

For the liquidation of Jewish life in Germany continues apace. In March 1938 the Jewish communities ceased to be legally recognized as independent corporations, a status for which they had struggled so long. November 10 witnessed the burning and destruction of the synagogues. The organization of the Jews of Germany (*Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland*) has become the "Union of the Jews in Germany" (*Reichsvereinigung*) in which are included and centralized all Jewish organizations. Every Jewish community acts merely as the local office of the central organization, its chief activity being the hastening of Jewish emigration.

Will the Jewish community of Cologne ever rise again? A statement of the *Midrash* may well conclude this history of the oldest Jewish community on German soil. It is a statement that may apply with equal cogency to the history of the entire Jewish people, "The sun rises; the sun sets; one should add that it sets in order to rise again."

APPENDIX A

BY-LAWS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF COLOGNE

20th *Vendémiaire*, Year X October 12, 1801,
(5 *Marheshvan*, 5562)

The meeting held this day by us the undersigned for the purpose of discussing the establishment of a communal constitution, was already mentioned on Sunday, 13 Tishri 5562 (September 20, 1801) in the act of election of Cantor Seligmann Ochs of Lechenich. In consequence, Chief Rabbi Bunem has been invited here in order that whatever is decided upon may have the approval of our teacher as well as be in consonance with Law. It was agreed in the first place that all articles which arise for discussion shall be decided upon in the following order: If the majority of the taxpayers are of one and the same opinion with regard to any article, that article shall obtain full power and force in accordance with the decision of the majority of the people taxed, the other opinion being null and void. If, however, the majority of the people taxed are of divided opinion with regard to the article in question, the opinion of the above-named Chief Rabbi shall decide; it shall remain in accordance with his view, and shall receive recognition

as being in full force. As long as the regulations adopted by the present assembly are not changed by us on account of the conditions of the time or the need of internal revision, every newcomer and settler shall remain bound to observe the same. Should he want to exclude himself from any part of these regulations he shall have neither part nor claim in the business transacted by the Jewish community. No one shall grant him any synagogue honors, and he shall not be invited to the reading of the Torah.

First: It is decided, by the expression of the majority of the taxpayers, again to ratify the salary of the above-named cantor, and to give him in addition whatever each voluntarily contributes to him. This payment is binding for a period of three years. This is included here because it was forgotten in the act mentioned above. Also the executive board shall provide him with a regularly executed certificate as cantor.

Second: Each individual shall freely bind himself in accordance with the following explanation to a yearly contribution to the Jewish community and other religious needs for a period of three years. Each one may bid for as many synagogue honors every year as his contribution warrants. By this is understood that whoever bids a total amount above his contribution must pay the remainder to the communal treasury, and whoever bids less than his annual contribution shall nevertheless pay the obligation herein mentioned.

Herr Solomon Oppenheim, 23 Rtl.; monthly 1 Rtl. 55 stivers.
 Herr Wolf Cassel, 9 Rtl.; monthly 1 Rtl. 45 stivers.
 Herr Samuel Cohen, 9 Rtl.; monthly 1 Rtl. 45 stivers.
 Herr Josef Muelheim, 9 Rtl.; monthly 1 Rtl. 45 stivers.
 Herr Josef Dahlen, 6 Rtl.; monthly 1 Rtl. 30 stivers.
 Herr Hirz Paris, 6 Rtl.; monthly 1 Rtl. 30 stivers.
 Herr Samuel the Levite, 5 Rtl. 24 st.; monthly 1 Rtl. 27 stivers.
 Herr Ansel Wallerstein, 5 Rtl. 24 st.; monthly 1 Rtl. 27 stivers.
 Herr Isaac Moederath, 4 Rtl. 30 st.; monthly 1 Rtl. 22½ stivers.
 Herr Sanwil, 4 Rtl. 30 st.; monthly 1 Rtl. 22½ stivers.
 Herr Suesskind, 4 Rtl. 30 st.; monthly 1 Rtl. 22½ stivers.
 Herr Mayer Bruehl, 4 Rtl. 30 st.; monthly 1 Rtl. 22½ stivers.
 Herr Abraham Hollander, 4 Rtl., 30 st.; monthly 22½ stivers.
 Herr Wolf Wesslingen, 4 Rtl., 30 st.; monthly 22½ stivers.
 Herr Moses Frankfurt, 3 Rtl., 30 st.; monthly 15 stivers.
 Herr Kaufmann Heidelberg, 3 Rtl., 30 st.; monthly 15 stivers.
 Herr Elias Pukim, 3 Rtl., 30 st.; monthly 15 stivers.
 Herr Nathan Neuwied, 3 Rtl., 30 st.; monthly 15 stivers.

Notice: This contribution, as well as the amount to be paid to the cantor, must be paid by each individual to the executive board on each day of the New Moon. Should anyone default on three successive months, the executive board, through the mouth of the cantor, shall place him under synagogue boycott until he pays his debt.

Third: In view of the fact that certain individuals have made advances of money, and that for the erection of the prayer-house and of the cistern of the ritual bath, and for what work must still be done, the congregation owes the workmen a sum totaling 200 Rtl., it is considered advisable to sell the seats of the house of prayer to the highest bidders among

the above-mentioned individuals in accordance with the order mentioned above. The following are the regulations: the bidder for a seat, by which is meant one seat in the men's part of the prayer-house and one in the women's part, shall pay one-third of the price within eight days, and receive a receipt from the executive board. For the other two-thirds he is to be granted three successive terms of payment, half a year apart. Within this period of time, he shall pay the balance to the executive board. It is self-evident that the executive board is empowered to urge and compel payment by those who are in arrears.

Fourth: Whenever, sooner or later, our provisional synagogue is erected in another house, or if ever we build a permanent synagogue where more seats will be available, the present members and their heirs shall have the right to retain the same order with regard to the seats both of men and of women whenever such seats shall be up for sale. The same rule shall hold in the matter of the seats not yet sold at the present time which are to be put on sale some time in the future. Moreover, as long as the community still has places in the synagogue which are subject to sale or rental, no possessor of a place may permit another member of the community, whether he be married or unmarried, or any person domiciled here, to occupy his place. Such people are expected to rent a place for themselves. Members of the community or private owners of seats may not sell their seats to a non-member.

Fifth: Seats in the prayer-hall are sold on these

express conditions: Whoever now or at some future time purchases a seat for himself is not permitted to assign it to his children or to anyone else as an inheritance, to sell it or to give it in pledge for a debt. Should he fall into debt, no one shall have the right to dispose of his seat as long as the owner owes something to the community, no matter how little. Whoever wants to have the right to dispose of such a seat must previously pay the debts which its owner owes to the community to the very last penny.

Sixth: The community shall appoint by majority vote three representatives for the purpose of supervising all the above-mentioned matters as well as the expenditures, income, and other communal affairs, both within and outside of the synagogue. The community owes them obedience (*Gehorsam*). Whoever opposes them may be punished by them, if a majority of their number votes to that effect, to the extent of 1 Rtl. or less. They may use all possible methods to compel payment of such a fine. They are also permitted to incur irregular expenses up to 5 Rtl., if the majority of them vote in favor. But if the expenditure exceeds 5 Rtl., then the names of all members of the community shall be placed into a lottery box, and the cantor, acting as impartial arbiter, shall draw four (4) names. These four shall then join themselves to the executive board of the community, and whatever is agreed upon by a majority vote of these seven, must be accepted by the entire community. Arrangements for the exercise of communal functions shall be made by the repre-

sentatives as seems best to them. No one is empowered to give them any orders in such matters. The cantor must render them obedience in all communal and synagogue matters.

Seventh: Now as in the future all synagogue seats must be entered by the cantor and by the trustees in a community book arranged for this purpose. The cantor's payment for this service shall be: for seats along the eastern side of the men's part of the prayer-hall, as well as of the women's part, fifteen stivers, and for all other seats ten stivers per seat in the men's part and one stiver per seat in the women's part. Whatever is not entered in the cantor's own hand and with his signature is null and void.

Eighth: Everything possible shall be done to improve our house of prayer so that our existence here may be rendered more fortunate. In the first place, a Holy Ark shall be acquired along with Scrolls as communal property, as is only right and proper, for the fulfillment of the law in connection with prayer meetings conducted by ten men. In order to achieve this, it is hereby ordained that whoever is called up to the Torah on week-days shall owe one half a stiver, on New Moon days or Sabbath afternoons one stiver, on holidays and on New Years and the Day of Atonement three stivers. This shall hold for residents as well as strangers whether the one called up requires a prayer of benediction to be said for him or not. In any prayer of benediction any man may stipulate his gift, announcing that he makes it for the purpose of writing a Scroll of the Law. Whoever pledges more will gain the blessings of

Heaven. It is clearly set forth that such money shall not be used for any other communal need in any way at all, but shall be placed in a box set aside for this one purpose. This arrangement shall continue until the community have in its possession three Scrolls of the Law. If anyone moves away from here either before or after such a time, neither he nor his heirs shall have the slightest rights, demands or claims, either upon the money collected for this purpose or upon the Scrolls. Rather these shall remain in possession of the community members who continue to live here unto all eternity. However, Samuel Cohen, in view of the fact that he must always be called up to the Torah first, is excluded from the above article to this extent that for every month he need pay only four stivers, and for the months of Nissan and Tishri twice as much, namely eight stivers. The same privilege shall be extended only to any one other *Kohen* who moves here and is accepted by the community. But should a number of *Kohanim* move into the community, they shall be treated like any other residents.

Ninth: For reasons of propriety and law, care must be taken that the morning prayers on Mondays and Thursdays, as well as the evening prayer of the Sabbath, shall be conducted in the presence of ten men. For the present, however, especially for the winter season, no regulations are to be made, but only for the summertime, that is for the days between Passover and the end of the Sukkot Feast. In order, however, to avoid conflicts it is here clearly stated that those who reside at a great distance from the

synagogue shall not have any fine imposed upon them. Moreover, as an Israelite no one will treat this matter lightly, but will consider carefully what is meant by distant. Also, if one of those who are not generally recognized as residing at a distance wants to pay a *Reichsthaler* every half year, he shall be free from this regulation, except when one of the householders observes the anniversary of a death, ten men outside of the cantor shall be chosen and be expected to come to the synagogue in the morning. One who does not desire to come to the synagogue may provide, at his own expense, a 13 year old boy who may be joined to those reciting the prayers. Anyone disobeying this regulation is subject to a fine of ten stivers for the community treasury, even if ten men had been gathered without him. The same regulation shall prevail in the case of a death, that during the seven days of mourning prayers be recited by ten men in the home of the mourners at least on Monday and Thursday mornings. It would be more desirable if the regular prayers could be recited in the house of the mourner on the morning of each of the seven days. From this regulation no one chosen by lot shall be excused.

Tenth: In the matter of compulsory synagogue honors, whether on Sabbaths or weekdays, the synagogue rites of Deutz shall be the rites followed. All doubts shall be referred to the cantor of that community.

Eleventh: We have also decided and accepted that anyone who comes here from another place with the object of settling here, or anyone who marries here

and desires to become a member of the community, shall not be accepted without the payment of an initiation fee. The executive board plus four members of the community chosen for this purpose by lot shall demand this of him in accordance with the conditions of the time and his own position. Should the executive board along with these four members not arrive at a satisfactory arrangement with such a man, the community is expected, if he so requests, to choose four other members from its ranks, and, as article 6 above sets forth, to follow the decision of the majority. The man in question, however, must deposit a half *Carolin* with the executive board. Should he refuse to abide by what is imposed upon him by the majority, the half *Carolin* shall go into the community treasury. The same procedure shall be followed when the executive board refuses to accept an applicant and one member of the community is chosen at his request. He must then also deposit a half *Carolin*.

Twelfth: And, finally, we have all unanimously accepted as our rabbi the Chief Rabbi of the province of Cologne, Herr Bunem. We have voted him an annual salary along with certain incomes from weddings and the like, as has been customary in the territories of Cologne in the past. It is also clearly expressed that no one may be accepted into the community who has recently married either here or in another place without having received an authorization to marry from the rabbi, and without having paid the stipulated contribution of 4 *Reichsthaler* and 1 stiver.

Thirteenth: With regard to the communal cistern for a ritual bath, each member has the free use of it, except for the stipend due to the wife of the cantor, as outlined in the cantor's contract, and except for the cost of heating when anyone desires warm water. Should any other woman, whether she be a local resident or stranger, take her ritual bath here, she owes the wife of the cantor the sum of 18 stivers payable in advance. Aside from the usual stipend to the cantor's wife and the above-mentioned heating costs, the cantor's wife shall be expected to supervise this as is set forth.

All the above regulations with the exception of article 8 we have adopted for the term of three years. At the expiration of three years we are permitted, in accordance with a majority vote of the then existing members, as is set forth in the introduction to this writing, to make changes. All the above has been signed by us, clearly announced, and accepted after mature deliberation, and with the consent of the Chief Rabbi, for the welfare, for the foundation, and for the survival of our community. We have also taken upon ourselves to maintain and to carry into effect whatever has been set forth above with all our power and determination. Also those who shall in the future come to live here and shall purchase a place in the community shall be bound to these regulations, to accept them for himself and to maintain them. In pursuance of this a meeting of the entire community shall take place on the New Moon day of every Ellul, and the cantor or a member capable of it shall read these regulations in the

presence of everyone, so that no one may excuse himself by pleading ignorance.

All the above has been publicly announced by me before the membership, a majority of the entire membership and those most taxed being present, among them Herr Solomon Oppenheim, Herr Wolf Cassel, Herr Hirz Paris, and my son Herr Samuel. It was ordered and unanimously agreed to on Saturday night, 4 *Marheshvan*, 5562 (October 11, 1801).

Since no city can exist without a leader, therefore I, the Chief Rabbi, have commanded Herr Wolf Cassel, my friend and intimate, to take the leadership. I know that in such matters he is greatly experienced. Also Herr Joseph Stern as well as my son Samuel, who have conducted community affairs until now, shall with him constitute the executive committee in order that the members of the community shall not be like sheep without a shepherd. This shall continue until such time as the community comes together and elects its executive officers in accordance with article 6 above. For I have seen that the coming together of the entire community is a difficult matter here, and that without supervision confusion will result. Therefore, I found this to be necessary and proper.

Done here at Cologne, Sunday night, the 5th *Marheshvan*, 5562, the 20 *Vendémiaire*, year 10 (October 12, 1801).

In witness we have signed with our own hand (There follow the signatures of the above-named; Solomon Oppenheim's first).

APPENDIX B

STATISTICS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
JEWISH POPULATION AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY
OF COLOGNE

IN THE following are listed the population of the City of Cologne, the number of Jews, and the number of community members, that is the tax-payers, from the year of the community's organization to 1933. Subsequently we give the occupations of the Jews in the years 1808, 1817, 1842, 1853, and 1925. Finally, we give statistics on the living conditions of the Jews in the year 1925.

Year	General Population	Jewish Population	Community Members, Tax-Payers
1801			17
1806	42,000	124	
1808			
1813	46,857	189	
1816	49,276	150	
1822	56,527	375	
1825			30
1828	61,059	390	
1830	58,342	336	
1834	67,302	436	
1840	75,858	615	
1842		625	
1845	80,885	824	
1846	85,195	887	
1847	85,446	748	

Year	General Population	Jewish Population	Community Members, Tax-Payers
1848	86,671	981	
1849	87,747	1,035	
1850	88,356	1,235	c. $\frac{1}{3}$ Jewish population
1852	101,091	1,531	
1858	114,477	2,149	
1861	120,568	2,322	360
1871	129,233	3,172	
1880	144,772	4,523	
1885	161,401	5,309	
1890	281,681	6,859	
1895	321,564	7,932	
1900	372,529	9,745	
1905	428,722	11,035	
1910	516,527	12,156	
1925	700,222	16,093	
1931		19,052	
1932	740,750	17,024	
1933		14,816	
1934		15,557	

The number of Jewish births is as follows: 1840—23; 1846—38; 1847—55; 1848—62; 1849—44; 1850—55.

In 1806 the Jewish population of Cologne contained 124 individuals of whom 33 were unmarried men, 42 unmarried women, 25 married men, and 24 married women. In 1808 Cologne had 132 Jewish individuals of whom there were 25 married couples, 33 boys under age, 29 girls under age, 11 unmarried men, and 9 unmarried women. Among them were 2 school teachers, 3 merchants,

1 money-changer, 1 agent, 5 butchers, 1 day laborer,
2 old-clothes dealers, 3 peddlers.

A list of 1817 indicates the following occupations:

- 2 manufacturers of writing-material
- 1 manufacturer of cotton and distributor of lottery tickets
- 3 money-changers
- 1 commission agent
- 7 merchants, among them 1 banker
- 14 small merchants and second-hand dealers
- 2 horse dealers
- 1 fruit dealer
- 6 butchers
- 2 cattle dealers
- 1 grocer in retail trade
- 1 clerk
- 1 retail dealer

A list of 1842 contains 104 names, among them:

- 23 shopkeepers
- 5 tradesmen
- 3 manufacturers, 1 of bathrobes and bedcovers, 1 of oilcloth, and 1 of writing material
- 2 transport and commission agents
- 2 oil and gypsum dealers
- 2 linen merchants
- 1 iron merchant
- 1 dry goods dealer
- 1 wine and trinket dealer
- 1 real-estate dealer
- 1 forwarding agent
- 1 dealer in objects of art

- 1 yarn dealer
- 1 dealer in manufactured articles
- 1 tobacco dealer

(The information is not complete).

A list dating from 1853 enumerates 406 independent members of the community, that is families. Among these the occupational division is as follows:

4 Property Owners

15 Manufacturers:

ribbons, flannels and muslins, three of liquor, colored paper, starch, kid gloves, 2 manufacturers of oil, 2 sugar refiners, cigars, felt slippers, galvanoplastic material,

Handworkers:

- 3 lithographers,
- 4 opticians and optical mechanics including 3 court opticians,
- 1 baker, 1 glazier and white-washer, 2 shoemakers,
- 1 bookbinder, 1 court engraver, 1 paperhanger,
- 1 tailor, 1 portfolio maker,
- 1 watchmaker, 21 butchers,
- 1 machinist, 1 goldsmith,

Trade and Commerce:

- 37 merchants without any other specification
- 10 tradesmen

Trade and Commerce: (cont.)

- 12 dealers in manufactured articles (3 wholesalers)
- 13 dealers in white goods, yard goods, thread, hosiery, gloves (2 wholesalers)
- 4 haberdashers
- 4 dealers in tulle, lace and ribbons
- 11 dealers in leather and skins
- 9 dealers in dresses and fashions
- 3 dealers in woolen goods and linings (1 wholesaler)
- 7 dealers in linen goods (5 wholesalers)
- 6 dealers in wine
- 1 fruit dealer
- 3 grocers (1 wholesaler)
- 1 mineral and oil lamp dealer
- 2 dealers in writing material and paper goods
- 1 dealer in horn and bone
- 10 horse dealers
- 10 banking and money-changing establishments
- 6 commission agents and transport agents
- 1 jeweler
- 2 art dealers and lending librarians

Trade and Commerce: (cont.)

- 1 dealer in foreign wood and ivory
- 2 cattle dealers
- 6 dealers in oil and agricultural produce
- 3 counting-house clerks
- 1 traveling salesman
- 3 dealers in lottery tickets
- 3 saloon-keepers

Public Servants:

- 6 teachers
- 3 communal officials
- 1 chief agent of the steamship and insurance company of Baden
- 1 bridge-toll concessionaire
- 1 emigration concessionaire

Public Occupations:

- 7 physicians; 3 musicians

Without Occupation:

- 14 who lived on income

The Jewish residents of Cologne, on June 16, 1925, divided into economic groups and according to their occupation, show 7 in agriculture, gardening, care of animals, forestry and fisheries; 1,894 in industry, including mining and building; 4,797 in trade and commerce, including hotels and restaurants; 345 in administration, army, synagogue and other public occupations; 254 in health and hygiene, including philanthropy; 155 in domestic

service and industry; 57 without any settled occupation and without indication of any permanent field of activity; 1,048 without occupation nor any indication of their profession. Altogether, therefore, there were 8,621 persons.

The census of 1925 indicates the distribution of the Jewish population in the city limits of Cologne. Of the entire number of Jews in Cologne, 15,800 individuals forming 2¼% of the population, 31% lived in the Old City (the center of the Old City 19.3%) and 44% in the newer part of the City (middle of the new City, 22.8%). In the section of the City designated as *Altstadt Mitte* they formed 5.55% of the total population, and in the section designated as *Neustadt Mitte* 8.4%. An unusual proportion of the population was the number of Jews living in Lindenthal, 3.52%, and Marienburg 8.8%. The Jewish population of these suburbs constituted only 6.2% in Lindenthal and 1.5% in Marienburg of the total Jewish population. Quite understandably the distribution of the Jews in Cologne was a result of the economic structure of the town. Commerce and industry were concentrated in the Altstadt; thus, for example, retail businesses and second-hand trade occupied certain streets in the center of the Altstadt. The Neustadt, built around the place where the ancient wall used to be, consisted of residences only. There were located commercial establishments such as offices of insurance groups, business representatives and the like. Thus it is apparent that the Jews of Cologne, in accordance with their occupations and

economic position, resided for the most part in those sections of the city which were closely built up and thickly populated.

The development of the community is apparent from its budget during successive years.

YEAR	BUDGET
1852	3,900 Tl.
1853	4,000
1855	4,086
1856	5,210
1857	4,400
1859	5,704
1862	6,548
1863	8,573
1870	12,996 Tl. 13 gr. 5 pf.
1875	43,143 Mk. 95 pf.
1876	43,701 Mk. 10 pf.
1877	36,077 Mk. 75 pf.
1878	33,596 Mk. 62 pf.
1879	34,146 Mk. 14 pf.
1880	34,361
1889	35,791
1898-9	93,874
1899-00	109,453
1900-01	117,165
1901-02	120,241
1902-03	144,260
1903-04	153,629
1904-05	169,675
1907-08	200,495
1908-09	215,840

YEAR	BUDGET
1909-1910	226,749
1912-13	276,168
1914-15	313,622
1920-21	1,736,925
1930	1,101,128
1932	621,860

APPENDIX C

JEWIS IN THE SCHOOLS OF COLOGNE

Two higher schools have had an uninterrupted existence in Cologne since 1820. In the northern part of the city there was the Catholic Gymnasium of Cologne, meeting in the quarters of the former Jesuit Monastery on the Marzellenstrasse. In the southern part of the city a school was situated on the Severinstrasse and was in charge of the Carmelite Brotherhood. In 1825 this school was turned into a full-fledged gymnasium bearing, since 1830, the name The Royal Frederick William Gymnasium.

The highest number of Jewish children attended the Cologne Catholic school, that is the Marzellengymnasium, in the year 1880-1881, when they numbered fourteen, and in 1900-1901 when they numbered twenty-one. In 1871-1872 the Frederick William Gymnasium counted eighty-two Jewish pupils, and in 1879-1880 one hundred Jewish pupils. The civic high school, subsequently called Realschule and finally Gymnasium and Realgymnasium of the

Kreuzgasse, counted, in 1858-1859, sixty-nine Jewish pupils; 1859-1860, eighty-three; 1879-1880, sixty-five; 1880-1881, seventy-six; 1899-1900, including the preparatory school, one hundred and thirty.

With the increase of the city's population, new schools came into being: the Apostelngymnasium, founded in 1860, and the Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium, opened in 1868 as a school of the second order and raised to a full gymnasium in 1871. Both were State schools. The highest figures of Jewish pupils in these schools were: in 1914 in the Apostelngymnasium thirty-seven, and 1900-1901 in the Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium seventeen. Since 1926 the Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium has had no Jewish pupils.

In 1882 the City of Cologne established the Oberrealschule on the Humboldtstrasse. In 1902 it established the Reformrealschule on the Spiesergasse. In 1897 it established the commercial school which, since 1899, was called Handelsrealschule, and a few years ago became an Oberrealschule. In 1899 the Progymnasium was established in Ehrenfeld, which since 1906 has been called the Schillergymnasium. After 1900 the city established only Realgymnasien: in 1903 at Nippes, in 1906 at Lindenthal. In addition, the newly integrated suburbs either had gymnasien or founded new ones: the Realgymnasium and Realschule and the city gymnasium called, since 1830, the Kalkergymnasium in Muelheim, and the Realgymnasium founded in 1908 in Deutz. These schools of the former suburbs here and there contain Jews. The Realgymnasium of Muelheim never ex-

ceeded six Jewish pupils. The Oberrealschule on the Humboldtstrasse had the highest number of Jewish pupils during the school year 1906-1907, when they numbered 160, and in 1914-1915 when they numbered 136. The Reformrealgymnasium on the Spiesergasse had 51 Jewish pupils in 1888-1889; 74 in 1894-1895; and 37 in 1914-1915. Thereafter the numbers dwindled constantly. The Handelsrealschule on the Hansaring had 80 Jewish pupils in 1905-1906; 40 in 1926-1927; and 51 in 1931-1932. The highest number of Jewish pupils in the Schillergymnasium of Ehrenfeld was 39 in 1914-1915. The Lindenthal Realgymnasium had 45 Jewish pupils in 1926-1927; and 61 in 1931-1932.

The higher education of girls was not provided for in the City of Cologne until 1870. Recourse was had to private schools. In 1855 Rosa Levié established a private school for the secondary education of girls. The first higher school for girls was established in Cologne in 1871. From the beginning and throughout it had a considerable number of Jewish pupils. In 1909 to 1910, for example, it had 108 Jewish girls. In 1903 the Kaiserin Augusta School was established and in 1912 the Lyzeum III which became an Oberlyzeum like the others. Both these higher institutions were attended by a large number of Jewish girls. The Kaiserin Augusta School counted in 1911-1912, 115 Jewish girls; in 1914, 133. The Lyzeum III in 1914-1915 had 43 Jewish girls, and in 1931-1932, 56. In addition to the above a new type of schooling was introduced, namely the civic Middle School. It was meant to provide the daughters of the middle

class with the kind of education which went beyond that of the public school and, at the same time, prepared the student for practical living. It also offered commercial and industrial preparation. With regard to the boys, the Middle School aimed to answer the peculiar needs of the middle burgher class which had to take into consideration both manual labor and industrial activity. For girls the first Middle School was opened in 1890 and the second one in 1898. The first Middle School for boys was opened in 1894 and the second in 1900. All these were city institutions. These schools were very popular among the Jewish children. In 1907-1908 Middle School I for girls had 59 Jewish pupils. In 1911-1912 it had 50 Jewish girls. In Middle School II for girls there were 26 Jewish students in 1898-1899; 31 in 1907-1908; and 18 in 1914-1915. In the Middle School I for boys 15 Jewish pupils enrolled in the year of its foundation, 1894-1895. It had 40 Jewish pupils in 1900-1901; 50 in 1907-1908; and 45 in 1910-1911. In the Middle School II for boys the highest number of Jewish pupils was in the year 1909-1910, numbering 14. In accordance with the popularity of the Middle Schools in Jewish circles, the number of Jewish pupils in the other higher schools decreased proportionately.

Insofar as the relation is concerned between the number of Jewish pupils attending lower public schools and private schools, there were in 1867 altogether 647 Jewish boys and girls of whom 267 attended Jewish and other public schools, thus leaving 200 for private schools and higher institutions.

APPENDIX D

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE SCHOOLS
OF COLOGNE

At the beginning of 1904 the condition of Jewish religious instruction was as follows: of 1600 Jewish children of school age, 940 attended the higher and middle schools; 660 attended the elementary schools. Religious instruction was given at the Gymnasium and Realgymnasium on the Kreuzgasse, in the preparatory school, the Oberrealschule, the Realschule, the Handelsschule, the higher school for girls, and both of the middle schools for girls, as well as in the State's Frederick William Gymnasium. On the Kreuzgasse and in the Oberrealschule and the Handelsschule such instruction was given only for three or four years beginning with the sixth (*sexta*). No religious instruction was given in the two middle schools for boys and in two higher schools for girls, nor in the State institutions, Marzellengymnasium, Apostelngymnasium, and the Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium. Of eight private institutions religious instruction was given only in two, the Hoehere Toechterschulen Berendt and Merlo, where 80 Jewish girls attended. But this instruction was given only one hour a week for all classes and without any connection with the community. In six such institutions, despite the fact that they had 116 Jewish pupils, no religious

instruction at all was given. Of the total of 200 Jewish boys and girls of the eleven private institutions, 165 showed no mark for religious instruction.

The Jewish elementary school had an attendance of 235 boys and 242 girls, a total of 477 children. The Jewish elementary school pupils in Ehrenfeld and Deutz, numbering 45, received instruction from the teachers of those communities. The same was true about the three boys who were supported by the community (*Hilfsschueler*). Of the 132 pupils, boys and girls, of the elementary schools and the Hilfsschulen in Cologne, only 48 attended the religious classes of the Jewish community, so that the mark in religious instruction was missing in the case of 84. An increase in the number of hours of religious instruction on the part of the city was indeed granted and, at the beginning of the school year 1905-1906, 42 hours of religious instruction were given to 341 pupils of the city and State schools. But the upper classes of the Oberrealschule and of the Gymnasium on the Kreuzgasse, despite their large Jewish school population, remained without any Jewish religious instruction. During the school year 1906-1907 a total of 45 hours of religious instruction was given at the higher and middle schools. Of these hours 27 were paid for by the city. When the Lyceum III was founded in 1912, Jewish religious instruction was immediately introduced. The same had been true at the foundation of the higher school for girls in 1871 and later

on at the foundation of the Kaiserin Augusta school.

There were times when Jewish religious instruction was given also in the Apostelngymnasium. There, however, the Jewish school children had numbered from 30 to 37 during the years 1911 to 1914, and thereafter again sank to an insignificant figure. At the Schillergymnasium in Ehrenfeld, where the number of Jewish pupils was 39 in 1915, Jewish religious instruction was introduced towards the end of 1918, and in the Lindenthaler Realgymnasium a little later. At no time was such instruction given in the institutions of the State, with the exception of the Frederick William and Apostelngymnasium, nor at the Lyceum and Oberlyceum of the Evangelical community, in spite of the fact that occasionally these schools were attended by a considerable number of Jewish girls, sometimes over 40. During the school year 1927-1928 the public and private schools, with the exception of the vocational schools, gave religious instruction to 511 boys and girls by the teaching personnel of the Jewish community. The city's vocational schools also introduced Jewish religious instruction for its boys and girls at the request of the Jewish community.

Supervision over Jewish religious instruction in the above-named schools was regulated by an edict of the Minister of Public Worship in 1923, and was under the direction of the community's rabbis.

APPENDIX E

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, JUDAICA, AND BIBLICAL PICTURES IN COLOGNE

THE earliest monuments of the Jews in Cologne are tombstones. In the center of the Jewish cemetery Bockelmuend there exists, since 1937, a tiny temple within which are the remains of Hebrew tombstones from the oldest Jewish cemetery, that of St. Severin's Gate. These tombstones are set into the wall of the temple. The earliest of these monuments dates from the year 1166. In the vicinity of the western entrance to the Cathedral is to be found the decree in favor of the Jews of his diocese which Archbishop Engelbert II had engraved in stone in the year 1266.

The historical archives of the City of Cologne possess documents of Emperor Frederick I and Emperor Frederick II. They are in the authoritative transcript prepared by Archbishop William in 1360. These documents are thus of general interest for the legal history of the Jews in Germany. There is also a document of Rudolph of Hapsburg of 1275, of Kings Wenceslas and Sigismund of 1391, 1414 and 1416. Besides the archives also contain papal decrees by Innocent IV and Gregory X. These are originals with the seal of the Popes attached. The archives hold the only existing Hebrew document of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and thus belong to the most valuable sources of Jewish administrative and legal autonomy during the Middle Ages.

The city registers and the protocols of the council provide rich material for the period between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries in connection with the history of the Jews in the Rhineland and beyond. The same archives contain remains of Hebrew and Yiddish-German manuscripts. Among these is a page containing the Hebrew title *A Record of All the Powers of Blood-letting and Veins According to the Writings of the Physicians* (Hebr. 4 W 332). It seems to date from the last quarter of 1396 to the last quarter of the following year, and is thus the earliest dated bit of writing in the Yiddish language. A manuscript of the archives (W 3 Blankenheim), dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century (Fol. 162-165), contains a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian.

The Jewish community of Cologne owned the Memorial Book of Deutz the oldest part of which goes back to 1581-1784. In that year the flood of the Rhine badly damaged the writing. Consequently a new Memorial Book for Deutz was begun. Other archive material of Deutz is to be found there. There is also the Memorial Book of Muelheim, the first entry of which is of the year 1774. The archives of the Jewish community contained almost the complete material for its history since the resettlement in 1801. The old minute book of the community has been lost.

Of articles connected with the ritual, the synagogue at Deutz possesses a circumcision bench dating from the middle of the 18th century, a silver cup of the year 1762, and a number of other articles. The

oldest curtain for the Ark, in possession of the synagogue at Deutz, dated from 1752, and another from 1787. The oldest covering for the Ark of the synagogue on the Glockengasse was donated by one of the earliest Jewish settlers after the return to Cologne, J. Stern, in the year 1807.

The City and University Library owns numerous first editions of the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy from 1507-1518, for example works by Reuchlin, by Pfefferkorn, by Jacob von Hochstraten, Victor von Carben, etc.

The Rhenish Museum owns a great many articles connected with the Jewish ritual. Also it has pictures of all sorts connected with the history of the Jews of the Rhineland which were collected for the Millennial Exposition held in 1925.

The Wallraf-Richartz Museum has a number of biblical and post-biblical pictures. The gallery has a painting of "Esther and Haman before Ahasuerus" of the Dutch School of the seventeenth century, painted by Jan Victor, a pupil of Rembrandt, 1620-c. 1676. In material and style it reminds one of the master. It also possesses a large painting "Tobias Asks for Sarah's Hand." This is of the Utrecht School, drawn by Hendrik Terbrugghen (1588-1626). A much livelier picture and one closer to Dutch temperament is that of Jan Steen (1626-1679), "The Imprisonment of Samson." It must have been done in the sixth decade of that century and is considered one of the finest works of this remarkable painter and tavern-keeper. Finally, there was also the picture by Eduard Bendemann (1811-1889), "The

Jews Mourning in Babylon," which Wolfgang Mueller found so grippingly beautiful "that one could weep because the unfortunate ones knew how to bear their pain so proudly."

The Roman section of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum at Cologne contains the most important Christian antique. It is the blue bowl discovered in 1907 near Cologne, found resting inside a stone sarcophagus. It is richly decorated with Old Testament pictures which originally must have been enamelled in bright colors. The glass dates from the second half of the fourth century. The figures represent Jonah, Noah, and Daniel.

In the old and famous churches of Cologne a number of other pictures are to be found with an Old Testament motif. For example, the mosaic on the floor in the crypt of St. Gereon, built by Archbishop Anno, 1056-1075, has twelve scenes from the stories of Samson and of David. The dome on the outside has a statue of Moses.

Among the original sketches to be found in the library of the Cathedral Treasure Chamber is a volume (no. 271) concerning the *Holy Maccabees*. Folio 3a is the title-page representing Hannah and her seven sons before a Roman Emperor. Folio 7b shows the mother and the sons under her protecting cloak. Folio 39a represents the mother and the sons in boiling oil. Of the tapestries formerly to be found in the choir of the Cathedral, but now in the Schnuetgen Museum, the following may be mentioned: no. 2, representing Elijah in the Wilderness; no. 5, Sacrifice in the Old Testament; no. 6, the

Meeting of Abraham and Melkizedek; no. 8, the Falling of the Manna. These tapestries, like the others in the collection, were made in the works of Franz van der Hecke in Brussels. Sketches for them had been provided by Peter Paul Rubens, around 1627, who had been commissioned to do this by the Infanta Isabella, widow of Archduke Albrecht. She subsequently presented the originals to the Monastery of the Barefoot Carmelites in Madrid.

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¹ He was closely followed by Eliezer ben Nathan and, later, by Joseph ha-Kohen in *'Emek ha-Bacha*.

² In the Martyrologies of the Memorial Books of Nuremberg (ed. Salfeld) the names of those killed in the respective cities are mentioned. But many names are repeated. Nor is there any way of telling whether outside of the one hundred and sixty names mentioned under Cologne, any of the others are names of refugees from other places or residents of the towns under which their names occur.

³ All of them seem to be based upon certain views and expressions of Gregory I toward the end of the sixth century. Another recension of the same Bull, by Pope Clement III, in 1188, is found in the Archiepiscopal Archives of Narbonne.

⁴ The above document against ritual-murder is found in manuscript copy also at the Cologne Seminary for Priests, no. 139 folio 235. Among the undated documents of the Cologne Historical Archives, in number 763 of the collection of letters dating from the fourteenth century, is a brief summary of the Bull of Innocent IV, dated October 22, 1246.

⁵ It concerned the unsettled points in the dispute between Archbishop Conrad and the Count of Juelich.

⁶ In 1280 the archbishop transferred to a certain knight in Cologne an income of six marks which was due him from the Jews of Cologne.

⁷ In the arbitral award of August 15, 1320, made by Count Gerhard of Juelich between the archbishop and the City of Cologne, as a result of the dispute arising from the Territorial Peace, we read that Johann Stolle is to be released in consequence of his exoneration by the Archbishop of Treves. But if ever this man again captures a Jew of the archbishop and lets him die in prison, he will have to make amends.

⁸ He issued the following order in council to the city of Rheinberg: "Since the judicial circuit of the Vehmich Court has been extended illegally beyond the borders of Westphalia, making it extend even to the left bank of the Rhine, where Rheinberg is situated, therefore all those who with this Court as an excuse hang any Christian or Jew on the left bank of the Rhine, or even exercise any judicial authority there, and all who by act or advice

offer them aid, shall be prosecuted, any privilege notwithstanding."

⁹ In return for a loan, Henry II pledged to certain Lombards the entire income from the tolls at Rheinberg, and should they be prevented by force from collecting these tolls, he gave his creditors the right to raise the rest of the sum from the Jews or Cahorsins, and pay them interest. For the redemption of the fortress of Virneburg and for the amount spent in connection with the coronation of Frederick of Austria, the archbishop owed Rainald of Montjoie and Falkenberg the vast sum of 12,370 marks. In 1319 the Archbishop transferred to him four royal pennies from every tun of wine passing the toll at Bonn, and, in addition, five thousand marks from the money paid by the Jews of Cologne. Archbishop Henry II likewise set in order the property and territorial holdings of his sister, the Abbess Pon-zetta von Virneburg, which, among other Church holdings, had fallen as pledge into the hands of the Jews. To his relative, liegeman, and vassal of the Church of Cologne, Hartrad von Merenberg, Archbishop Henry II promised, on February 8, 1320, forty marks of the first tax on the Jews. In return Hartrad was to give the archbishop forty marks from the income of his enfeoffed estates, and himself and his heirs remain vassals of the Cologne Church. For the purchase of the Fortress and the County of Huelchrath Archbishop Henry borrowed one hundred Brabant *denarii* from the famulus Henry von Wisch, pledging with him, on September 23, 1322, the Citadel of Aspel and the Fortresses Rees, Xanten, and Vreden, and all that belonged to those places until the repayment of the loan. The famulus was also granted the income from the archbishop's Jews in the places named.

¹⁰ Jews newly settled in Cologne shall enjoy the stated privileges provided they arrive at an understanding with the archbishop on the subject of the annual tax which they are to pay to him. Every newly arrived Jew shall remain under the immediate protection of the archbishop for fourteen days, during which time he must make up his mind whether he wants to remain or not. Should the archbishop die during the ten years mentioned in the decree, his successor shall consider himself bound by its terms since the decree represents the interests of the Church of Cologne. Within the bishopric and the archiepiscopal domain the Jews shall not be forced to pay tolls other than such as are paid by Christians. Nor shall they be forced to take an oath other than the traditional one. The archbishop promises to protect the Jewish cemetery which lies outside the city. In view of the fact that the Jews had but recently paid a considerable sum to the Cologne

Church, every Jew settling in Cologne during the period of the decree shall, in addition to his annual tax, pay also a corresponding portion of this sum. The archbishop promises to keep for the Jews all the privileges and traditional rights granted them by popes, emperors, kings, and archbishops, provided his own jurisdiction and that of his chamberlain is not adversely affected thereby.

¹¹ In making this grant originally the archbishop reserved all the rights of the Mother-Church of St. Kunibert. In 1311 he ratified the union of this property with the Chapter of St. Kunibert.

¹² The following Jewish "bishops" are known to us: Bruningus (around 1135 to 1159); during the second half of the thirteenth century, Samuel, Nathan, Samuel of Ruechten, Moyses, Suskindus of Neuss; during the first half of the fourteenth century, Jacob son of Joseph, Gumpertus (same as Mordecai son of Samuel), Gottschalk, Susekindus (the same who in the quarrel of the Jewish community with two Jews ca. 1330, left the City of Cologne in displeasure), Joseph son of Isaac Joselin, Joel son of Mordecai, Salomo son of Jacob. After 1372 Isaac of Montjoie seems to have been the first Jewish "bishop." At the beginning of the seventies he seems to have lived in Bruehl. He had a son by the name of Lewe, a son-in-law by the name of Levermann, and a brother, Mannus of Cologne, who lived in Worms. He had business relations with Archbishop Frederick of Cologne. On March 1, 1374, the latter referred certain burghers of Luebeck to his Jew Isaac of Montjoie, whose son and son-in-law are at Cologne, and who are expected to pay the burghers two thousand gulden inside of four years. At the same time the archbishop gave a letter of indemnity to Johann Schurmann, an officer at Bruehl, and to the Jew Isaac of Montjoie "our Jewish Bishop," and to his son in the matter of the payment of two thousand gulden to the Burghers of Luebeck. In 1381 the same Isaac is called of Bonn. In that year he had business connections with Count Adolf zu Virneburg. He also had business dealings with the City of Cologne. The last Jewish "bishop," beginning with the year 1417, was named Soiskynt.

¹³ The city recorders did not take Jewish legal views into consideration in all points. Jewish Law was not always valid. Besides, in some respects the observance of Cologne Law was encouraged by the Jews themselves. Nevertheless, the Hebrew document seems to have influenced the form of the recorded document to the extent that the latter appears to be merely a translation of the Hebrew. Whether, as Fritz Baer supposes, there was an influence also in the other direction, must be considered undecided.

¹⁴ *Vur deme bischoffe ind deme capittelle der joitzschaf ind sal da nemen sunder wederrede joitzareigh.*

¹⁵ *Juramentum judaeorum a divīs Romanorum imperatoribus constitutum et ex antiquis temporibus in tota terra Teutonica firmiter observatum.* It is almost literally the same as the Jewry Oath of Dortmund which represents a middle position between the oldest simple form of the Erfurt Oath, which dates from the end of the twelfth century, and the more frequent formula of later days.

¹⁶ During the intervening days of the Feast of Tabernacles the Cologne Jews were accustomed to follow Rashi's arrangement for Torah reading. In this matter Rashi had established a new procedure which at first had been opposed even in his own circle, but later was adopted everywhere and today is generally current.

¹⁷ On the Sabbath *Zachor*, the one immediately preceding Purim, and on the Sabbath *Parah*, the first or second Sabbath thereafter, it used to be customary to read the poetry of Kalir, the so-called *Shib'ata*. Rashi preferred the poetry of the famous Meir ben Isaac of Worms. Again, on the 23rd of *Nissan*, that is, immediately after the Passover feast, it was customary at Cologne and in other places to fast and to read penitential hymns. Now, the custom cannot be connected, as Zunz assumes, with the attacks upon the Jews which began on the seventh day of that feast in the year 1147, since these attacks did not affect the City of Cologne at the time of the Second Crusade. In western Germany certain penitential hymns were recited at the New Year's season, and between New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. This was particularly true of Cologne. For, according to Zunz, the Cologne ritual shows thirty-three penitential hymns for the day before the New Year, whereas Worms shows only fourteen.

¹⁸ The rituals described in the books *Pardes* and *Mahzor Vitry* indicate that in Cologne, as in Palestine, the Day of Atonement was brought to an end not by one blast of the *shofar*, as is the usual custom, but by four sounds (ק'ק'ק). For other customs and rites peculiar to Cologne as well as to Mainz, cf. Aptowitz, סבוט, לטפר ראבי"ה, 1938, pp. 464-465.

¹⁹ To the twelfth century belong Rabbi Eliezer ben Shimshon, Rabbi Samuel ben Natronai, Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacob, Rabbi Joel ben Isaac ha-Levi of Bonn, and Rabbi Eliezer ben Joel ha-Levi. The first named in this series was a pupil of the *tosafist* Isaac ben Asher ha-Levi of Speyer and of the rabbi of Mainz. In 1132 we find him as rabbi in Cologne, and exchanging scholarly correspondence with his relatives, Rabbi Eliezer ben Nathan of Mainz and with the latter's son-in-law, Rabbi Samuel ben Natronai. Rabbi Eliezer ben Nathan describes him as "a man after my own heart," as his "dear and beloved cousin," as "the lion of the congregation." A decision rendered by Eliezer ben Shimshon in the

matter of a falsely dated deed of gift was a subject of prolonged discussion by the scholars of that day. Others among his decisions, dealing with marriage law, ritual and prayer, are not only known, but are cited as authoritative by Mordecai ben Hillel and by Isaac Or Zaru'a. He probably took part in the Synod of Troyes in 1160. His reputation, moreover, rests not alone upon his outstanding legal knowledge but also upon the fact that he was a gifted poet. Among the poems he wrote for use in the synagogue are those composed for the evening service of the Feast of Tabernacles.

Rabbi Samuel ben Natronai was a colleague of Rabbi Eliezer ben Shimshon in the rabbinate of Cologne. His father-in-law, Rabbi Eliezer ben Nathan, referred to him as "a mighty spiritual jousting." The third man in the list, Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacob, presumably is no other than the author of the Memorial Book of the persecutions during the Second Crusade. He was born around 1133. During the period of danger he was among the refugees in the Castle of Wolkenburg. A few days before the massacre at Neuss in 1187, he came to Cologne where he remained for some time. If the scholar is really identical with the chronicler, one must add to his literary works not only *responsa*, his comments on the benedictions and customs connected with the circumcision ceremony, and his commentary to the holiday prayer-book, but also a large number of religious poems.

Rabbi Joel ben Isaac ha-Levi was a member of an old and many-branched family of scholars who were counted among the most famous talmudists of Germany between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. He was the pupil and son-in-law of Rabbi Eliezer ben Nathan of Mainz. His activity as rabbi in Cologne lasted for some time. His decisions on ritual and marriage law were quoted subsequently by his son, Rabbi Eliezer, and by the famous Isaac Or Zaru'a. He is mentioned also as the author of seven religious poems, among them an elegy dedicated to the memory of the martyrs of Cologne. It has been suggested that Rabbi Abigdor ben Elijah ha-Kohen, probably a Rhinelander by origin, who was counted among the greatest authorities of his day till his death at a ripe old age in Vienna, was a pupil of Rabbi Joel in Cologne. Cf. Aptowitz, *ibid.*, pp. 41 ff.

²⁰ In the work cited above, Aptowitz fixes Rabbi Eliezer's dates as 1140-1225. He is the author of the *Sefer Rabbiah* and of the *Sefer Abiasaf*. The former consists of legal decisions and answers to questions dealing with matters of prayer, Sabbath observance, and holiday observance. It follows the order of the Talmud. From this book he eliminated all matter involving laws which were no longer applicable to his time. The *Sefer*

Abiasaf contains matter connected with family life and private conduct including decisions on "the prohibited and permitted." He also wrote *Tosafot* as well as explanations to the Torah and other writings.

Presumably at the conferences of Mainz and Speyer a regulation was adopted which has found acceptance not alone in the Rhineland but also everywhere in Germany. If a woman died childless during the first year of married life, the entire dowry which she brought to her husband reverts to her father and his heirs; if during the second year, only half the dowry thus reverts. This differs from the custom then accepted in France, where only the first part of this regulation was enforced.

Rabbi Eliezer's colleagues in the rabbinate of Cologne were Shealtiel ben Menahem and Menahem ben David.

²¹ This same Rabbi Abraham is the author of *Keter Shem Tob*, a cabalistic explanation of the Name of God, and of a cabalistic commentary on the Book of Psalms, Hosea, and the Book of Judges. All these are still unpublished. Alemanno's translation was printed in Amsterdam in 1810, and in Jellinek's *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik*, Leipzig, 1863.

²² In connection with the personalities of Cologne there are to be mentioned two relatives of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg. "Magister Seligmannus," really Baruch ben Urshraga ha-Kohen, is mentioned with respect by Rabbi Meir. He was a large property owner in Cologne, and a member of the city's Jewish Council from 1255 to 1266. Another relative of Rabbi Meir was Jakar ben Samuel ha-Levi, who was member of the Council from 1266 to 1291. He is known as the author of eight religious poems, among them a song for a wedding-Sabbath and an elegy dealing with the persecution in Pforzheim during which his father had lost his life. He is mentioned, moreover, in a manuscript of a *mahzor* written in 1434 and now preserved as *Cod. Hebr. 37* in the State and University Library of Hamburg. Hayyim ben Yehiel Hefetz Zahab was a member of the Jewish Council from 1266 to 1292. He was indeed a contemporary of Asher ben Yehiel but not his older brother. In 1287 he headed the delegation which negotiated with Rudolph of Hapsburg for the release of Meir of Rothenburg. The Hayyim ben Yehiel who was Asher's older brother and teacher seems to have acted for some time as rabbi in Coblenz and later in Cologne where he produced a number of literary works. Asher ben Yehiel himself lived in Cologne till 1281 before emigrating to Spain to become the spiritual head of the Toledo community and thus grafting the religious attitudes of German Jewry onto the Judaism of Spain. Members of the

Council were also the wealthy Livermannus of Dueren (Jehudah ben Samuel), the wealthy and much-travelled Solomon of Basel (Simon of Mainz), who subsequently engaged in that long quarrel with the community as already mentioned. Hayyim, son of Isaac Or Zaru'a, likewise lived in Cologne for a short time during the second half of the 13th century (cf. *Maharil*, ed. Cremona, no. 71).

²³ We do possess that remarkable codex of the *Mishne Torah* which was written by the scribe and illuminator, Nathan ben Simon ha-Levi, between April 1295 and September 1296, for his brother-in-law Abraham ben Berachyah. The codex is to be found now in the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Budapest as *Codex Kaufmann* no. 77.

The Jewish community, like Cologne itself, could boast of a line of famous scribes and illuminators. Aside from the scribal work of Nathan ben Simon ha-Levi, we have from the same period the two-volume Hebrew Bible which Joseph of Xanten, son of Kalonymos of Neuss, wrote for his relative Moses ben Jacob. The illuminations of this Bible, however, date from a later period than the writing. The Bible was in the possession of a private person in Frankfurt. It is possible also that the Pentateuch with the Onkelos translation and the Rashi commentary, written in 1296 by Elia ben Yehiel Meshulam for Rabbi Joseph Martel ben Joseph, originated in the neighborhood of Cologne. The chief feature of this Pentateuch manuscript is the decoration in the form of representations of ancient architecture. A Rabbi Moses of Cologne is mentioned as an authority in a manuscript of a German *mahzor* completed in 1398 and now found at the Vatican Library. A Joel ben Simeon of Cologne origin in the fifteenth century is known to have written four illuminated *Haggadahs*, among them the famous one at present in the National Museum of Nuremberg. The Hananiah ben David Yekutieli ha-Kohen mentioned in another manuscript of the German rite (written in the year 1525 and now in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, *codex Elkan Adler* 476) as עומד על המשמר ועבודת הש"ץ ונאמן בק"ק אור פנה קולותיה must have been active in one of the communities of the Province of Cologne, presumably Deutz, since in the city itself Jews were no longer to be found. The *mahzor* of the German community of Amsterdam, which was long thought to represent the Cologne rite, is ascribed by Isaac Marsen to the Rhineland in general. In it is to be found the older German rite as well as the rite of northern France. The Jewish community of Friedberg possesses two volumes of a prayer-book, known as *Mahzor Friedberg*, which are

marked as following the rite of Cologne. Although it has been assumed generally that this work was written in 1287, its few decorative letters and its ornamentation of late Gothic motif assign it to the sixteenth century despite its general Romanesque style. Since the *piyyutim* and *selihot* are torn out of this *mahzor*, it is no longer possible to decide in how far its contents deviate from the Rhenish rite. In any event the Cologne rite with regard to the sounding of the *shofar* on the night of *Yom Kippur*, mentioned above, is not found in the *Mahzor Friedberg*.

²⁴ Among the scholars of the period before 1349 should be included also Rabbi Jacob ben Rabbi Joshua, Rabbi Moshe ben Rabbi Yerahmiel ha-Kohen, Rabbi Moshe ben Rabbi Samuel, Rabbi Judah ben Rabbi Simon ha-Levi, Rabbi Moshe ben Rabbi Simon, Rabbi Alexander Suesskind, author of *Aguddah*, a work on the ritual. The last-named may be identical with the Jewish "bishop" by the same name, and probably lived in Cologne during the twenties of the fourteenth century, forsaking the city after a quarrel in 1330.

After the readmittance of the Jews to Cologne in 1377, the first rabbi mentioned in the city's account books is Meir ben Samuel ha-Kohen of Nordhausen. Since 1365 he, along with his grandfather, Jacob, and the latter's entire family, lived in Mainz. In 1381, commissioned by the Jews of Cologne, he participated in the Rabbinical Synod of Mainz, the decisions of which were particularly important for Cologne. For it was there that the regulation was adopted changing the one hundred to two hundred *zuz* to be paid a woman in accordance with the stipulations of the marriage-contract, from Cologne money, which was used till then, to six hundred gulden. Fifty years later we hear, through the *responsa* of *Maharil*, that this regulation was not being obeyed in Cologne. Around 1385 Rabbi Meir of Nordhausen seems to have departed from Cologne, for during the next decade his presence can be proved in Frankfort. In Cologne his contemporaries were the "Master" Solomon of Paris, who came to Cologne from Erfurt and whose books receive particular mention, Mannus of Speyer who may have been a brother of the Jewish "Bishop" Isaac of Montjoie and of Bruehl, creditor of the City of Cologne and later resident of Worms. His Hebrew name was Menahem Zion son of the Rabbi Meir *Melo Dabar*, identified by Brann with "Nemetum" of Speyer. Mannus of Speyer, however, belongs to the seventies and eighties of the fourteenth century, that is to its second half. He was a linguist and many-sided poet from whose hand no fewer than seventy poems are known, among them the elegy (*kinah*) *ציון מעון חשקי* and the Sabbath song *מי ילל בגרות אל*.

To the first quarter of the fifteenth century belong Ephraim ha-Levi, known as Gumprecht, who lived in the Botengasse in Cologne. He was the son of Vivus and grandson of a martyr, Eliezer called Lipmann of Osnabrueck, and also of the wealthy Schaiff. In *Codex 1102* at Oxford he is mentioned as the first owner of a certain prayer-book. His name also occurs at the end of the fourth volume of that magnificent *Mishneh Torah* mentioned above. A number of *responsa* were added at the end of the fourth volume of this manuscript. The signature at the end of these beautifully and clearly written documents indicates that they had been copied by Gumprecht, son of Vivus, and grandson of Schaiff. The date given corresponds to March 5, 1413.

²⁵ The *Buergerhaus* came into being presumably as a result of the sworn union of 1112, and served as the administration building and the meeting place of the authorities of the *Richerzeche* which resulted from the union of the various communities. That is why the Jews were accustomed to refer to the *Buergerhaus* as the *Zecheide*, i. e., Guild-Oath House. It served as the neutral ground for the entire Old City, and must have been situated almost in the center of the city in 1106. Until the middle of the fourteenth century it was a fine-looking building.

²⁶ The keeping of detailed records in which were entered all private business transactions, especially such as dealt with land and real-estate, became customary in all cities. In Cologne this system was already functioning in 1135, particularly in the business section of Great St. Martin. It developed in the following manner. The size of the city and the large number of real-estate transactions made it essential to keep a record of the legal changes undergone by each piece of property. At first this record was kept on large rolls of parchment. Each parish as well as several secular divisions of the greater city had a map on which these records were noted. The map was kept in a trunk (*scrineum*), and, therefore, was called *Schreinskarte*, or, literally, trunk-map. Beginning with 1240 a change was made by the substitution of books for these maps. In general the keeping of these records represented one of the most significant contributions of Cologne to the legal development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

²⁷ In the twelfth century, Heinrich, son-in-law of Samuel, is credited with two houses, and Salemannus, or Solomon, with five houses. In the thirteenth century Aleydis of Sinzig had two houses; Godeschalculus of Brussels, two houses; Manis and Pura, two houses; Isaac of Arnheim three; Joseph of Ahrweiler the elder, three or four; Joseph of St. Trond three or four; Guitheil,

daughter of Isaac de Porta of Tienen three; Seligmannus, six houses, though not all at one time; Livermannus of Dueren, five, and his brother Schoenemannus three and a half; Joseph the son of Jacob and Rica, two houses and a share in two others. In the fourteenth century Symon of Bergheim had two houses; Joseph of Berg, two; Jacob von der Trappen, one house and a share in two other properties; Suskind of Neuss, the Jewish "bishop" in 1288, had two houses; Anselm and Goittheil, two; Joseph of Ahrweiler the younger, three to four; Solomon of Mainz had three to four along with some estates; Anselm of Osnabrueck, around three houses; Isaac Schure, two and a share in three others; Johel of Dortmund, four.

²⁸ In 1326 this house is mentioned as serving its original purposes.

²⁹ On the western side of the modern Raderbergerstrasse, the old Bruehlerstrasse, at the point where the Alter Bischofsweg turns from the Bonnerstrasse. This was the oldest cemetery of the Cologne Jews.

³⁰ A late reference of the fourteenth century speaks of the Jews paying a tax of three florins for this cemetery. A document dating from 1212 speaks of the reassurance to the Jews in their possession of these five acres despite the claims of the Knight Ortlieb who had held them as his fief since 1174.

³¹ In enumerating the debtors of Simon of Siegburg, mention is made in the first place, for the date January 3, 1369, of the Count von Berg and his wife, who owed a debt of 4,268 florins (around 161,330 royal marks). He owed this debt, however, not only to Simon von Siegburg, but to him joined with Koppelman of Bruehl and Joseph of Bruehl. Later on, around 1400, the Duke von Berg is again found to be in the debt of several Cologne Jews. After the capture of Duesseldorf in 1397, the Crown Jewels and pearls of Duke William von Berg are found in pawn in Cologne. The City of Cologne respected his request to forbid the Jews and Lombards to grant a loan on his jewels. Nevertheless, around 1400 the crown of this Duke was in Cologne as a pledge in the possession of the Jew Vyvus of Andernach.

³² *Ad usuras Cawercinorum sive Judaeorum conquirere et recipere, or, ad usuras Judaeorum vel Cawercinorum Coloniensium, es waere zu cristen oder an juden*; so for example in 1313, 1314, 1357, 1375, 1395, 1404.

³³ *Commercium civium et Judaeorum pecunia.*

³⁴ The following towns of the archbishopric are mentioned as having witnessed persecutions and torture of their Jewish inhabitants: Aldenhoven, Ahrweiler, Berg, Beuel, Blankenberg, Bonn,

Broich, Deutz, Dormagen, Duellen, Dueren, Eller, Erkelenz, Euskirchen, Gladbach, Heimbach, Holzweiler, Kempen, Kerpen, Lechenich, Monheim, Muenstereifel, Neuss, Remagen, Roedlingen, Siegburg, Sinzig, Stommeln, Uerdingen.

³⁵ The last three Jewish "bishops" before 1349, Rabbi Joseph ben Rabbi Isaac, Rabbi Joel son of Rabbi Mordecai, and Rabbi Salomo son of the scholar Rabbi Jacob, were among the martyrs. In addition, there were Rabbi Jacob ben Rabbi Joshua, the learned Rabbi Moses ben Rabbi Samuel, Rabbi Moses ben Rabbi Simon ha-Levi, Rabbi Judah ben Rabbi Simon, and the noble Rabbi Joseph ben Rabbi Judah, called the spiritual flower of the Cologne community.

³⁶ It deals with the houses and land that had been in the hands of Jews before 1349, and with certain city accounts (nos. 3-5). According to this record the archbishop entrusted the sale of this property to two citizens of Cologne, Johann von Horn, knight and alderman, and Edmund Birkelin. After the death of the knight Johann von Horn in 1360, the city put in his place another knight, Johann von Hirtz, and, after the death of both the trustees, two new commissioners, the alderman Heinrich von Kusin in "Vilzingraben" and Gerard von Custin. They were granted all the powers of their predecessors. From the city accounts it would seem that the archbishop was represented by the Dean of Mary of the Steps and the revenue-collector Johann, while the city was represented by Johann von Horn. It was the duty of these commissioners to take charge of the renting and the sale of the property. In any event the city's accounts contain the record of the original sales. The two commissioners mentioned in the record-book probably represent the legal personalities who held the entire property for purposes of formal conveyancing, whereas the actual sales and the like were made by other commissioners, of whom Johann von Horn was also one.

³⁷ This archiepiscopal Privilege has come down to us in several copies. Among these is a transcript prepared by the Dean of Mary of the Steps in 1375. In Cartulary no. 2 for the Archduchy of Cologne, now preserved in the State Archives at Duesseldorf, the Privilege of October 1, 1394 is described as being identical with the Privilege of 1372. The same is true of the existing copy of the Privilege of October 1, 1414.

³⁸ In 1372-1373 it contained fifteen tax-paying households; 1373-1374 only seven paid taxes; 1374-1375, fourteen; for the next two years, 1375-1376 and 1376-1377, fifteen are listed; 1384-1385 nine households are named; 1385-1386 ten; 1386-1387

twelve; 1387-1388 twelve; 1388-1389 sixteen; 1389-1390 twenty-seven; 1390-1391 thirty; 1391-1392 thirty; 1392-1393 thirty-one; 1414 twenty-four; 1415 and 1416-1417 twenty-seven; 1418 twenty-six; 1419 twenty-four; 1420 twenty-nine; 1421 twenty-seven; 1422 twenty-eight; 1423 twenty-six; 1424 eleven.

³⁹ For example, of the 16,013 marks 6 shillings borrowed by the city in 1379, 9,462 marks 8 shillings came from the Jews. Of the last-mentioned sum, Abraham of Katzenellenbogen (who may have been related to the author of *Leket Yosher*) and Schaiff loaned in January 1380, 3,083 marks and 4 shillings, an amount equal in modern money to 38,541 marks, at an interest of 300 mark, that is 9.7%. Thus these two contributed one-third of the money loaned by the Jews and one-fifth of the entire loan. During the years 1375-1391 Schaiff loaned the city, either privately or in association with other Cologne Jews, the sum of 43,200 marks, that is 540,000 in modern money. 28,000 marks of this sum, 350,000 in modern money, were certainly his own.

⁴⁰ Others whose financial resources were drawn upon at that time were Schaiff's son-in-law Vyvus, Moyses of Bachrach, Abraham of Katzenellenbogen, Anselm of Lahnstein, Mannus of Speyer, Vivus of Gelnhausen, Nathan of Berg, Vyvus of Andernach, to whom the ducal crown of Berg had been given in pledge, Joedelyn of Heidelberg, and, during the last decade of Jewish residence in the city, the Jewish "Bishop" Soyskint, Meyer the son of Moyses of Bachrach, and Jacob of Nordhausen. These are the representatives of the Jews, the financial supporters of the city.

⁴¹ There is no doubt of the authenticity of the archbishop's document, although it is dated October 1, 1414 whereas the archbishop died on the previous April 9.

⁴² It is clear that Archbishop Dietrich von Moers (1414-1463) acknowledged the validity of the agreement arranged between the Jews and his uncle and predecessor. Nevertheless, the very next spring he had his official cite the Jews of Cologne before his ecclesiastical tribunal. To this action the City Council interposed objections on the ground that it violated the archbishop's agreement with the Jews and the city. The Council demanded the postponement of citation till after Easter, and at the same time called for a meeting with the archbishop's men, for the purpose of thoroughly re-examining the entire situation. This the archbishop refused. He explained that he had cited the Jews for matters which concerned only himself, and therefore could not admit that he had been guilty of violating the Privilege.

In consequence of the disagreement the Jews did not appear at the time set for answering the summons. Thereupon the archbishop repeated his invitation, threatening the Jews with serious punishment in case of a repeated failure to appear. But the City Council also repeated its objections, all the more insistently this time since a number of Christians now appeared to be mixed up in the affair, and were also summoned by the archbishop. Because of ecclesiastical and imperial politics the matter dragged for a little while. It seems to have been settled finally in accordance with the wishes of the city, for, as we have seen, on December 15, 1416, at Aix, King Sigismund again ratified the Privilege granted the Jews of Cologne by Archbishop Frederick.

A few months later, however, the archbishop showed himself hostile to the Privilege despite its renewed ratification. This time a matter of money was involved. The full coffers which Archbishop Frederick had left behind did not suffice to cover the election expenses of Dietrich, his nephew and successor. Consequently he was forced to mortgage the most productive of the archbishop's sources of income, and still bear a considerable burden of debt. As soon, therefore, as permanent peace was established at Constance, Archbishop Dietrich von Moers proceeded to set his finances in order. Clearly, the Jews of Cologne would have to come to his aid, and he demanded that they give him 25,000 gulden, the sum for which Dietrich had mortgaged to the city half the income of the tolls from Bonn. When the Jews hesitated to accede to these demands, the archbishop, on July 2, 1417, summoned the Jewish "Bishop" Soyskint, Meyer the son of Moisin of Bachrach, and the Jewry of Cologne in general, to appear before him at Poppelsdorf on July 17th. He threatened to withdraw all their privileges if they failed to appear.

A long-drawn conflict followed. The Jews appealed to both archbishop and city. The latter petitioned the archbishop to cancel the summons to the Jews, since it was contrary to the city's liberties. The archbishop yielded to the extent of postponing the date of their appearance from the 17th, which fell on a Saturday, to the following Monday. When the Jews still failed to appear at Poppelsdorf on the 19th, the summons was renewed for August 16, 1417. The Jews then submitted a petition to the Council, citing their own privileges and those of the city, and asking that the city intercede for them with the archbishop and obtain his promise not to summon them to court outside of Cologne. The city did not shirk its duty, and at once dispatched to Poppelsdorf the burgomasters Johann von Neuenstein, Johann von Huechenhoven, and two other representatives. Negotiations were begun

on August 30, 1417. The archbishop himself was present, accompanied by a splendid retinue. The Council and jurors of the City of Bonn also made their appearance. Burggrave Costin von Lyskirchen of Cologne was there as counsellor of the archbishop. With the latter's consent Count Costin undertook to represent the City of Cologne, whereas Burggrave Godard von Drachenfels presented the archbishop's side of the case (*vursprech*). At once Count Godard moved that sentence be pronounced making the city responsible for whatever the Jews had done against the archbishop, since the Jews were considered citizens of Cologne. Costin von Lyskirchen, on the other hand, replied by asking that the entire matter be referred to the civil court in Cologne. He based himself on the fact that the city and its Jews possessed the *ius de non evocando*, that is the right of the Jews not to be summoned outside the city, a right ratified by the emperor as well as by the archbishop. Nevertheless, the Council of Bonn decided in favor of the archbishop's claims.

Against this decision the representative of the City of Cologne appealed to the Empire. He persisted in this appeal despite the fact that his right to make it was contested for two reasons: he had not consulted with the other representatives before announcing the appeal, and he was acting contrary to the rights of an Electoral Court against which no appeal could be taken to the Empire. Moreover, the representatives of the city refused to go surety for the sum to which the Jews might be condemned. As a result the negotiations were broken off.

On September 13, 1417 Werner von Kattenforst, representing the Archbishop's Chamberlain, Arnold von Hemberg, summoned the Jews of Cologne for the third and last time to appear before the archiepiscopal court at Poppelsdorf on September 27, 1417. At once the city dispatched Johann von Hirtz, a doctor of Imperial Law, and Gobel Walrave, its treasurer, to King Sigismund. The two representatives were empowered, on September 28, to condemn the judgment of Poppelsdorf before the Imperial Court. The Jewish community of Cologne joined in this step by empowering the same emissaries of the city to enter their objection to the judgment. Duke Adolf of Kleve-Berg-Juelich undertook the safe-conduct of the representatives. They found the royal court at Constance. King Sigismund had his own reasons for being favorable to the claims of the city. He had just sent a request to the Jews of the city and the diocese for a change in the payment of the tax (*Opferpfenig*) which they used to pay to the royal treasury at Christmas time. Thereafter it was to be paid to his Protonotary Johann Kirchen and his heirs and legal suc-

cessors, in order thereby to pay off a debt of one thousand Rhenish gulden (November 15, 1417). Two days later, on the 17th, the King requested the city to help his Protonotary in the collection of this money. The city, in turn, did what was requested of it, as may be seen from a letter of thanks sent by Johann Kirchen to the city on April 6, 1418.

King Sigismund invited Archbishop Dietrich to his court. After waiting four weeks for the embassy promised by the archbishop, King Sigismund apprised him of the claims raised by the city's representatives. On the basis of the liberties which had been granted them, they had pointed out that the Jews, who were serfs of the Empire, had been summoned before the court of the archbishop. The King then requested that the archbishop bring proof for his claims before the royal court within forty days. At the same time the King sent to Cologne a copy of his summons to the archbishop, and invited the city also to appear before the royal court.

On June 16, 1418 the decision of the royal court in favor of the city was delivered to the archbishop in Zons. But it had no effect. On the contrary, Dietrich tried to use influence upon the King so as to have him reverse the decision. He relied especially upon his brother, Count Frederick von Sarwerden. Consequently the City of Cologne, and the Jews, too, empowered its own representatives, those mentioned above, to carry on further negotiations. The city also directed a letter to the Imperial Protonotary Johann Kirchen, urging him to aid their cause.

⁴³ Up to the present the papal archives at the Vatican have revealed nothing further in this action. All that has come down to us is the letter outlined above, which is to be found in the Historical Archives of the City of Cologne (document no. 10,095), in which we find the city complaining against its spiritual shepherd, the archbishop, for his failure to protect its sacred soil.

⁴⁴ In 1765 these lived in Bonn, Deutz, Ahrweiler, Blatzheim, Brigen, Bruhl, Diesdorf, Elfen, Friesdorf, Fremersdorf, Duennelsheim, Gieskirchen, Glehn, Godesberg, Gaurheindorf, Gustorf, Gymnich, Hersel, Huelchrath, Kaiserswerth, Kessenich, Kochenheim, Latum, Lechenich, Leibsdorf, Linz, Lynns, Mehlem, Miesenheim, Muffendorf, Netzheim, Ostrat, Rachtig, Rheinbach, Rheinberg, Rheinbreitbach, Rommerskirchen, Rosellen, St. Tuemes, Uerdingen, Ueth, Unkel, Zeltingen, Zuelpich, Yssum. A statistical list of the year 1774 mentions 73 houses and 25 gardens in Jewish hands within the principality.

⁴⁵ See *Rheinisches Woerterbuch* II (1931), Sp. 698, 864.

⁴⁶ In a *responsum* of Moses Minz, Rabbi Seligmann tells of his former experiences as rabbi in Andernach, mentioning that he there decided a certain Halachic question in cooperation with the old Rabbi Anshel Levi of Cologne who could have been none other than the well-known official rabbi of Worms, Anshel of Cologne.

⁴⁷ He was a pupil of Zalman Satan of Oppenheim, and the teacher of the author of the *Hagaot* of Rabbi Moses, or of Rabbi Eliezer Chasan. Judging by the description of him in the writings of the most important rabbinic authority of that day, Israel Isserlein of Wiener-Neustadt, and also in those of Moses Minz, it is clear that he was a most energetic personality. It is impossible to establish whether Rabbi Vives is identical with the Vives of Aschaffenburg, the physician who enjoyed the confidence of the Duke of Juelich.

⁴⁸ According to the *Ma-amar Mordecai* he was also called by the name Rabbi Hayyim Schwarz. Around 1580 he resided in Koenswinter, from 1585 to 1595 in Ahrweiler, where he died in 1598. His view is still mentioned in the dispute which, beginning with 1615 to 1616, stirred the Jewish communities in the Archdiocese of Cologne for many decades, and which was finally disposed of in the above-named collection of *responsa* of Mordecai Halberstadt of Duesseldorf (Bruenn, 1789). The dispute concerned the question whether an animal in whose entrails a needle or any other sharp object was found sticking to the flesh without having pierced it, while the other side showed a scab, can be considered ritually permissible. Hayyim ben Johanan Treves had taken a stand against the ritual permissibility of the animal on the basis of ancient tradition and numerous statements whose authenticity Mordecai Halberstadt — according to Bruell without basis — had disputed.

⁴⁹ Joseph ben Isaac ha-Levi Ashkenazi seems to have been the successor in Electoral Cologne of Ruben Fulda. A pupil of the most famous scholars of Germany, a man of great piety, humility, and simplicity, he was, nevertheless, not spared the hostility of his contemporaries, especially that of Rabbi Meir ben Gedaliah, Rabbi of Lemberg and subsequently of Lublin. His mastery of the Talmud is shown by a line of a German-Jewish song, "I wish I could be as good a scholar as Rabbi Joseph Ashkenaz" (*Ich mucht so wol lernen als Rabbi Josef Ashkenaz*). He could have been rabbi in Electoral Cologne only for a few years before 1595. From the *Ma-amar Mordecai* we know only this much of Rabbi Joseph's activity in this district, that he permitted his followers to adopt the custom mentioned above. In the memorial book of Metz he

is mentioned for the year 1628 to the effect that he had been active as rabbi in Metz and in other places for over sixty years. Assuming that this figure is exact, he functioned for thirty-two of these years, presumably since 1595, as rabbi in Metz where he was active particularly in the building of the synagogue, the acquisition of a cemetery, and the organization of a burial society. During his rabbinate at Metz the community grew to ninety-five families. He died on the 7th of II Adar, 5388 (March 12, 1628) in Frankfort a/M, a short time after leaving Metz.

⁵⁰ The successor of Joseph Ashkenazi, though probably not the immediate one, in the rabbinate of Electoral Cologne, was Moses ben Isaiah Joseph Buergel. He was born in 1575 in Buergel, a village in the neighborhood of Frankfort. A pupil of Rabbi Jacob Guenzberg in Friedberg, he became the rabbi of Electoral Cologne with Bonn as his residence. In 1624 he succeeded Rabbi Judah ben Aaron Solomon Wetzlar, whose daughter Gutlen he had married. He died on the 25th of Kislev (December 5-6), 1643 after only twenty years of activity. The memorial book of Bonn emphasizes his great talmudic learning, his modesty, and his love of peace. Of his work there exist manuscripts of a treatise called *Vayiggash Yehudah* (*Oxford Cod.* 831), and a poem in which he bewailed the death of his only son, Solomon, who died in Friedberg in 1642 at the age of thirty-seven. In two further poems he perpetuated the memory of Jewish suffering in Moravia. In the ritual dispute mentioned above he accepted the stricter view. The members of his communities, however, refused to abide by the prohibition. Moses Buergel is buried in Friedberg.

⁵¹ It is likely that the successor of Moses Buergel was Moses Maus, or, to give him his full name, Moses ben David ha-Kohen of Bonn. He functioned in Bonn in 1616 along with Moses ben Meir and Naphtali Herz Bruehl. In the oft-mentioned dispute on ritual he followed the old established custom. In the memorial book of Emmerich he is listed as the *Ab Beth-Din*, the Head of the Court, of the entire territory of Cologne.

⁵² Naphtali ben Kalonymos, called Herz Bruehl, was the pupil of Samuel Zanvil of Deutz. The memorial book of Bonn speaks of him as a diligent teacher of the Talmud, and as a man who prayed with deep devotion, brought up orphans in his home, and was noted for modesty and humility. He lived in Deutz and died there in 1656.

⁵³ Judah ben Benjamin, called Loeb Ashkenazi, functioned in Electoral Cologne for over thirty years. The memorial book speaks of his scholarship, his charity, and of his strong family feeling which led him to bring up even his grandchildren in his

own home, and marry them off from there. His rabbinic seat was apparently Bonn. That is where he died in 1688. He was buried in Schwarzrheindorf.

⁵⁴ Alexander ben Jacob ha-Kohen, for many years rabbi of Coblenz, was the last to unite the rabbinate of Electoral Cologne, Juelich, and Berg. The memorial book of Bonn praises his mental acuity, his self-sacrificing activity as *mohel*, and his love of his neighbor which expressed itself in the rearing of orphans in his own home. He died in 1704, and found his last resting place on the cemetery of Deutz which was first established in 1695. His tombstone is still in existence.

⁵⁵ The piety and the Jewish scholarship which prevailed in the community of Deutz during the seventeenth century is evidenced by the activity of Isaac ben Abraham, who died in 1704. He was the one who prepared the memorial book down to his own day. He also collected the penitential hymns (*selihoth*) used in Electoral Cologne, so that with his work as a basis these *selihot* could be published in Frankfurt a/M in 1694. The cost of this printing was borne by Moses Yehiel ben Eliezer ha-Kohen of Deutz, who stood at the head of the Jews of the entire principality. This work, a copy of which is to be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Opp. 4°, 1322), indicates there were twenty-one *selihot* which used to be recited by the Jews of Electoral Cologne on the eve of *Rosh ha-Shanah*.

⁵⁶ From 1714 to 1716 he was assistant rabbi in Electoral Hesse, and in 1716 he was a member of the rabbinic committee entrusted with the decision on the affair concerning the inheritance of Lipmann Cohen of Hanover. A number of his opinions and decisions are scattered among the collections of opinions of his contemporaries; others are still in manuscript, for he left a number of such manuscript collections as well as a copy which he made for himself of decisions by others and also an original commentary on the Pentateuch. There are likewise a number of letters of commendation by him.

⁵⁷ Joseph Juspa Kossmann of Essen, called more briefly Juspa Essen, was a son-in-law of Rabbi Judah Mehler, and his choice as his lieutenant in Deutz and other cities. Rabbi Judah wrote notes to the commentary on the *selihot* by his son-in-law סליחות עם פירוש הסכ"ב. ס' נודע כצאן יוסף and emendations to his פירוש הסכ"ב. Juspa Essen was the grandson of Juspa Hahn, author of *Josef Omez*. For four years he studied under Abraham Broda at Prague, and then under Jacob Kohen Poppers in Frankfurt a/M. His youth was spent in Amsterdam. The two books mentioned above appeared in print. The one is a commentary to the penitential

hymns according to the German rite; the other is a collection of laws and customs of daily Jewish life. He also wrote two smaller books. One contains poems on the three major holidays as well as an explanation of two psalms. The other is a book on grammar in rhymed prose. Other writings of his remained unpublished for lack of money, while the above-named were published through the support of his cousin Bermann Halberstadt, and his more distant relatives Loeb and Jacob Kleve. He, too, is accounted among the founders and directors of the Charity Society of Deutz. In 1715 he became that organization's *maggid*, that is its teacher and lecturer. He died in 1758, and was buried in the cemetery at Deutz. The *Hebra Kadisha* of that town possessed a copy of the *selihot* read on the annual fast-days in Deutz, prepared in 1807 by Gumprich son of Loeb Zilich.

⁵⁸ Samuel, who was called Zanvil Aschkenazi, had functioned previously in Peine near Hildesheim. He now made Bonn his residence. From his great-grandson Jehudah Loeb as well as from the memorial books of Bonn and Deutz we learn that Rabbi Zanvil also led an ascetic life. Great praise has been bestowed upon his decisions in religious law which show a keen mind and an understanding of the great talmudic heroes. In Bonn he gave his approbation to a work of Naphtali Hirsch Goslar which appeared in Amsterdam in 1762. In his old age he suffered great pain. That is why he directed a request to the leaders of his communities immediately to elect his son Elhanan as his successor.

⁵⁹ Elhanan, or as he is known in the records of Electoral Cologne, Elkan Samuel, was elected by the communities concerned while his father was still alive, and the choice was ratified by Elector Frederick of Cologne. The latter then took occasion to urge the Jews of the territories of Cologne and of Muenster to save expenses by retaining the system of a common rabbi.

Elkan Samuel was born in 1713, and in 1732 was already rabbi in Vordern, Poland. In 1752 he became rabbi of the Schottland community in Danzig. Then came the urgent request from the Electorate of Cologne, for this community sent him its commission as rabbi. Despite the objections of his wife and of the Danzig Jews, he decided to go to Bonn. He already sent his belongings to Amsterdam by ship, and then, at the last moment, changed his mind, having permitted the influence of the others to prevail. In the meantime his father died on the 27th of Tammuz, 1766, during an official journey to Muenster where he was to attend a synod of that diocese in Bochholt. Rabbi Elkan Samuel was the author of the books סדרי טהרה וס' חידור הלכות ושיורי טהרה

⁶⁰ Uri Schraga Phoebus Helmann, known in the official documents as Feibush Samuel, was the son of Rabbi Samuel Helmann of Krotoschin, Rabbi of Mannheim and Metz where he died in 1765, famed for his active participation in the quarrel between Rabbi Jonathan Eibeschuetz and Jacob Emden. Uri Phoebus Helmann had been rabbi in Hanau and then in Lissa. While in these positions he approved a number of works, and dispatched his thoroughly documented views to a number of rabbinic authorities in the matter of the Lissa divorce of 1764. Because of a false accusation which was raised against him, in 1767 or 1768, he and two other rabbis had to flee from Lissa to save their lives. Subsequently he taught at the *Beth ha-Midrash* in Berlin, where he gathered about himself a large number of pupils. Finally he became the rabbi of Electoral Cologne, with his residence in Bonn. On July 18, 1771 the Court Factor Baruch Simon petitioned the government of the principality to permit the appointment of Feibush Samuel, already the accepted rabbi of Bonn, as rabbi of the entire Jewry of the Electorate as well as of Westphalia and Muenster, and to grant a letter-patent for this purpose. The government granted the petition and added a warning to the Jews of Cologne and Muenster to save money by submitting to such an arrangement. But in the very first year of his rabbinate at Bonn, while on the way to visit his father's grave at Metz where he hoped also to seek a cure for a malady which affected his feet, Rabbi Phoebus died. According to the memorial book of Bonn his death occurred on the 15th of Kislev 5532 (November 27, 1771), and he was buried by his father's side. Both the memorial books of Bonn and of Deutz speak of a miracle which took place at the time and because of which Rabbi Phoebus was buried near his father. Rabbi Tiah Weil of Karlsruhe delivered the eulogy over Rabbi Phoebus.

⁶¹ Both of the rabbis who succeeded Feibush Samuel in Electoral Cologne, the brothers Isaac Kahana and Simha Bunem Kahana Rapaport, were members of a family tracing its origin to a tiny Lithuanian town, Rushani, where most of the family had fallen martyr to a ritual-murder accusation. Among their ancestors they counted Rabbi Meir of Lublin. Their immediate grandfather was Rabbi Baruch Abraham Rapaport (1668-1746), rabbi in Fuerth, a universally esteemed scholar, director of an important talmudical academy, who conducted his rabbinic office with great rigor, and himself led an unimpeachable ascetic life. His second son, Zvi Hirsch Rapaport, father of the two who later succeeded one another in the Cologne rabbinate, was rabbi in Wallerstein along with Harburg and the rest of that district,

until his death on September 14, 1763. He gained a reputation for piety and wisdom. Even before Rabbi Zvi Hirsch was buried, the community elected his son Isaac to succeed him. At the time Rabbi Isaac was assessor of the rabbinical court at Lissa. From Wallerstein he was called to the rabbinate of Cologne, and in 1772 made his residence in Bonn. Here he labored successfully, and earned particular commendation for the rebuilding of the Deutz synagogue, which, on February 28, 1784, had been destroyed by an overflow of the Rhine. Himself showing the way, he stirred his fellow-Jews to works of charity. He died at Bonn, March 12, 1788, and was buried at Schwazrheindorf. The memorial books of Bonn and of Deutz praise his piety, learning, love of peace, and asceticism. Among the *responsa* of his blood-relative Rabbi Ezekiel Landau, may be found several of Rabbi Isaac's questions. So, too, the book of his brother and successor, Rabbi Simha Bunem, contains a number of Rabbi Isaac's comments.

⁶² After his marriage Rabbi Simha Bunem settled in Heidingsfeld and became a businessman. But such a life did not please him. He preferred to devote all his time to the study of the Talmud, although once in a while, during his uncle's absence from Heidingsfeld on business, Simha Bunem acted as his representative. Soon, however, he took over the rabbinic post in Markbreit and the district of Schwarzburg, and from there moved to Wallerstein, in 1772, as the successor to his brother Isaac, whom he succeeded six years later in the rabbinic office of Bonn.

He was the author of two works: *הדושי הלכות רשב"ץ*, on the talmudic treatises Ketubot and Gittin; and *פרפרת רשב"ץ*, a commentary on Psalm 119 and Pirke Abot. He had these books printed when he was already advanced in years, and, likewise at his own expense and for the purpose of encouraging study, distributed them.

⁶³ *Der judeus, so sich der medicin annympt, kein glaidt, sol ehr zur straff angehalten werden. Item dass ehr per medicos examinirt werden.*

^{63a} Registrum lit. universitates Col. 1411-1478, nos. 262-3.

⁶⁴ In 1485 a Latin translation by him of the *Dicta Septem Sapientium* appeared in Cologne.

⁶⁵ There followed in 1800: Joseph son of Feibes Dahlen, Anselm Wallerstein, Meir son of Menachem of Nindorf, Wolf Wesslingen, Jekuthiel Kaufmann, Segal of Heidelberg, Sueskind son of Seligmann, Isaac son of Jacob, Sanwli son of Meier, Nathan Nata Neuwied, Elia son of Abraham Segal of Bukim, Meshulam Samuel son of Salomon, Abraham Segal.

⁶⁶ In 1806 Juelich had 95 Jews, Frechen 92, Bergheim 91, and Bruehl 78.

⁶⁷ The government decree of October 5, 1818 calls attention to the fact that Article XVI, paragraph 2 applied only to foreign Jews, but that it did not apply to such Jews as merely wanted to move from one French *département* to another, at the time of the promulgation of the decree, being already possessed of French civil rights. The government reserved decision on the question whether Jews who were not French by origin but had come into Cologne from provinces of Old Prussia or New Prussia should be considered as foreigners or as natives in accordance with the meaning of the decree.

⁶⁸ The Prefect of the *Département* of the Roer had ordered on December 27, 1811 that, in case of the refusal of a certificate, the City Council must present the facts which moved it to take such action in an expert, detailed, and conscientious manner. By emphasizing the exception, this last regulation provided a sufficient excuse for the attitude taken by the City Council. On August 16, 1822 the government declared its inability to forego the procedure it had prescribed, namely that the City Council indicate the reasons for its refusal, in view of the fact that the higher authorities had expressly requested a statement of such reasons. Apart from everything else the decision of the City Council was null and void because, at the time it was made, a quorum had not been present.

⁶⁹ As a result of this conflict with the city, it was February, 1823 before the government was ready to grant certificates to Jews engaged in trade, none having been distributed during the years 1821, 1822, and 1823. At the same time the government asked the City Council of Cologne to prepare its testimonials for the year 1824 before November 1, 1823, in view of the fact that the business tax for that year had to be fixed accordingly. On November 27, 1823 the City Council again took up the matter of its testimonials, expressing sharp criticism of the government because it had, in the meantime, granted certificates to Jews for whom the City Council itself had refused to vouch. Consequently, the City Council decided to have nothing to do with the entire matter for the time being. On January 14, 1824 the provincial government replied by censuring the City Council, saying that it was to provide the legal documents as a matter of duty and conscience without passing any judgment upon the conduct of its superiors. The City Council, however, decided by a majority vote not only to stand by its previous decisions but to complain to the Ministry of the Interior. This it did on

January 18, 1825, and already on February 10 of that year received a reply that the Ministry itself had fixed the procedure followed by the government in the granting or refusal of permission for Jews to trade, and that the government's orders corresponded to the spirit of the French decree of March 17, 1808. Moreover, the Ministry of the Interior declared that complaints by the City Council were out of order; its duty was to follow the procedure prescribed.

⁷⁰ "In view of the fact that, according to the industrial regulation of January 17 of the current year, the requirement for a Jewish certificate to trade in a definite location as well as in the search for orders in goods was abolished . . . we notify the Royal Government that on March 21 the Ministry of the Interior had advised the Jews as follows with regard to their trading certificates. The interpretation which the said Ministry gives to the Industrial Regulation of January 17 of the current year is correct in making the Jews equal to Christian industrialists with regard to the contents of Paragraph 60 of the said regulation, in matters of local trade and other trade connected therewith. Accordingly trading certificates prescribed for Jews in the Imperial Decree of March 17, 1808 are no longer to be required for such industries."

⁷¹ In the same year the Jews on the right bank of the Rhine, inhabiting the former Duchy of Berg, were officially told that consent was needed for the permanent family names which they were to choose.

⁷² In Aix it included the city of Aix and its vicinity, the district of Gemuend, Geilenkirchen, Heinsberg, Erkelenz, Dueren, and Juelich, with two large synagogues and twenty-four houses of prayer. In the government district of Cologne it included the vicinity of Cologne, portions of the districts of Bonn, and Bergheim and Lechenich, with two large synagogues and sixteen houses of prayer. In the government district of Duesseldorf it included the districts of Krefeld, Gladbach, Neuss, Grevenbroich, Cleves, Kempen, and Geldern, with ten large synagogues and forty-two houses of prayer. The Consistory of Bonn also included certain portions of the government districts of Cologne and of Coblenz. In the government district of Cologne it included portions of the district of Bonn, and of Muelheim, Siegburg, Rheinbach, in addition to the City of Cologne; altogether eight large synagogues and nine houses of prayer. In the government district of Coblenz it extended over the districts of Adenau, Ahrweiler, Coblenz, Kochem, Kreuznach, Mayen, St. Goar, Simmern, and Zell, with eighteen synagogues and forty-four houses of prayer.

⁷³ The first rabbi of the Consistory of Krefeld was Loeb Carlburg, called also Lion Carlburg, and in Hebrew, Jehudah Loeb. He was born in Bohemia, probably in 1763. In 1786 he stayed with Itzig of Beckum to whom he dedicated his essay written in 1787 as an introduction to the ספר תנפח והתמכה. In 1793 he resided in Bonn where he composed the poem of praise consisting of twelve verses which was recited in the synagogue of Bonn on April 30, 1793 on the occasion of the return to that city of Elector Max Franz. In 1809 he became the rabbi of the Consistory of the Roer *département* with his seat in Krefeld. He was the author of a number of works, for example a Hebrew work opposing the abolition of the second day of the Jewish festivals (1833). He died in Krefeld in 1835. His successor in that consistory was Leon Ullmann of Coblenz (1836-1843), the well-known translator of the Koran into German. His successor was Loeb Bodenheimer (1844-1868), previously district-rabbi of Hildesheim.

⁷⁴ At the order of the higher authorities the Police Commissioner requested the signature of all members of the community who had participated in the election. Of the 260 members, 228 signed. Some of the others were sick, some on a journey, and still others added their signatures subsequently.

⁷⁵ It was the government's view that the proposal of the executive committee of the Cologne community could be adopted only within the bounds of the law of July 23, 1847, the further application of which had been regulated by a general decree released at the same time. Accordingly, the statutes submitted by the Cologne Jews would have to be scrutinized with the law of 1847 in mind. The question of whether the community already possessed the rights of a legal personality was still to be decided. Finally, the statute would have to limit itself to the subjects prescribed in Article 50 of the law, that is to the relations of the executive and representatives towards one another and towards the synagogue community with respect to the internal arrangements of religious worship. Accordingly, all regulations of ritual were to be kept out of the statute, since there was to be no interference by the government in the religious aspects of communal life. This point of view in no way abolished the cooperation of the State in the collection of whatever is necessary for the administration of religious life by the Jewish corporation. Such assistance is to continue as heretofore in accordance with the regulation set down in Article 58 of the law. The negotiations about the structure of the community which had been dropped in the spring of 1848 were to be resumed at that point, and the

boundaries then fixed for the new synagogue communities were to be re-affirmed.

⁷⁶ On September 13, 1855 the government of Cologne had reported to the Lord-Lieutenant the practical completion of the fundamental statute. It was based on the draft made by Rubo (Berlin) and announced by the Royal Ministry of Religious Instruction and Medical Affairs, and on the suggestions made, on March 27, 1855, by the Lord-Lieutenant through the members of the communal executive board who were zealously interested in the matter. These suggestions had then been carefully reworked by the Royal Government with a view to making their major regulations into a general statute for the government of all synagogues in the district.

⁷⁷ On August 30, 1860 the government sent its decision to the Lord-Lieutenant. On November 19, 1860 he asked for a number of further changes.

⁷⁸ He belonged to a family of rabbis and scholars. He was born on November 21, 1828 to Rabbi Haim Schwarz in Huerben, Bavaria. His uncle was the geographer of Palestine, Joseph Schwarz (1804-1865). Israel Schwarz attended the Yeshiva of Wuerzburg for three years, and, beginning 1840, the Lyceum of Heidelberg. In October 1846 he entered the University of Heidelberg where he studied philosophy and philology. He obtained his doctoral degree at Jena on June 6, 1851 with a German edition of the Hebrew Geography and History of Palestine (*Tebu'ot ha-Arez*) of his uncle. He received his rabbinical diploma in May 1850 from Aaron Merz, the district rabbi of Duerkheim, and from Jacob Bamberger, the district rabbi of Worms. For seven months he acted as assistant to the last-named rabbi in Worms and the communities of that district and, later, for a year and a half, as assistant to his own father in Huerben. In December 1852 he passed the rabbinical examination prescribed by the Bavarian government in Augsburg, and received a certificate of high aptitude. The community of Bayreuth elected him rabbi, and the Bavarian government ratified him in this position in February 1853. The four years that Israel Schwarz was active in Bayreuth were years of happy creativity. Aside from his preaching and pastoral work he taught the Jewish religion in the Royal Gymnasium and in the Industrial and Agricultural School of the Bayreuth district.

⁷⁹ Because of his office he received in 1868 the rights of denizenship from the Royal Ministry, and civic rights from the Magistracy of Cologne.

⁸⁰ In 1852 appeared his German edition, *Das Heilige Land*, of the Hebrew work of his uncle, Joseph Schwarz of Jerusalem. In 1859 he published a little work called *Rabbi Joseph Schwarz of Jerusalem, the Holy Land*, as re-worked for school use by Solomon Hirschinger (Cologne, Du Mont-Schauberg). In 1853 there appeared in Bayreuth the first and second courses of his *Lehrbuch der Israelitischen Religion zum Unterricht fuer die Jugend* (Text-book of the Jewish Faith for the Instruction of the Young). He had sought to write a religious text-book for the strict observance of Judaism. The appendix to the first course included an examination for confirmands. In the second edition of this text-book, which appeared in Bamberg and Frankfurt in 1857, a third course was added to the first two, as well as a number of religious poems, many of them by Michael Sachs. The poem *Am Jordan* is by the author himself. It was drawn from *Zions-Klaengen, Religioese Dichtungen* which contain lyrical songs and historical poems like Ruth, Asaf, and Tirzah, which Israel Schwarz had published in Leipzig in 1855 and dedicated to his uncle, Samuel Schwarz. Some of his poems have attained fame and popularity. Two examples are given herewith:

Der Tag

*Jeder Tag hat seine Freuden,
Jeder Tag hat seine Leiden,
Jeder eilt dem anderen zu;
Um was singend wir gestritten,
Um was duldend wir gelitten,
Kündet leis die Abendruh'.*

*Jeder Tag führt uns zum Ziele
Näher, aus dem Weltgewühle,
Zeigt uns die Vergänglichkeit; —
Keinen lass Dir drum entrücken,
Sollst an jedem Blumen pflücken,
Immergrün der Ewigkeit.*

Am Jordan

*Mein Herz ist am Jordan im heiligen Land,
Wo eh'dem die Wiege der Jugend uns stand;
Wo der Himmel so blau, wo die Sonne so glüht,
Und in Saron die Rose so purpurroth blüht;
Wo allwärts geweht das Siegespanier —
Wo ich bin, wo ich gehe, mein Herz ist bei dir.*

*Ich grüss' dich, O Salem, du Perle der Welt,
Ich grüss' dich, O Tempel, du göttliches Zelt;
Da die Könige knieten, Hohepriester gefleht,
Da der Heide erleuchtet den Irrthum gesteht;
Das fröhliche Volk walzt zum Feste hinan,
Der Herr hat schon wieder ein Wunder gethan.*

*Dich preis' ich, o fürstliche Burg von Zion,
Da stehst du noch heute Barbaren zum Hohn;
Weil ein David hier sang und seine Psalmen geweint,
Und die Blüten der heiligen Dichtung gestreut;
O wär' ich dein Ephraim, der rankt um's Spalier! —
Wo ich bin, wo ich gehe, mein Herz ist bei dir.
etc.*

*Mein Herz ist am Jordan im heiligen Land,
Wohin alle Augen der Völker gewandt;
Wo der Himmel so blau, wo die Sonne so glüht,
Und in Saron die Rose so purpurroth blüht;
Wo allwärts nun wehet das Siegespanier —
Wo ich bin, wo ich gehe, mein Herz ist bei dir.*

⁸¹ In 1868 his book, *Tikvat Enosh, i. e. Liber Ijobi*, appeared in Berlin. The first volume of this work contains the masoretic text with a new metrical translation into German, also explanations drawn from the Talmud, the *Midrash Zohar*, as well as a number of commentaries as yet unpublished, which he found in the libraries of Paris, Oxford, and Munich. These were the commentaries on Job by Isaiah de Trani, written in 1297, Moses Kimhi of the twelfth century, the latter's father, Joseph Kimhi, and finally by Zerachiah ben Isaac ben Shealtiel of Barcelona, which appeared in Rome in 1291. The translation of Job proves the poetic gifts of the author. The published commentaries, especially the last named, are characterized by a philosophical bent of great importance. It is therefore a matter of regret that the second volume of this work, which was to contain Saadia's translation and that of Moses Gikatilla along with Schwarz's own introduction and his comprehensive commentary in Hebrew, never saw the light of day. A commentary by Schwarz on the Proverbs of Solomon appeared under the title *Imrei Da'at*.

⁸² Addresses on various occasions were printed already in Bayreuth. Among the addresses delivered in Cologne which merit particular attention are: that delivered upon the death of King Frederick William IV of Prussia on February 17, 1861, the

address on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Rhenish Province on May 15, 1865, the address at the funeral of Chief Rabbi Bodenheimer of Krefeld on August 28, 1868, the address at the cornerstone laying of the synagogue on the Glockengasse in Cologne on June 30, 1857, and at its dedication August 29, 1861, the address at the dedication of the Asylum in 1869, the address on the National Day of Prayer on July 27, 1872, the address at the unveiling, in 1871, of a memorial to the Jewish soldiers who had fallen in the war, delivered at the Jewish Orphans' Home at Paderborn, the address at the dedication of the new synagogue in Solingen, March 8, 1872, and the one delivered on a similar occasion for the synagogue at Orsoy on September 14, 1867.

⁸³ Before coming to Cologne Abraham Frank occupied a rabbinic position in Saaz in Bohemia, 1867-1872. The year 1867 was of particular importance for the Jews of Austria. The Constitution granted at that time brought complete equality for the members of all faiths. Thus the Jews gained civil and civic rights. When, on October 24 (*Shemini 'Azaret*), 1872 Abraham Frank took leave of his community, he could point to the new synagogue, dedicated on March 19 of that year, which could well be ascribed to his devoted activity. He then left for Linz, Austria, where until 1861 no Jew had been permitted to settle. He also attended to the rabbinical functions in Salzburg which had had no Jews down to 1867. He persuaded the Provincial Government to make him the Registrar of the Jewish population of Salzburg. In agreement with his petition the Jews of Salzburg were attached to the Jewish community of Linz. On August 22, 1873 he was appointed to the Provincial Board of Education in Upper Austria. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of Francis Joseph's accession to the throne he delivered an address, on December 2, 1873, emphasizing the fact that the Emperor had granted the Jews religious freedom. Above all in Abraham Frank's services to the Jewish cause was the impetus he gave to the erection of the first Temple in Linz, and thereby to Jewish life in Austria generally. The very joyful celebration in dedication of this Temple did not take place until May 10, 1877, one and a half years after Frank's departure from Linz. Like Jellinek, who had performed the first marriage ceremony in Linz sixteen years previously, so Abraham Frank returned to Linz from Cologne to participate in the dedication ceremony, and was received with equal acclaim.

⁸⁴ Thus, in addition to the dedication of the synagogues in Saaz and Cologne, he participated in the dedication of those in

Euskirchen, Lechenich, St. Johann in Saarbruecken, Eschweiler, Luexheim, Hamm on the Sieg, Oberhausen, Goch, Linnich in the Rhineland, Gelskirchen, Hagen, Hoerde, Dortmund, and Rheine in Westphalia. He delivered addresses upon the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the activity of the well-known Moses Blumenfeld of Essen, the fiftieth anniversary of the synagogue at Langweiler in the Rhineland and Lipstadt in Westphalia, and at the dedication of a hospital built by the Jews at Neuenahr.

⁸⁵ Especially noteworthy in this connection is the address he delivered on December 13, 1895 in the large *Guerzenich Saale*, in the presence of many important non-Jews, on the subject, "The Significance of Work for the Welfare of Released Prisoners."

⁸⁶ At the time he had the privilege of being in close touch with Crémieux, the noted Jewish statesman of France. A few years later, at the request of the Committee in Paris, he was appointed to the Central Committee of the *Alliance* to succeed Rabbi Landsberg of Liegnitz. In 1882 he delivered an address before a general meeting in Rotterdam of the Dutch section of the *Alliance*.

^{86a} Doctor Ludwig Rosenthal was born April 19, 1870 in Wittelshoven, Bavaria. He attended the Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin, receiving his rabbinical diploma from Israel Hildesheimer. From April 1895 to November 1897 he was rabbi in Mannheim, Baden, and from then to June 1938 rabbi of Cologne. He received his doctorate in 1893 with a thesis, presented to the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Halle, on the subject of "Solomon Maimon's Attempt at Transcendental Philosophy in Relation to Kant's Transcendental Aesthetics and Analytics." In 1901 he published sermons delivered on festive as well as ordinary occasions in the synagogues of Cologne. At various times, from 1904 to 1933, he reviewed in the newspapers of Cologne new publications in the field of Jewish Literature. He likewise contributed articles on a variety of Jewish themes to many of Germany's Jewish periodicals.

^{86b} After the death of Abraham Frank, Doctor Adolf Kober was elected to be his successor. Adolf Kober, the author of this book, was born on September 3, 1879, in Beuthen O. S. He attended the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, receiving his rabbinical diploma from Israel Lewy. At the University of Breslau he studied History, Philosophy, and Oriental Languages, receiving his doctorate in 1903. From 1906 to 1908 he acted as substitute rabbi and religious instructor in the Cologne community. From 1908 to 1918 he was the rabbi of the City and

District of Wiesbaden. He became the rabbi of the Cologne community in 1918. In 1922, at the time of the Inflation, he founded an organization for the relief of distress among people ashamed to ask for aid (*Notstandsfond fuer verschaemte Arme*). In 1929 he founded the association *Juedisches Lehrhaus*. He was also a member of the organization of Prussian Jewish Communities. He has published a number of works and articles on the History of the Jews in Germany, and was a member of the editorial staff of various Jewish encyclopedias and of the *Germania Judaica*. He lectured at the University of Cologne on Jewish History and Literature.

⁸⁷ Further details about the building of this synagogue might be of interest. In 1887 a member of the community proposed to the executive board the acquisition of ground for the erection of a new synagogue. It was not until 1890, however, that a request by thirty-five members started serious consideration of the matter. The executive board appointed a committee for the investigation of the communal needs in this respect. An unsuccessful attempt was made to acquire from the city a building block in the Haendelstrasse. After a further search of more than four years, the ground belonging to Oelbermann was acquired in July 1893. A contest was announced for the plans for the new synagogue, and the first prize was awarded to the architects Schreiterer and Below.

⁸⁸ In September 1828, these two communities arrived at a new agreement whereby the community of Cologne obtained the right to bury its dead in Deutz in return for a fixed payment for each grave. A new agreement drawn on June 5, 1859 changed the previous situation by making the cemetery the common property of the two Jewish communities, Deutz and Cologne, that is of all the Jewish inhabitants of the two cities. Each one of the two communities had the same rights in the cemetery for the burial of its dead. At the same time another bit of land, about an acre in size, which the Deutz community had obtained and paid for many years previously, was added to the cemetery. In return the Jewish community of Cologne paid to the Jewish community of Deutz, a lump sum of 500 thaler, and promised to surround the entire cemetery with a quickset hedge and erect a gate. For the next five years, the Cologne community assumed the obligation to pay three-quarters of the cost of maintaining the cemetery. The community of Deutz paid the other quarter. Thereafter, a new agreement was to be drawn up. The administration of the cemetery was to be conducted by a committee consisting of five Cologne Jews and two Deutz Jews.

⁸⁹ The Prussian government, however, began to insist upon the establishment of a burial place inside the limits of the Cologne community. Consequently, this community was compelled to assume such an obligation in its communal constitution, though it did not provide for it in its budget till the beginning of the 1860's. On December 19, 1863 the Cologne Chief of Police notified the government that the community of Cologne had acquired provisionally a piece of land for cemetery purposes within the communal district, but that it refused to conclude the purchase until it had obtained a promise from the government to be given free choice in interment there or in the cemetery held in common with the Jewish community of Deutz. The community of Deutz was in full agreement with this request. To this the government replied that in exceptional cases Jews of Cologne might be buried in the older cemetery if they had so desired for reasons of piety. The executive board of the Cologne community, however, insisted upon its unimpeded right to burial in Deutz. At first the Lord-Lieutenant issued a regulation that the Chief of the Cologne Police had to be notified every time a body was transported for burial at Deutz. But in September 1864 this regulation was rescinded by the Minister of the Interior. Two months later the Chief of Police notified the government of the acquisition by the community's executive board of a plot of ground for cemetery purposes on the Duerener Weg, but reported that the representative assembly of the community had refused its consent.

In 1865, as a result of the danger from an epidemic of cholera, both the government and a number of members of the community insisted upon the establishment of a suitable cemetery within the communal boundaries. Nevertheless, it was not done. In view of the fact that the establishment of a new cemetery would entail considerable expense for the community and that, upon the outbreak of an epidemic, or in general in the transportation of persons who had died of a contagious disease, it was necessary to carry the body to Deutz by ship or boat without passing over the bridges of the Rhine or through the streets of Deutz, the police thought that, for the time being, it was more advisable to stop demanding the establishment of a cemetery in the Cologne synagogue district. The Deutz cemetery was increased in size; the necessary buildings, such as a mortuary and a residence for the gate-keeper, and a well, were added to it.

⁹⁰ In his opinion offered in April 1862 Schwarz insists upon his right freely to choose *pygumim* with a view to the needs of the young community. In this opinion he leans upon a statement of Solomon Judah Loeb Rapaport, as well as on Isaac N. Mann-

heimer's prayer book for Vienna, 1840-1841, which seemed to him the ideal prayer book.

⁹¹ A portion of the synagogue code appeared in print some years earlier.

⁹² The question was not raised by Abraham Oppenheim.

⁹³ On the whole everything remained unchanged. According to the report of the teacher, Mannheimer, of March 16, 1847, the Jewish school for boys numbered thirty-one in one section and twenty-eight in the other, altogether fifty-nine children. Their curriculum consisted of Religion and Biblical History, Arithmetic, oral and written, the German Language and Style, Reading and mental exercise, Geography, Calligraphy, Hebrew. Instruction in Religion was limited to the development of religious sentiment and discussion of the ideas in the various biblical stories. For this purpose the book on Religion by Dr. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1836) was used. In Arithmetic the children were divided into four sections in accordance with their ability. At the end of the regular school hours about fourteen pupils took a lesson in French.

⁹⁴ Beginning March 1857, Seligmann Loeb, previously teacher in Deutz, functioned as teacher of the elementary school in place of Marx, deceased. After April 1, 1858, the second teacher was Herrmanns, until then of Ruhrort.

⁹⁵ The school had wandered from the Glockengasse to number 40 Antoniterstrasse, and from there to the Apostelnkloster. From there it moved to the Apenstrasse, and from there to the Roemerturn, and finally, in 1870, to Filzengraben, 21-23. The Jewish community had worked zealously to get the city to keep its promise to erect a new school. Appropriate quarters having been found in the Schildergasse, the executive board appropriated 3,000 thaler for the purchase of the ground and the building. At the same time, the city had planned to extend the quarters of the *Realschule* which bordered on the proposed new school building. Owing to protests of the community, the city had to abandon its plan. As a result the new school building on the Schildergasse was transferred to the Jewish community on October 12, 1874.

⁹⁶ The point of view adopted by the City of Cologne as well as by the general government depended upon paragraphs 64 and 66 of the Law of July 23, 1847. Upon this depended the definite appointment of teachers to the Jewish school.

⁹⁷ As long as the old school commission was in existence the city refused to give Jews a place on it, and even the Royal Government did not consider it necessary for Jews to be members of such a commission. Nevertheless, in 1875, Wilhelm Hertz

became the first Jewish member of the civic school board. In a letter addressed to Hertz, the executive board expressed its joy over his appointment and its confidence that he would represent the interests of the Jewish community in the consultations about the reorganization of the school system.

⁹⁸ The time arrangement for the fourth class was continued on the basis of the seven class system, that is they were given 22 hours. The third class offered the children of the second school year 22 hours, and those of the third school year 28 hours. The second class had 28 hours and the first class 32 hours.

⁹⁹ From the Schildergasse it moved to the Schwalbengasse. Then for a while it was located in the Mauritiuswall and in the Richard Wagnerstrasse.

¹⁰⁰ Already in 1816 a number of Jewish pupils, some of them from Deutz, attended the Carmelite school. The first Jewish graduates of this school left it during the fall term of 1828. They were Abraham Gompertz and Louis Wihl. The former decided to study medicine and the latter philosophy.

¹⁰¹ Towards the end of 1874 the rabbinical student Doctor Pinczower substituted for Doctor Schwarz at the *Realschule* whenever Doctor Schwarz was prevented from doing his teaching there. Naturally this was an undesirable substitution from the point of view of the ever-growing community. When Doctor Frank assumed his office, he took over the religious instruction in the civic *Realschule*, at the *Frederick William Gymnasium*, and in 1876 also at the secondary school for girls.

¹⁰² In 1889 the situation was as follows: there were 398 Jewish pupils at the Jewish elementary school of the city. In the other elementary schools there were 102 Jewish children. In the civic, state, and private institutions there were 197 Jewish boys and girls who were receiving no religious instruction whatever.

¹⁰³ In 1891 religious instruction was being given in the following manner. At the *Frederick William Gymnasium* it was given in four sections one hour weekly to 58 pupils. At the *Realgymnasium* of the city it was given to the three lower classes for two hours to 33 children, while the numerous Jewish students of the upper classes received no religious instruction. In the secondary schools for girls all classes received two hours each. In the seminary for women teachers one hour was devoted to the subject. Altogether seven hours were given to 98 girls. In the city's secondary *Buergerschule* a total of two hours was given to the three lowest classes. At the *Oberrealschule*, where there were more than 50 Jewish pupils, no religious instruction whatever was being given. It is evident from these statistics that only part of the

Jewish school population of the higher schools received any Jewish instruction. At the beginning of 1892 only 38 out of the 80 Jewish pupils at the *Realgymnasium* received religious instruction. But in the preparatory school (*Vorschule*) none of the 20 Jewish children received religious instruction. Nor was any such instruction given to the 15 girls who attended the preparatory classes of the Secondary School I, to the 26 Jewish pupils in the *Aposteln Gymnasium*, to the 10 in the *Marzellengymnasium*, and to the 13 in the *Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium*, nor to the 129 Jewish girls who attended the private schools for girls, Beck, Merl, and Behrend.

¹⁰⁴ Aside from the religious instruction given in the Luetzowstrasse, in Ehrenfeld, it was also given at the Blumenthalstrasse on the Karthaeuserwall and in the Hillerstrasse in Braunsfeld.

¹⁰⁵ Six hundred *Reichsthaler*, the results of the previous winter-collection and the outstanding debts of the *Hekdesh*, were transferred to the Poor Commission at its foundation. The philanthropic organizations of the city undertook to raise the balance of the necessary funds. The Poor Commission decided to offer the sum of six hundred *Reichsthaler* to the Jewish executive board, provided the money was used toward the erection of a Jewish hospital.

¹⁰⁶ Among its head physicians was Doctor B. Auerbach, now retired, who was very active in Jewish social work as well.

¹⁰⁷ At the time this was written the Union of Jewish Communities of the Rhenish Province was presided over by Albert Bendix, till 1939 head of the Jewish community of Cologne.

¹⁰⁸ Feilchenfeld's successor was the highly cultured Rabbi Hirsch Plato, author of a book on the rite of slaughtering, *Kunteros Hablo'at ha-Dam*. He is buried in the Deutz cemetery. In 1904 an endowment was established for the Seminary in memory of Doctor Plato.

¹⁰⁹ At the request of the Central Committee in Paris he became the successor of Rabbi Landsberg of Liegnitz, and was named as member of the Central Committee in Paris. On the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary as rabbi, Doctor Frank received from the *Alliance* a replica of Michael Angelo's statue of Moses which stood in the meeting hall of the community in Cologne. On it was an inscription which speaks of his achievements for the *Alliance*. At the same time this statue served as proof of the constant interest which the *Alliance* enjoyed in the city.

¹¹⁰ Adolph Silverberg was born at Goch on August 14, 1846; died in Cologne on September 6, 1903.

¹¹¹ To mention only the most important, we have the following: the firm Leonhard Tietz opened its business in Cologne in 1891, and from there developed into a vast warehouse concern. On June 25, 1904 Othmar E. Strauss and Otto Wolff (the latter the son of a Catholic church-organist) started their steel firm Otto Wolff. O. E. Strauss was in the service of the Army and the State during the War, and was considered one of the cleverest men and finest spirits. He owned a very fine collection of Chinese porcelain and many other *objets d'art*. Like him, Alfred Leonhard Tietz and other Jews became known as active collectors of art.

¹¹² Solomon Oppenheim was the first Jew to become a member of the Chamber of Commerce, in 1822. He was thus the first Jew in Cologne to hold an honorary office. But he had a large number of followers who were active in high posts in the Chamber of Commerce, as commercial judges, as members of the executive committee of the Exchange, and as members of the retailers' union. The last two presidents of the Chamber of Commerce of Cologne before the recent political change were two Jews who had become baptized, the Commercial-Councillor Dr. Louis Hagen, owner of the banking firm A. Levy mentioned above, and Dr. S. Silverberg.

¹¹³ He was born in Duesseldorf in 1815 or 1813. His parents moved to Cologne where he attended the Carmelite, that is the *Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium*, from which he was graduated in 1834. Then he studied at Bonn, and subsequently settled in Cologne as physician.

¹¹⁴ As an example we offer his translation of the passage *Hasal Siddur Pesah*:

*Die Festgebraeuche sind vollbracht,
Lass Himmel nun in dieser Nacht
Den Wunsch bis zu Dir dringen:
Beglueck des frommen Jakobs Stamm!
Lass ihn das Pesach Opferlamm
In Zion bald Dir bringen.*

*Du Reiner in des Himmels Hoeh'nd
Nicht laenger lass erniedrigt seh'n
Das Volk, das Du erkoren.
Du hast den Stamm fuer Dich geweiht,
O oeffne nun zu Sang und Freud'
Den Sprossen Zions Thoren.*

This prayer he arranged for four voices of a mixed choir. He likewise composed a score for the *Had Gadya* for four male voices, as well as a number of other parts of the *Haggadah*.

¹¹⁶ In 1838 he directed the music-festival of the Rhineland which was celebrated in Cologne "in the hall of the mercantile establishment Guerzenich on the two days of Whitsuntide." At his death in 1847 his friends in Cologne arranged a memorial meeting for him.

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