

Muslims which mattered (pp. 152–4). When the crusaders were sinful, they were punished by God with a new disaster. The Muslims were then presented as an ‘instrument of God’s discipline upon the crusaders’: the ‘divine scourges used to correct crusaders’ sinfulness’ (p. 152). Finally, Morton correctly concludes that the key opponents in the chronicles of the First Crusade were on a spiritual plain: God and the Devil. Sometimes sinful Christians were considered to be instruments of evil (pp. 172–3). Sometimes, despite a generally negative image, Saracens could be presented in a positive way when they converted or recognised that God was on the side of crusaders (pp. 161–2). That is to say, the dichotomy of good and evil did not stand between the Christians and the Muslims (p. 186): there were Christians and Muslims on both sides.

Thirdly, as the last chapter of the book demonstrates, on the one hand the crusades were not an escalation of conflict between the Christians and Muslims, which had existed before in other parts of the Mediterranean region; on the other hand, the First Crusade did not by any means lead to any increase in interest in relations with the Muslims on the part of westerners. That remained marginal.

This suggests that the crusades were not viewed by contemporaries as a stage in an ‘alleged war’ between ‘East’ and ‘West’, but only as a war to recover Jerusalem. Morton’s book is a good example of how we should be careful about global conclusions concerning ‘clashes of civilisations’. Such an assessment, even when initially seeming to be valid, may prove on thorough examination to be misconceived. Morton’s arguments are sound and certainly deserve the attention of scholars.

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Hebräische liturgische Poesien zu den Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs.

Edited by Avraham Fraenkel, Abraham Gross and Peter Sh. Lehnardt. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hebräische texte aus dem mittelalterlichen Deutschland, 3.) Pp. xxxiii + 486. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016. €130. 978 3 447 10159 2

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The volume under review presents scholarly editions of twenty-seven *piyyutim* (liturgical poems) addressing the crusader onslaught of the Jewish communities of the Rhineland in 1096 which were written in the aftermath of the massacres or at some time in the twelfth century. Twelve of the *piyyutim* are classified as *Qinot*, poems written for the liturgy of 9th of Av, the day of mourning for the destruction of the Temple. Another dozen are *Selichot*, liturgical compositions beseeching forgiveness of sins in preparation for redemption. *Selichot* are a liturgical feature of fast days and the season of the High Holy Days culminating in the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur. Three of the *piyyutim* were composed in the format of a *Zulath*, that is to say a liturgical embellishment inserted after the recitation of the *Shema* (‘Hear o Israel’) component of the service on festivals or special Sabbaths. All of the *piyyutim* are translated into beautiful rhythmic German and provided with exhaustive explanatory notes. Great effort has been made to make the material accessible to non-experts in medieval Jewish religious material. The volume includes a glossary of technical terms; short introductions to each poem explain who the author was and what the interesting characteristics of the

particular *piyyut* are and which manuscripts have been used to edit the poem. The main introduction gives a general overview of all of the material collected in the volume and covers technical issues with regard to dating and provenance of the poetry and its dissemination. Indeed this volume is a welcome companion to the first volume of the new MGH series on Hebrew sources of the German Middle Ages which contains the definitive edition of the Hebrew Chronicles of the First Crusade by Eva Haverkamp. Together the two volumes provide medieval researchers with a treasure trove of source material on the history of the Jews of late eleventh- and twelfth-century Ashkenaz. The German translations in both volumes make this invaluable material available to those who do not have Hebrew.

But whereas Eva Haverkamp's edition and book length introduction placed the Hebrew chronicles squarely within the Christian society in which they evolved, this volume seems to have eschewed that approach. The sections of the introduction exploring the motivations of the authors for composing their *piyyutim* and the effect of the massacres that they describe on the outlook and position of the Jews of Ashkenaz paint a picture of unremitting gloom as Jews are surrounded by Christians intent on removing them from their midst. No attempt is made to put the attacks on the Jewish communities in the Rhineland in a wider context. No mention is made that the crusaders involved were not part of the official crusading armies and that their actions contravened Christian ecclesiastical laws. The much larger Jewish communities of southern France were not attacked by the First Crusaders. The anti-Jewish persecutions of the Second Crusade are effectively put on a par with those of the First even though the violence in 1147 was much less widespread, due in part to the timely intervention of Bernard of Clairvaux.

As for the Jewish communities themselves, the impression is given of communities beleaguered by their non-Jewish surroundings. This is at odds with the wealth of new research presenting evidence for the integration of Jews into the socio-economic tapestry of the great episcopal cities along the Rhine: Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Cologne. Indeed it is the dichotomy between the cries of anguish and despair exuding from the *piyyutim* and the rapid recovery of the Jewries of these cities that requires explanation. That the 1096 persecutions were memorialised in Ashkenaz as a catastrophe analogous to the destruction of the Temple is not in doubt. The novelty of composing *Qinot* about the persecutions of 1096, instead of the destruction of the Temple, and incorporating them in the liturgy of the 9th of Av demonstrates that clearly enough. The heart-rending depictions of slaughter and self-sacrifice in the *Selichot* and the *Zulath piyyutim* do that as well. Apart from anything else, the compositions were meant to enable congregants to plead for divine intercession on the basis of the valiant heroism of the members of their congregation who were martyred for the glory of God. How the survivors viewed the many cases of self-martyrdom remains an area of speculation, as the editors indeed say in a thoughtful passage on Eliezer bar Nathan (p. 19), the author of one of the crusade chronicles and a number of *piyyutim* included in the volume. Whether it is right, however, to assume that far fewer Jews were forcibly converted than has been claimed by some researchers (p. 44) is another matter. It cannot be for nothing that Henry IV of Germany allowed Jews who had been baptised against their will to return to Judaism in 1097. The

editors do stress that the *piyyutim* were composed to create solidarity among the Jewish survivors of 1096 and their descendants and to strengthen communal resistance to the lures of Christian conversion. But as so many researchers, including Ivan Marcus, Robert Chazan and Jeremy Cohen, have pointed out this did not happen in a vacuum. Allusions to the Temple allowed the Jews of Ashkenaz to imagine their own communities as a virtual re-creation of the Temple in Ashkenaz where Jews, not Christians, were serving God. This kind of internalised polemic against Christianity was augmented by the plethora of anti-Christian invectives found in the *piyyutim* (and the Chronicles). All of this reveals Jewish communities cognisant of their non-Jewish surroundings and actively shaping a robust Jewish identity in the face of adversity. There can be little doubt that the Jews of Ashkenaz were severely traumatised by the 1096 massacres and that the memorialisation of 1096 established martyrdom as the Ashkenazi ideal in the face of forced conversion. But that does not mean that the horrors of 1096 constituted the main factor in shaping the future presence of the Jewish communities in medieval Germany.

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Glossae Super Peri Hermenelias II. Anonymi Glossae 'Doctrinae sermonum'; Anonymi De propositionibus modalibus. Edited by Peter King, Klaus Jacobi and Christian Strub. (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 206 A. Pp. lxxiv + 277. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. €195. 978 2 503 55468 6
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A short notice of a new edition of Peter Abelard's commentary on Aristotle's *On interpretation* was published in this *JOURNAL* lxiv (2013), 596–7. Before Abelard turned to the study of theology he was an influential teacher of logic. His glosses on *On interpretation* analysed statement-making sentences and may first have been written up in about 1118–20, after he had become a monk, and later expanded during the 1120s and 1130s when he had also become a highly controversial teacher of theology. The present volume is a supplement to the 2010 volume containing those glosses and provides for the first time complete editions of two anonymous texts, themselves incomplete, stemming from the *milieu* in which Abelard's work was studied and disputed. The second, edited by Klaus Jacobi and Christian Strub, is an independent short treatise on modal propositions which seems to have been slipped in to one of the copies of Abelard's glosses by way of substitution. The first, far more substantial, are glosses on *On interpretation* edited by Peter King which open with the words *Doctrinae sermonum* and which were written in the shadow of Abelard's work, using perhaps a lost copy of his commentary but including much original material and independent discussion of contemporary ideas and positions which provide 'a rare glimpse into the Parisian philosophical world of the early twelfth century' (p. xxxix). Here there is extended analysis, grounded in the writings of Boethius, of foreknowledge and freedom of choice, of necessity, eternity and divine providence; and many citations of unnamed teachers and their views as well as citations of the teaching of Robert