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# Introduction

Louise Hecht

The four papers published in this volume are not dedicated to one single topic. They were primarily selected according to scholarly quality. Nevertheless, they are bound together by their relation to Moravia. The focus on Moravian (and eventually also Czech) Jewish studies is a special concern of *Judaica Olomucensia* that distinguishes our journal from other Jewish studies journals in the world. In explicit or implicit ways, there seems to be an additional theme that links the four contributions, namely their connection to migration. Indeed, two of the papers (Markéta Pnina Younger and Dieter J. Hecht) are the result of the international conference “The Land in-Between: Three Centuries of Jewish Migration to, from and across Moravia, 1648–1948”, organized by myself and Michael L. Miller at the Kurt and Ursula Schubert Center for Jewish Studies in November 2012.

Obviously, the topic of migration has gained currency in political and social debates in Europe and beyond during the last years. Questions of integration, acculturation, religious (in)compatibility and, especially in Central Europe, linguistic assimilation of the migrant population are in the headlines of all media. What is at stake in any of these discussions is a conception of culture, its porousness, and the contests between minorities and majorities over the national narrative; contests over who and what is ‘indigenous’ and who or what is ‘foreign’. At least in Europe, today’s mainstream political discourse expects migrants to wholeheartedly embrace the culture of ‘majority society’ with little space to negotiate their socio-cultural and religious differences. The proponents of this discourse frequently quote Jewish (migration) history as a test case for successful integration and acculturation. In Jewish history, however, this model of successful integration has been counterbalanced by a narrative of consecutive exclusion and expulsion by gentile society.

One of the turns in migration studies over the course of the past generation concerns the phenomenon of diasporization. By many Jews and non-Jews alike, diaspora and migration are considered the essence of Jewish existence. Since Antiquity, and at least since the destruction of the Second Temple, Exile (or *Galut*) is the Jewish state of being. It could thus be asserted that migration – i.e. ‘wandering’ – is an indication about the Jews’ fate. Ahasverus, the

Wandering Jew, is a widespread motive in anti-Jewish literature and propaganda.<sup>1</sup> Not only as an anti-Jewish cliché, but also in the Jewish religion, may Jewish migrations be condensed into one, long history of dispersion (*Galut*) that will only end with the coming of the messiah and the ingathering of the exiled, at the end of times. In this generalized perception, migration tends to lose meaning as a distinctive historical experience and is therefore ill-suited as an analytical tool.

On the other hand, we might quote the classic definition by Everett S. Lee from 1966: “Migration is defined [...] as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence.”<sup>2</sup> Lee does not differentiate between external (across border) and internal migration and also leaves the time period open (temporary versus permanent migration), but he considers the actual transition of people from one place to another the cornerstone of migration. Other scholars even insist that migration has “to be a *significant* movement” that involves “a shift across a definite administrative boundary”.<sup>3</sup>

The contributions by Younger, Hecht and Fialová clearly meet the requirements of Lee’s definition. However, Lenka Uličná’s topic demands a broader approach that includes linguistic transitions, as will be explained below.

The bulk of contemporary migration research focuses on recent events, almost to the exclusion of considering long-term historical trends.<sup>4</sup> Defying this trend, the above-mentioned conference took the year 1648 as its point of departure. It sought to contextualize Central European Jewish history within the global field of migration studies. The year 1648 marked a major turning point in the history of Jewish migration. With the end of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) and the outbreak of the Chmielnicky Uprising (1648–1657) in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, during which thousands of Jewish *arendators* (lease holders) were massacred alongside the Polish *szlachta*, the pendulum of Jewish migration began to swing westward. Thus the eastward migratory trend that had been characteristic of Jewish history since the thirteenth century was reversed for good.

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- 1 Cf. e.g. Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes (eds), *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986; Richard I. Cohen. „The ‘Wandering Jew’ from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor.” in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times* ed. by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, pp. 147–175 chooses the visual image of the Wandering Jew to explore the tensions between Jews and non-Jews in different time periods.
  - 2 Quoted according to Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin (eds), *Migration in Irish History, 1607–2007*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008., p. 2.
  - 3 *Ibid.*, p. 3; italics in original.
  - 4 Cf. for instance the agenda of the research papers produced at the Centre for Research & Analysis of Migration, University College London, <http://www.cream-migration.org/publicationsdiscussionpapers.php> (accessed 7 November 2016).

This is the backdrop for **Markéta Pnina Younger's** paper that examines a specific type of Jewish migration between Moravia and the Ottoman Empire (Ottoman Hungary, the Balkans and big cities in the center of the Empire) in the second half of the seventeenth century, namely the migration of captives and prisoners of war. Based on Jewish (responsa and non-religious works) and non-Jewish sources, Younger meticulously traces individual life stories. In these stories of captivity and release she manages to shed light on the everyday life of the prisoners and the interaction between the former and their captors. Although Jews and gentiles equally suffered from wars and uprisings, Jewish prisoners had better chances to reach freedom, since they were often ransomed by co-religionists. Due to their 'in-between' position, Moravian Jewish communities turned into important information hubs, where relatives could learn about the fate of their beloved ones. Younger furthermore stresses that the forced migration of the prisoners could intersect with voluntary migration, once the captives were freed.

A war also set the scenery for the production of the document that forms the topic of **Lenka Uličná's** paper. After Maria Theresa had lost Silesia, her richest and most developed province to Prussia in the War of Succession (1740–1748), she assumed thorough reforms to modernize and centralize the administration of the Habsburg Monarchy. As part of her bureaucratic reforms, Maria Theresa significantly curtailed the autonomous rights of Moravia's Jewry. In 1754 the *Takkanot* (statutes) of the Jewish communities were replaced by General Regulations for the Administrative, Judicial, and Commercial Affairs of the Jewry in the Margravate of Moravia (General-Polizey-Process- und Commercialordnung für die Judenschaft des Markgrathums Mähren). Although the General Regulations were based on the *Takkanot*, they acquired the status of state law and could not be changed by the Jewish communities. Additionally, the new codex was not written in a Jewish language (Yiddish and/or Hebrew), but in the language of state administration, i.e. in German.

In her article Uličná illustrates the fascinating strategies of a Jewish scribe to 'familiarize' the text for Moravian Jewry. Most importantly, the familiarization is achieved by transliterating the text into Hebrew script; but the scribe also added numerous explanations of 'difficult words' at the margin. The manuscript reflects the transitional language situation of Moravian Jewry between Western Yiddish and high-German in the second half of the eighteenth century. When defining migration, Lee states that "every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles".<sup>5</sup> Raising Lee's definition to a symbolic level, the text might be considered as

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5 Quoted according to Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History*, p. 2.

‘migrating’ between two distinct cultural spheres. The scribe, who is at home in both cultures, tries to smooth away the obstacles in order to facilitate the ‘integration’ of the text in the Jewish sphere. The role of the Jewish scribes can thus be described as cultural translator. According to Uličná’s conclusion, the scribe does not content himself with the role of the facilitator, but tries to mold the process of language transformation actively.

While Younger and Uličná explore the Early Modern period, Fiala and Hecht study the turmoil and upheaval of the last century. **Ingeborg Fiala-Fürst’s** paper analyzes the novel *Die Pflicht (Duty)* by the Moravian Jewish writer Ludwig Winder (1889–1946). Winder was a celebrated German writer during the First Czechoslovak Republic, closely associated with the ‘Prague Circle’ of Kafka, Brod and other celebrities; but he was utterly forgotten after his forced migration. As an attentive observer of the political situation, Winder was well aware of the threat Nazi-Germany posed for Czechoslovakia. However, he left Prague for England only in June 1939, at the very last moment. His novel *Duty* was obviously written by order of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile as a deliberate attempt to extol Czech resistance against the German occupation. Fiala unravels the intriguing questions, why the Czechoslovak government-in-exile commissioned a German-Jewish writer with its propaganda efforts and why Winder – despite his reservation against exile circles – complied with the task.

**Dieter J. Hecht’s** contribution, finally, explores migration on the factual and the metaphorical level. He traces the history of sixteen golden framed family portraits that decorated the wall of Egon Zweig’s (1877–1949) apartment in Jerusalem. The Moravian Zionist Egon Zweig had brought them from his native Olomouc via Vienna to his new home in the Holy City. The family portraits were part of Zweig’s estate which comprised the whole apartment. Hecht views this apartment as a memory box; consequently he adapts the idea and considers the family portraits as a box within a box. The portraits become avatars that recount Jewish history from different regions and cities, thus mapping the family’s migration over more than 100 years. Besides raising issues of bourgeois representation in a period of Jewish upward social mobility, Hecht views the pictures as memories with a specific mission – to replace the lost geographic space in Jewish and family history.

The four articles cover a wide range of topics connected to their specific field of research, but also contribute to migration studies. They thus provide an excellent opportunity to revise traditional models and narratives of Jewish (migration) history. They might furthermore serve to examine cultural exchange, an unintended byproduct of migration across the ages. In this capacity, they might even cross-fertilize the current migration discourse.

# Mobility of Jewish Captives between Moravia and the Ottoman Empire in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century

Markéta Pnina Younger

This article examines a specific type of Jewish migration between Moravia and the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 17th century – the migration of captives and war prisoners and information about them. Historical sources attest to Jewish migrants' awareness of physical and symbolic frontiers between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empire. The Jewish captives and their families used a complex informational network and various strategies to reach redemption and freedom. In some ways, the fate of Jewish captives resembled that of their non-Jewish counterparts. However, there were some aspects that distinguished the Jews, both as individuals and as a group, from the rest of the prisoners.

The importance of migration in early modern society is widely acknowledged.<sup>1</sup> In the sphere of Jewish history, the impact of the spatial and cultural turns inspired scholars to broaden the scope of Jewish migration studies. Beyond the description of a series of expulsions, they became interested in various types and phases of migration of individuals and collectives. Adopting methodologies of demography, anthropology and sociology,<sup>2</sup> the examination of Jewish mobility and migration does not end with the closing of the gates of the

1 The theme of mobility and migration of early modern Europe includes both people and ideas. Literature on this topic is abundant and I will mention just a few works that consider this phenomenon as one of the key factors in the early modern historical process: Canny; Schilling; Ruderman; Miller. A good example of a detailed study of the particular direction of Jewish migration is the book by Shulvass.

2 For a comprehensive review of up-to-date theories on migration see Grulich, p. 8–74. Olga Seweryn offers a useful overview, with the stress on anthropological aspects of the phenomenon.

expelling city behind the banished group. Scholars deal with the questions of how the migrants chose their destination and how they were accepted there. In the aftermath of a migration proper, they examine the ways of adaptation in the new environs, the reactions of the local population to the newcomers and how the whole change influences the migrants' identity-forming. These parameters of migration are *mutatis mutandis* true for voluntary and short migration (like business trips, travelling for work and studies), voluntary resettlement or pilgrimage to the Holy Land (with or without intention to stay). We should also not forget mobility in times of wars and epidemics: in the former case, countryside population might have sought asylum in fortified cities, or both urban and country population might have left their homes, plundered by the soldiers. Epidemics usually resulted in an influx of the town population to the countryside.

On the following pages, I will focus on a specific kind of Jewish mobility between Moravia and the Ottoman Empire (Ottoman Hungary, the Balkans and big cities in the center of the Empire) between the years 1648 and 1690: the migration of Jewish captives and prisoners of war.<sup>3</sup> I will try to show, based on Jewish (responsa and non-religious works) and non-Jewish sources that the individual stories of migrants usually embodied several types of migration in combination: either at the same time, or in the course of time. In the early modern period, three possible scenarios could have followed captivity: ransom, exchange or enslavement.<sup>4</sup> The first two meant freedom, while the third one, unless the slave converted to the captor's religion and reached manumission, meant quite the opposite. Even though it is not clear from some quoted sources how the captives reached freedom (if they did), we assume that most of them belonged to the first group.

While an expulsion or mass escape from towns because of the danger of war or pogroms might not have broken a family unit, the captivity stories show contrary tendency. In the first chapter, we will examine how the individuals dealt with this separation and the loss of their beloved. Their strategies were variegated: some strived persistently to get information about their closest, others looked for permission to remarry without meeting usual halachical requirements (proper divorce, testimonies about the death of the spouse).

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3 Scholars point out correctly, that the POW theme is rather overlooked for the early modern period. See, for example, Faroqhi, p. 119–120. Therefore, the following study leans heavily on primary sources, and brings extensive quotes related to the topic. At this stage of research, no synthesis or general conclusions were possible.

4 Faroqhi, p. 119, argues that the status of a prisoner of war, was rather transitional and did not last long between the 16th and the 18th centuries. However, she does not study groups of prisoners, who might have been forced to stay in prisoners' camps for quite lengthy periods.

In the second chapter of the article we will examine the captivity theme from the other side, following life trajectories of prisoners of war in a more detailed way. I will argue that what started as forced migration turned, for a few lucky individuals, into voluntary where-to-go-next choices.

## In Search of Relatives

Jews in the seventeenth century did not have to face large scale expulsions, but many found themselves on the move following wars and revolts. In retrospect, Moravia might seem to be the land *between* the place of origin (which the individual or family had to flee) and the new destination. In connection with historical events from 1618 to 1688 (the Thirty Years' War, the Chmielnicki uprising and the series of Polish – Swedish/Russian wars), migration of European Jews took a strong East to West direction.<sup>5</sup> Even though life trajectories of prominent personalities (for example rabbis) are known, we gain only scarce and partial information about the majority of migrants. Some information can be drawn from preserved community, synagogue and religious societies' *Pinkassim* (minute books). Inscriptions on tombstones, in addition to state population censuses, may reveal more about destinations of migrants and the level of their assimilation. We know that migrant people and their descendants (sometimes only the latter) were assigned a cognomen in the new place of residence according to their place of origin. Last but not least, several cases recorded by rabbis in responsa bring out interesting aspects of this type of Jewish migration as lived by ordinary men and women.

Chmielnicki's revolt and the associated Jewish massacres meant the destruction of many Ukrainian communities, and led to a strong influx of refugees westwards and southwards. Many of them reached Moravian communities and contributed to a population growth after the war years. Moravia suffered from the Wallachian rebellion and Swedish troops in the 1640s. Moravian Jews of Lipník/Leipnik and Kroměříž/Kremsier suffered together with their Christian neighbors, as we learn from contemporary Jewish historical accounts and liturgy.<sup>6</sup> However, compared to the scope of Chmielnicki's

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5 While during the Thirty Years War, the push and pull factors to Jewish migration from Poland-Lithuania to the Habsburg Empire and Germany might have been in balance, in later waves of migrations the push-factors acquired dominance, Shulvass, p. 20–21, 25nn.

6 A couple of *selichot* (penitent prayers) and liturgical poems were preserved, e.g. *Selicha* of Shimon Bacharach of Lipnik or the lamentations of Yosef b. Eliezer Lipmann Ashkenazi of Prostějov/Prossnitz over destruction of the Kroměříž community. See Steinschneider, p. 117–118, nos. 160–162.

atrocities, Wallachian and Swedish invasion to Moravia did not discourage Polish Jews to search for asylum in the Margravate.

Not all Ukrainian Jews managed to escape the scene of Chmielnicki's revolt and its accompanying catastrophes. Those who stayed in their homes were either subjects of massacres and forced baptisms, or were taken into Tatarian captivity. Jewish sources reveal that the agreement between Chmielnicki and the Tatars about the distribution of war booty was partially known to the Jews.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, some of them actually preferred to fall into captivity, hoping to be redeemed by their brethren living in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the hordes took Jewish captives to Istanbul (some directly, others via Crimea). Not all of them were, however, redeemed in Istanbul. A certain amount was transferred to Saloniki and other Ottoman cities. Yeshaya b. Rabbi Daniel de Paz of Belgrade is reported to have saved a young Jew from Poland and even taking care of him afterwards, including his return to the homeland.<sup>8</sup> Despite the efforts of Ottoman and European communities to rescue the Jews from the hands of the enemy, many of them actually never came back – the fate of some remained unknown, others were sold as slaves and probably converted to Islam. The possibility of apostasy was an important issue and parameter in deciding about the next step. Some individuals might have hoped for return of their spouses, in which case it would have to be feasible, according to some Jewish legal opinions, to resume the marriage after a forced (as opposed to voluntary) apostasy. Others rather 'gave up' on their closest and sought the option of a new marriage. In that case, the argument of apostasy could work for their benefit.

Moravia played an important role for the refugees from Ukraine during Chmielnicki's massacres, as well as for Jews from Polish-Lithuanian territories proper after the Swedish-Russian invasion (1654–1658). They found shelter in Moravian communities and also help in their difficult life situation. Families were often separated and individuals sought for remedies for their involuntary solitude. Whether their cause was heard or not depended on the personality of the addressed rabbi, his halakhic erudition and, quite importantly, on his knowledge of the political and military currents. There were authorities who reflected the latest political and socio-demographic developments and there were those who either weren't sufficiently informed about them or decided to ignore them when it could help the inquirer. The following question was posed to Rabbi Gershon Ashkenazi, at that time rabbi in

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7 Halpern, p. 20–21.

8 Halpern, p. 46. However, this was not usual procedure, since he actually stole the prisoner, instead of redeeming him. By doing this, he put himself in great danger and had to escape Belgrade.

Prostějov/Prossnitz. In his answer, this prominent Rabbi leans to judge in favor of the inquirer's re-marriage. However, due to the severity of the case, rabbi Ashkenazi asked the current Chief Rabbi (*Rav ha-medina*) Rabbi Menachem Mendl Krochmal about his professional opinion. To his surprise, the latter's answer was not in congruence with his own, and even included open criticism of the great scholar Rabbi David ha-Levi Segal (Taz) for irresponsible attitude.<sup>9</sup>

This is what happened: For many years I had a student of excellent name, the son of Yoel, from Ukraine. He came to Moravia, to the holy community of Holešov as a war refugee, but his wife was taken as a captive by the Tatars. Witnesses that came to us claimed she had converted under pressure. Because the above-mentioned loyal student was of modest and good character and an outstanding and sharp student, an expert in pointing out logical difficulties [...] and drawing conclusions, one of the special wealthy men became interested in him, and wants to create kinship between them and give him his daughter, along with a proper dowry. Only that he hesitated on the grounds of the prohibition of Rabenu Gershom Meor ha-Gola against taking a second wife. And see, the great scholar MHR'R David Segal, the author of Taz [Turei zahav] was passing through the holy community of Holešov, so they asked him, if the above mentioned scholar can marry another woman, or not. He answered that he can marry another woman without giving a get to his first wife through another man, but he did not present any argumentation. He just answered the inquirer from the heart, in a way a scholar gives a teaching to those who ask, writing very briefly, that this MHR'R Yoel is permitted to marry another woman and is not required to give a get to his first wife through another man. The wealthy man relied on this and created a familial alliance with the scholar. After this had happened, there were some rabbis who contemplated over the decision of the above mentioned great scholar MHR'R David and they thought he had not decided correctly. Not only that he cannot marry another one, unless he gives a get to the first one through another man, but also he cannot give her a get through another man against her will/without her consent. And since this loyal, holy and pure student MHR'R Yoel is one of the most special students of mine and frequently visits my

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<sup>9</sup> Taz, who did not hold any rabbinical position in Moravia, was not entitled to give a halakhic decision (*psak din*), and even if he only wished to express his personal opinion on the matter, he should have made it clear that it was not a decision to be followed.

yeshiva, I thought ..... and made efforts and I found, that, according to my humble opinion, he would be able to give a get to his first wife through another man, even though he does not need to pay her off (to pay her according to the *ketuba*).<sup>10</sup>

Taz was in Moravia in 1649/50, and seemingly also visited Holešov/Holleschau. Rabbi Krochmal ruled quite contrary to him and expressed some disenchantment over the fast and not grounded ruling of this big rabbinical authority, who, moreover, was not acquainted with local custom. His decision is supported by historical reality, which was completely ignored by both Taz and R. Ashkenazi. As he writes, not even

a fifth or a quarter of a year passed since she had fallen into the hands of the cursed and wicked. And nobody has come from there yet, so that we would be able to verify the whole issue. Maybe it will take a much longer time, until we [finally] hear about her, either that she returned [to Judaism] immediately after having been forced to convert, and escaped, or that she settled down among them [non-Jews].<sup>11</sup>

As a post-script to his halakhic decision, prohibiting that man from re-marrying, he added a note that left no doubt about the rightness of his attitude:

These are my words from Rosh Chodesh Kislev 410 of small counting [December 1649]: Afterwards I received a letter from one man, whose name is Rabbi Yehoshua, brother of that woman's mother, and he wrote that this woman had been captured by the Tatars and redeemed in Constantinople. She maintained her chastity and never converted. Now she is on her way back, to Yassi, along with some other redeemed captives. After just a couple of days this woman arrived at Lublin district, and wrote to her husband to come and claim the loss. And indeed, he went and greeted her lovingly. And I praised the Lord, be blessed, that he led me to the path of truth.<sup>12</sup>

The process of captivity and redemption, including the possible return to the homeland, was extremely long. These people did not set on a journey

<sup>10</sup> Ashkenazi, p. 118–119, no. 36 (translation M.P.Y.). *Ketuba* is a marriage contract.

<sup>11</sup> Krochmal, p. 307, no. 70 (translation M.P.Y.).

<sup>12</sup> Krochmal, p. 308 (translation M.P.Y.). The date of the letter, 1649, reveals, that the question was posed to Gershon Ashenazi at the very beginning of his rabbinical post in Prostějov. It is not clear, though, how the certain Yoel could have been his long-standing student. He seemingly attended Ashkenazi's Beit Midrash in Prostějov.

by choice, and had to face different cultures and landscapes not as travelers for pleasure, but from the point of view of a subject of trade.<sup>13</sup> Despite major endeavors of Jewish communities to redeem them, not all the captives were lucky. They were sold as slaves and were possibly forced to convert to the religion of the country. Fortunate individuals that were redeemed by their brethren stood before multiple choices. In order to return to their families (if these were to be found in the original place at all) they had to gain all the required certificates and permissions, and – money. Rabbi Krochmal rules again very cautiously regarding inheritance in the case of Rabbi Herz from Mikulov/Nikolsburg, who lived in Tschudnow and disappeared in the pogrom. He warns against hasty judgments and encourages patience. He was well informed about various stages of captivity and their duration. Acquiring freedom was not always immediately followed by comeback. There were bureaucratic obstacles, financial issues (money needed for the journey) and the long way back.

[The issue] is very simple: At that time [when the inheritors negotiated his inheritance] his trace had not yet gotten lost, because he could have fallen into Tatarian captivity and taken to a very distant location, to the land of the Turk [Ottoman empire] with other captives, that counted thousands and tens of thousands. And it is known, that Jewish people are merciful, and everyone expected the captives to be redeemed by brethren in the land of the Turk, which they, the generous people of Avraham, indeed do. And it was known, that they could not return to these lands during the first year, even though they had been redeemed there.<sup>14</sup>

This uncertainty and multiple possible scenarios gave rise to difficult life situations and provoked halakhic discussions. Relatives of the captives, left behind, who by themselves struggled for their daily bread and shelter, may have tried to look for them, using all possible channels and sources: correspondence, mediators (witnesses), or their own personal investigation. As mentioned earlier, responsa literature sheds some light on these complicated family stories; it reflects, however, only a fragment of the much more complex social problem. The inquirers turned to rabbinical authority when they

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13 In one extreme case, a woman from Mattersdorf returned to her husband after more than eight years spent out of her house, partially in Ottoman captivity near Vienna (1683), before she was dragged to Belgrade and there ransomed. Rumours that she gave birth to a baby while in Belgrade, reached as far as her hometown. See Oppenheim, *Even ha-ezer*, no. 5, p. 10; Kaufmann, p. 133–140.

14 Krochmal, p. 376, no. 88 (translation M.P.Y.).

stood on the crossroad: they wanted to move on with their lives, re-marry, divide the inheritance of the captive to the family etc. Only a minority of the recorded cases give some information about the attempts to look for the captured relatives just for the sake of reunion. One of these rare stories is the story of a Moravian Jew who ran from place to place in order to find his lost spouse:

[...] the wife of one Nikolsburg inhabitant, Yitzhak Eizik b. HR'R Tanchum, fell into captivity of Kedariyim<sup>15</sup> and Yishmaelim<sup>16</sup> with a young son, during the war turmoil in the Moravian land in 5424 [1663].<sup>17</sup> [They were] among other captives, men and women, [among] Jewish souls, men, women and children, that were dragged and oppressed. Behold, in God's mercy more than half from these captives were redeemed, and they returned to their land. And the above mentioned KM'R Yitzhak did his best to ask, search and investigate about his wife and the little boy, because they were not among the captives who came back. All of them said as one, that they knew about them at the beginning, but they don't know what happened to the woman and the boy in the end. And since he got no information through the investigation, nor by means of the ink he spent on writing letters from here to the Ottoman Empire,<sup>18</sup> he said to himself: What am I waiting for? So he prepared himself for the journey, and Yitzhak went out to contemplate on the white field<sup>19</sup> (that is called Belgrade). He hoped to get some trustful information. But even there, he did not reach anything else than he had known before. His efforts were in vain. And see, after some year and a half after he had returned from the Ottoman Empire, his cry reached me: Woe to me and to my wife! My shame is great. And he has not yet fulfilled his duty [of having two children]. Therefore he came to me and asked for my weak opinion, whether there is a remedy and medicament to his severe wounds. Can he marry another woman to fulfil what is written [...]?.<sup>20</sup>

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15 Tatars.

16 Muslims, here Ottoman Muslims.

17 The story happened during the attacks of Tatar hordes in Ottoman service in September-October 1663. Mikulov suffered from the Tatar sack at the beginning of September, still in the Jewish year 5423. However, the attacks continued until after Rosh ha-Shana, into the year 5424. About casualties in the Mikulov domain see Kučerová.

18 Togarma.

19 According to a biblical verse in Ge 24, 63.

20 Ashkenazi, p. 184–185, no. 53 (translation M.P.Y.). It is interesting to note, that this Yitzhak not only travelled from Mikulov to Belgrade, but also from Mikulov to Metz, where Rabbi Ashkenazi functioned as a community rabbi at that time.

The Tatars, who together with the Ottomans, plundered southern and south-eastern Moravia in several waves, caused great damages in Mikulov and killed many from the local population. Not only Jews were dragged by the hordes to Hungary, but also the local Christian population. In the latter case, the captives were not expected to return. Their fate was clear – slavery in the Ottoman Empire. Unlike in a regular war, where the sides at its end exchanged captives, either as a part of the peace agreement, or as an informal act after the campaign, this solution was not an option in the aftermath of unregulated raids. Captured individuals were, as a rule, lost for the Christian fold once and for all. The quoted responsum demonstrates that this was not the case of Jewish captives. We can articulate two reasons for this profound difference in the fate of Christian and Jewish captives. First, we should mention the quite complicated family law in Judaism that does not make it easy to shake off matrimonial ties, when one of the spouses disappears. Jewish law puts great stress on evidence and confirmed information: Did the person die? Did he/she convert to another religion voluntarily or forcibly? Secondly, reality proved that numerous Jewish captives were finally set free and returned to their families. It took time, but it was not uncommon. Therefore, the recommendation was to wait a couple of years. This scenario was enabled by the well-nurtured institution of *pidyon shvuyim* (redemption of captives) in Jewish communities on the one hand, and the scattered character of the Jewish settlements throughout Europe and beyond on the other. Jewish solidarity did not know, at least in respect to *pidyon shvuyim*, political and civilization frontiers. The case of Eizik from Mikulov shows that he had an addressee to turn to in the Ottoman Empire, and that when this attempt failed, he could count on temporary acceptance by his remote Ottoman brethren. He would have not set on the dangerous journey, had he not expected some kind of hospitality and help.

## From Forced Migration to Voluntary Choices

After the unsuccessful siege of Vienna by the Ottomans (1683), the wind turned and the Habsburgs launched a campaign for the re-conquest of Hungary. Many Jewish communities in Hungary and the Balkans found themselves on the battlefield. Among the big Habsburg achievements was the reconquest of Buda in 1686. Many Jews both from the core lands of the Ottoman Empire as well as Bohemia and Moravia had lived in this city under Ottoman rule for more than one hundred years. Even though officially beyond the border of Christian Europe, central European rabbis maintained close

contacts with the community, and they held rabbinical positions in that location.<sup>21</sup> The ties between the Jews did not cease with the shift of civilizational frontiers. Therefore, even under the siege and Habsburg conquest, local Jews could hope to be rescued. Both close and remote Jewish communities and individuals were ready to send their financial help to be used to ransom the captives. A person who organized a big move of Jewish captives from Buda via Pressburg/Bratislava to Mikulov under the supervision of the Habsburg army, was the Prague Jew Sender Tausk. After obtaining recommendation letters from the Prague representatives, he went to Vienna and met the court Jew and contractor Shmuel Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer agreed to help, using his talents and connections, he succeeded to collect the required sum and redeemed the captives.<sup>22</sup>

Not all the Jews of Buda were so fortunate. Many were killed by rampaging soldiers, among them the wife and a son of Rabbi Yitzhak Schulhof of Prague. Schulhof was a son-in-law of rabbi Efraim ha-Cohen, whose daughter he married during the rabbi's sojourn in Prague. He relocated with him to Ottoman Buda. A unique testimony about the event of 1686 and his personal miraculous rescue (*Megilat Ofen*), along with lamentations on the siege of Buda and the destruction of the local Jewish community are fruits of his literary talents.<sup>23</sup> Schulhof preferred to become a private captive of an Austrian corporal, than to join a larger group of prisoners. For him, this situation meant a safe way out of the battlefield, with no need for special permissions of passage. This is how he describes his adventure:

The corporal approached me and said: What shall I do with you? I was commanded to accompany the patrol, and I cannot take you with me. Now, I will separate from you, and whoever finds you, can kill you. So I started to cry saying [...]: I have just one plea to my master. I heard that on the other side of the encampment, on the Danube riverbank, there dwell Moravian Jews, so if I found favor in your eyes, take me there – maybe they will redeem me.<sup>24</sup>

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21 Let us mention Rabbi Efraim ha-Cohen of Vilna (called also Shaar Efraim after his Responsa collection), who after escaping Lithuania in 1655, settled in Moravia and became a rabbi in Třebíč, Uherský Brod and Velké Meziříčí. After sojourns in Prague and Vienna he accepted a rabbinical position in Buda. He maintained contacts with rabbis in Jerusalem, who offered him a rabbinical post, too. He accepted the offer, but passed away in Buda in 1678.

22 See Patai, p. 178–179.

23 Both *Megilat Ofen* and lamentations (*kinot*) were published by D. Kaufmann (Trier 1895).

24 Schulhof, p. 24 (Hebrew part, translation M.P.Y.).

Following Schulhof's emotional speech and promises, the corporal agreed to take him. They were accompanied by a second Austrian soldier, who tried to convince the corporal to get rid of Schulhof. The corporal's decision was not a one-sided coin and did not mean only possible financial gain after selling the captive to the Moravian Jews. Private captivity was at that time already challenged by the state and could have been understood as an act against the law.<sup>25</sup> Also, the owner had to provide the prisoner materially – starting with the basic needs of food, drink and cloths. Nevertheless, in this specific case, the possible gain involved in keeping the captive probably outweighed the risks. They first met a Jew who pretended to be a Christian, in order to redeem him for a lesser amount. However, he never showed up again with the money. We can only speculate whether this episode was made up or is true, and if true, what happened to that Jew that he did not come back with the ransom, as promised. Be it as it may, it shows that these cases were not uncommon, and the locals knew how to behave, in order to make the best deal (here, the potential rescuer pretends to be a Christian).<sup>26</sup> The exchange of captives at the border was not limited to the Jews. We have evidence of such practice also from the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier, before the Treaty of Karlowitz, 1699, had been clearly set.<sup>27</sup>

Our obscure triplet went on and met a noble woman, who sailed in a boat on the river (Danube?). She became very interested in the Jew, and decided to buy him. Her motivation was clear - she planned to offer Schulhof to the Jews. The cost of the captive must have been lower than what she expected to be paid back. Stunningly, she knew exactly to whom to turn – it was again Shmuel Oppenheimer in Vienna, who redeemed Rabbi Schulhof. Before returning to his hometown Prague, he stopped over in Mikulov, the center of regional information and of redeemed captives. There he also learned about the death of his son.<sup>28</sup> Schulhof's story is unique in that he made himself a war captive voluntarily, carefully designing his survival strategies on the way. His book *Megilat Ofen* is usually counted among the genre of family scrolls, a special genre of Jewish non-religious literature, recording stories of miraculous rescue from danger for the future remembrance of personal, family or community circles. However, when put in the broader, non-Jewish context, it can be also read as a retroactive captive's narrative, to which also Osman Aga of

25 Teply, p. 35–36. This is still the most comprehensive article on the subject of war captives from the Habsburg-Ottoman wars.

26 His external appearance obviously made it possible, which is by itself worth attention. He must have conducted himself in a way, which would fool the corporal, but still made it possible to reveal his true identity to Schulhof.

27 Teply, p. 65–72; Faroqhi, p. 125.

28 Schulhof, p. 49 (German part).

Temesvar,<sup>29</sup> Rabbi Moshe Cohen, Yoseph ibn Danon<sup>30</sup> or Claudio Angelo de Martelli belong.<sup>31</sup>

Recent scholarship renewed its interest in the themes connected to war from the perspective of “ordinary” people. Roughly, the three groups of people touched by or involved in warfare were soldiers, inhabitants of settlements in the territory of clashes and on the path through which the corps marched, and war captives.<sup>32</sup> The third group especially raises still many questions in early modern research.<sup>33</sup> Even though the Habsburg-Ottoman military encounters have always been carefully treated, the fate of war captives on both sides remained as a whole beyond the scope of these studies. Preserved accounts of people who fell into captivity and managed to escape or otherwise reached freedom (through conversion or ransom), have been treated, as a prominent Ottoman historian noted, as regular travelogues at best.<sup>34</sup>

Christian captives were usually dragged to the core lands of the Ottoman Empire and sold on one of the slave markets. On the other hand, the Muslim Ottoman prisoners were taken to the place of origin of the troops. Apart from German cities, some captives were also taken to Moravia and Silesia.<sup>35</sup> There are also a few preserved lists of captives, showing their names, occupation and origin.<sup>36</sup> It became very fashionable in Europe to possess a younger Turk as a servant. Many of the captives were baptized, and most of these were eventually freed. In the case of baptized children we can follow their steps in Germany and their assimilation to the surroundings. Even though they were given new Christian names, many times they were assigned a surname hinting on their pre-baptism past (Türk, Soldan etc.).<sup>37</sup> Some of them used

29 Ottoman prisoner in Vienna, see further note 61.

30 For Jewish captives of the Habsburgs after the siege of Belgrade (1688), see further.

31 Habsburg officer taken captive in the Vienna campaign, see Faroqhi, p. 125. His 'captivity accounts' were published 1689 in Vienna.

32 A high number of the prisoners were soldiers.

33 From the few works dedicated to this topic from the 1960s onwards see for example Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702–1776)*, p. 63–85; Jahn, *Zum Loskauf christlicher und türkischer Gefangener und Sklaven im 18. Jahrhundert*; Teply.

34 Faroqhi, p. 121.

35 Otto Spies published a list of Ottoman captives in Kassel from the years 1683–89, see Spies, „Eine Liste türkischer Kriegsgefangener in Deutschland aus dem Jahre 1700“, p. 233–241. It is not clear whether such lists existed also for the Jewish prisoners. In Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Wien one undated list of 39 captives is kept, the other lists date back to the end of the 1730s, beginning of the 1740s.

36 Spies, „Schicksale türkischer Kriegsgefangener in Deutschland nach den Türkenkriegen“, p. 320–21.

37 Spies, „Schicksale türkischer Kriegsgefangener in Deutschland nach den Türkenkriegen“, p. 323.

their existing ties to the Ottoman Empire and their know-how in opening new businesses.<sup>38</sup>

In comparison to the fate of Muslim captives, it seems that as a rule, Jews were not baptized. This may be surprising in the light of the late seventeenth century policy of the Habsburg dynasty in the Crown Lands that targeted the Jewish population in various ways with missionary endeavors, be it forced attendance at Christian preaching in churches or intensive missionary activities of the Catholic Church, among the Jews, mainly by the Jesuits. We suggest that unlike the Muslim captives, those of Jewish origin was treated rather practically. There was a good chance of quite a fair income from ransom offered by the Jewish communities, in exchange for their freedom. Moreover, and this point I would highlight, the Habsburg-Ottoman campaigns didn't only have political reasons, but to a great degree also possessed a religious content. It was a civilizational conflict between Christianity and Islam. In this context, Jews did not represent the arch-enemy. It was the "Turkish beast", who had to be defeated. Forced baptism of Ottoman Muslim captives was a symbol of Christian victory.

Moravian communities came into contact with Jewish war prisoners from the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the temporary Habsburg conquest of Belgrade in 1688. The Jews of this city experienced a bitter siege and conquest of the town by the Habsburg army. Many Jews escaped to different places in the Ottoman Empire. Those who stayed shared the fate with the Muslim population and had to clear the city from corpses and ruins. Jews who remained in the town were taken captives, and had to be ransomed. The number of the Jews captured in Belgrade is estimated at 640.<sup>39</sup> They were taken to Osijek in Slavonia, but smaller groups continued further up into the heart of the Habsburg lands. That is how some arrived to Moravia. We know only the famous among them by names. For a better understanding of the historical circumstances, it is important to consider that they reached Moravia in diverse ways. The choices and strategies adopted by the captives and their families after the acquiring freedom varied.

The most prominent of the captives that arrived to Moravia, was probably the Belgrade rabbi Yosef Almosnino. Before 1678 he had maintained contacts with Rabbi Efraim ha-Cohen in Buda. From Jewish sources, we know the following about his fate: "Due to the irritations [of time], he fled to Nikolsburg and his soul found its rest there in the year [5]489 [1689], at the age of forty

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38 A certain Achmet opened a coffeehouse in Brno in the year 1702. It was the first enterprise of this sort in Moravia. See Těplý, p. 62.

39 Lebel, p. 41.

six.<sup>40</sup> He was taken with his three sons Yitzhak, Yehuda and Simcha to Mikulov/Nikolsburg or its vicinity and they were offered for ransom to the local Jews. One of his sons, Yitzhak, uses the preface to his father's *Responsa Edut bi-Yehosaf* to communicate the personal story of his learned father to his readers. He differs from Azulai's information in an important detail; his father did not escape Belgrade as a free man, but was taken captive against his will:<sup>41</sup>

It is well known how brutally we were expelled from our country. The enemy took us prisoner and expelled us without warning. Each unit drove its prisoners in another direction. Children and women, young men and girls, old men and women, orphans and widows, each drove his own. In our unit there were four five [45] Jews, among them also my great father. An officer on horseback handed us to his servant, to take us over the border. Thanks to the Good God, after the sufferings we had endured, in the end we arrived to a good province, in a great town of teachers and writers. Here the Jews made efforts to show us kindness. [... They] conferred how to redeem us from captivity. However, one day in the early evening our dear father Yoseph died. The heads of the community made efforts; they ran to the commander and asked him to permit the deceased's burial according to our law [...]. They also offered a gift, but the servant of the evil heart accepted the gift but did not allow interring the dead. In the same night a delegation approached the town-head, who was unable to sleep that night. He listened to the application, punished the servant, and came to the burial himself to show respect to the famous deceased.<sup>42</sup>

Presumably, Rabbi Almosnino was laid to rest in Mikulov. However, his grave has not been found, and we have to rely only on literary sources. His

40 Azulai, p. 88 (translation M.P.Y.). His source for this information was the manuscript of Rabbi Moshe Cohen, the author of *Et sofer*.

41 Almosnino, foreword. I used the translation of Paul Münch in Lebel (see note 39), p. 44. Recently, we can trace greater interest of historians in these paratextual forms as they include information related to the personality of the author. The question is, to what extent they can be called ego-documents, as they have never been published in their own right. However, this is not the right place to discuss the terminology, which is definitely needed. For early modern Jewish paratexts see Berger. For autobiographical elements in the early modern Jewish literature see the study by Pavel Sládek in the Czech translation of Davis.

42 The episode with the intervention of the town-head is on purpose written with an allusion to the Purim story of Esther and Ahashverosh (even though the text itself does not belong to the genre of family/community/personal *megilot*, i.e. scrolls). The inability to fall asleep is understood as an act of Divine providence, giving way to the miraculous happy-end of the stressing situation.

family decided to return to the Ottoman Empire as soon as possible. There they found their father's manuscript of a responsa collection and later published it in Constantinople.

Another group of captives reached Kroměříž/Kremsier, among them Yosef ibn Danon, a Belgrade native and the personal secretary of Rabbi Almosnino. It was there that he was informed about the premature death of his teacher and employer. From his words we understand that soldiers kept the captives' groups separated from each other. Although they reached Moravia, they were taken to different places, with no possibility of personal contact.<sup>43</sup> At the beginning of 1689 he was redeemed by the Prague Jewish community. After a four-month sojourn in the capital of Bohemia where he was cared for by community members, he continued to Amsterdam, where he was encouraged to record the grievous events. Only a short piece of this work has been preserved.<sup>44</sup> His choice of Amsterdam was no coincidence. This cosmopolitan city was a well-known destination for all who sought new opportunities. Even though the reality of everyday life proved to be full of hardships, as opposed to great expectations, it was viewed as a better choice than to return to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>45</sup> Many Ottoman Jews started to flow to Western Europe from the late seventeenth century onwards in quest for a better life. Obviously, Yosef ibn Danon did not plan to be dependent on his patron Rabbi Yosef Tzarfati forever.

From a note by ibn Danon, appended to a letter written by Rabbi Tzarfati to a Belgrade Jew Moshe Cohen, who was still held in captivity, emerges a realistic picture of an exiled person trying hard, and in vain, to establish himself in the new place, far from his home: "See, me and my family stay in his [Rabbi Yosef Tzarfati's] house for eight months, because without his acts of loving kindness I would have been thrown into hunger."<sup>46</sup> In the same letter, Rabbi Tzarfati discourages Moshe Cohen from coming to Amsterdam for the same reason: "And you should know, that [...] every day come and end up here from here and there captives from the camps of his Holiness, and because of our sins I am not able to act as I would like to."<sup>47</sup> However, in his work intended for

43 Kaufmann, „Joseph ibn Danon de Belgrade”, p. 294: "And the biggest pain caused me that I did not see his face from the day we had been exiled from our land, and that I could not honour him after his death, since I was wandering among the nations, not knowing their language [..]" (translation M.P.Y.).

44 The manuscript, finished in 1716, and copied by Shlomo ben Yitzhak dAcosta Atias, is in the British Museum.

45 Since the beginning of the 17th century, Amsterdam has absorbed great numbers of refugees and adventurers, including apostates from Western and Central Europe, who regretted their deeds, and its initial hospitality became less enthusiastic.

46 Cohen, fol. 16b (translation M.P.Y.).

47 Cohen, fol. 16b.

publishing, Yosef ibn Danon made a virtue out of necessity, praising his benefactor for enabling him to fully emerge in Torah studies: “[...] he fed me at his table from his own bread, and gave me drink in abundance, as his house was full of joy, he put me back on the feet and stand firm, as I am today, expanded my boundaries and gave me instructions, to go and frequently visit the doors of the Torah and open its gate, and recall the [...] words [of] my teacher of blessed memory.”<sup>48</sup> In order to settle down in the new place, one needed a benefactor. As we can see in ibn Danon’s case, it was not uncommon to live with the patron in the same house and enjoy his hospitality for a longer period. However, this situation was not too convenient for either side, and therefore both recommended Moshe Cohen to find another place in Europe, where he could actually re-build his life independently.

Moshe Cohen left behind the richest written legacy on his life in captivity and the attempts at redemption. Besides Yosef ibn Danon and Yosef Tzarfati in Amsterdam, he exchanged letters with his own son Yaakov, held captive for two years near Mikulov.<sup>49</sup>

He went through difficult times in Osijek, which he finally left as a free-man. These included not only the search for a possible redeemer, but also taking care of his day to day life, and towards the end of captivity, trying to obtain travel licenses, without which it didn’t make sense to leave the camp. Emissaries, sometimes former captives themselves, were sent from the camp to Jewish communities in order to collect money for the captives. The imprisoned Jews did not lose contact with the outer world. It was not even the interest of the captor that they would remain in a social vacuum. Connections were established with communities that were already known for their readiness to help and showed extended solidarity with their brethren from beyond the cultural frontier. Moshe Cohen also informs us about the hospitality of the Mikulov community:

Also came to me [...] the great man of insight KHR’R Yaakov, may God guard him, who has been staying already about a year there in Nikolsburg, may God guard [this community], with my family. He informed me that two emissaries of the benefactor, X and Y, arrived there, and they only tell praises about the insightful and excellent friend of us, and the beloved man of our hearts.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Kaufmann „Joseph ibn Danon de Belgrade“, p. 295 (translation M.P.Y.).

<sup>49</sup> His letters were published as an appendix to his epistolary manual *Et Sofer*.

<sup>50</sup> Cohen, fol. 17a (translation M.P.Y.).

However, it took a long time to find someone, who was ready to take care of the Osijek prisoners:

Therefore, we came with a prayer before the Divine presence that he would talk with our great teacher and Rabbi, may God guard him, and with a benefactor, maybe they will feel compassionate with us and hasten to redeem us. Maybe they will mercifully take us out of this land, since we have already suffered enough bitterness [...]. Also, I will not hold my mouth back from saying to the master what we have heard behind the scenes, that the benefactor, may God guard him, ordered to send us so and so coins and linen clothes, but we haven't received anything [from that] yet.<sup>51</sup>

From the words of the prisoners, we get a somewhat clearer picture of the process of redemption and release. We learn that a part of the ransom has already been submitted, and now the general, who was in charge of the prisoners in the camp, in fact the only representative of the Viennese court, is waiting for the rest of it. His impatience causes great trepidation among the prisoners, and forces them to engage in vehement correspondence in all directions. Of course, Moshe Cohen is not the only one to use the virtue of writing. Numerous other prisoners and their circles dispatched hopeful pleas. They beseech the benefactor to send the rest of the ransom to Vienna, along with money and food to them, in order to hasten the process of release.

They stress the most important issue above all – passports. It seems that redeemers were expected to be involved not only in buying freedom for prisoners, but also in securing their future move. The journey, even in larger groups, was dangerous enough with passports, not to say without any official document, granting them at least legal security:

Also, we come before you with the [following] plea. When the thing comes to its finalization, that he will make great efforts in the issue of transit certificates called *Pass*, to get for us at least two *Pass*, since [...] some of us want to go up from community to community, and some want to go down, and we don't want to be turned away at every border and told we should go to a different country. And some of us want to settle again in Belgrade.<sup>52</sup>

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51 Cohen, fol. 21b (translation M.P.Y.).

52 Cohen, fol. 24a (translation M.P.Y.).

Interestingly enough, the prisoners contemplated their future, while still in captivity. They had to know where to go. For some of them, an attempt to return to their homes was the first option, while others preferred to look for new opportunities in Christian Europe.<sup>53</sup> The prisoners had to wait for a couple of months for their eventual release. After they heard that the day was close and their freedom was within reach, they “wait[ed] on the crossroads every day, expecting the arrival of the passports: They would enlighten our way.”<sup>54</sup> This is a very telling full stop after the author’s account. Leaving the camp without a license that would guarantee free passage, was unthinkable. The Ottoman captive Osman Aga of Temesvar thought and acted in the same way, when he was getting ready for a flight from Vienna, where he was working as a servant in a rich household after having been forcibly baptized. He forged the pass and the manumission certificate, using his master’s seal, which enabled him quite an essay passage in the Habsburg territory.<sup>55</sup>

Captives that were freed on Moravian territory now had to direct their further steps. It seems that Moravian Jews did not expect them to stay in large numbers. Interestingly enough, the reaction of the Jewish communities was not always welcoming like that of Mikulov, praised by many for its hospitality, having had absorbed in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century a substantial number of refugees and expellees.<sup>56</sup> Smaller communities related to the redeemed captives as to foreigners, guests - especially in places, where Jewish existence had to be constantly secured by the suzerain, against attacks of Christian townsmen. In addition, municipal authorities were quite clear about their unwillingness to let them into towns. For example, the Kroměříž decree from October 1689 prohibits the stay of “Jews from Offen<sup>57</sup> and Belgrade and other places in Hungary” that appeared in high numbers in the city and elsewhere in Moravia.<sup>58</sup> This decree particularly names Mikulov as famous for helping the immigrants. According to the comment in Yiddish, written on the margin, possibly by the Jewish community scribe, “nobody can let in any guests.” The note written by a Jew doesn’t disclose the fact that it describes a very specific group of Jews, namely former captives. It is possible to assume that the com-

53 The expressions used to point directions are worth attention. In the imagined map in the head of the author there was “up” and “down”, which stands obviously for Habsburg territories and beyond north-west from Osijek (up, against the stream of the river Drava), and for the south, towards Belgrade (then for a short time in Habsburg hands) or further into the Ottoman domain (down the river Drava and Danube).

54 Cohen, fol. 24b (translation M.P.Y.).

55 See Osman Aga z Temešváru, p. 85–86.

56 Kaufmann, „Les victimes de la prise d’Ofen, en 1686”, p.133.

57 Buda.

58 „Verbot Juden aus Buda und Belgrade hereinzulassen”: Jewish Museum Prague, 11712; microfilm at CAHJP, Jerusalem - HM2/7824.8.

munity simply divided the Jews into two groups - locals and guests. Who from these guests was entitled to help from the community members, was a subject of further investigation.

History, however, teaches that the enforcement of the above mentioned decree was difficult, and not fully possible. In Jewish sources from Moravia, we meet personalities, whose ancestors came from the Ottoman Empire, some of them not voluntarily. Take, for example, a rabbi from Nový Rousínov, Shlomo ben Yakov Munian. His migration story starts involuntarily – after the Austrian siege and conquest of Belgrade in 1688 he was taken to Moravia as a young boy, and there ransomed after one and half years. He studied Torah and became a rabbi first in Šafov/Schaffa, and subsequently in Nový Rousínov/Neu-Raussnitz.<sup>59</sup> He married the daughter of a certain Rabbi Elchanan from Lipník. His acculturation seems to have been successful, according to the inscription on his gravestone. He wrote a number of books and was a successful teacher and decisor (*posek*). His firm sense of belonging to the Jewish lore was proved by his resistance to conversion during captivity despite his age.<sup>60</sup> While he usually signed himself as “Shlomo ben Yakov from the Belgrade expellees, of Munian family”,<sup>61</sup> the community remembered him as Shlomo Munian ha-Sephardi of K’K Belgrade, i.e. according to the place of origin (Belgrade) and cultural identity (Sephardi).<sup>62</sup> His son, on the other hand, was denoted already by the country of origin of his father, Ottoman Empire, or Turkey. As a donator of white *kapporet* to the synagogue, his name is stated as “Peretz [...] b. Shlomo Tarkls”, which after two generations further developed into the Germanized form Türkel: Philipp Türkel, his grandson, is found in the tax registry in 1808.<sup>63</sup>

Memory encapsulated in surnames is also seen in non-Jewish stories of migration, as we have seen above. In the Jewish case, both regional and international mobility was reflected in names. Jewish individuals and families were called by their place of origin (town,<sup>64</sup> country,<sup>65</sup> cultural domain<sup>66</sup>).

59 It should be noted that according to some opinions he was originally from Cracow and taken captive by the Muslims and then returned to Central Europe, see Steif, p. 407, where he quotes additional sources. This version, however, does not explain, why he would return to Moravia, instead of Cracow, and it also contradicts the epitaph on the tombstone and R. Shlomo's own signature in approbations.

60 Flesch, p. 22, Hebrew part.

61 Flesch, p. 38, f. 2, German part.

62 Flesch, p. 22, Hebrew part. Flesch suggests that the cognomen Sephardi only had a geographic meaning.

63 Flesch, p. 38, f. 5, German part.

64 From numerous examples we can name: Austerlitzer, Praeger, Kassowitz, Offner etc.

65 Such as Pollak, Oesterreicher.

66 Typically Sephardi or Ashkenazi.

Sometimes, only the descendants of the actual migrant, and not the immigrant himself, were assigned place name based surnames.

Even though part of the freed captives actually settled in Moravia, most were viewed as foreigners and had to leave. It seems that the chances of being accepted into a local community increased either for very prominent individuals (like Rabbi Yosef Almosnino), or for very young people who could contribute and marry locally (e.g. the above mentioned Shlomo Munian ha-Sephardi). Although it is very hard to estimate the number of former captives and newcomers from the Ottoman Empire who settled in Moravia, or in Central Europe, we can point to some stories of successful cultural and professional adaptation. If they were of Sephardi origin they had to overcome the linguistic barrier as well and possibly adopt local religious customs (set of *minhagim*). Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century we meet a certain Rabbi Salomon Hirsch Türkels<sup>67</sup> officiating in Bučovice/Butschowitz, and in the 1770s the community in Hodonín/Göding was led by Franz (Ferencz) Türckl from Holíč/Holitsch, across the land border between Moravia and Upper Hungary.<sup>68</sup>

What happened to the ransomed Ottoman Jews, who did not settle in Moravia? The current state of research allows only for partial conclusions. Some, as Yosef ibn Danon, continued to Amsterdam or elsewhere in Western Europe. Others, like Moshe Cohen, went to places where they could earn a livelihood. After visiting Germany and Moravia shortly, where Cohen became friends with the local rabbi Yosef Isachar Beer, he settled, contrary to his original Amsterdam plans, in the Levantine congregation in Venice as a synagogue cantor.<sup>69</sup> His son Michael obtained a domicile in Moravia and married Rabbi Isachar Beer's daughter Avigail.<sup>70</sup> Even though both Isachar Beer and Moshe Cohen left Central Europe (the first for the Land of Israel, and the second for Venice), their children, to our best knowledge, remained in Moravia (Mikulov). We can only assume that some released captives returned to the Balkans, or continued deeper into the Ottoman Empire. The option of joining the large numbers of "Betteljuden" roaming Western and Central Europe is not to be ruled out either.

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67 Gold – Wachstein, p. 174.

68 Treixler, p. 217.

69 One of his *kinot* about the siege of Belgrade was preserved in a fragmentary form as part of a local song book, see Attias, p. 135–140.

70 Kaufmann, „Joseph ibn Danon de Belgrade“, p. 289. Lebel, on the other hand, does not mention the Moravian episode. In her version he went from Osijek to Fürth, where he printed his book, and then directly to Venice. However, it is hard to imagine he would not try to reunite with his family that dwelled in Moravia.

## Conclusion

Central European states and the Ottoman Empire in the latter half of the seventeenth century experienced intensified involuntary migration of their subjects due to the series of conflicts, be it Chmielnicki's revolt in the late 1640s, Tatarian and Ottoman raids to Central Europe in the 1660s, or the Habsburg-Ottoman wars in the 1680s and 1690s. Captives and prisoners of war, Jews and non-Jews alike, found themselves in foreign landscapes, dragged mercilessly with or without their families to prisoner camps, slave markets, or were forced to convert to the religion of their captors.

The presented stories of captivity and release shed some light on the everyday life of prisoners, the behavior of their captors, and the possible development of the captive's fate (conversion, death, freedom and relocation, freedom and return). In the course of time, Moravian Jewish communities, especially Mikulov, served as crossroads for the captives, and transformed into an information hub, serving primarily the relatives of captivated individuals, or former captives themselves who wanted to learn about the fate of their closest. Some prominent rabbis of that time, like R. Menachem Mendl Krochmal, proved to have an extensive knowledge of historical currents, and readiness to reflect them in *halakhic* rulings. As we saw, it was not rare for redeemed individuals to come back home more than a year after acquiring personal freedom. It might have taken years to proclaim the captive lost to the Jewish brethren and family.

In other words, it seems that patterns of gaining information about missing relatives developed in the course of time, since communication channels between Ottoman and European Jewish communities improved. Presumably, ongoing wars at the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier, and frequent massive relocation of captives and prisoners, contributed to this development, too. That could possibly explain why the poor man Eizik of Mikulov searched for his wife personally, after unsuccessful epistolary attempts, while in the following decades there was an influx of information and eye witness testimonies available to the families of captives and Jewish scholars.

Historical sources proved the utmost importance of holding some official document providing free and relatively safe move on long distances that commonly involved the crossing of numerous borders. In the narratives much place was dedicated to this problem; both Jewish and non-Jewish former captives and ordinary travelers were highly informed about the necessity of travel licenses, which they quite often articulated. In this way, the awareness of borders, travelling necessities and related subjects were passed on to the readership and became part of common and shared knowledge.

On the battlefield, no difference was made between Jewish and non-Jewish population. All suffered equally – they were killed, or taken captives. Nevertheless, it seems that Jewish prisoners had better chances to reach freedom than their Christian or Muslim co-sufferers. The possibility of being ransomed by their Jewish brethren beyond the civilization frontier was quite real and didn't find a parallel in Christian or Muslim societies. These had to wait for official agreements reached by the belligerent powers. This was true for both Ottoman captives in Central Europe, and Central European captives in the Ottoman Empire. Christian prisoners of war could expect a release through an occasional bargain between the captor and another Christian, or in the framework of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699.

If we said that Jews were more ready to help their co-religionists who came from other countries, it would not mean an automatic acceptance as members of a community. In Moravia, we can point to a few “success stories”, but as a rule ransomed individuals moved further. Ottoman Jews that wished to stay there would have a challenging adaptation, especially given that there was no Sephardi community for them to join. On the other hand, Central European Jews that came to and settled in the Ottoman Empire, either in the Land of Israel or elsewhere, usually found an Ashkenazi congregation in bigger cities.

The present article aimed to show one aspect of Jewish early modern migration. However, it proved that personal stories rarely fit a strict typology of migration and mobility. Each and every individual experience entails more than one type of migration over the course of time. What started as a forced migration might have ended up as a possibility to freely choose a future place of residence and life-path. On the contrary, what began as a family strategy of relocation might have resulted in the disaster of captivity and enslavement. Only further research of the subject can show the interconnectedness of captivity narratives and other migration patterns in the early modern period.

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# Making Paratextual Decisions: On Language Strategies of Moravian Jewish Scribes

Lenka Uličná

Moravian Jewish scribes in the eighteenth century employed a specific language strategy in order to facilitate the understanding of the General Regulations for the Administrative, Judicial, and Commercial Affairs of the Jewry in the Margraviate of Moravia, ordered by Maria Theresa. They transcribed the German print into Hebrew/Yiddish letters and by other paratextual devices, especially marginal notes, they supplied the local Moravian communities with a more comprehensible version of the difficult imperial regulation. This paper introduces the paratext of the manuscript JMP 11.659 (Ms 203) from Třešť/Triesch.

Paratext, as a literary-theoretical term,<sup>1</sup> is usually associated with printed books. It encompasses all the textual and non-textual elements surrounding the main text, e.g. the title, author's name, preface, footnotes, illustrations etc. These elements are usually not fully controlled by the author of the main text and depend rather on the editor's decisions and strategies. By using paratextual devices the editor, to a greater or lesser extent, influences the reception of a text. In this essay, the term is used in its expanded meaning applicable to scribal activities. In a manuscript, it is the scribe who modifies the authorial intentions and by conscious or unconscious paratextual intervention affects the reader's perception. I shall try to apply this term to the non-literary manuscript JPM 11.659 (Ms 203), a transcript of the *Polizei-Ordnung für die mährischen Judenschaft*,<sup>2</sup> copied by a local scribe in Třešť/

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1 The term was first defined by Gérard Genette in the 1980s. For the English translation of his influential text, see Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation*.

2 The manuscript contains three parts, *Polizei-Ordnung*, *Prozess-Ordnung* and *Kommerzial-Ordnung*. There is no main title, however, the title of the first part, *Polizei-Ordnung*, is the most decorated one. That is also why the whole manuscript is usually called simply the *Polizei-Ordnung*.

/Triesch in Moravia probably in 1754.<sup>3</sup> This manuscript not only illustrates an early stage of the transition from Yiddish to German among Moravian Jewry but also shows the possible role of local scribes in the process of the language shift.

When Maria Theresa ordered to issue the so-called *General-Polizei-, Prozess- und Kommerzial-Ordnung für die Judenschaft des Markgrathums in Mähren*, i.e. General Regulations for the Administrative, Judicial, and Commercial Affairs of the Jewry in the Margraviate of Moravia<sup>4</sup> in 1754 in Brno/Brünn, her strategy was clear: to replace the former statutes of Moravian Jewry, *Takkanot medinat Mehrn* or *Shai Takkanot*. These statutes, written in a difficult Hebrew-Yiddish mixed language,<sup>5</sup> were to be substituted by a state-controlled German version of the text regulating the social life in Moravian Jewish communities. However, the official text was very soon replaced by a new handwritten version more or less modified by local scribes, at least in some of the communities in Moravia.<sup>6</sup> Here, the local scribes made the crucial paratextual decision: they changed the script and copied the General Regulations in Hebrew/Yiddish<sup>7</sup> script, and by doing so, they eventually modified the language of the document. The German changed into Judeo-German,<sup>8</sup> basically the German language written in Hebrew/Yiddish letters, usually influenced by Yiddish to some extent, yet distinct from it. This process of language appropriation<sup>9</sup> helped Moravian Jews to adapt to the new sociolinguistic situation and to take a positive stand towards the new language. Beside this major change, further paratextual strategies can be observed in the manuscripts of the *Polizei-Ordnung*.

The scribe of the Triesch manuscript uses both verbal and non-verbal types of paratexts. The non-verbal paratextual elements comprise a big, eye-catching, folkloric, naive drawing of two double-tailed lions with crowns, holding a shield with the first word of the title. This picture can be considered a modification of the picture on the front page of the printed German

3 For a description of the manuscript and a brief history of the text see Uličná, pp.156–159.

4 See Miller, p. 22–24, 42–44.’

5 This language was first described, in 1957/58, by Uriel Weinreich, 'Nusaḥ ha-sofrim ha-'ivri-yidi'. More recently cf. Zelda Kahan-Newman, 'Another look at Yiddish scribal language'.

6 Triesch, probably Nikolsburg and a so far unknown community where MS Wallach 363 (NLI Jerusalem) was written. Further communities are being researched.

7 As is known, the functions of some (formerly) Hebrew characters have been modified in Yiddish script (*ayin*, etc.). In the manuscripts of the *Polizei-Ordnung*, this system is applied only partly.

8 Also *Jüdischdeutsch* or *Judendeutsch*.

9 Language appropriation of a text is principally a process of language adaptation of a specific (esp. legal) text which enables the community to adopt and accept this text. For the term and examples see Uličná pp. 159–162. Bohemian and Moravian *Jüdischdeutsch* as language or language variant deserves a comprehensive analysis.

version of the General Regulations, depicting the double-headed Austrian eagle with the imperial crown and swords.<sup>10</sup>

Smaller paratextual non-verbal elements can be found further in the manuscript. On fol. 1r (see the picture), down in the right margin, a small “key” symbol is used to mark a scribal error in the word *Handlung* (הנדלונג), which is corrected in the margin of the manuscript. This symbol is quite common in Hebrew manuscripts, thus it is familiar for both the professional scribe and the educated reader. If we accept the concept of language appropriation, evoking a sense of familiarity might be a part of the scribal strategy. Another familiar non-verbal paratextual sign is a small hand pointing e.g. to the explication of the word *Konsens*, written in Judeo-German קאנסענס, and explained as <sup>11</sup> ערלויבניס in the margin. Another small hand on the same folio (fol. 8v) points to the translation of the word *Privat*, in Judeo-German פריוואט, but the marginal translation is rather damaged by loss of paper. Further paratextual signs used by the experienced scribe are the occasional filler signs used to justify the right margins and catchwords appearing at the bottom of the pages in the Triesch manuscript.

The use of different fonts is another typical expression of non-verbal paratextual strategies. However, the application of both square and cursive script in the main text is in this case fully in accordance with the printed source text, where two different fonts are used in order to highlight the German terms of Latin and Greek origin typical for the chancery style (*Kanzleisstil*). The scribe decided to follow the source text, maybe also because this practice corresponded with the occasional habit of Jewish scribes to write words of a typologically different language origin within one text in a specific script or style.<sup>12</sup>

## Paratextual notes *in margine*

Margins, as opposed to the main text, constitute a transitional space controlled solely by the scribe and fully open for his own interaction with the reader. Here, the scribe no longer depends on the source text he was

10 *General Policey- Process- und Commercial-Ordnung für die Judenschaft in dem Marggrafthum Mähren. De Anno 1754* (Brünn: gedruckt bey Emanuel Swoboda, privilegirter Buchdrucker).

11 Yiddish or Jüdisch-deutsch for *Erlaubnis*, approval or permission.

12 Cf. Guggenheim, p. 337: "It was the standard before 1848 to write Hebrew words in a German text in Rashi script and German words in a Hebrew text in *mashitta* script." Here Guggenheim describes *Haggadot* from the 17<sup>th</sup> century where both German (or more precisely Judeo-German) and of course Hebrew texts were written in Hebrew script, but in different styles. Towards the specific use of "*mashkit* font" cf. also Dovid Katz, *Yiddish and Power* p. 193.

transcribing; only he decides what to write, in which language etc. The Triesch scribe chooses to explain and comment on difficult German words of Latin or Greek origin, again very much in accordance with the scribal tradition known to Jewish scribes since the Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup> By such explications, the scribe wields considerable power over the reader and his reception and interpretation of the main text. Handwritten marginal notes in a printed book have a slightly different influence as they remain clearly more private, non-public as opposed to the printed main text. In manuscripts, on the other hand, both the main text and the marginal notes are handwritten and very often with the same hand – as is the case of the Triesch manuscript. In this way, the border between the main text and the commentary is sometimes blurred and the scribe crosses the border freely.

As previously mentioned, it is the scribe who chooses the language in the margins. The language of the marginal notes seems to differ from the language of the main text in the apparently higher percentage of words of Hebrew origin (e.g. חובת מטלטלין, בעל חוב, סוחרים, מליץ, למשל, משפט, חופה, ערבות, יכולת, מס, תקנה, סימן, etc.). That is also why I tend to view this language in the margins as Western Yiddish<sup>14</sup> while for the language of the transcript proper I prefer to use the term Judeo-German or *Jüdischdeutsch*.

However, no clear distinction between Yiddish and German can be made, the less so between Yiddish and Judeo-German. As Steven Lowenstein notes: “It has become conventional to think of Yiddish and German as two entirely distinct entities, which despite their relationship, can clearly be distinguished from each other. [...] The simple and clear dichotomy based on modern standard German and modern eastern Yiddish becomes more and more clouded and complex, however, the more we look at the relationship between the language of Jews and the language of Gentiles in Germany between the late eighteenth and the early twentieth century.”<sup>15</sup>

Modern terms and concepts of separate Jewish languages and varieties are, of course, constructs. Most of the modern scholars note the long absence

13 Medieval scribes used to comment on difficult Hebrew and Aramaic terms in their vernacular language. Such glosses appeared either in the main text or as marginal explications.

14 The dialectological characteristics of Yiddish in the Czech lands are not clear. Cf. most recently Beider who summarizes the position of Czech and Moravian Yiddish in the most widespread classification of Western vs. Eastern Yiddish dialects (WY, EY) by Max Weinreich and Dovid Katz: “For the first of them, all varieties from Central Europe are parts of WY. For the second scholar, the idioms spoken in the Czech lands and East Prussia represent transitional dialects between WY and EY (though genetically that of the Czech lands is seen as an offspring of WY) [...]”. Beider himself classifies “Yiddish in Central Europe” as a special group of dialects beside EY, WY and a group of mixed western varieties (p. 64).

15 Lowenstein, p. 3.

of separate glottonyms to describe the language situation of European Jewry up to the eighteenth century.

Marion Aptroot, for instance, remarks:<sup>16</sup> “In the Early Modern Period Yiddish was not given a distinct name by its speakers, or at least not until the eighteenth century, to mark it as clearly different from the language of their non-Jewish neighbours.” And further: “Weinreich has demonstrated that by the eighteenth century *yidish* had become a common term to designate the language; [...] It would, however, take another two hundred years for ‘Yiddish’ to become the term most widely accepted as the name of the vernacular of Ashkenazi Jewry in the language itself and in other languages. Until then, the most common term used was *taytsh*, a word which can mean any Germanic language, including Yiddish and German.”<sup>17</sup>

And further, even at the turn of the millennium and afterwards, the use of glottonyms like Western Yiddish or Judeo-German can sometimes be confusing. Werner Weinberg,<sup>18</sup> for example, protests against a “quite sudden” replacement of the term *Jüdischdeutsch* by the term *Westjiddisch* (Western Yiddish). Paul Wexler,<sup>19</sup> on the other hand, first refuses the term “Western Yiddish”, replaces it by “Ashkenazic German”, and later limits the term “Ashkenazic German” to the time span of 1760–1895.<sup>20</sup>

However, Wexler seems to ignore non-printed material. The example of the *Polizei-Ordnung* manuscripts and other transcripts<sup>21</sup> might oppose some of Wexler’s observations. The problematic dating of this type of German Jewish language behavior and the development trends can specifically be

16 Aptroot, p. 116.

For earlier period, cf. e.g. Katz, “Notions of Yiddish,” p. 77, “As for the name of the language, the Maharil uses *Loshn Ashkenaz*. One also encounters *leshoyneynu* (‘our language’), *taytsh* (‘translation language’), and, at least from 1597, *yidish* (‘Jewish’, ‘Yiddish’) as well. The variety of names suggests the absence of the kind of unanimous linguistic consciousness that is implied by the political notion of ‘a language’.

17 Aptroot (see note 16), p. 116, note 3.

18 Weinberg.

19 Wexler, ‘Yiddish – the fifteenth Slavic language: A study of partial language shift from Judeo-Sorbian to German’ pp. 14–15, etc.

20 Wexler, *Jewish and Non-Jewish Creators of “Jewish” Languages: With Special Attention to Judaized Arabic, Chinese, German, Greek, Persian, Portuguese, Slavic (modern Hebrew/Yiddish), Spanish, and Karaite, and Semitic Hebrew/Ladino* p. 402. Here Wexler claims that “the shift from Yiddish to German also led to the creation of a new codified written Jewish variant of German – distinguished by its use of Yiddish characters, non-German orthographic principles and unique non-native sources of enrichment.” Wexler continues: “the use among Jews of Ashkenazic German alongside standard German constitutes a unique case of written schizoglossia accompanying language death”.

21 The *Polizei-Ordnung* was written in 1754, but there are examples of earlier transcriptions of similar kind, cf. the privilege for the Jews of Prerov/Prerau from 1710 partly reproduced in *Quellen zur jüdischen Geschichte: Jüdische Sprachen 16. bis 20. Jahrhundert*.

questioned. For Wexler,<sup>22</sup> “Ashkenazic German began with a number of features inherited from Yiddish, which, in time, were for the most part abandoned in favor of closer imitation of standard German norms.” Judeo-German viewed as a mode of Jewish language behavior is in no way connected to the modern or early modern era. Dovid Katz mentions “the centuries-old sociolinguistic phenomenon of Yiddish-speaking writers trying to ‘write some kind of standard German’ (whether they really knew standard German or not).”<sup>23</sup>

Marion Aptroot discusses the role of Judeo-German (without calling it so) while describing “the relationship between the genre and context of texts, and the distinctiveness of the language employed by authors with respect to the language of the majority” and uses the “Hebrew-Aramaic component as a marker of Yiddish distinctiveness”. Among the six “functional writing styles”<sup>24</sup> Aptroot sketched, she defines “transcriptions and adaptations of German texts into Hebrew characters” where “the Hebrew-Aramaic component is generally absent (other than in spelling conventions, especially the spelling of Biblical names).” This important article calls attention to the scale of written languages of Ashkenazi Jews in Germany in the early modern period that spans from “Bible translation language” over “German in Hebrew characters” up to “Yiddish chancery style”.

The emphasis on the written characteristic of Judeo-German/Jüdisch-Deutsch and its proximity to both (West-)Yiddish and German, especially in their written form, seem to be crucial.

The Triesch manuscript of the *Polizei-Ordnung* shows some bi-directional influences of West-Yiddish and Judeo-German. Naturally, especially the German component of the assumed West-Yiddish marginal notes is clearly influenced by the written standard of the Judeo-German main text. The liminal character of the paratext allows and enables such changes; here the language is open for innovations, open to accept foreign elements on every level of the language, primarily the written language, i.e. in orthography. Examples of influenced orthography can be found in צאהלונג (*Zahlung*), צאהלין (*zahlen*), ערוועהלונג (*Erwählung*). On the lexical level: געאיבעט הייט צו פֿר שטיאן גבערט, where the word *geübet* moves from the

22 Wexler, *Jewish and Non-Jewish Creators* (see note 20), p. 412.

23 Katz, *Yiddish and Power* (see note 12), p. 36. Here Katz also offers a vivid overview of the thrilling debate concerning the Cambridge manuscript (dated 1382) and the question if its version of *Dukus Horant* is in Yiddish or German (in Hebrew/Yiddish letters). The debate seems to be indeed very relevant for the question of eighteenth century Judeo-German although the level of interest is very different. Both Yiddishists and Germanists, who fight hard for the medieval text, seem that they would not mind giving up their claims to the Judeo-German eighteenth century texts.

24 Aptroot (see note 16), p. 122. From the *functional-structuralist* point of view, the term *functional language* instead of *functional style* seems to be appropriate here.

main text to the Yiddish paratext. Or, similarly, for the term: איניוריאנט דער פון דער גמייין קאסא . On the lexical level and in orthography: פון דער גמייין קאסא where the word *Cassa* enters Yiddish as an Italian loanword,<sup>25</sup> but clearly through Judeo-German.

On the other hand, the vocabulary of the chancery style in the main text is also being modified via marginal translations and explications.<sup>26</sup> Here, the role of the scribe, although most probably unconscious, is also didactic: via the paratext he teaches his readers not only new words and terms, but gradually helps them accept and adopt the new language.

The marginal notes might be read as a hint at German words that eighteenth-century Moravian Jews possibly did not understand. Also non-Jews obviously had problems understanding the difficult *Kanzleistil* and other texts written in a scholarly style. That is why we find German foreign-word dictionaries already since the sixteenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century there were already at least a dozen such dictionaries available<sup>27</sup> and Latin-German dictionaries. However, no direct influence of one specific text of this kind to the marginal notes of the *Polizei Ordnung* has been proven.

The following table contains paratextual explications connected to the explained term from the main text, usually of non-Germanic origin. The missing text is reconstructed in square brackets [ ]. Unclear text is marked [- - -]. A question mark indicates uncertain reading. In this stage of the research, a transcription of the Yiddish text is not possible for two reasons: first, after the manuscript is conserved, some of the unreadable parts might become more readable; and second, the Moravian West-Yiddish pronunciation of some sounds is still not completely clear.

<sup>25</sup> Here I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for this clarification and other very important corrections and both anonymous reviewers for their helpful and supporting comments.

<sup>26</sup> For examples, see the table.

<sup>27</sup> Jones.

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
<b>Erste Abtheilung betreffend die Policy = Ordnung für die Mährische Judenschaft</b>					
1r	1,1	§	§	<p>29 [נדיס צי]יכן הייזט פרימוס  פ[ראג]אפוס איז צו  [פֿרש]טיהן דער סימן א'  איז צו  [ - - ] אילט אויף צווייא אונד  [ - - ] א פול קומליכה לנד  תקנה  [ - - ] אן פֿר שטיהן מוז</p>	
1r	1,1	סובסטיטוטוס	Substitutus	דען רב זיין בשטעלטן	deputy, <i>den sein bestellten</i> , cf. <i>bestellen</i> = <i>zu einem Amte bestellen</i>
1v	1,2	געאיבעט	geübet	געאיבעט הייטט צו פֿר שטיאן גבערט	learned, trained, <i>geübet, gebessert</i>
1v	1,3	עקסמינירונג	Examinirung	[פֿרהערן]	examination, cf. <i>verhören</i>
1v	1,4	עקסאמען	Examen	[פֿרה?ערן]	examination, cf. <i>verhören</i>
2r	1,6	עקסמינירט	examiniret	פֿרהערט	examined, <i>verhört</i>
2r	2,2	פרעשטנדארום	Praestandorum [Gen. pl.]	צאהלונג	obligation to perform an act, to pay fees, <i>Zahlung</i>
2r	2,4	דיספענסאציהן	Dispensation	פֿר לויב	dispensation, exemption, <i>Verlaub</i>
2r	2,4	סובסטיטאט	Substituto	אין מיט העלפֿר	deputy, <i>Mithelfer</i>
2r	2,4	סוביעקטא	Subjecta	אין [ - - ] [ - - ] [ - - ]	subject, person
2r	2,5	סובסטיטוטא	Substituto	זיין פֿאר גשאעלטן	deputy, <i>sein verstellten</i>
2r	2,5	פריוטציווע	privativè	פרווציב	(in his) absence

- 28 These should be seen as tentative observations intended to hint at possible tensions between Yiddish, Judeo-German and German. The cognate German expressions were searched in the dictionary by Johann Christoph Adelung (*Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*, 1811, it is now available online at <http://lexika.digitale-sammlungen.de/adelung/online/>). This dictionary contains lexical material of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Cognate Hebrew expressions are listed with regard to the "Hebrew-Aramaic component as a marker of Yiddish distinctiveness", cf. Aptroot Aptroot (see note 16), p. 122, as mentioned earlier.
- 29 This is the only lengthy paratext in the manuscript. Although the orthography resembles the main text, this paratext contains two clearly Yiddish terms: נמיס רעד / נמיס רייד ("this sign"), and ("provincial regulation"), where the word *Takana* is a clear hint to the former *Takkanot*.

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
2v	3,1	לנדש גאוורנא	Landes-Gouverno	[- -] שטאטהלטר	Provincial Government, <i>Statthalter</i>
2v	3,1	קאנפֿרמציאהן	Confirmation	בקרעפטיגונג	confirmation, affirmation, <i>Bekräftigung</i>
3r	4,1	אינקלוסיווע	inclusivè	מיט איין ביצן [- -]	inclusive, <i>miteinbezogen</i>
3r	4,2	פֿארמליטעט	Formalität	גשטאט [- -]	formality, <i>Gestalt</i>
3r	4,2	רעשקריפטי	Rescripti	איין בריב מן מלכות	rescript, edict, <i>Brief</i> .
3v	4,3	קונטריבוטען	Contribuenten	אלז מס בייאטראג	contribution, <i>Beytrag</i> .
3v	4,3	רעפלקטירן	reflectiren	[- -] אן געהיריג [- -] אויף עטוואז [א]כטן	reflect, <i>angehörig</i> , <i>auf etwas achten</i>
3v	4,4	סינגאג	Synagog	שול	synagogue, <i>[Juden]schulle</i>
3v	4,4	פארטיציאן	Parition	[הו]לדיגונג	homage, <i>Huldigung</i>
4r	5,3	וואטצירר	Votirer	פחות צ וואטיען [- -]	voter, <i>Votierer</i>
4v	6	טאלערנץ געלטן	Tolleranz-Geldern	גאבן וואז דער מענש קאן גדולדן	tolerance impost, <i>Gaben, mit der Mensch gedulden kann</i>
4v	6	אָד אינטרא	ad intra	טרענליך <sup>31</sup> [- -] דיא לנדס [- -] סטיין?	from within
4v	6	מאדום	Modum	ווייז	mode, <i>Weise</i>
4v	6	קאנטריבוציאנאליס	Contributionalis	בייא שטייארונג	contribution, <i>Beisteuerung</i>
4v	6	פּרעסטאַנדאַ	Praestanda	דש שולדיגה צו צאהלין	obligation to perform an act, to pay fees etc., <i>das Schuldige zu zahlen</i>
5v	7,5	עקס קאסאַ קאמאני	ex Cassa communi	פון דער גמיינ קאסאַ	from municipal coffers, <i>von der Gemeinde-casse</i> ).

**30** The scribe made a mistake, he added into the word and then corrected himself.

**31** The scribe confirms writing of two separate words.

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
6v	11,1	אין זיינם וואקציאנס ברייף	in seinem Vocations = Brief	זיין רבנות ברייף	rabbinic letter, ordination, <i>Brief</i> ,
6v	11,2	דער סובסטיטואירטע רבינר	der substituirte Rabiner	דער רב זיין גשטעלטן	deputy rabbi, cf., <i>den sein gestellten</i>
6v	11,2	פֿונקטציאן	Function	אמט פֿר טוט אלז [- -] געבר	function, <i>Amt</i>
6v	11,2	אינקלוסיווע	inclusivè	פֿר פול	inclusive, für voll?
7r	12,2	עקסאקטציאנעם	Exactiones	גניט[יג]ע <sup>32</sup>	exactions, <i>genötige</i>
7v	14,2	אין קארפארע	in Corpore	אייא דער פֿר מלונג <sup>33</sup>	as a body, <i>bei der Vermählung</i>
7v	14,2	סינגולי	Singuli	אב גטיילט	individual, cf. <i>abgeteilt</i>
7v	15,1	רעפרטירטע קונטריבוציאנס	repartirte Contributions	[- -] גשריבן	assigned contributory tax, <i>zugeschrieben</i>
7v	15,1	קאנסענס	Consens	[ע]רלויב	consensus, <i>Erlaub</i>
7v	15,1	פרטיקולרי שולדן	Particular- Schulden	ביזונדריכי	particular (debt), cf. <i>besondere</i>
7v	15,1	עמיגרירן	emigriren	דיא זיך אן קהל וועק ציהן	emigrate, <i>sich wegziehen</i> ,
8r	15,2	קאנטריבוציוהנס ראטאם	Contributions = Ratam	טייל	contributory proportion, <i>Teil</i>
8r	15,2	עמעגרירטע	emigrirte	דער זיך [- -] ברגט? און צ[ן] לייב דער שררה	emigrate, cf. [ <i>sich</i> ] <i>bergen, ohne Zulaub der</i>
8r	15,2	וואגירנדע	vagirende	הרום לויפֿר	wandering, <i>Herumläufer</i>
8r	15,2	פֿער מאדום טראגסטוס	per modum transitūs	דורך גע[- -]בן ווייס	temporary stay, <i>durch ... Weise</i>
8r	16	פאטענטאל שאצונגען	Patental-Satzungen	שררות	bylaws,
8r	16	פֿאמיליע	Familie	פֿאמיליע גשלעכט	family, <i>Familie</i> , <i>Geschlecht</i>
8r	16	פֿרא אינקלא	pro Incola	אין וואה[נער]	(one) resident, <i>Einwohner</i>

<sup>32</sup> The vowel mutation ö is here recorded as ʔ.

<sup>33</sup> The semantic connection is not completely clear here. The text deals with charity, the scribe mentions the wedding maybe as a traditional occasion when the groom and the bride give to charity.

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
8r	16	קאמעראל עראריום	Cameral-Aerarium	קאמר [- -]	chamber treasury, <i>Kammer...</i>
8r	16	רעשפעקטיווע נאך דעם פֿר מעגן	respectivè nach dem Vermögen	נאך אן געהן זיין יכולת	respectively, according to his property, <i>nach angehen sein</i>
8r	16	דיספענסציהן	Dispensation	ערלויב[ניס]	dispensation, <i>Erlaubnis</i>
8r	16	פאען פֿאלל	Poen-Fall	שטר[א]	penalty, <i>Strafe</i>
8r	16	פענאל אורדנונג	Poenal-Ordnung	שטראף	penalty order, <i>Strafe</i>
8r	16	קאפילאציהן	Copulation	אונטר דר חופה	marriage, <i>unter dem [Hochzeits] baldachin</i> ,
8r	16	קויציאן	Caution	איין ערבות	surety,
8v	17	פֿאמיליע	Familien	גשלעכט	family, <i>Geschlecht</i>
8v	17	סעפארטציהן	Separation	[אפ?] גשיידני	separation, <i>geschiedene</i>
8v	18	פרעסטאציע קרעפֿטין	Praestations = Kräften	[צ]אהלונגש	payment liabilities, <i>Zahlungs-</i>
8v	19	פריוואט נוצין	Privat-Nutzen	[- -]עכשטר	private use
8v	19	קאנסענס	Consens	ערלויבניס	consens, <i>Erlaubnis</i>
9r	19	עפעקטין	Effecten	בצין?	valuables
9r	21	פרעסטאציע לייסטונג	Praestations = Leistung	צאהלונגש	levies, payments, <i>[Zahlungs]leistung</i>
9r	21	אינקארפארירטן	incorporirten	לייבליכן	incorporated, <i>leiblichen</i>
9r	22	עקס דאמעסטיקא	ex Domestic	איין היימיש[יש]	from the community/ /domestic funds, <i>einheimisch</i>
9r	22	סובסטויטוס	Substitutus	זיין מגיד אודר פאר גשטעלטר	deputy, <i>sein (spokesman) oder Stellvertreter</i>
9v	22	דער לנדש סאליציטאטור	der Landes = Sollicitator	[א]לז פֿאר זארגר	provincial solicitor, <i>als Versorger</i>
9v	22	יעדר גמיינד דעפוטירט	jeder Gemeind = Deputirter	[דע]ר אן גאָרדנטי	communal deputy, <i>der Angeordnete</i>
9v	23	פערסאָנליס	Personalis	פרשינדליך	staff, <i>persönlich</i>
9v	23	אדיוסטירונג	Adjustirung	[רעכט]פֿרטיגן	adjustment, <i>rechtfertigen</i>

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
9v	23	דאמעסטיקאל	Domestical-Rechnungen	איין היימשה	domestic bills, <i>einheimische</i> ...
9v	23	סוברעפּרטיציאָהנס נאַרמיה	Subrepartitionis = Norma	[- -] מאהל אויז [- -] יבנה [-] ייכט [- -] נור	redistributive norm
9v	23	קוואַטא	Contributions = Quota	טייל	contributory quota, <i>Teil</i>
9v	23	לעגיטימטציאָן	Legitimation	פולמכט אויז ווייזן	legitimation, <i>Vollmacht ausweisen</i>
9v	23	דאמעסטיקאל	Domestical	איין היימשה	domestic, <i>einheimisch</i>
9v	23	רעשקריפטי	Rescripti	[- -] קמן מלכות [- -] בפעל	rescript, <i>Befehl</i>
9v	23	רעסאלווירן	resolviren	[- -] אן	resolve
10r	24	איינה ספעציעם דא פֿון צו מכין	eine Speciem davon zu machen	גשטלט בזונדרש	to make something of that kind, <i>gestellt besonders</i>
10r	24	רעליגיאַנס אובונגע	Religions = Ubungen	גלויבן	religious practices, <i>Glauben</i>
<b>Zweyte Abtheilung betreffend die Proceß = Ordnung für die Mährische Judenschaft</b>					
10v	pre- am- ble	אין אקטיאניבוס קיווייליבוס	in Actionibus Civilibus	צוויליבוס [-] אי בורגר [ל] נד לוגין	in civil action
10v	pre- am- ble	פֿאָראַ רַעאַי	Foro rei	אָפֿנטליך	competent court, öffentlich
10v	pre- am- ble	אין קרימינליבוס	in Criminalibus	[- -] לד ברעכליכי	criminal, <i>Verbrechen?</i>
10v	pre- am- ble	קאנטראַ	contra	גיגן	against, <i>gegen</i>
10v	3	גראַוואַטא	Gravato	? ?	encumbered
10v	3	רעקורש	Recurs	צו פֿלוכט	recourse, appeal, <i>Zuflucht</i>
10v	3	פרא קאנטינוואיס	pro Continuis	פר קשטענדיג	continuously, <i>für geständig</i>
11r	5	גראַוירטע	gravirte	בשווער[ט] אדר בלעסט[ט]	encumbered, <i>beschwert</i> oder <i>belastet</i>

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11r	5	אינשטנץ סלואא אפילאטציאהנע	Instanz salvâ Appelatione	אן מעלדין בייא דער אפילטציאהן אודר הערשטפט	appeal authority, <i>anmelden</i> <i>bei der Appellation</i> <i>oder Herrschaft</i>
11r	6	פראצעס	Process	איין-] העכשטין משפט	trial, <i>höchsten</i>
11r	6	אדלאקום קוועסטציאניס אדר ליטיגי	ad locum quaestationis oder Litigii	צור צייט בפראגן שטריטן-] [- -	at the place of questioning or litigation, <i>zur Zeit</i> <i>Befragen, Streit...</i>
11v	8	ציטציאן	Citation	[ - -] ברופין	citation, summons, <i>berufen</i>
11v	9	פריוואט גמיינדי	Privat-Gemeind	[ - -] לעמן?	private community
12r	11	איניוריאנט	Injuriant	איניוריאנט דער איינ' בשעדיגן טוט	offender, <i>der</i> <i>beschädigen tut</i>
12r	12	פענאלי	x	פענאלע: שטראף מעסיג במכין: אדר צו בשטראפן	penal, <i>Straf-</i>
12r	11	פערפענעט? <sup>34</sup>	verpoenet	פערפענעט היישט אויף טייטש בשטראפט	penalized, cf. <i>verpönet</i> <i>heißt auf deutsch</i> <i>bestraft</i>
12r	12	קאנפירמציאהן	Confirmation	בקרעפטיג[ונג]	confirmation, affirmation, <i>Bekräftigung</i>
12r	13	פענאלע	Poenale	שטראף	penalty, <i>Strafe</i>
12r	13	דעפאנירן	deponiren	ערליגן	deposit, <i>erlegen</i>
12r	13	רניטענטענס	Renitentens	רעבעלירטי למשל דיא זיך ניט וואלין מיט דיזן געלט צו פרידן לאדן	rebellious, cf. <i>rebelliren</i> , <i>die sich nicht wollen</i> <i>mit diesen Geld</i> <i>zufrieden [belladen</i>
12r	13	פאריציאנס לייסטונג	Partitions = Leistung	גהאר?	homage
12r	13	אסיסטנץ	Assistenz	הילף	assistance, <i>Hilfe</i>
12r	13	געלט פענאלע	Geld = Poenale	כול?	financial penalty
12v	17	אין לאקא קאנטראוורזיע	in loco Controversiae	[ - -] דען ארדט [ - -] מיט [ - -] נקין הבין	at the place of controversy

34 Added in the margin, in the square script, with a question mark. The scribe confused the words *Poenale* and *verpoenet*.

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
13r	19	גרעדיטארן	Creditoren	דער דא בארגטן [- -]	creditors
13r	19	קאנטרהירטן	contrahirten	מיט אנדר פר גלייכן	contract, <i>mit lein/ander vergleichen</i>
13r	19	קאנסענס	Consens	ערלויב	consensus, <i>Erlaub</i>
13r	19	קוואנצי פלורימי	quanti plurimi	קוונטי פלורימי אא?ד מעהרישטן	the most
13r	19	יורימענטום מאניפֿעסטצאניס	Juramentum Manifestationis	[- -]עסטיגלך דורך [- -]ער אופן בארן פר מעגין	oath of disclosure
13v	20	ליקויט	liquid	עטוואז ווערט איזט	liquid, <i>etwas wert ist</i>
13v	20	אינדאגירונג	Indagirung	אונטר זוכן	investigation, <i>untersuchen</i>
13v	20	יורימענטום קלומניע	Juramentum Calumniae	לעסטירונג	oath against calumny, oath of good faith, <i>Lästerung</i>
13v	20	לעגאליטעט	Legalitaet	אַרב טייל	legality, <i>?Erbteil</i>
13v	21	קרידען	Criden	פר מעגן	bankruptcy, <i>Vermögen</i>
13v	21	פּריאָריטעט	Prioritaet	פֿאר הנט	priority, <i>Vorhand</i>
14r	24	קאנטריבענדיס	Contribuendis	קונטריבענטן	contributor, cf. <i>Contribution</i>
14r	24	פרעשטציאניבוס	Praestationibus	גאבן	obligation to perform an act, to pay fees etc., <i>Gaben</i>
14r	25	דעביטארי	Debitori	שולדנר	debtor, <i>Schuldner</i>
14r	25	אין נאטורי	in natura	דיזה וואן [- -]	in kind
14v	26	קאזוס פֿארטואיטוס	Casus fortuitus	אין זאך דש קיין מענש פֿרהיטן קן	fortuitous event, <i>ein Sach das kein Mensch verhüten kann</i>
14v	26	אד מאסאם	ad Massam	צום אויף היבן	en masse?, <i>zum Aufheben</i>
14v	27	פֿאַלימענטס	Falliments	פֿאַנקראַטירונג	bankruptcy, <i>Bankrott</i>
14v	27	קאלוסיאן	Collusion	אין היימליכש	collusion, <i>einheimliches</i> ...
14v	27	קרעדיטארעס	Creditores	פר שטיהניס	creditor, ?

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
14v	27	אד מאסאם	ad Massam	ככל	en masse?,
15r	28	רעגרעסירען	regressiren	דיא ווידר הולונג זיינש שאדן	regress, <i>die Wiederholung seines Schaden?</i>
15r	28	מאליטעזע	malitiosè	איבלטעטר	maliciously, cf. Übeltat
15r	28	דאלאסע	dolosè	בטריבר	deceitfully, cf. betrüben
15r	28	ערגא קויזאָנעם	ergà Cautionem	ווידר דען גוט שפרעכר	security, <i>wider den Gutsprecher</i>
15r	29	אד אלטערום טנטום	ad alterum tantum	נאך מאל זוא פיל	as much again, <i>noch mal so viel</i>
15r	29	פֿיסקליטער	fiscaliter	פארשטעהר[לך]	tax procedures, <i>versteherlich, cf. versteuerlich</i>
15v	30	קאניווירטען	connivireten	דורך דיא פינגר זעהן?	overlook, <i>durch die Finger sehen</i>
15v	31	אינווגטירן	inventiren	זיינה זכין חובת מטלטלין צו דאש אויף שרייבן	take stock, <i>seine Sachen zu das aufschreiben?</i>
16r	34	אינשטרומענטום	Instrumentum	שריפט	protocol, <i>Schrift</i>
16v	35	אין פֿארמה אויטענטיקא	in forma authentica	אין גלויב ווערדן ווייז	legally valid form, <i>in glaubwürdiger Weise</i>
16v	36	עקסאמען טעסטאום	Examen testium	דערן צייגן אפ הערונג	examination of witnesses, <i>deren Zeugen Abhörung?</i>
16v	36	אינשטרומענט	Instrument	שריפט	protocol, <i>Schrift</i>
16v	38	איניורייען	Injurien	אונרעכטין	injustice, <i>Unrechten</i>
16v	39	אין אקטצאָנה איניוריארום	in actione Injuriarum	[-]אין ווערק דער [-]ום גריכט [-]ט [-]ט	in the case of injustice
16v	39	סלוא אפֿעלצאָנע	salvà Appellatione	דער זיך נאך פר גלייך אויף ווייטר בריפֿס?	subject to appeal authority, <i>der sich nach Vergleich auf weiter Berufs...?</i>
17r	40	רעקורירען	recurriren	צופלובט נעמין	take appeal, <i>Zuflucht nehmen</i>

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>28</sup>
17r	41	סענטענצעס	Sentenzen	אין אנדרם <sup>35</sup> שריפט מיט אין בגרין	verdict
17r	41	פּראַ – אונט קאנטרא	pro und contra	פּיר אינט ווידר	for and against, <i>für und wider</i>
17r	41	פובליקציע	Publication	אופנטליך צו- [-]	publication, öffentlich...
17v	44	פראצעס	Process-	משפטים	trial,
17v	44	אדוואקאטן	Advocaten	מליץ	advocate,
17v	44	סומריטר	summariter	גניץ קורץ	concisely, <i>ganz kurz</i>
17v	44	סלון רעקורסו	salvò Recursu	מיט פאר קולט דעם צו פלוכט	(without) prejudice to recourse, <i>mit? dem Zuflucht</i>
17v	44	סומארישן	summarischen	קורצר	concise, <i>kurzer</i>
17v	45	וואקציע צייט	Vocations = Zeit	ערוועהונג דר צייט	time of vocation, <i>Erwählung der Zeit?</i>
18r	48	גראוירט	gravirt	פּר דריסיג?	encumbered, <i>verdießlich?</i>
18r	49	ציטאציע	Citation	ברפונג	summons, <i>Berufung</i>
18v	50	שפורטעלן	Sporteln	גריכ[ט?] קאשטן	fund of court fees, <i>Gerichtskosten</i>
18v	51	עקסטרא ארדינארי געריכטש- הלטונג	extraordinari- Gerichts = Haltung	אב זונדר	extraordinary court hearing, cf. <i>absonderlich</i>
18v	52	פיר דערן יוריט סעסיע	für deren Juristen = Session	צו זאמן קונפט	legal session, <i>Zusammenkunft</i>
19r	54	אינקלוזיווע	inclusivè	פּר פול מיט דיין זעלבין איין גצונג	inclusive, <i>für voll?</i> <i>mit diesen selbigen eingezogen</i>
19r	55	אינטערפעלין	interpelliren	צו טרייבן א- [-]	interpellate, <i>zu treiben...</i>
19v	58	ליטיגאנטען	Litiganten	צוויי בעלי דינים	litigants, persons involved in a lawsuit, <i>zwei</i>
19v	59	דעטאקסאציע	Detaxation	אבשצונג	detaxation, <i>[Abschätzung]</i>
21r	1.1	נעגיאנטן	Negotianten	סוחרים	negotiants,

35 This explication does not translate the term, it rather comments on the different type of script used in the print which the scribe forgot or failed to use in the manuscript.

folio	article, §	explained term from the main text	ditto in Fraktur (print)	marginal paratext in the Ms	translation of the explained term and German (Hebrew) cognate expression to the paratext <sup>36</sup>
<b>Dritte Abtheilung betreffend die Commercial-Ordnung für die Judenschaft in dem Marggrathum Mähren</b>					
21r	1,2	דעביטאר	Debitor	בעל חוב	debtor,
21r	1,5	עקסצפטצײַאנעס	Exceptiones	איינה אויז נעמניס למשל איינר וויל זיך מיט דער זאך אויז רידן	exception, <i>eine Ausnahms</i> <sup>36</sup> , <i>einer will sich mit der Sache ausreden</i>
21v	1,6	אָבליגאַציאָנעס	Obligaciones	שולד זיין	obligations, <i>schuld sein</i>
21v	2	פּראָטעסטצײַאן	Protestation	דר גיבן איין וועיזונג	protestation, <i>ergeben Einweisung?</i>
21v	2	נאָטריאָם	Notarium	אלו וויא איין נאמן בגלויבטר	secretary, <i>als wie ein Beglaubter</i>
21v	2	נעגאטיוויס	Negativis	אין דעזן פּרליגטן	negative, cf. <i>verliegen</i>
22r	3,1	נעגאטיוויס	Negotium	הנדל שפּט	transaction, business, <i>Handelschaft</i>
22v	4	פּרעקויציאָנען	Praecautionem	פאר זיכט אדר פאר זארגי	warning, <i>Vorsicht oder Vorsorge</i>
24r	8,1	מונטוואום [ן] קאמערציום	mutuum Commercium	דורך גנג דער הנדל שפּט	mutual trade, <i>Durchgang der Handelschaft</i>
24r	8,1	ידישה אינדיווידואַ	Juedische Individua	פר שידן הייט אדר צו זאגין דיא יודן אליין	Jewish individuals, <i>Verschiedenheit oder zusagen die Juden allein</i>
24r	8,2	יוספּראַהיבּענדי	Jus prohibendi	פּר באַט	prohibiting law, <i>Verbot</i>
24v	9,1	קאמוניטעט	Communitaet	גמיינ	community, <i>Gemeinde</i>
	9,2	קאמערציי	Commercii	[ג]שפּט	commerce, <i>Geschäft</i>
25r	9,3	פּריוויליגירעט	privilegiret	גנאדן [- -]	priviledged
25v	12,1	סעפּאַרצײַם	separatim	[- -] נדרלך	separately, <i>sonderlich?</i>
26r	12,3	מאַטעריאַליען	Materialien	סחורה	materials,
26r	13	סענסלען	Sensalen	פאר מיטלר	conciliator, <i>Vermittler</i>
26r	13	נעגאטיוויס	Negotium	הנדל שפּט	transaction, business, <i>Handelschaft</i>
26v	14	פּענאַל-גזטץ	Poenal-Gesatz	שטראף	penalty law, <i>Strafe</i>

36 Cf. Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch, <http://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw-cgi/zeige?term=Ausnahms&index=lemmata>, this form was documented in 1616 Tirol.

One can say that the marginal paratext here does not show what eighteenth century Moravian Jews, represented by their scribe, did not understand in the difficult passages of this imperial regulation. It rather shows *how* they understood it. Moreover, it seems that in some cases their reading might have been different from the reading of the authorities; cf. from the table: *Tolleranz-Geldern* interpreted as גאבן וואז דער מענש קאן גדולדן.

## Conclusion

The Triesch manuscript of the *Polizei-Ordnung* presents, in a rather symbolic way, the sociolinguistic situation of the Moravian Jewry in mid eighteenth century and the first stages of the language shift from Yiddish to German in this transition period. German as the new official language of the state is enforced by the power of the state institutions first within the realm of the chancery style. However, in the written form High German does not enter the language space of the Moravian Jewry directly, but via the Hebrew/Yiddish script and in a modified version (Judeo-German). The slowly declining status of West-Yiddish as a written standard language of Western and Central European Jewry pushes it rather to the margins of the written discourse. But still, West-Yiddish functions as a useful tool which, via paratexts, facilitates understanding and the gradual adoption of High German by the Moravian Jewry. The manuscript depicts the transitional language situation on the outskirts of the German speaking area a few years or decades before West-Yiddish will be rejected from inside of the community. The role of the Jewish scribes in this process of transformation of the language identity of Moravian Jews as predecessors of the Haskalah movement is considerable.

A view into the paratextual space of the Triesch manuscript shows clearly, that especially words of non-Germanic origin were incomprehensible, but obviously not only for the Jewish population. In the print of the relevant imperial regulation, difficult terms were printed in a different, conspicuous font. The list of these printed terms and the translated and explained words from the manuscript overlap almost entirely. We can conclude that the difficulty in understanding German for the Jewish population in Moravia was connected chiefly with the script and with the foreign (non-Germanic) vocabulary of the chancery style. The latter difficulty was most probably shared by the non-Jewish population.

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# *The Beauty of Duty: A new look at Ludwig Winder's novel*

Ingeborg Fiala-Fürst

The paper analyzes the novel *Die Pflicht (Duty)* by the German Jewish writer Ludwig Winder (1889–1946) written during World War II in Great Britain. Winder originated from Moravia; before his years in British exile, he lived most of his life in Prague. His novel *Die Pflicht* was obviously written by order of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. It portrays the resistance activities of an average citizen in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Despite its commitment to a political cause, the novel demonstrates considerable literary quality. The contribution contextualizes Winder's oeuvre within the literature of the so-called 'Prague Circle'; it traces Winder's life in exile and exposes the historical circumstances that caused the creation of the novel.

The reviewers are wrong to mark the last German edition of Winder's novel *Die Pflicht / Duty* (Arco, Wuppertal 2003) as “a great novel”, “a masterpiece”, “a bestseller”, “Winder's best novel”, or “an epic of Czech anti-fascist resistance”. Such superlatives are merely a manifestation of a loud marketing strategy and a certain marketing helplessness. How does one ‘sell’ an author whom nobody knows and who has long been forgotten? An author who is known only to a handful of experts, whose purchasing power would not cover even the cost of the publisher's postage? The otherwise reliable expert on Prague German literature, the German Professor Hartmut Binder, is wrong, too, in claiming that the novel has only the value of a historic artifact and not a work of art because it bears the markings of a strong propaganda slant, sacrificing aesthetic quality.<sup>1</sup>

What, then, is the real deal with Ludwig Winder and his novel *Duty*?

Ludwig Winder (1889–1946) was born in the South Moravian town Šafov/Schaffa and spent his childhood in a traditional Jewish community in

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1 *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 3 November 2004.

Holešov/Holleschau.<sup>2</sup> He studied at a business academy in Olomouc/Olmütz and after his journalistic volunteer beginnings in Vienna, in Silesian Bielsko, in Teplice/Teplitz, and Pilsen, he established himself as editor of the prestigious German newspaper *Bohemia* in Prague in 1914. He stayed with the newspaper until its liquidation in December 1938. At that time, Winder belonged amongst the most industrious authors. He wrote two poetry collections – which he later disowned –, three dramas, twelve novels, several short stories, and three thousand newspaper articles. He also belonged to the well-known authors of Prague German literature – as for instance Kafka, Brod, Werfl, Urzidil, Ungar, Kisch, Fuchs, Meyrink, Pick, Eisner and others. A comprehensive annotated edition of Winder's work would certainly be beneficial for shedding more light on the cultural and historical hotbed of the First Czech Republic.

In his memoirs, Max Brod counts Winder among the core members of the 'Prague Circle'; Winder took Kafka's place after the latter's death in 1924. In Czechoslovakia, Winder was considered a valued and cherished author; he was particularly appreciated for his efforts to mediate between the Czech and German cultures. In 1935 he received the Czechoslovak State Award for his novel *Steffi oder die Familie Dörre überwindet die Krise* (Steffi or the Dörre Family Overcomes the Crisis). Several of his novels were immediately translated into Czech, such as *Die nachgeholtten Freuden* (The Delayed Pleasures) / *Upír* (The Vampire; published in German in 1927 and in Czech in 1929); *Štefka*, published in German and Czech in 1934; *Der Thronfolger / Následník trůnu* (The Heir to the Throne; published in German and Czech in 1938). Some of his novels were published as series in Czech dailies, as for instance *Štefka* in *České slovo* and *Následník trůnu* in *Lidové noviny*; and they were reviewed by prominent Czech intellectuals (e.g. Arne Novák praised *Následník trůnu*).

Winder was also a socially committed writer. In 1934, together with Johannes Urzidil (with whom he apparently shared allegiance to a Masonic lodge) he founded the "Protective Association of German Authors from Czechoslovakia" – as opposition to the Sudeten writers' associations which were completely in line with Konrad Henlein's Nazi ideology. During the first exile wave, when thousands of German refugees sought refuge in Prague, the capital of the only truly democratic country in Central Europe, he was involved in relief organizations, provided German émigrés with publication opportunities, and tirelessly wrote articles warning against Hitler.

However, Ludwig Winder belonged to thousands of authors who had to face the hardships of exile: he was uprooted from his native country with no

2 A detailed biography and bibliography, including analyses of important works can be found e.g. in the Dictionary of Moravian German Authors, *Lexikon deutschmährischer Autoren/LDA*, Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2003.

possibility of return and from a profession in which he was integrated and highly successful, his family was devastated, causing the deterioration of his health and his premature death. Exile took his work out of context and erased all memory of it. In a country where only one national culture was allowed to exist after the war, in socialist Czechoslovakia which so rigorously rid itself of Germans (and German Jews), Ludwig Winder and his work fell into oblivion.

Max Brod predicted Winder's renaissance in his Prague Circle, "I have no doubt that the world will rediscover him".<sup>3</sup> The current renaissance of Winder's work seemingly comes from Germany where some of his novels and short stories were reissued or first published from manuscripts in the 1980s and 1990s,<sup>4</sup> German studies dissertations and monographs were written.<sup>5</sup> However, the renaissance actually began in Prague. In 1967, Kurt Krolop (the late professor from Prague's Charles University) wrote a dissertation on Ludwig Winder and uncovered his unjustly forgotten and forsaken work. Krolop's work on Winder<sup>6</sup> was part of an effort by domestic German Studies to start a conversation about German authors from Bohemia at the time of liberalization during the Prague Spring. Tanks of the Warsaw Pact and the subsequent normalization ideology curbed this effort for the next twenty years.

Today, however, the few connoisseurs of German literature from Bohemia rank Ludwig Winder among the most famous and most revered authors. Prominent in his bibliography are his early expressionist novels: *Židovské varhany* / *Die jüdische Orgel* (The Jewish Organ, 1920). The riveting tale of a boy

3 Max Brod, *Der Prager Kreis*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1979, p. 168.

4 *Der Thronfolger* (The Heir to the Throne), published in 1984 in the GDR; *Die jüdische Orgel* (The Jewish Organ) published in 1983 and again in 1999; *Die nachgeholten Freuden* (The Delayed Pleasures) published in 1987; *Der Kammerdiener* (The Butler) published in 1988; Dr. Muff, published in 1990; *Hugo: Tragödie eines Knaben: Gesammelte Erzählungen* (Hugo: The Tragedy of a Boy: Collected Short Stories), published in 1995. *Novemberwolke* (November Cloud) from 1996 and *Die Geschichte meines Vaters* (My Father's Story) from 2001 were published from Winder's estate.

5 Among others Margarita Pazi, *Fünf Autoren des Prager Kreises*, Frankfurt/M./Bern/Las Vegas: Peter Lang Verlag, 1978, pp. 256–298; Margarita Pazi, "Die 'freie Tat' im historischen und antifaschistischen Roman – Max Brod, Ernst Sommer und Ludwig Winder", in *Das Exilerlebnis. Verhandlungen des 4. Symposiums über deutsche und österreichische Exilliteratur*, ed. By Donald G. Daviau and Ludwig M. Fischer, Columbia, SC: Camden, 1982, pp. 162–168; Margarita Pazi, "Ein Versuch jüdischer deutsch-tschechischer Symbiose: Ludwig Winder", in *The German Quarterly* 63 (1990), pp. 211–221; Hans J. Schütz, "Winder, Ludwig", in idem, *„Ein deutscher Dichter bin ich einst gewesen“: Vergessene und verkannte Autoren des 20. Jahrhunderts*, München: C.H. Beck, 1988, pp. 294–300; Jürgen Serke, "Ludwig Winder: 'Wann wird der Schmerz eines Menschen wieder etwas bedeuten?'" in idem, *Böhmische Dörfer: Wanderungen durch eine verlassene literarische Landschaft*, Wien: Zsolnay Verlag, 1987, pp. 142–161; Christiane Spirek, "Eine Stimme aus Böhmen – Der Prager Autor Ludwig Winder", in *Exil: Forschung, Erkenntnisse, Ergebnisse* 17 no. 1 (1997) Hamburg, pp. 45–55.

6 The Olomouc "Arbeitsstelle fuer deutschmaehrische Literatur" published Krolop's dissertation in 2015, which until then only existed as a typescript: Kurt Krolop, *Ludwig Winder. Sein Leben und sein erzählerisches Frühwerk: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Prager deutschen Literatur*, Beiträge zur deutschmährischen Literatur, vol. 28, Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2015.

from a Moravian Jewish Ghetto, whose psyche hosts the massive collision, embodied in torrid expressionist language, of the demons of sexuality and Jewish orthodoxy, certainly belongs among the best ever created expressionistic epics.<sup>7</sup> Also Winder's other early works are written in an expressionist style, his debut novel *Šílející rotačka / Die rasende Rotationsmaschine* (The Ragging Rotary, 1917), *Kassai* (1920), and *Hugo. Tragédie chlapce / Hugo. Tragödie eines Knaben* (Hugo. The Tragedy of a Boy, 1924). A series of 'contemporary novels' was published in the 1930s. They were dedicated – in an already sober and sometimes 'new realism' language – to themes that moved the post-war society. Such novels were *Die nachgeholtten Freuden* (The Delayed Pleasures, 1927), about crude, rampantly capitalist practices of a modern nouveau riche after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; *Jezdecký bičák / Die Reitpeitsche* (The Riding Crop, 1928), set on the background of the military and the years of inflation after World War I; *Dr. Muff* (1931), about the destructive power of money and the emergence of totalitarian structures; *Štefka* (1934), on emergency situations in the society of Czech and German intellectuals. However, many consider Winder's ultimate work to be the historical novel *Následník trůnu / Der Thronfolger* (The Heir to the Throne, 1938), a story about Franz Ferdinand, who never became Austrian Emperor although he very much wished to. This was a novel fitting into the context of classics reviving memories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and establishing the so-called Hapsburg Myth (in the vein of Joseph Roth, Stefan Zweig, Franz Werfel). At the same time it was exempt from it due to its non-idealizing objectivity and its outlook on the future. After the publication of the manuscript of a long unknown novel *Listopadový mrak / Novemberwolke* (November Cloud, 1942/43, again in 1996) an opinion is emerging that this story of a handful of frightened people huddled in a London basement during a German bomb raid is one of the best German novels from exile and about exile.

On the scale between 'timeless, excellent, aesthetically valuable' and 'interesting only as a historical artifact', where does one place the novel *Duty*?

The novel tells the story of an ordinary clerk with the ordinary Czech name Josef Rada. Rada is torn from his routine and habitual values - most importantly his duty to family, his wife and his son who is a student. He is aroused by the extraordinary events of the world: the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Hitler's Nazi army, the formation of the Protectorate, and the brutal manifestations of the new occupying power. Initially, Rada understands the new historical constellation primarily as a threat to his internal, small,

7 Cf. Ingeborg Fialová-Fürstová, *Expressionismus*, Olomouc: Votobia, 2000.

and familiar world. He is afraid that with any careless action he might endanger his family and thus neglect his duty towards them.

Josef Rada remained a quiet and tireless worker, despite the Munich Agreement [lit.: Munich Diktat] that had relinquished the young Republic and the Czech people to the despotism of the Czech-hater Hitler. [...] The expression of worriedness that his eyes reflected, originated from the will of this sensitive man, who was burdened with a tender conscience, to fulfill all his duties entirely and impeccably. He felt maybe excessively responsible [...] for the wellbeing of his family.<sup>8</sup>

Consequently, Rada strives to lead his life and that of his family according to two maxims: “The main thing is to stay calm. If we manage to stay calm, everything is easier”;<sup>9</sup> and “The important thing is to keep a low profile [unauffällig weiterleben].”<sup>10</sup> The latter term “unauffällig”, i.e. without attracting attention, turns up repeatedly in the following pages.

However, after his son Edmund becomes one of the victims (he is interned in a concentration camp along with many other students of Czech universities), Rada rethinks his values and, placing his duty to the common good above his private duty, becomes actively involved in the resistance movement. Although Rada thinks that his son Edmund who is incarcerated in Dachau is not alive anymore, he refuses to give up the hope for his return and doesn't want to endanger his son's life by rash deeds. The son, thus, plays a substantial role in Rada's 'metamorphosis' (Winder deliberately alludes to Kafka's story, when he writes: “[...] as if I weren't a human being, but a dung beetle that hides beneath rubble [...]”<sup>11</sup>). He's represented by an almost mystical voice from the otherworld:

While he read these names [of executes Czechs], some known, some unknown to him, he sensed Edmund's proximity. It was Edmund's gentle and humble voice that admonished Rada. Edmund's

8 “Trotzdem war Josef Rada nach dem Münchner Diktat, das die junge Republik und das tschechische Volk der Willkür des Tschechenfeindes Hitler ausgeliefert hatte, ein ruhiger, unermüdlicher Arbeiter geblieben. [...] Der Ausdruck des Besorgtseins, der seinen Augen anhaftete, entsprang dem Willen dieses mit einem zarten Gewissen belasteten Menschen, alle Pflichten, die ihm auferlegt waren, untadelig und vollkommen zu erfüllen. Er fühlte sich in vielleicht übertriebenem Maße für das Wohlergehen [...] seiner Familie verantwortlich.” Ludwig Winder, *Die Pflicht*, Wuppertal: Arco Verlag, 2003, p. 6.

9 Ibid., p. 13.

10 Ibid., p. 15.

11 Ibid., p. 94.

voice that urged: You're not fulfilling your duty, father. Why aren't you fulfilling your duty? You betray me, if you don't fulfill your duty.<sup>12</sup>

In this passage Winder returns to the expressionist style of his early works.

Thanks to the information from his office Rada clears the way for several large-scale acts of sabotage on the railway. In the end he is discovered and executed, having first been forced to observe the execution of his wife.

Obviously, readers first think of issues outside literature; issues relating to the circumstances of the novel, the theme, the idea, the context of similar novels. They are thus more likely to judge the novel by its 'historical accuracy' and 'reality' than by its artistic quality. Ludwig Winder, an informed journalist intently watching topical events, was among the first – at least according to the evidence by Max Brod – who said, "we must go", after the *Anschluss* of Austria in March 1938. He was among the first who guessed, even knew, that a free Czechoslovakia would not last for long, that its turn will soon come, as it will for all critics of the Hitler regime – free-thinking intellectuals, promoters of friendly relations between Czechs and Germans and, above all, for Jews. Yet Winder left Czechoslovakia at the last minute – one might even say long after that. After having experienced the Munich Agreement, the occupation of Sudetenland, writing his last article for *Bohemia* in December 1938 (almost symbolically, it was Karel Čapek's obituary), seeing the German tanks drive through Prague on 15 March 1939, only after that, finally, on 29 June 1939 he escaped from occupied Czechoslovakia. He fled as a tourist, with a backpack and sports equipment, with his wife and the elder one of two daughters across the Polish border (as did, also to a late date, Urzidil, Brod and others).<sup>13</sup> Winder's younger daughter Eva, who just turned eighteen, stayed in Prague where she waited for the Gestapo to release her beloved from prison. She paid for her loving waiting with her life: she was murdered in 1945 in the concentration camp Bergen-Belsen.<sup>14</sup>

The journey to England took fourteen days. After their arrival, the refugees were initially accommodated in Reigate near London where the Winders shared a house with their friend Rudolf Fuchs, a Prague German poet and

12 „Während er diese Namen las [der Hingerichteten Tschechen], bekannte und unbekannt, fühlte er Edmunds Nähe. Er vernahm eine mahnende Stimme. Es war Edmunds sanfte, bescheidene Stimme, die Rada mahnte. Edmunds Stimme mahnte: Du tust deine Pflicht nicht, Vater. Warum tust du deine Pflicht nicht? Du liebst mich schlecht, wenn du deine Pflicht nicht tust.“ Ibid, p. 95.

13 Winder's short story *Der Abschied/Rozloučení* (published from the manuscript in 1995) describes the time between the autumn of 1938 and his dramatic exile.

14 Winder included a similar constellation in his novel *Duty*: Edmund's search for his beloved Jarmila becomes fatal on the day of a Nazi bust of university students.

translator of Petr Bezruč.<sup>15</sup> Then, after the first bombings of London, they moved to Baldock, Herfordshire, about 60 kilometers north of London. This is where Ludwig Winder – materially rather well-secured thanks to the Czech Refugee Trust Fund<sup>16</sup> relief – spent the last years of his life. These years were surprisingly very fruitful. He wrote three novels *Listopadový mrak* (November Cloud, 1941/42), *Komorník / Der Kammerdiener* (The Butler, 1942/43), and *Die Pflicht / Povinnost* (Duty, 1943/44). His last major novel, *Příběh mého otce / Geschichte meines Vaters* (The Story of my Father) in which he returns to Moravia, to the Holešov ghetto and Jewish topics of his early works, is unfinished; the planned generational epic about the fate of the residents of a Prague apartment building remained only in its initial sketches. Occasionally he wrote for the exile press but tried to avoid the official exile associations and activities. He wrote repeatedly to his friend Urzidil in American exile that the “exiles from Czechoslovakia – with some exceptions – get on my nerves”. After one of his visits to the London exile cultural center, he wrote to Urzidil, “on no account will I go there again”.<sup>17</sup> However, Winder already maintained a similarly reserved attitude toward the official, especially Communist, exile societies in Prague in the 1930s.

Winder's most prominent cooperation with the exile circle is his novel *Duty*, published as a serial in the London exile newspaper *Die Zeitung* from 6 August 1943 to 24 March 1944; apparently, it was written on request of the Czechoslovak government in exile. This is evidenced by several facts: Before *Duty*, the same newspaper published Winder's novel *Komorník* (The Butler, placed much less topically in the days of the old monarchy<sup>18</sup>) as a series, but its sequel was suspended, interrupted by Winder's work on a new novel. Secondly, for some time, Winder received royalties. And lastly, the novel was basically immediately translated into English (titled *One Man's Answer*, published under the pseudonym of G. A. List in 1944), and sold out within four weeks (indicative of a targeted sales campaign).

Why, though, would the Czechoslovak exile government ‘buy’ a novel written by the Prague German Jewish writer Ludwig Winder? From the works

15 Cf. Fuchs exile collection of poems, *Gedichte aus Reigate*, 1941.

16 Some historians claim this relief fund for Czechoslovak émigrés was so generously funded by the British government in order to clean their guilty conscience for their part in the Munich Agreement.

17 Quoted according to Jürgen Serke, *Böhmische Dörfer*, Wien: Zsolnay Verlag, 1987, p. 160.

18 Nevertheless, its testimony is much more topical, timeless, dealing with the issue of an originally positive characteristic, service loyalty, turning into absolute evil, an issue which twenty years later, when reopened by Hannah Arendt in *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, was the cause for a worldwide debate. The thematic link between Winder's *Komorník* and Arendt's book was first brought to attention by Jürgen Serke; cf. Serke, p. 159.

of Czech and foreign historians, we know that the London government in exile was exposed to a strong pressure to make itself legitimate. In order to be recognized as the legitimate representative of occupied Czechoslovakia in the original pre-Munich borders (which in the United Kingdom, a country whose representatives had a certain share in the destruction of the First Republic, was political skating on thin ice<sup>19</sup>) and to be regarded as a political partner in the fight against Nazism, they had to prove that the Czech people were 'capable of resistance' and that they could inspire domestic opposition. While the well-known share of Czech pilots in the Battle of Britain was unquestionable and recognition was enjoyed even for the hastily assembled Czechoslovak unit fighting briefly in northern France, the domestic situation from the outside looked different. It was quiet in the Protectorate, with the exception of sporadic acts of defiance it was not possible to talk of a mass resistance movement, but rather of passive tolerance, if not of collaboration with the occupying power. This situation had to cause panic in Edvard Beneš' circles; this resulted in the decision to send a trained group of paratroopers to the Protectorate with the mission to assassinate the *Reichsprotektor* Heydrich.

German historian Jörg K. Hoensch, an expert on Czech history of the twentieth century, writes:

Fearing that passively accepted occupation, without any effective sabotage or acts of resistance could evoke the idea of accommodating Czech collaboration in the free world, Beneš gave an order to several members of the Czech exile army (thoroughly trained since December 1941) to parachute over the Protectorate and prepare larger acts of resistance and the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich.<sup>20</sup>

It is common knowledge that the 27 May 1942 assassination caused a subsequent wave of Nazi terror, with Lidice its best known, terrifying symbol. Critical judgments are known to assess this piece of action as reckless and pointless in view of its military and political significance as compared to the number of casualties claimed by the Heydrichiade. From a propaganda point of view however, the airdrop and subsequent assassination had the intended effect. The Czech nation ceased to be regarded as a passive companion, perhaps even an ally of the Nazis – forced as it may have been – and in the eyes of the world became a clear victim and prey of Nazi terror, what's more, a nation that showed its pride and courage to resist. The official brochure of the exiled

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19 While important, the recognition of legitimacy of the London government in exile on 21 June 1940 was not unquestionable and definite.

20 J. K. Hoensch, *Geschichte der Tschechoslowakei*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992, p. 109.

foreign ministry *Four Fighting Years*, published in 1943,<sup>21</sup> was the first 'publishing result' of the changed situation, the second apparently being Winder's novel *Duty* which, much like *Four Fighting Years*, shows the Czech resistance movement as continuous, existing from the very beginning of the occupation and as an expression of the will of the whole nation, not of only certain political groups (for example, communist).

We know from recent experience with the works of socialist realism that literature written on political request - especially when it is written in a hurry like Winder's novel - is usually at least tendentious, one-sided, and artistically inferior. None of this can be said so bluntly of Winder's *Duty*; even in this novel Winder manifests himself as an experienced storyteller. He arranges with ease the ensemble of his characters, masterfully directs the storyline, is able to maintain the suspense through the hiatus of individual newspaper issues, masters the art of terse abbreviations and characterizing leitmotifs, safely commands his new realism language so that it does not get out of control and blazes in false pathos. *Duty* is actually more of a classic novella of the Kleist kind than a novel. This genre characteristic corresponds to the small (or medium) range of text as well as to the one dimensional storyline concentrated on the main character without episodic digressions (with one exception to be mentioned later), the high frequency of leitmotifs that describe the characters and the central *Dingsymbol*,<sup>22</sup> 'duty', a concept whose content develops together with the main character. Further, it is the limited number of characters equipped with only a very brief characteristics and their clear arrangement around the main character and along the lines of good and evil, the first-person narrative regarding the storyline and figurative panorama mostly from the outside, caring little for the psychology and inner life of the protagonists (emotional processes are mostly expressed through the external plot, activities, dialogue) etc.

The literary qualities of Winder's novel stand out especially in comparison with similar works created under the pressure of the same events. The richest comparison is that to *Lidice*,<sup>23</sup> a 1943 novel by the world-famous Heinrich Mann which grasped almost the same subject as Winder in a satiric-screenwriting way and created a work of very questionable quality. Other works on

21 Hubert Ripka, *Four Fighting Years*, London: Hutchinson & co, 1943.

22 These typical novelistic techniques are responsible for frequent repetition of words, phrases, and sentences - in the central chapter 13, the word "duty" is repeated ten times. Such repetition, though it may awaken feelings of monotony in the reader, is a common novelist mnemonic.

23 *Lidice* became an inspiration for many other literary texts created after 1942, immediately after the events. The texts are listed in Uwe Naumann, *Lidice: Ein böhmisches Dorf*, Frankfurt/Main: Roedelberg, 1983.

the Czechoslovak resistance movement can be easily compared; their common denominator being a distinctive slant, a minimal time interval from the subject of the narrative, and the fact that the authors describe the stories from the 'remote observation post' of exile,<sup>24</sup> i.e. without direct experience. These works include Stefan Heym's *Hostages / Der Fall Glasenapp / Případ Glasenapp* (English in 1943, German in 1959, Slovak in 1961), F. C. Weiskopf's *Dawn Breaks / Před svítáním / Vor einem neuen Tag* (English in 1942, Slovak in 1943, German in 1947) and *Himmelfahrtskommando / Zločinný omyl* (Suicide mission; German in 1944, Czech in 1949). Winder's *Duty* can also be compared to *Revolte der Heiligen / Vzpoura svatých* (The Revolt of the Saints; German in 1944, Czech in 1947), a novel by Ernst Sommer, another Moravian German author exiled in England, on the uprising of Jewish prisoners in a Nazi labor camp. If we ask where Winder got his information about what is happening in the Protectorate and to what extent it was correct, thus ask about the 'veracity' of the facts and context featured in the novel, then we must agree with Christoph Haaker, the author of the epilogue to the German edition of *Duty*,<sup>25</sup> that the exiles in Britain were relatively well informed of the situation in occupied Europe thanks to British media, especially the radio. Furthermore, Haaker compares the information contained in the official brochure *Four Years of Fighting* with facts in Winder's *Duty* and notes a thorough resemblance. Winder's 'exaggeration' of the efficiency of Czech sabotage on the railways, criticized by Haaker, creates much less disruption for the reader than e.g. the many absurdities and the blatant ignorance of the Czech situation in Mann's *Lidice*. It would clearly be unfair to Ludwig Winder to compare *Duty* to later works created with the benefit of hindsight, without ideological pressure, when the authors had time to play with their subject and their characters – as e.g. Bohumil Hrabal in *Closely Watched Trains* (comparable to Winder's *Duty* because of the same theme of railway sabotage) or Johannes Urzidil in the thrilling tale *Last rings / Das letzte Läuten*<sup>26</sup> (comparable because of the same location in Prague during the Protectorate).

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- 24 Cf. my article: "Z příliš vzdálené pozorovatelný?/Von einem zu entfernten Beobachtungsposten?" (From an Overly Remote Observation Post?), in *Mit der Ziehharmonika, Zeitschrift der Theodor-Kramer-Gesellschaft*, vol. 5., 1988, no. 1, pp. 1–8.
- 25 Christoph Haaker, "Ludwig Winders Pflicht. Epilogue", in Ludwig Winder, *Die Pflicht*, Wuppertal: Arco, 2003, p. 191.
- 26 Urzidil's short story contained in *Bist du es, Ronald?* (1968) recounts the lives of two sisters, naive 'common girls'. They at first fully enjoy their unexpectedly acquired assets in occupied Prague (a luxuriously furnished apartment that falls into the lap of Mařka the maid after its Jewish owners left), have eyes for handsome German officers, put on airs and care little about the fate of disintegrated Czechoslovakia and its subdued people until their conscience is touched by the fate of their Jewish neighbors who are brutally dragged off. The short story starts in a burlesque, spirited, humorous tone and ends in fratricide and a voluntary sacrifice in the name of humanity.

The remaining question is why Ludwig Winder 'let himself be bought'. Why did he interrupt work on a novel about his father, which he obviously cared about very much (he repeatedly writes to Urzidil of his concerns about finishing the novel). Its drafting probably brought him solace in his exile fate, since in it he returned to the times and places of his childhood in Moravia, to Haná, to his loved ones, to the time when the world was still in order. In addition, we must ask why Winder risked being discovered by German intelligence as the author of a topical anti-Nazi novel (although he published it under the pseudonym of Herbert Moldau) and thus perhaps threatened the life of his younger daughter Eva, whose fate, although unknown to him, he surely must have cared for. Shall we be content with the flat explanation formulated by Christoph Haaker?

Let us summarize the reasons: a German Jew expressing loyalty to his country, a patriotic encouragement to other exiles, a substitute for real fight with a gun in his hand, a helpful gesture to the government in exile, the hope for authorship of a bestseller?<sup>27</sup>

A nuanced answer may be hiding in one of the novel's chapters, chapter 18, which was published in the newspapers but not in the German book edition of 1949. This chapter catches our attention by the very fact that it is 'different', even disruptive from an immanently literary point of view, because it is too far away from the main storyline, thus disrupting the novelistic cohesiveness and consistency of the text. Its language is different to all the other chapters, involving much more emotion and false sounding pathos, many more unproven and improbable historical facts - it is simply stillborn. Unlike any of the preceding or following chapters, it involves a positive character of a Czech-German - here, a Sudeten German woman named Steffi, who performs a daring act of sabotage. All other positive characters in the novel are Czech - clearly distinguishable as such by their names, Rada, Musil, Novák, Havelka. The only evil Czech character, the collaborator Fobich - presented as negative by his non-Czech name - however, is depicted as a victim of his Sudeten German wife. The line between good and evil is thus identical with the line between Czechs and Germans. Such unambiguity is surprising for a German author from Prague who knew from his own experience and demonstrated by his own existence that not all Germans from Bohemia were Nazis. We are surprised by the absence of a positive German character. Such character appears only in chapter 18. Steffi seems to be carrying Winder's message to Czech exile

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27 Haaker, p. 183-4.

circles (which already at that time talked loudly of 'resolving the national question' by the rigorous expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia), of the necessity to differentiate in such far-reaching circumstances. He conveyed that the struggle against Nazism is the shared responsibility of Czechs, Germans and Jews,<sup>28</sup> and that the consequent restoration of the state should also be shared. Apparently, Ludwig Winder thus 'got bought' also in order to convey in a novel – accessible to a wide readership – the idea he had put into the mouth of one of his characters in the then unpublished novel *November Cloud*: "The Nazis, they were not the German people. The Nazis were enemies of the German people. Everywhere in Germany were people who longed for Hitler's fall. He who lumped Nazis and Germans together made a dangerous, fatal mistake."<sup>29</sup>

And he reiterated in an article for *Die Einheit*, published on 21 April 1945:

Anti-fascist German writers from Czechoslovakia [...] know that the Germans can live permanently in the country only in a brotherly union with Czechs and Slovaks. The first steps in this direction were taken decades ago by several German writers of the so-called Prague Circle which formed around Franz Kafka shortly before World War I. For years now the Czech and German cultures have partaken in mutual enrichment, which even before the Nazis had been a thorn in the side of radical nationalists on both sides. [...] The motto is: Not sacrifice, not the destruction of the German element, but the building of a cultural community of all nations to live in Czechoslovakia after the liberation, a cultural community which is necessary for the future happy life of the German population of Czechoslovakia after the Nazi criminals have been punished and enemies of the state expelled. [...] What has been done to Czechs and Slovaks by the Nazi murderers cannot be undone by anti-fascist German writers. They can and must prove, however, that they have not stopped fighting on the side of democracy, law, and justice. German authors who return to a liberated homeland will be obliged to tell the truth [...].<sup>30</sup>

In the harsh and inhuman logic of history, it is quite understandable that in 1949, in the publication year of *Duty*, when the expulsion had long been

28 The fact that the novel explicitly mentions Jewish as well as Czech victims of Nazism – something quite unusual in 'resistance novels' – may be considered indicative of Ludwig Winder's wish to emphasize precisely this message.

29 Quoted according to Serke, p. 157.

30 Quoted according to Kurt Krolop, "Nachwort", in Ludwig Winder, *Der Thronfolger*, Berlin: Rütten u. Loening, 1989, p. 611

decided, even completed, the chapter with this message was removed so as not to disturb the prevailing ideological line. At that time, the late Ludwig Winder could no longer defend himself; and he would likely not have managed to, even if he were still alive. Like all other exiled Prague German authors, he was unable to defend his right to return to his homeland for whose freedom and human face he so honestly fought with his literary work, only to be eventually rigorously removed with the ethnic (and indeed, racial) stigma of an 'enemy alien'. Winder died too soon (16 June 1946) to fully experience the feeling of total uprooting, perhaps still hoping in the last days of his life to be able to return.

Winder's *Duty* is thus a truly 'tendentious, made-to-order novel' whose primary value lies in uncovering the historical and ideological context of its time. On the other hand, it is a novel embodying an authentic, one might say last, wish of Winder's life despite that order. At the same time, it is a novel that has sustained decent literary quality and readability in spite of the pressure for topicality and the haste in which it was created.

Translated from Czech by Lucie Trávníčková

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# The Mapping Wall: Jewish Family Portraits as a Memory Box

Dieter J. Hecht

This article adapts the idea of an apartment as a memory box, to family portraits hanging on a specific wall in the apartment as a box within a box. In 1949, sixteen golden framed pictures decorated the wall of an apartment in Jerusalem. Egon Zweig (1877–1949) had brought them with him from Vienna to the Holy city. The pictures were avatars, narrating Jewish history from different regions and cities, thus mapping the family's migration from Moravia, via Vienna to Jerusalem over more than 100 years. Hence, a certain space in Zweig's apartment became the central focus of family history. The paper raises issues about the family pictures as a tool of representation in a period of upward social mobility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; it focuses on the portraits as memory boxes and finally, as family memories to replace a lost geographic space in Jewish and family history.

In my imagination I had revisited the flat often. Hand in hand with my father I walked through the rooms. He had liked to do this from time to time. He called it 'our museum round'. Together we looked at his pictures, at the bronzes and the beautifully carved and painted eighteenth-century wooden harlequin ... Father being Father, he proudly said what he had paid for this treasures, estimated present value, and always ended our 'museum round' with the words, 'and one day all this will belong to you, Georgerl'.<sup>31</sup>

With these affectionate words the Austrian émigré George Clare (1920–2009) described the apartment of his parents in Vienna, which he had to leave in 1938. Despite his efforts, Clare never regained the apartment's furniture, pictures and household items of his parents, who perished in Auschwitz. As Lisa Silverman stated in her paper "Repossessing the Past?", there is a deeper emotional significance of property to memory in Clare's

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31 Clare escaped to Great Britain and joined the British army. Clare, p. 75.

description. Silverman demonstrated the function of property over time for individual and collective memory; she showed how memory influenced the construction of Jewish identity in Austria before and after the War. With his detailed reference to the apartments of his parents and grandparents, Clare links memory to property, indicating that it has the ability to recollect the past – events as well as emotions.<sup>1</sup> Already forty years earlier, on 2 April 1941, Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer (1864–1945), then living in exile in Zürich, touched this topic in a letter to Oskar Kokoschka. He described the link between his property and memories: “They took everything from me in Vienna. I’m left without a single souvenir. Maybe, I can get back the two portraits of my poor wife ([painted by] Klimt) and my own picture.”<sup>2</sup> All three portraits were hanging in the former salon of Adele Bloch-Bauer in their home in Vienna before the “Anschluss”. Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer did not get the portraits of his late wife, only his own portrait, painted by Kokoschka in 1943. Already in 1941, the *Österreichische Galerie Belvedere* received the two portraits of Adele Bloch-Bauer from the lawyer and NSDAP member Erich Führer, who was in charge of liquidating the Bloch-Bauer assets. One of the portraits, painted by Gustav Klimt in 1907, became known as the “Golden Adele”. Only after long trials and negotiations, the Republic of Austria restituted the painting to the heirs of Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer in 2006.<sup>3</sup> Nowadays, the painting is exhibited in the *Neue Galerie* in New York.

As described above, for the survivors, memory is more than recalling the past. It is often connected to certain objects that evoke feelings of mourning and loss.<sup>4</sup> In fact, recollecting the past is often a central part of shaping one’s identity; hence, identity is shaped according to context and circumstances.<sup>5</sup> Talking about Jewish experiences, Clare’s memories stand paradigmatically for Jews who preserve the memory of family members murdered in the Shoah through their lost property. “Imagining” the apartment or single objects from the apartment can trigger memories of the past. Like the Clare or the Bloch-Bauer family, many bourgeois and wealthy Jewish families had paintings and fine furniture in their apartments as well as framed photographs that were displayed on walls and tables. According to Jules David Prown, those objects reflect “consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who commissioned, fabricated, purchased, or used them

1 Lisa Silverman, p. 139.

2 “Mir hat man in Wien alles genommen. Nicht ein Andenken ist mir geblieben. Vielleicht bekomme ich zwei Porträts meiner armen Frau (Klimt) und mein Porträt.” Cf. Müller, p. 165.

3 Cf. Czernin and O’Connor.

4 Hirsch. (*Family Frames. Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*), p. 243.

5 Cf. Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*.

and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which these individuals belonged".<sup>6</sup> The importance of portraits and photographs of family members for the identity and self-conception of their offspring over several generations might be illustrated by the Wengraf-Walk family. In 1938, after the so-called "Anschluss" of Austria, Leonhard Walk (1888–1952), the non-Jewish son-in-law of Marianne Wengraf (1865–1942, Theresienstadt), saved two paintings of his mother-in-law's parents (Eduard and Therese Hirschler) from the apartment of the Wengraf family by hiding them in an umbrella. After the war, those paintings were framed and today they hang on a wall at the family house in Wales (United Kingdom). In October 2011, the process of "repossessing the past" reached a new stage for the Wengraf-Walk family, when two family portraits from the nineteenth century were restituted by the City of Vienna and handed over to the family. According to Philippa James-Buth, the great-grand child of Marianne Wengraf, "four generations gathered to celebrate the event".<sup>7</sup>

The writer Tim Bonyhady described the complexity of dealing with family history and re-appropriating his mother's apartment:

There were concert books, weather books, travel logs, autograph books, sketchbooks, recipe books, and a guest book. There were birth and death certificates, wedding and divorce documents, and a prenuptial agreement. There were records of leaving one religion and entering another. There were school exercise books and school prizes. There were passports, letters, postcards, poems, and menus. There were books with inscriptions, dedications, and marginal notes. There were theatre, concert, and cinema programs. There were photographs not only of members of the family but also of the houses and apartments where they lived. There was an account of arrest and imprisonment. This material took me deeper into the past than I ever thought possible, transforming my mother's place in this book in a way I could not resist. While my cast of characters multiplied as I embraced many members of the family whom Anne [the author's mother] had rejected, the change in the place of Hermine [great-grandmother] and Gretl [grandmother] was greatest. Because their surviving diaries were much richer than I anticipated, I felt compelled to make the most of them. As this material was about how the Gallias lived in Vienna in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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6 Prown, p. 1.

7 Email of Philippa James-Buth to Dieter J. Hecht, 28 Oct. 2011. Cf. Hecht, p. 79–90.

centuries, this part of the book grew and grew. I found myself writing a book about three generations of women: my great-grandmother, grandmother and mother.<sup>8</sup>

The Gallia family originated in Bisenz (Bzenec) in South Moravia and became a family of well-known art patrons in Vienna. After the “Anschluss” Grete (Margarete) Gallia-Herschmann (1896–1975) immigrated with her daughter Anne (Annelore) and her siblings to Australia. Moreover, they succeeded to ship most of the interior of their apartments designed by Josef Hoffmann and the *Wiener Werkstätte* as well as most of their art collection including a portrait of Hermine Gallia by Gustav Klimt, one of Moritz Gallia and one of the Gallia children by Ferdinand Andri. These paintings were central pieces of the new home of Grete Gallia in Sydney and interconnections between past and present; until her daughter Anne Bonyhady (1922–2003), who had a very ambivalent relation to Vienna and her Jewish background, started selling off the “Viennese” objects from the apartment. First she sold the Klimt painting to the *National Gallery* in London, other paintings followed; some of them were sold to the controversial art collector Rudolf Leopold in Vienna. She generously donated most of the apartment’s interior to the *National Gallery of Victoria* in Melbourne.<sup>9</sup>

Tim Bonyhady’s description of the apartment of Grete Gallia, who lived together with her sister Käthe Gallia (1899–1976), evokes the picture of a memory box taken from Vienna and transferred to Sydney, a piece of Viennese culture from before World War II relocated to modern Australia. The apartment was filled with cupboards full of artefacts and documents as well as paintings from the past, but also with memories and emotions.<sup>10</sup> Anne Bonyhady opened the box when she started clearing out Grete and Käthe Gallia’s apartment after their deaths. Tim Bonyhady described the moment of the opening of the box: “The first cupboard she opened in the flat was so full that as she pulled open its door, the contents spilled over onto the floor, causing her to burst to tears.”<sup>11</sup> In 1984 the *National Gallery of Victoria* presented an exhibition of Hoffmann rooms for the first time in Australia, relying mostly on the Gallia collection. In this context, Anne’s aunt Maria Gallia (1900–1990) stated that “the re-creation of the Hoffmann rooms transported her across time and space.”<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, the apartment of the Gallias in Sydney

8 Bonyhady, p. 12.

9 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 321–332 and 340–344.

10 Rogge and Salmi, p. 18. Cf. Assmann.

11 Bonyhady, *Good Living Street*, p. 325.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 333.

illustrates what Aleida Assmann fittingly called a memory box (*Gedächtnis-kiste*), a space filled by different members of the Gallia family with objects and memories.<sup>13</sup> It transferred and preserved cultural memory from a private apartment in Vienna before 1938 to a public space in Melbourne in 1984.

The apartment of the Gallias as a memory box that could be transported through time and space is an inspiring idea. Exploiting the concept of memory boxes from a recently published book, edited by Heta Aali, Anna-Leena Perämäki and Cathleen Sarti, the Gallia box indicates a process of cultural transfer combined with cultural memory. As a memory box, an apartment is a carrier of cultural meanings, emotions and memories. Furthermore, it is a cultural construction that is involved in the process of making and disputing memory and at the same time an agent of transfer.<sup>14</sup> Apartments or rooms of famous people are exhibited in many museums all over the world, but the Gallia box, which is now for the most part located in the *National Gallery of Victoria*, represents a different kind of a memory place. Its scope and content was kept fluid over three generations – from Grete Gallia to Tom Bonyhady; the latter reopened the box again in his book.

In this article I will adapt the idea of an apartment as a memory box to sixteen family portraits hanging on a wall in a specific apartment as a box within a box. Like a *matryoshka* every part of an apartment, which is capable to function as a memory box, could stand for its own and be exploited for various purposes. But as a whole the set offers more complex layers and perspectives to cope with memory and identity in Jewish history. The sixteen family portraits (original photographs as well as photographs of paintings) were displayed at special places in the apartment. All the portraits had lavish golden frames and once hung on a wall in the apartment of Egon Zweig (1877–1949) in Jerusalem. Zweig's "ancestors' gallery" will be the point of departure in searching for Zweig's intention to collect these portraits and to exhibit them to visitors and spectators. The impression this exhibition causes upon the beholder, constitutes a further point of interest. The article thus raises issues about the family pictures as a tool of representation in a period of upward social mobility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; it focuses on the portraits as memory boxes and finally as family memories to replace a lost geographic space in Jewish and family history.

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13 Cf. Assmann, p. 114–129.

14 Rogge and Salmi, p. 17–18.

## A Moravian Mapping Wall

In 1949, sixteen golden framed portraits decorated a wall of Egon Zweig's apartment in Jerusalem. Egon Zweig himself was born in Olmütz/Olomouc in Moravia (today Czech Republic) in 1877; after finishing his law degree at the University of Vienna, he worked in Vienna as a lawyer. Since his youth, he was a passionate Zionist. During World War I he served as a secretary (minutes taker) at different military courts. Afterwards he returned to Vienna and became one of the founding members of Vienna's Palestine-office in 1918; the first of its kind outside of Palestine. At the same time he started working for the *Keren Kayemet le-Israel* (Jewish National Fund). In 1922, he made *Aliyah*, i.e. he immigrated to Palestine/Israel, where he continued to work for the *Keren Kayemet* until 1936; this included several fund raising trips to Europe.<sup>15</sup> When immigrating to Palestine and settling down in Jerusalem with his family, Zweig did what most immigrants leaving for good do: he took everything with him. His lift contained a complete bourgeois household with furniture, carpets, porcelain, silverware, children toys, a stamp collection, family correspondence and portraits, business documents and invoices. Zweig died surrounded by these artefacts in Jerusalem in 1949. However, these artefacts are not a memory box in their own right; they become a memory box only through their cultural embedding and public presence.<sup>16</sup>

The Zweig family originated in Prossnitz/Prostějov (today Czech Republic). The founding father, Moses Zweig (1750–1840) lived with twelve children in this vital Jewish town of Moravia during the first half of the nineteenth century. One of his sons, Marcus (Mordechai) Zweig (1796–1889), who was Egon Zweig's grandfather, started as a textile merchant in Prostějov. In the 1870s, however, he and his three sons traded in wheat and hops. After the abolishment of Jewish settlement restrictions, his sons Sigmund, Ignatz and Moritz moved the company to nearby Olomouc, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Moravia, in 1876. There they established a malt factory. The migration to the regional capital was the key to their economic success. The factory "Marcus Zweig Sons" became one of the big malt industries, like the famous Briess and Hamburger families. Inter-marriage between successful families was common. The Zweig family married into the Briess family, and the Hamburgers into the Gallia family. Hermine Gallia (1870–1939) was the niece of Eduard Hamburger (1834–1901), who also served as the head of the Jewish community in Olomouc. Wealth and social standing of the Zweig family were expressed by different cultural and

15 For the biography of Egon Zweig and his family cf. Hecht, *Der Weg des Zionisten Egon Michael Zweig (1877–1949)*.

16 Perämäki, p. 152.

material achievements such as the purchase of apartments in well-to-do neighbourhoods. Cemeteries play(ed) an important role in Jewish culture not only as memory sites but also as places of representation of one's social and religious standing. In the case of the Zweig family, the family's social position finds its adequate expression in the huge tombstone of the three brothers next to other prominent families at the Jewish cemetery in Olomouc.



**Image 2:** Gravestone of the Zweig family: Sigmund Zweig (1845–1910), Ignaz Zweig (1847–1913) and Moritz Zweig (1851–1934) with a memory stone for Moritz' son Robert Zweig (1882–1914), who was killed as a soldier in World War I. Jewish cemetery in Olomouc, 2010; photograph taken by photograph taken by Dieter J. Hecht

In the next generation, Sigmund Zweig's sons Egon, Otto (1874–1942) and Felix (1879–1939), also chose different ways of self-representation. Already in their youth they started writing down family anecdotes and illustrating them. The youngest sister Hilda (1886–1971) did not take part in these exercises. The interest in family history prompted especially Egon Zweig to collect family items and to create a family tree, which was published in 1932.<sup>17</sup> The interest in family trees was fairly common in bourgeois families in German-speaking areas in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The family and its history constitute an important layer for passing on Jewish tradition. When writing the family history, Zweig considered himself primarily a historiographer whose main task, as a member in the line of ancestors, was the 'textualisation' (i.e. putting into writing) of the family's (hi)story. This included the business enterprise of his grandparents, family events around the war of 1866 and his father's youth. The family stories provided insight into past events for his siblings and relatives and connected them with various family members. Two decades later he copied several episodes about his own childhood and school years in a different manuscript for his children. In the family tree project, on the other hand, Zweig occupied the position of the family genealogist who actively researched data and created items according to his own liking.<sup>18</sup> It is hardly surprising that Zweig started collecting the family portraits from various relatives during his time in Vienna and continued while preparing the family tree.

Through his work Zweig not only reconstructed his family history, but also plotted a consistent picture of his own self that adjusted itself to his changing places of residence, circumstances of life and passing of time. Geographical and time gaps influenced his work to the same extent as the target audience, i.e. his children in the case of the family history and a broader audience in the case of the published family tree. This autobiographical reconstruction process constituted an important factor for the interpretation and contextualization of his work for the following generations.<sup>19</sup> His obstinate search for relatives betrays features of an archaeologist; he attempted to retrieve information and personal data of relatives in different places, by personal correspondence and visits to various archives. Zweig's efforts, in fact, permit the mapping of the family according to different branches.<sup>20</sup>

The evidence of Zweig's endeavours is kept in his private estate; there one might find comprehensive data (letters and family trees) on families that

17 *Stammbaum der Familie Zweig. Die Nachkommen von Moses Zweig.*

18 Cf. Gebhardt, p. 65–79.

19 Cf. Lichtblau, p. 128–130.

20 Cf. Immler, p. 189–190.

were related to the Zweigs, e.g. the Doctor, Fleischer, Funk, Horn, and Schlesinger family.<sup>21</sup> This data allows us to keep track of the families' socio-economic migration; e.g. the Doctor family who came from Nachod (Bohemia) and moved to Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century; some members of the Fleischer, Horn and Schlesinger family moved from Prostějov to Vienna as well; some of them migrated to other places, like New York. The Zweigs themselves moved from Prostějov to Olomouc, but part of the family relocated themselves to Brno (Moravia), Vrbové in Hungary (today Slovakia) and Vienna. Whenever settlement restrictions were lifted, they moved mostly from smaller places to bigger towns and cities in order to take advantage of economic opportunities. Egon Zweig's immigration to Jerusalem and the preservation of his private estate allows for a present-day examination of the family history in great detail, especially his family portraits. Portraits and photographs of family members play an important role in family memoirs in general. Zweig's family portraits from the nineteenth and early twentieth century represent different individuals from a widespread family – most of them from Bohemia, Moravia and Vienna; and at the same time Jewish family history. Sometimes they are the only extant object remembering certain persons. Unfortunately, we lack comprehensive documentation about the range of the collection and the principle for collecting the items. However, the public display of these pictures that depict close family as well as aunts, uncles and distant cousins, hints toward bourgeois self-assurance; they provided the owner with the history of their cultural heritage. Simultaneously, they demonstrated the social status of the family to any visitor and spectator. Therefore, a cousin of Zweig, Julie Fleischer, nee Schlesinger (1853–1935) wrote in her last will:

The numerous family portraits, which hang on the walls [of my apartment], should only be distributed among those family members, who know how to value them. This ancestral gallery was my pride and thus it should also be for the coming generations.<sup>22</sup>

In 1935, one of her designated heirs was Egon Zweig. He chose 11 pictures (from her collection of 48) of people that had a close connection to his

<sup>21</sup> Central Archives of the History of Jewish People (CAHJP), Egon Zweig, P 149,21–24 and in the Antiquariat Tomer Kaufmann, Jerusalem.

<sup>22</sup> "Meine zahlreichen Familienbilder, die an die Wand gehängt sind, sollen nur an diejenigen in der Familie verteilt werden, die einen Wert darauf legen, sie in Ehren zu halten, denn diese Ahnengalerie war mein Stolz und soll es auch für kommende Geschlechter sein." Letter of Egon Zweig to Otto Zweig, 25 November 1935 (translation D.H.). Antiquariat Tomer Kaufmann, Jerusalem.

immediate family. The other heirs of Julie Fleischer were her nephew Richard Selinger, her granddaughter Alice Waechter, her niece Mila Eisler and others. Egon Zweig received the most extensive part as an individual. Twenty years earlier, his mother had handed similar family portraits from his grandmother's inheritance over to him. In a letter to his brother Otto Zweig, where they argued about these portraits, he mentioned that he would complete his collection with those from Julie Fleischer. Additionally, he declared that he would hang them on a wall in his Jerusalem apartment, like he had done back in Vienna with the portraits inherited from his grandmother.<sup>23</sup> Despite this letter about the origin of some of the portraits, we do not know the exact number of his collection and also lack specific information about the depicted persons.

Taking a closer look at the 16 pictures in the estate of Egon Zweig, we notice that some of them are photographs of oil paintings and others original photographs. Hence, the question about the destiny of the original oil paintings arises, which up to now cannot be answered. All the portrayed persons – there are more women than men – belonged to the higher bourgeoisie. On the back of the frames we find (sometimes fragmented) information about the person, such as his/her name, dates of birth and death. It is unclear who added that data; probably Egon Zweig, who wished to make it accessible for himself and/or his offspring. This fragmented information together with the published family tree allows us to identify most of the depicted persons, for example, Nanette Zweig, nee Wolf (1815–1882), the grandmother of the famous author Stephan Zweig (1881–1942), who was a second cousin of Egon Zweig. This was one of the portraits he inherited from Julie Fleischer. Going back in generations, we have two other portraits of cousins of Nanette Zweig, namely Joachim (1795–1858) and Katharina Horn, nee Scheff (1803–1856). Both came from wealthy families in Prostějov. Horn founded a textile manufactory there together with his brother-in-law Ignatz Brüll (1794–1841). After the Revolution of 1848 the Horn family moved to Vienna, where their business flourished and prospered. In 1856, Katharina Horn died in Döbling, then a noble suburb of Vienna for summer vacations. Only two years later Joachim Horn died in the illustrious spa of Baden, 26 kilometres south of Vienna. Nevertheless, both of them are buried at the Jewish cemetery in Währing (Vienna). Their son Wilhelm Horn (1835–1905) was less interested in business; he became a well know art collector.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Handwritten list of portraits, which Egon Zweig chose: Amalie Schlesinger, Karoline Schlesinger, Baruch Fleischer, Gewendel Fleischer, Cornelia Waechter, Nina Prager, Mayer Mandl, Ignaz Mandl, Dasche children, Albert Trieschet, Netti Zweig; Letter of Egon Zweig to Otto Zweig, 25 November 1935. Antiquariat Tomer Kaufmann, Jerusalem.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Horn (1867–1936), the son of Wilhelm Horn became the prototype of Arthur Schnitzler's "Anatol". For the Horn family cf. Gaugusch, p. 1232–1234.



**Image 3:** Joachim Horn (1795–1858), Katharina Horn (1803–1856)

These examples allow for an insight into central European Jewish bourgeoisie and their family network. Concentrating on the portraits of the Horns in their *Biedermeier* clothing, preserved as photographs from oil paintings, one might ask about Zweig's intentions. Considering the carefully taken biographical notes on the back side, the image of an ancestral hall emerges. Adopting this aristocratic habit, Zweig positioned himself between his ancestors and claimed Yechus ("noble" lineage of Jewish families). All frames were

technically intended to hang on a wall. But we do not know on which wall of Zweig's apartment the portraits were displayed.

One of the earliest preserved samples of Jewish portraits, from about 1810, that hang on a wall as a memory box can be found today in the Jewish Museum Prague. They depict portraits of two young men and two young women in wooden frames, who are obviously grouped together to memorize a certain event or date. The men and women probably make two couples – two of them supposedly siblings – before their wedding. Their clothes and jewellery as well as the exquisite framing of the portraits demonstrate their wealth and social status. Unfortunately, no further information about the portrayed people is available.<sup>25</sup>

According to Géza Buzinkay's analyses of bourgeois apartments in Budapest in the nineteenth century, such family portraits in golden frames were placed in the living room or salon starting in the *Biedermeier* period, since the 1870s onwards the frames became darker and the portraits were transferred to the dining room. Around 1900 they moved again to more private spaces like the *Boudoir* or the bedroom. These shifts represented the general division between private and public life in an apartment.<sup>26</sup> Emigrants from Central Europe kept and adapted this habit in similar ways in their new home countries. Monroe Edwin Price, who was born in Vienna in 1938, described the apartments of his family in the USA in the late 1940s and 1950s: "In the dining room and halls would go five to five or six drawings of Vienna and Austrian town neighbourhoods, urban scenes or crowded courtyards that had made it over the sea. And every living room in which we lived had several paintings from Austria, landscapes or interiors."<sup>27</sup> Additionally, he mentioned that one of the first things his father did in every new apartment after placing the mezuzah was to hang a picture of his great grandfather, his father and grandmother on one of the walls. His mother hung miniatures and placed photographs of her family on their country farm.<sup>28</sup> Probably one of the most famous cases is that of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), who was born in the Moravian town of Freiberg/Příbor (today Czech Republic). Back in his apartment in Vienna, framed pictures of relatives and friends were placed in the bookshelves of his office and in a corner of the living room. After escaping from the German Reich in June 1938, Freud and his family settled in London in Maresfield Gardens in autumn 1938. The Freud family could take most of the interior

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<sup>25</sup> For the information about the portraits from Prague, I would like to thank Michaela Sidenberg from the Jewish Museum Prague.

<sup>26</sup> Géza Buzinkay, p. 93.

<sup>27</sup> Monroe E. Price, p. 153.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

of their apartment from Vienna with them. The office of Sigmund Freud was set up similarly as it had been in Vienna, i.e. the framed pictures were placed again in the bookshelves.<sup>29</sup> Taking this practise into account and also the fact that only Egon Zweig's relatives and none of his wife Louise Zweig, nee Engel's (1885–1962) family was represented in the sixteen portraits, I would suggest Egon Zweig's office in his apartment as the most probable place for the portraits that served as a "mapping wall".

Essential help in identifying the portraits was provided by the already-mentioned labels on the back side. Some of them have ink inscriptions, others are labelled with pencil. Special attention has to be paid to the language of the inscriptions; particularly, when the family (past and present) is geographical dispersed. The different places of residence of the Zweig family, i.e. Olomouc, Vienna and Jerusalem increased the necessity for written communication. Their correspondence and all family documents were written in German. Before 1918 the generation of Egon Zweig and his parents considered themselves German speaking Austrian Jews. Of course they knew some Czech from their surroundings and their servants and workers, but as far as it concerned education and social status, the German language prevailed. This changed after the dissolution of the Monarchy: partly for those who stayed in Olomouc (Otto and Felix) and those who were in Vienna (Egon, Hilde and their mother Josefine, 1856–1930). However, no matter to which national ideology the family members subscribed, German remained their common language. It also became the decisive language of Egon's memory box after his emigration to Jerusalem. 90 percent of all written documents and books in the apartment were in German. The address of their house in the neighbourhood of Rechavia, which was founded and populated by German immigrants, gives further evidence to the importance of the German language in socio-linguistic terms.

The private estate of Egon Zweig is a unique source, a memory box that was opened only a few years ago, after 60 years of deep-freeze. The Zweig apartment introduces us to the life of immigrants from Central Europe in Palestine from the 1920s onwards, especially in the German dominated elegant Jerusalem neighbourhood of Rechavia. This exceptional evidence allows us to analyse their living condition from the point of cultural history. The preservation of the evidence is due to particular circumstances. Zweig's apartment was a five room apartment on the ground floor of his and his wife's two story house in Rechavia. His daughter Judith Katinka (1915–2003) used to live with her family on the second floor. Probably sometime after the death of

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Engelmann, p. 62–64, 78. and *20 Maresfield Garden: A Guide to the Freud Museum*, p. 2. For further information about the framed pictures in the office of Sigmund Freud I would like to thank Bryony Davies from the Freud Museum in London.

Egon Zweig, certainly after Louise's death in 1962, the children had locked the apartment. They only used the room next to the entrance – probably Egon Zweig's office – as the office of Zweig's son-in-law, Samuel Katinka (1914–2008). The whole apartment, together with its family memories, was turned into a “closed” box. Everything else stayed in place until Zweig's grandson wanted to sell the house and reopened the box. The apartment contained a library, private and business correspondence, documents, lectures, newspaper clips, stamps and photographs and additional furniture, carpets, porcelain, silverware, children toys and paintings. The apartment thus represents material and immaterial values of the Zweig family. The huge amount of everyday objects is especially rare and noteworthy.<sup>30</sup>

According to Daniel Miller's theory in his book *the Comfort of Things*, Egon's objects are not only single items; they reflect an order of their own. Egon collected and arranged his documents and artefacts carefully. Therefore, they inform us about Egon's relationship to his fellow human beings and his environment. The apartment and the house were central places for the representation and the transfer of family values as well as his *Weltanschauung*.<sup>31</sup> The objects from Egon's apartment preserved his connection with his former places of residence and document the migration history of his family. Finally, the relocation and storage of the objects imply a cultural transfer of goods and values from Europe to Palestine that is represented in the legacy of Egon Zweig.<sup>32</sup> With his “order of things”, Egon Zweig not just organized his abundant collection, but also created viable access to his cosmos.<sup>33</sup> As a matter of fact, he created a memory box for him and his family as well as for a broader audience.

In 2008 the grandson opened the box after the death of his father Samuel Katinka in order to dissolve the apartment. He took most of the porcelain and the silverware for his private use. Those parts of the correspondence of the ramified Zweig family from the nineteenth century, which Egon Zweig had organized himself according to family branches, he handed over to the Central Archives of the History of Jewish People in Jerusalem. Unsorted documents about the re-compensation efforts of the family's looted property from the 1940s to the 1960s were also part of his donation to the archive,<sup>34</sup> the rest – most of the apartment's interior – was to be trashed, as it often hap-

30 Cf. Hecht, *Der Weg des Zionisten Egon Michael Zweig*, pp. 10–17.

31 Cf. Miller.

32 Schlör, p. 145–147.

33 Heimann-Jelinek, p. 11–12 and Assmann, p. 15–29.

34 For the documents of the Zweig family in der Central Archives of the History of Jewish People cf. CAHJP, Egon Zweig, P 149.

pens with the inventory of grandparents or relatives. Even more so, if one had ambivalent feelings toward the persons who handed down the heritage and their past. Luckily, the antiquarian Tomer Kaufmann passed the former house of Egon Zweig. He reached an agreement with Zweig's grandson and could thus acquire the interior of the whole apartment, including books, pictures and documents. Kaufmann moved the apartment to a location that he had bought for this purpose. He placed the furniture, the rugs, the library, a vast amount of documents and last but not least the family portraits in his new place in a different order. He created a new memory box. Sorting and analyzing the objects together with the author of this paper, discussing stories about Egon Zweig and his family told by the grandson, re-writing those stories with Zweig's own material and sitting on his chairs contributed to the memory box and its memory. Meanwhile, parts of Zweig's estate are sold to institutions like the Austrian National Library, the Jewish Museum Prague, the Jewish Museum Vienna and private collectors. Since then, Tomer Kaufmann has bought more objects from private estates and put them into his antique shop. But even if only one object of Egon Zweig's apartment remains, this object will serve as a memory box for everyone who has devoted themselves to the estate.

## Recapitulating the creation of a memory box

Egon Zweig's family portraits, together with his letters, diaries and furniture survived first of all because he took them with him when making *Aliyah*. Writing about memories of the Zweig family means writing about the property Egon Zweig kept and how it was preserved. His apartment with all his belongings became a memory box that contains the legacy of the Zweig family from Olomouc and Vienna. The sixteen family portraits that were part of the estate and the focus of this paper are themselves a memory box; they recount Jewish history from different regions and cities, thus mapping the family's migration over more than 100 years. The wall, where they hung, occupied a unique position in Zweig's apartment, overcoming time and place. I would like to conclude with Daniel Miller's concept of writing about objects to determine our memory box. Miller insists, that "material culture matters, because objects create subjects more than the other way around".<sup>35</sup> Even more pointedly: "the closer our relationships with objects, the closer our relationships

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35 Cf. Miller, p. 287.

with people".<sup>36</sup> Therefore, every object in the estate of Egon Zweig is at the same time a form by which he has chosen to express himself. They have been gradually accumulated as an expression of Egon's self.



**Image 4:** Furniture, books and documents of Egon Zweig in the *Antiquariat Tomer Kaufmann* sorted by a historian, Jerusalem 2010; courtesy Dieter J. Hecht.

36 Ibid., p. 1.

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