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JEWISH STREET (*PLATEA JUDEORUM*) IN CRACOW:  
THE 14<sup>th</sup> – THE FIRST HALF OF THE 15<sup>th</sup> C.

The beginnings of the ghetto, a separate area — a district where the Jewish settlement was to be enclosed, the process of its emergence and formation in various parts of Europe, remain ambiguous, despite a whole series of detailed studies<sup>1</sup>. The institution of the ghetto, like the concept itself, was not the trait of the mediaeval Diaspora's life. The slow and inconsistent introduction of the duty to wear a Jewish sign, established by the canon of the 4<sup>th</sup> Lateran Council in 1215, did not go hand in hand with the obligation of spatial segregation, known from the practice of modern times. Since the earliest period Jews living in the Diaspora settled out of their own free will close to their co-religionists. It is a natural tendency of any settlement to organize space in accordance with family, neighbourhood and professional ties as well as the common social and material status. The character of connections between social history and the spatial structures of the settled lands resulted, besides, from property relations and the subjection to taxation that often goes hand in hand with them.

In mediaeval towns the newcomers from one province or country, also people of the same trade or profession, lived together. This strengthened corporational, confraternal and parochial ties. In the case of foreigners this was supplemented by the element of a common language. Religious differences (Jews, Muslims, in later times also Protestants) were of cardinal importance, since people naturally gathered round a cult centre and the need to defend the security of a religious minority was also at stake.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a large literature on this subject. A good guide to it is: A. Bein, *Die Judenfrage. Bibliographie eines Weltproblems*, vol. II, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt 1980, especially part III: *Die Ausgestaltung der Judenfrage im christlich-europäische Mittelalter*, pp. 35–59.

The emergence of Jewish streets and districts in European towns<sup>2</sup> was a natural process, consistent with the interests of Jewish population, and at the same time typical of other communities as well. It was also a result of the policy which protected the Jews. When in 1084 Rüdiger, bishop of Speyer, started his endeavours to attract Jewish merchants to his city, he presented them with a separate part of the town for residence and promised to surround it with a wall<sup>3</sup>.

Records concerning 11<sup>th</sup> c. Worms speak of a fortified Jewish district. 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> c. sources from German, French and Spanish territories testify to the areas of Jewish settlement closed by gates<sup>4</sup>. This type of locking from within is in its origin a privilege, not discrimination. The district's own locks were also of a symbolic significance, since they were signs of the autonomy of the Jewish community. Their practical sense was proved during increasing conflicts and anti-Jewish tumults, where they gained the character of protection against assailants. The decision to erect a wall round the Jewish district was taken by the municipal authorities in Cologne after the tumult of 1330. A day after the pogrom of 1461 the Jewish community of Carpentras, a Provençal city, applied by themselves for changing their colony into a ghetto. As a result, they were allotted two streets, closed at night. During an upheaval in Cracow in 1407, royal envoys, intervening in defence of those assaulted, closed the access to Jewish streets and posted sentries watching their borders<sup>5</sup>.

The situation of Jewish districts and streets in towns differed and primarily depended on the temporal relation between the

<sup>2</sup> A. Pinthus, *Studien über die banliche Entwicklung der Judengassen in den deutschen Städten*, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland", n.s. II, 1930, pp. 101–132, 197–217, 284–300.

<sup>3</sup> J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im frankischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273*, Berlin 1887–1902, № 168; cf. E. Carlebach, *Die rechtlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der jüdischen gemeinden Speyer*, Worms–Mainz, Leipzig 1901, p. 47 ff.; J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London 1938, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, Philadelphia 1973, vol. I, chap. 8; S. V. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, New York–Philadelphia 1952, vol. 11, p. 89; H. Dubled, *Les Juifs de Carpentras*, "Provence Historique" 1969; M. Kriegel, *Les Juifs à la fin du Moyen Age dans l'Europe méditerranéenne*, Hachette 1979, pp. 20–28.

<sup>5</sup> J. Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, Lib. 10 et 11, Varsaviae 1997, pp. 15–17. Cf. my article — *Jan Długosz o tumulte krakowskim w 1407 roku* (Jan Długosz on the Cracow Tumult of 1407), in: *Między polityką a kulturą*, ed. C. Kukło, Warszawa 1999, pp. 155–167.

arrival of the Jews and the town's spatial development. The role of Jews in commerce explains their tendency to settle near market places and trade routes, while the royal protection they enjoyed is the reason why they first settled in the centres of power and in the direct vicinity of the ruler's residence. In Central-European towns founded under German law Jewish "districts" constituted a legally isolated enclave, excluded from the municipal jurisdiction. Moreover, Jewish real estate, like that of the Church or the gentry, was in principle free of municipal taxation. This, of course, aroused some tension, since the sums at stake were high. With time a certain *modus vivendi* was established in this matter and Jews became obliged to contribute some payments that were also required of Christians.

It is also significant that larger centres had more than one Jewish colony or agglomeration. This was connected with the demographic development of the Jewish community, with the influx of newcomers and the town's development<sup>6</sup>.

Because of the natural, but not obligatory character of the Jewish agglomerations in towns, scattered Jewish homes could be encountered beyond the borders of Jewish streets or districts, while in the case of petty Jewish colonies or settlements in the countryside there were no separate districts or streets whatsoever.

Some researchers, among them also Aleksander Gieysztor<sup>7</sup>, maintain that a Jewish community in Cracow was mentioned in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. in a response by Jehuda ha-Kohen, a rabbi most probably connected with Mainz<sup>8</sup>. The

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<sup>6</sup> R. Ancerl, *The Early History of the Jewish Quarters in Paris*, "Jewish Social Studies" II, 1940, pp. 45–60; D. Jacoby, *Les quartiers juif de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine*, "Byzantion" XXVII, 1967, pp. 205–214; the same author, *Les Juifs vénitiens de Constantinople et leur communauté du XIII<sup>e</sup> au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, "Revue des Etudes Juives" CXXXI, 1972, p. 398; M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław w XII–XIII wieku. Przemiany społeczne i osadnicze (Wrocław in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c. Changes in Social and Settlement Structures)*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 52–56.

<sup>7</sup> I. Agus, *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe*, New York, Yeshiva Press, pp. 93–97; A. Gieysztor, *The Beginnings of Jewish Settlement in the Polish Lands*, in: *The Jews in Poland*, ed. Ch. Abramsky, M. Jachimczak, A. Polonsky, Basil Blackwell 1986, p. 17; I. M. Ta-Shma, *On the History of the Jews in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Poland*, "Polin" 10, 1997, pp. 287–288; cf. J. Wyrozumski, *Żydzi w Polsce średniowiecznej (The Jews in Mediaeval Poland)*, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, Wrocław 1991, pp. 129–130.

next mention of Cracow Jews comes from the chronicle by Master Vincent. While criticizing the rule of Mieszko the Old (1127–1202), he cites, e.g., the strictness of his judges who condemned the young students for wounding a Jew by accident, as if they had committed sacrilege<sup>9</sup>. This means that — in accordance with their status of “slaves of the treasury” — they were accused of *crimen laese majestatis*. Even if we admit that Master Vincent’s words are only a legal *exemplum* invented by the chronicler, the fact cannot be denied that he knew the concept of *servi camerae*. The coins of the same ruler with Hebrew inscriptions are mostly connected with the Kalisz and Gniezno mints. It cannot, however, be ruled out that one of their groups originated in Cracow<sup>10</sup>. Two 13<sup>th</sup> c. learned Talmudists, Katriel and Jacob Swa ar, known to German rabbis, were also connected with Cracow<sup>11</sup>. The question where the early-mediaeval Jewish settlement was located, remains open.

Jewish names appear at the very beginning of the oldest preserved Cracow town book. The term *Judengasse* appears in the above-mentioned register for the first time in 1304<sup>12</sup>. Thus the Cracow Jewish colony appears in the sources from the outset as collectivity significant enough to be recorded in the municipal topographic nomenclature.

<sup>8</sup> For the analysis of the text of this response see: I. Agus, *op. cit.*; *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy* (The Hebrew Sources for the History of Slavs and Some Other Peoples of Central and Eastern Europe), ed. F. Kupfer, T. Lewicki, Wrocław 1956, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, n.s., vol. I, lib. IV, 2; cf. R. Grodecki, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce do końca XIV w.* (The History of Jews in Poland till the End of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.), in: by the same author, *Polska piastowska*, Warszawa 1969, pp. 619–621.

<sup>10</sup> Z. Zakrzewski, *O brakteatach z napisami hebrajskimi* (On the Coins with Hebrew Inscriptions), Kraków 1909; M. Gumowski, *Monety hebrajskie za Piastów* (Hebrew Coins in the Reign of the Piast Kings), “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego” 1962; S. Suchodolski, *Mennictwo polskie w XI i XII wieku* (The Polish Minting in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> c.), Wrocław 1973, p. 96.

<sup>11</sup> L. Zunz, *Alteste Nachrichten über Juden und jüdische Gelehrte in Polen, Slavonien, Russland*, in: by the same author, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Heidelberg–New York 1979, p. 84; I. Ta-Shma, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–301; K. Pilarczyk, *Talmud i jego drukarze w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Z dziejów przekazu religijnego w judaizmie* (The Talmud and its Printers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. From the History of Religious Tradition in Judaism), Kraków 1998, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 – do 1400* (The Earliest Books and Accounts of the Town of Cracow from 1300 until 1400) (henceforward: NK), ed. F. Plekosiński, J. Szujski, Kraków 1878; cf. B. Wyrozumska, *Kancelaria miasta Krakowa w średniowieczu* (The Chancery of Cracow Town in the Middle Ages) [Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Rozprawy Habilitacyjne N<sup>o</sup> 308], Kraków 1995, pp. 49–63; NK I 28: *Herr Filp der Polen in der Judengasse gab uf Hancen magdassen sine Eydem enen halben Hof in der Juden gasse*.

The history of the Jewish district in Cracow begins in *platea Judeorum* within the city-walls. The foundation document of 1257 does not mention the Jews at all. In the towns where the new planning encompassed the territory where Jewish settlements existed earlier on, they were included in the arising arrangement<sup>13</sup>, however the location of the Jewish street and the shaping of the area of this part of Cracow rather rule out the existence of an earlier colony. The area in question was too distant from early-mediaeval market places, and too steep (even after the foundation of the city it went down in a five- or six-metre slope<sup>14</sup> towards the walls erected at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>15</sup>.

Directly following 1257 no stone walls or gates were erected in Cracow. During the third Tartar invasion, which came at the turn of 1287, the city was defended mostly by its partly completed fortifications. The records from the first town book of Cracow mention the Florian (Floriańska) (1307), Shoemakers' (Szewska) (1310) and Sławków (Sławkowska) (1311) Gates. We hear of the wall opposite the Jewish colony (*murum retro Judeos*) in 1317<sup>16</sup>. This means that by adequately carrying the arm of the Rudawa-Młynówka river and building fortifications on the North-Western, Northern and North-Eastern side of the city, the adjoining settlements, which later got the names of Garbary and Kleparz, as well as small settlements near St. Nicholas Church, were cut off. In the 14<sup>th</sup> c. the part of the wall of interest to us divided two points of Cracow space connected with Jews: *platea Judeorum* and *cimiterum Judeorum*. There can be no doubt that Jewish Street mentioned, as we have said, for the first time in 1304, should be identified with the later St. Anne's Street. This is corroborated by

<sup>13</sup> M. and A. Piechotkowie, *Skupiska żydowskie w strukturze przestrzennej miast dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (Jewish Agglomerations in the Spatial Structure of Towns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth)*, in: *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, ed. A. Czacharowski, Toruń 1996, pp. 175–179.

<sup>14</sup> M. Cabalska, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych w Collegium Maius w Krakowie (The Results of Archeological Research in Collegium Maius in Cracow)*, "Prace Archeologiczne", Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1962, fasc. 4, pp. 167–196.

<sup>15</sup> M. Borowiejska-Birkenmajerowa, *Kształt średniowiecznego Krakowa (The Shape of Mediaeval Cracow)*, Kraków 1975, pp. 123–136; M. Tobiasz, *Fortyfikacje dawnego Krakowa (The Fortifications of Old Cracow)*, Kraków 1973; J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa (The History of Cracow)*, vol. I: *Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich (Cracow till the Close of Mediaeval Times)*, Kraków 1992, pp. 275–278.

<sup>16</sup> NK I, 47, 218, 282, 145.

several documents of 1394 concerning a property in this street<sup>17</sup>. These testimonies situate this real property in one version *in contrata Sanctae Annae* or *in contrata seu platea Sanctae Annae*, and in another *in platea Judeorum* or *in vico plateae Judeorum*<sup>18</sup>. The emergence of this new name, used interchangeably with the previous, is connected with the history of St. Anne's Church.

This sanctuary was mentioned for the first time in 1366<sup>19</sup>. It was a wooden church, burnt down in 1396<sup>20</sup> and again during an anti-Jewish tumult in 1407<sup>21</sup>. After the latter fire a brick church was built in its place. It is not clear when a parish was connected to St. Anne's Church. It is not mentioned by the document of 1327<sup>22</sup>, where Bishop Jan Grot defined the extent of four Cracow parishes (those of Our Lady, All Saints, St. Stephen, and Holy Cross), nor does it appear in 1338 among the payers of Peter's-penny; the payments made by it appear in the register of 1374<sup>23</sup>. Thus the parish must have arisen between those two dates. In 1418 King Ladislaus Jagellon transferred the patronage of the Church to the University<sup>24</sup>, whose first college funded in 1400 was situated in a house standing, just like the Church, in Jewish Street.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> c. the name *platea Judeorum* or *Judengasse* is still in use; it was first used interchangeably with the name *sanctae Annae*, and then, when the centre of the Jewish colony was moved to the vicinity of St. Stephen's Church in 1469, it came to be used with reference to a near street called Szpyglarska (*Spitglergasse*), and for a certain time vied with its previous name<sup>25</sup>. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> c. this little street, together with its

<sup>17</sup> J. Wyrozumski, *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Krakowie (Jews in Mediaeval Cracow)*, "Krzysztofor. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa" 15, 1988, p. 9.

<sup>18</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Studii Generalis Cracoviensis* (henceforward: *Cod. Univ. Crac.*), vol. I, Kraków 1879, N<sup>o</sup> VII–XIV.

<sup>19</sup> *Księgi lańnicze krakowskie 1365–1376 i 1390–1397 (The Cracow Books of the Municipal Bench 1365–1376 and 1390–1397)*, ed. S. Krzyżanowski, Kraków 1904, N<sup>o</sup> 83 (1366 r).

<sup>20</sup> *NK II*, p. 313.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. note 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa (The Diplomatic Code of the Town of Cracow)*, ed. F. Piękoskiński, vol. II, Kraków 1882, N<sup>o</sup> CCCLXXIV.

<sup>23</sup> T. Gromnicki, *Świętopiętrze w Polsce (Peter's Penny in Poland)*, Kraków 1908, pp. 310–311.

<sup>24</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. II, N<sup>o</sup> LXIV.

extension up to St. Thomas' Church, has borne the name of its patron<sup>26</sup>.

The history of the first *platea Judeorum* and the adjoining area, also inhabited by the Jews who lived here next to Christians throughout mediaeval times, can be only partly reconstructed. The Cracow Jewish community has no archives, and did not possess them even when in the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. first works concerning its history started to be compiled. Hence all the changes in proprietary relations occurring among the Jews themselves escape our notice<sup>27</sup>. What we do possess is only the Christian documentation. It consists primarily of records in mediaeval town books concerning transactions in real property, which frequently was only the object of pledge, as well as entries in the records of common law courts and royal courts of justice<sup>28</sup>. Another series of sources consists of diplomas connected with the history of Cracow University buildings, valuable especially for establishing data relating to the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>29</sup> Jan Długosz's chronicles complement this picture.

*Platea Judeorum* extended from the market place to the walls, where it was closed by the gate called *Portula Judeorum*, for the first time mentioned in the sources in 1366<sup>30</sup>. Until the end of

<sup>25</sup> *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Krakowie. Wypisy źródłowe z ksiąg miejskich krakowskich (Jews in Mediaeval Cracow. Source Excerpts from the Cracow Town Books)* (henceforward: *Wypisy*), comp. B. Wyrozumska, Kraków 1996, N<sup>o</sup> 583: *Dy wuste hoffstad auf dem Juden platze* — with reference to Glaziers' Street.

<sup>26</sup> S. Tomkiewicz, *Ulice i place Krakowa w ciągu dziejowym (The Streets and Squares of Cracow in Historical Sequence)*, Kraków 1926 (rep. 1985), p. 100.

<sup>27</sup> S. Shilo, *Stosunki prawne pomiędzy jednostką a gminą w prawie żydowskim w Polsce XVI i XVII w. (Legal Relations Between an Individual and the Community in Jewish Law in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. Poland)*, in: *Dzieje Żydów w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 1991, pp. 91–101. For the operation of the Jewish Consistory court in mediaeval Cracow cf. my article *Le Juif au tribunal: Cracovie, XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, in: *The Man of Many Devices, who Wandered Full Many Ways, Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, Budapest 1999, pp. 105–114.

<sup>28</sup> *Wypisy*. Cf. B. and J. Wyrozumscy, *Nowe materiały do dziejów Żydów krakowskich w średniowieczu (New Materials for the History of the Jews in Cracow in the Middle Ages)*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", in the press. For the state of preservation of the Cracow collection of town books, cf. B. Wyrozumska, *Kancelaria*; the transactions concerning real estate in this part of the town were also recorded in the books of the royal court of the Cracow province: *Prawo polskie w praktyce sądowej XIV i XV wieku (The Polish Law in Court Practice of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> cc.)*, ed. A. Z. Helcel, *Starodawne Prawa Polskiego Pomniki* (henceforward: *SPPP*), vol. II, Kraków 1870.

<sup>29</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I–II.

<sup>30</sup> NK II, p. 296. *Księg ławnicze (The Municipal Bench's Books)*, N<sup>o</sup> 31.

the 1460s the Jews, as we shall see, lived mainly, although not exclusively, in the part of the street lying closer to the wall, on the left side when going from the market place, as well as in the adjoining area enclosed by Potters' (Garncarska), later called Pigeon (Gołębia) Street, a street called now Jagellonian Street (Jagiellońska) [its section between the present St. Anne's and Potters' Streets, in mediaeval times nameless]<sup>31</sup> and the town wall. Here also Jews lived next to Christians.

The first stage of the history of the late-mediaeval Jewish colony in Cracow embraces the period until 1400, i.e. until the foundation of Jagellonian College in St. Anne's Street. Until that year the only Christian institution there was the above-mentioned St. Anne's Church. The qualification *inter Judeos*<sup>32</sup>, appearing in the sources for this district — shows that even if Jews did not predominate here, the Cracovians considered this corner of the town to be the centre of the Jewish life which determined its character. When in 1469 a transaction was concluded between the Jewish elders and the Długosz brothers<sup>33</sup> as a result of which the centre of the Jewish district moved to the vicinity of St. Stephen's Church, it turned out that this move was technically possible, since the basic institutions of the Jewish community — two synagogues with adjoining cemeteries as well as a poor-house (*hospitale*) — constituted a compact complex of buildings.

One of the synagogues in question had probably existed since the earliest times of the Jewish colony in Cracow. However, the earliest record about it comes from 1356. During the next two decades of that century in its vicinity (*in opposito synagoge, retro sculam Judeorum*) there were building lots belonging to Christians<sup>34</sup>. In 1370 one of them was bought by Lewko — a Jewish financial potentate, banker and King's Casimir the Great's protégé, co-leaseholder of the Wieliczka and Bochnia salt-mines. Two years later Lewko bought from a prominent Cracow burger Wierzynek another building lot, next to the former, also in front of the temple, next to the town wall. Here a house was erected in which he took residence and which even after his death, still in

<sup>31</sup> *Cod. Univ. Creac.*, vol. I, N<sup>o</sup> VII (y. 1392): *parva platea ex opposito fontis in platea Judeorum, eundo ad plateam Sutorum, circa passum curiae Petri Girhardsdorff.*

<sup>32</sup> *Wypisy*, N<sup>o</sup> 666 (1484), 1081 (1498).

<sup>33</sup> *Cod. Univ. Creac.*, vol. II, N<sup>o</sup> CCXXIII.

<sup>34</sup> *Wypisy*, N<sup>o</sup> 31 (1356), 55 (1370).

the 15<sup>th</sup> c., used to be called *domus Levconis*. Let us add that this royal creditor possessed two other houses *cum fundo* in this district, bought from the monarch in 1369; one of them was attached to the house owned by Szczepan of Rzeszotary, who represented the King in the transaction — thus the real property in question was situated next to the house at the corner of St. Anne's and Jagellonian Streets, while the other stood *in vico Judeorum*. The same year Lewko came into possession of a house at the corner of Vistula (Wiślna) Street, opposite the bishop's court<sup>35</sup>. Probably in his time his family owned the house opposite St. Anne's Church (the third from the College), in 1412 pledged by Kanaan Lewkowicz to the Christian called Theschner<sup>36</sup>. All in all, Lewko owned the second and the third house in St. Anne's Street on the right from the present Jagellonian Street, further a house near the wall where he lived, a house in Jagellonian Street as well as some building lots near the synagogue. The picture of Lewko's possessions and their situation with regard to the synagogue is not clear. One gets the impression that the temple stood back from the street and was probably screened, as it often happened, by houses, which helped to defend it from danger, as we know from later records concerning other Jewish communities, including that of Kazimierz. The synagogue was probably not high, since from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. in Europe there was a general rule according to which a synagogue should not tower over the surrounding buildings. Hence numerous synagogues, in order to increase their cubature, were erected below the level of the streets. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. next to Lewko lived the greatest Jewish financiers of that time: Drobny, Smerl and Jossman<sup>37</sup>. On the left, further back from Lewko's houses, attached to the corner tenement of the later Collegium Maius, near *platea Judeorum*, there was Jossman's property (a front and back house). He purchased it in 1392 from Małgorzata, Szczepan Pęcherz's widow, the above-mentioned heir of Rzeszotary<sup>38</sup>. Until

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, № 51 (1369), 53 (1369), 64 (1372); NK, II, 1399. On Lewko cf. M. Bałaban, *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, 1304–1868 (The History of the Jews in Cracow and Kazimierz, 1304–1868)*, vol. I, Kraków 1931, pp. 16–23.

<sup>36</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, № CI: *domus in contrata Judaeorum ex opposito ecclesiae sanctae Annae terciam a Collegio Artistarum*.

<sup>37</sup> M. Bałaban, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff.; E. Müller, *Żydzi w Krakowie w drugiej połowie XIV wieku (The Jews in Cracow in the Second Half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.)*, Kraków 1906, pp. 37–44.

<sup>38</sup> *Wypisy*, № 105 (1392); *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, Vol. I, № IX, LXII.

that time it had been part of the real property made up by the building called "The Grand", where the College was located in 1400. This real property was of basic significance to the future of this district, since the whole "controversy" determining the further fortunes of the Jews who lived here centred round this building.

Szczepan, the owner of the two-village estate Rzeszotary<sup>39</sup>, appears in the sources since 1367 as the owner of the real property in question at the corner of Jewish Street<sup>40</sup>. On June 11 that year, acting in the name of the King, he sold the adjacent property, earlier belonging to a Jew named Taczko, to a Christian named Stefan Tarchała. One of the conditions of this transaction was that this property would return to the monarch, if Stefan had no offspring. This contract confirms the fact that the King possessed some property in this part of the district, and it is the first, but as we shall see not the only trace of the monarch's intention not to lose control of this property. One can surmise that Taczko died childless, and as a result the property was returned to the King. It seems that it was precisely Taczko's house which in 1369 Lewko bought from the King, who in this transaction was represented by Szczepan again<sup>41</sup>. The property belonging to Szczepan was inherited by his wife and son Franciszek. From 1392 they gradually began to dispose of it, but continued to live in the main house called *magna* in the sources. According to the entry in the book of the assessorial court, on July 5, 1392, the inheritors of Szczepan sold to the Jew named Jossman the above-mentioned brick house, situated behind the *domus magna* where they lived<sup>42</sup>.

Jossman, along with Lewko, was the most active Jewish usurer of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. However, he did most of his business with the gentry. He was not very active in Cracow itself and did not go into credit deals with the local burghers. The above-mentioned contract made with Małgorzata is actually the only (if we do not count the purchase of a bath) testimony to his activeness in the town itself. The contract of July 1392 contains three conditions. The first says that all the openings and barriers

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<sup>39</sup> *SPPP*, vol. II, № 549.

<sup>40</sup> *Wyptsy*, № 43 (1367).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, № 53 (1369).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, № 105 (1392).

between Małgorzata's house and the one bought by Jossman have to be bricked up, and instead the new owner is to make only one window giving onto the street<sup>43</sup>. The second condition says that if in future the above-mentioned Jew or his offspring wanted to sell the uninhabited house bought from Małgorzata, along with the one they currently occupy, they would be allowed to sell them only to Christians. According to the third clause of the transaction concerning the house that Jossman possessed earlier and one he bought recently, he was to pay the guards, taxes, and in general all the municipal charges just as if he were a Christian.

In 1393 (June 8) Ladislaus Jagellon approved<sup>44</sup> the deed drawn up ten days earlier by the Cracow voivode Spytko of Melsztyn, concerning the sale to Jossman of the houses "started" by Małgorzata (*duos parietes muratos*). These houses extended along St. Anne's Street, westwards, up to Jossman's property (a front and a back house), and on the backside, southwards, they reached the property called "Dwór" (The Manor-House) and small houses called "Gmachi". One may surmise that Jossman's house was connected to that of Małgorzata by a wall with a porch. There is a reservation in the deed that only Jossman and his children can use both parts of the first house. If Małgorzata sold the "big house" and its new owner would not come to an understanding with Jossman, he (the new owner) would be allowed to remove the porches and beams connecting the two houses. On May 15, 1394, Małgorzata sold to Piotr Gerhardsdorf *domum suam in platea Iudeorum in acie circa domum Jostmanni Iudet [...] cum etsdem turibus exceptis duabus fenestris versus Josmannum existentibus et medietate eiusdem muris*<sup>45</sup>. This was also confirmed by a separate document issued on November 4 that year by Spytko of Melsztyn, the voivode and *starosta (capitaneus)* of Cracow<sup>46</sup>. Soon after Jossman resold half of the wall to his new

<sup>43</sup> The matters of boundary walls were regulated by the municipal law code of 1367, supplemented with detailed regulations; cf. *Obyczaj albo sposób budowania ścian z kamienia albo z cegły palonej w mieście Krakowie z wilkierza krakowskiego zachowany (The Custom or Manner of Building Walls from Stone or Burned Brick in the Town of Cracow Preserved in the Cracow Code of Law)*, in: *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa (1507-1795)*, ed. F. Piekosiński, vol. I, Kraków 1885, № 104, pp. 126-128.

<sup>44</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, № VIII.

<sup>45</sup> *Wypisy*, № 113 (1394).

<sup>46</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, № IX.

neighbour, on condition that the latter would not be allowed to put doors or widows in it, as this would damage it. Moreover Jossman and Lewko freed the house purchased by Piotr from the obligations of its earlier owners<sup>47</sup>.

Gerhardsdorf was not a new figure in this quarter of the town. He had already had a manor-house here; moreover, in December 1392 he purchased from the Jewess named Lelka the buildings standing on the lot belonging to Anna, Jerzy Czejna's widow. The transaction document locates them opposite the well, in a street leading to Shoemakers' (Szewska) Street, near the passage to Gerhardsdorf's mansion (*in parva platea ex opposito fontis in platea Judeorum, eundo ad platea Sutorum, circa passum curtae Petri Girhardsdorff*)<sup>48</sup>. It cannot be ruled out that Piotr's *curta* was that "manor house" situated at the back of Małgorzata's property; one would reach it from the side of the present Jagellonian Street, qualified in the diploma as a lane, where behind the house of Pęcherz there was a passage to Gerhardsdorf, and nearby were the buildings sold to him by Lelka.

We have cited in detail the content of the texts of all those contracts. They render well the problems connected to the intensive turnover of real property, so characteristic of mediaeval towns<sup>49</sup>. Due to them we can get a general idea of the look of the town quarter in question. Moreover, they confirm the principles of the Jewish population's obligations towards the town, known also from other urban centres, and existing in Cracow towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.

The data relating to Silesia<sup>50</sup>, i.e. the towns of Świdnica and Wrocław, show that Jewish inhabitants of those towns did not keep watch on the walls, but instead contributed an adequate payment precisely for these watches and other duties towards the commune. Some Silesian towns, among them Świdnica, issued codes elaborated by the town councils that forbade the Jews' purchasing houses and building lots in these towns. However, in

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, N<sup>o</sup> X.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, N<sup>o</sup> VII.

<sup>49</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (*The History of Towns and Townspeople in Pre-partition Poland*), Wrocław 1986, pp. 138–139.

<sup>50</sup> *Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Ursprungs der Städte und der Einführung und Verbreitung deutscher Kolonisten und Rechte in Schlesiens und der Oberlausitz*, ed. G. A. Tzschoppe, G. A. Stenzel, Hamburg 1832, N<sup>o</sup> 118 art. 8,5; N<sup>o</sup> 135 art. 48.

practice these regulations were by-passed and real estates passed into Jewish hands, sometimes by purchase, sometimes as amortisation of a debt (pledge for insolvency), however, frequently with a reservation, encountered also in Cracow, that the Jewish purchaser could sell it only to a Christian. The last issue, to which we shall return later on, is that of the principle on which the Jews occupied the real property purchased from the King. It seems that in this case we have to deal with the type of hereditary tenure called "until another life", whose receipt was acknowledged on paying the tax which the Jews contributed to the monarchal treasury in connection with their status of *servi camerae*.

We also know something about the immovables owned in *vicus Judeorum*<sup>51</sup> by two Jewish financiers active at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.: Smerl and Drobny. Smerl, probably the son of "the Jewish bishop" Smoyl<sup>52</sup>, lent money, like Jossman, mainly to the gentry. In 1387 he took over as pledge with leasehold (*ratlone vadtarum et litterarum*) a house at the back of (*partem posterlorem*) Peçherz's house, on which he secured his loan, and in 1395 he passed his obligation on to Gerhardsdorf<sup>53</sup>. Jewish Street he had a brewery and two houses, which after his death were inherited by his wife Sara who resold them to her two Christianized children, Stanisław and Katarzyna, in 1411<sup>54</sup>. This was approved in a separate document in August 1412 by the King, where he mentioned *duas domos [...] in civitate nostra Cracoviensi et platea Iudeorum penes Collegium Artistarum sitas*<sup>55</sup>. This deed contained a reservation that Sara was allowed to stay in one of them as long as she lived in Cracow, or if she stayed there she could live there till her death, after which the houses would become the property of her children — Stanisław and Katarzyna. Moreover, Langniclos, a furrier, acting on their behalf, was to pay Sara a pension till her death *pro vitae suae necessaritis*.

<sup>51</sup> The term *vicus Judeorum*, in accordance with the analogy to German towns should be acknowledged as the qualification of the whole "quarter"; cf. G. Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany. A Study of Their Legal and Social Status*, Chicago Illinois 1949, p. 292.

<sup>52</sup> On the term *episcopus Judeorum* cf. M. Bałaban, *op. cit.*, p. 75, note 25.

<sup>53</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, N<sup>o</sup> XIV.

<sup>54</sup> *Wyptisy*, N<sup>o</sup> 230 (1411).

<sup>55</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, N<sup>o</sup> LII.

Drobny, before his house became the property of Jossman, and then the latter's son Szmul, lived behind the College, at the back. A document of 1417 calls this house *domus retro domum Collegium Artistarum, quae olim Iudeus dictus Drobny inhabitat*<sup>56</sup>. If we juxtapose these findings with the list of Cracow Jews mentioned in the sources of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., we can see that we are able to locate only the real estate of the most prominent and active usurers and bankers. They all lived on the left side of *platea Judeorum*, which with the exclusion of the house at the corner — the former house of the Pęcherz family, however deprived of its back part bought by Jossman and its most part bought by Piotr Gerhardsdorf — belonged all to the Jews in its part from the present Jagellonian Street up to the wall and the Jewish Gate. Situated at the back was a synagogue, a manor-house, outbuildings and some houses. At the intersection of Jagellonian and Jewish Streets there was a well<sup>57</sup>.

We are in possession only of fragmentary testimonies to the existence of Jewish property in Cracow outside the quarter near to St. Anne's Church. In 1367 Lewko sold a part of the *areae* in front of St. Mark's Church, in 1399 his sons resold for 80 marks their house in St. Nicolas (Mikołajska) Street<sup>58</sup> to Jan Tarnowski. Another, but quite early testimony to the Jewish property lying outside this quarter concerns the sale of a house *cum fundo* in Sławków (Sławkowska) Street by a Jew named Mikołaj<sup>59</sup>.

The year 1400, the date of the second foundation of the University, is a principal turning point in the history of this district. Its historiography raises the question of the role of Piotr Gerhardsdorf in the implementation of the plan of the Academy's foundation<sup>60</sup>. Whether he was or was not a royal agent, remains a question. Nor is it clear whether Jews, as Tomkowicz contends,

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, № LXII; cf. also SPPP, vol. II, № 1387 (1415).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. an interesting contract on the building of a Jewish well in Poznań — T. Nożyński, *Żydzi poznańscy w XV wieku (The Jews in 15<sup>th</sup> c. Poznań)*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania" 10, 1932, p. 92.

<sup>58</sup> *Wyptysy*, № 45 (1367.); SPPP, vol. II, № 1106. For the confirmation of a Jewish building in St. Nicolas' Street — see *Wyptysy*, № 251 (1421).

<sup>59</sup> *Wyptysy*, № 16 (1328).

<sup>60</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Gmach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej (The Building of the Jagellonian Library)*, "Rocznik Krakowski" IV, 1900, pp. 115–117; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Odnowienie Jagiellońskie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego (1390–1414) (The Jagellonian Revival of Cracow University, 1390–1414)*, in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, vol. 1, ed. K. Lepczy, Kraków 1964, pp. 42–43.

were engaged in the whole enterprise. From their point of view, as it appeared in the future, this would be an imprudent action.

On July 26, 1400, Ladislaus Jagellon opened the lectures in the house called "The Grand", at the corner of St. Anne's Street and its cross-street. The document that revived the Academy states: "We have decided to house our masters and everyday meetings of students in our building in St. Anne's Street, called after its owner 'Stefan Pęcherz's House', which later was the property of Gerhardsdorf, a citizen of Cracow, as it was measured and demarcated in its whole length, width and area"<sup>61</sup>. We do not know for what sum the King purchased the said house from Gerhardsdorf. The only trace of this transaction is the acknowledgement of receipt by Gerhardsdorf's plenipotentiaries of the part that amounted to 600 marks, of the money due<sup>62</sup>. Soon after, despite the intervention of Jan of Tęczyn, Gerhardsdorf was banished from the town for perjury. He also lost all his property; he was only spared a public ceremony of banishment with burning candles<sup>63</sup>.

The foundation of *Collegium Artistarum* completely changed the "correlation of forces" in this quarter. A year later, in the house at the corner of St. Anne's Street the first students of liberal arts started their classes. Until October 1401, 203 students enrolled in the Academy, in the years that followed about 85 annually, in the year 1405/1406 — 130, the next year — 127<sup>64</sup>. The choice of the Jewish quarter for the College's abode is noteworthy. It was not an isolated case. *Inter Iudeos*, in the house of the Jew named Lazar, presented by Charles IV, the first college of the University in Prague was established. In Heidelberg, too, the college of Arts Department got from Ruprecht II Wittelsbach a house confiscated from the Jews. The same thing happened in Tübingen<sup>65</sup>. If this decision was motivated by ideological or religious considerations — which cannot be doubted — it must be admitted that from the first there was a sense of risk. Stani-

<sup>61</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, N<sup>o</sup> XVI.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, N<sup>o</sup> XVII.

<sup>63</sup> *NK II*, pp. 219–220.

<sup>64</sup> *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. I, Kraków 1887.

<sup>65</sup> G. Kisch, *Die Prager Universität und die Juden 1348–1848. Mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Medizinstudiums*, Mährisch-Ostrau 1935, pp. 1–3; W. W. Tomek, *Dějops Města Prahy*, vol. II, Praha 1871, p. 216; J. F. Hautz, *Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. I, Mannheim 1862, p. 188.

ślaw of Skarbimierz in his rector's speech<sup>66</sup>, delivered probably in December 1404 and intended to instruct the freshmen how they should behave and to remind the sophomores of their duties, condemned those who became familiar with the Jews, which was forbidden by school canons. It is allowed, he said, to associate with Jews, but only in order to convert them. He also mentioned those who lawlessly, without the court's verdict, persecuted Jews, which must not be done, since Jews would more easily be converted if they had nothing to blame Christians for. These words signified the understanding of the task of conversion, but also showed that the speaker realized the danger of living next to Jews.

The animosities between believers in Judaism and the Cracow student milieu are recalled in the fragment of Master Vincent's chronicle, analyzed in historiography<sup>67</sup>. The next link in the history of relations between the Christian youth and Cracow Jews is probably the decision, recorded in the Cracow book of banishments, to outlaw a group of Jews and Christians including the *magister scholarum* of St. Stanislaus's Church in Kazimierz near Cracow<sup>68</sup>.

Both aspects of locating the Academy *inter Iudeos* were well revealed by the author of Długosz's life (*Vita*), when he commented on the transaction made by this chronicler in 1469: *Studit ac universitatis cracoviensis [...] amantissimus curator, ut omnium illius officinarum loca aut illustrarit per se aut illustranda effecerit. Nam et ex cervicibus maioris collegii et artistarum Iudeorum quam vicinam synagogam collegio habebant demolivit et diversoria, cum studentibus permixtam habentia colluviem, ex qua frequentes seditiones consurgebant, depulit ipsosque et eorum sedes usque ad extremam sancti Marci platea habituros dimovit et assisua litigia studentium et Iudeorum quietavit*<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Stanisława ze Skarbimierza mowa o złych studentach (Stanisław of Skarbimierz's Speech on Bad Students)*, "Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" XV, 1964, № 1/2, pp. 11–21, including the Latin text of the speech. The author thinks that this speech was delivered by the first rector of the Academy at the beginning of the summer term of 1401. The text of the speech has been preserved in two codes of the Jagellonian Library, the earlier comes from about 1415, the later from the 1440s. Cf. M. Kowalczyk, *Mowy uniwersyteckie z pierwszej połowy XV wieku (University Speeches from the First Half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.)*, Kraków 1970, pp. 43–45, 154.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. note 9.

<sup>68</sup> NK II, p. 93.

Soon the proximity of neighbours of a different creed turned out to cause disturbances, and in 1407 a bloody tumult arose in the town<sup>70</sup>. The programme of conversion, despite some successes, did not work<sup>71</sup>. A tendency had prevailed to oust the Jews from the street and to enlarge the grounds of the University by taking possession of their houses. We have a good knowledge of stages in the redevelopment of the Artists' College. They have been reconstructed by Stanisław Tomkowicz in his article on the building of the Jagellonian Library; later his work was verified by Karol E s t r e i c h e r in his book on Collegium Maius. The results complement those of the archeological research<sup>72</sup>. Roughly speaking this redevelopment boiled down to the taking over of the above-mentioned real property of Jewish financiers. In 1417 Ladislaus Jagellon allowed to sell "two houses which after the death of the Jew named Szmul were to return to the King, to the doctors and masters, i.e. the University". "These houses, adjacent to the College", we read in the document, "at the time of the late Stefan, i.e. Szczepan, the heir of Rzeszotary, together with the College made up one house, inherited by the said Stefan. One of those houses, once the residence of the Jew named Osman, is situated next to the College, in St. Anne's Street, on the side of the town wall and the gate called commonly Jewish, and is connected to the ground extending towards Potters' Street, lying at the back of this house. The other house, the former residence of the Jew named Drobny, stands behind the building of the Artists' College"<sup>73</sup>.

This deed re-unites the former property of Szczepan. Szmul was the son of Jossman, so he owned the house inherited from his father. Szmul's rights to Drobny's house were confirmed as early as 1415<sup>74</sup>. That year Szmul leased out *domus que fuit*

<sup>69</sup> *Vita Joannis Długosch sententiis canonice cracoviensis*, ed. M. Br o Ź e k, Varsaviae 1961, pp. 57–58.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. my article, *Jan Długosz o tumulte krakowskim w 1407 r. (Jan Długosz on the Cracow Tumult of 1407)*, in: *Między polityką a kulturą*, ed. C. Kukło, Warszawa 1999, pp. 155–166.

<sup>71</sup> M. Bałaban, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–92. The problem of converts in Cracow has been recently taken up by B. Wyr o z u m s k a.

<sup>72</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Gmach*; K. E s t r e i c h e r, *Collegium Maius — dzieje gmachu (Collegium Maius — the History of the Building)*, Kraków 1968, pp. 50–58; M. Cabalska, *op. cit.*

<sup>73</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, N° LXII, tr. K. E s t r e i c h e r, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>74</sup> *SPPP*, vol. II, N° 1387 (1415).

*Drobný Judet* to Piotr Caczar, allowing him to sublet rooms in it. We should explain, however, the information contained in the royal permission, that after Szmul's death both houses were to return to the King anyway. We have to deal here, it seems, with the form of perpetual lease "until another life" discussed above. In such a form of "ownership" it is of no consequence whether the "lease-holder" dies childless, or — as in the case of Szmul — leaves children behind him.

Already after Szmul's death, in 1424, his brother Smychay, acting on behalf of the orphans, pledged (pledge with lease-hold) for 30 marks to Piotr, the heir of Chelm, another wooden house once belonging to the late Szmul, standing *ex opposito lateris Collegii Artistarum*. Probably the property in Jagellonian Street was at stake. What is important, the contract mentioned that *si et in quantum dominus Rex, noster dominus graciosus, vel domina regina [...] eundem dominum Petrum de Chelm eadem pro domo impediuerit, vel impedire vouerit*, then Smychay together with Muszka *contuncta manu* declare upon oath that they would return those 30 marks to Piotr<sup>75</sup>. There were clearly some doubts as to the legality of the pledge. The same year by order of the King the *starosta (capitaneus)* of Cracow allowed Katarzyna Strzembrska to take possession of the house once belonging to Szmul, and then to Smychay, provided the latter would pay the rent<sup>76</sup>.

We possess one more certificate of royal rights to Jewish houses. Smerl's widow, Sara, when she wanted to hand over her houses to her Christianized children, had to obtain royal permission to do that<sup>77</sup>. Let us recall that the first transaction that reduced Pęcherz's property in favour of Jossman, contained a condition that limited the freedom to sell the newly-acquired property. It could be sold only to a Christian who would pay, just as all Christians did, taxes towards the town. The deed of 1417 changed this condition. Probably the new buildings of the College, just as the first one, were exempt from any obligations towards the town. The building of the College, enlarged by the real estate earlier owned by Szmul, now abutted against the houses of Smerl's Christianized children; their houses, in turn, abutted against the house of Kannan Lewkowicz, situated opposite St.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, N° 1982.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, N° 2000.

<sup>77</sup> *Wypisy*, N° 231 (1411); *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, N° LII.

Anne's Church, *tertia a Collegio*. In 1412 Lewkowicz gave the free use of this house to Mikołaj Theschnar, until paying off 70 marks to him. If Jakub of Łuck repayed this money first, Mikołaj would own this property in his name<sup>78</sup>.

In 1420 Jordan, Lewko's grandson and son of Izrael sold to Jakub a sixth part of the house *circa portam Judeorum sitam, que domus Lewkonis vocatur*. A year later Jan Crober resold one third *lapidee olim Lewkonis Judel nuncupate, circa portam Judeorum sitam* to Jakub's plenipotentiary. The transaction mentioned that the contract did not concern the tower and the town wall (*dempta turri et muro civitatis*)<sup>79</sup>. In February 1434 this brick house was bought for 91 marks from Izaak, son of Jakub of Łuck, by Voivode Piotr Szafraniec in execution of his brother, Jan Szafraniec, the bishop of Włocławek's will. Piotr Szafraniec assigned this house for the residence of university altarists of his foundation. Three months later a controversy arose, as a result of which the property returned to Izaak. Finally he resold it to Szafraniec at the beginning of 1435<sup>80</sup>. Izaak's ground certainly extended, just as the former property, up to the wall. In 1439 the professors of theology — Benedykt Hesse and Mikołaj of Brzeg — purchased for the College from Jan Sweidniczer a granary or warehouse and a building lot — *horreum cum arrea illi annexa, sita in vico judeorum circa seu prope domum Bursam retro Collegium*<sup>81</sup>. What *bursa* (college) is at stake in this record, is not clear. Tomkowicz thought that the place in question was the Bohemian boarding-house, the place of residence of theologians coming from Prague, who later moved to the College<sup>82</sup>.

The redevelopment of university buildings progressed also along Jagellonian Street. Let us recall that Gerhardsdorf, the main contracting party of the executors of Queen Jadwiga's will, as early as 1392 bought here Lelka's house standing opposite the well. At the other end of the street, at the corner of the present Pigeon (Gołębia) Street, Collegium Minus was located in 1449<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, N° LIII.

<sup>79</sup> *Wyписы*, N° 248, 253.

<sup>80</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, N° XCII, XCIV; *Wyписы*, N° 309 (1435); *SPPP*, vol. II, N° 2590.

<sup>81</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. I, N° CXII; cf. S. Tomkowicz, *Gmach*, p. 118.

<sup>82</sup> S. Tomkowicz, *Gmach*, p. 118; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Odnowienie*, pp. 41–42.

The merger of the buildings of Collegium Maius was accomplished about 1460<sup>84</sup>.

It seems that on the other side of St. Anne's Street, in the section between the wall and the present Jagellonian Street, there were no major Jewish properties. At the beginning of the 1420s this fragment of the street finished with the corner house of the Morsztyn family; beside it, *in vico seu transvelsal platea inter Sutorum et Judeorum platea*, on the ground belonging to them there were some outbuildings (*edificia cum muro*) of a Jew named Kawian, who resold them to the owners of the main property in 1422<sup>85</sup>.

In the period between 1421 and 1469, i.e. the date of Długosz's contract with the elders of the Jewish community, we have documents testifying to the presence of Jews in Potters' Street, called later Pigeon Street, parallel to St. Anne's Street. Those who were most strongly "ousted" by the redeveloping University, settled down on the other side of the synagogue. Soon a new house of prayer was established here<sup>86</sup>. At the beginning of the 1420s at least five Jewish houses, belonging to: Mosza, Smoel, Neffil, Leba and Abraham, stood in Potters' (*Lutifigulorum*) Street<sup>87</sup>. Earlier on Smerl also owned some property here<sup>88</sup>. In 1427 the Jews named Salomon and Abraham bought other two houses: one from Piotr the notary's widow, another from Michał Helffant, the cutler<sup>89</sup>. In 1428 the Jewess named Adassa, known as Kaczkyne, partly freed from obligations the house sold once by her son Jan, defined in the contract as *bresbiter*, to Piotr Croworse, a town servant. Finally the property devolved in total upon Katarzyna, Piotr's widow, who squared her accounts with

<sup>83</sup> J. Szuj ski, *Założenie i uposażenie Collegium Minus (The Foundation and Endowment of Collegium Minus)*, "Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty. Akademia Umiejętności", vol. I, pp. 95–96; K. Estreicher, *Gospodarka i budynki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego od XV do XVIII wieku (The Economy and Buildings of the Jagellonian University from the 15<sup>th</sup> till the 18<sup>th</sup> c.)*, Kraków 1973, pp. 22–26.

<sup>84</sup> K. Estreicher, *Collegium*, p. 63.

<sup>85</sup> *Wypisy*, № 257 (1422).

<sup>86</sup> Both synagogues probably stood next to each other, hence it is difficult to distinguish between them. Cf. *Wypisy*, № 31 (1356), 55 (1370), 64 (1372), 205 (1409), 224 (1410), 226 (1411), 327 (1437), 486 (1461), 537 (1475).

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, № 249 (1420), 254, 256 (1421), 262 (1423).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, № 264 (1424).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, № 276, 278 (1427).

Adessa by paying her four marks. What is important, Adessa stated that she could not inherit from her Christianized son<sup>90</sup>.

The next years, until the turning point of 1469, saw a growing presence of Christians in Potters' Street. We do not possess any documents of Jewish transactions of purchase in this period. In 1436<sup>91</sup> two documents of the sale of the Jewish houses standing opposite the place called *Jeruzalem*, introduced here two Christian craftsmen, the cutler Seczenbawn and the haberdasher Piotr Cluge. In the same year Piotr Langcuncze sold his house to Stefan, a purse-maker<sup>92</sup>. In 1437 further cutlers appeared in Potters' Street: Michał Theschner, who purchased from Jochna Abrahamynne, described as *antiqua Judea*, a house *prope synagogam*, and Andrzej Sebinwirt, to whom Kanan, a melamed, sold the house at the corner, standing near the wall and inherited from his father<sup>93</sup>. Not only craftsmen were interested in real estate in this street. Next year Stefan, the purse-maker, gave over his house to Zygmunt, the *scultetus* of the court of supreme German law<sup>94</sup>.

In the 1440s<sup>95</sup> and the 1450s new Christian names appeared in the list of persons with rights to the real estate in Potters' Street. In 1452 the houses adjacent to the property of Abraham Czarny changed their owners. On the same day, June 9, the house *ex opposito domus Ierusalem* was bought by Jan Lubhart, and Piotr Pelczer came into possession of a sixth part of *domus Jeruzalem*<sup>96</sup>. The house in question partly occupied the place of the present *Collegium Novum*, and in 1454<sup>97</sup> was bought by Bishop Oleśnicki in order to establish there *Bursa Hierusalem*. This foundation was probably an act of expiation for the oath,

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, № 280 (1428).

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, № 322, 323 (1436).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, № 325 (1436).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, № 327, 328 (1437).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, № 332 (1438).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, № 356 (1442), 382 (1445), 406 (1447). In 1442 a Jew named Marchay left his house standing next to the synagogue, between two Christian houses, and sold it to Mikołaj Mentler. Documents assure us that one of two houses belonging to a Jew named Glowisch were also sold. The said Glowisch was a prominent figure in the Jewish community, he co-operated with his sons Wiktor and Zachariasz and his wife Glowina. He lent money on security of movables, but also immovables (among other places in Stradom).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, № 426, 427 (1452).

<sup>97</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. II, № CLXXV.

never fulfilled, to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but it was erected in the place which was called *Jeruzalem* even earlier<sup>98</sup>.

In the 1460s the Jews continued to give over their rights to real estate in Potters' Street: Salomon to Stanisław Morsztyn, Abraham's children — Izaak, Chama, Ryfla, Jakub and Mojżesz — to the tailor Jarosch, and Michil Baroch to Jorga Sewberlich<sup>99</sup>. The contract concerning the latter transaction, drawn up on September 4, 1467, is noteworthy. In July 1467 Jakub, the son-in-law of a Jew named Baroch, bought from Mikołaj Kozil a house in Glaziers' (Szyplarska) Street between the properties of Stanisław Morsztyn and Jorga Seuberlich<sup>100</sup>. Two months later the latter sold his house to Michał Baroch, and instead bought from him another house in Potters' Street next to Morsztyn's estate<sup>101</sup>. In April 1468, i.e. eight months before the transaction with Długosz, Michał Baroch purchased on behalf of the whole Jewish community — *der ganczen gemeynne der Juden* — a house in Glaziers' Street and obliged himself not to resell this house to the town or allow his children to resell it without the community's consent<sup>102</sup>. One can hardly resist the impression that this transaction foreshadowed what was to happen two years later, when after an agreement between the community and Długosz the Jews moved from Potters' to Glaziers' Street.

Worthy of note is also the cited clause, showing that the Jewish consistory elders adopted a tactics of defending their possessions similar to that practiced by the Cracow municipality. It is clear that both sides had had enough of their troublesome neighbours. The Jews even earlier considered moving into Glaziers' Street. Even if the signing of the contract of 1469 was a result of "blackmail", and the concessions of the community resulted from a fear of worsening conditions of commerce for Jews in the town, which was suggested by Bałaban, the fact

<sup>98</sup> K. Estreicher, *Gospodarka*, pp. 36–37; J. Wyrozumski, *Z najstarszych dziejów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego. Szkice (From the Earliest History of Cracow University. Essays)*, Kraków 1996, p. 65.

<sup>99</sup> *Wypisy*, № 490 (1461), 511 (1468), 509, 510 (1467).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, № 506, 507 (1467).

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, № 509, 510 (1467). Worthy of note is the active participation of the Morsztyn family (two houses in Potters' Street, one in Glaziers' Street) in the turnover of real estate in both these streets: *ibid.*, № 418 (1451), 470 (1458), 490 (1461).

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, № 512 (1468).

that the Jews had a synagogue on the spot in 1469 (it is mentioned in the document of the transaction with Długosz) as well as their own houses<sup>103</sup>, shows the circumstances of this “compromise” in a slightly different light.

Between St. Anne’s Street and Potters’ Street, in their section near the wall, opposite the synagogue, stood the house of the Tęczyński family<sup>104</sup>. During the tumult of 1464 here the local Jews sought shelter. Hence, being unable to ensure their safety, Jan of Tęczyn, the then voivode, escorted them to Wawel Castle<sup>105</sup>. Inside the quarter enclosed by the left frontage of St. Anna’s Street, the present Jagellonian Street, Potters’ Street and the wall, as we know from the document of 1469, stood two synagogues with cemeteries and a hospital. We have already spoken of the first one, defined in the document as “old”. It is hard to tell when the second was built<sup>106</sup>. Most probably, it was referred to the contract of 1437, registered in the Municipal Bench’s Book<sup>107</sup>. The transaction deed of 1469 defines the ground belonging to the Jewish community and the outbuildings standing on it, as well as the principles on which the community owned them: *areas et loca, in quibus eorum synagoguae antiqua et nova cum suis pertinentiis, item omnes domos, quae hospitalia Iudeorum vocabantur, circumcirca synagogam consistentes, item cimitere-*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, № 497 (1462).

<sup>104</sup> In 1445 this house was bought by Jan of Tęczyn, then Voivode of Cracow, from Chamberlain Piotr Szafranec of Pleskowa Skala; it was situated near the wall in the very centre of the Jewish colony, between St. Anne’s Street and Potters’ Street; cf. J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu (The Tęczyński Family. A Study in the History of Polish Mediaeval Magnate Elite)*, Kraków 1997, p. 452. The entry in the book of the municipal bench of 1457 locates one of those houses as standing *sub muro civitatis Cracoviensis, retro domum magnifici domini Johannis de Thanczin palatini Cracoviensis, ex opposito scole Judeorum (Wypisy, № 459)*. The record of 1531 speaks of a tower in the town wall *retro curiam magn. Andreae de Tenczyn, palat. crac. et ex opposito plat. Figulorum: S. Tomkowicz, Ulice*, p. 83.

<sup>105</sup> J. Długosz, *Historia Poloniae*, lib. XII, Cracoviae 1878, pp. 386–387.

<sup>106</sup> It might have existed already in 1411 (cf. note 107). The record of the purchase of two building lots by Jakusch of Opole situates them *retro synagogam et circa Johannis Briger aream, in platea Lutifigulorum (Wypisy, № 226, 1411)*; if so, this house was probably concerned in a controversy, won by the Jews, over the windows *kegin der Juden synagogen* built by the guards named Martin and Werner (*Wypisy, № 205, 214 — 1409*).

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, № 327 (1437): the record speaks of the sale of a house in Potters’ Street, *prope synagogam*. The house was sold by Jochna Abrahamynne to Michał Theschner, a cutler. On behalf of Jochna appeared Jan Briger, also a cutler, perhaps the same whose house, in accordance with the contract of 1411 (cf. note 98), stood near the synagogue.

*ria utriusque synagogae, post Collegium Artistarum et prope domum magnifici domini Ioahannis de thanczyn castellani Cracoviensis [...] quae et quas ipsi Iudei in omni libertate et pacifica possessione habebant*<sup>108</sup>.

Following the year 1469 the town books contain no more transactions in immovables in Jewish Street and Potters' Street. The name *Judengasse* was now associated with another street. The Jews bought houses, and less frequently sold them, in Glaziers' Street<sup>109</sup>.

Near the road leading from *portula Judeorum* (the gate closing Jewish Street), a Jewish cemetery was situated as early as the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. A record<sup>110</sup> from 1311 speaks about it as *der Juden Kirchow an der Rudawa by der Mulen*. Considering the changes in the course of the Rudawa river, it is impossible to define the situation of the cemetery with any precision. A document from 1400 identifies the cemetery with *Kawiory (Kawyori sepulturae Judeorum)* and locates it in the vicinity of Łobzów, Bronowice, Chelm and Zwierzyniec. Thus it lay behind Czarna Wieś, on the ground of the later settlement *Kawiory*<sup>111</sup>. The latter took its name precisely from the graveyard. The same name was used for a cemetery in Sandomierz<sup>112</sup>. Historiography held it to be an indication of the Khazar origin of the Jewish population inhabiting Poland in mediaeval times<sup>113</sup>. However, the Khazar theory — supported by Gumpłowicz, Schipper, and Bałaban<sup>114</sup> — has ultimately been rejected. In an article published in 1968 Mosze Altbauer<sup>115</sup> showed that the local place-names *Kozary*, are not *Chazary*, and the Cracow and Sandomierz *Ka-*

<sup>108</sup> *Cod. Univ. Crac.*, vol. II, N° CCXXIII.

<sup>109</sup> *Wypisy*, e.g. N° 520 (1470), 521 (1470), 527 (1471), 540 (1476).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, N° 3, 4 (1311).

<sup>111</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa (The Diplomatic Code of the Town of Cracow)*, ed. F. Piekosiński, vol. I, Kraków 1879, N° XCII; J. Wyrozumski, *Żydzi*, p. 9.

<sup>112</sup> J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vol. I, Kraków 1863, p. 387.

<sup>113</sup> R. Grodecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 613–617.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Żydów Polski średniowiecznej w historiografii (The History of Jews in Mediaeval Poland in Historiography)*, "Studia Judaica" I, 1998, N° I, p. 9.

<sup>115</sup> M. Altbauer, *Jeszcze o rzekomych "chazarskich" nazwach miejscowych na ziemiach polskich (More on the Alleged "Khazar" Names of Localities in Polish Lands)*, "Onomastica" 13, 1968, pp. 1–2, 120–128.

wiory, associated so far with Chazars, comes from the Hebrew word *kafarim* — meaning “cemetery”. Hence in the Middle Ages Kawiory meant: *id est cimiterium Judeorum*<sup>116</sup>.

14<sup>th</sup> c. sources mention houses and gardens situated near the Jewish cemetery and locate it in the area *ante valvam Sutorum* or *ante valvam Judeorum*, *ante portam Judeorum*<sup>117</sup>. In 1407 the city council book recorded: *receperunt domini 30 marcas denariorum ad precium, quas Judei dederant ad viam circa cimiterium eorum parandam*<sup>118</sup>.

In the 14<sup>th</sup> c. both Jews and Christians possessed some immovables outside the town wall. For the years 1311–1396 we possess 14 documents of transactions concluded between Christians and concerning the purchase of gardens, a pond, and houses in this area<sup>119</sup>.

In 1335 four houses were bought here by the Jew named Koslo. In 1341 he sold one of them to Jan Romancz, who approximately at the same time made several transactions with houses situated in Jewish Street, inside the walls; Koslo got rid of another house in 1344<sup>120</sup>. In 1364 the councillors purchased the villages Czarna Wieś, Czarna Ulica and Pobrzenie; this complex later transformed itself into the Garbary suburb<sup>121</sup> and until the close of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. it was directly subordinated to the municipality. In 1397 there appeared a separate *scultetus* (*wójt*) of this suburb and in the 1420s the court *sculteti* of Garbary. The books of the municipal bench and the *scultetus* of this suburb, which had its separate jurisdiction, but was closely linked economically to Cracow, have been preserved since 1412.

The presence of Jews in the Garbary suburb in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. is very well documented by entries in the local scultetal book<sup>122</sup>. However, there are no traces of them in the

<sup>116</sup> J. Długosz, *op. cit.*; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, № XCII.

<sup>117</sup> *Wypisy*, № 10 (1314), 12 (1319), 35 (1366), 42 (1367), 44 (1367), 71 (1374), 75 (1374), 114 (1394), 120 (1395), 127 (1396).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, № 164 (1407), cf. № 183 (1407).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, № 3 (1311), 4 (1311), 6 (1312), 10 (1314), 12 (1319), 13 (1324), 23 (1340), 35 (1366), 42 (1367), 72 (1374), 75 (1374), 114 (1394), 120 (1395), 127 (1396).

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, № 18 (1335), 24 (1341), 28 (1344).

<sup>121</sup> K. Pieradzka, *Garbary przedmieście Krakowa (1363–1587)* (*Garbary, a Cracow Suburb, 1363–1587*), Kraków 1931; J. Wyrzomski, *Dzieje Krakowa (The History of Cracow)*, vol. I, p. 400.

<sup>122</sup> *Wypisy*, № 423 (1451), 440 (1456), 441 (1456), 443 (1456), 473 (1458), 474 (1458).

book of the municipal bench of Garbary. It is worth while drawing attention to the very active, and probably not accidental participation of the tanners of various specialties [the name Garbary is derived from the Polish word *garbarz* meaning “tanner” — H. Z.] in the anti-Jewish tumult of 1407<sup>123</sup>. Among the four representatives of the populace, chosen at the assembly which took place immediately following the conflict behind the Shoemakers’ Gate, near the Jewish Gate, there were two vegetable tanners and one leather dresser. They were to negotiate with the council, and through its mediation with the King, the principles of punishing those responsible for the tumult. The tanners were also among those who guaranteed that the persons accused of robbery would appear before the court of justice.

We know a lot about the Jewish cemetery in Wrocław. The first piece of information about it, later than the preserved headstones, relates to the second decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. The agreement concluded in 1315 or at the beginning of the next year, between the Jewish community and the municipality, speaks of it as a necropolis functioning *ab antiquis temporibus*<sup>124</sup>. Marcin Wo d z i ń s k i, referring to the example of Prague and its Jewish cemetery in Vladislavova Street in the New Town, as well as in the towns of Legnica, Kłodzko, Świdnica, Opawa, perhaps Głogów, as he says “almost everywhere in Silesia where I succeeded in locating them”, as well as West-German towns: Mainz, Trier and Cologne, draws attention to the regularity noticed by historiography of the situation of Jewish cemeteries outside the Jewish quarter, and frequently outside the town<sup>125</sup>. The same author describes the Wrocław cemetery as accessible, and in accordance with tradition, situated on a hill, in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. in undeveloped land lying on the old river-bed of the Oder, which divided the area of the relatively densely populated future left-bank Wrocław from the area with more scanty agglomerations.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, № 166 (1407), 165 (1407).

<sup>124</sup> *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*, ed. G. Korn, Breslau 1870, pp. 92–93; cf. analysts of this document: M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–56; M. Wo d z i ń s k i, *Hebrajskie inskrypcje na Śląsku XIII–XVIII w. (Hebrew Inscriptions in Silesia 13<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> c.)*, Wrocław 1996, pp. 39–40, 163–167.

<sup>125</sup> By the same author, *Średniowieczny cmentarz żydowski we Wrocławiu (The Mediaeval Jewish Cemetery in Wrocław)*, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka” XLIX, 1994, № 3/4, pp. 341–344. Cf. I. Abrahams, *Życie codzienne Żydów w Średniowieczu (The Everyday Life of Jews in Mediaeval Times)*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 60–62.

The line of its foundation in 1261 was co-extensive with the naturally lower old river-bed of the Oder, which was later used for digging the moat.

The above-mentioned document of 1315/1316 designates the boundaries of the Wrocław cemetery behind the Olawa (Olawska) Gate: in the west it abutted on the moat and the bulwark, while in the north on the road leading to a Walloon settlement near St. Maurice's Church<sup>126</sup>. This cemetery was ruined in 1346 when John of Luxemburg consented to the removal of all its tombstones and to assigning them for the building of the wall. The agreement guaranteed to the Jews that their ancestors' bodies would never be dug out but would remain as they had lain since "the times of old". In 1349 after the Jews had been banished from Wrocław, the King gave their houses, grounds and synagogues over to the town, while reserving for himself the over 400 marks surplus of the sums obtained from the sale. This agreement might have referred to the cemetery as well. In 1371 the King gave it over to a certain Hans and his wife together with the rights to this property previously held by the town scribe Henryk; with a reservation, however, that if the Jews returned, they would be allowed to use this necropolis after paying 20 marks of groschen according to the Polish measure. Clearly the monarch retained some control over the area of the former Jewish cemetery.

Also in Kalisz<sup>127</sup> the Jewish cemetery was situated outside the town, on a hill on the border of Dobrzec and Rypinek villages; in 1287 the Jewish community took the land for its foundation, on the basis of perpetual lease, from the knight named Rufin<sup>128</sup>. Later this place bore the name of The Jewish Mountain.

It is probable, although not quite certain, that the Cracow cemetery near the later Kawiori served also as a necropolis of the first ever, hard to locate, Jewish colony in Cracow. It was situated in a rather thinly populated area, separated by the Rudawka river from more densely inhabited and lower parts. We know nothing

<sup>126</sup> M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *op. cit.*; M. Goliński, L. Ziátkowski, *Średniowieczne cmentarze we Wrocławiu (Mediaeval Cemeteries in Wrocław)*, "Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka" XL, 1989, № 1, pp. 35–43.

<sup>127</sup> T. Jurek, *Żydzi w późnośredniowiecznym Kaliszu (Jews in Late-Mediaeval Kalisz)*, "Rocznik Kaliski" XXIV, 1992/1993 (printed in 1994), p. 31.

<sup>128</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski (The Diplomatic Code of Great Poland)*, vol. I, Poznań 1878, № 574.

about the principles on which the Jews in Cracow used the cemetery ground. The only relevant piece of information comes from 1427. The note recorded in the book of the Garbary suburb municipal bench runs (in translation): Regarding the case of Grzegorz Panak the court decides that the Jew named Merkil should present evidence of possessing the right to make use of the Jewish cemetery as long as the community of all Jews exists<sup>129</sup>. It seems that Merkil, who was probably one of the elders, was to prove that the community was allowed to “hold” the cemetery as long as it existed, i.e. perpetually. This shows that the cemetery continued to be used and that the Cracow, as well as the Kalisz community did not have a full right of ownership of this grave-yard.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> c. this extramural necropolis was not the only burial-ground of the Cracow Jews. The document of the transaction made by Długosz with the Jewish community mentions the cemeteries situated near the two synagogues in the Jewish quarter. Jerzy Wyrozumski maintains that they must have served only the richest members of the community<sup>130</sup>.

The first Jewish quarter under our discussion has its own history. It had its own rhythm and was intertwined with the life of the town and the whole country. It was involved in the controversy between the monarch and the Cracow municipality over the right to Jewish taxes, as well as in the conflict over pledges secured on real estate, and in the “battle” for the confirmation of Jewish privileges by King Casimir IV<sup>131</sup>. The tensions between the ruler, the town and the Jewish consistory were among other things due to their tendency to enlarge or retain their real properties in Cracow. The care given to retaining the *status quo* in this sphere is proved by the monarchical practice of perpetual lease “until another life”, as well as the clauses — undoubtedly forced by the municipality — included in the con-

<sup>129</sup> Wypisy, № 277 (1427): *Gregor Panak ist geteilt, das Merkil Jude beweisunge brengen sal, das her mechtig sy des Judtn Kirchoffs dy weille ding werit von allyn Judin.*

<sup>130</sup> J. Wyrozumski, *Żydzi*, p. 9.

<sup>131</sup> *Jus Polonicum*, ed. J. V. Bendoriczyk, Warszawa 1831, pp. 212–213, art. 19 of the Statute of Warka of 1423; M. Bobrzyński, *O ustawodawstwie nieszawskim Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (On the Nieszawa Legislation of King Casimir IV)*, Kraków 1873, pp. 96–97, for the Great Polish privilege see art. 34, for the Little Polish privilege see art. 31. Sh. A. Cygieleman, *The Basic Privileges of the Jews of Great Poland as Reflected in Polish Historiography*, “Polin” 2, 1987, pp. 117–149.

tracts where the seller of the real property was a Christian, and the purchaser — a Jew. The transaction of 1468 under our discussion is proof to the understanding of the principles of this strategy also by the Jewish community elders<sup>132</sup>.

The implementation of the Statute of Warka decrees had little effect on the relations between the Jews and Cracovians, and consequently on the turnover of the real properties by the Jews precisely in their own district. In fact, the Statute of Warka concerned mainly the landed property of the gentry. It is worth emphasizing that with few exceptions the transactions under our discussion concern exclusively the land and houses situated within the boundaries of the quarter between St. Anne's Street and Potters' Street<sup>133</sup>. One should also remember that in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. the heyday of the mediaeval history of the community in Jewish Street, the time of Lewko, Jossman and Smerl — was already over. Their successors had first lost the "battle" for surviving in Jewish Street, and later also left Potters' Street. While leaving alone the issue of the actual significance of the Statutes of Warka, which has not been clarified by historiography so far, one must say that the share of Jews in the turnover of immovables in Cracow alone, at least since the 1440s, was not large. However, the fact that this turnover was concentrated in St. Anne's Street and Potters' Street shows that the Jews wanted to create a quarter of their own.

This quarter was not safe. Mediaeval anti-Jewish tumults as a rule began or finished with fires. In 1395 the Cracow account book records the payment of a 1/4 of a mark for *primum vas aquae* to Jan Pfall<sup>134</sup>. This record concerned the quenching of Neors' house in the market square. The same sum was given to Paweł Wierzynek. Subsequent sums recorded in that year refer to the fire in which St. Anne's School was burnt. Three annotations under the heading of expenses (one also with the date of 1395, two subsequent in 1396) may point to the connection of this fire with Jews<sup>135</sup>. The first concerns the payment of a 1/4 of

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<sup>132</sup> *Wypisy*, № 512 (1468).

<sup>133</sup> The present text does not take into account the issue of the Jewish colony in Kazimierz near Cracow in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> cc. This is a separate problem, not connected with the topography of the Jewish quarter in Cracow situated near St. Anne's Street.

<sup>134</sup> *NK*, II, p. 310.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313–314.

a mark to some convert *pro expensis*. This is the first ever case of conversion confirmed in Cracow. The compulsory christening of Jews in Cracow is mentioned by Długosz in his account of the tumult of 1407<sup>136</sup>. Another record — entered under the heading of expenses *pro tortori* — concerns the sums paid for wood, torches and straw in connection with the burning at the stake of a woman, who trying to commit sacrilege (*pretendebat sacrilegium facere*) spat the host out onto the floor. This is the first confirmation, unnoticed by historiography, of a trial for the profanation of the host<sup>137</sup> in Poland. The third entry records the town's expenses connected with the fire in front of the Shoemakers' Gate. This may be a coincidence of various pieces of information, only apparently making up a whole, however, one cannot rule out some connection between those data.

During the anti-Jewish tumult of 1407 the fire, according to Długosz, consumed the whole of the Jewish quarter, as well as St. Anne's Church. According to this chronicler, only Collegium Maius was saved. In 1454 a house in Castle (Grodzka) Street where the Jews stored their goods caught fire<sup>138</sup>. In 1462 the fire in the Dominican Monastery, kindled by monks engaged in alchemy, spread to the northern part of the town. It consumed, as Długosz recorded, among other buildings, those in Jewish Street, as well as the roofs of university buildings<sup>139</sup>. A new Jewish quarter, which arose at the end of the 1460s, was on fire at least twice in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. — during the tumults of 1477 and 1494<sup>141</sup>.

(Translated by Agnieszka Kreczmar)

<sup>136</sup> J. Długosz, *Annales*, Iib. 10 et 11, pp. 15–17.

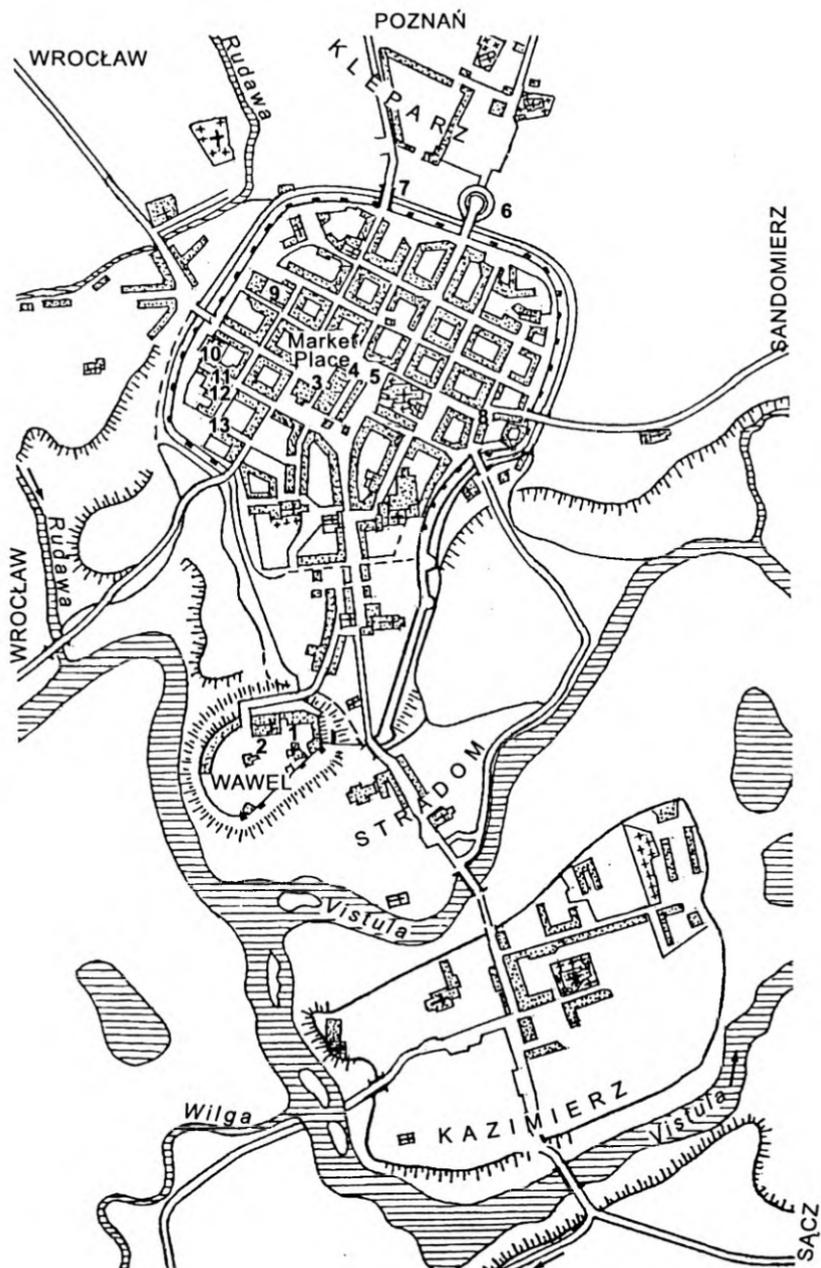
<sup>137</sup> For accusations of the profanation of the host cf. bibliography in: A. Bein, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–40; H. Węgrzynek, "Czarna legenda" Żydów. *Procesy o rzekome mordy rytualne w dawnej Polsce* ("The Black Legend" of the Jews. *Trials for Ritual Murders in Old Poland*), Warszawa 1995, pp. 21–91.

<sup>138</sup> J. Długosz, *Historia Polontae*, Iib. XII, p. 184.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>140</sup> *Wypisy*, N<sup>o</sup> 572 (1477), 582 (1478).

<sup>141</sup> B. Wyrozumska, *Czy Jan Olbracht wygnał Żydów z Krakowa? (Did John Albert Banish the Jews From Cracow?)*, "Rocznik Krakowski" LXIX, 1993, pp. 5–11.



1. Royal Castle, 2. Cathedral, 3. Town-Hall, 4. Drapers' Hall, 5. St. Mary's Church, 6. St. Florian Gate, 7. Sławków Gate, 8. New Gate, 9. St. Stephen's Church, 10. St. Anne's Church, 11. Jewish Street (St. Anne's Street), 12. Collegium Matus, 13. Pigeon Street.