The Beginnings of Polish Jewry: Reevaluating the Evidence for the Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries

Alexander Kulik Judith Kalik

ABSTRACT

This article reexamines the evidence of Jewish presence in Poland from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries in connection with problems of origins, periodization, and localization of Jewish settlement in Poland. It deals inter alia with questions regarding the balance between Jewish and Christian evidence, as well as with reports of Jewish presence from neighboring areas of Eastern Europe such as Kievan Rus'. The reevaluation of evidence on medieval Polish Jews helps to illuminate the origins of eastern Ashkenazi Jewry, as well as to clarify diverse aspects of the history of early Eastern Europe. Thus, for example, among the most important general conclusions is the lack of continuity across three waves of Jewish migration and settlement in Poland. Since most Polish Jews were descendants of the third wave of Jewish migration into Poland, there is little doubt that the vast majority of them came from Germany and Bohemia, mostly via Silesia. We can also reliably conjecture that the Jewish population of southwestern Rus'—whatever its origins (possibly also at least partially Ashkenazi) and size (possibly reduced by the Mongol conquest)—came to be integrated with immigrants from the west due to the eastward expansion of Lithuania and Poland during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, most modern Ashkenazi Jewry must go back to the melding of these two communities.

KEYWORDS: Jews, Poland, Eastern Europe, Ashkenazi, migration, origins

Declaration on Possible Conflicts of Interest
The authors have declared that no conflicts of interest exist.

Funding Statement
This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant No. 314/20) and the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC grant agreement no. 263293.

Prof. Dr. Alexander Kulik, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tamara and Saveli Grinberg Chair in Russian Studies, kulik@mail.huji.ac.il, https:/orcid.org/0000-0002-9016-8303

Prof. Dr. Judith Kalik, Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University / Faculty of Humanities, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, kalik@012.net.il, https:/orcid.org/0000-0001-6002-6761

The Beginnings of Polish Jewry: Reevaluating the Evidence for the Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries– ZfO / JECES 70/2021/2 (received 2020-11-23, accepted 2021-03-03)

DOI: 10.25627/202170210924 – eISSN 2701-0449, ISSN 0948-8294

It is well known that "the vast majority of Jews in the United States and the Former Soviet Union together with about half of the Jewish population of the State of Israel are descended from East European ancestors."[1] As a result, the forms of their social, cultural, religious, and political organization have deep roots in Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, the origins of East European Jewry remain poorly understood, leading to many misunderstandings and misconceptions both in the public sphere and in scholarly discourse.

Jews began to appear on the margins of Eastern Europe—in the Balkans and the Pontic coast—already in antiquity. In fact, written evidence for the period prior to the ninth century is available only for these areas of Eastern Europe. Only with the emergence of the first East European Slavic states, such as Kievan Rus' and Piast Poland, do the earliest written sources referring to the larger territories of the region begin to appear, and they already contain the first references to a Jewish presence in these areas. The corpus of evidence on the Jewish presence grows steadily as Eastern Europe gradually integrates into the broader European economic, social, and political network. Especially impressive is the accumulation of evidence on the demographic explosion of the Jewish population in Crown Poland and, later, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Upon the formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569, this East European state became home to the largest Jewish community in the early modern age and stood as the spiritual, cultural, religious, and economic center of the Jewish world. Even after the Partitions of Poland, this reality continued in effect nearly until the Holocaust, in spite of the frequently changing political borders that crisscrossed this center of Jewish life.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the problem of the origins of this extraordinarily large concentration of the Jewish population has attracted major attention, both on the part of many scholars and of the general public. Numerous articles have been dedicated to this problem.[2] However, these authors have not arrived at even minimal consensus. Moreover, in spite of the diversity of views expressed in the research literature, the foundational study of sources on the history of Jews in medieval Eastern Europe has remained underdeveloped and inconsistent. A few monographs on the subject do exist, but no general, comprehensive overview of existing sources and their published editions has been produced so far (in contrast to the resources that have been created for later periods).

A noticeable discrepancy also separates historical research based on written sources from research into the roots of the Yiddish language operating solely on the basis of linguistic arguments.[3] In consequence, the most basic

---

1 HUNDERT, Preface, p. ix.

2 BAŁABAN; GIEYSZTOR; GRODECKI; HORN; VETULANI; WEINRYB, Beginnings; ZAREMSKA, Migracje Żydow; EADEM, Początki.

3 The Yiddish language, although a later phenomenon, has two aspects directly related to the question of the origins of Yiddish-speaking Polish Jewry: the dialectal basis of

problems have remained unsolved. The decisive factors in the formation of East European Jewry are still unclear: were these so-called Romaniote (Greek-speaking), Canaanite (Slavic-speaking), or Ashkenazi (German-speaking) Jews? and what could be the origins of such groups in the region in question? In respect of the Canaanite Jews, for instance, views range from outright denial of their very existence[4] to the claim that they constitute the ultimate ancestors of the majority of modern Ashkenazi Jews.[5] Their original homeland is supposed to be either Kievan Rus', or Bulgaria, or the Western Slavic lands (such as Bohemia or Lusatia); their ethnic origin has been traced to the Romaniote Jews of the northern Black Sea coast, or to Khazarian Turkic proselytes,[6] or else to Sorbian-speaking Jews.[7] The Khazarian theory gained especially wide popularity due to Arthur Koestler's *The Thirteenth Tribe*,[8] which was based on Poliak's ideas that had been published only in Hebrew.[9] The same theory may be found in earlier authors as well.[10]

Even the application of geographical terms such as "Rusi'ah" in Hebrew sources is uncertain: scholars disagree on whether they refer to Kievan Rus' or to another entity, such as the so-called "Ruzaria" on the Danube at the borders of Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia,[11] or other homeophonic locations.[12] The appellation "Polin" and "Polania" in early medieval Hebrew sources is not less problematic. The name of Poland in all neighboring languages except for German is derived from the tribe of Lędzianie, who lived in the eastern part of Little Poland, somewhere near the current Polish-Ukrainian border: the East Slavic *Lękhi* (лѧхи), Lithuanian *Lenkija*, Hungarian *Lengyel*, Old Norse *Læsir*, and Turkish *Lehistan*. In contrast, the German *Polen* and Latin *Polonia*, which served as the sources for the Hebrew/Yiddish names of Poland, originally applied to Great Poland only, the homeland of the tribe of Polanie. Only gradually, with the consolidation of the rule of the Piast dynasty which originated in Gniezno in Great Poland, did this name come to be applied to the whole of Poland.[13]

---

the Germanic component of Yiddish can help to pinpoint a specific locus of the origin of the Ashkenazi Jews inside Germany, and the non-Germanic substrata of Yiddish can help to reveal previous languages spoken by Yiddish-speaking Jews.

4 E.g., PERESWETOFF-MORATH, vol. 2, pp. 59–60, 80–82, 120–122.

5 E.g., POLIAK, pp. 255–275.

6 For the latest iteration of this theory, see SAND.

7 WEXLER.

8 KOESTLER.

9 POLIAK.

10 NEUMANN; RENAN, pp. 25 ff.; GUMPLOWICZ, Początki; VON KUTSCHERA.

11 NAZARENKO.

12 WEINRYB, Myth; KULIK, Locating.

13 Some Polish historians derive the name of Poland directly from the common Slavic word "pole" (field); see URBAŃCZYK, pp. 320–324.

The origin of the German-speaking Ashkenazi Jews in Eastern Europe is not less problematic, and is usually discussed in connection with the origins of the Yiddish language. The central problem is that "classic" early medieval Ashkenazi Jewry was comprised of the Jewish communities in the Rhineland and Northern France, but the Yiddish language spoken by the vast majority of East European Jews is based on the South German Swabian-Bavarian dialect. The linguistic research, therefore, has concentrated on the search for the supposed "substrate" of this dialect, which could reveal the origin of this South German cluster of the Jewish population that later migrated to Eastern Europe. Lower German, Romance,[14] Sorbian,[15] East Slavic,[16] and Hebrew-Aramaic[17] have all been proposed as possible candidates.[18] The controversial hypothesis of a mass Jewish proselytism in Swabia in the sixth century, against the background of an uneasy choice between Gothic Arian and Frankish Catholic forms of Christianity, was also cautiously advanced.[19]

Historians have also made many important contributions to research on the problem of the origins of Eastern European Jews. Among the most instructive are Grodecki's[20] and Witkowski's[21] overviews of medieval Polish Jewry, Gorlińska's monograph on the Jews in medieval Polish administration,[22] Stampfer's innovative approach connecting his insight into early Jewish demography with the problem of the origins of East European Jewry,[23] Ta-Shma's study of the early rabbinic tradition in Poland,[24] Toch's pioneering research on rural Jews in early medieval Western and Eastern Europe,[25] and Zaremska's monograph on the medieval Jewish community in Kraków.[26] However, and even taking into account the most recent studies, the field of medieval Polish Jewry remains underdeveloped in contrast to the flourishing and abundant research on early modern Polish-Lithuanian Jewry present in several penetrating studies.[27] Such questions as the direction of migration (from east to west or from west to east), and the relative contributions of the

14 WEINREICH.
15 WEXLER.
16 STRATEN.
17 KATZ.
18 For a summary, see BEIDER, Origins.
19 FABER.
20 GRODECKI.
21 WITKOWSKI.
22 GORLIŃSKA, Żydzi.
23 STAMPFER, Did the Khazars.
24 TA-SHMA, On the History.
25 TOCH, 'Ikarim yehudim; TOCH, Economic History.
26 ZAREMSKA, Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce.
27 E.g. DOKTÓR; FRAM; HEYDE; HUNDERT, Jews; KALIK, Scepter of Judah; KAŹMIERCZYK; MICHAŁOWSKA-MYCIELSKA; POLONSKY, vol. 1; ROSMAN; PETROVSKY-SHTERN; TELLER, Kesef; IDEM, Money.

Eastern (so-called Canaanite, i.e., Slavic-speaking) Jews and their Western (Ashkenazi, i.e., German-speaking) counterparts are hotly disputed.[28] An alternative approach has emphasized the demographic growth of the population already present on Polish soil.[29] The chronology of the main stages of Jewish penetration into Eastern Europe, as well as the geography of Jewish settlement in the region, likewise remain problematic. The development of forms of Jewish internal organization and communal structures remains very poorly understood.

The state of source publication is at least partially to blame for this situation. Historical evidence of the Jewish presence in Slavic lands during the Middle Ages is found in very diverse sources and independent traditions which often belong to different cultures. Thus, the natural division of the sources into groups and sub-groups became an impediment to progress in investigation of the subject, because most scholars were not fully adept in using all the tools needed for a comprehensive study of the complete body of material. It is quite surprising, in fact, that despite the great scholarly attention devoted to the medieval origins of East European Jewry, no comprehensive source collection has ever been published. The existing collections of sources on the history of Polish Jews in the Middle Ages—in Hebrew,[30] Polish,[31] and Yiddish[32]—are both highly selective and outdated, include only translations without the original texts, and often confine themselves to the sources found within a single cultural tradition, either Jewish or Christian. The Polish and Yiddish collections of Rafael Mahler and Emanuel Ringelblum in reality merely constitute textbooks for Jewish schools in interwar Poland. It should be stressed that no similar collection in English exists at all.

The reexamination of all relevant sources in all languages (Hebrew, Latin, German), with origins in different cultural traditions (Jewish, Christian), and of all types (literary, legal, economic, etc.) must be regarded as a necessary prerequisite for the fruitful continuation of research into this topic. Though most of the sources are known, they have not been considered in the Jewish context. The published sources are scattered throughout numerous and varied source collections and research works, many of which do not focus specifically on Jewish themes; moreover, many remain unavailable to interested scholars (some, for instance, have not been republished since the eighteenth century). The very assemblage of all these sources for integral analysis would produce a substantially new picture of medieval Jewry in Eastern Europe. Even consideration of the geographical and chronological distribution of the sources alone can clarify many unsolved problems, such as patterns, routes, and stages of migration.

---

28 WEINRYB, Beginnings.

29 STAMPFER, Presledovaniia.

30 CYGIELMAN, Yehude Polin.

31 FIJAŁKOWSKI; MAHLER/RINGELBLUM, Teksty źródłowe.

32 MAHLER/RINGELBLUM, Gekleibene mekorim.

The present article presents preliminary observations resulting from our attempt to revise the corpus of early Judaica Polonica as a whole.[33] We base our analysis here on all known sources of information on the beginnings of the Jewish presence in Crown Poland. This geographical delineation follows from the historic fate of the Jewish population of these lands, which in the early modern age came to be, in many senses, a single distinct Jewish community, and the most populated, most important, and most influential Jewish community in the world. Chronologically, we revise sources dating from the earliest references to a Jewish presence in Poland in the eleventh century up to 1388, when Grand Duke Vytautas (Witold) the Great granted the first privilege to Lithuanian Jews. This event signified the beginning of documented Ashkenazi settlement in the territory of Grand Duchy of Lithuania and, consequently, of a new epoch in the history of Jewish-Slavic relations.

We have analyzed all the relevant texts, originating in different cultures and representing a diversity of languages and genres. These comprise 74 distinct Hebrew records (in addition to 39 Hebrew legends on Polish bracteates and coins and 11 tombstone inscriptions); 249 Latin documents; and 10 German documents. Each of these subcorpora presents its own challenges and contributions to a general picture of the beginnings of Polish Jewry.

1 Jewish Evidence

1.1 Rabbinical Writings

We considered the evidence in Jewish sources composed before 1388 or evidence known in direct quotations from earlier authors in compositions written after this date. This body of evidence has been preserved entirely in Hebrew and consists of halachic (legal) works (mostly rabbinic responsa), biblical and talmudic commentaries (including numerological calculations), memorial books, liturgical poetry, a travel itinerary, homiletics, and epigraphics. Most of them have been preserved via later compilations.

This "internal," that is, Jewish, evidence presents distinct advantages, furnishing an angle on communal and intellectual life unavailable in the non-Jewish evidence, which comes mainly from documentary, legislative, or scarce and biased ecclesiastic sources. The Jewish evidence also comes with its own disadvantages, since most has survived outside the lands of Poland, and almost exclusively via the later compilations of—or in references to—German and Bohemian scholars who were either in contact with Polish colleagues or treated in their works the topic of business trips and transactions involving Poland. Moreover, some medieval Jewish scholars whose titles include the names of Poland or Polish cities might actually have been of Polish

[33] This work is based on the conclusions of our ongoing book project, which assembles the complete evidence relevant to the topic.

origin but no longer resident there, especially when there is no clear indication of their knowledge of Polish customs (this may be the case, e.g., with R. Yitshak of Poland; see below). Or, conversely, some may have been recent migrants from Germany (as suggested by Ta-Shma).[34]

At the same time, since most of the Jewish sources—among them, the most informative ones—comprise halachic cases occurring in Poland, we should take into account the following factors. These cases all survived not in authentic legal documents, but rather as theoretical precedents preserved in later compilations. For this reason, whenever a text does not specifically discuss Polish customs, we may understand that its indication of a location (which is often irrelevant for the case) has survived by mere chance. This suggests that some additional cases lacking geographical attribution may also refer to the region in question; i.e., the surviving evidence may actually be richer but, alas, indiscernible amidst the vast treasury of Ashkenazi halachic literature. The fact that such sources must exist may be demonstrated by the existence of parallel sources in which one version includes geographical identifiers but a second version omits them (see, e.g., Maharam's versions of Polish cases from *Sefer ha-dinim* by R. Yehudah ben Meir,[35] or the reports of the case of R. Yaakov Svara[36]). Another kind of material which may benefit from sophisticated contextual reconstruction consists of records that employ only very common personal names or, indeed, ambiguous initials instead of full names (as in the case of "R.Y.K.," which can be deciphered as "R. Yaakov ha-Kohen [Svara of Kraków]" or "R. Yehudah ha-Kohen [of Freiburg]").[37]

The majority of the extant Hebrew evidence belongs to the period between the First Crusade (1095–1099) and the Mongol invasion (1241). For the period before the Crusades, we have a brief mention of Poland being on R. Petachyah's route between Bohemia and Rus' (though without any mention of a Jewish presence there)[38] and a responsum in *Sefer ha-dinim* by R. Yehu-

---

34 TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 316–317.

35 MAHARAM, § 881, § 885; BLOCH, She'elot u-teshuvot, pp. 120–121; KUPFER/LEWICKI, p. 37; FARBSHTAIN, She'elot u-teshuvot. For discussion, see GÜDEMANN, Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 110; IDEM, Ha-torah, vol. 1, p. 84; AGUS, Urban Civilization, vol. 1, pp. 220–224; vol. 2, pp. 701–705; EMANUEL, Teshuvot Maharam me-Rotenburg she-'enan shel Maharam, p. 205.

36 As cited in *Sefer 'Or zaru'a*: HIRSCHENSOHN, pp. 206–207 (§ 740); FARBSHTAIN, Sefer 'Or zarua', vol. 1, pp. 661–662 (§ 740). For discussion, see URBACH, Sefer 'Arugat ha-bośem, vol. 4, pp. 120–121; KUPFER, Responsa et Decisiones, p. 278, footnote 36; URBACH, Ba'ale ha-tosafot, pp. 490–491; KUPFER, Mi-ginze ha-makhon, pp. 959–960; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 294–296, 311; BAUMGARTEN, pp. 225–226. Compare MAHARAM; BLOCH, She'elot u-teshuvot, p. 115 (§ 864); NATHANSOHN, p. 33 (§ 362).

37 See TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 298.

38 PETACHYAH, Sivuv, 1595; IDEM, Sivuv, 1772; IDEM, Sivuv, 1795; IDEM, Sivuv, 1806; IDEM, Sivuv, 1817; IDEM, Sivuv, 1851; IDEM, Sivuv, 1855; IDEM, Sivuv, 1856; IDEM, Sivuv, 1952; and numerous other editions and translations of the work, including, e.g., WAGENSEIL, pp. 160–203; UGOLINO, pp. 1159–1212; ZANOLINI, pp. 139–164; CARMO-

dah ben Meir of Mainz mentioning a community in Kraków.[39] Three additional pieces of evidence all go back to the same *Sefer ha-dinim*; none of them, however, refers indisputably to Poland. We find a report on a Jew who "brought merchandise from the land of פולום (Polom [?])"—possibly Poland,[40] a mention of Jewish presence in פרומוט (Prumut) or פרימוט (Primut)—possibly Przemęt (Latin *Primut*)[41] or Przemyśl, a city that may have belonged to Rus' at the time,[42] and a highly conjectural location "in the north" (בצפון [ba-tsafon]) that has been interpreted as being Poland.[43] Still, R. Yehudah's responsum is quite instructive: it contradicts the traditional view, following Cosmas of Prague, that the Jews arrived in Poland only after the First Crusade; it mentions the "ḳahal" (קהל) or "community" of Kraków and, as noted by Ta-Shma, it implies the existence of a religious court empowered to enforce its decisions and even impose fines on Jews traveling through the city, in the spirit of a ruling to this effect by Rabbenu Gershom ben Yehudah (known as "Me'or ha-golah" [The Light of the Exile]).[44] Ta-Shma speaks of the community of *Zimri*, following the name given in the text to an offender;[45] however, in all probability, this is in fact a fictitious/prototypical personal name assigned on the basis of biblical precedent. The *Zimri* of this text was *inter alia* involved with a "female slave, who was also [another man's]

LY; OTTENSOSER; BENISCH/AINSWORTH; MARGOLIN; GRÜNHUT, vol. 1, pp. 2–4; KLETER; DAVID; VENTRICE. For discussion, see HALPERIN, Yehudim, pp. 15–16.

39 Mss. New York (Ashkenazi script, 15th c.): Jewish Theological Seminary, Rab. 673, fol. 252b; Oxford (Ashkenazi script, 15th c.): Bodleian Library, Opp. 42 (Neubauer no. OX 678), fol. 253b. For discussion, see AGUS, Urban Civilization, vol. 1, pp. 93–97; IDEM, Heroic Age, pp. 27, 46 (footnote 52), 103, 249; GROSSMAN, pp. 140–141; TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 287; FRISHMAN, pp. 148–149.

40 MAHARAM, p. 86b (§ 885); BLOCH, She'elot u-teshuvot, p. 121; KUPFER/LEWICKI, p. 37; FARBSHTAIN, She'elot u-teshuvot. For discussion, see GÜDEMANN, Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 110; IDEM, Ha-torah, vol. 1, p. 84; AGUS, Urban Civilization, vol. 1, pp. 220–224.

41 See BEIDER, Origins.

42 As cited by R. Eliezer ben Yoel ha-Levi of Bonn (Raavyah): APTOWITZER, vol. 4, p. 451; KUPFER/LEWICKI, p. 36; PRISMAN/KOHEN; DABLITSKI, vol. 3, p. 33 (§ 900). For discussion, see BRUTZKUS, Der Handel, p. 107; APTOWITZER, vol. 4, p. 451; KUPFER/LEWICKI, pp. 36–37; WEINRYB, Beginnings, pp. 481–482; AGUS, Urban Civilization, vol. 1, pp. 105–107; IDEM, Heroic Age, p. 103; URBACH, Ba'ale ha-tosafot, pp. 378–388; GROSSMAN, pp. 175–210, 443–444; ABRAMSON, p. 166; PERESWETOFF-MORATH, vol. 2, p. 125; FRISHMAN, pp. 148–149; JANKOWIAK, pp. 131–132. As cited by R. Yitshak ben Moshe of Vienna: FARBSHTAIN, Sefer 'Or zarua', vol. 1, p. 586 (§ 694). For discussion, see BRUTZKUS, Di ershte yediot, pp. 66–72; STARR, pp. 31–32, 192–194; KUPFER/LEWICKI, pp. 40–49; KULIK, Judeo-Greek Legacy, pp. 56–57; IDEM, Jews of Slavia Graeca, p. 311.

43 MAHARAM, § 881; BLOCH, She'elot u-teshuvot, p. 120; FARBSHTAIN, She'elot u-teshuvot. For discussion, see AGUS, Urban Civilization, vol. 2, pp. 701–705; EMANUEL, Teshuvot Maharam me-Rotenburg she-'enan shel Maharam, p. 205.

44 TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 287.

45 Ibidem, p. 287, footnote 2.

concubine"; compare this with the Zimri of the Book of Numbers 25:6–15, who was involved with a Midianite woman.

Quite expectedly for this early period, the entire case described by R. Gershom ben Yehudah is connected to the ownership, trade, abduction, and sexual exploitation of a slave. Jewish slave ownership was also known to Gallus Anonymus (in an entry pertaining to 1080–1086; II.1).[46] These two early sources exhaust the subject of Jewish slave ownership in Poland.[47] The earliest corroboration of a Jewish presence in Kraków in non-Jewish sources was to come only a century later in 1173 (in the chronicle of Vincent Kadłubek, IV.2).[48]

Later sources are richer, and they become especially abundant for the early thirteenth century, just prior to the Mongol invasion. In the twelfth century R. Eliezer ben Yitshak of Prague, in a responsum to R. Yehudah he-Chassid, still listed Polish Jewish communities among those lacking in Jewish learning ("in most of the places in Poland and Rus' and Hungary, where there are no students of Torah due to their deficiency …").[49] Already in the first half of the thirteenth century, however, we find authoritative Polish scholars (or scholars of Polish origin) forming part of wide international rabbinic networks. The two best documented of these are R. Moshe of Poland (or Poler, Polak, etc.) and R. Yaakov Svara of Kraków.

R. Moshe of Poland, a recognized authority in ritual slaughter who also manifested much broader interests, was possibly connected to the Chasside Ashkenaz. The breadth of R. Moshe's circle may be demonstrated by the fact that his works refer not only to the omnipresent R. Moshe ben Chasdai Tachau (on whom, see below) and R. Yaakov ben Nachman of Magdeburg, but also to R. Yeshayahu ben Mali di Trani, a contemporary Italian author with Byzantine and German connections. R. Moshe's halachic and exegetic views were cited by his contemporaries in the Rhineland (R. Eleazar ben Yehudah [Rokeach] of Worms),[50] Bohemia (R. Avraham Cheldik),[51] and Italy (R.

---

46 Ed. LENGNICH; KOLOF; BANDTKIE, Martini Galli Chronicon; SZLACHTOWSKI/KÖPKE; BIELOWSKI, Galla Kronika, pp. 428–429; FINKEL/KĘTRZYŃSKI; KRZYŻANOWSKI, Galla Anonima; MALECZYŃSKI, Galli Anonymi Cronica.

47 The earliest evidence of Jewish involvement in the slave trade in the Slavic context pertains to Dalmatia and dates to 960, in LJUBIĆ, p. 1 (no. 1).

48 SZELIGA; GRODDECKII, pp. 593–826; LENGNICH; KOWNACKI; PRZEŹDZIECKI; MUŁKOWSKI; BIELOWSKI, Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum, p. 381; PLEZIA; MÜHLE.

49 Ed. HIRSCHENSOHN; KUPFER/LEWICKI, p. 159 [partial excerpt]; FARBSHTAIN, Sefer 'Or zarua', vol. 1, pp. 107–108 (§ 113). For discussion, see GÜDEMANN, Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 115; IDEM, Ha-torah, vol. 1, p. 89; ABRAHAMS, p. 62; FRANK, p. 25; MAHLER, p. 25; KUPFER/LEWICKI, pp. 159–160; HALPERIN, Yehudim, p. 15; ZIMMER, Harmony and Discord, p. 115; WEINRYB, Jews of Poland, pp. 24, 74; URBACH, Ba'ale ha-tosafot, pp. 213–214; YUVAL, p. 14; ELBAUM, p. 13; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 288–289; REINER, p. 126; BEREND, p. 267; KULIK, Evrei Drevnei Rusi, p. 60; KANARFOGEL, Appointment, pp. 5–31; KULIK, Jews of Slavia Graeca, pp. 303–304.

50 Ms. Paris (Ashkenazi script, 1465): L'Ecole rabbinique de France, no. 147, fol. 51a.

Yeshayahu ben Mali di Trani),[52] as well as by a Byzantine scholar of the fourteenth century (R. Dosa the Greek, who studied under R. Sar Shalom of Vienna/Wiener Neustadt) or a revisor of his work.[53] Thus, when R. Yitshak ben Moshe (Or Zarua) of Vienna refers to Polish customs of *kashruth* (dietary laws) pertaining to the evaluation of lung defects (cf. "in Mainz and Poland [פולנית (Polanit)] the custom is to permit it as well, according to their rulings"),[54] this should be viewed against the background of the unique status enjoyed by R. Moshe of Poland, who was considered an expert in such matters.[55]

R. Yaakov Svara of Kraków was also possibly associated with the circle of R. Yehudah he-Chassid.[56] His scandalous marriage and pending excommunication left traces from Vienna—in the responsa of R. Yitshak ben Moshe Or Zarua[57] and in *Kitsur Sefer mitsvoth gadol* by R. Avraham ben Efraim, where R. Yaakov is called "a great scholar" (חכם גדול [*ḥakham gadol*])[58]—to Toledo (in the writings of R. Asher ben Yechiel [Rosh]).[59] R. Yaakov of Kraków exchanged responsa with R. Yechizkiyahu ben Yaakov of Magdeburg and R. Aharon of Regensburg.[60] R. Yaakov (and/or, less probably, namesakes of the

---

51 Ms. Oxford (Ashkenazi script, 14th c.): Bodleian Library, Mich. 307 (Neubauer no. OX 696; formerly Mich. 44), fol. 40. For discussion, see TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 303.

52 Ms. Moscow (Italian script, 13th c.): Russian State Library, Günzburg 303, fol. 71a (§ Gen. 42:8). For discussion, see TA-SHMA, Keneset meḥḳarim, vol. 3, p. 22; EMANUEL, Shivre luḥot, p. 241, footnote 90; KANARFOGEL, Ha'umnam, p. 681, footnote 35.

53 Ms. Paris (1627): Alliance Israélite Universelle, no. H 166 A, fol. 107a–108b. For discussion, see TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 304–307.

54 HIRSCHENSOHN, p. 112; FARBSHTAIN, Sefer 'Or zarua', vol. 1, p. 337 (§ 411); cf. ibidem, § 411/84. For discussion, see TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 308.

55 See the numerous works mentioning R. Moshe of Poland, especially mss. Oxford (15th–16th c.): Bodleian Library, Opp. 319 (Neubauer no. OX 690; formerly Opp. 629), fol. 158a–158b, 160a, 165b, 170b, 172a; Jerusalem (Ashkenazi script, 14th–15th c.): National Library of Israel, Heb. 8°4199.1–2, fol. 224a–224b. Ed. (one excerpt) BEDIḲOT, p. 15. For discussion, see EMANUEL, Shivre luḥot, pp. 241–243, footnote 91.

56 ABRAMS, pp. 33, 50–51; STAL. For discussion, see TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 300–301; IDEM, Keneset meḥḳarim, vol. 1, p. 238, footnote 40, p. 261; STAL, vol. 2, pp. 43–44, footnote 25, pp. 133–135.

57 HIRSCHENSOHN, pp. 206–207 (§ 740); FARBSHTAIN, Sefer 'Or zarua', vol. 1, pp. 661–662 (§ 740). For discussion, see URBACH, Sefer 'Arugat ha-bośem, vol. 4, pp. 120–121; KUPFER, Responsa et Decisiones, p. 278, footnote 36; URBACH, Ba'ale ha-tosafot, pp. 490–491; KUPFER, Mi-ginze ha-makhon, pp. 959–960; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 294–296, 311; BAUMGARTEN, pp. 225–226.

58 HOROWITZ, Ḳorowi sefer mitssit gadol, pp. 88–89. For discussion, see KUPFER, Meraḥoḳ, p. 218; TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 294; IDEM, Keneset meḥḳarim, vol. 1, p. 157; vol. 4, pp. 266–267.

59 Ed. YUDLOW, p. 225 (§ 53b).

60 Ed. KUPFER, Responsa et Decisiones, pp. 272, 277–281. For discussion, see ibidem, p. 278, footnote 36, p. 280, footnote 13; IDEM, Mi-ginze ha-makhon, p. 959; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 296–297.

same era) was cited by his (semi-)contemporaries in Bohemia (R. Avraham ben Azriel)[61] and Franconia (R. Meir ben Barukh of Rothenburg)[62]. If the "R. Yaakov of K." in the *Pa'aneach raza'* (first half of the fourteenth century) is the same person, he was also connected to R. Moshe ben Chasdai Tachau.[63] As with R. Moshe of Poland, the teachings of R. Yaakov Svara have multiple attestations in later sources. The image of R. Yaakov Svara probably even survives as the "(Ben) Savur" of a folktale included in a sixteenth-century Ashkenazi collection of stories.[64]

R. Moshe ben Chasdai Tachau (Taku), for his part, was one of the most notorious and prolific of the Chasside Ashkenaz. His cognomen implies that he was a native of Tachov in Bohemia or possibly Dachau in Bavaria. R. Moshe was known to be active in various parts of Ashkenaz (the German lands), and he enjoyed connections with R. Moshe of Poland and possibly R. Yaakov Svara of Kraków. On one occasion only, he is called "of Poland" (in a text by his contemporary Nachmanides of Catalonia, who refers to him as a "great scholar").[65] Although the words "of Poland" are found only in an added gloss in the manuscript,[66] this may indicate that R. Moshe was a Polish resident, at least for some time. His patronymic is atypical for the Ashkenazi world and should perhaps be regarded as being in line with the onomastic peculiarities of other East European Jews (compare the use of "Sinai" and "Chanukkah" in Rus').[67]

The scholars known as R. Mordekhai of Poland and R. Yitshak of Poland each transmitted one of R. Yehudah he-Chassid's commentaries on the Pentateuch to R. Yehudah's son, R. Moshe Zaltman, who compiled his father's commentaries into a book.[68] The same composition contains 35 commentaries transmitted, according to the same model, by R. Yitshak of Rus'.[69] Ta-Shma

---

61 URBACH, Sefer 'Arugat ha-bośem, vol. 3, p. 126. For discussion, see KUPFER, Mi-ginze ha-makhon, p. 959; TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 296.

62 EMANUEL, Teshuvot Maharam me-Rotenburg ṿe-ḥaveraṿ, vol. 1, p. 428 (§ 134).

63 Ms. Oxford (Italian script, 15th c.): Bodleian Library, Opp. Add. Qu. 103 (Neubauer no. OX 2344), fol. 51b, 57b. For discussion, see TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 299 (note that the ms. citation given there is incorrect).

64 Ms. Jerusalem (Ashkenazi cursive script, 16th c.): National Library of Israel, Heb. 28°3182, fol. 125a–126a. For discussion, see TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 299, footnote 34, p. 315, footnote 83.

65 והחכם הגדול ר' משה בר חסדאי מפלוני שיחיה ויאריך ימים (ṿe-ha-ḥakham ha-gadol R. Moshe bar Ḥasda'i me-Poloni she-yiḥyeh ṿe-ya'arikh yamim).

66 Ms. New York (Sephardi script, 1397): Jewish Theological Seminary, Rab. 740, fol. 13a.

67 See the Kievan letter (GOLB/PRITSAK, pp. 10–14) and KULIK, Earliest Evidence.

68 Ms. Cambridge (Ashkenazi script, 14th–15th c.): Cambridge University Library, Add. 669, 2, fol. 34b–35a, 37b. LANGE, Perushe ha-Torah, p. 94 (§ Yithro 19:18); cf. ibidem, p. 86. For discussion, see LUZZATTO, p. 69; KUPFER, Responsa et Decisiones, p. 162, footnote 14; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 309, 312.

69 KULIK, Jews from Rus'.

identifies R. Yitshak of Rus' with R. Yitshak of Poland and R. Yitshak of Moriat;[70] in fact, these figures can possibly be identified with several other East European Yitshaks of the same time.[71] Among the Polish scholars we also find a R. Yitshak of Wrocław, who is cited by R. Avraham ben Azriel of Bohemia in his *'Arugat ha-bosem* dated to 1234.[72]

Following the Mongol invasion and up to the end of the fourteenth century, internal evidence on Jewish life in Poland is much more limited. Records of anti-Jewish violence connected to the Black Death (1348/49), as found in the *Memorbücher* and memorial poems, provide the earliest attestations of several Jewish communities. Wrocław (Breslau), Kraków, and Opole (Oppeln) are listed in the *Memorbücher* of Metz and Nuremberg.[73] Kraków, Bytom (Beuthen), Zülz (now Biała Prudnicka), and Wrocław appear in the *Memorbuch* of Deutz.[74] Wrocław, Kalisz (Kalisch), Kraków, and Głogów (Glogau) figure in an elegy by R. Yisrael ben Yoel Zislin).[75] The existence of some of these communities is corroborated by non-Jewish sources from the same period (see below). The chronicle of Oliwa by Abbot Stanisław (§ 72) also refers to these events.[76]

A certain R. Shimon "of Poland" and an R. Pinchas, who knew a Polish word for "berries," were both known to R. Chaim Eliezer ben Yitshak Ashkenazi (Or Zarua) of Wiener Neustadt, who was active in the second half of the thirteenth century and lived also in Styria and France.[77] A certain R. Yisrael of Poland, active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, is also briefly mentioned in a manuscript deriving from the circle of the Chasside Ashkenaz.[78]

All the rest of the evidence for this period comes from R. Shalom ben Yitshak of Wiener Neustadt (aka Maharash of Vienna, ca. 1350 – ca. 1413) and his disciple R. Yaakov ben Moshe Moellin ha-Levi (Maharil, ca. 1350s–

---

70 TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 309.

71 See KULIK, Jews from Rus', pp. 382–389.

72 URBACH, Sefer 'Arugat ha-bośem, vol. 1, pp. 190–191. For discussion, see ibidem, vol. 4, p. 120; TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 312.

73 BERNFELD, vol. 2, p. 101 (one excerpt); SALFELD, pp. 69, 77–78. For discussion, see NEUBAUER.

74 SALFELD, pp. 81–85.

75 Sefer ḳinot, appendix 3a–6a; LANDSHUTH, appendix iii–vii. For discussion, see ZUNZ, Die synagogale Poesie, pp. 39–44; IDEM, Literaturgeschichte, p. 509; IDEM, Sufferings, pp. 62–70; BERNFELD, vol. 2, p. 97; BETH-HALEVI, pp. 66–67; HALPERIN, Yehudim, pp. 19–20.

76 Ed. HIRSCH/TÖPPEN, vol. 1, pp. 649–805; IDEM, vol. 5, pp. 591–624; BIELOWSKI, Chronica Oliviensis, p. 347 (this excerpt).

77 Ed. LANGE, Pisḳe halakhah, pp. 72–73, 84–85; AVITAN, Derashot, appendix 30 (§ 20), appendix 36 (§ 21). For discussion, see FREIMANN, vol. 2, p. 53; MARMORSTEIN, p. 226; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 310–311.

78 GELLIS, 6.96. For discussion, see TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 312–313.

1427). R. Shalom cites his Polish teacher R. Ozer of Silesia,[79] shows intimate knowledge of Polish customs (minhag), and replies to halachic queries from Poland.[80] His responsum regarding an interesting murder case may indicate the absence of a criminal justice system in the Jewish community of Poland.[81] R. Shalom also mentions a custom that the Jewish community of Poland had in common with those of Styria, Mehren, and Hungary.[82] R. Shalom's disciple, the famous and influential Maharil, was appointed head of the esteemed academy in Mainz. The Maharil knew the works of older Polish scholars such as R. Moshe of Poland.[83] Moreover, he discusses Polish customs[84] and halachic cases occurring in Poland.[85]

In neighboring Rus', which suffered to a greater extent from the Mongol invasion, the noticeable decrease in extant records is even more striking. The relatively rich Jewish and Slavic evidence for the period from the tenth to the early thirteenth centuries gives way after the invasion to scattered, lone sources—and these come mainly from Volhynia[86] or from Jewish migrants outside Rus'.[87] In Poland, however, non-Jewish sources provide incomparably richer documentation for this period (see below). Yet even though Jewish communities and guilds are well attested for this period in the Latin sources, from both the Rus' and the Polish evidence, we learn next to nothing about Jewish communal, let alone intellectual, life. After the invasion, the communities had to be renewed and possibly repopulated, leading to divergent levels of relative economic development. The degradation of Jewish learning and possibly also communal institutions in this context may explain the imbalance between these two corpora. Part of the repopulation of Jewish communities in Poland may have been due to westward migration from the territories of Rus', an additional factor that could help explain the imbalance between Polish and Rusian sources after the invasion.

---

79 SPITZER, Sefer Maharil, pp. 450–451 (§ Qeri'ath ha-Torah 3); SATZ.

80 SPITZER, Hilkhot, pp. 57 (§ 95), 84 (§ 211), 137 (§ 402), 160 (§ 489), 207 (§ Qidushin, Ketuboth, Gittin we-Chalitsah 6); IDEM, Sefer Maharil, pp. 602–603 (§ Semachoth 13); SATZ, pp. 206–207 (§ 153); ISSERLEIN; AVITAN, Sefer. For discussion, see EIDELBERG, pp. 90–91; SPITZER, Hilkhot; ZIMMER, 'Olam ke-minhago noheg, pp. 197–204; KAPLAN.

81 SPITZER, Hilkhot, p. 57 (§ 95). For discussion, see EIDELBERG, pp. 90–91.

82 SPITZER, Hilkhot, p. 207 (§ Qidushin, Ketuboth, Gittin we-Chalitsah 6); ISSERLEIN, Sefer Terumat ha-deshen, 1519; IDEM, Sefer Terumat ha-deshen, 1546; IDEM, Sefer Terumat ha-deshen, 1778; IDEM, Sefer Terumat ha-deshen, 1835; IDEM, Sefer Terumat ha-deshen, 1882; AVITAN, Sefer.

83 Ed. SATZ, p. 57 (§ 46); SPITZER, Sefer Maharil, p. 7 (§ R'osh Chodesh 9). See also above.

84 Ed. SPITZER, Sefer Maharil, pp. 602–603 (§ Semachoth 13); SATZ. For discussion, see ZIMMER, 'Olam ke-minhago noheg, pp. 197–204.

85 Ed. SATZ, pp. 206–207 (§ 153). For literature, see KAPLAN.

86 See KULIK, Earliest Evidence.

87 IDEM, Jews from Rus', pp. 374–376.

In general, for the entire period under discussion, the Hebrew evidence regarding Jews in Poland comes almost exclusively from Ashkenaz and Bohemia (with the exception of two records from Catalonia[88] and Verona[89]). This stands in contrast with the vast diversity of sources regarding neighboring Rus', which come *inter alia* from Khazaria, Byzantium, France, England, Italy, and Spain.[90] Rabbinic authorities in the Rhineland, southern Germany, Styria, and Bohemia show a peculiar awareness of conditions in Poland and Rus' during this period, drawing not only on halachic correspondence but also on real-life experiences of trading voyages to these countries. Sometimes this was even first-hand experience, as in the case of R. Yitshak ben Dorbelo, who left interesting observations on Jewish customs in both Poland and Rus'.[91] In other cases the authors may have met visitors from the region, e.g., the Polish disciples of Yehudah he-Chassid,[92] if they were not instead migrants to Poland (see also below).

Some eastern German connections are also noticeable. Thus, the first unequivocal attestation of a Jew actually being born in Poland (in Kraków), as confirmed by witnesses in a rabbinical court in the late twelfth century, mentions that he had brothers in Magdeburg ("regarding this man, witnesses have testified that he was born in Kraków but sometimes went to visit his brothers in Magdeburg, where the latter had married and settled").[93] Especially ob-

---

88 Ed. NACHMANIDES, p. 56a; HERSHLER, vol. 5, p. 41 (§ Chiddushe Gittin 7a; this vol. ed. by R. ELIYAHU RAFAEL HISHRIK, published 1995). For discussion, see URBACH, Ba'ale ha-tosafot, pp. 420–425; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 308–309.

89 Ed. KUPFER/LEWICKI, p. 170; PRISMAN/KOHEN, vol. 4, pp. 133–140 (§ 901); HERZOG, vol. 1, pp. 113a–115b (§ 'Even ha-'ezer 23); DABLITSKI, vol. 3, pp. 38–41 (§ 901). For discussion, see ZUNZ, Zur Geschichte und Literatur, p. 48; GROSS, p. 521; BRANN, Germania Judaica, vol. 1, p. 295; APTOWITZER, vol. 4, pp. 312, 429–431, 452–453; KUPFER/LEWICKI, pp. 170–172; WEINRYB, Beginnings, pp. 501–502; URBACH, Ba'ale ha-tosafot, pp. 433–435.

90 KULIK, Jews from Rus', pp. 374–376; IDEM, Judeo-Greek Legacy.

91 Ed. BERLINER; HOROWITZ, Maḥzor Ṿiṭri, pp. 243 (§ Hilkhoth 'Evel 275), 248 (§ Hilkhoth 'Evel 280); KUPFER/LEWICKI, p. 152; GOLDSCHMIDT. For discussion, see GÜDEMANN, Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 110; IDEM, Ha-torah, vol. 1, p. 84; KUPFER/LEWICKI, pp. 152–156; AGUS, Heroic Age, p. 46, footnote 52; WEINRYB, Jews of Poland, p. 24; URBACH, Ba'ale ha-tosafot, p. 216; REINER, p. 128; TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 288.

92 Ms. Cambridge (Ashkenazi script, 14th–15th cent.): Cambridge University Library, Add. 669, 2, fol. 34b–35a, 37b. Ed. LANGE, Perushe ha-Torah, p. 94 (§ Yithro 19:18); cf. ibidem, p. 86. For discussion, see LUZZATTO, p. 69; KUPFER, Responsa et Decisiones, p. 162, footnote 14; TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 309, 312.

93 וזה האיש העידו בפנינו עדי'[ם] שנולד בכרכוב או פעמי'[ם] הולך למייבורק אל אחיו שנשאו שם נשי'[ם] ונתיישבו שם (ṿe-zeh ha-'ish he'idu bi-penenu 'edim she-nolad be-Kerakov 'o pe'amim holekh le-Maideburḳ 'el 'eḥaṿ she-naśa'u sham nashim ṿe-nityashvu sham), cf. another connection between the two cities attested in *Sefer 'Or zaru'a*. Ed. HIRSCHENSOHN, pp. 229–230 (§ 775); FARBSHTAIN, Sefer 'Or zarua', vol. 1, pp. 687–688 (§ 775). For discussion, see KUPFER, Responsa et Decisiones, p. 278, footnote 36; IDEM, Mi-ginze ha-makhon, p. 959; TA-SHMA, On the History, p. 297.

vious are the close connections between almost all known Polish scholars and the circle of Yehudah he-Chassid. This led Ta-Shma to propose that the Polish scholars formed part of a group migration of Chasside Ashkenaz from the German lands to Poland,[94] which should thus be regarded in the context of German colonization and other aspects of German cultural influences in Eastern Europe. This hypothesis has the ability to explain several phenomena: R. Yehudah's own move eastward to Regensburg from his native Speyer; the relative "literary silence" of Polish rabbis, a tendency typical of the Chasside Ashkenaz, who held to brief, mainly oral, genres; and the specificity of later Polish kabbalah, in particular its preoccupation with *notarikon* and *gematria*, which were foreign to Lurianic kabbalah but very characteristic of the Chasside Ashkenaz.[95]

Jewish sources from Poland enable us to learn about the international connections of local scholars (which, as we can see, may shed some light on the cardinal question of migration patterns), as well as some of their intellectual interests and elements of Polish *minhag*. On the other hand, however, they shed next to no light on communal organization, or for that matter on the communities' economic conditions, occupations, spoken language, and interrelations with the Christian (Polish and German) environment. To a certain extent, some of this lack is compensated for by non-Jewish sources, which are not only more abundant but also, by the very nature of their genres (mostly documentary and legal), better reflect the physical conditions of everyday life. In this respect, neighboring Rus' presents us with a mirror image: we find a relative dearth of relevant Christian sources (259 for Poland as opposed to 27 for Rus'), more diverse and informative Hebrew evidence, and a lack of documentary sources, but incomparably better representation of interconfessional relations (since most of the Christian Rus' sources belong to the genres of chronography and ecclesiastic literature). The differences may be explained by, *inter alia*, (1) the poorer preservation of documentation within Rus' (the extant Hebrew evidence comes mostly from outside), (2) the earlier roots and greater role of Jews and Judaism (at least as a concept) in the religious and political processes of Rus', and, probably, (3) more significant migration from Rus' to the west, which left traces in sources from Western Europe.

1.2 Numismatic Evidence

A different set of challenges accompanies the use of numismatic Jewish evidence, namely Hebrew legends on bracteates and coins. It should be noted that the activity of Jewish mint-masters in Poland resulted from the so-called

94 TA-SHMA, On the History, pp. 314–317.

95 See also, e.g., LIFSHITZ, 'Eḥad be-khol dimyonot; IDEM, Rabbi Meir.

"renewal of the coinage" (*renovatio monetae*) in twelfth-century Poland.[96] This occurred after a break in minting of about a century, as no coins were minted in the eleventh century (the earliest Piast coins of the tenth century bore Latin legends).

Gorlińska's monograph of 2015 considerably altered scholarly understanding of the chronology and geography of Jewish minting in Poland.[97] It now seems that the first Polish coins with Hebrew legends were minted in Silesia in the 1170s for Mieszko I Tanglefoot, the duke of Silesia from 1163 to 1173. In the last decades of the twelfth century, under the rule of Mieszko III the Old (1181–1202), the phenomenon of Hebrew legends on bracteates spread to Great Poland and Kuyavia. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, they could also be found in Kraków in Little Poland, during the rule of Władysław III Spindleshanks (Laskonogi) (1202–1231). Nearly simultaneously with their appearance in Poland in the 1170s, Hebrew legends also began to appear in Germany on bracteates minted for Kuno, the Imperial treasurer (*camerarius*) of Münzenberg (1151–1207) in Hesse, and on bracteates minted for King Vladislav II of Bohemia (1158–1172) in Meissen in the Bohemian part of Lusatia.[98] The minting of bracteates and coins with Hebrew legends continued in Poland until the mid thirteenth century but did not survive the Mongol invasion of 1241.

The coins and bracteates minted in the late twelfth century in Poland and Germany are very similar in their physical appearance, both typically bearing an image in the center encircled by a Hebrew legend. It is possible that one and the same family of Jewish mint-masters, of priestly origin, operated in both countries: the name of David ha-Kohen ("the Priest") appears on the bracteates of Kuno of Münzenberg, and the name of Yosef bar Yehudah ha-Kohen on those of Mieszko III in Kalisz.[99] The presence of such Jewish priestly symbols as the blooming staff of Aaron and the priestly blessing (*nesi'at kapayim*)[100] in the iconography of some Polish bracteates (types 11–13)[101] may also testify to the priestly origins of these Jewish mint-masters.

---

96 See TRAWKOWSKI.

97 GORLIŃSKA, Żydzi.

98 See HAVERKAMP.

99 Ed. POLKOWSKI, p. 34; STRONCZYŃSKI, pp. 159–160; ZAKRZEWSKI, O brakteatach, 1909, p. 217; IDEM, O brakteatach, 1910, pp. 6–7; IDEM, Gniezno i Kalisz, pp. 25–29; PINIŃSKI, Pierwsze monety kaliskie, pp. 516–519; GUMOWSKI, Hebräische Münzen, pp. 79–81; GARBACZEWSKI, Ikonografia, p. 321; IDEM, Mennica, pp. 69–78; GORLIŃSKA, Żydzi, p. 260.

100 This image has generally been interpreted as depicting an angel. In our opinion, however, the supposed "wings" are actually hands covered by a prayer shawl (tallith).

101 Ed. POLKOWSKI, pp. 29–31, 39–40, 42–45, 74; STRONCZYŃSKI, pp. 147–148, 153–156; ZAKRZEWSKI, O brakteatach, 1910, p. 75; IDEM, O brakteatach, 1911, pp. 4, 19, 55; IDEM, O brakteatach, 1912, pp. 69–70; IDEM, O brakteatach, 1913, p. 101; IDEM, Gniezno i Kalisz, pp. 19–20; GUMOWSKI, Monety hebrajskie, pp. 22–23, 26–28, 30–31, 33–34, 40; PINIŃSKI, Brakteaty gnieźnieńskie, pp. 411–414; GUMOWSKI, Hebräische Mün-

1.3 Evidence from Tombstones

Jewish gravestones found at Wrocław and Świdnica in Silesia, at Tyvriv in Podolia, and at Chełm in Red Ruthenia testify to a Jewish presence in these regions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Unfortunately, most of them no longer exist. Six gravestones from Wrocław were transferred in 1851 to the Jewish cemetery on Claassenstraße (now ul. Gwarna), where the cemetery guard misinterpreted his instructions and destroyed the stones.[102] Fortunately, S. Nissen had copied the inscriptions and published his transcripts in 1855.[103]

The gravestone from Świdnica was held at the Silesian Museum for Artistic Crafts and Antiquities (Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer) in Wrocław, where it was destroyed in 1945 together with all other exhibits of the museum. Its content is known from the previous publications by Marcus Brann.[104]

The gravestone from Tyvriv is known only according to the 1895 transcription by Menachem Nachum Litinsky[105] and is apparently no longer extant. Mikhail Nosonovskii has expressed skepticism concerning the dating of the monument (1240).[106] It is worth noting that the oldest Ashkenazi epitaph from Ukraine that can be dated with any certainty has been assigned to 1520.[107]

A report concerning a Jewish gravestone in Chełm dating from 1248 was published by Shimon (Simon) Milner (1882–1952) in 1902 and again in 1954.[108] According to the report, Milner heard of the existence of this early Jewish gravestone in Chełm at some point during the first two decades of his life. His testimony appeared in an article that also supplied transcriptions of known, extant gravestones from Chełm. Though intriguing, Milner's report relies on hearsay and thus has limited evidentiary value.

zen, pp. 49–50, 55–61, 68–69; PASZKIEWICZ, p. 20; GARBACZEWSKI, Ikonografia, pp. 59, 140, 273, 276, 291, 302, 318–319; GORLIŃSKA, Monety, pp. 199–200, 206, 208; EADEM, Żydzi, pp. 220–223, 236–254.

102 See LEWIN, p. 7.

103 NISSEN, pp. 23 (no. 1–2), 23–24 (no. 3), 24 (no. 4, 5, 6).

104 BRANN, Alte jüdische Grabsteine, pp. 7–8; IDEM, Geschichte der Juden, Anhang II, p. xiii (no. 22).

105 LITINSKY.

106 Cited by PERESWETOFF-MORATH, vol. 2, pp. 128–129; cf. NOSONOVSKII.

107 FISHEL/NOSONOVSKY.

108 MILNER, Le-ḳorot, 1902; IDEM, Le-ḳorot, 1954.

2 Christian Evidence[109]

In contradistinction to the Hebrew sources, Latin and German sources referring to Polish Jews show a remarkable geographical diversity and comprehensiveness. They come from Silesia, Great Poland, Little Poland, Mazovia, Pomerania, Lusatia, and Red Ruthenia. These data also help to clarify the chronology of Jewish migration from Germany and Bohemia into Poland: the Silesian documents are the earliest, and the Ruthenian ones the latest. The boundaries of Poland changed considerably over the course of its turbulent history. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for instance, Silesia was ruled by the local branch of the Polish Piast dynasty, but during the fourteenth century, this territory gradually became part of Bohemia and lost its political vassalage to Poland. For this reason, we consider documents from Silesia only up to 1327, when the first vassal treaties were signed between the king of Bohemia (John of Luxemburg) and the major Silesian dukes. From this point on, the Bohemian king began to appear in the capacity of protector of the Jews of Silesia.

The special situation of Silesia is in some respect mirrored by that of Red Ruthenia. Until 1340, Red Ruthenia constituted one of the Rus' principalities, after which it was incorporated into the Polish Crown by Kazimierz III the Great. Hence, we consider only evidence pertaining to Red Ruthenia after this date. Pomerania, for its part, experienced brief Polish rule in 1102–1138, after which it became an independent duchy ruled by the local Slavic dynasty of the Ratiborides until 1648. The western part of Pomerania (Vorpommern) now belongs to Germany. Evidence from the 1260s on the Jews of Pomerania has been included in our analysis due to its historical connection to Poland. Similarly, West Slavic Lusatia (Łużyce) was also very briefly under Polish rule in 1002–1031; later, it came to be divided between Brandenburg and Bohemia. Nevertheless, we include in the discussion a single German document from 1304 from Görlitz (Zgorzelec), which serves as the only evidence for a Jewish presence in medieval Upper Lusatia.[110] This document carries importance in the light of a theory about a possible Sorbian (i.e., Lusatian) substratum in the Yiddish language.[111]

Latin sources include literary compositions as well as legislative, judicial, economic, and ecclesiastic documents. The Middle German texts from

[109] By "Christian evidence" we mean documents written by Christians in medieval Poland that mention Jews and thus serve as evidence of a Jewish presence in the country. We do not deal either with Jewish-Christian religious polemics or with Christian attitudes towards Jews, though rich documentation from medieval Poland can also shed light on these topics. This problem deserves separate research and should be regarded against the background of the West European context as discussed in modern research by Jeremy Cohen, Ora Limor, Kenneth Stow, Israel Yuval, and others.

[110] Ed. SCHOTT, pp. 58–88; TZSCHOPPE/STENZEL, p. 473.

[111] WEXLER.

Wrocław constitute legal documents,[112] while those from Kraków are all of an economic nature.[113] The existence of these sources reflects the respective historic fates of these two cities. Both were destroyed by the Mongols in 1241 and later re-founded as German urban colonies. However, the German character of Kraków was lost after the rebellion of Mayor Albert in 1311 against Władysław I Elbow-High (Łokietek), as the city was gradually re-Polonized. The Germanization of Wrocław, by contrast, only intensified during the fourteenth century, especially after the incorporation of Silesia into the Kingdom of Bohemia during the reign of John of Luxemburg (1310–1346).

Sources referring to Jews that belong to the genre of literary compositions include medieval chronicles (three Polish and one Czech) and one Polish life of saints. The earliest Polish chronicle, that of Gallus Anonymus (II.1), provides the only Latin reference to Jewish slave ownership in eleventh-century Poland,[114] the existence of which is corroborated by several Hebrew and Arabic sources. The earliest Czech chronicle, ascribed to Cosmas of Prague (III.4–5), furnishes the only literary description of the migration of Bohemian Jews to Poland during the First Crusade (1095–1099).[115] The chronicle of Vincent Kadłubek (IV.2)[116] and the "Life of St. Stanisław" by Vincent of Kielcza (II.24)[117] give evidence concerning the early Jewish presence in Kraków (in 1173 and 1253). The fourteenth-century chronicle of Oliwa by Abbot Stanisław (chapter 72) describes the fate of the Jews in Poland during the great plague of 1348–1350.[118]

The most important among the legislative documents are, of course, the Jewish privileges. There are seven of them in our discussion: the earliest privilege of Bolesław the Pious to the Jews of Great Poland in 1264;[119] two Silesian privileges, granted by Duke Bolko I the Strict of Silesia to the Jews of Świdnica in 1295[120] and by Duke Henry III of Silesia to the Jews of Głogów in 1299;[121] and four privileges granted by Kazimierz III the Great: to the Jews

---

112 Ed. KORN, pp. 48–49; GÖRLITZ, pp. 108–109; TZSCHOPPE/STENZEL, pp. 444–446.

113 ESTREICHER, pp. 29–30 (no. 2.13); PIEKOSIŃSKI/SZUJSKI, vol. 1, pp. 4 (no. 1), 8 (no. 28), 17 (no. 131), 20 (no. 167), 23 (no. 208); MAHLER/RINGELBLUM, Teksty źródłowe, p. 25; WYROZUMSKA, Jews, pp. 23 (no. 1–4), 37 (no. 82).

114 BIELOWSKI, Galla Kronika, pp. 428–429.

115 Ed. FREHER, Cosmae Pragensis, 1602; IDEM, Cosmae Pragensis, 1607; MENCKEN; PERLCEL/DOBROVSKY; KÖPKE; MIGNE; EMLER; BRETHOLZ, pp. 164–166 (this passage).

116 BIELOWSKI, Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum, p. 381.

117 Ed. BANDTKIE, Martini Galli Chronicon; KĘTRZYŃSKI, p. 390.

118 BIELOWSKI, Chronica Oliviensis, p. 347.

119 Ed. ŁASKI, pp. 163 ff.; PRZYŁUSKI [no pagination]; KONARSKI, pp. 309–317; BANDTKIE, Ius Polonicum, pp. 1–21; ŁEBIŃSKI, vol. 1, pp. 563–566 (no. 605); STERNBERG, pp. 39–52; BLOCH, Die General-Privilegien, pp. 10–12; LABUDA, pp. 289–298; WITKOWSKI, pp. 136–139.

120 Ed. SOMMERSBERG, pp. 91–94 (no. 85).

121 Ibidem, pp. 105–107 (no. 105).

of Great Poland in 1357,[122] to the Jews of Poland generally in 1364[123] and in 1367,[124] and to the Jews of Rus' (i.e., Red Ruthenia) also in 1367.[125] The authenticity of the privilege of 1357 is contested: Romuald Hube, Stanisław Kutrzeba, and most recently Hanna Zaremska have argued that this is a fifteenth-century forgery.[126] Ludwik Gumplowicz, Ignacy Schiper, and Arthur Cygielman defend its authenticity.[127] Both sides proffer many convincing arguments; the document has been included in our discussion in the absence of any certain resolution of the question.

Both Silesian privileges are based upon two earlier privileges that have not survived: those issued by Henry IV Probus, duke of Silesia in 1266–1290; and Henry V the Fat, duke of Wrocław in 1290–1296. All these privileges, except for the charter of 1357, were based on the privilege granted to the Jews of Moravia in 1254 by King Ottokar II of Bohemia.[128] However, the Silesian privileges were modeled after this document independently of the earliest Polish privilege of 1264.[129] The privileges of 1367, by contrast, represent slight modifications of the privilege of 1264.

References to the most archaic feature of the judicial procedure—the so-called "divine judgment" in the form of trial by judicial combat—have survived in both Silesian privileges of 1295 and 1299 and in both of Kazimierz's general privileges of 1364 and 1367. The present discussion also includes later confirmations of the privileges: in 1334, Kazimierz the Great confirmed the privilege of Bolesław the Pious and extended it to all Jews of Crown Poland, thus making it the first general Polish Jewish privilege,[130] and in 1387 Władysław II Jagiełło confirmed the 1367 privilege of Kazimierz the Great to Ruthenian Jews.[131]

Other legislative documents are not dedicated specifically to the Jews but do include "Jewish" sections, which are presented here. To this category belong the following: the so-called Piotrków-Wiślica Statutes of Kazimierz the

---

122 Ed. BANDTKIE, Ius Polonicum, pp. 1–21; ŁEBIŃSKI, vol. 3, pp. 88–94 (no. 1368); BLOCH, Die General-Privilegien, pp. 102–120; POGONOWSKI, pp. 39–58 (erroneously marked as the 1264 privilege).

123 Ed. BERSHADSKII, pp. 3–7.

124 Ed. BLOCH, Die General-Privilegien, pp. 10–32; BERSHADSKII, pp. 23–28; BERSOHN, pp. 18–22.

125 Ed. WISŁOCKI; KAPRAL', pp. 381–383.

126 HUBE, Przywilej żydowski; KUTRZEBA; ZAREMSKA, Przywileje Kazimierza Wielkiego.

127 GUMPLOWICZ, Prawodawstwo; SCHIPER, Przegląd krytyczny; CYGIELMAN, Basic Privileges.

128 For a textological comparison of the privilege of 1254 with the privilege of 1264, see WITKOWSKI, pp. 136–139.

129 BRANN, Geschichte der Juden, Appendix I: "Schlesische Juden-Privilegien," pp. i-v.

130 Ed. ŁASKI, pp. 163 ff.; PRZYŁUSKI [no pagination]; KONARSKI, pp. 309–317; BANDTKIE, Ius Polonicum, pp. 1–21; ŁEBIŃSKI, vol. 2, p. 463 (no. 1135).

131 Ed. WISŁOCKI; KAPRAL', p. 388.

Great,[132] the first attempt at a codification of Polish law begun in 1346/47; the granting of the Magdeburg Law to Szczecin (Stettin) in 1261,[133] Görlitz in 1304,[134] and Lviv (Lwów, Lemberg) in 1356[135] with reconfirmation in 1386;[136] the granting of the Lübeck Law to the city of Greifswald in 1264;[137] the municipal statutes of Wrocław dated 1280[138] and 1315;[139] and various other privileges and immunity grants issued to towns, monasteries, and individuals.

The legislative documents are usually connected to specific events known from general Polish history. Thus, the city of Greifswald received the Lübeck Law after the unification of western and eastern Pomerania under the rule of Duke Barnim I, and the city of Świdnica received a privilege from Duke Henry IV after he took the city from the hands of Bishop Thomas II Zaremba in 1285.[140] Kazimierz the Great bestowed his long, detailed, and generous privilege on the Jews of Great Poland in 1357 during the final stages of the rebellion of Great Polish nobles against his rule; his privilege to the city of Lviv[141] was reconfirmed in 1386 by Queen Jadwiga of Poland[142] after the Polish reconquest of Red Ruthenia.

We also note that the Magdeburg Law tolerated the Jews, while the Lübeck Law did not. For this reason, the same Pomeranian Duke Barnim I allowed the Jews to settle in Szczecin but expelled them from Greifswald. This case shows that the choice between a tolerant or intolerant attitude towards the Jews did not necessarily depend on the personal preferences of this or that prince, but rather on a choice between this or that urban law. The Lübeck Law did not tolerate Jews in consequence of the fact that Lübeck was a center of the maritime union of merchant cities—the so-called Hanseatic League—which had no interest in permitting Jewish competitors to settle in its member cities. Magdeburg, however, constituted a center of the German settlement movement in the east (the so-called *Drang nach Osten*) and was therefore interested in attracting Jewish settlers among others.

The judicial documents comprise the records of castle and municipal courts in Poznań, Kraków, and Lviv, with cases mostly of an economic nature. Only

---

132 Ed. Łebiński, vol. 2, pp. 584–594 (no. 1261); Hube, Prawo polskie, vol. 4, pp. 38–55 (Piotrków Statutes); Bandtkie, Ius Polonicum; Lelewel; Helcel, pp. 110–111, 150 (Wiślica Statutes).

133 Ed. Prümers, pp. 85–86 (no. 708); Grotefend, p. 110, footnote 2.

134 Tzschoppe/Stenzel, p. 473.

135 Ed. Stadnicki, pp. 13–18 (no. 5).

136 Ibidem, pp. 75–76 (no. 42).

137 Ed. Grotefend, p. 110, footonote 4.

138 Ed. Korn, pp. 48–49.

139 Ibidem, pp. 91–92.

140 Ed. Tzschoppe/Stenzel, p. 403.

141 Ed. Stadnicki, pp. 13–18 (no. 5).

142 Ibidem, pp. 75–76 (no. 42).

a handful of relevant criminal records have survived: the interesting case of an arrest of a Jew for riding a horse in 1366;[143] two homicide cases—one of a Jewish bathhouse attendant in 1368,[144] and the other of a Christian tailor by a Jew in 1369;[145] a theft case against the son of a Christian organist in 1375;[146] a charge of incorrect weights brought against a Jew in 1378;[147] and a case of injury and robbery in 1387 in which one defendant was the Christian servant of a Jew.[148] All these cases come from Kraków. The first of them is particularly interesting, since it arose out of a contradiction in medieval law: on the one hand, Jews frequently came into possession of horses through unclaimed pledges,[149] and this right was anchored in their privileges; but on the other hand, the right to ride horses was reserved to the nobles, to the exclusion of Jews and others.

The economic documentation consists of promissory letters, real estate transactions, purchase contracts, and tax records filed in courts or in municipal books. Especially interesting among these is an uninterrupted series of tax records from Wrocław for the years 1299–1358[150] and a purchase contract for seven sacks of pepper bought by the Lviv city council from the Jews in 1385.[151]

Among the ecclesiastic documents, the most important are the first papal bull dedicated to Polish Jews, issued by Clement IV in 1265,[152] and the Jewish sections of the resolutions of the first Polish provincial synod in Wrocław in 1267.[153] These documents are closely connected with each other, having been promulgated under the direct influence of Guido, the papal nuncio in Poland, whose alarming reports probably provoked the papal bull and who himself convened the provincial synod at Wrocław in order to "rectify" the misconduct of the Polish Jews. The reference in the bull of Clement IV to synagogues "painted with diverse colors inside" in a manner more beautiful than that of the churches is particularly striking. The resolutions of the Wrocław synod set for centuries the general framework of the Jewish experience in Poland, and they would be repeated by numerous Polish provincial and diocesal synods up to the eighteenth century. The conditions of life for Polish Jews, as described in both these documents, differed substantially from

143 Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 2, p. 7; Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 28 (no. 39).
144 Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 2, p. 15; Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 30 (no. 47).
145 Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 2, p. 26; Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 31 (no. 50).
146 Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 2, p. 40; Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 36 (no. 76).
147 Ed. Chmiel, p. 113; Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 37 (no. 83).
148 Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 2, p. 68; Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 40 (no. 94).
149 For discussion see Kalik, Hafḳadah, p. 29.
150 Ed. Grünhagen, pp. 2–50.
151 Ed. Czołowski, p. 39 (no. 247–248).
152 Ed. Ptaśnik, pp. 466–467; Simonsohn, pp. 225–226 (no. 221).
153 Ed. Hube, Antiquissimae constitutiones, pp. 57–71; Helcel, pp. 360–363; Łebiński, vol. 1, pp. 374–375 (no. 423); Labuda, pp. 116–118.

the situation familiar to the pope and his nuncio in the medieval Italian setting, where the Jews were enclosed in a ghetto. A connection between these documents and the first Polish privilege granted to the Jews of Great Poland in 1264,[154] which could have been viewed by the clergy as being too lenient toward the Jews, is also possible.

Other ecclesiastic documents include: the "License to Grant Municipal Rights to the Town of Płock," issued by Bishop Peter I Półkozic of Płock in 1237;[155] the statutes of Archbishop Jacob II Świnka of Gniezno, confirmed by the diocesal synod at Łęczyca in 1285;[156] the statutes of Bishop John IV Grot of Kraków in 1331;[157] the complaints of Bishop Thomas II Zaremba of Wrocław against Duke Henry IV Probus of Silesia;[158] and the complaints of Bishop Henry I of Wrocław against Duke Henry VI the Good of Wrocław.[159] These documents mostly reflect conflicts between secular and ecclesiastic authorities, as well as internal conflicts inside the church (between John IV Grot and the papal nuncio Peter of Alvernia). Two lists of monks from Wrocław (1219)[160] and Henryków (1227)[161] provide the earliest evidence of Jewish converts to Christianity in Silesia.

Though all these documents may be found in published collections of sources, many of them have never before been brought to bear on the Jewish historical context. Moreover, such important documents as the late thirteenth-century privileges to the Silesian Jews have not been republished in centuries (in this case, since 1732). Therefore, the very assemblage of all the documentary evidence for one integrative analysis of their combined geographical and chronological distribution produces a considerably new picture of the patterns, periodization, and character of Jewish settlement in Poland.

154 Łebiński, vol. 1, pp. 563–566 (no. 605).
155 Ed. Lubomirski, pp. 8–9 (no. 11).
156 Ed. Helcel, p. 387.
157 Ed. Hayzmann, pp. 36–40.
158 Ed. Stenzel, Urkunden, p. 195.
159 Ed. Wattenbach, pp. 57 (no. I.73), 57–58 (no. I.74).
160 Ed. Appelt, no. 190.
161 Ed. Stenzel, Liber fundationis, p. 69.

3 Periodization and Localization of Jewish Settlement in Poland

Thus, three distinct stages of Jewish presence in Poland can be apprehended on the basis of our evidence: (1) prior to the First Crusade (up to 1096); (2) from the First Crusade until the Mongol invasion (1096–1241); and (3) after the Mongol invasion (1241–1388). The earliest Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin sources on the Jewish presence in Poland refer to itinerant Jewish merchants passing through Slavic lands, which may have included Poland; the ninth-century Arabic author Ibn Khordadbeh (ca. 820–912) calls them the "Radhanites" (*al-Rādẖānіyya*).[162] The meaning of this term is hotly disputed. Some consider that it may reveal their Provençal origins, being derived from the Latin name of the river Rhône: Rhodanus.[163] However, these merchants' roots may have lain instead in the Islamic lands.[164] A similar itinerant Jewish merchant—the Spanish Jew Ibrāhīm ibn Yaqūb (Abraham son of Jacob)—visited Poland during the reign of Meszko I (960–992) and left the earliest description of this country in Arabic. He did not mention any permanent Jewish presence in Poland.[165] The Latin chronicle of Gallus Anonymus confirms the presence of Jewish slave owners in Poland in 1080–1086 (during the reign of Queen Judith, the wife of Duke Władysław I Herman).[166] With the beginning of a permanent Jewish settlement in Poland in the late eleventh century, the Jewish itinerant merchants gradually disappear from the sources. They are mentioned for the last time in 1226 in a customs regulation regarding transit through Olesno and Siewierz in Silesia.[167]

The Jewish migration from Bohemia to Poland, which marked the beginning of the permanent Jewish settlement in the latter, is described in dramatic form in the Czech chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, who dates the movement to 1098.[168] At this time, according to the chronicle, Bohemian Jews were being forcefully converted to Christianity by crusaders passing through Bohemia and they therefore fled to Poland and Hungary. It is difficult to say to what extent this passage should be taken at face value,[169] though it was written by a contemporary. Jews begin to appear in Silesian documents as permanent residents only in the late twelfth—early thirteenth centuries. Surprisingly, these Jews were farmers who lived in at least three Silesian villages: Mały Tyniec,[170] Sokolniki (both near Wrocław),[171] and Bytom near Katowice.[172]

---

[162] LEWICKI, vol. 1, pp. 74–77; CAHEN; QABALĀWĪ.
[163] See LEWICKI, vol. 1, pp. 119–120.
[164] See GIL; RABINOWITZ.
[165] KOWALSKI, p. 50.
[166] BIELOWSKI, Galla Kronika, pp. 428–429.
[167] Ed. MALECZYŃSKI, Codex diplomaticus, vol. 3, pp. 114–115 (no. 309).
[168] Ed. BRETHOLZ, pp. 164–166.
[169] For a critical view see STAMPFER, Presledovaniia.
[170] Ed. MALECZYŃSKI, Codex diplomaticus, vol. 1, p. 158 (no. 68).

Mały Tyniec was bought from the Jews, and Sokolniki was said to "belong to Joseph and Chazkel the Jews" (quod habuerunt Ioseph et Chazkel Iudei),[173] while the Jewish inhabitants of Bytom actually tilled the castle lands.

The existence of Jewish farmers is well attested for Western Europe in the early Middle Ages, but mostly in southeastern France rather than in Germany.[174] Ignacy Schiper sees in the agricultural character of the earliest Silesian Jews evidence for their alleged Khazarian origin,[175] while Franciszek Bujak in his review on Schiper's book claims that these Jews may have been landowners rather than farmers.[176] Bujak rightly remarks, on the one hand, that there is no evidence whatsoever for Khazarian migration into Silesia; but he struggles, on the other hand, to dismiss the agricultural character of Bytom's ploughing Jews and claims that "ploughing" is a metonymy for administering.[177] Since the very notion of a "village" had not yet stabilized in the twelfth century, it is possible that the Jewish "owners" of the Silesian villages were simply the first settlers of several farmsteads. Nor was this a uniquely Silesian pattern of behavior—Cosmas's chronicle mentions a certain Podiva as the eleventh-century Jewish founder of a village called Slivnice in Moravia.[178] In Sokolniki, at least, the Jewish residents may have been falconers, since the name of this village is translated thus into Latin in several documents.[179]

The only Silesian Jews mentioned outside of this group of documents in the pre-Mongol era are R. David son of Sar Shalom, whose gravestone of 1204 was discovered in Wrocław,[180] some monks who bore the sobriquet "Jew" (*Iudeus*) in two monasteries in Wrocław[181] and Henryków,[182] Jewish merchants passing through Olesno and Siewierz,[183] and R. Yitshak of Wrocław, who flourished sometime before 1234. Outside Silesia, Jews are attested very poorly before the Mongol invasion. We find in Kadłubek's chron-

171 Ibidem, vol. 1, pp. 249 (no. 103), 275–277 (no. 107); ibidem, vol. 2, pp. 35 (no. 130), 180–194 (no. 193).

172 Ibidem, vol. 3, pp. 161–165 (no. 337).

173 Ed. MALECZYŃSKI, Codex diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 275–277 (no. 107).

174 TOCH, 'Ikarim yehudim; TOCH, Economic History, p. 83.

175 SCHIPER, Studya.

176 BUJAK.

177 "Liberi vero et Judei ubicumque in dicta Bytomiensi castellatura araverint …" [Free peasants and Jews ploughing castle lands in whatever part of the aforementioned Bytom]; MALECZYŃSKI, Codex diplomaticus, vol. 3, p. 164 [no. 337]).

178 BRETHOLZ, p. 113.

179 Ed. MALECZYŃSKI, Codex diplomaticus, vol. 1, pp. 249 (no. 103), 273–277 (no. 107); ibidem, vol. 2, pp. 35 (no. 130), 185 (no. 193).

180 Ed. BRANN, Ein neuer Grabsteinfund, pp. 97–107; IDEM, Ein Breslauer Grabdenkmal, pp. 11–16; WODZIŃSKI, p. 169 (no. 1).

181 Ed. APPELT, no. 190.

182 Ed. STENZEL, Liber fundationis, p. 69.

183 MALECZYŃSKI, Codex diplomaticus, vol. 3, pp. 114–115 (no. 309).

icle a reference to a certain Jew injured in Kraków in 1173,[184] the urban micro-toponym "Jewish well" (*puteum Iudeorum*) attested at Płock in 1237,[185] and the Hebrew legends on Polish bracteates minted in Silesia, Great Poland (Gniezno and Kalisz), Kuyavia, and Kraków from the late twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries,[186] which testify to the presence of Jewish mint-masters in these locations. In fact, the Hebrew legends on the bracteates minted in Kuyavia represent the only evidence of a Jewish presence in this area before the fifteenth century.

The early reference to a Jewish site in Płock in Mazovia is also an isolated case, and no Jewish presence in this area is otherwise attested until the fifteenth century. The only similar evidence for a "Jewish well" is in Cologne and dates to 1270.[187] It is difficult to say to what extent the presence of two identical micro-toponyms (i.e., the unique *puteum Judeorum* instead of the more common *balneum Judeorum*) in two distant places may indicate some connection between the Jews of the Rhineland and those of Eastern Europe—a plausible question in light of the theory on the Rhinish origin of East European Jewry.[188] If this well served as an open-air *mikveh* (a basin for ritual purification), then this text could also represent the only (indirect) evidence in Christian sources for the existence of a local urban Jewish community in the pre-Mongol period. Hebrew sources for the same period, however, do specifically mention Jews residing in Kraków, as well as Jewish businessmen and rabbis who most probably resided in towns. They also document rich and diverse connections with the Rhineland in the fields of trade, learning, halachic rulings, and intellectual exchange (see above).

Though rural Jews did not disappear after the Mongol invasion—they are mentioned for the last time in 1301 in the village of Grzegorzów near Strzelin in Lower Silesia[189]— the character of Jewish settlement in Poland in the post-Mongol age was entirely different. The impact of the Mongol invasion on the Jews of the Middle East is well known: it caused the destruction of the ancient Jewish center in Babylonia (i.e., Iraq).[190] In Poland, though, the Mongol invasion had rather the opposite effect: the destruction caused a need for rapid recovery, which attracted a new (third) wave of settlers to the region. In 1241, the Mongols destroyed the Slavic cities of Kraków and Wrocław, as well as many other towns of Little Poland and Silesia. Yet already in the following year, Wrocław was re-founded; and Kraków was reestablished in 1257. The rebuilt cities were settled mainly by Germans who came from Bavaria, Saxony, and Bohemia. Jews also formed an integral part of this

184 BIELOWSKI, Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum, p. 381.
185 LUBOMIRSKI, pp. 8–9 (no. 11).
186 GORLIŃSKA, Żydzi.
187 STERN/HOENIGER, p. 24.
188 WEINREICH.
189 Ed. GRÜNHAGEN/WUTKE, Regesten, vol. 4, p. 16 (no. 2666).
190 For a recent overview, see BOTTICINI/ECKSTEIN, pp. 311–325.

migration movement. These migrating Jews came from a very different background in comparison to those of the previous period: their occupations centered overwhelmingly around moneylending.

The Jews of this third wave of migration settled throughout Silesia, Great Poland, Little Poland, Lusatia, and Pomerania, but they reached Red Ruthenia much later—only after the incorporation of this region into the Polish Crown in 1340. In Red Ruthenia, these Ashkenazi Jews met the so-called "Canaanite" (Slavic-speaking) Jews who are attested there from much earlier: as early as in the eleventh century in Przemyśl and in the twelfth century in Włodyimierz Wołyński (Volodymyr-Volynskyi).[191] This wave of settlement also encompassed a much more massive movement of people than had previous waves. During this period of 1241–1388, a Jewish presence is attested in Wrocław,[192] Świdnica,[193] Głogów,[194] Legnica,[195] Nysa,[196] Jawor,[197] Ziębice (Münsterberg),[198] Namysłów,[199] Wińsko,[200] Opole, Bytom, and Zülz in Silesia; in Kraków,[201] Kazimierz,[202] Koprzywnica,[203] Jasło,[204] Nowy Sącz,[205] and Olkusz[206] in Little Poland; in Kalisz,[207] Poznań,[208] and Pyzdry[209] in Great Poland; in Szczecin[210] and Greifswald[211] in Pomerania; in Görlitz[212] in Lusatia; and in Lviv[213] in Red Ruthenia. The prominence of Silesia in the geography of Jewish settlement during this period most likely demonstrates that this

191 See KUPFER/LEWICKI, pp. 34, 271; KULIK, Earliest Evidence.
192 *Passim* in the sources.
193 Ed. TZSCHOPPE/STENZEL, p. 403; SOMMERSBERG, pp. 91–94 (no. 85); WODZIŃSKI, p. 200 (no. 24).
194 Ed. SOMMERSBERG, pp. 105–107 (no. 105); GRÜNHAGEN/WUTKE, Regesten, vol. 4, p. 16 (no. 2666); TZSCHOPPE/STENZEL, pp. 444–446.
195 Ed. SCHIRRMACHER, pp. 16–17, 38 (no. 57); IRGANG, pp. 195–196 (no. 243).
196 Ed. STENZEL, Urkunden, p. 69.
197 Ed. IDEM, Liber fundationis, p. 105.
198 Ed. IDEM, Urkunden, pp. 138–139; IDEM, Liber fundationis, pp. 116–117.
199 GRÜNHAGEN/WUTKE, Regesten, vol. 5, pp. 177–178 (no. 4113).
200 Ibidem, vol. 4, p. 284 (no. 3482).
201 *Passim* in the sources.
202 Ed. CHMIEL, p. 82; WYROZUMSKA, Jews, p. 36 (no. 80).
203 Ed. PIEKOSIŃSKI, Kodeks dyplomatyczny małopolski, p. 77 (no. 60).
204 Ibidem.
205 Ibidem, p. 206 (no. 173).
206 Ed. WYROZUMSKA, Fragmenty, p. 54.
207 Ed. ŁEBIŃSKI, vol. 1, pp. 534 (no. 574).
208 *Passim* in the sources.
209 Ed. LEKSZYCKI, pp. 4 (no. 20), 5 (no. 27), 18 (no. 123–124), 28 (no. 215), 35 (no. 267).
210 GROTEFEND, p. 110, footnote 2.
211 Ibidem, footnote 4.
212 TZSCHOPPE/STENZEL, p. 473.
213 *Passim* in the sources.

area served as a transitional station along the routes of Jewish migration eastward into Little Poland and northward into Great Poland.

4 Jewish Communities and Micro-toponymics

Especially important is that references to Jewish communities begin to appear for the first time during this period: "the community of the Jews" (*universitas Judeorum*) in Kalisz in 1287,[214] a "Jewish street" (*Judengasse*) in Kraków in 1304,[215] a "Jewish quarter" (*vicus Judeorum*) in Poznań in 1313[216] and in Kraków in 1347,[217] the "Jewish town" (*civitas Judeorum*) in Legnica in 1317,[218] and a "Jewish street" (*platea Judeorum*) in Namysłów in 1321[219] and in Lviv in 1383.[220] The Jewish street in Kraków (now called St. Anne's street) is particularly well attested: it is mentioned in no fewer than 19 documents. This does not mean that Jews lived only on this street, nor that only Jews lived there: numerous Christians were involved in real estate transactions with premises on this street, and Jews lived also on Vistula street (*platea Wislensi*), St. Stephen's street (*platea Sancti Stephani*), Sławkowska street (*platea Slacoviensi*), St. Florian's street (*platea Sancti Floriani*), Kraków street (*platea Cracoviensis*), and Salt street (*platea Salis*). The Jewish street probably received its name due to the location of the synagogue there, as is explicitly mentioned in one of the documents: "in front of the synagogue on the Jewish street" (*in platea Iudeorum, in opposito synagogue*).[221] The synagogue of Kraków itself is attested for the first time in 1356 in this very text.

Other Jewish micro-toponyms in Kraków include a Jewish cemetery (*der Iuden kyrof*) first mentioned in 1311,[222] a Jewish bath (*balneum Iudeorum*, i.e., *mikweh*) first mentioned in 1358,[223] and the Jewish Gate (*valva/porta Judeorum*) first mentioned in 1366.[224] One of the city gates of Kraków was called "Jewish" because the Jewish cemetery was located between this gate

[214] Ed. Łebiński, vol. 1, p. 534 (no. 574).

[215] Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 1, p. 8 (no. 28); Mahler/Ringelblum, Teksty źródłowe, p. 25.

[216] Ed. Gąsiorowski/Kowalewicz, pp. 92–93 (no. 82).

[217] Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 1, p. 178 (no. 1584); Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 27 (no. 29).

[218] Ed. Schirrmacher, p. 38 (no. 57).

[219] Grünhagen/Wutke, Regesten, vol. 5, pp. 177–78 (no. 4113).

[220] Ed. Czołowski, p. 18 (no. 112).

[221] Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 1, p. 193 (no. 1682); Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 27 (no. 31).

[222] Ed. Piekosiński/Szujski, vol. 1, p. 23 (no. 208); Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 23 (no. 4).

[223] Ed. Wolański, no. 7, 8, 9, 14; Stadnicki, pp. 18–22 (no. 6); Piekosiński, Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa, p. 36 (no. 32).

[224] Ed. Krzyżanowski, Księgi ławnicze krakowskie, p. 4 (no. 31); Wyrozumska, Jews, p. 28 (no. 35).

and the nearby "Cobblers' gate" (*valva Sutorum*). The sources read "the Jewish Gate near their cemetery" (*portam Judeorum prope cimiterium eorum*),[225] and "the Cobblers' gate near the Jewish cemetery" (*valvam Sutorum, prope cimiterium Judeorum sitis*).[226] Jewish cemeteries also existed, of course, in other towns, and two foundation charters of Jewish cemeteries have survived from Kalisz in 1287[227] and from Wrocław in 1315/16.[228] The Jewish cemeteries of Wrocław and Świdnica in Silesia, moreover, produced impressive collections of Hebrew gravestones.[229]

The Jewish Gate of Kraków deserves special attention. Outside Kraków, the urban micro-toponym "Jewish Gate" is similarly attested in several places in Eastern Europe: in Lublin in Poland, in Brno in Moravia, and in Kiev in Rus'. The Jewish Gate of Lublin was built by Kazimierz the Great in 1342; however, since a Jewish presence in Lublin is attested only from the fifteenth century, it probably received this name much later. The Jewish Gate at Brno has been known under this name since 1328. The Kievan toponym is the oldest: the Jewish Gate of Kiev (*жидовьски ворота* [zhidov'ski vorota]) is already mentioned in the twelfth-century Rus' Primary Chronicle (under the years 1146 and 1151). This name may have reached Kiev under the influence of the Byzantine model, since at Constantinople, there was also a "Jewish Gate" (Greek *Ἑβραϊκὴ Πόρτα* [Hebraikē Porta]; Latin *Porta Hebraica*), and another city gate of Kiev is known to have been named after the Constantinople prototype—the "Golden Gate" (Old Rus' *золотые ворота* [zolotye vorota] at Kiev; Greek *Χρυσεία Πύλη* [Chryseia Pylē] or Latin *Porta Aurea* at Constantinople). However, the earliest reference to a "Jewish Gate" (*Judentor*) appeared as early as 1080 at Worms.[230] Therefore, it is not clear whether this urban micro-toponym reached Poland and Moravia from the Rhineland or from Kiev.

5 Occupations

The predominant occupation of Jews in Poland in the post-Mongol age was moneylending. This reality is clearly reflected in the earliest privileges granted to the Jews of Great Poland and Silesia, which are preoccupied predominantly with conditions surrounding the borrowing of money from Jews against a pledge. This stands in sharp contrast to the first known privilege of

225 Ed. KRZYŻANOWSKI, Księgi ławnicze krakowskie, p. 120 (no. 1035); WYROZUMSKA, Jews, p. 35 (no. 75).

226 Ed. KRZYŻANOWSKI, Księgi ławnicze krakowskie, p. 112 (no. 966); WYROZUMSKA, Jews, p. 35 (no. 71).

227 Ed. ŁEBIŃSKI, vol. 1, p. 534 (no. 574).

228 Ed. KORN, pp. 92–93.

229 WODZIŃSKI.

230 GILOMEN, p. 89.

this type, which was granted to the Jews of Speyer in Germany in 1084.[231] There, moneylending is not mentioned at all, and the sole Jewish occupations are said to be currency exchange and trade. The transition of Jews to the profession of moneylending from their other previous occupations occurred in Western Europe only after the excommunication of Christian usurers by Pope Alexander III in Canon 25 of the Third Lateran Ecumenical Council of 1179.

In the course of this activity, Jews could become the lords of Christian serfs due to cases of foreclosure on mortgaged estates. The privilege of 1264 explicitly prohibits this practice,[232] whereas the privilege of 1357 permits it.[233] All other privileges, however, stipulate some form of compensation for the Jewish lenders in such cases. Halperin claims that the relevant clause in the privilege of 1264 is a fifteenth-century forgery written after 1496, when Jewish landownership came to be prohibited by law.[234] Court records from Great Poland from the late fourteenth century[235] certainly do show mortgaged villages passing into Jewish possession.

In the post-Mongol age, attested Jewish occupations other than moneylending are few indeed—mainly butchery and weaving. The existence of Jewish butchers was required by the Jewish religious rules of *kashruth*. Indeed, regulations for Jewish ritual slaughter were issued in Wrocław in 1302,[236] and a guild of Jewish butchers was authorized by Kazimierz the Great in Kraków in 1333.[237] Since Jewish butchers were accustomed to selling non-kosher meat to non-Jews on a regular basis, regulations for the Jewish meat trade were also issued in Wrocław in 1301.[238] A guild of Jewish weavers was established at Legnica in 1301 by Duke Bolko I of Silesia.[239] Jews also continued to lease state monopolies, showing some degree of continuity from the previous period, but these were now royal salt mines rather than mints. In 1368 Kazimierz the Great dismissed his personal banker, the famous Lewko son of Jordan, from his capacity of administrator of the royal salt mines at Wieliczka, due to a quarrel between him and his Christian colleagues.[240] Jewish merchants are practically unattested in the post-Mongol age, with the sole but significant exception of Jewish involvement in the pepper trade between the Middle East and Poland via Red Ruthenia in 1385.[241]

---

231 ALTMANN/BERNHEIM, p. 156.
232 ŁEBIŃSKI, vol. 1, pp. 563–566 (no. 605).
233 Ibidem, vol. 3, pp. 88–94 (no. 1368).
234 HALPERIN, Bet Yiśra'el, pp. 231–233.
235 Ed. LEKSZYCKI, pp. 5 (no. 25), 15 (no. 95), 17–18 (no. 121), 18 (no. 124), 19 (no. 141). For discussion see KALIK, Hafḳadah, pp. 33–35.
236 Ed. WATTENBACH, pp. 58–59 (no. I.75).
237 Ed. WYROZUMSKA, Nieznany dokument, p. 194.
238 Ed. GÖRLITZ, pp. 108–109.
239 Ed. SCHIRRMACHER, pp. 16–17.
240 Ed. HELCEL, pp. 217–218.
241 Ed. CZOŁOWSKI, p. 39 (no. 247–248).

No fewer than 28 documents of various kinds (legislative, judicial, and economic) from the reigns of Kazimierz the Great, Louis I of Anjou, and Władysław II Jagiełło reflect the activities of Lewko son of Jordan, the famous personal banker of the king. It seems that it was Lewko who was responsible for the especially favorable conditions granted to the Polish Jews by Kazimierz rather than the legendary Esterka, the king's supposed Jewish mistress, since no contemporary documents about this woman have survived.[242]

6 Jews and Their Neighbors

The sources also show that Polish Jews and their Slavic neighbors shared common beliefs and superstitions. The sources mention two magic rings, one beneficial and one maleficent, that are relevant in this connection. According to the *Life of St. Stanisław* by Vincent of Kielcza, "After they were touched by his pontifical finger-ring [...] innumerable sick people [...]—not only faithful Christians, but also faithless Jews—[...] recovered their health and remain healthy until this day."[243] According to the proceedings of the trial against John of Czarnków, who was accused in 1373 of the desecration of Kazimierz's grave and the robbery of royal regalia, the defendant "daily wears on his hand the maleficent ring of Lewko the Jew."[244] St. Stanisław was martyred in 1079 but canonized in 1253, so the words of the hagiographer writing in about 1260—"and [they] remain healthy until this day"—most likely refers to miracles of recent date, especially in view of the fact that the canonization procedure for Christian saints required evidence of miracles produced by their relics. Both of these cases imply that Christians and Jews alike believed in the miraculous powers of magical rings, whether these belonged to a Christian saint or a powerful Jew.

The degree of acculturation of medieval Polish Jews is truly surprising: many Jewish women bore Slavic names, such as Kaszyca (the mother of Lewko son of Jordan), Zwonka, and Libusha.[245] The last name is especially interesting, since "Libuše" is the name of the legendary founding mother of the Přemyslid dynasty in the Czech historical tradition.[246] The appearance of this name on a Hebrew gravestone from Wrocław in 1304[247] actually comprises the only evidence that this figure was also known in Silesia.

---

242 SHMERUK.

243 "Denique anulo eius pontificali consignati ... innumerabiles infirmi ... non solum fideles Christiani, sed et perfidi Iudei ... usque in diem hodiernum optate restituuntur sanitati." KĘTRZYŃSKI, p. 390.

244 "[…] ferretque cottidie penes se annulum Leuconis iudei maleficatum." Ed. HELCEL, pp. xiii–xiv, footnote 5.

245 For the distribution of Slavic names among medieval East European Jews, see BEIDER, Onomastic Analysis.

246 BRETHOLZ, pp. 11–17.

247 Ed. NISSEN, p. 23 (no. 2); BRANN, Geschichte der Juden, Anhang II., p. viii (no. 3); WODZIŃSKI, p. 174 (no. 4).

Conclusions

Among the most important general conclusions to be reached from our reevaluation of all the evidence is probably the lack of continuity across the three waves of Jewish migration and settlement outlined here. The Silesian Jewish farmers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries could hardly be direct descendants of the earlier Jewish itinerant merchants who travelled through Poland, while the Jewish moneylenders of the post-Mongol age, in turn, are unlikely to have been the descendants of the earlier farmers. These three waves of migration are closely connected to the development of the early Slavic states. Established by Scandinavian merchant-warriors—not only in Rus', but possibly also in Poland (see the *Dagome judex* controversy)[248]—these countries depended economically to a large extent on the slave trade, which naturally attracted (among others) Jewish itinerant merchants. The later consolidation of these states, their transition to predominantly agricultural economies, and the development of state administration by the twelfth century attracted Jewish farmers as well and contributed to the appearance of the Jewish mint-masters. Furthermore, the rapid post-Mongol economic recovery, which entailed a desperate demand for credit, attracted Jewish money-lenders.

Our analysis also clarifies considerably the economic history of Eastern Europe. Thus, for example, the appearance of Jewish farmers in Silesia coincides with the consolidation of the very concept of the East European village, whereas the practical disappearance of Jewish merchants from the sources coincides with the agrarization of the East European economy.

No support for either the Khazarian or the Sorbian theories of the origin of Polish Jewry can be found in the extant evidence. No traces of Khazarian Jews can be found in Poland at all, and the only evidence of a Jewish presence in medieval Lusatia (homeland of the Sorbs) is the presence of Jewish mint-masters in the twelfth century and a single fourteenth-century German document. The direction of Jewish migration in the second and third waves is overwhelmingly from west to east through Silesia. A certain westward movement from Rus' after the Mongol invasion can be only conjectured from the abrupt imbalance observed between Polish and Rus' sources for this period. However, the very fact that the Hebrew evidence regarding Jews in Poland comes almost exclusively from Germany and Bohemia testifies to the strong connection between Jewish communities in these countries. The predominantly agricultural character of the second wave does not exclude mass proselytism of migrants in their original homeland somewhere in southern Germany, but the possible priestly origin of the Jewish mint-masters of the same era excludes them from a proselyte background. The strong institutional and personal connections with the Rhineland, as reflected in rabbinic sources (and possibly also in common micro-toponyms), must also indicate a migration of elite groups.

248 Kürbis.

All these considerations also help to clarify the origins of eastern Ashkenazi Jewry. Since most Polish Jews were descendants of the third wave of Jewish migration into Poland, there is little doubt that the vast majority of them came from Germany and Bohemia, mostly via Silesia. We can also reliably conjecture that the Jewish population of southwestern Rus'—whatever its origins (possibly also at least partially Ashkenazi) and size (possibly reduced by the Mongol conquest)—came to be integrated with the immigrants from the west due to the eastward expansion of Lithuania and Poland during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[249] Thus, most modern Ashkenazi Jewry must go back to the melding of these two communities.

[249] See KULIK: Judeo-Greek Legacy, and his forthcoming volume Jews in Old Rus': A Documentary History, Cambridge/MA.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Ms. Cambridge (Ashkenazi script, 14th–15th c.): Cambridge University Library, Add. 669, 2.
Ms. Jerusalem (Ashkenazi cursive script, 16th c.): National Library of Israel, Heb. 28°3182.
Ms. Jerusalem (Ashkenazi script, 14th–15th c.): National Library of Israel, Heb. 8°4199.1–2.
Ms. Moscow (Italian script, 13th c.): Russian State Library, Günzburg 303.
Ms. New York (Ashkenazi script, 15th c.): Jewish Theological Seminary, Rab. 673.
Ms. New York (Sephardi script, 1397): Jewish Theological Seminary, Rab. 740.
Ms. Oxford (Ashkenazi script, 14th c.): Bodleian Library, Mich. 307 (Neubauer no. OX 696; formerly Mich. 44).
Ms. Oxford (Ashkenazi script, 15th c.): Bodleian Library, Opp. 42 (Neubauer no. OX 678).
Ms. Oxford (15th–16th c.): Bodleian Library, Opp. 319 (Neubauer no. OX 690; formerly Opp. 629).
Ms. Oxford (Italian script, 15th c.): Bodleian Library, Opp. Add. Qu. 103 (Neubauer no. OX 2344).
Ms. Paris (1627): Alliance Israélite Universelle, no. H 166 A.
Ms. Paris (Ashkenazi script, 1465): L'Ecole rabbinique de France, no. 147.

Publications

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL: Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, London 1932.
ABRAMS, DANIEL (ed.): Sefer gematriot le-R. Yehudah he-Ḥasid [R. Yehudah he-Ḥasid's Gematria Book], Los Angeles 1998.
ABRAMSON, SHRAGA: Be'ure tivot [Explication of Difficult Words], in: ZE'EV FALK (ed.): Gevurot ha-Romaḥ: Divre ḥakhamim ka-darbonot u-khe-mazmerot kutetu le-Romaḥ le-R. Mosheh Ḥayim Ṿailer, Jerusalem 1987, pp. 155–167.
AGUS, IRVING A.: Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe: A Study of Organized Town-Life in Northwestern Europe during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, Based on the Responsa Literature, 2 vols., New York 1965 (republished Leiden 1968).
IDEM: The Heroic Age of Franco-German Jewry: The Jews of Germany and France of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, the Pioneers and Builders of Town-Life, Town-Government, and Institutions, New York 1969.
ALTMANN, WILHELM—BERNHEIM, ERNST (eds.): Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter, 3rd ed. Berlin 1904.
APPELT, HEINRICH (ed.): Schlesisches Urkundenbuch. Vol. 1: 971–1230, Köln 1963.
APTOWITZER, AVIGDOR (ed.): Sefer Ra'avyah: Kolel pisḳe dinim, ḥidushim u-she'elot u-teshuvot le-khol ha-Shas [The Book of the Raavyah: Including Verdicts, New Interpretations, and Responsa for the Entire Six Orders], 4 vols. [vol. 4 = Introduction], Berlin—Jerusalem 1912–1938 (republished Jerusalem 1964–1984).)
AVITAN, MENACHEM BEN MOSHE (ed.): Derashot ṿe-pisḳe halakhot le-marana ... Ḥayim Ashkenazi ben ...Yitsḥaḳ 'Or zarua' mi-Ṿinah [Sermons and Legal Verdicts of our Teacher Haim Ashkenazi the Son of Isaac Or Zarua of Vienna], Jerusalem 2002.
AVITAN, SHMUEL BEN MOSHE (ed.): Sefer terumat ha-deshen, ḥiburo ... rabenu Yiśra'el ... 'Iserlen [The Book Terumat Ha-Deshen Composed by Rabbi Israel Isserlein], 2 vols., Jerusalem 1990.
BAŁABAN, MAJER: Kiedy i skąd przybyli Żydzi do Polski [When and from Where Jews Came to Poland], in: Miesięcznik Żydowski 1 (1930–31), 1–6, pp. 1–121.

BANDTKIE (STĘŻYŃSKI), JAN WINCENTY (ed.): Martini Galli Chronicon ad fidem codicum: Qui servantur in Pulaviensi tabulario celsissimi Adami principis Czartoryscii, palatini regni Poloniarum, Varsaviae 1824.

IDEM (ed.): Ius Polonicum: Codicibus veteribus manuscriptis et editionibus quibusque collatis, Varsaviae 1831.

BAUMGARTEN, ELISHEVA: 'Imahot ṿe-yeladim: Ḥaye mishpaḥah be-'Ashkenaz bi-yeme ha-benayim [Mothers and Children: Family Life in Ashkenaz in the Middle Ages], Jerusalem 2005.

Bediḳot de-tere ḳerumi, ha-mekhuneh "Bediḳot yeshanim" 'o "Bediḳot 'ashkenaziyot" (Niḳbah ha-re'ah) [Examination of Lung Membranes …], in: Pa'ame Ya'aḳov: Ma'amarim ṿe-meḥḳarim toraniyim 46 (2001), Nisan, pp. 7–15.

BEIDER, ALEXANDER: Onomastic Analysis of the Origins of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe, in: WOLF MOSKOVICH, MIKHAIL CHLENOV et al. (eds.): The Knaanites: Jews in the Medieval Slavic World, Moskva—Jerusalem 2014, pp. 58–116.

IDEM: Origins of Yiddish Dialects, Oxford 2015.

BENISCH, ABRAHAM (ed.): Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon, Who in the Later End of the Twelfth Century, visited Poland, Russia, Little Tartary, the Crimea, Armenia, Assyria, Syria, the Holy Land, and Greece, London 1856 (republished London 1861; Piscataway 2012).

BEREND, NORA: Hungary: The Jews Between Integration and Exclusion, in: CHRISTOPH CLUSE (ed.): Europas Juden Im Mittelalter / The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries): Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002, Turnhout 2004, pp. 261–270.

BERLINER, AVRAHAM (ed.): Maḥzor Ṿiṭri le-rabenu Śimḥah, eḥad mi-talmide Rashi [The Machzor Vitry of Rabbi Simcha, one of the Students of Rashi], Berlin 1896–1897.

BERNFELD, SHIMON: Sefer ha-dim'ot: Me'ora'ot ha-gezerot ṿe-ha-redifot ṿe-ha-shemadot [The Book of Tears: Incidents of Expulsion, Persecution, and Forced Conversion], 3 vols., Berlin 1924–1926.

BERSHADSKII, SERGEI A. (ed.): Russko-evreiskii arkhiv: Dokumenty i materialy dlia istorii evreev v Rossii [Russian Jewish Archive: Documents and Materials for the History of Jews in Russia]. Vol. 3: Dokumenty k istorii pol'skikh i litovskikh evreev (1364–1569) [Documents for the History of Polish and Lithuanian Jews, 1364–1569], St. Peterburg 1903.

BERSOHN, MATHIAS: Dyplomataryusz dotyczący Żydów w dawnej Polsce, na źródłach archiwalnych osnuty (1388–1782) [Documents Pertaining to the Jews of Old Poland Based on Archival Sources, 1388–1782], Warszawa 1911.

BETH-HALEVI, YISRAEL DAVID: Toldot yehude Ḳalish [History of the Jews of Kalisz], Tel Aviv 1961.

BIELOWSKI, AUGUST (ed.): Galla Kronika, in: Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, vol. 1, Lvov 1864, pp. 379–484 (republished Warszawa 1961).

IDEM (ed.): Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum, in: Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, vol. 2, Lvov 1872, pp. 193–453 (republished Warszawa 1961).

IDEM (ed.): Chronica Oliviensis auctore Stanislao abbate Olivensi, vol. 6, Kraków 1893 (republished Warszawa 1961).

BLOCH, MOSHE ARYEH (ed.): She'elot u-teshuvot Maharam bar Barukh [Responsa of the Maharam], Pressburg—Budapest 1895 (republished Budapest 1896; Tel Aviv 1969; Jerusalem 1997).

BLOCH, PHILIPP: Die General-Privilegien der polnischen Judenschaft, Posen 1892.

BOTTICINI, MARISTELLA—ECKSTEIN, ZVI: The Chosen Few: How Education Shaped Jewish History, 70–1492, Princeton 2012.

BRANN, MARCUS: Alte jüdische Grabsteine in Schlesien, in: Jüdischer Volks- und Haus-Kalendar 37 (1889), pp. 6–13.

IDEM: Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien, vol. 1, Breslau 1896.
IDEM et al. (eds.): Germania Judaica: Part 1, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main—Breslau 1917–1934 (republished Tübingen 1963; parts 2–12 of the work completed later under several editors).
IDEM: Ein neuer Grabsteinfund in Breslau, in: Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 62 (1918), pp. 97–107.
IDEM: Ein Breslauer Grabdenkmal aus dem Jahre 1203, in: Schlesische Geschichtsblätter 1 (1919), pp. 11–16.
BRETHOLZ, BERTOLD (ed.): Cosmae pragensis chronica boemorum / Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag, Berlin 1923 (MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 2).
BRUTZKUS, JULIUS: Di ershte yediot vegn Yidn in Poyln (in 10-ten un 11-ten yorhundert) [The Earliest Evidence Concerning Jews in Poland (in the 10th and 11th Centuries)], in: Historishe shriften (YIVO) 1 (1929), pp. 55–72.
IDEM: Der Handel der westeuropäischen Juden mit dem alten Kiev, in: Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland 3 (1931), 2–3, pp. 97–110.
BUJAK, FRANCISZEK: [Review of] Ignacy Schiper, Studya nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów w Polsce podczas średniowiecza (Lwów, 1911), in: Ekonomista 1 (1913), pp. 204–205.
CAHEN, CLAUD: Y a-t-il eu de Rahdānites?, in: Revue des études juives 123 (1964), pp. 499–505.
CARMOLY, ELIAKIM (ed.): Tour du monde, ou, Voyages du Rabbin Péthachia, de Ratisbonne, dans le douzième siècle, Paris 1831.
CHMIEL, ADAM (ed.): Księgi radzieckie kazimierskie 1369–1381 i 1385–1402 [Books of the Council of Kazimierz, 1369–1381 and 1385–1402], Kraków 1932.
CYGIELMAN, SHMUEL ARTHUR: The Basic Privileges of the Jews of Great Poland as Reflected in Polish Historiography, in: Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies 2 (1987), pp. 117–149.
IDEM: Yehude Polin ṿe-Lita ʻad shenat T.Ḥ. 1648: Mavoʼot u-meḳorot mevoʼarim [The Jews of Poland and Lithuania until the Year 1648: Introductions and Annotated Sources], 2 vols., Jerusalem 1991.
CZOŁOWSKI, ALEKSANDER (ed.): Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z archiwum miasta [Historical Monuments of Lvov from the City Archives]. Vol. 1: Najstarsza księga miejska, 1382–1389 [The Oldest Book of the City, 1382–1389], Lwów 1892.
DABLITSKI, DAVID BEN SERAIAH (ed.): Sefer Raʼavyah: Huʼ ʼAvi ha-ʻezri [The Book of the Raavyah], 4 vols., Bnei Brak 1976–2001 (republished 2005).
DAVID, AVRAHAM: Sivuv R. Petaḥyah mi-Regensburg be-nusaḥ ḥadash [The Travels of R. Petachiah of Regensburg in a New Version], in: Ḳovets ʻal yad 13 (1996), pp. 235–269.
DOKTÓR, JAN: Początki chasydyzmu polskiego / Beginnings of Polish Hasidism, Wrocław 2004 (republished Toruń 2017).
EIDELBERG, SHLOMO: Jewish Life in Austria in the XVth Century: As Reflected in the Legal Writings of Rabbi Israel Isserlein and his Contemporaries, Philadelphia 1962.
ELBAUM, YAAKOV: Petiḥut ṿe-histagrut: Ha-yetsirah ha-ruḥanit-ha-sifrutit be-Polin u-ve-artsot Ashkenaz be-shilhe ha-meʼah ha-shesh-ʻeśreh [Openness and Closedness: Spiritual and Literary Production in Poland and the Lands of Ashkenaz in the Late Sixteenth Century], Jerusalem 1990.
EMANUEL, SIMCHA BEN YONA: Teshuvot Maharam me-Rotenburg she-ʼenan shel Maharam [Responsa of the Maharam of Rothenburg that are Not His], in: Shenaton ha-mishpaṭ ha-ʻivri shel Ha-makhon le-ḥeḳer ha-mishpaṭ ha-ʻivri 21 (1998–2000), pp. 149–205.
IDEM: Shivre luḥot: Sefarim avudim shel baʻale ha-tosafot [Shards of the Tablets: Lost Books of the Tosafists], Jerusalem 2006.
IDEM: Teshuvot Maharam me-Rotenburg ṿe-ḥaveraṿ [Responsa of the Maharam of Rothenburg and his Associates], 2 vols., Jerusalem 2012.

EMLER, JOSEF (ed.): Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum, in: Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, vol. 2, Praha 1874.

ESTREICHER, STANISŁAW (ed.): Najstarszy zbiór przywilejów i wilkierzy miasta Krakowa [The Oldest Collection of Privileges and Rules of the City of Kraków], Kraków 1936.

FABER, ALICE: A Tangled Web: Whole Hebrew and Ashkenazic Origins, in: DOVID KATZ (ed.): Origins of the Yiddish Language, Oxford 1987, pp. 15–22.

FARBSHTAIN, YAAKOV (ed.): Sefer 'Or zarua' le-rabenu ... Yitsḥaḳ ben R. Moshe, mi-Ṿinah, 'im pisḳe Maharaḥ, le-rabi Ḥayim ben R. Yitsḥaḳ 'Or zarua' [The Book Or Zarua by R. Isaac ben Moses of Vienna], 3 vols., Jerusalem 2010.

IDEM (ed.): She'elot u-teshuvot Maharam me-Rotenburg [Responsa of the Maharam of Rothenburg], Jerusalem 2014.

FIJAŁKOWSKI, PAWEŁ: Dzieje Żydów w Polsce: Wybór tekstów źródłowych, XI–XVIII wiek [History of the Jews in Poland: Selection of Source Texts, 11th–18th Centuries], Warszawa 1993.

FINKEL, LUDWIG—KĘTRZYŃSKI, STANISŁAW (eds.): Galli Anonymi Chronicon, Leopoli 1899.

FISHEL, ALEXANDRA—NOSONOVSKY, MICHAEL: Rediscovered Gravestones from a Destroyed Jewish Cemetery in Ostróg: The Case of Two Inscriptions of 1445, in: Zutot: Perspectives on Jewish Culture 14 (2017), pp. 73–87.

FRAM, EDWARD: Ideals Face Reality: Jewish Law and Life in Poland, 1550–1655, Cincinnati 1997.

FRANK, MOSHE: Ḳehilot 'Ashkenaz u-vate dinehen: Me-ha-me'ah ha-12 'ad sof ha-me'ah ha-15 [Ashkenazi Communities and Their Courts from the 12th to the End of the 15th Centuries], Tel Aviv 1938.

FREHER, MARQUARD (ed.): Cosmae Pragensis ecclesiae decani Chronica Bohemorum, in: Rerum Bohemicarum antiqui scriptores, Hanau 1602.

IDEM (ed.): Cosmae Pragensis ecclesiae decani Chronicae Bohemorum libri III, Hanau 1607 (2nd ed. Hanau 1620).

FREIMANN, YAAKOV (ed.): Sefer Leḳet yosher ... le-R. Yosef ben R. Mosheh [The Book Leket Yosher of R. Yosef son of R. Moshe], 2 vols., Berlin 1903–1904 (republished New York 1959; Jerusalem 1964, 1985, 1999).

FRISHMAN, ASHER: Ha-'ashkenazim ha-ri'shonim: Toldot ha-yehudim be-'Eropah ha-tsefonit me-re'shit hityashvutam 'ad pera'ot 1096 [The Early Ashkenazim: History of the Jews in Northern Europe from the Beginning of Their Settlement until the Persecutions of 1096], Bnei Brak 2008.

GARBACZEWSKI, WITOLD: Ikonografia monet piastowskich 1173–ok. 1280 [Iconography of Piast Coins, 1173–ca. 1280], Warszawa—Lublin 2007.

IDEM: Mennica kaliska w czasach Mieszka Starego [The Kalisz Mint in the Times of Mieszko the Old], in: STANISŁAW SUCHODOLSKI, MICHAŁ ZAWADZKI (eds.): Od Kalisii do Kalisza: Skarby doliny Prosny, Warszawa 2010, pp. 68–78.

GĄSIOROWSKI, ANTONI—KOWALEWICZ, HENRYK (eds.): Kodeks dyplomatyczny wielkopolski [Diplomatic Codex of Greater Poland]. Vol. 6: 1174–1400. Warszawa—Poznań 1982.

GELLIS, YAAKOV (ed.): Sefer Tosafot ha-shalem: 'Otsar perushe ba'ale ha-tosafot 'al Torah Nevi'im u-Khetuvim [The Complete Book of Tosafoth: Treasury of the Biblical Commentaries of the Tosafists], 14 vols., Jerusalem 1982–2014.

GIEYSZTOR, ALEKSANDER: The Beginnings of Jewish Settlement in the Polish Lands, in: CHIMEN ABRAMSKY, MACIEJ JACHIMCZYK et al. (eds.): The Jews in Poland, Oxford 1986, pp. 15–21.

GIL, MOSHE: The Radhanite Merchants and the Land of Radhan, in: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 17 (1976), 3, pp. 299–328.

GILOMEN, HANS-JÖRG: Spätmittelalterliche Siedlungssegregation und Ghettoisierung, insbesondere im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz, in: Stadt- und Landmauern. Vol. 3: Abgrenzungen—Ausgrenzungen in der Stadt und um die Stadt, Zürich 1999, pp. 85–106.

GOLB, NORMAN—PRITSAK, OMELJAN: Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century, Ithaca 1982.

GOLDSCHMIDT, ARYEH BEN YESHAYAHU (ed.): Maḥzor Ṿiṭri le-rabenu Śimḥah mi-Ṿiṭri, talmid Rashi [The Machzor Vitry of Rabbi Simcha of Vitri, a Student of Rashi], 3 vols., Jerusalem 2004–2009.

GORLIŃSKA, DOBROCHNA: Monety Mieszka III Starego i nieokreślonych książąt (kujawskich?) w skarbie z Anusina [Coins of Mieszko III the Old and Some Unidentified Dukes (of Kuyavia?) in the Hoard of Anusin], in: Zapiski Numizmatyczne 8 (2013), pp. 195–214.

EADEM: Żydzi w administracji skarbowej polskich władców czasu rozbicia dzielnicowego [Jews in the Tax Administration of the Polish Rulers], Kraków 2015.

GÖRLITZ, THEODOR: Eine bisher unbekannte Urkunde von 1301 über die Breslauer Juden, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Breslau 3 (1937), pp. 107–114.

GRODDECKII, GABRIEL (ed.): Historia Polonica cum commentario anonymi Joannis Dlugosi seu Longini canonici quondam Cracoviensis liber XIII, Leipzig 1712.

GRODECKI, ROMAN: Dzieje Żydów w Polsce do końca XIV w. [The History of Jews in Poland to the End of the 14th Century], in: IDEM: Polska Piastowska, ed. by JERZY WYROZUMSKI, Warszawa 1969, pp. 595–702.

GROSS, HEINRICH: Elieser b. Joel halevi: Ein literarhistorischer Versuch, in: Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 34 (1885), 11, pp. 505–524.

GROSSMAN, AVRAHAM: Ḥakhme Tsarefat ha-ri'shonim: Ḳorotehem, darkam be-hanhagat ha-tsibur, yetsiratam ha-ruḥanit [The Early French Sages: Their Experiences, Leadership, and Spiritual Production], Jerusalem 1981 (republished 1988, 1995, 2001).

GROTEFEND, ULRICH: Geschichte und rechtliche Stellung der Juden in Pommern von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Friedrich des Großen, in: Baltische Studien (Neue Folge) 32 (1930), pp. 83–198.

GRÜNHAGEN, COLMAR (ed.): Henricus Pauper, Rechnungen der Stadt Breslau von 1299–1358, Breslau 1860 (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, 3).

IDEM—WUTKE, KONRAD (eds.): Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte. Vol. 4: 1301–1315, Breslau 1892 (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, 16).

IDEM (eds.): Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte. Vol. 5: 1316–1326, Breslau 1898 (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, 18).

GRÜNHUT, LAZAR (ed.): Die Rundreise des R. Petachjah aus Regensburg nach einer Hs., den ältesten Ausgaben und andern Druckwerken, Frankfurt—Jerusalem 1904 (republished Jerusalem 1967).

GÜDEMANN, MORITZ (MOSHE): Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden, während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, 3 vols., Wien 1880–1888 (republished Amsterdam 1966).

IDEM: Ha-torah ṿe-ha-ḥayim: Be-'artsot ha-ma'arav bi-yeme ha-benayim [Torah and Life: In the Western Countries in the Middle Ages], 3 vols., Warszawa 1896–1899 (republished Tel Aviv 1968; Jerusalem 1972; Tel Aviv 1988).

GUMOWSKI, MARIAN: Monety hebrajskie za Piastów [Hebrew Coins during the Piast Dynasty], in: Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego 42 (1962), pp. 3–44.

IDEM: Hebräische Münzen im mittelalterischen Polen, Graz 1975.

GUMPLOWICZ, LUDWIK: Prawodawstwo polskie względem Żydów [Polish Legislation Regarding Jews], Kraków 1867 (republished Warszawa 2008).

GUMPLOWICZ, MAKSYMILIAN: Początki religii żydowskiej w Polsce [The Beginnings of Jewish Religion in Poland], Warszawa 1903 (republished Sandomierz 2014).

HALPERIN, ISRAEL: Bet Yiśra'el be-Polin: me-yamim ri'shonim ṿe-'ad li-yemot ha-ḥurban [The House of Israel in Poland: From Earliest Times until the Destruction], vol. 2, Jerusalem 1954.
IDEM: Yehudim ṿe-yahadut be-mizraḥ 'Eropah: Meḥḳarim be-toldotehem [Jews and Judaism in Eastern Europe: Studies in Their History], Jerusalem 1968.
HAVERKAMP, EVA: Jewish Images on Christian Coins: Economy and Symbolism in Medieval Germany, in: PHILIPPE BUC, MARTHA KEIL et al. (eds.): Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe: The Historiographical Legacy of Bernhard Blumenkranz, Turnhout 2016, pp. 189–226.
HAYZMANN, ULRICH (ed.): Statuta synodalia episciporum cracoviensium XIV et XV saeculi e codicibus manu scriptis typis mandata, Kraków 1875 (Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki, 4).
HELCEL, ANTONI ZYGMUNT (ed.): Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki, vol. 1, Warszawa 1856.
HERSHLER, MOSHE BEN BINYAMIN et al. (eds.): Ḥidushe ha-Ramban 'al masekhot ha-Shas: Le-rabenu Mosheh ben Naḥman [New Interpretations of Nachmanides on the Talmud], 6 vols., Jerusalem 1970–2002.
HERZOG, YITSHAK: She'elot u-teshuvot hekhal Yitsḥaḳ [Responsa], 3 vols., Jerusalem 1960–1972.
HEYDE, JÜRGEN: Transkulturelle Kommunikation und Verflechtung: Die jüdischen Wirtschaftseliten in Polen vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden 2014.
HIRSCH, THEODOR—TÖPPEN, MAX et al. (eds.): Scriptores rerum Prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft, vol. 1, 5, Leipzig 1861, 1874.
HIRSCHENSOHN, YAAKOV MORDEKHAI (ed.): Sefer 'Or zarua'... rabenu Yitsḥaḳ ben R. Mosheh [The Book Or Zarua of Rabbi Yitshak ben Moshe], vols. 1–2, Zhitomir 1862 (republished Bnei Brak 1958; Brooklyn 1962; Hatzor ha-glilit 1976; Jerusalem 1997).
HORN, MAURYCY: Działalność gospodarcza Żydów polskich w średniowieczu na tle rozwoju osadnictwa [Economic Activity of Polish Jews in the Middle Ages in the Context of the Development of Settlement], in: Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce (1983), 126–127, pp. 73–84.
HOROWITZ, SHIMON HALEVI (ed.): Maḥzor Ṿiṭri le-rabenu Śimḥah, eḥad mi-talmide Rashi [The Machzor Vitry of Rabbi Simcha, one of the Students of Rashi], Nürnberg 1923 (republished Brooklyn 1960; Jerusalem 1963; Jerusalem 1988).
HOROWITZ, YEHOSHUA (ed.): Ḳitsur sefer mitsṿot gadol [le-]R. 'Avraham ben R. 'Efrayim [Abridged Great Book of Commandments by R. Avraham son of R. Efraim], Jerusalem 2005.
HUBE, ROMUALD: Antiquissimae constitutiones synodales provinciae Gneznensis, Petropoli 1856.
IDEM: Przywilej żydowski Bolesława i jego potwierdzenia [The Jewish Privilege of Bolesław and Its Confirmations], in: Biblioteka Warszawska 157 (1880), 1, pp. 426-442.
IDEM (ed.): Prawo polskie w 14–tym wieku: Ustawodawstwo Kazimierza Wielkiego [Polish Law in the 14th Century: Legislation of Casimir the Great], Warszawa 1881.
HUNDERT, GERSHON DAVID: Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity, Berkeley 2004.
IDEM: Preface, in: IDEM (ed.): The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, vol. 1, New Haven—London 2008, pp. ix–xv.
IRGANG, WINFRIED (ed.): Schlesisches Urkundenbuch. Vol. 6: 1291–1300, Köln1998.
ISSERLEIN, ISRAEL BEN PETACHYAH: Sefer Terumat ha-deshen [The Book Terumat ha-deshen], Venice 1519; Venice 1546; Fürth 1778; Sudilkov 1835; 2 vols. Warszawa 1882.
JANKOWIAK, MAREK: Byzantine Coins in Viking-Age Northern Lands, in: FEDIR

ANDROSHCHUK, JONATHAN SHEPARD et al. (eds.): Byzantium and the Viking World, Uppsala 2016, pp. 117–139.

KALIK, JUDITH (YEHUDIT): Hafḳadah ṿe-Wyderkaf be-pe'ilutam ha-kalkalit shel yehude mamlekhet Polin-Lita [Deposits and Wyderkaf in the Economic Activity of the Jews of the Kingdom of Poland-Lithuania], in: RAN AARONSOHN, SHAUL STAMPFER (eds.): Yazamut yehudit be-'et ha-ha-ḥadashah: Mizraḥ 'Eropah ṿe-'Erets-Yiśra'el, Jerusalem 2000, pp. 25–47.

EADEM: Scepter of Judah: The Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland, Leiden—Boston 2009.

KANARFOGEL, EPHRAIM: The Appointment of *Ḥazzanim* in Medieval Ashkenaz: Communal Policy and Individual Religious Prerogatives, in: HOWARD KREISEL, BOAZ HUSS (eds.): Spiritual Authority: Struggles of Cultural Power in Jewish Thought, Beersheva 2009, pp. 5–31.

IDEM: Ha'umnam hayu ba'ale ha-tosafot magshimim? [Did the Tosafists Really Believe in Incarnation?], in: AVRAHAM REINER et al. (eds.): Ta'-Shema': Meḥḳarim ve-mada'e ha-yahadut le-zikhro shel Yiśra'el M. Ta'-Shema', vol. 2, Alon Shvut 2011, pp. 571–704.

KAPLAN, YECHIEL: Rov u-mi'uṭ be-hakhra'ot ba-ḳehilah ha-yehudit bi-yeme ha-benayim [Majority and Minority in the Decisions of the Jewish Community in the Middle Ages], in: Shenaton ha-mishpaṭ ha-'ivri 20 (1995–1997), pp. 213–280.

KAPRAL', MYRON (ed.): Pryvileï natsional'nykh gromad mista L'vova (XIV–XVIII st.) [Privileges of Ethnic Communities of the City of Lvov in the 14th to 18th Centuries], Lviv 2000.

KATZ, DOVID: Hebrew, Aramaic and the Rise of Yiddish, in: JOSHUA A. FISHMAN (ed.): Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages, Leiden 1985, pp. 85–103.

KAŹMIERCZYK, ADAM: Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych w świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki dóbr magnackich w wiekach XVI-XVIII [Jews in Private Estates in the Light of Judicial and Administrative Practices of Magnate Estates in the 16th–18th Centuries], Kraków 2002.

KĘTRZYŃSKI, WOJCIECH (ed.): Vita sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi (vita maior): Auctore fratre Vincentio de ordine praedicatiorum [The Life of St. Stanislas, Bishop of Kraków], in: Monumenta Poloniae Historia / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, vol. 4, Lvov 1884, pp. 319–438.

KLETER, BEN TSION (ed.): Sivuv ha-rav R. Petaḥyah mi-Regenśburg [The Travels of R. Petachiah of Regensburg], Jerusalem 1912.

KOESTLER, ARTHUR: The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and its Heritage, London 1976.

KOLOF, LAURENCE MIZLER DE (ed.): Historiarum Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Scriptorum Quotquot Ab Initio Reipublicae Polonae Ad Nostra Usque Temporar Extant Omnium Collectio Magna, Varsaviae 1769.

KONARSKI, STANISŁAW: Volumina Legum: Leges, statua, constitutiones et privilegia Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae. Omniumque provinciarum annexarum, a commitiis visliciae anno 1347 celebratis usque ad ultima regni comitia, vol. 1, Warszawa 1732.

KÖPKE, R. (ed.): Cosmae chronica Boemorum, in: GEORG HEINRICH PERTZ (ed.): MGH SS 9, Hannoverae 1851, pp. 1–209.

KORN, GEORG ANTON WERNER: Breslauer Urkundenbuch, Breslau 1870.

KOWALSKI, TADEUSZ (ed.):Relacja Ibrāhīma Ibn Jakūba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al-Bekrīego [Ibrahim ibn Yakub's Account of His Journey to Slavic Countries in the Transmission of al-Bakri], Kraków 1946.

KOWNACKI, H. (ed.): Res gestae principum et regum Poloniae per Vincentium (Kadłubkonem) saeculo XII. et XIII. Enarratae; quibus accedit chronicon Polonorum per Dzierswam saeci XII. scriptorem compositum, Varsaviae 1824.

KRZYŻANOWSKI, JULIAN (ed.): Galla Anonima Kronika: Podobizna fotograficzna rekopisu Zamoyskich z wieku XIV, Warszawa 1946.
KRZYŻANOWSKI, STANISŁAW. (ed.): Księgi ławnicze krakowskie 1365–1376 i 1390–1397 [Jury Books of Kraków, 1365–1376 and 1390–1397], Kraków 1904.
KULIK, ALEXANDER: The Earliest Evidence of the Jewish Presence in Western Rus', in: Harvard Ukrainian Studies 27 (2004–2005 [2009]), pp. 13–24.
IDEM: Evrei Drevnei Rusi: Istochniki i istoricheskaia rekonstruktsiia [Jews in Ancient Russia: Sources and Historical Reconstruktion], in: Ruthenica 7 (2008), pp. 52–70.
IDEM: Judeo-Greek Legacy in Medieval Rus', in: Viator 39 (2008), 1, pp. 51–64.
IDEM: Jews from Rus' in Medieval England, in: Jewish Quarterly Review 102 (2012), 3, pp. 371–403.
IDEM: The Jews of Slavia Graeca: The Northern Frontier of Byzantine Jewry? In: ROBERT BONFIL, ODED IRSHAI et al. (eds.): Jews of Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures, Leiden 2012, pp. 297–316.
IDEM: Locating Hebrew Rusi'ah: A Problem of Medieval Hebrew Nomenclature for Old Rus', in: Jewish Quarterly Review [forthcoming].
KUPFER, FRANCISZEK (EFRAIM): Me-raḥoḳ u-me-ḳarov [From Far and Near], in: YISRAEL KLAUSNER, RAFAEL MAHLER et al. (eds.): Sefer ha-yovel: Mugash li-khevod Dr. N. M. Gelber le-regel yovelo ha-shevi'im, Tel Aviv 1963.
IDEM: Responsa et Decisiones: Ad Fidem Codicis Bodleianensis 692, Jerusalem 1973.
IDEM: Mi-ginze ha-makhon le-tatslume kitve-ha-yad ha-'ivriyim shel bet ha-sefarim ha-le'umi ve-ha-'universiṭa'i bi-Yerushalayim [From the Archives of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the National and University Libraries in Jerusalem], in: Ḳiryat sefer 59 (1984), pp. 959–960.
IDEM—LEWICKI, TADEUSZ (eds.): Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy: Wyjątki z pism religijnych i prawniczych XI–XIII w. [Hebrew Sources for the History of the Slavs and Some Other Peoples of Central and Eastern Europe: Extracts from Religious and Legal Writings of the Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries], Warszawa 1956.
KÜRBIS, BRYGIDA: Dagome iudex: Studium krytyczne [Dagome iudex: A Critical Study], in: Początki państwa polskiego—Księga Tysiąclecia, vol. 2, Poznań 1962, pp. 362–423.
KUTRZEBA, STANISŁAW: Przywileje Kazimierza Wielkiego dla Żydów [Kazimierz the Great's Privilege to the Jews], in: Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności 27 (1922), 10, pp. 4-5.
KUTSCHERA, HUGO VON: Die Chasaaren: Historische Studie—Ein Nachlass, Wien 1909 (republished Wien 1910).
LABUDA, GERARD: Wybór źródeł do historii Polski średniowiecznej do połowy XV w. [A Selection of Sources for the History of Medieval Poland up to the Middle of the 15th Century], vol. 2, Poznań 1967.
LANDSHUTH, ELIEZER: 'Amude ha-'avodah: Reshimat rashe ha-payṭanim u-me'aṭ me-toldotehem 'al seder alfa beta 'im mispar piyuṭehem ha-nimtsa'im be-sifre tefilot [Worksheets: A List of Piyyut Composers and Their Histories], Berlin 1857 (republished New York 1965; Jerusalem 1968).
LANGE, YITSHAK SHIMSHON (ed.): Pisḳe halakhah shel R. Ḥayim 'Or Zarua' [Rulings of R. Chaim Or Zarua], Jerusalem 1973.
IDEM (ed.): Perushe ha-Torah le-rabi Yehudah he-ḥasid [Torah Interpretations of R. Yehudah He-Chassid], Jerusalem 1975.
ŁASKI, JAN: Commune incliti Poloniae regni privilegium constitutionum et indultuum publicitus decretorum approbatorumque, Kraków 1506.
ŁEBIŃSKI, W. (ed.): Kodeks dyplomatyczny wielkopolski obejmujący dokumenta tak już drukowane, jak dotąd nie ogłoszone, sięgające do roku 1400 [The Greater Polish Diplomatic Codex], 3 vols., Poznań 1877–1879.

LEKSZYCKI, J. VON (ed.): Die ältesten großpolnischen Grodbücher. Vol. 1: Posen, 1386–1399, Leipzig 1887.
LELEWEL, JOACHIM (ed.): Księgi ustaw polskich i mazowieckich [Books of Polish and Mazovian Laws], Vilnius 1824.
LENGNICH, GOTTFRIED (ed.): Vincentius Kadlubko et Martinus Gallus, scriptores historiae Polonae vetustissimi, cum duobus anonymis ex ms. Bibliothecae Episcopalis Heilsbergensis edititi, Danzig 1749.
LEWICKI, TADEUSZ (ed.): Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowianszczyzny [Arabic Sources for the History of the Slavs], 5 vols., Wrocław 1956–1988.
LEWIN, L.: Geschichte der israelitischen Kranken-Verpflegungs-Anstalt und Beerdigungs-Gesellschaft zu Breslau 1726–1926, Breslau 1926.
LIFSHITZ, JOSEPH ISAAC: ’Eḥad be-khol dimyonot: Hagutam ha-di’alekṭit shel Ḥaside Ashkenaz [One God, Many Images: Dialectical Thought in Chasside Ashkenaz], Tel Aviv 2015.
IDEM: Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg and the Foundation of Jewish Political Thought, New York—Cambridge 2016.
LITINSKY, MENACHEM NACHUM: Ḳorot Podoliya ṿe-ḳadmoniyot ha-yehudim sham: ’O, ḥomer le-divre ha-yehudim be-Rusya’ [Chronicles of Podolia and the Early History of Jews There; Or, Materials for Chronicles of the Jews in Russia], [vol. 1.], Odessa 1895.
LJUBIĆ, ŠIME (ed.): Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, vol. 1, Zagreb 1868.
LUBOMIRSKI, TADEUSZ JAN (ed.): Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego [Diplomatic Codex of the Duchy of Mazovia], Warszawa 1863.
LUZZATTO, SHMUEL DAVID: [Essay on the Interpretations of R. Yehudah he-Chassid], in: SHMUEL YEHUDAH LEIB GOLDENBERG (ed.): Sefer kerem ḥemed: Kolel ’igrot yeḳarot ’asher heritsu ḥakhme zemanenu ’ish ’el re‘ehu be-‘inyene ha-’emunah, ha-ḥokhmah ṿe-ha-mada‘, vol. 7, Berlin 1843.
MAHARAM (MEIR BEN BARUCH OF ROTHENBURG): She’elot u-teshuvot [Responsa], Prague 1608.
MAHLER, RAFAEL (RAFAŁ): Toldot ha-yehudim be-Polin [ad ha-me’ah ha-]19 [History of the Jews in Poland until the 19th Century], Merhavia 1946.
IDEM—RINGELBLUM, EMANUEL (eds.): Gekleibene mekorim tsu der geshikhte fon di Yidn in Poyln un mizrach-Eyrope [Source Texts for the History of Jews in Poland and Eastern Europe], vol. 1A, Warszawa 1930.
IDEM (eds.): Teksty źródłowe do nauki historji Żydów w Polsce i we wschodniej Europe [Source Texts for the History of Jews in Poland and Eastern Europe], vol. 1A, Warszawa 1930.
MALECZYŃSKI, KAROL (ed.): Galli Anonymi Cronica et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum, Kraków 1952.
IDEM (ed.): Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae, 3 vols., Wrocław 1956–1964.
MARGOLIN, PAVEL V. (ed.): Tri evreiskikh puteshestvennika [Three Jewish Travelers], St. Peterburg 1881 (republished Moskva—Jerusalem 2004, 2014).
MARMORSTEIN, AVRAHAM: Ḥakham ṿe-poseḳ ’iṭalḳi [An Italian Sage and Arbiter], in: Devir: Me’asef ‘iti le-ḥokhmat Yiśra’el 2 (1924), pp. 213–243.
MENCKEN, J. B. (ed.): Cosmae Pragensis ecclesiae decani Chronica Bohemorum, in: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, præcipue Saxonicarum, vol. 1, Leipzig 1728.
MICHAŁOWSKA-MYCIELSKA, ANNA: Sejm Żydów litewskich (1623–1764) [The Sejm of Lithuanian Jews (1623–1764)], Warszawa 2014.
MIGNE, J. P. (ed.): Cosmae Pragensis Chronica, Paris 1854.
MILNER, SHIMON: Le-ḳorot ha-yehudim be-Ḥe‘lm [On the History of Jews in Chelm], in: Ha-Me’asaf (1902), pp. 154–160.
IDEM: Le-ḳorot ha-yehudim be-Ḥe‘lm [On the History of Jews in Chelm], in: MEILECH BAKALCZUK-FELIN (ed.): Yizker-bukh Khelm, Johannesburg 1954.

MÜHLE, EDUARD (ed.): Die Chronik der Polen des Magisters Vincentius / Magistri Vincentii Chronica Polonorum, Darmstadt 2014.
MUŁKOWSKI, A. (ed.): Magistri Vincentii qui Kadlubek vocari solet de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum, libri 4, Kraków 1864.
NACHMANIDES (MOSHE BEN NACHMAN): Sefer Ḥamishah shiṭot [The Book of Five Methods], Sulzbach 1762.
NATHANSOHN, YOSEF SHAUL BEN ARYEH LEIBUSH (ed.): She'elot u-teshuvot Maharam bar Barukh [Responsa of the Maharam], Lvov 1860 (republished Bnei Brak 1986).
NAZARENKO, ALEXANDER: Die frühesten bayerisch-russischen Kontakte in historischer und sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht, in: HERMANN BEYER-THOMA (ed.): Bayern und Osteuropa: Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland, Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 25–56.
NEUBAUER, ADOLF: Le Memorbuch de Mayence: Essai sur la littérature des complaints, in: Revue des Études Juives 4 (1882), 7, pp. 1–30.
NEUMANN, KARL FRIEDRICH: Die Völker des südlichen Russlands in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung, Leipzig 1847 (republished 1855).
NISSEN, S.: 'Et lehashlikh 'avanim ṿe-'et kenos 'avanim [A Time to Throw Stones and a Time to Gather Stones], in: H. LIEBERMANN (ed.): Deutscher Volkskalender und Jahrbuch: Insbesondere zum Gebrauch für Israeliten für das Jahr 5616, Breslau 1855.
NOSONOVSKII, MIKHAIL: Evreiskie epigraficheskie pamiatniki pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy [Jewish Epigraphic Monuments of Right-Bank Ukraine], in: M. CHLENOV, A. FEDORCHUK (eds.): Trudy Vtoroi molodezhnoi konferentsii SNG po iudaike—"Tirosh", Moskva 1998, pp. 117–122.
OTTENSOSER, DAVID (ed.): Reise des Rabbinen Rabbi Pethachjah aus Regensburg, Fürth 1844.
PASZKIEWICZ, BORYS: Od symbolu do herbu: Orły polskie na monetach średniowiecznych [From Symbol to Coat of Arms: Polish Eagles on Medieval Coins], in: STEFAN KUCZYŃSKI (ed.): Orzeł Biały: Herb państwa polskiego, Warszawa 1996, pp. 15–32.
PERESWETOFF-MORATH, ALEXANDER: A Grin without a Cat, 2 vols., Lund 2002.
PERLCEL, F.—DOBROVSKY, J. (eds.): Cosmae ecclesiae Pragensis decani Chronicon Bohemorum, in: Scriptores rerum Bohemicarum, vol. 1, Pragae 1783.
PETACHYAH (BEN YAAKOV): Sivuv [Travels], Pragae 1595 (further editions Zhovka 1772; Dubno 1795; Ostroh 1806; Shklov 1817; Warszawa 1851, 1855; Livorno 1856; Jerusalem 1952).
PETROVSKY-SHTERN, YOHANAN: The Golden Age Shtetl: A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe, Princeton 2014.
PIEKOSIŃSKI, FRANCISZEK (ed.): Kodeks dyplomatyczny małopolski 1178–1386, vol. 1, Kraków 1876.
IDEM (ed.): Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa 1257–1506 [Diplomatic Codex of the City of Kraków 1257–1506], vol. 1, Kraków 1879.
IDEM—SZUJSKI, JÓZEF (eds.): Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 do 1400 [The Oldest Books and Accounts of the City of Kraków], 2 vols., Kraków 1878.
PINIŃSKI, JERZY: Brakteaty gnieźnieńskie z lat 1177–1202 [Bracteates from Gniezno, 1177–1202], in: Biuletyn Numizmatyczny 23 (1967), pp. 411–414.
IDEM: Pierwsze monety kaliskie [The First Coins from Kalisz], in: Biuletyn Numizmatyczny 28 (1967), pp. 516–519.
PLEZIA, MARIANUS (ed.): Magistri Vincentii Chronica Polonorum, Kraków 1994 (Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Nova series, 11).
POGONOWSKI, IWO CYPRIAN: Jews in Poland: A Documentary History, New York 1993.
POLIAK, AVRAHAM N.: Kazariyah: Toldot mamlekhet yehudit be-'Eropah [Khazaria: The History of a Jewish Kingdom in Europe], Tel Aviv 1944 (republished Tel Aviv 1951).
POLKOWSKI, IGNACY: Wzkopalisko głębockie monet polskich [Deep Excavation of Polish Coins], Gniezno 1876.

POLONSKY, ANTONY: The Jews in Poland and Russia, 3 vols., Oxford 2010–2012.
PRISMAN, ELIYAHU—KOHEN, SH.: Sefer Ra'avyah [The Book of the Raavyah], vol. 4, Jerusalem 1965 (republished Brooklyn 1983).
PRÜMERS, RODGERO: Pommersches Urkundenbuch. Vol. 2, part 1: 1254–1278, Stettin 1881.
PRZEŹDZIECKI, ALEXANDER (ed.): Magistri Vincentii Episcopi Cracoviensis Chronica Polonorum sive originale regum et principum Poloniae, Kraków 1862.
PRZYŁUSKI, JAKUB: Leges seu statute ac privilegia regni Poloniae omnia, Kraków 1553.
PTAŚNIK, JAN (ed.): Analecta Vaticana 1202–1366, Kraków 1914.
QABALĀWĪ, KHAYR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD (ed.): Al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik [Ibn Khordadbeh's Book of Roads and Kingdoms], Damascus 1999.
RABINOWITZ, LOUIS: Jewish Merchant Adventurers: A Study of the Radanites, London 1948.
REINER, AVRAHAM (RAMI): Rabenu Tam: Rabotaỵ ha-tsarfatim ỵe-talmidaỵ bene 'Ashkenaz [Rabbenu Tam: His French Works and his Ashkenazi Students], M.A. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997.
RENAN, ERNEST: Le judaïsme comme race et comme religion: Conférence faite au Cercle Saint-Simon, le 27 janvier 1883, Paris 1883 (republished New York 1943).
ROSMAN, MOSHE: Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century, Cambridge/MA 1990.
SALFELD, SIEGMUND (ed.): Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches, Berlin 1898.
SAND, SHLOMO: The Invention of the Jewish People, transl. by YAEL LOTAN, London—New York 2009.
SATZ, YITSHAK AKIVA (ed.): She'elot u-teshuvot Maharil ha-ḥadashot le-rabenu Ya'aḳov Mulin [New Responsa of the Maharil], Jerusalem 1977 (republished Jerusalem 1991).
SCHIPER, IGNACY: Przegląd krytyczny literatury, odnoszącej się do historyi Żydów w Polsce podczas średniowiecza [A Critical Review of the Literature Concerning the History of Jews in Poland during the Middle Ages], in: Wschód (1909), 8–9.
IDEM: Studya nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów w Polsce podczas średniowiecza [Studies on the Economic Relations of Jews in Poland during the Middle Ages], Lwów 1911.
SCHIRRMACHER, FRIEDRICH WILHELM: Urkunden-Buch der Stadt Liegnitz und ihres Weichbildes bis zum Jahre 1455, Liegnitz 1866.
SCHOTT, AUGUST FRIEDRICH: Sammlungen zu den Deutschen Land- und Stadtrechtenm, vol. 1, Leipzig 1772.
Sefer ḳinot, 'im perush, shel Asher ben Yosef [The Book of *Kinnot*, with Commentraies by Asher ben Yosef], Lublin 1617 (republished Jerusalem 1973).
SHMERUK, CHONE: The Esterke Story in Yiddish and Polish Literature: A Case Study in the Mutual Relations of Two Cultural Traditions, Jerusalem 1982.
SIMONSOHN, SHLOMO (ed.): The Apostolic See and the Jews, vol. 1, Toronto 1988.
SOMMERSBERG, FRIDRICH WILHELM (ed.): Silesiacarum rerum scriptores aliquot adhuc inediti, vol. 2, Leipzig 1732.
SPITZER, SHALOM (ed.): Hilkhot u-minhage rabenu Shalom mi-Noishṭaṭ: Derashot me-ha-Rash [Laws and Customs of Rabbi Shalom of Neustadt], Jerusalem 1977.
IDEM (ed.): Sefer Maharil: Minhagim shel rabenu Ya'aḳov Mulin [The Book of the Maharil: Customs of Rabenu Ya'aḳov Mulin], Jerusalem 1989 (republished 1991, 2005).
STADNICKI, ALEXANDER (ed.): Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polski z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie [Town and Land Records from the Time of the Republic of Poland from the Lvov Archives], vol. 3, Lwów 1873.
STAL, YAAKOV YISRAEL (ed.): Sefer gematṛi'ot [Gematria Book], 2 vols., Jerusalem 2004–2005.

STAMPFER, SHAUL: Presledovaniia i migratsiia evreev-ashkenazov v Vostochnuiu Evropu [Persecution and Migration of the Ashkenazi Jews in Eastern Europe], in: VIKTORIA MOCHALOVA (ed.): Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual International Conference on Jewish Studies, vol. 2, Moskva 2010, pp. 43–67.

IDEM: Did the Khazars Convert to Judaism?, in: Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society 19 (2013), 3, pp. 1–72.

STARR, JOSHUA: The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204, Athens 1939.

STENZEL, GUSTAV ADOLF (ed.): Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bisthums Breslau in Mittelalter, Breslau 1845.

IDEM: Liber fundationis claustri sanctae Mariae virginis in Heinrichow oder Gründungsbuch des Klosters Heinrichau, Breslau 1854.

STERN, MORITZ—HOENIGER, ROBERT (eds.): Das Judenschreinsbuch der Laurenzpfarre zu Köln, Berlin 1888.

STERNBERG, HERMANN: Geschichte der Juden in Polen unter den Piasten und Jagellonen nach polnischen und russischen Quellen, Leipzig 1878.

STRATEN, JITS VAN: The Origin of Ashkenazi Jewry: The Controversy Unraveled, Berlin—New York 2011.

STRONCZYŃSKI, KAZIMIERZ: Dawne monety polskie dynyastyi Piastów i Jagiellonów [Old Polish Coins of the Piast and Jagiellonian Dynasty], vol. 2, Piotrków 1884.

SZELIGA, IOANNIS (ed.): Historia Polonica Vincentii Kadlubkonis episcopi Cracoviensis, Dobromili 1612.

SZLACHTOWSKI, JAN—KÖPKE, RUDOLF (eds.): Chronicon Polonorum usque ad a. 1113, in: GEORG HENIRICH PERTZ (ed.): MGH SS 9, Hannoverae 1851, pp. 418–478.

TA-SHMA, ISRAEL MOSHE: On the History of the Jews in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Poland, transl. by DAVID LOUVISH, in: Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry 10 (1997), pp. 287–317.

IDEM: Keneset meḥḳarim: ʻIyunim ba-safrut bi-yeme ha-benayim [Collected Research: Studies in the Literature of the Middle Ages], 4 vols., Jerusalem 2004–2010.

TELLER, ADAM: Kesef, koaḥ, ṿe-hashpaʻah: Ha-Yehudim be-'aḥuzat bet Radz'iṿil be-Liṭa ba-me'ah ha-18 [Money, Power, and Influence: The Jews on the Radziwiłł Estates in Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century], Jerusalem 2006.

IDEM: Money, Power, and Influence in Eighteenth-Century Lithuania: The Jews on the Radziwiłł Estates, Stanford 2016.

TOCH, MICHAEL: 'Ikarim yehudim bi-yeme ha-benayim? Ḥaḳla'ut u-veʻalut yehudit ʻal ḳarḳaot be-'Eropah ba-me'ot ha-sheminit–ha-shetem-ʻeśreh [Jewish Peasants in the Middle Ages? Agriculture and Jewish Landownership in Europe in the Eighth–Twelfth Centuries], in: Tsion 75 (2010), 3, pp. 291–311.

IDEM: The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, Leiden 2013.

TRAWKOWSKI, STANISŁAW: Obieg a renowacja monety w Polsce na przełomie XII i XIII wieku [Circulation and Renovation of Coins in Poland at the Turn of the 12th and 13th Centuries], in: RENATA PIETNIEWICZ (ed.): Nummus et historia: Pieniądz Europy średniowiecznej, Warszawa 1985, pp. 111–118.

TZSCHOPPE, GUSTAV ADOLF—STENZEL, GUSTAV ADOLF (eds.): Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Ursprungs der Städte und der Einführung und Verbreitung Deutscher Kolonisten und Rechte in Schlesien und der Ober-Lausitz, Hamburg 1832.

UGOLINO, BLASIO (BLAISIO): Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum: Complectens Selectissima Clarissimorum Virorum Opuscula, In Quibus Veterum Hebræorum Mores, Leges, Instituta, Ritus Sacri, Et Civiles Illustrantur, vol. 6, Venetiis 1746.

URBACH, EFRAIM ELIMELEKH: Sefer ʻArugat ha-bośem: Kolel perushim le-piyuṭim [The Book Arugat Ha-Bosem, Including Interpretations of *Piyyut* Poems], Jerusalem 1939–1963 (republished Jerusalem 1991).

IDEM (ed.): Baʻale ha-tosafot: Toldotehem, ḥiburehem ṿe-shiṭatam [The Tosafists: Their

History, Compositions, and Methods], Jerusalem 1980 (previously published Jerusalem 1955, 1957).
URBAŃCZYK, PRZEMYSŁAW: Trudne początki Polski [Poland's Difficult Beginnings], Wrocław 2008.
VENTRICE, ISABELLA (ed.): Sibuv: Il viaggio di rabbi Petachiah di Ratisbona [Sivuv: The Journey of Rabbi Petachiah of Regensburg], Firenze 2009.
VETULANI, ADAM: The Jews in Medieval Poland, in: Jewish Journal of Sociology 4 (1962), pp. 274–293.
WAGENSEIL, JOHANN CHRISTOPH (ed.): Exercitationes sex varii argumenti, Altdorf 1687 (2nd ed. Altdorf 1697; republished 1719).
WATTENBACH, WILHELM (ed.): Das Formelbuch des Domherren Arnold von Protzan, Breslau 1862.
WEINREICH, MAX: History of Yiddish Language, 4 vols., Chicago 1973 (republished New York 1975; Chicago 1980; New Haven 2008).
WEINRYB, BERNARD D.: The Beginnings of East-European Jewry in Legend and Historiography, in: M. BEN-HORIN, B. D. WEINRYB et al. (eds.): Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neumann, Leiden 1962, pp. 445–502.
IDEM: The Myth of Samuel of Russia, 12th Century Author of a Bible Commentary (A Study in Jewish Historiography), in: Jewish Quarterly Review 57 (1967), pp. 528–543.
IDEM: The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800, Philadelphia 1973.
WEXLER, PAUL: Two-Tiered Relexification in Yiddish: Jews, Sorbs, Khazars, and the Kiev-Polessian Dialect, Berlin—New York 2002.
WISŁOCKI, W.: Przywilej Kazimierza Wielkiego, dany Żydom miasta Lwowa [The Privilege of Casimir the Great Given to the Jews of Lvov], in: Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki (Dodatek do "Gazety Lwowskiej") 2 (1873), pp. 718–723.
WITKOWSKI, RAFAŁ: Jews in Medieval Poland: Culture, Religion and Language as Reflected in Sources, in: Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica 28 (2008–2010), pp. 87–139.
WODZIŃSKI, MARCIN: Hebrajskie inskrypcje na Śląsku XIII–XVIII wieku [Hebrew Inscriptions in Silesia in the 13th–18th Centuries], Wrocław 1996.
WOLAŃSKI, X.: Dodatki tygodnie do Gazety Lwowskiej [Weekly Supplements to the Lvov Gazeta], Lvov 1862.
WYROZUMSKA, BOŻENNA: Fragmenty najstarszej księgi miejskiej Olkusza [Fragments of the Oldest Town Book of Olkusz], in: Małopolskie Studia Historyczne 2 (1959), 1, pp. 49–57.
EADEM (ed.): The Jews in Mediaeval Cracow: Selected Records from Cracow Municipal Books, Kraków 1995.
EADEM (ed.): Nieznany dokument Kazimierza Wielkiego [An Unknown Document of Casimir the Great], in: Krakowski rocznik archiwalny 10 (2004), pp. 191–195.
YUDLOW, YITSHAK (ed.): She'elot u-teshuvot le-rabenu Asher ben Yeḥi'el [Responsa of Rabbi Asher ben Yechiel], Jerusalem 1994.
YUVAL, YISRAEL YAAKOV: Ḥakhamim be-doram: Ha-manhigut ha-ruḥanit shel yehude Germaniyah be-shilhe yeme ha-benayim [Sages of their Generation: The Spiritual Leadership of German Jews in the Late Middle Ages], Jerusalem 1988.
ZAKRZEWSKI, ZYGMUNT: O brakteatach z nadpisami hebrajskimi: Cz. I [On Bracteates with Hebrew Inscriptions: Pt. 1], in: Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne 20 (1909), pp. 3–5, 19–21, 58–60, 75–77, 115–116, 140–142, 162–164, 183–184, 216–218; ibidem 21 (1910), pp. 6–8, 54–56, 75–76; ibidem 22 (1911), pp. 4, 19–20, 54–56, 67–89, 85–86, 99; ibidem 23 (1912), pp. 68–70, 84–85; ibidem 24 (1913), pp. 9–11, 24–27, 38–39, 55–56, 82–83, 100–101, 117–118.
IDEM: O brakteatach z nadpisami hebrajskimi: Cz. II [On Bracteates with Hebrew Inscriptions: Pt. 2], ibidem (1921), pp. 81–96.

IDEM: Gniezno i Kalisz, dwie mennice wielkopolski z czasów Mieszka III [Gniezno and Kalisz, Two Greater Poland Mints at the time of Mieszko III], in: Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne (1926), pp. 2–51.

ZANOLINI, ANTONIO: Ratio, institutioque addiscendae linguae Chaldaicae-rabbinicae-talmudicae: Cum singularum dialectorum exemplis etiam latinitate donatis. Accedit ad exercendos tyrones juventu difficillima peregrinatio Rabbini Petachiae, Patavii 1750.

ZAREMSKA, HANNA: Migracje Żydow aszkenazyjskich w średniowiecznej Europie [Migrations of Ashkenazi Jews in Medieval Europe], in: MACIEJ SALAMON, JERZY STRZELCZYK (eds.): Wędrowka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu, Kraków 2004.

EADEM: Przywileje Kazimierza Wielkiego dla Żydów i ich średniowieczne konfirmacje [The Jewish Privileges of Casimir the Great and Their Medieval Confirmation], in: MARCIN WODZIŃSKI, ANNA MICHAŁOWSKA-MYCIELSKA (eds.): Małżeństwo z rozsądku? Żydzi w społeczeństwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Wrocław 2007, pp. 11–34.

EADEM: Początki żydowskiej obecności i osadnictwa na ziemiach polskich (X–XV wiek) [The Beginnings of Jewish Presence and Settlement in Polish Lands, 10th–15th Centuries], in: WITOLD SIENKIEWICZ et al. (eds.): Atlas historii Żydów polskich, Warszawa 2010, pp. 23–58.

EADEM: Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce: Gmina krakowska [Jews in Medieval Poland: The Community of Kraków], Warszawa 2011.

ZIMMER, ERIC (YITSHAK): Harmony and Discord: An Analysis of the Decline of Jewish Self-Government in 15th-Century Central Europe, New York 1970.

IDEM: ʻOlam ke-minhago noheg: Peraḳim be-toldot ha-minhagim, hilkhotehem ṿe-gilgulehem [The World Follows Its Custom: Chapters in the History of Customs, Laws, and Their Metamorphoses], Jerusalem 1996.

ZUNZ, LEOPOLD: Zur Geschichte und Literatur, Berlin 1845 (republished Berlin 1875, 1919; Hildesheim 1976).

IDEM: Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters, Berlin 1855 (republished 1859, 1919; Frankfurt am Main 1920; Hildesheim 1967; Zug 1976).

IDEM: Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie, Berlin 1865.

IDEM: The Sufferings of the Jews during the Middle Ages, ed. by G. A. KOHUT, transl. by A. LÖWY, New York 1907.