

THE BIER FAMILY FROM DEUTZ A HISTORY



Marion Davies

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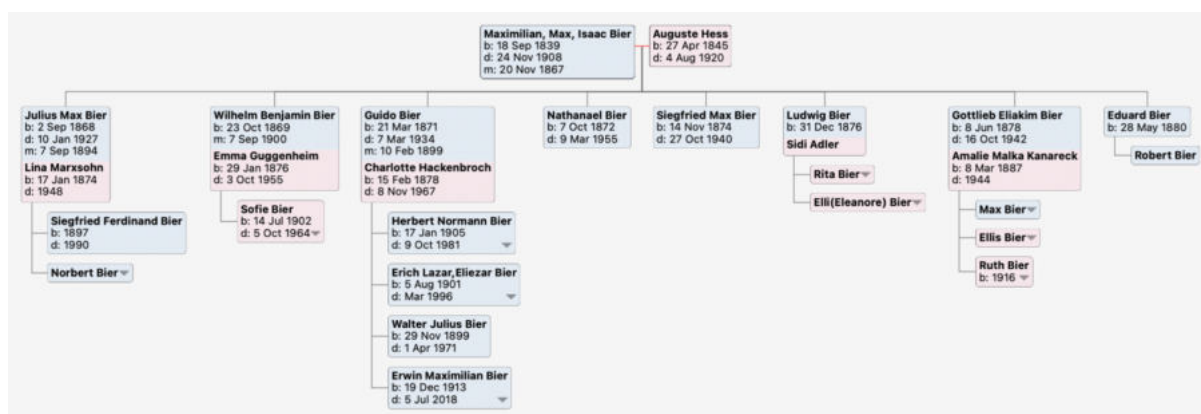
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Preface

The lockdown period due to the rampant Covid-19 virus during eighteen months between 2020 and 2021, enabled me to concentrate on a project that had been interesting me for many years: the origins of my family.

I was born Marion Bier shortly after the end of WW2. A few years after our marriage, I took my husband Jonathan's name and became Marion Davies. In some ways I regret this, as my identity lies very firmly with my family's long sojourn in the German speaking lands and this connection, at least as far as my surname is concerned, is now lost. This work is a chance to rectify this. Certainly, as the direct link between those who came as refugees from Germany in the 1930s, and my descendants, I have a special position and interest in telling this story.

As this volume finishes with Maximilian and Auguste Hess and does not delve in depth into the lives of their eight sons, I should add that their son Guido was my grandfather, and my father Herbert was the third of four boys born to Guido and Charlotte Hackenbroch.



The following tree, in contrast to the rest of this document, shows Maximilian's direct ancestors going back through the generations.

Dedication and thanks

I have dedicated the following to two people. The first is Carl Bier from Cologne, who, in the early 1930s compiled the remarkable BIER family tree going back to Jizchak, who died in 1734. Carl emigrated in 1935 to Israel, where his descendants now live. His tree has been immensely useful, and is in the possession of branches of the family scattered around the globe.



Carl Bier (1852, Cologne - 1943, Jerusalem)

The second is Jean Paul Bier, a retired Professor of German Literature and Cultural History at the University of Antwerp, who, sadly, died in 2003. We had a lively correspondence regarding common ancestors, and he put forward some interesting hypotheses.



Jean Paul Bier ¹

Unfortunately, at that time, we had not yet discovered the transcription of the *Memorbook* by Jellinek, so some of his hypotheses have been superseded. Nevertheless, Jean-Paul's research was immensely helpful, and his ideas still pervade this document. He also wrote a detailed history of Rhineland Jews (in French) for his family. Until we 'found' each other through the JewishGen, the Jewish genealogical site, the name Bier meant little to him other than the name of his grandfather, Leo Bier, who had died in the thirties and that of his father Erich and uncle Gustave, who were both murdered in Auschwitz. He (then aged about six) and his younger brother were hidden in a Catholic orphanage during the Second World War. He wrote to me; 'God bless your Uncle Carl. It's quite stupid, but the slow discovery of our ancestors fills me with incredible joy.'

I am particularly grateful to Nathanja Hüttenmeister for her invaluable skills and her facility in deciphering gravestones during our visit to the Deutz cemetery. She has also helped with further translations and advice during the process of writing this account.

A family friend, Ma Hornung, has tried hard to help me with German documents. Other friends, Hanno Muller and Inge Steul, have also helped, both of whom I thank sincerely for all they do towards understanding the Jewish past in Germany. Ann and Stuart Rosen helpfully contributed some tricky translations from Hebrew and Colin Shindler kindly read the document and made some useful comments. Judith Russell did a valuable edit and suggested some helpful changes as did my husband Jonathan.

Lucy Wiseman spent a lot of time editing the text and made many further creative suggestions. Whilst walking on the ever-beautiful Heath together, studying the changing seasons and checking on the ducks in the ponds, we have had many interesting discussions. These have been wide ranging and included the difficulties of imagining the lives of the individuals of whom we have so little concrete information. The fact that we went off on tangents made our chats all the more enjoyable. This document would have been much poorer without Lucy, and I am very grateful for all her help and thank her wholeheartedly for all her valuable input.

In the early days of this research, Annette Haller, Germania Judaica, Kölner Bibliothek zur Geschichte des Deutschen Judentums, kindly sent me an invaluable copy of the *Memorbook* as transcribed by Jellinek. Jeanette Rosenberg, the convenor of the Jewish Genealogical Society of Great Britain, German SIG, has also pointed me in so many fruitful directions, generously putting me in touch with very valuable contacts in Germany. Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte tried hard to help me further the research into Rabbi Moshe of Bürgel, for which I am very grateful. I have also had help from others, including several archivists. I would like to thank the following for their time and trouble; Niclas Esser, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Patrick Weise, Stadtarchiv Friedberg and Jeff Overste, Joods Monument.

The caretaker and gardener (now retired) of the Deutz Cemetery, Herr Erich Reichart, was particularly helpful during my visits and I would like to thank him for his care of the enormous cemetery which consists of around 3350 graves. Daniel Lemberg, cemetery director, Jewish Cemetery Köln-Bocklemünd, also gave some valuable information regarding the huge task of trying to maintain the 5800 gravestones in the two Cologne Jewish cemeteries, in Köln-Bocklemünd (established in 1918) and Deutz. It is hoped that documentation and some preservation of the ancient stones in the Deutz cemetery will be undertaken in the near future.

A final thank you is to Yakir Zur who made the lovely collage of family photos at the front of this book.

Introduction

The Bier family is known to have lived in Deutz, a small town located on the right bank of the Rhine facing Cologne,² for many generations, most probably from the very late sixteenth century. The fate of the Jews of Deutz was often linked with that of Cologne, their larger neighbour over the water.



Panorama of Cologne in 1530, Deutz in foreground³

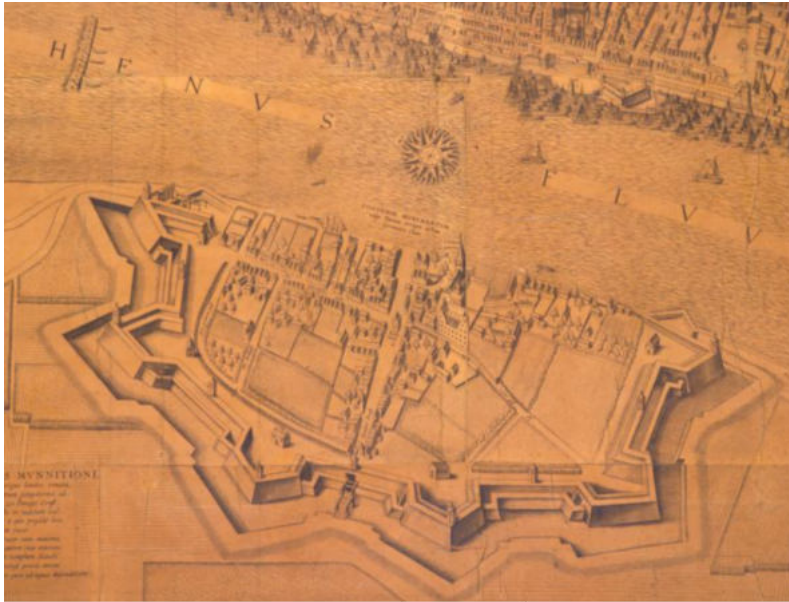
The Bier family tradition, agreed by members of the family from different branches, is that the surname Bier stands for a Hebrew acronym, either **ben Yitzchak Rofeh** or **ben Yosef Rofeh, son of Isaac/ Joseph the doctor.**⁴ No one in our current generation knows which doctor is referred to, but the two names **Yitzchak** and **Yosef** and their diminutives are repeated throughout the generations.

I had long wondered whether a Yitzchak or a Yosef or perhaps both had practiced as doctors in Deutz and bequeathed their names and their eminence to generations of our family.

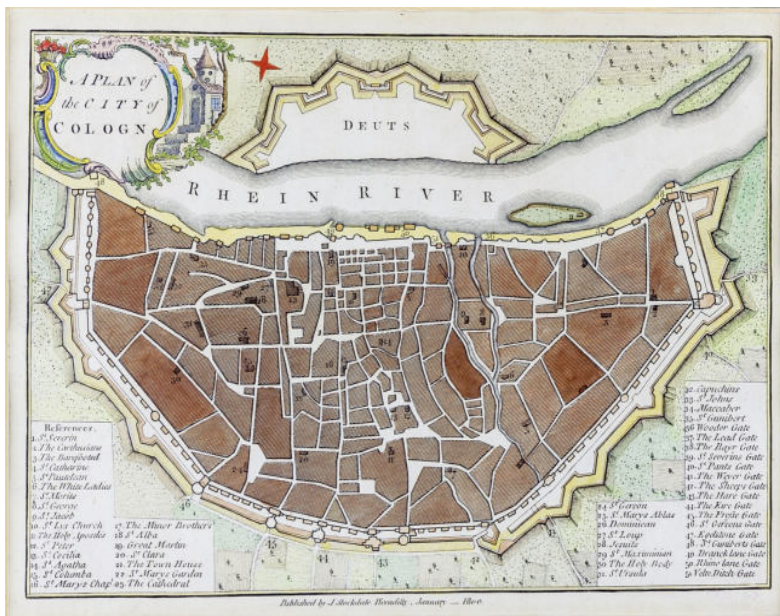
The following is therefore my attempt to discover the family's origins after years of research in the Deutz *Memorbuch*, archives, libraries and graveyards, and conversations with modern researchers on related subjects. These have shed light not just on these 16th and 17th century doctors, but on the stories and struggles of some of their descendants in later times.



Plan of the City of Cologne with Deutz in the middle foreground, 1571⁵



Detail of Deutz, from the plan of the City of Cologne, second edition, 1642⁶



Plan of the City of Cologne, 1800⁷

Section 1: Background to the research and written sources

In a not unusual occurrence, I found many family documents and bundles of photographs in a basement drawer (as opposed to the 'attic') in the early 1980s, thus starting a quest to discover more about my German ancestors.

Over the centuries and periods of expulsions and persecution, any official document was a precious family possession. In common with many others, family records were taken, when possible, on escaping from Germany in the 1930s. My great uncle, Nathaniel Bier, who had collected the family 'archive', was amongst the few fortunate enough to bring it with him when he managed to leave Frankfurt for England in 1939. My father remained very close to him and on his death must have taken the archive home and there it lay untouched, until after his death in 1981.

The first inkling I had of the extent of the Bier family was the carefully researched and wonderfully useful family tree compiled by a distant relative, Carl Bier. To my surprise, my father's generation had 136 names [or gaps where names were not known]. I was aware many must have perished, and I started a quest to discover their fate during the Nazi years. I was particularly concerned to find out about Carl, of whom I had never heard. To my great delight, eventually I discovered his descendants living and thriving in Israel.

Several very kind people have helped me on the way, as has been indicated in the dedications. My first genealogical colleague was Jean Paul Bier. His collaboration in the early days was invaluable. He researched and wrote a lengthy history for his family, which I have dipped into and will refer to.

Where possible, I have credited both those who have helped me and the original sources.

Bier family tree

Also mentioned in the Dedications is Carl Bier. His handwritten lists show his meticulousness method, following up all the numerous branches of the family in order to produce his tree. The earliest ancestor recorded is Jizchak, who died in 1734. Compiled in the 1930s, the last generation recorded was Generation VIII with 136 names. Carl's tree can be found in Appendix 1 and only includes dates of birth and death when known.

Memorbook of Deutz 1581-1784⁸

This communal record was transcribed from Hebrew script to Hebrew block letters by Adolph Jellinek and published in 1881. (Available in the British Library⁹). The original Memorbook 'disappeared' during the Second World War, but thanks to Jellinek we can still read the Jewish community's own records of the deaths of all those who died/were buried in Deutz.

As the official, secular records used an individual's Hebrew name, a version of it, or another Germanised name, the Memorbook can be particularly useful.

The Memorbook records the full Hebrew name, together with the father's Hebrew name. Occasionally it includes the name of someone (most often a surviving son, who is referred to

as such) who gave charity in the deceased's memory. Helpfully, it also, in many cases, refers to the name by which the deceased was known.

Women are usually recorded together with their father's Hebrew name, their husband's name and occasionally, their child's name. This is an excellent genealogical resource! One had to pay to be entered into the Memorbook. So, the poor, servants or children are generally excluded. This also explains the varying length of the entries.¹⁰

Fortunately, the original Hebrew script can be seen in the Memorbook of neighbouring Bonn that the British Library has digitised.¹¹ The original Bonn Memorbook was destroyed in a flood. When the Jews of Bonn started a new Memorbook, because of the geographical and personal proximities of both communities, they copied and included the old part of the Deutz Memorbook to make up for their own lost records. It should also be noted that it was customary for somebody with wider regional importance, or ties to different communities, to be entered into more than one Memorbook.

Familienbuch der Deutzer Juden¹² (The Book of Jewish Families in Deutz)

Klaus Schulte, (1936-2001), was a non-Jewish German historian and genealogist; a lawyer by profession, who tirelessly researched the Jews of the Rhineland, and in particular those of the smaller communities.

Schulte documented the families of Deutz, including two separate dynasties, the BIER and the SCHLAM, using a variety of official sources, as well as the Memorbook, the Deutz community records and records of legal disputes in the various archives. Pertinent to the discussion that follows, Schulte grouped the sixteenth and seventeenth century doctors living in Deutz as belonging to *Family Schlam*.

In his sources, Schulte indicates he had looked at the incomplete list for the earlier centuries of those buried in the Deutz cemetery (see below). However, it seems he was not able to consider the epitaphs from gravestones. This is unfortunate, as the text from gravestones is a useful resource, and with so few deaths recorded from the eighteenth century and earlier in the cemetery list, I believe this has contributed to certain faulty assumptions and inaccuracies. Having said that, it should be acknowledged that without Schulte's invaluable research, I would not have been able to compile the following document.

The written works of Adolf Kober, Carl Brisch and Shulamit Magnus

Kober, (1879, Beuthen - 1958, New York) was a Rabbi in Cologne and historian, whose academic work centred around the history of the Rhineland Jews and in particular the history of the Jews of Cologne. His research will be referred to frequently.

Kober acknowledged, in his introduction to his own history of the Jews of Cologne,¹³ the contribution of historian Carl Brisch, whose survey of material, as far as the nineteenth century, was published in 1879.

I am very grateful for the doctoral research undertaken by Shulamit Magnus which was published in 1997 and which gave me a greater understanding of the issues facing Jews in Cologne over the centuries.¹⁴ I have referred to her work extensively in the historical outline

section. As well as her historical analysis, I was delighted to read a quote mentioning my direct ancestor, Isaac Bier, and the reasons he became a saddler in Cologne.

Archival material

Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln.¹⁵ Landearchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen (LAV NRW) now based in Duisburg. The latter archive has recently been moved from the Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf.

Deutz Cemetery

A copy of the list of those buried in the Deutz cemetery can be viewed in the cemetery office. However, it is incomplete, and the records only include a handful of graves from the eighteenth century or earlier. These records are not useful for researching early centuries.

The early graves are located on the righthand side of the cemetery, but some of the gravestones are already illegible, others are deteriorating.

The first generations discussed below were not buried in Deutz. Until 1699 most would have been buried in the Jewish cemetery at St Severin's Gate outside the town limits of Cologne. This cemetery had been used since Roman times.¹⁶ It no longer exists and none of the 39 tombstones have survived. In the Cologne Memorbook, burials are often described as *le'tzad Koln*, by the side of Cologne.

In 1695¹⁷ the Elector Joseph Clement rented land to the Jews of Deutz for a cemetery on their side of the river. It was located near the mills at Sandkaul, and the first burial was in 1699.¹⁸ Rent was paid annually for the land to the Court Treasurer and the bailiff.

In 1944, when he was already in America, Kober wrote that he had visited the Cologne cemetery pre-War and was able to identify the inscriptions on the tombstones of those already known from the Cologne records, which he had also researched at the same time. The earliest one he found was from 1156.¹⁹

The stones in the Deutz cemetery have not been systematically studied, though in 2017, Nathanja Hüttenmeister and I attempted a photographic and textual record of some of the older graves. We only spent one day there and hope to return.

Steinheim Institute

Nathanja Hüttenmeister works at the Salomon Ludwig Steinheim Institute for German-Jewish History at the University of Duisburg-Essen researching the history and culture of Jews in the German-speaking world. She introduced me to their online *Epidat* resource. Where a relevant gravestone has been studied, the gravestone text, translation and record of other important information, including the relationship between the deceased and other family members, has been very useful.

Names and the use of Surnames

The following genealogy uses various sources, and frequently each uses a different spelling of a name. This can be either following translations from Hebrew into German or English, or

due to the differences between German (old usage and current) and English. A further reason is the use of diminutives, nicknames and the like.

I decided that it was important to maintain the integrity of the sources, and have kept the names in their full variety, and apologise for any confusion! A few examples:

Josef, Yosef, Yossi, Joseph
Eizak, Isac, Yitchak, Isaac, Isai, Aisek
Salomon, Shlomo
Moses , Moshe
Yaacov, Yakob, Jacob
Shimshaun, Samson

Surnames were not mandatory until 1808 under Napoleon. However, some families had already used family names from generation to generation. These identified them as coming from a particular place or being involved in a certain occupation, and sometimes deriving from the name of the family house. Some names had Hebrew origins, but some were Germanised.

In the Memorbook and Deutz cemetery, both the Hebrew בִּיר and בִּייר can be found. In German the name became 'BIER.' Jewish practice is to name a child as 'son of' or 'daughter of' followed by the father's name. 'Son of' can be written as *Ben* (Hebrew בן) or *Bar* (Aramaic בר) 'Daughter of' is *Bas* (Hebrew בת). A grandchild was often given the name of the grandfather (especially if he was deceased) and this could lead to several grandchildren in the same generation with the same name. Names also often repeat themselves over the generations, which can make deciphering and separating the generations very difficult.

A selection of translations

Chacham (Heb.) = Torah scholar

Chazan (Heb.) = Prayer leader

Chiffonier (Fr.) = Ragpicker

Cohanim (Heb.) = Descendants of the priestly class who retain specific religious functions

Festschrift (Ger.) = A document that honours an academic

Fripier (Fr.) = Second-hand clothes dealer

Gabai (Heb.) = A man who performs certain important religious functions during a prayer service

Gabai and Parnas, (Heb.) = Vorsteher, (German) = Person who helps with the smooth running of the religious services, who is to be called up to the Torah etc. Now known as a *shammas*

Gedenkbuch (Ger.) = Memorial book

*Geleit*²⁰ (Ger.) = Originally: permission, which had to be paid for, to travel within a specific area. Later on, the official right, paid for, of residence and permission to work in a specific area. Similar to *Schutz*

Gemeinde (Ger.) = A legal and compulsory community

Halacha (Heb.) = Jewish law

Handelsmann (Ger.) = Merchant

Hoffaktoren (Ger.) = Court Jews

Judenartz (Ger.) = literally - Doctor for Jews

Judengasse (Ger.) = Specific area where the Jews lived. Sometimes just one street

Judenleibzoll (Ger.) = A degrading 'body' tax specifically for Jews that treated them as if they were an animal or commodity, paid by Jews whenever they passed through a town or territory

Judenmatrikel (Ger.) = The lists compiled around 1808 when under Napoleon the Jews were required to choose a family name (surname)

Judenordnungen (Ger.) = Jewry Regulations

Judenpatent (Ger.) = Laws regulating Jewish lives

Kaufmänn (Ger.) = Businessman

Ketuba (Heb.) = Jewish marriage certificate

Landesrabbiner (Ger.) = Regional rabbi, here a rabbi of Electoral Cologne

Landjudenschaf (Ger.) = Rural Jews

Leiter (Ger.) = Person who ensured the smooth running of the prayer service and allocation of honours

Levi (Heb.) = Member of the biblical tribe of Levites

Maggid (Heb.) = Itinerant preacher

Memorbuch/Memorbook(Ger.) = Communal book of memory

Metzger (Ger.) = Butcher,

Metzgermeister (Ger.) = Master butcher

Minyan (Heb.) = Small local prayer group consisting of a minimum of 10 men aged 13 and over

Mitzvah (Heb.) = Good deeds

Mohel (Heb.) = Person who performs circumcisions

Rofeh (Heb.) = Doctor

Sattler (Ger.) = Saddler

Schutz (Ger.) = Official protection given to the Jews by local lords and rulers who received this right from the Emperor

Schutzbrief (Ger.) = Official letter of protection. Included would be the right of residence, permission to work in a particular trade and often the right to marry

Schutzgeld (Ger.) = Money paid annually by the Jews to the local rulers for *Schutz*.

Schutzjuden (Ger.) = Collective word for Jews who had *Schutz*

Shidduch (Heb.) = Arranged marriage

Shochet (Heb.) = Ritual slaughterer

Trödler (Ger.) = Junk dealer

Unverglaidete (Ger.) = Unprotected Jew

Verglaidete (Ger.) = Protected Jew

Vorgänger (Ger.) = Person with a link with secular authorities

Vorsänger (Ger.) = Cantor

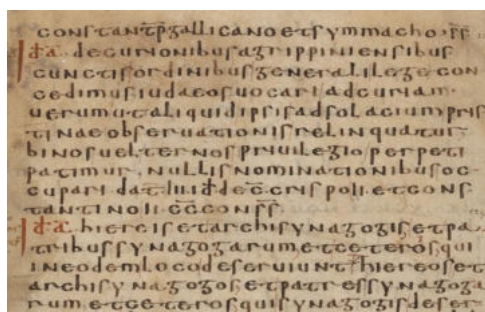
Vorsteher (Ger.) = Leader of the community

Section 2: The Jews of Cologne and Deutz: a brief early history²¹

Cologne is considered to have had one of the first Jewish communities of Europe. The history of the Jews of Deutz, a very small town (see the 1571 plan above) on the right bank of the river Rhine, is very much linked with that of Cologne, lying on the opposite bank.

Deutz originated in 310 CE as a small Roman fortress called *Divitia*, linked to Cologne by a bridge, that was built to defend Cologne against the attacks of the Franks, who in 462 CE finally took possession of it from the Romans. Deutz eventually became part of the Duchy of Berg and Jews settled in the Duchy, though not necessarily in Deutz itself, already by the thirteenth century.²² In 1240 the jurisdiction of Deutz was divided between the archbishop of Cologne and the Counts of Berg. The first reference to the presence of Jews in Deutz is as victims of the Black Death persecutions (1348-9).

It is likely that the history of a Jewish presence in Cologne goes back to the foundation of the town by the Roman Emperor Claudius in 50 CE. The earliest surviving written reference to Jews, in what is now Germany, are the 321CE²³ and 331CE edicts of the Roman Emperor Constantine. These respectively imposed the onerous *Curia*, city council, duties on the Jews of Cologne and exempted the priests (*Hieri*) and the elders of the synagogue, (*Archisynagogi*), from obligations incumbent on 'normal' citizens. This is important as it indicates the presence of a well-established Jewish community.²⁴



*Emperor Constantine's edict of 321 CE giving the town council of Cologne the right to require the service of Jews on the Council is the first historical evidence of a Jewish presence north of the Alps. As recorded in: Codex Theodosianus, Vatican archive, Reg. Lat 866 f435 recto.*²⁵

There is no evidence of a continuing presence of Jews in Cologne or anywhere else in the German territories between the fourth century and 1000 CE, when Jewish traders settled along the major trade routes, especially along the Rhine, including the commercial and trading centre of Cologne. It is known that a synagogue was built in Cologne around 1000 CE, as a document from 1426 refers to the presence of a 414-year-old synagogue which was turned into a church when the Jews were expelled from Cologne in 1424.

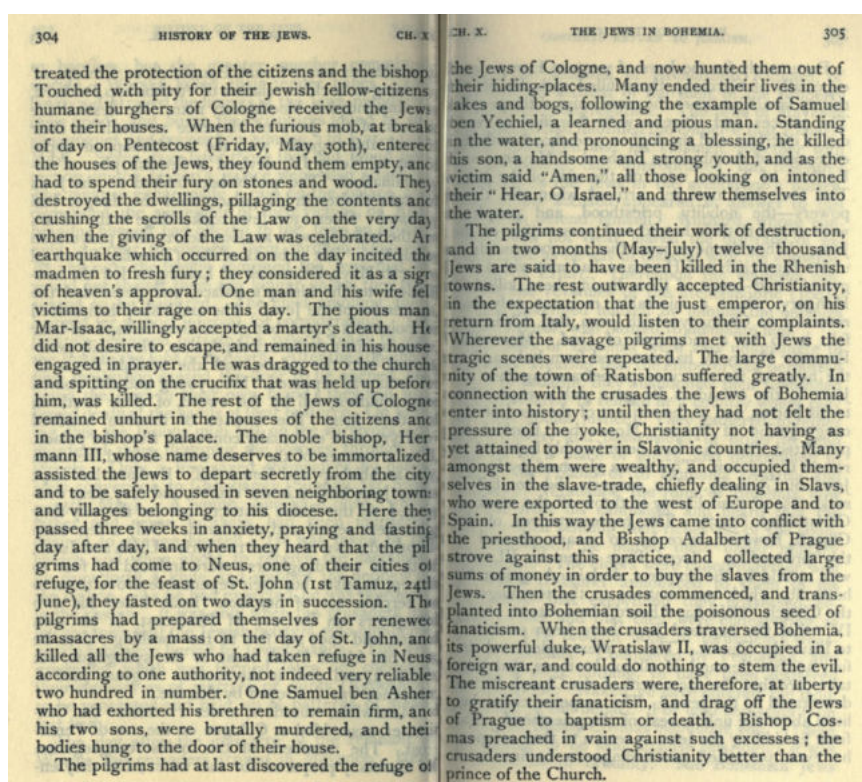
By the eleventh century, Cologne had become both an international commercial centre and an important Christian centre. Kober²⁶ estimated that there were at least 600 Jews living there and he suggested that the community was a focus for Jewish life for all the communities in the vicinity.

Jews were allowed to own property and had, overall, good relations with both the Emperor and the Archbishop, who was also an imperial Elector. This was also the time of Rabbi

Solomon ben Isaac (Shlomo Yitzhaki), known by the acronym Rashi, (1040 -1105, Troyes), whose clear commentaries on the Bible and Talmud have influenced all subsequent generations of rabbis and scholars. The study of Jewish mysticism also became a feature of Jews living in the Rhineland at this time.

The Jewish cemetery in Cologne dates back to the eleventh century CE, as does the synagogue, referred to above, which was destroyed and rebuilt three times on the same site. The community also had a Talmudic school and a hospital and Cologne was regarded as a centre of Jewish learning. Jews were engaged in all branches of commerce, trading especially in wool, leather, fur and jewellery. They were also allowed to hold public office.

However, the First Crusade in 1096 was a disaster for the Jewish population. Although some of the citizens and the archbishop tried to protect the Jews, most were massacred or forcibly converted. The Jewish quarter and synagogue were sacked and burnt down.



The Jews of Cologne and the First Crusade, 1096²⁷

Cologne's archbishop put the fortress of Valkenburg at the disposal of the Jewish community as a refuge during the Second Crusade in 1146-7. But once again, many Jews were tortured, killed or baptised.

The growing crafts guilds excluded Jews, who were therefore unable to pursue their previous professions and crafts. Generally, from the Second Crusade onwards, the life of Jews was one of persecution, fear and extortion. As Jean Paul Bier succinctly put it: "From 1215 onwards, because of the antisemitic policy of Pope Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council, the imperial privileges were turned against the Jews, and they became political pawns between cities, local lords and corporations."

Originally, feudal lords had promised protection and the right of passage to all merchants and travellers in return for a fee. For Jews, it continued to be obligatory: theoretically, they paid for the right to travel in those areas permitted to them, although the promised protection was not always forthcoming. As Jews throughout Christian Europe had no rights to settle in any place, any acceptance in a community was based purely on negotiation and some type of time limited agreement for protection. In Cologne the rights to extract taxes from the Jews were continually being fought over by both the civic city council and the archbishop-electors.²⁸

In 1252, the archbishops began to issue periodical letters of protection, *Geleit* or privileges to the Jewish community for which they had to pay heavily. In theory, these gave them freedom of commerce and worship, freedom from forcible conversion, and the right to untaxed burial for any Jew in the Jewish cemetery. The rabbinical courts had exclusive jurisdiction over cases involving Jews. Without *Geleit*, Jews had no rights of residence or permission to work. To qualify for *Geleit*, they needed to be both well regarded and reasonably affluent. Jews frequently lost their *Geleit*. For example, centuries later, Samson Bier is recorded as having *Geleit* in 1749, but had lost it by 1764/65 as presumably he was no longer able to afford it. He died eventually in 1781, a long time after, in the house of his son David.²⁹

Increasingly, Jews were at the mercy of unpredictable murderous mobs. During the fourteenth century, power in the city passed from the archbishop-electors to the patrician city elders, and they, in turn, extracted escalating taxes from the Jews in return for periodic letters of protection. The letter of protection issued in 1321 by the City Council was valid for ten years. However, life was becoming increasingly insecure and during the epidemic of the plague, the Black Death, the Jews of the Rhineland were falsely held collectively responsible for poisoning the wells, and in the subsequent massacres by the mob, hundreds of Jewish communities were destroyed.

In 1349 a mob stormed and sacked Cologne's Jewish Quarter. Almost the entire community perished. Some had gathered in the synagogue and set it on fire, choosing to die as martyrs. Those who had not died in the fire were murdered by the mob. A handful found refuge in Deutz. The archbishop and the city argued over the allocation of Jewish assets. It is claimed that the wealth gained by the city by the annihilation of the Jewish community, helped to both rebuild the City Hall in magnificent style and also pay for artworks in the Cathedral.

Although Deutz belonged to the Duchy of Berg and had obtained the privilege of *Freiheit*, free zone, in 1386, and enjoyed a relative autonomy, it was administratively and financially dependent on the archbishop of Cologne, whose residence was in Bonn and Brühl. The Jews lived more freely in Deutz, in relatively good harmony with their Christian neighbours and had both an elected head of their community and a *Vorgänger*, who was the link with the authorities of the city of Cologne and the archbishop. Nevertheless, the heavy taxes which had to be paid to both the duchy and the archbishop remained in force.

A trickle of Jews returned once again to Cologne in 1372; their main function was to act as money lenders, so only the wealthy were allowed in. The new arrivals were survivors of many other massacres, some arriving from far afield. They loaned money to the city and were granted a Privilege to remain for ten years. They were, however, subjected to both old

and new discriminatory laws and to regulations governing every aspect of their lives. The enormous taxes and levies which this small group had to pay were increasingly burdensome, and the mob and guilds became increasingly hostile.

In October 1424, the Cologne Council refused to renew the residential Privilege and the Jews were expelled 'for eternity'. The synagogue became a church. Many of the refugees found sanctuary across the river in Deutz. They continued to bury their dead outside the Cologne city walls at the city gates under the porch of St. Severin at the place called *Judenbüchel* (the little beech tree for the Jews).

By 1426, the Jews had managed to build a modest synagogue/study house in Deutz, and for some years Deutz became the seat of the *Landesrabbiner*, until the late sixteenth century when it moved to Bonn.

Despite the Reformation, Cologne remained Roman Catholic, and despite the absence of Jewish inhabitants, remained a stronghold of antisemitism. Not until 1798, when Cologne became a part of the French Republic, were Jews once again allowed to live there. During the intervening centuries, Jews admitted for business reasons were not allowed to stay overnight.

Extensive *Judenordnungen*, Jewry Regulations, were issued in 1599, 1614, 1686 and 1700, by the Elector, covering the Electorate of Cologne and the Grand Duchy of Westphalia. Kober details these³⁰ and it is salutary to think of the Bier family being subject to these daily restrictions on every aspect of their lives. The objective was to protect and benefit the Christians whilst restricting the Jews in both number and occupation. The burden of taxation dominated their lives, and Jews just about managed to subsist. By 1686 they had to identify themselves by wearing a yellow ring, clearly visible, on their outer garment. The regulations remained in effect until the French arrived in the late eighteenth century and dissolved the Electorate.

Jewish physicians, such as the Biers, could attend to Christians only when a Christian physician was unavailable, and only if the medical need was urgent. The regulations about money lending, one of the few professions allowed, were detailed, as were restrictions about the goods in which the Jews could deal. These specified: fruit, horses, cattle and sheep, old clothes, jewellery, gold and silver vessels, wine and wool. The restrictions were many. Jews could only sell at retail in places where there were no storekeepers. Hence the majority became itinerant peddlers, going from house to house in the countryside.

Kober mentions some of the recorded occupations of the Jews in Deutz. In the first half of the seventeenth century there are references to the silk trade. In 1608/9, the Jew Samuel is mentioned as the 'purveyor of the coinage' in Deutz. However, undoubtedly with the restrictive *Judenordnungen* and restrictions on joining the Guilds, most would have subsisted by peddling. One of the few professions open to Jews was that of doctor, and as will be seen, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several Jewish physicians lived in Deutz.

The community in Deutz had endured very hard times and occasionally needed to seek protection in Cologne. In 1583 they fled to Cologne before the troops of Archbishop-Elector

Truchsess von Waldburg (who tried to regain his diocese from which he had been deposed). Again, in 1631, they fled before the Swedish troops during the Thirty Years War and were temporarily received back in Cologne on payment of large sums of money. There had also been a significant fire in 1588.³¹



Swedish Army attacking Deutz during the Thirty Years War, 1632³²

The *Memorbook* talks about a large number of students from the University of Cologne (it actually talks about a thousand, but the University never had that many), who came to Deutz in 1665 to carry out a pogrom. This is indicative of the University's antisemitic stance. Fortunately, the Jewish representative, Hirtz Überrahein (Naftali ben Isaac ha-Levi, an ancestor of the author on the Hackenbroch side) asked the Catholic clergy for help, which was forthcoming, and the danger was averted. The Jewish community established a holiday to celebrate this deliverance.

After the expulsion of the Jews from Cologne, Deutz became the seat of the *Landesrabbiner* for the scattered community until the office moved to Bonn in the late sixteenth century. The role of the *Landesrabbiner* was essential both for ritual purposes but also for those matters where Jews still had some autonomy and legal jurisdiction. First to hold the office was Webes or Vives (1500-1560), followed by Isaac b. Abraham, Herz Bruehl (1656), and in the eighteenth century, Judah Mehler (d. 1751) and Joseph Juspa Kossmann (d.1758). Moses ben Isiah Joseph Bürgel, referred to later, was one of the rabbis of Electoral Cologne.

Jews were not allowed to conduct business in Cologne and all Jews, such as the Jewish doctors living across the river in Deutz, needed permission to enter the city. there were strict conditions for entering: they had to pay a fee and also wear distinguishing clothing. They could not remain overnight and were to be accompanied by a red-cloaked guard who stayed with them throughout.

The earliest records of the Bier family living in Deutz stem from the last decade of the sixteenth century when there were very few Jews living there. The number of Jews in Deutz possessing rights of residence increased very slowly. 'Shortly before 1616 there were only four (heads of households) Jews in Deutz. In 1634 there were 17; in 1764, 19; in 1765, 15 protected (*Verglaidete*), and 11 unprotected (*Unverglaidete*), numbering altogether 56 adults. In 1659 the Jews of Deutz inhabited 24 houses.³³ (The 56 adults presumably included female spouses and the widowed). Later the numbers increased. In 1823, under Prussian rule, there were 238 Jews in Deutz, decreasing to 233 in 1840, and 206 in 1880.

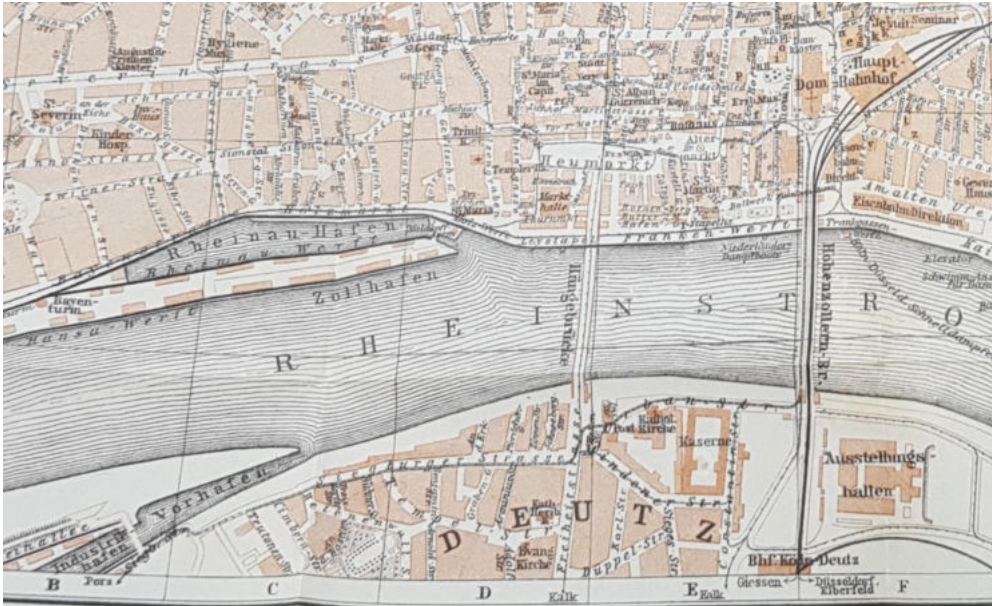
Deutz was one of hundreds of very small communities that were characteristic of the German-speaking lands at that time. Jews could only reside and marry with permission from the overlord. Young adults who could not establish economic independence and who failed to obtain *Geleit* would have to leave the territory. Despite the precariousness of their existence, which depended on the prevailing economic, political and religious situation, life in Deutz remained preferable, in many respects, to that in larger towns, where mob violence was not always controlled by the authorities. Despite this, as elsewhere, Jews were continually persecuted and had occasion to fear for their lives.

The Bier family lived in Deutz during the long and terrible Thirty Years War (1618 - 1648) and must have been involved when, in 1631, the terrified Jews of Deutz managed to obtain permission to deposit their wealth and pledges in Cologne.

The Bier family were religious Jews, who would, no doubt, have been very influenced by the religious debates and figures of the time, particularly, for example, by the eminent *Landesrabbiner* Rabbi Judah Mehler II (1661 - 1751), who lived alternately in Bonn and Deutz. He was an ascetic, who, from the age of 50, fasted from Shabbat to Shabbat. He became one of the foremost authorities on *Halacha*.

Jean Paul Bier wrote: "Kabbalah seemed to be able to answer the great questions of the time and to give hope to the Jewish communities that had suffered the disasters of the Thirty Years War." This was the period of the teachings of Isaac Luria (1534-1572) of Safed, and the later 'false messiah' Shabbetai Zvi (1626-1672). Jean Paul noted that in Deutz, Rabbi Judah Mehler II was vigorously opposed to the teachings of Shabbatai Zvi.

In 1695, the Archbishop Joseph Clemens of Bavaria rented land to the Deutz community for a Jewish cemetery. Later, from 1807 to 1867, it was also used by the Cologne community. The last Jewish burial in the *Judenbüchel* in Cologne was on 20 April 1696. The deceased was the official representative of the Deutz community to the Cologne authorities, Marx Levi or Mordechai ben Judah Leib, who had drowned while crossing the Rhine in a weather-related accident, which also cost the Christian ferryman his life. He was the son of the physician Judah Leib, who died ten years earlier, himself the son of the physician Moses of Worms. The daughter of Judah Leib, Yütla, who died in 1723, was the first wife of Yitzchak Eizek Bier.



Baedeker, 1926, English Edition. Mindener Strasse is in Deutz in square E³⁴

The Deutz Jewish community was located in a small Jewish quarter in the area of Mindener and Hallenstraße. In 1765 the Jewish population of Deutz consisted of 56 adults divided into 26 families, living in small and unhealthy houses that were constantly flooded. Despite this, the Christians claimed that the Jews had ‘taken’ the best houses, which were rented to them at high prices. During the 1770s and ‘80s the Jewish community of Deutz (31 families) suffered successive bad times. The most prosperous were those in trades that did not compete with the Christians, namely cattle and horse traders and butchers, of whom David Samson (Simon) Bier was one. It is suggested that this group were crucial in financially saving the community.

In 1784 the old synagogue (built in the early eighteenth century) was destroyed by flood. According to the Memorbook, thirteen brave men rescued the *Sifrei Torah* (Torah Scrolls) and for the very first time, the Benedictine monks sheltered the Jews of Deutz, recognising them as neighbours in need.³⁵ The synagogue was rebuilt in 1786 and remained in use until 1914, when work began on the ramp of the new Hindenburg bridge. A new synagogue was erected by the city of Cologne in 1915. By 1790 the Deutz Jewish congregation had 120 members (probably men and women).



The Deutz Synagogue. In front, the building used for the community, for the Rabbi and Jewish school, 1884³⁶



Interior of the Deutz Synagogue, 1914³⁷

Cologne remained stubbornly reluctant to change their treatment of the region's Jews. In 1784, the Jewish request to be treated like non-Jews, and be given permission to pass through Cologne, with the customary escort, rather than skirting it, was rejected.³⁸ This situation only ended ten year later, when, in 1791, French troops occupied Cologne, and the revolutionary French ideals of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, and rigorous opposition to the Catholic Church, benefitted the Jews.

Finally, Jews were allowed to freely enter and settle in Cologne. Very slowly a trickle of Jews formed a new community. At first the city resisted permitting Jews full citizenship rights. However, in 1797 the city government was dismantled, and Cologne was incorporated into the French Republic. The trickle of Jews increased and on 23 September 1802, equal rights were officially proclaimed. Maximilian Heller, whose daughter Sophie married Isaac Bier in 1835, was an early resident according to Schulte, living at Hosengasse 5941, Cologne in 1803.³⁹ Kober notes that 1799 saw the birth once more of Jewish children (two in that year). By 1808 the Jewish population was 133. Most were engaged in petty trade.

The citizens of Cologne had to get used to having Jews living in their midst. However, till 1840, Magnus makes clear, a Jewish presence in Cologne was not desired and antisemitism was rife. Traditional prejudices were, as ever, combined with economic fears. The vicissitudes of these years are many and can only be touched on briefly.

The Napoleonic legislation of 1808, the 'Infamous Decree' was a big obstacle in Jewish emancipation. It restricted the movement of Jews and severely weakened them economically. It was due to expire in ten years, as within that time the French believed that the traditional Jewish petty businesses, to which they had been restricted over the centuries, would have been abandoned and replaced by, in their eyes, more acceptable non-commercial occupations.

At the same time, Jews were ordered to adopt fixed family names. Thus from 1808 onwards the name 'Bier', already used by the family, became its official name.

In 1815, after the defeat of Napoleon, Cologne and the Rhineland were allocated to Prussia. Prussia, unlike some other States, did not abolish the 1808 legislation, and the Cologne city council was once again able to control and restrict the lives of its Jewish inhabitants.

Jews therefore continued, as under the French, to apply (and pay) for a *Judenpatent*, a license to settle in Cologne and conduct business there. The criteria specified that the applicant was not engaged in usuary or other illicit business. Testimonials of good character were also required. Magnus found many cases in her research where Jews appealed year after year against official rejections, despite all criteria having been met. The Prussian government often challenged the local resistance and intervened on these Jews' behalf. Magnus argues that the attitude of the Prussians was economic pragmatism: Jews, both rich and poor, would provide tax revenues and additionally there was an outstanding debt from the Jewish community from the pre-French electoral state, which they could collect.⁴⁰ Jews with their lack of civic and economic rights, became once again a target. They became victims in the battle between local Cologne administration and Prussian government in Berlin, as they had in earlier centuries between the Archbishops and the City Council.⁴¹

Despite general opposition of the non-Jewish merchants and businessmen, a *Judenpatent* was '...a passport not only to discrete economic rights but to privileged social standing. With it, the lowly *Juden* suddenly became *Kaufmänner*, members of the most respected social group in Cologne: the business class.'⁴² In fact, to preserve the status of the old, established, prosperous commercial groups a 'second class' *Judenpatent* category was established for Jewish petty traders.⁴³ Those who could not obtain *Judenpatente* were usually already living in Cologne (some for many years), and they, by necessity, continued to work, despite their residency and business having no protection and legal standing.

Emancipation and the nineteenth century religious liberalism that slowly took hold in the German lands, especially in the growing cities, was less evident in Deutz, which remained more conservative. However, several Jewish families from Deutz moved to Cologne. It is interesting to consider why the members of the Bier family were relatively slow to do so. Certainly, it cannot have been easy for any of the local Jews to commit themselves to a move to a city that had excluded them for nearly four hundred years. Additionally, the

Haskala, Enlightenment movement, from the late eighteenth century on, was seen within traditional circles as threatening Judaism's religious way of life and core values. I suggest that most members of the Bier family valued the contained traditional, orthodox religious life in Deutz over the greater economic opportunities and liberal atmosphere and freedom offered in Cologne. Their situation, particularly as butchers, would have enabled them to live fairly comfortable lives in Deutz, and they may not, at least initially, have seen the advantage in moving to a more secular environment.

The wider political situation, outlined above, must have also played an important part. Eventually, however, the decision must have been made to leave their 'ancestral home'. Isaac Bier petitioned to be given residence in Cologne in 1835. Although he was a butcher in Deutz, he had evidently decided the chances of a positive outcome would be increased if '*...he took instruction from the saddle master Werner who resides here.*'⁴⁴ Magnus found this information from her research into the *Judenpatente*, and notes that the 'city authorities went out of their way to facilitate Bier's request for settlement *since Israelite artisans should be able to count on especially accommodating [treatment] of their settlement requests*'. Magnus concludes that Isaac was indeed granted permission to settle and that later he obtained a *Judenpatent* as a saddler.⁴⁵

By January 1835, Isaac had moved to Cologne and married Cologne resident Maximilian Heller's daughter Sophie. This is confirmed in Table 4 compiled by Magnus which shows one saddler in Cologne in 1835.⁴⁶ By training as a saddler, Isaac had made a very astute move: there were thirteen Jewish butchers but only one Jewish saddler. The French legislation had achieved its desired outcome; following training by a non-Jew, Isaac achieved artisan status and was rewarded by the authorities with a *Judenpatent*. However, as indicated below, he is later recorded as reverting to the profession of master butcher.

The petition of Simon David Bier recorded in a memo of the mayor regarding Jews applying for *Judenpatente* for 1841, dated Dec. 1840, is also included by Magnus. She uses it as an example of the motivation behind most of the immigration to Cologne and other urban centres; the hope of economic improvement. Simon David was also a butcher and explained that '*... he [already] has many customers here*' and he expected '*to be able to provide a better living for his seven children of whom one is a doctor and two attended the higher Bürgerschule of Cologne.*'⁴⁷

Schulte documented the following eighth generation Bier family members living in Cologne: From 1847; the *Sattler* (saddler) and *Metzger* (butcher) Isaac Bier (Isaac was the father of Maximilian Bier, who himself left Cologne for Frankfurt, as will be seen below) From 1853; Simon Jacob Bier; Dr of Medicine Heinrich Bier; Jacob Simon Bier; teacher Jacob Heymann Bier; David Bier; the butchers Simon Bier and David Bier; Eysel Bier a *Handelsmann* '(merchant)'.⁴⁸

I suspect from the *Judenpatente* documentation found by Magnus, that many of these families must have moved earlier, some with and some no doubt without the requisite permission. However, after 1825, Prussian pressure ensured that most applications were in fact approved in contrast to the previous period. Wealth remained a decisive factor in favourable decisions. Clearly, more focused research into the Bier documentation in the

archives would elicit fascinating answers to the process and difficulties of emerging into the 'modern' world for the family.

The 1840s saw many changes as a new Protestant liberal elite, keen on pursuing commercial international opportunities, came to dominate, replacing the conservative Catholic merchant families. Amongst other factors, their serious interest in building a railroad to circumvent the Dutch control of the Rhine River mouth, resulted in Cologne rapidly becoming a major player in Germany's emerging industrial economy. The Jews of Cologne had worked hard to better themselves since the 1808 decree, the message of which was that emancipation was for bourgeois, wealthy, Jews. By the 1840s Cologne's Jews were solidly middle-class.⁴⁸ The new progressive liberal leaders and reformers began to call for a new social order that would give Jews enhanced if not full and equal rights and obligations. As a result, in 1847, the Prussian Jewry Law began that process, although it still distinguished between Jewish 'inhabitants' and Christian 'citizens'. It was only in 1871 that Jewish civic equality was finally established in the new constitution.

Magnus makes a very important point in her conclusion.⁴⁹ In the 1840s, '50s and '60s, Jews in Cologne and the Rhineland were an accepted part of middle-class society and benefited fully from their association with the new urban economy. From their perspective, upward mobility and security were possible to achieve in a way inconceivable fifty years previously. It was only later in the last third of the century that the antisemitic backlash against the Jews became increasingly worrying and problematic.

In the nineteenth century, as well as taking advantage of the economic opportunities, religious life and Jewish practice was becoming more liberal. Despite the growth of the Reform movement, Cologne's practice remained, initially at least, traditional. In 1804, with the immigration of Jews into Cologne once more, a prayer room had been established, but it became too small for the growing community, and a new synagogue in Glockengasse was inaugurated in 1861.

I had imagined that Isaac and his sons might have prayed in *minyans*, small local prayer groups, possibly with family and acquaintances from Deutz. But Carlebach wrote that the first strictly orthodox *minyan* was only established in 1863.⁵⁰ So, without more information, it would appear that Isaac and his family belonged to the Cologne *Gemeinde*. Perhaps there was no choice. The Jewish *Gemeinde* in Germany was a legal entity: similar to the legal status for Catholics and Protestants. Jews were compulsorily required to join their local congregation. Rabbis had little power as the administration and collection of taxes was conducted by elected laymen.⁵¹

Isaac had died in 1862 and Maximilian had left Cologne in or around 1859 to pursue the greater economic opportunities that Frankfurt offered. So neither would have been present in 1867 when the community divided over the reforms of the Glockengasse synagogue and the alternative orthodox, traditional, Adass Yeschurun community (which had developed from the orthodox 1863 *minyan* referred to above) was legally allowed to be established.

With Maximilian's move, the later history of the Jews of Cologne will not be considered here. However, many members of the wider Bier family remained in Cologne, and several were butchers.

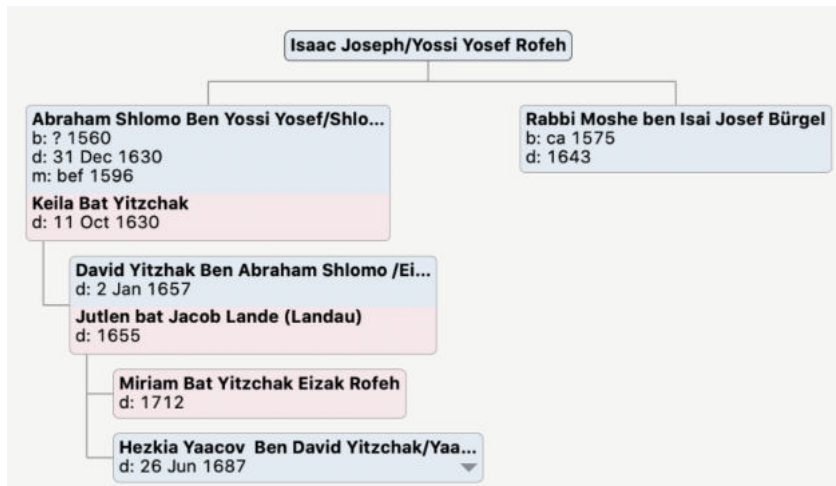
The importance of Deutz dwindled and in 1928 the Deutz community was amalgamated with that of Cologne. The synagogue in Deutz was destroyed on *Kristallnacht/Pogromnacht*, 10 November 1938. As with all the Jewish German communities, the Cologne community was destroyed during the Nazi period. 82 people with the name Bier (or married to a Bier) are recorded on the Yad Vashem website as having been murdered during the Shoah. Those members of the family will be named at the end of this document.

A final note about the physical connections possible between Deutz and Cologne over the centuries. The first bridge between Cologne and the Deutz banks was built around 310/315 under the Roman Emperor Constantine (the Constantinian bridge). It was destroyed during the Middle Ages. During the following centuries, Cologne became a free city, while Deutz remained under the archbishops, and the citizens of Cologne didn't allow a fixed or stone bridge. They feared a night-time attack by the archbishop's troops. Ferries operated by non-Jews and small boats were therefore the only way to cross. From 1674, a 'flying bridge' operated: a 'ferry' attached to a fixed line between the two shores, powered by the river. At night it had to remain on the Cologne side. After 1794, The French troops constructed a wooden bridge of boats between Cologne and Deutz, but it is not known how long this remained, or if civilians could use it.

When, after 1814, Cologne and Deutz both became Prussian, a bridge became possible. This was organised by the Prussian military, who wanted to easily connect both sides of the river. A bridge of boats was opened in 1822. Ferries also operated freely from then until the First World War. The railroad bridge, which was also a normal road bridge, was opened in 1859.⁵² It operated as a toll bridge until 1920.⁵³

Section 3: Family trees

Family trees with the early generations of the 'so-called' Schlam family (from Schulte)

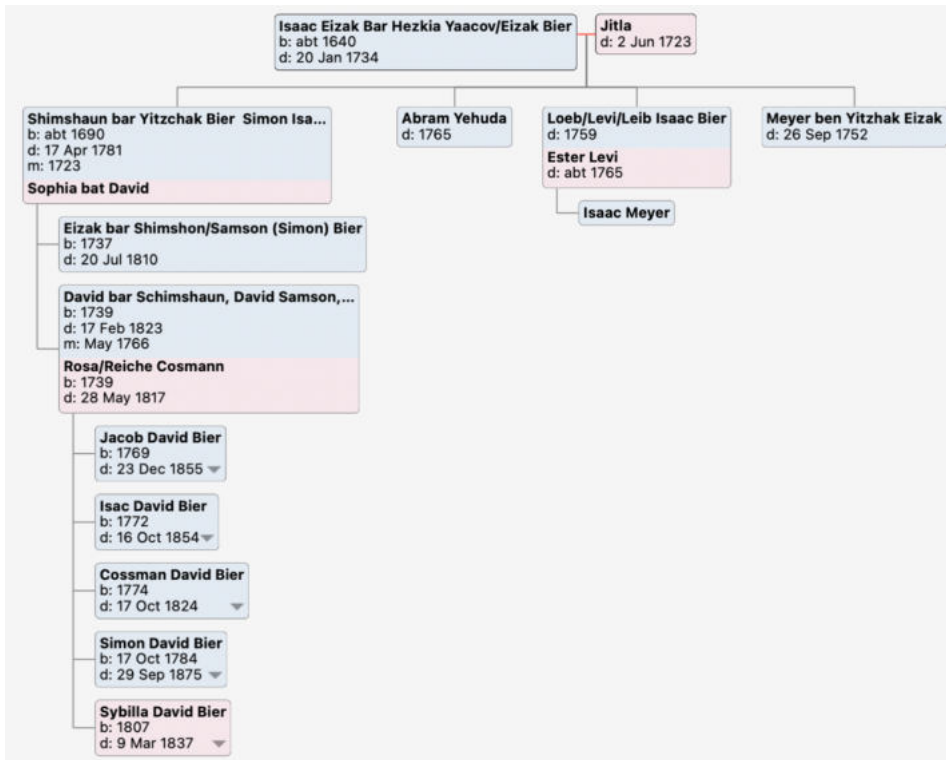


Generations 1 to 4

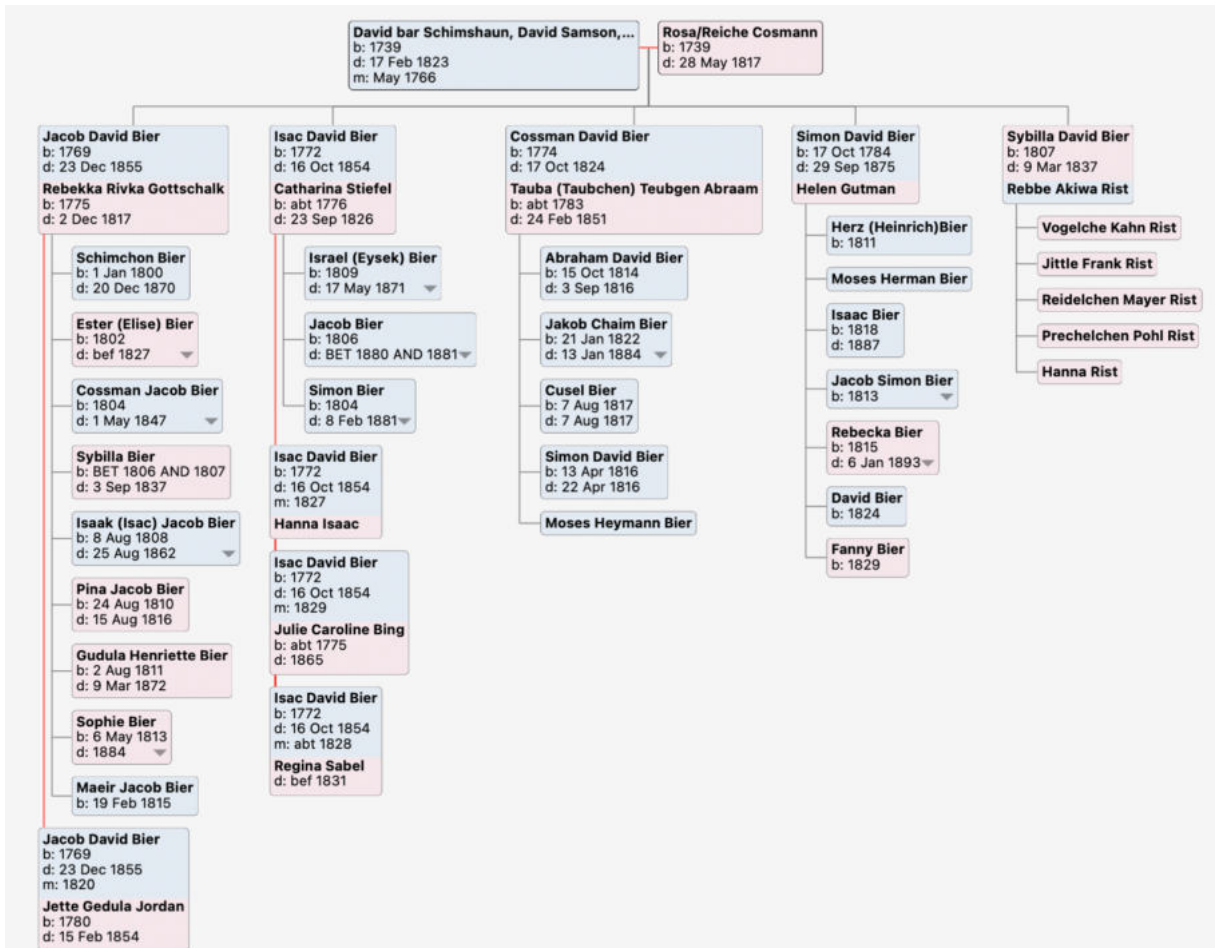


Generations 4 to 6

The Bier family from Isaac Eizak bar Hezkia Yaacov /Eizak



Generations 5 to 8



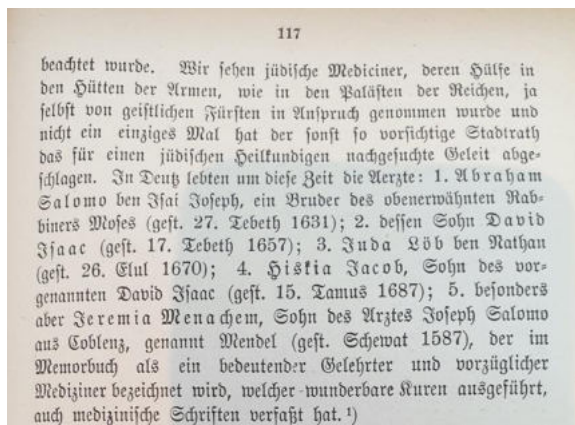
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Section 4: Rhineland Jewish Doctors

Several people have studied the presence of Jewish doctors, *Judenärzten*, in the Rhineland region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Adolf Kober (1879 – 1958), a rabbi in Cologne and an historian wrote a *Festschrift* on the subject that was published in 1929.⁵⁴ His work is based on research of original documents later destroyed by the Nazis. The Leo Baeck Institute Archive in New York holds some of his handwritten notes.

Kober began his *Festschrift* by recording that in the twelfth century, the archbishop of Trier had wished to be treated by the best doctor in his area: a Jew. He then noted the names of those recorded in official documents in the subsequent centuries throughout the Rhineland.⁵⁵ The records point to the presence of Jewish physicians in Deutz, living there from the end of the 16th century.

An earlier historian, Karl Brisch, quoted by Kober, was a teacher at a school in Mülheim am Rhein (14 miles or so down river from Cologne). He worked on a history of the Jews of Cologne and surroundings between 1879 and 1882.⁵⁶ Brisch included details about the doctors in the region including *Abraham Solomo ben Isai Joseph* together with his descendants.⁵⁷



Brisch⁵⁸

Kober referred to the existence in the seventeenth century of a well-known family of doctors, the first of whom is *Abraham Salomo son of Isai Josef* (unclear whether he was quoting from Brisch or used the same original sources). He also wrote that Abraham was known as *Artz Salomo*⁵⁹ *Doctor Salomon*. This information comes from the Memorbook.

Having established that Abraham's father is either Isai Joseph (Kober), or *Yossi Yosef Rofeh* (Memorbook), it is clear that his father was also a doctor. It is not so clear where the name *Isai* comes from, as *Yossi* is traditionally a shortened form of Joseph.

The Memorbook does not appear to record the death of Abraham's father, and this, and the possibility that the father and family moved in the late 1590s to Deutz from elsewhere, possibly Bürgel, a village in the neighbourhood of Frankfurt, is discussed below.

The Roman bridge across the Rhine had long disappeared and Kober described how the Jewish doctors from Deutz treated Christians living across the river in Cologne:

‘During the 370 years when Cologne was closed to them, individual Jews would obtain, in return for a special payment, permission to enter the city for a short while, and that only during the daytime... Accompanied by a guard in a red cloak, the Jew could visit only those city residents whom the Council gave him permission to see. In a great many instances, the visiting Jews were the physicians from Deutz and Mülheim who were repeatedly called to the bedside of their Christian patients in the city of Cologne... The Jews of Deutz, who seem to have carried on a lively trade in Cologne, had their own boat and boatman, the so-called Judenfahrer, who would ferry them across the Rhine and act as messenger for them while the Jews themselves remained in the boat.’⁶⁰

There follows a description of the trials and tribulations endured by the powerless merchants and traders.⁶¹ In 1686 Elector Maximilian Heinrich of Cologne (1650-1688) issued a new Jewry Regulation.⁶² The second chapter ordered that Christians could only use Jewish physicians when a Christian physician was unavailable and the need for medical treatment was urgent. Jewish physicians were forbidden to dispense medicine prepared by themselves but had to have their prescriptions prepared by the apothecary.

It remains unclear whether these Jewish doctors had had any formal medical training. Jews were prohibited from studying at the University of Cologne or living, as Jews, in the city. Some students from Padua and elsewhere did return to practise as doctors in Germany, others had no formal qualifications. Cecil Roth suggested that Jews who were denied formal training would have got their medical knowledge from the considerable literature on medical science that was available that was mostly written in Hebrew, with some translated from Latin or Arabic.⁶³ Where the practice of medicine went from father to son, as in the case of the Deutz doctors, the son would undoubtedly have learned from his father as he accompanied him on his rounds.

The lack of academic qualifications became central to the antagonism expressed by the Cologne University towards local Jewish doctors, especially as they were favoured by the elite. Cecil Roth studied the examination of prospective doctors for licence to practise, and although his paper concentrated on the doctors of southern Europe, the argument could be valid for the German-speaking lands too. He suggested that the ‘... general licences to practise issued to Jewish physicians after examination to demonstrate their ability, must be carefully distinguished from the licences to practise among Christians issued to them sometimes by the ecclesiastical authorities on religious grounds: for these were in effect absolutions from the canonical restrictions, going back to early centuries and reiterated thereafter time after time, which forbade Jewish physicians to exercise their art on true believers, or the Christian faithful to make use of their services.’⁶⁴

The 1594 City Council Minutes state that, ‘...a Jew who took up the profession of medicine without protection was to be detained for punishment, and, in any event, could not practise until examined *per medicos*...Neither the attitude of the University, however, nor the decree of the City Council permitting Jews to enter the city only by special permission and only during the daytime, could stop Christian patients within the city from frequently calling upon Jewish physicians from Deutz...this was a usual practice between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.’⁶⁵

Brisch commented that strangely, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the canonical law, which threatened every Christian treated by a Jewish doctor with excommunication, was not observed in Cologne. Jewish doctors helped in the huts of the poor, in the estates of the rich, and even spiritual princes, and not once did the otherwise cautious City Council refuse *Geleit* (protection) sought for a Jewish healer. Brisch continued that it was impossible to enumerate all the officially recorded cases where doctors were called to Cologne to treat patients. Generally, a 3-day *Geleit* was granted; but the doctor was required to go back and forth without spending the night in Cologne. As above an escort was required.

Efron,⁶⁶ has studied the history of the German Jewish doctors. Generally, there was an impression that Jews were in possession of a sophisticated body of medical knowledge. As a result, they were more popular amongst patients than gentile physicians. The numerous bans found in the sources, indicates how in fact these bans were circumvented. However, prejudice and 'otherness' could also mean that the Jewish doctors were seen to possess supernatural powers, which exacerbated the antisemitic and paranoid fear of Jews amongst gentiles, and in some part led to the accusations of the poisoning of the wells, responsibility for the Black Death and other such calumnies.

Increasingly, however, the universities began to accept a limited number of Jewish students during the seventeenth and more so in the eighteenth century, and practising medicine became subject to more formal training and qualifications. It remained a profession that, despite the numerous restrictions, was permitted. There is no explanation why, after four generations, about a hundred years from the 1590s to the 1680s, the Bier family medical tradition ceased.

The records show that in later years, the Bier family had a strong tradition of being butchers. Under the various Jewry Regulations, Jews could '...deal with raw hide and skin and small articles, although without maintaining a store. Jews may slaughter cattle and sell meat. In cities where a butcher's guild exists, the animal brought by a Jew for slaughter must remain standing for an hour for public view in a place to be indicated by the local authorities.'⁶⁷ As Jewish dietary laws require the consumption of kosher meat, the butcher's trade could provide a steady income. And although there is no specific reference in the available Deutz records, selling the ritually prohibited hindquarters of an animal to Christian butchers was, no doubt, a constant source of extra income and simultaneously, would have brought Jews and non-Jews into a business relationship. This would also have been true of cattle dealing, a common profession for rural Jews.

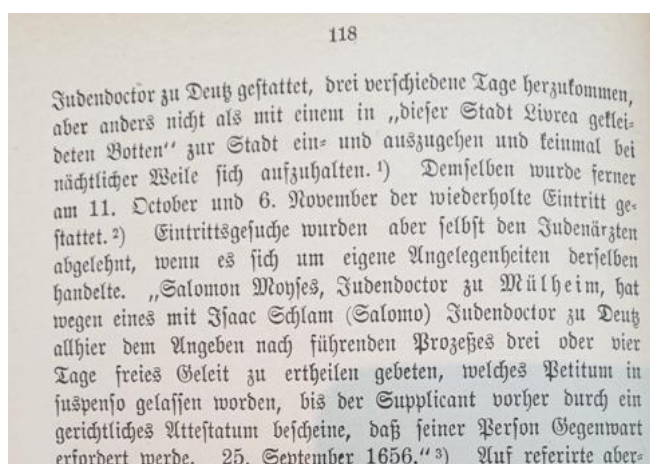
Indeed, the Biers became relatively wealthy within the Deutz Jewish community and retained the privilege of *Geleit*. Perhaps this is why they stopped being doctors with all the inconvenience and uncertainty regarding gaining permission to enter Cologne, together with the cost and the dangers of crossing the river at certain times of the year. It is very possible that they used their medical knowledge to become butchers, possibly even exercising both professions in tandem for a time, and thus becoming more economically and socially stable.

Section 5: The lack of evidence for family *Schlam* representing a separate dynasty

Taking as a starting point Kober's *Festchrift*, Schulte linked the known doctors of Deutz into a family group '*Schlam*'.⁶⁸ My contention as argued here is that a family '*Schlam*' never existed. The five generations identified by Schulte are:

1. Isaac Joseph Salomo (Isai Yosef) d. 1606. (Known as Yossi Yosef Rofeh, Memorbook)
2. Abraham Salomon b. 1560 d. 1631. (Known as Shlomo Rofeh, Memorbook)
3. Isaac Schlam, David Isaac d. 1657. (Known as Isaac Rofeh, Memorbook)
4. Jakob Schlam, Hiskia Jakob d. 1687. (Known as Yaakov Rofeh, Memorbook)
5. Salomon Schlaum, Simon bar Hesekiel Jacob, Salomon Bier d. 1719. *Judenartz*

The first documented evidence of the 'surname' *Schlam* alongside the name *Salomo*, or more commonly Solomon, was found by Brisch in the court records of a 1656 case concerning *Judendoctor Isaac Schlam (Salomo)*, (Generation 3).



Brisch, 1656 court case⁶⁹

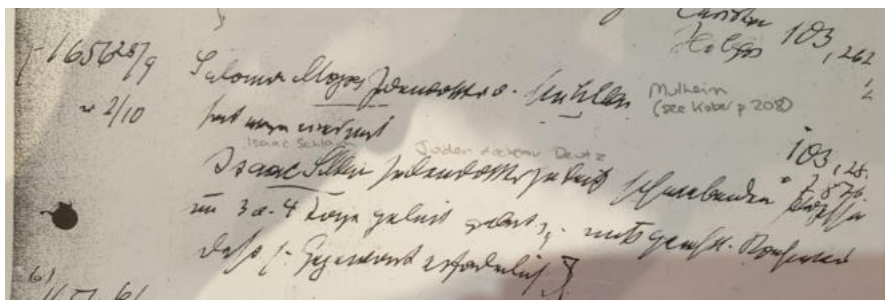
The text translates as:

*Salomon Moyses, a Jewish doctor in Mülheim, has asked for three or four days of Geleit, safe conduct to attend a hearing (probably as a witness to give evidence) involving Isaac Schlam (Salomo), a Jewish doctor in Deutz. (It is not clear whether Isaac is the plaintiff or the defendant, or whether it's some other sort of application, for example concerning property). Permission will be granted only if the court decides that Moyses' attendance in court is required.*⁷⁰

However, it is not clear why Schulte allocated the actual 'surname' *Schlam* to this group of doctors, as nowhere in the cemetery or the Memorbook does the name *Schlam* occur. Nor did Brisch or Kober designate this family as *Schlam*.

Clearly, before the standardised use of surnames, Jews would have needed some form of secular name both to register with the authorities and for ease of recognition by the non-Jews they encountered. In this case, the '*Schlam*' in official civil and legal documents derives from the second name of Isaac, *Schlomo*, which, in Hebrew, can be written as *Shin-Lamed-Mem*, or in English, Solomon. Written Hebrew does not include vowels and therefore is commonly open to errors or misrepresentations in translation.

Kober,⁷¹ researching 50 years after Brisch, could well have been taking notes from Brisch's text, as his handwritten notes do not add any further information:



Kober⁷²

The writing is hard to decipher, but reads as:

1656, Isaac Schlam Judendoctor zu Deutz. schwebender Prozesse
um 3 o. 4 Tage Geleit gebet, ...desen Gegenwart erforderlich.

1656, Isaac Schlam, Jewish doctor from Deutz. Pending processes
for 3 or 4 days has been given *Geleit* (protection).... whose presence is required.

Given there is no further documentation in the records about a *Schlam* family, it is significant that the given names in the early records of Schulte's *Schlam* family, accord very closely with the given names of the slightly later records of the *Bier* family. The Bier tree composed by Carl Bier corroborates this but is unfortunately less detailed in early generations.

Section 6: The links between Family Schlam and Family Bier in the Schulte text

My research indicates that the first generations of Schulte's 'Family *Schlam*' are in fact not a separate family, but rather the earlier members of the Bier family.

Schulte observes and even comments on several connections and overlaps between the Bier and Schlam families, but fails to conclude that they were one and the same.

Schulte did not use the epigraphs on the Deutz cemetery tombstones because none had yet been transcribed. He relied on the lists of those buried in the cemetery (now held at the cemetery and can be viewed there) which record names and dates, but the lists do not include details of the inscriptions. Additionally, very few of the eighteenth-century graves are listed. When I visited the cemetery with Nathanja Huttenmeister in 2017, we found and transcribed some of the gravestones whose photographs are included later on.

The breakthrough came when we transcribed the inscription on the tombstone of **Yitzchak Eizek bar Yaakov Rofeh** (c. 1640- 1734), because it linked him, as the son of Yaacov Rofeh a member of the *Schlam* family, with his entry in Memorbook (page 36/37) where he is described as 'being known by all as **Eizek Bier**'. *In other words, Yitzchak Eizek Schlam and Eizek Bier are one and the same person.*

It is accepted that Schulte did very valuable work in the archives, but that there are mistakes.⁷³ Below are five instances where Schulte suggested a possible connection between the Schlam and Bier genealogies but failed to link them.

I believe that in the following analysis of each generation, all are members of one family and not two.

1. *Isaac Aisek Bier is a relation of the 'Maggid' Moyses Schlam.*⁷⁴

Familien Bier
Teil I

I	1	Samson, 1659 in Deutz wohnhaft, vgl. Anlage II p 186
II	2	Isaac Aisek Bier ¹⁾ , E 1, Verwandter des Moyses Schlam, „Maggid“, † zwischen 1734 und 1741 <i>relation</i>
	3a	Jitla, T. d. Arztes Juda Leib, † Deutz 1723
	3b	N., T. d. Meyer Isaac
	3c	Hannah Elias, † Deutz 1741

2. *Salomon Schlaum (is also referred to, no source) as the 'benefactor' Salomon Bier.*⁷⁵

16	Salomon Schlaum, „der Wohltäter“ Salomon Bier, Salomon bar Hesekiel Jakob, E 6, „Judenarzt“, in Deutz belegt 1687, 1710, † Bassenheim bei Koblenz, Kurtrier, begraben Deutz 1719 Jan 30 (C). <i>benefactor</i>
17	N. N., Witwe in Deutz 1719

3. *Schulte is not content with the source information referred to by Kober. 'The word Judenarzt was never used by Kober. One should pay attention to the name-*

overlap/coincidence with the family name Bier. See the family page for Bier'.⁷⁶

1) Nach A. Kober, Rheinische Judendoktoren, welcher die Bezeichnung „Judenarzt“ mehrfach bringt, ohne daß in den hier ausgeschöpften Quellen eine solche Bezeichnung jemals vorkommt; ergänzt aus dem Memorbuch Deutz. Auf die Namen-Überschneidungen mit Familien-Namen Bier ist zu achten, vgl. dazu Tafel Bier.

4. *Daughter of Salomon Schlam, Jewish Doctor in Deutz. See the Schlam family page. According to the Deutz Memorbook this previously mentioned person is identical to the 'benefactor' Salomon Bier.⁷⁷*

3) T. d. Salomon Schlam, Judenarzt, Deutz, siehe Tafel Schlam; nach dem Memorbuch Deutz ist Erstgehanter ^{previously} identisch mit dem Wohltäter Salomon Bier.

5. *Alexander, son of Moses Bier ביר died in Moshe bar Hezikah Yaacov's house.*

③ *In seinem Haus 1726 verstorben Alexander Moses Bier (!).*

His father Moses, son of Hezkia Yaakov, gave charity in his memory. 4 July 1726.⁷⁸

Section 7: Doctors of Deutz in the Deutz Memorbook as transcribed by Jellinek

Finally, it is necessary to consider the doctors found by Jellinek when he copied out the original *Memorbook*. At the beginning of his printed edition, he listed the pages that mention the Jewish doctors in Deutz.⁷⁹ He left some out, and I have included these, but the list does show the rather limited number of doctors living in Deutz recorded in the *Memorbook*. Schlam/Bier doctors and their wives or daughters are in bold.

Abraham, Shlomo, ben Yossi Yosef Rofeh (page 15). He died 1631.
He was called **Shlomo Rofeh** (Doctor)

Keila, daughter of Yitzchak. Married to Shlomo Rofeh (page 15). She died 1631.

David Yitzchak ben Avraham Shlomo Rofeh. (page 16). He died in Tevet 5417,1657 and was buried 'at the side of Cologne'. (Not in Jellinek's list). He was called **Eizak Rofeh**.

Yutlen bat Yaacov Landau. Wife of Eizak Rofeh (page 16). She died in 1655.

Hezkiah Yaakov Rofeh, ben David Yitzchak (page 22) who died in Tamuz 1686 and was buried in Cologne. He was called **Yaakov Rofeh**.

Miriam bat Yitzchak Eizak Rofeh (page 30). She died in Offenbach in 1712 and was buried in Bürgel. She was the wife of Yaacov Emdin.

Keila bat Hezkia Yaakov Rofeh (page 31). She died August 1721 and was buried in Deutz. She was the wife of Yaacov, who gave charity in her name.

N.B. **Yitzchak bar Hezkiah Yaakov** died in 1734 (Page 36-37). His father was not referred to as a doctor in the *Memorbook*, but on his son's gravestone is the following; 'son of the deceased Yacov Rofeh'. His brother is similarly entered into the *Memorbook* as **Shlomo bar Yehezkiel Jakob** (he died in January 1719/1720 (page 31)), with no mention of his father having been a doctor. Shlomo's gravestone has not been found.

Doctors from Deutz from other families:

Juda Lev/Löb bar Natan Rofeh, known as Leib Rofeh. (Page 19). He died in 1670 and was buried in Cologne. His daughter **Yütla bat Juda Lev/Löb Rofeh** (page 34), was the first wife of *chassid* Isaac Eisak Bier, according to Schulte. She died in 1723, *Memorbook* page 34.

Jeremiah Menachem ben Yosef Shlomo. (Page 23). His father was known as Zalman Rofeh from Koblenz, who had died in 1587. He is the only doctor in Jellinek's list with no obvious connection to the family.

Section 8: Did the family originate from Frankfurt? Is Rabbi Moses ben Jishai Josef Bürgel (ca.1575-1643) an early ancestor? ⁸⁰

In a footnote in the Schlam family pages, Schulte stated that a brother of Abraham Shlomo ben Isai Joseph (Generation 2 above) was **Rabbi Moses (Moshe) Bürgel**.⁸¹

I followed this up as far as possible, and initially found that Rabbi Moses is said to have come from Bürgel, a village in the neighbourhood of Frankfurt. (It lies four miles east of Frankfurt and is now part of Offenbach am Main.)



Bürgel, 1893, with Jewish cemetery (Jud. Friedhf.)⁸²

If Rabbi Moses was indeed the brother of Abraham Shlomo, then it is possible that Abraham Schlomo came to Deutz from Bürgel. Jewish families probably lived in Bürgel as early as the Middle Ages, but unfortunately there are no community records from that time. Kober wrote that Rabbi Moses was born in 1575.⁸³ No source was given. Nathanja Hüttenmeister pointed out that as the first documented mention of Jews in Bürgel dates from 1575, it is possible that Rabbi Moses' date of birth itself became the source for the first mention of Jews there.

Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte commented: As far as I know the village Bürgel belonged to Mainz (= Petersstift zu Mainz and Kur-Mainz), although it is situated much closer to Offenbach than to Mainz. Three Jewish men are mentioned in 1594 in Bürgel: Itzig, Abraham and Uhrie. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) Bürgel was completely destroyed. This might have been one of the reasons for the migration to another archdiocese, Cologne, for example. Shortly after that War, some Jewish families returned to Bürgel, and it became one of the bigger communities of the area, thanks to the policies of the archbishop of Mainz. There are relationships between the Jews of Deutz and Friedberg (and villages around it) other than just Moshe Bürgel and his family. Some Jews from Deutz lived in Windecken (close to Friedberg), Frankfurt and Rüsselsheim during the late sixteenth century.⁸⁴

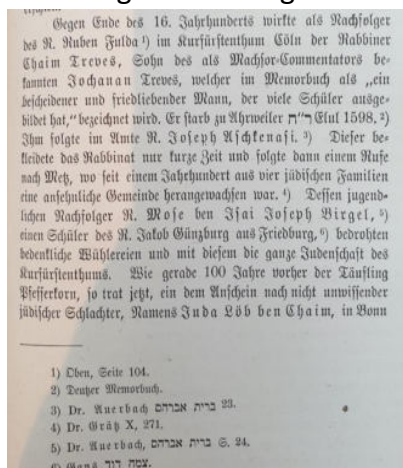
The Jewish cemetery in Bürgel was in use in the seventeenth century, but the cemetery, particularly the older section, was badly damaged in the Nazi period, so no gravestones are left.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, nothing can be established about Rabbi Moses' family background. But as his life is interesting, and as he might be related to the Bier family, I have included some summaries below, with thanks to those who drew these to my attention and also contributed their further thoughts.

Early written sources with relevant excerpts:

R. Zevi Benjamin Auerbach: Page 25 refers to Mosche Bürgel, No further information.⁸⁶

Brisch Carl: 'The youthful Rabbi Mose ben Isai Joseph Birgel, a pupil of Rabbi Jacob Günzburg in Friedberg'.



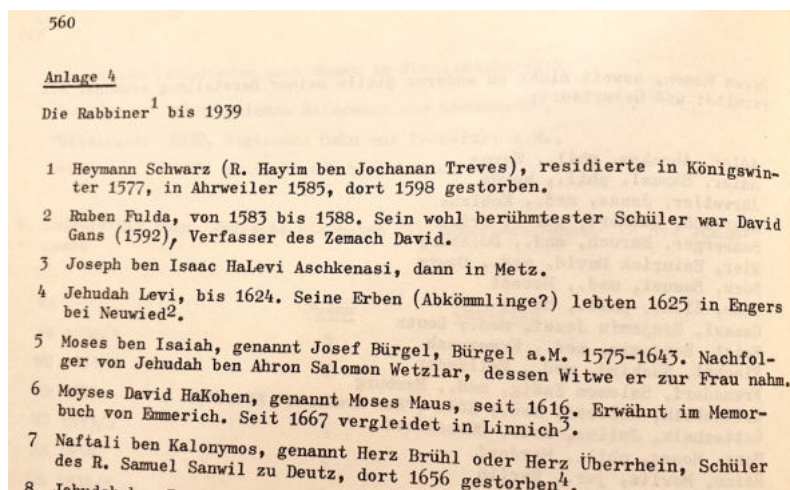
Brisch⁸⁷

Leopold Löwenstein: Bürgel's son Mosche Birgel acted as community chairman in Friedberg in the 1630s and 40s.⁸⁸

Adolf Kober:

Kober refers to him in a long footnote as *Rabbi Moses ben Isaiah Joseph Burgel (1575 – 1643)*, whose great Talmudic learning, modesty and love of peace was praised in the Bonn *Memorbook*. Moses had been a pupil of Rabbi Jacob Günzburg in Friedberg. He was appointed to become one of the Rabbis authorised to be in charge of the Jews' spiritual needs by the Archbishop, the Elector of Cologne. According to the sixth chapter of the Jewry Regulations of 1686, the rabbi of the Electorate was empowered to decide religious problems for those outside the principality. Rabbi Moses succeeded Rabbi Judah ben Aaron Wetzlar, married his daughter Gutlen, and lived in Bonn. He was buried in Friedberg.⁸⁹ (The Friedberg old Jewish cemetery was destroyed in the Nazi era).⁹⁰

Klaus Schulte:



List of Rabbis of the Electoral College, Bonn⁹¹

Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte commented:

Although Moses Birgel lived in Friedberg for many years, there is not very much known about him. This has to do not only with a lack of relevant sources but also with the name. The documents refer to him as Moses Bürgel/Birgel and also as Moshe Burgk. Apparently, he was not the only Friedberg Rabbi at that time. Due to the size of the Jewish community and its complicated political position between castle and town (both constantly struggled for dominance) it could be that there were at least two Rabbis and Moshe Bürgel/Birgel/Burgk politically belonged to the *Burg* (Castle), and not to the town. This would explain the name.

Birgit Klein:

Birgit Klein is a colleague of Nathanja Hüttenmeister who has kindly outlined the relevant part of the dissertation,⁹² which looked at Brisch's description of the problems Mosche Bürgel experienced in his time in Deutz as *Kurkölnischer Landesrabbiner*.⁹³

Around 1615 there was a ritual matter, which the Jewish communities disputed for many decades. The dispute concerned the question whether an animal, in whose entrails a needle or any other sharp object was found sticking to the flesh without having pierced it, while the other side showed a scab, could be considered ritually permissible.⁹⁴

In this dispute, Rabbi Moses, who was known to be very stringent, took a stricter view in contrast to the local *minhag* (custom) and also to the views of Juda bar Chayim, also known as Levi of Bonn or Löb Krauss, the Court Jew and *Judenaufseher*, the leader of the Jews appointed by the non-Jewish authorities. Ultimately it was a controversy about who had authority in the territory of Kurköln, Rabbi Bürgel or the *Judenaufseher*. Bürgel was defeated and must have left Bonn soon after, as in 1618 he is recorded in Friedberg where he became a community rabbi for over 20 years, till his death in 1643.⁹⁵

(In 1603 Juda bar Chaim, Levi of Bonn, became a controversial figure when he denounced the Frankfurter *Rabbinerversammlung*, the rabbinical assembly, to the emperor for planning a Jewish confederation across the empire, describing it as a Jewish conspiracy against him. This led to a trial [of assembly members] for high treason in 1606.)⁹⁶

'R. Moses b. Jishai Josef Bürgel (ca. 1575-1643) came from Bürgel next to Frankfurt. He was a disciple of Jakob Günzburg in Friedberg and married Gutle, a daughter of the Scholar Juda Wetzlar in Friedberg. His teacher Jakob Günzburg, was a grandson of the famous, wealthy, Simon Günzburg, who was in favour of the Rabbi's edict of the Frankfurt 1603 assembly. Simon Günzburg's son was married to the daughter of Moses Hamm, one of the signatories of the 1603 edict. Therefore, Mose Bürgel was close to the Rabbi's edict of the Frankfurt assembly and so was opposed to Levi of Bonn.'⁹⁷ Two years after the ritual controversy in Bonn, Moshe Bürgel returned to Friedberg (October 1618), where he served as rabbi until his death on 5 December 1643.⁹⁸

Hans-Helmut Hoos, Andreas Gotzmann, Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte:

From 1615/18 to 1643, Moses bin Jisai Josef Bürgel (= Mosche Burgk), who had previously been a rabbi in Fulda and Bonn, was the chief rabbi in Friedberg. He was a son-in-law of

Rabbi Yehuda Wetzlar. Bürgel held the Friedberg rabbinate until his death, 5/6. December 1643.

His daughter Sara Rösigen died in Friedberg in 1632, a second daughter, Mirjam, died in Friedberg in 1665. Baruch, son of Salomon Bürgel (died in 1642) and grandson of Mosche Bürgel, died in 1703, his daughter Gertraud in 1709. Baruch Birgel is entered in the *Rentprotokoll* of 1658: 'In Friedberg lived Baruch Birgel, grandson of the *'vorigen alten Rabbi'* (the former old Rabbi)'.⁹⁹

Eric Zimmer:

Cites the Friedberg Memorbook entry for Moshe Bürgel but there is no mention of Bonn.¹⁰⁰

Protokollbuch:

Moshe Bürgel is mentioned (quite often according to Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte) in the Protokollbuch (minutes book) of the Jewish Community Friedberg.¹⁰¹

Section 9: Further footnotes about the ‘Schlam’ family¹⁰²

In a list of 24 Jews in Deutz in 1659, ‘Doctor Schlam’ is number 20.¹⁰³ A footnote gives the following details from the records including sources:¹⁰⁴

- 6) Jacob Schlaum als Medicus in Deutz belegt 1661, 1682 und 1685, KK III 51 Bl. 43, 68A Bl. 168b. Dieser, Hiskia Jakob, dessen Wohltun gerühmt ist, verstarb Deutz 1687 (Kober, Rheinische Judenärzte). Dessen Vater, Medicus Isaac Schlam d.Ä., mit Frau und Familie in Deutz seit ca. 1596, zuletzt 1650 und 1652 (Rechtsstreit mit Salomon Moyses in Köln-Mülheim) sowie 1656, KK III 41 Bl. 305, 43 Bl. 184b, 44 I Bl. 80, 94, 45 Bl. 335, seine unbenannten Erben 1658, KK III 47B Bl. 113. Arzt Isaac Schlam verstarb Deutz 1657 (Kober aaO). Dessen Enkel, Moyses Schlam Sohn des Jacob, siehe Familientafel Schlam. „Den 11. Okt. 1706 hat Moyses Schlam vor dem Gericht Deutz angegeben, daß der Heinrich Bresser ihn ins Gesicht dermaßen geschlagen zu haben, daß ihm das Maul geblutet, welches er Bresser citatus bekennt und hätte er solches getan, weil der Moyses sein Kind zur Erde gestoßen, er Judt aber hätte es nicht gestoßen, sondern aufheben wollen geantwortet“, KK XIII 679 Bl. 152.
- 1679 entrichtet unbenannter Schwiegersohn des „Judendoktors“ in Deutz mit 40 Rt die Höchstsumme Geleitsgelds, die für Deutz jemals gefordert wurde, KK IV 2744 Bl. 4.
- Moyses Schlam und erste Ehefrau in Deutz 1719, 1723 empfängt er für die zweite Ehe, er Witwer, mit einer Tochter des Abraham Cahn in Köln-Mülheim Heiratspatent, KK III 101 Bl. 218, KK IV 4565 Bl. 260. 1691 soll der Schultheiß in Deutz den Abraham Cahn, dessen Ehefrau in Deutz bestattet ist (1747?), festnehmen, KK IV 4225 Bl. 123.
- Isaac Schlam (Schlaum) d.J. in Deutz, Sohn des Salomon Schlaum, ist in den ad hoc herangezogenen Quellen kein Mal „Medicus“ genannt (so aber Kober aaO). Weil Johann Dietrich Schürmann den Isaac Schlaum auf öffentlicher Landstraße – also außerhalb von Deutz – mißhandelt und verwundet hat, wird er durch Hofratsurteil 1713 Jul 20 zu einer Brücht von 15 Goldgulden verurteilt, KK IV 2775 Bl. 22. Salomon Schlaum, Deutz 1687, empfängt 1691 anstelle seiner (verstorbenen?) Mutter das Geleit, ein Bruder des Moyses Schlam, in Deutz noch 1710, hier 1719 seine Witwe, Schwiegersohn 1715 Salomon Rindskopf. Schlam (Isacc d.J. oder Moyses) widerspricht 1716 der ihm andikierten Brücht von 50 Goldgulden (!), KK IV 4520 Bl. 142b, 4525 Bl. 125, 4552 Bl. 54, KK III 91 Bl. 54, 101 Bl. 288.

Loose translation:

According to this footnote 16, Jacob Schlaum is known as a doctor (Medicus = medieval German for Doctor) active in Deutz in 1661, 1682, 1685. This Hiskia Jakob – who was celebrated for his good deeds, died in Deutz in 1687 (Kober, Rheinische Judenartz). His father Medicus Isaac Schlam, the elder, lived with his wife and family from about 1596 until 1650 and 1652 (litigation with Solomon Moyses in Koln-Mulheim) as well as 1656, his unknown descendants 1658. Doctor Isaac Schlam died in Deutz in 1657. [Kober]. His grandson was Moyses Schlam, son of Jacob, see the family tree of Schlam. ‘On 11 October 1706 Moses Schlam said in front of the Court that Herr B. had slapped him on his face so hard that his mouth bled, and Herr B. said he did it because Moses had knocked Herr B’s child onto the ground. The Jew said he did not knock him down but wanted to help him get up’.

In 1679, the ‘unnamed’ son of the ‘Judendoktors’ in Deutz paid 40 Rt– the highest sum ever demanded for *Geleit* in Deutz. Moyses Schlam and his first wife were in Deutz in 1719. In 1723 he married for a second time. He married, as a widower, the only daughter of Abraham Cahn from Koln-Mulheim Heiratspatent. In 1691, Abraham Cahn, whose wife was buried in Deutz (?1747) was arrested by the *Schultheiss*, mayor of Deutz.

Isaac Schlam (Schlaum) the younger in Deutz, the son of Salomon Schlam, **[NB the only Isaac that fits the time frame is the son of Hezkia Yaacov]** is not mentioned in the Ducal archives as ‘Medicus’, according to Kober. Because Herr S. hit Isaac Schlam on the Landstrasse [the main road out of Deutz], and wounded him and mistreated him, and because it occurred outside of Deutz, in 1713, he was sentenced to a fine of 15 gold Gulden. Salomon Schlaum received Geleit in 1687 instead of his mother who was probably deceased. Salomon was a brother of Moyses Schlam who was still in Deutz in 1710 as well as his widow in 1719. His son in law (was) Salomon Rindskopf in (Deutz) in 1715. In 1716, either Isaac the younger or Moyses Schlam contested the required 50 gold Gulden.

Section 10: THE BIER GENEALOGY (Incorporating the ‘Schlam family’)

Sorting out the genealogy and the names of fathers/mothers/children is complicated, as not only are there mistakes in the assumptions made by Schulte, but no doubt in other transcriptions of texts, both in German and Hebrew over the centuries. Additionally, although in the early years most people had a name of biblical or Hebrew origin, they were frequently known by a shortened form, or a traditionally associated name, or one referring to their profession etc. In official documents a germanised version of a name is invariably used.

In the following therefore, as there are often several different names found in multiple records for the same person, I have made the primary name, in bold, that of the entry of a particular individual in the *Memorbook*, as I feel that is the most accurate record from a traditional Jewish genealogical standpoint.

For clarity I have used the following abbreviations:

[M] refers to the *Memorbook*

[S] refers to the Schulte text

[G] refers to the gravestone in the Deutz cemetery

[K] refers to Kober

The *Schlam* family tree, according to Schulte, begins with Isaac Joseph Schlam, Generation 1 below. Schulte’s *Bier* family tree begins a century later with ‘Samson’, as will be seen in the following analysis of Generation 5. There is no clear lineage for this ‘Samson’. However, his three supposed sons bear the same names and significantly overlap with the proven sons of the ‘Schlam’ Hezkiah Jacob (Generation 4): Isaac, Salomon and Moses. It is only at that point, Generation 5, that the two trees, *Bier* and *Schlam* merge.

The *Memorbook* is a very important source of information, with the proviso that there can be original inaccuracies as well as errors in transcribing the entries. As discussed in Section 1, the poor, servants, children and women with no one to pay for an entry were not included. Also, the *Memorbook*’s entries transcribed by Jellinek were from 1581 to 1784 and then 1786 to 1816. After that the only records, other than family ones, are from official sources or gravestones.

Generation 1

Isaac Joseph/Yossi Yosef Rofeh

Abraham Shlomo Ben Yossi Yosef/Schlomo Rofeh
b. ? 1560
d. 31 Dec 1630, Deutz
& **Keila Bat Yitzchak**
d. 11 Oct 1630, Deutz

Rabbi Moshe ben Isai Josef Bürgel
b. ca 1575, Bürgel
d. 1643, Friedberg

YOSSI YOSEF ROFEH

This name is derived from that of his son Abraham's entry in the Memorbook, [M page 15]

Isaac Joseph Schlam [S]

Isai Joseph: name derived from his son [K]

Sources indicate there are slight differences in the first name.

The *Jewish Encyclopedia*¹⁰⁵ gives the date of birth for Yossi Yosef's son Abraham Solomon ben Isai Joseph, as 1560. If this is the case, Yossi Yosef was probably born between 1520 - 1530.

Isack, Doctor of Medicine, his wife and three children, are recorded as present in Deutz in an undated register of Jews, probably compiled in 1596.¹⁰⁶ But was Yossi/Isaac born in Deutz? His son Abraham is recorded by Brisch¹⁰⁷ as being the brother of Rabbi Moses (Moshe) Bürgel, who came from Bürgel near Frankfurt, as discussed above. So, one possibility is that the family moved to Deutz from Bürgel.

Looking at the records for Bürgel, therefore, could be instructive. But to date, only one tenuous piece of evidence has emerged. Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte forwarded one record about three Jewish men living in Bürgel in 1594, which named Itzig, Abraham and Uhrie:

Juden zu Bürgel	
Itzig	- 13 Schilling 3 Denar
Abraham	- 14 Schilling 4 Denar
Uhrie	- 2 Schilling

Die zu zahlende Türkensteuer beträgt zusammen 1 fl. 5 Schilling 7 Denar.

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This record concerns the payment of the *Türkensteuer* - a tax based on a person's social position dating from 1519, to help counter the 'Turkish' threat. Of those Jews in Bürgel, Abraham is recorded as having paid the highest amount. So, was this Abraham identical to the Abraham Shlomo in Deutz to whom Schulte referred as Rabbi Moses' brother?¹⁰⁹ If so, he must have moved to Deutz sometime after 1594, the date of the *Türkensteuer* document.

As stated above, Isack, the father of either the same, or of a different Abraham, was living in Deutz in 1596 and was recorded as living there with three children. If he had gone to Deutz from Bürgel, the three children must have been his younger children, as the Abraham from Bürgel was required to pay the *Türkensteuer* and therefore would have been an adult by 1594. The final information from the 1596 Deutz document shows that Isack was number one in the list. Number two is his unnamed son and wife (no children at that time). In position fifteen is the 'Jew Abraham', with his wife and three children.

The issue remains unresolved, as the archivist in Offenbach could not provide any further information as the records do not go back that far.

One small possibility should be mentioned, that the Itzig in Bürgel could be Abraham's father and the same Isaac that moved to Deutz.

I did not find evidence for the date of death for Yossi Yosef given by Schulte. Schulte recorded him as having died in Deutz in 1606 in the house of his son Abraham, the *Parnes*, community leader or elder.¹¹⁰ The only entry in the *Memorbook* for 1606, page 12, refers to 'Yaacov Moshe Reuven died in Deutz 1606, he was the father of Abraham Parnes'. There is only one Isaac listed in the *Memorbook* around 1606, page 12, that merely says that he is the son of Naphtali Halevi.

Neither earlier nor later entries reveal a deceased Yossi Yosef/Isaac that accord with traditional Jewish naming patterns. There is also no reason, from the entries of the descendants, to indicate that the family was from the biblical tribe of Levi. Finally, Kober did not list him in his *List of Persons buried in the Cemetery 1597 – 1696*, that he linked to the *Memorbook*.¹¹¹

There is, therefore, a chance that Yossi Yosef Rofeh, although recorded as living in Deutz around 1596, may not have been living there at the time of his death, whenever that was. If his son was Rabbi Moses ben Jishai Josef Bürgel who was living in Bonn and/or Freiberg, possibly Yossi Yosef may have left Deutz for Bonn, Frieberg or elsewhere. His grave has not been found in the Bonn-Schwarzrheindorf cemetery; the earliest grave there is from 1637.¹¹² The old graves in the Freiberg cemetery were destroyed in the Nazi years.

Further, the Thirty Years' War (1618 – 1648) was a time of violence, great upheavals, famine and plague. When Abraham died in Deutz in 1631, the traditional letters to show that his father was already deceased were not included. If Yossi Yosef had died elsewhere, it could be that Abraham's family, in those turbulent times, had no way of knowing if his father was alive or dead.

Finally, for the sake of completeness, Jean Paul Bier noted that this Doctor Isaac was also a Rabbi and head of the Jewish community. He also wrote that Yossi Yosef had a considerable reputation in the region as he counted the neighbouring Lords of the Duchy of Berg among his patients. I have not found a source for this information.

Generation 2

Abraham Shlomo Ben Yossi Yosef/Schlomo Rofeh
b. ? 1560
d. 31 Dec 1630, Deutz
& **Keila Bat Yitzchak**
d. 11 Oct 1630, Deutz

David Yitzhak Ben Abraham Shlomo /Eizak Rofeh
d. 2 Jan 1657, Deutz, buried in Koln
& **Jutlen bat Jacob Lande (Landau)**
d. 1655, Deutz

ABRAHAM SHLOMO, BEN YOSSI YOSEF ROFEH. KNOWN AS 'SHLOMO ROFEH'

(?1560 - 31 Dec. 1630) [M, page 15]

Solomon ben Isaac Joseph (1560-1631)¹¹³

Abraham Salomon / Arzt (doctor) Salomon died in Deutz in 1631 [S]

Abraham Salomo ben Isai Yosef, known as 'Arzt Salomo' [K, source M]

In Schulte, Abraham Salomon ben Isai Joseph is described in 1645 as being *berühmter*; a renowned Jewish doctor.¹¹⁴

Abraham was married to **Kela/Keila bat Yitzchak**.

They had one known child, **David Isaac, ben Abraham Shlomo Rofeh**.

Memorbook entry for Abraham (page 15):

The chaver, (friend and member of the congregation), Rav Avraham Shlomo, son of the chaver Rav Yossi Josef Rofe, his sayings were clear and purified and he rendered charity to everybody, the poor and the rich, evenings and mornings. Also, his son, the honoured man, Rav Eizek Rofe, gave some money to the 'Hakdesh'.¹¹⁵ As reward for this ... Died in the night 3 and buried on day 4, 27th of Tevet, and he was called by the name Rav Shlomo Rofe.¹¹⁶

The year of death has been left out, but he was buried on Wednesday 27th Tevet, which corresponds with to 1st January 1631. He must therefore have died the day before; 31st Dec. 1630.

Abraham's wife, **Keila bat Yitzchak, the wife of Shlomo Rofeh**, is listed in the previous entry to his in the Memorbook.¹¹⁷ She died on Tuesday, 6th MarCheshavan which equates to the evening of 10th or during the day of 11 October 1630. 11th October was in fact a Friday, so at some point an error has been made. Although her husband was still alive, he died a couple of months later and cannot have been well when she died, as the entry says that it was her son Isaak who gave charity in her honour.

1630/31 was in the middle of the violent Thirty Years' War during which millions died, often from starvation or disease. The Jews of Deutz must have suffered considerably along with their Christian neighbours, and the toll it took on this pair might account for their deaths.

In the Memorbook, Keila is entered as one of the righteous. In the traditional formulaic way she was described as someone who repented, fasted and prayed. She was an early riser and confessed her sins. She made candle wicks for the synagogue and spun *tzizit* (ritual tassels worn on Jewish men's prayer shawls). She gave to people and fulfilled the *mitzvot*. She was a member of the *Chevra Kadisha* (a society of Jews who prepare dead bodies for burial). Her son, Isaac gave charity in her memory.

Abraham, like his father, was also, according to Jean Paul Bier, not only a doctor but also a Rabbi and head of the Jewish community. Again, there is no source. However, the Encyclopaedia Judaica in the entry for Deutz refers to both Abraham Shlomo and his son Isaac as 'celebrated physicians ... who were also Talmudic scholars and community leaders'. The sources are those already referred to here, and it is not clear from where the information for these statements originates.

DEUTZ, former town, now a suburb of *Cologne, W. Germany. Jews are first mentioned in Deutz as victims of the *Black Death persecutions (1348–49). In 1424 Jews exiled by the municipality of Cologne found refuge in Deutz under the protection of the archbishop and continued to trade with Cologne in cloth and silk. In 1631, during the Thirty Years' War, the Jews of Deutz were permitted to deposit their wealth and pledges at Cologne. The *Deutz Memorbuch* for the years 1581–1784 records the prevention of anti-Jewish riots instigated by Cologne students in 1665. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries celebrated Jewish physicians of Deutz practiced in Cologne. Noted 17th-century physicians, who were also talmudic scholars and community leaders, included Abraham Salomo (d. 1631), his son Isaac (d. 1657), and Levi Nathan (1616–1670). After the expulsion of the Jews from Cologne, Deutz became the seat of the *Landesrabbiner*. First to hold the office was Webes or Vives (1500–1560), followed by Isaac b. Abraham, Herz Bruehl (1656), and in the 18th century, Judah Mehler (d. 1751) and Joseph Juspa Kossmann (d. 1758). In 1695 the Deutz community acquired a cemetery which was also used by the Cologne community from 1807 to 1867. In 1784 the old synagogue (built in the early 18th century) was destroyed by flood; it was rebuilt in 1786 and remained in use until 1914. A new synagogue was erected by the city of Cologne in 1915. The number of Jews in Deutz possessing rights of residence increased from four in 1616 to 17 in 1634 and 19 in 1764. In 1823, under Prussian rule, there were 238 Jews in Deutz, decreasing to 233 in 1840, and 206 in 1880. In 1928 the Deutz community was amalgamated with that of Cologne. The synagogue in Deutz was destroyed on **Kristallnacht*, Nov. 10, 1938.

Bibliography: Germ Jud, 1 (1963), 86–87; 2 (1968), 161; K. Brisch, *Geschichte der Juden in Cöln und Umgebung* . . . , 2 vols. (1879–1882); A. Kober, *Cologne* (Eng. 1940), passim; idem, in: *Festschrift zum 75 jaehrigen Bestehen des juedisch-theologischen Seminars*, 2 (1929), 173–236; idem, *Aus der Geschichte der Juden im Rheinland* (1931), 22–5; Salfeld, *Martyrol*, 287.

[C.T.] 118

Generation 3



DAVID ISAAC, BEN ABRAHAM, SHLOMO ROFEH. KNOWN AS 'EIZAK/ISAAC ROFEH' (? - Jan 2, 1657, Deutz) [M, page 16]

Isaac Schlam/ Arzt Eisek / David Isaac ben Abraham Solomon. [S]

Isaac married **Jutlen bat Jacob Lande (Landau)** and they had two known children:

- a. **Hezkiah Yaakov Rofeh, ben David Yitzchak**
- b. Miriam bat Yitzchak Eizak Rofeh

In 1645 Isaac was living in Deutz, and he was then, like his father, described as *berühmter*, a renowned doctor.¹¹⁹ A house owner [S] (very unusual at that time, as generally Jews were not allowed to own houses). *'Medicus Isaac Schlam, the older, lived with his wife and family from about 1596 until 1650, and 1652 (litigation with Solomon Moyses in Koln-Mulheim) as well as 1656 [sources], his unknown descendants 1658 [sources]'*.¹²⁰

Isaac died in Deutz, Tevet 5417, January 2, 1657. He was buried 'at the side of Cologne'.

Kober noted that Isaac was especially worthy of praise and that his entry in the Memorbook is particularly long.¹²¹ Isaac kept an open house, was benevolent and gave charity to the poor. He raised the poor in his house. He was a leader of the community and never forgot to pray. He studied and left/gave large gifts of money so that the Synagogue could be repaired. His son, Yaakov, gave charity in his memory etc.

Despite the need for Jewish doctors to obtain what amounted to a daily permit to treat the citizens of Cologne following the expulsion of the Jews, and all the other difficulties referred to earlier, it appears that Jewish doctors from both Deutz and Mülheim treated patients in Cologne 338 times between 1650 and 1675.¹²² This would evidently include both Isaac Rofeh and his son, Yaakov Rofeh.

Isaac's wife, Jutlen bat Jacob Lande (Landau) died in 1655, Deutz [S]. There is no mention in the Memorbook that she was buried. The short entry for her death, [M page 16], names Eizak Rofeh twice. The second entry has ייטע after his name, in other words he had died by then and predeceased her. According to the Memorbook, he died two years later, so the second entry may have been added later.

Generation 4



4a. HEZKIAH YAAKOV ROFEH, BEN DAVID YITZCHAK. KNOWN AS 'YAAKOV ROFEH'.

(? - 26 June 1687, Deutz). [M page 22]

Doctor Jacob Schlam / Hiskia Jacob. [S]

Yaakov died June 26th, 1687, in Deutz. Tamuz 5447. Buried in Cologne.

Yaakov was documented as living in Deutz in 1659, and active in 1661/67, 1679, 1682 [S page 158] and/or 1661, 1682, 1685 [S page 188, footnote 16]. He was praised for his good deeds.¹²³

Schulte does not give the name of Yaakov's wife. But in fact, her gravestone is still standing in the Deutz cemetery, which had been opened in 1699.

Yaakov was married to **Zerle bat Meir Kanshtat** from Mainz, (? – 25. 2. 1710) [M page 28]

Yaakov and Zerle had the following children:

- a. **Yitzchak bar Hezkiah Yaacov**
- b. Shlomo bar Yehezkiel Yaakov
- c. Moshe ב"ר, Moshe bar Yehezkiel Yaakov
- d. Keila



Zerle bat Meir Kanshtat from Mainz, wife of Yaacov Rofeh (deceased), (Deutz Cemetery, Row S [11])

פה	<i>Hier</i>
טמונה אשה יקרה	<i>ist geborgen eine Frau, teuer</i>
הגונה מרת צוירלי	<i>(und) würdig, Frau Zürle,</i>
בת הר"ר מאיר קנש	<i>Tochter des Meisters, Herrn Meir Cann-</i>
טט ממענץ אשת	<i>statt aus Mainz, Gattin</i>
כי יעקב רופא ז"ל	<i>des geehrten Jaakow Rofe, sein Andenken zum Segen,</i>
נפטרה כ"ה אדר	<i>verschieden 25. des ersten</i>
ראשון ת"ע לי תנצב"ה	<i>Adar 470 der Zählung. Ihre Seele sei eingebunden in das</i>
	<i>Bündel des Lebens</i>

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(Safe here is the dear (and) worthy Frau Zürle, daughter of Herr Meir Cannsatt from Mainz, wife of the honoured Doctor Jacob...)

Entry in Deutz Memorbuch: *Remember God, the soul of the dear woman, Frau Zürle, daughter of the Torah scholar Mr. Meir, for the fact that she was mindful of her commandments and did not lack good deeds; and for the fact that her children gave to charity, as a reward for it ... she passed from the world Day 3, 25th of the First Adar, and was buried on Day 4, 26th of the First Adar in the cemetery here in Deutz, 'Because the time has come'.*¹²⁵

Jean Paul Bier wrote that on February 2, 1684, in the absence of the Rabbi, Hiskia Jacob presided over a tribunal of nine elders. They ruled that a certain Meyer from the Jewish community of Deutz was to be excluded; a very serious sentence, since there was no salvation, spiritually or economically for an expelled Jew. This reveals that Hiskia Jacob's standing in the community went far beyond the limits of his medical practice. I have found no source for this statement. Similarly, there is no source for the supposition that Hiskia Jacob studied medicine at the University of Giessen.

4b. MIRIAM BAT YITZCHAK EIZAK ROFEH (? – 1712, Offenbach)



Miriam was the wife of Yaacov Emdin, Yaacov bar Joseph Elieser (died Deutz, 1669, buried in Cologne [M page 20]). In 1659 they shared a house with another family in Deutz.

Miriam died in Offenbach in 1712, and was buried in nearby Bürgel. No obvious reason for this has been found. She outlived her husband by 43 years, so it is possible that she married again in Offenbach. However, she was entered into the Deutz Memorbook, perhaps by her daughters, to whom she had already given money for charity for that purpose.

Translated text from the Memorbook entry, page 30:

May God remember the soul of the important, honest and old woman Miriam, daughter of Reb Yitzhak Izak, doctor and distinguished specialist here in the holy community of Deutz, for she was a housewife and did good deeds to all passers-by and brought up orphans in her own home and spread out her hand to the poor and destitute and was an ascetic. All her life she was among the first at the morning and evening services in Synagogue and her home was wide open to the poor and she also respected the wealthy and was devoted to heaven. And since she gave her daughter Keila and her daughter Rizki, long may they live, money for charity, may her soul rest with other righteous men and women in Paradise. She died in the holy community of Offenbach and was buried in a Jewish cemetery in the holy community of Bürgel on Isru Chag of Shavuot 5472. She was the wife of Rabbi Yakov Emdin of blessed memory. The saintly, energetic woman, who made candles for the Synagogue, she spun tsitsit and was kind to all creatures with all the good that God had done for her.

No further searches in the various genealogical sites have revealed any more information. But evidently from the above, she had at least two daughters, Keila and Rizki.

Generation 5

This is the first generation where the Hebrew name of **Bier** is recorded in the Memorbook.

Mention of members of the Bier/Schlam family as doctors ceases in Generation 5. It would be very interesting to discover the cause, but I suspect this will not happen. I tentatively suggested a few possible reasons in the Rhineland Jewish Doctors section above. Kober, in his essay about Rhineland Jewish doctors, comments that from the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth hundreds, he did not find any reference to requests for an escort, as required, for doctors to enter Cologne. By contrast there were many such requests for other Jews with business in the city.¹²⁶

This generation also provides the link between the Schlam and the Bier families in the person of **Yitzchak Eizek**. His gravestone inscription clearly shows him to be the son of **Yaakov Rofeh**. In the Memorbook (page 36/37), he is entered as being known by all as **Eizek Bier**.

Additionally, **Moshe**, another of Hezkiah Yaakov's sons, and Beile, the wife of third son, **Shlomo**, were referred to, and became known as, בִּיר or בִּייר, Bier.

The oldest patriarch in the Bier family, according to Schulte, starts with 'Samson'. In 1659 the mayor of Deutz introduced *Kötter-geld*, a new tax, for the 24 houses occupied by Jews, one of which was occupied by 'Samson'.¹²⁷ A footnote added to Samson's name is not easy to understand. It suggests this must be 'Simon' who is mentioned in other records as being in a legal dispute with a Christian, Daniel Schmitz, in Deutz in 1650. [Source given]. In that footnote Schulte notes that Samson is an ancestor of the Bier family with unclear lineage and suggests that these might be Simon's sons:

- a. Salomon Simon, identical to the Salomon Bier from the early 1700s. Requested *Geleit* in Deutz in 1696.¹²⁸ No further request is documented.
- b. Jacob Simon born in Deutz and already married in 1696. From 1698 in Attendorn (Kurkoln Herzogtum Westphalen) – for the time being – protected and resident. [Sources given]

Apart from that footnote, curiously, in his Bier family tree, Schulte ignores Jacob Simon but includes Salomon Simon Bier, who received *Geleit* in 1696. Jacob Simon does not appear in the Memorbook.

It is significant that the 'Schlam' Hezkiah Jakob in Generation 4 has three proven sons with the same names as the sons of 'Samson': Isaac, Salomon and Moses.

The following argument merges the two family trees. But before doing so, it will be necessary to consider the information recorded by Schulte in both his 'Schlam' pages and 'Bier' pages.

It should also be noted that Schulte records a sister, Keila, in his Schlam family.

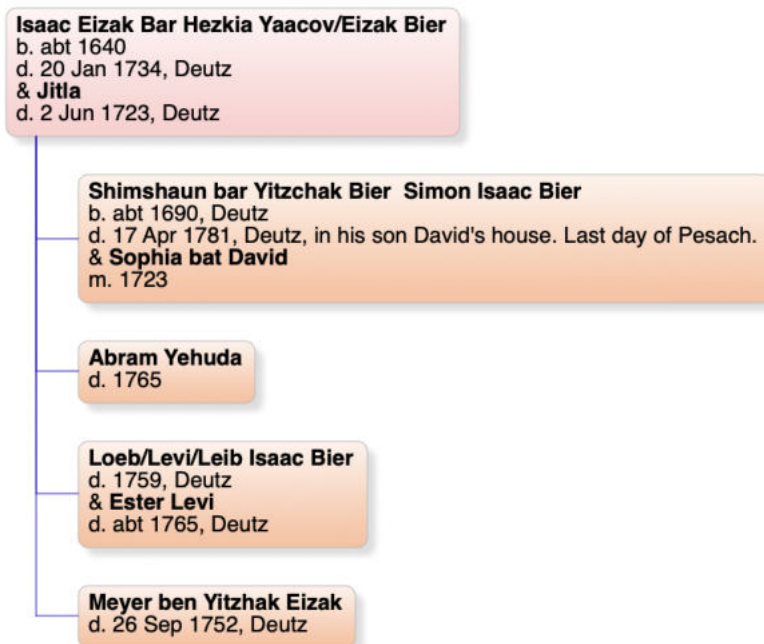
5a YITZCHAK BAR HEZKIAH YAACOV. ISAAC, (THE OLD AND VENERABLE). KNOWN AS EIZAK BIER: (? - 20. 1. 1734) איזך ביייר

[M. Pages 36/37]

Isaac Schlam/ Isaac Deutz / Isaac bar Hiskia (Hezekiel) Jakob [S, Schlam family p. 158]

Isaac Aisek Bier [S, Bier family page 65]

Also, the first named person on the Bier family tree researched by Carl Bier.



Significantly, it is possible to connect Yitzchak's Memorbook entry with his gravestone, and thereby link the Schlam and Bier genealogies. In the following, therefore, the two separate genealogies, as proposed by Schulte, will be considered and some conclusions suggested.

Memorbook, pages 36/37: Yitzchak bar Hezikah Yaacov Isaac, (the old and venerable).

Called by all, **Eizak Bier**: איזך ביייר died Wednesday 20th January 1734, 16 Shevat 5494, Deutz.

Gravestone: **Yitzchak Eizek bar Yaakov Rofeh**,¹²⁹ died Wednesday, 20th January 1734, buried the following day:

פה
 נטמן הישיש היקר
 ה'ה כמר יצחק אייזק
 בר יעקב רופא ז'ל אשר
 גמל חסד עם עניים
 ועשירים וביתו היתה
 פתוח לרווחה ושקד
 תמיד על דלתי ב'ה נפטר
 ביום ד' ט'ז שבט ונקבר
 י'ז הנ'ל שנת תצ'ד לפ'ק
 תנצב'ה

Here is concealed the elder, the beloved, it is the honoured man Yitzchak Eizek, son of Yaakov the doctor of blessed memory, who showed loving kindness to the poor

and the rich and his house was wide open, and he was always watching the gates of the Synagogue, he departed on day, 16th of Shvat, and was buried 17th of the aforementioned in the year 494 of the minor era. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life



Yitzchak Isaac bar Yaacov Rofeh, Deutz Cemetery [no row established]

Schulte - Schlam genealogy:

Isaac Schlam/ Isaac Deutz / Isaac bar Hiskia (Hezekiel) Jakob, 'Judenartz', Jewish doctor, born in Deutz about 1640, died Deutz Sept 6, 1722.

Schulte's source for the date of death in 1722 is unclear. Although not unusual, there are no deaths recorded in the Memorbook on that date, 24 Elul 5482, nor around that time/year for anyone with a similar name. In any case, the gravestone records the date of death as 20th January 1734.

Wives: Schulte - Schlam

Isaac Schlam was married twice.

- i. Brännelen, bat Meyer Deutz (= Meyer Hirtz Levy). ,Died 1690', Buried in the Judenbüchel cemetery in front of Cologne. 1690 is incorrect according to the Memorbook.
Memorbook entry, page 25: Brännelen, daughter of Meir, died in *Milum*, the day after Yom Kippur, 24.9.1689. Buried 'on the side of Cologne'. Her son Yaacov gave to charity.
Some text was presumably missing/illegible, which might have stated her husband's name.
Kober found her inscription in the old cemetery (pre-war). Details as in Memorbook. ¹³⁰
Note: there is no son Yaacov in the next generation, according to Schulte's list.
- ii. Name is unknown. Living in Deutz, May 8, 1737, with four children from Isaac's first marriage.¹³¹
Frustratingly, there is no mention of 'four children' in Schulte's extract from the 1737 document that lists those with *Geleit*. What he did record was

that Levi/Lieb Isaac was living with his mother, the widow of 'saac' Schlam and stated that he shared the same *Geleit* with her, despite being married.¹³²

Schulte - Bier genealogy:

Isaac Aisek Bier, relative of Moyses Schlam, was a *Maggid*.

Died between 1734 and 1741.

Originally a *Maggid* was an inspired and itinerant narrator of religious stories. They were not generally Rabbis. Eventually, they became an accepted and not necessarily itinerant part of a religious community. The Jewish Encyclopaedia distinguishes between the two types of religious leader: the rabbi and scholar, and the preacher or *maggid*. *'The maggid's function was to preach to the common people in the vernacular whenever the occasion required, usually on Sabbath afternoon, basing his sermon on the sidra (Torah portion) of the week. The wandering, or travelling, maggid then began to appear, and subsequently became a power in Jewry. His mission was to preach morality, to awaken the dormant spirit of Judaism, and to keep alive the Messianic hope in the hearts of the people.'*¹³³

Wives: Schulte - Bier

Isaac Bier was married three times:

- i. Yütla, daughter of the doctor, Judah Leib Rofeh¹³⁴. She died 2 June 1723.
Yütla's Memorbook entry page 34, records her as the wife of Yitzchak/Isaac and that her husband was a teacher. Conceivably she could have been married to a different Isaac. The fact that she was the daughter of a doctor and Isaac was the son of another doctor could be significant.
Yütla died in June 1723, and she therefore might have been either Isaac's first or second wife. Significantly, according to a September 1723 enquiry into proofs of residence of the Jews of Deutz for the Duke, Isaac Schlam was a widower and living in Deutz with four children over 14 years old.¹³⁵

Yütla, bat Judah Leib Rofeh. (? - 2 June 1723), Memorbook entry, page 34:

'This important, correct and worthy lady Yütla, daughter of Yehuda Lev Rofeh. The wife of the pious man, our teacher Yitzchak. She was a woman of valour, a modest mistress of the house and crown of her husband. She raised her children in Torah and good deeds and would be early at the doors of the house of study to hear the call of those to the Torah. She afflicted her body on the fast days. She got up early and was always there for prayers and was awake late for prayers in the synagogue. All her deeds were for the sake of heaven, and she did not do this for self-aggrandisement.'

- ii. A daughter of Meyer Isaac
This remains a possibility, but if so, why is there is no more information? Meyer is listed by Schulte in the Schlam pages as a son of Isaac. There is no mention of him in the Bier pages. He could have been named after this lady's father, and Schulte also notes that he was the son of Isaac's first wife.
She is not found in the Memorbook. On this basis I would rule her out until more information, or a gravestone are discovered.

- iii. Hannah Elias who died in 1741. Memorbook entry page 43 is lengthy and full of her virtues, Channah daughter of Eliahu, wife of Eizak Bier איזך בייך, deceased. In other words this is a proven wife and that she died after him.

Conclusion regarding the wives?

It would seem a conclusion is not possible. As argued below, most probably the wife of Isaac's four children is **Yütla**, and his second wife and widow would have been Hannah Elias.

Brünnelen [Schlam]: One of Isaac's sons from his first marriage was called Meyer (died 1553). If she was the daughter of Meyer Hirtz Levy (no proof offered), he could possibly have been named after her father.

Brünnelen would then have been Isaac's first wife. She died in 1689.

Her son Jacob gave to charity in her memory. But he has not been included in the listing in the Schlam pages (or, for that matter, in the Bier pages). Jacob could have been, however, the son from a previous marriage.

In 1689, Isaac was still alive. Why did he not donate in her honour.

There is no evidence of a link with Isaac, and as several people would have been called Meir, I do not feel she can be conclusively said to be a wife of Isaac.

N.N. [Schlam]: this lady was a widow of 'saac' Schlam and living in 1737 with her son Liev/Levi. No source. Why did Schulte write 'that she was living with four children'.

Yütla [Bier]: Known to be a wife of 'Isaac' who was still alive.

1723, the year she died, official records record Isaac Schlam as a widower with four children over 14 years old.

Daughter of Meyer Isaac [Bier]: Isaac having a possible son called Meyer (Schlam: *son of his first wife*), could be due to honouring a different potential grandfather. If so, she would need to have been Isaac's first wife. But there are no dates, or Memorbook entry.

Hannah Elias [Bier]: Definitely a wife

Consideration of the sons

Sons: Schulte - Schlam

- i. Meyer Isaac, son of Isaac's (unnamed) first wife. Did not have *Geleit* in 1747 and died in Deutz in the house of his '*Schwiegersohn*', son-in-law, Samson Bier, in 1753.
- ii. Vaes Isaac was a gravedigger in 1737, and therefore was not entitled to *Geleit*.

Sons: Schulte - Bier

- i. Levi Isaac was impoverished from about 1743. Died Deutz 1759. His wife was Ester Levi. She was documented in 1756 and died in Deutz about 1765.
- ii. Samson Isaac/Simon Isaac [known from Carl Bier's tree as Shimshaun]

Son- Gravestone

Abram Yehuda, Ari, ben Yitzchak Bier ביר (deceased) (? - 1765) [M, p. 56]

Conclusion?

During this period, *Geleit* was generally held by one member of the family and usually passed down on the death of a father/brother etc. This could explain a lack of evidence in the available official records.

Why is Levi/Lieb Isaac not included in the Schulte Schlam genealogy and only mentioned in connection with the Geleit document of 1737? Here it is entered that, lived with his mother, the widowed wife of 'saac' Schlam. He shared the same *Geleit* with her, even though he was married.¹³⁶ He could easily be the same person as Levi Isaac (Bier), who was impoverished by about 1743.

NB. Their son [Bier pages] was Isaac Meyer (1750, Deutz – 1837, Kerpen). He was a Handelsmann in Kerpen/Erft.¹³⁷

Schulte added a comment in the same 1737 document, that Vaas/Vaes Isaac, (who no longer had *Geleit*), was 'certainly' not the brother of Levi/Lieb.

There is no obvious entry in the Memorbook for either Levi/Lieb or Vaas/Vaes.

Jews living in Deutz in an undated document, but thought to be between 1747 and 1748, includes three brothers living together in the same house:¹³⁸

Loeb Isac, Meyer Isac and Simon Isac. According to the available dates, they would have died in 1759, 1753 and 1781 respectively. It seems reasonable to assume that these three brothers are the sons of Isaac.

By 1747/8 the first two were presumably elderly, and as unproductive may have lost *geleit*. Simon Isac is most probably Samson Isaac/Simon Isaac/ Shimshaun 6(a) below, who had *Geleit* in 1749, but he no longer had it in 1764/5. It is possible to propose therefore, that his house was shared with his brothers.

A further piece of evidence is that Meyer Isaac, according to Shulte [Schlam] *did not have Geleit in 1747 and died in the house of his 'Schwiegersohn', son-in-law, Samson Bier, in 1753. 'Schwiegersohn' would appear to be incorrectly recorded at some stage, and more accurately it could read 'brother'. See below 6(d). Meyer is recorded in the Memorbook as falling on hard times.*

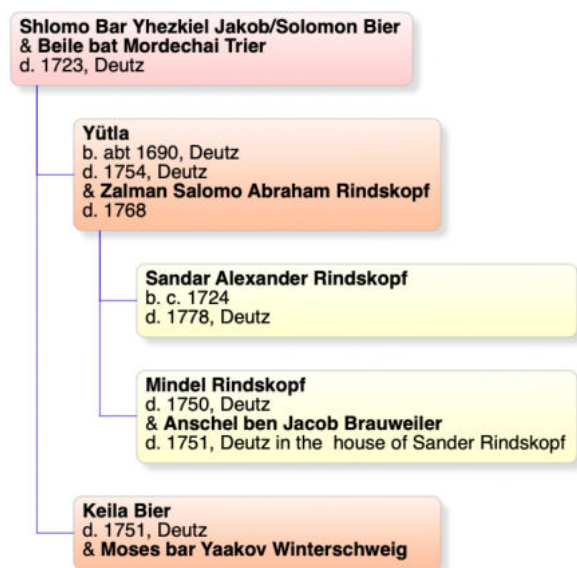
In 1723, four children are mentioned in the record, and the above discussion does not preclude Vaas/Vaes Isaac being a fourth brother. However, Abram Yehuda is clearly Isaac's son. Noteworthy is that he could be named after Yütla's father, the doctor, Judah Leib Rofeh. He does not figure in any of the documents in Schulte's appendix, so he probably did not have *Geleit* in Deutz.

5b. SHLOMO BAR YEHEZKIEL YAAKOV [M page 31] (? – died (? Bassenheim), 30.1.1719, Deutz)

Salomom Schlaum, 'der Wohltäter' Salomon Bier, Salomon bar Heskiel Jakob, 'Judenartz' [S, Schlam family page 158]

Salomon Simon Bier [S, Bier family page 65]

Avraham Shlomo Gabai Rabbenu bar Yaacov Rofeh [Deutz cemetery, Row S [67] gravestone]



Schlam pages

Salomon Schlaum, 'der Wohltäter' Salomon Bier, Salomon bar Heskiel Jakob, 'Judenartz'.

Schulte is linking Salomon Schlaum with 'Bier'. This is a definitive linking by Schulte.

Reference to *der Wohltäter*, the benefactor, is unexplained.

Salomon Schlaum was documented in Deutz in 1687 and 1710.

In a footnote referred to above (Section 9), *Salomon Schlaum received Geleit in 1687 instead of his mother who was probably deceased. Salomon was a brother of Moyses Schlam who was still in Deutz in 1710 as well as his widow in 1719. His son in law (was) Salomon Rindskopf in (Deutz) in 1715.*

He died in Bassenheim, near Koblenz, (100km south of Deutz) and was buried in Deutz, January 30, 1719.

The name of his wife is not known but she was recorded as a widow in Deutz in 1719.

Their children were:

- Jütla Schlam who married Salomon Rindskopf.
- A daughter, who married Aron Schoeneck, Moses Aron bar Moses Jakob. He died in Deutz in 1726. The Memorbook page 33 for his death entry reads, *Moshe Aron, son of Moshe Yaakov. Known as Aron Schwienk, husband of Mehr, daughter of Isaac.* However, it should be noted many people were called Isaac at that time.
- Hendel Isaac, died in Deutz Sept 24, 1703. She was married to Moses Wassenberg who came from Wassenberg Hzt. Jülich. Memorbook page 26 entry for Moses reads: *Moshe bar Yitzchak, Abraham Yitzchak. Called Moshe Wassenberg. Husband of Hendelen, daughter of Yitzchak Deutz, 1703. Died in Wassenberg 1703.*

The surname Deutz, however, belongs to another family group, Familien Bonn, Deutz, Michel, according to Schulte, page 74.
Hendel/Hendelen does not seem to be entered into the Memorbook.

Out of these three I would suggest only Jütla is definitely a daughter, as discussed below.

Bier pages

Salomon Simon Bier requested *Geleit* in 1696. No other request is documented. He died before 1751 (as this is when his daughter Keila died and he is referred to there as deceased).

Shlomo Bier married **Beile bat Mordechai Trier [M page 33]**. She died in 1723. The Memorbook entry refers to her as the wife of Shlomo Bier (still alive). The text is formulaic: very kind, her home was wide open, she looked after the poor, and her prayers were purposeful. No mention of any charity given in her name.

Salomon/Shlomo and Beile had at least two children. But Schulte only mentions one, an unnamed daughter. Her name, in fact, is not difficult to find in the Memorbook. And via this daughter's entry, another link can be made between Bier and Schlam.

The unnamed daughter is evidently:

- a. Keila bat Shlomo Bier בִּיר (deceased), wife of Moses, son of Yaakov Winterschweig (deceased). Memorbook page 49 -50. Died 1751. There are no known children. When Keila died, Shlomo Zalman Rindskopf, the husband of her sister Jütla, gave charity to honour Keila's name.
- b. Jütla bat *Hanadiv* Shlomo Bier (deceased) (ca 1690 – 1754) Memorbook page 50.
Jütla married Shlomo/Salomon/ Zalman Avraham Rindskopf (ca 1680, Frankfurt – 1768, Deutz). Memorbook page 57. Children are mentioned and their names listed in Schulte, Rindskopf, page 151. She is described as living in agony.

The question is are we dealing with two individuals or one?

Gravestone: Avraham Shlomo, *Gabai*, son of Yaacov Rofeh deceased. Date of death is 10 Shevat 5479, this equates to 30 January 1719.

Memorbook page 31: Shlomo bar Yehezkiel Yaacov, died Monday 10 Shevat 5480, and was buried the same day. This date equates to 20 January 1720. In 1720, however, 10 Shevat was a Saturday. And no burials take place on a Saturday. Looking at 1719 (as per the gravestone), the 10 Shevat that year was a Monday, 30th.

Was there a mistake in the Memorbook? One supporting fact is that the next entry after that of Shlomo was dated 22 March 1719.

Following this logic, the gravestone and Memorbook refer to the same man. Apparent differences in the names prove to be similar. (Yaacov Rofeh was known as Hezkia Yaacov)

יְהִזְקִיאל Yehezkiel = Ezekiel, God will strengthen

יְהִזְקִיָּהוּ Hezekiah = חֶזְקִיָּה Heskia/Hezkia/Hizkia, God strengthens

The Memorbook entry honours Shlomo in the traditional way; that he was honest and kosher, opened his door to the needy and poor. Did *mitzvahs*, good deeds. A Talmud *chacham*, a Torah scholar. Important in the community. In previous times passed his time dealing with the dead.

He was evidently an honourable man, but there is no mention of him being a particular 'benefactor'. Nor is there any evidence that he died in Bassenheim. If he had, he could not have been buried the same day.

Two issues remain.

In the Memorbook, Shlomos' father is not recorded as deceased. On the gravestone he is Hezkia Yaacov in fact died in 1710.

Memorbook page 33: Beile bat Mordechai Trier, wife of Shlomo Bier, died February 1723. Shlomo Bier is not entered as being deceased.



Avraham Shlomo, Gabai, bar Yaacov Rofeh
deceased, Deutz Cemetery, Row S [10]

Schulte in his Family Gottschalk tree, notes the existence of a circumcision cup from the first half of the eighteenth century, in the collection of the Kölnischen Stadtmuseum.¹³⁹ He suggested that it was donated to the Deutz synagogue by a member of the 'Schlam' family. It honours 'Rabbi Shlomo, son of the honourable Jecheskiel SeGal'. On the rim, it states it was used for *Meziza*, suction.



96 Beschneidungsbecher

Silber, mit Resten alter Vergoldung
getrieben und graviert

H. 5,0
Ø 7,6

Augsburg
1. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts

Inv.-Nr.: RM 1928/385
Foto-Nr.: BA 115.126
M. L. 5315/30

Fußloser Halbbecher¹, dessen untere Hälfte godroniert ist. Darüber umlaufende Inschrift: *Becher für die Meziza². Rabbi Schlomo, Sohn des ehrenwerten Jecheskiel Segall.*

Marken: Meisterzeichen M L im Oval, Beschau Pinienzapfen. Nicht bei R³. — Tremulierstich.

Anm.:
1 und 2 Typ des Beschneidungsbeckers in der Doppelbecher, dessen eine Hälfte zur Aufnahme des Weines dient, über den die Beracha gesprochen wird; der Wein in der anderen Hälfte wird zur Behandlung der Wunde des Kindes benutzt (Meziza = Ausstrich).

Lit.:
Mon. Jud., E. 135; Silberschatz, S. 38, Nr. 169; Doc. Jud., Abb. S. 125. 140

5c. MOSHE בִּיר MOSHE BAR YEHEZKIAH YAAKOV (ca.1660 – ca. 1747, Deutz)

[M no entry found, name is taken from his son's entry, page 34]

Moyses Schlam / Moses bar Hiskia Jakob (S, family Schlam, page 158)

Moses Bier [S, family Bier, page 65]



Schlam pages

Moshe/Moses was born in Deutz about 1660, died Deutz about 1747.

He was living in 'Haus zum Bock' in 1744. A footnote has been added that in his house in 1726, Alexander Moses Bier died (!). The exclamation mark is part of the text for some unknown reason.

There is a footnote attached to Moshe's date of death, '1747': his first wife was **Chava**, daughter of Alexander Rindskopf (Frankfurt am Main). She was the widow of Mordechai Marx Leib SeGal, the head of the Jewish community, who had drowned in 1696 in the swollen waters of the Rhine.¹⁴¹ Marx Leib's's sister was Yütla the wife of Eisak (Isaac) Bier [5a].

Despite this footnote, Schulte then assigns two wives to Moshe, both of whom he cannot name.

- i. N.N. was living in Deutz in 1719 with four children. Married Feb.1723.
- ii. Daughter of Abraham Cahen in (Koln)- Mulheim

Moshe entered his wife's death himself in the Memorbook; Chava bat Alexander Rindskopf, wife of Moshe bar Hezkia Yaacov, died 1736, page 38. The entry is long and full of her virtues.

It is however highly unlikely that he married his first wife in 1723, (when he was around 60). This is primarily because, according to a 1723 enquiry into proofs of residence of the Jews of Deutz for the Duke, Moyses Schlam was found to be living in Deutz on 24.3.1722 with his wife and four children over 14 years old.¹⁴²

Four years later, one of his sons had died. The Memorbook entry, page 34, was for: *An important boy, bachoor chasuv, Alexander, son of Moshe Bier בִּיר, died, and his father Moshe bar Yehezkiyah Yaakov, gave charity in his memory, 4 July 1726.*

Alexander might have been named after Chava's father, Alexander Rindskopf. The latter came from Frankfurt and is possibly the person recorded as 'greatly respected and a man of good works' as listed in Dietz family Rindskopf, and who died in 1706.¹⁴³

In his son's entry, Moshe/Moses appears to have taken the formal/official family name of 'Bier' but his Hebrew name, as is normal, remained Moshe bar Yehezkiyah Yaakov.

It is possible that the four children were the children of Chava's first husband, and that Moshe adopted them. In this case Moshe married quite late, if he was indeed born around 1660, Schulte (no source). Chava's first husband, Mordechai ben Yehuda Leib, died in 1696 [M page 24].

Nothing more is known about the second wife.

Bier pages

Moses Bier [S, page 65]

Moses Bier, living in Deutz in 1740.

Wife unknown (N.N.)

A footnote is attached to 'Bier': His son was Jakob Moyses Bier.

This is another instance when a named son is not included in the genealogy. The reasons for this are not clear. In the Memorbook [M. 58] there is an entry for a Yaakov bar Moshe who died and was buried in Deutz in 1768.

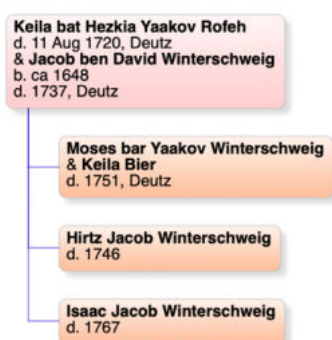
From 1737 – 1765, Moshe was a *chazan*, prayer leader, and also a *Shochet*, ritual slaughterer. He was a *moomke*, an expert, and loved people.

From the above it is clear that both entries for Moshe raise questions.

5d. KEILA BAT HEZKIA YAAKOV ROFEH (DECEASED)

[M page 31].

Keila died August 1721.



From her gravestone - Keila was married to Yaakov Winterschweig. In Keila's entry in the Memorbook, her father Hezkia Yaakov is described as a *Moomka*, expert. Her precious old/wise husband Yaacov gave charity in her name.

Schulte Family Winterschweig, p. 172; Jacob ben David (Winterschweig) (ca. 1648 – 1737). He did not have *Geleit* in Deutz in 1723. His wife is not known, but there were three sons, Hirtz Jacob, Moses Jacob and Isaac Jacob.



Keila bat Yaakov Rofeh, Deutz cemetery, Row S [9]

5e. Chava, daughter of Hezkia זקיא Yaakov, [deceased], (? – 9.3.1761) (M page 55).

This entry is confusing.

The Memorbook, page 55, has an entry for Chava, daughter of Hezkia זקיא Yaakov, [deceased]. She was first married to Anshel Berliner [deceased], and then married Zander Rindskopf. Zander Rindskopf gave charity in her honour. If indeed the daughter of Hezkia Yaakov, she must have been quite an elderly lady. Zander Rindskopf was the son of Yütla and Schlomo Zalman Rindskopf. He therefore married his considerably older great-aunt.¹⁴⁴

Zander Rindskopf also gave money in memory of his brother-in-law, Meir bar Asher Berliner. [M page 55]. Presumably Anshel and Meir were brothers.

As above, Moshe (5c), who was Chava daughter of Hezkia Yaakov's sister, married Chava bat Alexander Rindskopf. Her father came from Frankfurt. She had died in 1736. The Rindskopf family are listed in Dietz.¹⁴⁵ This Alexander must have been an older generation.

With no additional records available, it is impossible to delve further into this.



Generation 6

The children of Yitzchak bar Hezkia Yaacov [5a]



Please note that for the purposes of the tree, I have inserted Yütla as the first wife of Isaac/Yitzchak.

6a. SHIMSHON BAR YITZCHAK (DECEASED) BIER בִּיר, (ca. 1690 - 5.4.1781)

[M Page 61]

His good deeds are entered in the Memorbook. David, his son, gave ... charity in his honour. Died 1781, last day of Pesach, Nissan 20, 5541. The gravestone does not refer to the name Bier, but the Memorbook does.

Carl Bier entered him as the second of the known generations (his father being Yitzchak Bier) with the correct date. Carl's entry records **Beila** as the wife of Schimshaun. We do not know where Carl got this information from.

Schulte Schlam pages: no one with a similar name is included.

Shulte Bier pages:

Samson Bier, also Simon Isaac, Sümmeel Isaac.

He still had *Geleit* in 1749, but he no longer had it in 1764/5.

Born around 1690 and died in Deutz, 15 April 1781, in the house of his son David.

He married around 1723.

His wife was **Sophia David** and they had two sons,

- a. Isaac (1737 - 1810) (Isaac was not known to Carl Bier, and in Schulte no descendants are entered)
- b. David (1739 - 1823) The choice of this name indicates that he was named after Sophia's father, presumably after he had died. Beila (Carl Bier's tree) could have been a second wife.

Entered in 1765 record, under the category of those who had not had *Geleit* for many years, was Simon Isaac (Bier) whose sons Isaac (28 years) and David (26 years) were still living with him.¹⁴⁶ The sons were described as tradesmen and money changers (*Handel und Wandel*) and both became fairly prosperous.



Shimshon bar Yitzchak, Deutz Cemetery, Row U[5]

6b. Abram Yehuda, Ari, ben Yitzchak (deceased) Bier ביר (? - 1765) [M, p. 56]



Ari bar Yitzchak, a good man, Deutz cemetery Row U [4]

6c. Levi/Loeb Isaac (?-1759)

Levi was recorded in Deutz as very poor from 1743. His wife Ester Levi died in Deutz in 1765. His son Isaac Meyer was a Handelsmann in Kerpen/Erft and he died in Kerpen in 1837.¹⁴⁷

6d. Meyer bar Yitzchak Eizak (? - 26.9.1752)

Memorbook, page 45:

An interesting entry in the Memorbook: Meir was very well off and things went well for him and God improved his lot. He helped the poor in an even-handed way and did not embarrass the recipients. However, when he fell on hard times, he did not wish to accept help or charity.

*'The dear and respected man who valued mankind, the worthy Meir bar Yitzchak Eizak (deceased). He chose wholesomeness, honesty and rectitude, and his speech was pleasant with humanity. And just as God commanded His blessing on the work of his hands, so did God improve his lot. He 'crossed over his hands', went out of his way, to prosper the way of poor men in a manner that would not be embarrassing. And when judgement fell on him, and he lost his wealth, he was satisfied with just a little bread and water and he did not wish to benefit from others or from charity, even if people wanted to lend to him. He was sensitive about the matter and did not wish to take. He also loved students of Torah and showed them respect. Because of these good deeds, his brother Shimshon gave a donation for charitable purposes in his name. His soul should be a force for good.'*¹⁴⁸

Generation 6

The children of Shlomo bar Hezкия Yehezkiel (5b)



6e. Keila bat Shlomo ביר (deceased) (? – 1751, Deutz), wife of Moses, son of Yaakov Winterschweig (deceased). [M pages 49 – 50].

As Yaacov Winterschweig had married Keila bat Hezкия Yaacov Rofeh [Generation 5d], Keila bat Schlomo married her first cousin Moses, Yaacov's son.¹⁴⁹ There were no known children.

Shlomo Zalman Rindskopf, her sister Jütla's husband, gave charity to honour Keila's name after her death.

6f. Jütla bat hanadiv Shlomo Bier (ca. 1690, Deutz – 1754, Deutz)

Jütla married Salomon Rindskopf.

Memorbook page 50. This is relatively lengthy: Yütla daughter of the *Hanadiv*, generous, honourable Shlomo Bier ביר (deceased). Wife of Zalman Rindskopf.

Schulte enters Yütla in both the Schlam and Rindskopf listings, page 151. The only detail is in the Rindskopf section, where she is recorded as being born in Deutz about 1690 and having died there in 1754. In 1723, two children were recorded.¹⁵⁰

Zalman, Salomon Abraham Rindskopf was a merchant and came with his father from Frankfurt to Deutz. Zalman died in 1768.

Note: Jütla's entry in the Rindkopf genealogy includes one of the links between Schlam and Bier referred to earlier. Schulte wrote: *Daughter of Salomon Schlam, Jewish Doctor in Deutz. See the Schlam family page. According to the Deutz Memorbook this previously mentioned person is identical to the 'benefactor' Salomon Bier.*¹⁵¹

Generation 6

The children of Moshe bar Yehezkiyah Yaacov (5c)



6g. Yaakov, ben Moshe Bier (? – 1768, Deutz)

[M, page 58]

Yaakov, ben Moshe Bier (deceased), died in 1768. He was a *Chazan* (prayer leader) and *Shochet* (ritual slaughterer) in Deutz for 32 years (from 1735 to 1765). He loved people etc. he was a *moomke* /expert. His Memorbook entry includes a pun: His prayers went up to the heart [32 in Hebrew] of heaven.

6h. Alexander ben Moshe Bier (? – 1726, Deutz)

Memorbook page 34:

Alexander, son of Moshe ב"ר. *Bachoor chasuv*, an important boy. His father was Moshe bar Yehezkiyah Yaacov who gave charity in his memory. Sivan 1726.

Alexander died in Moshe Bier's house.

Generation 7

From this generation onwards I have primarily included, or detailed, the descendants of Shimshon bar Yitzchak Bier ב"ר (6c), my own ancestor.

The children of Shimshon bar Yitzchak Bier ב"ר (6a)



7a. Eizak bar Shimshon, (1737, Deutz – 20.7.1810, Deutz) son of (6a)

פ'ט
[אי] ש כשר טוב וישר
[... א] ייזק בר שמשון
[...] ז'ל נפטר ונקבר
[בשם] טוב עש'ק ח'
[...] תק'ע לפ'ק
[תנ] צב'ה

*Here is buried a virtuous, good and straight man,
[...] Eizek, son of Shimschon, [...] of blessed memory, departed and buried
of good repute on the eve of the holy Shabbat, 18.[...] 5570 of the minor era.
May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.¹⁵²*

The month is missing. But only in Tammuz 5570 did the 18th day of the month fall on the eve of Shabbat; that means that Eizek died on Friday, the 20th of July 1810. Eizek is a (German) version of the name Jizchak (Isaac).

Isaac Simon Bier had no known descendants but married three times according to Schulte.¹⁵³ He had first married in 1770, but in 1776 married 'the sister', Veronica Cahn. Finally, he married Treula Catharina Hirsch, a native of Singhofen/Nassau who died May 13, 1820.

Isaac obtained *Geleit* as his brother-in-law, the musician and minstrel, Marx Leib applied on his behalf. Marx was married to Ester Moses Isaac Bier.¹⁵⁴ It is not clear, because of the Moses in her name, whose daughter she was as the obvious father would be Isaac Eizak.

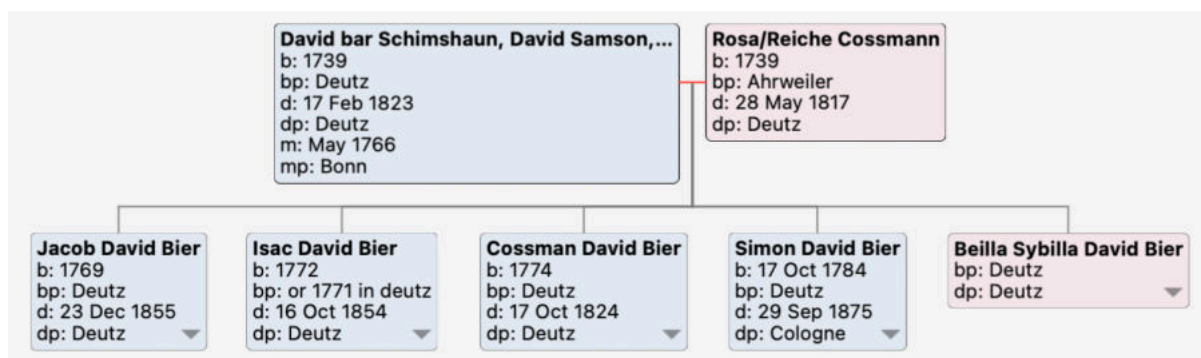
As an aside, Marx was an interesting person. He was the only Jew with a concession to play music but only could perform with Jews who did not have *Geleit*. He was allowed to bring a fellow musician from Prague to join his band in 1772.

Isaac was a *Handlesmann* and *Judenwirt*, a merchant/dealer and an innkeeper and he lived and died in Schneeberger Gasse, 256/257.



Eizak bar Shimshon, Deutz Cemetery gravestone, Row U [26]

7b. David Samson, David Simon (1739 – 7.3.1823, Deutz) son of (6a)



Carl Bier entered David Simon's dates as 1740 to 1827, but those of Schulte are more likely to be accurate as he had access to the archival records.¹⁵⁵

On May 21 and 22 1766, David married **Rosa, daughter of Jakob Cosmann or Cossmann Isaac** (see family history below) in Bonn. She was born in Ahrweiler in 1739 and died on 28 May 1837.

David Simon Bier was at first a merchant, *Handelsmann*, but became a wealthy butcher. As Jean Paul Bier wrote: To judge David Simon Bier's prosperity, one only has to compare it with the situation of other honourable Jewish families in Deutz who were threatened with bankruptcy: The family of Joseph Cassel in 1778, that of Mendel Hirtz in 1779, Joseph Bielefeld in 1780 who did become bankrupt. Joseph Rindskopf a 'miserable' widower who 'suffered a complete catastrophe' and lived with David Bier and his three children.¹⁵⁶ Joseph Rindskopf was to become the grandfather of the composer Offenbach.

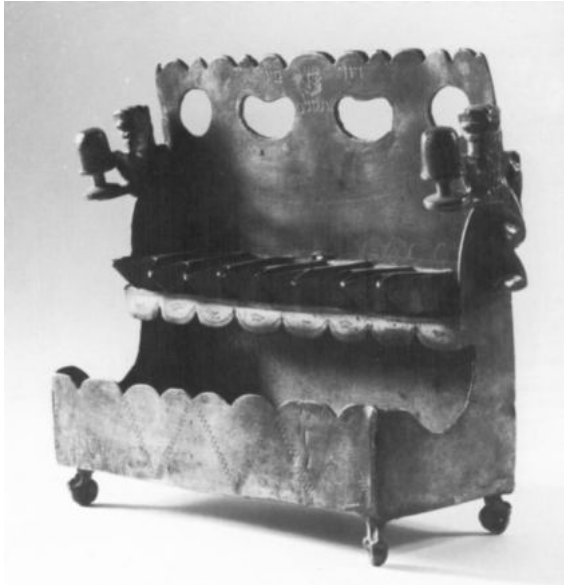
In 1801 the Jews of Deutz numbered 148, most of whose names are known and documented. Thanks to the tax records and the number of servants, it was established that the two richest were butchers: Gottschalk and Bier.

In 1776, David Bier had obtained his *Geleit*, which was taxed at 6 gold florins. His financial reputation was such that in 1782 he had the exceptional privilege of buying his house in Deutz and was the first Jew to do so. He bought it by pledge, *Versatzkauf*.¹⁵⁷ He and his wife Rosa lived there, in Judengasse 25, with their daughter and four sons. As above so did Joseph Rindskopf and his three children.

David and Rosa had five children:

- a. **Jacob David Bier** (1769-1855)
- b. Isaac David Bier (1772 -16.10.1854)
- c. Cossmann David (1774 -17.10.1824)
- d. Simon David Bier (17.10.1784 - 29.9.1875)
- e. Sybilla David (1767 - 1833)

Rosa died in Hallenstrasse 22, from a 'Kolic', colic after treatment from a doctor. David died in his house, Judengasse 25, from old age and without treatment from a doctor. David's grave is in Row W, Deutz (unfortunately, no photo as yet).



178 Chanukka-Lampe

Zinn
graviert
H. 19,2
B. 22,6
Johann Philip Henschel
Frankfurt am Main
1773
Inv.-Nr.: RM 1926/819
Foto-Nr.: BA 115.138
M. L. 5317/40

dazwischen Marke: I.P.H. und F in geschweiftem Schild.
Ölkännchen und Diener fehlen.

Lit.:
Zu diesem Lampentypus vgl. insbesondere Kaiser-Schreib-
ger. S. 182, Nr. 134, Abb. S. 126, Pl. LXVI, Nr. 134 (= ähnliche
Lampe von J.P.Henschel); in übrigen die Lit.-Angaben Kat.-
Nr. 185.

Rückwand mit geschweiftem Abschluß
und je zwei runden und nierenförmigen
Ausschnitten. Auf einer in der Mitte be-
findlichen Bank mit Behangdekor die acht
Ölbrenner in Schnabelform.

Querrechteckiger Abtraufkasten mit aus-
gebogenen Wänden. Vier Volutenfüße.

Zu beiden Seiten ein stehender Löwe mit
Vorrichtung zur Aufnahme von Ölkänn-
chen und Diener.

Einfache Gravierungen (Bogen- und Zick-
zack-Muster) an Rückwand, Seitenwänden
und vorderer Abschlußwand.

Auf der Rückwand oben Besitzerangabe:
David / Bier und Datierung: 533 (= 1773).



431

Chanukia/Chanukah Menorah from 1773, now exhibited in the Kölnischen Stadtmuseum once owned by David Simon¹⁵⁸

Notes about David Simon from the Court files in the Archives, as compiled by Schulte

1770 (Page 340)

David Simon ('Schimppgen') was denounced in Deutz for purchasing articles without paying duty, for example, a sewing kit from Johann Peter Rademacher in Dabringhausen. The Deutz government official v. Monschaw asked the elector how to treat the 'insolent Jews'.

1776 (Page 350)

David Simon and widow Christian Fuhr

The plaintiff demands of her '19 Rt species, 41 Stueber' meat (Rt and Stueber are probably units of measurement) and some money, without knowing how the defendant can pay. The defendant declares she is insolvent and pawns her house. Simon agrees for the time being.

1777 (Page 353)

Jew David Simon and widow Triers. (missing)

1779 (Page 359)

David Simon and widow Triers (continuation). Defendant has filed an appeal

1779 (Page 361)

a) David Simon and wife Fussen

b) Widow Alexander Rindskopf and wife Fussen

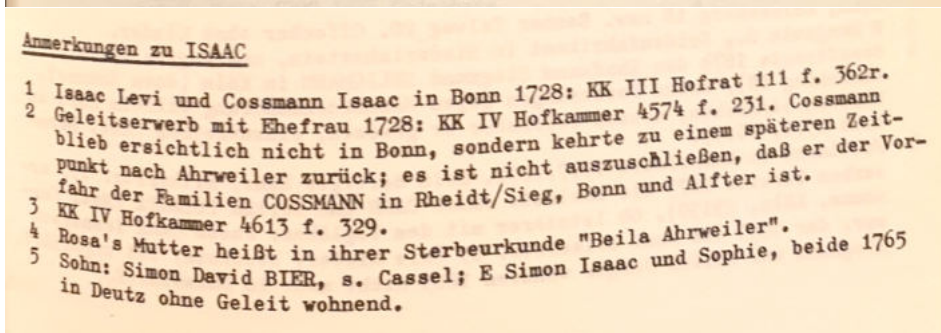
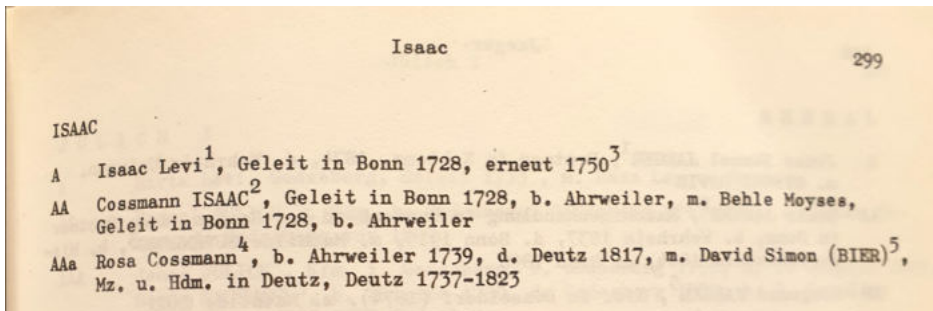
Defendant appeared in court. When the plaintiffs showed promissory notes, the defendant declared that she had neither signed them, nor owed money to either of the plaintiffs, and that she could not even write; she offered to take an oath.

Reis'che Rosa Cossmann (1739, Ahrweiler – 28.5.1817, Deutz)

The information about Rosa relies solely on the research by Schulte. She is entered in two of his books, one on the Jews of Deutz and one on the Jews of Bonn. In both she is called Rosa Cossmann and her dates are the same. The name of her father in each is slightly different. It is not known if she had any siblings.

BONN entry

Rosa Cossmann was born in Ahrweiler, and her parents were Cossmann Isaac and Behle Moyses, both born in Ahrweiler. Her grandfather Isaac had *Geleit* in Bonn in 1728 and this was renewed in 1750.



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The footnote makes clear that her father and mother had *Geleit* together in Bonn in 1728. However, Cossmann did not stay in Bonn, but returned at some point to Ahrweiler. Further, it is possible he was the ancestor of Family Cossmann in Rheidt/Sieg (10km north of Bonn), Bonn and Alfter (9km east of Bonn).

DEUTZ entry

Reis'che, Rosa Cossmann's parents were Jacob Cossmann and Beile Ahrweiler.

8) E Jacob Cossmann und Beile Ahrweiler. Jacob empfing auf Antrag seines Vaters Cossmann in Ahrweiler Heiratspatent auf 1732 Dez 29 und 30 und ist noch 1765 in Ahrweiler vergleidet, KK IV 4585 Bl. 287, KK II 5726.

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The footnote to Rosa's entry in the Bier family genealogy states that Jacob received, at the request of his father Cossmann in Ahrweiler, a marriage 'patent' on 29th and 30th December 1732. Further that Jacob had still had *Geleit* in Ahrweiler in 1765.

CARL BIER entry

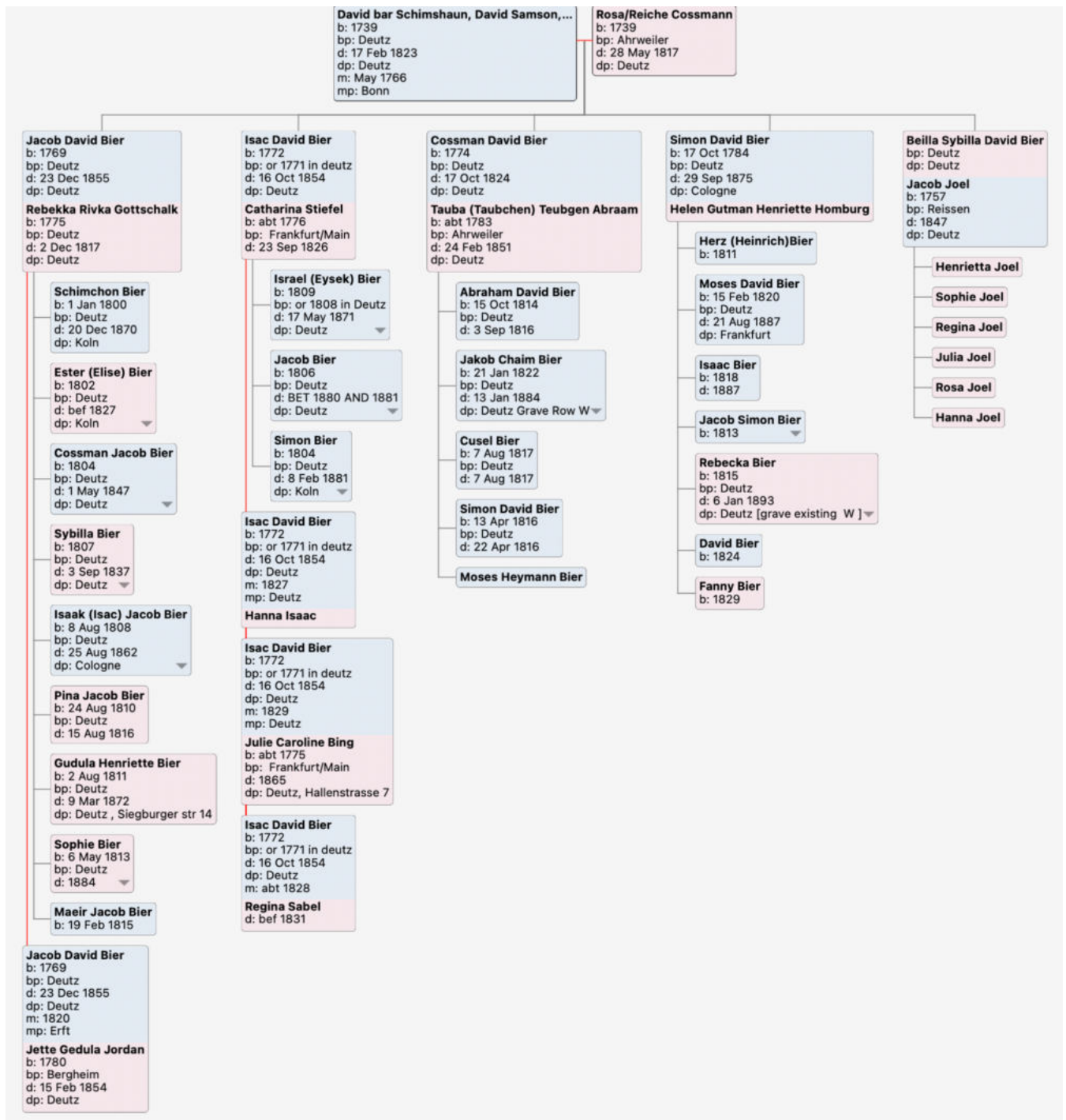
Carl Bier called her Rosa David. This seems wrong and he may have given her husband's name as her surname.

Ahrweiler is about 50 km south of Cologne on the River Ahr.

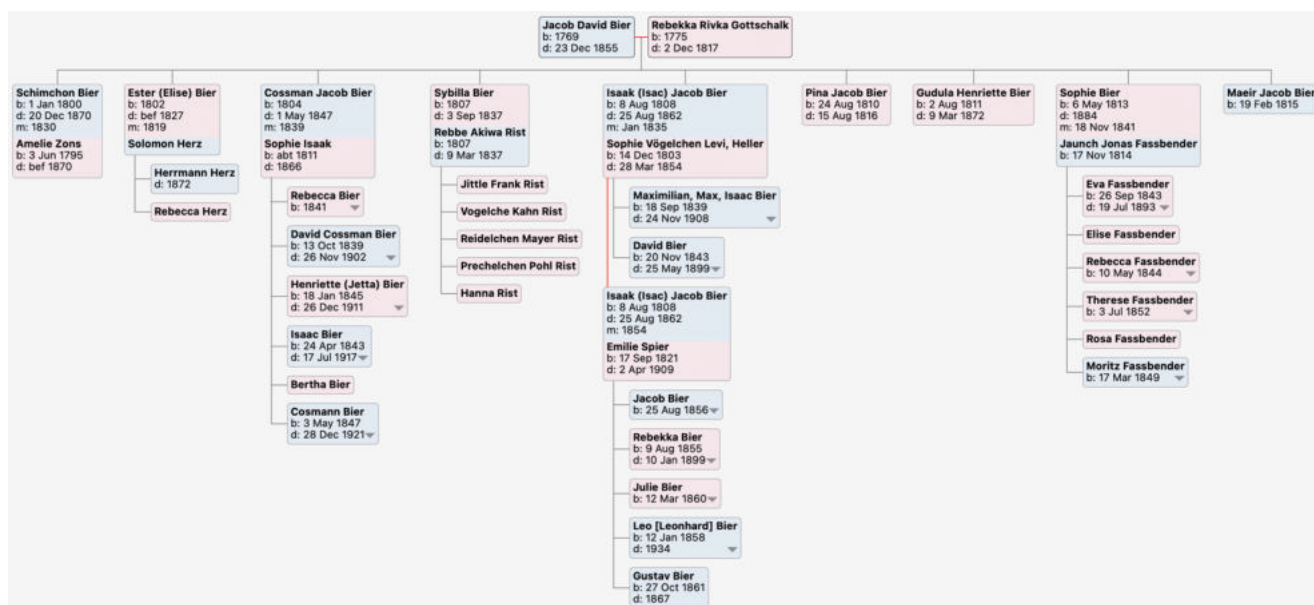
'Jews settled in Ahrweiler as early as the 13th century, during which time they enjoyed the protection of the Archbishop of Cologne. By the beginning of the 15th century, Ahrweiler Jews had a designated Jewish Street (*Judengasse*) and their own rabbi and mikveh. The community inaugurated a prayer room in 1773, a second prayer hall in 1844 (both were located in private residences), and a synagogue, on Altenbaustrasse, in 1894. Ahrweiler's first Jewish cemetery was closed down in 1870, after which, in 1871, the community consecrated new burial grounds.'¹⁶¹

Generation 8

The known children and grandchildren of David Samson, David Simon (7b)



8a. Jacob ben David Bier (1769, Deutz - 23.12.1855, Deutz)



Shulte entry:

Jacob David Bier was the first to sign using the German version 'Bier' in 1810. However, it was 27 years before Bier was recognised as an official family name in 1837.¹⁶² He was born in Deutz 1769/70 and died in Deutz, 23 December 1855. In 1810 he was living in Freiheitstrasse 34.

Jacob David Bier was married twice:

1. **Rebecka Gottschalk**, (1775 - 2 December 1817, Deutz), the daughter of Daniel Gottschalk, butcher, (from Deutz) and Canendel/Genendel Cassel. Daniel Gottschalk was the richest Jew in Deutz at the time of their marriage. See separate section.
2. Gudula Jordan/ Henriette, Jetta Gudula Gordon (Jordan), (1775, Bergheim – 15.2.1854, Deutz). She was a butcher's daughter and the widow of Moses Jacob Levy of Bergheim with whom she had had seven children. Jetta married Jacob in 1820 in Bergheim/Erft. (Bergheim is 20km east of Cologne).

Jacob David and Rebecka had nine children:

- a. Schimchon bar Jacob. (1800, Deutz - 1870, Koln). In 1830, he married Amelie Zons, (1795, Koblenz - c. 1870, Deutz) [grave existing]. Daughter of Abraham Joseph Zons & Babette Goetz.
- b. Ester (Elise) (1802 - bef 1827)
- c. Cossman Jacob (1804 -1 May 1847), butcher in Ensen
- d. Sybilla. (1807 – 3.9.1837, Deutz).
- e. **Isaak (Isac) Jacob (1808 -1862), butcher in Cologne**
- f. Pina Jacob. (1810 - 1816)
- g. Gudula Henriette. (1811 – 1872, Deutz). Did not marry.
- h. Sophie (1813-1884)
- i. Meyer Jacob. (1815 - ?), butcher.

Jacob Bier must have taken on his second wife's seven children in addition to his own nine, though by 1820 several would have been on the way to adulthood.

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Jacob David Bier was a butcher like his father and played an important role in the relations between the external authority and the Jewish community of Deutz. The butchers Bier and Gottschalk had their stalls in the Hallenstrasse Halls (Hallenstrasse 7).

Rebecka Gottschalk, (1775 - 2 December 1817), died in her house, Freiheitstrasse 34, Cologne.¹⁶³

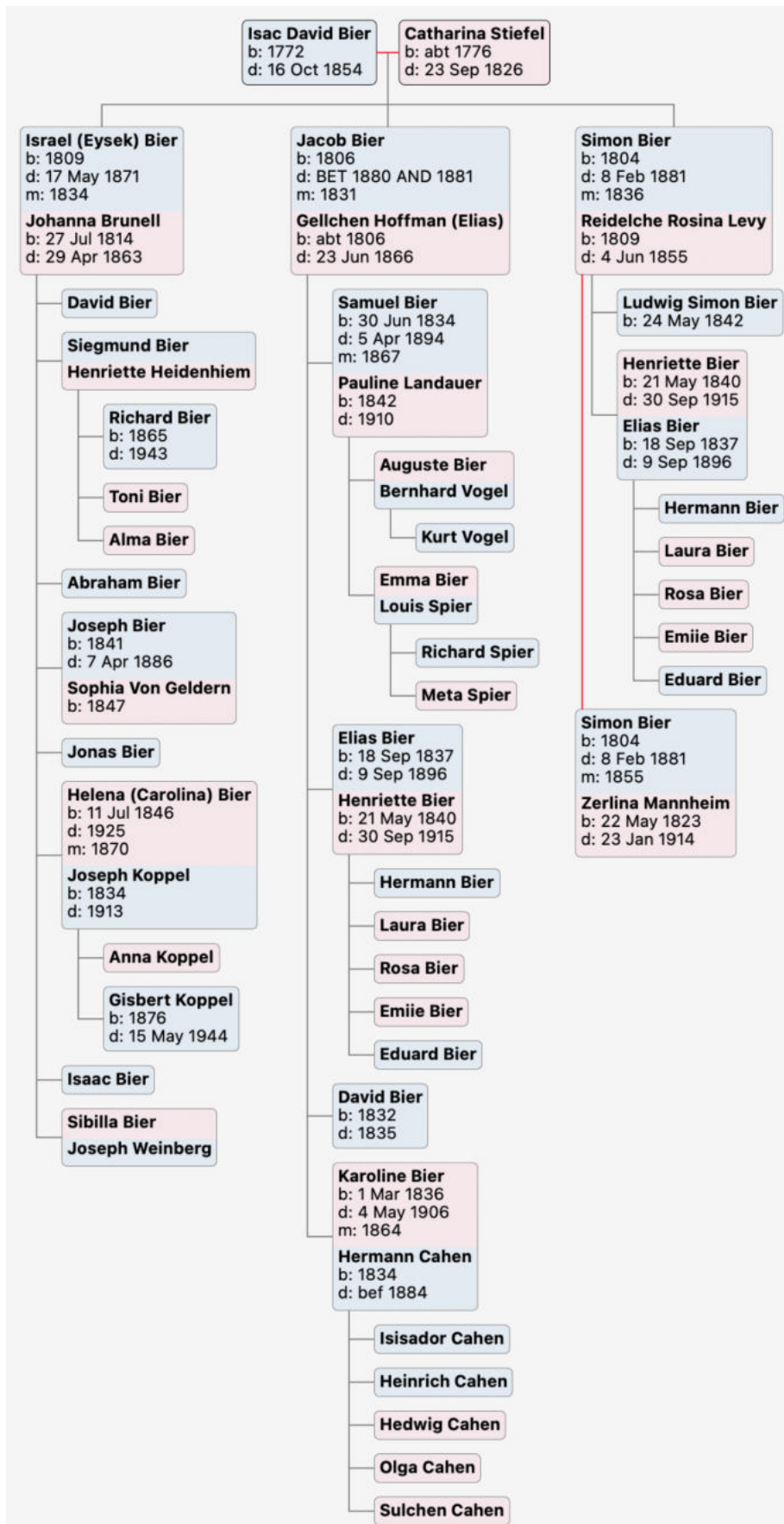
Extract from the *Sterbeurkunde* Gemeinde Köln, the Municipal register of deaths:

Simon Jacob Bier, a 55-year-old *Kaufmann*, trader, in Cologne, the son of the deceased, appeared and declared that (his father) Jacob David Bier, aged 86, had died at 9pm on 23 December 1855. Jacob David was the widower of Rebecka Gottschalk and was in his second marriage with Gudula Jordan, born in Deutz, butcher's daughter. His parents were David Bier and Rosa, both born in Deutz.¹⁶⁴



Jacob, ben David Bier, Deutz Cemetery Row S [7]

8b. Isaac David Bier (1771, Deutz - Oct 16, 1854, Deutz)



Isaac David Bier was also a butcher.

On 18 November 1808 he was offered the privilege of settling in Cologne, which he did not seem to have taken advantage of.

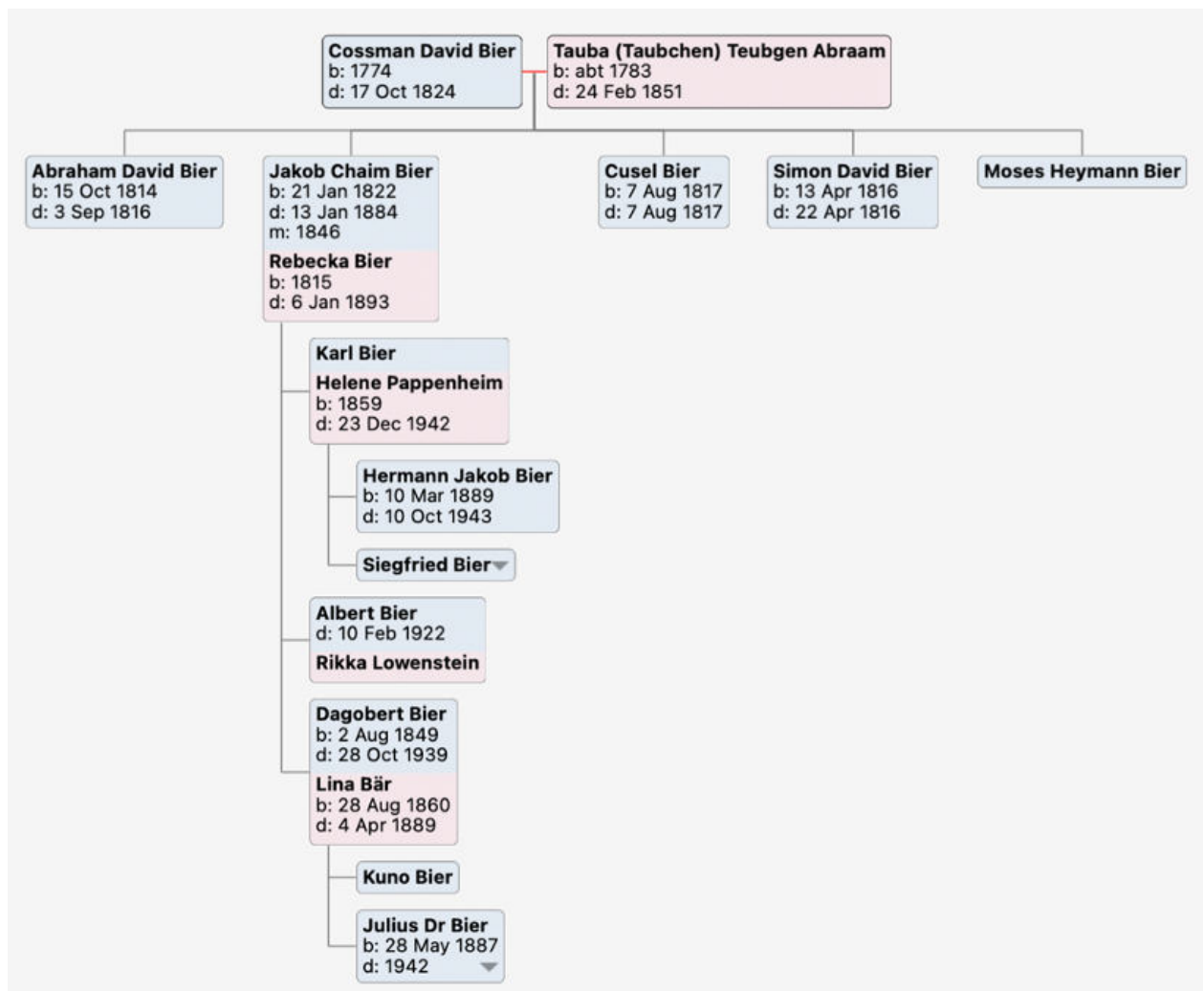
He was married four times.

- i. Catharina Stiefel, (c. 1776, Frankfurt - 1826, Deutz), daughter of Abraham Stiefel and Veronika Gundersheim of Frankfurt/Main.

They had three sons:

- a. Simon (1804 – 1881), married Rosina Levy and then Zerlina Mannheim. He was a butcher and was living in Cologne in 1846.¹⁶⁵
 - b. Jakob Bier (1808 – 1880/81), married Getta Elias
 - c. Eysek known as Israel (1808 – 1871) who married Johanna Brünell, the daughter of a rich Jewish cattle merchant from Ensen). He was entered in 1846 as a cattle dealer living in Mülheim.¹⁶⁶
- ii. Hanna Isaac, widow of Solomon Aaron of Honnef (Sieg region).
 - iii. Regina Sabel whom he married in April 1829.
 - iv. Julie Caroline Bing (c. 1775, Frankfurt - 1865, Deutz). She was entered as Isaac's wife in 1846.¹⁶⁷

8c. Cossmann David (1774, Deutz - Nov 4 1824, Deutz)



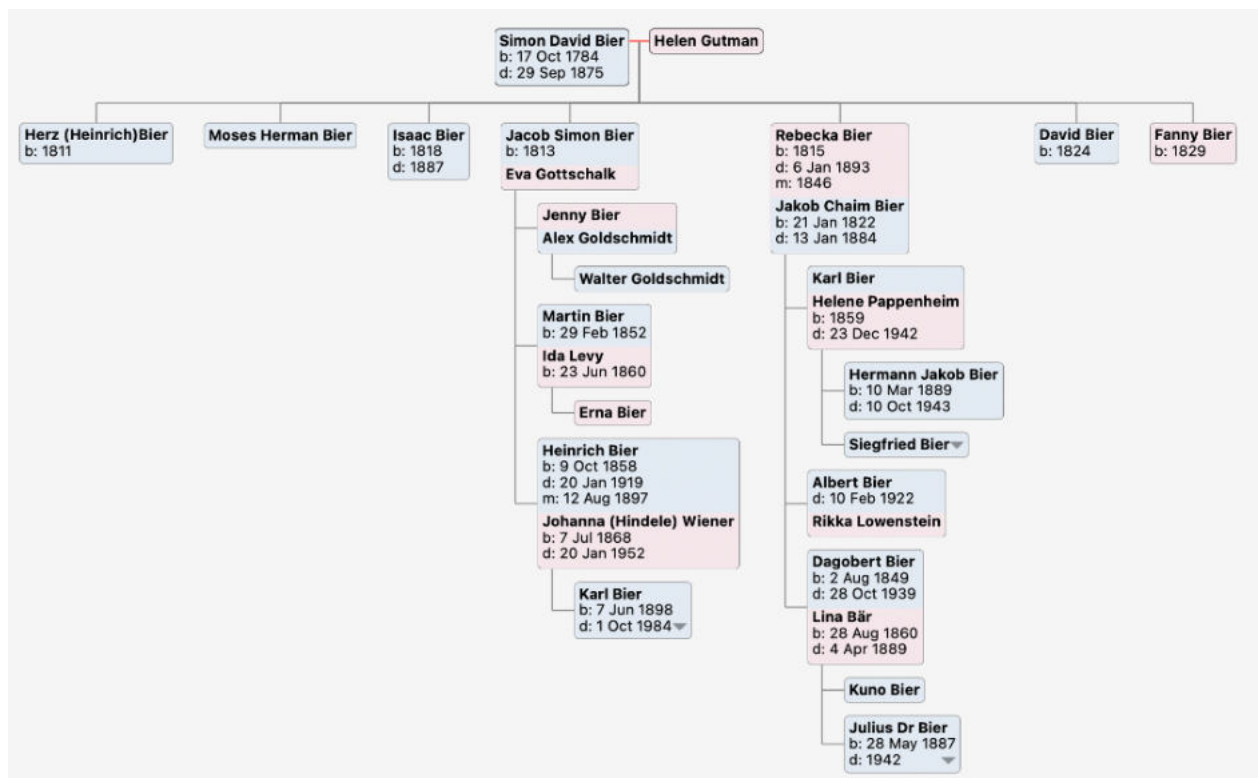
Cossmann was also a butcher and lived at 137 Siegburgerstrasse from 1816. He died of typhus when he was 50 years old, at 156 Siegburgerstrasse.

He married Tauba, (Täubchen), Abraam, born in Ahrweiler in 1783 and widow of David Baer. (She then married for a third time after Cossmann's death, another butcher from Deutz, Moses Seligmann, who was illiterate).

Cossman and Tauba had five sons, four of whom died under two years old

- a. Abraham David (1814 - 1816)
- b. Simon David, born 1816 and lived just over a week
- c. Cusel Hirsch David, (1817 - 1818)
- d. Jakob Heymann, (1822, Deutz – 1884, Cologne), who married his cousin Rebecka Bier (daughter of Simon David Bier), and was a teacher
- e. Moses Heymann, was the first Jew to get the *Arbitur* in 1836

8d. Simon ben David Bier (17.10.1784, Deutz – 29.9.1875, Cologne)



Simon David Bier was married to Henriette Homburg (Schulte), Helene Gutmann (Carl Bier)

Simon David Bier was a butcher, like his father and brothers.

In 1822 he was still living in his father's house at 22 Judengasse, Deutz.

He left Deutz for Cologne in 1853, where he moved to 124 Thieboldgasse.

According to Schulte, his wife was Henriette Homburg, born in 1784 in Mainz and died in Cologne in 1857. The Homburg family was very rich and well known in Mainz, as many generations had been *Hoffaktoren*, court Jews. However, Carl Bier's family tree entered Helene Gutmann as his wife. Possibly she was the second wife.

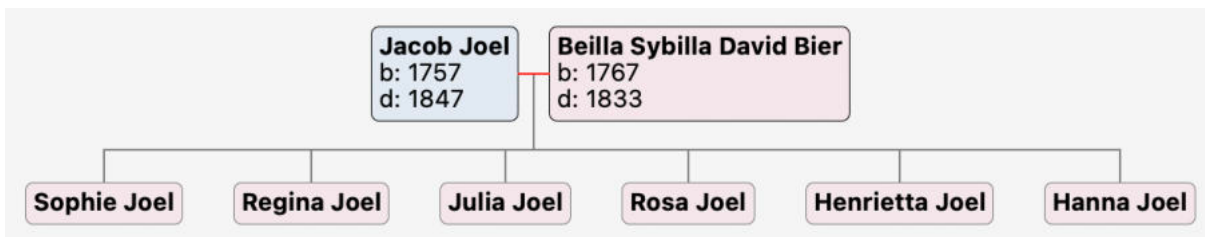
There were nine children, all born in Deutz;

- a. Herz, Dr. med. Heinrich Bier, born 1811
- b. Jacob Simon, born 1813, butcher in Deutz 1853
- c. Rebecka (1815-1893), married Jacob Heymann Bier (son of Cossmann)
- d. Isaac, (1818 -1887)
- e. Moses Herman/Heymann David, (1820 – 1887)
- f. Rosa, (1822 - 1824)
- g. David, (1824 - 1875)
- h. Jeanette, born 1825
- i. Fanny born 1829



Simon David Bier, Deutz Cemetery, Row S, second row [24]

8e. Sybilla David (1807, Deutz - 1837)



These details are taken from Schulte as Carl Bier confused an aunt and niece with the same name.

This Sybilla, from the earlier generation, married Jacob Joel (1757 - 1847) from Deutz, who had come with his family from Galicia. His father, Joel Jacob, was a Torah scholar from the village of Reschow near Lemberg. A document of 1817/18 stated that he conducted himself well but was very poor.

They had six daughters. Fuller information about the Joel family and the daughters can be found in Schulte.¹⁶⁸

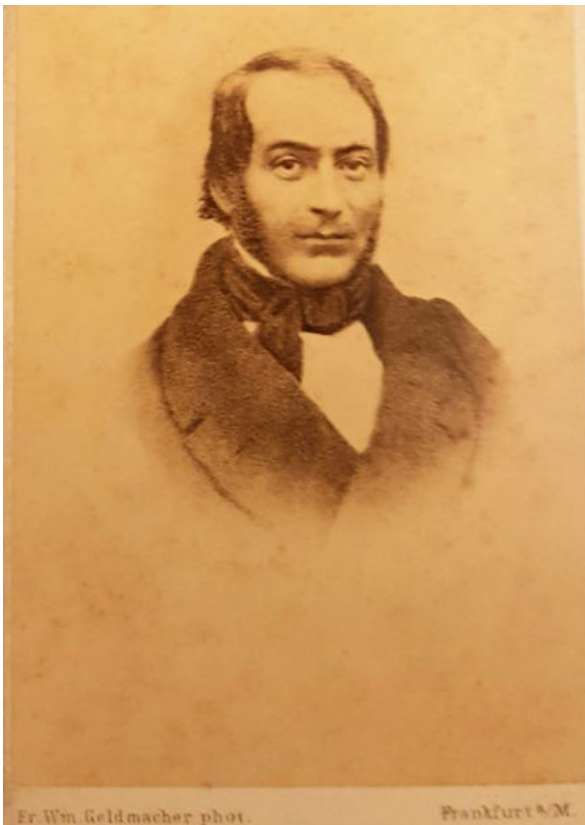
Generation 9

9a. Eizak/Isaac bar Jacob Bier (8.8.1808, Deutz – 25.8. 1862, Cologne), son of (8a)

Eizak/Isaac Jacob Bier had two wives, Sophia Heller and Emilie Spier.
For Sophie Heller's ancestry, see the later section.

Sophie (14 Dec 1803, Cologne, - 28 Mar 1854, Cologne) was the daughter of **Maximilian Heller** and **Henrietta Abraham**.

Isaac remarried **Emilie Spier (17 Sep 1821 - 2 Apr 1909)**, from Rees, Niederrhein. Her father was **Jacob Spier**, a *Handelsmann*. Her mother, **Julia Heymann**, had died already in 1846.



Isaac Jacob Bier



Emilie Spier

Unfortunately, not much is known about Isaac. Sadly, there are no photos of Isaac's first wife, Sophie Heller, but fortunately this photo of his second wife, Emilie Spier has survived.

Isaak (Isac) Jacob Bier
b. 8 Aug 1808, Deutz
d. 25 Aug 1862, Cologne
& **Sophie Vögelchen Levi, Heller**
b. 14 Dec 1803, Cologne
d. 28 Mar 1854, Cologne

Maximilian, Max, Isaac Bier
b. 18 Sep 1839, Cologne, as on his birth record
d. 24 Nov 1908, Frankfurt/Main
& **Auguste Hess**
b. 27 Apr 1845, Windecken, in upper Hesse (Cassel)
d. 4 Aug 1920, Frankfurt/Main

David Bier
b. 20 Nov 1843, Koln
d. 25 May 1899, Koln [littera G]
& **Jettchen Wassermann**
bp. Roth bei Nurnberg
d. 20 Aug 1911

Isaak (Isac) Jacob Bier
b. 8 Aug 1808, Deutz
d. 25 Aug 1862, Cologne
& **Emilie Spier**
b. 17 Sep 1821, Rees, Niederrhein
d. 2 Apr 1909, Cologne Deutz [Littera K, Row 12 Grave 28]

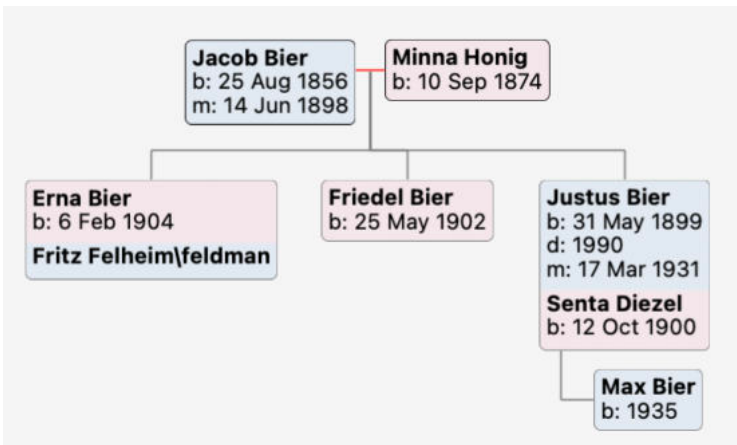
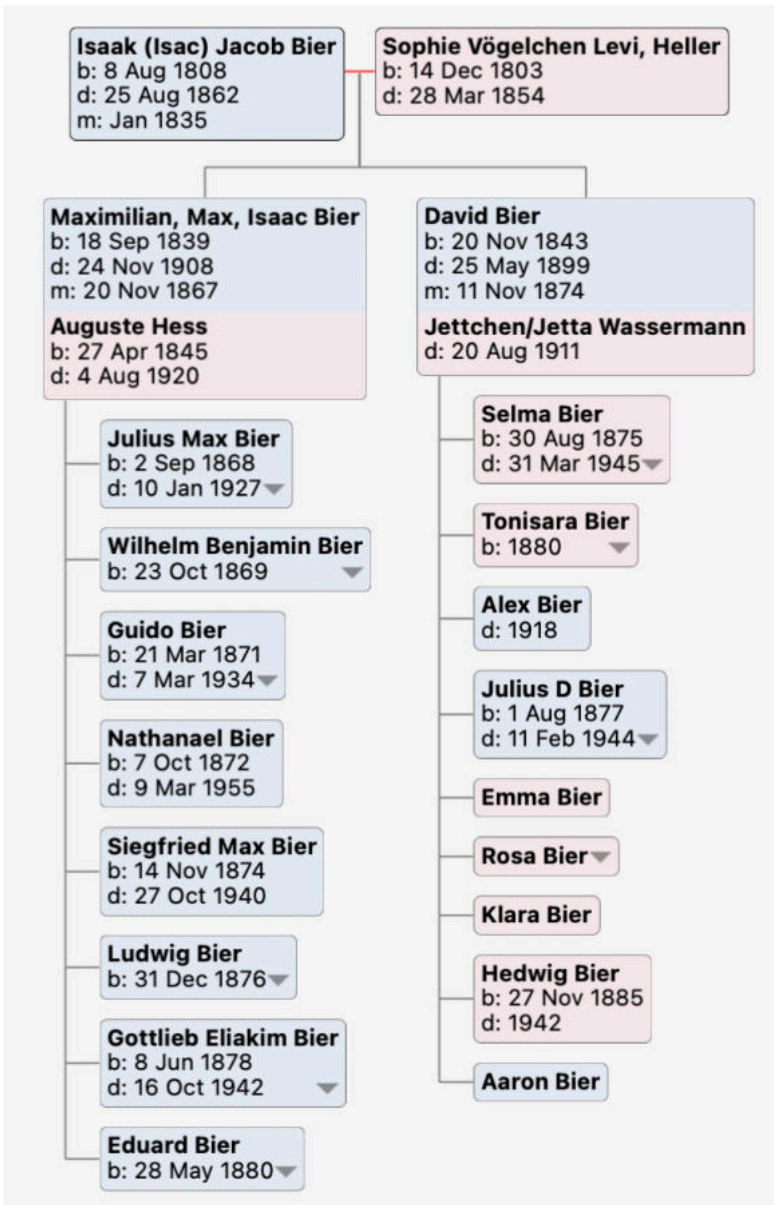
Jacob Bier
b. 25 Aug 1856, ? nurenberg
& **Minna Honig**
b. 10 Sep 1874

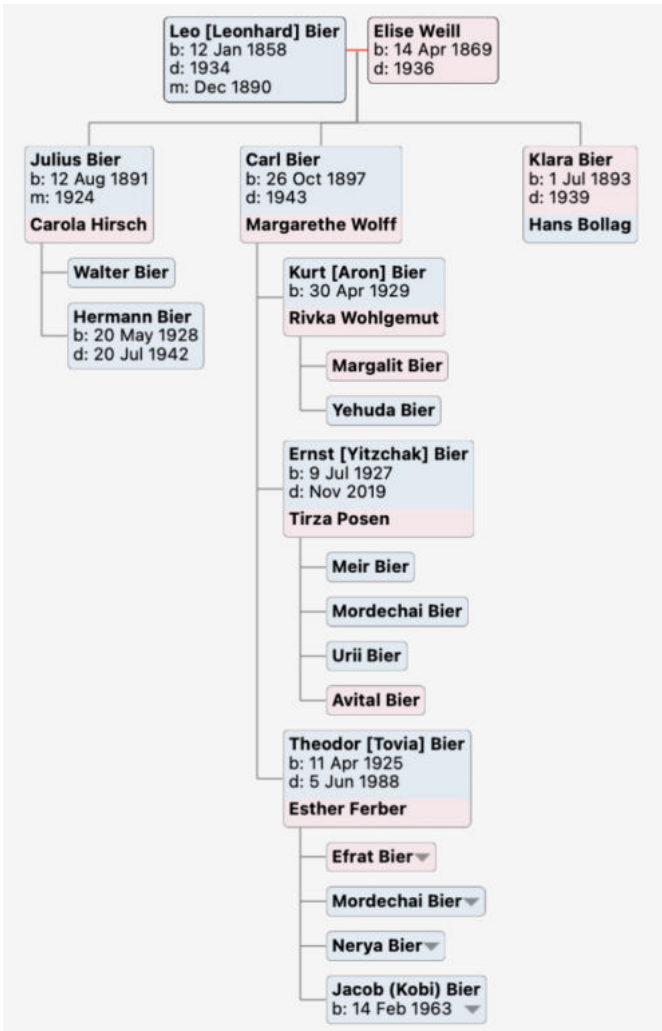
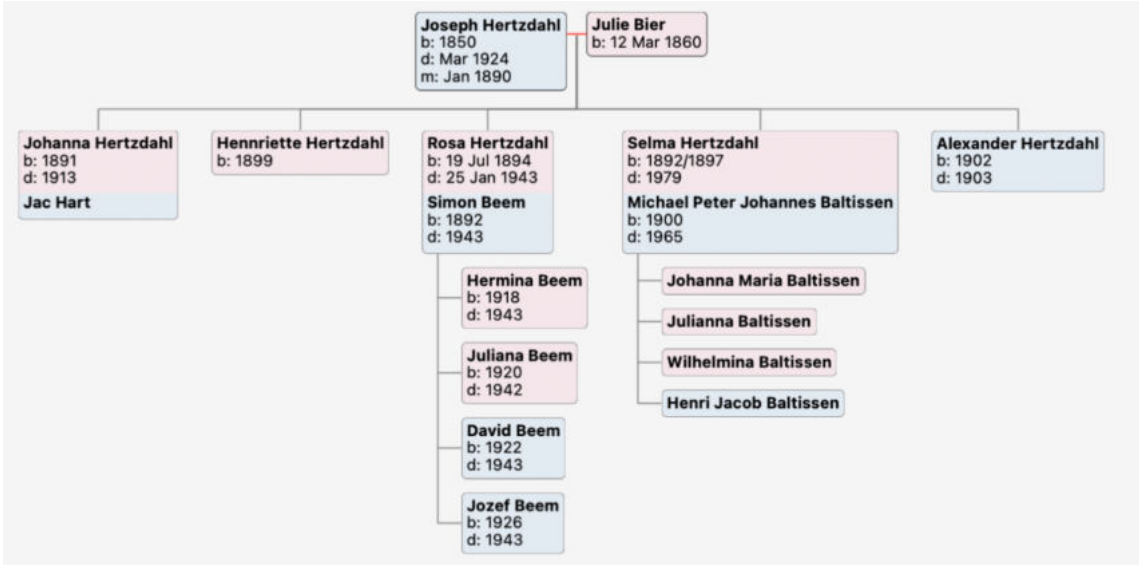
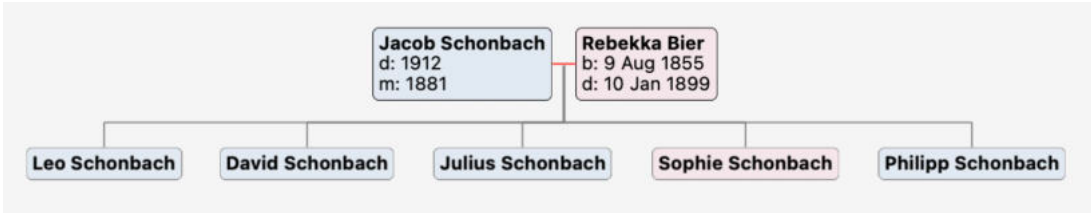
Rebekka Bier
b. 9 Aug 1855
d. 10 Jan 1899, Deutz [littera G 6]
& **Jacob Schonbach**
d. 1912

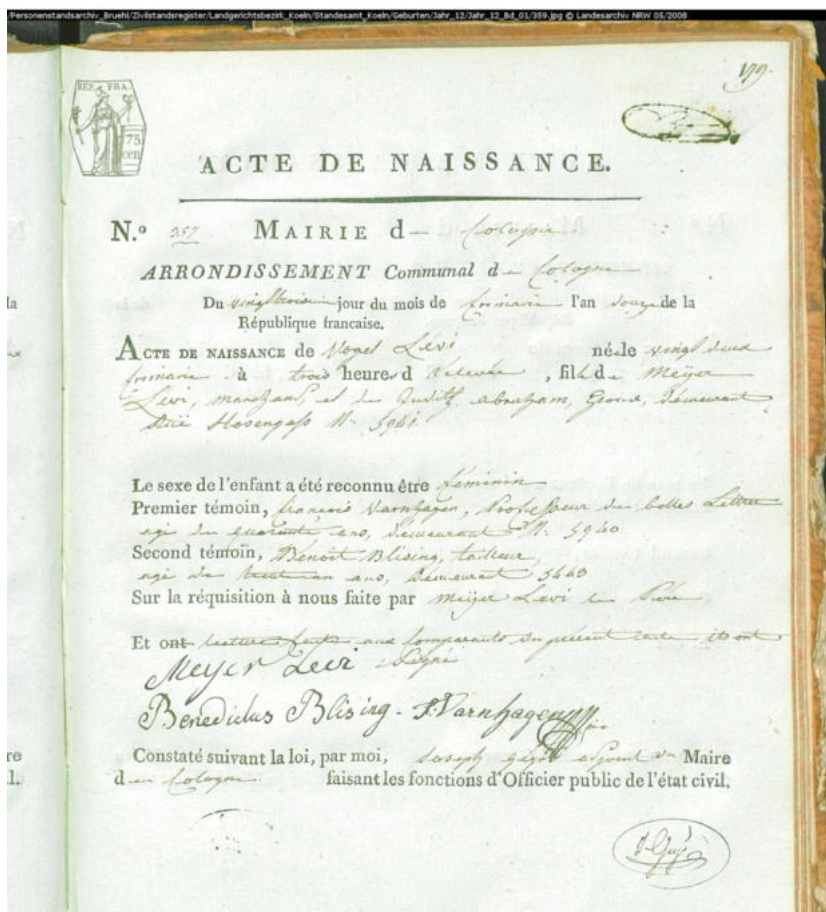
Julie Bier
b. 12 Mar 1860
& **Joseph Hertzdahl**
b. 1850, Heerlen, Netherlands
d. Mar 1924

Leo [Leonhard] Bier
b. 12 Jan 1858, Cologne
d. 1934, Cologne
& **Elise Weill**
b. 14 Apr 1869, Kippenheim
d. 1936, Cologne

Gustav Bier
b. 27 Oct 1861
d. 1867







Birth Certificate of Vogel Lévi (Sophia Heller) in 1803¹⁶⁹

Sophie's father, Maximilian, had made an early move from Deutz to Cologne in 1803, the year he married. He was described as a *Trödler*, junk dealer and prospered. When Sophie married in January 1835, he was described as a *Handelsmann*, tradesman. Sophie's family is discussed separately.

Sophie had been born in Cologne and this may have helped Isaac obtain a right to residence. But their marriage would not have been enough. There was considerable resistance to immigration by the Cologne city authorities and inhabitants, as outlined in the earlier section on the history of Cologne.

However, the Cologne authorities did encourage Jews to abandon their traditional petty occupations like peddling and become artisans. Young Isaac, who had trained as a kosher butcher, made the astute move to learn the craft of saddlery from a non-Jew, and became a *Sattler*, fabricating saddles, harnesses and other leather objects. His decision was rewarded by the Cologne authorities, who granted him the crucial *Judenpatent* in 1835 allowing him to live and work in Cologne.¹⁷⁰ Butchering would have provided a regular if modest income¹⁷¹ but the acquisition of a craft and of residency of the city increased his earning potential. Equally the abolition of earlier restrictions enabled him to make the most of the new opportunities available to Jews who were prepared to seize them.

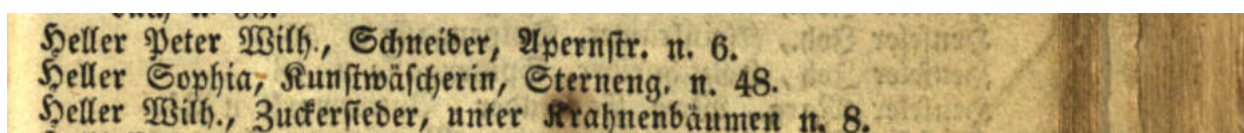
Did Isaac always continue his trade as a butcher in common with a large proportion of his family? It is unclear. The Cologne address book of 1838 enters him as a *Sattler*, living at Sternengasse 48. The next year, the entry for his oldest son Maximilian's birth in 1839,

records Isaac again as a *Sattler*. Magnus compares Jewish occupational stratification in 1835 and 1844. In 1835 there is one saddler mentioned, but in 1844 no Jewish saddler is included.¹⁷² The table also shows that between 1835 and 1844 butchering went from 13 to 21 businesses. However, the address book entries clearly show that in 1844 Isaac was a *Sattler*, but by 1848 he was a *Metzgermeister*, master butcher, at the same address, and this description remained. Strangely when his son Maximilian got married in 1867, Isaac is still described as a *Sattler*. Perhaps this remained officially his profession?

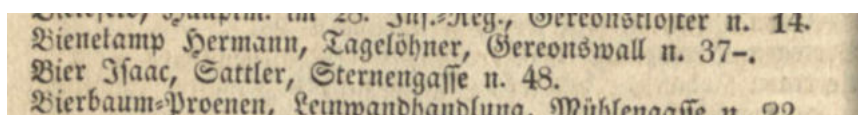
In 1835, Isaac was not entered in the Cologne address book. However, Sophia Heller was resident at Sternengasse 48 where they lived during their marriage. At this point she was described as a *Kunstwäscherin*. The consensus view of Rita Wagner, [City Museum of Cologne](#) and Ma Hornung is that this was a specialist profession washing delicate fabrics, such as silk, lace, batiste and brocante. In contrast to a family's weekly visit by a washerwoman, this would have been a specialist task that Sophia could have done at home. However, in 1846 and 1849, she was still working independently at the same address, but as a *Neuwäscherin*. It is not clear what this signifies. One possibility is that she specialised in the initial washing of delicate fabrics. Alternatively, she might have been offering cleaning with a newly invented 'dry cleaning' method using a solvent other than water.

In 1838 and 1844, Isaac is a *Sattler*. However, in 1846 he is a *Viehändler* a cattle trader. By 1844, Simon David, Isaac's uncle, was established in Cologne as a master butcher in Thieboldsgasse. He was joined by his son Isaac by 1849.

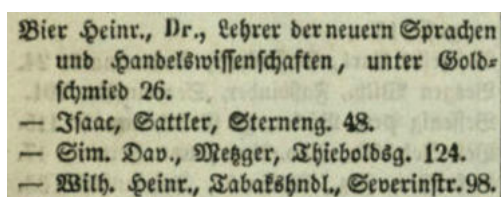
By 1849, other members of the Bier family were also working in Cologne, a merchant an owner of a ribbon shop and a tobacconist. In 1859 three Biers are listed in Deutz: two butchers and one merchant.



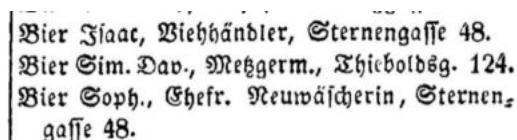
Sophia Heller, Cologne Address book, 1838¹⁷³



Isaac Bier, Cologne Address book, 1838¹⁷⁴



Isaac Bier, Cologne Address book, 1844¹⁷⁵



Isaac Bier, Sophia Bier, Cologne Address book, 1846¹⁷⁶

Bier Jac., Kaufm., Breitestraße 24.
 Bier Isaac, Metzger, Sternengasse 48.
 Bier Moses u. Dan. Gebr., Commis, Thieboldsgasse 124.
 Bier Sim. Dav. u. Jac., Metzgermeister, Thieboldsgasse 124.
 Bier Simon Jac., Bandhandlung, Herzogstraße 16.
 Bier Soph., Ehefr., Neuwäscherin, Sternengasse 48.
 Bier Wilh. Heindr., Tabackshandlung, Severinstraße 181.

Isaac Bier, Cologne Address book, 1849¹⁷⁷

Bier, Jac., Metzger, Hahnenstraße 12.
 — J. S., Kaufm., Kurzwaldg., Breitstr. 24.
 — Isaac, Metzger, Sternengasse 48.
 — Simon Dav., Priv., Thieboldsg. 124.
 — Sim. Jac., Bandfabrikant, Herzogstr. 16.
 — Wilh. Heindr., Tabacksh. Severinstr. 181.

Isaac Bier, Cologne Address book, 1850¹⁷⁸

Bier Jakob, Metzger und Gastwirth, Hahnenstr. 12.
 — Jakob Heymann, Manufakturwaarenhandlung
 Breitestraße 24.
 — Isaac, Kaufmann Marsyfortengasse 4.
 — Isaac Jakob, Metzger, Sternengasse 48.
 — Israel, Metzger gr. Telegraphenstr. 5.
 — Simon David, Metzger Thieboldsgasse 124.
 S. J. Bier (Simon Jakob), Manufakturwaaren-
 handlung Sternengasse 25.
 Bier Wilhelm, Tabak- u. Cigarrenh. Severinstr. 181.

Isaac Bier, Cologne Address book, 1859¹⁷⁹

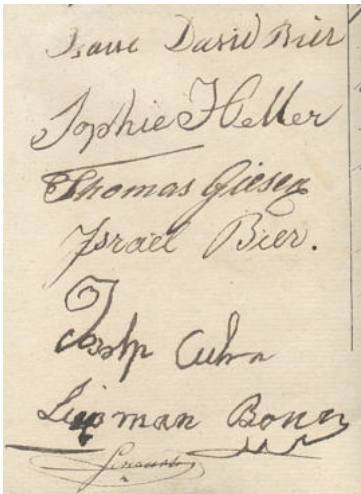
Bier Jakob, Handelsmann Hallenstraße 29.
 — Mayer, Metzger Freiheitsstraße 38.
 — Simon, Metzger Schneebergerstraße 292a.

Bier family members in Deutz (in the same 1859 address book).

Bier Jak. Heymann, Manufakturwaarenhandlung
 Breitestr. 24.
 — Jak., Handelsmann Glockeng. 50.
 — Isaac Jak., Metzger Sterneng. 48.
 — Israel, Metzger Paulstr. 7.
 — Simon David, Handelsm. Thieboldsg. 124.
 S. J. Bier (Simon Jakob), Manufakturwaarenhdl.
 Sterneng. 25.
 Bier Wilh., Tabak- und Cigarrenh. Severinstr. 98.

Isaac Bier, Cologne Address book, 1862¹⁸⁰

In the signed register entry of Isaac and Sophie's marriage, it is nice to see their signatures.



Isaac Bier and Sophie Heller's signatures on their entry in the Marriage Register

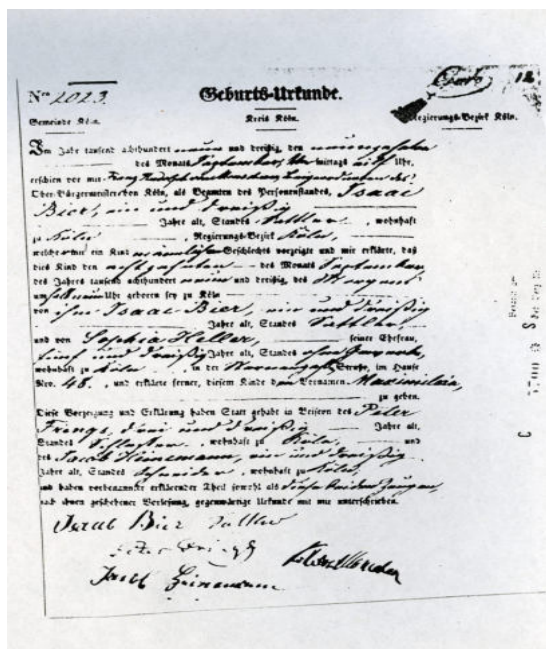
Both Isaac and Sophie write with an educated hand which shows they were both used to writing in German. Isaac's father Jacob was alive at the time of his marriage, but it is Israel Bier who signed as a witness to the marriage. Jacob in the Bible was later called Israel, so it is possible this is the signature of Isaac's father. There is no other obvious candidate. If so, his signature also looked that of an educated person.

Sophie's father's name is missing in the marriage register. However, he died a month after her wedding, and very possibly he was too old or frail to see his daughter getting married. Joseph Cuhn may have been a friend of Sophie's father, and Lipman Bonn was a teacher from Deutz, born around 1771, whose shaky hand reveals his age. He died four years later in 1839.¹⁸² His grandfather had also been a teacher in Deutz as documented in 1748.

Sophie was 31 when she married, relatively old for that period, and she and Isaac had two children:

1. **Maximilian Isaac** (18 Sep 1839 - 24 Nov 1908)
2. **David** (20 Nov 1843 - 25 May 1899) (possibly 20.11. 1842)

Both sons were born in Cologne. From Maximilian's birth record, the address was probably 48. Nonnengasse. Maximilian was no doubt named after his grandfather, Maximilian Heller, who had died shortly after Sophie's wedding.



No. 2023, entry in Birth Register for Maximilian Bier

Sophie died on 28 March 1854. Sophie's grave has not been photographed yet, but she is recorded as being buried in Deutz in Littera Y.

No. 716 Sterbeurkunde, Gemeinde Köln; Sophie Heller

*Am 28. März 1854 morgens 5:00 Uhr sei verstorben **Sophie Heller**, Ehefrau von Isaak Jacob Bier, geboren zu Cöln, 48 Jahre alt Tochter von Max Heller, Handelsmann und Jutte Meyer, in Cöln verstorbene Eheleute.*

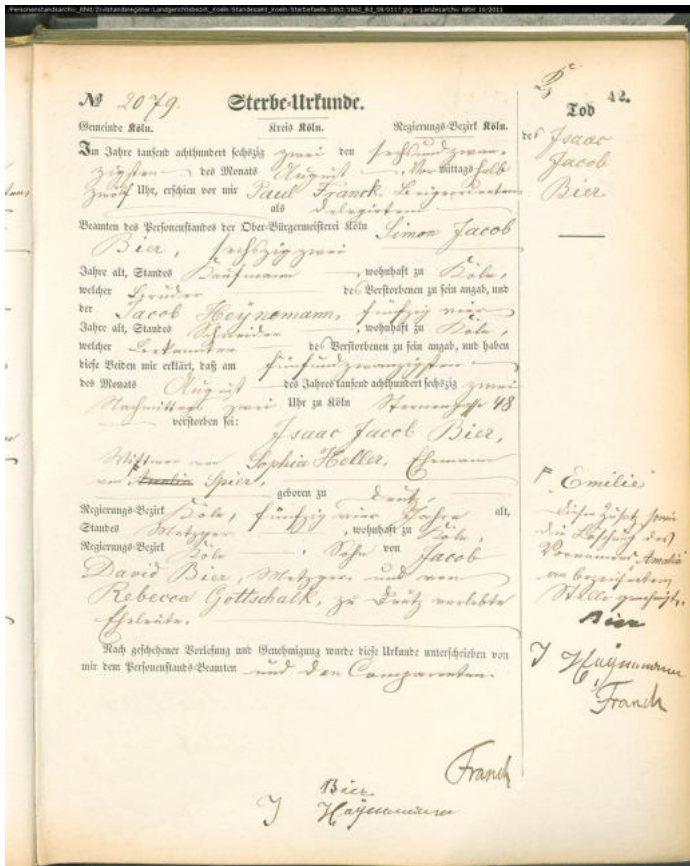
Sophie Heller died March 28, 1854, spouse of Isaac Jacob Bier, born in Cöln, 48 years old, daughter of Max Heller, trader and Jette Meier, in Köln, deceased couple. (Her age at her death is entered wrongly if the date of birth was correct)

Not unusually for the time, Isaac remarried fairly quickly as his second wife Emilie Spier had their first child Rebecka just over a year after Sophie's death. Emilie came from Rees, and had three siblings; Philippine, Caroline and Philipp.¹⁸³ Maximilian later joined Philipp in his shoe business.

Isaac and Emilie had five children:

1. Rebecka (9 Aug 1855 -10 Jan 1899)
2. Jacob, born 25 Aug 1856-
3. Leo [Leonhard] (12 Jan 1858-1934)
4. Julie, born 12 Mar 1860
5. Gustav (27 Oct 1861-1867)

When Isaac died in 1862, his widow, Emilie, was left with these five children all under seven. The youngest child, Gustav, was just one year old. He sadly died when he was six.



No. 2079 Sterbeurkunde Gemeinde Köln; Isaac Jacob Bier, record of death¹⁸⁴

Am 25. August 1862 nachmittags 2:00 Uhr sei verstorben **Isaac Jacob Bier**, Witwer von **Sophia Heller**, Ehemann von **Emilie Spier**, geboren zu **Deutz**, 54 Jahre alt, Metzger, Sohn von **Jakob David Bier**, Metzger und von **Rebecka Gottschalk**, zu **Deutz** verlebte Eheleute. Isaac Jacob Bier died on August 25, 1862, widower of **Sophia Heller**, husband of **Emilie Spier**, born in **Deutz**, age 54 years, butcher, son of **Jakob David Bier**, butcher, and **Rebecka Gottschalk**, who were a deceased married couple.

Isaac Bier's grandson Carl wrote to a cousin in Frankfurt in 1920 that the Hebrew on Isaac's tombstone related that 'even amongst Dukes, he was an honest and straight man'.



Eizak Jacob Bier, Deutz Cemetery, Row S, second row, [25]

9b. Shimshon bar Yaacov Bier (1800, Deutz – 20.12.1870, Cologne), son of (8a)

Shimshon/Simon Jacob Bier was a *Kaufmann* in Cologne and was married to Amalie Zons from Koblenz. She died before 1870.

Magnus refers to Amalie in the following:

A woman who had been running a dry goods business since her husband's bankruptcy, sought settlement permission in Cologne on the strength of her own independent business reputation. She is described as the 'trader wife' of Simon Jakob Bier; the mayor of Barmen, her previous place of residence, confirmed that Amelia Bier had withdrawn her funds from her husband's business and was truly independent.

Complete independence for a married woman was not considered possible by Cologne's City Council.¹⁸⁵ The correspondence is dated 1839.



Shimshon bar Yaacov Bier, Deutz Cemetery, Row S, second row, [4]

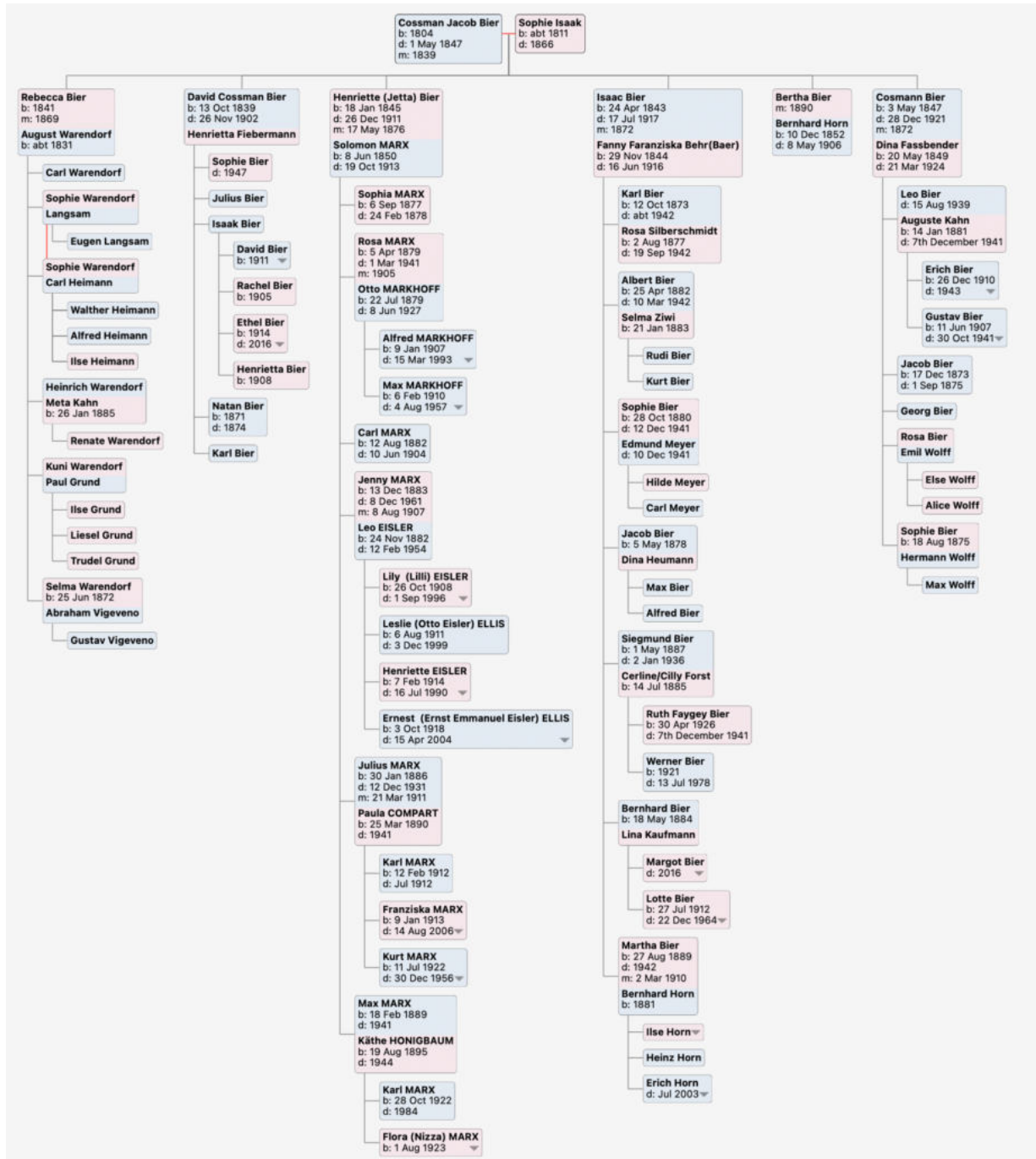
9c. Cosmann Jacob (1804, Deutz – 1.5.1847, Deutz) son of (8a)

Cosmann was a butcher in Ensen and died young at the age of 43. He married Sophie Isaak (abt. 1811, Braschoss – 1866, Ensen). They had six children as in the family tree below. Two sons remained butchers one in Ensen, Isaac and one in Deutz, Cosmann. The oldest son David was a merchant in Cologne.

Despite some terrible losses during the Second World War (not all dates have been entered into the family tree but see the list of the murdered in the Appendix), there are lots of descendants from this branch and recently (in 2020), some of them were put in touch with each other. I am therefore including this short account sent to me by Franklin Steen about Jenny Marx, daughter of Henrietta (Jetta) Bier and Cosmann and Sophie's granddaughter:

Jenny has the name Maria Anna on her birth document. The Standesamt (registry office) did not accept Jenny as a name and her father just said, 'Maria Anna,' to satisfy the Beamte (official). She never went by that name, but there are some records listing her as Jenny Anna. A quick story: Jenny was a Schaffnerin (conductor) on the Rheinuferbahn (a heavy electric railway--one of the first) during WWI, when the men were off at war. The terminal was in Wesseling, where her aunts lived (her parents died before WW1). She often had to spend the night there at the end of the night run. Her older sister Rosa and her two sons lived with

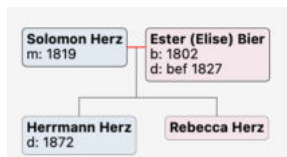
Jenny's family and her four children at this time in a small apartment while both husbands were off at war. Jenny was the one who worked and her daughter Lily, who was 9 or 10, had the responsibility to get the pay from her mother on payday. Since Jenny was a conductor on the train and was not home much, and the money was desperately needed, she would throw her purse to Lily from the train. There was no time to wait for her to get home and she could not leave her responsibilities on the train, which included coupling cars and other intense and dangerous duties.¹⁸⁶



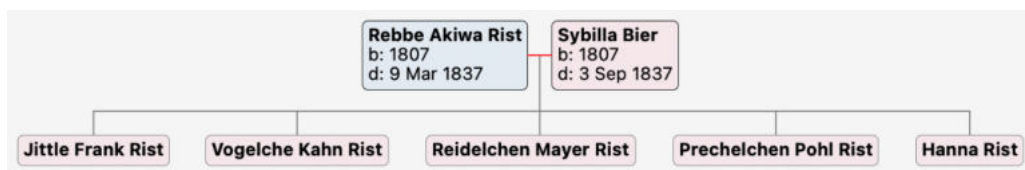
In 2011 we met David, the grandson of David Cossman Bier (1839 – 1902) and his daughter Chana in Israel where they were living. David explained that his father Isaac had wanted to be an architect but was not allowed to due to an injured thumb. He therefore moved to Holland, Belgium and then England where, together with his wife Johanna, he looked after

his mother and his sister Sophie. Isaac's brother Karl ended up in Australia. I found them in the UK 1911 Census living in 139 Brondesbury Villas, London NW6. Isaac was an 'old iron merchant', Sophia was a manageress in a blouse factory. At that point they had 2 children, Rochelle aged 1 and Henrietta 3.

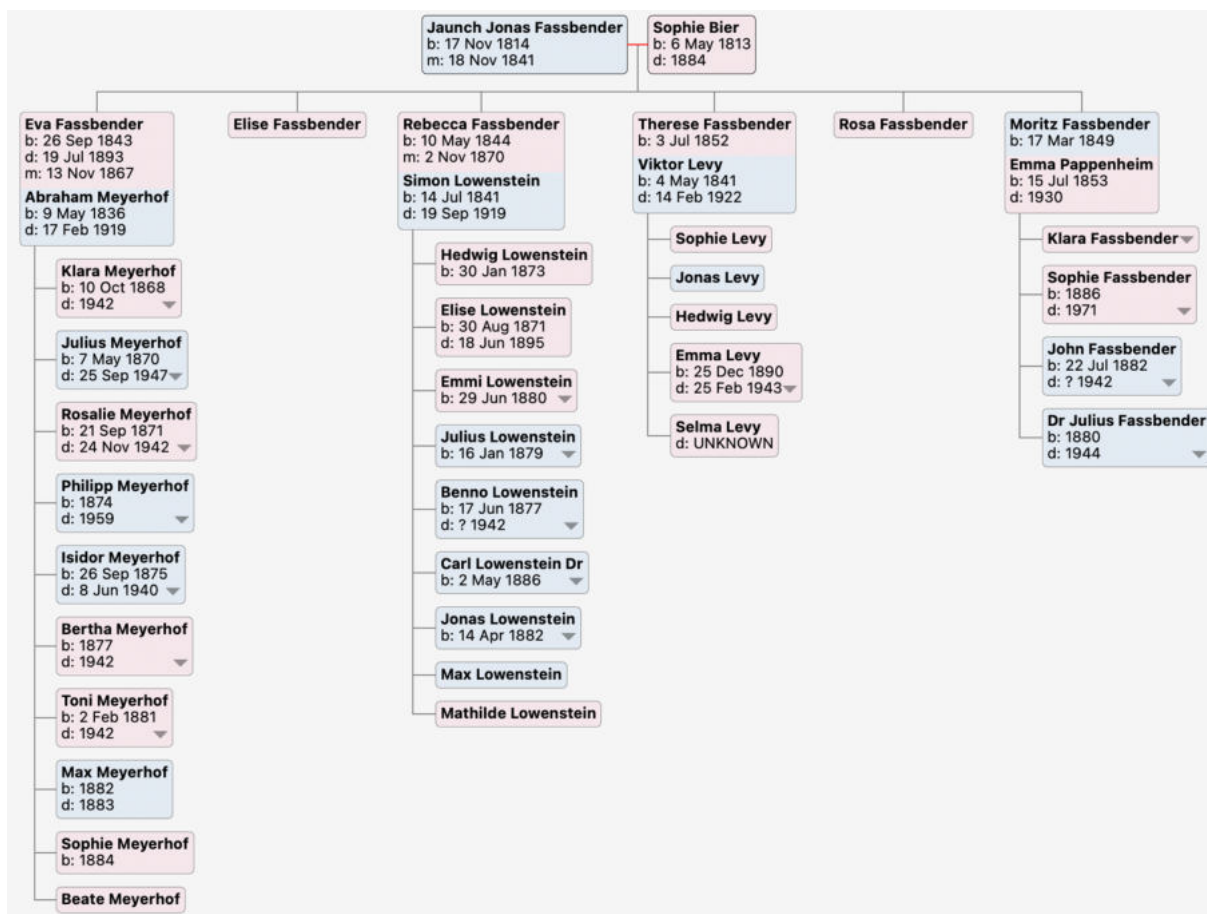
9d. Ester (Elise) (1802, Deutz – bef.1827, Cologne) daughter of (8a)



9e. Sybilla (1807, Deutz – 3.9.1837, Deutz) daughter of (8a)



9f. Sophie (1813, Deutz – 1884) daughter of (8a)



9g. Jakob Heym/Heymann Bier (1822, Deutz- 13.1.1884, Cologne) Son of Cossman, (8c)

Jakob Heym/Heymann Bier married **Rebecka Bier (Deutz 1815 – 1893, Cologne)** daughter of **Simon David Bier, 8b.**



Jakob Heym Bier and Rebecka Bier, Deutz Cemetery (No row allocated)

9h. Moses Heymann Bier (15.2.1820, Deutz- 21.8.1887, Frankfurt) Son of Simon David, (8d)

9i. Isaac Bier (2.5.1818, Deutz- 17.9.1887, Cologne) Son of Simon David, (8d)

Many years ago, I came across a notice placed in *The London Gazette*, 1860. It refers to Isaac and Moses Bier who dissolved their partnership in the firm of Bier Brothers. Despite there being no proof, as it is possible that they were two of Simon David's sons, they have been included here.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Partnership heretofore existing between us the undersigned, Isaac Bier and Moses Bier, as Merchants and Agents, under the firm of Bier, Brothers, has this day been dissolved by mutual consent. All debts due to and owing from the said firm, will be received and paid by Mr. Moses Bier, who will carry on the said business under the same style for his own account.—Dated London, this 20th September, 1858.

Isaac Bier.
Moses Bier.

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In 1860 the brothers were aged around 40. Interestingly there are entries in the Port of London arrival certificates for two Prussians named Moses and Isaac who arrived in London in 1850.

The merchant Isaac Bier had already come in 1848 via Ostend and stayed 14 days. His next trip was on 18th September 1850, when he had left from Rotterdam. It looks like he stayed in Britain for one month.

No. 2356			
Port of LONDON		Certificate of Arrival.	
Date of Arrival	Name and Country	From what Port arrived	REMARKS
11 th April 1850	Moses Dutch	Rotterdam St. Barbara	Left 11 th April
	Profession - Merchant		has — Passport
	Native of —		from the — Government.
Signature of the Doctor	<i>J. Miller</i>	Signature of the Port Officer	<i>J. Johnson</i>

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The merchant Moses arrived at the Port of London on 11th April 1850 and had travelled via Ostend.

No. 645			
Port of LONDON		Certificate of Arrival.	
Date of Arrival	Name and Country	From what Port arrived	REMARKS
11 th April 1850	Moses Dutch	Rotterdam St. Barbara	Left 11 th April
	Profession - Merchant		has — Passport
	Native of —		from the — Government.
Signature of the Doctor	<i>J. Miller</i>	Signature of the Port Officer	<i>J. Johnson</i>

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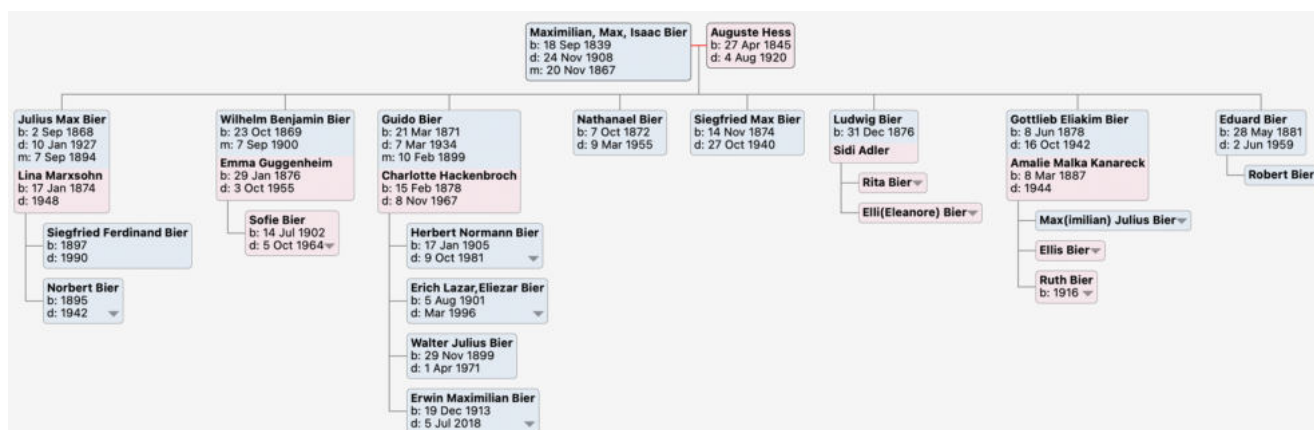
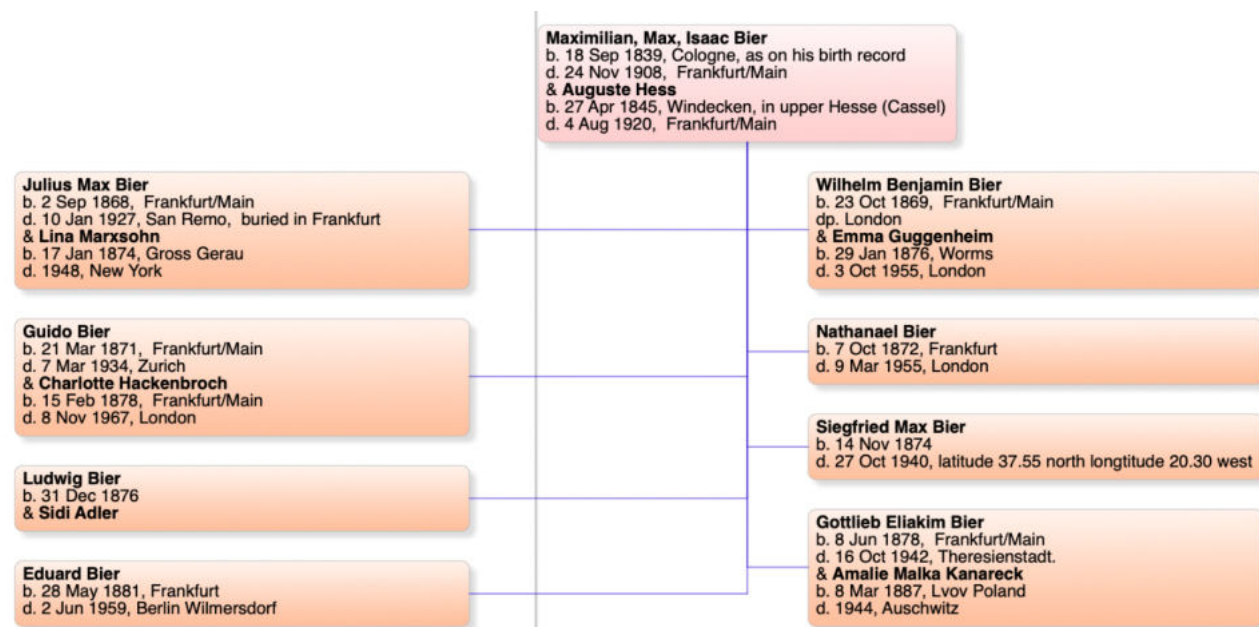
Generation 10

10a. Maximilian Bier, (18 Sep 1839, Deutz - 24 Nov 1908, Frankfurt) son of Eizak/Isaac bar Jacob Bier (9a)

Hebrew name Meir

Max married Auguste Bier (nee Hess) (27 Apr 1845, Windecken, Upper Hesse - 4 Aug 1920, Frankfurt) on 20 Nov 1867

For Auguste's ancestry see a separate chapter



My great grandfather Maximilian (Max) moved to Frankfurt as a young man, and for the rest of his and his descendant's lives, Deutz and Cologne were part of the family's past. He was born in Cologne, but no doubt still had many connections with the family over the river in Deutz, and it seems right to include him at the end of this saga. It would appear that crossings between Deutz and Cologne became easier after 1822 when a pontoon bridge connected the two sides. Then in 1859, a wrought iron Cathedral Bridge for rail and vehicles was inaugurated. Max wrote in his diary that he walked over this new bridge in 1860.



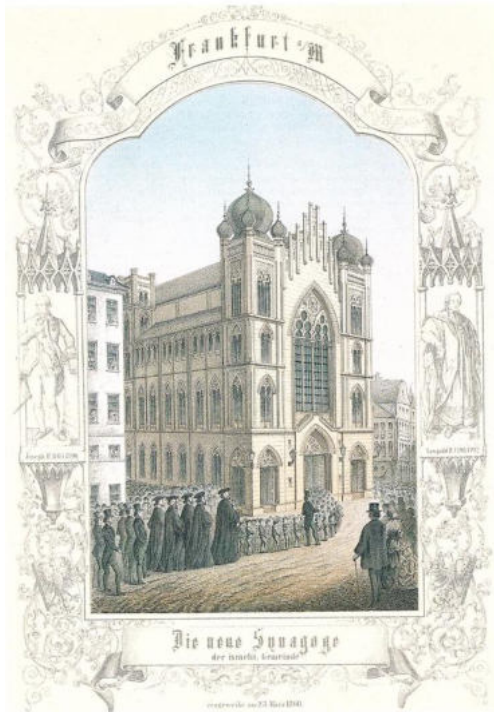
Unfortunately, not much is known about Max's life before he moved to Frankfurt. Given his self-imposed use of French to write his diary in 1860 when he had left home to work there, it can be assumed he was well educated. Perhaps he attended the *Realgymnasium* along with other Jewish boys whose parents hoped to ensure a successful professional and most likely commercial future.¹⁹⁰

When Max was fourteen and his brother David ten, their mother Sophie died, and very soon after their father remarried. His new wife was Emilie Spier, and they were to have five more children. Although a quick remarriage was relatively common at the time, especially when there were children in the family to be looked after, this must have been tough for a young adolescent. Despite this, his diary records unselfconscious affection for his stepmother (he refers to her as 'my mother') and anticipates with anxiety and excitement the birth of 'my sister Julie' who is born on 12th March 1860.

The date given in Max's obituary (see below), printed in *Der Israelit* on 29 October 1908, for his move to Frankfurt is 1855, and in 1860 he was definitely there as attested by his diary. The obituary relates how he came after the early death of his father. This is inaccurate: Isaac died in 1862, but if he did indeed go in 1855, which is very likely, it would have been after his mother's early death and father's remarriage when he was just seventeen.

Urban Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century was finally opening up to Jews who moved in their hundreds from the small towns and villages their family had lived in for generations. So, Maximilian's move, first to Offenbach and then Frankfurt, was very much part of a trend for ambitious young men. As suggested below, most probably an apprenticeship had been arranged for him with his new stepmother's brother.

Back in March 1860, and newly arrived in Frankfurt, Max went very happily to the big festivities for the inauguration of the *Hauptsynagoge* in Frankfurt in Börnestrasse. This synagogue was established as Frankfurt's main Reform or *Liberale* synagogue.



Inauguration of the *Hauptsynagoge*, Börnestrasse, 23 March 1860

Max wrote in his diary that he was very fortunate to have been offered a ticket for a seat for the opening festivities through the kindness of a relative, Frau Dr Bier, who was a member. He described the opening sermon given by Rabbi Stein. In Max's recollection the sermon is somewhat maudlin. Rabbi Stein lengthily, and in some detail, describes the tragic history of the Jewish community and its sufferings at the hands of its persecutors, concluding by reminding the assembly that although this is no place for levity, family life remains the primary source of joy even in the midst of suffering.

One gets a strong impression of Max from his diary for 1860. Alone in Frankfurt, aged twenty and away from his family, his diary reveals his loneliness. His grief for his mother is palpable. He describes her in saintlike terms. He appreciated her moral education and the values she imbued in him. His faith was genuine: *My family suffered a great loss with the death of my poor mother, but I am convinced that God gave her even more pleasure, the endless pleasures of love that awaited her there. I have managed to take advantage of the consolations of time, and that trust in immortality is good for us.*

He comments on his friendships, and how rare a good friend is, and is upset by those whom he finds lacking in some way. He reveals a lack of confidence in the durability of relationships, and more than once frets when someone he considers close fails to respond sufficiently swiftly to his letter. Max talks about various young ladies he meets, some at the occasional ball that he attends, but he does not make any comments which indicate romantic interest. One ball was probably not that wonderful: *I needed to visit a ball to practise, it's done.* He was subsequently elected to a ball organising committee, and for that ball, required a new jacket and trousers which were made up with material he provided.

The 1860 diary, written in French, reveals someone who was both an orthodox Jew but was also intellectually curious with a wide range of interests. To me, he seems the epitome of

the enlightenment era that he grew up in, almost a 'renaissance man'. Alongside the struggle for emancipation, the Jewish nineteenth century bourgeoisie were encouraged by German liberals to develop intellectually and culturally to integrate into society. The more privileged young Jews had been encouraged by Moses Mendelssohn to master German language and culture. 'The key to integration was through the cult of *Bildung* as defined in Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meister*: the refinement of the individual self and character in keeping with the ideals of the Enlightenment. Even as they remained Jews, *Bildung* and *Kultur* would make them 100 percent German.'¹⁹¹

Max enjoys going to concerts and to the opera, and comments critically about what he has heard. He also has violin lessons. He is interested in science and buys a medical book *for my use and not to forget what I have learned*. He notes that he had been reading *Goethe's biography, Schiller's poems, astronomy, about geology, and as usual in the holy writings*. Later he read *Faust* and the last parts of *Werther* by Goethe. *Werther does not please me as much as it used to. Goethe was right when he said: Es irrt der Mensch solange es strebt! (Man is wrong as long as he strives)*. By contrast, he also reads a volume of Casanova (which he found boring) to practice his French. As well as speaking French he took both English and Italian lessons with a friend and read one of Captain Marryat's novels in English to practice and improve his language skills.

He bought a תהילים (*psalms*) with a German translation by Mendelsohn. Then alongside other theological books, he was lent a book on the life of Jesus Christ, and *...to fully make the most of reading it, I bought the holy scriptures of the old and new German testament at the English Bible Society. Also, the Hebrew text of the Old Testament Lanchwiz-edition, the psalms in Hebrew and German (Luther), a New Testament and the French psalms translated by Osterwald. I have found this translation to be much better than Luther's; I have already read a few chapters of the New Testament, the Evangelist Mathew. At first, I wanted to make many notes, but having tried it, I find that this work requires too much time and a very deep study of the theological system; the New Testament does not seem to me to be at all as true as the old. The morals are good but nothing new, and they are the same as the Old Testament with almost the same words.*

In some entries he also describes various philosophical and theological conversations and debates such as his views on free will vs miracles and accidents. These are difficult to understand as his French is not fluent enough to categorically convey his meaning. *'L'homme a son libre arbitre, il lui est libre à faire et à ne pas faire ; mais les lois de la nature ont et accomplissent leurs fonctions ; maintenant je suis persuadé que point d'accident est en obstacle avec le libre arbitre.'* The sense of this is possibly: *A human being has his own will. He is free to act or not to act. But the laws of nature obey their own rules and accomplish their purpose. Now, I am convinced that human beings have free will (liberty) and learn through experience, and accidents are a part of the experience.*¹⁹²

His colleagues at work would appear to be petty, moody and unfriendly. There are hints of antisemitism in their daily interactions. *He is a German Catholic and very ready to deny and ridicule the ideas of others if he can. On religion I have had great arguments with him, but although I was able to persuade him for the moment of the correctness of my opinions, he knows how to forget it very soon. He is a great egotist, very vain and I found him to be an example of falsehood.*

Today he is of this opinion, tomorrow of another quite contrary one, in a word he has no character, but he knows how to give himself some; his character is his interest, and that changing his character changes him, great roscho (evil person; Yiddish), enemy of the freedom of the Jews, of the slaves, etc., he is a great liar.

On a lighter note, a comment about the 'new' form of transport shows how scary it must have been to go on the first trains: *The other day, I continued my journey on the railway and Wednesday evening I was in Frankfurt. It was a very perilous journey, and I was often surprised at the great progress that the human spirit has been able to make over material.*

His grandson commented that Max especially loved nature: a love that has definitely passed down the generations.

Fortunately, Max's many, almost daily, letters during his engagement to Auguste Hess, were kept by his wife to be. These are in the process of being translated from their German copperplate. His writing is unfortunately very difficult to read.¹⁹³

The first of these love letters Max wrote to Auguste during their betrothal, is dated 13th August 1867, two days after the fast of Tisha B'Av. We do not know when the decision was made that they would get married but this first letter and those that follow all show he was evidently very much in love and expresses openly his warm, caring and loving feelings towards her. The content is quite chatty, and at one point he even says he must end the letter so as not to get *the reputation of a chatterbox*, adding, *which I may already have with you despite all caution.*¹⁹⁴ One gets the impression that his feelings are genuine, and he is not just saying the right things.

During their engagement she stayed in Windecken and, finding himself lonely as he awaited her replies, he would write another letter. At times Max makes some gossipy comments, which again show how comfortable he felt with Auguste. Max refers several times to Frau Hirschberg who seems to accompany him to his meetings with Auguste. Probably she was the *shadchan* who introduced the pair; however, that doesn't stop him trying to escape from her on their return train from Windecken back to Frankfurt! Max refers frequently to seeing various of Auguste's siblings of which she had plenty. Her mother gave birth to fourteen children two of which are known to have died as children.

On Wednesday 20 November 1867, Max and Auguste were married in a Registry Office.¹⁹⁵ As the wedding party was on Sunday 1 December, presumably the religious ceremony had been held before the party.

Civil-Stand

 geboren zu Köln - Rhein am 17. Januar 1876
 der Stadt Frankfurt
 geboren hier am 22. October 1880
 auf Grund der hiesigen
 Kirchen- & Standes-Bücher

 geboren hier am 16. Februar 1887 mit

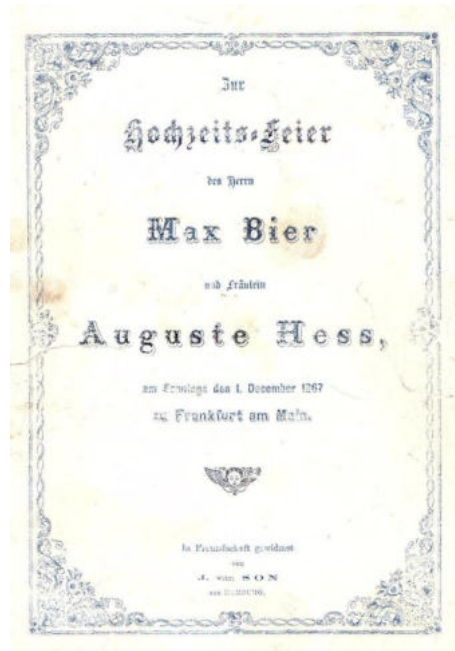
B i e r, Maximilian, Kaufmann
 geboren zu Köln a/Rh. am 16. September 1859
 Sohn des Sattlers Isak Bier und seiner Ehefrau Sophie
 geborenen Heller, holder verstorben;
 getraut hier am 20. November 1867
 mit

H e s s, Auguste,
 geboren zu Windecken am 27. April 1845,
 Tochter des Handelsmannes Samuel Hess und seiner Ehefrau
 Elise, geborenen Schloss.
 Der Ehemann starb hier am 24. October 1868.

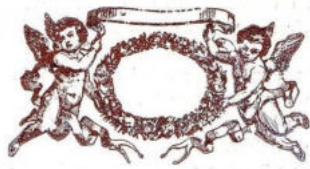
Extracts from the Registers of parents Maximilian Bier, Auguste Hesse, and their children (on the next page), following Max's death in 1888.



Auguste Hess and Max Bier, unknown date



Title page of their wedding poem



Melodie: Ein Kaufmann, der sich Schälze nennt.

Ein Kaufmann der sich **Spier** nennt,
Wohnt am **Domplatz** noch heut;
Ein Jeder auch wohl **Bier** kennt,
Der dort seit langer Zeit
Schon im Geschäfte thätig war,
Der stets so froh und nett,
:,: Arbeitet an dem Comptoir
Von früh bis Abends spät! :,:

Der **Bier** dacht, wie's Adam thut
Schon im Jahre Anno Ein,
Er dachte: es ist doch nicht gut
Wenn stets der Mensch allein. —
Und wenn er nun im Schlafe noch
So dacht er machmal ja
:,: Ach Eva, Eva, kümst Du doch!
Wie's Adam einst geschah. :,:

Und Eva kam nach kurzer Zeit
Wie Ihr ja Alle schaut,
Sie ist's die am Altare heut
Mit **Bier** ward getraut. —
Sie ward, wenn Sie auch Eva nicht,
Sondern **Auguste Bess** sich nennt,
:,: Ein Weibchen, ich weiss sicherlich,
Wie man kein besseres kennt. :,:

Denn fromm und gut bei frohem Muth,
Wie unsre **Auguste** ist,
Das steht 'ner Hausfrau gar zu gut
Wie Ihr ja Alle wisst,
Drum wünschen wir dem Hochzeitspaar
Die wir vereint sind heut,
:,: Dass lebe es recht viele Jahr
In Frohsinn, Lust und Freud! :,:

Und sind dahin erst flüßig Jahr
In nie getübtem Glanz,
Dann schmücken wir ihr Silberhaar
Mit einem gold'nen Kranz. —
Drum hebet jetzt die Gläser hoch
Und bringet jubelnd dar,
:,: Ein dreifach donnernd Lebehoch
Dem lieben Hochzeitspaar! :,:



Auguste and Max had eight sons:

- a. Julius Max (1868-1927, San Remo). Buried in Frankfurt
- b. Wilhelm Benjamin (1869- ?, London)
- c. **Guido (1871- 1934, Zurich)**
- d. Nathanael. (1872 - 1955, London). Buried in Enfield Adass Plot: E-9-30.
- e. Siegfried Max. (1874 - 27 Oct 1940, 37°55' N, 20°30' W at sea)¹⁹⁶
- f. Ludwig born 1876
- g. Gottlieb Eliakim (1878-1942, Theresienstadt)
- h. Eduard, born 1880



Maximilian and Auguste's eight sons, 1892

According to their wedding song, Max was *'Ein Kaufmann der sich Spier nennt'* ... (a businessman who calls himself Spier) and lived in the Domplatz and for a long time had worked hard, 'from early in morning to late at night' in his business.

At the time Offenbach was the centre of the leather business, and Max left Cologne as a young man to work there with his step-uncle Philipp Spier, a leather merchant. One can speculate whether Max's saddler/butcher father was introduced/got to know about his second wife Emilie, who lived 120 kilometres to the north of Cologne, via a leather trade connection. Initially Max probably worked, as was common at the time, as an apprentice. What I had not realised was that apprenticeships had to be paid for and Max refers to the money his father had spent in his diary. The archives reveal more detail about Max's business life. Did Isaac also pay for Max to become a partner in the firm, as he is recorded as an owner in this application of 1865:

Max Bier and Philipp Spier, merchants from Offenbach and owners of the "Spier and Co." factory for shoes, ankle boots and portfolio goods applied in 1865 to the Frankfurt Senate for permission to relocate the "Spier und Co." factory and business from Offenbach to Frankfurt.¹⁹⁷

One fact has come down the generations: at an unspecified time, the leather and raw materials for the shoes were taken to a prison where they were processed by the prisoners in their workshop. However, this period in history was one of industrialisation, and shoes

were no longer produced individually by hand but via mass market manufacturing. It seems that in due course, Max and Philipp took all the opportunities they could of the modern age to build up their business. Further family lore recounts that the business was involved in making boots for the Kaiser's army, which has to be after the unification of Germany in 1871.

The diaries refer to Max working in the office and in 1860 he also refers at great length to his disagreeable and work colleagues and how he dealt with them. The first certainly has the makings of an anti-Semite. The second is probably Jewish, but no less unpleasant. The diary following combines translations from the French and some summarised passages.

Frankfurt, April 19 1860

In my office, I have to work with two clerks, Mr Kanz and Mr Goldmann. In general one does not find bad characters in society, but it is nevertheless very unpleasant when this happens at work where one spends most of one's time, that one always has to experience the pain of being in bad company.

For a long time now, I have known how bad the morals are of my office mates. In these pages I have tried not to mention them, because they have too low a place in my ideas to cause me much pain. But I am very sensitive and sometimes find myself hurt for a while, but soon this goes away with time and life events.

Mr. Kanz is a gentleman born in Berlin, he has a mother who has a small shop, and whom he says he has to support. He has already had several jobs and is only 23 years old. When I first arrived here, he caused me a lot of grief by intriguing against me, but because I was faithful and my work is good this did not become a problem. At times he doesn't speak a word for whole weeks. He gives the impression of a fake. He is able to talk about something he has read somewhere with a confidence and a method, as if it came from him. For a long time I thought he was quite wise, but his insights became dubious.

He is a German Catholic and quite ready to deny and ridicule the ideas of others if he can. On religion I have had great arguments with him, but although I was able to persuade him for the moment of the correctness of my opinions, he knows how to forget this very soon. He is a great egotist, very vain, and false.

Today he is of this opinion, tomorrow of another quite contrary. He is a great 'roscho' (evil person; Yiddish), enemy of the freedom of the Jews, of the slaves, etc., he is a great liar. I am very glad that at last I know how to deal with him.

Mr. Goldmann is very ignorant, very egotistical, ungrateful and has very false character. Towards the powerful he is small, and towards the weak 'roscho'. He is still young, later he will become detestable.

It is not clear why Max's diary for 1860 clearly has him already living and working in Frankfurt, though he does refer to visiting Offenbach:

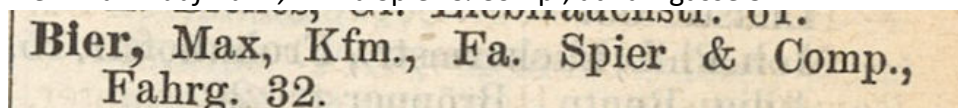
Frankfurt, February 19, 1860

Yesterday I went to Offenbach, I used to have a lot more fun there than now. Although I was given a very pleasant welcome, I was a little bored there. I visited a production by the choral society of Haydn's Creation. It was beautifully executed, and my esteem for its composer was strengthened.

Perhaps the business had already made the move and then official permission became a requirement. Also, Max's obituary referred to his moving to Frankfurt in 1855. This may have been the case, or possibly by then it was no longer known by the family that he had first moved to Offenbach.

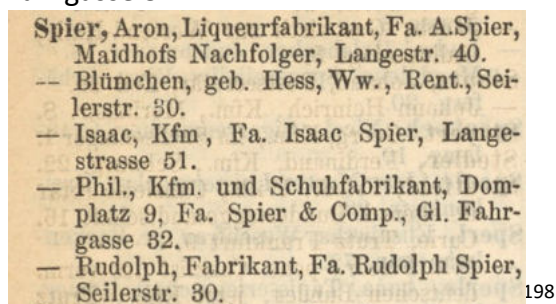
The city directories for Frankfurt and surroundings, with home and business addresses, show that although Max and Philipp are not included in the 1852 address book, they are entered in the next directory (unfortunately there was a big gap between editions) published in 1868/9. At this point Max is entered as a *Kaufmann* businessman whereas Philipp is a businessman and shoe manufacturer.

Bier. Max. *Kaufmann*, Firma Spier & Comp., at Fahrgasse 32.



**Bier, Max, Kfm., Fa. Spier & Comp.,
Fahrg. 32.**

(Phil.) Spier Fa. Spier & Comp. *Kaufmann* and Manufacturer of shoes (*Schuhfabrikant*) at Fahrgasse 32

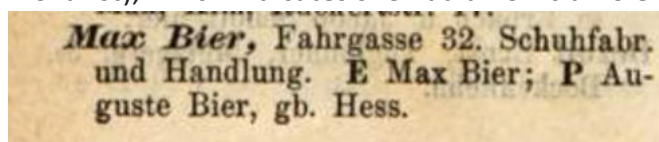


Spier, Aron, Liqueurfabrikant, Fa. A. Spier,
Maidhofs Nachfolger, Langestr. 40.
-- Blümchen, geb. Hess, Ww., Rent., Seilerstr. 30.
-- Isaac, Kfm, Fa. Isaac Spier, Langestrasse 51.
-- Phil., Kfm. und Schuhfabrikant, Domplatz 9, Fa. Spier & Comp., Gl. Fahrgasse 32.
-- Rudolph, Fabrikant, Fa. Rudolph Spier, Seilerstr. 30.

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By 1874, Max is also describing his business as manufacturers of shoes.

He is now the 'E' *Eigentümer*, owner and his wife Auguste is the 'P' *Procurist*, (now *Prokurist*), which indicates she had an official role in the business.



**Max Bier, Fahrgasse 32. Schuhfabr.
und Handlung. E Max Bier; P Auguste Bier, gb. Hess.**

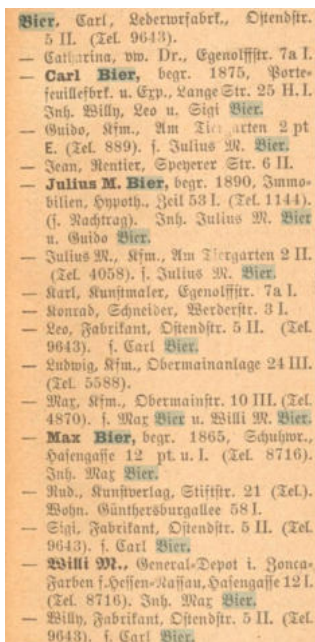
199

In 1887, Max is working from Fahrgasse 124.²⁰⁰ A note about Fahrgasse which was a major busy thoroughfare running northwards from the *Alte Brücke* bridge crossing of the river Main and connected the Alps and the North Sea.²⁰¹ This was evidently an impressive address for a business in the nineteenth century. The Rothschild bank was at 146 Fahrgasse.



Fahrgasse from the north around 1900. Photo by Carl Friedrich Fay (1853–1919)²⁰²

From the Frankfurt address book for 1891,²⁰³ it is clear that Max has opened a shoe shop at Hasengasse 12, a small street running between Berliner Strasse and Zeil, the main shopping street. The 1908 volume confirms that the shoe business was founded in 1865. The address book reveals that the second oldest son, Willi, had a warehouse on the floor above the shoe shop for 'Zonca' paints.²⁰⁴



²⁰⁵ Frankfurt address book, 1908

As an aside, it is worth noting that the 1908 address book discloses that Carl Bier together with his sons Leo, Sigi and Willy, owned a factory making wallets that had been founded in 1875. These are not (yet) on our family tree.

In 1877, Max was listed as a *Kaufmann*, businessman living in Obermainstrasse 10 (3. *Etage*, floor) where he continued living until he died.

A small digression to the sons of Max and Auguste. Eventually five of them worked in the *Julius M. Bier* estate agency (which also offered a mortgage facility), founded in Frankfurt by Julius in 1890. The 1908 address book reveals that in that year only two of Max and Auguste's sons, Julius and Guido, were partners. The address was Zeil 53, First floor. To my delight I could then locate the office in the following photographs.

The photo of the *Zeil* as from the *Hauptwache*, below, was taken in October 1910. On the roof in the middle right, the advertising sign 'Hoff' is prominent. The building was built between 1893 and 1896 by the architects Hermann Ritter and Th. Martin as a large specialist store for silk goods, dress fabrics, velvets, jupons, veils and ribbons for *Gebrüder Hoff*. The building was located on the corner of *Liebfrauenstrasse*.²⁰⁶ There is a sign which reads *Wertheimer*. (Guido's wife was the descendent of Samson Wertheim(b)er, the seventeenth century court Jew).

The whole of the centre of Frankfurt was bombed and the building did not survive.



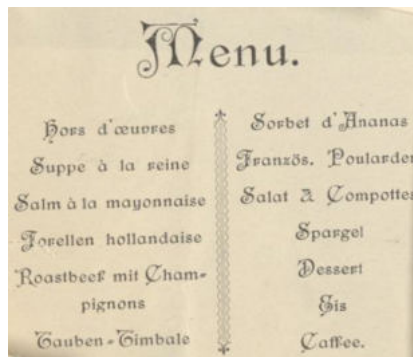
In the undated photo below (from a book of old photos entitled *Frankfurt am M.* with no names of the photographer or publisher) the black sign between the second and third floor is clearly *Julius M. Bier*.



Die Zeil.

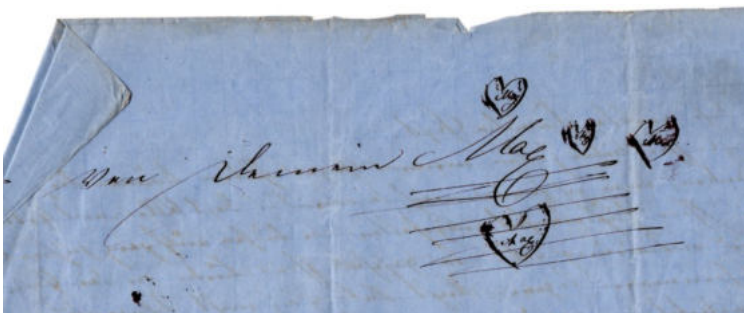


‘To remember the wedding ceremony of Fraulein Charlotte Hackenbroch and Herrn Guido Bier’ with the Hoff building and Julius M. Bier’s offices. The window flaps opened to a photo of the couple and the menu!



Auguste

Unfortunately, as is so often the case for our female ancestors, far less is known about Auguste. There are a few letters written by her during her engagement, and hopefully these will be deciphered one day! Again, perhaps typically, she preserved her fiancé’s letters whilst he kept a mere handful.

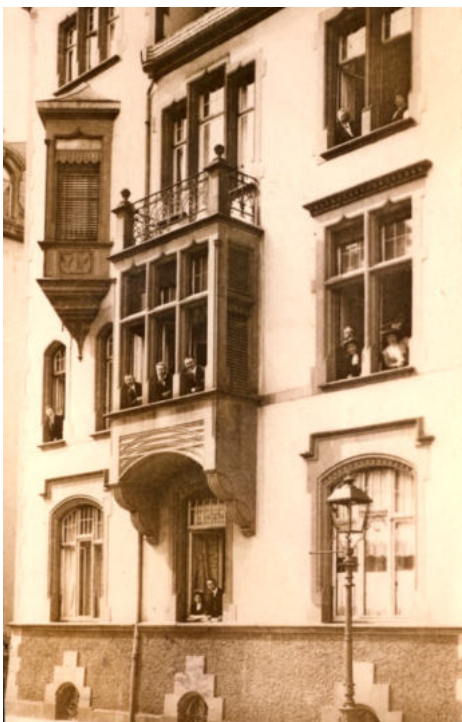


Max’s great granddaughter Eva Hammelburger remembered her father Erich, Guido’s son, quoting his grandmother Auguste who would look down from a little balcony and say, ‘have a look who is running in to *mincha*²⁰⁷ – not one sensible person’. Auguste died when Erich was 19, so it is unfortunate that we do not have a more rounded view of her and her life.

Eva also said that to the best of her knowledge, Auguste was very traditional, but also slightly mocked religion. Again, within the orthodox milieu of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch's *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft*, was this a rare sentiment, or perhaps more common than one would initially imagine? Certainly, there was a lot of affairs between members, though I have been assured this was not the case for Max, Auguste, Guido or Charlotte.

Kaplan has researched the role of Jewish women in the family in the nineteenth century, believing that Jewish women had a strong influence on their family's German-Jewish identity. Emerging into the middle class, on the one hand Jewish mothers accommodated middle-class German culture and bourgeois values as well as attitudes towards work and achievement, but at the same time ensured the family's and especially the children's Jewish identity. 'Jewish women, served as agents of both modernization and of tradition, of integration and apartness.'²⁰⁸ Whilst further education and joining the professional class was open to only a small but growing minority, it was in the family itself that social and cultural education was advanced. 'The family was the concrete embodiment of bourgeois morality, the cornerstone of middle class respectability.'²⁰⁹ I imagine, Auguste fitting into this role perfectly. Max himself was an outward looking man, and yet all their eight sons became respectable and comfortably off middle-class citizens whilst retaining their strong Jewish identity.

After Max's death in 1908, Nathaniel, Naty moved with his mother to Schwanenstrasse 7, but by 1917, they had both moved to Hölderlinerstrasse 4.²¹⁰ The building no longer stands but was most probably similar to the building lived in by my Bock grandparents, number 7, built around 1903 with Art Nouveau features.²¹¹



Family Bock at the windows of Hölderlinstrasse 7, Frankfurt

This was the final home for Auguste and, as Guido and his family had moved to Berlin in 1918, when she died in 1820, and only Naty was left in Frankfurt, the prayers and *Shiva* (the

seven-day period of mourning), were held in Guido's flat in Berlin. Naty remained in Hölderlinerstrasse 4.

Membership of the *Israelitische Religions-Gesellschaft (IRG)*

In Frankfurt, Max at some stage, and probably quite early on, joined Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch's orthodox community, *Bet Tefilat Jeschurun*, in Schützenstrasse, that had been inaugurated in September 1853.

The Senate Law of 1st July 1851 compelled all Frankfurt Jews to be members of a specific local community, *Israelitische Gemeinde*, to whom they had to pay a proportion of their income in taxes. The *Israelitische Gemeinde* had become dominated by the reforming *Liberale* Jews and a small number of orthodox families were disturbed by their assimilated tendencies. In 1851, they invited Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch to become their rabbi and they formed the observant, orthodox *Israelitische Religions-Gesellschaft* or IRG.²¹²



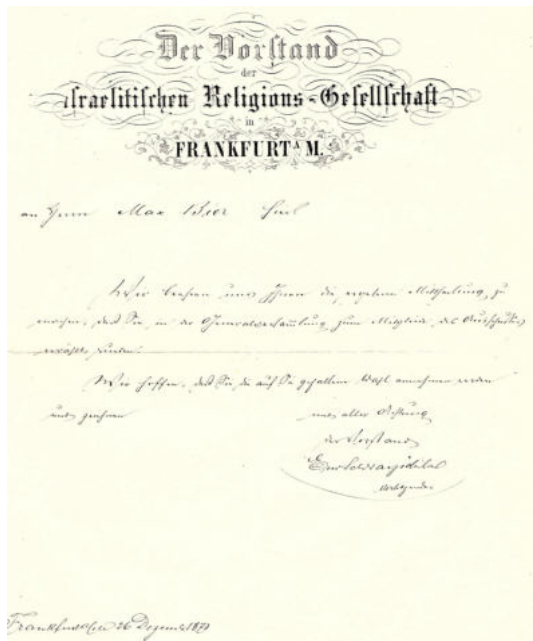
IRG Synagogue in Schützenstrasse, Frankfurt²¹³

Hirsch then fought for the right to leave the *Israelitische Gemeinde*, and on July 28th, 1876, this right was legally established by the Prussian government (following German unification in 1871). *Israelitische Religions-Gesellschaft* membership could now be exclusive, and the community started to be referred to as the *Austrittsgemeinde* or 'separated congregation' as it had separated from the *Liberale*. The new congregation could now organise and benefit from their own budget and also control their own religious lives.

Rabbi Hirsch became an important figure in Germany Jewry. His philosophy of *Torah im Derech Eretz*, which emphasised engaging with secular studies and becoming part of German political and cultural life, whilst remaining strictly observant and must have appealed to the enlightened 'modern' Max.

Max seems to have been involved in the IRG early on as his diary entry for December 6th 1860 referred to a general assembly at the *Ressource* and he wrote *I am a member of the commission which had been elected a few months earlier to write the statutes. I had made the first draft of the statutes and the other members found them good in general.*

On 26 December 1873, Max received a letter from the *Vorstand* of the IRG telling him that ‘...We are glad to tell you, that you were elected from the meeting of our members as a member of the Board. We hope that you will accept your election ...’



Max certainly joined the Board and took the minutes of meetings as his handwritten notes were in his papers. They date from 1875, 1877, and 1878 at a time when Rabbi Hirsch was appealing for the right to separate from the *Liberale* community, and there must have been lots of heated discussions. Most of the notes are from 1877, and all are scored through and were probably rewritten for the permanent record.²¹⁴

A final insight into Max’s life is obtained from his obituary which was published on 29 October 1908 in *Der Israelit*, the national German Orthodox newspaper. The obituary, alongside an appreciative evaluation of his values, qualities and personality, stresses Max’s commitment to Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch and the IRG synagogue.

Der Israelit, 29 October 1908, Obituary in the section: *Personalien* (concerning people)

Personalien.

Frankfurt a. M., 27. Oktbr. Einen Siebzigjährigen haben wir heute zur Ruhe geliebt, an dessen Grab — so wollte er's — kein Wort der Verehrung und Anerkennung gesprochen werden durfte, und der doch wie selten einer den huldigenden Dank der Gesamtheit für ein reiches, ganzes jüdisches Leben, für ein volles, erfolgsgekröntes Lebenswerk verdient: Herr Maximilian Bier. In Köln geboren und erzogen, kam Max Bier schon 1855, nach dem frühen Tod des Vaters, siebzehnjährig nach Frankfurt a. M., wo damals die Freugebliebenen in der neugegründeten Religionsgesellschaft sich zu sammeln begannen. Zu ihr zog es auch den Jüngling, und aus dem Kreis der Stein und Genossen heraus, im Gegensatz zu andersdenkenden Genossen, wandte er sich mit dem ganzen Enthusiasmus seiner edlen Seele der Adas'schen Schule und ihrem genialen Führer zu. Die Freundschaft mit Rabbiner Hirsch *ה"ר*, das gemeinsame Wirken mit dem großen Manne — Bier war wiederholt im Ausschuss und Schlichter der Gemeinde tätig — gehörte zu den unverlerbaren geistigen Besitzstücken seines Lebens, und sein Anteil strahlte, wenn er von jenen schweren und doch schaffensfrohen Tagen erzählte, in denen er an des Meisters Seite seinen klaren Verstand und seine vielseitige Bildung im Dienste der Gemeinde betätigen durfte. In-

mitten rastloser geschäftlicher Tätigkeit war es eben diese Vielseitigkeit der Bildungsinteressen, die ihn auszeichnete. Daß er lernte sein Leben lang, in ernstem und frohem Tagen, und zwar lernte nicht nur im guten alten Sinne von *למוד תורה*, sondern bis ins hohe Alter lernte wie ein Jüngling, der mit offenen, wißbegierigen Augen hineinsehau in die reiche schöne Gotteswelt, das konnte man bei jedem Wort der Unterhaltung mit ihm merken. Dann wußte man nicht, was mehr zu bewundern war, die vornehme, ablige Ruhe seines Wejens, die reize Milde des Urteils oder die unglaubliche geistige Lebendigkeit, die ihn namentlich zu den Naturwissenschaften hinzog und ihn deren Fortschritte unablässig verfolgen ließ. Nichts konnte dabei die Harmonie und die innere Geschlossenheit seiner jüdischen Weltanschauung erschüttern, und diese allein war es ja, die ihn zur Lösung der wahrlich riesengroßen Aufgabe befähigte, in einer Zeit der Verwirrung und des Abfalls acht wackere Seelen dem gescheiterten Judentum zu erziehen und zu erhalten. Und wie manchem fremden Jüngling widmete er seine väterliche Fürsorge. Er hatte die Methode der Wohlthätigkeit, die ohne Verständnis für die individuellen Bedürfnisse der Jugend dem hungernden Studenten kalte Gaben reicht, ohne sich um sein Seelenleben zu kümmern. Er kannte seine Schwachheiten und war als Kreis nach ihr Freund und ihr verlebender Berater. So meinten an seiner Bahre die Nahen wie die Fernen. Die ihn nur sahen, vermiffen die ragende Säule schübischer Vornehmheit. Die das Glück hatten, ihn zu kennen aber, ihnen wird sein lichter Bild in ewigem Glanze vor Augen stehen und seinen Kindern und Enkeln wird es als Pfadweiser auf ihrem Lebenswege vorleuchten.

Today we laid to rest Herr Maximilian Bier, a 70-year-old at whose graveside no word of praise or acknowledgement was allowed to be said - at his own insistence – but he, more than most, deserved reverent thanks from the community for his rich, totally Jewish life, and for his full life's work which was crowned with success.

Born and brought up in Cologne, at the age of 17, after the early death of his father, [this is factually incorrect, his father was still alive, his mother had died when he was fourteen] he moved to Frankfurt, where, in those days, religious Jews had started a newly established religious community. The young man was also attracted to this circle of like-minded people, in contrast to those who thought differently, and he turned to the Adass Yeshurun and to its brilliant leader with all the enthusiasm of his noble soul.

His friendship with Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch and all the collaborating he did with the great man - Bier repeatedly sat on the council of the school and the community - was one of the most unforgettable and fulfilling periods of his life.

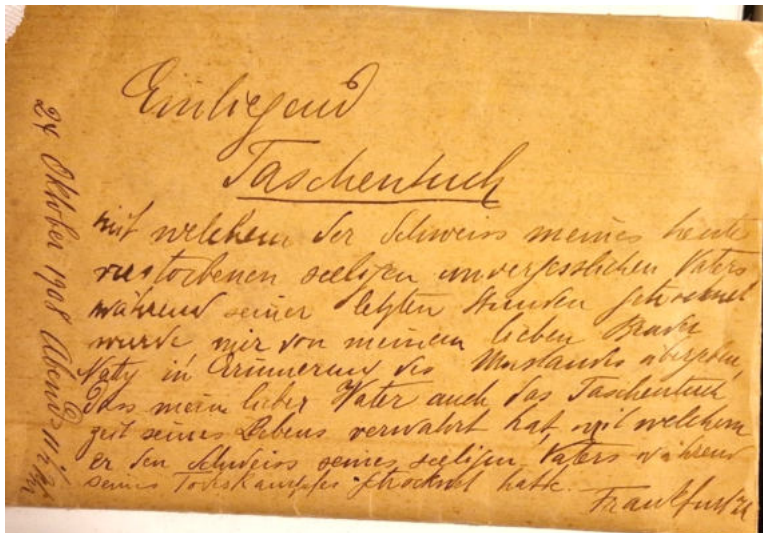
His face shone when he talked about those difficult yet satisfying days during which he was so active at the side of the master, using his clear intelligence and his multifaceted education in diligent service to the community. In the midst of perplexing activities, it was precisely the versatility of his educational interests that distinguished him from others. He studied throughout his entire life, on serious days and on happy days and not only in the good old-fashioned way.... but rather even into his old age like a young man, courageous, always inquisitive to learn, as he looked on God's rich world. This could be observed in every word of every conversation one had with him.

It is impossible to know what was most admirable in him: the noble quietness of his presence, the mature mildness of his judgement or his unbelievable mental vivacity which attracted him to the natural sciences, the progress of which he always followed with great interest.

However, there was nothing in science that could shake the inner harmony of his Jewish faith and outlook, which enabled him to solve all the enormous tasks that were placed on his shoulders, in a time of great confusion [this seems to be alluding to the prevailing assimilation], during which he brought up his eight sons and raised them in the laws of Judaism.

He also took a few other young men who were not related to him under his wing and gave them his paternal advice. He hated the way in which some charities, without understanding the individual needs of young students, merely handed out cold gifts, without having a care for their spiritual lives. He knew all his wards and even as an old man he was their friend and understanding mentor. Therefore, at his funeral, tears were shed not only by his nearest and dearest, but also by lesser acquaintances. Those who only saw him will miss this outstanding pillar of the community, a man of real Jewish nobility and refinement.

However, to those who had the privilege of knowing him – his life will stand eternally before their eyes as an example to follow, for his children and grandchildren, and as a radiant light to guide them through life.²¹⁵



The sealed envelope enclosing the handkerchief used to mop the brow of Max

Text: *The enclosed handkerchief was used during his life by our dear unforgettable father to wipe the sweat off his brow. It was used to wipe the sweat off this brow as he lay dying.*

It was kept for our dear brother Naty [Nathaniel] to remember his dear father....

24 October 1908, evening 11.30pm, Frankfurt

German deciphered by Eva Hammelburger who suggested that the brother who wrote the envelope was Naty's brother Gottlieb, as it is written in the style of an orthodox man.

Gottlieb was possibly the most religious of the 8 brothers.

Auguste died 12 years later, and her life, evidently not a public one, did not warrant an obituary. Her gravestone (which has been translated from Hebrew to German to English) is warm and even if formulaic does show an appreciation of her qualities.

Her Hebrew name was Chava.

Here rests Auguste Hess.

Her soul rests with the fromm, (pious), in heavenly paradise.

Her eight sons all listened to her voice.

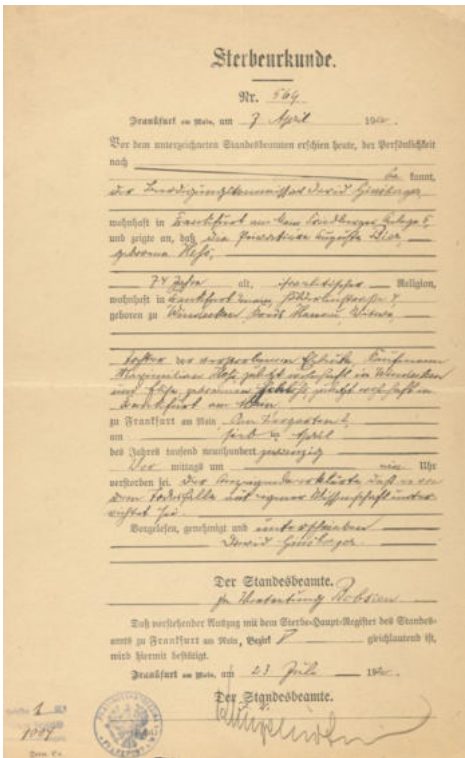
A fear of God and Torah reigned in her house

She was friendly and good to everyone

She was honest and sincere

She benefitted from many advantages and gave charity and did good deeds to locals and strangers. She did not look for meaningless pleasures but was homely

She had a good reputation and died aged 75 on the 3rd day of Chol Hammoed Pesach

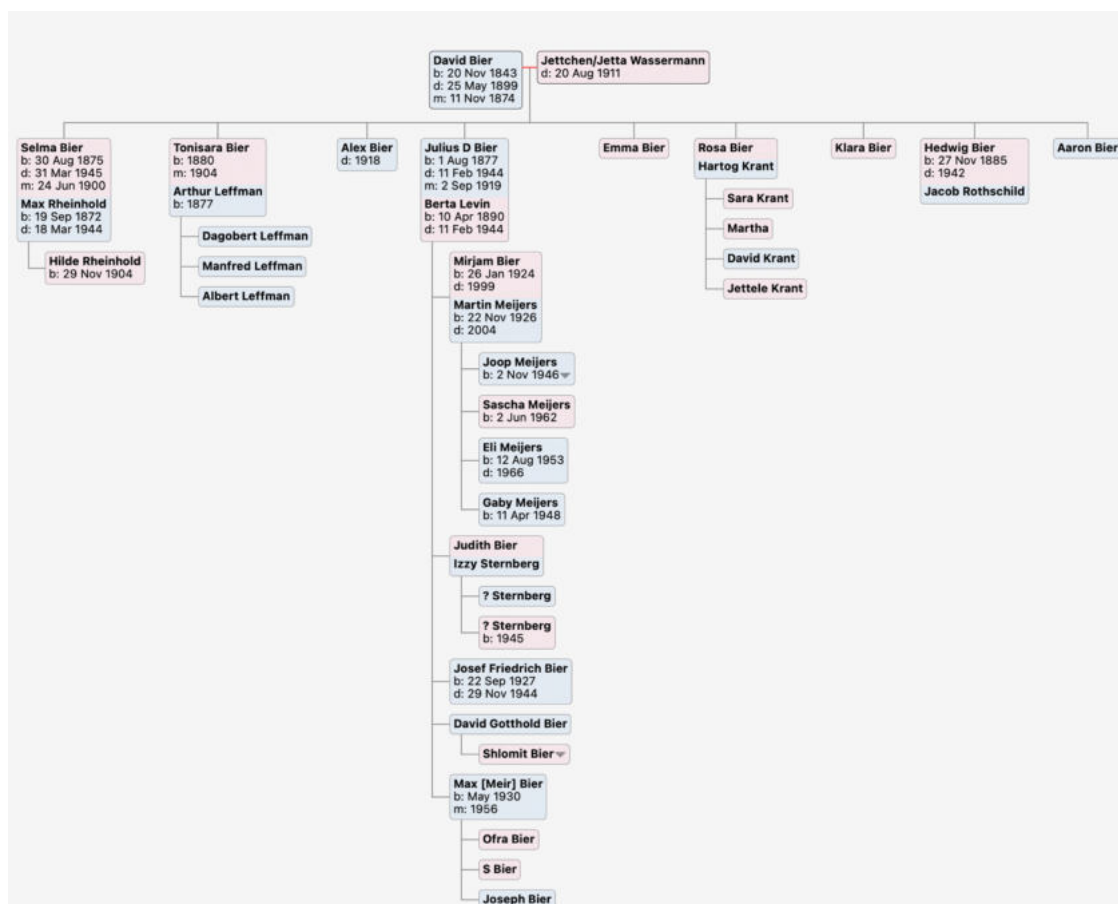


Death certificate, Auguste Hess



Frankfurt, Rat-Beil-Strasse Cemetery, graves of Max and Auguste Bier

10b. David Bier, (20 Nov 1843, Cologne - 25 May 1899, Cologne) son of Eizak/Isaac bar Jacob Bier (9a)



Bier David, Lithograph, Severinstr. 145.
 — David, Wwe., Metzgerei, Sterneng. 48.
 — J., Wwe. o. G., Severinstr. 98.
 J. H. Bier, (Jak. Heym.), Weins und Lederhdlg. en
 gros, Streitzeugg. 21. 23.
 Bier Jakob, Victualienhdlr., Glockeng. 50.
 — Isaal Simon, Kaufm. und Associe der Firma: Bier
 & Cahen, Glockeng. 6—.
 Bier & Cahen, Lederhdlg. en gros, Glockeng. 6—.
 Bier Siegm., Kaufm., Rothgerberbach 3.
 S. J. Bier, (Simon Jakob), Manufakturwaarenhdlg.,
 Sterneng. 25.
 Bier, Wwe., Tabak- und Cigarrenhdlg., Severinstr. 98.

David Bier, Cologne Address book, 1870²¹⁶

David presumably inherited his father's business and carried on working in the butcher's shop. He married Jettchen/Jetta Wassermann from Roth bei Nurnberg, daughter of Aaron Wassermann & Sara Neuburger, in 1874 in Cologne.

They had the following children:

- a. Selma (30 Aug 1875, Cologne - 31 Mar 1945, Auschwitz)
- b. Tonisara, born in 1880
- c. Alex, died in 1918.

- d. Julius David (1874, Cologne – 1944, Auschwitz)
- e. Rosa
- f. Klara.
- g. Hedwig. (1885, Cologne – 1942, Auschwitz)
- h. Aaron
- i. Emma

Strangely, nothing more was known about Max's only full brother, apart from the names of his wife and children as listed in Carl's family tree. My fear was that all the descendants had been killed in the Shoah. Then, in 2012 in Jerusalem, we arranged a Bier family gathering and amongst those who came, to our great delight, was Meir Bier, David's grandson. As will be seen below, this branch did indeed suffer terribly during WW2, but descendants do now live in Europe and Israel.

Conclusion

My research confirms the family tradition that the family name 'Bier' is directly linked to four generations of ancestors who practised as doctors in Deutz in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fact that the two names, Isaac and Joseph, are repeated throughout the generations of *Schlams* and *Biers*, supports that tradition.

The family's choice of professions, and the consistency with which they followed them, is remarkable. The four generations of doctors are followed by many generations of butchers: two professions with overlapping skills, and I have speculated earlier whether some of the intermediate generations practised both.

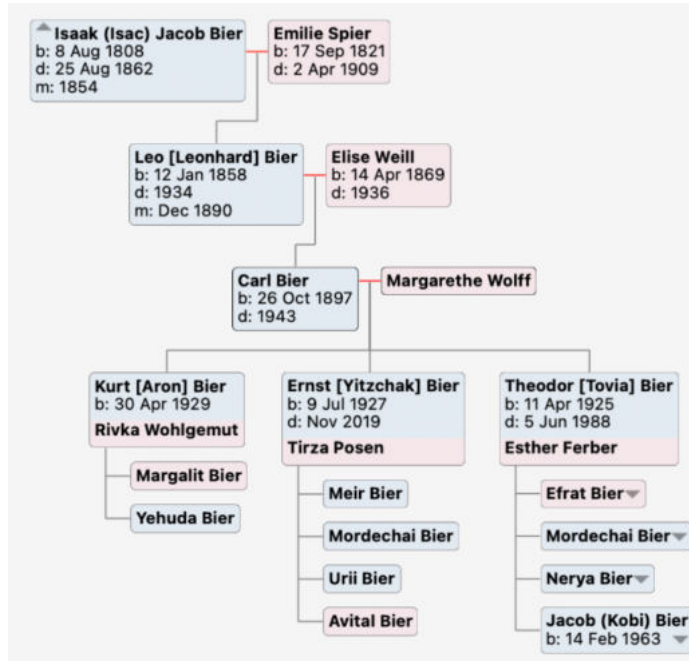
Schulte's research reveals that butchers abounded within the wider Bier family, including my direct ancestor Isaac Jacob Bier (1808-1862). He worked at different times in his life as a saddler and as a butcher and it is likely that his dealings in the meat trade led him into the saddlery business and thence to his second wife, Emilie Spier. Of his sons from his first marriage, Maximilian, the elder, worked in the leather business, through his stepmother's family connections, whilst the younger, David, remained in Cologne and worked as a butcher both there and later in Dusseldorf. Later Maximilian owned a shoe shop in Frankfurt.

Carl Bier's family tree covered eight generations, starting with Jizchak /Isaac Bier who died in 1734, and who is now, in this document, generation five, and ending with my father's generation born around 1900, which here equates to generation eleven. This is a work in progress and the next volume will document the later generations. As far as Carl could establish, Maximilian and his generation totalled 55 'cousins' My father, generation eight in Carl's tree, was one of 106, with several branches where Carl had not found out any information.

As I finished this account, I became increasingly aware of the large numbers of members of the wider Bier family that did not survive the *Shoah*. Many, I discovered, had remained in Cologne. Their story ended abruptly and violently. But they had the same ancestors and their time in this world, for some too short, for others not long enough, needs to be remembered. In particular, I wanted the existence of those who had no surviving descendants to be, in a small way, acknowledged. As far as can be currently established, all the Bier family victims of the Shoah, are listed in the Appendix. The list is followed by an account of those for whom information or photos can be found.

As ever in genealogical studies, the daughters and wives are at best recorded sketchily. Occasionally a fuller picture of an individual woman appears, sometimes with reference to her family of origin. The *Memorbook* entries tend to be formulaic, and I fear that those women from the poorer families, or who were not particularly notable for their virtues, or who may have died young, may not have even warranted an entry. I have tried to establish as much as I can, and there is always a hope that the archives will reveal more. In the meantime, I have compiled fuller accounts and genealogical background for three wives: Rebecka Gottschalk married to Jacob Bier (8a), Sophie Heller married to Isaac Bier (9a), and Auguste Hess married to Maximilian Bier (10a), all to be found below.

APPENDIX 1: Family tree compiled by Carl Bier



Carl was the son of Leo (Leonhard), Maximilian's half-brother.



Leonhard Bier (1858 – 1934)

Carl's grandson Kobi (Jakob) Bier explained that Carl wrote three genealogies: tracing his father's Bier family, his mother Elise Weil's family, and his wife, Margareta Wolf's family. Fortunately for us, he was evidently very interested in this sort of research.

Carl was born in Cologne and left Germany for Israel in 1935. He was a real estate broker and worked with his father Leonhard Bier in his office in Cologne. The Weil family had a bank, Bank Weil. In Israel, Carl opened a real estate office where his son, Theodor (Tovia), joined him. Theodor's sons, Kobi and his brother Mordechai (Moti) in turn also became realtors, and both worked with Theodor till he died.

Another of Carl's sons, Ernst (Yitzhak) was a silversmith, and his sons Mordechai and Meir joined his business. Bier Judaica began thus: *In 1935, at the age of eight, Yitzhak arrived in Jerusalem after immigrating from Germany with his family. With talent and ambition, at the early age of 15, he started his studies in Art at the prestigious 'Bezalel Academy of Design' and completed the four-year course in only three! Soon after graduating at Bezalel, his Chanukah Menorah design won him the 1st prize in a design competition. This enabled him to purchase some of his first tools and machines, starting a small workshop in his basement. With his vast achievements in design and industry and his contribution to society, Yitzhak Bier was recognized by Jerusalem and its residents and received the prestigious 'Worthy*

Citizen of Jerusalem' prize in 2019. For Yitzhak, Judaica was more than business, it was his way of giving back to Jerusalem and her people.²¹⁷

Carl's brother Julius married Carola Hirsch. She and their son Hermann were murdered on the same day in Maly Trostinec. Their other son, Walther survived. Julius moved to the USA. Carl's sister Klara married Hans Bollag and their descendants now live in Switzerland. In the following copy of Carl's tree, I have highlighted those who were murdered in green, so it can be seen to which family groups the murdered belong. Here it is clear that some groups were almost totally annihilated. It will also be clear that a paucity of information means certain groups cannot be identified as either victims or, hopefully, survivors.

I. II. III. IV. V.

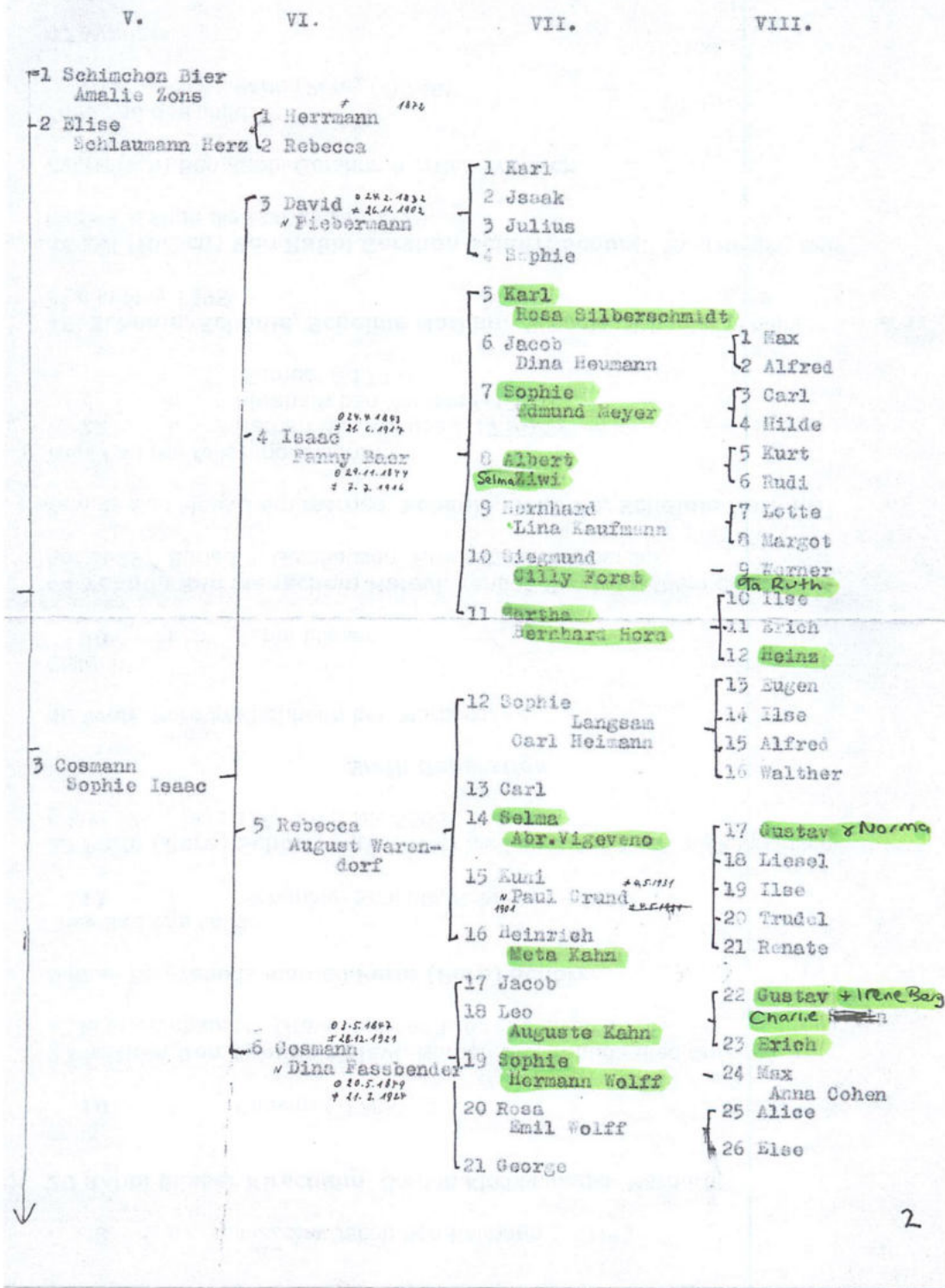
				1 Schimchon ^{o.c. 1800} Amaie Zons ¹⁸⁷⁴
				2 Elise ¹⁸⁰⁰ Schlausam Herz
				3 Cossmann Jacob ¹⁸¹⁹ Susanna Isaac ¹⁸¹⁹
				4 Sybilla (Beila) ¹⁸⁷⁶
				5 Isaac Jacob ^{o.d. 1808} Sophie Heller ^{o.d. 1810} Emilie Spier ^{o.d. 1811}
				6 Fina ¹⁸⁷⁴
				7 Sophie ^{o.d. 1811} Jonas Fassbender ^{o.d. 1811}
				8 Maier Jacob ^{o.d. 1811}
				9 Henriette ^{o.d. 1811}
				10 Vogelche Kann
				11 Frechelchen Pohl
				12 Weidelchen Bauer
				13 Jittle Frank
				14 Hanna
				15 Jacob Chajim Rebecca Bier
				16 Simon Weidelche
				17 Jacob Gellchen Hoffmann
				18 Israel ¹⁸⁰⁹ Johanna Bismell ^{o.d. 1810}
				19 Dr. Herz (Heinrich) ^{o.d. 1811}
				20 Jacob Weva Gottschalk ^{o.d. 1811}
				21 Isaac ^{o.d. 1811} Helene ^{o.d. 1811}
				22 Moses Hermann
				23 David ^{o.d. 1811}
				24 Rebecca Jacob Chajim Bier
				25 Fanny

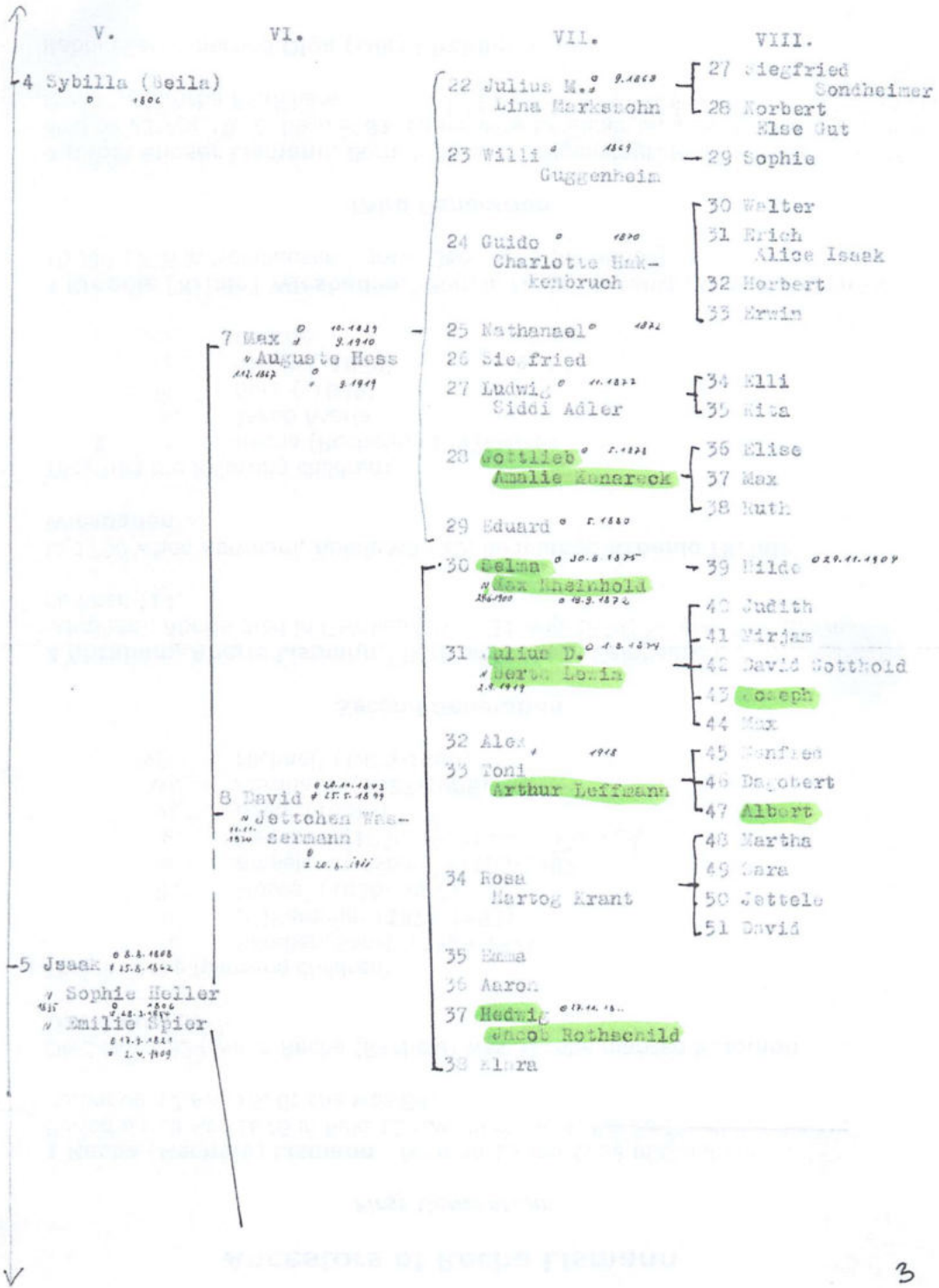
1 Jacob David
 Rebecca Gottschalk
 Gedula Jordan
 2 Sybilla B.
 Rebbe Akiwa
 Eist
 3 Cossmann D.
 Schubchen
 4 Isaac
 5 Simon B.
 Helene
 Gutzmann

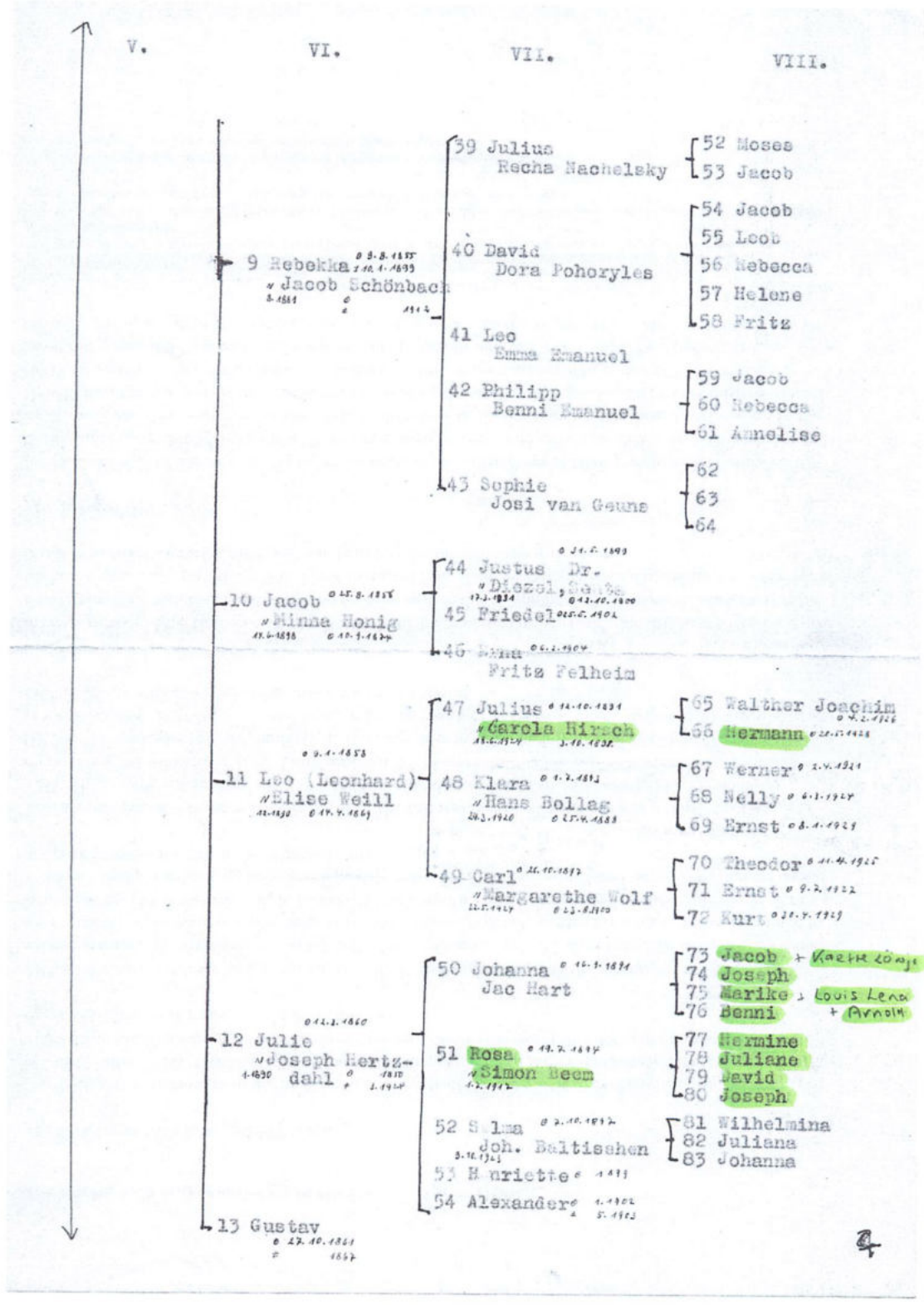
Jizchok Schimschaun J. - David S.
 Bier - Beila
 Rosa
 vid

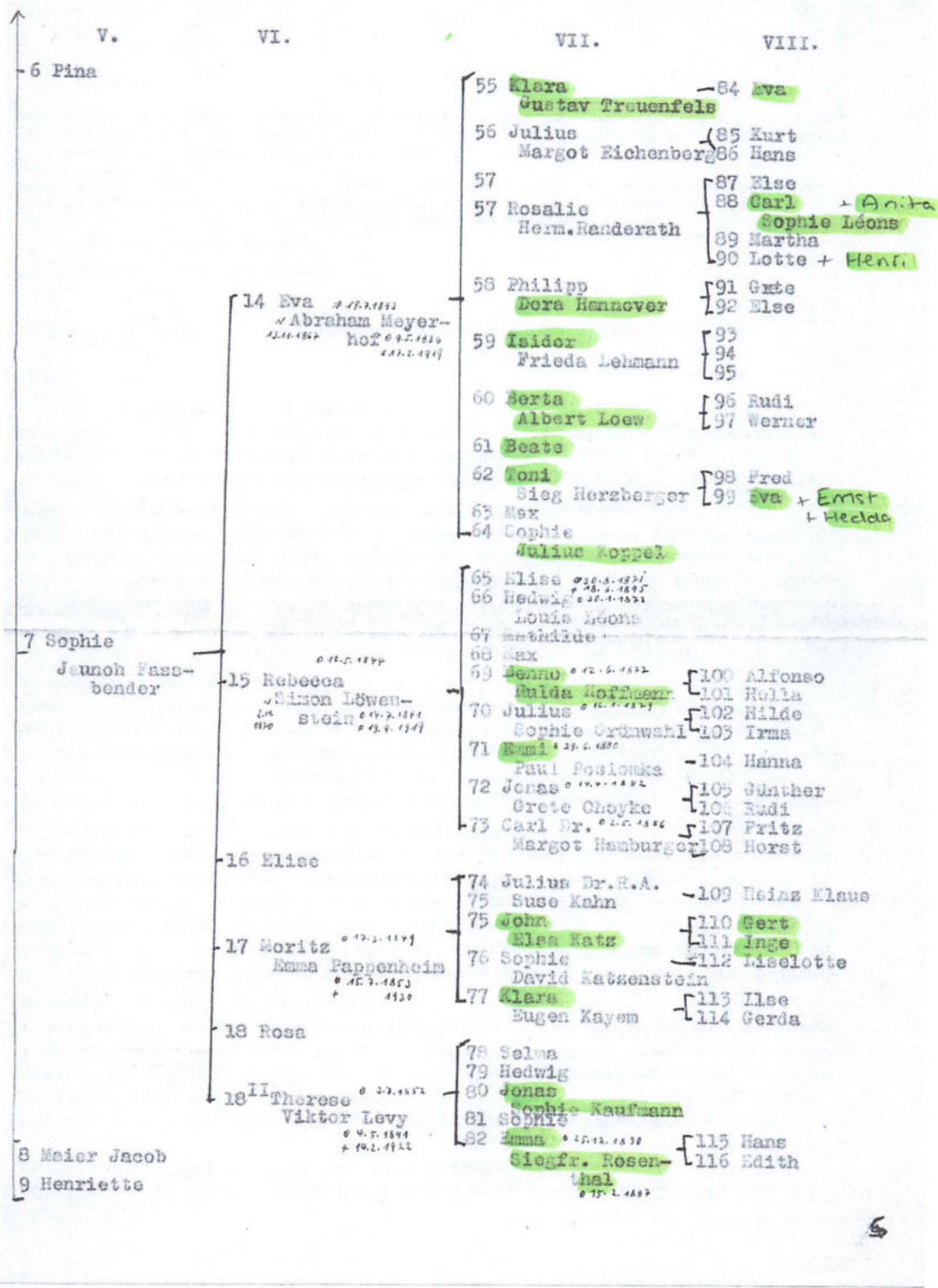
o born
died

This column is repeated as column V. on pages 2-7









V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
10 Vögelche Kahn,	19 ... Ochs,		
	20		
	21		
11 Frechelechen Pohl,	22		
	23		
	24		
	25		
	26		
12 Heidelechen Maier			
	27 Simon		
13 Jistle Frank	28 Jacob		
	29		
	30		
	31		
14 Hanna			
	32 Karl	33 Siegfried Luci Speyer	- 117 Hans
	Helene Pappen Heil.	34 Hermann (Vice- präsident)	
- 15 Jacob Channa Rebecca Bier	35 Dagobert Lina Beer	35 Hans	
	36 Albert * 10.1.1912 Klara Löwen- stein	36 Julchen Dr. Betti Gersmann	118 Günther 119 Hannelore
	37 Henriette Elias Bier		
16 Simon Reideleche	38 ...		
		87 Laura Israel Vles	120 Erich 121 Irma
	37 Elias Henriette Bier	88 Eduard Selma Weinberg	122 Arthur Dr. 123 Edith Max Schlesing 124 Liselotte
	38 Samuel Dr. Pauline Landau dauer * 10.11.1892 * 2.1.1910	89 Julie	125 Richard
		90 Emma Louis Spier	126 Meta Altmann,
		91 Auguste Bernhard Vogel	- 127 Kurt
		92 Heinrich, Hilsberg	128 Fritz Dr. Ullmann 129 Adda Max Kober 130 Hanna Siegmond Stein
- 17 Jacob Gellchen Hoff- mann	39 Karoline Hermann Cahen	93 Isidor Sophie Schatenberg Olgä Gust. Müller	131 Walter 132 Hans 133 Cilly
		95 Hedwig Julius Weithelm	134 Ernst 135 Lotte
		96 Julchen Leo Türk	- 136 Lotte

V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
18 Israel Johanna Brunnell	40 Siegmund Henriette denheim	} 97 Richard 98 Alma 99 Toni	
			41 David
	42 Joseph		
	43 Abraham		
	44 Helena Joseph Koppel	-100 Anna 100 a Gisbert	
	45 Sybilla		
	46 Jonas		
	47 Isaac		
19 Heinrich Dr.	48 Martin Ida Levy	101 Erna	
20 Jacob Eva Gottschalk	49 Jenny Alex Gold- schmidt	-102 Walter Dr.	
			50 Heinrich Johanna Wiener
21 Isaac Helene Löwen- herz	51 Hermann Frieda Levy	-104 Hilda	
	52 Laura Levy		
22 Moses			
23 David			
24 Rebecca Jacob Chajin	[Carl Dagobert Albert	siehe Stammbaum väterlicherseits.	
25 Fanny			

Eigentum von
Carl L. Bier
Köln (in the 30's)

APPENDIX 2: Pages from Klaus H.S. Schulte *Familienbuch der Deutzer Juden*²¹⁸

Familien Bier

Teil I

I	1	Samson, 1659 in Deutz wohnhaft, vgl. Anlage II	1
II	2	Isaac Aisek Bier ¹⁾ , E 1, Verwandter des Moyses Schlam, „Maggid“, † zwischen 1734 und 1741	2
	3a	Jitla, T. d. Arztes Juda Leib, † Deutz 1723	
	3b	N., T. d. Meyer Isaac	
	3c	Hannah Elias, † Deutz 1741	
II	2	Salomon Simon Bier, E 1, Geleit 1696 ff. ²⁾ , † vor 1751	3
	3	Beile, † Deutz 1723, T. d. Mardochai Trier Eine Tochter belegt, s. Tafel Winterschweig	
II	2	Moses Bier ³⁾ , E 1, lebt Deutz 1740	4
	3	N. N.	
III	4	Levi Isaac Bier, E 2, verarmt seit ca. 1743, † Deutz 1759	5
	5	Ester Levi, belegt noch 1756, † Deutz (!) ca. 1765	
III	4	Samson Bier, auch Simon Isaac, Sümmel Isaac, E 2, Geleit noch 1749, geleitlos 1764/5, * Deutz ca. 1690, † Deutz 1781 Apr 15 (C) im Hause des Sohnes David, † ca. 1723	6
	5	Sophia David Zwei Söhne überliefert	
IV	8	Isaac Meyer ⁴⁾ , E 5, Hdm in Kerpen/Erft, * Deutz 1750, † Kerpen 1837	7
IV	8	Isaac Samson, auch Isaac Simon, E 6, Geleit ab 1769 ⁵⁾ , Hdm und Judenwirt, * Deutz 1737, † Deutz 1810 Jul 20, „76jährig“, Schneeberger Gasse 256/257, † 1. Deutz 1770 Mai 13	8
	9a	Veronica Cahn, † 2. Deutz 1776 Mai 16 der Schwester	
	9b	Treula Catharina Hirsch ⁶⁾ , * Singhofen/Nassau ca. 1735, † Deutz, Samstag, 1820 Jan 22, an Altersschwäche, ohne ärztl. Behandlung, Schneeberger Gasse 258, 1818 Siegburger Str. 261 Nachkommen nicht belegt	
IV	8	David Samson, David Simon, E 6, Hdm und Mz, Geleit ab 1766 ⁷⁾ , * Deutz 1739, † Deutz 1823 März 7, „86jährig“, an Altersschwäche, ohne ärztl. Behandlung, Judengasse 25, † Bonn 1766 Mai 21 und 22	9
	9	Reis'che Rosa Cosmann ⁸⁾ , * Ahrweiler 1739, † Deutz 1817 Mai 28, an einer Kolik, nach ärztl. Behandlung, Hallenstr. 22 Fünf Kinder überliefert	
V	16	Sibilla David, E 9	10
	17	Jacob Joel, Deutz, s. Tafel Joel	
V	16	Jacob David Bier, E 9, FN Bier ab 1837, U dt 1810, Mz, * Deutz 1769/70, † Deutz 23.12.1855, „86jährig“, Freiheitsstr. 34, darin schon 1810	11
	17a	Rebekka Gottschalk ⁹⁾ , * Deutz 1775, † Deutz 1817 Dez 2, an Luft- röhren-Schwindsucht, nach ärztl. Behandlung, † 2. Bergheim/Erft 1820	
	17b	Jetta Gudula Gordon ¹⁰⁾ , * Bergheim 1780, † Deutz 15.2.1854, 74jährig Sieben Kinder erster Ehe überliefert	

V	16	Simon David Bier, E 9, Mz, 1822 im Elternhaus Judengasse 22, U dt, 1832 noch Deutz, 1853 Köln, Thieboldsgasse 124, * Deutz 1784 Okt 17, † Köln 29.9.1875 (C)	12
	17	Henriette Homburg ¹¹⁾ , * Mainz ca. 1784, † Köln 1857	
V	16	Isaac David Bier ¹²⁾ , E 9, Mz, 1826 Hallenstr. 29, * Deutz 1771, † Deutz 16.10.1854, 83jährig	13
	17a	Catharina Stiefel ¹³⁾ , * Frankfurt/Main ca. 1776, † Deutz 23.9.1826 Drei Kinder erster Ehe überliefert ∞ 2. 1827 (VDeutz)	
	17b	Hanna Isaac, E 8, Witwe	
	17c	Regina Sabel, † (Köln?) vor 1831 ∞ 4. 1829 (VDeutz)	
	17d	Julie Caroline Bing, * Frankfurt/Main ca. 1775, † Deutz 17.4.1865, 90jährig, Hallenstr. 7	
V	16	Cossmann David, E 9, 1816/18 Mz, Siegburgerstr. 137, * Deutz 1774 † Deutz 14.11.1824, „an mit Typhus verbundener Rose“, nach ärztl. Behandlung, Siegburger Str. 156	14
	17	Tauben Teubgen Abraam ¹⁴⁾ , * Ahrweiler ca. 1783, † Deutz 24.2.1851, ∞ 2. Deutz 1826	
	17a	Moses Seligmann in Deutz, s. Tafel Seligmann II	
Teil 2			
I	1	Simon Jacob Bier, E 11, zeitlebens Kfm in Köln, * Deutz 1800, † Köln 20.12.1870	15
	1a	Amalie Zons, aus Koblenz, † vor 1870	
I	1	Ester Bier, E 11, * Deutz 1802, † Köln vor 1827, ∞ 1819	16
	1a	Salomon Herz ¹⁵⁾ , Mz in Köln, * (Brühl?-) Kierberg 1788, † nach 1856	
I	1	Cossmann Bier, E 11, Mz in Ensen, * Deutz 1804, † Deutz 1.5.1847, ∞ 1839	17
	1a	Susanne Levy ¹⁶⁾ , auch Sophia Isaac genannt, * Braschoß, Siegburg, ca. 1811, † Ensen 1866 (G Deutz)	
I	1	Sybilla Bier, E 11, ledig, * Deutz 1807, † Deutz 9.3.1837	18
I	1	Isaac Bier, E 11, 1841 Sattler, 1847 Mz in Köln, noch 1853 dort, * Deutz 1808, † vor 1874, ∞ 1. 1835	19
	1a	Sophie Heller ¹⁷⁾ , * Köln ca. 1803 ∞ 2. 1854 (VKöln)	
	1b	Emilie Spier ¹⁸⁾ aus Rees, Niederrhein	
I	1	Pina Jacob, E 11, * Deutz 24.8.1810, † 15.8.1816	20
I	1	Sophie Jacob David, E 11, * Deutz 7.5.1813	21
I	1	Meyer Bier, E 11, Mz 1847/1860, fortgezogen, * Deutz 12.1.1815	22
I	1	Gudula Henriette Bier, E 11, ledig, * Deutz 8.2.1811, † 3.9.1872, Siegburger Str. 14	23
I	1	Dr. med. Heinrich Bier, E 12, Arzt in Köln, * Deutz 8.2.1811, ∞ 1843	24
	1a	Borinetta Amschel ¹⁹⁾ aus Frankfurt/Main, Köln, Unter Goldschmied 26	

I	1	Jacob Simon Bier, E 12, Mz in Köln 1853, * Deutz 1.7.1813, ∅ Deutz 1850	25
	1a	Eva Gottschalk ²⁰⁾ , * Deutz 27.11.1816. Beide leben in Köln 1884.	
I	1	Rebekka Bier, E 12, * Deutz 17.5.1815, ∅ Köln 1846	26
	1a	Jacob Heymann Bier, E 14, Lehrer, u.a. in Solingen, 1853 Köln, Breite Str. 24, * Deutz 21.1.1822, † Köln 13.1.1884 (C)	
I	1	Isaac Bier, E 12, Kfm in Köln ²¹⁾ , 1885 Inhaber der Fa. Bier & Cahen ²⁵⁾ , * Deutz, Samstag 2.5.1818, † Köln 17.9.1887 (C)	27
	1a	Emilie Spier, * 17.9.1821, † 2.4.1909, „Unsere Mutter“	
I	1	Heymann David (Bier), E 12, * Deutz 15.2.1820	28
I	1	Rosa David (Bier), E 12, * Deutz 28.5.1822, † 16.3.1824	29
I	1	David Bier, E 12, 1853 in Köln, * Deutz 24.6.1824, † Köln 29.9.1875 (C)	30
I	1	Jeanette David (Bier), E 12, * Deutz 19.11.1825	31
I	1	Fanny Bier (FN Bier erstmals Deutz 19. Jh.), E 12, * Deutz 31.12.1829	32
I	1	Simon Bier, E 13, 1842 HausNr. 291, 1873 Mz, nach Köln verzogen ca. 1875, * Deutz 1804, † Köln 8.2.1881 (Samson bar Jakob), ∅ 1. 1836	33
	1a	Rosina Levy ²²⁾ , * Deutz 1809, † Deutz 4.6.1855, „48jährig“, ∅ 2. 1855	
	1b	Zerlina Mannheim ²³⁾ , lebt verwitwet Deutz 1901, Hallenstr. 7, * Deutz 22.5.1823, † 23.1.1914, diese Ehe kinderlos	
I	1	Jacob Bier ²⁴⁾ , E 13, Hdm, 1872 Tempelwallstr. 87, * Deutz 1806, † Deutz nach 29.7.1880, vor 2.12.1881, ∅ Deutz 1831	34
	1a	Getta Elias ²⁶⁾ , * Siegburg ca. 1806, † Deutz 23.6.1866, „63jährig“	
I	1	Eysek, genannt Israel Bier, E 13, Hdm in (Köln-) Mülheim 1845, 1853 verzogen nach Köln, Sternengasse 48, 1870 Hdm in Köln, * Deutz 1808, † Deutz 17.5.1871, 62jährig, Schneebergerstr. 9, ∅ Hürth 1834	35
	1a	Anna Brünell ²⁷⁾ , * Hürth ca. 1814, † Köln vor 1870	
I	1	Abraham David, E 14, * Deutz 15.10.1814, † 3.9.1816, an der Convulsion, ohne ärztliche Behandlung	36
I	1	Simon David, E 14, * Deutz 13.4.1816, † 22.4.1816, an der Colvulsion, ohne ärztliche Behandlung	37
I	1	Cusel Hirsch David, E 14, * Deutz 7.8.1817, † 4.8.1818, an Abzehrung, ohne ärztliche Behandlung	38
I	1	Jacob Heymann Bier, E 14, = 26	
	1a	Rebekka Bier, E 12	
I	1	Moses Heymann Bier „aus Deutz“ ²⁸⁾ , E 14	39
II	2	David Cossmann Bier, E 17, 1867 Kfm in Köln, * Ensen 13.10.1839	40
			67

Familien Schlam ¹⁾

I	1	Isaac Joseph Schlam, Doctor der Medicin in Deutz, 1596, † Deutz 1606, im Haus seines Sohnes Abraham, Parnes	1
	1a	N. N.	
II	2	Abraham Salomon ²⁾ , auch Arzt Salomon, E 1, † Deutz 1631, ∞ vor 1596	2
	3	Beila Isaac Warbrück, † Deutz 1631/35	
III	4	Isaac Schlam, Arzt Eisek, David Isaac ben Abraham Salomon, E 2, Hauseigentümer, † Deutz 1657	3
	5	Jutlen, T. d. Jacob Lande (Landau), † Deutz 1655	
IV	8	Mirjam Schlam, E 3, † Offenbach, begraben in Bürgel 1712	4
	9	Jacob Emden, Jakob bar Joseph Elieser, † Deutz 1669	
IV	8	Sussel, Sohn zu 3, † Deutz 1705	5
IV	8	Doctor Jacob Schlam, Hiskia Jakob, E 3, in Deutz belegt 1659, 1661/67, 1679, 1682, sein Wohltun wird gerühmt, † Deutz 1687	6
	9	N. N.	
V	16	Isaac Schlam d. J., Isaac Deutz, Isaac bar Hiskia Jakob, E 6, „Judenarzt“, * Deutz ca. 1640, † Deutz 1722 Sept 6 (C)	7
	17a	Brünnelen, T. d. Meyer Deutz (= Meyer Hirtz Levy), † Deutz 1690, begraben auf dem Judenbüchel vor Cöln	
	17b	N. N., lebt Deutz 1737 Mai 8, mit vier Kindern aus Isaacs erster Ehe	
V	16	Salomon Schlaum, „der Wohltäter“ Salomon Bier, Salomon bar Hesekei Jakob, E 6, „Judenarzt“, in Deutz belegt 1687, 1710, † Bassenheim bei Koblenz, Kurtrier, begraben Deutz 1719 Jan 30 (C)	8
	17	N. N., Witwe in Deutz 1719	
V	16	Keila Schlam, E 6, † Deutz 1720 Aug 11 (C)	9
	17	N. N.	
V	16	Moses Schlam, Moses bar Hiskia Jakob, E 6, 1744 im Haus zum Bock ³⁾ , * Deutz ca. 1660, † Deutz ca. 1747 ⁸⁾	10
	17a	N. N., lebt Deutz 1719 mit vier Kindern, ∞ 2. 1723	
	17b	N., T. d. Abraham Cahen in (Köln-) Mülheim	
VI	32	Meyer Isaac, E 7 erste Ehe, 1747 geleitlos, † Deutz 1753, im Haus des Schwiegersohns Samson Bier	11
	33	N. N.	
VI	32	Vaes Isaac, E 7, 1737 Totengräber und geleitlos	12
VI	32	Jütla Schlam, E 8	13
	33	Salomon Rindskopf, Deutz, siehe Tafel Rindskopf	
VI	32	N. Schlam, Tochter zu 8	14
	33	Arend Schoeneck, Parnes in Deutz, Moses Aron bar Moses Jakob, † Deutz 1726	
VI	32	Hendel Isaac, E 8, † Deutz 1703 Sept 24 (C)	15
	33	Moses Wassenberg ⁴⁾ , Wassenberg Hzt. Jülich	

VI	32	Meyer Moyses, E 10 (?), 1715 „Schulmann“, * Deutz ca. 1690	16
VI	32	Nehm/Nym/Nim Nachum Moyses, E 10, Mz, Geleit ab 1732 ⁵⁾ , 1765 „in Mitteln gar schwach“, hochbetagt und geleitlos 1779 März 9, * Deutz ca. 1695	17
	33a	Beila, T. d. Jehudah Leib (Rindskopf?), † Deutz 1739, ♂ 2. Deutz 1740	
	33b	Sara Winterschweig aus Deutz, siehe Tafel Winterschweig, † Deutz 1760	
	33c	Taubgen Abraham aus Waldenrath (?) Kr. Heinsberg, Witwe des Beer Jacob, dieser lebt 1765, * Deutz 1733	
VII	64	Sibilla Nehm, E 17	18
	65	Wolff Mainzer, Deutz, siehe Tafel Mainzer	
VII	64	Sara Zorla Nehm, E 17, 1765 ledig, * Deutz ca. 1747	19
VII	64	Jacob Nehm, Jacob Alexander, E 17, 1765 Vorsänger, 1778 Musikant	20
	65	N. N.	
VII	64	Jetta Lichtenstein (!) ⁶⁾ , fr. Judula Jetta „Margarete“ Niem(gen), E 17, * Deutz ca. 1766, † (Hennef-) Geistingen, Siegkreis, 27.4.1847, „84jährig“	21
	65	Moises Isaac Levi, Schlachter in Geistingen, * Geistingen ca. 1747, † Geistingen 1815 Jan 11, 68jährig, an Lungensucht, in seinem Haus, Haus-Nummer 21	
VII	64	Alexander Nym/Nims, Alexander Jacob, E 17/33c, Musikant in Deutz 1778–1810, zuletzt gewerbslos, ledig, * Deutz ca. 1757, † Deutz 28.1.1828	22
VIII	128	Niem Lichtenstein, fr. Niemgen Moises, E 21, Mz in Geistingen, zuletzt gewerbslos, * Geistingen 1797 Sept 11, † Geistingen 16.5.1848, „54jährig“, ♂ Hennef 6.11.1823	23
	129	Jetta Getta Meyer ⁷⁾ , * (Bonn-) Beuel 1797 Aug 9, lebt Geistingen 1848 Drei Söhne überliefert	

1) Nach A. Kober, Rheinische Judendoktoren, welcher die Bezeichnung „Judenarzt“ mehrfach bringt, ohne daß in den hier ausgeschöpften Quellen eine solche Bezeichnung jemals vorkommt; ergänzt aus dem Memorbuch Deutz. Auf die Namen-Überschneidungen mit Familien-Namen Bier ist zu achten, vgl. dazu Tafel Bier.

2) Bruder des kurkölnischen Rabbiners Moses Bürgel, so C. Brisch S. 117.

3) In seinem Haus 1726 verstorben Alexander Moses Bier (!).

4) Moyses Abraham lebt Wassenberg 1695, vgl. Schulte, Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Hzt. Jülich, 1988, Teil II S. 108.

5) KK IV 4585 Bl. 53, Heiratspatent 1740 KK IV 4601.

6) Ihre Sterbeurkunde nennt als Eltern Nyhm Rindskopf (sic) und Taubgen Abraham. Da ein Deutzer Nim Rindskopf nicht überliefert ist, dürfte die Annahme nicht verfehlt sein, daß die Deutzer Familien Schlam einen Zweig der Frankfurter Familie Rindskopf, wie schon Tafel Bier angedeutet, ausbildeten.

7) E Meyer Levi, Mz in Sieglar/Siegkreis 1823, und Rosa Levy, vorverstorben in Menden/Siegkreis.

8) Seine erste Ehefrau ist Hewa, T. d. Alexander Rindskopf in Frankfurt/Main, Witwe erster Ehe des 1696 im Rhein ertrunkenen kurkölnischen Judenschaftsvorgängers Marx Leib SeGaL.

APPENDIX 3: The Shoah and the fate of Generation 11 and 12

Via the power of the internet and genealogical resources, especially JewishGen.org, the Bier family tree is slowly filling up with contributions from around the world. However, many in the Bier family did not survive the *Shoah*. Thanks to the Carl Bier's 1930s family tree, I have managed to find far too many of the wider Bier family who were murdered. These need to be remembered in whatever way possible. Many are descendants of those who remained in Cologne, others moved elsewhere following business opportunities or settling in the area of their spouse. Some of those murdered had descendants that survived, but where none have done so, by including them in the tree, their existence will, in a minute way, be acknowledged.

The *NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln*, the Cologne National Socialism Documentation Centre, is a place of commemoration, learning and research into the fate of the Jews of Cologne, and has an excellent website.²¹⁹ During the Weimar Republic, about 16,000 Jews lived in Cologne. By late 1941 when the first deportations began, about 6,200 Jews still lived there and another 1,400 in the municipal district of Cologne. This is an excerpt from the website:

From the autumn of 1941 to the summer of 1942 the Cologne Gestapo organised the deportation of almost the entire Jewish population still living in the Cologne and the surrounding area at the time. This occurred by train transports of about 1,000 persons each. The first train left Cologne- Deutz on 22 October 1941 for the Litzmannstadt Ghetto in the occupied town of Łódź'. Just a few days later another train left for Litzmannstadt. On 7 December 1941, a deportation train left Cologne for the ghetto in Riga, on 15 June and 27 July 1942 the destination was the Theresienstadt Ghetto.

Citizens of Cologne were also on a group transport on 15 June 1942, which left Koblenz via Aachen, Cologne and Düsseldorf for Sobibor. About half of the deportees on 20 July 1942, who left Cologne-Deutz for Minsk, were Jewish women, men and children from the Rhineland in addition to Jews from Cologne. The first deportations which took place in the context of the Final Solution were followed by deportations of individual groups of sometimes up to 50 people to the Theresienstadt Ghetto; the last in March 1945. These later deportations were aimed at those, who had been spared until then based on the logic of the Nuremberg Laws as persons of 'mixed blood' or living in 'interracial marriages'.

A higher number of Jews from Cologne – that cannot be quantified exactly – were also deported from the countries to which they fled, as these countries fell under National Socialist rule one after another during World War II. They were often brought to the ghettos and extermination camps via assembly camps such as Mechelen (Malines) in Belgium or Gurs in France. A group of some 600 'Eastern Jews', who were taken to the Polish border from Cologne in 1938, suffered a similar fate. Those who could not emigrate to a safe country were captured by the Nazis after the German Wehrmacht attacked Poland.

Almost all of the deportees fell victim to genocide. They either died due to the inhumane conditions or violent crimes in the ghettos or else were deported to extermination camps where they then met their death. The best documentation exists on the fate of the 2,514 people from Cologne and the Cologne region who were deported to Theresienstadt: 231 survived, the others died in the ghetto or were taken to the Treblinka or Auschwitz

extermination camps and killed there. As far as we know, only some 80 people of those deported to the Riga Ghetto lived to see the liberation. However, none of those deported to Minsk survived: The 1,164 deportees, among them also pupils and teachers of the 'Jawne' school were not led into the ghetto upon arrival but killed in the close-by Maly Trostenez. According to recent research, 25 women and men of the approximately 2,000 women, men and children who were deported from Cologne to Litzmannstadt on 22 and 30 October 1941 survived.²²⁰

The following lists those with the name 'Bier' who have been recorded as having been murdered by the National Socialists. 68 people with the name 'Bier' are listed in the current online *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland, 1933-1945*, the *Memorial Book, Victims of the Persecution of Jews under the National Socialist Tyranny in Germany 1933 – 1945*.²²¹

However, wives and husbands with different surnames are not so easily found, and it was the *Yad Vashem* website proved easier to search, name by name (often using the names that Carl Bier had listed in his family tree).²²² It turned out that the *Yad Vashem* website included far more victims than the German *Gedenkbuch*. Additionally, where there is a *Yad Vashem Page of Testimony*, further information and occasionally a photo can be found. The following, therefore, includes information from both these sources.

I also discovered the *Dutch Jewish Monument*,²²³ which commemorates over 104,000 people who were persecuted in the Netherlands and who did not survive the Holocaust. The associated website has uploaded the individual's 'story' and Google was used to translate the Dutch entries. Again, not all the information tallied across the three websites.

Carl Bier's original family tree above shows those murdered in green, so family groups can be identified. The following list is primarily based on the *Gedenkbuch/Yad Vashem* records. Unlike the numbering in the Bier genealogy in the bulk of this document, this list uses Carl Bier's numbering to sequence the victims. Column generation 'V' in Carl's list is numbered from 1 (Schimchon) to 25 (Fanny) and this is the starting point for the numbering in the following.

In the following tables, I have again marked in green those with definite links to the wider Bier family. Those with no colour coding, have the surname 'Bier' but cannot be identified as so many of those in Carl's tree have similar names and it is impossible to establish exactly where, if at all, they fit in. Where the deported are recorded as living in or having been born in Cologne, it seems that they must be part of the family. I also found some people who had fortunately survived, and I have entered them in yellow. I am sure many more went through the Camps and managed to survive; but I do not have any information about them.

Over the years, I have also managed via the *Yad Vashem* Pages of Testimony and the *Jewishgen* website to make contact, and sometimes meet, members of the extended family. Some have shared their painful stories and have given me permission to record them below.

Tree No.	Surname	Name at birth	Name	D.o.B.	Place/birth	Deported from	Date first deported	Final destination	Date of death	Notes
3.4.5	Bier		Karl	20.10.1873	Porz	Köln, Theresienstadt	15th June 1942	Treblinka	19th Sept. 1942	
3.4.5	Bier	Silberschmidt	Rosa	02.08.1877	Bocholt	Köln, Theresienstadt	15th June 1942	Treblinka	19th Sept.1942	
3.4.7	Meyer	Bier	Sophie Sofie	28.10.1880	Porz	Köln, Lodz	22nd Oct. 1941	Chelmno	May 1942	
3.4.7	Meyer		Edmund	31.3.1875	Köln	Köln, Lodz	22nd Oct. 1941	Lodz	12th Dec. 1942	
3.4.7.4	?	Meyer	Hilde							Reported by Erika Adler
3.4.8	Bier		Albert	29.06.1886	Meckenheim	Köln, Minsk	20th July 1942	Maly Trostinec		
3.4.8	Bier	Zivey	Selma	21.01.1883	Bischheim	Köln, Minsk	20th July 1942	Maly Trostinec		
3.4.10	Bier	Forst	Cerline Caroline	14.07.1895	C/Kastellaun	Köln	7th Dec. 1941	Riga		
3.4.10.9a	Bier		Ruth Fanny	30.04.1926	Köln	Köln	7th Dec. 1941	Riga		Plaque in Leeds Cemetery by her brother's grave.
3.4.11	Horn		Martha	27.08.1889	Porz	Aachen	1942	? Auschwitz	1942	
3.4.11	Horn		Bernhard	6.4.1881	Köln, Kalk	Aachen	1942	? Auschwitz	1942	
3.4.11.10	Horn	van Geldere	Ilse	24.5.1911	Köln, Kalk				Survived, 1994	Jumped off a train and hidden by nuns
3.4.11.11	Horn		Erich	18. 11. 1913	Köln-Kalk	Brussels		St Cyprien	Survived, 2003	
3.4.11.12	Horn		Karl Heinz	8.4.1919	Köln-Kalk	Aachen	1942	? Auschwitz	1942	? shot whilst attempting to escape.
3.5.14	Vigevano	Warendorff	Selma	25.6.1872	Köln	Amsterdam	28th Jan. 1944	Auschwitz		
3.5.14	Vigevano		Abraham	1876?	Amsterdam	Scheveningen,Den Haag	1943	Auschwitz		Only mention is Yad Vashem
3.5.14.17	Vigevano		Gustav	12.12.1912	Antwerp	Köln, Westerbork		Bergen Belsen	14th Feb. 1945	

3.5.14.17	Vigevano	Wolfferts	Norma	1914	Amsterdam		
3.5.16	Kahn	Warendorff	Meta	26.1.1885		Köln, Netherlands, Westerbork	29th June 1943
3.5.16.21	Warendorff		Renate	1924	Köln		
3.6.18	Bier	Kahn	Auguste	14.01.1881	Köln		7 th Dec. 1941
3.6.18.22	Bier	Gustav	11.06.1907	Köln	Köln, Lodz	30 th Oct. 1941	Auschwitz
3.6.18.22	Bier	Berg	Irene	01.03.1914	Köln	Köln	30th Oct. 1941
3.6.18.22	Bier		Charlie (Carl)	child			
3.6.18.23	Bier		Erich	26.12.1910	Köln	Köln, Malines, Belgium	31 st July 1943
3.6.19	Wolff	Bier	Sophie	18.08.1875	Köln	Köln, Netherlands, Westerbork	13th April 1943
3.6.19	Wolff		Hermann	1870	Mechernich	Köln, Netherlands, Westerbork	
5.7.28	Bier		Gottlieb Eliyakum	08.06.1878	Frankfurt/ Main	Berlin,	24 th Sept. 1942
5.7.28	Bier	Kanerek	Amalie	08.03.1885	Rzeszow	Berlin, then Theresienstadt	24 th Sept 1942
5.8.30	Rheinhold	Bier	Selma	30.08.1875	Köln	Düsseldorf	1942
5.8.30	Rheinhold		Max	19.9.1872	Koblenz	Köln- Müngersdorf,	15 th June 1942
5.8.31	Bier		Julius David	01.08.1877	Köln	Köln, Amsterdam, Westerbork	11th Feb. 1944
5.8.31	Bier	Lewin	Berta	10.4.1890	Neidenburg	Köln, Amsterdam, Westerbork	11th Feb. 1944
5.8.31.43	Bier		Friedrich Josef	22.09.1927	Düsseldorf	Westerbork	5 th April 1944

5.8.33	Leffmann	Arthur	1896	Muelheim Ruhr	Muelheim Ruhr, Düsseldorf	28th Feb. 1896	Izbica	22 nd April 1942	
5.8.33	Leffmann	Albert	1907	Wanne Eickel,	Muelheim Ruhr, Moline, Auschwitz	19 th April 1943	Buchenwald	13 th April 1945	Also Dachau, 1938
5.8.37	Rothschild	Hedwig	27.11.1885	Köln	Netherlands, Westerbork		Auschwitz	15 th December 1942	
5.8.37	Rothschild	Jacob	?1870	Germany	Netherlands				
5.11.47	Bier	Karoline, Carola	03.10.1898	Mergentheim Bad	Köln, Minsk	20th July 1942	Maly Trostinec		
5.11.47.66	Bier	Hermann Karl	20.05.1928	Köln	Köln, Minsk	20th July 1942	Maly Trostinec		
5.12.50.73	Hart	Jacob	24.8.1914	Schiedam	Rotterdam		Auschwitz	28th Aug. 1942	
5.12.50.73	Hart	Kaethe	22.6.1903	Köln	Netherlands		Auschwitz	30th Sept 1942	
5.12.50.75	Hart	Joseph	7.1.1916	Schiedam	Netherlands		Auschwitz	30th Sept 1942	
5.12.50.76	Van Emden	Marika	19.11.1917	Scheemda	Netherlands		Auschwitz	23rd Aug. 1942	
5.12.50.76	Van Emden	Louis Lena	16.10.1910	Rotterdam	Netherlands		Auschwitz	30th Sept 1942	
5.12.50.76	Van Emden	Arnold	29.1.1941	Rotterdam	z		Auschwitz	23rd Aug. 1942	
5.12.50.76	Hart	Benno (Benedictus)	14.3.1921	Scheemda	Netherlands		Mauthausen	10th Dec. 1942	
5.12.51	Beem	Rosa	19.7.1894	Heerlen, The Netherlands	Apeldoorn, Netherlands		Auschwitz	25th Jan 1943	
5.12.51	Beem	Simon	10.3.1892	Rotterdam	Leiden, Westerbork		Auschwitz	28th Feb. 1943	
5.12.51.77	Beem	Hermina Juliana	9.6.1918	Rotterdam	Leiden, Westerbork		Sobibor	5th March 1943	
5.12.51.78	Beem	Juliana Hermina	26.1.1920	Rotterdam	Leiden, Westerbork		Auschwitz	30th Sept. 1942	

5.12.51.79	Beem	David Jozef	17.6.1922	Rotterdam	Leiden, Westerbork	Sobibor	9th July 1943
5.12.51.80	Beem	Jozef Jopie David	4.7.1926	Rotterdam	Leiden, Westerbork	Sobibor	26th March 1943
7.14.55	Treuenfels	Clara Klara	10.12.1868	Siegen	Lublin, Stettin	Glusk	5th Feb. 1942
7.14.55.84	Treuenfels	Gustav			Giessen		Else Jacobi 7.14.57.87
7.14.55.88	Treuenfels	Eva			Giessen		Nurse.Else Jacobi 7.14.57.87
7.14.57.88	Randerath	Karl	5.3.1902	Hersfeld	Hersfeld, Bonn, Remagen, Netherlands	1942 Auschwitz	30th Sept.1942
7.14.57.88+	Randerath	Sophie	17.2.1904	Rotterdam	Remagen	Auschwitz	17th July 1942
7.14.57.90	Randerath	Anita	5.12.1934	Bonn	Bonn, Netherlands	1942 Auschwitz	17th July 1942
7.14.57.90	Collem van	Henri	1894		Amsterdam, Westerbork	Bergen Belsen	1945
7.14.57.90	Collem van	Lotte	1900		Amsterdam, Westerbork	Bergen Belsen	Survived
7.14.57.90	Collem van	Ilse	1926		Amsterdam, Westerbork	Bergen Belsen	Survived
7.14.58	Meyerhof	Martha	1929		Amsterdam, Westerbork	Bergen Belsen	Survived
7.14.58	Meyerhof	Philipp			Mannheim, Gurs	Gurs	Survived
7.14.59	Meyerhof	Dora	28.3.1877	Bühl, Baden	Mannheim, Gurs	Recebedou, France	Heart failure days before deportation
7.14.59	Meyerhof	Isador			Rotenfels	Gurs	Survived
7.14.59.93	Meyerhof	Frieda			Rotenfels	Gurs	Survived
	Meyerhof	Liesel			Rotenfels	Gurs	Survived

7.14.60	Loew	Meyershof	Berta	08.08.1877		Krefeld, Aachen, Theresienstadt	25th July 1942
7.14.60	Loew		Albert	26.10.1867	Mayen	Krefeld, Theresienstadt	25th July 1942
7.14.61	Meyershof		Beate/Ada	9.6.89	Siegen	Krefeld, Düsseldorf	11th Dec. 1941
7.14.62	Hertzberger	Meyershof	Toni	2.2.1881	Siegen	Krefeld	
7.14.62.99	Wilde		Eva	1908		Krefeld	22nd June 1943
7.14.62.99	Wilde		Ernst			Krefeld	22nd June 1943
7.14.62.99/b	Wilde		Hedda	Child		Krefeld	22nd June 1943
7.14.64	Coppel		Julius		Duisberg	Moers, Düsseldorf	11th Dec. 1941
7.15.69	Löwenstein		Benno	17.6.1877	Siegen	Berlin	5th Sept. 1942
7.15.69	Löwenstein	Hoffmann	Hulda	11.3.1884	Neuss	Berlin	5th Sept. 1942
7.15.71	Posiombka	Löwenstein	Emmi	29.6.1880	Siegen	Köln, Netherlands, Westerbork	6th July 1943
7.17.75	Fassbender		John	22.07.1882	Remagen	Remagen, Koblenz	
7.17.75	Fassbender	Katz	Else	1894	Bebra	Remagen, Koblenz	
7.17.75.110	Fassbender		Gerd Gerhard Heinz	03.01.1922	Remagen	Remagen, Koblenz	
7.17.75.111	Fassbender		Inge	21.01.1928	Remagen	Remagen, Koblenz	
7.17.77	Kayem		Clara Klara	24.02.1887	Remagen	Mannheim, Baden-Pfalz, Gurs,Drancy	22nd Oct. 1940 - 6th Aug 1942, Drancy

7.19.80	Levy		Jonas	1883	Remagen	Remagen	Remagen	Krasniczyn	
7.19.80	Levy	Kaufmann	Sophie	1890	Hochneukirch	Remagen	Remagen	Krasniczyn	
7.19.82	Rosenthal	Levi	Emma	25.12.1890	Remagen	Köln	Köln	Lodz	25th Feb. 1943
7.19.82	Rosenthal		Siegfried	15.2.1887	Vreden	Vreden, Köln	Vreden, Köln	Lodz	June 1944
15.32.	Bier	Pappenheim	Helene Helena	02.02.1859	Eschwege	Trier - Köln	Trier - Köln	Theresienstadt	23 rd Dec. 1942
15.32.84	Bier		(Jakob) Hermann	10.04.1885	Köln	Netherlands, Westerborck	Netherlands, Westerborck	Westerborck	10th Oct. 1943
15.33.86	Bier		Julius Dr.	28.05.1887	Köln	Berlin	Berlin	Auschwitz	Vice President
15.33.86	Bier	Gersamm	Betty	21.03.1899	Potsdam	Köln, Theresienstadt	Köln, Theresienstadt	Auschwitz	19th Oct. 1944
18.44.100a	Koppel		Gisbert	19.3.1876	Bochum	Köln, Theresienstadt	Köln, Theresienstadt	Auschwitz	15th May 1944
21.52	Bier		Emil Eduard	24.10.1869	Köln	Köln	Köln	Treblinka	19 th Sept. 1942
21.52	Bier	Lewy	Laura	13.06.1876	Illingen	Köln, Theresienstadt	Köln, Theresienstadt	Treblinka	19 th Sept. 1942
	Bier		Albert Max Alex	26.04.1877	Lichtenau	Köln	Köln	Lodz	10 th Aug 1942
	Bier		Albertine	11.02.1921	Köln	Köln, Lodz	Köln, Lodz	Chelmno	May 1942
	Bier		Carl Salomon	28.02.1876	Meckenheim	Berlin	Berlin	Theresienstadt	April 1943
	Bier		Chana	14.12.1939	Köln	Köln, Lodz	Köln, Lodz	Chelmno	May 1942
	Bier		Eli	14.12.1938	Köln	Köln	Köln	Lodz	May 1942
	Bier		Erwin	23.06.1923	Köln	Köln, Lodz	Köln, Lodz	Chelmno	Sept 1942
	Bier	Strauss	Frieda Amalie	07.02.1881	Lembach	Köln, Lodz	Köln, Lodz	Chelmno	May 1942
	Bier		Grete	00.00.1905	Recklinghausen	Recklinghausen and Köln	Recklinghausen and Köln	?	
	Bier	May	Hedwig	01.03.1895	Niedermendig	Berlin	Berlin	Auschwitz	
	Bier	Marx	Henny Hanny	16.02.1893	Köln	Köln, then Minsk	Köln, then Minsk	Maly Trostinec	
	Bier		Ida	23.06.1860	Homburg	Trier - Köln	Trier - Köln	Theresienstadt	31 st Aug 1942

Further information where available about those murdered

Karl Bier (1873, Ensen – 1942, Treblinka), grandson of Cosmann Jakob Bier (9c) and Sophie Isaac

Rosa née Silberschmidt (1877, Bocholt –1942, Treblinka), wife of Karl Bier



Karl and Rosa Bier²²⁴

Cilly/Cerline née Forst (1895, Kastellaun – 1941, Riga), wife of Siegmund Bier

Ruth, granddaughter of Isaac Bier and Fanny Baer, daughter of Siegmund and Cilly Forst



Cilly²²⁵



Ruth and mother and daughter in 1938²²⁶

Albert Bier (1882, Ensen – 1942, Maly Trostinec), grandson of (9c) Cosmann Bier and Sophie Isaac



Stolpersteine at Salmstraße 79, Cologne ²²⁷



Werner

Gravestone of Werner Bier (1921, Cologne – 1978, Leeds) in Leeds²²⁸
with memorial plaque to Werner's parents, Siegmund and Cilly Bier and sister Ruth

Martha Horn (1889, Ensen - ?) granddaughter of Cosmann Bier (9c) and Sophie Isaac, and daughter of Isaac Bier and Fanny Baer

Bernhard Horn (1881, Cologne – 1942, Auschwitz)

Karl Heinz, Horn (1919, Cologne – 1942, Auschwitz)



Stolpersteine at Kalker Hauptstraße 100, Cologne²²⁹

Bernhard Horn was a butcher.²³⁰ Their son Karl Heinz, a butcher, was shot in Aachen whilst trying to escape. Their other two children, Ilse and Erich survived and had children and grandchildren in Belgium.

Ilse had three terrifying escapes from the Gestapo (one of which involved jumping from a cattle truck and breaking her leg).²³¹ Ilse and her brother Erich together with their Bier cousins, brothers Max and Alfred, and Rudi, escaped from Germany and spent the war years in Belgium.



Bernhard and Martha



Karl Heinz²³²

Gustav Bier (1907, Cologne – 1944, Auschwitz), great-grandson of Cosmann Bier (9c) and Sophie Isaac, grandson of Cosmann Bier and Dina Fassbender, and son of Leo Bier and Auguste Kahn

Irene Bier (née Berg), (1914, Cologne – 1941, Lodz), wife of Gustav

Charlie (Karl?) Bier, son of Gustav and Irene

Erich Bier (1910, Cologne – 1943, Auschwitz), great-grandson of Cosmann Bier (8c) and Sophie Isaac, grandson of Cosmann Bier and Dina Fassbender, and son of Leo Bier and Auguste Kahn

Auguste Bier (née Kahn), (1881, Cologne – 1941, Riga), wife of Leo Bier



Erich Bier with his son Jean-Paul

Jean-Paul wrote: *My father, Erich Bier left Cologne a few days before Kristallnacht Nov.9th 1938 without telling his family anything and called my mother from Brussels to tell her to prepare to join him. As far as I know, we came illegally to Belgium at the beginning of 1939. Thanks to Paul-Henri Spaak we finally became Belgian citizens about 1959.*

When I was a very young boy before 1942, I was called Hansi, then for obvious reasons had to learn that I was a Flemish boy with the name Jan van Haelen. After 1945 I was for everybody Jean Bier, until the time I had to get an Identity Card at 15 or 16, I don't remember exactly. I discovered my official name 1937 under the Nazis had been 'Johannes Paulus Bier. It can't be more Christian, but it isn't bearable in modern society. My clever father Erich Bier just wanted me to escape what he felt was coming. I just translated my name into French Jean Paul.

About wartime: I was rescued by a Catholic organization and went to a kind of orphanage as Jan van Haelen in a small village called Ottignies. I had to get used after the war to the woman who was supposed to be my mother. She worked very hard to educate her two boys. Only my mother Emilie Edith Rosenthal, my brother and I survived the war. We had no relatives left and had to rebuild our families.

My younger brother Henri Leopold born in August 1941 just before our father was arrested, is a medical doctor.

Selma Vigeveno (née Warendorf) (1872, Cologne – 1944, Auschwitz), granddaughter of Cosmann Bier (9c) and Sophie Isaac, daughter of Rebecca Bier and August Warendorf Abraham Vigeveno (1876?, Amsterdam – 1943, Auschwitz)²³³

Gustaaf/Gustav Vigeveno, (1912 Antwerp – 1945, Bergen-Belsen), son of Selma and Abraham

Norma Frieda Vigeveno (née Wolfferts) (1914, Amsterdam – 1945, Tröbitz)²³⁴



Gustaaf Vigeveno and Norma Frieda Vigeveno ²³⁵

Gottlieb Bier (1878, Frankfurt – 1942, Theresienstadt), grandson of Isaac Bier (9a) and Sophie Heller, son of Maximilian Bier (10a)

Amelie Bier (née Kanerek) (1885, Rzeszow – 1944, Auschwitz), wife of Gottlieb



Gottlieb and Amalie Bier²³⁶

A history of the fate of Gottlieb and Amalie can be read on the Berlin Stolpersteine website.²³⁷ The 400 letters written between 1933 and 1942 by Gottlieb and Amalie to their three children, Ellis, Max and Ruth who had emigrated to in Palestine have been recently published privately by their grandchildren.²³⁸ Amalie had asked her children to keep the letters, so that they could be all read together when the family were finally united in Palestine. A wish that was never to be fulfilled. There will be more discussion about Gottlieb and the other sons of Maximilian and Auguste in a further document concerning their descendants.



Stolpersteine at 33 Fasanenstrasse, Berlin²³⁹

Julius David Bier (1874, Cologne – 1944, Auschwitz), grandson of Isaac Bier (9a) and Sophie Heller, son of David Bier (10b) and Jettchen Wassermann
Berta Lewin (1890, Neidenburg – 1944, Auschwitz) wife of Julius
Friedrich Josef (1927, Düsseldorf – 1944, Auschwitz), son of Julius and Berta

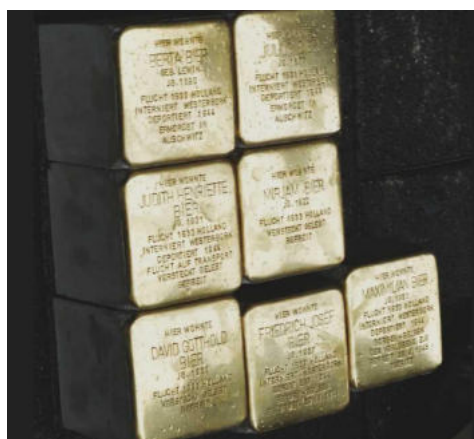
Hedwig Rothschild née Bier (1885, Cologne – 1942, Auschwitz), daughter of David Bier (10b) and Jettchen Wassermann

Julius and Berta had the following children:

- a. Judith (born 1921)
- b. Mirjam (26 Jan 1924 – 1999)
- c. David Gotthold (born 1923)
- d. Friedrich Josef (22 Sep 1927-29 Nov 1944)
- e. Max [Meir] (May 1930- ?)



Julius David Bier (1874, Cologne – 1944, Auschwitz), **Berta Bier née Lewin (1890, Neidenburg – 1944, Auschwitz)** and their son **Friedrich Josef Bier (1927, Dusseldorf – 1944, Bergen Belsen)** The fourth photo is Julius' sister, **Hedwig Rothschild née Bier (1885, Cologne – 1942, Auschwitz)** ²⁴⁰



Stolpersteine at Maastricher Straße 44, Cologne, for Julius and Berta Bier and their children

In 2012, I met Meir (Max) in Israel, and he outlined his family's story.

The family had lived in Cologne, and Julius was a butcher there, with an additional butcher's shop in Düsseldorf, where (Freidrich) Josefc was born in 1927. In 1933, with Hitler's rise to power, the family fled from Germany to Holland. First, they went to Amsterdam, then Zandfort and later other places. Julius' mother ran a small hotel in Zandfort and his father

had a kosher meat factory in Amsterdam, where he manufactured sausages etc. and worked hard, to provide for his five children. Meir said his father had a secret recipe for the sausages and anything left on Friday afternoon he gave to the poor. The recipe had only been shared with Meir's brother David.

During the War, David fought with the Dutch partisans, Egilitat [?]. They helped the rest of the family to find hiding places in different places. Eventually they were discovered. Meir thought his parents were found around February 1944 and taken to Westerbork concentration camp from where they were deported to Auschwitz and murdered. His sister Mirjam jumped out of the train deporting her to Auschwitz and managed to survive.

Meir always remained with his brother Josef, and they were hidden together for one and a half years. They were in Bergen Belsen for one year. According to the records, Josef died there in May 1944 although Meir thought that Josef may have died when they arrived; he could not remember. The cause of death is given as jaundice and hunger. Two weeks before the end of the war, Meir was taken by train to Treubits. He had been supposed to go to Theresienstadt.

After the war Meir returned to Holland. With his brother David in the army, one sister married, and the other elsewhere, he went to live in a children's home. He did *Hachsharah* in Holland and prepared for *aliyah* and agricultural life as a *Chalutz*. In Israel he went to agricultural school in Mikveh Yisroel. Then he moved to kibbutz Ein Hanatziv. He was in the Israeli army for 3 years and returned to the kibbutz and became a gardener there, working at night as there was so little water.

Meir married in 1956. Together with his wife he left the kibbutz in 1960, as his wife was unhappy with the kibbutz system of rearing their children in a communal home. Eventually he set up a business in Givatayim gardening in cemeteries and caring for the graves. His sister Judith lived in Cologne from the early 1950's.

Meir knew little about the other members of the family, but told me that Martha (born 1909), the oldest daughter of Rosa and Hartog Krant lived in London and had never married.

Aunt Hedwig was very religious. She lived in Gronau in Germany on the Dutch border. Every Shabbat she crossed the border to go to synagogue as there wasn't one in Gronau! She and her husband Jacob Rothschild were married in Cologne on August 14, 1923. He was a livestock and meat trader, she kept boarders.²⁴¹ They had no children. They moved to Zwolle in December 1933.

Rosa Been (née Hertzdahl) (1894, Heerlen -1943, Auschwitz), granddaughter of Isaac Bier (9a) and Emilie Spier, daughter of Julie Bier and Jozef Hertzdahl
Simon Beem (1892, Rotterdam-1943, Auschwitz), husband of Rosa

Rosa and Simon had the following children who were all murdered

Hermina (1918, Rotterdam-1943, Sobibor)
Juliana (1920, Rotterdam-1942, Auschwitz)
David (1922, Rotterdam-1943, Sobibor)
Jozef (1926, Rotterdam-1943, Sobibor)



Julie Hertzdahl (née Bier) Jozef Hertzdahl²⁴² Rosa Beem (née Hertzdahl),²⁴³



Hermina Juliana,²⁴⁴ Julian Hermina,²⁴⁵ David Jozef and Jozef,²⁴⁶ and Jozef David Beem²⁴⁷

Testimony of Michel Baltissen (4.3.1938, Heerlen) and Johanna Baltissen (born 1927, Heerlen) Rosa's cousins:²⁴⁸

Julie Bier was the daughter of Isaak Jakob Bier and Emilie Spier. She was the widow of Jozef Hertzdahl, who died in 1920. At the outbreak of the war, Julia Hertzdahl-Bier was mildly demented. She lived with the family of one of her children in Kaalheide, Kerkrade municipality. On January 1, 1942, Julia Hertzdahl-Bier was taken by her family to the hospital in Kerkrade because she had caught a cold. The next day it was announced that she had died. It is suspected that she was part of the euthanasia program and murdered by injection.

Rosa was hospitalised after 1929 due to 'depression'. Rosa had been in the Apeldoornse Bosch clinic for quite some time. Together with the nurses and doctors, she was taken to the

concentration camp in 1943, where she succumbed to the wretched present on the way to Auschwitz.

Because their mother Rosa was unable to take care of them, the Beem children went to live in an orphanage in Leiden throughout their childhood. Their father Simon visited his children every weekend. Simon also visited Michel and his family often and occasionally took one of his children with him.

Simon was a merchant. He was deported to Auschwitz and was put to work there for some time, until he succumbed to the hardships there in February 1943.

Hermina Juliana - nickname Mien - Beem was the eldest daughter in a family of four children. In 1929 she ended up in the Jewish orphanage in Leiden, together with her sister and brothers. Mien was eleven; the others nine, seven and three. At the age of nineteen, Hermina left the orphanage and moved to Amsterdam. She would stay here for a number of years. She also lived for some time in Aalten. From July 1, 1942, Hermina worked as a housekeeper for the Portuguese Israelite Girls' Orphanage on the Nieuwe Prinsengracht in Amsterdam. This orphanage was emptied in February 1943: the girls and their caretakers, including Hermina, were picked up and taken to camp Westerbork. Hermina arrived there on February 11, 1943. Her father, mother and sister had preceded her - each at different times; by now they had already been murdered in Auschwitz.

On March 2, Hermina was deported to Sobibor, where she was murdered on March 5 after a three-day train journey. Hermina was 24 years old. Independently of each other, her two brothers David and Jozef would travel the same way. Sixteen days after Hermina was deported, the youngest of the family, Jozef, and other orphans from the Leiden orphanage were taken to camp Westerbork. That was on March 18. Most of the children and carers were murdered in Sobibor. Jozef was deported to Sobibor on March 23, 1943.²⁴⁹

Juliana Hermina (Juultje) born in Rotterdam, January 26, 1920, and lived in the orphanage in Leiden. She worked as a servant in Amsterdam from 1938. Her stay in camp Westerbork was short-lived, on July 21, 1942, Juliana was deported to Auschwitz, where she died on 19 August 1942.

David Beem stayed in the orphanage until August 1, 1941: he left for the kibbutz in Laag Keppel, which was originally located in Beverwijk and was part of the Hachshara movement, in which young people were trained to become Palestine Pioneers and to eventually apply their training in the promised land. But from May 1940 it was no longer possible to emigrate and the Jewish youngsters in training eventually all ended up in camp Vught and / or in Westerbork. David stayed in camp Vught, from where he was put to work at the Moerdijk on 29-05-1943. On 3 July 1943 he arrived in camp Westerbork, to be transported three days later to Sobibor. He was murdered upon arrival on 9 July 1943.

The youngest of the family, Josef David (Jopie born in Rotterdam 4.7.1926) was transferred from the orphanage in Leiden to camp Westerbork. In Leiden he had officially held a number of posts at the orphanage since 1 April 1942: messenger, auxiliary porter because he could no longer go to the craft school, where he had been studying. Jopie was transferred with

*many of the orphans to camp Westerbork on March 18, and was transported to Sobibor on March 23, where he was murdered 3 days later.*²⁵⁰

Testimony of Michel Baltissen regarding his own experience:

I was about 5 years old when my mother was arrested and forcibly lifted out of bed into a truck from the *Sicherheitsdienst* and taken to Kamp Amersfoort. I still see it every day.

We were registered by the nuns of this kindergarten, immediately afterwards we were no longer allowed to go to this kindergarten because we were of Jewish blood.²⁵¹

Johanna Hart (née Hertzdahl) (1891-1933), granddaughter of Isaac Bier (9a) and Emilie Spier, daughter of Julie Bier and Jozef Hertzdahl

Johanna and Jac Hart had the following children who were all murdered

Jacob (1914, Schiedam / Scheemda, - 1942, Auschwitz) with his wife, Käthe Hart-Löwij (1903, Cologne - 1942, Auschwitz) and their two children²⁵²

Joseph (1916, Schiedam / Scheemda, - 1942, Auschwitz)

Marika Julia van Emden (née Hart) (1917, Scheemda -1942, Auschwitz), her husband

Louis Lena van Emden (1910, Rotterdam –1942 Auschwitz) and baby son

Arnold van Emden (1941, Rotterdam –1942, Auschwitz)

Benedictus Meijard (1921, Scheemda - Mauthausen, 1943)

Jac Hart survived



Marika, Louis and



Arnold van Emden²⁵³

Testimony of Ans Meijlink:

*Benedictus Meijard Hart was arrested in Schiedam on 28-6-1942 at the request of the National Criminal Investigation Department and entered the prison of Scheveningen on 29 or 30 June 1942 and left 'the Oranjehotel' on 18 September 1942. He was arrested by order of the so-called 'Kommando Horak'. This Kommando was a division of the German Sicherheitsdienst that, under the leadership of the Austrian Walter Julius Horak, focused on combating economic crimes such as the counterfeiting of food stamps, black trade and illegal slaughter. I have not been able to establish exactly what fact Benedictus Meijard Hart was suspected of. It is not clear whether Benedictus Meijard Hart was immediately transferred from Scheveningen to Mauthausen or whether he was interned elsewhere first. If the latter was the case, it would not have taken place in camp Vught, as the camp had not yet been opened at this time. He may have stayed in camp Amersfoort for some time.*²⁵⁴

Karl Randerath (1902, Hersfeld, – 1942 Auschwitz),²⁵⁵ Great grandson of Sophie Bier (9f) and Jaunch Fassbender, Grandson of Eva Fassbender and Abraham Meyerhof and son of Rosalie and Hermann Randerath

Sophie Randerath (née Leons) (1904, Rotterdam – 1942, Auschwitz)²⁵⁶

Anita Martha Randerath (1934 Bonn – 1942, Auschwitz)



Karl Randerath, Anita Martha Randerath, Sophie Randerath (née Leons)²⁵⁷



²⁵⁸

The Meyerhoff brothers and sisters, 22 June 1922, Hersfeld, Germany

Taken at the wedding of Lotte Randerath and Henry Van Colem, which was also the 25th wedding anniversary of Rosalie and Hermann Randerath

Back Row (L to R) Julius Meyerhoff, Rosaie Randerath, Philip Meyerhoff

Middle Row (L to R) Bertha Loew, Clara Treuenfels, Toni Herzberger, Isador Meyerhoff

Front Row (L to R) Ada (Beate) Meyerhoff, Sophie Koppel

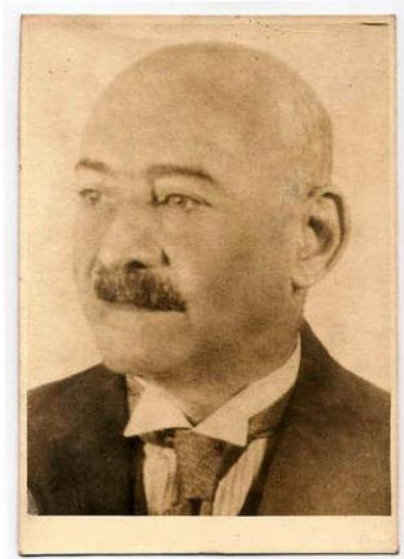
Addendum:

I donated Maximilian Bier and Auguste's 1867 engagement letters to the Frankfurt Jewish Museum (see above). Included in the Museum's transcriptions are some spirited letters written by Eva and her sisters, congratulating Max on his engagement. Eva also announced her own to Abraham Meyerhof. They wrote in French and seemed to be on very good cousinly terms. At the end Eva asked Max to send her some good strong boots. Her mother also wanted some as did her sister Therese.

Hermann Jakob Bier (10.4.1889, Cologne - 10 Oct 1943, Westerbork), grandson of Jakob Heym/Heymann Bier (9g) and Rebecka Bier and son of Karl Bier and Helene Pappenheim. Helene Bier (née Pappenheim) (1859, Eschwege - 1942, eienstadt)

Deputy District President Hermann Jakob Bier was the grandson of the two cousins, Jakob Bier and Rebecka Bier.

The following is a translation from the Stadt Köln website. The lives of Hermann and his wife Helene are detailed as part of the Stolpersteine memorial laid in front of their house. Unusually, the house itself has its own Stolpersteine.



Hermann Jakob Bier²⁵⁹



Hülchrather Straße 6, Haus Bier²⁶⁰



Stolpersteine at Hülchrather Straße 6, Cologne²⁶¹

The Jewish Bier family, which produced merchants, doctors and lawyers, had lived in Cologne for generations and until 1933 belonged to the local upper middle classes. The house at Hülchrather Straße 6 ('Haus Bier') was built in 1904 by the merchant Carl Bier and his wife Helene, who moved into it the same year. After her husband's death in 1921, Helene Bier continued to live there as the owner.

Her son Hermann Bier, born 10.4.1889 in Cologne, studied law in Bonn, Munich and Berlin. After participating in the First World War as a soldier - he received the Iron Cross - he began an administrative career. In 1922 he was appointed head of the District Administration in Düren, in 1923 he was employed at the Cologne police headquarters, then promoted in 1927 and finally, in 1929, he became Deputy District President, Cologne Council. Hermann Bier was a prominent member of the SPD and was active in various social areas.

Immediately after the National Socialists came to power in early 1933, Hermann Bier was told he was in 'provisional retirement'. As a Jew and a Social Democrat, he was one of the first victims of Nazi personnel policy. He fled to the Netherlands in 1935. In 1938 the Nazi authorities denaturalised him and in 1939 confiscated his assets. In Amsterdam, Hermann Bier was a member of the Judenrat (Joodse Raad). He thus stood up for the interests of the Jewish population, which included many emigrants from Germany.

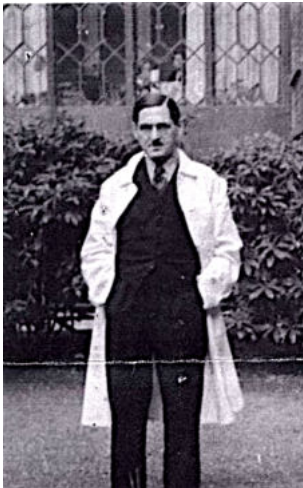
After the German occupation of the Netherlands, he was initially able to protect himself, but in 1943 he was caught and imprisoned in the Westerbork collection camp. As a member of the Jewish camp council, he stood up for his fellow prisoners. On 10 October 1943 he died in the camp as a result of his imprisonment.

Helene Bier, who had remained in Cologne and continued to live at Hülchrather Straße 6, had to sell the house in 1939. The new owners were an NSDAP party member and his wife, a member of the NS-Frauenshaft, Women's Association. In the following years, the authorities used the building as a ghetto house. It was thus one of the many buildings in Cologne in which Jews were concentrated in preparation for deportation. Seven Jewish families crowded into the six rooms of the mezzanine flat of the house at Hülchrather Straße 6 alone.

Helene Bier had now become a merely tolerated tenant in her former property and lived in extremely cramped conditions, in economic hardship and without hope of escape or emigration. In 1942, like other residents of the house, she was imprisoned in the collection camp for Jews in Müngersdorf. She was deported from Deutz-Tief station to the Theresienstadt ghetto on 27/28 July 1942. She died due to the inhumane ghetto living conditions on 23 December 1942. She was 83 years old.

The Nazi authorities sealed off the mezzanine flat in the house at Hülchrather Straße 6 after the seven Jewish families were deported. About six months later, they had their belongings auctioned off in the Cologne exhibition halls.

**Dr Julius Bier (1887, Cologne – 1943, Auschwitz), grandson of Jakob Heym/Heymann Bier (9f) and Rebecka Bier and son of Dagobert Bier
Betty Bier (née Gersamm/Gersmann) (1899 - 1944, Auschwitz)**



Dr Julius Bier and Stolpersteine at Rubensstraße 33, Cologne²⁶²

Dr Julius Bier was a radiologist. From 1939 to 1942 He was president of the Jüdische Kulturvereinigung Gemeinde, Köln. As such, in April, May and August 1942, he signed several proclamations 'An alle Juden in Köln' dealing with residence, rules and regulations pertaining to the Jews.²⁶³

On 2. 10.42 Julius and Betty were transported to Theresienstadt and were taken to Auschwitz on 19 October 1944.

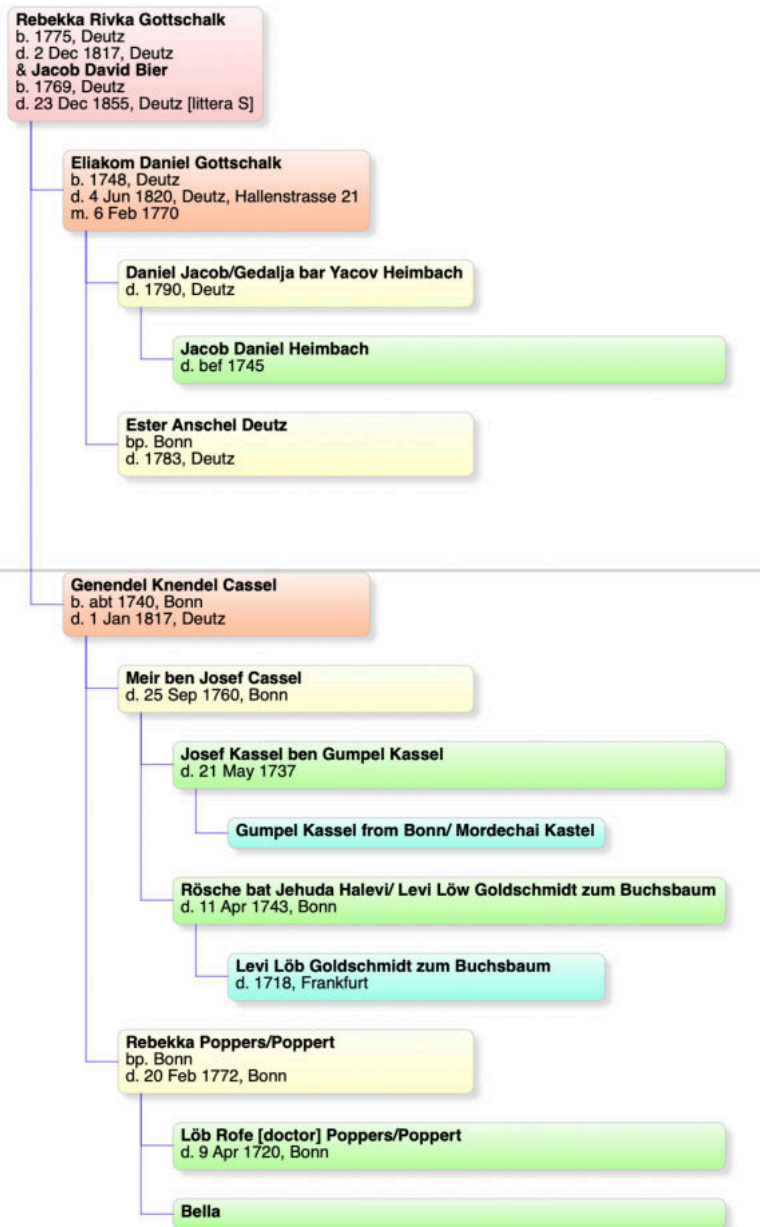
APPENDIX 4: Rebekka Gottschalk's ancestors (Wife of Jacob David Bier)

Sadly, no family anecdotes have been handed down about Rebekka's family. We do not know the circumstances that led Rebekka Gottschalk, whose family also lived in Deutz, to marry Jacob Bier. The various families in Deutz married each other when a suitable partner from outside the town could not be found. Prevailing wars may have made a *Shidduch*, arranged marriage, outside the town impossible, or perhaps occasionally the young people had grown up together and decided themselves that they wanted to marry each other. Both Rebekka and Jacob's fathers were wealthy and butchers. A good match!

The details below are in the main taken from Schulte, Family Gottschalk pages.

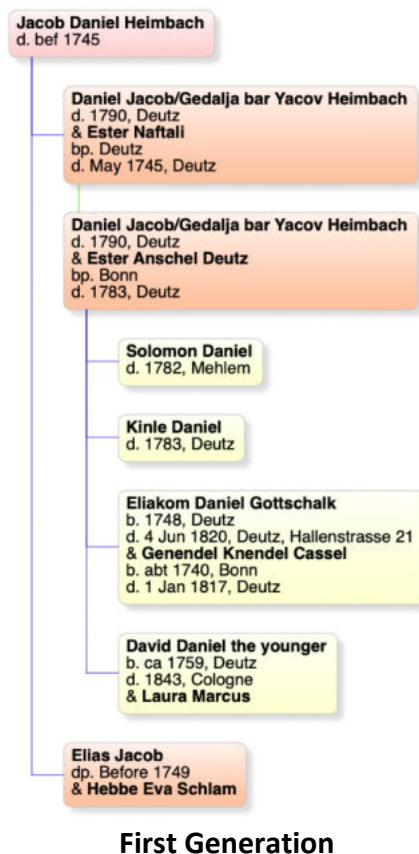
Familien Gottschalk	
I	1 Jacob Daniel Heimbach ¹⁾ , aus Heimbach Kr. Birkenfeld, Nahe (?), † vor 1751
II	2 Elias Jacob, E 1, Geleit in Deutz ab ca. 1738, Landesverweis 1748 3 Hebbe Eva Schlam, aus Deutz, 1749 verwitwet
II	2 Daniel Jacob, Gedaljah Heimbach, E 1, 1736 Knecht bei Salomon Rindskopf in Deutz, Geleit ab 1742, Mz, Mitvorsteher ab 1744, 1765 im Haus „Im Schwan“, † Deutz 1790 (C) ²⁾ 3a Ester Naftali Hirz Winterschweig aus Deutz, † Deutz ca. 1741, ♂ 2. 1742 3b Ester Anselm Deutz ³⁾ aus Bonn, † Deutz 1783 Jan 27 (C)
III	4 David Daniel d. Jüngere, E 3, in Deutz, siehe Tafel Daniel(s)
III	4 Salomon Daniel, E 3, in Mehlem (verheiratet?), † Mehlem 1782
III	4 Kinle Daniel, E 3, ledig, † Deutz 1783
III	4 Gottschalk/Eliakom Daniel, E 3, Mz, Vorsteher, Schwager des Joseph Cassel in Deutz, * Deutz 1748, † 4.6.1820, 72jährig, an einer Erstickung nach ärztl. Behandlung, Hallenstr. 21, ♂ 1770 Feb 6 und 7 ⁴⁾ 5 Genendel Knendel Cassel ⁵⁾ , * Bonn ca. 1740, † Deutz 1817 Jan 1, 77jährig, an Auszehrung, ohne ärztl. Behandlung Sechs Kinder
IV	8 Binchen Gottschalk, E 7, * Deutz ca. 1770, ♂ ca. 1796 9 Salomon Andreas, Mz, * Niederzündorf 1770, † Niederzündorf 4.1.1854
IV	8 Meyer Gottschalk, E 7, U dt, * Deutz 1771, † Samstag, 22.2.1823, 52jährig, Judengasse 21 (Elternhaus), an Schlagfluß, nach ärztl. Behandlung 9 Jeanette Hirsch ⁶⁾ , * Bergheim, Siegbkreis, ca. 1772, † Deutz 7.9.1847, 75jährig, Siegburgerstr. 143
IV	8 Andreas Gottschalk, E 7, 1810 „Bedienter“ in Deutz, Fortzug nach Köln, Kassierer bei Sal. Oppenheim jun., zuletzt Magazin-Aufseher, * Deutz 1774, † Köln 1841 9 Sprinz Elias, 1857 Rentnerin, Köln, Unter Gottesgnaden 15
IV	8 Rivka Rebekka Gottschalk, E 7 9 Jacob David Bier, Deutz, siehe Tafel Bier
IV	8 Mindel Wilhelmine Gottschalk, E 7 9 Benedick Isaac Benoit, Deutz, siehe Tafel Bendik
IV	8 Joseph Gottschalk, E 7, U dt, 1822 Gesetzeslehrer, Fortzug nach Köln, * Deutz 1778, † Köln 1852 9 Sibilla Levenbach ⁷⁾ , * Sittard Hzt. Jülich, seit 1815 Niederlande, 1778, † Köln 1842
V	16 Andreas Salomon, E 8, * Deutz 1796, † Niederzündorf 1811 Jun 18

Rebekka Gottschalk's ancestors



Rebekka Gottschalk's paternal side

The following is a brief summary of the Gottschalk Family tree in Schulte's *Familienbuch der Deutzer Juden*.²⁶⁵ Nothing more is known about the family from any other source. So far, no other graves have been identified other than those indicated below.



First Generation

Jacob Daniel Heimbach. (Died before 1745)²⁶⁶

The first ancestor in Schulte's Gottschalk tree, is Jacob Daniel, who came from Heimbach in the Nahe valley in the district of Birkenfeld, Rhineland-Palatinate. The area is now on the border between France and Germany. For centuries it was part of Lorraine. I have not been able to find any information about the Jews in this area in the early eighteenth century.

Heimbach is quite a distance from Deutz, about 200 km due south. It is not clear if Jacob Daniel himself ever moved to Deutz and he was not entered in the Deutz Memorbook. I suspect that his entry in Schulte's tree is most probably based on documents about his sons, Daniel and Elias, both of whom married brides from Deutz and received *Geleit* around 1740.²⁶⁷ As discussed before, this could have been the incentive for the move. We know that Jacob Daniel died before 1745, as his daughter-in-law died in May 1745 and her Memorbook entry records the fact that he was deceased. (See below).

The identity of Jacob Daniel Heimbach's wife is unknown.

Jacob Daniel and his wife had the following children:

- a. **Daniel Jacob/Gedaljah Heimbach** (died 1790)
- b. Elias Jacob. Died before 1749.

Second Generation

Daniel Jacob/ Gedaljah Heimbach. (? – 13.1. 1790, Deutz)

His Memorbook entry is **Gedaljah bar Yaacov** (Memorbook p. 67) and his children are referred to as children of **Gedaljah Heimbach**.

הדר"ר גדליה בר' יעקב היה כמה שנים גובה מדינה ושתדלן גדול
והציל אנשים מירי אינן נימולים בהשתדלנותו נפטר ביום ג' כ"ז טבת תק"ן לפ"ק.

According to Schulte, in 1736 Daniel Jacob was a servant of Salomon (Zalman) Rindskopf in Deutz. We cannot know in what context he was a servant as often this was a designation to help those without *Geliet*.

On 21 November 1742, the same year as his first marriage, Daniel Jacob requested permission to go 'freely' to Deutz to get his Ducal *Schutzbrief*.²⁶⁸ He therefore had *Geleit* there in his own right, from 1742. He is also recorded as having *Geleit* on 11 August 1747, and still in 1764, when he was listed as renting the house *Im Schwan* in Freiheitsstrasse.²⁶⁹

Daniel was a butcher and became co-chairman of the Jewish community from 1744, which appears a rapid rise for someone who did not have official right to reside two years previously. In 1765 he was living at the house 'At the Swan'.

Daniel married **Ester bat Naftali (Hertz Winterschweig)** in February 1742.

She was born in Deutz and died there in May 1745, three years after her marriage.

Wife of Gedaljah bar Yaacov (deceased) from Heimbach, (Memorbook p.42/3).

The entry states that she would go to synagogue, even in winter, and even if it rained or snowed.

Daniel then, married, **Ester Anschel Deutz (? , Bonn - 27.1.1783,Deutz) [Schulte]**²⁷⁰

כרת אסתר בת אבי"חיל הר"ר אשר ז"ל אשת ג"מ הר"ר
גדליה"ב מק"ק דייץ עבד שהיתה עקרת הבית ועטרת בעלה
ומגדלת בניה במדות טובות ורצתה לגבול חסד לעניים ולעשירים
עבד זה ועבד שבעלה ובניה גותנים עבד נשכחה לצדקה . . .
נפטר ונקבר ביום ג' ח"י שבט תקמ"ב לפ"ק בקבורה כאן
ק"ק דייץ יע"א ובהקשה עליה את חליה שינה את שמה
ונקראת תמר. Memorbook, p. 62

The Memorbook entry however states that Ester who was married to Gedaljah Heimbach died in Deutz on 18.1.1782.

Ester is entered as the daughter of אביחיל 'Echichil' Asher. The names Anschel and Deutz do not appear. The first name is not obvious. If there was a slip in spelling of the second letter it could read Avi (Avraham?) Yechiel Asher (deceased).

The listing by Schulte of *Family Anschel*²⁷¹ in his book about the Bonn Jews does not include

Ester. As I have noted before, Schulte frequently does not include everyone, and particularly women, in his genealogies, so this may not be significant.

The first listed is *Family Anschel* is Anschel Leib Deutz from Bonn, who died in 1720.

88	Anschel I	Anschel I	89
A N S C H E L I		Anmerkungen zu ANSCHEL I	
A	Anschel Leib Deutz in Bonn, d. 1720 (Gsch) ¹	1	Epitaph: Ascher ben K'N Jehudah s.l.
AA	Semmel Deutz ² in Bonn, erwähnt 1720 bis 1740	2	1720: KK III Hofrat 102, 113, 1734: Judengasse 819, 1740 außerhalb der Judengasse am Heisterbacherhof entgegen kurfürstlicher Verordnung!
AAA	Anschel Semmel Deutz, b. Bonn, Geleit 1760 ³ , d. 17. September 1797, h. 1. 21./22. Oktober 1760 ^{3a} , ... aus Bonn, d. 1761 (Gsch), h. 2. 17. Dezember 1763 ^{3b} Jachet PLAIT ⁴ , Bonn 1745-1807	3	KK II 1720 f. 144f. - Beisort "Deutz" noch 1814 amtlich. 1762 Prozeß Anschel Deutz gegen Hofkanzlisten Bering (KK III Hofrat 147 A, 31, 184, 208). Sein Bruder Feys (Vossamer) ist offenbar der Ältere, das Haus an der Judengasse offenbar sein Eigentum. Feys = Voss = Vaes (hebr. Uri), Rufname deutet auf Verwandtschaft mit Vaes Cahn, Deutz, zuletzt 1714 (KK III Hofrat 94, 310; 96, 207f).
AAAA	Leib ANSCHEL ⁷ , Buchbinder in Bonn, Bonn 1766-1816, unverheiratet	3a	KK IV Hofkammer 4629, 4691, 4628, 671.
AAAB	Dr. med. Franz-Karl Friedrich ANSCHEL (getauft) ^{5,6} , früher Salomon ANSCHEL, b. Bonn 1771. In Mainz Professor für Physik 1798 und für Philosophie 1805, noch 1807		

Without access to original records, it is unclear how Schulte linked Ester with Anschel Deutz, and the surname does not appear elsewhere in the Bonn book. If Anschel was Ester's father, then he must have died when she was very young. Only one child of Anschel is listed; his son Semmel Deutz, who lived in Bonn and was mentioned in records from 1720 to 1740. He also could have been Esther's father, but his name Semmel does not fit. Semmel had one son listed: Anschel Samuel Deutz, born in Bonn and died there in 1797.

Given the date of the first Ester's death, it is reasonable to assume that the second Ester was the mother of the following children:

- a. **Eliakom Daniel (1748- 5.6.1820), Gottschalk ben Gedaliah Heimbach (deceased) (Memorbook p. 69)**
- b. David Daniel the younger (ca. 1759, Deutz - 1843, Cologne).
He married Laura Marcus.
- c. Solomon Daniel/Schlomo Zalman ben Gedaliah Heimbach, (? - 27.6.1782, Mehlem), (Memorbook p.62). Buried in Mehlem.
- d. Kinle Daniel, bat Gedaliah Heimbach. (? - 13.10. 1782, Deutz), (No children) (Memorbook p.62)
- e. Rivka Binchen bat Gedaliah Heimbach, (? – 21.9.1781, Deutz) (Memorbook p.61). (Not in Schulte's list)

NB. The Memorbook, page 56 has an entry for Asher, Anschel son of Eliakom Gottschalk who died in April 1762. As he had been a widower for twelve years, he cannot be a son of (a) Eliakom Daniel Gottschalk as he was born in 1748. More likely is that he was the son of an earlier Eliakom, possibly a brother of Jacob Daniel Heimbach.

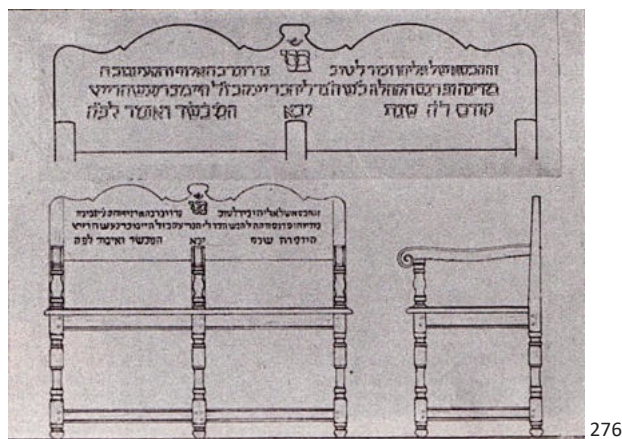
Incidents from the life of Daniel Jacob/ Gedaljah Heimbach

The Memorbook includes an event that took place on 17th June 1735. Two travellers passed through Deutz on their way to Holland. One, Yosef son of Naftali Hertz Hacoen from Offenbach, fell and died. His companion, Yoel Lashir from Frankfurt, abandoned him. A sailor told the Jews of Deutz what had happened and Gedaljah Heimbach and another went to the place and found a group of non-Jews who would not let them take Yosef for burial. *Gedaliah in his wisdom went to the Governor of the town, bribed him with his own money (a lot) and got permission to take the dead man. They brought Yosef to the Jewish Cemetery in Deutz and buried him the same day.*²⁷³

Schulte summarises numerous court cases, some of the text is in the original Latin, involving Daniel Jacob. From what I can make out, most are to do with financial claims or

counterclaims with various members of the community. In 1747 he bought a horse with saddle and bridle from someone who had stolen the horse. He was sentenced to return the items and pay the fees to the courts of justice.²⁷⁴

Daniel is entered in the undated list of Jews in Deutz as *Vorsteher*, leader of the community.²⁷⁵ The estimated date for that document is 1747/8.



When he was *Vorsteher* he donated an Elijah's bench/armchair (used for circumcisions) to the synagogue in Deutz on Rosh Hashanah, New Year's Day, in 5547 (1787).²⁷⁷ The inscription on the backrest refers to Daniel, son of Jakob Heimbach and alludes to a vow or pledge previously made to remember his brother Elias. The armchair/bench was in the Rheinisches Museum which was destroyed by bombing in the 1940s.

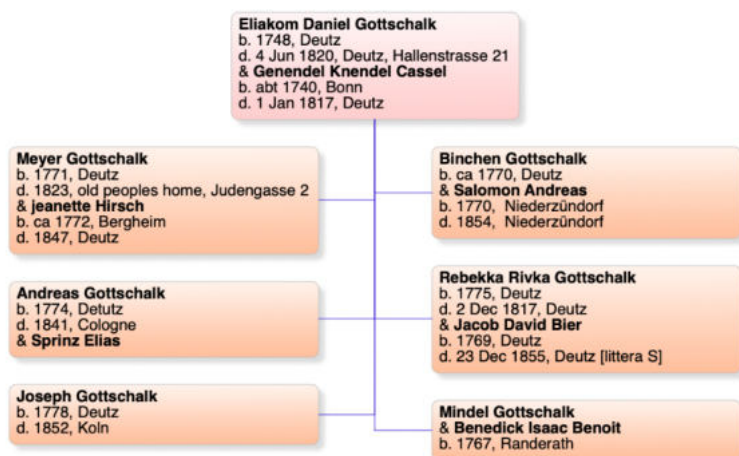
Daniel Jacob died in the house of his brother-in-law Simon Cohen. Schulte believes this must have '*the later Rabbi Simcha Cohen in Bonn, who was to become Rabbi of Cologne.*'²⁷⁸

The complexity of making sense of the interconnectedness of the Deutz families with limited and sometimes incomprehensible information can be seen, as an aside, from the following.

1. Daniel Jacob Gottschalk was a servant of Salomon (Zalman) Rindskopf in 1736
2. Daniel Jacob called his second son Shlomo Zalman.
3. Zalman Salomo Abraham Rindskopf (1680 – 1768), had married Jütla daughter of Shlomo Bar Yhezkiel Jakob/Solomon Bier (5b) above.
4. Daniel Jacob's granddaughter Rebekka married Jacob Bier (8a) above.
5. Jacob Bier's father David Simon (7b) above looked after the 'miserable' widower Joseph Rindskopf (1752 – 1826), who must have seen better times as he had been a money changer, and his three children. Joseph was the grandson of Zalman's brother Jehuda Rindskopf. Joseph's daughter married Issac Juda Offenbach, the parents of the composer Jacques Offenbach.
6. Joseph and his father were servants of Daniel Jacob in 1775.
7. Relevant to the second wife of Daniel Jacob is that Salomon (Zalman) Rindskopf's daughter married Anshel Jacob Brauweiler and he is possibly another son of Jakob Heimbach

Third Generation

a. Eliakom Daniel Gottschalk, Gottschalk ben Gedaliah Heimbach (deceased) (1748, Deutz - 5 Jun 1820, Deutz)



הח"ד אליקום המכונה געטשליק בן כהר"ד גדליה היימבאך ז"ל
היה פ"ט בדוי"ץ ובזמן שהיה עיר הזאת תחת בון בזמן דוכסים והנמונים ובני
המדינה היו צריכים לשלם מסים היה גובה מדינה ואחר מותו נתמנה בנו
להיות ג"מ ער שכבש המלך החסיד מלך פרייסען ירום הורו ויתנשא מלכותו
נתבטלו המסים מבני עמינו נפטר כ"ג סיון תק"פ לפ"ק.

Memorbook p. 69. Eliakom Gottschalk ben Gedaliah Heimbach was the leader of the Jewish community in Deutz and was responsible for collecting a particular tax. After his death, his son was nominated to take over the tax collection.²⁷⁹

In 1805 Daniel Godschalk (sic.) was recorded as being a butcher, living in his own house. He died in Deutz, Hallenstrasse 21.²⁸⁰ That same year, 1805, his son Meyer who was also a butcher, was living in a room.²⁸¹

The Gottschalk and Bier butchers were regarded as the middle-income group in Deutz and wealthier than most of the other Jews of the town. Their earnings were similar: (Eliakom) Daniel had a capital of 600 Gulden as did his son Meyer Godshalck. Isaac David lived in a room: capital 500 Gulden, Jacob David: capital 600 Gulden, and David Simon, who owned his own house: capital 600 Gulden. The only other butcher in Deutz at the time was Heymann Wolff, who was less wealthy at 300 Gulden. He may not have owned his own shop but was working for one of the other butchers. The 'upper income' group at that time were members of the Cassel, Hackenbroch and Bielefeld families, whose capital assets were in the thousands.²⁸²

Evidently both Eliakom Daniel, who married a daughter of the Cassel family, and their daughter Rebekka, who married Jacob David Bier from the other butcher family, married well.

On 6 Feb 1770, when Eliakom Daniel was 22, he married **Genendel (Knendel) Cassel**, daughter of **Meir Cassel & Rebekka Poppers/Poppert**. (ca.1740, Bonn - 1 Jan 1817, Deutz). (Marriage patent KK IV 4645 BI)

They had the following children:

- a. Binchen. Born ca. 1770 in Deutz. Binchen married Salomon Andreas. (1770 Niederzündorf – 1854, Niederzündorf)
- b. Meyer. (1771, Deutz -1823, Deutz /Cologne?) Died in an old people's home, Judengasse 2.
Meyer married Jeanette Hirsch. (ca. 1772, Bergheim – 1847, Deutz)
- c. Andreas. (1774, in Deutz – 1841, Cologne). Andreas married Sprinz Elias.
- d. **Rebekka Rivka** (1775-1817)
- e. Joseph (1778, Deutz -1852, Cologne)
- f. Mindel, married Benedick Isaac Benoit

Fourth Generation

Rebekka Rivka Gottschalk. (1775, Deutz - 2 Dec 1817, Deutz)

Rebekka Rivka married **Jacob David Bier**, son of **David bar Schimshaun, David Samson, David Simon Bier & Rosa/Reiche Cosmann.** (1769, Deutz - 23 Dec 1855, Deutz)
See the earlier BIER pages.

Fifth Generation

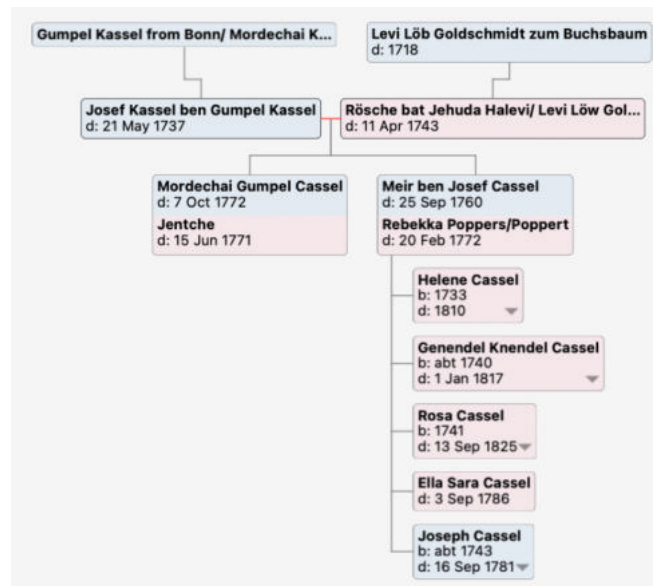
Rebekka's nephew Andreas, the son of her brother Joseph is worth mentioning:

According to Magnus, **Andreas Gottschalk (1815, Dusseldorf – 1849, Cologne)** had worked for the Oppenheim banking firm but by the 1840s had become a physician. He converted in 1841 to Christianity because he was convinced that Christianity, not Judaism, was a true basis for 'ethical socialism'. He founded and became president in April 1848 of the Cologne Workers Association. He was one of Cologne's leading radicals during the revolution of 1848 and made several speeches listened to by thousands, bravely demanding a socialist republic. He was arrested in June 1848. After a short stay in prison and visit abroad, he returned to Cologne, where he worked as a doctor for the poor. He died in 1849 from cholera.²⁸³



Portrait of Andreas Gottschalk painted after his death²⁸⁴

Rebekka Gottschalk's maternal side: Cassel and Poppert



Genendel Cassel, Rebekka Gottschalk's mother, was a member of the Cassel family. Fortunately, the Cassel family gravestones, those of Rebekka's parents, grandfathers and one great-grandfather, Gumpel, have been studied and documented by the Steinheim Institute.²⁸⁵ The sources for the following therefore include gravestone inscriptions, the Memorbooks of Bonn²⁸⁶ and Deutz, and the two volumes by Schulte on the Jews of Bonn²⁸⁷ and Deutz, both of which include the Cassel family.²⁸⁸

In the Memorbook and gravestone inscriptions, Cassel/Kassel קאסל has also been written Kastel, קאשטיל, and קאסטל interchangeably.

The following is divided into the various branches of Rebekka's mother's paternal and maternal side.

The family are recorded as living in Bonn and the earliest established date is 1695, when Josef Kasell (below), obtained *Geleit*.

A brief history of Jewish Bonn²⁸⁹

Bonn is situated on the Rhine, 27 km downriver from Cologne. Jews are first recorded there in 1096 as victims of the First Crusade. In subsequent centuries, the Jews were subjected to the common fate of Jews in German speaking lands, accusations of murder, exposed to intermittent violence, and massacre during the Black Death (1348–49) and expulsions. By 1381, Jews lived once more in Bonn and the community grew in 1424 with the arrival of the banished Jews of Cologne.

Rabbi Moses ben Isaiah Joseph Bürgel (1575 – 1643), was one of the *Landesrabbiner* who lived in Bonn after the move of that institution from Deutz in the late sixteenth century, as discussed earlier. During the 17th century the Jews in Bonn were recorded as mainly cattle-dealers and moneylenders.

As ever, the Jews were restricted by anti-Jewish regulations. 'In 1651 their cattle trade was restricted, all Jews not under the protection of the government were expelled, and the maximum rate of interest which they were permitted to take was fixed at 12 per cent. In 1747 and 1750 electoral ordinances had to be issued prohibiting Christians from insulting and threatening Jews'.²⁹⁰

In 1686, nine years before Josef moved to Bonn, there were seven Jewish families there. Most of Bonn, including the Judengasse, was destroyed during a siege in 1689, but was rebuilt with seventeen houses, and a synagogue in 1715/16. Presumably in connection with this reconstruction, on the orders of Joseph Wallich, the electoral prince, Joseph Cassel and Seligman Abraham were ordered to buy part of the preacher's court in the Liliengasse for 3000 Reichstaler.²⁹¹

The area around the Judengasse was also severely damaged by a Rhine flood in 1784. The Judengasse was locked at night by guarded gates, but after the French troops had arrived in 1794, and declared the Jews to be equal citizens, the gates were deliberately and symbolically torn down during a celebratory festival of freedom.

The Schwarzhindorf cemetery, used by the Jews of Bonn until 1872, was located in a low area beside the river Rhine and was frequently flooded. When the Rhine flooded, gravestones were destroyed, and other cemeteries had to be used for burials. The earliest existing grave is from 1623.²⁹²

Genendel Cassel's ancestors - paternal side

First Generation

Gumpel Kassel from Bonn/ Mordechai Kastel

Hebrew name (from his son's Memorbook entry), Mordechai

Second Generation

Josef Kassel ben Gumpel Kassel (? - 21 May 1737, Frankfurt) ²⁹³

Joseph married **Rösche daughter of Jehuda Halevi/ Levi Löw Goldschmidt zum Buchsbaum (? - 1 May 1743, Bonn)**

Josef and Rösche had two children

- a. **Meir, (? - 25.9.1760, Bonn)** ²⁹⁴
- b. Gumpel Cassel, Mordechai Gumpel, (? - 7.10.1772, Bonn)²⁹⁵

Josef is buried in Frankfurt and according to the tombstone inscription, Josef, ben Gumpel Kassel came from Bonn and was a *Vorsteher*, leader of the community and *Leiter*, the person who ensured the smooth running of the service and allocation of honours such as who was to be called up the reading of the Torah.

The Bonn Memorbook entry for his son Meir, refers to the Hebrew name of Meir's father as Josef son of Mordechai קאשטיל, Kastel.²⁹⁶ It also includes the fact that Josef had *Geleit* from 1695 in Bonn. He was *kurfürstlicher Hoflieferant*, electoral court supplier/ Court Jew, from 1696.²⁹⁷ The Memorbook entry for his wife, describes Joseph as an assessor of *Landjudenschaft*, rural Jews. According to his gravestone, he was a *Vorsänger*, a cantor, and went regularly to synagogue.

Josef's wife, **Rösche daughter of Jehuda Halevi/ Levi Löw Goldschmidt zum Buchsbaum** was buried in Godesberg, because a crossing of the Rhine to the cemetery in Schwarzerheindorf was not possible (as it was too dangerous). Her gravestone has not survived.²⁹⁸

Josef's entry on the Steinheim website, sources Schulte, who wrote that the father of Josef's wife was named as Jehuda Halevi in the Memorbook of Bonn, and was the same as Levi Löw Goldschmidt, who lived at the house 'Buchsbaum,' assumed from Frankfurt. Further, it is possible that he is identical with Löb S. Meir Goldschmidt-Kassel SeGaL who died 3.4.1718, and Josef's son Meir may have been named after him.²⁹⁹

Schulte, in his introduction to his book about the Jews of Bonn, wrote that Josef Cassel had come from Frankfurt am Main in 1695 and had asked for permanent *Geleit* from the Bonn authorities. He had arrived with Meyer zum Goldstein (a relative?) and Dr Leon Wallich (who was, Schulte suggests, possibly identical to Dr Leon Poppers) and all three had obtained permission to stay in Bonn and became purveyors to the Court.³⁰⁰ This, it should be noted, is the only mention of the medical doctor, Dr Leon Poppers, the father of Rachel, Josef's son Meir's wife.

As far as the connection with Frankfurt goes, the Goldschmidt genealogy in Dietz records that this was a 'large and important Levite family'.³⁰¹ Several gravestones record them as Goldschmidt-Kassel, sometimes they referred to themselves as Buchsbaum-Kassel. The names Meyer and Josef appear in the listing, but none can be identified with the two above who moved to Bonn. However, for the two to be given permission to move to Bonn and become purveyors to the Court, they must have had considerable financial resources. So, a move from Frankfurt is likely, given that, according to Dietz, this was a family of moneychangers, financiers etc. It is also not known why Josef was buried in Frankfurt. There is no mention on Josef's grave that he was a member of the Levite tribe. However, his son Meir has a symbol of a jug carved on his grave that traditionally indicates the family were indeed Levites.

Schulte in his lengthy footnote to Josef's entry, suggests, confusingly, that he may have come from Kur-Mainz and queries if this was his place of birth.³⁰² He also quotes a document with a reference to the business practices of *the brothers Josef Cassel in Bonn and Hirtz Cassel in Mainz*.³⁰³

In 1707, Josef gave up his *Geleit* in Bonn and had it reissued in Deutz. In 1708, he was in custody/prison in Deutz. Josef dealt with supplying the Court with large amounts of hay and straw. In 1715, he was given the right for 12 years to extract the 'body' tax, the *Judenleibzoll*; a degrading tax specifically for Jews, that treated them as if they were an animal or commodity. Fellow Jews protested, in vain, that it was impossible for a Jew to

treat his fellow Jews in such a way. The rabbis and heads of communities then imposed a 'ban'³⁰⁴ on Josef and exposed him to *cakes and insults*. The problems continued. In 1726 he caused deep indignation at his use of shameful/abusive words in synagogue. In 1729 he lost the contract as both his sons, who were associated with him, were personally refused an extension by the elector.

In 1734, Josef lived in Judengasse, house number 820 and Gompel Cassel, (presumably his brother) was living nearby on the ground floor of house number 816; a corner house by the Rhine. In 1758, Josef's son Meyer was the occupant of 820 and in 1779 it is noted that house number 820 had always belonged to the Cassel family, but that they were no longer named as owners, as both Meyer and Gumpel had died. Herz Salomon Gompertz was now living in house 820 and in 1790 he and Wolf Cassel are listed as joint owners.³⁰⁵

Josef died in Frankfurt am Main in 1737 and was buried in the cemetery in Battonstrasse. For someone so controversial, Josef was given a very praiseworthy epigraph by his heirs.



Josef Kassel ben Gumpel, Battonstrasse, Frankfurt/Main ©Andreas Hemstege

Josef Kassel's tombstone text:³⁰⁶

Der Vornehme und Einflußreiche, Vorsteher und Leiter, der geehrte
Josef Kassel, sein Andenken zum Segen
 ! קאשריל ז"ל

Hier
 פה

ist geborgen ein Mann, hochbetagt
 טמון : איש ישיש

und vertrauenswürdig, er ging all
 והימן : הלך כל

seine Tage den geraden Weg,
 ימיו בדרך הישר

Sohn des geehrten Herrn Gumpel, sein Andenken zum Segen,
 בן במ' גומפיל ז"ל :

aus Bonn, verschieden und begraben 20. Ijar
 מפון : נפ' ונק' ר' אייר

497 der Zählung. Seine Seele sei eingebunden in das Bündel des Lebens
 תצ"ז ל' : תנצב"ה

The distinguished and influential, head of the community and leader of prayers, the honoured Josef Kassel, his memory as a blessing, here is a ... very old and trustworthy man, he walked all of his days the straight path, son of the honoured Herr Gumpel, his memory a blessing, from Bonn, deceased and buried 20th Iyar 497 ...

Third Generation

3a. Meir ben Josef Cassel (? Bonn - 25 Sept. 1760, Bonn)³⁰⁷

According to the Bonn Memorbook, Meir was a *Mohel*, a person who performs circumcisions.³⁰⁸ Nathanja Hüttenmeister commented that despite Meir being a *Mohel*, the Memorbook did not use the common phrase, as learned in Torah, for Meir, unlike for his son Joseph. The traditional symbol of a jug is carved on his grave to indicate that he belonged to the biblical tribe of Levi. (This tribe in Temple times ritually poured water on the hands of the priestly class, the Cohenim). According to Schulte, in a reference to the parents of Genendel, mention is made of Meir being a spice dealer.³⁰⁹ Meir is also noted as a purveyor to the court in the middle of the eighteenth century.³¹⁰

The information about this family has been researched by Schulte. But again, there are problems. Meir is entered in both Schulte's book on the Jews of Bonn and the Jews of Deutz. In the Bonn book, Meir is recorded as having *Geleit* in Bonn from 1732 and is married to **Rebekka, (Hebrew Rivka) Poppert (Poppers) (died 20 Feb 1772, Bonn)**,³¹¹ daughter of Löb Rofe.³¹² Their children are listed as Helene, Genendel and Rösche/Rosa. In the Deutz book, Meir is married to Rebekka Wetzlar with one child, Josef.³¹³

Schulte refers to the entry for Josef in the Memorbook, page 61 as his link to Rebekka Wetzlar. I cannot see such a reference, and in any case, this does not make sense as Rebekka Poppert died in 1772, and Meir was already deceased (as per her gravestone) so he could not have married a second time. One further child Ella Sara was found by the Steinheim researchers in the Weisweiler cemetery.

Until proved wrong, I suggest that Meir was not married to Rebekka Wetzlar and that Meir and Rebekka Poppert had the following children:

- a. Helene (1733, Königswinter -1810, Weisweiler), married Vaes Anshel Cain
- b. Genendel Knendel (ca 1740 - 1 Jan 1817)**
- c. Rösche/Rosa (1741, Bonn – 13 Feb. 1783, Deutz).³¹⁴ Married Meyer Hackenbroch
- d. Josef Cassel, (ca. 1743, Deutz – 16 Sept. 1781 Deutz). Married Rachel Hackenbroch
- e. Ella Sara, (? - 3.Sept. 1786, Weisweiler), wife of Josef Halevi in Weisweiler



**Meir ben Josef Cassel,
Bonn-Schwarzrheindorf Cemetery
©Andreas Hemstege**

Meir ben Josef Cassel's tombstone text: ³¹⁵

<p>פה טמון איש נאמן מאיר עיני דלי' ועני חונן ברית א"א קים וקבל בגיל ורינן יוסף רב' הכני[ס] [ב]צל שדי ללונן קא סליק לעיל זכותו יגונן ה"ה כ' מאיר בן כ' יוסף קאסל מבונא נפטר בחצות ליל א' דסוכת ונקבר ב"ט שני תקכ"א לפ"ק תנצב"ה</p>	<p><i>Hier ist geborgen ein getreuer Mann, erleuchtend die Augen der Darbenden und den Armen zugetan, den Bund unseres Vaters Abraham erfüllte er und nahm (ihn) auf sich in Freude und Frohlocken, fort fuhr er Viele zu bringen in den Schatten des Allmächtigen, daß sie (dort) ruhen, hinweggegangen nach Oben und sein Verdienst wird uns beschützen, es ist der ehrenwerte Meir Sohn des ehrenwerten Josef Cassel aus Bonn, verschieden um Mitternacht des Tages 1 des Laubhüttenfestes und begraben am 2. Feiertag 521 nach kleiner Zählung. Seine Seele sei eingebunden in das Bündel des Lebens</i></p>
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The text on Meir's grave is rather poetic:

*A faithful man is safe here, enlightening the eyes of the needy and the poor.
 He fulfilled the covenant of our father Abraham and received (him) with joy and exultation.
 He continued to bring many into the shadow of the Almighty, that they should rest (there),
 He has gone up to (heaven) and his merits will protect us,
 It is the honourable Meir, son of the honourable Josef Cassel, from Bonn....*

3b. Gumpel Cass(t)el, Mordechai Gumpel [07.10.1772]

Gumpel Cassel obtained *Geleit* in Bonn from November 1719
He was a *Papierlieferant*, supplier of paper.



Gumpel Cass(t)el,
©Andreas Hemstege

Gumpel Cass(t)el's tombstone text:³¹⁶

פ"ב *Hier ist begraben*
איש אשר בוטמן ה"ה ב' גומפיל *ein Mann, welcher geborgen ist (?) es ist der ehrenwerte Gumpel*
קאשטיל ז"ל היה הולך כל ימי *Cass(t)el, sein Andenken zum Segen, er ging alle Tage*
חייו בתמימות והשכים לבי *seines Lebens in Lauterkeit, frühmorgens begab er sich zur*
כנשתא ואמר שירו והאריך *Synagoge und sagte Gesänge, und lange währten*
ימיו עד סמוך לגבורות ויצא *seine Tage, nah an die Achtzig · und es verließ*
נשמתו ביום מוחל עוונות *ihn seine Seele am Tage '(ER) vergibt die Frevel',*
בצום כפור ולמחרתו נקבור *am Versöhnungsfasten und am Tag darauf ward er*
begraben,
בשנת תי"ו קו"ף למ"ד גימ"ל *im Jahre Fünfhundertdreiunddreißig nach kleiner Zählung.*
לפ"ק
תנצב"ה *Seine Seele sei eingebunden in das Bündel des Lebens*

Here is buried...the honorable Gumpel Cass(t)el, ... he lived a pure life and went early in the morning to synagogue to pray, he lived a long life, close to eighty - and his soul left him on the day of 'forgiveness of sins', the Day of Atonement ...

Gumpel's wife Jentche (d.15.06.1771), is buried in the Bonn-Schwarzrheindorf Jewish cemetery.³¹⁷

Their daughter Schönle (d. 25.8.1797), wife of Jacob Marx is also buried there.³¹⁸

Genendel Cassel's ancestors - maternal side

Rebekka Poppers / Rivka bat Löb Rofe (died 20.02.1772)

Genendel's mother Rebekka was the daughter of Doctor of Medicine, Leo Popper (s), who was also a tax collector, and his wife Bella.³¹⁹ Very little is known about this family. As discussed earlier, Schulte suggested that Dr Leon Poppers may be identical to Dr Leon Wallich. (Josef Cassel had arrived in Bonn with Meyer zum Goldstein and Dr Leon Wallich and all three had obtained permission to stay in Bonn and became purveyors to the Court).³²⁰

Rebekka Poppers / Rivka bat Löb Rofe is buried in the Jewish cemetery in Bonn-Schwarzrheindorf.



Rivka bat Löb Rofe,
©Andreas Hemstege

Rivka bat Löb Rofe tombstone text³²¹

האשה החשובה והיקרה	<i>Hier ist Begraben die angesehene und teure Frau,</i>
ההלכה בדרך ישרה	<i>die auf geradem Wege ging,</i>
את מתניה חגרה לגדל	<i>ihre Lenden gürtete sie, um ihre</i>
בניה לתורה מרת	<i>Kinder zur Tora erziehen, Frau</i>
רבקה בת כ"ה ליב רופא	<i>Riwka Tochter des ehrenwerten Herrn Löb Rofe,</i>
ז"ל אשת כ"ה מאיר	<i>sein Andenken zum Segen, Gattin des ehrenwerten Herrn Meir</i>
קאסיל ז"ל נפטרת	<i>Cassel, sein Andenken zum Segen, verschieden</i>
ונקברה ביום ה' ט"ז	<i>und begraben am Tag 5, 16.</i>
אדר ראשון תקל"ב	<i>des ersten Adar 532</i>
לפ"ק תנצב"ה	<i>nach kleiner Zählung. Ihre Seele sei eingebunden in das Bündel des Lebens</i>

Here is buried the respected and dear woman, who walked in a straight path, girded her loins to educate her children to Torah, Rivka daughter of the honourable Herr Löb Rofe (doctor), his memory for a blessing, wife of the honourable Mr. Meir Cassel, his memory for a blessing...

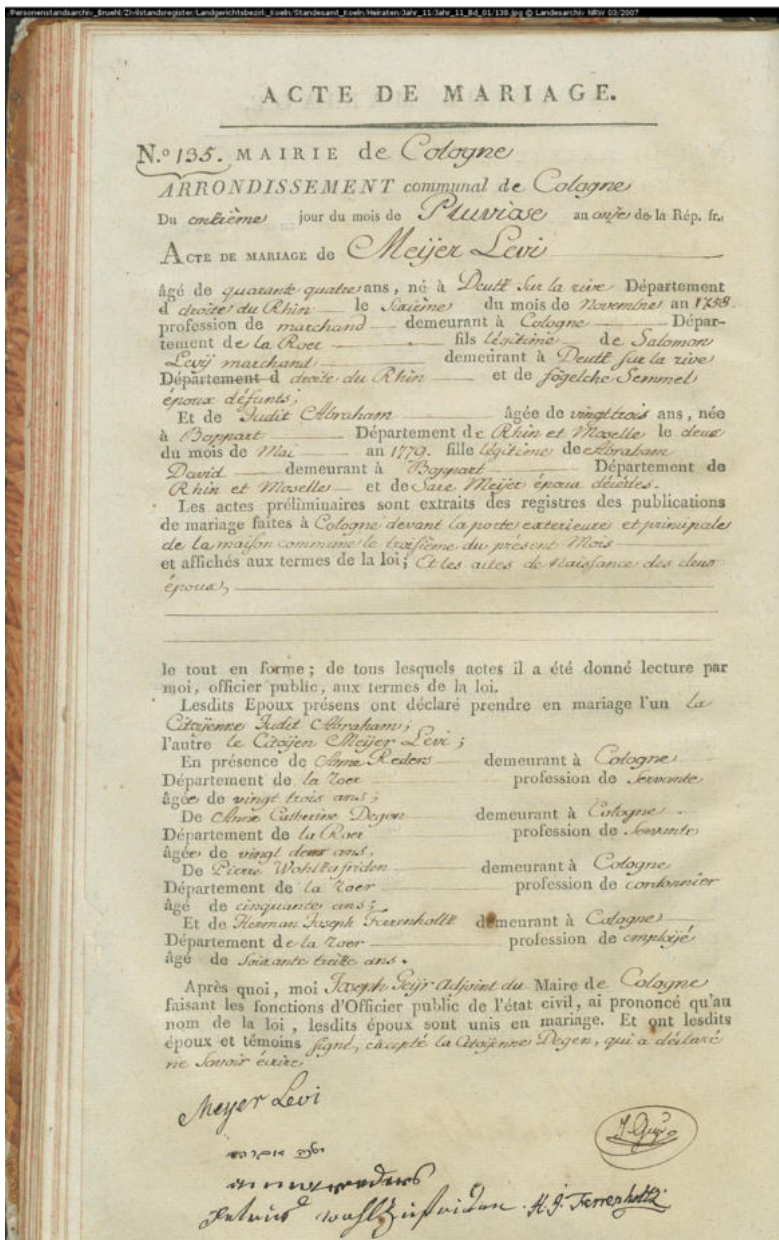
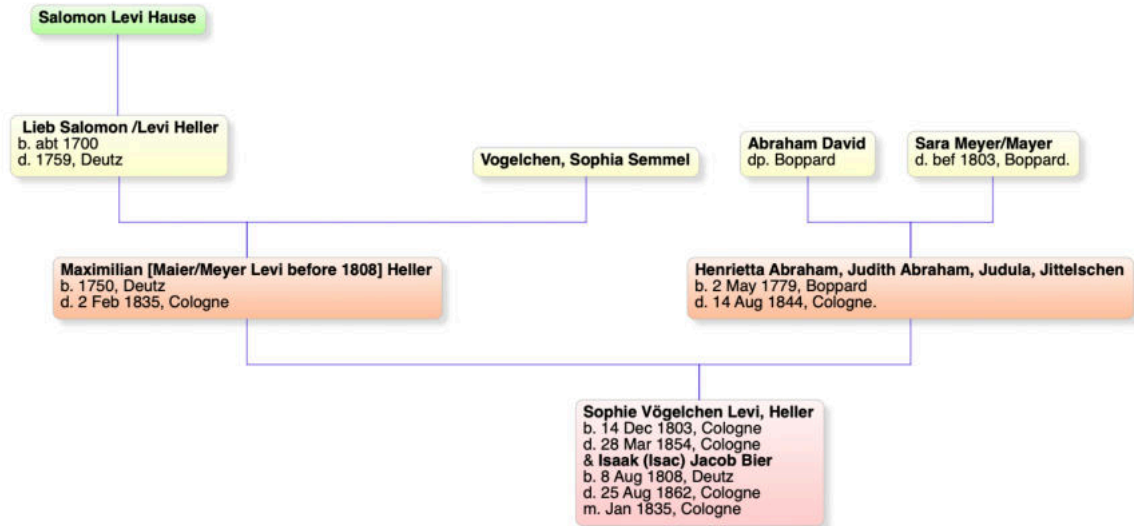
Meir Cassel, his two wives and the following two generations

I have included the following record of Josef and Rösche's descendants for the next two generations. In this way Genendel's siblings, and her daughter Rebekka's siblings, can be included. It is of particular interest as it shows the various connections with another Deutz family, Hackenbroch. Eventually Meir's great-great-great grandchildren, Guido Bier and Charlotte Hackenbroch married in Frankfurt in 1899. They are the author's grandparents.

- (1) Josef Cassel ben Gumpel Cassel
& Rösche bat Jehuda Halevi/ Levi Löw Goldschmidt zum Buchsbaum
 - (2) Mordechai Gumpel Cassel
& Jentche
 - (2) Meir ben Josef Cassel
& Rebekka Poppers/Poppert
 - (3) Helene Cassel
& Vaes Anshel Cain
 - (4) Maximilian Meyer
 - (3) Genendel Knendel Cassel
& Eliakom Daniel Gottschalk
 - (4) Meyer Gottschalk
& Jeanette Hirsch
 - (4) Binchen Gottschalk
& Salomon Andreas
 - (4) Rebekka Rivka Gottschalk
& Jacob David Bier
 - (5) Schimchon Bier
& Amelie Zons
 - (5) Ester (Elise) Bier
& Solomon Herz
 - (5) Cossman Jacob Bier
m(1) Sophie Isaak
 - (5) Sybilla Bier
 - (5) Isaak (Isac) Jacob Bier*
& Sophie Vögelchen Levi, Heller
 - (5) Isaak (Isac) Jacob Bier*
m(2) Emilie Spier
m. 1854, Koln
 - (5) Pina Jacob Bier
 - (5) Gudula Henriette Bier
 - (5) Sophie Bier
& Jaunch Jonas Fassbender
 - (5) Maeir Jacob Bier
 - (4) Andreas Gottschalk
& Sprinz Elias
 - (4) Joseph Gottschalk
 - (4) Mindel Gottschalk
& Benedick Isaac Benoit
 - (3) Rosa Cassel
& Mayer Moyses Hackenbroich
 - (4) Joseph Hackenbroch
& Zippora (Zephora) Rachel Lippman Kann
 - (5) Helena Hackenbroch
 - (5) Lazarus (Lazar) Elieser Joseph Hackenbroch*
m(1) Zerline Wertheime
 - (5) Lazarus (Lazar) Elieser Joseph Hackenbroch*
m(2) Charlotte Henriette Wertheime
 - (5) Rebeca Hackenbroch

(5) Bernhard Hackenbroch
 & Esther Benjamin
 (5) Sara Hackenbroch
 & Meyer Harto
 (5) Eva Hackenbroch
 (5) Leopold Hackenbroch
 (5) Moritz (Moses Mayer Maurice) Hackenbroch
 (5) Rebeka Theresia Hackenbroch
 & Mayer Isaac
 (5) Sophie Hackenbroch
 & ? Samuels
 (5) Isaac (Isidor) Hackenbroch
 (5) Julie Hackenbroch*
 & ? Mayer
 (3) Ella Sara Cassel
 & Josef Halevi
 (3) Joseph Cassel
 & Rachel Hackenbroch
 (4) Heymann Cassel
 & Alida Kann
 (5) Moses Heinrich Cassel
 & Henriette Kaufmann
 (4) Rebekka M Cassel
 (4) Moses Joseph Cassel*
 m(1) Rebekka Hackenbroch
 (5) Rebecca Cassel
 & Bernard Hartogensis
 (4) Moses Joseph Cassel*
 m(2) Gudula Wolff
 (5) Benjamin Cassel
 (5) Jacob Cassel
 & Amalie Rosenheim
 (5) Joseph Cassel
 (5) Isaac Cassel
 (5) Heymann Cassel
 (5) Bernhard Moses Cassel
 (4) Baruch Cassel
 (4) Helene Cassel
 (4) Eva Cassel
 & David Seelig
 (5) Moses Moritz Seelig

APPENDIX 5: Sophie Heller's ancestors (Wife of Isaac Bier) ³²²



Entry in the register of the marriage of Sophie's parents, Meyer Levi and Judit Abraham

Sophie Heller's maternal side

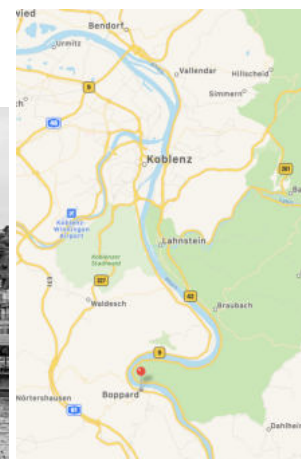
Delving into Sophie Heller's maternal side has been very complicated! There are tantalising clues, but ultimately no firm conclusions.

Cologne archives: Record of marriage, No 135. Mairie de Cologne

In the 11th year of the French revolution, the third day of Pluiose i.e. Jan. 31 1803, Meyer Levi, merchant, born in Deutz, son of Salomon Levi and Fögelche Semmel married Judit Abraham, born in Boppard, daughter of Abraham David, merchant, and Sara Mayer, his deceased spouse. (No birthdates are given). Rabbi Michael van Geldern, Rabbi in Deutz, certified, Judith Abraham was educated by the honest couple Abraham David and Sara Mayer, she (Judith) was 24 years old, born 2. May 1779.

Witnesses were Anne Reders, Anne Degen, Pierre Wohlzufriden and Hermann Farenholtz.

From this marriage entry certain facts are certain: Sophie's maternal grandparents, **Abraham David** and **Sara Mayer** came from Boppard on the Rhine and died there. Their daughter, Sophie's mother, **Judith Abraham**, was born there.



Boppard on the Rhine

The main source for information about the Jews of Boppard is the book by Karl-Josef Burkard and Hildburg-Helelne Thill, *Unter den Juden: 800 Jahre Juden in Boppard, 1996*.³²⁴ The researchers included a genealogical listing of the Jews of the town, but unfortunately the records available to them did not go back far enough in time to be conclusive. I will refer to this book as *Jews of Boppard*.

Further material is derived from the City of Cologne's Register of birth, deaths, and marriages. The relevant ones were copied out in a little treasured notebook with its detailed record of family events and dates, compiled by Maximillian Bier (1839 - 1808).

Wolfgang Fritsche very kindly helped with translations and also requested copies of all the existing records held in the Cologne archives. These are detailed below. However, the City suffered a great loss in 2009 when the building housing the City's archives collapsed and the bulk of the archives were destroyed.

In 1808, Jews in all the German areas under French rule were mandated to adopt surnames. These can be a useful resource, as they show names both before and after the requirement to adopt a fixed family name. Following this ruling, the traditional Jewish naming patterns linking father to son were no longer obvious in the registers. The personal Hebrew name, given to a boy at his circumcision would continue to include his father's name, but the only other record would be on a *Ketuba*, Jewish marriage certificate, or a gravestone.

Brief history of the Jews in Boppard

Boppard is a town on the left bank of the Rhine, 22 km. south of Koblenz.

In 1074, a document stated that the Jews of Worms were exempted from paying customs duties at the customs office in Boppard, and as a result, a Jewish community developed there. However, the Jews became subject to persecution and intermittent massacres. In 1179, the Jews were accused of murdering a Christian woman who had been found on the banks of the Rhine, and thirteen Jews were killed and thrown into the Rhine. In 1196, eight Jews were massacred by Crusaders. In 1287, forty Jews were massacred in Boppard and Oberwesel following allegations of a ritual murder charge, and more were murdered in 1337 and in 1348/9 during the Black Death.

The Jewish families lived in the *Judengasse* (documented since 1250; today's Eltzerhofstrasse). This was not an exclusively Jewish area as some Christians also lived there. There was a synagogue documented in 1356. The dead of the community were buried in Koblenz until they were able to obtain their own cemetery in the seventeenth century.

Until 1309, Boppard was a free imperial city. However, the town was then pledged by the emperor to his brother the Archbishop of Trier (an Elector). The townsfolk attempted to resist this merger, but ultimately in 1497 had to acknowledge the Elector as their ruler.³²⁵

In 1418, all the Jews of the entire Trier bishopric were expelled. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Jews were allowed to return to the bishopric and during the next two hundred years, despite temporary expulsions, there were probably a handful of Jewish families living in Boppard for most of the time.³²⁶ Thus, around 1670, there were six Jewish households in Boppard.

The Trier bishopric issued successive restrictive Jewry regulations from 1555 to 1771, confining the Jews to trades such as pawnbroking. In 1723 they were ordered to live on the Jews' street and to refrain from wearing bright, costly clothes.³²⁷ At that time, they were under the religious authority of the rabbi of Koblenz.

By 1789, Boppard and the rest of the lands on the left bank of the Rhine were occupied by the French, and the restrictive rules were eased. Under the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Boppard was assigned to the Kingdom of Prussia.



***Judengasse* Boppard, Drawing by Nikolaus Schlad before 1865³²⁸**

(In 1865 the *Judengasse* accidentally burned down)

And *Judentor* Boppard, 17th century, Lithograph by Sandemann³²⁹

The Jewish families in Boppard, like countless Jewish communities in the German speaking lands, were always small in number. Boppard Jews were officially counted along with several equally small neighbouring communities as a part of the *Niederezstift Trier*. Koblenz had the largest Jewish population in the area.

Only a few Jews would be given *Schutz*, protected rights, to live in an area. These Jews, called *Schutzjuden*, were required to pay very high annual fees for a letter of protection. Those who could not afford to pay, remained unprotected, with no rights of residence or livelihood, and generally were beggars and pedlars. Certainly, up until the middle of the 19th century, most of the Boppard Jews made a living from peddling and junk trading.

Schutz was limited to one member of a family and their household, which included servants. Depending on the whim of the local lord, and no doubt prevailing economic conditions, a son who wanted to get married and start his own family, would have to request his own *Schutzbrief* (a letter authorising the applicant, his spouse, children and servants with the right to settle, to pursue a (defined) job, etc) and sometimes, on payment of tax, this was forthcoming. In other cases, a son would have to wait for his father to be unable to afford to pay for *Schutz* for it to pass on to him. Frequently marriages were arranged outside the place of birth to someone who was in a position to enable the bridegroom to acquire *Schutz*. Lack of suitable partners in these tiny communities was also of course a factor.

It is estimated that each household probably consisted of five or six adults, so the number of Jews in a town would be much more than the number of Jews with *Schutz*.

Somewhat helpfully, in 1755 a list in a newspaper listed the names of the four *Schutzjuden* authorised to live in Boppard: Sender, Wolf, Seligmann and Abraham.³³⁰ This simple list

reveals nothing more, which is unfortunate as we know that Sophie Heller's grandparents were **Abraham David and Sara Mayer**, and in 1755, they could well have been children in one of the four households.

Abraham David and Sara Mayer may well have been related, given the limited choice, but if they came from two different household groups, the two contenders from the 1755 list are Abraham and Wolf. Family Wolf are connected with the Mayer family.

A summary of Jews living in Boppard in 1808 gives a few more pointers. On 21 October 1808 there were fifty-one Jewish inhabitants in seven separate Jewish households. Two of these households were part of the Abraham family - Jacob Abraham, and his brother Anshel Abraham who was, after 1808, called Benedict Abraham. Three belonged to the Mayer family - Aberle Mayer, Abraham Mayer, Wolf Mayer. These names are all tantalisingly similar to *Abraham David and Sara Mayer*.

38 Achthundert Jahre Juden in Boppard

Die jüdischen Familien in Boppard am 21. Oktober 1808⁵

Männer	Frauen	Söhne	Töchter	Mägde	Knechte	total
Jacob Abraham	Sara A.	5	3	1	1	12
	Mayer Mandge Wwe.	1	1	1	1	5
Mayer Aberle	Blumgen Goetz	2	1	-	-	5
Abraham Mayer	Ella Anshel	-	3	1	-	6
Wolf Mayer	Vogel Liebmann	1	3	1	-	7
Anshel Abraham	Judela Goetz	1	1	1	1	6
Jacob Cahn	Joanna Moises	1	3	-	-	6
Simon Loeb	Ciberle Herz	-	-	-	-	2
	Moyses Sabel Wwe.	1	-	-	-	2
						51

Dem Dekret über die Namen unmittelbar vorausgegangen, war das kaiserliche Dekret vom 17. März 1808⁵, durch das die Bürgerrechte der Juden beträchtlich eingeschränkt wurden, insbesondere die Gewerbefreiheit und die Freizügigkeit. Danach war nur der Handel den Juden erlaubt; die ein vom zuständigen Präfecten bewilligtes Patent vorweisen konnten. Diese jährlich zu erneuernden Patente wurden nur dann erteilt, wenn zuvor das erforderliche Leumunds- oder Moralitätszeugnis durch das zuständige jüdische Konsistorium und den zuständigen Munizipalrat positiv ausgefallen war.

The text below the table reads:
The decree on names was immediately preceded by the imperial decree of March 17, 1808, which severely restricted the civil rights of Jews, in particular freedom of trade and freedom of movement. According to this, only Jews who were authorized by the prefect were allowed to trade. These patents, which had to be renewed annually, were only granted if the required certificate of good repute or morality by the competent Jewish body and the competent municipal council had previously been positive.

Jewish families in Boppard on 21 October 1808³³¹

Sophie's mother moved to Cologne to marry Maximilian Heller in 1803. The marriage might have been facilitated as Cologne also came under French rule in 1801.

Although nothing more is known about Sophie's family in Boppard after 1803, undoubtedly she had remaining relatives there. Life there certainly improved slowly and eventually, and certainly after 1860, several Jewish merchants opened shops, some on the main shopping street. As well as dealing in textiles, they also dealt in regional products and others were involved in the cattle trade. The community's rented prayer room, located in the private home of Samuel Abraham, was destroyed by fire in 1865. According to a description from 1856, the prayer room was '18 paces long and 7 paces wide. The women have no space on a gallery but are separated by a railing'.³³² A new synagogue just off the Judengasse in Bingergasse was inaugurated in 1867 and renovated in 1927.

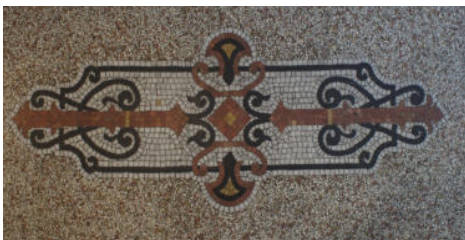
The synagogue was ransacked, burnt and destroyed during the *Kristallnacht/Pogromnacht*, 9th November 1938. Jewish men were arrested the next day and forced to destroy what remained of the synagogue's interior. Ten Jewish men were sent to concentration camps. Most Jews left before 1941, but at least 52 perished in the Shoah. No images of the

synagogue have been found other than the newspaper image of the burning synagogue in 1938.

An enterprising optician, Robert Holz has renovated the synagogue building and made a big effort to preserve the few stones from the destroyed synagogue and incorporate them in the new façade. Some stained glass was preserved, and the original layout has been used as far as possible.



Robert Holz outside his house, the former synagogue, No. 35, *Alte Synagoge*
A display of the few artifacts found buried in the former synagogue, Boppard Museum 2017



Floor tiles and stained glass preserved in the former synagogue.

Sophie's maternal grandmother. Do her various names shed light on her ancestry?

We now turn to Sophie's grandmother and the first difficulty is that she had several different names in the various records, and it is not clear what name she answered to. Her birth name was Judith Abraham, so, in the following, I refer to her as Judith.

As far as Judith's ancestry is concerned, we only have the name of her father, Abraham David. No family David fits the bill in the genealogical listing in *Jews of Boppard*. But we know, as shown above, that a family Abraham lived in Boppard in 1755. So, it is reasonable to assign Judith's father to the Abraham family. Unfortunately, her father probably died between her marriage in 1803 and 1808, as he does not appear in the helpful 1808 name adoption lists.

Judith's various names are summarised as follows:

1. Marriage Register (in French) 1803: **Judith Abraham**, born May 2, 1779 in Boppard, daughter of Abraham David *Handelsman*, trader and Sara Meyer. On 31 January 1803 she married Meyer Levi (after 1808 called Maximilian Heller), born in Deutz, in Köln.
2. Marriage register 1803: Hebrew signature (so presumably Judith had not had any secular education), **Yutle Abraham**
3. Cologne Name adoption list 1808: **Gudule Wolff**, previous Judith Abraham
4. Marriage Register, 17 August 1835: wedding of her daughter Sophie: **Gudula Wolff**
5. Death Register Feb 1835: death of her husband, Maximilian Heller: **Gudula Wolff**
6. Death Register 1844: her death: **Henriette Abraham**
7. Death Register 1854: the death of her daughter, Sophia Heller: **Jutte Meÿer**
8. Her great great grandson noted she was Judith Abraham, later **Jette Meier**

Assuming that Judith Abraham was involved in the official documents until her death, her use of the diminutive for Judith, Yutle [2], written in Hebrew on her marriage certificate is consistent. The later use of the name Jutte/Jette [7 and 8] is similarly derived from Judith and was no doubt the name she was known by.

The Meyer/Meier in the death register [7] and surname as known to her great-great-grandson [8] was the first name of her husband Meyer Levi, before he changed his name in 1808 to Maximilian Heller. It could also, for some long-lost reason, be her mother's surname.

Name after 1808	Previous name	Relationship	Occupation
Wolff, Gudule	Judith Abraham	Wife of Maximilian Heller	
Heller, Maximilian	Meyer Levi		Hawker
Heller, Sophie	Vogel	Daughter of Maximilian Heller	
Heller, Samuel	Samuel Levi	Brother of Maximilian	Hawker

Cologne Name Adoption list, 1808³³³

However, in 1808, Judith registered her new name as Gudule/Gudula Wolff and these names were used whilst she was alive; at her daughter's wedding [3] and her husband's death [4 and 5].

This choice is curious. Why select a name so very different, both to her birth name and that of her husband Maximilian Heller whom she had married in 1803? The name 'Gudula' appears in the records of religious Jewish women and the most likely derivation is from the Gothic *guths* 'god' or *gôds* 'good' rather than the name of a patron saint of Brussels. Various spellings can be found in the records such as Güdel, Giedel and Gidle.

More importantly what is the connection with the name Wolff? Before considering this, it should be noted that the last name entered on her death certificate, Henriette [6] has no obvious logic, though it returns to her original 'Abraham' surname.

It is unlikely we will ever know the reasons for Judith's choice. So many conjectures are possible, to do with family relationships and events that we have no access to. Could Judith have been the child of the Wolff family but for some reason was brought up by David Abraham and his wife. She might have been orphaned. Or occasionally impoverished parents gave a child to relatives to look after. An out of marriage pregnancy is also always possible. Lucy Wiseman helpfully alerted me to the certification in Judith's record of marriage by the Rabbi in Deutz that 'Judith Abraham was *educated* by the honest couple Abraham David and Sara Meyer....'. This seems a curious phrase if the couple were her birth parents. For whatever reason, Judith seems to have wished to link herself to the Wolff name. It should be noted that, as will be discussed later, the Wolf(f) name is in fact is linked with the Mayer family group and therefore Judith's mother's side.

With a range of possible names on both her parents' sides, I looked in all the records available to me, for the names 'Abraham', 'David', 'Wolf/Wolff', 'Meyer', 'Sara'. 'Judith', 'Henriette', and 'Gudula'. Sadly, as always, few daughters are recorded at this period, which contributes to the difficulties. Wolfgang Fritzsche kindly helped with some of my queries in this search. I did not look for the names given to Judith's daughter, 'Sophie Vogelschen', for clues, as she was clearly named after her father's mother.

A good starting point for further clues is the 1808 Boppard name adoption list with the following members of the Abraham and Mayer family groups:

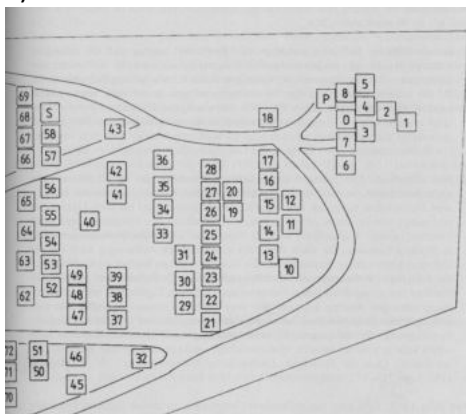
Name after 1808	Previous name	Relationship and extra information	Date of birth
Jaques ³³⁴ Abraham	Abraham, Jakob		
David	Abraham, David	Son of Jakob Abraham	25/11/1791
Gudule Hirsch	Gudule Hirsch	Widow of Mayer	
Wolf Mayer	Mayer,Wolf gang		1773 -1845
Benedict Abraham	Anschel Abraham		
Guttule Goetz	Gudule Goetz	Married to Abraham Wolf	

Abraham Mayer	Mayer Aberlé	Married to Blume Goetz	
Saarlé Mayer	Mayer Saara	Daughter of Abraham Mayer, 69	4/12/1800
Abraham Mayer	Aberlé Mayer		
Saara Mayer	Mayer Sairla	Daughter of Abraham Mayer, 86 and Ella Anschel David (1808+, Eva Angel)	5/9/1808

Boppard Name Adoption list, 1808 ³³⁵

The next place to look is the *Jews in Boppard*³³⁶ volume which includes the result of the author's searches in available records. Unfortunately, the sources found by the authors do not go back far enough in time to provide conclusive information.

The third source are the tombstones in the Boppard Jewish cemetery. Helpfully the authors of the *Jews in Boppard* listed the decipherable gravestone epitaph.³³⁷ The oldest stone dates from 1605. The cemetery was last used in 1962 by emigrees who wished to be buried in their place of birth. The *Cohanim*, descendants of the priestly class, are buried up the hill on the righthand corner. The oldest graves are situated immediately below the *Cohanim* (1-9).



Top right-hand side of Boppard Jewish cemetery³³⁸

Two stones with both the Hebrew names of 'Meir' and 'Abraham':

- Meir bar Abraham (?), died 1800, (Grave No. 12) (partly unreadable)
- Meir bar Abraham Poppert (also Mandge Mayer), died 1786 (Grave No. 14)

Two early tombstones with 'David':

- David bar Jakob, 1748 (Grave No. 27)
- Meir bar David Poppert, no date, but possibly 17th/18th century given its location (Grave No. 28)

Only one of stone listed includes the name 'Sara' (Grave No. 83) and is not a likely match.

Unfortunately, these few still standing and readable stones cannot provide us with a conclusive link to Judith Abraham's parents.

ABRAHAM: Searching for Abraham David and Judith's father's side.
Jews in Boppard, pages 228, 229

Starting with the one known fact, that Judith's father, Abraham David, was 'from Boppard', it is very disappointing to find that there is no one named Abraham David listed in the *Jews of Boppard* genealogical tables. There are two named 'David Abraham', first cousins born in 1789 and 1803. These dates preclude them from being Judith Abraham's father.

In the genealogical tables, the oldest known member of the 'Abraham' family is Afron Samuel Abraham (1734 – before 1799, Boppard).³³⁹ No other brothers or sisters are documented.

Jewish men tended to marry relatively late in the eighteenth century, (though of course not exclusively so), given the prevailing economic and restrictive challenges of the time. As Judith was born in 1779, a very rough estimate of when her father could have been born is anytime between 1740 and 1760 (this latter date is very unlikely). Afron was born in 1734 and therefore could conceivably have been a brother or cousin of Abraham David. But we return to the curious fact that no Abraham David is documented, and it is unlikely he had moved elsewhere for *Schutz* as his wife, Judith's mother, was also from Boppard.

First generation

Afron Samuel Abraham. Born in 1734 in Boppard. Afron Samuel died in Boppard before 1799.

Second and third generations (relevant to the discussion)

1. Benedict Abraham. Born in 1770 in Brodenbach. Benedict died in Boppard in 1851. His name before 1808 was Anschel Abraham/or more precisely Anschel Afron.

Child: a. **David Abraham.** Born in 1803 in Boppard. David died in Boppard in 1879. His name according to the 1808 name change list for Cologne was Afron. The Hebrew name on his grave is Abraham Bar Asher (Double stone grave with his wife no, 50/51).

2. Jakob Abraham. Born in 1765 in Boppard. Jakob Abraham. Jakob died in Boppard in 1847. His name after 1808 was Jaques. (Grave no. 89, Jakob bar Abraham)

Child: a. Joseph Abraham, was born in Boppard 1788 had been called Afron prior to 1808. He married Sara Cress Mayer in 1833. Born in Mülheim in 1806

b. **David Abraham.** Born in 1791 in Boppard. David died in Biningen in 1861. His kept this name in 1808.

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According to the 1755 list referred to earlier, only one head of household with *Schutz* named Abraham lived in Boppard at the time, and it is not clear who that Abraham was. Afron was only twenty-one in 1755 and would have been very young to have obtained *Schutz*, unless his father had died. Other contenders would be someone from an earlier generation, Judith's father Abraham David, another sibling or a cousin. Most heads of

households with *Schutz* would house numerous members of the family without *Schutz* under their roof, but these often did not get entered in the registers.

Sophie's mother Judith was born in 1779, around the time of Afron's children. Most tantalising is that Afron's daughter was called Judith Abraham. Perfect! Except that her dates are different and that she married Abraham Loeb in Koblenz and lived and died there. She took the name Loeb after 1808. So, were these two cousins with the same name? if so, that would support the hypothesis that Judith's father Abraham David was a brother or a cousin of Afron.

Afron married Dresel/Driesgen Sorgen (Sorle), born in 1743/44. She was from Brodenbach due east on the Mosel, about 14 km away. Their son Jakob Abraham was born in 1765 in Boppard and their son Benedict Abraham in 1770 in Brodenbach. Dresel died in Boppard in 1806. Their two sons, Benedict Abraham and Jakob Abraham both named their own sons, who were first cousins, David Abraham.³⁴¹ This, one has to assume, was more than a coincidence. In the case of Jakob, he had married Eva David (died 1796) and so his son David could have been named after her father. There is no such reason for choosing the name David in the available evidence for Benedict's son.

It was traditional for Ashkenazim to name their children after a (recently) deceased relative. Additionally, and occasionally, the name of a living relative was given to the child, to honour that, presumably, elderly relative. It is therefore possible that Benedict chose to honour a deceased or an elderly Abraham David in this way, on the birth of his son in 1803.

To summarise:

- There is no evidence from either the records or the gravestones of the existence of an Abraham David/David Abraham with the right dates who lived and died in Boppard.
- No conclusions can be made about who Judith's father was, or about any relationship between Afron and Abraham David.

MAYER: Searching for Sara Mayer and Judith's mother's side.
***Jews in Boppard*, pages 270 – 273 and 290**

What about Judith's mother, Sara Meyer? She had died before Judith's wedding in 1803 and unfortunately, not much more can be established. There are several women with the name Sara (or similar) Mayer listed in *Jews of Boppard*, but all are too young to have been Judith's mother, and again the records for earlier generations do not exist or have not been found. And as stated above, no gravestone has been found for her in the cemetery in Boppard to give further pointers.

Apart from the name 'Sara', the only clues are 'Mayer' and the family name 'Wolf' that Judith chose in 1808. Collating documentary sources and the gravestones, the authors of *Jews of Boppard* have suggested that all the 'Mayer' individuals are related. They also believe that a family group 'Wolf' was related to the Mayer family.

MAYER, Mandge(n)/Manchen = Menachem (? – 1796, Boppard)³⁴²

The first Mayer listed is Mandge/Manchen/Menachem

Mayer, Mandge(n)/Manchen = (Menachem), hebr.: Meir bar Abraham Poppert, * ..., – B. 8. 4. 1796, Schutzjude in B., S. v. Manchem Boppard (= Moscheh Menachem), dieser wieder Sohn des Moscheh Schaul Awraham (Unterzeichner der jüd. Zeremonialordnung von 1723, – 19, Nissan 5498 = 1738); Brüder von Mandgen: Abraham Mangen (Kinder s. unter Mangen) und Abraham Wolf, Ko, (Kinder s. unter Wolf); oo ... Guttula Hirsch, Wwe. Mayer, (heißt bis 1808 Gudula Hersching), * ... ca. 1744/45, – B. 8. 11. 1820 „Gudula Wwe. Maier Mandgen geb. Hirsch“.

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Here we can see that Mandge(n) was also Manchen in official records. The name he was known by was Menachem and his Hebrew name was Meir.

The entry notes some earlier generations, and it appears that there are two different people who could be Menachem's father: Abraham Poppert and Manchen Boppard = Moshe Menachem.

Each has its a grave entry in the book's cemetery listing:

Grave 14 - Meir *bar* (son of) Abraham Poppert. (Poppert = corruption of Boppard). Died 1786.

Grave 21 - Moshe Menachem bar Moshe Schaul Avraham. Died 1738.

However, in explaining his research methods, Michael Frauenberger suggests that Moshe Menachem (grave 21), and whose official name was Manchen/Mandge, could have been either the father or grandfather of Mandge(n) etc Mayer who died in 1796.³⁴⁴ In this case (given the name pattern and relative years of death), it is most likely that he was the grandson, and Meir bar Abraham Poppert (grave 14) was his father, who named his son after his grandfather.

Generation 1

Menachem

Generation 2

Moshe Schaul Avraham bar Harav Menachem z'l, died 8 Tishrei 5425, 1665, buried in Boppard. (Grave No. 23).



Moshe Schaul Avraham bar Harav Menachem z'l

Generation 3

- i. *Manchen/Mandge Boppard, Moshe Menachem bar Moshe Schaul Avraham z'l, died in 1738, buried in Boppard. (Grave No. 21).*

Moshe Menachem signed the Jewish *Zeremonialordnung* Order of 1723. Translated from *Jews of Boppard*, page 32:

The legal framework for the life of the Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries was formed by the so-called Jewish ordinances, which on the one hand sought to regulate the legal, social and economic relationships of the Jews with their Christian environment in detail, and, on the other hand, with the development of sovereign absolutism intervened more and more in the internal relations of the Jewish community. Even if these Jewish ordinances in the Electorate of Trier, as elsewhere, were repeatedly revised and supplemented (1618, 1624, 1657, 1681, 1723, 1771), they all agreed that the Jews and their families who enjoyed the protection of the sovereign in the Archbishopric of Trier, were subject to numerous restrictions and duties



Grabstein auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Boppard

Die hebräische Inschrift lautet: „Mosche Menachem Bar Mosche Schaul Avraham.“ Es befinden sich keine Daten auf der Vorderseite des Steins.



Grabstein auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Boppard von 1738

Die hebräische Inschrift lautet: „Hier liegt ein aufrechter und tiefgläubiger Mann, unser Lehrer, mit dem Namen Moscheb Menachem Bar Moscheb Schaul Avraham. Das Andenken des Gerechten sei zum Segen.“ Abkürzung: „Seine Seele sei eingehandelt in das Bündel des Lebens mit dem anderen gerechten Männern und Frauen im Garten Eden.“ Auf der Rückseite des Steins: „Gestorben am 19. Nissam 5498“.

Moshe Menachem bar Moshe Schaul Avraham³⁴⁵

- ii. *Mirjam bat Moshe Schaul Avraham z'l*, died in 1735, buried in Boppard. (Grave No. 25)
- iii. *Bela bat Moshe Schaul Avraham z'l*, died in 1706, buried in Boppard. (Grave No. 31)

Generation 4

Abraham Poppert. (Poppert = corruption of Boppard). Died 1786.
Buried in Grave 14.

Generation 5

As seen above, this is the first generation entered into the genealogical tree in *Jews of Boppard*.

It is suggested that Mandge(n)/Menachem had two brothers, included here.

1. *Mandge(n) Mayer, Menachem*, died 8th April 1786, buried in Boppard. (Grave No. 14).

Hebrew name Meir bar Abraham Poppert

He was known as Menachem.

He was a *Schutzjude* in Boppard.

Menachem married Guttla Hirsch (before 1808, Gudula Hersching), born about 1744/45, died Boppard November 8, 1820. She was a widow in 1808 when name changes were registered (No. 13).

Menachem's oldest son, Mayer Hirsch, was born in 1766, so Menachem was most likely born in the 1730s.

Menachem and Gudule had seven children all born in Boppard, none were named Sara.

- i. Mayer Hirsch (1766 – 1799)
- ii. Mayer Marianne (1770 – 1839)
- iii. Mayer Aberlé (1772, –1843), No. 69 in 1808 list, Abraham Mayer
- iv. Mayer Wolf (1773 – 1845), No.21 in 1808 list, Wolfgang Mayer
- v. Mayer Leopold (1784 – 1860)
- vi. Mayer Babette (1790 – 1823)
- vii. Mayer, Joseph (1797 - ?)

Joseph, the last child would have been born when his mother was in her early 50s.

2. *Abraham Wolf* (aka Aberlé Popert, (1757, Boppard - May 22,1831, Koblenz). Page 290.

(No. 1 in the Koblenz 1808 Name adoption list).

He was a trader and middleman in Koblenz.

He married Sprintz, later Jeanette Goetz, (1767, Koblenz - 1819, Koblenz), (Number 42 in Koblenz name adoption list). She was the daughter of Marx Goetz and Gudula [Fiest] Fuld from Himmelstadt.³⁴⁶

Three known children:

- i. Wolf, Judithe, (1788, Koblenz -1856, Münstermaifeld). Married, 1810, Viktor Bender. Alternative date of birth in name adoption list, 1784
- ii. Wolf Manchen born Koblenz, 1799
- iii. Wolf Victor born Koblenz, 1802

This family moved from Boppard to Koblenz and despite there being several names that suggest a link with Judith Abraham, nothing else fits.

Name adoption list of Koblenz, 1808

No.	Old name	Old first name	New familyname	New first name	Date/place of birth	Relationship
1	Abraham Wolf		WOLFF	Abraham		
2		Judith	WOLFF	Judith	3/1784 Koblenz	Daughter of 1
42	Sprintz Goetz		WOLFF	Jeannette		Spouse of 1

3. *Abraham Mangen* (? - 1806, Holzfeld)

Abraham married Rachel Moises, who also died in Holzfeld, and they had three children:

- i. Mangen Zerla
- ii. Raphael Abraham
- iii. Wolf Raphael

The following may be members of the wider family or have significant names for this search:

Abraham Mayer (before 1808, Aberlé Mayer) (page 273), No.86 in name adoption list. He was married to Ella Ansel David (from 1808, Eva Angel). (No dates of birth or death given).

The family left Boppard before 1811 and are recorded in Herborn in 1816.

They had five children one of whom, the fifth and born in 1808 was called Sairla, and after 1808, Saara (No. 90 in the 1808 name adoption list)

Abraham Mayer, (Number 69 in name adoption list). He was married to Blumchel (later Heléne) Goetz, a sister of Jeannette Goetz. Their daughter, Sara Mayer, was born in 1800, the third of four children.

Gudule, (later Guttule) Goetz, no. 30 in the 1808 Boppard name adoption list, entered as married to Abraham Wolf

Sara Mayer was born in 1801 in Wasenbach as a daughter of *Samuel Mayer* and Marianne Mayer

To summarise:

- There is no identifiable Sara Mayer that could be Judith's mother. Her grave has not been found.
- No firm connection can be made with the members of the Mayer family group in the *Jews of Boppard* book.
- The names Sara, Mayer, Gudule, Wolf, all crop up in the family outlined above, which seems more than a coincidence. But none provide a possible match.
- From the number of girl babies having been named Sara, or similar, it looks as if they may have been named after a particular matriarch named Sara. Her identity is not obvious from the records.
- Taking the 1750s as the probable decade of Judith's mother's birth, she could conceivably be Menachem's daughter, sister or niece. It is unlikely that he was Sara's father as his two daughters have been named. He is recorded as only having two brothers and omitting sisters from records is, in itself, not unusual for the time.
- The absence of the name 'Mayer' in the 1755 list of Jews with Schutz is curious given the evidence that they had been living in Boppard from at least 1655 (generation 2), and that Moshe Menachem signed the Jewish *Zeremonialordnung* Order of 1723. One conclusion is that the official family name at that time was Wolf, a name that does occur in generation 3 onwards and is not part of any other family group in the genealogical tables.
Wolfgang Fritzsche has suggested some further alternatives: the list of *Schutzjuden* for 1755 gives the status only for that particular year. What, if Mayer lost his *Schutz* the year before and received it again in 1756? What, if Mayer lived in Boppard without *Schutz*? What if he was only tolerated? What, if a protected Mayer from somewhere else settled in Boppard in 1756?
- There is always a chance that the Mayer family group were in fact part of the Abraham family, as the name Abraham is the name of the earliest named: *Moshe Schaul Avraham*. Without delving much deeper and looking at the source material, I have taken the view of the compilers of the genealogical tables that they are separate family groups.

Boppard Cemetery

The cemetery is located by a new estate in the woods off the Am Eisenberg road which rises from the town. It is technically in the village of Buchenau. The Jewish community centre in Koblenz holds the keys. Below are some images from the cemetery together with a few gravestones, all taken in 2017.



Entrance to the cemetery and top right-hand slope

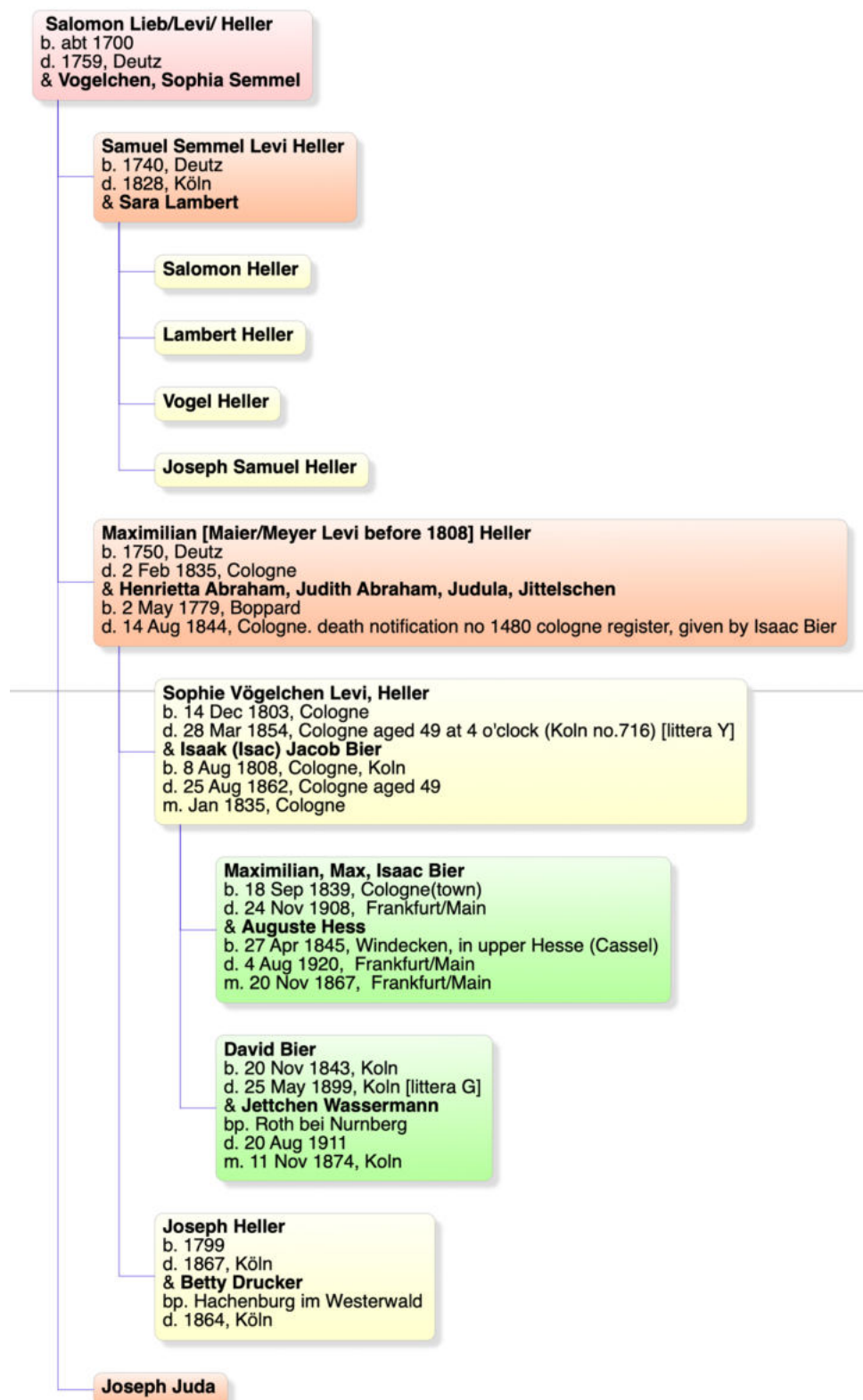


Feilche bat Harav Meir Halevi, 1605. The oldest grave found, no. 24.

Jentele Knendel bat Avraham Meyer, died Marcheshvan 5525, 1764. Grave no. 16.

Israel bar Harav Avraham Mayer from Boppard, died 5 Kislev 5604, 1833. Grave no. 11

Sophie Heller's paternal side



The ancestry of Sophie's paternal side was never recorded in detail by her descendants; a fate that befalls many women throughout history, and certainly within this family.

Schulte has seemingly separated Sophie's father's ancestors into three family groups, 'Family Heller', 'Family Bonn, Deutz, Michel' and 'Family Marcus'³⁴⁸. He did suggest there

was a connection between these groups, and some, but not all of the names, are repeated in all three!

Until more information is available from family gravestones, if they are ever found, I have decided to attempt to combine the first few generations as below. Unfortunately, there is no mention, for whatever reason, of Salomon **Levi Hause**, his son **Lieb Salomon /Levi** (ca.1700-1759), or any possible wife, in the Memorbook.

The first two generations are entered in Schulte's 'Family Bonn, Deutz, Michel'

First Generation³⁴⁹

Salomon Levi Hause.

Child:

- a. **Lieb Salomon /Levi** (~1700-1759, Deutz)

This father of Lieb Salomon has been entered by Schulte in the 'Family Bonn, Deutz, Michel' pages rather than 'Family Heller'. It is possible this is a different Salomon Levi, and the associated name Hause may not have anything to do with the Heller family. Schulte adds a footnote: *See Schulte Bonner Juden p.435. The place name Hausen cannot be determined in more detail given the large numbers of places with this name.*³⁵⁰

There is more detail in Schulte's book of the Bonn Jews, but this entry queries whether the source in the archives is about the same man. Also, here the name Hause is not mentioned. The footnote in is as follows:

S A L O M O N I

A Salomon Levi¹, 1733 und 1739 Geleit in Bonn, verheiratet

Anmerkungen zu SALOMON I

- 1 Bereits 1693 erhielt Salomon (dieser?) das Geleit in Bonn, wo sein namentlich nicht genannter Bruder schon vergleidet ist (KK IV Hofkammer 4527, f. 194r). - Salomon Levi prozessierte 1733 gegen Mauermeister in Bonn, erhielt unterm 2. Dez. 1739 das Heiratspatent (KK III Hofrat 118 A, 55; KK IV Hofkammer 4599, 165r).

'Already in 1693 Salomon (this one?) had *Geleit* in Bonn, where his unnamed brother already had *Geleit* (KK IV Hofkammer 4527, f. 194r). Salomon Levi litigated against master masons in Bonn in 1733, and held the marriage patent on December 2, 1739 (KK III Hofrat 118 A, 55; KK IV Hofkammer 4599, 165r).'

³⁵¹

Second Generation, according to Schulte

Lieb Salomon /Levi Heller (ca 1700 - 1759)

Hebrew name was Jehudah Salomon Hause (Schulte). Born abt. 1700 (according to his entry in 'Family Heller')

Teacher in Deutz as documented in 1748. Schulte did not find any source for when he started teaching in Deutz. Lieb Salomon had *Geleit* in Deutz from 1750, when his profession

was given as *Handelsmann*.

Lieb Salomon married twice:

- a. N.Wallich (?) from Bonn. They married about 1745
- b. Reichle N, from Deutz. She was still living in 1756

Lieb Salomon /Levi died in Deutz in 1759 in the house of his son Marx Levi (Schulte notes this but points to his Families 'Heller' and 'Marcus'), see Family Marcus); he was 59.

Maximilian's marriage certificate in 1803, states that he was the son of Salomon Levÿ, *marchand*, trader from Deutz and Fögelchen Semmel, and she had also died.

The entries for Lieb Salomon are consistent in both the Family Heller, and Family Bonn, Deutz, Michel in Schulte.³⁵²

Lieb Salomon /Levi married **Fögelchen, Sophia Semmel (born in Deutz)**³⁵³.

According to Schulte, they had the following children:

- a. Samuel Semmel Levi (1740, Deutz-1828, Cologne)
- b. Joseph Juda³⁵⁴ (1749 – after 1801, Deutz)
- c. **Maximilian [Maier/Meyer Levi before 1808]** (1750, Deutz-1835, Cologne)

The only son of Leib Salomon in the 'Family Bonn, Deutz, Michel' pages is Joseph Juda. He is also entered as are Samuel and Maximilian in 'Family Heller'.

Leib Salomon appears again in 'Family Marcus' where his sons are Marx Leib, Hertz Levi, Samuel Levi and Joseph Juda. However, Marx Leib was born around 1725 and by profession a *Spielmann*, a musician, a minstrel. This is clearly not Maximilian Levi, later Meyer Levi, who was not a musician and was born much later. I am therefore not dealing with him further. Hertz Levi is also a musician and is entered in 'Family Salomon' and he will not be discussed further.

Finally, in "Family Heller' Schulte suggests there are two people called Leib Salomon, and this seems most likely.³⁵⁵

My conclusion from all this is that although Schulte has separated out the various family groups, the father of **Maximilian [Maier/Meyer Levi cannot** be established as long as his and his father's gravestones have not been found.

Third Generation

a. Samuel Semmel Levi Heller. (1740, Deutz – 1828, Cologne)

In 1801 '*Altkaufer*' in Köln.

1813, *fripier*, secondhand clothes dealer living at Rue des Aveugles, No 12

Samuel Semmel Levi married Sara Lambert Cohen, possibly from Bonn.

They had the following children:

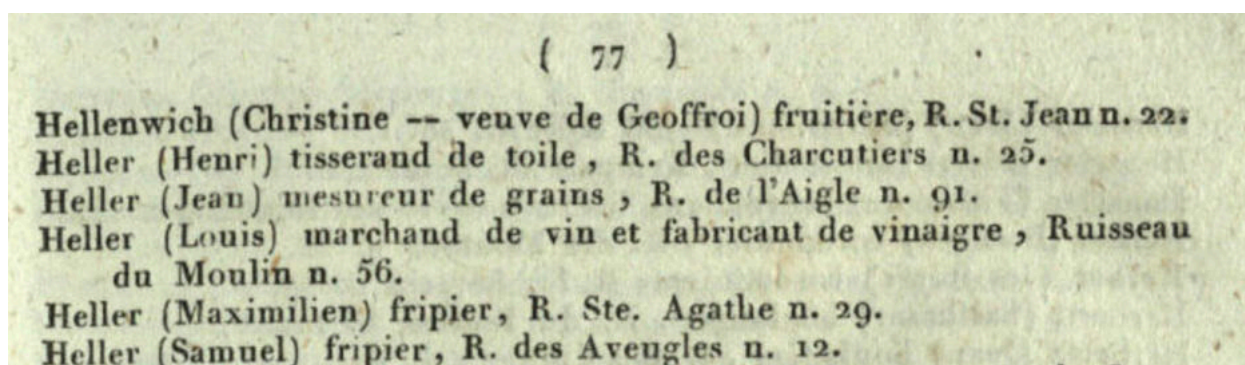
- a) Salomon
- b) Lambert
- c) Esther (after 1808 Vogel)
- d) Joseph Samuel (after 1808 Marc)

Schulte: 'The protected Jew Samuel Levi complains in 1772 because of *'keeping the Ten Commandments'* in the Deutz synagogue. Samuel Levi's family name Heller, chosen in 1808, could point to the origin of the famous rabbi family of the same name; an allusion to the smallest currency unit of Kurköln, the Heller, is also possible'.³⁵⁶

Both the brothers Samuel and Maximilian called their sons Joseph. The 1808 Cologne Name Adoption listed Samuel Heller as the father of both Joseph and Joseph Samuel.

In fact, the first Joseph in the list is the son of Meyer Levi (after 1808 Maximilian). Maximilian's Hebrew name was Meshulum and on his son's grave the Hebrew name is Joseph bar Meshulum. The second, Joseph Samuel, who later took the name of Marc, is the son of Samuel Heller.³⁵⁷

Samuel and Maximilian were both living in Rue Ste. Agathe in 1813 according to the Cologne Address book. I have not been able to find them listed in any later volumes.



Cologne address book for 1813³⁵⁸

b. Joseph Juda³⁵⁹ (1749 – after 1801, Deutz)

In 1773, according to Schulte, 'Family Heller', Joseph Juda was living in Deutz with his 'designated' brother, Samuel Levi.³⁶⁰

In 'Family Bonn, Deutz, Michel', he is noted as a *Handelsmann* and *Wirt*, innkeeper in Deutz according to his *Geleit* in 1779. He is the same person as Joseph Bonn.³⁶¹

He married a second time in 1770 as his first wife died.

A son, Lippmann Joseph Bonn and a daughter Sophia Bonn are noted.

c. Maximilian [Maier/Meyer Levi before 1808] Heller. (1750, Deutz – 2 Feb 1835, Cologne)

Hebrew name, Meshulam Levi.

Trödler, junk dealer, in Cologne.³⁶²

When his daughter married in 1835, he was described as a *Handelsmann*, Tradesman. 1813, *fripier*, secondhand clothes dealer, living at Rue Ste. Agathe, 29, (see Samuel, above)

In 1803 he was living in Hosengasse 5941.³⁶³

Jean-Paul Bier wrote (and I have not found the source yet), that in 1803 he joined his brother Samuel Levi in Cologne, hoping to similarly make his fortune as a *chiffonier*, ragpicker (in French). He prospered until his death.

Maximilian married **Henrietta Abraham, Judith Abraham, Judula, Jittelschen**, (2 May 1779, Boppard - 14 Aug 1844, Cologne), daughter of Abraham David & Sara Meyer/Mayer. She was thirty years younger than her husband.³⁶⁴

They had the following children:

- 5 i. Joseph (1799-1867)
- 6 ii. **Sophie Vögelchen** (1803-1854)

Maximilian Heller's record of marriage in 1803, shows that at that time he was still called Meyer Levi. The four witnesses are: two young servants, an older cobbler also probably not Jewish and an even older employee, possibly working for Maximilian. All appear non-Jewish and possibly this was required by law. In a Jewish wedding ceremony only Jewish witnesses are acceptable.

Cologne archives: Record of marriage, No 135. Mairie de Cologne

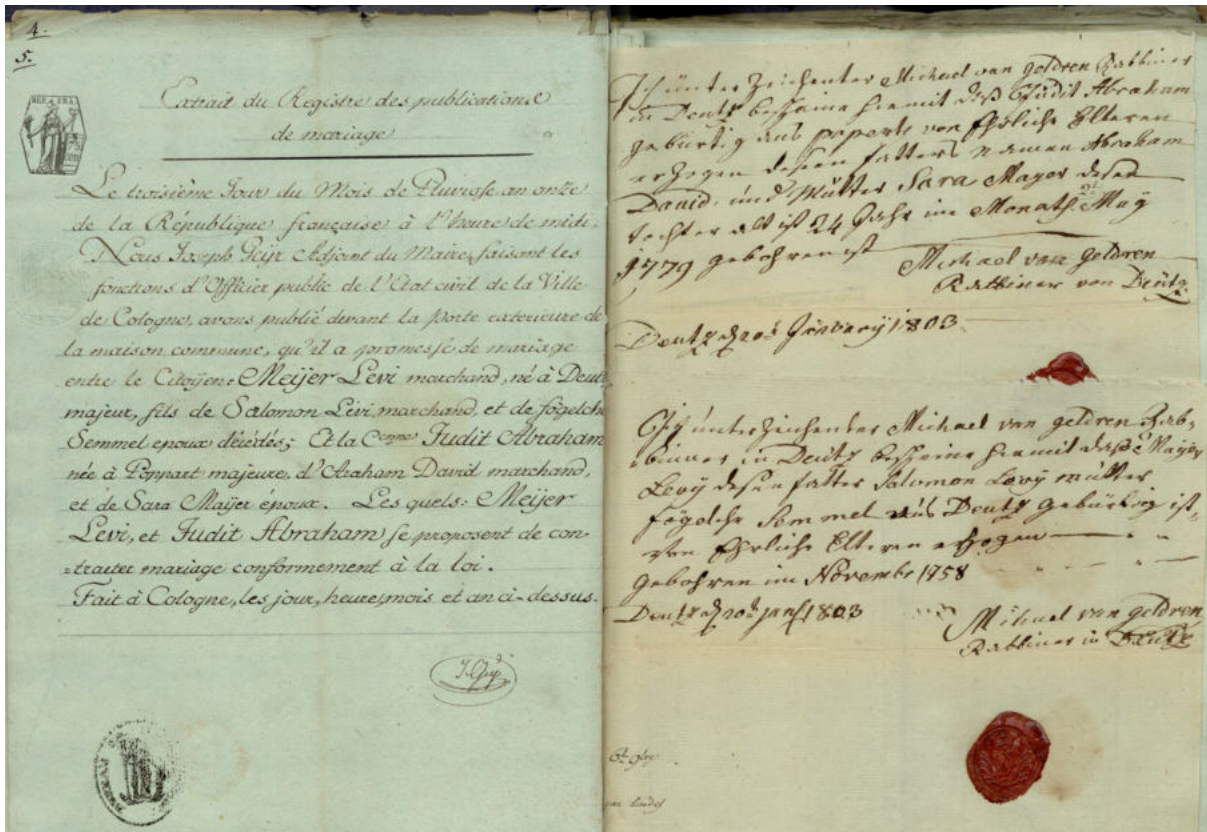
In the 11th year of the French revolution, the third day of Pluviose i.e. Jan. 31 1803

Meyer Levi, merchant, born in Deutz, son of Salomon Levi and Fögelche Semmel married **Judit Abraham**, born in Boppard, daughter of Abraham David, merchant, and Sara Mayer, his deceased spouse. (no birthdates are given).

Rabbi Michael van Geldern, Rabbi in Deutz, certified, Judith Abraham was educated by the honest couple Abraham David and Sara Mayer, she (Judith) was 24 years old, born 2. May 1779

Witnesses were Anne Reders, servant aged 23, Anne Catharine Degen, servant aged 22, Pierre Wohlzufriden, cobbler aged 50, and Hermann Joseph Farenholtz, employee, aged 63.

The testimony of the rabbi in Deutz, *Oberrabbiner* Michael van Geldern, established the couple's credentials and here we can see that similarly to her husband, Fögelche Semmel was also born in Deutz



Extract of the marriage record of Maximilian and Judith with Rabbi Michael van Geldern's signed and sealed validation attached to the next page.³⁶⁵

When Maximilian died, his father was referred to as Salomon Heller.

No. 134 Sterbeurkunde, Gemeinde Köln; Max Heller
 Erschien Joseph Heller, 35 Jahre alt, Kaufmann zu Köln und Neffe der Verstorbenen und Jos(?) Gottschalk 53 Jahre alt, Lehrer zu Köln, Nachbar der Verstorbenen, erklärten, es sei verstorben: am 2. Februar 1835 morgens um 1:00 Uhr, der Max Heller, Ehemann von Gudula Wolff, geboren zu Deutz, 85 Jahre alt, ohne Stand, zu Köln, Sohn von Salomon Heller, Lehrer, und von Sophia Vögelchen, verstorbene Eheleute (Added later and possibly in a different hand: Großvater seel. hieß früher Wolf Levy Mayer, später nach 1808 Max Heller)

Joseph Heller appeared, 35 years old, trader in Köln, nephew of the deceased and Jos(?) Gottschalk, 53 years old, teacher in Köln and neighbour of the deceased and declared: **Max Heller died on February 2, 1835, husband of Gudula Wolff**, born in Deutz, 85 years old, without occupation, son of Salomon Heller, teacher and Sophia Vögelchen, deceased couple (Added later and possibly in a different hand: (our/my) blessed Grandfather was named Wolf Levy Mayer, later after 1808 Max Heller)

This Joseph was evidently the son of Maximilian's brother Samuel.

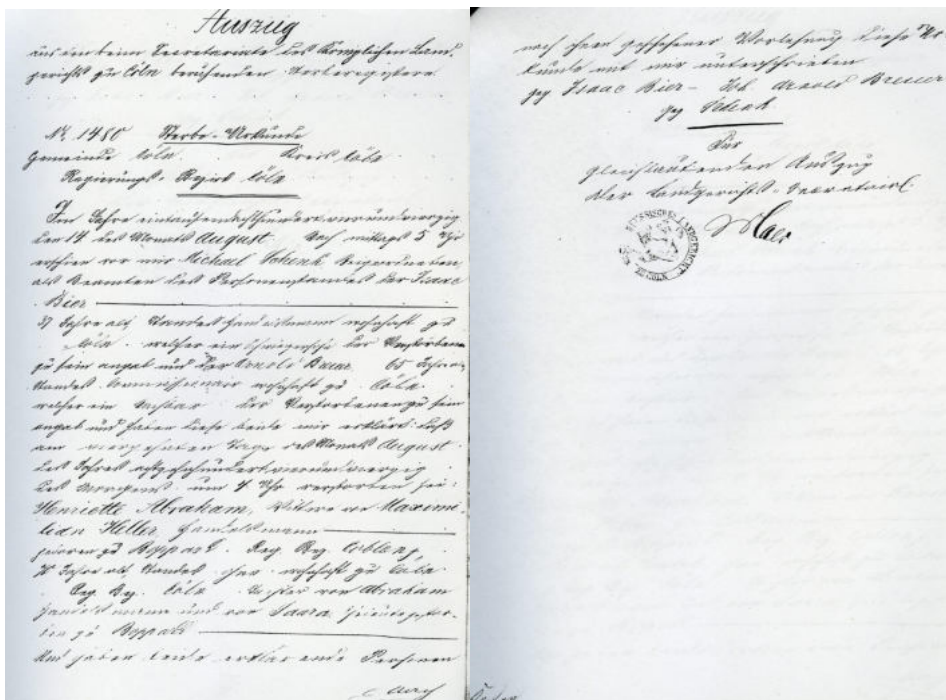
Henrietta Abraham's death certificate:

No. 1480 Sterbeurkunde Gemeinde Köln; (Death certificate, Cologne) Henriette Abraham

Am 14. August 1844 morgens 4:00 Uhr sei verstorben Henriette Abraham, Witwe von Maximilian Heller, Handelsmann, geboren zu Boppard, Reg. Bez. Coblenz, 70 Jahre alt, Tochter von Abraham, Handelsmann und von Saara, Eheleute, gestorben zu Boppard

(Added later and possibly in a different hand: hieß früher in Judith Abraham, später Jette Meier, wahrscheinlich infolge 1808)

Henriette Abraham died on August 14, 1844, widow of Maximilian Heller, Handelsman, trader. She was born in Boppard. Age 70 years old, daughter of Abraham, Handelsman, trader, and Saara, married couple (both) died in Boppard. (Added later and possibly in a different hand: Earlier she had been called Judith Abraham, later Jette Meier, probably after 1808)



No. 1480, Gemeinde Köln; (Death certificate, Cologne) Henriette Abraham

Fourth Generation

5. Sophie Vögelchen Levi, Heller. (14 Dec 1803, Cologne - 28 Mar 1854, Cologne)

In Jan 1835 when Sophie Vögelchen was 31, she married **Isaak (Isac) Jacob Bier**, son of **Jacob David Bier & Rebekka Rivka Gottschalk**, in Cologne.

See Isaac's entry above for further details.

6. Joseph Heller. (1799, Cologne - 11 Nov 1867, Cologne). Hebrew name, Josef ben Meschullam Halevi

The Cologne merchant Joseph Heller was born in Deutz in 1799, the son of Maximilian Meschullam Heller (formerly Meyer Levi, junk dealer in Cologne, died Cologne 1835) and Judula Judith, daughter of Abraham Wolff (Neuwied?). He lived at An St. Agatha 12, later Pützgasse 15. In 1834 he married Betty Drucker from Hachenburg in the Westerwald, daughter of the factory owner Herz Drucker and Fanny Herz. Betty died in Cologne (30.10.1864).³⁶⁶



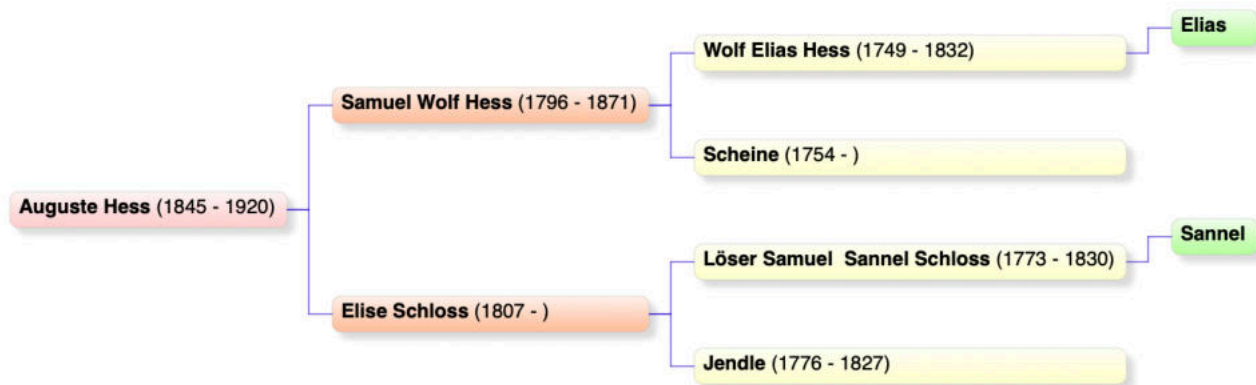
Graves of Joseph bar Meshulum Heller and Betty Heller, née Drucker, Deutz cemetery, Row R, no number allocated

<p>פ"נ איש תם לבב וישר במעשיו אהב הצדק והמישרים היטיב לקרוביו גם לזרים וגמ"ח לכל אדם ה"ה כ"ה יוסף ב"ר משולם הלוי ז"ל וימת יוסף בן ס"ז שנה ביום ב' י"ג מרחשון תרכ"ח לפ"ק תנצב"ה</p>	<p><i>Hier ist begraben ein Mann, lauterem Herzens und aufrecht in seinen Taten, „er liebte Gerechtigkeit und Geradheit“, Gutes tat er denen, die ihm nahe und auch den Fremden und er erwies Liebeswerk für jedermann, es ist der geehrte Herr Josef, Sohn des Herrn Meschullam Halevi, sein Andenken zum Segen, und es starb Josef im Alter von 67 Jahren am Tag 2, 13. Marcheschvan 628 der kleinen Zählung. Seine Seele sei eingebunden in das Bündel des Lebens</i></p>
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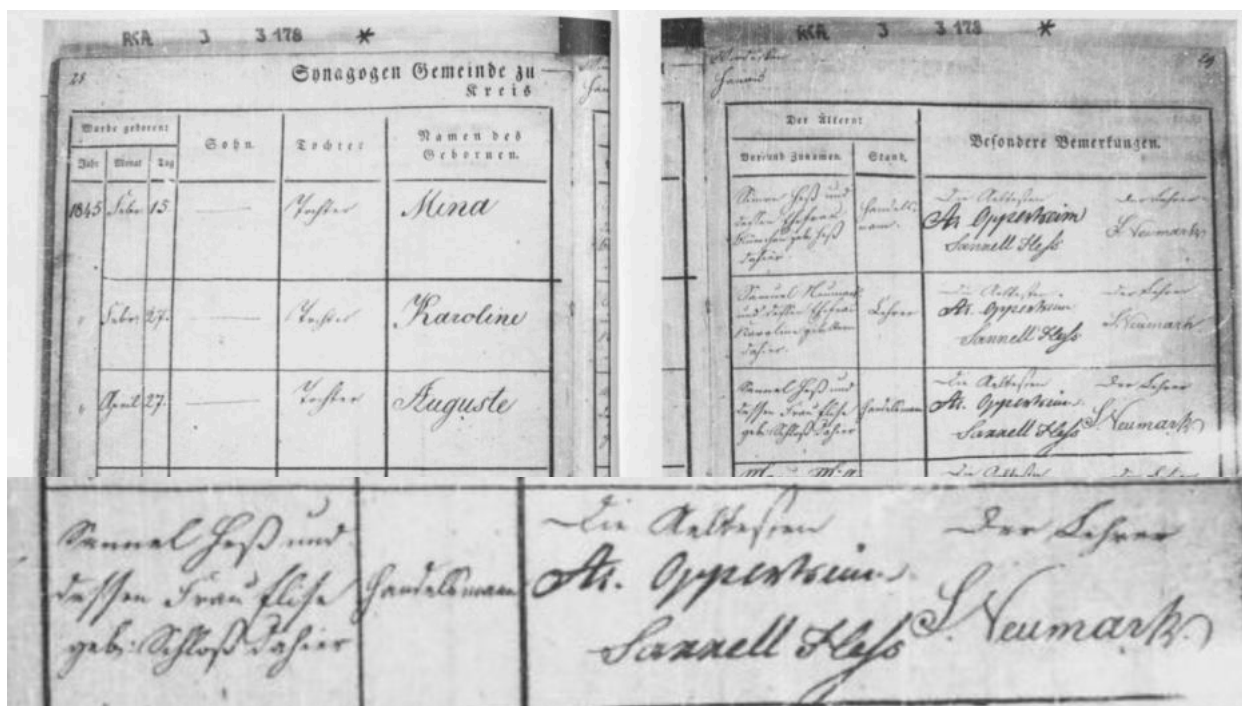
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Speculation about the Heller ancestors being connected with the illustrious Yomtov Lipman Heller. Susan Lifschitz related that she was told by her grandfather, Erich Bier, that an illustrious ancestor of Maximilian was Yomtov Lipman Heller³⁶⁸ (1579, Wallerstein, Bavaria - 1654, Cracow). However, this remains anecdotal until proven.

APPENDIX 6: Auguste Hess' ancestors (Wife of Maximilian Bier)



Auguste Hess. (27 Apr 1845, Windecken, Upper Hesse - 4 Aug 1920, Frankfurt am Main)
 On 20 Nov 1867 when Auguste was 22, she married **Maximilian, Max, Isaac Bier**, son of **Isaak (Isac) Jacob Bier & Sophie Vögelchen Levi, Heller**, in Frankfurt/Main



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See Maximilian's entry above for further details.

Auguste was born in Windecken. Knowing very little about this side of the family, I was very fortunately put in touch with Monica Kingreen through 'meeting' Peter Wyant via the JewishGen website.

Monica Kingreen wrote the definitive and well researched book of Jews of Windecken.³⁷⁰ She lived in Windecken in the house that had been the home of Jewish families for over 200 years, and this prompted her to research the fate of the Jews of Windecken.³⁷¹ Sadly, she died in 2017, but until then we had been in correspondence, and she very carefully helped me find out the most that was possible about Auguste's family.

It is not known how long Auguste's ancestors had been living in Windecken. Auguste's mother's parents, Löser Samuel Schloss and Jendle were born in Windecken. Her grandfather on her father's side, Wolf Elias Hess, was born in Rosenthal and married Scheine from Windecken. Scheine has the earliest birth date of 1754.

Monica Kingreen told me that Samuel Hess was a *Waren und Fruchthandler*, a goods and fruit dealer.

As can be seen in the 1822 table on the following page, the Schloss and Hess families lived in close proximity in the *Judengasse* in Windecken and must have been very well acquainted. In 1822, when Ella Schloss was 15, she lived a few houses down from 27-year-old Samuel Wolf Hess, her husband to be. Was this a love match or a marriage arranged because the choices were limited?

Soon after, in 1824, Ella's father's oldest brother was one of the two elders of the community, and he remained in that position till 1838. Her husband took over the position in 1838, holding it till 1852. Later, in 1866, Samuel and Ella's nephew Abraham held the position for 32 years. The community was relatively small, in 1827 there were 112 Jewish inhabitants, so holding these positions was not so significant. But the table below does show that Auguste's mother's family were a well-established Windecken family, soon to be joined by her husband's father from Rosenthal.

Gemeindeälteste der Gemeinde: ^{152a)}	
1824 - 1838	Jakob Samuel Schloß (+ 1838), auch als Jacob Süß genannt
1838 - 1852	Aron Oppenheim
1838 - 1852	Samuel Heß
1853	Anselm Oppenheim
1853 - 1871	Philipp Kallmann
1866- 1898	Abraham Heß
1874	Herz Levi
1898 -1919	Hirsch Speier
1906 -1923	Raphael Wolf
1919 -1925	Jacob Levi
1923 -1941	Salli Reichenberg

Elders of the Windecken Jewish community³⁷²

In Windecken the Jews lived in a ghetto of a few streets reserved exclusively for Jews, the *Judengasse*. Jacob Schloss, the *Baumeister* of the Jewish community, compiled the list above in 1822 of the houses where each Jew lived. A few years later the Jews began to move from the few streets in the *Judengasse* and they were renamed. One street was called Synagogenstrasse and the other, Ostenheimer Strass.

Die Namen und die Häuser der jüdischen Familie in der Judengasse im Jahr 1822

Aus dem Jahre 1822 existiert ein "Verzeichnis sämtlicher in Windecken lebender Israeliten", aufgestellt vom Baumeister der jüdischen Gemeinde Windecken Jacob Schloss. Dort listete er für alle Häuser der Judengasse deren Bewohner auf. Im Jahr 1822 lebten alle Windecker Juden innerhalb der jüdischen Ghettos, der Judengasse. Nur wenige Jahre später setzte der Prozeß der Auflösung des Ghettos ein.³⁰⁾

Judengasse 59 (Ostheimer Straße 3)

Jacob-Schloß, Ehefrau Freudle, Sohn Arnold, Magd Sara

Judengasse 60 (Ostheimer Straße 5 - abgebrochen)

Witwe Joseph-Sannel, Jüdle 1 Sohn

Judengasse 61 (Ostheimer Straße 9)

Simon Herz, Frau Biele, 3 Söhne, 3 Töchter

Judengasse 62 (Ostheimer Straße 11)

Witwe Maron Jacob, 1 Sohn, 2 Töchter

Judengasse 65 (Ostheimer Straße 12)

Ob Rothschild, 2 Söhne, 2 Töchter, 1 Magd

Judengasse 66 (Ostheimer Straße 10)

David-Schloß, 3 Söhne, 1 Tochter

Judengasse 67 (Ostheimer Straße 8)

Wolf-Hess, Frau Scheine, 2 Söhne, 1 Tochter

Joseph-Hess, Frau Mänckla, 3 Söhne, 1 Magd

Judengasse 69 (Synagogenstraße 9)

Löser Oppenheimer, Frau Lea, 4 Söhne, 1 Tochter, Michael Urschel - 1 Magd

Judengasse 70 (Synagogenstraße 11)

Moses-Schloß, Frau Schönggen, 2 Söhne, 3 Töchter, 1 Magd

Löser-Schloß, Frau Jendle, 1 Tochter

Judengasse 71 (Synagogenstraße 13)

Scholem Westheimer, 2 Söhne, 3 Töchter

Judengasse 73 (Synagogenstraße 17)

Maier Kallmann - Vorsinger aus Prag, Frau Bräune, 1 Sohn, 2 Töchter, Baßist

Sänger Isaac Levi

Judengasse 74 (Synagogenstraße 18)

Leile David, alleinstehend

Judengasse 75 (Synagogenstraße 16)

Gerson Hess, 1 Sohn, 2 Töchter

Jacob Moses, Frau Gitta, 1 Sohn, 3 Töchter

Judengasse 76 (Synagogenstraße 14)

Witwe Israel Katz, 1 Sohn

Judengasse 78 (Synagogenstraße 10)

Isaac Gukenheimer, Frau Hendle, 1 Sohn, 1 Tochter und 1 Findling

Judengasse 81 (Synagogenstraße 7)

Witwe Süßkind Stern, 1 Sohn und Braut

Judengasse 84 (Synagogenstraße 4)

Bezahlell Levi, Frau Bestge, 2 Söhne, 2 Töchter

Judengasse 85 (Synagogenstraße 3 - abgebrochen)

Joseph Wolf, 1 Sohn, 1 Tochter

Witwe Raphael Wolf, 3 Söhne, 2 Töchter

Judengasse 86 (Synagogenstraße 2)

Herst Faist, Frau Michla, 1 Pflegekind, 1 Kostfrau

Judengasse 87 (Ostheimer Straße 6)

Löser Stern, Frau Lea

Sohn, 4 Töchter. 3 Brüder Hamburger

Judengasse 89 (Ostheimer Straße 4)

Löb Herz, Frau Bunle, Schwester Fromet

The names and house number of the Jewish families in the Judengasse in 1822³⁷³

Families Schloss and Hess and their addresses in the Judengasse, 1822:

59: Jacob Schloss (brother of David, Moses and Löser Schloss)

60: Widow of Joseph Sannel, Jüdle (possibly the mother of the Schloss brothers?)

66: David Schloss (brother of Jacob, Moses and Löser Schloss)

67: Wolf Hess and Joseph Hess (father and brother of Ella)

70 Moses Schloss and his brother Löser Schloss (brothers of Jacob and David Schloss)



Extract from the 1727 plan of the town of Windecken with Judengasse and the synagogue at No.6³⁷⁴

Files in the Hessen Federal Archives

1813 Petition of the children of the deceased Jew Salomon Hess of Windecken for remission of a fine.³⁷⁵

1819 Application of the Jew Wolf Elias Hess of Windecken for exemption from protection money.³⁷⁶

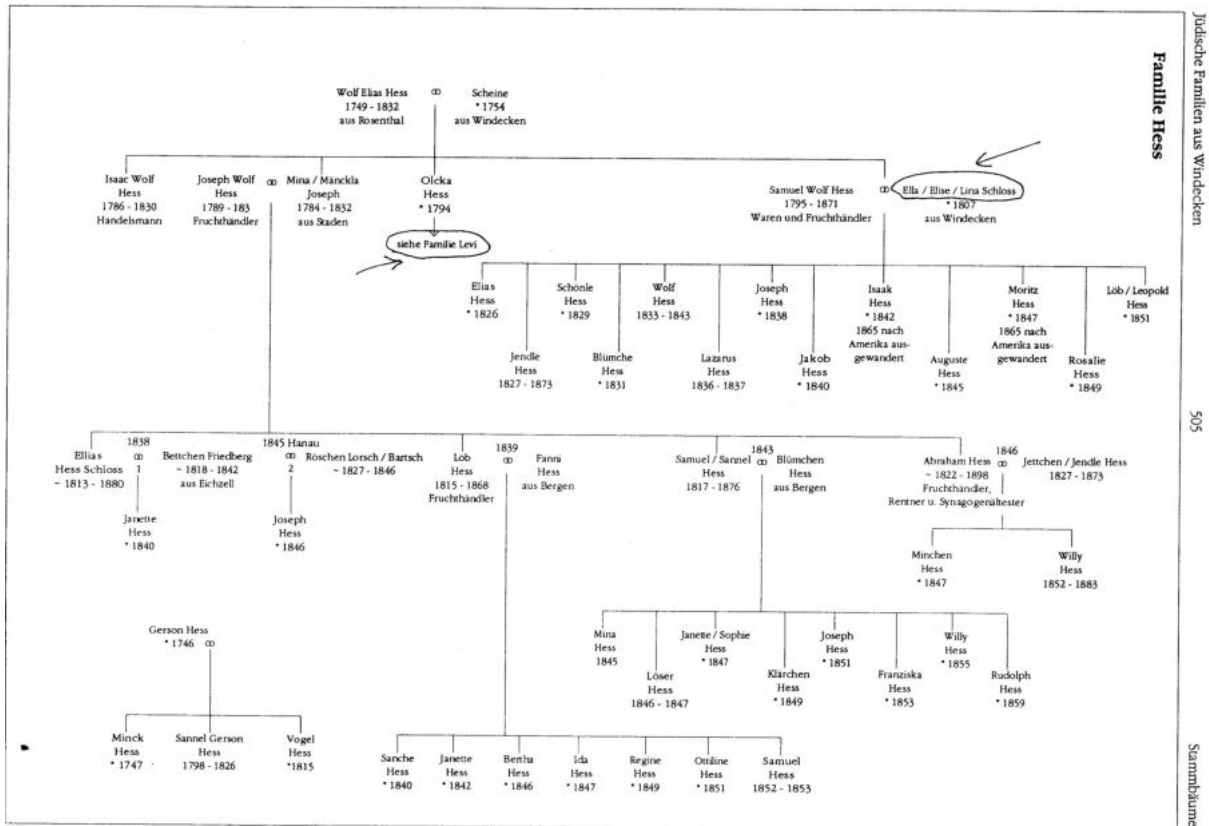
1828 Request of Samuel Schloss and his siblings of Windecken for a certificate on the recognition of the inheritance rights of the Dutch and French in Electoral Hesse.³⁷⁷ One of his siblings, Jacob Samuel, has his own request in the records.³⁷⁸

1831 Request of Johannes Kittel of Marköbel for permission to establish a mortgage for the Israelite Samuel Hess Wolf of Windecken.³⁷⁹

1879 Application of the Schutzjuden Moses Samuel Schloss of Windecken for permission to purchase a house.³⁸⁰

Auguste Hess' paternal side

Monica told me that in 1875 there were two prosperous families in the town, and the Hess family were one of them. By 1884, both these families had moved away.³⁸¹ As a result, Monica had very little information about the family, but she pointed me to the Hess and Schloss family trees in her book.



Family Hess³⁸²

Synagogen Gemeinde zu Kreis					Besondere Bemerkungen.		
Verstorb.			Tag der Beerdigung.	Vor- und Zunamen.	Stand.	Alter.	
Jahr	Monat	Tag					
1871	Aug.	10.	4. 11. y.	Samuel Hess	Handelsmann	76 Jahre	Der Leibarzt Dr. Krumpholtz Der Leibarzt Dr. Krumpholtz

Samuel Wolf Hess, Death Register, 1871³⁸³ (Handelsmann)

"	März	29	1. April	Wolf Hess	Handelsmann	82	
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Wolf Elias Hess, Death Register, 1832³⁸⁴ (Handelsmann)

First Generation

1. Elias.

Child: i. **Wolf Elias Hess** (1749- 29.3.1832)

Second Generation

2. Wolf Elias Hess. Born in 1749 in Rosenthal. Wolf Elias died in 1832; he was 83.
Wolf married **Scheine**. Born in 1754 in Windecken

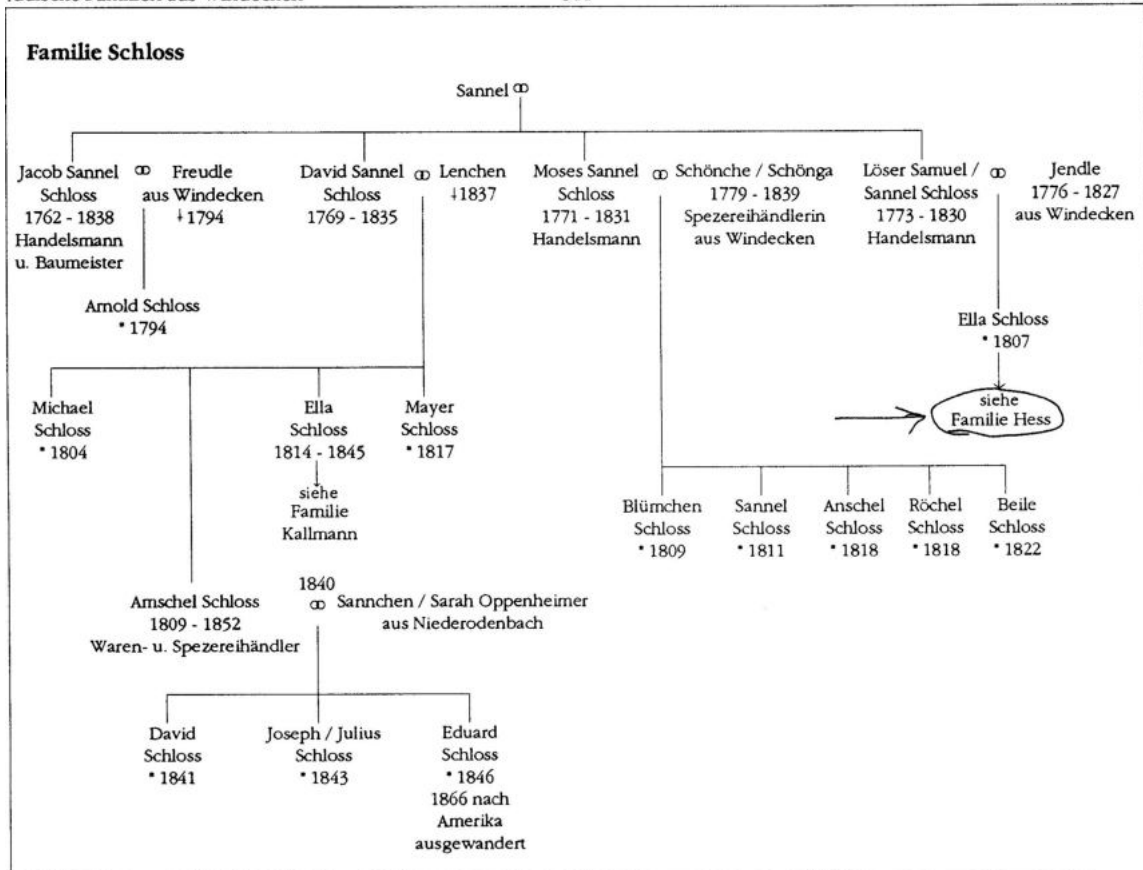
They had the following children:

- i. Olcka. Born in 1794 in Windecken.
Olcka married Jossel Levi. Jossel died in 1826.
- ii. **Samuel Wolf** (1796-10.8.1871)
- iii. Joseph Wolf Born in 1784. Joseph Wolf died in 1819; he was 35.
Joseph Wolf married Mina (Manckla) Joseph, born in 1784 in Staden.
Mina died in 1832.
- iv. Isaac Wolf. Born in 1786. Isaac died in 1830. He was a *Handelsmann*.

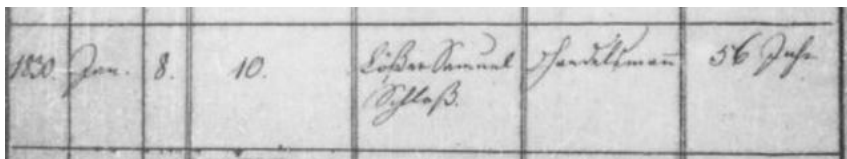
Third Generation

4. **Samuel Wolf Hess.** Born in 1796. Samuel Wolf died in 1871. Samuel Wolf married **Ella/Elise Schloss**, daughter of **Löser Samuel Sannel Schloss & Jendle**. Born in 1807 in Windecken.

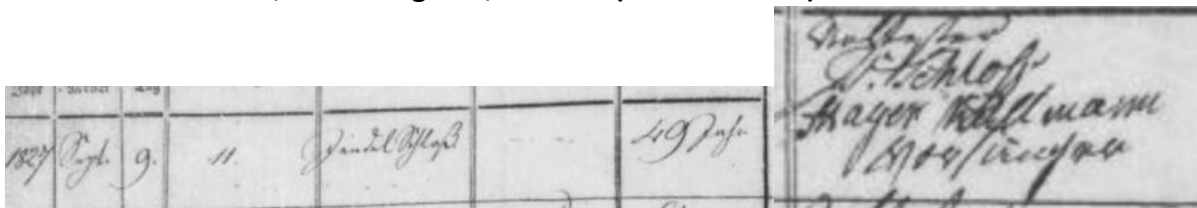
Auguste Hess' maternal side



Family Schloss³⁸⁵



Löser Sannel Schloss, Death Register, 1830³⁸⁶ (Handelsmann)



Jendle Schloss, Death Register, 1827³⁸⁷

First Generation

1. Sannel.

Children:

- i. Jacob Sannel Schloss. (1762- 1835)
- ii. David Sannel Schloss (1769- 1835)
- iii. Moses Sannel Schloss (1771- 1831)
- iv. **Löser Samuel, Sannel Schloss** (1773- 8.1.1830)

Second Generation

2. Löser Samuel, after 1808, Sannel Schloss. (1773, Windecken -1830)

Löser Samuel was a Handelsmann

Löser married **Jendle**. (1776 -9.9.1827)

They had one child: i. **Ella (Elise) Schloss** (1807- ?)

Third Generation

3. Ella (Elise) Schloss. Born in 1807, Windecken.

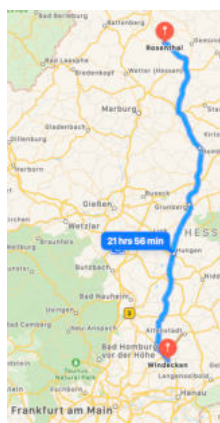
Ella married **Samuel Wolf Hess** (1796-10.8.1871), son of **Wolf Elias Hess & Scheine**.

They had the following children:

- i. Elias. Born in 1826.
- ii. Jendle. Born in 1827. Jendle died in 1873; she was 46.
- iii. Schonle. Born in 1829.
- iv. Johannette/Jeannette. Born on 7 Dec 1829 in Windecken.
Johannette/Jeannette died in Frankfurt/Main, in 1894; she was 64.
Buried in Frankfurt, Rat Beil, field 60.
Johannette/Jeannette married Jessel/Joseph/Yosef Bock, son of Isaac Bock & Scheile Hirsch. (6 Sep 1820 Lich, - 4 Nov 1869, Lich) in 1850.
nb. Jessel was a first cousin of the author's maternal great-grandfather.
- v. Blumche. Born in 1831.
- vi. Wolf. Born in 1833. Wolf died in 1843; he was 10.
- vii. Lazarus. Born in 1836. Lazarus died in 1837; he was 1.
- viii. Joseph. Born in 1838.
- ix. Jakob. Born in 1840.
- x. Isaak. Born in 1842. Isaak emigrated to USA in 1865
- xi. **Auguste (27 Apr 1845-4 Aug 1920)**
- xii. Moritz. Born in 1847. Moritz emigrated to USA in 1865
- xiii. Rosalie. Born in 1849.
- xiv. Lob (Leopold). Born in 1851.

NB. Jessel/Joseph/Yosef Bock

Windecken and Rosenthal, a brief history



Windecken³⁸⁸

Windecken lies 13 km to the north of Hanau and 21 km northwest of Frankfurt/Main.

There was already a Jewish community in Windecken in the Middle Ages. Jews were persecuted there during the Black Death in 1348/49, and some were killed, the rest driven out. It was not until the 15th century that there is evidence of Jews in Windecken again. In 1632 there were 28 Jewish families. Until the nineteenth century the Jews, according to Kingreen, lived primarily in the *Judengasse*, a 'ghetto' where they lived separately from their Christian neighbours. However, in the 1700s, the gate was no longer locked, and some Christians moved into the area.³⁸⁹

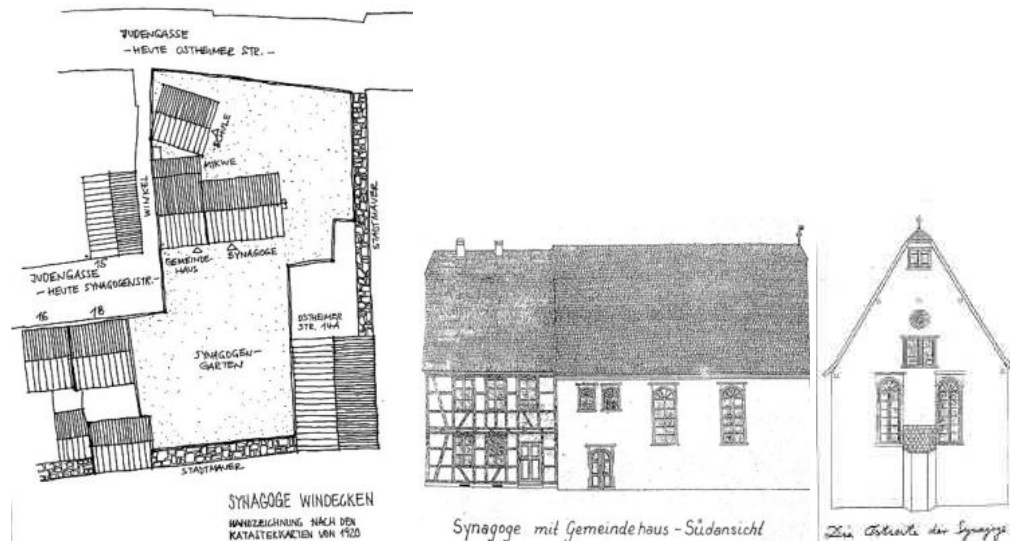
A synagogue, that was demolished in 1512, had already existed since the Middle Ages. Its replacement, built in 1498 in *Judengasse*, remained standing and in use until it was destroyed in 1938. Due to its age, the synagogue owned many old ritual objects. The Jewish community also had a *mikve*, ritual bath a school and a cemetery. The cemetery, situated on the road leading to the town of Hanau, was consecrated in 1497 and destroyed in 1938. Only four gravestones are left. A teacher was employed to take care of the religious duties of the community, who also worked as a prayer leader and *shochet*.

During the time we know that Auguste's family were living in Windecken, Jews numbered: 1827, 112 Jewish inhabitants (9.0% of the total), 1850, 192 (11.2%), 1861, 164. By 1871 with only 57 households, the declining numbers reflected migration to the surrounding large cities such as Frankfurt and Offenbach. In 1810 angry villagers used axes to batter the windows and doors of Jewish houses.³⁹⁰ There were further pogroms against the Jewish inhabitants in 1835 and 1891, which speeded up the migration.

By 1938, only 12 Jews still lived in Windecken. According to Yad Vashem, 14 local Jews were killed in the Shoah.

Windecken is no longer home to a Jewish community. In November 1985, a memorial plaque was unveiled at the former synagogue site.

Images from the Alemannia-Judaica website³⁹¹



Synagogue, community hall, ritual bath, school and synagogue garden with city wall. Reconstruction drawings of the Synagogue and community Hall.

Lives of the Jews of Windecken as researched and described by Monica Kingreen

Just how difficult it was for Jews to live a normal life is seen in Monica Kingreen's summary of the laws and decrees issued in 1734 that dictated the rights and obligations of the Jews of Windecken. These were published in the *Hanauische Judencapitulation* of 1738.³⁹² This gave Jews the right to freely practice their religion, and they were expressly allowed to pray in their synagogue, to engage a rabbi and other religious officials, and to comply with the Jewish rituals such as the use of a ritual bath and circumcision. Article 36 assured them protection and defence and granted the Jews the right of settlement.

However, those with *Schutz* could only settle in the Judengasse after payment of a fee. The following extract is taken from a ten-year research project identifying official anti-Jewish laws proclamations, ordinances etc. throughout history:

9/20/1738 Jew-Regulation, issued by Wilhelm, Landgrave of Hesse, for the City of Hanau [Present-day Germany]: "5. Jews shall remain in their streets during Our high holy days, feast days and Sundays, under penalty of one thaler. 6. Jews may not talk about religion with simple men, under penalty of ten thalers. 8. Jews and Jewesses alike shall wear a yellow ring on the shoulder of their garment. 10. Jews are not allowed to get divorced, except in the case of adultery." 393

'Wearing ringlets' (*peyot/sidelocks*) was forbidden until further notice and keeping Christian house servants with the exception of the Shabbat was forbidden. The injunction forbidding Jews to talk to simple men was clearly for fear that the Jews would try to convert them. Further decrees regulated all aspects of life for the Jews and is detailed by Kingreen.³⁹⁴ Despite these, the legal situation of Jews in the Hanau area at that time was actually more generous than elsewhere.

Of interest is the dispute over the rights of Jews to be allocated wood in the 1830s. Once they had achieved citizenship, they felt they were as entitled to this as any other non-Jewish

citizen, but the issue was complicated. I include it as it illustrates how the process of being accepted as equal citizens was complex and full of acrimony.

The dispute to collect wood from the *Bürgerwald*, the local forest was long and violent and lasted twenty years. It reached a climax in 1835 with the violent attack on the houses of the Jewish families in the Judengasse.³⁹⁵ Accessing wood was essential, and the citizens of Windecken had a lifetime annual right to collect a specific wood allocation from the *Bürgerwald* as a source of heat and also as lumber for house building and repairs. Jews, however, as they were not citizens, had no rights, and over the centuries, had had to purchase wood. The dispute started after the Jewish merchant Höxter was accepted as a citizen in Windecken in March 1830 against the will of the city of Windecken. He then demanded wood as his right but was refused. In 1834, other Jews also became citizens, and they renewed their demand for the right to the allocation.

In November 1834, several Jewish citizens of Windecken; Josef Wolf Hess, Samuel Wolf Hess, Löser Stern, Jacob Stern, Kaufmann Höxter, Jacob Levi, David Samuel Schloss, Jacob Lazarus Oppenheim and Aron Oppenheim appealed to the government in Hanau for adjudication. Their contention was that as citizens they had agreed to share the citizens' obligations and demanded the right, like every other citizen, to receive a wood allocation; but this had been stubbornly refused.

The government in Hanau responded to the letter asking the Windecken city council to report within eight days on the practice of accepting foreigners as citizens of Windecken, with the associated burdens and benefits. The city council replied that the 'foreigners' had been given citizenship by the electoral government and not with the agreement of the local council, and no foreigners or foreigners accepted as citizens should be allowed the wood allocation. This developed into an intense dispute between the Windecken local and the Hanau electoral governments. Hanau eventually issued the order for the forest authorities to let the Jews have their wood. However, the foresters did not turn up and the Jews returned home, evading the local citizens who had gone to chase the Jews and foresters out.

The following is a summary in the *Hanauer Zeitung* of what happened next, April 1835: *At midnight, however, when the frightened Jews had long since been in their beds and no one else thought of a disturbance of the peace, all of a sudden, at a given signal, whole groups of criminals (around 80 in a different report) armed with axes marched in front of the houses of the local Jews and struck with axes all accessible windows, shutters and 4 front doors in 16 Jewish houses. Just think of the horror and agony of the poor Jews, who thought they had to be worried for their lives. Fortunately, the conspirators contented themselves with smashing the windows, doors and shutters of the Jews, and withdrew after they had finished their work without a sound as they had come. Immediately afterwards the city authorities appeared and inspected the battlefield. The investigation, initiated immediately, into these regrettable excesses, will hopefully bring the guilty to light so they do not escape the punishment they deserve.*



As a result of the investigation a guard was ordered to patrol every night until otherwise ordered. *This has been done strictly so far. However, this is very difficult for the civil guard, especially at this time of the year, when everyone has important work to do in the field.*

However, no wood allocation resulted and the dispute between local and electoral governments continued. In 1839, a list of local Jewish citizens submitted an application for timber, which was rejected by the Windecken council who did not recognise them as citizens. They included David Samuel Schloss, who had died, the widow of Marum Jacob and Moses Samuel Schloss.

Also reported in the Jewish and non-Jewish press was the following:

According to Der Israelit, 23 March 1891, Dr. Böckel, had wanted to hold an antisemitic meeting on Sunday in Windecken. There was a great 'stormy' commotion when it was declared that only like-minded people should be allowed in. Böckel was escorted out of the hall by gendarmes. When there were physical disputes, the mayor finally felt compelled to requisition military protection. the military arrived in a special train from Hanau and 40 men stayed in the village until Monday morning. In the meantime, Böckel had taken a hasty retreat.

Associated with the *Böckelschlacht*, the Böckel battle, was a serious desecration of the Jewish cemetery.³⁹⁷

Rosenthal³⁹⁸

Rosenthal was a small village 100km due north of Windecken. The first Jewish presence is recorded in 1604 and the peak Jewish population was 63 in 1861. In 1933 it was 27. Most local Jews were cattle traders and had surnames that began with 'Rosen.' In 1857, the community established a synagogue, a school for religious studies and a cemetery. Anti-Semitism was rampant in Rosenthal during the 1880s, and many Jews were assaulted on the streets.

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Yad Vashem - <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/>

Deutz Jewish Cemetery

Judenkirchhofsweg 1, 50679 Köln-Deutz. Gardener Herr Erich Reichart
Cemetery Director, Daniel Lemberg, Synagogen-Gemeinde Köln

Endnotes

¹ With thanks for the photo to his son Eric Bier

² Köln in German.

³ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5b/Panorama_K%C3%B6ln.jpg

⁴ Both the names קצח and קוס begin with the same Hebrew letter, 'yud'. In the middle of a word the yud is a vowel which can sound similar to a soft letter 'i'.

⁵ Franzheim, L. *Juden in Köln. Von der Römerzeit bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, (Köln: Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 1984). Replica of a copper engraving by Arnold Mercator, 1571. Page 20

⁶ Franzheim, L. *Juden in Köln. Von der Römerzeit bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, (Köln: Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 1984). Replica of a copper engraving by Arnold Mercator. (HM 1901/191 und KSM 1984/857, Köln) (Photo: © Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, Zimmermann, Rolf, rba_c013093)

⁷ Plan of the City of Cologne, 1800, Published by John Stockdale.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_Plan_of_the_City_of_Cologne,_1800,_John_Stockdale-9832.jpg

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_Plan_of_the_City_of_Cologne,_1800,_John_Stockdale-9832.jpg

⁸ A *Memorbuch* or Memorbook is a very useful community record, often added to over many centuries. In many instances they were started as a record of persecutions, together with the names of martyrs and the dead. Memorbooks are primarily devoted to the learned and influential, although others may be included for special reasons, especially Jews distinguished for their noble character, or who performed their duties toward the community particularly faithfully, or who gave or bequeathed gifts to its institutions. The so-called *memmern*-the reading of the lists of martyrs and of places of martyrdom-was heard in synagogue on the Shabbats before the Ninth of Av and before Shavuot.

(<http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10613-memor-book>)

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[http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=moreTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=BLL01014488798&indx=1&recIds=BLL01014488798&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&&dsent=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCCONTENT%29&vl\(2084770704UI0\)=any&tb=t&vid=BLVU1&mode=Basic&srt=rank&tab=local_tab&dum=true&vl\(freeText0\)=jellinek%20deutz&dstmp=1616601676231](http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=moreTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=BLL01014488798&indx=1&recIds=BLL01014488798&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&&dsent=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCCONTENT%29&vl(2084770704UI0)=any&tb=t&vid=BLVU1&mode=Basic&srt=rank&tab=local_tab&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=jellinek%20deutz&dstmp=1616601676231)

¹⁰ Conversation with Nathanja Hüttenmeister

¹¹ *Memorial book of the Jewish Community of Bonn*; Manuscript, (1784-1898)

British Library, Or 11696: (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_11696)

¹² Schulte, K. *Familienbuch der Deutzer Juden* (Köln: Böhlau, 1992). Out of print (Available in the British Library)

¹³ Kober, A. *History of the Jews in Cologne* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940), page xii

¹⁴ Magnus, S. *Jewish Emancipation in a German City: Cologne, 1798-1871*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997)

¹⁵ Niclas Esser from the Cologne archive kindly explained that '...the history of the holdings of Deutz is indeed a bit confusing. Until 1888 Deutz was not a part of the city of Cologne, so the Historical Archive was not responsible for the records of Deutz until this moment. It was only in the 20th century that earlier documents accidentally came into the archive of the city of Cologne. So not only the Landesarchiv holds documents of the time before 1888, but we hold some documents too, and some of them relating to Jews in Deutz': Best. 300 Deutz, Freiheit http://historischesarchivkoeln.de:8080/actaproweb/archive.xhtml?id=Best++++00000100ufi#Best___00000100ufi (particularly A 127 to A 132) and

http://historischesarchivkoeln.de:8080/actaproweb/archive.xhtml?id=Vz++++++00064491MHupElko#Vz_____00064491MHupElko

¹⁶ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.100

¹⁷ Kober, A. *History of the Jews in Cologne* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940), p. 247

¹⁸ Ibid. This date comes from the Deutz Memorbook according to Kober.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Jewish academy for Jewish research, Volume 15* (Ann Arbor: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945). *List of persons buried in the Cologne cemetery from 1597 to 1696*, pp 60-64

²⁰ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juden_im_Herzogtum_Westfalen.

Jewish orders and authorities: The Cologne electors and sovereigns in the Duchy of Westphalia regulated the situation towards the Jews with Jewish orders. The central legal basis for permission for Jews to live in the Cologne area of power was the acquisition of a so-called *Geleitbriefes*, letters of conduct. The basic regulations for *Geleit* were met by the *Judenordnungen*, Jewish orders. *Geleit* was personal and generally for the male head of the household. After checking the person and his assets, the right to a *Geleit* had to be paid for and had to be renewed, usually, once again, for a large amount. *Geleit* was only given for a specific location and allowed a family to settle in that location and work there as permitted under the current Jewish regulations.

²¹ Sources given for this section:

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²² <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/3059-berg>

²³ 2021 will see events celebrating 1700 years of Jewish life in German speaking lands. See <https://www.1700jahre.de/english/>

²⁴ Kober, *History of Jews in Cologne*, pp. 5-6

²⁵ <https://www.lbi.org/events/shared-history-conference/>

²⁶ Ibid. p.13

²⁷ Graetz, H. *History of the Jews*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, c1891-1898), Volume 3, <https://archive.org/details/historyofjews03graeuoft/page/304/mode/2up>

²⁸ Magnus, S. *Jewish Emancipation in a German City: Cologne, 1798-1871*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). Magnus updated Kober's research and gives an excellent outline of the tussles between city and church in the medieval period. pp.12-20

²⁹ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.65

³⁰ Kober, *History of Jews in Cologne*, pp. 141 -153.

³¹ <https://bibleportal.com/encyclopedia/the-1901-jewish-encyclopedia/berg>

³² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cologne#/media/File:Dankaerts-Historis-9364.tif>

³³ Kober, *History of the Jews in Cologne*, p.154

³⁴ With thanks to Shapero Rare Books, London who copied this map during the 2021 Covid 19 lockdown in London

³⁵ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.45

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- ³⁶ Franzheim, L. *Juden in Köln*, p.123. Watercolour by W. Scheiner, 1884. Note the two Stars of David on the synagogue roof.
- ³⁷ Ibid. p. 125. Watercolour by Rodewald, 1914
- ³⁸ Magnus, S. *Jewish Emancipation in a German City*, p. 24
- ³⁹ Schulte, page 115. Footnote 4: the owner of the property was Simon Cohn. For more details see section on Sophie Heller's ancestry below
- ⁴⁰ Magnus, S. *Jewish Emancipation in a German City*, p. 98
- ⁴¹ Ibid. this is discussed fully in chapter 4
- ⁴² Ibid. p.75
- ⁴³ Ibid. p.95
- ⁴⁴ Ibid p. 53, f. 31, Judenpatente, Nov. 10, 1835
- ⁴⁵ Ibid p.53, f.31
- ⁴⁶ Ibid. Table 4, *Jewish Occupational Structure, 1825, 1835*, p. 50. Isaac had not made it into the 1835 *Adress-Buch* of Cologne for 1835, though his wife was noted as resident. (See later section on Isaac Bier)
- ⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 148, and f. 19
- ⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 220
- ⁴⁹ Ibid. p.221
- ⁵⁰ Carlebach, A. *Adass Yeshurun of Cologne; the life and death of a Kehilla*, (Belfast: W. Mullan & Sons, 1964), p.13
- ⁵¹ Ibid. p.10
- ⁵² Maximilian wrote in his diary that he walked over this new bridge in 1860.
- ⁵³ With thanks to Rita Wagner, City Museum of Cologne for explaining the history of the bridges https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kategorie:Br%C3%BCcke_in_K%C3%B6ln
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- ⁵⁸ Ibid. p.117
- ⁵⁹ Kober, *Festschrift*, p, 206.
- ⁶⁰ Kober, *History of the Jews in Cologne*, p.156
- ⁶¹ See also the novel, Learner T. *The Witch of Cologne* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2003)
- ⁶² Ibid, p. 146
- ⁶³ Roth, C. *The Qualification of Jewish Physicians in the Middle Ages. Speculum* 28, no. 4 (1953) p.835
- ⁶⁴ Ibid, p.842
- ⁶⁵ Kober, *History of the Jews in Cologne*, p.146
- ⁶⁶ Efron, J. *Medicine and the German Jews: a history* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2001)
- ⁶⁷ Kober, *History of the Jews in Cologne*, p. 152
- ⁶⁸ Schulte, pages, 158 and 159
- ⁶⁹ Brisch, *Geschichte der Juden*, p.118
- ⁷⁰ With thanks to both Hanno Müller and Inge Steul for their help with the translations
- ⁷¹ Kober, A. *Festschrift*
- ⁷² Kober, A. *Rhineland Jewish Doctors 1650-75*, Reel 7 around 1220, Leo Baeck Institute Archive, New York. Handwritten notes.
- ⁷³ As noted earlier, Dr Annette Haller, Germania Judaica and Nathanja Hüttenmeister, Steinheim Institute, have both confirmed that the research by Schulte is to be used with caution as there are inconsistencies.
- ⁷⁴ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 65, Family Bier
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 158, Family Schlam

- ⁷⁶ Ibid., *Familienbuch*, p.159, f.1, Family Schlam
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., *Familienbuch*, p.152, f.3, Family Rindskopf
- ⁷⁸ Jellinek, A. *Märtyrer- und Memorbuch*, p.34
- ⁷⁹ Ibid. p. VI
- ⁸⁰ Sources used in this section; <https://www.juedische-gemeinden.de/index.php/gemeinden/a-b/499-buergel-hessen>, http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/buergel_friedhof.htm, <https://www.xn--jdische-gemeinden-22b.de/index.php/gemeinden/e-g/658-friedberg-hessen>, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/landjudenschaft>. Hans-Helmut Hoos – Kehillah Kedoschah - *Spurensuche: Geschichte Der Juedischen Gemeinde in Friedberg- Auf Den Spuren Der Friedberger Juden Von Den Anfaengen Bis Zur Gegenwart* 2009 p. 94. Andreas Gotzmann (hrsg.) *Kehilat Friedberg I – Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte Jüdisches Leben in Friedberg 16.-18. Jahrhundert* pp. 194-195. Dissertation by Birgit E. Klein: *Wohltat und Hochverrat. Kurfürst Ernst von Köln, Juda bar Chajjim und die Juden im Alten Reich, Hildesheim u.a. 2003*. Leopold Löwenstein: *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Juden in Deutschland, 1903*, p.55
- ⁸¹ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.159, f. 2. Reference to Brisch, *Geschichte der Juden* p.117. The page is in fact p.111
- ⁸² <https://images.app.goo.gl/f27QjYN4FDqXJpi29>
- ⁸³ Kober, A. *History of the Jews in Cologne*, p.367, f. 50
- ⁸⁴ Also see <https://www.juedische-gemeinden.de/index.php/gemeinden/a-b/499-buergel-hessen>
- ⁸⁵ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/buergel_friedhof.htm
- ⁸⁶ R. Zevi Benjamin Auerbach, *Berith Avraham*, Frankfurt am Main, 1880, p.25
- ⁸⁷ Brisch, C. *Geschichte der Juden in Cöln und Umgebung aus ältester Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart. Nach handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen, bearb. 1879-82*, p.111
- ⁸⁸ Löwenstein L. *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Juden in Deutschland, 1903*, p.55
- ⁸⁹ Kober, A. *History of the Jews in Cologne*, p.161 and p.367, f. 50
- ⁹⁰ <https://www.xn--jdische-gemeinden-22b.de/index.php/gemeinden/e-g/658-friedberg-hessen>
- ⁹¹ Schulte, K. *Bonner Juden und ihre Nachkommen bis um 1930: Eine familien- und sozialgeschichtliche Dokumentation (Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Bonn (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1976)*, p. 560
- ⁹² Dissertation by Birgit E. Klein: *Wohltat und Hochverrat. Kurfürst Ernst von Köln, Juda bar Chajjim und die Juden im Alten Reich, Hildesheim u.a. 2003*.
- ⁹³ Rabbi for the whole territory of Kurköln. The prefix *Kur* means right to elect. Kurköln was a Bishopric with historical rights to participate in the election of the Holy Roman Emperor.
- ⁹⁴ Kober, A. *History of the Jews in Cologne*, p.161 and footnote 50, pp.366-7
- ⁹⁵ Zehnder, F. *Hirt und Herde : Religiosität und Frömmigkeit im Rheinland des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: DuMont, 2000) pp.256, 257
- ⁹⁶ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/landjudenschaft>. In the Holy Roman Empire Jews were organised into self-governing institutions called *Landjudenschaften* and these, depending on the period concerned, dealt with spiritual matters but also with taxation imposed on the Jews. ‘An attempt was made in Frankfurt in 1603 to set up a permanent overall organization, based on a uniform system of taxation and a central judiciary; it failed because of the ascendancy of the princes and the waning of imperial power in Germany’.
- ⁹⁷ Klein, pp 418 - 419, translated by Nathanja Hüttenmeister
- ⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 454
- ⁹⁹ With thanks to Patrick Weise, Stadtarchiv Friedberg, for summarising these two books wthat were researched by Cilly Kasper-Holtkotte *Hans-Helmut Hoos – Kehillah Kedoschah - Spurensuche: Geschichte Der Juedischen Gemeinde in Friedberg- Auf Den Spuren Der Friedberger Juden Von Den*

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- Anfaengen Bis Zur Gegenwart 2009 p. 94, and Andreas Gotzmann (hrsg.) *Kehilat Friedberg I – Cilli Kasper-Holtkotte Jüdisches Leben in Friedberg 16.-18. Jahrhundert* p. 194-195
- ¹⁰⁰ *Reaktionen aschkenasischer Juden auf Einflüsse des Zentrums in polen am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Hebrew, Sinai 51 (1987/88)*, p. 226-240, p. 227
- ¹⁰¹ Stefan Litt: *Protokollbuch und Statuten der Jüdischen Gemeinde Friedberg (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, *Kehilat Friedberg II*, hrsg.v. Andreas Gotzmann, Friedberg 2003
- ¹⁰² Translated by Ma Hornung
- ¹⁰³ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.186, Anlage II
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 188, f. 16. The KK sources are now all in the archives of the Landearchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen (LAV NRW) and is now based in Duisburg.
- ¹⁰⁵ Deutsch, G., Freimann, A., 'Berg', *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1906, volume III, p. 66, www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/3059-berg
- ¹⁰⁶ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, lists the Jews living in Deutz from an official register. The register is undated but is believed to be from 1596. 'Isack, Doctor des Medicin, seine Frau, drei Kinder' p. 184. Schulte, *Familienbuch der Deutzer Juden*, see Appendix I, p. 184
- ¹⁰⁷ Brisch, *Geschichte der Juden*, p.111
- ¹⁰⁸ Löwenstein, U. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg 1267-1600*. Bd. 3. (Wiesbaden: Komm. für d. Geschichte d. Juden in Hessen, 1989), pp. 99-100
- ¹⁰⁹ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.159, f. 2
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid. p.158, no source given
- ¹¹¹ Kober, *Proceedings*, pp. 61-63
- ¹¹² Brocke M., Bondy D., *Der alte jüdische Friedhof Bonn-Schwarzrheindorf*, (Rheinland-Vlg., Köln 1998)
- ¹¹³ Deutsch, G., Freimann, A., 'Berg', *Jewish Encyclopedia*, p. 66
- ¹¹⁴ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.43
- ¹¹⁵ The meaning of Hakadesh could possibly be a place to do with offering health services which must have relied on charitable donations.
https://www.jewishgen.org/databases/holocaust/0109_Oradea.html
- ¹¹⁶ Translated by Nathanja Hüttenmeister.
- ¹¹⁷ Schulte, *Familienbuch der Deutzer Juden*, states that before 1596, Abraham Salomon married Beila [daughter of] Isaac Warbrück who died 1631/1635, Deutz (Schulte). However, Beile daughter of Isaac Warbrig was (from the Hebrew) the wife of Abraham Parnas, a different man, and died in 1635.
- ¹¹⁸ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, (Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1971-1973), volume 5
- ¹¹⁹ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.43
- ¹²⁰ Ibid. p.188, f.16. According to Ma Hornung, who translated the entry, the meaning is tricky, but this is how the text reads.
- ¹²¹ Kober, *Festschrift*, p.207
- ¹²² Schilling, K. *Monumenta Judaica : 2000 Jahre Geschichte Und Kultur Der Juden Am Rhein*, (Köln: Stadt Köln, 1963) p. 265
- ¹²³ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.188, f.16 and Kober, *Festschrift*, p.207
- ¹²⁴ Hebrew text and translation with thanks to Nathanja Hüttenmeister
- ¹²⁵ Jellinek, A. *Märtyrer- und Memorbuch*, p. 28
- ¹²⁶ Kober, A. *Festschrift zum 75 jaehrigen Bestehen des juedisch-theologischen Seminars*, p.210b
- ¹²⁷ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, Anlage II, p. 186 and p.187, f. 13
- ¹²⁸ Ibid. p70 f. 2, KK IV 4524 Bl.188 Duisberg
- ¹²⁹ Transcribed and translated by Nathanja Hüttenmeister
- ¹³⁰ Kober, A. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, page 64
- ¹³¹ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, Anlage IV, number 1, p. 193.
- ¹³² Ibid.
- ¹³³ <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10259-maggid>

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- ¹³⁴ She was the sister of Mordechai who was referred to in the history section and who was drowned in the Rhine.
- ¹³⁵ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, Anlage IV, number 12, p. 193.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid. p.193, Anlage IV
- ¹³⁷ Ibid. p.65 (Bier genealogy)
- ¹³⁸ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, Anlage V, p. 194
- ¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 110, f. 2
- ¹⁴⁰ Franzheim, L. *Judaica / Kölnisches Stadtmuseum* (Köln: Rudolf Müller, 1980). Pages 248 and 249, item no. 96: Beschneidungsbecher
- ¹⁴¹ Mordechai (as entered in the Memorbook) was the son of another doctor, Judah Leib Rofeh. Judah's sister Yütla had been the wife of Isaac Eisak Bier.
- ¹⁴² Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.191, Anlage III
- ¹⁴³ Dietz, A. *The Jewish Community of Frankfurt* (Camelford: Vanderher Publications, 1988), p.281
- ¹⁴⁴ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 151 and p.158
- ¹⁴⁵ Dietz, *The Jewish Community of Frankfurt* Under Jewish law a woman cannot marry her nephew, pp. 280-284
- ¹⁴⁶ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, Anlage IX, p.208
- ¹⁴⁷ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.65
- ¹⁴⁸ Translated by Ann and Stuart Rosen
- ¹⁴⁹ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, Family Winterschwieg, p.172
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid., Anlage III, p. 191, official document in connection with proof of right of residence.
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid., *Familienbuch*, p.152, f.3, Family Rindskopf
- ¹⁵² Hebrew text and translation with thanks to Nathanja Hüttenmeister
- ¹⁵³ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 65
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid. Family Marcus, p. 144
- ¹⁵⁵ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 65 and f. 7, p.70
- ¹⁵⁶ Beines, J. 'Die alte Synagoge in Deutz' in *Rechtsrheinisches Köln, Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Landeskunde. (Cologne: Geschichts- & Heimatverein rechtsrhein. Band 14, 1988)*, p.51. This was given to me by Jean Paul Bier as a reference.
- ¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p.70, f.7
- ¹⁵⁸ Franzheim, L. *Judaica / Kölnisches Stadtmuseum* (Köln: Rudolf Müller, 1980). Pages 430 and 431 show item no. 178: *Chanukka-Lampe*, made by Johann Philip Henschel, Frankfurt am Main, 1773
- ¹⁵⁹ Schulte, K. *Bonner Juden und ihre Nachkommen bis um 1930*, p. 299
- ¹⁶⁰ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.70, f. 8
- ¹⁶¹ <https://synagogues-germany.anumuseum.org.il/index.php/synagogues-and-communities?pid=54&sid=88:ahrweiler>
- ¹⁶² Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 65, 'FN Bier ab 1837. U dt 1810'
- ¹⁶³ *Sterbeurkunde* Gemeinde Köln, Entry 95. Handwritten extract from Max Bier's notebook (died 1908)
- ¹⁶⁴ *Sterbeurkunde* Gemeinde Deutz, Entry 200. Handwritten extract from Max Bier's notebook (died 1908)
- ¹⁶⁵ *Amtsblatt für den Regierungsbezirk Köln: 1846*, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=dQ5PAAAACAAJ&pg=RA4-PA243&lpg=RA4-PA243&dq=Amtsblatt+der+Regierung+Koeln+1846&source=bl&ots=CoeMujWreB&sig=ACfU3U1RZVve18wmD1561oTOo2INBO01dA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjyuaH617b1AhXJMewKHcauADQQ6AF6BAgYEAM#v=snippet&q=bier&f=false>
- ¹⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁸ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 133, Family Joel
- ¹⁶⁹ With thanks to the Landesarchiv NRW and Wolfgang Fritzsche who obtained this from the archive. See top of certificate for the reference.

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- ¹⁷⁰ Magnus, *S. Jewish Emancipation in a German City*, p. 253, f. 31
- ¹⁷¹ Magnus concludes that it is unclear how economically attractive butchering was; some were wealthy but others not, p.290, f. 68. She also comments that the meat trade in Cologne had a surfeit of Jews. 21% of all Jews in commerce were in the meat business in 1844. Also, the high degree of professional hereditary of butchering amongst Jews with sons of butchers continuing in this line meant that it was more difficult for outsiders to make a living.
- ¹⁷² Ibid. p.152, Table 14
- ¹⁷³ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/_RHV&CISOPTR=30372, p.195
- ¹⁷⁴ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/_RHV&CISOPTR=28684
- ¹⁷⁵ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/_RHV&CISOPTR=32496
- ¹⁷⁶ <http://wiki-de.genealogy.net/w/index.php?title=Datei:Koeln-AB-1846.djvu&page=27>
- ¹⁷⁷ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/_RHV&CISOPTR=29187
- ¹⁷⁸ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/_RHV&CISOPTR=29566
- ¹⁷⁹ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/_RHV&CISOPTR=36484&REC=2
- ¹⁸⁰ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/collection/_RHV/id/37956/rec/8
- ¹⁸¹ www.stadt-koeln.de/historisches-archiv with thanks to Wolfgang Fritzsche who obtained these copies from the Historical archive of the city of Cologne.
- ¹⁸² Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 74
- ¹⁸³ Ibid. p. 71, f.18
- ¹⁸⁴ www.stadt-koeln.de/historisches-archiv
- ¹⁸⁵ Magnus, *S. Jewish Emancipation in a German City*, p. 162, and f.59
- ¹⁸⁶ With thanks to Franklin Steen
- ¹⁸⁷ *The London Gazette*, April 13 1860, p. 1457,
<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/22376/page/1457>
- ¹⁸⁸
https://www.ancestrylibraryedition.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/1587/images/31160_A002199-00315?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=eb264430e6a74ba2f1213cc0f96ee0b7&usePUB=true&_phsrc=mfl16&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pld=106842
- ¹⁸⁹
https://www.ancestrylibraryedition.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/1587/images/31161_A003056-00150?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=0bd2acedf4de017934af404b136cb13d&usePUB=true&_phsrc=UNi16&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pld=313482
- ¹⁹⁰ Magnus, p.16344
- ¹⁹¹ Elon, A. *The Pity of it All: A Portrait of Jews in Germany 1743-1933*, (London: Allen Lane/Penguin books, 2003) pp. 65,66
- ¹⁹² With thanks to Ivan Cori for his transliteration and Guy Shapiro for helping translate some very tricky passages
- ¹⁹³ The folder with the letters was donated to the Jewish Museum Frankfurt in November 2021. They have offered to transcribe them in due course.
- ¹⁹⁴ Letter 26th August 1867
- ¹⁹⁵ The entry of the marriage in the Register is number 434 and is held in the Frankfurt Stadtarchiv
- ¹⁹⁶ Siegfried died of heart failure on his way back from Europe to the USA, where he had been living, aboard the S.S. Excambion when it was due west of Lisbon. It looks as if he died on the evening of the first day of the voyage. The telegram from the ship informed the family that he was buried at sea. From 1940 to 1941 the S.S.Excambion made many round trips between Lisbon, Portugal and New York. The ship was instrumental in the success of the war-time Emergency Rescue Committee; transporting thousands of Nazi refugees in Europe to freedom in the United States
<https://ssmaritime.com/Excalibur.htm>
- ¹⁹⁷ Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main. Best. H.02.16 (Senatssupplikationen) 861-11
- ¹⁹⁸ <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/periodika/periodical/pageview/8691396>
- ¹⁹⁹ <http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/3543118/ft/bsb11183928?page=40>

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- ²⁰⁰ <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/periodika/periodical/rpage/8853718>
- ²⁰¹ With thanks to Wolfgang Klötzer's publications of old photographs and watercolours
- ²⁰² https://de.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fahrgasse#/media/Datei%3AFrankfurt_Am_Main-Fay_157-Die_Fahrgasse_von_Sueden-um_1900.jpg
- ²⁰³ <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/periodika/periodical/rpage/8857575>
- ²⁰⁴ *Zoncafarbe* would appear to be a paint or ink that includes a disinfectant or germicide according to old scientific books found via a google search. An example from 1902 is:
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=BJ8AAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA336&lpg=PA336&dq=zoncafarben&source=bl&ots=MqPiGocVmG&sig=ACfU3U2aiHDBovFuvDc75Q1hdaT3GSmOgg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiC5sm9hqz0AhVKe8AKHQnmDNoQ6AF6BAgCEAM#v=onepage&q=zoncafarben&f=false>
- ²⁰⁵ <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/periodika/periodical/pageview/8692171?query=bier%20>
- ²⁰⁶ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zeil#/media/Datei:Frankfurt_Am_Main-Zeil-Ansicht_von_der_Hauptwache_nach_Osten-1910.jpg. Caption: *Zeil mit zahlreichen Neubauten (u. a. Robinsohn, Zeilpalast, Hoff und Auffahrt) nach Osten, 1910 (Ansichtskarte)*
- ²⁰⁷ Afternoon prayers
- ²⁰⁸ Kaplan, Marion A.. "Women and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identity in Imperial Germany". *Deutsche Juden und die Moderne*, edited by Shulamit Volkov, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019, pp. 57-74. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110446593-007>
- ²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 60
- ²¹⁰ <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/periodika/periodical/pageview/8708118?query=bier%20>
- ²¹¹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Kulturdenkmäler_in_Frankfurt-Ostend#Hölderlinstraße
- ²¹² Rabbi Louis Jacobs in <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/samson-raphael-hirsch-the-father-of-neo-orthodoxy/>. Also, Morgenstern, M. *From Frankfurt to Jerusalem: Isaac Breuer and the History of the Secession Dispute in Modern Jewish Orthodoxy*, (Studies in European Judaism, V. 6), (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003)
- ²¹³ *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 7th October 1854, page 232. The article on the previous page related the dedication of the new IRG synagogue in September 1853. Copy available in the British Library.
- ²¹⁴ In 1999, I donated these minutes and notes to the archive in the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt.
- ²¹⁵ With thanks to Ma Hornung for transcribing the Gothic text and Judith Russell for the translation
- ²¹⁶ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm/compoundobject/collection/_RHV/id/41679/rec/16
- ²¹⁷ <https://bierjudaicajlm.co.il/english/>
- ²¹⁸ With kind permission from the publishers Brill Deutschland - Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage who have allowed these texts to be scanned for private and non-commercial purposes only. Online publication is not permitted.
- ²¹⁹ <https://museenkoeln.de/ns-dokumentationszentrum/default.aspx?s=714>
- ²²⁰ <https://museenkoeln.de/ns-dokumentationszentrum/default.aspx?s=782>
- ²²¹ <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch>
- ²²² <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/>
- ²²³ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl>
- ²²⁴ Photo with thanks to Erika Adler
- ²²⁵ https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&s_id=&s_lastName=bier&s_firstName=ruth&s_place=&s_dateOfBirth=&cluster=true
- ²²⁶ Photos with thanks to Erika Adler
- ²²⁷ <https://museenkoeln.de/ns-dokumentationszentrum/default.aspx?s=2523&sfrom=1196&stid=1967&buchstabe=B>
- ²²⁸ https://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/Community/Leeds/cemeteries/BHH%20Cemetery/Burial_BHH_E_293.htm
- ²²⁹ <https://museenkoeln.de/ns-dokumentationszentrum/default.aspx?s=2523&sfrom=1196&stid=1504&buchstabe=H>

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- ²³⁰ Schulte, p 56
- ²³¹ Erika Adler reported a conversation with Anne Martine, daughter of Ilse
- ²³² Photos with thanks to Evylene Keller
- ²³³ The entry for Abraham is only found on the Yad Vashem website
- ²³⁴ In early April 1945, prisoners from Bergen-Belsen concentration camp were transferred to Theresienstadt concentration camp. One of the three trains used for this was liberated by the Russian army near the village of Tröbitz. Many occupants did not survive this train journey. On April 25, 1945, 28 of the persons who died in the train were buried in a mass grave. This communal grave is located on the road to Wildgrube, just before the big bend to the left on the left on the slope, about 20 meters from the road. Norma Vigeveno-Wolfferts was buried in this communal grave. <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/527315/about-norma-frieda-vigeveno-wolfferts>
- ²³⁵ Permission was sought to use the photo from the Merkelbach Archive. They replied that they did not have this image in their image bank (9.4.2021) <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/155287/gustaaf-vigeveno>.
- ²³⁶ With grateful thanks to Ilana Eidelheit, Gottlieb and Amelie's granddaughter, for permission to use these family photos including the Stolpersteine.
- ²³⁷ <https://www.stolpersteine-berlin.de/en/biografie/7875>
- ²³⁸ Eidelheit, Ilana, *Briefe in eine Richtung: Von Berlin nach Palestina 1933-1944*, Published privately and translated into Hebrew by Ilana Eidelheit
- ²³⁹ Ibid
- ²⁴⁰ All photos, including the Stolpersteine with permission from Meir (Maximilian) Bier, Israel. Meir has written his biography: *We have survived and are standing strong*.
- ²⁴¹ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/118757/hedwig-rothschild-bier>
- ²⁴² <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/341048/michel-baltissen>
Michel's testimony reveals the sufferings of this family. The Joods Monument have tried to contact him on my behalf, but unfortunately have not had any success.
- ²⁴³ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/221526/rosa-beem-hertzdahl>
- ²⁴⁴ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/26740/hermina-juliana-beem>
- ²⁴⁵ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/181994/juliana-hermina-beem>
- ²⁴⁶ Photo credit: Collection Jewish Museum Amsterdam
- ²⁴⁷ <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/nameDetails.html?language=en&itemId=13340307&ind=1> and <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/131266/jozef-david-beem>
- ²⁴⁸ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/341048/michel-baltissen>
- ²⁴⁹ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/354724/het-lot-van-de-kinderen-beem>
- ²⁵⁰ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/131266/jozef-david-beem>
- ²⁵¹ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/355372/mijn-moeder-wordt-opgehaald>
- ²⁵² <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/517114/about-jacob-hart>
- ²⁵³ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/100455/marika-julia-van-emden-hart>
- ²⁵⁴ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/en/page/605312>
- ²⁵⁵ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/215309/karl-randerath>
- ²⁵⁶ <https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/215308/sophie-randerath-leons>
- ²⁵⁷ Photo credit: Atelier J. Merkelbach/Amsterdam City Archives
- ²⁵⁸ With thanks to Ilse Zilversmit for this photo of her grandparents Rosalie and Hermann and family
- ²⁵⁹ <https://www.stadt-koeln.de/artikel/04512/index.html>
- ²⁶⁰ Both photos, © NS-Dokumentationszentrum
- ²⁶¹ <https://museenkoeln.de/ns-dokumentationszentrum/default.aspx?s=2523&sfrom=1196&stid=1911&buchstabe=B>
- ²⁶² https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&s_id=&s_lastName=bier&s_firstName=&s_place=cologne&s_dateOfBirth=
- ²⁶³ Asaria, Z. *Die Juden in Koln*, 1959
- ²⁶⁴ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 108

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- ²⁶⁵ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.108. *Familien Gottschalk*
- ²⁶⁶ Ibid. Schulte notes he died before 1751. But from the Memorbook entry (pp. 42, 43) for his deceased daughter in law in 1745, it appears that he had predeceased her.
- ²⁶⁷ Schulte queries in a footnote to his entry for Jacob Daniel whether he is the same person as Daniel David, who was documented as living in Deutz 1737/38. He was also possibly called Gedalja and died in Deutz, 8 January 1747, according to the Deutz cemetery records.²⁶⁷ Given the year of death, this is unlikely. Neither Jacob Daniel nor Daniel David are entered in the Memorbook.
- ²⁶⁸ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 306
- ²⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 196, 198, 205
- ²⁷⁰ Schulte obtained this latter information from the Deutz cemetery records. I am not aware of and have not been shown these particular records. he ק"ק in the Memorbook entry refers to Kurköln: the Archbishopric and Electorate of Cologne, whose seat was in Bonn.
- ²⁷¹ Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, p. 88
- ²⁷² Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, pp. 88, 89
- ²⁷³ Jellinek, A. *Märtyrer- und Memorbuch*, pp. 61,62. With thanks to Shaya and Ilana Edelheit who translated this Memorbook entry.
- ²⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 313
- ²⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 195
- ²⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 56, Illustration copied from EC Heimann, *The old synagogue in Deutz* p. 117.
- ²⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 53
- ²⁷⁸ Ibid. page 110, f. 2
- ²⁷⁹ Jellinek, A. *Märtyrer- und Memorbuch*, p.69
- ²⁸⁰ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, pp.108, 215,216
- ²⁸¹ Ibid. p.220
- ²⁸² Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p.215, Anlage XIII, 1805, list showing the net worth of the Jews of Deutz
- ²⁸³ Magnus, *Jewish Emancipation*, p.177 and p.292, f. 101, Kober, *The Jews of Cologne*, p.302
- ²⁸⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andreas_Gottschalk. Picture in the collection of the cologne City Museum. The Wikipedia text is also taken from the label accompanying the picture.
- ²⁸⁵ As will be seen, I have mainly relied on their research, and I am very grateful to Nathanja Hüttenmeister and the Institute for permission to quote from their website.
- ²⁸⁶ *Bonner Memorbuch*, British Library, Ms. Or 11 696
- ²⁸⁷ Schulte, K. *Bonner Juden und ihre Nachkommen bis um 1930: Eine familien- und sozialgeschichtliche Dokumentation (Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Bonn)* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1976)
- ²⁸⁸ Ibid. pp. 179 – 183 and Schulte, *Familienbuch* pp. 80 - 84
- ²⁸⁹ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/bonn>, <https://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/3540-bonn>, <http://germansynagogues.com/index.php/synagogues-and-communities?pid=63&sid=270:bonn>
- ²⁹⁰ <https://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/3540-bonn>
- ²⁹¹ Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, Anlage 11, p. 570
- ²⁹² See Brocke, Michael und Dan Z. Bondy, *Der alte jüdische Friedhof Bonn-Schwarzrheindorf*
- ²⁹³ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=ffb-1274>, (ffb-1274)
- ²⁹⁴ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-4132>, (bns-4132)
- ²⁹⁵ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-5332>, (bns-5332)
- ²⁹⁶ *Bonner Memorbuch*, p. 8b.
- ²⁹⁷ Steinheim Institute, entry for Josef's son Meir, <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-4132>
- ²⁹⁸ *Bonner Memorbuch*, p. 9a.
- ²⁹⁹ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=ffb-1274>. Schulte S. 46ff., S. 179, AA und AB, S. 182, Anm. 2 und 7, S. 183, Anm. 12
- ³⁰⁰ Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, p.46.

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- ³⁰¹ Dietz, *The Jewish Community of Frankfurt*, pp. 143-148, and especially 148-153
- ³⁰² Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, p.181, f.1
- ³⁰³ Ibid. p.50. as Schulte has not included Hertz in his genealogy, I shall not add him either. In 1730 he was still in Mainz, and his son Moyses Cassel from 1723-1748 and in 1760 there is mention of his grandson Gumpel Moyses Cassel.
- ³⁰⁴ This is unlikely to have been the rabbinical excommunication, a *Cherem*, as in 1726 he was still going to synagogue.
- ³⁰⁵ Ibid. Anlage 1, p. 551 Anlage 12, p.575, Anlage 15, p. 580, Anlage 16, p. 583
- ³⁰⁶ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=ffb-1274>, (ffb-1274))
- ³⁰⁷ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-4132>, Sources used Schulte S. 46 ff., S. 179, AB, S. 182, 2 und 182, 7 (Cassel)
- ³⁰⁸ *Bonner Memorbuch*, p. 10a
- ³⁰⁹ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 84, f. 42
- ³¹⁰ Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, Anlage 2, p.554
- ³¹¹ Ibid., p.179. *Bonner Memorbuch*, p. 12b
- ³¹² <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-4120>, (bns-4120)
- ³¹³ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 80
- ³¹⁴ Jellinek, A. *Märtyrer- und Memorbuch*, p. 62. Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, p.179, gives an alternative date of death; 1825
- ³¹⁵ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-4132>
- ³¹⁶ www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-5332
- ³¹⁷ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-5333>
- ³¹⁸ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-5338>
- ³¹⁹ *Bonner Memorbuch*, endnotes p. 8a
- ³²⁰ Schulte, *Bonner Juden*, p.46.
- ³²¹ <http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat?id=bns-4120>
- ³²² Sources used for this section:
Burkard, K-J, Thill H-H, Missling, H., *Unter den Juden : Achthundert Jahre Juden in Boppard*, (Geschichtsverein für Mittelrhein und Vorderhunsrück. Boppard: Dausner, 1996)
Archive Information from Stadt-Koeln
<http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/images/Images%20391/Beitraege%201992-2%20Boppard.pdf>
- ³²³ With thanks Wolfgang Fritzsche who obtained this from the Landesarchiv NRW archive. Permission was requested to use this image in January 2022 with no reply. See top of certificate for the reference.
- ³²⁴ Burkard K. and Thill H., *Unter den Juden: 800 Jahre Juden in Boppard*.
- ³²⁵ For a fuller account see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boppard>
- ³²⁶ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/boppard_synagoge.htm#Boppard
- ³²⁷ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/koblentz>].
- ³²⁸ Ibid. p. 151
- ³²⁹ Ibid. p. 47
- ³³⁰ Burkard K. and Thill H. *Unter den Juden: 800 Jahre Juden in Boppard*, p. 34, and f. 29. „Dies ergibt sich aus dem ‚Umlagzettel der Churfürstlichen Neujahrs- und Judenschaftlichen Interessengelder pro Anno 1755‘, abgedruckt in: Hans Bellinghaus, *Aus den Akten der israelitischen Gemeinde von Koblenz*, in: *Koblenzer Heimatblatt, Wöchentliche Sonderbeilage des Koblenzer Generalanzeigers vom 31.12.1927.* ‘This results from the ‘levy for the electoral New Year’s and Jewish interest funds per Anno 1755’, printed in: Hans Bellinghaus, from the files of the Israelite community in Koblenz, in: *Koblenzer Heimatblatt*, weekly special supplement of the *Koblenzer Generalanzeiger* dated December 31, 1927. ‘ Supplied with thanks to Caroline Seiler, archivist at the *Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz*.
- ³³¹ Burkard K. and Thill H, *Unter den Juden: 800 Jahre Juden in Boppard*, p. 38
- ³³² http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/boppard_synagoge.htm#Boppard

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- ³³³ <https://www.a-h-b.de/de/projekte/familienforschung/name-adoption-lists/koeln>
- ³³⁴ The Jaques gets dropped, presumably after the French leave and he reverts to Jakob Abraham.
- ³³⁵ <https://www.a-h-b.de/de/projekte/familienforschung/name-adoption-lists/boppard>
- ³³⁶ Burkard K. and Thill H., *Unter den Juden: 800 Jahre Juden in Boppard*
- ³³⁷ Ibid. pp. 211- 219.
- ³³⁸ Ibid. pp. 206/7
- ³³⁹ Ibid. pp. pages 228 -231
- ³⁴⁰ BOPPARD p. 228
- ³⁴¹ Ibid. pp. page 228,229
- ³⁴² Ibid. pp. 270 – 273, for the full family list
- ³⁴³ Ibid., p. 270
- ³⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 225
- ³⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 31
- ³⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 290
- ³⁴⁷ <https://www.a-h-b.de/de/projekte/familienforschung/name-adoption-lists/koblenz>
- ³⁴⁸ Schulte, K. *Familienbuch*, pp. 115, 74 and 144
- ³⁴⁹ Sources for this family tree are a combination of Schulte, the 1808 Cologne name change list, the marriage and death records for Sophie and the gravestone of Joseph Heller.
- ³⁵⁰ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p74, f. 1
- ³⁵¹ Schulte, K. *Bonner Juden*, p. 435
- ³⁵² Schulte, K. *Familienbuch*, p. 116, footnote 1:
‘See table Bonn-Deutz-Michel m.w.N. Another (!) elderly and poor Salomon Levi (sic) is allowed to stay in Deutz in 1772. He lives on his son’s alms and under his roof. In 1770, the court councillor notified the court chamber that the, ‘Jewess Vogelgen – wife of Solomon Levi? A widow? - in Deutz, had a fine(?) eine Brücht of 5 gold guilders imposed on her’. As Lieb Salomon had, according to Schulte, died in 1759, it is difficult to see why this evidently ‘other’ Salomon Levi was mentioned.
- ³⁵³ The testimony of Rabbi Michael van Geldern, see below, states that Fögelche Semmel was also born in Deutz
- ³⁵⁴ Ibid. 116, footnote: *‘See above table. In 1773 Joseph Juda lives with his brother Samuel Levi in Deutz’.*
- ³⁵⁵ Schulte, *Deutzer Juden*, p. 116, f.1
- ³⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 116, f 3
- HASIK Deutz Freiheit 131 Bl. 62, 81, HSAD, KK IV 4648 Bl. 425, 441, 4651 Bl. 1b.
- ³⁵⁷ <https://www.a-h-b.de/de/projekte/familienforschung/name-adoption-lists/koeln>
- ³⁵⁸ http://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/_RHV&CISOPTR=46410, p.77
http://genwiki.genealogy.net/Kategorie:Adressbuch_f%C3%BCr_K%C3%B6ln
- ³⁵⁹ Ibid. 116, footnote: *‘See above table. In 1773 Joseph Juda lives with his brother Samuel Levi in Deutz’.*
- ³⁶⁰ Schulte, *Deutzer Juden*, p. 116, f.2
- ³⁶¹ Schulte, *Deutzer Juden*, p. 75, f.3
- ³⁶² Ibid. P. 115
- ³⁶³ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 115
- ³⁶⁴ Nb. Although Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 115, listed Maximilian Heller’s wife as Judula Judith, *daughter of Abraham Wolff (Neuwied?)*, the chances are that this is not significant, as earlier it was seen that the identified Abraham Wolff from Boppard was not identical to Judith’s father.
- ³⁶⁵ With thanks Wolfgang Fritzsche who obtained this from the Landesarchiv NRW archive.
Permission was requested to use this image in January 2022 with no reply.
- ³⁶⁶ Schulte, *Familienbuch*, p. 115
- ³⁶⁷ Hebrew text and translation with thanks to Nathanja Hüttenmeister
- ³⁶⁸ C.U.Lipschitz & N. Rosenstein, *The Feast and the fast : the dramatic personal story of the Tosfos Yom Tov zt’l*, (Brooklyn, N.Y , 1944). This book, which is a translation of Megillat Eiva, includes

genealogical charts of many of his descendants. The autobiographical Megillat Eiva (Scroll of Envy), 1645, by the famous Rabbi Yom Tov Lipman Heller, ABD Prague, (the Tosfos Yomtov), describes his prosperous life, the great misfortune that befell him and his ultimate triumph over adversity. See also <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7542-heller-yom-tob-lipmann-ben-nathan-ben-moses-levi>

³⁶⁹ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v1030595>

³⁷⁰ Monica Kingreen *Jüdisches Landleben in Windecken, Ostheim und Heldenbergen*; (Hanau : CoCon Verlag, 1994)

³⁷¹ See <https://widenthecircle.org/profiles/monica-kingreen>

³⁷² Ibid. p. 80

³⁷³ Ibid. p. 43

³⁷⁴ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/windecken_synagoge.htm. Plan from Geschichtsverein Windecken.

³⁷⁵ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v1701290>

³⁷⁶ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v362448>

³⁷⁷ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v5895355>

³⁷⁸ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v3523683>

³⁷⁹ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v1696439>

³⁸⁰ <https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v5516202>

³⁸¹ Ibid. p. 73.

³⁸² M. Kingreen, *Jüdisches Landleben in Windecken*, p. 505

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<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v2083545&selectId=45925674>
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<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v2083545&selectId=45925677>
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³⁸⁵ M. Kingreen, *Jüdisches Landleben in Windecken*, p. 511

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<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v2083545&selectId=45925677>
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<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v2083545&selectId=45925677>
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³⁸⁸ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/windecken_friedhof.htm

http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/windecken_synagoge.htm

<https://synagogues-germany.anumuseum.org.il/index.php/synagogues-and-communities?pid=66&sid=1363:windecken>

³⁸⁹ M. Kingreen, *Jüdisches Landleben in Windecken*, p. 35

³⁹⁰ <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0265691416630925> quoting M. Meyer and M. Brenner, eds, *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit*, (Munich 2000), Vol. 2, p. 283.

³⁹¹ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/windecken_synagoge.htm. Plans from Geschichtsverein Windecken. Photo of synagogue from M. Kingreen p.77

³⁹² M. Kingreen, *Jüdisches Landleben in Windecken*, pp. 59 - 60

³⁹³ <http://oaja.info/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/OAJA-WEBSITE-2-Full-Dates-2021.pdf>
2,763 Official Anti-Jewish Acts throughout History

Hanausche Juden-Capitulation, De Anno MDCCXXXVIII (Jew-Regulation for Hanau, of the year 1738). Hanau, 1738. Researched by Dominik Jacobs 01/02/2020

Research undertaken by the non-profit A-Mark Foundation

³⁹⁴ Ibid. pp. 59 - 60

³⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 67 - 70

³⁹⁶ British Library, Newspapers: Nr.1-4952,4988 (1 July 1843 - 27 June 1940; 13 Nov.1941)

³⁹⁷ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/windecken_synagoge.htm. Source: Kingreen, p.106

³⁹⁸ <https://synagogues-germany.anumuseum.org.il/index.php/synagogues-and-communities?pid=66&sid=1118:rosenthal>