

中世纪西欧的

犹太妇女

Jewish Women in Medieval Western Europe



张淑清 著

 人民出版社

中世纪西欧的犹太妇女

Jews and Women in Medieval Western Europe

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Abstract

This book examines the status of Jewish women in medieval Western Europe especially in France and Germany from the 11th to the 14th century. The book focuses on four areas that dominated the lives of medieval Jewish women: the religious domain, the educational domain, the domestic domain and the economic domain. This is because in the Middle Ages the lives of all human beings, including women, were controlled first by religion; second, by examining why Jewish women in the Middle Ages could not have the same right to be educated, we can get a special perspective on the social status of Jewish women; third, by domesticity that in the Middle Ages family home was regarded as the natural place for women to actualize their obligations both to men and society; and fourth, by looking at the ways women participated in the economic sphere it is possible to appreciate the role Jewish women played in the public realm and, as a result, get a more accurate understanding at the complexity that defines the status of Jewish women in medieval Western Europe.

I conduct the research for two main purposes. One is to examine the status of Jewish women in medieval Western Europe in the said four areas, including the comparison between the status of Jewish women and Christian women on specific issue, by which it is possible to get a more accurate perspective on what were the possibilities of Jewish women's lives. The other is to look at what the significance this examination has. It is important to conduct this research because the last decades have seen a growing debate over the status of women in contemporary Jewish society, in fact, it is possible to offer an example for Jewish people today by looking at what Jewish women did and what Jewish communities did to improve the status of women in the Middle Ages.

This book also examines the following three sub-issues: One, what was the significance the positive changes in the status of Medieval Jewish women in historical perspective? Two, what special role did medieval Jewish women play in keeping Jewish identity and Jewish traditional culture? Three, how do we evaluate the attitudes the Jewish society towards Jewish women?

The book is divided into six chapters. The first is the introduction of this book, in which there are two parts. In the first part, I introduce the development of Jewish women's study both in China and abroad; in the second part, I offer the method and the academic importance this book has.

In the first chapter I examine the status of Jewish women in the traditional Jewish law. It includes relevant information about Jewish women during the time covered in the Hebrew Bible, Mishnah and Tal-

mud. I begin by considering the Bible that gives us the basis for all Jewish understanding of the status and role of women, and then I move to examine the Talmudic sources. This is because in the Middle Ages the lives of Jewish women were governed by the law and its interpretations. The aim of this part is to provide the background for the status and role of medieval Jewish women because it is difficult to understand the changes that have occurred in the period under my examination without comprehending what has passed in earlier periods. Then I turn to analyze the life of Jewish women in the Middle Ages, due to the overwhelming influence of religion in the Middle Ages it is only natural that this chapter focuses on the status of Jewish women in the religious sphere.

In order to get a better understanding of the sphere, the chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, we examine the status of Jewish women in the traditional Jewish law, in the second, we look at the role of women in the Temple, and in the last, we examine the role of women in the synagogue. Why? The reason for the third section is obvious because the synagogue functions as the center for the public sphere in the Jewish life in the communities in the Middle Ages. I begin by examining the ways by which women played a role at the synagogue mainly in the prayers and charity, and by looking at the role of women in the synagogue we get a clearer perspective on the status of women in the community. Or in other words, whether Jewish women occupied any positions in the synagogue contribute to our understanding that synagogue served as the real center for all Jewish people or only as the man's center in the community.

In the second chapter, we look at the education of Jewish women. And it is important to remember that even though today education is mainly secular and public, this was not the situation in the Middle Ages. In medieval societies, and especially in religious communities, which base their tradition on a book such as Talmud, the education was almost completely religious. People learned to read and write by using texts from the holy books in order that they can worship and feel their religious duties according to their tradition. This is well known when we examine the education of Jewish men in the Middle Ages. In this chapter we are going to see how much this is true for Jewish women. We are also going to see the relationship between the status of Jewish women and the education they received or not received and how the level of education influenced their status. The arguments around the questions whether women should be taught how to read and to what degree they ought to be educated are critical since the main purpose of learning to read was, in the Middle Ages, the ability to read Torah and Talmud and to educate the children according to Jewish law and customs.

The third chapter focuses on the domestic domain. If, according to Jewish tradition, the synagogue was believed to be “a little temple,” then, the family home was the place where the festivals and other important rituals took place. My discussion in this chapter concentrates on the marriage institution, and therefore, this chapter is divided into five parts: in the first part, I focus on the view of marriage in traditional Jewish culture; in the second part, I analyze women’s right to choose marriage partner; the third part examines women and divorce; in the fourth part, I look at the marriage contract (as so- called Ketubbah);

and in the last part, I examine women's property right.

I believe that an examination of the institution of marriage leads us to question whether Jewish women enjoyed any importance at all or were merely regarded as chattel. Since it is impossible to cover all aspects of marriage in this chapter, I choose to emphasize the laws of divorce (Get). This is because I believe that the laws governing the dissolution of marriage offer us a unique understanding of the critical importance of marriage as the norm by which most Jewish women were expected to live by.

In the fourth chapter, we examine Levirate marriage and the status of Jewish widow. For levirate marriage was a special phenomenon, and which only existed in the Jewish societies as an important part of Jewish tradition. A careful examination of Jewish women and levirate marriage can give us a better understanding not only of the position of Jewish women in the family, but also of the attitude of Jewish society towards woman. And why I also argue the status of widows in this section? This is because the numbers of Jewish widows in medieval society was considerable, and many of them were still quite young. It is impossible to understand the position of Jewish women in domestic sphere and also in the public without analyzing the status of widows. In other words, by examining the position enjoyed by widows, we can get a better understanding of status of Jewish women from a particular perspective.

In the fifth chapter, we look at the three mitzvot women were commanded to maintain. Jewish women were obligated to fulfill three mitzvot: the lighting of the Shabbat candles, the separation of the

dough and the keeping of the purity laws (Niddah). Indeed by scrutinizing these three mitzvot it is possible to see the importance of Jewish women both within the domestic realm and, more generally, in the everyday lives of medieval Judaism.

In the sixth chapter I turn to the role of Jewish women within the economic domain. While common perception might lead us to conclude that center of Jewish women's lives was the family home, closer examination reveals otherwise. In fact, the function of Jewish women as moneylenders and main breadwinners, particularly during their husbands' absence, emphasizes the image of Jewish women in the public realm and its significance of comprehending the lives of medieval Jewish people outside the traditional community framework.

The conclusion is that the status of Jewish women in medieval Western European countries in a general historical perspective improved in some areas in an appreciable manner in comparison to that found in Talmudic period. These positive changes were: the relaxation of the prohibition against women entering into the synagogue; the new divorce laws issued during the eleventh century, prohibited divorcing a woman against her will, Rabbenu Gershom's herem against polygamy, which lead to the improvement of women's marital status; the important role played by Jewish women in economic activity and in supporting their families, which leads to the improvement of women's social status and the change of man's attitude towards women, etc. and therefore, we can get a clear perspective of the image of medieval Jewish women. These positive changes in the status of Jewish women in the male-dominated society deserve our appreciation.

序

徐 新

十分高兴得知张淑清副教授读博时撰写的博士学位论文《中世纪西欧犹太妇女》即将由人民出版社出版。这显然是一件可喜可贺的事。对于一名教师而言,难道还有任何消息比得知自己门下学生的论文正式出版更值得庆贺的吗?当她将这一消息告知本人,并请我为该书作序的要求时,我在为她高兴的同时没有半点犹豫便欣然允诺。

《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》是一部视野独特的学术专著,它从历史学、社会学和女性文化学的复合视角出发,对中世纪(主要为11—14世纪)的欧洲尤其是法国和德国犹太妇女的宗教、教育、婚姻家庭及其经济地位进行了系统的论述。对中世纪西欧犹太妇女生活和地位的研究可以说既是犹太史研究的一个重要分支,同时又是世界妇女史研究的一个重要组成部分,是一个十分有意义且有一定难度的研究课题。10年前,我们还无法想象会有一位中国青年学者能够从事这一专业性极强的专题研究,更想不到其研究成果会作为专著出版。这在彰显张淑清副教授个人学术研究结出

硕果的同时，还凸显了中国犹太学研究所取得的巨大进步和成就。

众所周知，自从人类社会从母系社会过渡到父系社会，妇女的社会地位便降到一种从属的地位。千百年来，无论在什么样的社会，妇女最重要的职能只是生儿育女，为夫家传宗接代，延续香火。由此造成的重男轻女思想在绝大多数的文明体系中均不同程度地存在，而在历史悠久的文明样式中表现得更为突出。在我们所熟悉的儒教文明中自不待说，孔夫子早在两千年前就将中国妇女摆到了从属的地位，“从父、从夫、从子”的三从四德也长期束缚着妇女的生活和社会地位，应该说，只是到了 20 世纪，中国妇女的这一从属地位才开始逐步得到改善。

在具有数千年历史的犹太社会，妇女的地位同样低下。由于犹太教从一开始就“免除”了犹太妇女在宗教上的义务，而犹太教又是犹太社会的主流意识和界定犹太生活方式的思想，因此，不肩负宗教义务的犹太妇女也就没有了社会权利，被彻底地边缘化，她们无论是在教育、社会生活还是宗教生活中基本上都不占有一席之地。尽管犹太男子早在 2000 年前就个个能读会写，犹太人社会却不对犹太女子实施教育。在宗教生活中，犹太妇女尽管可以参与，但没有任何发言权，只能跟随男子行事。在社会生活中也无主体地位可言，只能是男子的附庸。不过，由于犹太历史的独特性，进入中世纪以来，生活在散居地的犹太人随着社会环境的变化进行了自身的调整。再加上，犹太教允许并鼓励对规范犹太人日常生活的诫命进行合理的解释，这就不可避免地会影响到犹太妇女的生活和地位。资料表明，早在进入现代社会之前，犹太妇女地位的改善就已经在缓慢发生。只不过，由于对发生在犹太妇女社会生活上的变化的研究一向很少，致使人们在这一问题上的认识欠缺。而张淑清博士撰写的学术专著《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》以

深入的研究和客观的分析为我们揭示了发生在11—14世纪西欧犹太妇女社会生活上的变化及其导致变化的深刻原因,使人们了解到犹太社会在对待女性态度上的转变,认识到犹太妇女在进入现代社会之前就已经开始被当做“平等”看待,其人格开始受到社会尊重的历史。

那么,作为学术专著的《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》一书究竟有什么样的特点呢?

本人认为,最值得称道的特点是,作者的研究深入细致,资料掌握翔实、论述公正、分析冷静、有充分史料和事实为依据。

一般认为,对于中国学者而言,任何对西方中世纪历史展开研究的学术课题都比较困难,更不用说研究与中世纪犹太史相关的课题了,其中一个主要原因是史料收集方面的难度。众所周知,近二三十年来,在我国世界史的研究领域,特别是研究生论文撰写中,最大的不足是第一手史料和档案资料的缺失,以及对文献内容深入挖掘和分析的功力不足,从而使不少论文的质量大打折扣。而本书的作者正是在这一方面表现突出,通过自己的研究,她将大量关涉中世纪西欧犹太妇女的一手和二手资料糅合在一起,撰写出了《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》这一内容丰富、逻辑缜密而又深刻的学术著作。

尽管我们可以说,作者张淑清是幸运的,因为她在做论文期间获得以色列政府奖学金,有机会前往巴尔—伊兰大学进行了为期一年的研究,并在那一年中得到以色列著名犹太史教授的悉心具体指导。但是,不可否认的是,张淑清充分利用了这一机会,以刻苦和钻研精神认真进行资料查询、收集、分析。从该专著中每一出处的标注和书末列出的参考文献均可看出张淑清在资料查阅方面所下的真功夫。在阅读过程中我们可以清晰地感受到论文是在以

史料说话,以事实说话。这实在是难能可贵,值得彰显。

其二是论著主题的历史背景交代得清楚、细致、详实。尽管论著主体是在论述 11—14 世纪西欧犹太妇女的生活和地位,但对这一时期以前的犹太妇女生活、地位和状况均有具体回顾和交代,使得读者能够在一个较宏大的背景下理解论著所要论述的主题。例如,对犹太妇女在犹太经典中,特别是在《圣经》和《塔木德》中形象和地位的论述,具体涉及了犹太妇女在圣殿和犹太会堂中的地位、古代犹太妇女的教育问题、犹太传统文化中的家庭观,古代利未婚中的犹太妇女等问题。这一做法不仅为人们理解中世纪犹太妇女地位变化进行了有力的铺垫,而且扩大了论著的内涵和外延,丰富了论文的容量。这显然得益于作者对犹太历史、文化、宗教的良好把握和深刻理解。

在分章重点论述的议题中,无论是对利未婚中犹太妇女处境的评述,对犹太妇女遵守“三大诫命”传统的介绍,还是对中世纪西欧犹太妇女的社会经济地位的论述,作者展示出来的已不仅仅是犹太妇女狭小的生活圈子,透过犹太妇女这一对象,人们看到的是当时的整个犹太人社会和历史。这充分显示了作者的厚实历史、文化功底。也正因为如此,《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》一书还可以成为人们从一个独特的角度了解犹太历史的优秀读本。

其三,《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》可以说是一本研究犹太妇女地位变化的专门书籍,但作者并没有刻意拔高犹太妇女的地位,或者片面夸大这一变化的作用和意义,也没有将中世纪犹太妇女地位的变化与现代女权主义、妇女解放运动挂钩。这种不拔高、不夸大的实事求是态度很好体现了我们一直希望在史学研究领域提倡的正确研究风气。

最后,正如作者所交代的,《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》一书直

接脱胎于其数年前完成的博士论文。尽管在论文答辩和评审过程中,无论是南京大学历史系组织的答辩委员会,还是南京大学学术委员会都以全票通过张淑清的论文,并给予了很高的评价,但在整理出书过程中,作者还是对通过的论文进行了认真修改与完善。从提交给出版社的样稿来看,作者较好地实现了从论文到专著转化,使得即将与广大读者见面的书稿质量达到了一个新的高度。这种在学术研究中追求完美和精益求精的态度是值得大力推崇和提倡的。

是为序。

徐 新

己丑年七月识于金陵结网新轩

序

张倩红

张淑清博士的著作《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》就要付梓出版了。这是一件可喜可贺的事。可喜的是,我国犹太学界又增添了新生力量;可贺的是,张淑清博士经过多年辛勤努力,终于学有所成!

妇女问题是理解人类社会的镜子和考察历史进程的视线。遗憾的是,妇女问题研究却长期滞后、相当不足。在中国,外国妇女史研究和犹太学一样,是在改革开放以后才起步、发展,逐渐形成了一定规模。近年来虽然出版了一系列有见地的成果,但依然是学术研究领域中的薄弱环节。《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》借鉴妇女史、犹太史的研究范式与思考路径,吸取了前人尤其是国外学者的前沿性成果,以11—14世纪的西欧为视角,系统追述了《圣经》与《塔木德》时代的犹太女性地位,着重考察了宗教、教育、婚姻及经济生活等体现犹太社群作用与影响的典型领域,对其进行深入系统、层次分明的探讨,归纳、梳理了犹太妇女的家庭地位、社会地位以及公众形象,是一部资料翔实、颇具功力的学术著作。

首先,该书对于中世纪犹太妇女的角色定位进行了具体研究,厘清了学界的一些模糊认识。在学术话语中,中世纪通常被称为“黑暗的世纪”,“男尊女卑”是这个时代的主流意识,人们对妇女地位的普遍认定是“附属性”、“衍生性”之类的特征。用当代著名的思想史家唐纳德·R.凯利(Donald R. Kelley)的话来说:“中世纪的历史概念所涵盖的兴趣非常广泛,处于世俗的和神圣的之间,国王和教皇之间,圣人和罪人之间,带有明显的阶级烙印。或许除了宫廷诗歌、圣徒传这种类型外,似乎遗忘了一个因素,那就是性别。”^①当然唐纳德也不否认这一观念所具有的例外性。对此,《中世纪西欧的犹太妇女》则指出,中世纪犹太妇女的地位不能简单、片面地用“黑暗”二字来概括。尽管在《圣经》与《塔木德》时代,犹太律法普遍认为:男性比女性更有价值,比女性更忠诚,遵守的诫命更多,因此女子只能处于屈从男子的边缘化地位,但是,在中世纪的欧洲情况有所变化。在考察了11—14世纪的西欧犹太妇女在宗教文化、婚姻家庭、社会经济生活等领域的或重要或轻微的变化后,张淑清博士指出“犹太妇女在宗教、经济及婚姻等各方面的地位都有所改善”。在宗教生活领域,涌现出了妇女祈祷的赞礼员,她们不仅带领妇女一起进行祈祷,还为妇女创作祈祷词、谱写祈祷音乐。在社会经济领域中,出现了经营有方的女性商贾。她们不仅和封建领主及小农有经济往来,而且还以其雄厚的经济实力向王室和教会放贷;在婚姻家庭生活中,既有支撑门户、管理家政的女性家长,也有个性鲜明、风格强硬的“反抗的妻子”……可见,在中世纪西欧的男权社会中,社会伦理并没有绝对忽略对女

^① 唐纳德·R.凯利:《多面的历史——从希罗多德到赫尔德的历史探询》,陈恒、宋立宏译,三联书店2003年版,第236页。

性的关注,妇女也并非一律处于男子的附属地位。作者通过细致入微的观察,展现了一个既受宗教与律法约束、屈从于男性中心地位,同时也富有社会活力、展示自我价值的犹太女性世界。作者强调指出,中世纪西欧犹太妇女地位的任何改善,都是在法律的框架内进行的,包括一夫多妻制的废除、男子随意休妻特权的被限制等等,当然除了外部的客观环境外,还与妇女自身的主观努力密切相关,其中包括她们对犹太律法的模范遵守,在经济领域中的积极参与以及支撑家庭方面所发挥的重要作用等。尽管说妇女平等地位的最终取得,不仅依赖单纯的女性争取,也不仅仅是男性的让渡,而是社会进步的自然进程;中世纪的犹太妇女也并没有摆脱依附性的人格而成为“社会人”、“自由人”,但可贵的是她们已经表现出对现实的反叛,初步具有了返璞归真、回归社会的意识。她们的努力和尝试为后世妇女提供了有益的借鉴。

其次,该书为了解中世纪犹太社会生活、犹太文化的传承提供了独特的视角。众所周知,中世纪的犹太社团是一个高度自治、游离于主流社会之外的封闭性社会单元,而家庭则是这个单元中最基本的结构组织。那么家庭关系的结构性特点如何?女性拥有怎样的财产分配与继承权?女性在律法与宗教生活中充当什么样的角色?女性在多大程度上享有受教育权?女性从事什么样的职业以及她们在社会经济生活中居于什么样的地位?带着这些问题,该书从犹太家庭入手,再延伸到社团生活,最后放大到居住国特定的社会文化背景中去考察,为读者全方位地展现了中世纪异彩纷呈的犹太世界。

相对于《圣经》与《塔木德》时代而言,经济创造力的开发及宗教观念内在趋向对于个性的激励,导致了中世纪社会风化的演进。无论是做家庭主妇,还是活跃于会堂、社会,中世纪犹太妇女的社