre les juifs habitants Metz demandeurs en requeste du 13^e octobre mil six cent trente trois, affin d'estre conserves en privileges a eux accordes par le Roy et ses predecesseurs et deffend[eurs] en oppo[siti]on d'une part, et les corps des Marchands, orpèvres, grossiers, merciers, Drappiers, chaussetiers, pelletiers, Bouchers, canneurs et autres Bourgeois dud[it] Metz Deffendeurs et opposants a l'Enterinement de la d[it]te req[ues]te par leurs requestes Des deux, sept et seize decembre dernier [...]."

⁹⁴ See Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs en Lorraine", p. 50.

⁹⁵ See Stephan Laux, *Gravamen und Geleit: Die Juden im Ständestaat der Frühen Neuzeit (15.–18. Jahrhundert)*. Hannover 2010, which focuses predominantly on the territorial sphere but gives various proofs of the urban resistance against the (re)settlement of Jews.

pestilence.⁹⁶ Religious aversions also continued to play a role. Pierre-André Meyer has compiled evidence showing that accusations against the Jews were a constituent factor of the Jewish experience throughout the second half of the 17th century.⁹⁷

Hostility towards the Jews reached a peak at the time of the execution of Raphael Lévy for alleged ritual murder in 1670. Raphael Lévy, a cattle trader from Boulay, had been on his way back to Metz to buy supplies for the celebration of *Rosh HaShana* in September 1669, when he was accused of having killed a three year old Christian boy for alleged ritual purposes. He was sentenced to death by the Parliament of Metz, tortured, strangled, and burned alive in 1670.⁹⁸ The dramatic case, which was particularly tragic because Lévy had paid his support of the authorities to clear up the crime case with his life, caught the attention of Schudt, who shows no significant distance from the absurdity of the charges. It was due to this crime, Schudt explains, that the Jews of Metz had Louis XIV confirm their privileges because they were in danger of being expelled from town.⁹⁹ Schudt took up the case again on another occasion to expatiate on Jewish crime.¹⁰⁰ Pierre Birnbaum¹⁰¹ has studied the case of Raphael Lévy in detail in his book 2008 and contextualized the dramatic event in the light of anti-Jewish and anti-Protestant agitation and the socio-economic situation in Metz during the 17th century. Birnbaum shows how the Metz community faced constant hostility as part of their everyday experience but also resulting from the uncertainty of political authority and global developments.¹⁰² In the case of Raphael Levy the above-mentioned foundation of the *Parlement* of Metz in 1633 had provided a forum

⁹⁶ See Pierre Faustini, "Les Juifs et la peste de 1636 à Metz: Un document inédit", in: *Revue du Cercle de Généalogie juive* 60 (1999), pp. 2–6 (this article was not available to me); Blumenkranz, *Histoire des Juifs en France*, p. 81.

⁹⁷ See Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 132–137.

⁹⁸ "Gerichtlicher Proceß und Urtheil deß Parlaments zu Metz eines Juden Raphael Levi genandt wegen eines von ihm den 29. Septembr. 1669 geraubten und hingerichteten drey jährigen Kindes: auß dem zu Metz gedrucktem Französischen Exemplar ins Teutsche übersetzt". S.l. 1670, available online at <urn:nbn:de:hebis:30-180012995000>. See the historical account by Joseph Reinach, *Une erreur judiciaire sous Louis XIV: Raphaël Lévy*. Paris 1898; also Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs en Lorraine", pp. 207–210; Meyer, *Communauté juive*, pp. 135f.

⁹⁹ Schudt, *JM*, vol. 1, p. 125 (ch. 7, § 11).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 406–409 (book VI, ch. 36).

¹⁰¹ Pierre Birnbaum, *Un récit de "meurtre rituel" au Grand Siècle. L'affaire Raphaël Lévy, Metz 1669*. Paris 2008; English edition: *A Tale of Ritual Murder in the Age of Louis XIV: The Trial of Raphaël Lévy, 1669*. transl. by Arthur Goldhammer. Stanford 2012.

¹⁰² Allegedly, Lorraine lost fifty percent of its populace; see Le Moigne, "Das französische Königtum und die Aufteilung des lothringischen Raumes", p. 317.

for the influences of local lobbies.¹⁰³ With judges – or rather, one party among them, besides the more secular characters – who were "devout Christians, accustomed to a traditional posture towards the Jews", there was at least one group that was averse to the Jews.¹⁰⁴ On a different plane, of course, one has to consider the manifold fundamental changes of the 1660s, which not only formed a prelude to the *Siècle de Louis XIV* but also brought, amongst other crises, the last great European plague.

The position of the Jews remained in a latent danger all the more since the majority of Frenchmen in the 17th and 18th centuries experienced an ongoing process of being levelled down under the auspices of an absolutistic administration. The mental challenges that went along with growing state control may have placed Metz upon "a major fault line of the early modern era – the fissure between religious identity and national one"¹⁰⁵ (Behre Miskimin). But in addition to this more general shift, religious diversity weighed heavily, given the fact that religious pluralism was thoroughly regarded as *negative* in the confessional age. Thus, in Metz anti-Protestant and anti-Jewish sentiments merged with countless denunciations of witchcraft¹⁰⁶ to create a general atmosphere of intolerance, xenophobia and religious zeal. It can be assumed that in the minds of belligerent Catholics, aversions against the Jews overlapped with hatred and fear of the Protestants. Both psychologically and pragmatically, this could become plausible through a deep sense of confessional rivalry Catholics felt towards Protestants, while their perception of the Jews was rather filled with plain depreciation of their religion, the bearers of which after all stood under royal protection.¹⁰⁷ The fact remains, however, that the tradition of anti-Judaism was endemic and, if we follow Birnbaum, of lasting effect: The case of Raphael Levy, he notes, was ostentatiously brought to mind

¹⁰³ See Meyer, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, p. 134; Zosa Szaikowski, *The Economic Status of the Jews in Alsace, Metz and Lorraine (1648–1789)*. New York 1954, pp. 32–35, gives a detailed account of the Parlement's noncompliance with the Jewry-policy of King Louis XIII shortly after its foundation. According to the author the anti-Jewish stance of the Parliament prevailed until the beginning of the 18th century, due to the personal disposition of its members (see *ibid.*, pp. 40–44).

¹⁰⁴ Thus Behre Miskimin, *One King, One Law, Three Faiths*, p. 52 (see *ibid.*, pp. 52–61 for the author's account of the Parlement of Metz).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 52f.

¹⁰⁶ It can only be mentioned here that Lorraine until the 1630s registered the highest rate of witch persecutions in France; see Christine Petry, "Das Parlement de Metz und das Ende der lothringischen Hexenverfolgung", in: Herbert Eiden; Rita Voltmer (eds), *Hexenprozesse und Gerichtspraxis*. Trier 2002, pp. 227–251, at p. 227.

¹⁰⁷ See Gilbert Cahen, "Les juifs dans la région Lorraine des origines à nos jours", in: *Le pays lorrain: journal de la Société d'Histoire de la Lorraine et du Musée Lorrain* 2 (1972), pp. 59–70, at p. 64.

by anti-Jewish writers during the "Dreyfus affair" of the 1890s in order to lend substance to their argument that the Jews had always been foreign enemies of the French nation.

Conclusion: Jews as "Ersatzbürger"

While Alsace is commonly perceived as the central region of Jewish life in early modern France, the exceptional and peculiar status of Metz, well known to specialists¹⁰⁸ would deserve a wider recognition on an international level. Within a land strip reaching approximately from Thionville and Sierck near the French-Luxembourg border to Phalsbourg in south-eastern Lorraine there was a high density of Jewish population. The Western portion of the Duchy of Lorraine region, except only for Nancy with its surroundings and Lunéville, remained almost without Jewish settlement even during periods of French occupation (1634–1661, 1670–1697) and after the French takeover of the territory in 1766.¹⁰⁹ The Jewish area of settlement in Lorraine thus extended southwards towards Alsace with its extraordinary concentration of Jewish life in Lower Alsace. But other than the *Pays Messin* the latter had no urban centre: Strasbourg remained closed to Jewish settlers, and its magistrate regarded this status as a privilege, which was successfully preserved after the French conquest until the time of the French Revolution.¹¹⁰ The case of Strasbourg shows that forced Jewish settlement was by no means a logical consequence of state building. Nor was the wilful creation of confessional competition always employed as a strategy of gaining urban control, as Behre Miskimin would suggest. Why did Louis XIV protect the Jews in Metz but not so in Strasbourg, which was another "ville en mutation" after it came under French rule?¹¹¹ Or why, to name just one other example, did the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg tolerate Jews in Halle but not in Magdeburg, even though both belonged to the same territory and equally claimed a "privilegium de non tolerandis judeos"? I would suggest two answers to that question. The

¹⁰⁸ See Roos, *Relations entre le gouvernement royal et les juifs*, p. 308.

¹⁰⁹ See Françoise Job, *Les Juifs de Lunéville au XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles*. Nancy 1989, pp. 12–15.

¹¹⁰ See Hanna Sonkajärvi, "Les juifs à Strasbourg au XVIII^e siècle: enjeux d'inclusion et d'exclusion", in: *Annales de l'Est* 57,1 (2007), pp. 297–311.

¹¹¹ See Simone Herry, *Une ville en mutation: Strasbourg au tournant du Grand Siècle. Société militaire et société civile de langue française dans la ville libre et royale de Strasbourg, d'après les registres paroissiaux, les registres de bourgeoisie et les actes notariés (1681–1702)*. Strasbourg 1996. Still around 1700, approximately 25 % of the population of Strasbourg was Protestant.

first is certainly vague, but pertinent nonetheless: Consideration for local or regional traditions and privileges was a constituent factor of any dynastic policy. As a priority often in conflict with that of "necessitas", it served as a corrective and a mitigation of absolutist power that deserves more attention in research than it has received so far, not only as far as Jewry-policies are concerned. However, it will hardly be possible to identify any consistent patterns of consideration. We will have to accept that on the European scale there was no discernible inherent principle of Jewry-policy.

The other approach tries to make some sense of the opposing population trends for Protestants (negative) and Jews (positive). In the late 1970s, German scholars Stefi Jersch-Wenzel and Andreas Nachama who dealt with the encouragement of Huguenot and Jewish settlement in Brandenburg-Prussia became interested in the exchange of urban and regional elites. Both of them used the term "Ersatzbürgertum" (i. e. supplementary bourgeoisie) to describe the promotion of trade and industry by means of strategic settlement. While Jersch-Wenzel used the term casually to describe strategies of controlled settlement,¹¹² Nachama defined it more precisely within his overall interpretation of Prussian history in the 17th century. In this view, "Ersatzbürger" as complacent subjects replaced the traditional urban elites in the realms of economy and administration. Tolerance was thus a means of tightening control over the subjects, it served state absolutism, not philanthropy.¹¹³ Nachama's interpretation of the purposes and the reception of Huguenot settlement as well as his pessimism about the decline of political participation have been widely rejected by later research.¹¹⁴ Hence the term "Ersatzbürgertum" he coined did

¹¹² Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, "Ein importiertes Ersatzbürgertum? Die Bedeutung der Hugenotten für die Wirtschaft Brandenburg-Preußens", in: Rudolf von Thadden; Michele Magdelaine (eds), *Die Hugenotten 1685–1985*. München 1985, pp. 160–171. The essay, which carries "Ersatzbürgertum" only in its title, is based on Jersch-Wenzel's more comprehensive thesis, *Juden und "Franzosen" in der Wirtschaft des Raumes Berlin/Brandenburg zur Zeit des Merkantilismus*. Berlin 1978. Other than Nachama, Jersch-Wenzel accords the analysis of the economic dimension and of the situation of the immigrants preference over the alleged political instrumentalization of the Huguenots by the Prussian state.

¹¹³ Andreas Nachama, *Ersatzbürger und Staatsbildung: Zur Zerstörung des Bürgertums in Brandenburg-Preußen*, Frankfurt a.M. et al. 1984, pp. 7, 138.

¹¹⁴ The political vitality of communal bourgeoisies under the Brandenburg-Prussian monarchy was substantiated by Brigitte Meier, *Das brandenburgische Stadtbürgertum als Mitgestalter der Moderne: Die kommunale Selbstverwaltung und die politische Kultur des Gemeindeliberismus*. Berlin 2001, and Ralf Pröve, *Stadtgemeindlicher Republikanismus und die "Macht des Volkes": Civile Ordnungsformationen und kommunale Leitbilder politischer Partizipation in den deutschen Staaten vom Ende des 18. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen 2000. Forceful criticism of Nachama's views concerning the perception of the Huguenots was sig-

not have a strong career in historiography. However, it does have some plausibility if we understand it in the *literal* sense. First, it is evident that the French crown had disposed of the Protestant population in the course of the second half of the 17th century, and it is plausible that the colonization with Jews was aimed at compensating for the loss of the economic and fiscal potential. Despite the disproportion in numbers, the temporal coincidence of the expulsion of Protestants and the admission of Jews reminds us of communicating vessels. Secondly, it is implicitly true that religious refugees were given preference by absolutistic rulers if they would show a high degree of conformity towards the rules of the host societies. It can hardly be denied that the Jews were left and pressed into a position of complete dependency due to the still forceful intermediate powers on various levels of the urban society. Behre Miskimin has pointedly concluded that religious discord in Metz had opened the way to centralization because it facilitated governmental intervention in the spirit of "a new more secular orientation".¹¹⁵ While this conclusion might fit virtually any state-operated variant of confessional politics (and not even relies on the existence of confessional pluralism), it remains true that the anti-Protestant policy that became prevalent in Metz since the 1650s brought about the suppression of a traditional political elite that was latently repugnant to the ideological assumptions of the crown. Thus, the Jews owed their entry to the long-term depletion of the *paraiges* and the more recent suppression of the Protestant elite.¹¹⁶ Both chronologically and structurally, the disempowerment of the traditional economic and, subsequently, the communal elites since the middle of the 16th century prepared the way for their establishment in Metz.¹¹⁷ Such an interpretation of course requires various reservations. First, the Jewish *Ersatz* bourgeoisie was excluded from political participation which lay at the very core of civic life. While the Huguenots quite smoothly integrated into their new Protestant surroundings, the option of an integration of the Jews into civic society was never on the table – not even in Metz. Secondly, focusing on the elites can by no means encompass the social complexity of the community.¹¹⁸ The massive demographic development of the Jewish *qehilla* of

Berlin, which in 1671 began with only 50 hand-picked merchants, shows that the efforts of early modern states to tolerate only highly exclusive immigrant colonies were doomed to failure.¹¹⁹ However, with the consolidation of power over the city of Metz by the French Kings, intermediate forces within the citizenry – the patrician magistrate, the guilds, and also the lower classes – were hindered from exerting any substantial influence on the Jewry-policy of the governments. This is neither to marginalize the performance of the Jews themselves, nor to overestimate or even to approve of absolutist governance. However, in a strictly functional sense it seems that the case of Metz turned out to be a success story resulting from a clarified political system. As such, it largely differed from the experience of urban and rural Jewry in the Holy German Empire, where anti-Jewish interventions by the "public" remained a structural consequence of ultimately incomplete state-building processes – partially even beyond the year 1815.

nificantly voiced by Ulrich Niggemann, *Immigrationspolitik zwischen Konflikt und Konsens: Die Hugenottenansiedlung in Deutschland und England (1681–1697)*. Köln 2008 (see pp. 26–28 for an outline of research).

¹¹⁵ Behre Miskimin, *One King, One Law, Three Faiths*, p. 119.

¹¹⁶ See Meyer, *Die Jüdische Gemeinde von Metz*, pp. 48, 51. See for special research Léonard, "Le poids politique des réformés", and idem, "Des Messins au centre de polémiques disciplinaires dans l'Église française de Berlin en 1687–1690", in: Philippe Hoch (ed.), *Destins: Du pays messin au refuge allemand*. Metz, 2009, pp. 77–92.

¹¹⁷ Bour, *Histoire de Metz*, p. 124.

¹¹⁸ Even though he underlined the importance of the changes of the year 1552, Gilbert Cahen, "La région lorraine", in: Bernhard Blumenkranz et al. (eds), *Histoire des Juifs*

en France. Toulouse 1972, pp. 77–136, on p. 79 stated: "Précarité, faiblesse numérique et dissémination sont les caractères communs de ce établissement de Juifs dans la région lorraine avant la guerre de Trente Ans".

¹¹⁹ See, e. g., Stefi Jersch-Wenzel, "Der Neubeginn jüdischen Lebens in Berlin seit 1671: Die ersten Generationen", in: Reinhard Rürup (ed.), *Jüdische Geschichte in Berlin: Essays und Studien*. Berlin 1995, pp. 13–24.