



Hugo Barbeck: History of the Jews in Nuremberg and Fuerth

A joined translation project by *GenAmi* (France) and *RIJO*

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Introduction

From Andreas Wuerfel to Hugo Barbeck

The development of the historiography of Jewish life in Nuremberg is marked by 5 milestones: In 1755 Andreas Wuerfel wrote his "Historische Nachricht von der Juden-Gemeinde welche ehehin in der Reichsstadt Nuernberg angericht gewesen" (Historic news of the Jewish community which formerly existed in the imperial city of Nuremberg). That book, the sequel of a comparable (sorry) effort about Fuerth in 1754 was an arbitrary mix of facts and fiction with a quite obvious anti-Semitic tendency rebuked several times by historians to come.

More than 120 years later in 1878, Hugo Barbeck published his "Geschichte der Juden in Nuernberg und Fuerth" (History of the Jews in Nuremberg and Fuerth), the first treatise on the issue which can be measured by today's standards of research. Though it is lacking concise references to finding numbers of the archival sources used, Barbeck's writings cling anxiously to the facts instead of tales and hearsay. The attentive reader finds attempts of the critical evaluation of the sources and their interpretation is coined by the knowledge of Jewish and general history as well as humor and sympathy with the people whose lots the author is telling.

About the author

Hugo Barbeck was born on August 2, 1851 in Fuerth. There he attended the arts and crafts school and afterwards became a bookseller apprentice with the second-hand bookshop of the Heerdegen family in Nuremberg.

In 1868 Barbeck joined the 14th Bavarian Infantry Regiment in Nuremberg as a volunteer and took part in the German-French war of 1870/71, initially as a sergeant. He was heavily wounded in the battle of Sedan after being promoted to lieutenant for his bravery and having received the Iron Cross 2nd Class.

After the war he took over Heerdegen's bookshop in Nuremberg. Besides his business he was the author of several books, e.g. his memoirs from the German-French war. Barbeck edited the works of local poets and humorists such as Gruebel or Buchner.

Hugo Barbeck was also a political figure of some relevance: From 1887 until his death he was a dedicated member of the Nuremberg municipal council, since 1901 in addition member of the legislative body of the district of Central Franconia. In 1903 he was elected member of the Reichstag, the German parliament in Berlin, for the Nuremberg-Fuerth constituency. He engaged himself in charity and social activities, in particular the salesmen's association "Merkur" in which context he was honored with the silver Luitpold Medal by the Bavarian head of state.

Hugo Barbeck died in Nuremberg November 11, 1907.

Local Jewish historiography after Barbeck

Barbeck's book remained the authoritative textbook for the medieval and early modern history of the local and regional Jewry for almost another 100 years. The volumes of the Nuremberg rabbis Bernhard Ziemlich (published in 1900) and Max Freudenthal (published 1925) are limited to the development of the Jewish congregation since 1850 respectively 1900.

It took 90 more years until again an author tried to write a global history of Jewish history from its beginning in the 12th century until modern times. His name was Arnd Mueller and the result of his research was the "Geschichte der Juden in Nuernberg 1146 - 1945" (History of the Jews in Nuremberg 1146 - 1945), published by the City of Nuremberg in 1968. Mueller's solidly researched and written volume wasn't topped until today, though it is over 30 years old by now. It is the requiem for the first (until 1349), second (until 1499) and third (1850 - 1945) Jewish community in Nuremberg.

The Project

As an effect of German history the offspring of the Nuremberg Jewish community before 1945 is scattered over the entire globe. From the crimes of the Holocaust the dilemma arose that people searching for their roots are confronted with sources and books in a foreign language. One of the purposes of multilingual **RIJO** Web Site is to reconnect these people to their heritage and by that to the cities and towns their families had lived before. For this reason it was only logical that we offered our services to Madame Micheline Gutmann of *GenAmi* (France) and her volunteers when in March 2001 we learned about her project to translate Hugo Barbeck's book into English. After the work of organizing the project, revising the parts of the text yet translated and preparing them for the Internet, the first version of the translation went online July 30, 2001. Then 52 of the 110 relevant pages of the book still waited for their English translation, among them the most difficult paragraphs containing citations from archival documents in medieval German.

By the invaluable help of the volunteers, *GenAmi* and **RIJO** succeeded in completing the project within less than a year. On July 28, 2002 the last pages were added to the online text.

We are proud and grateful to have been part of this joined effort of people from six different countries and different generations united in this project supposed to foster the knowledge of the Jewish history in Nuremberg and Fuerth. The result is the most extensive and authoritative English textbook on this subject.

In order to search for biographical information in the text and to compare Barbeck's information with **RIJO**'s other featured sources, stories and links, we recommend to make use of our internal search engine.

RIJO

Credits

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Translation

p (I)	<p style="text-align: center;">History of the Jews in Nuremberg and Fuerth</p> <p style="text-align: center;">based upon the available printed material from the Royal Archives at Nuremberg and Bamberg, from the archives owned by the Jewish Community and others published and updated until the present time by</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hugo Barbeck</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Nuremberg, Friedrich Heerdegen (Barbeck) publisher, 1878</p>
p (II)	<p>Preface</p> <p>There appeared two former works about the History of the Jews in Nuremberg and Fuerth by the parson A. Wuerfel with the titles "Historic information about the Jewish Community of the Hofmarkt Fuerth" (Frankfurt and Prague 1754) and "Historic information about the Jewish Community in Nuremberg" (Nuremberg 1755).</p> <p>Since then only one new work was published (not to mention meaningless material and repetitions) which is of great importance for the history of Fuerth as it distinguishes itself from the previous two by its soothing objectivity and sure reliability. It is the "History of the Jews in the former principality of Ansbach" by S. Haenle (Ansbach 1867): this work was a foundation for the author as it was based on the study of sources.</p> <p>The case of Nuremberg was quite different. Here the whole documentation had to be reexamined, because a test conducted showed the total unreliability of the existing work, although till now it was highly considered and seen as a trustworthy source, in spite of its intolerant tendency.</p> <p>Consequently in relation to Nuremberg the primary task consisted in rectifying; only after finalizing this part we could undertake to extend it by incorporating the data of the until then mostly unused files and documents of the District Archives of Nuremberg.</p>

p (III) Except for some scattered information, the data for the completion of the history of Fuerth were obtained mainly from the District Archive in Bamberg and the Archive of the Jewish Community of Fuerth. A detailed history of the trade, which until now had not been mentioned to such an extent, was added as a new part: it is the connecting link of the history of the Jews of those two places.

Since this work was not initially intended for printing, the citation of the sources was usually omitted. It was therefore our obligation to use only reliable sources, examine these closely in case of discrepancies and whenever doubts or discrepancies remained to mention those.

Finally we mention and thank those who gave their friendly support to this work: Dr Frommann, Dr Lochner, Dr Josephthal and teacher Heinemann in Nuremberg, Dr Feust and Eduard Volkhart in Fuerth.

The author will be thankful for corrections and supplements.

Hugo Barbeck, Nuremberg, August 1878

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## Nuremberg I

The Nuremberg chroniclers cannot overcome the prejudice to begin the history of their town as early as possible, although no proofs are available. Wuerfel also uses an old formula to begin the preface to his first chapter "About the liberty of the town of Nuremberg to receive Jews", and starts, based on Boehmer, with the characteristic words:

"Under the pagan emperors the Jews enjoyed many and wonderful privileges (it should be equal rights, in which sense pagans were quite tolerant here and there). But as soon as the Roman Empire was ruled by Christians, those privileges were cut to a great extent. This hurt the Jews and so they would have liked to return the government to the pagan rulers. They therefore stimulated treachery, murder and revolt (?). With such bad beginnings they secretly incurred the Christian's hatred which at different times erupted in cruel persecutions. During those persecutions the Jews sought the protection of the Roman emperors which they usually got. Since this 'advocatia' [Latin: support, defense] was somewhat unusual they had to pay 'tributa personalia' [Latin: personal taxes] to the emperors and were therefore called 'servi camerae imperiales specialis' [Latin: special imperial chamber serfs] or 'servi fiscalini' [Latin: fiscal serfs]. Once they came under the protection of the roman emperors their incorporation was added to the Cesarean 'reservatis' [Latin: reserve]. So nobody was allowed to accept and protect the Jews except by the emperor's privilege."

This privilege was enjoyed, among others, by Hartung von Egloffstein from Henfenfeld near Hersbruck bestowed in 1418 by emperor Siegmund. After Henfenfeld was bought by the Pfinzing family this freedom was not exercised any more. Such a freedom was nothing else than the right to raise a high tribute against a quite limited protection.

Woehrd, sold by burgrave Friedrich of Nuremberg in 1427, also had this privilege that was considered everywhere as a good business; so much so that it was transferred to the electors by Karl IV in his Golden Bull of 1356 and later by Karl V to the immediate estates: noticeably it stood next to the right to use gold and silver mines, at least upon request. Before the transmission of these rights to the estates, to which the free cities also belonged, Nuremberg already had possessed them already for some time as is proven by documents. The not always reliable council scribe ["Rathsschreiber" in the original] Mueller stated in his annals that king Albrecht granted these rights to the city in 1298; however this only becomes evident in a document of 1310 under Heinrich IV. Prior to the granting of this right many Jews were already living in Nuremberg as can be deduced from Wuerfel's cite of a city legal code from 1290 with many paragraphs that mention Jews, and that in 1246 under Konrad III, there is a mention of Jews in Nuremberg.

The "glorious" emperors as Wuerfel called them, repeatedly confirmed this right and additionally bestowed the so-called "Privilegia", that in reality were "favorabilia" [Latin: favorable] to the city while the Jews had to be counted as "odiosa" [Latin: hated]. One such a "privilegium" of Heinrich VII from 1310 commands the Jews not to sell their cattle at the Christian markets but in separate premises: it further demands to take only 2 interest per week for each pound Heller [ancient German currency] from citizens, and 3 Heller [per week] from foreigners.

1 pound Heller was equal to 1 florin, but it devalued rapidly after 1370, so that in 1373 the florin was equal to 2 pounds and 12 shillings and in 1503 1 florin which was always of gold, was equal to 8 pounds and 12 Pfennigs [ancient German currency]: that is how silver devalued against gold.

Since Jews were not allowed to engage in any industry, they were restricted to trade and especially in money, the latter being forbidden to Christians according to the ca-

nonical law. From 1380 to 1387 "Jacob Rapp, the Jew" is conspicuously cited as a money lender, in the city Judicial Manual: from 1380 to 1387 "Gutta Rappin" is mentioned. In 1364 Rapp bought a house in the Taschenthal (near the Judengasse [Jews' lane]) and in 1368 he sold a house near the shul. In 1370 he bought again a house and in 1371 he got a license to build. In 1410 his widow Jutta (mentioned above) was banned because of disobedient behavior.

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Many times Jacob Rapp paid the whole taxes of the Jews in advance: for instance, in 1376 he paid 2,000 florins, the part which the Jews had to pay as compensation to the burgrave for the erection of a castle wall. In 1381 he paid 2,400 florins against which he was exempt from taxes for 8 years.

Later the Jews were forbidden to sell fish on the mornings of Christian holidays. In 1313 the emperor ordered the mayor of Nuremberg to shield the Jews and protect them from unreasonable force. In 1315, Ludwig the Bavarian, by special grace and favors, allowed the council to destroy the entrances to the cellars, the chambers and the huts in front of the houses of the Jews if they narrowed the street, and to forbid such buildings in future. Seven years later the emperor formally transferred the Jews, his "servi camerae", to burgrave Friedrich IV, who it seems took somewhat care of his new subjects. In 1333 he issued a new order to protect the Jews. In the year 1344 he promised that he would not help anymore towards Christian houses falling into Jewish hands.

Nuremberg acquired an unusual right from Karl IV in 1347: it stated that the town should get 200 Heller out of the taxes due [to the emperor] by the Jews to cover the costs of the wood that he would use from the Imperial Forest during his stays in Nuremberg. Another privilege, granted in 1349, affected the wealth of the Jews: it was king Karl's opinion that Nuremberg lacked a large space where buying and selling could be conducted comfortably and therefore he cancelled all previous rights and allowed to destroy the houses of the Jews between the houses of Franz Haller and Fritz Behaim in order to build two markets and instead of the shul to erect a church to St. Mary. Not only were then debts not compatible with the emperor's honor, but were actually not honored and Karl IV had considered in this respect his faithful city of Nuremberg: in 1352 he promised the council of Nuremberg that he would not surrender or pawn to anybody the yearly taxes and other income due to him from the Jews of Nuremberg. This could mean nothing else but an eventual cover of debts he had incurred.

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In 1360 he let the council protect the Jews for 15 years and they would get one third of their taxes. In 1371 he further allowed [the Nuremberg council] to collect all their taxes in exchange for 400 florins yearly compensation to his chamber. In 1390 emperor Wenzel offered the council the following freedoms concerning the Jews:

1. he allowed to take more Jews under their protection,
2. to keep half of the resulting income for themselves,
3. the 400 florins compensation, which the council had to pay to the emperor for the stay of the Jews ["Judenaufenthalt" in the original] were abolished, but every adult Jew had to pay 1 florin "Opferpfennig" per year. And finally
4. the whole Jewish wealth could not be surrendered to anybody so that if a Jew left the town or disappeared his property could be sold within a year: the royal treasury would get one half of the proceeds and council the other half.

In the same year, the emperor ordered that anybody from the towns who owed money to the Jews did not have to pay them, and that the Jews have to return all the pawns and guarantees. For this he got 40,000 florins from which Nuremberg paid 4,000 florins. Offenders would be considered as traitors. (Is it a wonder that someone cursed the

authorities?). Anyhow the earlier mentioned total amount is not proven: according to Ulman Stromer more counts than towns were involved [in the moratorium] and that means that the sum was more than 50,000 florins and would anyway have reached the 85,000 florins mentioned by other sources. Out of this sum the duke of Bavaria, the bishop of Wuerzburg and the bishop of Otting (Oettingen) paid 15,000 florins each; additionally the bishops of Augsburg and of Bamberg also participated among others. This means that the charge on the towns could not have reached 40,000 florins: Wuerfel as well as his cited source confused the sum with one to be mentioned later in 1385. Although mentioned by Wuerfel, a further document from 1573 by Maximilian II that cut the trade and connections of the Jews with Nuremberg does not belong here, because it concerns foreign Jews: the Jews were expelled from Nuremberg in 1499 and since then the city did not use the privilege (!) to take in Jews. With this Wuerfel closes his first chapter from which it is sufficiently clear that the trade was lucratively in the hand of the Jews, and also that their lack of rights was exploited by big and small rulers to substantially diminish their profits.

p 5 The next message is characteristic: following the council's prompt, emperor Friedrich III tried to protect the Jews from a decree issued by cardinal Nikolaus at the 1451 Bamberg synod. It determined that all Jews who lived in the diocese of Bamberg, to which Nuremberg also belonged, should not engage in usury, but should instead work and wear a yellow sign to distinguish themselves from the Christians. The Nuremberg council was thus forced to forbid, or to pretend to forbid, the trade in money and to demand the wearing of the yellow sign. This order was very detrimental for the traders and craftsmen of Nuremberg who needed money for their business and had found that the Jews had it available. The council asked the pope and the emperor to annul the order: a delegation was sent to each of them. In the letter to the pope they described the great disadvantages that the execution of the order would bring to the town and its citizens, disadvantages that started to being felt even after such a short time. In particular the letter stressed out that if the decree of the synod were not to be annulled the evil of usury -until then restricted to the Jews- would spread among the Christians too. In the letter to the emperor they emphasized that the Jewry of the town had suffered very much, because in the last war (1449-1450) and in the following epidemics, many of the debtors either had died or had been ruined or had left the town in poverty. The cardinal's prohibition of usury had taken away the Jews' source of income so that they also fell into poverty: their wealth had become very small. Since the pope also wanted to uphold the prohibition of usury, the Jews were very scared and their ruin would be unavoidable. During his stay in Rome the emperor applied in person to pope Nikolaus who promised him orally and in writing that the decisions of the cardinal would not harm the citizens and Jews of Nuremberg. The pope issued a bull worded in this sense: its observance was recommended in 1453 to the council by the bishop Anton of Bamberg. From there onwards usury was allowed to the Jews always restricted to a certain number of years. This happened actually in 1464 and 1470 when emperor Friedrich allowed them to engage in usury and confirmed their rights for 6 years at a time.

p 6 Wuerfel starts his second chapter in the before mentioned formula by quoting Gundling that already in the year 100 Jews from Regensburg were supposed to have come to Nuremberg. Though Gundling was content with the year 100 the Nuremberg historian Falckenstein goes even further back by stating that already in the year 46 a Jew in the Northern district was given Holy Communion by the holy Syto "doubtlessly in order to decry this". Further information follow these two completely imaginary presumptions

which are no less unbelievable in stating: "that certainly at the time of emperor Heinrich IV Jews had already safely resided in Nuremberg. Their sojourn in Nuremberg is not only remembered as secret adherents of Heinrich V but also for their most disgraceful deed that they betrayed the town, who had remained loyal to the old emperor. Through this treacherous betrayal the enraged Heinrich V gained possession of the town, left it to the people to loot, burn and devastate it and also to drive away or strangle most of its inhabitants. After the town lay in ruins for several years and after the death of emperor Heinrich, Jews, who had remained in the devastated buildings, finally invited more Jews in. With money they achieved to persuade emperor Lothario II to allow them the rebuild the desolate town. So the Jews, the first to rebuild the town, chose the best places for themselves and settled very comfortably close to the impregnable imperial castle where today the salt and vegetable market place is situated, behind the town hall and near the 'Zottenberg' (now Doetschmannsplatz and surroundings)". How much importance should be given to this information is shown by the introductory words that a mere mention of these scribblings gives them too much emphasis. It is true that the mentioned dwellings were occupied by Jews and, according to Wuerfel, two narrow lanes led towards the "Markt" (market place), which were called the "Vorderen Judengassen" (front Jews Lanes).

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The Jewish dwellings were between the house of Franz Haller (approximately now the site of the "Beautiful Fountain") and the houses of Fritz Behaim (now no. 6 and 8 on the main market square). In front of the Synagogue (now St. Mary's Church) and the house of Konrad Gross (now "Plobenhof") and Ulrich Stromair (now Eisenbach's house) were four Jewish residences. Behind the synagogue was also a row of Jewish dwellings. Above the house "Zum weissen Hund" [white dog] ("Zum weissen Hund" was either house no. 8 or 12 on the "Obstmarkt" [fruit market]. The entrance to the "Hintere Judengasse" (back Jew's Lane), which came out next to "Jacobsbruder" (now Tucherstrasse 6), was between these two houses, which both have windows on their side walls, and also no.10, another but lower house. This house appears to be of a later date and blocked the former through lane which is still accessible up to the house. Houses on "Capadocia" on the west of the "Spitalplatz" [hospital square], on "Mehlgasslein" [flour lane] (now house "Sachsen-Gasse", on the "Zottenberg", the "Kressische Majorats-Haus" (now House on the "Obstmarkt") and the "Christianische" house there, were also owned by Jews. It is understandable that with the increase of the community the dwellings gradually became too small and attempts were made to purchase more houses in the neighborhood. With the help of emperor Ludwig, who however apologized to the council, they bought the house of Heinrich Holzschuher on the "Salzmarkt" [salt market] (now the synagogue).

According to Wuerfel emperor Karl IV was in 1350 accused by V. Stromer that one did not know whether Nuremberg was a Jewish or a Christian town. This "reasonable assumption expressed at the right time made a blessed and happy impression on his Majesty then", also according to Wuerfel, already in 1349, the year previous, he had decreed the demolition of the Jewish houses. Wuerfel, who does not quote any sources, like previous writers appears to have become somewhat confused. After all, the demolition of the houses could only take place after consultations with the Bishop of Bamberg, the burgrave and with Arnold von Seckendorf, who were more or less interested in the lapsed rights to taxes caused by this and, no doubt, only after the town paid 1,600 fl. to the above named as arranged by the Augsburg Bishop Marquard. A few houses not in the way were allowed to remain standing. Due to these improvements some Christian houses had also to be sacrificed but the owners were compensated with Jewish houses.



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Jews also lost several houses through sales, as the new beautiful site attracted rich Christians and eventually the emperor also presented Ulman Stromer and his uncle Ulrich Stromer, as well as Friedrich Schopper with houses between the present Hauptmarkt 19 and 16, where later sacred services were held. Although these appear to be the only named but are certainly not the only recipients of presents. Those expelled were allotted the large site of a fire in the "Taschental", the so-called old "Hofstatt" [court building] (now Judengasse) [Jew's lane]. This was the empty site of a fire which in 1340 had started in the corner house of Heugaesschen with Heumarkt [hay lane, hay market] and was supposed to have destroyed 400 houses within two days. By strange, however, unconfirmed co-incidence a fire which is supposed to have started in a Jewish house opposite the Augustinerkloster [cloister of the order of St. Augustinus] (now "Justizpalast") [palace of justice] is mentioned in 1365.

To obscure Jewish reminders in the houses taken over by Christians and to fit in with the environment of the square around St. Mary's Church, new owners are supposed to have decorated them with sacred images, especially those of the Holy Virgin. Even if the origin is not historically identifiable it should be noted that there were indeed such statues on most corners of houses in the former Jewish quarters. Even today these are to be found on houses on Hauptmarkt (Eisenbach's house, Obstgasse), Obstmarkt 16 (present owner Jean M. Bauer), 1 (Nusselt) and 22 (Grosch), on the Fuenferplatz (house "am glaesernen Himmel" [vitreous sky]), Bindergasse 1 and 2 (the Rittner house), on Doetschmannsplatz 20 (Nuernerger Anzeiger), Tucherstrasse 13, Bindergasse 10 and 12, Spitalgasse 1, Burgstrasse 1, Duererplatz 4, Winklerstrasse 3 and 24, as well as on houses in the vicinity.

Jews, as well as having been allocated special living quarters, also had to wear special clothing to make them everywhere recognizable. A tall red hat was the usual mark, which later could be replaced by a completely flat cap. In addition foreign Jews had to wear the "Gugel", a large cap, which drooped over the back, which was forbidden to be worn by locals or they had to pay a fine of one pound Heller. The origin of men was recognizable by a yellow circle, of women through a blue veil. (1451 decree; in 1458 foreign Jews also had to have yellow circles on their clothes).

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Long beards were not allowed and had to be trimmed every four weeks. The latter was especially ordered in 1343. Apart from these regulations they were also subject to additional special laws. Whether these were necessary because Jews "at times strayed and were inquisitive" is not clear. These laws ordered the following:

If Jews quarrel amongst themselves and if one hits or fights another, the one who hit first shall pay ten pound Heller. If the one who is hit does more than defend himself then he has to pay the same amount. Whoever is accused of such a misdemeanor but is unable to prove it as untrue, has to pay the same fine. Whoever is not in a position to pay the amount of the fine is expelled from the town until he settles the debt. The complaint has to be brought without "discord" (that is according to the truth). Fights between children under the age of fifteen years or, if a grown-up hits a child under fifteen, are excluded. The same fine as above is also due if the quarrel is with Christians or foreign Jews. (In the last instance the way of punishment differs as the case refers to municipal laws, there being no separate paragraph applicable to Jews).

Jews and Jewesses who already had civic rights and wanted to give these up or whose were revoked had to remain in town and were not allowed to become the subject of anyone else, except if they complied with the existing conditions. Failure to comply carried a penalty of a thousand florins as well as the annulment of claims and the requisition of their belongings. Taxes for the following year had also still be deposited.

For trading without special permission except in meat (cattle) or horses a charge of ten

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|  | <p>pound Heller was imposed. To present Christians with wine and beer or to sell spices, which had to be weighed, was forbidden.</p> <p>Whoever accommodated Jews without "Geleitscheine" [travel certificates] had to pay one florin for each person. Whoever accommodated anyone longer than the permitted period incurred the same fine for each exceeding day. Nobody shall house foreign Jews for longer than four weeks (later "four" was crossed out and "one" written above it), excepting a scholar who wanted to study here "harmlessly".</p> |
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| p 10 | <p>Whoever loans such scholars money with interest shall lose a quarter. A Jew, except his servant, was not allowed to accommodate a Christian or pay a fine of one pound Heller for each person. Gambling was forbidden to Jews and Christians.</p> <p>The cost of loaning money on grain, wheat, barley, oats etc. was half a pound Heller for each Simra [ancient capacity measure]. This was also forbidden on crossbows, hatchets, buckets etc., which bore the towns arms, on blood stained garments, chasubles, on crosses, goblets and things that could possibly be recognized as having been stolen. Missals, choir caps, monstrances and altogether everything that could have belonged to churches or monasteries are mentioned by name and were all punished by surrender without compensation. Light is shed on the fact that the sale or pawning of church objects by clergymen, particularly monastic clergy as well as by thieves was in full swing, that even the "Sachsenspiegel" [medieval German legal codex] pronounces that if a Jew takes goblets, missals or chasubles as a pledge from a stranger, he is to be treated the same as the thief.</p> <p>Pledges were only allowed to be accepted during daylight hours. No local Jew should give his money to a foreign Jew on loan or be fined a fourth Pfennig with the exception of out of town Nuremberg bills of exchange, which could be accepted. Foreign Jews could only lend against bills of exchange</p> <p>A tailor or other craftsman, who worked for pay, could only pawn an article he did not own, for the sum of pay due on it and for this the owner could redeem the pledge at any time.</p> <p>Jews were also forbidden to house "Laister" or Laistpferde" by a penalty of ten pound Heller, i.e. guarantors who were ordered by the creditor to live in the debtor's dwelling until the latter had paid back his debt. From this habit also the institution of "Laistpferde", as mentioned in the Nuremberg regulation, was derived. Those were 'guarantor-horses' which figured as a pledge and had to be placed in certain stables. Vice versa a Jewish creditor was not allowed to have a "Laister" in a Christian household, except the Jew paid for his living. In later editions of the "Reformationen" [civil codes] of the city, special paragraphs were inserted regarding the pawnbroking and profiteering of the Jews.</p> |
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| p 11 | <p>Jews were forbidden to trade on Sundays or holidays. They had to be quiet during Passion week and were not permitted to cause any "friction" nor to "Gaupen belugen" Christians, i.e. to listen to and watch from their passages (which equals a relaxation of canonic laws ordering Jews to stay inside their closed houses on Good Friday).</p> <p>Matters within the Jewish community were regulated by a "Juden-Rat" (Jews' Council) appointed by the City Council. To offend against decisions of the Jews' Council carried a cost of 200 pound Heller; those who agreed to be elected had to pay one half in addition to covering all damages caused through these.</p> <p>On loans under 100 fl. interest of one additional Heller for every florin per week could be charged; for sums over 100 fl. 10% for the whole year for loss of interest and further penalties. Servants of Jews were forbidden to practice usury.</p> |
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Neither Christian nor Jew was allowed to obtain a "letter", i.e. a privilege from the emperor, which was against municipal rules, freedom, laws or practice (which however happened often) or be fined of hundred pound Heller.

The abolition of "Kellerhaelse" [stairwells to the cellar which allow to enter it at ground level other than e.g. by a trap door] has already been mentioned. A cost of 30 pound Heller was imposed for ignoring the prohibition on rebuilding, and those who did it were banished from the town.

If children of Jews married and both fathers held civic rights they were, without special permission, only allowed to remain in town for four weeks, or pay a fine of one florin per day. If however not both fathers had civic rights, the same rules applied, but the time was shortened to two weeks. Prosecutions are reported for the years 1409 and 1431, in the latter year it affected many children, who stayed with their parents.

Only up to one pound Heller per pledge could be lent to second hand dealers and buyers, maids and laborers, except with special permission of the owner. Ignoring this resulted in the free return of the pledge and a fine of 60 Heller for each pound.

Excessive usury was punished with ten pound Heller. If a Jew lost the deposited pledge he had to replace it with its full value.

p 12

If in a debt case a citizen became a guarantor for the Jew, and this guarantor was released by the main debtor from his guarantee, then this had to be communicated to the guarantor, wherever he was, within 8 days and his bonds returned to him or else a fine of sixty Heller per day would be imposed.

No Jew was allowed to put a debtor in the situation [of guarantor] (see above) without special permission; violation hereof would free any guarantors from all obligations.

A citizen could only become guarantor for a non-resident if the latter was a businessman and his guest, and if the sum was not more than ten pounds Heller; non compliance would attract a fine of that same amount.

If the guest was not a trader and the guarantee was given without the council's permission it would cost "the fourth Pfennig" [one Pfennig every four, i.e. 25% tax].

It was permitted for a businessman to guarantee for another businessman, or for a landlord for a businessman who lodged with him.

It was already mentioned that the Jews were no longer allowed to slaughter or sell from the meat stalls of the Christians; it was also forbidden to buy meat from them and resell it. Offences would attract a fine of one pound for each cow or sixty Heller for each calf or goat.

Whoever secretly resold meat bought from Jews, mixed it with other, salted it, etc. would be liable to the same fine and banishment from the town for one year. Meat slaughtered by Jews out of town, was also only to be sold on Jewish meat stalls. The purchase of cattle was only permitted on the cattle market otherwise a fine of one pound Heller was imposed, half of it payable by the buyer and half by the seller. The official price for meat had to be observed and the weights had to have the official mark. The slaughter a calf less than four weeks old was forbidden. A fine of sixty Heller would be imposed when an animal was slaughtered on the street or blood poured on it. Buying and slaughtering of cattle after closing time or on holidays was not to happen again.

Wuerfel brings the chapter about meat with a long comment, quoting among others: "In the first book of Moses XXXII, 32 it is written that Jews are not allowed to eat meat from the hind quarters. (The relative part of the Bible reads: Therefore to this day the Israelites do not eat the sinew of the hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh, because the hollow of Jacob's thigh on the sinew of the hip was touched). Therefore they generally sell this to Christians slightly cheaper. But they therefore mistreat this meat dis-

gracefully. They spit on it and their sons and daughters have to urinate on it. On top of this they hope that the Christians will swallow sudden death with it."

p 13

Whoever brought fish into a Jew's house or sold it in front of their shul instead of on the market place, had to pay a fine of sixty Heller. Fish was not to be sold to them on the mornings of fast days (see above); the stands of the fishermen were at their place on the fish market.

If Jews or Jewesses bathed in Christian baths, or Christians bathed in Jewish baths (meaning the so-called bath, which in those times had to be kept by the until today called bathers), transgressing Jews would have to pay one pound; Christians, however, and the bather who allowed such, sixty Heller.

Jews had to keep lanes and houses clean. They were not allowed to pour neither dirt nor dung down the wells. Whoever had a pot should let such dirt flow away with the rain, but if it had not rained for some time, to take it out and empty it at night so that it could drain away or else pay a fine of sixty Heller. Jews were only allowed to buy eggs and living animals after nine a.m. or pay a penalty of one pound. The sale of vegetables, fruit, garlic and onions was not limited to any particular time of the day.

Wuerfel cites the precedent law paragraphs from an older statute book of the town, adding explanations for well known themes, but no light is thrown on difficult passages. Since during the printing many, even senseless mistakes crept in, and the original was not available, it was preferred to write these in the above form (complemented with other notes), which equals the original in meaning. Discrepant paragraphs from two other statute books deposited in the Nuremberg archives were incorporated. In painful cases Jews were subject to the generally valid laws and came in contact with these, at which point prejudices did not play a small part. So it is reported for instance (see also addendum):

A. In 1363 Joseph, a Jew from Nuremberg, is hanged outside the gallows (even in hangings there were religious differences!).

p 14

In 1368 Jacob, a Jew from Citadell, requests escort in order not to be held responsible for possible insults. The town gives him and his companions safe conduct. In case that he could not proceed he requests the return of the loan of 1000 fl plus interest. He is supposed to have said that Nuremberg citizens do not keep their word. The correct year for this episode is however 1468, a wrong note on the relevant document misleading all who used it up to then.

In 1377 a Jew was hanged outside the gallows.

In 1385 Nuremberg citizens imprisoned the rich Jews in the castle but the poor in the cellars of the town hall. They all had to buy themselves out (80,986 florins). Special cause for this imprisonment were the debts; the same also happened in other towns, since it was a formal decision of the Swabian City League ["schwaebischer Staedtebund" in the original] and based on an imperial act of grace, which against the payment of 40,000 florins reduced the debts to Jews for all the relevant towns. The collection of the rest was taken over by the towns, which kept it. At the same time the towns decided reciprocally not accept any of the others' Jews. Similar incidents are reported for the years 1383 and 1401. The declaration of the ban against "Rappin" is connected with the latter.

In 1463 a Jew from Mistweiler (?) was hanged on the outer beam of the gallows (one compare the advance against 1377). A small cap with tar was placed on his head; he however still behaved defiantly and continuously sang Hebrew psalms.

In 1467 18 Jews, who had murdered four Christian children, were burnt (?) on the Ju-

denbuehl [a place outside the city walls; "-buehl" means hill].  
In 1420 the Jew Strolein was exiled for perpetuity because of his relations with Christian women; the same with the Jew Puerzel who had to swear an "oath of truce".  
In 1430 the Jews Symon and Gottschalk Pack from Neuenhaus were exiled and swore an "oath of truce".  
In 1436 a Jew was to be prosecuted as a thief. Parson Sebald stopped this following conversion to Christianity.  
In 1440 the "Schulklopper" [a Jewish official, who calls Jews for services] of the Jews was thrown into the hole (the prison under the town hall) for dangerous alchemy and burned through the forehead (branded).  
It is worth mentioning that in 1389 a woman, who had wanted to murder a Jew, was buried alive.

p 15 From the citizens' registry of 1338 it emerges that, despite some very oppressive rules, the Jewish community was fairly powerful and working Jews with civil rights quite numerous. 212 Jews are already recorded as citizens of the town and their origin is shown sometimes: among the mentioned towns are: Wurzheim, Wetzlar, Bach, Woerth, Kornburg, Pretzfeld, Neustadt, Ebermannstadt, Windsheim, Ansbach, Dorf (?), Windsbach, Rosstall, Eger, Cadolzburg, Bayreuth, Strassburg, Amberg, Wuerzburg, Forchheim, Stein, Ulm, Schwabach, Schesslitz, Coburg, Graefenberg, Oettingen, Aurach, Coeln, Noerdlingen and Herrieden. In further documents it was found that in times gone by apart from those already mentioned places Jews immigrated from Bamberg, Freystadt, Rothenburg, Erfurt, Pappenheim, Kuelzheim, Allersbach, Weissenburg, Linz, Eichstaedt, Frankfurt, Stetbach (probably Stoepbach near Hersbruck). Neuburg and Fulda. Neustadt, Freystadt, Ansbach and Bayreuth are named particularly often.  
At his acceptance as citizen, which sometimes occurred by imperial order (1458 Smohel from Erlangen, 1487 Lein from Volkenmarkt) an oath laid down the following duties:  
"Every Jew and also [every] Jewess, who is a widow, as well as their subordinates shall swear when taking the Jewish oath to faithfully keep their promises of loyalty given to the assessors and council of Nuremberg and not to do anything against the town. When dealing with other Jews they will have to conform to the Christian laws according to the Nuremberg legislation, but cases related to their Jewish faith and their Jewish (worship) rights shall be settled according to the valid Jewish law here in Nuremberg before the Jewish superior or before the Jews, whom the council has appointed and nowhere else. Should a foreign Jewish guest have to legally settle something with a Jewish citizen, he should be subjected to the same rules. If anybody decided to go against this rule, no assistance should be given to him by any Jewish citizen.  
If a foreign Jew is sentenced in a legal action, he shall receive no help, but should be made to obey the law under penalty of 100 florins.  
And if Jews have entered agreements (foreign contracts) they shall settle these and not enter any others. No locally resident Jew is allowed to place himself under another authority without dispensation."

p 16 A reception tax [new citizen's tax] was associated with the acceptance and two citizens had to guarantee for the newly accepted. The person concerned had to prepare a document stating that he would commission a lawyer to settle all pending legal actions in the town, under penalty of relinquishing his right to citizenship. He was not allowed to take any securities out of town, but had to hand over all securities given to him to another "modest" Jew. Any land or house in the town owned by him had to be sold to a citizen

within a year; if this could not be achieved then he had to continue to pay the taxes on these.

Jew David was accepted in 1457 as citizen without any charges as thanks for his help in freeing Martin Loeffelholz from imprisonment.

As mentioned in the beginning Jews had to pay a certain "crown tax" ["Kron-Steuer" in the original] to the emperor, their protector, which apparently happened regularly. One exception, one swimming against the tide, happens to be mentioned in a "Urfehde" book ("Urfehde" was the oath, not to take revenge on anybody for injury or punishment) where is written:

"Jacob Jew of Citadell sets himself apart from all Jews in Nuremberg, who, at the crowning of our emperor Friedrich III had promised to worship him, and was therefore imprisoned for two months and had to pay and swore "Urfehde" in 1441 (According to records the same happened in 1453 and may possibly be the same case and the latter year be the correct one).

On top of this they, like other Jewish communities, had to pay annually on "Oberstag" (Epiphany) and around the day of St. Michael one "Canonem" (Lehensschilling [literally feudal shilling, tax]) to the emperor's treasury, because they belonged to it with their own body and goods. This tax was called the golden sacrifice Pfennig ["goldener Opferpfennig" in the original] and in Nuremberg it amounted to between three- and four-thousand florins.

Apart from these taxes they were exempt from imperial duties and in 1413 emperor Siegismund confirmed in writing that no further taxes should be imposed on them. This clemency was reconfirmed by the emperor in 1421, 1428, and 1430 (consequently the emperor's charter and word does not appear to have been kept for long; Johannes Huss was also killed despite the same privilege by the emperor) and in 1462 by Friedrich III.

Emperor Karl IV, who in 1352 assured the council that he did not want to assign or direct his income from Jews to anybody else, was not able to recall his promise in 1371 and ordered the council to pay 1,500 florins to Berthold Haller, 2,000 florins to Paulus von Penzenstain (according to a document in the Nuremberg archive 2,500 florins to Paulus von Jenzenstein, which is probably more correct) and 300 florins to Peter von Wartenberg and Cunz von Coltitz out of this. The von Coltitz transferred their share to Caspar Schlick.

p 17

In 1394, 1395 and 1396 emperor Wenzel allowed Mr Berthold Pfinzig to collect 3,000 florins from Nuremberg, Rothenburg and Windsheim Jewish taxes for his stables. In 1399 he also acknowledged the receipt of half of the Jewish tax.

With the agreement of the elector of Mainz, recognized as the highest protector of Jews, emperor Siegismund in 1434 pledged half the Jewish taxes of Nuremberg and Woehrd as well as 500 fl in 1429, to Sebald Pfinzig of Nuremberg.

In 1418 the same emperor had already pledged half of Jewish taxes, which became due in Nuremberg, to his counselor Wigul Schenk von Geyern, after the Jews had secured imperial goodwill for 12,000 florins six years earlier, and had therefore received the following exemptions:

- Nobody, neither he himself or anybody else, shall, apart from the Jewish tax, take or demand Bethe or taxes from them without their willing agreement.
- Nobody is allowed to remove or free their debtors or enact similar legislation.
- They can be prosecuted only before the courts of the towns or places where they are resident and which have to look after their rights without fail; nor shall they be called before the royal or district court.
- In places with royal customs, the duty taken for their taxable goods shall not be

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|  | <p>more than for the goods of Christians. For themselves, however, they shall not pay any duty [this obviously refers to the "Leibzoll", to be paid by Jewish travelers when crossing borders].</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Escorts must not be forced on them nor should they be charged more for this service than the Christians.</li> <li>• In case they are captured in wars between the local rulers and towns they, since they belong to the royal treasury, shall not be hostage for those; even the king and the realm shall not give them as security in the case of an attack.</li> <li>• Any yearly interest which they have to pay to the local ruler or town where they reside must not be increased.</li> <li>• Regarding the lending of their money the status quo has to be maintained. Nobody is allowed to impose new rules on them for this: the nobility of the realm and towns, which have expelled settled Jews out to the disadvantage of the royal treasury shall and should accept them again according to former custom.</li> </ul> |
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| p 18 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Letters which may have been given, or may still be given, to somebody by him the king concerning one or more Jews or their property, shall be invalid, except in relation to their obligations to him for the sake of the realm.</li> <li>• Jewish children still too young to know the difference between good and evil shall not forcefully be converted to Christianity.</li> <li>• To administer and protect such liberties, rights and favors he will appoint for the Jewish population of all towns, markets and places, wherever they wish it, their own judges, who are to judge according the imperial courts' law.</li> <li>• In compensation of this all such Jews and Jewesses who have their own trade and income shall pay annually, half at St. Walpurgis day and half at St. Michael's day, to the royal treasury ten percent ["der zehnte Pfennig" in the original] of all their goods and chattels, excluding their clothing, personal ornaments and household effects, or else lose their liberties, rights and favors. This Letter shall stay in force for three years from its date.</li> </ul> <p>In 1416 Sigismund also conferred privileges.<br/> Friedrich III assigned one half to Caspar Schlick and from 1463 to 1472 the other half to Heinrich von Pappenheim. In 1480 the council bought two thousand local currency's worth of the annual Jewish taxes from Mathias Schlick (probably successor of Caspar Schlick). 200 florins of the Jewish tax counted towards the delivery of wood to the castle during the presence of the emperor; it is however not known if this happened annually. The Jews had also to deliver the beds to the castle, a custom they wanted to omit in 1485, at which the council notified them that if they would not provide the castle with bed linen, the council would buy the beds and immediately demand payments of the expenses from the Jews. The emperor also came to Nuremberg in 1471. It was an old custom that each time the emperor visited the castle the Jews had to contribute towards the cost. In the mentioned year they therefore brought or lent the castle 28 straw sacks, 31 upholstered feather beds, pillows, covers and "Leilachen" [Yiddish for bed sheets], which were distributed in three rooms, every two beds one on top of the other. They also lent 3 iron chain hangers, 2 new copper kettles and 4 large iron roasting spits.</p> |
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| p 19 | <p>They also supplied the castle with several pieces of linen, which the emperor's chef had cut up for tablecloths and hand towels. Additionally they provided a curtain for the emperor's green room.</p> <p>In addition to the taxes frequently sold, pawned or presented to the town on behalf by the emperor, Jews, whether citizens or protected, had to pay annually around St. Mi-</p> |
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chael's a certain amount of protection money.

The synagogue took first place amongst the Jews' official buildings. It stood, before proclamation of the famous market charter, on the site of the present Our Lady's Church ["Frauenkirche" in the original], and according to a somewhat dubious illustration consisted of two single story houses standing next to each other, of which one was in fact the house of the rabbi surrounded by a wall and gate. "During its demolition many passages to the synagogue were found and also some underground vaults with goods which were however buried when the malicious Jews had to leave their premises". This is at least what the Nuremberg historian Gundling wrote in his "Historic Nuremberg Information", which shows a strange medley of facts, which cannot be proven. Wuerfel adds to this: "I believe that the Jews would have got easily over the loss of their synagogue, if only a Christian church had not been made out of it. They hardly can look at the churches, which really do not do them any harm, without ill feeling". The new synagogue was, according to one opinion, in house No 1105 and was supposed to have lions painted on the house in the Judengasse, because above an arch there was a headstone with the Hebrew inscription which according to the chronicles is: "The stone of the Jews remains, but it is true that the swindlers have been expelled from this house in 1499" ["Der Judenstain ist geblieben, die betruerger sind vertrieben, aus diesem Haus, dass ist wahr, in 1400 und neun u. neunzigsten Jahr" in the original].

It is not contradictory that this house had always belonged to the Tucher family, as maintained by Wuerfel, Murr etc. but can be shown to be wrong based on documentation; however, the last fact shows another use of the house. A second opinion is that the synagogue was in one house together with the Jewish high school (talmudic school, gymnasium, Medroschim), the "Red Rose House", currently Wunderburgergasse no. 6, which formerly did not belong to the famous printer Anton Koburger, as is said by Wuerfel (Koburger only had a mortgage on it).

p 20

The office is said to have been in the main room. Wuerfel writes that "In the office there was a cupboard and on one of its boards it was written in rabbinical 'current' script that in this council room a Jew had been beheaded. A few years ago, during the refurbishment, the board was removed and burnt. There are also still several furnaces in the cellars. One vault is called the foundry where amongst others according to usual tradition a distinguished rabbi, who was killed by an ox, is supposed to be buried". A no longer identifiable Jewish house of worship was the house at Unterer Judenhof no. 12. After the expulsion the synagogue "together with its dance house" was valued at 350 florins.

The talmudic school was formerly in the house of Isaak from Schesslitz (Kressisches Majoratshaus) on the Zottenberg, as the elegant assembly room and the baths are supposed to bear witness. Later, as mentioned, the same was relocated to the "Red Rose House". Due to overcrowding a second school should have been built in 1406, which was however forbidden by the council under penalty of ten florins per week and per person. It is also interesting to mention that out of town Jews were allowed to celebrate Sukkoth in Nuremberg with the permission of the council. The school was struck by lightning in 1451.

The rabbi was also head of the school. Teachers who were travelling through [Nuremberg] or those who were there temporarily also gave lessons. Rabbi Jacob Weil states that during his stay in Nuremberg the Mehari Molen (Rabbi Jacob Levi) gave permission to conduct an their own school (to give lectures) by himself, although Rabbi Salmann Kohen had been there long before him. Mehari Weil mentions that the Rabbis Israel and Koppelman taught in Nuremberg peacefully side by side, though this does not seem to have always been so, because under Rabbi Koppelman (approx. 1406) he



writes in a long letter to Nuremberg in which he quotes, that he has learned how the teachers are at loggerheads with each other and that the community should put a stop to this. The letter was addressed: "To those honest people who pursue the truth and keep the law of the Lord to observe his commands. Those, who love the right and despise the wrong and lies, peace be with them and the holy assemblies, which meet in Nuremberg and the surrounding localities."

p 21

The conflict was, however, not settled, so that the council ordered that the newly arrived Master (rabbi) and Koppelman should lecture on alternate days. Those who wish to listen to one or the other may do so and those who want to hear them both, may also do so.

Incidentally, foreign rabbis were allowed to teach traditionally in the houses.

In order finally to settle the above disputes, the Council appointed Gottschalk Ganss together with two men from the Jewish Community as arbitrators with the instructions that the disputants had to obey the decisions made by Ganss and the two Jewish referees. Their decision was that they had to be good friends and to forgive all offences by others and also not to revenge any alleged injustices. As to how they could again become friends, the three referees would attempt to instruct them.

The eruption of disputes shows not only a permanent employment based on the number of members (a census in 1338 already mentions a congregation of 2,006 souls) - elsewhere one would have simply expelled one or both of the disputants- but also a certain fame of the school, where opposing views could be discussed. In addition to the earlier mentioned Weil, the celebrities attached to this school with important influence in talmudic studies, included also a certain Margolet about whom even Reuchlin asked to be kept informed in relation to Cabala. The latter's pupil Pollack is described as the main advocate of the sophistic talmudic doctrine, system which was later called the "Nuernberger" (see below).

Mehari Weil reports extensively about a major dispute, which arose between rabbi Simelin from Ulm and three other local rabbis, Seligmann, Lasen and Gerson. The former did not wish to accept the procedures established according to the Nuremberg practice, although he had himself signed them. Strong words must have been used before it was decided to go to Nuremberg with him and whatever was said there about Simelin he would have to accept. The Jewish school in Nuremberg sentenced Simelin and publicly imposed penalties on him.

p 22

Rabbi Weil instructed the accused, under threat of exile, as to the details of the penance and reconciliation; he also had to make a public pronouncement from the pulpit in the synagogues of Nuremberg and Constance between the prayers of Ashre and Lamenezach (morning prayers): "Hear me, you my rabbis, I, Simelin, was a traitor; I have offended against the orders made by the rabbis and which I myself have signed. I ask you all for forgiveness of my sins."

There was controversy also with rabbi Mendel from Rothenburg and there is an entry in a statute book: the citizens of the council command that henceforth none of our Jews and Jewesses allow Master Mendel the Jew residing in Rothenburg to teach their children or friends, as long as he does not make peace with us. Those of our citizens, who now have children or friends residing with him, who are learning with him, will order them home to Nuremberg within four weeks, under punishment of a fine of 100 florins for each child. (Ambrosius' edict 1383). Even under renunciation of ones civil rights, communication with Master Mendel had to be prevented for some time "because of the war", but "whoever went there to see him because of the war" he and his children

should never again be "resident here".

It would appear from several sources that the Nuremberg Jewish scholars enjoyed a certain scientific fame. Whether this was justified, or according to Wuerfel and Wagen-seil was based more on their word twisting or debating skills, the so-called "Nuernberger", it belongs in the absence of more examples, to the facts, which need not be determined.

Additional information concerning the Jewish school can be mentioned here. In 1381 the council negotiated a yearly fee of 150 florins with the Jew Kaufmann from Bamberg, his son Heylmann and the young master (a rabbi who was teaching). The latter got permission to be a teacher, but he should not have more than 12 pupils who were not local citizens. The cantor of those days, Jakob master Meir from Frankfurt, was accepted by the council in 1383. He was allowed to be a teacher and to have students. Isak from Salzau was teacher in 1395, Michel from Weyl cantor from 1396 to 1402. A certain Wolfel is mentioned as cantor in 1425, Isak from Woerth moves into the town in 1435 and obtains permission to teach, however only to children of citizens. From 1449 to 1458 we come across David Sprintz as rabbi and in 1461 Mosse as cantor.

p 23

In 1412 there is a report that a certain "Copelmann, son of Mrs Saeckl" ["der Saecklin Sohn" (i.e. the son of Mrs Saeckl) in the original] was expelled from the town for good; it can be assumed that he is identical to the above mentioned person. When this sentence was passed, he was no longer a citizen, because in 1408 Seckl pays tax "for herself and koppelmann her son", and the latter surrenders his citizen's rights. He is mentioned for the first time in 1396 as "Weiss, son of Seckel and his brother koppelmann".

Every year after Whitsuntide the town appointed the members of the Jewish council; only the town Rabbi was a permanent member and its chairman. These Jewish councils had to promise solemnly that the matters under discussion would remain secret until a final decision had been taken, which in turn had to be brought before the congregation. Whatever was decided, everybody had to comply with. Traditionally, the Jewish council also determined taxes and controlled expenditure, which, however, had not to exceed 10 florins, unless they had been previously submitted to the congregation.

The Rabbi also acted as judge and he signed all documents, together with two so-called "Barnossen", i.e. members chosen monthly from the council. Two additional members looked after the cash. The meetings took place in the office. Subsequent laws reveal that either the functions of this Jewish Council were not laid down exactly and therefore led to differences with the authorities, or that they were occasionally exceeded. Such an excess could possibly be the purchase contract mentioned by Wuerfel, written in Chaldean current script, which was certainly not executed before the competent town court; however, this contract could also be the translation of a legally executed document.

Marital, inheritance and community issues were dealt with by the Jewish council; money matters, guarantees etc. by the town or county courts. In addition the Jewish council had to see that Jews kept the obligatory stock of salt, as indeed had the other citizens, consisting of 100 slices, under punishment of 60 Pfennigs for each missing slice. (order of 1417). In cases that could not be adjudicated, a decision was taken by means of an oath taken in a prescribed formula. This was performed in the shul, with the person taking the oath facing eastwards and with his right hand laid up to his wrist on the "Five Books of Moses".

p 24 The wording of the oath included an invocation of God and his commandments, which he had given on two stone tablets on Mount Sinai. Should the oath be false, the perjurer should be visited by the fire, which devastated Sodom and Gomorra, should God, the creator of foliage, grass and all things, not respond to calls for help in difficult times and every curse in the Torah should be fulfilled. The oath of the Jews was later incorporated into the law code of the town; in its first edition of 1484, certainly as a consequence of the advice of the sages of 1478, it stated textually:  
"Form and order of the Jewish oath as is customary in Nuremberg:  
When a Jew has to swear an oath, he should first face the book containing the commandments of God, as given to Moses on Mount Sinai and having the following words before his eyes: Jew, I impress on you by the only living and almighty God, creator of heaven and earth and all things and by his Torah and commandments, given to his servant Moses on Mount Sinai, that you will truly say and confirm that the present book is the book on which a Jew will swear an oath to a Christian or a Jew.  
If the Jew acknowledges that this is the book, the Christian who administers the oath, or in his stead he who gives the oath, will then read the following warning , i.e.  
Jew, I inform you that we Christians pray to the one almighty and living God, who created heaven and earth and all things, and that we do not honor or pray to any other God. I tell you this in case you should think that you are excused before God to swear a false oath and that you may think that we Christians follow an unjust faith and pray to foreign gods.

p 25 On the contrary you owe it to us Christians, who pray to a living and almighty God, to swear and to keep a true oath.  
Therefore, Jew, I ask you, whether you believe that he who renders a false oath, reviles and desecrates God, so say the Jew: yes.  
The Christian  
Jew, I ask you further, whether you are in sound mind and without any complaints and doubts towards the one living and almighty God, that you will speak the truth, no untruths, nor use false or deceitful words in any way whatsoever. So say the Jew: yes.  
When all this has been done, The Jew shall lay his right hand up to his wrist in the aforementioned book, namely on the words of God's Laws and Commandments, which is stated also in Hebrew:  
Do not use the name of the Lord your God in vain because He will not leave unpunished him who uses his name in vain (also in Hebrew).  
Then and before the Jew swears his oath, he shall repeat these words to the Christian, or in his place to whomever he swears the oath: Adonay, eternal almighty God, Lord over all Malachim [kings], only God of my fathers who has given us the Torah. I call you and your holy name adonay so that you will help me in my oath which I am about to swear and if I give false or deceitful testimony I shall forego all mercy of Almighty God and I shall suffer every punishment and curse which God has bestowed on the condemned Jews. My soul and body shall not partake in the promises God has given us and I shall not be liberated by Messiah, nor enter the promised sacred land.  
I also promise that I will not approach or ask forgiveness from a Jew or other person whereby I would cheat on the oath I am about to swear. Amen.

p 26 Then the Jew will swear and repeat the oath after the Christian.  
Adonay, creator of heaven and earth and all things, also myself and all those present, I appeal to you through your holy name, in this time of truth.  
When N. has accused me of this or that deal, thus I am not guilty or obliged, and in

connection with this deal I have not used any falsehood or untruth or other subterfuge and I ask God to help me and confirm this truth. Should I, however, not be correct, or have spoken an untruth or committed an offence, I should be banned and cursed forever. If I am wrong in this matter, I should suffer the fire of Sodom and Gomorra, all punishment mentioned in the Torah should be heaped upon me and the true God who created plants, grass and all things should not come to my help. However, in my dealings where I am in the right, so help me God Adonay and not otherwise."

It can be seen quite clearly that this Jews' oath was most complicated for both parties. The reason for this oath still to be found in the issue of 1503, in addition to the code issues of 1484, 1488 and 1499, can be explained because in the towns and villages belonging to Nuremberg there may possibly still have been some Jews. In the issue of 1522, there are still Jews' paragraphs, but the hitherto mentioned Jews' oath is now missed out; finally in the issue of 1564, Jews are no longer mentioned.

The location of the old abattoir and meat stores of the Jews can no longer be determined. The new one, after the expulsion from the market, was in the Judengasse, next to the Jews' little court ["Judenhoeflein" in the original], in the "The White Crown" ["zur weissen Krone" in the original] house (opposite the Horseshoe ["zum Hufeisen" in the original] inn, S. 1107).

It is doubtful whether, as indicated by Wuerfel, there was a Jews' bath.

p 27

As the Christians had their bath houses, so the Jews must be assumed also to have had theirs and one of these is next door to the shul at the Zottenberg, or in its close proximity (adjacent to house S. 979, as evidenced by the building quarrels), still during first period; later on, a bath and what was described as a plunge bath [a mikvah?], was ascribed to "The White Crown" house. Wuerfel comments regarding this chapter:

"Although the Jews had everything they required for the cleansing of their dirt in their own baths, they did not confine themselves to their own, but liked to bathe amongst the Christians or enticed Christians into their baths."

The relevant prohibition has already been mentioned amongst the laws. This is based on canonic law. On this occasion it may be reported that the story of a rabbi Mordochai is connected with these baths. According to one version he was sentenced to death in 1310, because of the improprieties in the baths, a second version has him expelled from the country and finally a third version has him perished because of his religion.

The Jewish cemetery, which originally was outside the town, came to be inside the wall after the latest enlargement of the town in 1350 - 1427. It was partly in the Outer Laufer lane ["Laufergasse"], the Mang lane ["Mangasse"], "The Heat" ["die Hitze" in the original] (an inn in Mangasse, after which a larger area was named), and parts of the Beckschlager lane ["Beckschlagergassen"]. It is unknown why the present Wunderburg lane ["Wunderburggasse"], as recently as the last century, was called "Jews' cemetery".

Wuerfel adds the following notes about the burial ground:

"During the epidemics of 1367, 1407 and 1437, many Jews also died. So many died in these years that the cemetery had to be enlarged each time. On the first occasion they went so far that they blocked the paths and access to the gardens owned by Christians.

When the Jews were permanently expelled from Nuremberg in 1499, the buildings on the cemetery were burnt down (There is documentary evidence that they were demolished). The empty spaces were sold to Christians, who quickly built new houses on them. The gravestones were used for the foundations of the new salt-house (now Toll) i.e. the upper weigh-bridge at the Frauentor [lady's gate], and for the stone huts opposite.

p 28

The considerable number of stones used can be estimated from the fact that both the weigh-bridge, which is 279 shoes long and 65 shoes wide, and the old stone house which is 106 shoes long, sit on foundations made from Jewish gravestones."

(Based on reliable verbal reports from as late as the middle of this century numerous Jewish gravestones were deposited between the Koenigstor [king's gate] and the Mari-entor [St. Mary's gate], but they disappeared bit by bit.)

Wagenseil in his "Commentatio de Civitate Norimb. [abbreviation of Latin Norimbergis = Nuremberg]" complains that nothing is left of private and official buildings, only the names "Jews' lane" and "Jews little court" and a small broken gravestone. However, more gravestones are preserved: we will mention where they can be seen and will also give their translation.

The stone mentioned by Wagenseil can be found near the entrance to the parsonage of St. Sebald's, on the right hand side on the way to the cellar steps. It is built into the wall at a certain height and the inscription can be seen and read (in Hebrew script): "This heap is a witness to the honorable Gutlein, granddaughter of rabbi Simson, who was buried on Monday the 29th Tevet".

Wagenseil believes that this fragment of a Jewish gravestone was too small to be used in the building of the salt- or corn-house, so that it was taken by somebody to fill a hole and brought to the parsonage of St. Sebald. The Nuremberg chronic is, however, sure that this stone was excavated from the cemetery many years after the expulsion of the Jews and brought to its present position.

Muellner writes in his XVIIth "relation": "In the year 1468, when building was in progress near the wall of the fish creek ['Fischbach' in the original] in the Pfannenschmidtgasse, an old Jewish gravestone was found with a Hebrew inscription, which states that Elias, son of Jew Salomon, died on the 27th September, in the year ..... after the creation of the world. This indicates that the stone was set around the year 1130 (?).

p 29

As a remembrance in view of its age, the stone was built into the keep behind the 'Peunt' in the outwork of the Frauentor." Thus far Muellner.

This stone can still be found in the tower, about 2 shoes high above the ground, built into the wall. Because it is made from very soft white stone, the inscription has weathered. Only a few letters can be recognized. Nowadays one can therefore only deduce that it is 4 shoes and 3 inches long and 1 shoe and 8 inches wide.

In the Pfannenschmidtgasse, in the yard of beef butchers Johann Stoer, there is also a part of Jewish gravestone, i.e. the right hand one, but only the following words are legible (in Hebrew script):

"Here (on the ... Adar, the ... day of the week) died maiden Guetla, a daughter ..."

Since this house is located quite near the old salt- and weigh-bridge houses, it can safely be assumed that this piece or perhaps the whole stone was left lying about and was then used by the owner of the house for his own purposes. And who indeed knows, whether there are other Jewish gravestones built into this house or in nearby dwellings, which until now have remained hidden to the lovers of antiquity.

On the top floor of the White tower ["Weissenthorn" in the original], towards the Spittler gate, two gravestones are also built-in in the direction of the long way. The inscriptions could be identified with great difficulty and its translation is:

1. This gravestone was erected by Simon for his father rabbi Iachia, who was buried on the XIth day of Iyar in the year 5033 (1273). May his soul be placed in the covenant of the living. Amen, Sela.
2. This gravestone was erected for the maiden Rebecca, daughter of rabbi Mosche the Levite. She went into eternity on the 6th day of Adar of the year 5068

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|  | <p>(1308). May her soul be placed in the covenant of the living in paradise. Amen, Amen, Sela.</p> <p>A good part of the wall towards the German House and the Spittler gate of this White tower contains such Jewish gravestones.</p> |
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| p 30 | <p>The Hebrew lettering is still visible in some of the hardest though delicate stones, especially where the hinges of the large shutters are embedded. It could not be ascertained how these Jewish stones came to be on this tower. It may be that at a time when the tower was repaired the Jewish gravestones were fetched from the cemetery and used as well prepared stones in this work.</p> <p>Further two preserved Jewish gravestones can be found in the old Kress' foundation building, i.e. the former Jewish Gymnasio [grammar school; secondary school]. The older one of the two bears the following (translated) inscription: Jacob has erected this gravestone in honor of his wife, the honorable Mrs Schoenel, a daughter of rabbi Samuel, who has gone to her eternity. This stone was set on the 6th day of the week of the month Shebath in the year 55 of the small count (1295), may her soul be placed in the covenant of the living. Amen, Sela.</p> <p>When Wilhelm Kress had a building erected in this Kress' dispatch house at the fruit market ["Obstmarkt" in the original] in the year 1617, the above mentioned stone was found in the horse stable and was used as the first step towards the yard. All sorts of glittering stars and trees which had grown inside were found when chiseling this stone and these were preserved as a memorial.</p> <p>The other Jewish gravestone in this Kress' manor house, can be seen near the entrance on the right hand side. The whole inscription is translated as: "Here lies the honorable maiden Sara (her memory is well preserved), a daughter of our teacher rabbi Baruch, the priest, on the first day of the week, the 13th Kislev, in the 209th year (1448). May her soul be placed in the covenant of the living."</p> <p>There are no doubts about these reports by Wuerfel, although in part they can no longer be proved. In addition, recently during the demolition of "The Red Ox" ["zum roten Ochsen" in the original] inn (commonly known as "The Ox's Little Head" ["Ochsenkopflein" in the original], King Street ["Koenigstrasse" in the original] 41), two further built-in former Jewish gravestones were found in the remnants of the adjoining old city wall. One of these from 1464 bears the (translated here) inscription:</p> |
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| p 31 | <p>"To Yokel. This stone, that I have set in memory of the old man ... rabbi Jacob, son of rabbi Abraham, buried 8 days in the month Shebath of the year 5 thousand and 224 of the count. May his soul be placed in the covenant of the living."</p> <p>The stone, which had previously been used for other purposes, shows on its reverse both city arms and the year 1499.</p> <p>The inscription of the second stone from 1477 is: "This stone which I have set in memory of Mrs Pess, daughter of rabbi Menachem, who was buried on the 9th Nissan on the first day (of the week) of the year 237 of the count. May her soul etc. etc."</p> <p>The supervision of synagogue visits must be mentioned as an early sign of things to come. A fragment of 1489 states: "List of Jews of today Saturday before Reminiscere. In their shul were found a total of 75 Jews." Mention is made of the Jewish cook, 2 "Schulklopper", Jewish baker, servants, guests, boys from the orphanage, bookbinder, tax collector, cantor, water carrier and also the name "Mardocheo".</p> <p>On July 21st 1498, Emperor Maximilian, from Freiburg i.B. [Freiburg im Breisgau, 65 km south of Strasbourg], passed the law, the famous document which authorized Nuremberg to expel its Jews. In it the measure was justified by stating that the number of</p> |
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Jews had considerably increased and exceeded, that they practiced usury, which resulted in many being driven into poverty and from their houses, and further that they gave assistance and hospitality to shady persons, which resulted in theft, etc. Houses, synagogue and other real estate had to be surrendered to the mayor Wolfgang von Parssberg. Already on July 5th the same order appeared in reduced form addressed to the mayor Wolfgang von Parssberg with the remark that the fortunes had to be temporarily collected as property of the imperial treasury. Two days later the council was ordered to give the necessary assistance to Parssberg. There exist two imperial documents from July 26th, one of which confirms the sale of all Jewish houses to the town for 8,000 florins and the other ordering the mayor to surrender these to the town. 24 persons, including Veit Stoss, are mentioned by name as purchasers of the Jewish houses. Wilibald Pirkheimer acted in this sale as the agent for the town.

p 32 Peter Imhof bought 6 pieces of property with synagogue and dance hall for 1,400 florins; Veit Stoss bought a house of Maier Joel for 800 florins whereby the Jewish slaughterhouse and bakery oven are also mentioned. An estimate of 4,010 florins for 19 houses was mentioned, but the sales price of 4,587 florins was realized. The funeral garage was sold for 956 florins. Many of the properties were torn down, amongst them the orphanage ["Seelhaus" in the original], which sold for 80 florins, and thoroughfare opened there. Even the hearse garage gave way to a thoroughfare. By his own initiative Wuerfel added to his report another reason for the eviction: "because they committed perjury", words that were not part of the imperial document cited by himself. In his pamphlet "The eviction of the Jews from Nuremberg", Briegleb reproduces the same assertion and also Wuerfel's personal opinion putting this last one as historic report. It is also possible that these words originated from one of completely worthless written chronicles, in which case they cannot command any credit although they may be contained in the original that is not accessible to me. They were: "The Jews resident in Nuremberg enjoyed a good life. Therefore they became arrogant and unruly. The exorbitant usury they practiced, the insatiable greed to which they submitted, the continuous and sacrilegious derision of our religion and slander of Christians, the unruly and rebellious behavior, the daily increase beyond the numbers for which they had been authorized finally annoyed the council and the citizenship; they would not tolerate any longer such bad guests, bloodsucking leeches, to the damage of businesses". The eviction order was connected with the cancellation by the council of all obtained freedoms, privileges and liberties and the license for the establishment of commercial banks. The eviction was initially set for St. Leonard's day (November 6th) and this was made public so that those who had pawned goods etc with the Jews could retrieve those. Following a humble petition the deadline was first extended until February 2nd 1499, and then again until fast-Sunday. During the exodus the Jews had to be protected by armed police against the rioting populace. The Margraves Anna von Brandenburg tried unsuccessfully to convince the town of Windsheim to admit the evicted.

p 33 In her widow's manor in Neustadt an der Aisch, she however admitted Jews in large numbers; after her death in 1515 her grandsons, Casimir and Georg, again chased the Jews away from their new home. Most of the Jews found long lasting refuge in Frankfurt in spite of the pastoral opposition of the priest, Dr Conrad Hensel; it is said that a small number moved to Prague. Since some few Jews still returned, on the Wednesday after Quasimodogeniti 1499

(first Sunday after Easter) the public servants were ordered to throw them with their wares into the hole, if they stayed more than 2 to 3 hours without escort, or if they staid overnight even with escort: the granting of escorts had been limited 4 days earlier. So Nuremberg got rid of the Jews and of 8,000 florins, but instead they had a great number of properties with much higher value, the sale of which gradually began. The council of the town, standing in some years well above the current spirit, could not boast of a superior attitude in this matter that would distinguish it from and with other places. Its standing on customs was neither lower nor higher than that of its century. Jews living in Nuremberg were certainly not spared the afflictions of earlier pogroms. As early as 1136 Otto von Freising mentions a persecution where those Jews who served as royal servants ["Kammerknechte" in the original] found refuge in the royal castle of Nuremberg. It is not necessary to conclude from this that at that time there were Jews living there; those who fled to the castle were foreigners. The completely unreliable Gundling mentions, without source: "In the year 1180 most of the Jews in Franconia and Nuremberg were murdered". It is further reported that in 1198, after Jews allegedly killed 3 boys, there was a riot against them but no documentary proof could be obtained either for the crime or for its consequences. There are reports of many persecutions of Jews towards the end of the 13th century; it can be proven that they actually happened. Reasons given were amongst others: that the Jews had stolen the consecrated hosts from the churches, then ground them in so called mortars and mocked that they did not yield blood although they are honored by Christians as living flesh. However finally blood flowed frequently and strongly that it could not been hidden any longer.

p 34

Also during this storm, the emperor's castle was used as a refuge. It all started with the rabble moving to the town of Wuerzburg, where there was also persecution of the Jews in progress, and all the Jewish houses were destroyed by the citizens of Wuerzburg. The rabble who chased the Jews towards Wuerzburg from Nuremberg were met by the citizens of Wuerzburg and they had a battle at the village of Kleinochsenfurt, as they did not want to receive the Jews there either. We are in receipt of news that the persecutions under king Karl IV (1347 - 1378) was not meant for Jews alone, but also for people of means (rich people). Maybe, the reason for this happening, was that there was a man named Merkel in the year 1347, who was banished from the town for one year, because Jews came to his home in order to have sex with Christian women. The conviction of this case was stricken from the book of acts, as there was a line through the text, and we are not sure if this really happened, as so much of these stories were manufactured lies. Ulman Stromer, a renown writer wrote in his chronic about this persecution: In the year of our Lord 1349, there were Jews, who sat around in a place and walked up and down, and at the same time women went to the women's church in the neighboring small street, which was known as the "Zotenberg". On the eve of Saint Nicklaus day, December 5th, several Jews were burned alive. So it was written. Besides these happenings, many of them were lies and idle talk and, to show that these things were not made up in the air alone, we want to reiterate that there was no authority at that time to substantiate these lies and idle talk and that much confusion was inherent in the town. The opinion of this writer is as follows: The Jewish persecution was real and not manufactured. It was not meant as a demonstration against the emperor or his servant. It is our opinion, that the Jews were on the side of the authorities and patronized the authorities. This happened in all the small towns. The Jews gave money to the authorities and were therefore favored by them. The motives were strictly political,



as the authorities were aware of the good income the Jewish money for taxes, brought to them.

p 35

In the year 1355, at the cloister of Waldsassen, there was a document, which originated in Nuremberg through the emperor, which was made known in a speech by the head of the cloister, where he repeated that all obligation versus the Jews are free and clear. In Nuremberg and the town of Eger this was the case and it was not the real truth in the matter. The crux of the matter was over stated to a great deal and the matter was about the town of Maxfeld, known before as Judenbuehl (Buehl, Buechel, also known as Huegel [hill]) and that was the place, where the burning of the Jews actually happened. Already in the year 1347, there was discord between the town authorities and the persecutors. Many of the persecuted people had already fled from the town, as they realized the hatred of the people. As many of the people who fled the town, returned after being gone for 3 years, shows that the whole town were not enemies of the Jews. Naturally they were not favored at the time, but they were tolerated.

Regarding the insults against Jews, which were very popular and happened very often, was really not the fault of council of the rebels ["Aufruhr-Rat"] during the time of these happenings in the years 1347-1349. The same man, did in fact expel in two cases the guilty people. On the 28th of May 1349, Karl IV, the count of the castle came out with a letter of attorney from the unfaithful Nuremberg citizens, that the money taken from the Jews by force and also their houses (13,000 pounds toll for the emperor for taxes). The castle-count received the above named sum and also received the right to tax the Jews.

Plenty of fuel for fury of the mob was collected through the "Geisselfahrten" (chastisements) and the plague and the Council in Nuremberg safeguarded themselves in advance through imperial order, that relocation of Jewish homes would not be achieved without using force.

p 36

The myth of the poisoning the wells may actually have been the cause. Gundling and Wagenseil speak positively about this and remarked: "and at that time citizens of Nuremberg seriously started to build fountains on their own houses, which not been the custom previously." Such statements are baseless and are patently obvious. It is known that constant accusations of usury played also a part and, at the excavation for the "Schoene Brunnen" (beautiful fountain), a vault is supposed to have been found, where Jews had buried pledges.

In the October 2, 1349 document of Karl IV. is written:

"Herewith we declare that if the Jews being servants to our court and at this time treated with hostility by the ordinary people with the consequence of endangering the citizens in those places which are hosting the Jews, will be damaged in one way or the other against the will of the municipal councils, neither we nor our successors as emperors will keep these bodies responsible for what might happen in the future."

A special document of protection for Jews issued by the emperor in 1371 and for the following 20 years is also in existence.

It is evident that the intention was not the extermination of Jews only their expulsion, as they were re-admitted in 1352. Already on May 2, 1352 - "already" has a certain justification for that time - there appeared before Rapot of Kuelsheim, District Judge for Nuremberg, Vischlein, son of Masten, Lemlein, son of Nathan of Greifenberg and Jakob, son-in-law of Liebertraut, formerly fled Jewish citizens of Nuremberg and stated that, according to the volition and favor of King Karl, they and on behalf of all Jews in Nuremberg, who were to become citizens, have come to an agreement with the citizens of

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|  | Nuremberg, that they shall live together with them, where these are called citizens, on condition that the citizens and their people shall cancel all their debts or securities they have on Jews, whether in writing or not, also any which were inherited by Jews. The Jews also promise that they will either exchange or sell any citizens houses within a year, to which the citizens should show their good will. |
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| p 37 | <p>However in case this does not happen the sale shall be accomplished according to Councilor Arnold von Seckendorff of Oberzenn, the Knight of the castle, and two members of the Council of Nuremberg. Jews should also only live in places thought best by the citizens and not anywhere else. In addition the Jews promised that they would apply to the King to be unburdened of all of their taxes by the nobility, in order to be of better service to the country. Should they find documents not in accordance with the laws of Nuremberg, then these shall no longer be valid. Finally the Jews, who formerly lived in the city and wish to return, shall strictly obey all these points.</p> <p>Even if this clearly shows the expulsion of Jews, it nevertheless shows that already discussion had been started with the King regarding the return of the Jews, followed by a decree a short time later. On May 26 of that year Karl ordered the Mayor, council and citizens of Nuremberg that they should accept Jews in their town and to protect them. He further decreed that any interest or gain which may be due to him from the Jews, could not be assigned, pawned or given to anybody, but to be kept in his chambers or those of the country, and even if he had issued or would issue documents relating to this, these shall be invalid.</p> <p>From this point on the Jews were again accepted and resident. However they were not allowed to move into their former houses, but had, as already mentioned, to settle on the large site of the fire which is still called "Judengasse" (Jews' Lane) and "Judenhoe-flein" (Little Jews' Yard). The "Wunderburggasse" also belonged to the fire site.</p> <p>So ended these persecutions. In a way the official attempts at conversion of Jews could also be counted as persecutions. In 1454 Johannes Capistranus preached in Nuremberg when Jews had to present and they were forced by the participants to throw their board games and dice tables into the fire. Additionally in 1478 a monk preacher Schwarz preached before Jews on the hospital churchyard. He tried to convert them in accordance with their own scriptures, but did not have much success</p> <p>Another event has to be mentioned; in 1458 Schoenbart ["Schoenbart" or "Schembart" was a specific Carnival habit in ancient Nuremberg when a procession of young men wearing colorful costumes ran and jumped through the streets.] also ran through the "Judengasse".</p> |
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| p 38 | <p>In addition to gifts of money and in kind Jews also donated rose-water. "This tasted very nice, as is then demonstrated by the following figure" is quoted in a Schoenbart book.</p> <p>It is self evident that the Jews were entwined in the history of Nuremberg before their reinstatement. This is mainly seen from prohibitions and judgements against them as well as the mostly unsuccessful conversions (during the sojourn of the Jews two conversions are known. The first in 1381 without a name; the converted was trained as a locksmith, but later ran away and was supposed to have died on the gallows. Secondly Rabbi Samuel who converted to Christianity in 1499 and in the end acted as a publicist. There are however some exceptions. The well known preacher Osiander applied in 1529 to accommodate the Jewish teacher of Schnaittach in order to be taught Hebrew by him. In 1537 a few Jews received imperial permission to stay four or five days in Nuremberg to do business. A third case was in 1628 when the town again saw Jews.</p> |
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|  | <p>They were two young Jews Abraham and Lesar, whose father Jakob Bassevi was knighted as Lord of Dreyberg. They as well as the 20 men accompanying them got permission to enter the town and stayed for two days. Apart from these events the following may still be reported. As details of the prohibition of trade will be dealt with under "Fuerth", only the following events shall be mentioned here.</p> <p>No date: Conversion of Daniel Rosencron.</p> <p>Ca. 1525 preacher Osiander negotiates with the Council re a Jew who wants to become a Christian.</p> <p>1533 a Jew from Prague called Joachim was baptized.</p> <p>1536 Paulus Stafelsteiner converted and afterwards vigorously wrote against Judaism.</p> <p>1537 Anschel of Ottensoos was hanged because he sold stolen goods and dealt with the thieves.</p> <p>1556 Paulus of Prague accepted Christianity and further described his action in print.</p> <p>1566 Wuerzburg and Nuremberg take common action against counterfeiters and Jews.</p> |
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| p 39 | <p>Through their envoys Nuremberg also informed the Parliament in Augsburg of their complaint, though without achieving much.</p> <p>1581 Michael Mayer was baptized. He took much pleasure in army life "but was soon ran away".</p> <p>1590 Moses of Ottensoos, a thief and spy, was hanged outside the gallows.</p> <p>1593 Julius Conrad, a Jew baptized two years previously in Wuerzburg, was executed on the wheel. He confessed himself as Christian but only (only!) did not want to take Holy Communion.</p> <p>1611 Rabbi bar Zadock of Posen converted. He was previously a teacher in Fuerth, later became blind and moved to Bamberg and there became a Catholic and then wrote from Vienna against Nuremberg and died in misery.</p> <p>1614, December 2, the Council of Nuremberg issued an order not to accommodate any journeymen who may have moved here and had participated in the looting of Jews in Frankfurt, but to report them. In that year a baptized Jew married here who partly supported himself with municipal payments for giving Hebrew lessons.</p> <p>1629 Chajim son of David Schirmer of Grosslangau, aged 18 years, was baptized in the Lorenzkirche. One had wanted to dedicate him to the noble barber craft, but he soon ran away, became a Catholic in Vienna and later was hanged for thieving.</p> <p>1659 Michael of Posen from Prague was baptized. He was sent to the university in Altdorf for further education but ran away from there to Amberg, where he became Catholic, again ran away from there and reconverted to Judaism. Further details have been published.</p> <p>1661 Moses from Frankfurt and Jakob from Krakow were baptized in the chapel of the Karthaeuser monastery.</p> <p>1668 Rabbi Levi de Pomis, a Portuguese Jew, was converted in the Augustinerkirche. He later taught Hebrew at the university of Altdorf, made beautiful Christian speeches, but one day rode away on a borrowed horse and in a borrowed coat, leaving his debts.</p> <p>1676 Huenla, a Jewess, wife of Rabbi Maier of Mainz, was converted. Their three children were also baptized between 1672 - 1676. The woman later married a proselyte, but let herself to be abducted again by her first husband.</p> <p>1694 Samuel Wiener of Berlin converted. He is reported to not have been admitted to be baptized for a long time because of the manifold desire of Jews to be converted. (?)</p> |
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| p 40 | <p>1700 Laemmel, a Jew of Fuerth called "The Ox", was in the pillory because he bought stolen copper and concealed the thief. After having been in prison he was expelled.</p> <p>Nathan Mayer, known as "the Satan of Fuerth", was jailed for wrong counting of money.</p> <p>1703 a document by the well known Nuremberg writer Wagenseil "Denunciato Christiana" was published "regarding the blasphemy by which Jews abuse our Savior".</p> <p>1710, August 12 Elias of Neuhaus in Bohemia was baptized and on September 16 Salomo Moyses of Gunzenhausen.</p> <p>1712, July 27 Bunla, 18 year old daughter of Lippmann Mayer of Forth in spite of emphatic protestations of the father and bridegroom converted.</p> <p>On September 7 Abraham Esaia of Puerz in Brandenburg converted, who was also supposed to become a barber. However he ran away with adequate spoils and is supposed to have done the same with the Jesuits in Prague.</p> <p>1713 Eliaesar, the brother of Bunla, was baptized.</p> <p>1714 Margem, a Jewess from Schnaittach followed.</p> <p>1715 Wolf of Prodt in Poland converted (a dissertation has been written about this).</p> <p>1717 Jakob Laemmlein of Forchheim, living in Fuerth converted.</p> <p>1719 Kehla, eldest daughter of Jakob Moyses of Fuerth converted (a document exists).</p> <p>1721 Sekle Loew and Samson Loew, two brothers of Bruck near Erlangen converted.</p> <p>1722 following them Moses, a third brother, also adopted Christianity, who however was, with public flogging, driven out of the territory after a few years.</p> <p>1726 Bessler Mayerl, a wife, applied for conversion, but was rejected as she was heavily pregnant and "became very suspect".</p> <p>In the same year Samuel Jakob of Fuerth together with his three children took lessons in Christianity, ran away however before the baptism.</p> <p>1731 Margham, a 19 year old Jewess from Lehrberg and</p> <p>1733 Lazarus Wolf and Samuel Laesar, father and son, were converted. The former then wrote against the Jews and became charity collector in Fuerth. The event was published in print.</p> |
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| p 41 | <p>1743 Brendel, a 19 year old girl from Unterfarnbach followed.</p> <p>1748 Rabbi Schimon and Samson, father and son of Fuerth converted. Schimon later became server of the Dominican Church and wrote under his name Matthaei very critically against Jews.</p> <p>1754 Isaak Samuel of Nicklasburg in Moravia was baptized.</p> <p>1755 the same was the case of Chajim Samuel and his son of Thurnau.</p> <p>1756 the daughter of Matthaei followed her father. ("Matthaei had the pleasure to find his daughter, lost through a misunderstanding". Will). The latter wrote a commemorative publication for this and</p> <p>1758 a joyous publication of his conversion.</p> <p>1773 Joseph Hirsch converted.</p> <p>M. A. Will functioned here and in Fuerth as the most fervent so to speak officially engaged converter of Jews, who also wrote four small tracts about this, which however never appeared in print.</p> <p>It should also be noted that despite all contempt of other expelled persons, Jews were credited with super natural knowledge. Certain information states:</p> <p>"Anno 1615, May 29, the second Whitsun day, at midday a fire started in the village of Almoshof, situated ½ mile from Nuremberg, which razed 30 rooms to the ground, also two pigs and many personal belongings were burnt. It was a pity to see it.</p> <p>Finally Suessla, a Jew from Fuerth came running, took a two loaves of bread, put some Hebrew lettering on them and threw the bread into the fire, then ran through the fire and</p> |
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also wrote some letters on the door and shutters of the next adjoining rooms, pledged himself and said 'if after his writing the fire spread further and more are set alight, I should be taken and thrown in the fire.' However the fire did not spread and no more were kindled, though without the fire-fighting the blaze would have burnt everything to the ground."

According to a second version more attention was paid to the conjuration of the fire than to its extinguishing, so that everything burnt down and the exorcist eluded the justice of the people.

p 45

## Fuerth



Die Geschichte der jetzigen Stadt Fürth tritt, vollständig verschieden von der Nürnbergs, überall mit einer gewissen Bestimmtheit auf. Freilich hatte Fürth nicht die Macht und das Ansehen der stolzen Nachbarin, und um den kleinen Hofmarkt woben sich nicht die vielerlei Thaten von existenzunfähigen Thatsachen, Märchen und Sagen, deren Annahme als Fundamente der Geschichte, die Richtigstellung derselben, ganz besonders der Nürnbergs, so überaus schwierig macht. Von Jugend auf mit den verklärenden, liebgewonnenen Ueberlieferungen bekannt, konnte sich der Nürnberger davon nicht los machen, und nur wenige der alten Historiker vermochten es, in einzelnen Fällen Wahrheit und Verstand gegen Sage und Gemüth aufkommen zu lassen.

### First paragraph of the Fuerth chapter in German

The history of the present city of Fuerth is entirely different from that of Nuremberg. Clearly, Fuerth did not have the power or the standing of Nuremberg and in its small market place it did not enjoy the wide range of activities, fables and sayings which are fundamental to history, and, in the case of Nuremberg, make comparison so difficult. From youth upwards, Nuremberg's tradition failed to distinguish between fact and legend which are fundamental to history. Only a few of the old historians in a few cases, were ready to acknowledge truth and understanding in place of fable and legend.

One could easily reach a conclusion that in due course, a Jewish community in Fuerth had been in existence for a long time. This would not be an unusual outcome, since other communities which came up quickly had to confirm that they were not very old either. It is understood that Nuremberg Jews, who were expelled, started a new location in Fuerth, an assumption which confirmed the fact that a lot of Jews already resided in the Ansbach area. Yet it cannot be traced that Jews had settled in Fuerth before 1528.

It could be that there were people in Fuerth before then, but we cannot be sure as there are no written records. Yet, a file in the Nuremberg archives, titled "The handling of Jews" was dated 1522 and this did not produce any other result.

There is a further sign of the absence of Jews from Fuerth, in that, in 1527, Nuremberg banned contracts and usurious trade with the Jews of Strasbourg. It is unthinkable that

there could actually have been any trade with Strasbourg. On the other hand, this ban creates an impression that the refugees from Nuremberg also turned to Strasbourg. Yet there is no firm evidence of this.

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It is certain that some of the refugees, principally those from Nuremberg's hostile territories, stayed on. One of these, whose father, Symelin, was still recorded in 1498 in Nuremberg in the name Manuel or Mendel der Weinschenk [the Vintner], who, in June 1528 was granted a license from the margrave, to settle in Fuerth.

A six-year permit had already been given to the Jew, Bermann, on April 17 of that same year. It is possible that these two, Bermann and Mendel, were, in fact, one and the same person; Mendel could have been the first name.

A further Jew, Uriel Wolf von Schwabach, was granted in that year too, a protection license for Fuerth. All the above, who had once been protected citizens in Schnaittach, were served, together with Ottensoos as a refugee town, who were then held up in Bamberg, were driven to Wuriel whose hatred here, where usury was practiced, were finally driven to Fuerth, where they might be able to establish a profitable business.

As soon as the Nuremberg citizens, so near to the area of resettlement of Jews, realized what was happening, their council protested, in a lengthy communication, stating that, as long as it had been known, Jews had used blood and sweat to take from the inhabitants of Schnaittach, and could be feared of doing the same in Fuerth. They were unable to prevent the movement of their assets. The Jews were an unreliable people, and one should decline, with the best intentions willingly to accept their taxes (for the best?).

I was unable to find out whether a reply was received; certainly the protest, whatever its effect at that time, continued to be presented.

The jealousy between Nuremberg and Ansbach, described below, in which Bamberg too was involved, follows particularly throughout the history of Fuerth, and specially affecting the Jewish community which was very successful, so much so that Ansbach could raise funds, which, to their satisfaction was a source of annoyance to Nuremberg.

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When, in 1538, a residence was built, behind the tax office in Ansbach, for a rich Jew, by the name of Michel von Dornberg, Nuremberg took offence and addressed themselves to Bishop Weigand in Bamberg without result. The new Jewish citizen who was on good terms with the emperor, with the count palatine at Rhine, with the duke of Bavaria and with the landgrave of Leuchtenberg in financial affairs, paid 400 florins a year, protection fees, 100 Taler [ancient German currency] a year for his trade associates. Added to that he was required to keep 4 or 5 horses.

Introductions from Nuremberg or other sources, which made their value important, limited many actions further until 1553 - there is only one reference each in 1540 and 1542 - when a yellow stripe to indicate their origin was worn. These affairs are connected with the banishing of Jews from Bavaria in 1553.

In 1556 the cathedral office in Bamberg permitted for the first time a Jew from Regensburg, Heimann, who had lent a substantial sum of money to Bamberg to settle in Fuerth. An official protest was raised by Ansbach, which greatly pleased the people in Nuremberg, who promptly recorded their own protest. Still, Bamberg continued with its profitable affairs and by 1566 welcomed many more new residents, up to 70 souls, and by 1582 the number had risen to 200. They could consolidate into a proper community in Bamberg, recognized for the first time in 1607. A gravestone, in fact, records the year 1604.

The Ansbach Jews buried their dead in Baiersdorf and were now granted permission, also in respect of the cemetery of Fuerth, to use the Fuerth cemetery against payment of

one florin per adult, and half a florin per child.

Again, in 1552 and 1554, once more rejected by Ansbach, with equal lack of notice taken in Bamberg, Nuremberg approached the emperor, seeking the power of the state law to ban the Jews of Fuerth of their privileges.

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In 1573, Bamberg received the emperor's confirmation of the privilege to keep Jews within the official confines of Fuerth. Again Nuremberg protested and as a consequence the privilege was reconfirmed, but this argument kept busy the administrative clerks only, because the Jews stood bravely their ground, a strong indication of the legislative power of the emperor at that time. In 1582 and 1585 Nuremberg lodged repeated objections with Bamberg, because Jews took over a whole street, but the Jewish circumstances did not change. The cause of the first of the two protests mentioned was the rumor, that the Jews of Farnbach and Fuerth diluted wine shipments while in route from the river Main area. This was very upsetting for the margrave and he threatened them with deportation. In a proclamation at that time Bamberg called this locality "our village Fuerth" to safeguard its dominance. The construction of a new Jewish house in 1549 was another cause of disputes.

Apart from these protests, police directives were issued to hinder Jewish business dealings in Nuremberg. The first one dated from the year 1538 reads as follows:

Because of honest and concerned motivation regarding ongoing causes and mindful of difficulties an esteemed Nuremberg city council issues a strong and sober warning, that none of our citizens, inhabitants, subjects or their relatives is allowed by any means to send their wives, sons, daughters or other members of their households to Fuerth in order to purchase meat for their own advantage or consumption, which according to Jewish law and other statutes is prohibited food for Jews and Jewesses. Should there be anyone who is acting against this serious order by an esteemed council, the esteemed council will impose an appropriate fine on him and others involved. Whoever is taking part in this matter must realize, that the esteemed council is owed reasonable obedience from its citizens, subjects, inhabitants and relatives to avoid the sickness which one could contract by consuming the Jews' meat. Consequently everybody should be diligent and beware of the penalty.

Decreed Friday, February 5, 1538.

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During the next year the following ban was issued:

The respected council tried with much effort to help its citizens and subjects of this city and region to achieve and establish growth and prosperity and to safeguard these accomplishments against upheavals. Now, the esteemed council must realize, that some its citizens, but also from Woehrd and Gostenhof, including the subjects of other municipalities and other governing bodies are faced with the disruption in shelter and workplace, mostly for no good reason but dubiousness and prodigality. This deliberate waste effects their wives and children and leads to dealing with drifting Jews to make contracts which include profiteering with or without pawning property. In a short time the damage from these transactions by the council's citizens and subjects increased the growing corruption inasmuch that the redemption of the pawned items or release from a contract could not be accomplished without causing great harm. Also people who consider themselves to be indebted to (former Nuremberg) Jews are obliged to follow the council according to its conferred authority rules, because of the deportation all debts owing to them are cancelled.

Because of that and to stop such growing damage and impairment happening at the moment the following rules and preventive measures must be carried out: Namely, that

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|  | <p>all citizens here in this town, but also in Woehrd, Gostenhof, as well as all subjects in the country have to be aware, that between now and next St. Michael's day, all matters (businesses, debts) related to dealings with Jews or Jewesses have to be settled, also to avoid commercial deals, including the use of proxy for loans, pledges and endorsements. The council will hand out personal and property punishments according to the form of infringement to those who continue doing business and by carrying out these deeds invoke the displeasure of the council.</p> <p>Accordingly it is to be known (...)</p> <p>Decreed in the Senate, July 30, 1539.</p> |
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| p 50 | <p>On April 14, 1558, the order again appeared, stating that citizens and subjects of the country should have no contacts with Jews living in the area.</p> <p>June 20, 1566 a further order was issued: After the esteemed council received a certain obvious report, stating it is common knowledge that many male and female citizens and residents from here, Woehrd and Gostenhof, secretly and openly further their own advantage and lure other people, but are reluctant to come forward because they prefer not to be known. They deposit with male or female Jews their silverware, precious items, clothing, merchandise, wagons, accept money with excessive and forbidden interest and also arrange for profiteering from these contracts and frauds. They are promoting the process by carrying out unabated and deceptive manipulations, which for the poor citizens and renters and their wives and children with their trades and sustenance markedly are hindering and damaging, thus leading to complete ruination.</p> <p>To counter such damaging, harmful and punishable disservice, the esteemed council ordered that a serious penalty will be applied whenever, may it be with or without knowledge of the announcement, one transacted or pawned with Jews or Jewesses, received or loaned money, swapped, traded or negotiated any schemes, contracts, purchases and similar tasks. No matter under what appearance or name such actions were planned or made up, one must completely abstain from them.</p> <p>Whoever is violating this rule by insisting to carry out those transactions, whether caught in the act or not, and charged before the esteemed council, will have to pay without fail a fine of ten florins for negligence unless one can defend his action.</p> <p>Also, as the council received creditable information, that citizens are meeting Jews in front of the town's gate and other localities in the vicinity to have undertakings and commercial transactions, the council certainly will not tolerate such behavior.</p> <p>Whoever is offending this prohibition and brought to the knowledge of the esteemed council without being able to prove his innocence will have to pay the aforementioned fine.</p> |
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| p 51 | <p>If, because of such (increased) activity, somebody puts himself in a dangerous position, this person will receive an appropriate personal or property fine for this violation.</p> <p>Finally, Nuremberg effected the following imperial mandate:</p> <p>We, Maximilian II, let it be known openly with this letter, that the city's mayor and the council brought forward and recognized, because in the divine and both written laws of the empire's constitution, statute and orders, but primarily in the police orders and amendments, passed in several imperial assemblies, likewise in published imperial decrees, that especially for Jews and Jewesses, all banned profit contracts and commercial actions are especially forbidden.</p> <p>Those from Nuremberg have also received permission from the former emperor Maximilian (I) to get rid of the Jews who lived before inside and outside of the city and by doing so to annul their debts, but also to tolerate a few Jews in the area.</p> |
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It is a fact, that after difficult developments during some years, with commerce and trade at a standstill in the nation, together with inflation taking hold, and the Jews remaining around the city taking advantage of Nuremberg citizens by circumventing Nuremberg's ordered sanctions without the authorities' knowledge and permission, to burden with difficult contracts, loans with unfair conditions for immovable and especially movable property.

In addition, it often occurred, that Jews together with neighborhood thieves and their accomplices helped themselves to stolen and robbed merchandise, which inflicted great harm on the citizens and community.

Because of imperial kindness and leniency, their (Nuremberg authorities) attained freedom is now extended and prolonged: That is to say, that after the proclamation of this freedom, no Jew will be allowed to loan or extend to or exchange with a citizen of the mentioned city, whether of present, lease, movable merchandise, other pledges, letters and deeds or bona fide, whether with or without profit, except what is needed for daily sustenance bought for cash or bought on the open market or yearly fairs.

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After the irregularity of such deals is explained circumstantially, the text of the mandate continues as follows:

It is hereby desired, that all and every, especially common and strange (general and special) freedoms etc., etc. be abolished, cashed in, dismissed and destroyed, which are applicable to Jews.

Also if citizens received loans and advances from a Jew, this Jew must pay a fine of ten marks of minted gold.

It is ordered for one and all, that those who requested this freedom from the city's mayor and council, should not refuse to hold the Jews responsible, etc, etc. with our and the empire's strong displeasure and penalty and also fine, that is to say 40 gold marks, which everybody pays half to our chamber (treasury) and the other part to be paid to the city mayor and council that will be holding office at that time.

Given in our city Vienna, August 27, 1573.

With the prohibition from August 16, 1575, with a penalty of ten florins, which can not be challenged, and the same consideration under instruction and partial quotation of the imperial letter from 1573, the official steps of the city of Nuremberg against the Jews ended for this century.

The rise of the Jews in Fuerth put the result of the Nuremberg effort in a doubtful light. Ansbach and Bamberg, which were not quite united, went hand in hand if it is against Nuremberg, and were confirming this unity through the protection given to the Jews, which by the way brought in considerable amounts.

To point to humane behavior for tolerance and protection is completely false and unproven, even so it was argued very often by Nuremberg's opponents.

A victim of this mutual jealousy between Ansbach and Nuremberg was the Jew Michael, formerly from Gemuend, later domiciled in Fuerth. He was commissioned at the same time by the Nuremberg war office to find wrongdoers and entrusted by the margrave's treasurer in Cadolzburg, von Giech, to observe the poachers.

Once he delivered six persons from Ruckertsdorf [today Rueckersdorf], which were suspicious of murder, to Nuremberg, this pointed to the help of many security organizations. Margrave Georg Friedrich saw this as an interference to his rights, called Michael to Ansbach, arrested him, and in 1596 had him decapitated in Langenzenn.

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| p 53 | <p>The corpse was quartered, each part was put on display in different streets of the village together with a board carrying the words "Michel, a Nuremberg Jew, traitor".</p> <p>The people of Nuremberg complained without avail to the emperor and empire about this sentence, also about the board.</p> <p>This sentence was hard to take for Nuremberg, but not as strong as the procedure against Jews, and while Ansbach and its territory expelled the Jews, their settling in Fuerth was favored, even in the expulsion mandate of 1560 in which the Fürther Jews were expressly excluded.</p> <p>Towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the situation for the Jews of Fuerth was formulated as follows:</p> <p>They enjoy the protection of the emperor, may establish communities, enact laws for themselves and are permitted to levy taxes for communal needs.</p> <p>The whole community is responsible to the head of the Jewry in Germany, specially with an assigned rabbi who is entitled to act as a judge.</p> <p>The Jewish community is also under the rule of her protector and has to pay certain taxes, may close contracts, acquire real estate and may settle community matters. The latter applies to the pursuit of their religion and rites, election of the rabbi and judge [Beth Din], to carry out internal commercial dealings and raising of taxes.</p> <p>The Jewish individual can not belong to the political community, can not obtain citizen rights, nor can he become a member of a guild, but must contribute to the general obligations.</p> <p>If in civil affairs it is Jew versus Jew with regards to ritual, family and succession rights, their own laws apply, otherwise the jurisdiction of the country applies.</p> <p>A Jew can not demand a duel from a Christian, his oath is not on the same footing as a Christian oath. His religious practice is not to be disturbed, he can not be forced to be baptized, he is not allowed to hold office, to receive honors, nor to attend institutions of learning. It is suggested, that his source of income should primarily be the loan business.</p> <p>He has to respect other religions, he is excused from army service, he is bound to his living place and his protector, the costume duties are increased for him.</p> <p>In 1696, some Jews in Fuerth, who converted their acres in the Koppenhof district to gardens, fell victim to the known jealousy between Ansbach and Bamberg in a less violent way. This was an interference with the sovereignty rights of Ansbach and the gardens were reverted back to acres.</p> |
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| p 54 | <p>In the 18<sup>th</sup> century this latter examples of jealousy produced even more precious blossoms. In 1751, the Bamberg usher read out to everybody who was entitled to be present in the Synagogue and to whom it applied, a law regarding the observation of community matters. During this event Ansbach soldiers forced their way in and arrested the Bamberg official. During fairs, soldiers in the service of the principalities of Ansbach and Bamberg routinely beat each other up.</p> <p>At the end of his first chapter Wuerfel thinks again of the mindset of the Fuerth Jews. He would have realized, even if the community was made up of saints, that they are a sinful people, thinking they could best serve God by eating and drinking, a snobbish people, that even their executives found exceptions with such characteristics, a reminder, that this wisdom will die with them, in the end they are a disfavored people, even their own co-religionists are angrily speaking out. "Foreign Jews are calling them garlic eaters". This expression was the final end of pious views. To explain this disapproval, a number of nicknames and abusive names were created, which the Jews gave to each other. Though their existence was very believably, in any case the origin was from somewhere else, not to be looked for amongst the Jews and this application was in</p> |
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use more during earlier times than now. Haenel deducted from this a certain independence, which relied on the number [of community member] etc.; but one finds such anecdotes in the smallest places where Jews reside, and I believe, that all are derived from a later source, which originated with Wuerfel. This resounding statement is against the past public practice of religious costume, for which pictures by copper engraver Boener (1704) is the best source.

As an anecdote, the "semolina mash company" should be mentioned: R. Michael bar Abraham from Markt Erlbach, because of his life style was called Michel Chafed, the pious Michael. "His scholarship did not reach the peak of science", so thinks Wuerfel, but with what he knew he tried to serve children of poor people, giving them lessons without charging a fee. In addition, he approached the wealthy Jews they should assist the young boys with food and one of them would have to collect the food at noon and in the evening, which usually consisted of semolina mash, also the ordered meals were not exactly wasteful or luxurious.

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The collected food was shared and eaten by Michael, that is how he earned the name "President of the semolina mash company", which name continued with his son-in-law. The high school in Fuerth, whose feature was to present a university faculty to further the education of rabbis, had a great deal of reputation and was frequented a lot. With the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, inner and outside influences caused a decrease in the importance of the institute. The since 1690 closely connected printing establishment was previously situated in Unterfarnbach and until 1754 the list of ownership was: Hirsch Frankfurter, Bonsat Schneur, Eisik Frankfurter, Hirsch Wilmersdorfer, Hirsch Majim. At the time of resettlement, the ownership belonged to the two brothers Abraham and Joseph Fromm. An uncertainty prevails with the order of the names of the book printers, possibly due to the probable merging with the previous printing establishment in Wilmersdorf [Wilhermsdorf, Central Franconia]. The latter under Hajum Hirsch was moved to Fuerth with a privilege by the Count of Hohenlohe. The members of these print shops enjoyed many liberties, they did not have to wear the Jewish badge and were able to marry on the judgement of officials in charge. "The printing by these people is full of mistakes, if one looks at such a book, one finds every line has two or three mistakes", so explains Wuerfel, a judgement, which particularly by quoting documents fits also the critic well.

It is a foregone conclusion, when already now, the so called regulation of 1719 was adapted, that at that time Fuerth counted about 60 tax paying family heads. Thanks to a source from a much earlier time, the collection of status of law, which was gathered under the above title, signifies more a confirmation of the already given freedoms in place of a grant. The benefits of a secure lawful foundation, as far as one could talk about such regarding former times anyway, cannot be denied in their healing influence on the development of the community, and therefore should be mentioned in detail. There are two copies of the statues in the possession of the Kultusgemeinde Fuerth. They are the foundation, which subsequent community statues had to adhere.

As follows:

**Statues for the common Jewish entity in Fuerth.**

(Issued by the [Bamberg] episcopal dignitary von Guttenberg, March 2, 1719.)

1) Safety against assigned protection money is assured for all Jewish families, their dependents and property.

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| p 56 | <p>2) It is stipulated, that starting May 1, 1720, the amount to be paid for a period of 10 years will be a yearly payment of 2,500 florins. In the event of a cancellation of the agreement by either party, and by giving notice during the previous year, every Jew under protection has to pay 10 florins yearly, widows are exempt.</p> <p>3) They are allowed to build synagogues and schools, may live according their mosaic laws, are allowed free election for their officeholders and the benefit of their jurisdiction; the elected officials have the right to penalize individual members.</p> <p>4) They will be able to name their chief rabbi, cantor, beadle and grave diggers, also all necessary personnel for community service, which are within the range of the protection (2,500 fl. protection), being free from all ruling and community levies, have the right to acquire their own houses and therefore will be on the same level and carry the same obligations as other citizens.</p> <p>5) They may buy and sell in or outside of the marketplace, loan money for interest and pawn, use their merchandise rightly for profit, and find:</p> <p>6) just help in demands for payment of debts.</p> <p>7) In an argument between Jews and Christians the ruling of the Bamberg official according common law and jurisprudence is subject to appeal.</p> <p>8) In all penalty cases the Jews are subject to Bamberg's jurisdiction, with the exception of internal matters between Jew and Jew , namely with regards to their religious school and family affairs, because this is a concern for judges elected by them.</p> <p>9) The Jewish community enjoys without interference the right to be governed by their own rabbis and "Barnossen" [dialectal phrase for Hebrew Parnassim = community officials], they do not have to obey the Bamberg rabbis and "Barnossen", not to burden themselves with other protected Jews, but the community should keep to herself.</p> <p>10) A foreign Jew, if he wishes to establish domicile and is of unblemished and up-standing character with a certificate issued by the rabbi's office, must show proof of assets of 5,000 Rheinische Taler and paid up all payments which are due during the 10 year protection period. Any faltering will be punished.</p> <p>11) The first child of a Jewish couple is under protection.</p> <p>12) Should the first born son marry a foreign Jewish woman, she has to produce assets of 400 fl.</p> <p>If a first born daughter marries a foreign Jew, he has to produce assets of 500 fl.</p> |
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| p 57 | <p>13) Brides or grooms from Fuerth, who are second born children must have assets of at least 700 fl. available.</p> <p>14) Should a second born son marry a foreign woman, he must produce assets of 800 fl. In case a second born daughter marries a foreigner, she must have assets of 1,050 fl. at her avail.</p> <p>15) With the third child the amount of the assets is set at 1,200 or 1,000 fl. respectively.</p> <p>16) Outside town, the amount is set at 1,500 fl.</p> <p>17) The amount for the fourth child is set at 1,600 fl., which is reduced to 1,400 fl. if three children are already under protection.</p> <p>18) Should the child marry outside [Fuerth], it is mandatory that the assets are set as follows: For a daughter 1,800 fl., for a son 2,000 fl.</p> <p>19) With the fifth child, if husband and wife are from Fuerth, the sum of 2,000 fl. in assets must be available. If four children are under protection, 1800 fl. must be available in assets.</p> <p>20) Foreigner must produce at least 2500 fl.</p> <p>21) A scholar in any subject or student will pass with 50 to 100 fl. etc.</p> <p>22) Extraordinary distinguished scholars or students may receive protection and the permission to marry, if the parents pay for their daughter the sum appropriate for her</p> |
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|  | <p>class [as mentioned above]. Besides that the parents have to insure the [couple's] subsidies for three years; but the son-in-law has to be a real student or scholar and may not want to be a school master.</p> <p>23) With widowers and widows with children the assigned level of assets increases from florins to an equal amount of Taler.</p> <p>24 and 25) deal with out of town protected Jews and their assets.</p> <p>26) The protected Jews of Fuerth may pursue commerce with variety or novelty and grocery merchandise goods, also wine and beer, they may also do this in their homes, in the "Schulhof" [synagogue square] as well as in out of town fairs and markets.</p> <p>27) Enabled to render service [to the Jews] are the following: Jewish and Christian musicians, self-employed barbers, who should not be pursuing surgery and three tailors who are not allowed to work for Christians.</p> <p>28) They may prepare their bread, in particular Easter bread [Matzah] in their own houses.</p> <p>29) Because the Jewish society for some time back appointed two Jewish deputies to the Christian community meetings, and because they have the same community rights and privileges as the Christians and equally agree to the dispositions, therefore their right to continuity is assured.</p> |
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| p 58 | <p>30) At the same time the civic obligation of providing quarters for troops in case of war carried equally by the Jewish community is extended to the Sabbath, but not the night surveillance service which will be paid off instead.</p> <p>31) With regards to travelling Jews, a hostel with a kitchen for ready cooked meals has to be established, which also will serve for their lodging. It is desired that poorer travelers should not stay long in Fuerth without paying a charge and engage in prohibited trade.</p> <p>32) Because Jews are not allowed to own farm property, they may charge a higher rate of interest in their business dealings, namely on capital over 100 fl. 8%, below 100 fl. an interest of one Pfennig per week, for exchanged money 1% monthly.</p> <p>33) For the latter the Nuremberg exchange laws are in force.</p> <p>34) If a Jew buys stolen goods - from which everyone should refer carefully - or is suspicious of having done so, he must protect himself with a proclamation in the synagogue. Should he not be able to swear to the legality of the bought goods, he has to return the merchandise free of any charge.</p> <p>35) Jews may string wires around their houses [Eruv, Sabbath religious boundaries] and erect security barriers. On Sabbath they may use Christian servants to perform household chores.</p> <p>36) In horse dealing, in addition to the country wide accepted four main blemishes for horses such as "rotzig", "raeudig" [specific German terms for horse illnesses], bad hair and theft, vests are considered to be a defect, too.</p> <p>37) Particular letters of protection will be renewed by paying a 3 fl. tax for a three year term.</p> <p>38) For loan agreements, married couples have to receive consent from the cathedral office. The wives have to refer from their legal benefits and in particular must demonstrate that nobody in the Jewish community has a mortgage or lien on her assets.</p> <p>39) Every [Bamberg] subject may leave Fuerth without restriction as long as his or her protection money is paid and notice is given [to the authorities] half a year in advance. These rulings were excellent with regards to the complete transfer of the authority over Fuerth Jews to Bamberg including the taxation. Apart from this, that the latter was not so low, it stipulated a constant amount, although later raised, but again fixed and all the same the law governed instead the usual arbitrariness.</p> |
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Room was made for the two Jewish deputies to have seats and a voice in community meetings, which for that period was a first time event. It is clear to see, that as from the year 1652 a Jew could become even town mayor.

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The realization of the latter phenomenal innovation was prevented by the Bamberg cathedral office, which remised this right for the future in lieu for another 2 fl. in addition to the community tax (what a well meaning replacement!). The right of the deputies remained unchanged. For example in 1766 they prevented the erection of a very costly community house, in order to achieve the building of a school for the poor. Later they opposed the hanging of bells, which led to differences of opinion and finally town mayor Schneider excluded the Jews, and besides he remarked "As long he is mayor, no Jew will be at the meeting table", which earned him a reprimand from the government for his high-handiness. The right to have a voice in the community representation lasted till 1806. In 1818, the government pointed out, that Jews have to be elected to the community council.

At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the night watchmen used to sing out: "The day drives away the dark night, my dear Christians be alert and bright". Because the Jews paid the night watchmen, too (since 1658 10 fl. yearly), this payment entitled them to a change in wording to: "My dear gentlemen etc."

To validate this regulation, every Jew had to pay protection money to Bamberg in the amount of 10 fl. 30 Kreuzer. After termination of the 10 years, the total sum of 4,000 fl. in question was raised (according to Wuerfel and Haenle). But in 1731 the community paid only 3,200 fl. (source: Bamberg State Archives). For 1754 above sources indicate 4,500 fl., against which increase a petition was signed but refused with reference to the increased head count. When the money was collected, and the Bamberg official arrived around Saint Walpurgis day [May 1], the executives or "Barnossen" handed over the money and obtained a receipt. The execution of the sovereign's protection letter was enacted only after receiving approval from the "Barnossen". A right, which in 1820 was lifted in an resolution by the [new] sovereign [the Bavarian King]. In 1795, an ordered Prussian protection letter, which was lacking previous confirmation by the community, was annulled.

Those [Jews] subdued to Ansbach paid in addition 10 fl. 30 Kreuzer to [the margrave's treasury in] Cadolzburg, where also all Bamberg escort Jews had to pay a minimum. The former Ansbach protection money varied from 2 ½ to 93 ½ fl. The latter amount was taken care of by the rich Ephraim Model.

To finance the community expenses a tax was levied depending on the respective personal assets and handed with a solemn hand shake to the rabbi.

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The payment of tax to clergies of other religions was unjust. Due to the immeasurable smartness [meaning here: over-subtlety] that "The Jews in Fuerth, while living in those houses, which possible could hold Christian souls from the parish", Christian clergies which just took up their office, received from the "Barnossen" a silver cup in order to compensate them for that fact, also on New Year eight, the two deacons one mint proof ducat each.

The main synagogue was built in 1616-17. On Sunday Laetare (the fourth Sunday of fasting) of the latter year, the synagogue was inaugurated with a great attendance from near and far. So far the only source for the inauguration of the synagogue is Siebenkees in his fourth volume of material about the history of Nuremberg. The renowned chronicle of Kress in my possession served me as an older source, which states word by word: "Anno 1617 on February 23, the Jews of Fuerth who now sum up to a total of 1,500,

having been only two forty years ago, have erected their synagogue for which they received permission from the cathedral provost of Bamberg, who gave them four properties for which they had to pay a lot of money. On this ground they built a new synagogue with great expense and furnished it. Then great masses of old and young people came together from the town to look and listen to the extraordinary event as one rabbi after the other went to the pulpit and talked wisely, and prayed in their Hebrew language to arrange for a meaningful prayer service and give thanks, that the Jewish people have now build a "Schuel" [synagogue] for themselves and future generations, which for many years was not possible in this locality. This made them very happy. Because this was a good occasion, also the Christians spent a happy time in the inns." Outstanding religious valuables could be found there [in the synagogue], such as an expensive curtain for the holy ark and two velvet ark covers made by cantor Elkonen for the Jewish community in Amsterdam. They were returned to Fuerth from Amsterdam as they were found to be too expensive and the Gumberts bought the ark covers for 1,200 florins and donated them to the synagogue.

A Torah scroll was a gift by Henschel Levi, father of the brothers Elkan and Hirsch, which he donated as a gesture of gratitude for his acceptance [in Fuerth] after his deportation from Vienna. Also the old chandeliers are said to originate from there [Vienna].

During the thirty years' war, in 1621, the synagogue was severely damaged by the passing troops of count Mansfeld, later misused by [commander] Tilly as a prison for a band of his riders who had looted the hamlet of Bremenstall, an in 1634 desecrated by the Croats as a stable.

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In 1680 it was damaged by thunderstrike. Finally, in 1690 the synagogue was broken in by Georg Maindel from Trausnitz. He took away lamps and books. The thief and his accomplices were arrested and penalized in Nuremberg. During the year 1692 a reconstruction of the synagogue took place.

A publicly accessible Yiskor book listed the names of the deceased. Once a year and for a fee of 45 Kreuzer, the cantor read out the name of the deceased from the Yiskor book. The first register of circumcisions was started in 1698. The inscription on the synagogue read: "The Lord may bless his people with peace".

South of the "Hauptsynagoge" (Main Synagogue) stood the second one, the so called "Kahlsschule" (Kahl's synagogue) built in 1697. It had a women's ritual bath (Mikwah) and an alcove designated for brides. Other such alcoves could be found in several houses in the old part of the town. This building served previously also as a slaughterhouse.

Other synagogues mentioned by Wuerfel were under the stewardship of Isaak Eisik, of Baerman, of Gabriel, of Salamon Fraenkel and of Salman Klef. In a file of the Bamberg archives from about 1723 there are mentions of daughter synagogues of Isaac Bermann Fraenkel, also of Salamon Levi Gumperts and Gabriel Fraenkel.

"Their number," says Wuerfel, who was quite upset with this chapter, is looked upon by a Christian with horror, because he knows, "that the Jews blasphemed Jesus badly" etc. as such was proved by the scholar Christlieb. (Christlieb was a converted Jew, a charity collector in Fuerth.) But God awoke his anointed illustrious reigning master, master Carl Wilhem Friedrich and so forth, and now follows an outbreak of joy about the successful confiscation of books, which will be discussed in detail later, apart from the omissions about Jewish religious services, the value of which need not to be pointed out in detail.

On the square near the synagogue, which according to Wuerfel Bamberg handed over without taking money, resided the chief rabbi, the Jewish doctor and the cantor. Also

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|  | <p>located there were the "Kahlsstube" (also "Kaalsstube") or community office, in which tax matters were regulated by the manager and a personal register was kept; the latter was a demand while Elkan Fraenkel was in charge.</p> <p>Likewise a particular room, the so called "Blaettenstube" (also "Blaetterstube", in English pages' room) was designated for the distribution of food vouchers to needy persons. These vouchers were called tickets or pages.</p> <p>The people in need of charity belonged mostly to the nation wide plague of beggar Jews, which burdened the established communities with heavy sacrifices and became the reason for interventions.</p> |
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| p 62 | <p>The Fuerth Jewish birth register listed a special category of children born in the hospital by beggar women, also deceased beggar Jews were specially indicated.</p> <p>With the emancipation of the Jews and due to the social circumstances this practice ceased finally in the year 1830.</p> <p>The buildings of the synagogue square ("Schulhof") were liable for a payment of one "Shrovetide Hen" ("Fastnachthenne") and 5 pounds of money.</p> <p>The hospital originated from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1653). The nursing was partially paid by the community, which contributed for every patient 1 florin 30 Kreuzer. The heads of the Jewish households also donated portions of the costs. In addition to the attendants, a Jewish doctor, a Christian surgeon and a Jewish midwife were employed there. From a contract, which was concluded during the previous century with a midwife from Amsterdam, one can see the exceptional advantageous condition conceded to her in order to get her to Fuerth; as well one can recognize from the bills presented by the surgeon, that nursing costs were not spared.</p> <p>The oldest Jewish heritage houses are standing in the vicinity of the Schulhof or synagogue square, from the Mohrenstrasse, along the Bergstrasse leading to the Stauden-, Geleits- and Markgrafengasse; later buildings stood in the lower Koenigsstrasse from no. 148 - 135, and partly on the Marktplatz, further Koenigsplatz and Alexanderstrasse. In any case the two oldest seats were no. 9 and 11 in the Geleitsgasse. The location of the Jewish printing shops was in the Schindelgasse no. 4; the second printing shop, connected with the Talmud school (Jeshiwah) was located in the present Baeumenstrasse (formerly Alt-Neu-Gasse). A fire in 1785 destroyed the book supply. The oldest Jewish pharmacy was located in Schuetzengasse no. 13.</p> <p>In 1615, to enlarge the cemetery a property on the Schindangerplatz was purchased with a mortgage of 305 florins and 5 Taler. In 1653 the cemetery was further enlarged. According to a still existing plan dated 1718 by the Bamberg surveyor Hayssdorff, the cemetery measured 28,640 square feet. The cemetery was enlarged again in 1724. Again it was necessary in 1751 and 1782 to enlarge the cemetery, this was the first 'opportunity' to smash several grave stones and throw them in the water. The portal shows the year 1653. According to the loan agreement for Moses Laemlein Gossdorfer as the mortgagee, the mortgage carried 12 ½ Kreuzer for a "Shrovetide Hen" [see above], 3 Heller "household tax" ("Hoffstattgeld") and 1 Simra corn for the ground, and another "Shrovetide Hen" for the building.</p> |
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| p 63 | <p>The Fuerth cemetery also served the communities of Zirndorf and Unterfarnbach. The latter community carried their dead to Fuerth, which for the first time was arranged by Zacharias Fraenkel to honor his deceased wife by not using a cart for transportation.</p> <p>During the year 1627 the dogs of a prominent military officer were shot in the Jewish cemetery. During 1726, a girl was struck by lightning in the cemetery. The funeral was looked after by the burial society [Chevra Kadisha], which earlier kept a register of</p> |
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deceased persons.

In the hospital, which was build in 1653 within the surrounding walls, the ground floor served as women's ward and the upper floor as men's ward.

The chief rabbi (with 2 deputy rabbis) was able to exercise judicial functions. He were held in high esteem, especially as for at a time the communities of Ottensoos, Schnaittach and Huettenbach were subordinate to him.

The income of the chief rabbi, who always was elected by the "Kahl" [Kehilla, community], besides his warranted income of 100 Taler, was very considerable through individual fees for his services. As the head teacher of the known and prestigious Talmud school [Jeshiwa], expensive presents were flowing his way. Another source of income were voluntary donations on Purim or at the beginning of a long journey, when usually the rabbi's blessing was requested etc. Normally a Talmud student paid an entrance fee of 3 - 5 Ducats and a similar amount when he received the title of a rabbi or when he left the school. Also transient students gave considerable amounts, particularly when in turn such a student could be awarded with the title of doctor (Meharer). A Jew from Herzfeld told Wuerfel furiously that he paid 18 mint proof Ducats for this title. A marriage contract [Ketuba] cost one Taler, the reading of the Chubab [marriage contract, Hebrew Ketuba] at the wedding one florin, the examination of the marriage witnesses 6, if they were wealthy 12 Taler. The chief rabbi received from the couple's assets one percent. If the fee charged was higher than 1,000 florins, it was reduced to half a percent. As chief executive of the court, he was also entitled to significant fees. The confirmation of the "Barnossen" [lay leaders] earned him 100 florins.

The difference in applying Jewish Fuerth justice compared to the general justice, usually carried out by Ansbach, was the availability of a Jewish appeal process, because otherwise the appeal was heard by the Christian superior court.

The appeal process was applied as follows: The fee for the appeal was 300 florins; the period to register an appeal lasted 8 days.

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After the appeal was registered, the judge handed the file to the "Barnoss" [lay leader] of the month and the file was copied by an appointed and sworn clerk. In the course of this procedure the individual names were replaced by faked names - a very praiseworthy measure in respect of the trial's justice. Consequently, the files were sent to another [not in Fuerth] law assembly of rabbis [Beth Din], which was chosen in strict secrecy. This was done without any background information or knowledge of the first verdict, so that a new verdict had to be evoked. The plaintiff had to make a deposit for the anticipated cost and the defendant had to make a payment to the welfare bank.

In case the first and the second judgement were not identical, a third and final solution under the same conditions could be worked out. In addition, a special regulation ordered, that every marriage by Jewish community members could be challenged by a Jewish creditor from Fuerth, unless the latter was satisfied and assured, an article, which was for example applied in 1735, 1748 and 1757.

The sequence of provable chief rabbis was as follows:

- 1) Menachem Man, died 1655.
- 2) Samuel Koidenover, died in Chmelneck 1676.
- 3) Maier, died May 1683. The manuscripts written or improved by himself were buried with him.
- 4) Wolf, son of Maier Bschothisch, died 1691.
- 5) Samuel, son of Phoebus or Freibisch.
- 6) Eleasar, son of Mardechi Heilbron, died October 1700.
- 7) Baermann, son of Seckel Fraenkel, born in Fuerth, died October 1708, he was also chief rabbi for Schnaittach, also for the whole principality [of the mar-

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|  | <p>grave].</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8) Baruch, a Pole, son of Maier Kohn, Rappaport, held office for 35 years, died April 12, 1746.</li> <li>9) David Strauss from Frankfurt, formerly a rabbi in Worms, died at the age of 81 on May 21, 1762.</li> <li>10) Joseph, son of Mendel Steinhart, died August 7, 1776.</li> <li>11) Hirsch, son of Abraham Janoph, died November 13, 1785.</li> <li>12) Salomon Kohn, died 80 years old in 1819.</li> </ol> <p>Amongst the above, Steinhart was markedly distinguished, the first German rabbi, who vigorously campaigned for Eibenschuetz.</p> |
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| p 65 | <p>The latter was against the reigning talmudic orientation, but leaning towards the cabalistic group of the Chassidic movement.</p> <p>Supervision and the key to the synagogue was in care of the two cantors employed by the community. Apart from their income of 50 fl., they also received valuable gratuities [for private services performed].</p> <p>Until 1717, a slaughter house existed in the Schulhof [Synagogue square], since that time the controlled [ritual] slaughter was carried out by other butchers.</p> <p>Complications arose with Nuremberg regarding the sale of that sections of the meat which are prohibited to be eaten by Jews.</p> <p>The duty of the Schulklopfen [beadle, minor community servant] was to call the people to prayer by knocking with a wooden hammer [at the houses]. On Sabbath this was done by calling out. He was also responsible for the accommodations for guests, who could not stay on Sabbath with their hosts. Generally, he had the position and functions as a community factotum.</p> <p>The judges office of the rabbi was already mentioned before. Quarrelsome incidents were looked after with a fine of money or with the delivery of candles [for synagogue use]. In more serious cases, the accused person was publicly admonished in the synagogue.</p> <p>The main assembly, which was concerned with matters involving the community, was structured with 20 elected representatives, of which 12 were "Barnossen". They rotated the chairmanship on a monthly bases. They could decide that unruly people had to sit alone in the synagogue. The election of the "Kahl" [community representation] took place under the direction of the chief rabbi. It was an indirect election, with 24 classes of wealth taken in consideration. The elected candidate did not receive any compensation; only in exceptional cases was it feasible to decline an election, or by a large contribution to the fund for the poor.</p> <p>For the election of "Barnossen", also the Jews from Ansbach had to be considered. Three of them [the "Barnossen"] were caretakers for the poor, they were also responsible for the purchase of flour for Easter [Pessach]. The wealthier paid [for the Matzah flour] in a manner, which allowed the needy to receive it [the flour] without payment.</p> <p>Of course jurisdiction in serious crimes remained with the government. Very few cases are known, in which intervention against Jews took place. Even Wuerfel, who liked to chronicle such cases, could only find a few examples. He quotes only two commercial infringements, which because of unjustified favoritism by the local authorities did not carry a lot of weight, only a divorce case and a case of malicious gossip against prominent persons, also a robbery.</p> |
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It is not known whether this robbery was carried out by a Jew from Fuerth. One can find it mentioned in a note only, that in 1696 a butcher, a farmer and a Jew disguised in Hussars' clothing made the area unsafe. They were arrested, the farmer was beaten to death, the Jew, even though he converted to Christianity to save his life, was shot to death after his baptism. In case this story is true, then it seems the butcher got away.

Also the offence of malicious gossip concerned a Abraham Pass living in Langenzenn, whom the margrave's hangman from Ansbach beat through the streets and dragged him to the Wuelzburg [fortress and prison near Weissenburg]. Wuerfel adorned this matter somewhat with mixtures of additions, which are not evident in the files in Bamberg. As usual Bamberg complaint about this procedure, because according Bamberg's opinion, Ansbach was denied the jurisdiction over criminals. Included into the records regarding the protests are further files, amongst them the procedure against Joseph Heylbronner and his daughter, concerning the disappearance of a diamond ring in Nuremberg.

In 1606, the city of Mainz issued a legal writ [subpoena] for two Fuerth Jews to come to the office of the police to answer accusation of a crime. The statement about this and detailed reports about the trial are missing.

In 1711, Jischai Aaron denounced Jaiteles Beer and Zacharias Kohn for "Schneplerei" (fraudulent money changing), followed by an arrest at midnight, a search of the house and "strangling the maid" [measure of torture]. A protest was issued by Bamberg and the case ended with the suspension of the oath, not to mention this investigation. The result and sentence are not known.

Equal with "Schneplerei" were "Wipperei" and "Kipperei" [manipulation of coins] mentioned in the edicts regarding money.

It are mostly the Nuremberg regulations, which give information regarding the commercial relationships of the Fuerth Jews; like everywhere else agriculture and a trade [skilled labor] were closed to the Jews, only a few were allowed to cross over the line from the unchristian money lending business. Regarding pawn shop enterprises, the regulation were very much like those issued by Nuremberg.

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A big black board was hanging on the doors of the Schulhof [Synagogue square] portals, on which anyone could list items for sale.

The connection to the often mentioned princely houses was founded in commercial finance. Apart from that, the trade with Fuerth manufacturers, of material and grocery goods was especially cultivated by them [Fuerth Jews] and the area of banking was completely ruled by them. In the works of the statesman and historian Dohm, published in 1783 by Nicolai in Berlin, the following is stated with regards to Fuerth: The theory is, that the Jew succeeds gloriously in the pursuit of commerce when he is less oppressed. In this regard Fuerth even surpassed some of the imperial cities, which once were famous for their wealth and industry.

On the whole, the Bamberg regulations offer interesting insights, which because they touch on Fuerth, should at least be partially mentioned. They deliver a wonderful picture of changing law decrees and indicate sufficiently the time and Bamberg's authority.

Foreign Jews could not trade in the Episcopal territory; during fairs local Jews were not allowed to keep stalls besides Christians. A register was kept about the latter regarding the pursuit of trading and their wealth. They were allowed to accept grain instead of money (1672), which later, together with the corn trade was waived. In 1713 the trading in barley was permitted, it was prohibited in 1726, trading with dry fruit was prohibited from 1700 to 1712, and again permitted in 1713, again abolished in 1748. Trading in hops was prohibited from 1700 to 1713, later permitted, and in 1726 prohibited again. The same applied to trading with seeds, but was also prohibited in 1748. In 1716 the

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|  | trade with tallow ["Unschlitt"] was abolished. Trade in hemp, steel, iron, sweet wood (this was allowed in 1713) and rifles was prohibited, limited trading in wool and leather was permitted. Trading in cloth was only allowed with better merchandise. Since 1730, hats had to have a value of at least 12 "Batzen" [ancient German unit of currency]. Merchants were allowed to sell velvet, lace, gold and silver. From 1710 to 1713, the sale of clocks was permitted, than the permission was withdrawn again. In 1796 this prohibition was abolished again. From 1710 to 1712 the trade in fattened cattle was prohibited, permitted in 1713, from 1748 - 54 forbidden, again allowed in 1754, forbidden in 1771, but again permitted in the same year. In penalty and execution cases the Bamberg officials (rules of 1719) were no longer allowed to confine Jews in hog pens. |
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| p 68 | <p>The Nuremberg decrees were: In 1603 they repeated the decrees of 1538. On June 22, 1618, the Nuremberg council renewed again the prohibition for Jews to engage in commercial and pawn enterprises, because "the magnificent nobles" showed great displeasure about it. Because the effect of this prohibition was zero, the "magnificent nobles" were forced to re-issue the prohibition on the 1st of August of the same year, facing this pathetic and intolerable distress.</p> <p>On February 11, 1619 a new prohibition followed, with an old complaint, "that not long ago, at some considerable expense a loan brokerage house was established." Violators were fined 50 fl., of which amount the informer received half. A bodily penalty and deportation from the city was threatened.</p> <p>(In 1623 the government official from Cadolzburg prohibited trading in gold and silver between Christians and Jews).</p> <p>On September 23, 1627 and July 3, 1628 renewed prohibitions of trading with Jews were superfluous, because trade was anyway at a standstill [because of the Thirty Years War].</p> <p>On December 15, 1637, the secret cooperation with Jews and the lifting of the "Judenzoll" [Jews' tax] were prohibited. The penalty applied was confiscation of the trading goods. As of this date, a certain official permission was granted to the Jews to engage in trade in Nuremberg after having paid the due "Judenzoll"; since this had been a common trading practice for a few years already. That habit makes the permission to trade more explicable. Certain Jews acquired duty exemptions and could distribute their merchandise unhindered. It can not be determined whether this also applied to dealings in Nuremberg.</p> <p>The mandate, which was in force since 1619 was renewed March 18, 1647. The above order, which was corroborated in 1654, mentioned in particular the cheating with cloth and hardware.</p> <p>A complaint again was lodged on April 28, 1660, that the duty owing for incoming and outgoing Jewish goods was not paid, or at most, only a part of the duty was paid, so that the other part could for sure be exported or imported [without paying duty on the latter half].</p> <p>Because advantage was taken again while trading with Jews in cattle, grain, tobacco, lard, leather and finished clothing, and as a reminder, a new mandate was signed on June 3, 1670 to reiterate applicable penalties. These rules were especially directed against the trade in tobacco and clothing.</p> |
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| p 69 | <p>Regarding the trade in leather, differences [in the interpretation of the regulations] were also found within the area of Ansbach, because this was considered as an unjustified innovation. Finally, in 1775, only imported leather was allowed for the Jewish trade.</p> <p>The buying of raw skins was prohibited on April 3, 1680, the buying of corn was pro-</p> |
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hibited on November 16. (This regulation was repeated very often. In general the mandates issued by Nuremberg were printed in great quantity, and when opportune, only the date had to be inserted. This is the explanation for so many mandates with the identical wording, only to be different in the date of publication.)

The prohibition regarding skins was renewed on October 4, 1688.

The prohibition to make contracts with Jews followed January 8, 1689.

(All of the margrave's duty exemptions were abolished in 1691, but Max Model from Ansbach and Gabriel Fraenkel from Fuerth stayed exempted.)

A very serious and significant regulation was issued on June 17, 1693. A long issued mandate stated the following: Since the council often issued its prohibition against the trade and profiteering with Jews, it believed, that this prohibition should be complied with. Since this was not followed, lots of bad money was brought into the city and country side. At the same time the few good money was smuggled outside. The poor and simple farmers and other subjects were "craftely used" and the payment of duty was corrupted, and because it is impossible to stop all this at once, it must be done "little by little". With reference to the prohibition [already in force], special mention was made, that nobody was permitted to sell fruits from the fields to the Jews, barter or pledge etc. and that the Jews in the gardens and suburbs, who anyway are involved in many different matters should cease their trading activities at all. Provided they had to take care of unavoidable matters in the area on week days - on Sundays and holidays their presence was prohibited - they were obliged to report to the official authority of the land or immediately to the first [Nuremberg] guard post, when a musketeer would be assigned as an escort. After concluding his business, the respective business man had to leave the area again. With this and also under limited circumstances, the first step was taken to again tolerate the Jews in Nuremberg. Forced by the spirit of the advancing time the city barriers were reopened for the long time banned.

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Additionally the mandate establishes that transgressors or those citizen who helped the Jews to avoid the decree, would face the loss of their citizenship on top of already established penalties. However if the Jews had to perform some necessary activity in the town -and this opens also the inner town to the Jews-- "then *salvis supra citatis Privilegii*" (subject to the imperial privileges) it should happen according to the following way:

1) On working days, announce themselves to the outer guard at the zoo- or hospital gate [Tiergaertnertor, Spittlertor], and not more than 6 to 8 per day, from where they would be brought under the gate and controlled by a soldier and accept a living escort (accompaniment of the authority).

2) In case that they acquire anything in town they have to declare this and

3) anything that they carry into town at the customs' house and under the gates and have to pay the due duties.

In case of failure to do so

4) not only should the goods be confiscated but also

5) should a corporal or monetary punishment be applied and

6) they should not be allowed back into the town.

With relation to the trading of bills of exchange,

7) Jews, and in particular those from Fuerth, should not be allowed to draw bills so that the amount be receivable or given in Fuerth, in which case the bill would be invalid.

8) All bills of exchange are to be drawn with the intervention of the normal mediators, and

9) be announced at the "Banco publico" [public bank], otherwise

10) they would attract a 10% penalty.

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|  | <p>11) The bills of exchange should not be issued and paid in another currency than the usual one for bills of exchange.<br/>And since the Jews</p> <p>12) dare to appear at public places like other businesspeople even at market times, from 11 to 1 hour, they will abstain from it in future subject to severe penalty and reprimand.<br/>Because</p> <p>13) lots of "mischief" occurs during horse trading at Gostenhof [suburb of Nuremberg], it will be discontinued and moved to the cattle market and</p> |
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| p 71 | <p>14) the sub-buyers and cattle clerks will check for adequate currencies.</p> <p>15) Purchases and sales of silver scrap and silverware should not any more be closed in Fuerth, avoiding customs, but the purchase of silver in this town be fully forbidden to the Jews, and also</p> <p>16) be it commanded to the citizens that in case of purchasing goods from Jews in Fuerth, they will have to pay the Jews' customs duties here. Finally</p> <p>17) it is forbidden to all Jews and Christians to carry bad currencies.</p> <p>On October 25, 1709 and under repeated reference to previous regulations it was established amongst others that Jews' bills of exchange, except those issued by businesspeople and experts in bills of exchange, would only be valid with the previous authorization and intervention of the mediators.</p> <p>A repetition of the mandate of 1693 was issued on February 28, 1713. On the same date it was forbidden to exchange good money to Jews. The first mandate was repeated on April 21, 1729.</p> <p>A county decree against beggar Jews was issued on January 6, 1714. An extract of the 1713 prohibition appeared on May 19.</p> <p>Countryside peddling was prohibited to Jews and Italians on December 23, 1721; it should only be tolerated at the annual markets and fairs.</p> <p>A caution against Jews regarding mischief in matters related to bills of exchange was issued on April 17, 1723. A repeat of this is found on October 16, 1730.</p> <p>The release of securities pawned with Jews was ordered in 1732.</p> <p>A mandate that I could not find with reference to usurious contracts appeared on July 2, 1774, and</p> <p>The prohibition to accept Louis blancs from Jews was issued in 1777.</p> <p>On December 28, 1780 a prohibitive order was issued as a result of complaints against the Jewish trade with fabric and linen and the bartering of Jews' goods such as velvet, silk and wool in lieu for the trade goods delivered to the Jews in Fuerth.</p> <p>January 25, 1787: Enlisted men and officers were banned from lending Jews' money.</p> <p>On March 24, 1791 scrounging Jews were denied to enter the town.</p> <p>On October 13, 1800 the individual toll for Jews entering Nuremberg was replaced by a passage and entrance fee. At the same time the duty to pay for a guardian was abolished.</p> |
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| p 72 | <p>Day tickets had to be obtained at the 2 open gates, had to be countersigned by the issuing authority and had to be surrendered when leaving the town. The first time violation would attract a fine (10 florins); the second violation would cause the permanent prohibition to enter the town. (Meanwhile it was denied to open the Laufer gate).</p> <p>Each adult had to pay 7 Kreuzer [ancient German currency] per day at the gate and further 30 Kreuzer at the issuing authority.</p> <p>Cattle dealers had to pay only the gate money plus 6 Kreuzer for an escort on horseback. After conclusion of the business the town had to be left immediately. Suppliers</p> |
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were treated similarly, but in certain cases the horseback escort charge was waived. Children and those who entered for legal proceedings had to pay a total of only 13 Kreuzer. Staying after closure of the gate cost 30 Kreuzer; overnight stays 1 florin. The until then admitted exceptions for those who wanted

- only to do sightseeing of the town,
- consult a doctor,
- buy or intend to buy "sea apples" on Jewish holidays

were hereby abolished.

There was great pleasure in Fuerth about this [mandate] and the council admonished [the citizen] in an exaggerate way in a decree to prove [themselves] worthy of such high mercy by their moral behavior and good conduct.

For more details on this subject see the attachments.

January 18, 1802: Extract from the mandate of 1693.

From here onwards we do not find any new independent regulations that refer specifically to trading by Jews; it is obvious that the point of all those paragraphs was directed against Fuerth.

Summarizing the contents and spirit of the traditions and regulations, an active trade and high business resilience of the Jews from Fuerth becomes evident; this caused deep wounds to the Nuremberg business which they tried to cure by establishing a small closed trading and police state. They considered in vain to isolate Nuremberg from the trade with the neighbors; but step by step, slowly but always perceptible, the outer world bursts across Nuremberg's borders behind which the sad picture of an old and infirm, obsolete and lazy state and citizen life could be seen.

Precisely this inaction in everything, also in the trade, must have seduced -if this term may be applied- the more active foreigners to take advantage of this lethargy, and so it happened.

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Even some of the old Nuremberg companies whose entrepreneurial skills and prudence in days past had come close to the high levels of the ideal endeavor did feed -as also did the Nuremberg arts, science and the whole Nuremberg state structure- from the traditions of previous splendor and past highness. Thus lulled into sleep, the new century irrupts and Nuremberg ceases to exist. New life has to be brought into the town through many ways and from many sides before she can actually, and not only nominally, claim a higher rank in the sequence of German towns, and once that she stands redefined she has to watch a new town growing next to her, not comparable in size, but its peer in industrial diligence and trade.

Some previous formalities and customs for the access of Jews into the town of Nuremberg are to be mentioned here.

The fee to be paid for the daily stay was 45 Kreuzer. An old woman -the living accompaniment- who escorted the Jew on all his ways would receive 15 Kreuzer. Lodging or offering overnight stays was forbidden: citizens who would engage in these activities, or those who would provide offices or storerooms to Jews were fined.

Nuremberg bills of exchange with the legend "payable in Nuremberg or in Fuerth" were always payable in Nuremberg. In case that a letter of exchange drawn on Fuerth was presented at the bank (in Banco) in Nuremberg, then the [drawee] from Fuerth needed to appoint an attorney in Nuremberg to accept it or to deal with further notices; in case that this did not happen, and that the person from Fuerth did not come immediately to Nuremberg upon request, then the bill of exchange could be protested. A Jew who accepted had to carry the money to the Christian's house (this seems however to have been more the common use than the law).

An armed patrol was sent out to meet the Jews when they went back from Nuremberg to Fuerth in the evening; this happened because the highway did not seem to be particularly safe and attacks were not uncommon.

Conversions in Fuerth remained reduced to one 1722 case when Mendle Laemmler became protestant as Christlieb Treugott under big clamor.

Andreas Will (Nuremberg), Daniel Lochner (Fuerth), Stephan Schulz, Hansenius and Woltersdorf (Halle) were actively promoting conversions in Fuerth.

The order not to teach Jewish children under the age of 14 without the previous knowledge of the parents was introduced because in 1774 a Jewish boy, Abraham Strassburger, was about to be converted against the will of his parents by Albig, a teacher arrived from another place.

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The priest Carl Friedrich Lochner, from Fuerth, was active there during the 17th century. He held 8 to 9 sermons per week and converted some 200 Jews and papists (where?). The earlier mentioned Daniel Lochner cut off the Sabbath wires, asked for 200 Taler as compensation and, in general, stood in a very tense relationship with the Jews. He once also informed [the] Nuremberg [authorities] that Bamberg "was tending to install Jews and Catholics in the local nest instead of Evangelic people".

Until now we considered Fuerth as site with Jews, without outside connections: now it is to be shown what position this site held in relation to the history of the Jews in Franconia.

As already mentioned Fuerth only appears quite late in relation to the history of the Jews: one can therefore be relieved of describing the prior situation of the Jews in the Franconian country and in the Ansbach region. It is the same pleasant picture as everywhere. As servants of the emperor and as subjects of the princes but without any rights, they were money sources for these and for those, they were treated with hostility because of their religion, they were hated because of their profession and maintained their places under insults and privations. From an age of lawlessness a special position developed after thousands of tribulations that was replaced only in the current century by equal treatment for everybody.

A contract was signed between the government of the margrave Friedrich IV and the bishops of Wuerzburg and Bamberg by which it was agreed to expel the Jews; however this contract was not executed in the Ansbach region. At the Baiersdorf congress of 1515 it was requested that the Jews be expelled from the country as soon as possible; Georg der Fromme did not give his approval to this request.

The Ansbach congress of 1539 requested again -in the interest of the declining trade- that the Jews be expelled; this request was accepted under the condition that it happen until St John's day. It seems that private obstacles impeded to make good on that promise so that only Georg's successor, the margrave Georg Friedrich (1543-1603), proclaimed in 1560 after repeated complaints of the congress, that by Pentecost 1561 the country and region would have to be cleared of Jews, who were until then carrying on with their businesses.

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That this failed repeatedly is shown by reiterated expulsion orders and deadlines and between them renewed acceptance of Jews and protection letters, all in great disorder until 1609 in which year the principality became a permanent settlement site for Jews.

The Bamberg archives hold quite complete files from the year 1584 in which the margrave's accompaniment officer had all [the Jews], unknown to each other, summoned to his presence by his little daughter, to tell them that they had to leave the region between then (December 20) and the month of March, under loss of all their possessions



and goods. The bishop Marquardt von Augsburg, who additionally was entitled to rich levies as provost of the Bamberg dome, interceded on behalf of the Jews.

In the first part we showed the various ways -and the list of alternatives could be notably enlarged- in which tax was levied from the Jews by the imperial government. In this aspect the lesser princes did not stay behind, and although the so called body customs' duty (according to which in Ansbach the Jew ranged between salt and horses and had to pay customs' duties) was converted from 1473 into a different format, there still was left an important series of duties and taxes.

For example, among others:

- Duties had to be conducted for dead bodies,
- 15 florins had to be contributed per year for the prince's crossbow and arrows,
- 15 Pfennigs per day had to be paid by foreign Jews for authorization to be accommodated, in addition to the protection money of 4 to 100 florins, and the reception money due on the first arrival.

The highest levies were paid in Fuerth; in 1542 they charged 150 Talergroschen [ancient German currency] as reception money of which one third went directly to the wife of the margrave while 100 florins plus 6 pounds ounce gold counted as protection money.

Discarded horses from the Mars' paddocks had to be bought by the Jews; the supply of bedding to the emperor was imposed as a levy on feathers. If, in relation to taxes on natural products, it remained restricted to geese, then this was mild; the ex-post tax was treated in different ways.

A Turks' tax was added in the year 1542. New taxes were invented all the time under different modifications; at times old taxes were abolished. The main principle was always that the amount payable never decreased; the little state of Ansbach was quite great in inventions to justify new taxes.

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It was allowed to own real estate; the beginning of the participation at the community life in the principality dates by the second half of the 16th century.

The contact between the Jews and the outside world, the state and place, the country and the people, were -additionally to the trade- the taxes and the meticulous subjection to the law. Otherwise they constituted a state within the state under the authority of their own local rabbi.

The scholarly endeavors within the Jewry were directed to the study of the Talmud and in some well known cases to the medicine. The doctors that developed under this aspect (who in Fuerth were consulted also by Christians in spite of the papal prohibition and the expert opinion of the theologians from Wittenberg) and the 'court Jews' were finally the only ones whose human rights were not, or only slightly, curtailed.

It was already said that Fuerth eventually was the safest refuge and remained as such. Even the awkward justice, that when it came to act for the Jews was more a naïve maiden whose diligence developed in doubtful degrees only when called by another party, showed itself there not permanently in the puddle of a one-sided partisanship.

Exceptions to the above mentioned scientific endeavors were Marcus Elieser Bloch, famous and even today an example as ichthyologist (expert on fish) and the painter Juda Pinhas, both of them from the Ansbach region. Among the doctors, father and son Loew, from Fuerth, were known in wider circles. The first had himself specially examined by Manageta, the emperor's personal doctor, in Vienna; he obtained many privileges due to his knowledge, was exempt from body customs' duty in the whole nation and was allowed to perform his art everywhere. He established a pharmacy in Fuerth that was later taken over by his son Wolf who, in order to oppose insinuations,

had himself tested and passed his examination with Dr Batz the town doctor of Neustadt. His pharmacy existed until 1699.

Among other doctors that came to be famous we can mention Dr Wolf, the father of professor Wolfsohn, the later being well known as educator of the Beer brothers, in particular the composer Meyerbeer, and who is buried in Fuerth; following Dr Wolf we can name Dr Hochheimer, who has been mentioned for his travel and erudition, and Dr Joseph Feust.

In Bamberg it was tried to frustrate a pharmacy inspection that was ordered in 1713 from Ansbach.

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The commission came also to the Jewish pharmacy "but the pharmacist was not present, he was in hiding, so that nothing could be inspected".

Although new and better times moved in with the 17th century, a link of the Jew with the communal and state life was not established; he did not show any sympathy to the state for what it offered him. The place where he lived was his exile; the restrictions imposed its attributes.

The first scenes of the 30 Years' War occurred under Joachim Ernst (1603 - 1625): they imposed heavy burdens on Fuerth, like on all places. It was during that time when the prince of Ansbach tried to bring order into his country, in particular into the monetary chaos; to this last effect a Jew from Fuerth served as his monetary administrator. At this time the storm started.

A general flight occurred when the arrival of the so called Ratzivil's Cossacks was announced in 1622. The Jews had to pay the farmers 6 Taler for a wagon with 4 horses. The synagogue was desecrated during these incidents. St Michael's church served usually as hiding place for the belongings, but it was not open to the Jews for theirs.

The Jews had to provide accommodation for the workers during the construction of the Fuerth escort house in 1623.

Count Solms, official from Cadolzburg, somebody who did not care for and against whom he fought, imposed a fine of 25 florins, and later of 100 Taler, to any Jew who failed to keep a hunting dog and feed and dress a dog boy, or alternatively supply 30 Simra [ancient German measurement unit] of oats. This was Ansbach-style protection.

The Bamberg-style protection manifested itself in that the local soldiers did some mild pillaging. When Mansfeld visited already in 1621, the synagogue was heavily damaged and several Jewish houses were destroyed. In 1631 - 1632, when both armies camped in the area, the situation was worse than bad for Jews and Christians: the Jews tried (as they had already in 1628) to obtain a permission to move to Nuremberg and its suburbs against a deposit of 20,000 florins. The request was denied in spite of the temptation posed by the 20,000 florins; additionally the Jews were ordered to leave Fuerth until St Michael's day and to take only 6 percent at the freeing of pawned goods.

The city of Nuremberg considered itself owner of Fuerth as a consequence of a donation -here correctly translated as 'the Big Theft'- of Gustav Adolph according to which the area within the three waters was adjudicated to it.

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Incidentally Nuremberg had itself to suffer heavily under the donations of the Swedish king. Since the people from Nuremberg knew the king's weak sides they informed Gustav Adolph about those steps so that he did not show himself more favorably towards the Jews because of the money offered. However they were granted free transit but this was soon restricted under the accusation that they were practicing dangerous attacks against the town. Three of them had their merchandise confiscated and their arrest was ordered. Four further requests for admission to the town or to Gostenhof

were always refused.

It is commonly said that hardship suffered during longer wars is later followed by even longer suffering. Although this was widely confirmed in the case of the 30 Years' War there was a notable exception in relation to the Fuerth Jewry. After the peace was made Ansbach and Bamberg stood opposed more abruptly than ever and were suing each other; the right was adjudicated to Bamberg and this brought many and important benefits to the Jews for reasons that need not to be searched for far away. Although in 1652 it was forbidden to elect a Jewish mayor (this had to be forbidden in Fuerth, which moves the communal life of the place into the middle of the 19th century) no further difference was made in communal matters;

The jurisdiction of the rabbis, that had been regulated since 1642, was confirmed in 1654;

in the case of lawsuits of Christians against Jews, the evidence was subjected to a special severity, i.e. witnesses were required to be beyond any suspicion;

in 1682 the rabbis were granted judicial competence and the faculty to impose the penalties of banishment and monetary sanctions, the last of which was to be executed by the Christian judge; and finally in 1695 all the points were resumed in a general letter of protection that was followed in 1719 by the already mentioned statute.

As unfavorable consequence of the war there was a tendency in this little country to mildly harass the Jews but there are no indications that Fuerth was particularly affected. The gradually increasing influence of the "Court Jews" a.k.a. "Court Factors" may have contributed to the improvement of the situation of their fellow believers although their fall was always followed by small public demonstrations. "Specially Moving Causes" equivalent to corresponding amounts of money would now and then pacify the strict local ruler when -for real or pretended reasons- he would intend to curtail the Jews' rights.

In 1708 and the years that followed the prince considered that 20,000 florins, that were paid so that no further steps were taken after an investigation into the Jewish debts and interest, constituted such a "[Specially Moving] Cause".

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1712, after this investigation, it was allowed to increase the interest rate.

In 1705 and 1706 there were renewed discussions between Bamberg and Ansbach because of construction "at the Jews' burials" and because of "distress caused by Jews". Bamberg feared that all commerce and trade would suffer, the subjects would lose their livelihoods, as a consequence the town of Fuerth deserted, and all dwellings there would be destroyed. During that time a so called commission should arbitrate on all the complaints; this was a bare irony since an arbitration was never intended and the respecting of rights, even those of the emperor, was not considered at all.

The Model local family of 'court Jews' that had been acting for a long time at the Ansbach court was brought to a fall in this time; The Fuerth Jewry, with which Model had very tense relations, had been working at this for some time. Once Model wrote that if their leaders would not become more accommodating then he would have them imprisoned, sent to Cadolzburg and imposed on them a body customs' duty so that they could not walk out of their door without paying. Model's main opponent was Elkan Fraenkel from Fuerth, and later (1708) from Ansbach who, by the way, soon was in deep enmity with the Fuerth people and even got insulted during the religious service at the long day [Jom Kipur?]. It was as a consequence of his influence that the above penalty of 20,000 florins was imposed instead of intended 30,000 florins.

The displaced Model family, Christhold, a converted Jew formerly called Jesaias Fraenkel from Fuerth, and many small and big enemies succeeded in having Elkan Fraenkel sentenced to life imprisonment at the Wuelzburg under abusive public pun-

ishment as a consequence of informal and unlawful proceedings in 1712: Elkan Fraenkel died in that prison in 1720.

The indictment included the mention of Jewish books blasphemous to Christianity; due to this cause the investigation was extended to Elkan's brother, the high rabbi Hirsch Fraenkel, who was then equally held in the Schwabach prison until his death in 1723. Among those books there was a Machsor (holiday prayer book). Of these one of the most beautiful specimens is owned by the Nuremberg City Library: at the appropriate place it dedicates one extensive, animosity breathing chapter, to the dice.

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The examination of the collection of Jewish books, already ceased by Elkan Fraenkel in 1702, was renewed as a sequel to the above, which at that time was regretted mostly by the library in Fuerth. It must have evoked strong fears on the dispositions of people, because on the remembrance day of the destruction of Jerusalem [Tisho B'av], rabbi Baruch refrained to sing the prescribed chants because of the content of the chants. Then a certain Zacharias Fraenkel determinedly took over the position of the departed rabbi. Protestant chaplain Meelfuehrer, who was occupied with the examination of Jewish books was nearly also arrested. He left for obvious reasons and because of his anger decided to convert to Catholicism.

The process was accompanied by the arrests of the "Barnossen" and similar events in some degree. Ansbach fired Hirsch Franfurter as "Barnossen" and seated Elkan Fraenkel instead in answer to the Bamberg complaint about imposing the hiring of a better executive, and expected from the illustrious Bamberg authorities the realization, that if Elkan Fraenkel, like the other Jews was found guilty, he could not take on this position [as community leader]. "Apart from this there is a feeling, that the other Jews denounced our newly appointed 'Barnoss' as unsuitable and unworthy to your honors because this man for his rightful denunciations to us is hated by his co-religionists to such an extend, that they would not accept him into the community. Doubtlessly they are afraid that in the future he will prevent them from their previous serious infringements of our regulations. Because some of your Jewish community officials opposed our decisions regarding Elkana Fraenkel, even with unreasonable claims and threats against our dignitaries, they were imprisoned in Cadolzburg for their denial of respectful behavior." Extensive correspondence about the case can be found at the Bamberg archives.

In spite of the mentioned events the Fraenkel family from Fuerth aspired and was successful to take up the position as court agents and were entrusted with important business transactions. It is said that substantial business manipulations, also abroad, caused the bankruptcy of the family.

The year 1744 brought repeated examinations and partial confiscations of Jewish books, which affected "Barnoss" Ullmann Kaessbauer and rabbi Baruch Kohn.

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After a process which lasted for many months and was like a scholarly dispute, in the end, after long wheeling and dealing, a fine had to be paid, from which Fuerth received 10,000 florins. The informer was a Jew, who wanted to become a Christian and was responsible, that an order was issued to reprint and censor the Jewish prayer books.

In general, the Jews who converted to Christianity gave their previous co-religionists a lot of hardship, which was only somewhat alleviated by the fact, that they would have done so even if they had not converted. If one inspects the biographies of the persons concerned, one quite often arrives at the premises of the high court and at the same time has to notice the remarkable fact that, if the first conversion was completed, it was followed frequently by others yet. A certain Lazarus, later baptized Christlieb, went so far

in his ferocity, that his fresh off the press book was banned.

Regarding other court Jews, one meets Moses Ullmann, "Barnoss" and court agent, also court mint agent Meier Berlin and Loew Kohn, all from Fuerth. During this time, from the last third of the previous century onwards, coming from high up, a more tolerant attitude was taken towards the Jews and their culture. Examinations on the ground of fictitious accusations, as soon as they became known, were turned down, also such [anti-Jewish] pamphlets were banned and confiscated.

To the misfortune of the Jews, sometimes the election of a person for the position of "Barnoss" was a bad choice, from which mainly the Jews of Ansbach suffered.

In spite of all obstacles, their [Jews from Fuerth] prosperity increased, and the luxury had to be steered by related prohibitions.

The ordinance of 1719 was issued long before the obvious ill-natured animosity and before some high tension between Bamberg and Ansbach became apparent, because the first mentioned [Bamberg] by handing out privileges always gained more relatives under protection charter. It was tried with great effort to divide the Fuerth Jewry in two parts, here the margrave and on the other side the provost of the Bamberg dome, however in the sense that as much as the circumstances allowed it, the community opposed this plan. One negotiated, stipulated, closed contracts, created orders, established commissions, examined (relating documents are in the possession of the community and in Bamberg) and the final outcome was a 6,000 fl. money penalty to Ansbach, because of money shortage there. The government was satisfied with that, and the Jews also had to be satisfied.

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The demands from Ansbach were the right to grant permission to settle down, the right of admission to Christian courts as an appeal authority, the admission fee, the confirmation right of the "Barnossen" and equality during elections. Bamberg however, prohibited the community with the Ansbach Jews, and ordered to deny them the synagogue and burial, which was declined for reasons of the religion.

At the time of the ordinance, Ansbach 'transferred' its Jews, so that the whole Jewry was governed by Bamberg, without becoming completely independent from the first [Ansbach].

Due to the untimely death of the provost of the dome, baron von Guttenberg many of the charitable items of the ordinance were lost. On August 9, 1723 the new regent count Schoenborn ordered a decree to be read in the synagogue, which stated that the right to admit [into the community] should be taken away and handed over to the office of the provost of the dome, which now was asking for an admission fee of 8 mint ducats (when married the amount was 4 ducats). From the "Nebenschule" [branch school] a tax was demanded and the confirmation of the "Barnossen" by the provost of the dome was installed. With regards to inheritances, the principal heir had to report the value of the [inherited] assets, a fee for the hearing of 1 fl. 30 Kreuzer. was introduced. The legal protection under Jewish law accorded to married Jewish women was to be restricted. The appeal went to the Christian authorities, the interest taking was set at 6 percent. In fact it was believed that further tolerating Jewish liberties would prevent those responsible from being blissful (Bamberg archive).

These steps against Jews are found in an undated manuscript in Bamberg encompassing 12 points, justifying the following:

5. That they [Jews] avoided paying protection money, when arrested, were freed by the military from Ansbach.
6. That the "Barnossen", regardless of their descent, all are closely related with each other.
7. That they circumvented marriage tax and applications for residency tax.

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|  | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. That the guardian files were badly administrated.</li> <li>9. That the registration of new arrivals [to the community] was neglected.</li> <li>10. That the community functionaries are acting against paragraph 4 of the ordinance.</li> <li>11. That newcomers evade their obligations.</li> <li>12. That they by passed the Bamberg appeal authority and</li> <li>13. sorted out some matters by themselves.</li> <li>14. That they erected two new schools without paying the due taxes,</li> <li>15. the same happened with "Nebenschulen" [branch schools] and</li> <li>16. they also withdrew taxes in other ways.</li> </ol> |
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| p 83 | <p>Objections were unsuccessful. Strong measures were taken against the circumvention of the admission tax by young Fuerth Jews who married outside of town.</p> <p>When Salomon Ullmann's marriage ceremony was performed in Baiersdorf, his father was threatened with a fine of 100 Taler unless he removed his son within 3 days from his house. After the resulting refusal, the young woman was taken to the prison by court bailiffs and musketeers. An executive unit occupied Ullmann's house, and in spite of appeals father and son were put in jail.</p> <p>After being already in jail for 7 weeks, a drunk jail guard draw a sword and tortured the younger Ullmann. When another imprisoned Jew, Isaak Fraenkel died of shock, the margrave was asked for protection. As always obliging, when Bamberg was expected to become disadvantaged, armed forces from Ansbach besieged the jail house to prevent the transfer of the inmates to Bamberg. After an attack at night had failed 29 heavily armed soldiers, bailiffs and mercenaries led by the Ansbach official in charge of the escort and the Cadolzburg district judge stormed the prison and by force liberated the inmates.</p> <p>Now the legal procedures started again, which the Jews in 1730 also brought before the imperial court in Wetzlar. They were accused of alleged remarks from eight years ago: Settlements, appeals, the extension of the old monster snake [metaphor for the process], which till 1806 enjoyed a miserable existence. Besides, during a later occasion (1754) Ansbach dealt with a similar case nearly the same.</p> <p>The latter confusions point to a new and important segment of the history of the Jews of Fuerth, as far as Bamberg's benevolent attitude was concerned, only to be now out-smarted by Ansbach and the influence of the margrave steadily increased. This is documented by the events of 1749, in which year Ullmann, who was the court agent to the margrave, arrived in Fuerth to direct the election of the "Barnossen" in such a way, that only one third of the elected might be subjects of Bamberg, the rest, especially the accountants, must be from Ansbach. The number of Jewish households was estimated at 300 by Bamberg.</p> |
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| p 84 | <p>That this "cunning community wanted to introduce by dubious means a free republic, not known in world history," so says a Bamberg opinion.</p> <p>The Seven Years War brought some misfortunes for the Jews from Fuerth. The Prussians under lieutenant colonel Mayer required not only, as normally the usual food and money, but the "Mauschelein" [German swearword for Jews derived from "mauscheln" meaning fiddling], that is how the Jews were called in a contemporary poem, had to deliver tobacco, clocks and rings against an timely unlimited "receipt".</p> <p>During the following Prussian invasion in 1762 under Kleist, the Jews had to contribute 20,000 fl. To insure this payment, the following community leaders were taken away as hostages: "Barnoss" Bendit Hamburg and the accountant Meier Berlin. The Christian</p> |
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community, which had to pay 16,000 fl. also took on 2,500 fl. of the Jewish burden. Above mentioned Meier Berlin and court mint procurer Loew Kohn were granted freedom of paying customs, escort and toll fees and were allowed to carry rifle and pistol. Notwithstanding the previous oppressions, the occupation by Prussia in 1792 was favorably received. The new government moved the bank institution from Ansbach here (some Jewish households were said to have paid already some 15-20,000 fl. import taxes) and handed further jurisdiction over to the rabbis. In 1802, the statutes of the Jewish community were revised. A telling characteristic of this period will be found in appendix I.

A clearer insight into the internal life of Jews in Fuerth is given by the so called "Tekunnos" pamphlets, a collection of guidelines, which were released by the Jewish council in 1728 for a duration of ten years. Eating and drinking during weddings, circumcisions, festivals and other occasions, also clothing and dressing were precisely regulated, from which the calendar of festivals and its attributes were evident.

Before a circumcision, during the preparation of candles for this festivity only a small offering of 1 measure wine and, in addition, beer was also allowed. During the prior Friday evening a bigger meal, according three levels of proportion of wealth was prescribed; the sweets might not be taken from the patisserie shop. On the day of the ceremony, another meal was scheduled. A person whose wealth amounted to 1,000 Taler could invite 10 men and 6 women. With bigger wealth up to 4,000 fl., 24 guests were allowed, up to 10,000 fl. 30 guests could be invited, above that 36 guests could come. The preference for the latter meal class was 3 capons, pike or trout, but not together; the third class 2 chickens, anchovies and salmon fish.

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The cost of one pound of these fishes was limited to 20 Kreuzer, for the second class, this amount was reduced to 15 Kreuzer, besides the quantity of wine for those belonging to the first class was prescribed as not exceeding one measure [liter].

Further festive meals took place when celebrating the donation of scrolls of law [Torah scrolls], for a first born son [redemption of a first born son, pidyon ha-ben], with the festive opening of a house, with the reaching of the [Jewish] legal age [Bar Mitzwah] etc. The engagement meal was followed by the celebration of the exchange of belts and then the wedding banquet. The Saturday after the wedding the celebration of the "Schenkwein" [donated wine] took place when the guests provided the wine and, to conclude the ceremonies, the same on Sunday for friends. Whoever of the guests came late, was given soup only and whatever was left. Previously the invitation to the festive meals was announced by calling out in front of the houses, from now on only inside the houses. For dancing and name giving, it was allowed to inform the neighborhood and not like before when the whole community was called. The call for braiding of the bride's hair was permitted everywhere.

On the occasion of the dance and "Sternwerfen" [Literally "throwing (at) the star": The ceremony when the groom throws a glass at the Chuppah Stone on the outside wall of the synagogue; the Chuppah Stone usually is decorated with a star or Magen David and a Hebrew blessing of the newly wed couple], out of town participants at the wedding were not allowed to go with music in the street.

On the occasion of being called up [Aliyah] for reading from the scrolls of law [Torah], the meals were limited to tea, coffee, fruit and dried tongue.

The wedding meal and the number of guests depended on the class of wealth, with this three musicians and a clown called "der Loew" [the lion] were permitted. Music had to end at midnight and dancing had to be finished at the hour of the evening prayer. The so called "Heimspielen" [accompanying guest home with music] and serenades were not permitted.

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|  | <p>If the wealth of the newly weds reached 5,000 fl., the relatives received shirts without lace as a gift. Also poor people, who lived for 15 years in the community, received similar gifts. Distant friends received collars.</p> <p>No smoking or drinking of coffee or tea was allowed before the benediction over a meal. To transport the bride or groom, a carriage or horse should be used.</p> <p>There was special regulation for the mode of dress. Drap d'or [gold lamée - metallic gold fabric], gold and silver brocade was out of the question, the same with damask, but those who already owned coats of the aforementioned fabrics could wear such. About the same regulations existed for silk coats and velvet gown. Silk stockings were used for Sabbath wear.</p> |
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| p 86 | <p>Socks with golden and silver gussets, embroidered bonnets, silver coat clasps, chagrin lined silk jackets, silk night gowns were frowned upon.</p> <p>The use of wigs was allowed, but they had to be not powdered. The prayer shawl [Tallith] had to be white. Only on Saturdays could a large white collar be worn, but scholars always wore a large white collar. If students wore a white collar, they lost their free tuition. Here [in Fuerth] as well as in Nuremberg it was forbidden to wear red coats and "Roque Loures". Also snuffing tobacco was not allowed in schools.</p> <p>The instructions for women were much more numerous. The following items were banned:</p> <p>Veils made from fabrics with spun gold, bonnets made with pearls and Drap d'or (but permitted during the high holidays), dresses made with velvet fabric, Drap d'or [lamée, fabric with metallic gold threads] with gold or silver embroidered motifs, coats made from damask fabric (permitted only on holidays), hoop dresses [crinolines] embroidered head scarves, long throws [ponchos], embroidered and mixed fiber shoes and slippers, gold, silver and diamond studded belts, arm bracelets, pearl and precious stone ropes, gold chains, scarves with white tips, golden and silver fabrics, gold and buttons made from gold threads, embroidered muffs, (two finger wide embroidery was allowed), short aprons, [beauty] plasters, (except for health reasons). Corsets were not permitted to be worn in the house, "because it is a shameful habit when no clothing is worn over the corset".</p> <p>With most of the regulations, care was taken to allow wearing these items if they were already in possession.</p> <p>Silk dresses were allowed for street wear and to go to Nuremberg.</p> <p>A woman or girl going peddling without a chaperone, was called a harlot in the synagogue; also at darkness, a maid could only be sent out with supervision.</p> <p>Women, girls and maids could only go to the Romings- and Schmelzen-Garten [two inns at the perimeter of Fuerth]. For men these places were forbidden to visit. During the week students were not allowed to go out.</p> <p>Presents from bridal couples and relatives were subject to legal regulations.</p> <p>Violations resulted in money and honor penalties, which occurred quite often.</p> |
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| p 87 | <p>Regarding the prohibition of playing cards, the following joke was making the round: It is prohibited to play during the day without money and by night without light.</p> <p>In 1716, the number of tax paying heads of households was 400, towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the number was 2,400, in the year 1807 2,673 souls, this count was not reached again for a long time. Wuerfel's statement of 6,000 souls is nonsense.</p> <p>The history of the present century lies clear before the eyes. The first half of the century was reserved to get rid of long failed [ruined] institutions which existed in the state through habit and official privileges.</p> |
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The movements brought to the fore by the French revolution, which alleviated the far reaching consequences not only in the contrast between the Christian beliefs, also the [contrast] between Jewish residents. It was not possible for the legislation to view the latter as standing outside of the law, even if subjugated to many exceptional circumstances, in spite of being citizen with all rights and obligations. Besides time made it obsolete for Jews and the state as well. The discomfort of the new obligations and burdens appeared for the first [the Jews] not very constructive, especially when just several antiquated regulations (Edict § 2) for Jews were newly introduced. By themselves, these small inhibitions, which always occur in similar events, could not stop the wheel once it started to roll, its aim was the complete equality, which it did not take too long to reach. What is still missing, is not only the undertaking of the state, but also a undertaking for the future. To take a good look, which as Haenel most pointedly says, half a century of tolerance and massive freedom solved the undertaking, which looked like an impossibility throughout a millennium, that is why any doubt, which appears about the bridging of still existing contrasts, is unjustified.

The financial status of the community at the beginning of the century, while it was not totally bad, it was at least as good as in the past century. The income consisted of 20,000 fl. from income tax (ca. 10,000 fl.), "Schargefaellen" [taxes paid to the benefit of the "Scharre", see p 90] (ca. 8,000 fl.), deposit, entry, wedding, yahrzeit duties (1,050 fl.), proceeds from real estate (876 fl.), Torah, synagogue seat and grave fees [proceeds from sale of burial plots and their maintenance] (700 fl.) and interests from foundations. On the other hand there were expenditures totaling up to 18,000 fl., 9,700 fl. for administration, 960 fl. for education, 6,500 fl. for charity and 850 fl. for religious purposes.

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The stock of the foundations amounted to 85,274 fl. Besides there were 14,500 fl. of private debts, mostly not insured "Curandengelder" [unknown ancient Latin-German phrase], for which it was necessary to put aside 5,000 fl. for the bails to serve the interest. In addition, there were several arrears, which by 1821 reached the sum of 32,000 fl. The demand for reforms increased steadily, but the way it looks the reforms were foiled by Rabbi Solomon Kohn of that time, a man of pure intentions and strong morals. The aim as leader of the community was to give time a chance with the reform, but he was not able to do so, now only the most efficient was good enough.

Important moments and facts about this century, as far as they concern the Jewish community and its social relations are mentioned here.

In 1806, the bank was transferred to Nuremberg.

On March 4, 1809 Dr. Koenigswarter, the renown philanthropist of his hometown was born.

On June 10, 1813, an edict concerning the Jews in Bavaria appeared. In 1814 Minister Montgelas agreed to keep the regulations of 1719 in power by way of exception until closer examination of the situation in Fuerth. At that time there were 637 Jewish families in Fuerth.

In 1815, Jews were listed for the first time in the population register.

In 1816, the theater was established with considerable support of the Jewish citizens.

In 1818, those Jews who had paid trade, house and real estate tax were accepted as able to have a voice in community matters [able to vote], however others were left out. By the decision of a conference of the Bavarian ministries the Jewish corporation was dissolved, the association which was based on religious relationship and foundations was put under administrative supervision. The personal participation of Jews in the municipal administration was declared to be desirable and in cases which particularly affected their affairs their right to object was guaranteed.

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|  | <p>A Jewish doctor, Dr. J. Feust opened his practice here in 1819. In 1820, the regulations of 1719 were completely abolished. The following remained as a separate regulation:</p> |
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| p 89 | <p>The present census numbers should include people from out of town who maintained the right to be incorporated to the Fuerth community by paying contributions, but not increased. The ownership of breweries and inns was protected (the operation of such were prohibited in Bavaria [for Jews] but in Fuerth). It was further determined, that the court of the city of Fuerth should be the competent jurisdiction to deliver the related files, which until now were looked after by the rabbis.</p> <p>At that time the personnel body of the Jewish community was as follows: 1 chief rabbi, 5 assistant rabbis, 9 "Barnossen", 3 cashiers, 1 recording secretary, 2 trustees, hospital doctor, 1 surgeon, 3 cantors, 1 "Schulrufer" [shammes, sexton], 1 beadle, 1 welfare clerk, 1 hospital manager, 2 hospital orderlies, 2 slaughterers, 1 "Scharrinspektor" [supervisor of the "Scharre"], 2 "Scharrschreiber" [secretaries of the Scharre"], 1 "Scharrdiener" [clerk to the "Scharre"], 18 benevolent brothers first class and 24 second class, 15 benevolent sisters [Chewra Kadisha, funeral fraternity] and 2 grave stone masons.</p> <p>The Jewish businesses consisted of : 37 yard goods, 5 ribbons, 6 glass, 11 jewellers, 2 leather, 8 manufacturers, 1 paper, 3 dress, 8 grocery, 11 fabric, 13 bankers, 12 brokers, 3 collectors. Further in place were: 1 Jewish lending library owner, 98 rural grocers, and 8 cooks. To this add: 1 doctor, 1 surgeon, 2 midwives and 1 dentist. The head count of the Jewish community amounted to some 2,500. The Jewish and Christian children were not separated in the elementary school. Three years later (1822) an attempt was made for separation, but because of a resulting protest from the Jewish side this attempt was withdrawn. Children from the Cohen family tree were not obliged to attend elementary school, because the school house stood on a burial ground, it was not allowed [by Jewish religion] to walk among graves. However their lessons stood likewise under the supervision of the school commission.</p> <p>In 1821, chief rabbi Josua Baer Herzfelder from Rawiz, Moses Minz from Altoven and Lazarus from Micolos were elected, but for all of them no confirmation was forthcoming from the state authorities; the vice Rabbis then still present in Fuerth were not proposed. It seems to be obvious that the government tried to introduce orderly conditions and considered the election of a legally trained Bavarian citizen to be absolute necessary, who could bring about the needed reforms, unlike the stiffness of his predecessor, admittedly the latter direction still found many advocates in the community.</p> |
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| p 90 | <p>1822 Revision of the congregational constitution. A committee of five representatives would be elected, none of whom could be related to each other, and among whom later there would always be at least one attorney. This committee would be overseen by a magistrate on the one hand, and fifteen additional elected representatives on the other hand. The new constitution effectively, though only after much effort, normalized the congregational finances. By 1859 the total assets increased to 125,549 florins, which were burdened by indebtedness of 59,393 florins.</p> <p>1825 Regulations were issued for the "Scharre". The official census counted 2,510 Jews in Fuerth out of a total population of 13,264.</p> <p>1828 Formation of a Jewish charity for the distribution of two complete trousseaux every year, to brides of no means. The congregation counts 2,531 souls. Of the eleven Jewish wholesalers one pays annual taxes of 30,000 florins, and four others pay from 15,000 to 24,000 florins.</p> |
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1829 Dr Weichselbaum from Pretzfeld opens his medical practice in February. In June the government ordered the election of a (senior) rabbi, as required of the congregation. Protests won the congregation a delay of the deadline. However, the government threatened to subsume the right of popular election, in the event the deadline were not met. Two unsuccessful elections later, and after more correspondence, 1830 the names of both candidates were placed in nomination with the authorities on December 24: Rabbi Rosenfeld from Bamberg and Dr Loewi from Uhlfeld. Promptly on December 30, the district government installed Dr Loewi as rabbi. In the following year on March 10, higher authority reduced the appointment to that of a provisional rabbi because of concerns expressed by members of the community. The new rabbi was introduced to the congregation at ceremonies on March 21, inaugurating a happy relationship lasting many decades, during which the congregation's affairs were soon set in order. In this year the entire synagogue was renovated under the supervision of director Reindel of Nuremberg and at a cost of 9,336 florins. This expenditure was covered by voluntary contributions, some of them very considerable, from the members of the congregation. The sale of pews brought in additional 8,945 florins.

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Another Jewish physician, Dr Mack from Altenkunstadt settled here in 1830. The official census counted 2,515 Jews in Fuerth.

1834 The first Jewish attorney in Bavaria, Dr Gruensfeld, became employed in Fuerth.

1838 The merchant Schopflocher's house burned to the ground; unfortunately young Hirsch Schopflocher, who had just returned home, perished in the conflagration.

1840 The number of Jewish citizens of Fuerth grew to 2,950, representing the first increase since 1807. Note, however, that the official census counted substantially fewer Jews. Cremieux, passing through the city upon his return from his travels in the Orient, was welcomed with due pomp.

1841 Lightning struck and burned down the shed used by the fraternal burial organization on the Jewish cemetery. Regulation of Jewish funerary processions was promulgated by the municipality.

1843 Dr Feust died this year. His medical practice was taken over by Dr Hollstein. Dr Loewi was a co-founder of the tradesmen's union. The congregation's shed which had previously burned down, was not replaced.

1846 After 14 years of preparatory work, the new Jewish hospital was completed at a cost of 19,056 florins; the costs were covered by legacies (Koenigswarter and others), as well as by voluntary contributions. The old hospital now serves as residence for the maintenance of the cemetery supervisor. Dr Landmann commenced his medical practice this year.

1848 The board of the congregation this year donated 1000 florins to the loan institution for tradesmen in financial distress.

1849 Dr C Feust commenced a legal practice. Dr Morgenstern was elected to the Landtag (Bavarian parliament).

1850 Antique dealer Pickert was appointed court antiquarian. Talmud scholar Wolff Lippmann Hamburger died this year. He had been head of the rabbinical high school for many years. Dr Loewi had been his student.

1851 Salomon Berolzheimer was elected to the city council, as the first Jew ever elected to that body. The official census counted 2,649 Jews in Fuerth.

1852 The official census counted 2,651 Jews in Fuerth.

1853 A portal was built at the entry to the yard of the synagogue.

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| p 92 | <p>1854 Banker Simon Koenigswarter left considerable legacies to institutions of all faiths. 300 florins for the poor; 300 for the Christian hospital; 100 for the Catholic building fund; 2,000 for the Jewish hospital; 2,700 for poor Jews; 200 for the Jewish orphanage. His son, Dr W Koenigswarter established the "Simon's Foundation" in his father's name,</p> <p>1855, stipulating that interest income be used to provide prizes for competent journeymen and apprentices. The first such prizes were awarded in 1857.</p> <p>Dr Koenigswarter also started donating 100 florins annually on the anniversary of his father's death, for the benefit of the poor: half to Jewish poor, and half to Christians.</p> <p>1856 This year Dr Koenigswarter established the "Elisabeth Koenigswarter Trust" and endowed it with further 2,000 fl. The annual interest income from this fund was to be distributed to one or two needy families.</p> <p>The Jewish hospital was the recipient of further sums of money from Moritz Rindskopf (500 fl.), Rosette Muehlhaeusser (100 fl.), Louis Weinschenk (500 fl.) and Daniel Berolzheimer (200 fl.).</p> <p>1857 Jakob Brandeis donated 200 florins for the support of Jewish workmen. A men's choral group was formed.</p> <p>1858 Attorney Dr Gunzenhaeuser came to Fuerth. The Jewish hospital received donations of 100 fl. each from Jeanette Heilbronn and Abraham Fraenkel. David Ottensoser died; he was a well-known orientalist.</p> <p>1860 I Dinkelsbuehler made available a part of his garden to a gymnastics club. Many anti-orthodox members were elected to the Jewish administrative committee. Dr Lewes founded a chess club.</p> <p>1861 An association was formed for aid to "Jews in transit". Its purpose was to abolish the then widespread custom of assigning the care, feeding and sheltering of Jewish beggars and impoverished travelers to individual households.</p> <p>The congregation contributed 150 florins to a trust for education in art and science. Rabbi Dr Loewi also was a substantial contributor to this fund.</p> <p>The official census counted 2,651 Jews in Fuerth.</p> <p>1862 An association was formed to distribute (fire)wood to Jews. Dr Ortenau became its treasurer.</p> <p>1863 Dr Wiener opened his medical practice.</p> <p>The newly elected board of commerce appointed S Berolzheimer as its chairman.</p> <p>The Jewish primary school was opened on October 18.</p> <p>S Berolzheimer became the first Jewish judge in Bavaria with his appointment to be acting judge of the court of commerce.</p> <p>Dr Brentano was hired as teacher in the school of commerce.</p> |
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| p 93 | <p>Max Neubauer became the first Jewish magistrate's counselor.</p> <p>The school association built a new schoolhouse.</p> <p>1864 Attorney Dr Kronacher came here. The synagogue was renovated and enlarged and another story was added to the Jewish hospital.</p> <p>1865 S Berolzheimer was delegated to the German Chamber of Commerce and Dr Brentano became rector of the Royal School of Trade and Commerce.</p> <p>1866 Dr W Koenigswarter donated additional 500 florins to the Simon's Foundation.</p> <p>1867 By executive fiat, the government included Jews in the levy of tax for medical care of the poor. Merchant Ollesheimer became chairman of the local lodge. Dr Koenigswarter was honored with high citizenship. Dr Morgenstern and S Kolb were appointed co-chairmen of the board of commerce. Members of the congregation set up a fund for the distribution of stipends to Bavarian Jews; the fund to be named in honor of Dr Gabriel Riesser in Hamburg, who had worked in particular for Jewish emancipation.</p> |
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|  | <p>Dr Ortenau was appointed auditor for the local regiment of home defense. The official census counted 3,116 Jews in Fuerth.</p> <p>1868 The court of commerce appointed Maier Lieser as its interim judge. The Order of St. Michael was bestowed on attorney, Dr Feust. The Hebrew printing press ceased operations.</p> <p>1869 Julius Berolzheimer became an attorney. Dr Kronacher ran for the Landtag (parliament). Moritz Boehm was elected to the board of a newly formed merchants' association. J B Morgenstern, Jakob Mohr and Moritz Ullmann were elected to the local committee. Dr Lewi was admitted to the Order of St. Michael. An election was held to approve inter-religious schools; 624 Jews qualified as voters, of whom 411 voted for, none against. Three Jews were elected to the college of magistrates; Dr Landmann was appointed to the presidency of the congregation, and S Berolzheimer a member of the council of Central Franconia.</p> <p>1870 Dr Lehmann started his medical practice. A Women's Association was formed under the leadership of Betty Kolb. Numerous Jews were active in the Associations for Help in the War Effort. Dr W Koenigswarter donated 100 florins to the municipal library. Construction of the funeral chapel at the cemetery was completed.</p> <p>1871 The official census counted 3,250 Jews in Fuerth.</p> <p>1873 On December 26 honored rabbi Dr Loewi died. Dr Loewi's assistant, Dr Neuburger, succeeded him, first as acting rabbi; on June 16, 1875 he was confirmed as rabbi in his own right.</p> |
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| p 94 | <p>1875 The official census counted 3,317 Jews in Fuerth (compared to 2,453 in Nuremberg).</p> <p>1876 There were 26 patients in the hospital, in addition to 22 charity patients. The hospital's net worth was 108,465 Marks. A single commission supervises both the charity organization and the hospital. The latter employs an administrator, a secretary and a cashier. The congregation's net worth amounted to 181,765 Mark, exclusive of the hospital's net worth.</p> <p>1877 836 members are subject to assessments. Care of the poor is presently being reorganized.</p> <p>1878 Municipal magistrate Morgenstern bequeathed 6000 M each to the Jewish and the Christian hospitals, and the same amount for the erection of a monumental fountain. During his lifetime Morgenstern had already endowed a scholarship fund for students at Technical Schools.</p> <p>The above selected facts indicate the social status of the Jews in Fuerth. Their numbers and their activities secure them the right to participate in the governance of the community and of the state. The fact that Jews are members of various political parties, that they subscribe to differing views, indicates their improved status; the imperative of a unified front in all matters has been eliminated. Jews are tolerated. Like all other free citizens they contribute to the welfare of city and state. Presently four Jewish magistrates serve on the city's council, and 11 are deputies. The representative in the state legislature is Dr Gunzenhaeuser.</p> <p>We need not belabor the city's active role in commerce, which has made Fuerth famous in the world. What yet remains is a certain jealousy, thinly disguised as humor, which crops up here and there in such expressions as "Fuerth and its Jews" and "Little Jerusalem". Such unfounded prejudices should be countered by all educated people, who should actively strive for their disappearance.</p> |
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## Nuremberg II

In this century, the first Israelites living in Nuremberg again are presumed to have been two officers of the garrison, a captain of the infantry Marx and a first lieutenant of the cavalry. According to reports, they were promoted to officers' ranks during the wars of liberation, in which volunteers of Israelite denomination, whose education offered sufficient warranties, reached positions like these.

For the year 1820 1, for 1822 3 Israelites are reported. In the census of 1826 19 non-Christians are registered (there was no specific column for Israelites yet). The civil servant Johann Wassermann, working in the year 1839 at the Higher Post Office is considered regularly as the first Israelite living in Nuremberg again. The increase in population among the Israelite inhabitants was as follows:

1840 6 (registered as non-Christians)

1852 87 (registered as non-Christians)

1861 87 (?)

1864 936

1867 1,254

1871 1,831 (according to a different source 1,634)

1875 2,453

The number stated under 1861, taken from the book "Bavaria", cannot be correct taking into account the subsequent figures.

The first Israelite citizen of the Bavarian city of Nuremberg was Joseph Kohn from Markt Erlbach, who was accepted on May 16, 1850 after controversial debates with 9 against 8 votes.

On February 1, 1859 the Israelites living in the city, approx. 50 independent inhabitants and citizens, created a religious association. By a ministerial resolution of January 28, 1862 the constitution of a religious community was granted, at which point in time already ca. 100 Israelite families lived here.

The first chairman of the religious community was Loeb Hopf, who was followed by Maier Bethmann and Anton Kohn. At present this office is held by the royal attorney Dr Josephthal.

Initially religious education has been taught by the teacher Gumpert Fried, whom the religious association employed.

The religious community of Fuerth permitted their brothers in faith from Nuremberg to bury their deceased on the Fuerth cemetery for the payment of certain fees. This was not longer possible since November 1, 1863. By a private agreement with the rabbi Dr Loewi in Fuerth the local Israelites constituted a sub-parish of his rabbinate. The new cemetery, located to the north of the road to Fuerth, was made ready at an expenditure of 24,160 florins (for estate, surrounding wall, mortuary) in 1864 and opened with the funeral of J H Marschuetz on February 28 of the same year. The current number of the graves amounts to 340.

Headed by construction counselor Wolff from Stuttgart, in April 1869 the construction of the new synagogue began. The costs amounted to 704,000 Marks. The new place of worship could be inaugurated on September 8, 1874. Jakob Kann donated a capital of 1,000 florins, from which interest the costs of the preservation of the so-called eternal light are to be paid, his son Samuel donated the lamp for the eternal light.

The women of the community paid for 2 precious curtains for the sanctuary as well as for the covers of the praying desk and the pulpit.

Likewise Hopfmann donated a curtain for the sanctuary, Marianne Lerchenthal the pertinent covers for praying desk and pulpit and finally Leopold Alexander a carpet. The

embroideries were made usually by the gold embroiderer Behr.

The costs of the synagogue were covered by the sales of the synagogue seats, by membership dues and a voluntary loan from the members of the community as well as by donations on the occasion of anniversaries. Attached to the synagogue there is a community center.

The current number of the contributory members amounts to 650, divided actually into 10 income classes, i.e. in 13, since class I to III are subdivided in 2 subsections, of which the highest pay 140 Marks, the lowest 2 Marks for the community's expenditures.

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The religious community and the administration is headed by an executive committee, two assessors, the cashier and a committee of 15 authorized persons.

Since September 4, 1872 Dr Lewin, formerly rabbi in Zurich, functions as the local rabbi after his election on May 28 of the same year.

In the year 1864 the Israelite charitable society was founded, which counted at the end of 1877 408 members with an annuity of 9,305 Marks. For the support of traveling Israelites the mentioned association in 1878 paid 7,000 Marks to the central association in Fuerth.

Besides the welfare service for local Israelite poor, also the care for Israelite sick people is a task of the association.

For the support of widows and orphans in 1873 an association with a capital stock of 9,000 florins, applied by voluntary contributions, was founded. The number of the members amounts to 120, their annuities varying from 10 to 80 Marks totaling up to 4,000 Marks. The assets of the association amounted to 36,000 Marks in 1877.

The following notes also might be worth mentioning:

Dr W Koenigswarter donated for charity purposes 1,250 florins.

In 1869 the lawyer W Frankenburger was elected member of the Bavarian parliament, in 1874 and 1877 also member of the German "Reichstag".

Sophie Kohn donated 10,000 florins for the establishment of a polytechnic institute.

The bookseller to the court Pickert, moved here from Fuerth, deceased in 1870.

Assessor Berlin was accepted as the first Israelite assessor in the Kingdom of Bavaria on February 1, 1874 in Nuremberg. In the municipal bodies there are 3 Israelites. Furthermore 6 Israelite attorneys are working here.

As far as the social status of the Israelites in Nuremberg is concerned, it will take some time, until exclusively favorable things can be reported about this subject. The wealth of the community, a characteristic, which often is transferred to all individual members forgetting at the same time that also a numerous middle class exists and that the expenditures for charity purposes indicate towards a not small number of persons on relief, is of substantial influence to the over-all evaluation of the state of the resident Israelites.

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A small inherited, to a certain extent historical dislike cannot be denied. This will probably not disappear, until the principle prevails that the value of any corporation and its individuals only can be judged correctly if the history of the entity is visible and examined calmly and critically. Instead often one judges - however a faster and simpler method - by the ones, who differentiate themselves unfavorably from the majority, this way gaining a completely incorrect impression.

From this way of evaluation, prevailing in modern times, confessional as well as humanitarian, political, commercial and social associations suffer more or less, even entire races and nations.

One may charge this phenomenon rightfully in particular to the frequent reports in the

newspapers, which anticipate the own thinking too much, at the same time appearing not to be entitled qualitatively to do so. An emancipation from the daily papers surely will steer judgement and criticism into more favorable tracks than those being used at the moment.

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**Appendix I. Concerning the improvement of the moral conditions of the Jews of Franconia, 1792**

*(Document of the Nuremberg Archives)*

Most honorable District Assembly!

The question: "How to improve the moral and civil conditions of Jews in the District of Franconia", the 9<sup>th</sup> point of discussion, shows once again to the world the comprehensive care and love of mankind of the most noble Franconian District Authority.

We and all the Jewish inhabitants of the Franconian District greatly value and appreciate from the depth of our hearts the attention given to us by their sovereigns, and our most respectful thanks to them and which shall never be forgotten by us and our descendants.

We are also full of confidence and joyful hope of a successful outcome as the detailed discussion of this important item is left to a most honorable District Assembly which, luckily for us and the whole Franconian district, consists by all accounts of the wisest humanitarian and most active statesmen.

Hopefully we therefore also dare to write in the name of the large Fuerth congregation and all the Jewish people in Franconia to respectfully beg you to present our fate before the District Assembly.

We do not wish to ask for any special favor partly to avoid to appear presumptuous and, on the other hand, not to prejudge in the slightest the wisdom and love of mankind of the most honorable District Assembly.

Only that much shall we be allowed to remark that by all the tolerance, leniency and justice of our present noble authority, for which we bless them and praise God, laws and establishments are still in the way of the improvement of our moral and civil position.

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Although we do not wish to deny that some reproaches regarding trade fraud and laziness to work may rightly be applied to some amongst us, we however believe that people on the whole are born alike with identical inclinations, facilities and capabilities and we flatter ourselves that several thoroughly generous, honest and unselfish men of our nation will be personally known to your most noble District Assembly and that scholars like Moses Mendelsohn, many doctors and some artists of our religion are able to prove our natural mental capacity.

But obviously as long as we are excluded from agriculture, crafts and all other normal means of earning a livelihood and are restricted to trading, our leanings and capabilities necessarily have to take a one-sided direction and can never be improved and developed unlike that of the Christians, to whom all means of making a living are open.

And even trading, the only remaining subsistence branch available to us, how much is this restricted and made difficult for us.

We are forbidden to either enter many towns and localities at all or have, first of all, to pay high taxes and have to leave again before nightfall. In some other places the best openings to trade are denied us and everywhere we have to pay the tremendous body tax, which politically treats us like livestock, covers us with shame and contempt and often swallows up two or three times the small profit, which we tried to earn in foreign places with difficulty and danger.



On top of this we have to support the many poor of our nation and in addition to the territorial taxes we also pay Synagogue duties, so that even the better off has to earn a substantial amount in order for him and his family to prosper, and that the less well off, at the slightest mishap, immediately becomes a beggar, due to lack of reserves, without which he is unable to carry on any trade and is unable to support himself and is even unable to work as a messenger, as the body tax amounts to more than his earnings.

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This true description of our restricted and depressed situation has already been warmly recognized by many Christian leading philosophers and statesmen and encourages us to say that we owe our continued existence to God, who is the father of all men, and to our own thrifty and simple way of living, as well as our hard work and contentment with small profits.

Should however the call of our conscience be stifled by the voice of our predicament amongst some of us, we truly believe that, if we were to be granted the whole range of industry, the birth right of all human beings, all unlawful means of earning a living would become unnecessary and only those would be used which honesty clearly demands.

We dare not estimate the beneficial consequences for us and all mankind, which would result from a prudent moderation and easing of our hard fate.

We are however convinced that the centuries old political pressure badly affects mind and spirit and that only by a lifting or moderation of this can the moral and civil situation of a people gradually be improved.

We count ourselves lucky that we have finally reached the point in time when Jews again are looked upon and treated as human beings by enlightened Christian Sovereigns and authorities and hope that in good time before the throne of God, whom we also worship in dust and ashes, and who loves all good people, also express grateful thanks to those humanitarians who have warmly helped with wisdom and deeds to bring some relief and improvement to our moral and civil position on this earth.

To the wisdom and humanity of your most noble District Assembly we confidently entrust our fate with the respectful assurance that our warmest thanks as well as our deepest respect shall never dim in our hearts with which we sign ourselves as

Your most honorable District Assembly's humbly obedient, in the name of the entire Jewish Community in Fuerth and all Jewish inhabitants of Franconia,

Fuerth, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1792

**Wolf Neuburger**

**Jacob Henle**

**Isaac Marx**

## Appendix II. Information about the history of the Jews' tolls (Judenzoll) in Nuremberg

(from the Royal Archives in Nuremberg)

### A. Calculation of the 10 yearly proceeds derived from the escort fees paid by Jews, and after deduction of the loan for the female escorts for the Jews and the contribution for the staff at the city gate

| accounting period               | fl.           | kr.      | Pfennig  |
|---------------------------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| for 1797 in 1798                | 2,573         | 54       |          |
| for 1798 in 1799                | 2,484         | 13       |          |
| for 1799 in 1800                | 1,770         | 15       | 2        |
| for 1800 in 1801                | 1,509         | 39       |          |
| for 1801 in 1802                | 2,864         | 52       | 2        |
| for 1802 in 1803                | 2,751         | 45       |          |
| for 1803 in 1804                | 2,495         | 40       |          |
| for 1804 in 1805                | 2,850         | 3        | 2        |
| for 1805 in 1806                | 2,560         | 39       |          |
| for 1806 in 1807                | 2,619         |          |          |
| <b>total income 1797 – 1806</b> | <b>24,480</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> |

|                                                                             |                  |               |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <b>annual average</b>                                                       | <b>2,448 fl.</b> |               |
| in addition the pensions for the 4 female escorts still living              | 260 fl.          |               |
| the benefits derived from the Jews for all the staff manning the city gates | 881 fl.          | 28 kr.        |
| <b>annual total income</b>                                                  | <b>3,589 fl.</b> | <b>28 kr.</b> |

### B. Index of persons whose wages depended partly on the Jewish entrance fees in 1808 (shortened by omitting the names)

| number and title                                                                             | fl.          | kr.       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1 Kriegssekretär [secretary for the armed forces] (personnel of the armed forces department) | 400          |           |
| 2 Kriegsaufbieter [war mobilizers] (personnel of the armed forces department)                | 1,834        | 24        |
| 3 sergeants at the city gate                                                                 | 389          | 20        |
| 24 sergeants of the militia                                                                  | 54           |           |
| 7 riflemen at the city gate                                                                  | 16           |           |
| 4 female escorts (old women, which had to escort and watch Jews present in the city)         | 260          |           |
| <b>Total</b>                                                                                 | <b>3,274</b> | <b>44</b> |

The personnel of the armed forces department based its payment on the decree of the imperial sub-delegation commission of January 19, 1798, and on a 300 year old practice.

The entire city gate personnel and the former escort women justified their income as an ancient practice.

In former times the personnel of the armed forces department received the additional amount of 200 fl. for the Kriegsobrist [commander of the city's army], but at this time [1808] he was already deceased. The amounts mentioned above were paid to the functionaries as a pension until their deaths.

**C. Tabular calculation of the amount of Jewish escort fees during the past 10 years, with a comparison what the yield with the new regulation would have been**

Explanation of the columns' content:

3. year
4. total of Jews, women and grown children, which came to the city
5. number of Jews, women and children, who paid the ordinary, moderate or conceded escort fees
6. jews with or without pass arrived for legal or delivery matters.
7. total amount of the Jews' payments excluding the entrance fee at the city gate and the fee for their Mitgeherinnen [escort women]

total amount according to the new regulation (30 kr. per capita and excluding children younger than 12 years)

| 1            | 2             | 3             | 4            | 5                          | 6                 |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>1789</b>  | 6,312         | 5,998         | 314          | 2,210 fl. 43 ½ kr.         | 2,999 fl.         |
| <b>1790</b>  | 6,707         | 6,427         | 280          | 2,177 fl. 6 kr.            | 3,213 fl. 30 kr.  |
| <b>1791</b>  | 6,486         | 6,160         | 326          | 2,203 fl. 5 kr.            | 3,080 fl.         |
| <b>1792</b>  | 6,266         | 5,922         | 344          | 2,375 fl. 29 kr.           | 2,961 fl.         |
| <b>1793</b>  | 6,281         | 6,112         | 169          | 2,229 fl. 20 ½ kr.         | 3,056 fl.         |
| <b>1794</b>  | 6,459         | 6,209         | 250          | 2,415 fl. 50 kr.           | 3,104 fl. 30 kr.  |
| <b>1795</b>  | 6,756         | 5,948         | 808          | 2,355 fl. 24 kr.           | 2,974 fl.         |
| <b>1796</b>  | 7,082         | 6,148         | 934          | 2,429 fl. 15 ½ kr.         | 3,074 fl.         |
| <b>1797</b>  | 7,392         | 6,462         | 930          | 2,573 fl. 54 kr.           | 3,231 fl.         |
| <b>1798</b>  | 7,115         | 6,452         | 663          | 2,484 fl. 13 kr.           | 3,226 fl.         |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>66,856</b> | <b>61,838</b> | <b>5,018</b> | <b>23,454 fl. 20 ½ kr.</b> | <b>30,919 fl.</b> |

Calculated in Nuremberg April 19, 1799.

**D.** Apart from the legal charges, it was customary to give New Year money to the manager in charge of toll duties for Jews. It was also a custom to give natural products, such as 4 so-called "Lichtgaense" [literally 'light geese', probably a donation on the occasion of the Christian "Lichtmess" holiday in spring] (In the year 1800, for New Year Koenigswarter paid 10 fl. 20 kr., Jakob Besels 16 fl. 53 kr.).

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| p 108 | <p>The calculations of the Jews' tolls payments (1798 - 1800) resulted in differences. The official in charge was declared to be a swindler, but he replaced the missing amount and put the blame on minor clerks, who also accused each other. One of the female escorts was blind, they were all described as difficult women to satisfy. 1798</p> <p>Also the imperial sub-delegate Schrodtt handed out rebukes regarding the matter of Jews' toll payments. He wondered why the armed forces department received salaries, but entrusted the job to women, and that this important part of the local police is handed to the "aprons". He remarked further, that these "Amazonian female police servants" did not fulfill their duty.</p> <p>In 1798 the respective duties were transferred from the armed forces department to the customs office.</p> <p>Sick Jews, visiting the thermal spa [in Nuremberg near Pegnitz river] did not have to pay. Their presence was scrutinized. When leaving the town, a certificate from the manager of the bathing facility had to be produced.</p> <p>Every 14 days, the "Huehneraugenjud" [corns Jew] Hirsch was permitted free entry into the city (1805).</p> <p>In the year 1800, in which the female escorts went on pension (May 1799 - May 1800), the necessary expenditures with reference to the Jews increased over the resulting income by 617 fl. 11 kr. 2 Pfennig.</p> <p>On March 16, 1808, a law was passed to rescind the whole matter of Jewish toll payments, which was considered nonsense, a subject which in previous years took on a form that leaves the reader of the records with a very unpleasant feeling brought to the fore by the petty grumbling.</p> |
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| p 109 -<br>112 | <p><b>Appendix III. Mention of the documents that could not be used in this text because it was already in the advanced stages of print</b></p> <p><i>This part of the original book was not included into the translation because of its lack of informational value for the foreign reader.</i></p> |
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| p 113 | <p><b>Appendix IV. The Jewish orphanage in Fuerth</b></p> <p>The Jewish orphanage in Fuerth was established in 1763. The only one for Bavaria and the oldest in Germany. The founder was Israel Lichtenstadt from Prague, living in Fuerth. He established a fund of 500 florin for this noble purpose. He was head of the administration for many years.</p> <p>Until 1838 the orphan boys received their education in the orphanage. The upbringing was left to foster mothers who for this purpose received appropriate remuneration. Because the upbringing and education outside of the institution did not harmonize, a new statute was established to define that upbringing, catering and education should be under the care of an appointed orphan custodian and teacher. A government decision confirmed the hiring of teacher Bamberger from Buechenbach as the first orphan custodian.</p> <p>Till 1845 only local orphan boys were accepted. A decision in 1845 granted non residents the right to apply for admission, as long as this was not detrimental for local orphans. In 1868 the effective area was extended to orphan boys from the whole Fatherland with the same rights as local orphans. Therefore we find 37 pupils in the institution, 35 from whole country and only 2 from Fuerth.</p> <p>Admissible are all Jewish orphan boys from a legal marriage, born in Bavaria and while staying in the institution from age 5 to 14, they are entitled to free cost, clothing and education.</p> <p>During the year 1866, Mr. Bamberger resigned his position as teacher. The administra-</p> |
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|  | tion elected to the position of director, orphan custodian and teacher of the institution Dr. Koenigshoefer, formerly district rabbi of Hagenbach.<br>Until 1868, the building housing the institution was located in the Geleitsgasse. |
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| p 114 | <p>The premises were limited in space, expansion and accommodation for a larger number of orphan boys, also the prevailing sanitary conditions made it necessary for the administration to buy a building site The site bordered the Julienstrasse on the east and the Rosengasse on the north side. A new and large orphanage building with a garden area was erected on this site.</p> <p>The education covered courses in religion, the elementary curriculum met the standards set for municipal elementary schools. For talented pupils, classes in commercial knowledge and foreign languages were readily available.</p> <p>The income of the institute was obtained from the yearly contributions by its members and bequests. Also, the institution has several openings available. Each of these noble and benevolent men arranged for the necessary monetary grant to produce the interest needed to educate in their respective name an orphan boy in the institute.</p> <p>The administration of the institution consists of nine local members, they volunteered for this unselfish duty.</p> |
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