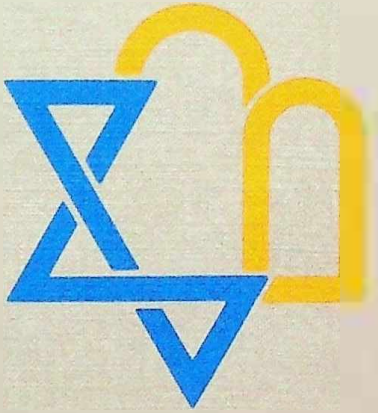
Jews
In
Hechingen



The History of a Jewish Community
in Nine Sketches Spanning
Five Centuries

Catalogue of the Documentation
In the Old Synagogue of Hechingen

Jews In Hechingen

The History of a Jewish Community
In Nine Sketches Spanning Five Centuries

Text and Compilation of Document
by Casimir Bumiller

Translated by Dr. Herbert Hochhauser,
Kent State University, Kent, Ohio USA

English Language Editing: Sharon Carla Hochhauser

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2024

Published by the Initiative Hechinger Synagogue
(Registered Organization) and the Old Synagogue
Association (Registered Organization)

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2024

Concept and Text:
Dr. Casimir Bumiller, Freiburg
Graphic Design and Format:
Holger von Briel, Donaueschingen
Printing: Schumacher, Radolfzell
Publisher: Verlag Glückler, Hechingen

ISBN 3-925-01226-5

Published by the Initiative Hechinger Synagogue (Registered Organization) and the Old Synagogue Association (Registered Organization)

Acknowledgements

This documentation would not have been possible without the advice and support of countless colleagues. I extend my thanks to:

Karl-Hermann Blickle, Balingen, for the financial help for this project and for the informative notations,
Wilhelm Eckenweiler, Hechingen, for guiding the entire group towards the goal,
Dr. Gil Hüttenmeister, Tübingen, for his critical analysis of the manuscript and advice on Judaic subjects,
Heinrich Kohring, Tübingen, for his expert guidance from the manuscript stage to the finished product, and for generously making materials about Salomon the physician available,
Marek Leszczynski, Tübingen, for explaining the art in the Hechingen Synagogue,
Waldemar Luckscheiter, Hechingen, for being constantly available, for coordinating this project, and for his sincere support over a period of many years,
Hartmut Rau, Hechingen, for the calming influence within the group, for his critical evaluation of the manuscript, and his invaluable suggestions for improvements,
Dr. Adolf Vees, Hechingen, for the conversations and letters, for his assistance, and for the endless inquiries which helped to move the project along,
Lothar Vees, Hechingen, for the help in matters of coordination and organization and for the clear direction,
Dr. Alfred Weil, New York, for his constructive criticism and his confidence,
Otto Werner, Hechingen, the tireless researcher, for the repeated examination of the manuscript, and for the countless details from his own vast knowledge,
Furthermore, his wife **Helga Ciriello**, of the Museum of Hechingen, and **Mr. Alf Müller** of the Hohenzollerischen Heimatbücherei Hechingen for making available archival and photographic material.

C.B.

Table of Contents

Introduction 6

From Jerusalem To Hechingen:
The Road of the Jews Into The Diaspora 8

The Hebrew Bible (The Old Testament):
The Source of Faith and History of the Jews 8
Jews in Europe During The Middle Ages 11

The Sixteenth Century: Temporary Tolerance 15

Mayr Jud and His Family (1527-1551) or "The Eternal Jew" 14
The Jewish Community of Hechingen During
The Reformation 15
Economic Foundations 18
Repressions And Expulsion 18
Salomon Jud, Physician At Hechingen (ca. 1500-1577) 21

The Seventeenth And Eighteenth Centuries:
Darkened Enlightenment 25

The Tribe Of Gideon (1672-1740) 24
A New Community Arises 25
Court Actions And Jewish Hagglers 26
Pogroms And Ghettoization 26
An Unusual Women: Court Agent
Madame Kaulla (1739-1809) 29

Religion In the Everyday Life of the Jews 33
The Teachings 33
The Jewish Religion On Regular and Feast Days 34
The Path Of Jewish Life 37
The Synagogues of Hechingen 39

The Nineteenth Century: Emancipation
And Industrialization 45

Preacher Of Reform Judaism: Rabbi Samuel Mayer (1807-1875)..... 44
Emancipation With Obstacles..... 45
Hechingen Owes Its Industrialization To Jews 47
Social Harmony 48
Social Responsibility: Entrepreneur Julius Levi (1833-1906) 50

The Twentieth Century: The End Of An Illusion 53

Humanist, Socialist, And Politician:
Attorney Paul Levi (1883-1930) 52
Apparent Normality 53
Anti-Semitism 54
The End Of The Jewish Community Of Hechingen 57
The Holocaust: The Fate Of The Hofheimer Family 58

From Hechingen To Jerusalem:
Approaching A Dark Chapter In German History 64

Hechingen's Synagogue After 1938 64
Witness To A Century: Doctor Alfred Weil (b. 1900-) 65

Chronology 66

Selected Literature 68

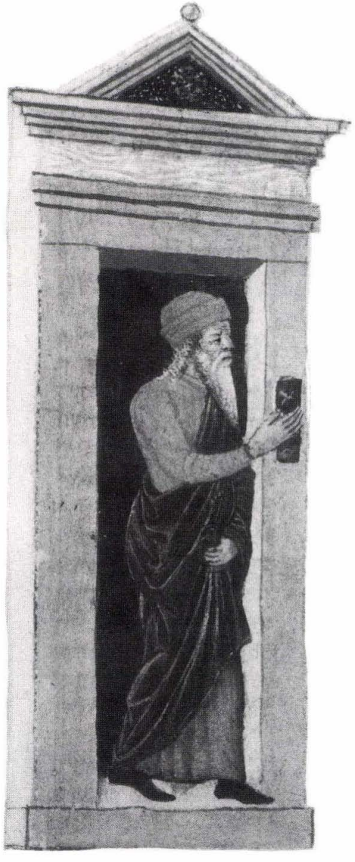
Introduction

It was on the eve of May 8, 1985 that the citizens of Hechingen were invited for the first time to the site of the Old Synagogue for an hour of reflection and remembrance. There was neither a staircase, lighting, nor a parquet floor in the building. Each participant in the ceremony was given a lighted candle, and walked across planks to get inside. What they witnessed there was worthy of the occasion and of the setting.

The hour of remembrance was dedicated to the end of World War II, but also to the old building in which they had congregated. The Old Synagogue, the "small gute Stube" as it was fondly referred to by many citizens of Hechingen, was devastated but not destroyed in November 1938. It was not burned down because of its location in the crowded old section of the city.

The synagogue finally stood in a state of total disrepair after it had been used for other purposes, structurally altered, had its windows nailed shut, and had its former entrances replaced by a garage door. The old honorable house of prayer of the former Jewish community, where Synagogue Street meets Goldschmidt Street, was almost forgotten. In the meantime, a group of young people who had come to Hechingen after 1945 founded an organization called Initiative Hechinger Synagogue. In 1982, this organization gained ownership of the building, and began to restore and renovate the structure. Members of the Association thought it important for the citizens of Hechingen to come to terms with a particularly relevant, but very unpopular chapter from history so that it might have a beneficial effect in the future.

Finally, on November 19, 1986, at the 1,200th anniversary of the city, the Old Synagogue was opened to the public. On that occasion, Walter Jens spoke about the failed attempt to create a symbiosis between Jews and Christians in Germany . In honor of the city's anniversary, two groups of Jews, who used to live in Hechingen, and their families, were brought to the celebration as guests of the city. One group witnessed the moving rededication of the synagogue. Through a study of the Jewish past, through conversations and meetings, a desire to bring life into the desecrated structure grew among the members of the Initiative Hechinger Synagogue as well as among the members of the organization responsible for this rededication, Old Synagogue Hechingen. This



Upon leaving his house, a Jew touches the mezzuzah which is fastened to the door frame. From a Hebrew manuscript of the Middle Ages. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. Rothschild 24, fol. 126 v.

new life is to be worthy of the history and dignity of the synagogue and help bring about the dignified treatment of the minorities living in our own communities.

In addition, the building would house an exhibit documenting the history of the Jews as well as those who resided in and around Hechingen. This permanent exhibit is to document the history of the local Jewish community, which came to an end in 1942, as a part of the general history of Jews in Southwest Germany. It should elicit understanding for the unique religious nature of the Jewish people and in particular for their legitimate status in Hechingen. The documentation gives insight into the changing relations in the Christian-Jewish community as well as into the creation of discriminatory thoughts and actions. It stresses tolerance towards all minorities. Finally, this documentation invites people who disapprove, are skeptical or not interested to learn about this segment of local history.

On May 8, 1991, eleven days before Whit Sunday, the Jewish Shavout, and almost fifty years after the deportation of the first group of Hechingen Jews, this permanent exhibit opened, dedicated to the history and significance of the Jews of Hechingen. May it help to build bridges so that new paths may be taken with a renewed spirit not only in Hechingen but in other communities as well. That which is not put into action has no value.

Hartmut Rau
Waldemar Luckscheiter

From Jerusalem To Hechingen:
The Path Of The Jews Into The Diaspora

Time stopped in 1942 for the Jews of Hechingen. The Jewish community in Hechingen, which had already been decimated by forced emigration was almost entirely wiped out in the Nazi concentration camps. This documentation should not, however, conclude with the years 1938 or 1945, but with our contemporary approach to the history of that time. Since the life of the Jews, unlike other groups, is governed by their religion and history, the story of the Jews of Hechingen must begin with the origins of the Jewish people.

The Hebrew Bible (The Old Testament): The Source Of The Faith And History Of The Jews

Jewish history, from its beginnings, tells a moving story. It begins in prehistoric times with the wanderings of the patriarch Abraham into "The Promised Land" of Canaan. A lack of food soon forced the people to travel on to Egypt. Under the rule of the Egyptian Pharaohs, the Jews became slaves, but after several generations, they chose to flee from Egypt. They wandered through the desert for forty years. It was during this long journey that God's law was revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. This event was the birth of monotheism. The belief in one God who had selected the Jews as His

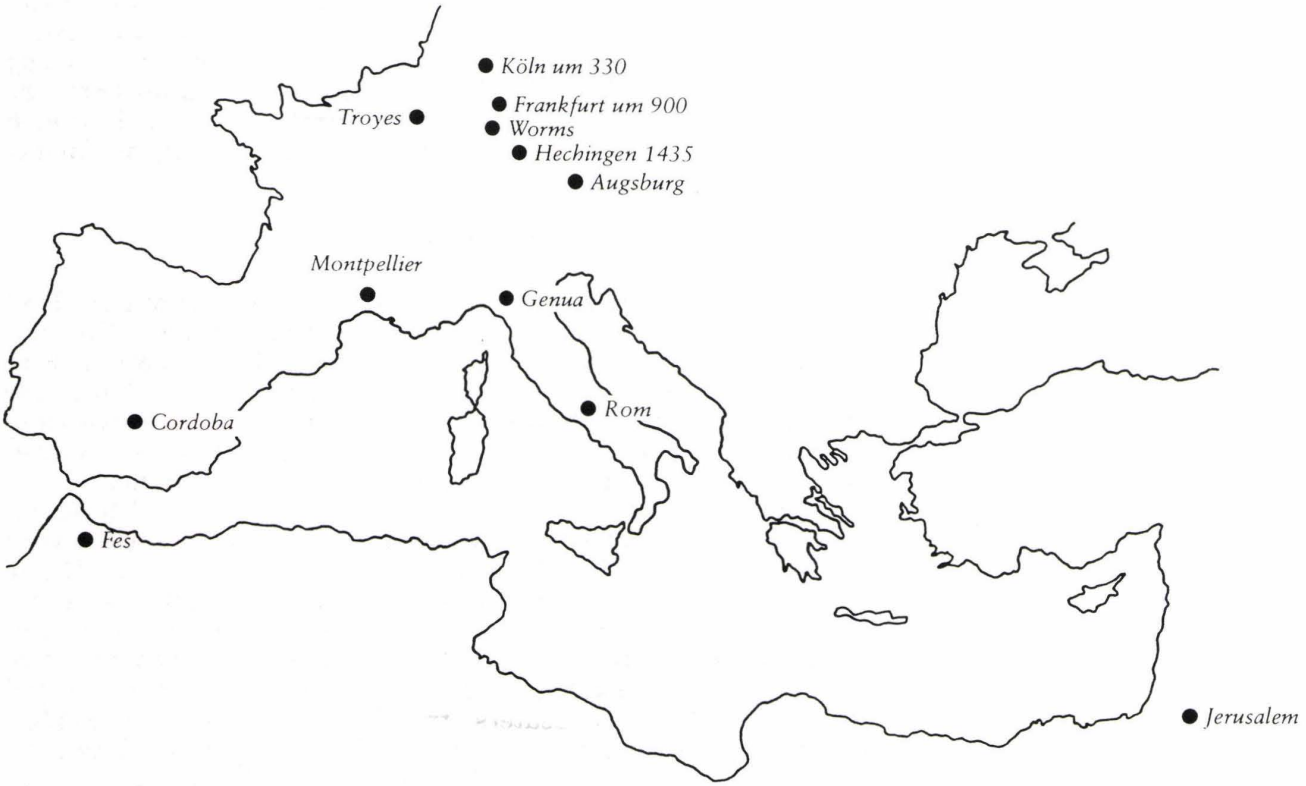


Moses receives the Ten Commandment on Mount Sinai. From a Hebre manuscript created in Regensburg in th late 13th century. Jerusalem, Isra Museum, Ms. 180/52, fol. 154 v.

"chosen people" Distinguished the Jews from their neighbors who were polytheistic.

On the basis of this new faith, the twelve Jewish tribes began a conquest of the land near the Jordan River around 1200 B.C. In 1020 B.C. they created a united kingdom. The capture of Jerusalem by King David, and the construction of the Temple by his son Solomon gave the Jews a spiritual and religious center. In 933 B.C. the political division of the empire into two parts, Israel in the north and Judea in the south, made both nations vulnerable to attack. In 722 B.C., Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians. The southern kingdom of Judea was captured by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. They carried the Jews off to "Babylonian captivity." As they had done as slaves in Egypt the Jews were forced to test their beliefs and their ability to survive under foreign domination.

The dispersion of Jews throughout Europe since 100 A.D.



After the capture of Babylon by the Persians in 538 B.C., the Jews were allowed to reestablish their empire and rebuild the destroyed temple in Jerusalem. However, their political dependence remained. Alexander the Great followed the Persians in 332. He was in turn succeeded by the Ptolemies, then the Seleucids. The unbroken will of the Jews for self determination led to the Maccabean Wars. From 167-163 B.C. they regained for the last time a certain independence. The inclusion of Palestine in the Roman Empire in 63 B.C. took away the freedom of the Jews. During two uprisings, the Jewish War in 66-70 A.D., and the revolt by Bar-Kochba in 132-135, they again attempted to shake off the yolk of foreign domination.

The results of these wars took Jewish history on an unexpected course. In the year 70, the Romans destroyed the second temple, and after the revolt of 135, they denied Jews access to their capital. Thousands were forced to leave their homes and search for a new life in the Dispersion. There was already an important center of Jewish life in Mesopotamia. Many Jews, however, moved westward and settled in the areas of the Roman Empire that already had Jewish communities: in North Africa, Spain, Gaul (France), Asia Minor, Greece and Italy. The first established Jewish community on German soil was located in the Roman city of Cologne in the fourth century.

Jews In Europe During The Middle Ages

The Christian successors to the Roman Empire at first developed negative attitudes and policies towards the Jews. Not until the capture of Spain by the Arabs in 711 did they obtain more favorable conditions. Because they had been welcomed into the Carolingian Empire as traveling merchants, Europe became more important for the Jews than the Orient. Important Jewish economic and cultural centers developed in the cities along the Rhine.

The obvious religious difference between Jews and Christians resulted in bloodshed for the first time when the first two crusades in 1095 and 1146 led to horrible persecution of the Jews. In 1298 in Southwest Germany, the impoverished Knight Rindfleisch and a gang of supporters traveled through Franconian and Swabian cities for the purpose of torturing and killing thousands of Jews who were accused of host desecration. In 1336, another nobleman, "King" Armleder and his "Jew beaters" traveled through Alsace, Swabia, and Austria, destroying countless Jewish communities. The most decisive event in the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages can be

First mention of a Jew in Hechingen.

Die hoffstattzins zu Hechingen . . . Item die kursennerin uß irem hus 5 Heller; git der jud . . .

Bickelperg Platbuch of the Principality of Zollern, 1435 Published by Franz Herberhold, Sigmaringen 1978, p. 8.

found in the persecutions related to the Great Plague of 1348-1349. Accused of well poisoning, many Jewish communities were exterminated, among them Rottweil, Horb, Rottenburg, Reutlingen, and Haigerloch.

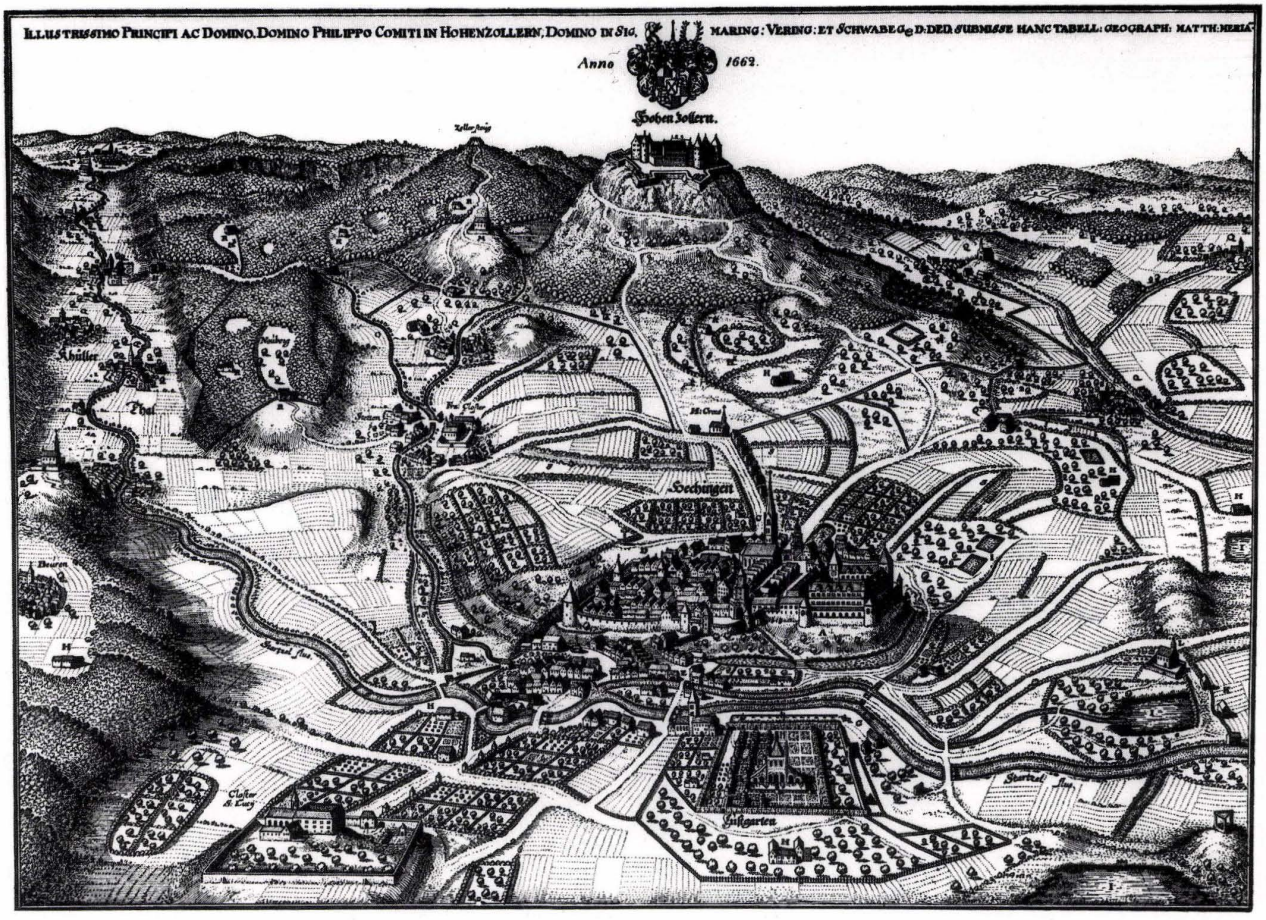
In contrast to this, Jews, as so-called chamber servants, had been under the protection of German kings and emperors since the early thirteenth century. Several rulers, among them Emperor Frederick II (1236), King Rudolf (1276), and Emperor Maximillian I (1515) protected Jews from the accusations of ritual murder of Christian children. This



The burning of Jews in the Middle Ages. Woodcut from Hartmann Schedels World Chronicle 1493.

royal protection was paid for by the Jews by means of high taxes, especially under the weak kings of the late Middle Ages. They had to pay special taxes in order to gain the grace of the empire. Even the powerful Swabian imperial cities could finance their wars against Württemberg or their building projects, like the construction of the Cathedral of Ulm only through the talents of Jewish financiers.

This, however, did not prevent the imperial cities from trying to get rid of the Jews. The great Christian empires expelled their Jews in one fell swoop, England in 1290, France in 1395, and Spain in 1492. In the splintered German Empire, only the imperial cities and larger territories followed that example (Württemberg 1498, Ulm 1499). Smaller sovereign territories, however, permitted entry for Jews towards the end of the Middle Ages because they anticipated economic advantages. Among these rulers was the Count of Zollern: in 1435 and 1490 we hear about Jews in Hechingen for the first time.



An engraving from 1662 shows the residence of the Hohenzollerns as it appeared in the Middle Ages. In the late 16th century it was enlarged with the addition of the Renaissance castle and the gardens.

Mayr Jud And His Family (1527-1551) or "The Eternal Jew"

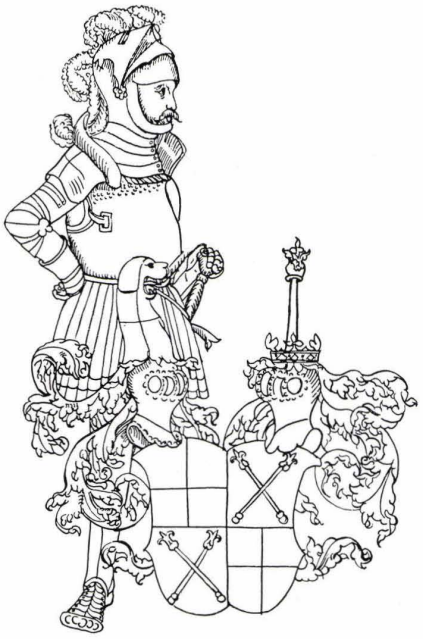


A Jewish family in flight during the late Middle Ages... Hamburg, State and University Library, Codex hebrew 37, fol. 27r.

Since 1527, in the village of Kiebingen, near Rottenburg, lived the prosperous and respected Mayr Jud, his wife, two grown sons, David and Baruch, a daughter Mergen, daughters-in-law and grandchildren. Their family history reflects the insecure life of Jews during the age of the Reformation. In 1530, the family was supposed to be deported from the Austrian territory of Hohenberg. Following a petition they were permitted to stay if "the subjects might put up with their living there." The relationship between Christian subjects and their Jewish neighbors soon deteriorated. By 1538, the rulers received complaints that the homes of Jewish families were being vandalized. Things became worse when Mayr Jud was on his way to Innsbruck on royal business in 1542. Officials in Hohenberg threw his youngest son into jail, threatened the women, and wanted "to chase the children out of the city with the dogs."

After this incident, Mayr Jud and his family turned their backs on Kiebingen and settled in the nearby city of Hechingen. Jud's son-in-law Mosse lived there, and Hechingen already had a flourishing Jewish community. The family only resided here for nine years. In 1551, David, a successful cloth merchant, was given permission to settle in the margravate of Baden. He took along his elderly parents, and from there all traces of the family disappear.

The Jews "always sit upon the seesaw and winnowing shovel. Today they make themselves at home here. Tomorrow they will be chased away and their homes destroyed. There is no prophet who can say flee there or here, but rather they must be unsure of the place of their misery and hover in the wind." (Martin Luther, against the Jews 1538)



Under the rule of Count Jos Niclas II of Zollern (ruled from 1538-1558) the first Jewish community of Hechingen reached its peak. Ink drawing, Royal Court Library of Fürstenberg Codex 593a.

First mention of a synagogue (Jewish school) in Hechingen.

Graf Jos Niclas II. von Hohenzollern verkauft 1546 »den Juden allen gemeinlichen . . . die Juden Schuol hinden by der statmurh mit ir zugehord . . . vmb fünfftzig pfund heller . . .«

Hagens Platbuch of the Principality of Zollern 1544 State Archive Sigmaringen FAS DH NZ 137, Volume 13 fol. 72.

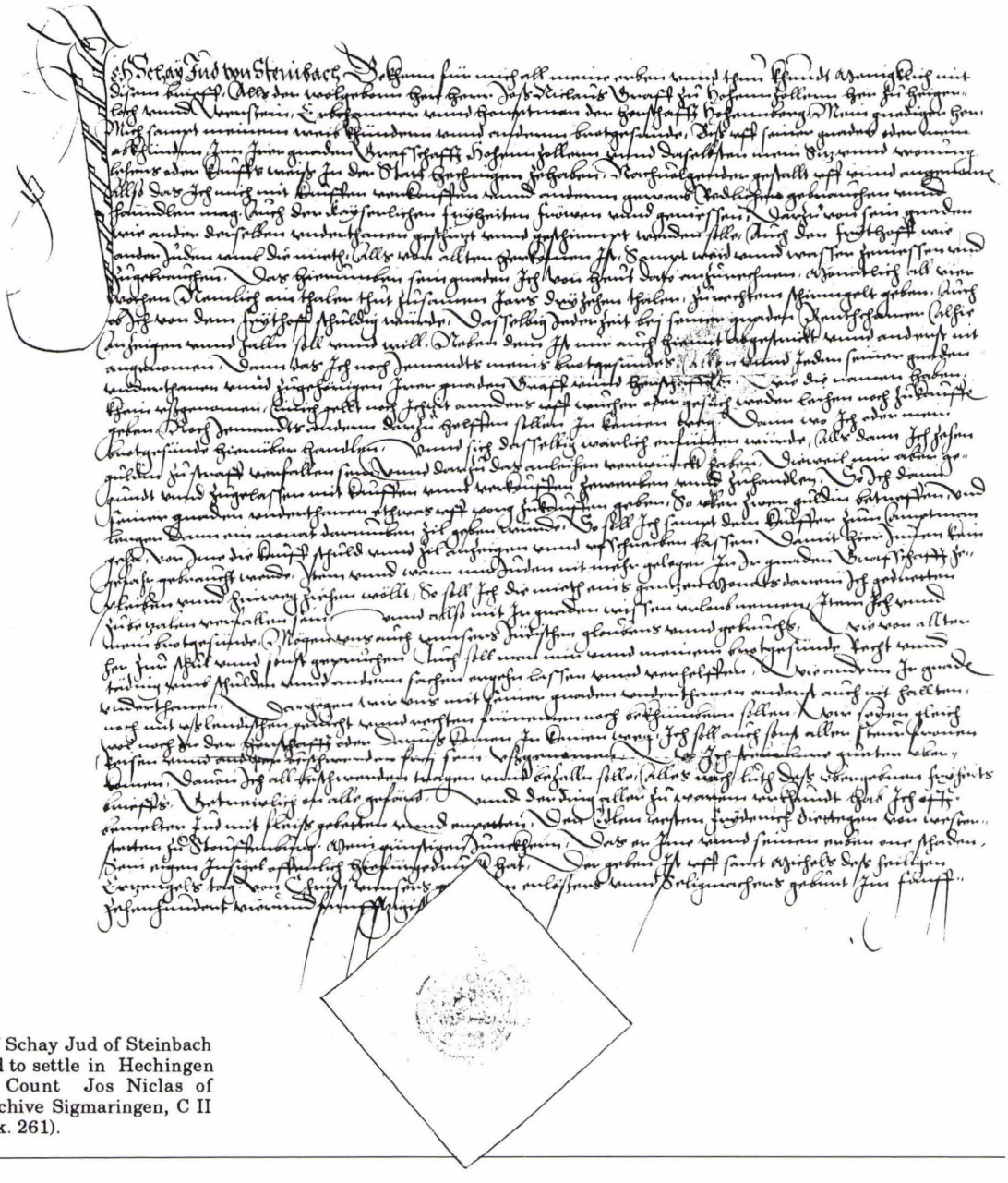
The Sixteenth Century: **Temporary Tolerance**

The Jewish Community of Hechingen during the Reformation

The legend of Ahasveros, the "eternally wandering Jew" who resembles the devil and travels restlessly here and there in order to disrupt the Christian peace found great acceptance in the sixteenth century, even though the story is much older. The expulsion of the Jews from the imperial cities and the great sovereignties gave special expression to the homelessness of the Jews. A few cities and some smaller sovereignties like the lands of the Zollern offered them favorable conditions for residency, but even there they were subject to the fickle patronage of their protectors.

When Mayr Jud moved his family to Hechingen in 1542, he found a large Jewish community whose origins date back to the fifteenth century. In 1544 there were ten families in the city itself plus seven families is surrounding villages, for a total of more than one hundred people. The Jews of Hechingen created a religious and social center by acquiring a house near the city wall from Count Jos Niclas II. It became the Jewish school and was the predecessor of today's synagogue.

The legal basis for the Jewish settlement in Hohenzollern was the so-called protective letters. Through these, the Count gave the families the right to freely practice their religion, access to the Jewish cemetery, the right to use the land and water, and certain economic privileges. In return, the Jews were obligated to pay an annual fee, otherwise known as Jewish protection money. This additional revenue for the royal treasury could have been a motive for the friendly policies of the Count of Zollern. Perhaps the Jews contributed to the stability of the ruling family through their commercial and financial support of the land which had only five thousand inhabitants.

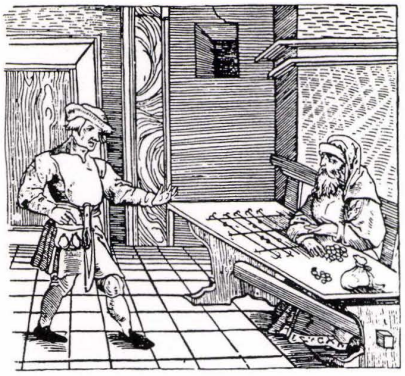


The declaration of Schay Jud of Steinbach who was permitted to settle in Hechingen in 1554 near the Count Jos Niclas of Zollern. State Archive Sigmaringen, C II 2aa number 3 (Pak. 261).

A letter of protection from Count Jos Niclas of Hohenzollern for Schay Jud of Steinbach dated September 29, 1554.

Ich Schay Jud von Steinbach Bekhenn für mich, all meine erben vnnd thun khundt menigklich mit disem brieff, Alls der wolgeboren Herr Herr Joß Niclaus Graff zu HohenZollern . . . Mich sampt meinen vier khündern vnnd anderm brotgesinde biß vff seiner gnaden oder irem abkhünden Inn Iren gnaden Grafschafft HohennZollern vnnd daselbsten mein Sitz vnnd wonung lehen oder kauffs weiß In der Statt Hechingen zuhaben Nachuolgender gestalt vff vnnd angenommen: Also das Ich mich mit kauffen, verkauffen vnnd anderm gewerb Redlichen gebrauchen vnnd handlen mag, Auch der Kayserlichen Fryheiten Frö wen vnnd geniessen, Darzu von sein gnaden wie ander derselben vnderthanen geschützt vnnd geschirmpt werden solle, Auch den Frythoff wie ander Juden vmb die mieth Alls von allter herkommen ist, Sampt weid vnnd wasser zeniessen vnnd zugebrauchen. Das hierumben sein gnaden Ich von heut dato an Zurechnen Monatlich all vier wochen Nemlich ain thaler, thut zusamen Jars dryzehen thaler Zu rechtem schirmgelt geben. Auch ob Ich von dem Frythoff schuldig würde, Dasselbig Jeder Zeit bei seiner gnaden Renthchamer Alhie Anzeigen vnnd zalln soll vnnd will. Neben dem ist mir auch hiemit abgestrickt vnnd anderst nit angenomen, Dann das Ich noch Jemandts meins brotgesündes Allen vnnd Jeden seiner gnaden vnderthanen vnnd Zugehörigen Irer gnaden Graff- vnnd Herrschafften Wie die namen haben, khein vßgenomen, Einich gellt noch Ichtzit annders vff wucher oder gesuch weder leihen noch zu kauffen geben Noch Jemandts anderm darzu helffen sollen In keinem weg. Dann wo Ich oder mein brotgesünde hierüber handlen Vnnd sich dasselbig warlich erfünden würde, Alls dann Ich Zehen guldin Zu straff verfallen sein Vnnd darzu das anleihen verwürckt haben. Dieweil mir aber gegundt vnnd zugelassen mit kauffen vnnd verkauffen Zuwerben vnnd Zuhandlen, So Ich dann seiner gnaden vnderthanen ethwas vff porg zukauffen geben, So vber zwen guldin betreffen vnd lenger dann ein monat darumben Zil geben würde, So soll Ich sampt dem Keuffer zum Amptman gehn, Vor Ime die Kauffschuld vnd Zil anzeigen vnnd vfschreiben lassen, Damit hier Innen kein gefahr gebraucht werde. Item vnnd wann mir Juden nit mehr gelegen In Ir gnaden Graffschafft ze pleiben vnnd hinweg ziehen wöllt, So soll Ich die mieth eins gantzen Monats darein Ich gedretten Zubezalen verfallen sein, Vnnd allso mit Ir gnaden wissen vrlaub nemen. Item Ich vnnd mein brotgesünde Mögen vns auch vnnsers Jüdischen glaubens vnnd gebruchs Wie von allter her Zur schul vnnd sonst gepruchen. Auch soll man mir vnnd meinem brotgesünde Recht vnnd täding vmb schulden vnnd andern sachen ergehen lassen vnnd verhelffen, Wie andern Ir gnaden vnderthanen. Dargegen wir vns mit seiner gnaden vnderthanen anderst auch nit hallten, noch mit vßlendischen gericht vnnd rechten fürnemen noch bekhümbern sollen, Wir seyen gleich wol noch in der Herschafft oder daruß komen In keinen weg. Ich soll auch sonst aller steur fronen Reisen vnnd andern beschwerden frei sein, Vßgenomen Wan Ich steurbar [?] gueter vberkomen, daran Ich all beschwerden tragen vnnd bezalln solle, Alles nach luth deß vbergebnen Fryheits brieffs Getrewlich on alle gefärd. Vnnd der ding aller Zu warem vrkhundt hab Ich offtbemelter Jud mit Fleiß gebetten vnnd empetten Den Edlen vesten Fryderich Diettegen von Westerstetten Zu Stauffenburg, Mein günstigen Junckhern, Das er Ime vnnd seinen erben one schaden Sein eigen Insigel offenlich hierfürgedruckt hat. Der geben Ist vff sant Michels deß heiligen Erzengels tag von Christi vnnsers [. . .?] erlösers vnnd Seligmachers geburt Im fünff-Zehenhundert vierundfunffzigisten Jar.

State Archive Sigmaringen Ho 1 C II 2aa Number 3 (Pak. 261).

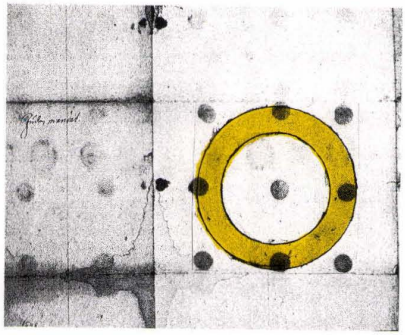


Wealthy Jewish money lender confronted by a peasant. Woodcut from the late 15th century.

Economic Foundations

The far reaching exclusion of Jews from the trades and from farming had, by the early Middle Ages, forced them into economic professions, namely commercial trading and money lending. We also find a large segment of the Jewish population of Hohenzollern in the sixteenth century active in money lending. In 1514, Duke Ulrich von Württemberg took steps against the usury practices of Jews with his subjects because business dealings with Jews was illegal in Württemberg. When in 1544 the Jewess Sara of Hechingen wanted to collect on her loans, she was incarcerated. She was freed only because she was pregnant. At the same time, Jacob Jud of Rangendingen had loaned money in Tübingen. Other Jews in Hechingen, like Seligmann and Lemnin, fought for the money due to them in the Austrian controlled areas of Hohenberg. The business network of David, the son of Mayr Jud, stretched as far as Rottenburg and Biberach. By 1544, Copelman and Schay, two Jews from Hechingen, were creditors to 83 peasants and city residents of Hohenzollern. The citizens' debts to their Jewish lenders would later endanger the latter's otherwise favorable situation.

To resolve the legal conflicts that involved money transactions, there were at least three Jews with legal training who lived in Hechingen: Mosse, David and Lemlin. These lawyers would represent their fellow Jews before the court at Rottweil where the legal proceedings for outstanding debts were held. Although Jews were excluded from most trades in the sixteenth century, there were two glaziers, Feifel and Salman the Elder in Hechingen. Feifel was also a butcher. Furthermore, we know of the Jewish lutist Anselm and a teacher (rabbi) who in the year 1573 taught twenty pupils. For a short time, a physician Salomon from Wimpfen also lived in Hechingen.



Example of a yellow ring as it was prescribed for the Jews of Hechingen in a Jew Mandate of 1548 in Hohenberg. Main State Archive Stuttgart B 37 a Bü 125.

Repression And Expulsion

The Lateran Council of 1215 decided that Jews living in Christian surroundings should make themselves recognizable by wearing a yellow spot or ring on their clothing. The regulation to wear such a marking went into effect in Hechingen in 1516 at the latest.

In spite of the friendly policies of the Counts of Zollern towards the Jews, tension existed between the Christian and Jewish populations. During Holy Week of 1548, thirteen Jews were arrested because they had not remained in their homes as prescribed on Good

The Jew Mandate of Hohenberg which in 1548 ordered the Jews to wear the yellow circle.

Wir Wolff Dietterich von Honpurg verwalltter der Houbttmannschafft vnnd die Ambttleut der Herschafft Hochenberg Thüen allen Juden vnnd Jüdinen in den Graff vnnd Herrschafften Zollern vnd Haygerloch ouch Zu Obernow vnnd allennthalben ausserthalb der Herrschafft Hochenberg seßhafft samentlich vnnd sonderlich mit disem offen brief zuwissen: Das die Romisch Küngcklich Mayestadt vnnser aller gnedigister Herr Newlicher tagen ain new Juden Mandat wie ir euch fürterhin in der Herrschafft Hochenberg mit leihen vnnd in annder weg geprauchen vnnd hallten sollen hatt ausgen lassen. Vnnd damit sich ewer kainer der vnwissenhait enntschuldigen müge, So schicken wir euch des genannten Mandats hiemit ain gloubwürdig abschrifft Zu euch darinn haben Zuersehen. Dann wa ewer ainer oder mer wider ainen oder mer arttickell in solchem Mandat begriffen hanndeln vnnd dieselben vbertretten würden wir gegen dem oder denselben vermog vnsers habennden beuelchs hanndeln vnnd niemants verschonen. Wann ouch ewer ainer oder mer gen Rottemburg, Binßdorff, Schemberg vnnd all ander Flecken der obern vnd nidern Herrschafft Hochenberg handeln, wandeln, werben, durch oder fürtziechen wellen alßdann sollt ir zuvor bei vnns Houbt- vnnd ambtleuten allen gemainlich vnnd nit sonnderlich ouch sonnst niemands hie Zu Rottemburg Zuuor vmb schrifftlich glaitt ersuchen, Dartzu die gelben Ring scheinbarlich an ewern menteln In maß vnnd grössin diser beiligenden form vnnd nit clainer tragen. Das haben wir euch Zu ainem vorwissen nit verhalltten wellen. Datum Rottemburg am Neggerr den Nüntzehennden tag Apprillis Anno Im Achttvnnduiertzigistenn.

Main State Archive Stuttgart B 37 a Bü 125.



Jews recognizable by the yellow ring on their left shoulder in front of the court. Since Roman law was in effect in the German Empire, Jews could expect equal treatment in the court as *cives romani*. This included the Jews of Hechingen who were successful in several trials against their insolvent debtors at the court in Rottweil . This was before 1551 when Jews were denied access to independent courts.

Friday. In 1556, Anselm was accused of setting his Christian neighbor's house on fire. In 1560 a local Jew was killed by a priest's assistant over a negligible money loan. These various factors paved the way for the end of the first Jewish community. This was the social situation that existed in 1576 when Count Eitelfriedrich IV of Hohenzollern assumed power.

The artistically inclined Count Eitelfriedrich saw himself confronted not only with the anti-Jewish policies of his neighbors Württemberg and Western Austria, but also with the fact that in Hechingen alone, fifty three citizens were deeply in debt to Jews. To clear these debts, he expelled the community, although some individual Jews lived there until 1590. This act signaled the end of the first Jewish community in Hechingen. Among the Jews who left in 1576 was the physician Salomon Jud.



Count Eitelfriedrich I of Hohenzollern (ruled from 1576-1604) based the expulsion of the first Jewish community of Hechingen upon the high debts of his subjects. Oil painting, the Dutch school 1596. Hohenzollern Collection, Castle Sigmaringen.



A Jewish physician of Southern Germany in the 14th century wearing the yellow spot on the left shoulder.

Salomon Jud, Physician In Hechingen (circa 1500-1577)

For Salomon Jud, the expulsion from Hechingen was not the first one he had to endure. He was born in Winpfen probably after 1500,the son of Alexander, the personal physician to the Count of the Palatinate. In 1527, Salomon received a protective letter which allowed him to work as a physician. In 1537, he cured the ordinance master of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg. At that time he lived in Beihingen, but later moved to Markgroningen under the protection of Marshall Hans Konrad Thumb of Neuburg. Between 1546-1550, we find him in Hechingen for the first time where his brother-in-law Mosse lived, the brother of his wife Memlin. In 1550, he was permitted to live in Stetten in Remstal, and once again became a subject of Hans Konrad Thumb of Neuberg. Thumb's son revoked the letter six years later under pressure from the people of Württemberg and Esslingen. Because the capital Esslingen rejected Salomon's application to live there, he returned to Hechingen where he practiced from 1557-1576. He also worked in the city of Reutlingen. Since he could not make a living from medicine alone, he joined his daughter Geulla in the money lending business. After his expulsion from Hechingen in 1576, he and his wife, were permitted to reside in Esslingen, but under humbling conditions. He died the following year, leaving behind his wife Memlin, two daughters, Geulla and Rahel, and two sons, Alexander and Salomon. An additional son lived in Bolen.

From protective letters and correspondence, we learn that Salomon often treated wealthy as well as poor people with serious illnesses with the help of God. No other doctor could have helped these people. Many times he helped and counseled poor but seriously ill patients without any reward or payment. From the well-to-do he desired only what he thought he deserved.

A manuscript documenting the payment of interest in the Principality of Zollern 1590: Proof that Duke Eitelfriedrich II of Hohenzollern had already "done away" with the Jews by the time he assumed power in 1576.

Järliche Ableßige gülten Welche Ire gnaden Als sy mehrere Verderbung Irer gnaden Leibaigenen vnnd Anderer vnderthonen in der Graueschafft Hohenzollern in Antrettung der Regierung nit mehr sehen vnnd die Juden so zu Hechingen Haußhablich mit verderbung dero vnderthonen in der gantzen Graueschafft gewonet billich nit mehr gedulden wöllen, dieselbigen Abgeschafft vnnd ir gnaden vnderthonen von inen geledigt vnnd erkaufft haben, Angemelte Juden Außgelest, mehrernthail vnnd sonsten von bekandtlichen schuldenn herrierend.

State Archive Sigmaringen FAS DH 56.263.

Die Judenschulden zollerischer Untertanen 1544

Debt owed by Zoller subjects to Jews in 1544 according to C. Bumiller, The Jewish Community Periodical for the History of Hohenzollern. 24/25 (1988-1989) p.166.

Amt	Hauptgut	Zinsen	Zahl der Schuldner	Gesamtzahl d. Familien 1548
Bisingen	75 fl. 30 x	3 fl. 46 x	8	87
Weilheim	15 fl.	45 x	5	55
Schlatt	141 fl. 30 x	7 fl. 1 x	10	39
Jungingen	85 fl. 10 x	3 fl. 25 x	11	63
Rangendingen	4 fl. 50 x	14 x	1	84
Steiner Amt	114 fl.	6 fl. 42 x	14	55
Wessingen/Zimmern	17 fl. 50 x	53 x	3	43
Stetten/Boll	63 fl.	2 fl. 39 x	6	101
Hechingen	166 fl. 40 x	8 fl. 45 x	25	209
	693 fl. 30 x	33 fl. 45 x	83	736

(fl. = Gulden, x = Kreuzer)

Order of Duke Eitel Friedrich of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, dated July 22, 1643, for punishment for crimes committed against Jews.

Von Gottes Gnaden Wür Eytel Friderich Fürst zu Hochenzollern . . . Entpietten Unßeren Burgermaistern, Gerichten, auch allen anderen Unßerer Fürstlichen Graveschafft Hohenzollern Burgern, Underthonen, zuegehörigen Schutz- und Schirmverwandten Unßern Grueß, Gnadt und alles Guets zuvor und fiegen denselben hiemit gnediglichen zuvernemmen, daß Unß gehorsamblich vor- und angebracht, waß gestalten etwelche Unßere Burgere und Underthonen sich gelussten haben laßen, die Juden, Unßere auch Schutz- und Schirms Verwandte, so wohl tags allß auch nachts in ihren Häußern allß auch sonsten gewaltthättig zueüberfallen, daß Ihrig wider Gott und alle Billigkeit abzuenemmen, die Thüren einzuestoßen, Fenster zuverschlagen, mit Stainen zuewerffen, sie sich gar nit scheuen, frevent- und vermesßentlich in einem und anderem dergestalten wider dieselben zuverfahren, daß sie baldt nit wisßen khönnen, wo sie sich bey solchem Thuen und Lasßen, Ybermueth, Frechhait und Gewaltthat Leibs und Lebens in dem Ihrigen sicher und wohin si sich in solchem Wüeten und Toben wenden oder keren sollen, in Summa sich understehen dörffen, alles zueunderfangen, zuveryeben und im Werckh zuevolziehen, waß ihnen

in Sünn und Gedanckhen khombt, Unserer Authoritet und Respects vergessen, weder Gott noch die liebe Justitia ansehen, selbige betrachten und vor Augen schwebende Gefahr, Kriegs-, Ellendts-, Hungers- und Jamersnoth in Windt schlagen, eigens Willens und Gefallens leben, weder Ehr noch die Seeligkeit betrachten und erwegen, sonder erger allß die Wildenleuth, die weder Gott noch gueter Pollicey nichts wisßen, in ihrem Thuen und Lasßen ohnegeacht aller Zucht und Erbarkeit verfahren, welliches Gott dem Allmechtigen, zuvorderist Unß und Unßerer Landtsordnung entgegen und zuewider laufft, und Unß der lieben Justitia halber und Abwendung Gottes Zorn, auch Pflantzung gueter Pollicey lenger nit khan noch soll geduldet und gestattet werden. Allso befehlen Wir Unßerem Obervogt, Ober- und Under Ambtleuthen ernstlich, daß sie die Juden bey ihren von Unß gnedig ertheilten Schutz- und Schirmbrieffen manutenieren [erhalten] und beschirmen und darwider zuverhandlen oder zuethuen nichts gestatten oder geschehen zuelaßen, so lieb ihnen Unßer Ungnad zuvermeiden obgelegen ist, und daß sie uff dergleichen Persohnen, sie seyen gleich wer sie wöllen, ein scharpff- und ernstliches Einsehen haben, solche vermesßene Bueben und Gesellen nit allein nach befundenen Attentaten und Mißhandlungen erstlich mit Einsperrung acht Tag deß Diebs Thurns mit Wasßer und Brot speißen und zehen Reichs Thaller unnachlaßig zur Straff vor Entlaßung deß Thurns erlegen und abstatten sollen, und nach deme einer oder der ander über dißen Unßeren Bevelch und Gebott sich vergreiffen und mißhandlen solte, solle selbiger nit nur bedeitner Masßen abgefertiget, sonder gar am leib und Leben ohne alle Gnadt zum Exempel anderer gestrafft werden. Doch sollen sie, Unßere Schutz- und Schirmverwandten, die Juden, an gewohnlichen Wochenmärckhten vor Verfliesßung einer Stundt nichts erhandlen oder einkhauffen, sonder sich so wol der gestollnen und verdächtigen Sachen, welche man in Unßerer Stadt Hechingen tragen, fiehren oder bringen möchte, es seye was eß welle, wie auch Unßere Burger und Underthonen selber bey hievor ufgelegter Straff unnachleßig zueerlegen bemüesßigen und gentzlich enthalten, dann solches alles anderst nichts allß Unnachbarschafft, Zänckh, Händel und alles Unheil causiert [verursacht] und verursachet, ja vihlmahlen vast daß Leben costet. Sovil aber daß Fleisch, welches sie, die Juden, zue ihrer Leibsnahrung gebrauchen, anlangt, sollen sie solliches bey Unßeren Metzgern khauffen, welches zwar in dem Werth, wie es jederzeit taxiert wirdt, unwaigerlich solle gevolgt werden. Da aber solches nit geschehen solte, und sie, die Juden, ihrem Gebrauch nach selber schachen [schlachten] müessten, so zwar ihnen nit khan gesperrt werden, solten sie das Flaisch, welches sie ihrem Gesatz nach nit niesßen dörffen, anderweitig, wo es ihnen beliebig, doch außerhalb der Statt, so guet sie khönnen verhandlen und zue ihrem Nutzen verkhauffen. Hieran beschicht Unßer ernstlicher Will und Meinung. Decretum den zway und zwaintzigisten Monatstag Juli desß eintaußendt sechshundert drey und viertzigisten Jahre.

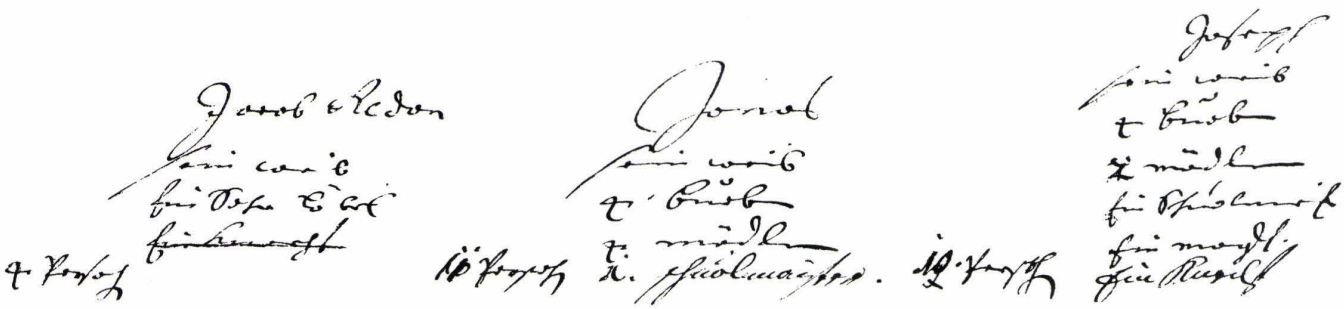
State Archive Sigmaringen Ho 1 C II 6f Number 5. Quoted from Kuhn-Rehfus "Juden In Hohenzollern" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 14 (1978) p. 33

Complaints by the citizens of Hechingen concering the increase in the number of Jews (1695).

Rueggericht den 28. July (1)695
Gemeine Clagen wider die hiesige Juden
Bei heut gehaltenem Ruegegericht ist onder anderem grosse Claag wider die Juden, und deren täglich vermehrung einkhommen. Zue deren abhelfung ist von dem fürstl. oberambt räthlich ahn handt gegeben worden, vermittelst einer unterthänigsten Beschwerungsschrift, die sach ahn Ihre Hochfürstl. Durchlaucht, unserem gnädigsten Herren, gehorsambst zu bringen, nicht zweiflend, die gnädigste Remedur [Abhilfe] zuehaben.

State Archive Hechingen Protocol of the City Court 1684-1697 Quoting M. Werner "Die Juden In Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern 21 (1985) p. 144.

The Tribe Of Gideon
(1672-1740)



Among the fourteen Jewish patriarches who received a protective letter from Countess Maria Sidonia of Hohenzollern in 1672 were the brothers Jacob and Bar Gideon. Because of the expiration of protective letters and ever threatening expulsions, it was generally difficult for Jews to remain in the same location for more than one generation. The Gideon family, however, can be traced beyond three generations in Hechingen. This long duration in one location served to solidify the patriarch's name as the family surname. It must have been a wealthy family for Jacob's two sons, Jonas and Joseph, were able to hire a private teacher. In 1678--79 one of the teachers educated Jonas' four boys and four girls. The other educated Joseph's two girls and four boys. Joseph Gideon's household consisted of eleven people, including a teacher and a maid. Financially, he seemed to be the most successful of Jacob's sons. In 1691 he succeeded in acquiring the tobacco business in Hohenzollern, which had previously been a monopoly of the ruling family. The Prince urged people, however, to treat the Jew Joseph badly and force the price up as high as possible. Tobacco, which since the Thirty Years War had been used by both Christians and Jews, became the basis of the family's wealth. As late as 1736, David Gideon, presumably, the son of Joseph, succeeded in maintaining the monopoly. After David, we lose track of the Gideons in Hechingen.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: **Darkened Enlightenment**

A New Community Arises



Jewish cloth dealer, 17th century copper engraving from a drawing by Georg Strauch.

On November 10, 1634, Prince Eitelfriedrich V of Hohenzollern Hechingen gave several Jewish families protective letters permitting them to settle in Hechingen. This was the foundation of the second Jewish community which lasted almost exactly three hundred years. The year 1634 was for the Hohenzollerns one of the most difficult years of the Thirty Years War. This was perhaps the motive for the renewed settling of Jews in Hechingen. What began in 1645 with eight families, a total of thirty four people, grew to ten families, a total of seventy people, in 1879. Towards the end of the empire, around 1800, the number of Jews grew to over four hundred despite the protective letter requiring that only one child of each Jewish family be allowed to reside in Hechingen.

As in previous years, Jews had the right to freely exercise their religious and business activities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Individuals such as Joseph Gideon succeeded in acquiring monopolies of such businesses as the tobacco trade. In addition to the government of the ruling families, and separate from the Christian subjects, the Jews formed a political unit headed by a Parnas, or Jewish mayor. The first known Jewish mayor was Seligmann Jakob Wasserman. The religious and social center of the community remained the synagogue, located on Goldschmiedstrasse near the city wall. The building, which was built in the sixteenth century, was replaced in 1767 by a larger synagogue, decorated in the late baroque style. As far as religious ritual was concerned, the Jewish community of Hechingen was under the jurisdiction of the Rabbinate of the Schwarzwald area in the eighteenth century . The capital of the area was Mühringen on the Neckar River. Hechingen had had its own rabbi since 1784.

Court Agents And Jewish Hagglers



Jewish beggar, copper engraving from the 19th century.

At the end of the seventeenth century we find the wealthy Gideon family in control of the tobacco monopoly in Hohenzollern-Hechingen. When the court Jew Emmanuel Levi died in 1803, he left behind a fortune of over 140,000 Gulden. This was a time when the financial deficit of the Hohenzollern had reached nearly 300,000 Gulden. Both of these families represent the proverbial wealth of the Jews which corresponded to their unique professions in trade and banking. The eighteenth century was the classical age for court Jews or court agents. Due to the Jews' excellent reputation as bankers and financiers, absolute rulers who were financially weak gave them the privilege of becoming court agents. Even the Princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen had repeatedly appointed wealthy Jews to these posts. This setup lasted until the nineteenth century when their services were no longer needed. Among the agents appointed to German royal courts, the Kaulla family of Hechingen achieved special status. Court agents like Emmanuel Levi (1769-1803) and Abraham Bacher played a leading role in the economic history of the Principality of Hohenzollern-Hechingen.

By no means were all Jews wealthy. There were only a few prosperous Jews and a large number of poor people down to those who had to beg for a living, the so-called "beggar Jews." As was the case with their Christian neighbors, the increase in population led to poverty. Many families could find only modest earnings in the trading business. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many petitions from impoverished families for a repeal of the protection money requirement. Jews always considered it their moral obligation to support their poorer congregants. They did this in Hechingen through various fraternities and organizations such as the burial fraternity "Chewra Kadisha" (the oldest charter dates back to 1773), the "Fraternity for Bridal Dowries" (known since 1777), and the "Fraternity to Advance Good Deeds "(1824-1841).

Pogroms And Ghettoization

In the year 1643, exactly nine years after the renewed Jewish settlement, we learn of a pogrom in Hechingen. Jews and their homes were robbed. The Christian citizens, financially battered by the Thirty Years War, turned towards their Jewish neighbors. Although the Prince protected the Jews and punished the perpetrators, he reminded them in 1650 of their duty to wear the yellow ring as a mark of recognition. By relocating their cemetery at



View of the city of Hechingen and the Hohenzollern castle circa. 1800. In the foreground is the Jewish ghetto of the Friedrichstrasse along with the synagogue (on the right of the picture with a sloping roof). Oil painting by J. Heinrich Bleuler. Museum Hechingen.

Gallgenberg (site of the gallows), the entire Jewish community was humiliated. However, the Christians' complaints about their Jewish neighbors never ceased. The butchers in particular felt threatened by their Jewish competitors. In 1691, the citizens of Hechingen openly threatened a new pogrom if the Duke did not expel the Jews.

Count Joseph Wilhelm agreed to the demands of the people by establishing a Jewish ghetto in the remote part of the city called Friedrichstrasse. Primarily the poorer Jews were relocated to the empty barracks. The wealthy ones remained in the upper city. A unique situation arose at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The upper classes of Jews and Christians, including the ruling family, enjoyed a friendly relationship, while considerable tension existed between Jewish traders and the poorer Christian subjects. The period of emancipation began in Hechingen in this social climate.



An Unusual Woman: Court Agent Madame Kaulla (1739-1809)

It was not unusual among the financially powerful Jewish families of the eighteenth century to include a daughter in the business. The career of Madame Kaulla was, however, quite unique. She was born in Buchau to the merchant Raphael Isaak and his wife. In 1747, she and her father moved to Hechingen where he was a court agent. In 1757 she married Akiba Auerbacher, with whom she had at least six children. While Akiba, a humble and pious man, remained in the background by dedicating his life to studying, Kaulla and her brother Jakob entered the business world. Soon she became the leader of the family business. Her name later became the name of the business as well as the family's surname. In 1769 Kaulla and Jakob became court agents for the ruling family in Donaueschingen. In 1770 they became agents for the Duchy in Stuttgart, and in 1779 they became purveyors to the Court of the Hohenzollerns in Hechingen. Their enterprise, Kaulla and Company, was in charge of the food supplies for the imperial army during the Napoleonic Wars. These profits led to immeasurable wealth. "Frau Caulla, through speculation in all kinds of deliveries (especially horses) had acquired great wealth during the war. It was speculated that even a part of the Principality of Hohenzollern was morgaged to her. She had a magnificent house in the city, her own carriage and played the grand lady in the community. To her credit, it was said that she did a lot of good and donated generously to the poor without regard to religion." (P. Hauntinger, 1799) The Kaullas were among the wealthiest Jews in Germany, ahead of the banker Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744-1812) of Frankfurt. In 1802 Madame Kaulla and her brother Jakob became co-founders of the Royal Bank of Württemberg. Madame Kaulla was not only a successful businesswomen, but also an adherent Jew. She was therefore very aware of her social obligation. Her donations and gifts aided both Christians and Jews in Hechingen. Noteworthy was the creation of a Talmudic Institute on Münz Street in 1803, which operated until 1846. This highly respected woman, decorated by the emperor, moved to Stuttgart in 1807 and founded a Jewish community there. She died in 1809 and was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Hechingen.

Decree of Duke Joseph Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, dated June 4, 1752, ordering Jews to occupy the newly created ghetto on Friedrichstrasse.

Von Gottes Gnaden Joseph Wilhelm, Fürst von Hohenzollern, Burggraff zu Nürnberg, Graff zu Sigmaringen und Vöhringen, Herr zu Heigerloch und Wöhrstein, des Heyligen Römischen Reichs-Erb Cammerer, Ihro Römischen Kayserlichen, auch der zu Hungarn und Boheim Königlichen Majestaet General Major etc. Demnach so wohl bey Unsern in Gott ruhenden Herrn Vettern als auch gleichbalden nach Antritt Unserer Fürstlichen Landes Regirung bey Unß selbsten von Unserer Residenz Stadt Hechingen gegen die allhier wohnende Judenschafft offtmahlige Beschwerden eingebracht und derselben Außschaffung widerhohlter unterthänigst nachgesuchet worden, nun aber Wir um solchen Klagen die abhelfliche Maaß zu verschaffen, Unß gnädigst entschlossen haben, vorgedachter Judenschafft Unsere eigenthumliche Gebäude auf der Friederichs-Strasse gegen einem festsezenden jahrlichen Haußzinnß zu künfftiger Wohnung anweissen zulassen, zu dem Ende auch mit denen nöthigen Zubereitungen den ohngesäumten Fürgang zumachen behörigen Orts allbereits die Verhaltungs Befehle ertheilet haben. Alß wird solches samtlichen unter Unserm Schutz stehenden Juden, die mit einer besondern Hoffbefreyung versehene Hoff und Schutz Juden Wassermann, Raphael und Meyer Levi alleinig ausgenommen, zu geziemender Nachachtung hiermit bekannt gemacht und denselben annebens des weiteren angedeuttet, à Dato dises [Befehls] binnen zweyen Monathen sich hierüber zuerklären oder aber zu gewärtigen, daß demjenigen, welcher sich hierzu zubequemen nicht gedencket, Unser Schutz aufgekündet werde. Gleichwie aber vorhero zu besserer derenselben Unterkunfft annoch verschidene Einrichtungen allda vorzunemmen seynd, hierzu aber ein ergiebiger Vorschuß erforderet wird, also ergehet Unsere fernere gnädigste Willens-Meynung dahin, daß von denen auf die Friederichs-Straß abziehenden Juden die zu Adaptierung ihrer dortigen Wohnungen erforderliche Baarschafft binnen zweyen Monaten hergeschossen werden, dahingegen dieselbe von dem zu Unserer Rentey jährlich errichtenden Haußzinnß in solang befreyet verbleiben sollen, biß solcher Vorschuß hierdurch wiederum abgetilget und compensiret seye. Wornach sich gesamte Judenschafft zu achten hat. Decretum Hechingen den 4. Junii 1752. Joseph Wilhelm Fürst zu Hohenzollern

State Archives Sigmaringen Ho 1 C II 6f Number 6 Quoting Kuhn-Rehfus "Juden In Hohenzollern". Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 14 (1978) p. 39.

Undated oath by a Jew of Hechingen in the second half of the eighteenth century. Apparently the document is an oath to clear the individual of suspicion of a social mistake. It contains typical elements found in other Jewish oaths that have survived to the present.

Im Nahmen des einzigen Gottes, der da heilig ist, der seye gelobt in seiner Herrlichen gegenwart. Ich Sorla, die Tochter Beman, die Ehefrau von Moyses Samuel, schwöre zu Gott dem Allmächtigen, Gott Abraham, Isau und Jacob dem Gott, welcher genennt wird Adonay- Elohim [= Herr, Gott], Cevovey [Zebaoth = Herr der Heerscharen], Elschady [El Schadday = Allmächtiger], Eljoscher [= Gerechter Gott], Eheie [ascher eheie = nach Ex. 3,14 Ich werde sein (der ich ich sein werde)] bey dem großen Göttlichen Nahmen dem Schem, Schel, kevaia [Schem schel kovaud = der Name der Ehre], dem weßentlichen Nahmen Gottes, der Himmel und Erden erschaffen hat, und bey allen Engeln, durch Erlaubnus des gerichts von oben, und durch Erlaubnus des gerichts von unten. Ich nehme auf mich den geßezten Bann, den Bann Josua eines Sohn Nuns, den grossen Bann in der Gegenwart Gottes. Ich rufe zum zeigen [Zeugen] den allmächtigen Gott, und will die 3 Bann auf mich nehmen, daß ich wahrhaft schwöre ohne Falschheit oder einen Bößen gedancken, so ich gedenken könte, und das ich, wan ich die unwarheit rede, von diesem Eyde nach meiner Lehr

nicht könne loßgesprochen werden. Ihr gerichter von unten mit der gegenwart Gottes sollet seyn meine zeigen, daß ich auf mich nehme das Gericht vom Himmel, wann ich falsch schwöre oder falsch gedancken in meinem Herzen habe. Ich will nach meiner Lehr von Gott keine Vegebung haben, noch von Gott die Auferstehung an dem Tag der Verßehnung, es solle mir auch wegen allen meinen Sünden weder auf diser noch auf Jener welt keine Bekehrung helffen, sondern Gott solle auf mich schicken alle Flüch von Bilom, und wünsche mir an, daß der Gott, so leben und Todt, segnen und fluchen, gutes und Bößes in seinen Händen hat, auf mich bringe alle 49 Flüch im dritten Buch Moyses, und alle Flüch, so Moyses im [5ten] Buch hat. Es kommen auf mich alle 10 Plagen Egibtens, ich versuncke gleich vor dem Herrn in abgrund und auf der Stelle, wie Korach und Aviron in die Erden versuncken seynd. Es komme auf mich der aussaz wie auf Meriam und Naimon und das der durch mein Leben an mir nicht geheiliget werden möge, es solle alle Böße Geister und Teuffel in mich fahren, wann ich falsch schwöre oder vor dem Herrn ein verlogen Wort rede oder geredet habe und wann ich mit den gegenwärtigen drey ledigen Juden N.: N.: N.: eine fleischliche Sünd, ynkeuschheit oder Ehebruch getrieben habe. Mein Haus und gütter, mein Mann und Kinder sollen mit schwefel und Bech wie Sodoma und Gomora gestrafet werden. Mein zulassender Theil in der künftig Welt solle ganz verlohren seyn und solle Ewig in der höllen seyn und brennen und nicht bey der auferstehung der Toden auferstehen, ich solle in allen bann und fluche der Welt seyn, und wann nicht alles, was ich geredet, war ist, so solle alles daß Böse, was ich hier geredet, auf mich kommen. Dies alles gelobe und betheure ich nochmalen mit dem Nahmen Gottes Adonay ohne Widerrufung meiner Aussag und ohne alle Außflüchten, die man erdencken könte; so wahr als mir Gott Adonay Eloche Israel [Herr, Gott Israels] der Herr der Gott Israels helfe, welcher Himmel und Erden, und alles, was darin ist, erschaffen hat. Höret Israel, der Herr unser Gott ist ein einziger Gott, gelobt sey der Nahmen des Herrn und seine Herrlichkeit in alle Ewigkeit Amen. Amen.

State Archive Sigmaringen FAS DH 73,2. Quoting M. Werner "Die Juden In Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 21 (1985) p. 112 (comments by H. Kohring).

Because of complaints made by Christian butchers in Hechingen, the regulations concerning animal slaughter by the Jews were continually renewed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Extractus. Hochfürstl. Hohenzoll. AudienzProtokolli de dato 19ten april 1776.

Auf Klage der hiesigen Rindfleisch Metzger gegen einige Juden in der Stadt, daß selbige gegen die bisherige Verordnung Rinder schlachten und ihnen zum Nachtheil in der Stadt verkaufen, wurde die wiederholte Verordnung an die allhiesige Judenschaft ertheilet, daß wie in Zukunft einer über sein JahrRind [jeder Schutzjude durfte jährlich ein Rind schlachten], welches allezeit dem Zunftmeister anzuzeigen ist, ein weiteres Schlachten oder schächten sollte, derselbe jederzeit vor das erste mal pro 3 Heller, und vor das weitere nach befindenden Umständen in eine höhere HerrschaftStraf verfällt werden solle. Hechingen extrahirt den 8ten Juny 1798. Hochfürst. Hohenzoller. Herrschafts Kanzley.

State Archive Sigmaringen FAS DH 73,1 Quoting M. Werner "Die Juden In Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 21 (1985) p. 115.

Report dated January 14, 1838 concerning the age and purpose of the Jewish fraternity for bridal dowry.

Seit 60 Jahren besteht hier eine Gesellschaft von Israeliten unter dem Namen: Bruderschaft der Brautaussteuer. Ihr Zweck ist, sich im Geiste der Mosaischen Moral- und Religionslehre unterrichten zu lassen, hauptsächlich aber vermittels ihres Fonds und der monatlich von den

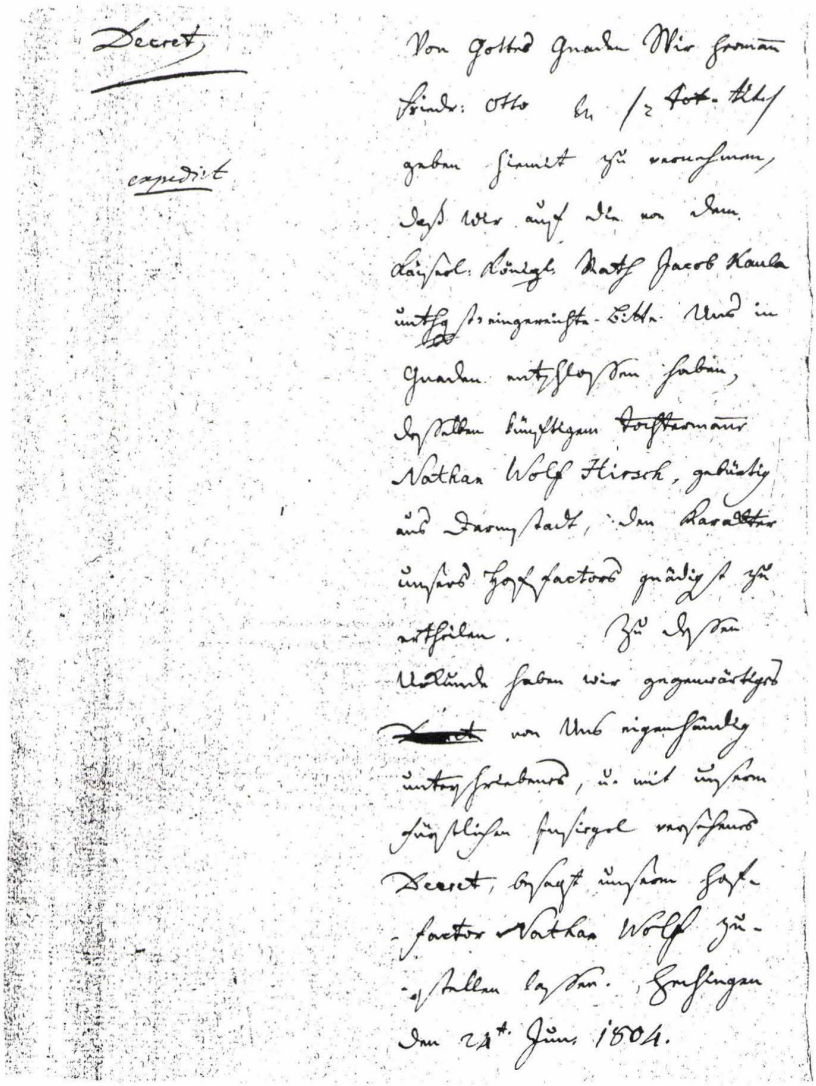
Mitgliedern abzugebenden Beyträge, nämlich 4 kr. [Kreuzer], armen Mädchen zur Aussteuer behülflich zu seyn, weil dieß als eine der wohlthätigsten Handlungen den Israeliten zur heiligsten Pflicht gemacht ist.

State Archive Sigmaringen Ho 6, 310. Quoting M. Werner "Die Juden In Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 21 (1985) p. 120.

Outline dated June 24, 1804 of a decree concerning the appointment of Nathan Wolf Hirsch as Court Agent of Hohenzollern.

Decret. Von Gottes Gnaden Wir Hermann Friedrich Otto [von Hohenzollern-Hechingen; es folgen sämtliche Titel] geben hiemit zu vernehmen, daß Wir auf die von dem Kayserl. Königl. Rath Jacob Kaula unterthänigst eingereichte Bitte Uns in Gnaden entschlossen haben, desselben künftigen Tochtermann Nathan Wolf Hirsch, gebürtig aus Darmstadt, den Karakter unsers Hoffactors gnädigst zu ertheilen. Zu dessen Urkunde haben Wir gegenwärtiges von Uns eigenhändig unterschriebenes u. mit unserm Fürstlichen Insiegel versehenes Decret besagtem unserm Hoffactor Nathan Wolf zustellen lassen. Hechingen den 24t. Juni 1804.

State Archive Sigmaringen FAS DH 40, 64.


Decret

expedirt

Von gottes gnaden Wir Hermann
Friedrich Otto [illegible] Fürst. Titel
geben hiemit zu vernehmen,
daß Wir auf die von dem
Kayserl. Königl. Rath Jacob Kaula
unterthänigste Bitte Uns in
Gnaden entschlossen haben,
desselben künftigen Tochtermann
Nathan Wolf Hirsch, gebürtig
aus Darmstadt, den Karakter
unsers Hoffactors gnädigst zu
ertheilen. Zu dessen
Urkund haben wir gegenwärtiges
[illegible] von Uns eigenhändig
unterschrieben, u. mit unserm
fürstlichen Insiegel versehenes
Decret, besagtem unserm Hof-
-factor Nathan Wolf zu-
-stellen lassen. Hechingen
den 24t. Juni 1804.

Entwurf der Ernennung des Juden Nathan Wolf Hirsch zum Hoffaktor in Hechingen 1804. Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, FAS DH 40,64.

Religion In The Everyday Life Of The Jews

The Teachings

In antiquity, the religious center of the Jews was the Temple in Jerusalem. Priests oversaw the observance of the religious rules. After the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in 70 A.D., and especially during the Diaspora, the synagogues of the individual communities became the religious and cultural centers. The rabbis, who as scholars interpreted the law, became the actual spiritual teachers of the people.

The Old Testament, as it is referred to by Christians, forms the basis of the Jewish faith. The Five Books Of Moses, called the Torah by Jews, is the actual Holy Scripture. The nucleus of their religion is the belief in one God. The interpretation of the Torah is



School scene in a Hebrew manuscript from the 15th century. Bavarian State Library, Codex hebrew 107, fol. 41 v.



The Talmud school in der Münz which existed from 1804-1846 and was funded by the Kaulla family. Photo: Hohenzollerische Heimatbücheri Hechingen.



Rabbi Dr. Samuel Mayer (1807-1875) in robes. Photo: Hohenzollerische Heimatbücheri Hechingen.

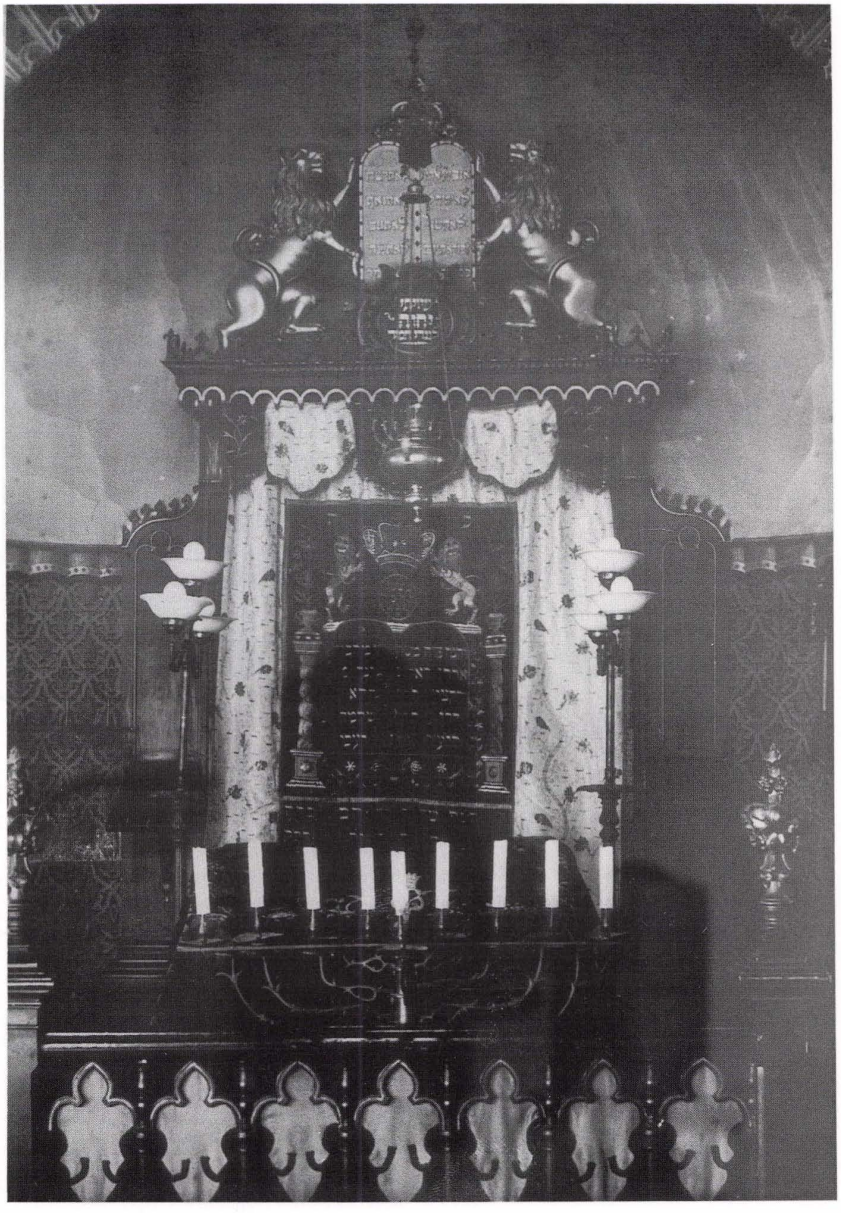
and has been the responsibility of the rabbis. Their interpretations from the past two thousand years are contained in a huge anthology. Around 600 A.D. they were written down and separated into Talmud (teachings) and Chilchan Aruch ("set table" 1565). On the basis of the Scriptures the Talmud gives concrete guidance in questions of law and justice, marriage and family, ritual and religious celebrations and contains as well legends, tales, parables, and historic and scientific information.

The rabbis are experts in questions pertaining to Torah interpretation; however, every Jewish man is expected to devote his life to the study of the Torah and the Talmud. This is the basis for a time tested educational system in the Jewish communities. These schools were accessible only to the males. It is therefore not unusual when we learn of a Jewish school in Hechingen in the sixteenth century that was run by a rabbi or "Jewish school master." Beginning in the seventeenth century, wealthier Jewish families engaged private teachers for their children. The court agent in Hechingen in 1803, Madame Kaulla, established on Münz street a private Jewish school, a type of boarding-school for Talmud students. In 1825 a Jewish public school was opened and in 1830-1832 a new building was erected next to the synagogue.

The Jewish Religion On Regular Days And Feast Days

The Jewish religion is distinguished most noticeably by holidays at the end of each week, and the end of the year. The most important holidays commemorate important events of biblical history. Rosh Hashana is the Jewish New Year. It takes place in September or October and coincides with the beginning of Fall. It begins ten days of introspection and concludes with a day of atonement, Yom Kippur. The Feast of Tabernacles, Sukkoth, commemorates the wandering of the Jews in the desert and has its roots in a type of celebration of thanksgiving. On this holiday, the Jews of Hechingen would make huts from branches in their gardens. The Feast of Lights, Hanukkah, which takes place in December, is based on the rebellion of the Maccabees and commemorates the consecration of the Temple in Jerusalem. The holiday of Purim is a remembrance of the rescue of the Jews from annihilation by the Persians. Because of the traditional costumes,

The Torah cabinet (Aron Hakodesch) at the Eastern wall of the synagogue at Hechingen Photo: Keidel, Hechingen.





Sabbath observances. Copper engraving from P.C. Kirchner, Jewish Ceremonials, Nuremberg after 1730.

Purim strongly resembles the Christian holiday of Mardi Gras, held at approximately the same time. The holiday of Pesach, held at the same time as Easter, commemorates the freeing of the Jews from Egyptian slavery. The holiday of Shavout (around the time of Pentecost), which celebrates the giving of the Ten Commandments at Sinai concludes the series of the most important Jewish holidays.

The Jews of Hechingen, as do believing Jews today, followed the laws of the Sabbath rest. This is governed by a precise ritual. The Sabbath begins on Friday evening at sundown and ends on Saturday evening. On Friday afternoon, the housewife cleans and decorates the home. She puts out the holiday clothes and prepares an appropriate meal. At the onset of dusk, the men go to the synagogue to greet the Sabbath. Saturday is devoted in large part to studying. In the synagogue the holy Torah scrolls are taken out and the weekly portion of the Scripture is read. After Saturday's evening prayer, the Sabbath is concluded in a small celebration in the home (Havdolah).

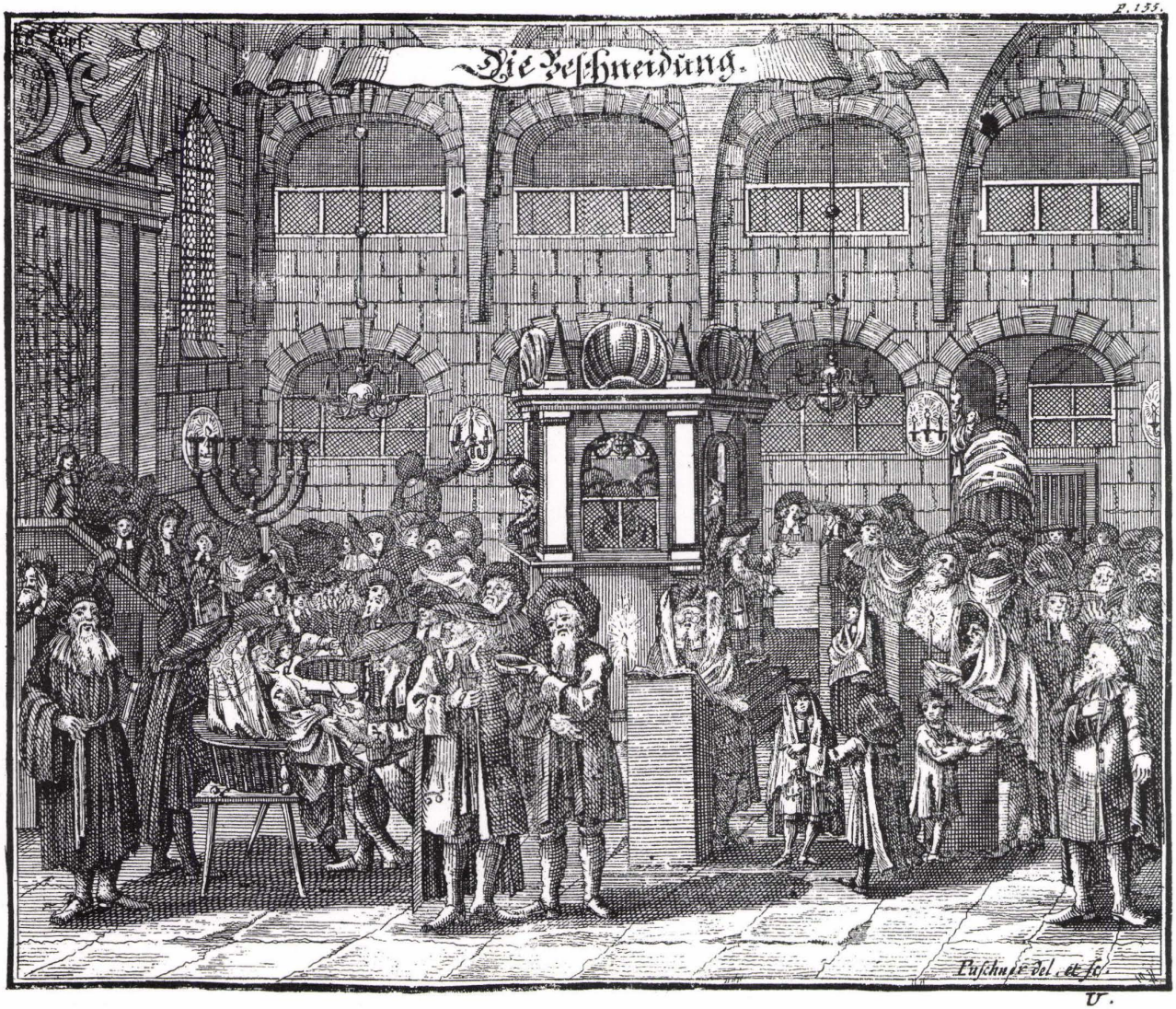


The slaughter and preparation of foods. Copper engraving from P.C. Kirchner, Jewish Ceremonial, Nuremberg after 1730.

The meals for the Jewish family are prepared according to ritual. The ingredients used must be kosher, as certified by the rabbi. Since certain animals such as pigs are considered by Jews to be unclean, the Jews of Hechingen were permitted to raise calves. The annual slaughter was governed by strict regulations which only a trained butcher under the supervision of a rabbi could perform. The Jews developed a special type of slaughtering called Schten. As much fat and blood as possible has to be removed in order to make it kosher.

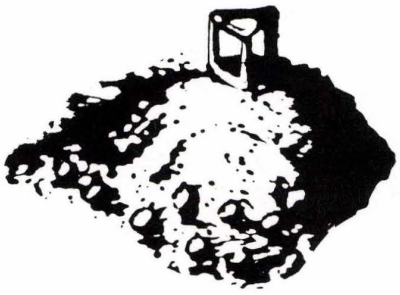
The Path Of Jewish Life

Just as for day-to-day life, food and clothing habits are for the most part prescribed in the words of the Holy Scripture and the regulations of the Talmud. The high points in a person's life are also prescribed in the teachings. The most prominent difference between Judaism and other religions is the circumcision of the male



The circumcision. Copper engraving P.C. Kirchner, Jewish Ceremonial, Nuremberg, after 1730.

child eight days after birth. Through circumcision by a specially trained member of the community, the child is accepted into God's covenant with Abraham. The festivities of this event conclude with the official naming of the child. As in other religions, the child's



Selection from the Merian Engraving Hechingen 1662 with the gallows at the lower right hand corner. There, in the vicinity of the judging site, the Jews had to bury their dead.

commitment to his faith is renewed at the age of thirteen in the celebration of the Bar Mitzvah. In Judaism, as in other cultures, marriage forms the legal and religious framework for the continuation of the traditions. By signing the marriage certificate (the Ketubbah) and participating in the wedding ceremony, the founding of the family is sealed both religiously and legally.

In Judaism too, death is connected with the expectation of a resurrection. Because the term "death" means waiting for the "end of days," the Hebrew cemetery is referred to as "the house of life." In Yiddish, it is called "gutort" (the good place). The fact that the Jewish cemetery in Hechingen was located in the shadow of the gallows signifies an especially cruel expression of anti-semitism. In 1764, the community was given permission to fence in the cemetery. In 1800, with the help of the Kaulla family, the cemetery was enclosed with a wall.

The Synagogues of Hechingen

The synagogue was the center of Jewish life. Circumcisions, Bar Mitzvahs, weddings, funerals and religious celebrations all took place there. Jews also spent part of the Sabbath in the synagogue. It was a meeting place for the entire community as well as a school.

The Jewish school or synagogue, located at the city wall of Hechingen since 1546, is obviously the predecessor of today's synagogue in Goldschmiedstrasse. The original portion of the building dates back to 1767. An expansion took place between 1850-1852. At that time the side galleries for the women and the original quarters for the cantor were added, and the interior painting and artwork were done. The facade of the building dates from the year 1881.

The creation of a Jewish ghetto in Friedrichstrasse made the creation of a second synagogue necessary. It was built in 1761 and remained in use as long as Jews lived there. In 1878, after many years of neglect and decay, the building was sold. The third synagogue, considered the school "in der Münz," operated from 1803-1848. The existence of three synagogues in the first half of the nineteenth century reflects the large Jewish community in Hechingen at that time (around 1842 there were 809 people). The loss of the school built by the Kaulla family and its later conversion into a factory made the expansion of the synagogue in Goldschmiedstrasse necessary in 1850-1852. This location formed the center of the Jewish community of Hechingen from the sixteenth century until the destruction of the Synagogue on November 10, 1938.

The interior of the synagogue in Hechingen with the view of the Torah cabinet before 1938. Photo: Keidel, Hechingen.



Decree of June 10, 1785 concerning the hiring of the first rabbi in Hechingen, Löb Aach (1784-1820).

Nachdeme mit Hochfürstlich-gnädigster Bewilligung und Ratification von allhiesiger Judenschafft der bisherige Raphaelische Haus Rabiner Löw Aach aus der Churfürstlichen Stadt Trier gebürtig, als ordentlicher Rabiner für gesamte Judenschaft aufgenommen und vorgestellt worden; so wird derselbe in sein Amt dahin eingeleitet, daß er, Rabbiner Löw Aach, alle in dem Schutzbrief einem jeweiligen ordentlich vorgesezten Rabiner zuständige Befugnisen ausübe, somit alle Vorfallenheiten, welche sowohl das Ceremoniel als andere unter der Judenschaft vorkommende Privathändel betreffen, jedoch ohne Praejudiz des hochfürstlichen Intereße und ohne Nachsicht oder Nachtheil der unterlaufenden Strafen und herrschaftlichen Gerechtsamen behörig untersuchen, solche nach gutbefinden entweders vergleichen oder hierüber Bescheid und Urtel ergehen lassen könne und solle. Es wird daher ihme Rabiner Löw Aach zu seiner Legitimation und seinem gehörigen Gebrauch gegenwärtiges Decret von Regierungs wegen zugestellt. So geschehen Hechingen den 10ten Juni 1785.

State Archive Sigmaringen Ho 1 C II 6f Number 9 (Pak. 359) Quoting M. Werner "Die Juden In Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 21 (1985)

From the will of Leopold Moses dated August 3, 1834:

[. . .] Vier Wochen lang soll in meinem Hause nach meinem Tode von 3 Lerner gelernet [Mischna (Talmud)-Studien betrieben] werden, wofür man jedem f [Gulden] 1 21 Xr [Kreuzer] geben soll, auch soll man auf dem Begräbnis Platz bei Begrabung meiner Leiche f 6 unter die Armen, welche dort anwesend sind, austeilen, meine Söhne recommandiere ich mir fleissig Kadisch [Totengebete] nach zu sagen, auch soll sich keiner je mit ein Rasier-Messer je Rasieren lassen, welches ihnen ewig nicht verziehen werde . . .[die Ablehnung des Rasiermessers bei orthodoxen Juden bezieht sich auf Lv. 19,27].

City Archive Hechingen Quoting M. Werner "Die Juden In Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 21 (1985) p. 89.



School room in the Jewish public school at Hechingen in the 1920's. Photo: Keidel, Hechingen.

Letter of recommendation written by Löb Aach for butcher Salomon Holländer 1818.

Salomon Sohn David von Haigerloch studirte hier [in Hechingen] im Kaulaischen Stift mit großem Eifer, da aber ein bloßes Studium ohne Gewerb endlich aufhören muß, Salomon aber eine angenehme Stimme hat, und diese Anlage einst zu seiner Unterhaltung anzuwenden gesonnen ist, wobey er auch die Schächter-Provision [richtig: Profession, Beruf] zu treiben gedenkt So lernte derselbe bey dem Vorsinger zu Haigerloch, das zu meinem [Löb Aachs] Rabbinat gehört, das Schächt-Messer abziehen, die Vorschriften eines Schächters, verfaßt von Rabbi Jakob Weil seligen Andenkens, laut Zeugniß des Salomon mir von demselben überlieferte, womit er atestirt, daß Salomon David im Untersuchen der Lunge, sowohl als im Schächten, ob er gleich von Kleiner Natur sey doch fähig ist und hinlängliche Kraft besitzt. Salomon zog in meiner, in des Stadt-Schächters, und noch in mehreren Schächters gegenwart 3 Messer ab, welche sowohl fein als scharf waren. Auch fühlt er die kleinste Scharte, ist auch in obgenannten Vorschriften eines Schächters völlig bewandert. Salomon schachtete auch in unsrer Gegenwart 3 Stück Geflügel, worunter ein Hahn war, vorschriftlicher Weise. Ich ertheile ihm daher die Erlaubniß, seine Provision überall zu treiben, mit Bedingniß, dem Orts-Schächter keinen Schaden dadurch zuzufügen. Es ist erlaubt, von seinem geschachteten Vieh zu essen, sowohl als von andern geprüften Schächtern. Salomon gelobte auch, jedes mal die Lunge heraus zu nehmen, sie mit den Augen und nicht nur allein durch das Gefühl zu beurteilen. Auch so oft die Vorschriften des Schächters auf einen Rabbiner verweisen, seinen Orts-Rabbiner zu befragen. Die Vorschriften des Schächters müßen von Salomon David 30 Tage lang täglich wiederholt, dann jeden Monat einmal repetirt werden, so muß er von heute an ein ganzes Jahr verfahren. Ist dieses 1te Jahr zu Ende, so müßen dieselben, so lang er Schächter ist, jedes Quartal wiederholt werden, widrigenfalls, ist das von ihm geschlachtete Vieh unerlaubt. Ferner muß Salomon, um sich im Schächten zu üben, ehe er allein zu schächten befugt ist, in Gegenwart eines examinirten Schächters, 18 Stück Rindvieh, 18 Stück Kleinvieh und 18 Stück Geflügel schächten. Alle diese Bedingnisse und Gesetze sind unverbrichlich und unabänderlich. Und wer den Worten der Weisen Gehorsam leistet, in dessen Hütte wohnt Ruhe, Frieden und Glückseligkeit. Löw Ach, Oberrabbiner und Oberaufseher im Kaulaischen Stift. Hechingen in den 3. Tage vor Pfingst-Fest 1818.

State Archive Ho 86 NVA II 14 560. Quoting M.Werner "Die Juden In Hechingen" Journal For the History of Hohenzollern Number 21 (1985) p. 82.

The legend surrounding the creation of the Jewish cemetery in Hechingen.

Als einer von ihnen gestorben . . ., gingen sie zu dem Fürsten und seinen Räthen und sprachen: Gebt uns ein Erbbegräbnis, daß wir unsere Todten begraben können. Da fuhr sie der Fürst hart an: Was habt Ihr hier zu suchen? Was wollet Ihr hier ein Grab graben? Gehet zum Galgen, den Wir errichten ließen, damit das Böse aus unserer Mitte vertilgt werde. Dort auf jenem Berge begrabt Eure Todten, denn Ihr seid nicht besser, als die armen Sünder, die dort am Galgen hängen. Und so erließ er ein Dekret. Als unsere Väter dieses hörten, waren sie sehr betrübt; sie weinten, mußten sich aber in das traurige Schicksal fügen und begruben Ihre Todten unter dem Hohn und Spott der Umgebung immerwährend. Geschlechter vergingen, Geschlechter kamen, der Friedhof aber hatte weder Zaun noch Mauer.

Quoted from O. Werner: 1200 Years In the History of Hechingen (1987) p. 185.

The Jewish cemetery at Hechingen. Photo: Otto Werner.





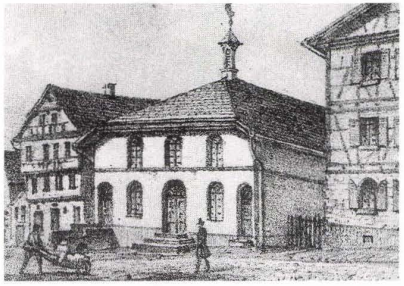
Preachers Of Reform Judaism: Rabbi Samuel Mayer (1807-1875)

By 1848, many of Germany's Jews were ready to give up their strict religious ideas and rituals. New concepts were sparked by the enlightenment, which created a cautious interest among intellectuals of both religions for each other, by the French Revolution and Napoleonic reforms, by the domestic enthusiasm concerning the victory over Napoleon, as well as by the hope of political emancipation in the years before the revolutions of 1848. The Jews wanted to become German citizens. This required assimilation and adaptation to the surrounding Christian religion and culture. An influential advocate of this viewpoint was Rabbi Dr. Samuel Mayer.

Samuel Mayer was born in Hechingen in 1807 to one of the poorer Jewish families. Since he showed an early talent for learning, an education was made possible for him. First he attended the school in Hechingen, then the Lyceum in Mannheim and the University of Wurzburg. In 1829 he graduated from the University of Tübingen. At first, the Jewish community of Hechingen decided against offering a rabbinical position to this confident and energetic young man. In 1824, the decision was reversed and Mayer became the temporary rabbi, later to become the permanent rabbi. In order to supplement his meager income, the thrice married man studied law, and began his practice in 1849. Throughout his life, this dual profession created problems between himself and the congregation. The congregation feared that he would neglect his rabbinical duties. In spite of the many disputes, this brilliant preacher, author and compiler of a legal-historical work as well as a chronicle of the Jews of Hechingen was able to bring about in the Jewish community a decisive shift to Reform Judaism during his forty year tenure. To align the religious services to that of Protestantism, he advised a less strict interpretations of the teachings. In his ceaseless battle to bring civil equality to his brethren, he created bridges between the Jewish and Christian communities of Hechingen. He may have contributed to the peaceful coexistence of all three faiths around the turn of the century.

The Nineteenth Century:
Emancipation And Industrialization

Emancipation With Obstacles



The Synagogue in the Goldschmiedstrasse during the early Victorian Period before the reconstruction of 1850-1852. Photo: Otto Werner.

In 1807, the year of Samuel Mayer's birth, the first thoughts arose in the Principality of Hohenzollern-Hechingen of making the crafts and trades accessible to Jews. This was done to put an end to their haggling which caused so many complaints. The population, however, did not agree with these policies of the Prince and the government. The First Assembly of Hechingen pointed out in 1836 that two thirds of the one hundred and thirty two Jewish families made relatively little money from trading and haggling and should not be granted legality but equality. The Trade Ordinance of 1842 wanted to again open the crafts and trades to Jews, but was derailed by the heads of the Christian guilds. Jacob Höchstädter, who had risen to the rank of master clothmaker in 1845, was denied entrance into the guild and forced to forfeit the title. In 1844, the Jew Isaac



Horse trading. Copper engraving by J.H. Ramberg 1805.

Bernheim, who had just been appointed court tinsmith, had his place of business destroyed by the people of Hechingen. At that point, both Bernheim and Höcstädter decided to leave the area.

A change occurred in 1850 when the Hohenzollern Principalities became part of Prussia. Now for the first time, those people who could previously vote only for Jewish community representation were legally counted as citizens of Hechingen. Since the founding of the empire in 1871, they were considered as citizens of the German Empire, with complete voting rights received through community reforms in 1901.

The years around 1850 also produced a turning point in the growth of the population. The number of Jews in Hechingen constantly increased during the first half of the



Beschreibung.

Alter 64 Jahre,
Größe 5' 1/2 Zoll,
Haare grau,
Stirne hoch,
Augen braun,
Nase groß,
Mund mittelmäßig,
Zähne ungleich,
Angesicht voll,
Zeichen —

Unterschrift des Reisenden
Joseph Löw

Fürstenthum Hohenzollern Hechingen.

Reisepaß gültig auf ein Jahr.

Alle Civil- und Militär-Behörden werden ersucht, Vorzeiger dieses ungehindert hin und her reisen zu lassen, mit Namen Löw Joseph, Handelsmann, Alter 64 Jahre, Größe 5' 1/2 Zoll, mit seinem Sohne Joseph Löw,

gebürtig von Hechingen
wohnhaft zu Hechingen
reisend in die Königreich Württemberg,

auch ihm nöthigenfalls Schutz und Hülfe zu leisten.

Hechingen den 1 May 1823

Fürstlich-Hohenzollernsche
Justizkanzley
Haas.

The travel passport of cattle and horse trader Joseph Löw of Hechingen 1823. The signature is in two languages. State Archive Sigmaringen Ho 6 Nr. 247.

nineteenth century. By 1842, the 809 Jews represented a quarter of the city's population. This figure declined by the end of the century. By 1905 there were only 185 Jews left in Hechingen. The departure around the middle of the century was prompted in part by dashed hopes and political emancipation which motivated many Jews to move to metropolitan areas.

Hechingen Owes Its Industrialization To Jews

Entrepreneur Adolf Baruch, circa 1870. photo: Hohenzollerische Heimatbücheri Hechingen.



When Hechingen native Benedikt Baruch moved his textile manufacturing business from Plieningen, near Stuttgart, to Hechingen, this marked the beginning of industrialization in Hohenzollern-Hechingen. After Prussia took over, this young company, as the oldest industrial organization in the new province, received federal support. After the incorporation of steam engines into their operation in 1855, the company of Baruch and Sons was considered the primary factory in Hechingen. Prior to the founding of the empire, three other Jewish entrepreneurs followed Baruch's example and recognized Hechingen as a favorable location for industry despite limited civil rights. Soon after 1871 three more Jewish companies established textile production. The many looms which the Jews of Hechingen built in the neighboring towns of Onstmettingen and Tailfingen became the nucleus of the textile industry in Württemberg.

By 1878, the textile industry employed 182 people in Hechingen. By 1913 the number of employees grew to 897, and to 1284 by 1925. Very early on, Jewish entrepreneurs took an interest in the social welfare of their workers. The manufacturer Julius Levi became the cofounder of a women's trade school in Hechingen in 1886.

The success of the Jewish entrepreneurs soon became apparent in the tax collections. In 1907, the head of the Jewish community, manufacturer, and member of city council Jakob Levi, reminded the mayor that Jews represented only four percent of the population, yet paid thirty three percent of the community's taxes. Forty four percent of the eight million marks industrial taxes in Hechingen was paid by Jewish businessmen. There is no other example in the history of Southwest Germany where a Jewish community of 185 people played such an important economic role.



Entrepreneur Carl Loewengard (1872-1941) founder of the Hohenzollern Collection. Photo: Hohenzollerische Heimatbücheri Hechingen.

Die wichtigsten jüdischen Industriegründungen

B. Baruch & Söhne, Weberei (1848; seit 1923 Gutmann GmbH, 1938 »arisiert«; heute Parkdeck Innenstadt und »Esbi«, Friedrichstraße)

J. Heilbronner & Söhne, Trikotagenfabrik (1853–1889; später Fa. Koblenzer, 1939 »arisiert«; heute »Aviona/Röcker-Werke«, Runkellenstraße)

Loewengard & Levy, Handelshaus, Trikotweberei (1859/65; seit 1917 Carl Loewengard, 1938 »arisiert«; heute Maute-Areal)

J. Levi & Co., Zwirnerei (1864; 1938 »arisiert«; heute befindet sich auf dem Areal Fa. »Kaufring« (Gottlieb))

Liebmann & Levi, Trikotagenfabrik (1872–1913; heute »Jokkey/Volma«, Neustraße)

David Levy, Trikotagenfabrik (1872–1922; Marstallgebäude)

Moos & Rosenthal, Schäfte und Schuhe (1874–1912; Neustraße)

Hermann Levy, Trikotweberei (1917; 1937 »arisiert«; heute »Zugreif-Teppich-Markt«, Haigerlocher Straße)

Social Harmony

The anti-Jewish sentiments and actions ended in 1848 when the revolutionary dissatisfaction in Hohenzollern expressed itself in attacks against both the ruling class and the Jews. Anti-Jewish feelings by craftsmen and farmers in Hohenzollern were stirred by economic competition and unsubstantiated social fears in an era when Jews represented a large percentage of the population.

This took place in spite of the fact that since the days of Madame Kaulla there existed harmony in the small Principality between the well-to-do upper middle-classes of both religions. There was much social contact between refined Jews and the Christian intellectuals, including the ruling family in Hechingen. This occurred even before political emancipation. With legal equality becoming a possibility, Jews looked for answers to questions regarding their regional and national loyalty. The author Berthold Auerbach, who for a time attended school in Hechingen, stated "I



The poet Berthold Auerbach visited the Talmud School at Hechingen in 1825.

am German and could be nothing else. I am Swabian and would not wish to be anything else. I am a Jew and this represents the ideal mixture."

The social tension became less noticeable after 1850. By this time, the number of Jews had decreased, and the social position of both groups had improved considerably, due in part to Jewish initiative. Liberally minded Jewish men met publicly with free thinkers of both Christian confessions. Rabbi Samuel Mayer (1807-1875) was the librarian of the Public Museum Organization and enjoyed friendly relations with his two Christian colleagues. The tension between Jews and Christians of earlier times appeared to have been forgotten at the turn of the century. When the Catholic minister Heinrich Hansjakob visited Hechingen in 1900, he noted rather slyly in his diary: "I noticed upon entering that according to the names of businesses many Children of Israel have settled among the sons of Hachos. In spite of that, there aren't supposed to be any anti-Semites in Hechingen. The local Jews must be perfect angels."

Hechingen um 1900





Social Responsibility: Entrepreneur Julius Levi (1833-1906)

In 1833, Julius was born in Hechingen to Jacob Levi and his wife Goldie Baruch. His career as a merchant trader was predetermined by both his parents. As a young man he witnessed the transfer of Hohenzollern to Prussia in 1850. This transfer opened new perspectives for both political development and economic possibilities for the Jews. He gained his business experience at Baruch and Sons Company, and in 1864, he and his brother-in-law Adolf Weil founded a cotton thread mill and dyeworks. This new organization, called Julius Levi and Company, became the third manufacturing plant in Hechingen. Under his leadership, the company blossomed into a profitable operation which outlived its founders. In 1938, the company became a victim of Nazi "Aryanization."

Levi's social conscience went far beyond his corporate obligations. For thirty years he was a board member of the Jewish Community Federation. He took an active part in the reformation of the religious service which had been initiated by Rabbi Samuel Mayer. He also participated in the creation of a morgue at the Jewish cemetery in 1906. As an enlightened businessman, he looked to the future and became a financial supporter of the school system. One of his projects was the founding of a private girls' trade school which was later taken over by the city. He also belonged to an advisory board for a girls' school for higher education which did not receive the same recognition by the city. In 1901, when a new community ordinance giving Jews the right to vote was put into effect, Julius Levi was elected to the city council.

His contemporaries described Levi as a patriarch in the Jewish tradition, whose authority in family, community and business affairs was attained through kindness, justice, and talent. Because of his liberal views and influence in the capitalistic business world, he became distant from Orthodox Judaism, although he still practiced his faith. His free thinking views created a patriotic and nationalistic attitude. On the occasion of the seventieth birthday in 1903, the king honored him by bestowing upon him the Crown Order Fourth Class in recognition of his civic activities and national loyalty. When in 1907 this representative of German-Jewish assimilation died, a large segment of the population of Hechingen attended his funeral.

Views of Rabbi Dr. Samuel Mayer about the relationship between Jews and Christians in Hechingen before 1847.

The relationship between Israelites and Christians is friendly. There has never been a case of persecution. Her highness Duchess Eugenia, formerly Princess of Leuchtenberg, donates money every month to the poor. She always visits schools and supports festivals for the children. She helps poorer trade school students with monetary gifts. Frequently she visits the sick and poverty stricken. The infant care institution that she created is not open to Jews only because of its association with the Catholic church. Several Jews have been accepted as official members of the museum board which operates under the control of the royal statute.

Quoting M. Werner "Die Juden in Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern 21 (1985) p. 139.

Anecdote about the relationship between Reverend Thomas Schön and Rabbi Samuel Mayer (before 1875).

Reverend Schön was a close friend of attorney Dr. Mayer, who was also the local Rabbi. The two men frequently joked with each other. One day, when the new batch of sauerkraut was ready, Reverend Schön visited the the Museum Inn. The host served him a splendid Swabian broth with meat, as well as blood sausage and liver sausage. It tasted wonderful. When Rabbi Mayer arrived he noticed that the priest had enjoyed his meal. Reverend Schön turned to the Rabbi and asked: "When are you going to join me in a delicious broth of this kind?" "Well," replied the Rabbi "certainly at your wedding dear priest!"

Handed down by the former Postmaster R. Sauter. Reprinted by M. Werner "Die Juden in Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern 21 (1985) p. 140.

The "Phenomenon of Hechingen"

It is not easily explained why Jews, who were at an economic disadvantage, were the ones who established three important industries between 1845 and 1864. The founding of these industries began the modernization of the both the entire city and its economy. This may have occurred because of the Prussian regime's policy of encouraging economic growth as compensation for the fact that they denied political equality to Jews. This is the only explanation as to why Hechingen became a center of business. These industries were all founded by Jews, many of whom came from other areas.

Jacob Toury Entrepreneur in the Textile Industry of Baden Württemberg 1863-1938. Tübingen 1984 p. 52.



Humanist, Socialist, Politician: Attorney Paul Levi (1883-1930)

German cultural history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries experienced significant enrichment during the years of emancipation through the contributions of Jewish scientists and artists. The well developed talents of many Jewish contemporaries in the areas of social and economic criticism brought about new movements in European politics. Karl Marx, a Jew, had already become the critic of capitalism. After political freedom had been achieved, many Jews embraced liberalism or espoused the revolutionary ideas of socialism. Among them was Rosa Luxemburg whose thoughts were also shared by Paul Levi.

Levi was born in Hechingen in 1883, the son of the Jewish community leader, manufacturer, and liberal city council member Jacob Levi. He studied law, then settled in Frankfurt before opening a practice in Berlin. He left Judaism because he was more interested in the emancipation of all people regardless of religious and national boundaries. During World War II, he dropped out of the Social Democratic Party because of its war policies. After the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in 1919, he became the first chairman of Germany's Community Party. Since he was not able to stop its development into a Bolshevik Party like the Russian model, he reluctantly returned to the Social Democratic Party and was a member of the left wing which had little influence in the Reichstag. In 1929, the Jorns trial became a great political and professional success for him. For the first time, Levi was able to publicly expose the political background of the Liebknecht/Luxemburg murders He died the following year due to illness caused by the stress of this trial.

Paul Levi was a noteworthy political figure in the Weimar Republic. His humanistic socialism could not find a niche between socialism and communism. His early death saved him from witnessing how "the entire democracy was stolen" from his party and the republic. "He was one of the most just, brilliant, and courageous human beings whom I had ever met. He is one of those people who act based on a deep and insatiable desire for justice." (Albert Einstein)

The Twentieth Century:
The End Of An Illusion

The Appearance Of Normality

Around the turn of the century, when Paul Levi was a young man in Hechingen, one could hardly suspect that the integration of Jews into German society had already been questioned in principle. In Hechingen, the Jewish-Christian relations were conducted in a normal fashion. Since 1901, Jews had complete voting rights. Jewish citizens were always represented in the city council. Among these representatives were Paul Levi's father Jacob, Julius Levi, Ludwig Weil, Rudolf Levi, Hermann Levy, and Dr. Alfred Weil, all businessmen and industrialists. The prosperity of the city of Hechingen rested in large part on the business successes of these entrepreneurs.

With political emancipation, the occupational opportunities for Jews expanded. Still, Jewish businessmen and industrialists were the stereotypical representatives of the Jewish population. However, there were also Jewish craftsmen, attorneys, physicians, and civil servants. Playwright and physician Fredrich Wolf lived in Hechingen from 1921-1926. His first work "Der arme Konrad" or "Poor Konrad" was created here. The physicist Albert Einstein frequently visited his relatives in Hechingen during those years. His second wife, Elsa came from nearby Zollerstadt.

At the beginning of the century, many Jews considered themselves to be German. This patriotic feeling was evidenced in the five Jewish men who fought with the German army in World War I. Two of them, Sigmund Bernheim and Dr. Ernst Moos, gave their lives in the war. Christian and Jewish children attended the same schools after the war. Jewish men like Otto Hofheimer sang in the city choir, while men like J. Baruch served in the local fire brigade. The relationship between the Christian and Jewish populations seemed so free and easy that the administrator of the Rabbinical Council, Leon Schmalzbach, as late as October 1932 at the consecration of the Soldiers' Memorial could state, " Here we have always had a peaceful coexistence, mutual support, and friendly cooperation between members of all faiths. We Jews who have lived here for many centuries have taken this for granted just like our fellow citizens."



Friedrich Wolf, physician and author, worked and resided in Hechingen from 1921-1926. Woodcarving: Hohenzollerische Heimatbücheri Hechingen.



Leon Schmalzbach, the last administrator of the Rabbinate of the Jewish community in Hechingen, shown here with his daughter Ruth. In 1941 he was deported to Riga. Photo: Hohenzollerische Heimatbücheri Hechingen.

Anti-Semitism

After the founding of the empire in 1871, a significant portion of the Christian population did not accept the Jews as Germans. Anti-Jewish feelings crept into the political atmosphere. In 1879, Wilhelm Marr formulated the concept of anti-Semitism. This characterized anti-Jewish views and actions as they had been observed throughout the ages.

The earliest hatred of Jews dates back to Roman times. Even in those days, Jews had frequently been traders. In addition to the rejection of their monotheism and religious rituals, they were accused from the beginning of becoming wealthy through unjust means. In the Middle Ages, this accusation was encouraged by the usury privilege of the Jews.

In addition to such economic anti-Semitism, a religious contrast came to the forefront during the Christian era. The Christian belief that they belonged to a more valid religion was in direct contrast to the Jewish belief that they were God's chosen people. The unsuccessful attempt to convert these "Christ murderers" led to the accusation of stubbornness and moral

Name	Feldtruppenteil	Letzter Dienstgrad	Auszeichnungen	Bemerkungen
		21. Hechingen		
Bernheim, Isidor	Inf.R. 142	Musketier		
Bernheim, Sigmund	Res.Inf.R. 51	Gefreiter		kriegsfreiwillig gefallen i. J. 16
Hilb, Emil	Inf.R. 120	Vizefeldw.	✠	zweimal verwundet
Hilb, Max	Fernspr.Abt. 446	Unteroffizier		
Hofheimer, Otto	Fuß-A.Batl. 157	Gefreiter		verwundet
Kaufmann, Leo	Feld-Rekr.Abt. 87. Inf.Div. Inf.R. 345 Res.Inf.R. 7	Infanterist		verwundet
Levi, Emil	Inf.Leib-R. 117	Ers.Res.	hohz.S.V.M.	verwundet
Löwenthal, Alfred	Inf.R. 112 Signal-Trupp 418 Blinkerzug 35	Gefreiter	hohz.S.V.M.	
Löwenthal, Hermann	Staffelstab 273	Vizewachtm.	hohz.S.V.M.	
Schmalzbach, Leon	Div.Funk.Abt. 51	Funker	✠	verwundet
Singer, Max	Res.Inf.R. 250	Gefreiter	✠ h.S.V.M.	verwundet
Ullmann, Moritz	Res.Inf.R. 111	Gefreiter	✠	verschüttet
Weil, Ernst	Arm.Batl. 70	Arm.Soldat	hohz.S.V.M.	
Weil, Harry	Res.Feld-A.R. 21	Kanonier		

Jewish combat soldiers in World War I
Published in 1926 by the Württemberger branch of The German Citizens of the Jewish Faith.

depravity. Hate and ignorance of the related religion led to unfounded accusations of host desecration and ritual murder of Christians. Since they were considered to be related to the devil, Jews could always serve as "scapegoats" in times of crisis, and therefore became a target of unlimited aggression.

Religious anti-Semitism was intensified by cultural differences. Social distance was created by the language the Jews spoke, their alphabet, their strange calender and was of calculating time, their strange clothing and way of life. This distance was often increased by their higher level of education.

In the nineteenth century, an age when legal and political equality had been achieved, a new form of anti-Jewish feeling arose in racial anti-Semitism. This included all of the old accusations and an attempt to scientifically prove the moral inferiority of the Jews that was supposedly inherent in their race. As before, Christianity considered itself a superior religion and adopted the racial ideologies of the "Aryans." The demonification of the Jews continued to live in



The interior of the synagogue of Hechingen on the morning of November 10, 1938 Photo: Keidel, Hechingen.

the concept of "Jewish World Conspiracy." After this racial ideology became the official doctrine of the Nazi Party in 1933, the largest persecution of Jews in history began. Genocide was attempted as the "final solution" to the "Jewish problem."



Following the outbreak of World War II, Jews were forced to wear the yellow star. Photo: Photo Archives of the South German Publisher, Munich.

The End of Hechingen's Jewish Community

The racial anti-Semitism that became the official policy of the Nazis carried with it a long tradition. The introduction of the yellow star in 1941 was based on the yellow ring. When in 1938, Goebbels prepared the so called Kristallnacht, he could have quoted Martin Luther who in his time (1543) had already suggested setting "their synagogues and schools on fire."

When Herschel Grynszpan, a Jew living in Paris, murdered the German diplomat vom Rath, Goebbels announced secretly that the destruction of all synagogues on the night of November 9-10, 1938 would be an act of revenge. This was supposed to be connected with an "atonement" by the Jews to the sum of millions. The Kristallnacht action was explained as the nation's angry response to the murder of the diplomat in Paris. In reality, it was a planned commando action by the Nazi staff.

S.A. members from Reutlingen and Hechingen went to work on this project. The fact that the local synagogue did not go up in flames is attributed to the order to refrain from torching a building if any non-Jewish businesses were endangered. Because of the thorough destruction of the interior, the desecrated synagogue became a symbol of the end of a once blossoming Jewish community that had a century old history.

The systematic destruction of the Jewish community of Hechingen, supported by federal law, began with the boycott of Jewish businesses on April 1,1933. This led to the repeal of legal rights in 1935, the exclusion of Jewish students from schools, the "Aryanization" of Jewish businesses and factories, and the "regulation for the removal of Jews from economic life" in 1938. All Jewish entrepreneurs and businessmen were forced to sell their businesses at ridiculous prices to non-Jewish buyers. The end came with the deportation and murder of many Jewish families in the concentration camps. In the areas of Baden, Württemberg, and Hohenzollern, 8,500 Jews lost their lives to Nazi persecution. Among these were thirty Jews from Hechingen who in 1941-1942 died in the concentration camps Jungfernhof, near Riga, Mauthausen and Theresienstadt. Fifty Jews managed to escape the Holocaust by emigrating.



The Holocaust: The Fate Of The Hofheimer Family

"When we Christians heard that Jews were being led away, we closed all of our window shutters so that the unfortunate ones didn't see anyone... I shall never forget how the younger Hofheimer, when passing our house, wiped the tears with one hand and led his little daughter, who was holding a doll, with the other. One could have screamed with pain at seeing these unfortunate, crying people." (an eyewitness) A segment of the history of Hechingen ended when the merchant Otto Hofheimer (born 1894), his second wife Martha (born 1905), and their nine year old daughter Edith, along with eight other Jews from Hechingen, began their final journey to the concentration camp Jungfernhof.

The family operated the textile business in the Synagogenstrasse which had been founded by Otto's father Heinrich Hofheimer. The business had an excellent reputation in the area. In 1914, young Otto, along with four other Jewish citizens, served in World War I. After the war, he took an active part in the social life of the city. He sang in the city choir. The age of fascist persecution began for Hofheimer when, in 1935, unknown individuals damaged his business property. In 1938, the family was forced to sell the well established business, for a price far below its value, to an "Aryan" buyer. Following Kristallnacht, Hofheimer was temporarily incarcerated at Dachau. In order to protect their twelve year old son Heinz, the family sent him to Switzerland. His grandmother, Melanie, emigrated to England in 1939. According to a survivor, Otto, Martha, and Edith Hofheimer were executed on March 6, 1942 at the concentration camp Jungfernhof.

The grandmother, Melanie, returned to Germany after the war. She died there in 1950 at the age of 80. The son, Heinz (Henry) Hofheimer, never saw his family again. He resides today in the United States.

An Angry Public Destroys the Synagogue in Hechingen

Justified Retribution Against the Jewish Rabble

The announcement of the murder of the German diplomat and party member vom Rath by a cowardly Jew has brought forth deep resentment and justifiable anger throughout the entire empire as well as in our city. On Thursday morning, indignant citizens assembled at the Synagogue on Goldschmiedstrasse and made the Jewish place of worship the target of their understandable and justified reprisal. Within a very short period, the doors were broken down and the entire interior was destroyed. In their indescribable anger the citizens did such a "good job" that rebuilding the interior for its previous function is out of the question.

Since it was built in 1775 the building had served as a religious gathering place for the Jews. Now the inside is a heap of rubble. All of the windows and doors were destroyed too. The citizens who had come to Goldmiedstrasse in the early morning hours excitedly discussed the vile assassination of a promising young German. They frankly expressed their satisfaction with their revenge for this cowardly act. Everyone speaks with disgust about the Jewish rabble which experienced the people's power here in Hechingen. Let this example show the Jews that they can no longer toy with Germany and that Germany knows how to hit their enemies where it hurts most. It is superfluous to mention that there was no sign of violence or looting. Those who witnessed this anti-Jewish action must have marvelled at the discipline which was shown by the people in spite of their indignation.

A report from Haigerloch noted that the synagogue there was also totally demolished. The angered population also made several Jewish homes the target of their reprisal.

In Tübingen the angered crowd broke into the synagogue and destroyed its interior. Around 4:00 a.m. the synagogue went up in flames. The fire department had to restrict its activity to protecting the adjacent buildings. Since the building was made of wood it soon burned to the ground. In order to avoid danger, what remained of the synagogue had to be torn down.

When word came that vom Rath had died of his wounds in Paris, heated protests against Jews also took place in Stuttgart and in Württemberg. Around 3:00 a.m. the two large synagogues in Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt were engulfed in flames. By dawn they were completely burned down.



Report from the Hohenzollerischen Blättern, November 12, 1938.

Report about the fate of the Jews in Hechingen between 1938 and 1941 by Carl Hamburger who at that time was in charge of cultural affairs for the Jewish community.

The night of November 9-10 will always remain in my memory. My wife, my daughter Hanni and I watched as the interior of our beautiful synagogue was demolished. Only the Huns could destroy things like that. This house of God would certainly have been burned down were it not for the danger of damaging nearby houses. Everything was over by 6:00 a.m.. The mob dressed in civilian clothes moved on. Private Jewish residences were not affected, but the display windows in Otto Hofheimer's store were smashed. I looked down upon Goldmiedstrasse and saw city workers shoveling prayer books, prayer shawls and other items back into the synagogue through the broken doors. A large crowd stood on the street and watched the proceedings. Some watchedwith malicious joy while others, just a few, kept their thoughts to themselves. The destroyed doors and windows were boarded up and the synagogue thus ceased to be a house of God. It was now a ruin, and one can say that the old honorable Jewish community of Hechingen had ceased to exist. The synagogues in Haigerloch and Rexingen met the same fate; only the interiors were destroyed. Around 6:30 a.m. almost all Jewish males were arrested and taken to the jail in Hechingen. Among those arrested were Edmund Eppstein, Dr. M. Meyer (the retired county judge), Carl Levy, Otto Hofheimer, Harry Weil, Kurt Model (a Jew who converted to Christianity), Ernst Grumbacher, and Leo Schmalzbach (the director of the Rabbinate). Dr. Meyer, Levy and Eppstein were soon released because they were over sixty years old, but the others were taken to the concentration camp Dachau a few days later. Hofheimer, Schmalzbach as well as Harry Weil had to endure the camp for four weeks. The converted Jew, now a Protestant, remained for over two months and came home with frostbitten hands and feet. Isidor Bernheim, Alfred Loewenthal, our longtime community leader Emil Weil and I were spared. Emil Weil had not seen the synagogue since its destruction and didn't want to. He said once, "I could not have endured the sight." Approximately eight days later, two policemen and several city workers came into the community house to deliver a letter from the mayor which stated that all books, files, and other items which were property of the Jewish community had been seized and that I should hand over the keys. Everything

Geheim!

-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-.-

Funkspruch

sed berlin nr 133 1o11 211o -.-

an allo pol verwaltungen -

sobald von gauleitungen anweisung zur beendigung der aktionen vorliegt dafür sorgen, daß zertrümmerte läden durch holzverkleidungen usw. so verschlossen werden, daß zerstörungen möglichst wenig sichtbar hausbesitzer anweisen gegebenenfalls arbeiten im auftrage der polizei ausführen lassen trümmer von synagogen usw beschleunigt beseitigen lassen -

chef der ordnungspol sonderbefehlsstab o kdo g a nr 224/38 -

Telegram of the Secret Service dated November 10, 1938. State Archive, Sigmaringen.

that was stored in the community hall and the school hall was loaded onto a wagon and taken to the city vocational school. Included were 23 Torah scrolls, the silver decorations, and all of the valuable curtains. I protested the seizure of the library, which did not belong to the Jewish community, but it was in vain. I also had to open the safe and count the money which was seized along with the books and files in there. I must note that the savings books and the cash were returned on the same afternoon. About four weeks later a letter came from the mayor stating that everything that was seized should be picked up at the vocational school. Even though approximately 100-150 books were missing, all of the files and religious objects remained. Most of the missing books were written by blacklisted authors such as Wassermann and Mann. Attendance at public schools has long been denied to Jewish children. For a period they were without any instruction. My daughter Hanni attended the Jewish school in Haigerloch which Mr. Spier headed until she left for London on a children's transport on June 27, 1939. For a period, I taught the children of Hechingen. Schmalzbach, the director of the Rabbinate, took over the instruction when his efforts to emigrate had failed. The general situation was bearable for the Jews in Hechingen. Now and then one was accosted by members of the Hitler youth. The old timers who were not party members remained friendly. Naturally it was against the law to publicly greet a Jew, yet everyone had a few good Christian friends. A Jew was not permitted to be on the street after 8:00. Once war broke out, the Jews' situation generally became worse. Jews could only meet with trusted friends. After the assassination attempt against Hitler at the Hofbrauhaus on November 10, 1939 (?) all Jewish men were arrested and taken to the county jail. On the following day, however, all of them except Leon Schmalzbach and Dr. Meyer were released. The latter was taken to a jail in Stuttgart and released after three days. The vandalizing of the Jewish cemetery continued. During the first attacks only the old stones were tipped over. Later on, the newest tombstones were either tipped over or completely destroyed. Investigations remained inconclusive. Which city official would have had the courage to find the culprits? One day, the mausoleum was broken into and the interior completely destroyed. It was done as only vandals, who now called themselves the master race, could do. As soon as war broke out, food ration cards were issued. Jews also received them and it was my job to pick them up at city hall. Later, so that every merchant would know who his customers were, a large "J" was printed on them. Items like tea, coffee and grain were denied to Jews. Hechingen unlike most larger cities, had no Jewish store. Almost all of the stores had signs posted on the door: Jews not welcome. Jews received the same amount of skim milk as the Christians. In contrast to other places the Jews of Hechingen could be satisfied with the situation. The Jews bore their fate with dignity, not with lowered heads, but upright and proud; their behavior was always modest. The word got around that this was noticed by the city government and the higher officials. I have here described the general situation as it was until the time that my wife and I left for the United States on May 26, 1941. The ones that I left behind were placed in the hands of God. Newark, New Jersey, April 5, 1943 Carl Hamburger.

Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem. Quoted from M. Werner "Die Juden in Hechingen" Journal for the History of Hohenzollern Number 21 (1985) p. 158.

DER BÜRGERMEISTER
DER KREISSTADT HECHINGEN

BANKKONTEN: HOHENZOLL. LANDERBANK, FILIALE HECHINGEN - WÜRTT.-HOHENZOLL. PRIVATBANK A.G.-HECHINGEN
POSTSCHECKKONTO f.d. STADTKASSE Nr. 14340 KARLSRUHE
FERNSPRECHER 457 und 458

An den

Herrn .L a n d r a t

Hechingen.

Ihr Zeichen | *Ihre Nachricht* | *Meine Nachricht* | *Hechingen, den* 11.11.38.

Betr.: Vergeltungsaktion gegen
das Judentum.

Im Rahmen der Vergeltungsaktion für den jüdischen Meuchelmord an dem Dipelomaten, Gesandtschaftsrat vom Rat in Paris hat sich in der Kreisstadt Hechingen Folgendes ereignet:
Der Standartenführer der SA Schuhmacher von Reutlingen erschien mit 3 Mann zwischen 4 u. 5 Uhr auf der Polizeiwache und kündigte an, dass die Tat in Paris auch hier gerächt wird. Kurz darauf wurden die Türen zur Synagoge in der Goldschmiedstrasse hier eingeschlagen und die gesamte Einrichtung und die Fenster demoliert. Ferner wurden am Wohn- und Geschäftshaus des Otto Hofheimer hier 2 Schaufenster und 1 Rolladen beschädigt, und das Fenster der Haustüre zertrümmert. Juden zeigten sich bei der Durchführung der Aktion nicht. Es kam auch zu keinerlei Zwischenfällen
Die Synagoge, Gebäude Parz.Nr.2o8 Goldschmiedstr.2o steht im Eigentum der Israelitischen Kirchengemeinde. Die Strasse vor der Synagoge wurde noch in den frühen Vormittagsstunden durch städt. Arbeiter aufgeräumt und die herausgeworfenen Gegenstände in das Haus zurückgebracht. Die Eingangstüren und die Fenster zur Straße si

mit Brettern und Dielen abgedeckt. Damit ist ein Zutritt Unbefu verhindert. Die seitliche Eingangstüre wird noch abgesperrt und siegelt werden.

Das Wohn- und Geschäftshaus des Otto Hofheimer, Gebäude Parzelle 239 ist in der Hohenbergerstrasse Nr. 4. Eines der Schaufenster durch den Rolladen, das andere durch Lattenverschlag gesichert. Anträge auf Schadensersatz oder Unterstützungen sind bis jetzt eingegangen.

Im weiteren Verlauf der Aktion wurden auf höhere Anordnung in Schu haft genommen: vormittags zwischen 6 u. 7 Uhr 7 Juden, nachmittags um 2 Uhr noch der Jude Dr. Moritz Meyer.

Die Personalien der Juden sind:

Name	Geburtstag-	Ort	Beruf,	Stand,	Wohnung
Eppstein Edmund	19.1o.77.	Hechingen,	Kaufmann,	verh.,	Schaden-weilerstr.56
Grumbacher Ernst,	22. 6.o9	Wiesbaden,	Handeels-vertreter	verh.,	Bahnhofstr.I
Hofheimer Otto	24. 5.94	Hechingen,	Kaufmann	verh.,	Hohenberger-str.3
Levi Karl	22. 6.71	Hechingen,	Versicherungs-agent	ledig,	Schloßstr.13
Model Kurt	1. 2.92	Augusburg,	Kaufmann	verh.,	Goldschmied-str.42,
Schmalzbach Leon	13.1o.82	Jaroslau,	Lehrer i. R.	gesch.,	Goldschmied-str.18,
Weil Harry	2o. 7.82	Haigerloch,	Kaufmann	ledig,	Schmiedestr.
Meyer Moritz Dr.	16.1o.72	Neuwied	Landger. Rat i.R.	ledig,	Frauengarten str.17

Es wird noch vermerkt, dass bei dem zuletzt festgenommenen Juden Dr. Moritz Meyer der auf der Strasse hier angehalten wurde, eine 6,35 mm Selbstladepistole mit 8 Schuß festgestellt wurde. Die Waffe wurde ihm vor der Einlieferung auf der Polizeiwache abge Anzeige wegen unerlaubten Waffenführens wird dem Herrn Oberstaa walt vorgelegt.

Heil Hitler!

Stadtinspektor

Report to the District Magistrate by Hechingen's mayor concerning the events of November 10,1938 State's Archives Sigmaringen Ho 235

From Hechingen To Jerusalem:

Approaching A Dark Chapter in German History

The Synagogue After 1938

The desecration of the synagogue took place on November 10, 1938. Its exterior remained intact, so the building became the property of the city of Hechingen. Until the 1970's it remained a silent witness to injustices and a symbol of the unresolved past. In 1950, the property was returned to the Jewish Community Federation of Stuttgart, but then later sold to a glazier who used it as a storage facility.

Since the early 1970's, Jews who formerly lived in Hechingen but now lived abroad made an effort to change the synagogue into a memorial site. The project started in 1979 with "Initiative Hechinger Synagogue e.v.," an organization made up of citizens of Hechingen and surrounding areas. With the support of the state's Historical Preservation Society, the state of Baden-Württemberg and Hechingen, they succeeded in developing a model for the acquisition and restoration of the structure. On October 20, 1982, the synagogue became the property of the "Initiative." In the subsequent years it was restored in the style of the nineteenth century. Today this building is used for cultural events.

In the 1970's, an intensive effort was made to research the history of the Jewish community of Hechingen. The results of this research are documented in this booklet. With the realization that when approaching this dark chapter in German history it would not suffice to trace information in archives, individual citizens as well as the Initiative searched for former Jewish citizens and their families in the United States, Israel and elsewhere. In 1986, many Jews accepted an invitation to return to Hechingen on the occasion of the city's 1,200th anniversary.



The synagogue before the November pogrom of 1938. Photo: Keidel, Hechingen.



On the right is Dr. Alfred Weil with Mayor Norbert Roth. Photo: Keidel, Hechingen.

Witness To A Century: Dr. Alfred Weil (1900-)

Alfred Weil, great grandson of the first factory founder in Hechingen, is one of many entrepreneurs descended from Benedikt Baruch. In 1864, Baruch's grandson Julius Levi and his brother-in-law Adolf Weil, a traveling salesman for Baruch, founded the business, J. Levi and Company, which their sons Rudolf Levi and Emil Weil (1866-1949) continued. There was no doubt that Alfred Weil was supposed to take over his father's firm once the political turmoil subsided. He belonged to the first class to attend the new Gymnasium in Hechingen. As a first year student in 1909, he marched in the ceremonial procession from the old school on Neuen Strasse to the new location on Lichten Au for its consecration. He attended school in the new building until his graduation in 1917.

After the war, he began a splendid career. He studied law at Tübingen and Munich, and was promoted summa cum laude to Doctor of Political Science. Following graduation, he trained as a textile engineer in Reutlingen, then returned home to accept a position as vice president of J. Levi and Company. Between 1922 and 1938, the plant was electrified and significantly enlarged under his leadership. In addition to expanding the firm, Dr. Weil was active in community politics as city councilman. In 1934 he married Charlotte Hellendall of Mönchengladbach. A daughter, Ursula Marie was born in 1937. In the meantime, the political situation had changed.

After the Nazis called for the boycott of Jewish businesses on April 1, 1933, Weil resigned his position as city councilman. Five years later he was forced to pass on his well established firm to an "Aryan"business acquaintance. In October 1938, just prior to Kristallnacht, Weil and his family emigrated to The Netherlands, then to the United States. His parents followed in 1941. They, along with other Jewish families from Hechingen, became part of an endless wave of Jewish immigrants. Among them were renowned entrepreneurs, writers, artists and scientists whose departure created a tremendous loss of intellectual power and creativity for the German economy and culture.

In September of 1986, Alfred and Charlotte Weil accepted an invitation to come to Hechingen. They felt that this gesture was done with tact and dignity. "Why have we not joyfully returned to Hechingen or Germany after Hitler...? It was never a question for us. It never entered our minds!... Do you think that we wanted to return to Hechingen as poor people, perhaps to the charitable home of Eugenia (a home for the poor)? Everyone who had faith in the Germans and did not flee during the 1930's is dead. Where should those who succeeded in saving themselves find the courage or the desire to associate with Germans again?" (Citation from correspondence of Dr. Weil with Dr. A. Vees (1982-1990)

Chronology

		Mitglieder der jüdischen Gemeinde	Einwohnerzahl von Hechingen
1435	Erste Nennung eines Juden in Hechingen		
1490	Der Hechinger Jude Salme kauft eine Gült in Sulz a.N.		
1514/17	Konflikt zwischen Württemberg und Hohenzollern wegen des Geldverleihs von Hechinger Juden an württembergische Untertanen		
1546	Die jüdische Gemeinde erwirbt um 50 Pfund Heller ein Haus mit der Judenschule in Hechingen	ca. 105	885
1573	Der Judenschulmeister unterrichtet in diesem Jahr 20 Schüler	ca. 60	ca. 950
1576	Ausweisung der Juden durch Graf Eitelfriedrich IV. von Hohenzollern		
1634	Wiederansiedlung von Juden in Hechingen durch Fürst Eitelfriedrich V.		
1643	Pogrom der Hechinger Bevölkerung gegen die Juden	34	ca. 800
1650	Der Fürst erinnert die Juden an das Tragen des gelben Ringes auf ihren Kleidern		
1672	Schutzbrief der Fürstin Maria Sidonia für zehn jüdische Familien	70	ca. 1000
1701	Schutzbrief des Fürsten Friedrich für sechs jüdische Familien		
1743	Seligmann Jakob Wassermann ist der älteste bekannte Vorsteher der jüdischen Gemeinde		
1752/54	Fürst Joseph Wilhelm verweist den größten Teil der Hechinger Juden ins Getto auf der Friedrichstraße		
1759	Der Hoffaktor Raphael Isaak aus Buchau, Vater der Madame Kaulla, zieht in Hechingen auf	244	ca. 1900
1765	Der jüdische Friedhof am Galgenberg erhält auf Verwendung von Madama Kaulla einen hölzernen Zaun		
1767	Neubau der Synagoge in der Goldschmiedstraße		
1773	Entstehung der jüdischen Beerdigungsbruderschaft	349	2162
1775	Allgemeiner Judenschutzbrief auf 25 Jahre		
1784	Die jüdische Gemeinde Hechingen erhält mit Löb Aach ihren ersten eigenen Rabbiner		

1798	Verlängerung des Judenschutzbriefes um 40 Jahre	ca. 400	2064
1807	Eine Reform der Rechtsgrundlagen der Juden in Hechingen scheitert, neben den Vorstehern wählt die jüdische Gemeinde von nun an eine Deputation		
1825	Einrichtung einer israelitischen Volksschule		
1830	Bau des Gemeinde- und Schulhauses neben der Synagoge		
1834	Anstellung des gebürtigen Hechinger Rabbiners Dr. Samuel Mayer, der die jüdische Gemeinde Hechingen bis zu seinem Tod 1875 im Sinne des Reformjudentums prägte		
1842	Die Liberalisierung der Gewerbeordnung, die den Zugang der Juden zum Handwerk vorsieht, wird von den Zünften unterlaufen; Höchststand der jüdischen Bevölkerung	809	3389
1845/48	Gründung der Fa. Baruch & Söhne, Beginn der Industrialisierung in Hohenzollern		
1850	Nach der Revolution von 1848 Übergang Hohenzollerns an Preußen: staatsbürgerliche Gleichstellung der Juden		
1871	Nach der Reichsgründung politische und rechtliche Gleichstellung der Juden	423	3663
1901	Mit der neuen Gemeindeordnung erhalten die Juden das passive Wahlrecht: zahlreiche Juden gehören künftig dem Hechinger Stadtrat an		
1907	Die Juden machen nur noch 4 % der Hechinger Bevölkerung aus, tragen aber 33 % aller Gemeindesteuern	185	4427
1933	Machtübernahme der Nazis: am 1. April boykottieren Mitglieder der NSDAP jüdische Geschäfte in Hechingen	106	5300
1938/39	»Arisierung« der jüdischen Geschäfte und Industriebetriebe, in der Nacht zum 10. November 1938 Verwüstung der Synagoge, vorübergehende Internierung zahlreicher Juden, Beginn der Auswanderung	80	
1942	Mit der Deportation von 30 verbliebenen Juden erlischt die jüdische Gemeinde Hechingen		

Selected Literature

General

The Middle Ages and 16th Century

Abkürzungen

H.H. = Hohenzollerische Heimat
ZGO = Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins
ZHG = Zeitschrift für Hohenzollerische Geschichte
ZRG (GA) = Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte (Germanistische Abteilung)

Bein, Alex, Die Judenfrage. Biographie eines Weltproblems. 2 Bde. Stuttgart 1980.

Delumeau, Jean, Angst im Abendland. Die Geschichte kollektiver Ängste im Europa des 14. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. 2 Bde. Reinbek 1985.

Eschwege, Helmut, Die Synagoge in der deutschen Geschichte. Dresden 1980.

Gamm, Hans-Joachim, Das Judentum. Eine Einführung. Frankfurt/New York 1979.

Gidal, Nachum T., Die Juden in Deutschland von der Römerzeit bis zur Weimarer Republik. Gütersloh 1988.

Germania Judaica. Zu Hechingen Bd. 3 S. 522. Tübingen 1987.

Greive, Hermann, Die Juden. Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte im mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Europa. Darmstadt [2]1982.

Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson (Hg.), Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes. 3 Bde. München 1978–80.

Haumann, Heiko, Geschichte der Ostjuden. München 1990.

Kisch, Guido, Forschungen zur Rechts-, Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden. Sigmaringen 1979.

Schreckenberg, Wilhelm, Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart. In: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 41 (1990).

Maier, Johann, Das Judentum. Von der biblischen Zeit bis zur Moderne. München 1973.

Stemberger, Günter, Das Klassische Judentum. Geschichte und Kultur der rabbinischen Zeit (70 n. Chr. bis 1040 n. Chr.). München 1979.

Stemberger, Günter, Midrasch. Vom Umgang der Rabbinen mit der Bibel. Einführung – Texte – Erläuterungen. München 1989.

Braunn, Wilfried, Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden bis zum Jahr 1600 im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart und im Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg. Stuttgart 1982.

Bumiller, Casimir, Judenpolitik in Südwestdeutschland im 16. Jahrhundert: das Spannungsfeld zwischen Hohenberg, Württemberg und Hohenzollern. In: Der Sülchgau 32 (1988) S. 131–144.

Deppermann, Klaus, Judenhaß und Judenfreundschaft im frühen Protestantismus. In: Bernd Martin/ Ernst Schulin (Hg.), Die Juden als Minderheit in der Geschichte. München [3]1985, S. 110 ff.

Feilchenfeld, Ludwig, Rabbi Josel von Rosheim. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland im Reformationszeitalter. Straßburg 1908.

Graus, Frantisek, Vom »Schwarzen Tod« zur Reformation. Der krisenhafte Charakter des europäischen Spätmittelalters. In: Revolte und Revolution in Europa. Historische Zeitschrift Beiheft 4 (1975) S. 10–30.

Güde, Wilhelm, Die rechtliche Stellung der Juden in den Schriften deutscher Juristen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Sigmaringen 1981.

Haverkamp, Alfred, Der Schwarze Tod und die Judenverfolgungen von 1348/49 im Sozial- und Herrschaftsgefüge deutscher Städte. In: Trierer Beiträge, Sonderheft 2 (1977) S. 78–86.

Haverkamp, Alfred (Hg.), Zur Geschichte der Juden im Deutschland des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 24). Stuttgart 1981.

Horburger, Hortense, Judenvertreibungen im Spätmittelalter. Am Beispiel Eßlingen und Konstanz (Campus Forschung 237). Frankfurt 1981.

Kisch, Guido, Forschungen zur Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte der Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters. Sigmaringen [2]1978.

History of the Jews in Southwest Germany

Kremers, Heinz (Hg.), Die Juden und Martin Luther. Martin Luther und die Juden. Geschichte. Wirkungsgeschichte. Herausforderung. Neukirchen 1985.

Metzger, Thérèse und Mendel, Jüdisches Leben im Mittelalter nach illuminierten hebräischen Handschriften. Fribourg/Würzburg 1983.

Mone, Alfred, Ueber die Juden vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert. In: ZGO 9 (1858) S. 257–282.

Overdick, Renate, Die rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Juden in Südwestdeutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, dargestellt an den Reichsstädten Konstanz und Eßlingen und an der Markgrafschaft Baden (Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen 15). Konstanz 1965.

Steinberg, Augusta, Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in der Schweiz während des Mittelalters. Zürich 1902.

Stern, Selma, Josel von Rosheim. Befehlshaber der Judenschaft im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation. Stuttgart 1959.

Veitshans, Helmut, Die Judensiedlungen der schwäbischen Reichsstädte und der württembergischen Landstädte im Mittelalter (Arbeiten zum historischen Atlas von Südwestdeutschland Heft 5). Stuttgart 1970.

Wenninger, Markus, Man bedarf keiner Juden mehr. Ursachen und Hintergründe ihrer Vertreibung aus den deutschen Reichsstädten im 15. Jahrhundert. Wien/Köln/Graz 1981.

Dicker, Hermann, Die Geschichte der Juden in Ulm. Rottweil 1937.

Dicker, Herman, Aus Württembergs jüdischer Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Gerlingen 1984.

Grube, Walther, Quellen zur Geschichte der Judenfrage in Württemberg. In: ZWLG 2 (1938) S. 117–154.

Hahn, Joachim, Synagogen in Baden-Württemberg. Stuttgart 1987.

Hahn, Joachim, Erinnerungen und Zeugnisse jüdischer Geschichte in Baden-Württemberg. Stuttgart 1988.

Jeggle, Utz, Judendörfer in Württemberg. Diss. Tübingen 1969.

Kahn, Ludwig David, Geschichte der Juden von Sulzburg. Müllheim 1969.

Knapp, Theodor, Das württembergische Hofgericht zu Tübingen und das württembergische Privilegium de non appellando. In: ZRG (GA) 48 (1929).

Miller, Thomas, Judenprozesse vor dem Hofgericht Tübingen. Theorie und Praxis des Judenrechts in Altwürttemberg. In: Tübinger Blätter 27 (1936) S. 36–41 [antisemitisch].

Miller, Thomas, Zur Geschichte und rechtlichen Stellung der Juden in Stadt und Universität Tübingen. In: Jahresbände der Wissenschaftl. Akademien des NSD-Dozentenbundes 1 (1939–39)[1940] S. 234–279 [antisemitisch].

Müller, Hans Peter, Die Juden in der Grafschaft Hohenberg. In: Der Sülchgau 25 (1981) S. 36–43.

Rosenthal, Berthold, Heimatgeschichte der badischen Juden seit ihrem geschichtlichen Auftreten bis zur Gegenwart. Bühl 1927.

Sauer, Paul, Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Württemberg und Hohenzollern. Denkmale, Geschichte, Schicksale. Stuttgart 1966.

Sauer, Paul, Die Juden am oberen Neckar. In: Franz Quarthal (Hg.), Zwischen Schwarzwald und Schwäbischer Alb. Das Land am oberen Neckar (Veröffentl. d. Alem. Inst. Freiburg 52). Freiburg 1984, S. 377–391.

Scherer. J.E., Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-österreichischen Ländern. Leipzig 1901.

Schön, Theodor, Geschichte der Juden in Reutlingen. In: Reutlinger Geschichtsblätter 5 (1894) S. 36–38, 59–62, 6 (1895) S. 64.

Taddey, Gerhard, Juden im deutschen Südwesten. In: Reiner Rinkler/Wilfried Setzler (Hgg.), Die Geschichte Baden-Württembergs. Stuttgart 1986, S. 188–200.

Taddey, Gerhard, Kein kleines Jerusalem. Geschichte der Juden im Landkreis Schwäbisch Hall. Sigmaringen 1990.

Tänzer, Aaron, Die Geschichte der Juden in Württemberg. Frankfurt 1937 (ND 1983).

Toury, Jacob, Jüdische Textilunternehmer in Baden-Württemberg 1683–1938. Tübingen 1984.

Zehnter, J.A., Zur Geschichte der Juden in der Markgrafschaft Baden-Baden. In: ZGO 11 (1896) S. 337–441.

Zehnter, J.A., Zur Geschichte der Juden in Baden-Durlach. In: ZGO 12 (1897) S. 385–436.

History of the Jews in Hohenzollern-Hechingen

Allert, Tilmann, Albert Einstein im jüdischen Milieu. Persönliche Verbindungen des Philosophen zu Hechingen. Vortrag Hechingen 14.5.1990 [unveröffentlicht].

Breimesser, Helmut, Ursprung, Entwicklung und Schicksal der jüdischen Gemeinde Hechingen. Zulassungsarbeit Schwäbisch Gmünd 1968.

Bumiller, Casimir, Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Grafschaft Zollern im Spätmittelalter (Arbeiten zur Landeskunde Hohenzollerns 14). Sigmaringen 1990.

Bumiller, Casimir, Auf der Reise. Skizzen zu einer Geschichte des Hausierhandels im Killertal. In: Beiträge zur Volkskunde in Baden-Württemberg 4 (1991).

Bumiller, Casimir, Die jüdische Gemeinde Hechingen im 16. Jahrhundert. In: ZHG 24/25 (1988/89) S. 159–184.

Cramer, Julius, Die Grafschaft Hohenzollern, Ein Bild süddeutscher Volkszustände. Stuttgart 1873.

Egler, Ludwig/Ehrenberg, Rudolph, Chronik der Stadt Hechingen. Hechingen 1906.

Gönner, Eberhard, Hechingen in preußischer Zeit. In: 1200 Jahre Hechingen. Hechingen 1987, S. 99–116.

Hamburger, Carl/**Schmalzbach,** Leon, Israelitische Gemeinde Hechingen. Gräberliste mit Verzeichnis, Dokumentation, Familiengeschichte. Hechingen 1937 [Abschrift Stadtarchiv Hechingen].

Haselier, Günther, Totschlag oder Ermordung eines Hechinger Juden im Jahr 1560. In: ZHG 14 (1978) S. 55–62.

Hauler, Emil, 5. Sept. 1718. Eines Juden von Hechingen Todtfall betreffend. In: H.H. 34 (1984) S. 57–59.

Hüttenmeister, Frowald/**Kohring,** Heinrich, Funde aus der Hechinger »Genisa«. In: ZHG 21 (1985) S. 215–234.

Kohring, Heinrich, Die Inschriften der Kaulla-Grabdenkmäler auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Hechingen. In: ZHG 21 (1985) S. 171–213.

Kohring, Heinrich, Bereits 1465 Juden in Hechingen? In: ZHG 24/25 (1988/89) S. 223–228.

Kraus, Johann Adam, Juden im Zollerland. In: Zollerheimat 8 (1939) S. 68–69.

Kuhn-Rehfus, Maren, Das Verhältnis von Mehrheit zu Minderheit am Beispiel der Juden in Hohenzollern. In: ZHG 14 (1978) S. 9–54.

Kuhn-Rehfus, Maren, Die Juden in Hechingen. Rundfunkmanuskript 1982.

Mayer, Samuel, Geschichte der Israeliten in Hohenzollern- Hechingen. In: Literaturblatt des Orients. Berichte, Studien und Kritiken für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur 1844.

Mors, Karl, Hechingen und Zollerburgen in alten Ansichten. Sigmaringen 1982.

Sauter, Walter, Das Judentum in Hechingen. Vortrag 1963 [unveröffentlicht, Hohenz. Heimatbücherei Hechingen]

Schaitel, Max, Tabakrauchen und Branntweintrinken. In: Zollerheimat 9 (1940) S. 45–47.

Schweizer, Abraham, Israeliten in Hechingen. In: H.H. 30 (1980) S. 18–21.

Werner, Manuel, Die Juden in Hechingen als religiöse Gemeinde. In: ZHG 20 (1984) S. 103–213 u. 21 (1985) S. 49–169.

Werner, Otto, Das Radio. In: H.H. 31 (1981) S. 53.

Werner, Otto, Nachweis einer weiteren Synagoge in Hechingen. In: H.H. 31 (1981) S. 53–54.

Werner, Otto, Jüdische Bruderschaften und Vereine in Hechingen. In: H.H. 32 (1982) S. 11–15 u. 20–22.

Werner, Otto, Verzeichnis jüdischer Einwohner in Hechingen 1933–1945. Hechingen 1982 [Manuskript im Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen und in der Hohenzollerischen Heimatbücherei Hechingen].

Werner, Otto, Hechinger Juden 1850 dem Stadtschultheißenamt unterstellt. In: H.H. 34 (1984) S. 8.

Werner, Otto, Der Gebäudebesitz der Hechinger Juden im Jahre 1839. In: H.H. 34 (1984) S. 11–12.

Werner, Otto, Der mutwillige Salomon. In: H.H. 34 (1984) S. 31–32.

Werner, Otto, Wie alt ist der Hechinger Judenfriedhof? Hechingen 1984.

Werner, Otto, Die Juden und das ehrsame Handwerk der Metzger in Hechingen um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: H.H. 35 (1985) S. 42–44.

Werner, Otto, Eine katholisch-jüdische Ehe in Hechingen im 16. Jahrhundert. In: ZHG 21 (1985) S. 39–47.

Werner, Otto/**Stützle,** Manfred, [Zur Eröffnung der renovierten Synagoge]. In: H.H. 37 (1987) S. 1.

Werner, Otto, Die jüdische Gemeinde Hechingen bis zum Jahr 1933; Die Juden in Hechingen während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. In: 1200 Jahre Hechingen. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Stadt Hechingen. Hechingen 1987, S. 177–198 u. S. 199–216.

Werner, Otto, Fastnachtstanz der Juden im Jahre 1827 in der Kirche St. Luzen? In: H.H. 38 (1988) S. 19–23.

Werner, Otto, »Damit hörte die Synagoge auf, ein Gotteshaus zu sein.« Das Novemberpogrom 1938 in Hechingen. In: Zollernalb- Profile 1 (1988) S. 117–123.

Werner, Otto, Juden im Zollernalbkreis. In: Der Zollernalbkreis. Stuttgart 1989, S. 149–156

Werner, Otto, Jüdische Industriepioniere in Hechingen am Beispiel der Textilindustrie. Vortrag Hechingen 7.5.1990 [unveröffentlicht].

Werner, Otto, Jacob Höchstädter, Meister ohne Meisterrecht (1845). In: H.H. 40 (1990) S. 18–22.

Ziegler, Uwe, Verwaltungs-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialstruktur Hohenzollerns im 19. Jahrhundert (Arbeiten zur Landeskunde Hohenzollerns 13). Sigmaringen 1976.

Ziegler, Uwe, Preußische Starthilfe für Hohenzollern 1854. In: ZHG 14 (1978) S. 191–224.

Important People in the History of Jews in Hechingen

Anti-Semitism

Beradt, Charlotte, Paul Levi. Ein demokratischer Sozialist in der Weimarer Republik. Frankfurt 1969.

Buckenmaier, Claudia, Friedrich Wolf – Arzt und Schriftsteller in Hechingen 1921–1926. In: Zollernalb-Profile 1 (1988) S. 137–145.

Hohmann, Lew (Hg.), Friedrich Wolf: Bilder einer deutschen Biographie. Dokumentation. Berlin 1988.

Müller, Hans Peter, Berthold Auerbach und Hechingen. In: H.H. 29 (1979) S. 53–55.

Müller, Henning, Friedrich Wolf. Weltbürger aus Neuwied. Neuwied 1988.

Quack, Sibylle, Geistig frei und niemandes Knecht. Paul Levi – Rosa Luxemburg. Politische Arbeit und persönliche Beziehung. Köln 1983.

Scheuffelen, Thomas, Berthold Auerbach 1812–1882. In: Marbacher Magazin 36/1985.

Schnee, Heinrich, Die Hoffaktoren-Familie Kaulla an südwestdeutschen Fürstenhöfen. In: ZWLG 20 (1961) S. 238–267.

Schnee, Heinrich, Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat. 4 Bde. Berlin 1963 [u.a. zur Familie Kaulla].

Schumann, Hans (Hg.), Baden-Württembergische Portraits. Gestalten aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart 1988 [darin Madame Kaulla].

Singer, Ladislaus, Marxisten im Widerstreit. Stuttgart 1979 [darin Paul Levi].

Starke, Heinrich, Hechingen und Hohenzollern im Leben und Werk Berthold Auerbachs. Vortrag Hechingen 15.5.1990.

Werner, Otto, Leon Schmalzbach (1882–1942), Lehrer und Rabbinatsverweser in Hechingen. In: ZHG 16 (1980) S. 115–195.

Werner, Otto, Madame Kaulla. Ein Lebensbild zur 250. Wiederkehr ihres Geburtstages. In: Zollernalb-Profile 1 (1988) S. 109–116.

Arnold, Klaus, Die Armledererhebung in Franken 1336. In: Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kunst 26 (1974) S. 35–62.

Adam, Uwe Dietrich, Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich. Königstein/Düsseldorf 1979.

Berding, Helmut, Moderner Antisemitismus in Deutschland. Frankfurt 1988.

Czermak, Gerhard, Christen gegen Juden. Geschichte einer Verfolgung. Nördlingen 1989.

Endres, Elisabeth, Die gelbe Farbe. Die Entwicklung der Judenfeindschaft aus dem Christentum. München/Zürich 1989.

Grau, Wilhelm, Antisemitismus im späten Mittelalter. Das Ende der Regensburger Judengemeinde 1450–1519. München 1934.

Grau, Wilhelm, Die Judenfrage in der deutschen Geschichte. Leipzig/Berlin 1937.

Greive, Hermann, Geschichte des modernen Antisemitismus in Deutschland. Darmstadt 1988.

Heinsohn, Gunnar, Was ist Antisemitismus? Der Ursprung von Monotheismus und Judenhaß. Frankfurt 1988.

Jochmann, Werner, Die Ausbreitung des Antisemitismus. In: Werner E. Mosse (Hg.), Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution 1916–1923. Tübingen 1971, S. 27–65.

Oberman, Heiko, Wurzeln des Antisemitismus. Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Renaissance. Berlin 1981.

Poliakov, Léon, Geschichte des Antisemitismus. 4 Bde. Worms 1977 ff.

Poliakov, Léon/Wulf, Josef, Das Dritte Reich und die Juden. Berlin 1978.

Schorsch, Ismar, Jewish Reactions to German Anti-Semitism 1870–1914. New York/London 1972.

Schuder, Rosemarie/**Hirsch,** Rudolf, Der gelbe Fleck. Wurzeln und Wirkungen des Judenhasses in der deutschen Geschichte. Essays. Berlin 1987.

Walk, Joseph (Hg.), Das Sonderrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat. Eine Sammlung der gesetzlichen Maßnahmen und Richtlinien – Inhalt und Bedeutung. Heidelberg/Karlsruhe 1981.