

# אם בארזים נפלה שלהבת

*"When even cedars fall in flames ..."*

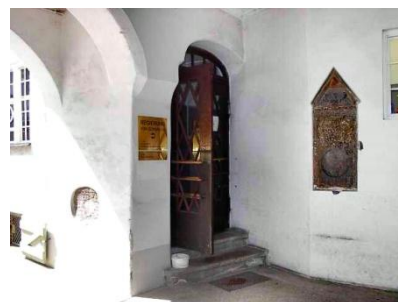
Some explanatory notes on history and remnants of the  
Medieval Jewish Cemetery of Augsburg called *Judenkirchhof*

by Yehuda Shenef

חול המועד סוכות תשע"ב



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## 0. Acknowledgements

*This writing depended on the work of many years I have spent in immediate vicinity of the location of the medieval Jewish cemetery as well as of the former Jewish quarter. Stamped by Hebrew scriptures of old scholars from the region who referred time and again to medieval Augsburg and Medinat Schwaben, it proved very useful to consult Christian and Humanist writings from local contemporaries as well.*

*All photographs, maps and translations from many consulted written sources, either in Latin, current or Middle High German, Yiddish-Taytsh or Hebrew, as well as typos and other mistakes are my own unless otherwise indicated.*

*I would like to thank Mr. Georg Feuerer along with many other staff at the Stadtarchiv Augsburg, who were helpful in many ways and Dr. Christoph Emmendorffer from the Maximilianmuseum in Augsburg who granted access to its lapidarium. Furthermore I would like to thank all members of the JHVA for numerous discussions and recommendations, especially Mrs. Agnes Maria Schilling and Mrs. Margit Hummel. Very special thanks for useful literary references to the honorable Mr. Herbert Spoenk.*

*Last but not least I would like to express my deep gratitude to Chana Tausendfels for her support, encouragement and confidence that the project was worthwhile. She tolerated that umpteen aspects of Jewish grave yards - the elaboration for years has overlapped with very extensive documentations of the still preserved Jewish cemeteries in Augsburg's city districts Hochfeld and Kriegshaber / Pfersee- in terms of surveys, maps, pictures, sketches, stacks of books and articles, models, printouts, etc. virtually became part of our daily life. Without her endorsement this work would not have been written.*

**In loving memory of the good name of our ancestors this work is dedicated to our  
offspring**

Augsburg-Pfersee, chol ha-mo'ed Suckot 5772 (October 2011)

Yehuda Shenef

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## 1. Basic information

The medieval Jewish cemetery of Augsburg was located in the west-northern corner of the old city nearby today's Ice hockey stadium of the *Augsburg Panther*.<sup>i</sup> The cemetery, in medieval terms called "Judenkirchhof" (verbatim: Jews church yard), first is mentioned in a municipal deed dated summer 1298, but probably is older. After the liquidation of the century old Jewish community in the imperial city about 1440 according local tradition the stones of the cemetery were *mis*-used by the Christian population for several municipal construction works within the city. Only five<sup>ii</sup> fragments of the grave markers are preserved, while the area of the medieval cemetery today is overbuilt.

Although there are many references to the Augsburg Judenkirchhof in the course of many centuries, most of them are rather vague or nugatory. The only work with a focus on the detailed description of then eight grave markers from the medieval cemetery is from 1686 and in Latin. General opinion has been content with the assumption that the cemetery was built outside the medieval city fortification and overbuilt long ago; therefore no further questions were raised.<sup>iii</sup> Succeeding authors who at best also had only a marginal interest often even misquoted previous sources they used. Astonishingly enough, thus so far there has been no comprehensive treatise on the cemetery proper. Although this writing has to deal with many aspects of medieval Jewish history in Augsburg it of course necessarily needs to restrict on the main topic which is the medieval cemetery and therefore cannot particularize other facets unless not required. The aim of this unsubsidized work which has no scholarly aspiration is to provide a first attempt and therefore probably has all advantages and disadvantages firstlings usually have.



*Frescos from Hirn Chapel in St. Anna Church, Augsburg, about 1420s*

## 2. Ancient Augsburg

Although in 1985 the city highlighted her 2000 year anniversary, only little is known on Augsburg's ancient Roman history. Post medieval humanist scholars and town clerks asserted that Augsburg was no Roman but a Trojan founding or at least traces back to the time when ancient Trojan fell (compare Swiss town Xanten as mentioned in medieval *Annolied*). Earliest findings however refer to a (rather temporary) military camp on time and again shifting banks of Wertach River near Oberhausen (incorporated to Augsburg in 1911). Records mention *Aelia Augusta* (what clearly refers to Emperor Hadrian as founder of the city) as head quarter and capital of the scarcely populated Roman province *Raetia* (more or less South Germany of today). The pronunciation "ray + cha" mere coincidentally chimes in with the Old Egyptian name "ret'shen" for the land of Israel and Syria. In Augsburg the Roman History Museum has a number of Egyptian findings for instance small figurines of *Harpocrates*, which in Greek was the name for the Romanized Egyptian god of the child Horus, otherwise usually portrayed as falcon, but as a human child together as mother-child-couple (compare Mary and Jesus) with his mother Isis.



*Avitus Alexianus' Elagabal inscription (ca. 196)*

However, the earliest prominent person to be associated with ancient *Aelia Augusta* is *Avitus Alexianus* (about 155 – 217), a Syrian born dignitary who was governor in Augsburg and in the province of *Asia* (then somewhat equivalent with today's Turkey). A preserved inscription dedicated by Avitus describes him as *priest of the deified Flavian Titus<sup>iv</sup> and imperial envoy with praetorian powers of the province of Raetia*. The inscription (a replica is exhibited in the park next to Augsburg Cathedral) however is dedicated to "deo soli elagabal", to the domestic god the sun of Elagabal. The Semitic words "el gabal" verbally mean "rock or mountain god". Sol Elagabalus however was the name of an oriental sun god with the main religious center in Emesa, Syria (Εμεσα, today حمص, in English known as: *Homs*), where a black meteorite stone was worshipped, since the *stone from heaven* was

regarded as being sent from the sun god. The Augsburg inscription refers to it as *domestic* god, a declaration obviously within the authority of the governing Roman proconsul of the Roman province. Although it is another remarkable piece of evidence on the early oriental influence in the region, it hardly would be worth mentioning if the Syrian sun worshipper was not the grandfather of two successive Roman emperors: *Elagabalus* (203-222, actually *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*), who according to contemporary Roman Historian *Cassius Dio* publicly cross-dressed and applied womanlike make up what obviously was a scandal. Elagabal as alleged son of assassinated emperor *Caracalla* became ruler himself age 14 and was killed only five years later. His successor was his younger cousin *Severus Alexander* who conspired against Elagabal with their common grandmother *Julia Maesa*, daughter of the high priest of Elagabal in Emesa and wife of the Augsburg governor Avitus. Severus Alexander who was emperor from 222 to 237 likewise was assassinated, although his regency is regarded as rather lenient. It is said that he allowed to build a synagogue in Rome as well as a "temple for Jesus", what also may indicate early churches and synagogues in Roman provinces like Raetia.

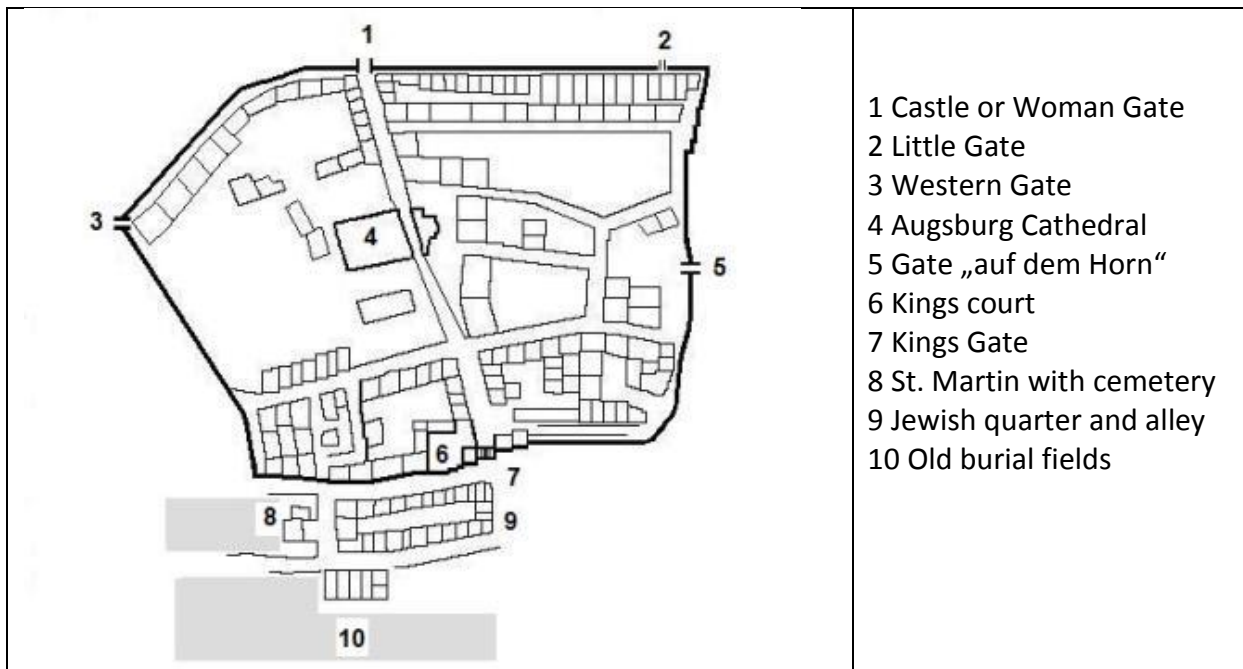


4th to 5th century oil lamps from Augsburg with Jewish motifs (Roman Museum, Augsburg)

Ancient 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century findings such as oil lamps indicate a Jewish presence in Roman Augsburg. Since King *Herod the Great* (73 – 4 ante) as Jewish-Roman historian Flavius Josephus reports had a life guard with Germans, it is not impossible that Jews the other way around also lived in Roman occupied German lands. Beside (far later noted) legends of Christian saints early history of Augsburg only has poor evidence. A lot of ancient findings with biblical themes usually are referred solely to Christianity, although for instance a biblical motif like a dove with an olive branch of course in the first place was a Jewish theme and depiction. A wide-toothed ivory comb which depicts the Jewish prophet *Yona* and the sea monster without hesitation gives evidence for an *early Christian* settlement, although of course it also (and maybe more likely) may indicate a Jewish presence. This way only a few possibilities stay over for indicating a Jewish origin, i.e. the Star of David or the seven branched menorah. In contrary two lines simply crossing of course may have no other intention all over the world as to indicate a strong believe in Christian religion. As long as perception is that selective it of course equals coffee grounds reading.

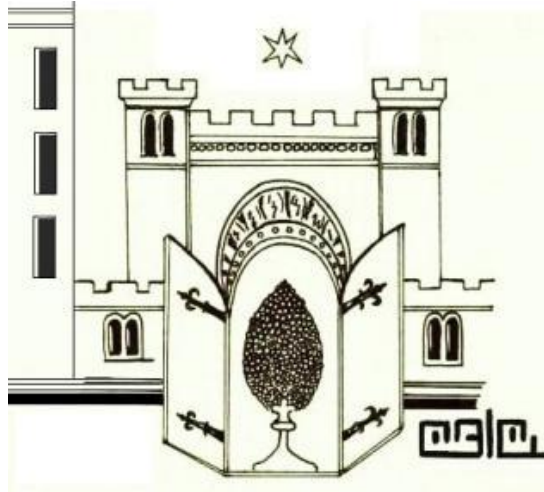
### 3. Medieval Augsburg

The conception of causal relations in Augsburg's medieval history indispensably requires considering attentively the local expansion development from the early 10<sup>th</sup> century Bishop and Burgstadt until its extension to the final state of 1350, ever since regarded as "old city".



The map shows medieval Augsburg *Burgstadt*, the walled in *castle city* with the cathedral (No. 4) in its center. With some 150 houses it occupied only a small part of the later "old city". The main road leads from the northern Burgtor (no. 1), later known as *Frauen Gate*, because of the "Liebfrauen Dom" which refers to Christian Mary to No. 7 known as *Kings Gate* which was placed next to the royal court in later times seat of the *bailiff* or *reeve* (the German term *Vogt* derives from Latin *advocatus*).

The king's gate already was torn off at the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century, but however is best known from the earliest coat of arms or seal of medieval Augsburg, which depicts the twin-towered gate. Inside the opened gate there is the pine cone (the *Zirbelnuss*, botanic: *cembra nut*) and above the building there is a *six pointed star*, which according to local historians symbolizes the *bishop*.



However that be, reports date a first synagogue in Augsburg's *Judengasse* back to early 10<sup>th</sup> century when the small bishop city fortified by a wooden picket fence only time and again was raided by Hungarians and under the helm of Bishop Ulrich now had got a first stone wall, which shaped the *Burgstadt*. Although the city now extended to the south, the Jewish quarter remarkably enough was located right to the king's court and the king's gate. From here in early 13<sup>th</sup> century there also is many written evidence for a Jewish presence. Deeds mention a synagogue, a dance house (Tanzhaus), a bath and in 1298 the *Judenkirchhof*. Later tax payer records name individuals, their annual tax revenue, and the like.

#### 4. A possible older Jewish grave yard

In the course of construction works for Augsburg's new city library at Ernst-Reuter-Platz in spring 2006, some 200 yards away from the west end of medieval *Judengasse* a burial place with some mortal remains headed towards east were discovered. Since there were no grave goods the six buried were interpreted as Roman or poor. It also was pointed out that there had been patrician houses with gardens, but we may not assume that the residents actually buried their dead in their gardens.<sup>v</sup> The patrician houses and gardens however are from 16<sup>th</sup> century when there was no Jewish community in Augsburg and of course it is rather woolly to consider 5<sup>th</sup> century Roman graves as well as patrician ones a millennium later. Furthermore it is somewhat odd why graves oriented towards east inevitably will indicate a Christian or Roman background, when otherwise precisely their grave furnishings are required to be deemed as such. Since it is unclear at what time the *Judenkirchhof* in the north-western part of Augsburg's old city was established<sup>vi</sup>, the question is posed whether there had been an older one before. When Jews in tenth century settled next to the king's court in *Judengasse*, the adjacent southwestern area was undeveloped. On the other hand the *Judenkirchhof* in the northwestern part of the city obviously is part of the extension of the city at the end of 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>vii</sup> Thus the possibility that there had been another earlier Jewish grave yard in the vicinity of later *Judengasse* cannot be ruled out, all the more so



because the discovered graves – according Jewish tradition – were headed to the east and had no funerary goods.

The jointure register of Augsburg's cathedral chapter (Leibgedingregister des Domkapitels) mentions "next to the bathhouse of the Jews" ("*bei der juden badhaus*") a "Steinberg" and in 1370 the „*stainhusz mit dem hof ...daz gelegen ist bi den husern die gehaizzen sint uf dem Judenstain*“ (... with the court ... which is located next to the houses which are called "at the Jews stone").<sup>viii</sup> It was the "Chorherren Steinhaus" (stone house of the Augustinian canon) there. The houses at the "Judenstein" usually are regarded as "Jewish houses", i.e. houses which were in Jewish property. One reason for that would be the proximity to the *Judengasse* (today Karlstr.), but the topographic description obviously refers to houses *south* or *southwest* of the *Judengasse*. Right there a small alley is running which until today has the name "Steingasse". It was assumed that the name was abridged from a previous \**Judengassenstein* or \**Judenhäuserstein*, but there is no evidence.<sup>ix</sup> Since the medieval Jewish cemetery *Judenkirchhof* in 1370 however for more than 70 years is verifiable in a quite different place, it can be ruled out that the naming derives from a single Jewish grave marker which for what reason ever was left there. The term "Judenstein" however is ambiguous and may refer to a single tomb stone<sup>x</sup> as well as to a cemetery in a broader sense. The existence of a burial field in the immediate vicinity is proven. The isolated term "Stein" may indicate to a place of execution, but this can be ruled out next to the *Judengasse* and the expanding trading area of that time. Although the existence of an extensive burial field there is undisputed, it is not possible to prove the possibility that in the area of today's *Grottenau* and *Steingasse* may had been a former, then external Jewish cemetery.

## 5. The situation in 1298

A municipal deed dated August 1298 and written in Middle High German, stipulated that the Jewish community of Augsburg, as represented by a number of delegates mentioned by name, in the course of four years and on own expenses will built a some hundreds yard long part of the city wall under ward of the municipal leaders and according to their requirements.

Although there is no clear evidence, the date of summer 1298 usually is understood in the context of the so called *Rintfleisch*-riots against Jews in southern Germany. In April that year the Jews of the small Franconian town of *Roettingen* (near *Wuerzburg*) were accused of having desecrated a host and hence were burned. In consequence the anti-Jewish riots under the leadership of a knight called *Rintfleisch* (alternative old writing of *Rindfleisch*, means "beef", although not inappropriate, but not in the sense of US slang) spread from Franconia to Bavaria and Austria to *Wuerzburg*, *Rothenburg*, *Nuremberg*, *Bamberg* and

many others, allegedly killed some five thousand Jews in more than 140 towns and villages. The deed formally mentions *Albrecht King of Rome*, who defeated his disputed rival and predecessor *Adolf of Nassau* in the *Battle of Göllheim* (near Worms). Emperor Adolf previously was deposed by influential margraves, but although he himself was accused with desecrations of hosts, simony and blackmail he was not excommunicated by the pope. The conflict extended several months until the decisive battle and Adolf's death there. The anti-Jewish riots quite obviously were a partial aspect of the conflict.

Even though there is some written acknowledgement, for instance in the Jewish *memorbook* of Nuremberg, which names the renowned scholar *Mordechai ben Hillel* (1250-1298) as one of the victims, the actual extent and spread of the pogroms are somewhat legendary. In many occasions a reference to the destruction of an otherwise undated and not described local Jewish community is the only indication, apparently meaningful enough not to raise any further questions on details or evidences. Nevertheless the situation in Augsburg and Regensburg obviously was different. "*When in 1298 the Rindfleisch hordes marched on the city (of Regensburg) with the avowed intention of exterminating the Jews, and asserted that they were obeying the will of God, the city authorities demanded that they furnish unequivocal signs to this effect.*"<sup>xi</sup> Apparently the riot dashed against a simple and rather rational question.

The Jewish writers of the deed give thanks to the municipal leaders of Augsburg for their grace, honor and loyalty, not to harm them and not to allow injustice against them, what indeed *may* refer to the Rindfleisch riots. However the thrust of the writing has a quite different intention for building a larger part of the city wall and therefore rather emphasizes voluntariness, free will and determination of the Augsburg Jewry in order to honor and benefit the city as well as to serve the empire. The decisive factor in Augsburg most likely was the defeat of Adolf of Nassau in July and the different policy of Albrecht. Once undisputed new emperor, Albrecht initiated the arrest and hanging of the villain Rindfleisch. At the time the deed was written, the threat no longer did exist.

On the other hand the document takes the existence of the *Judenkirchhof* for granted, wherefore it remains unclear when it was established. The construction project of extending the city fortification in this part of the old city corresponds with the expansion at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century which included the parts north of the old bishop city.<sup>xii</sup> If the tenth century settlement of Jews in Augsburg already was connected to the building (and financing?) of a stone wall, it of course is conceivable that now three centuries later there was a kind of recollection.

Half a century after the liquidation of the Jewish community in Augsburg, in 1502 at the cemetery an armory was established, this was known as "Katzenstadel".<sup>xiii</sup> The word "katzen", today usually misunderstood as "cat" was the name of siege weapons which were stored in the arsenal. The bastion located on the outskirts of the city wall later known as "Judenwall" (Jews rampart) was built in 1530s, some decades later the moat was made deeper and broader and filled with nearby well water.

The wording of the deed<sup>xiv</sup>:

*We, Bendit, Juedlein his son, Michel, Lamb, Aaron his brother, Josef of Donauwoerth, Mosman his son, Josef of Biberach and his son in law Maus, Liebermannin and her son Seligman, Choewelin of Friedberg, Josef of Muellerstadt, Jacklin and the community of the Jews in the City of Augsburg, mentioned or not, rich or poor, inform all, who read, hear or see this letter, that we because of the grace, honor and loyalty showed to us by the venerable counselors of the City of Augsburg, who did us no harm nor allowed injustice against us. Trusting that they will keep their honor with us with the support of our king Albrecht, king of Rome, we decided voluntarily and by own determination and will for the honor and benefit of the city and as service for the empire to make a wall from our Kirchhof (cemetery) to the city wall to Holy Cross (cloister) at the moat within four years, regarding height and thickness as the humble men Hartmann Langmantel and Conrad the lanky, who were appointed as warden, will illustrate us. We pledged and affirmed to do so in taking an oath on us, we, our men and women, young and old, rich and poor, Hartmann Langmantel and Conrad the lanky, the counselors and the community of the Jews within the city and therefore we give in pledge our school and what else is property of the Jews in the city taken in as proper pawn. If we fail to accomplish the construction within the above named limit, the counselors may accomplish it completely at our costs. Even if some of our comrades should move away, they may make a contribution before they go. If others move in so they should help in the construction, each according to his means. Thus we assure the councils and the community, that we impose our fellow Jews the loyalty and pledge and the bailiff, whoever then will be our bailiff will defend us against injustice and violence. In order that this will not be forgotten this letter is written, sealed and firm with the seal of the city and with our seal, which both are attached.*

*As this occurred from the birth of Jesus Christ have passed twelve hundred years in the eight and ninety year on the eve of St. Bartholomew.*



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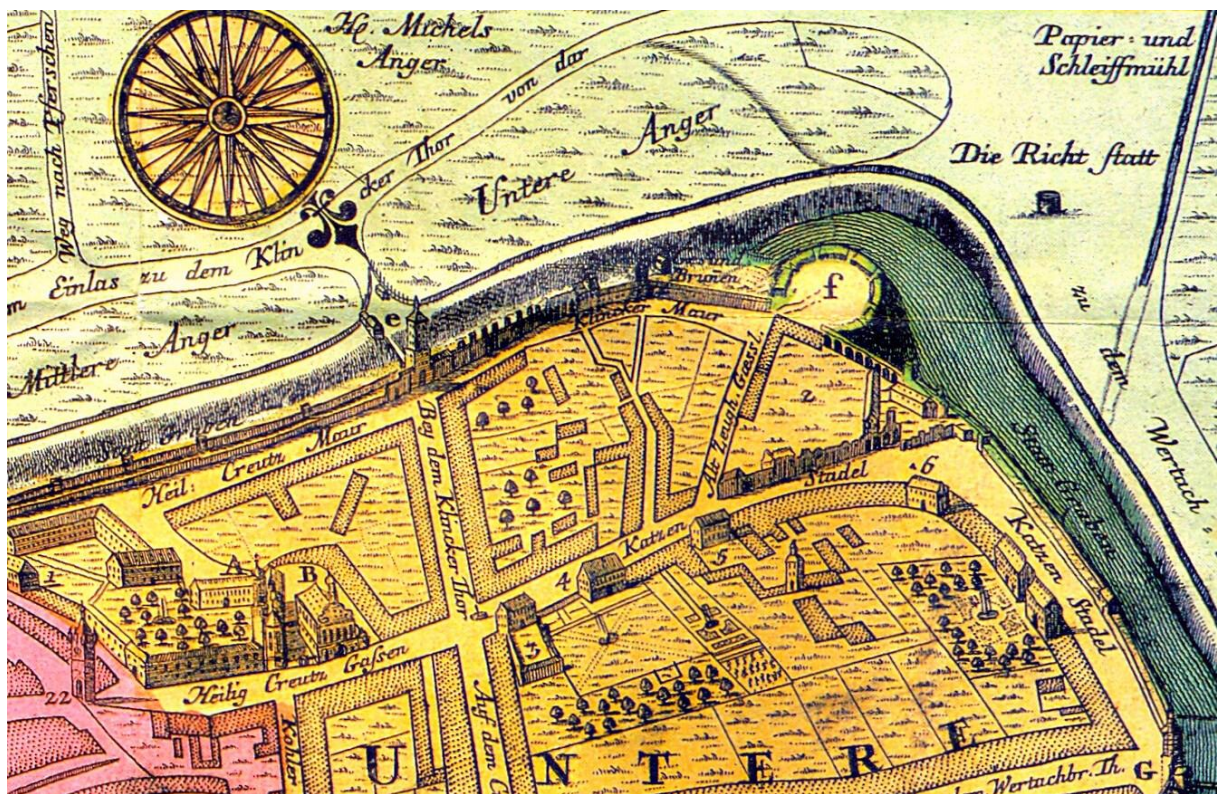
*Jewish Prophet Daniel, Augsburg Cathedral*

The document also is of particular interest, because the seal of Jewish community with Hebrew and Latin inscription was attached to it. Depicted on it is a double-headed eagle, since Frederick II commonly taken as coat of arms of Holy Roman emperors, but has a much older oriental tradition. The imperial bird on the seal is crowned by a Judenhut (Jews hat), attribute of the leader and representatives of the Jewish community.<sup>xvi</sup>

The names day of St. Bartholomew is August 24<sup>th</sup>, which in 1298 was on a Saturday (Day 1, 12<sup>th</sup> of Elul 5158). So the evening is equivalent to *Motzi Shabbat*, i.e. the evening after

Shabbat. The year is given according to the Christian calendar and with reference to Jesus Christ, what of course is a little odd. However, the deed mentions 14 representatives of the Jewish community, among them two women but no rabbi (at least no title). Although the writing unequivocally connects protection of the Jews by the city and the bailiff with the pledge of their community property, the main essence however is the construction of the city wall and the accomplishment within the given limit of four years. Since there was a new emperor apparently at the issuing date it was unclear who will be the (new) bailiff. The document names two counselors *Hartman Langmantel* from a prominent patrician family<sup>xvii</sup> and *Conrad the lanky*. In those times not the mayor but two city counselors (Stadtpfleger) were head of the imperial city government.

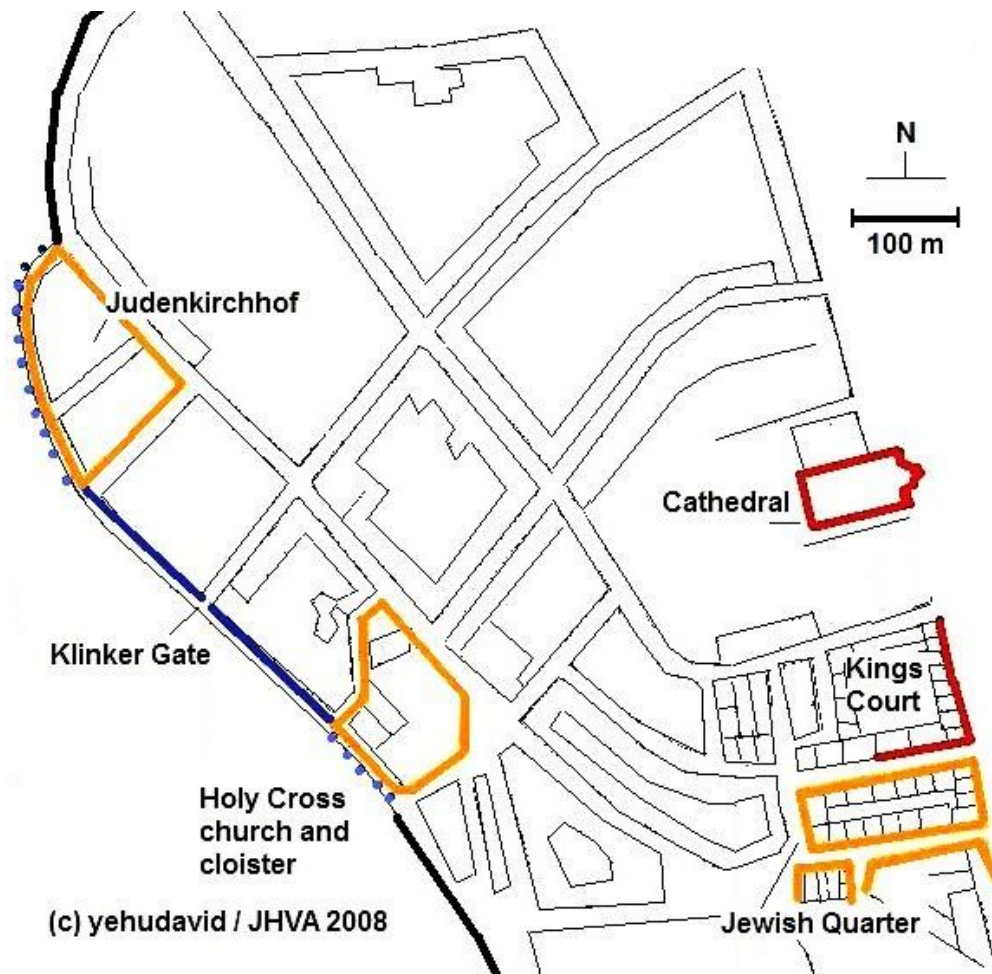
From a mere cultural perspective it of course is noteworthy that the document is written neither in Latin nor in Hebrew, but in the then current Middle High German language. It is regarded as common fact that the oldest known *written* evidence for the so called “Yiddish” language<sup>xviii</sup> actually are from the same period. The Augsburg wall-document from 1298 however takes a common language of the Jews and the counselors of the imperial city for granted. Since it written in the first person and furthermore emphasizes distinctly the voluntariness of the authors, there is no reason to assume another non-Jewish composer. In contrary if the wording would have been dictated or prewritten by a municipal scribe the merely indicated instructions for the wall construction of course were quite more detailed.



Detail from the townscape of famous Augsburg born cartographer *Mattheus Seutter* (1678-1757) from ca. 1760 with “Klinker” gate (e), “Wertachbrucker” gate (G) “Judenwall” (f), “Heilig-Kreutz” churches (B) and in the reddish left corner the former “Heilig Kreuz” gate (22).

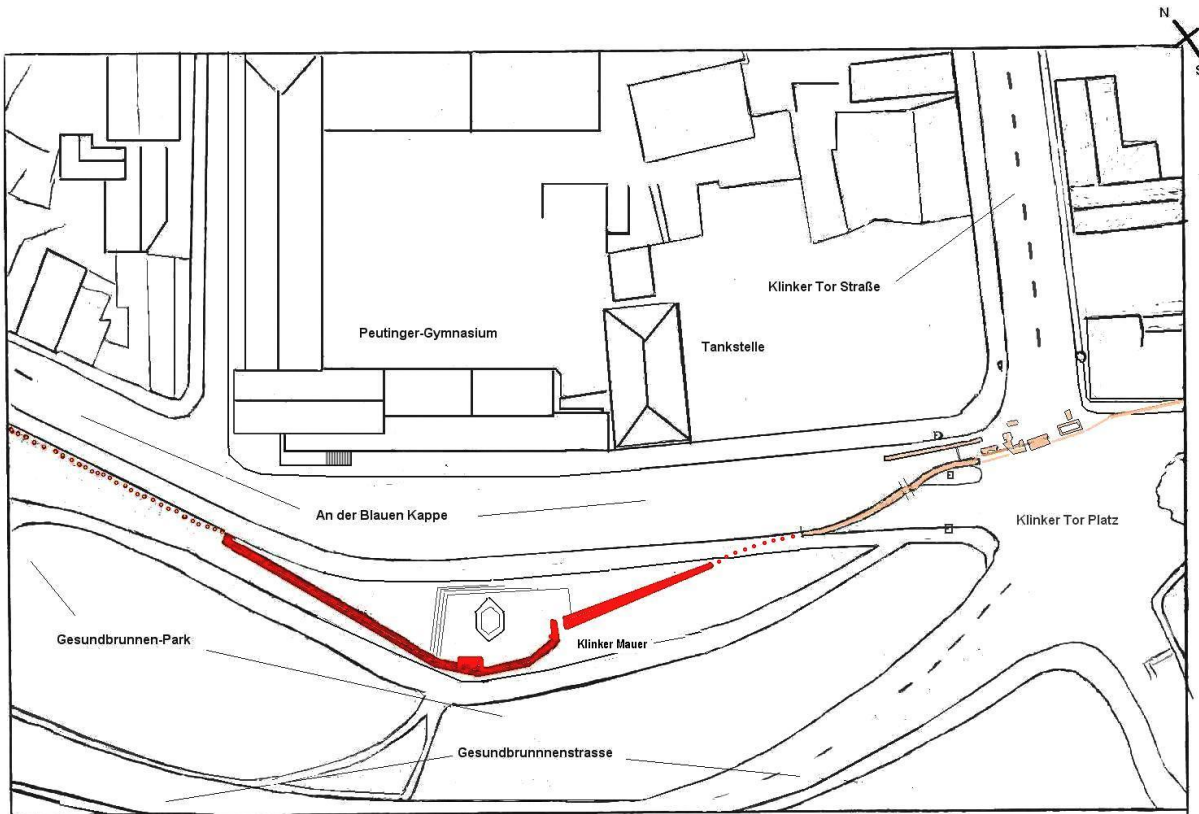
## 6. The wall

The deed defines the route of the constructing wall “from our Kirchhof (cemetery) to the city wall to Holy Cross (cloister) at the moat within four years”. Depending on how one looks on it, for instance if the stretch includes the Judenkirchhof and the cloister or just is from the end of the one to the end of the other, the distance is at least 370 m up to almost 500 m, taking into account today’s Ottmarsgäßchen as terminal point “to the Holy Cross”. Different from the medieval Jewish cemetery some parts of the wall in later times called “Judenmauer” (Jews wall) still remain.



What speaks against the shorter distance is that the Klinker Gate, because being more accurate in the description, would have been mentioned. The gate at this time however probably did not exist, at least not under this name, which for the first time is mentioned in 1480. Its later shape however it became in 1608 by town master mason Elias Holl. Nevertheless is it sure that in 1301 the northern suburb was integrated in fortification of the imperial city. This corresponds with the construction of the wall the leaders of the Jewish community committed to built to the city council and the emperor. So we may conclude that the Jews of Augsburg accomplished the project one year earlier.

Construction works in summer 2008 allowed tracking the actual course of the upper part of the Judenmauer which had been leveled hundred years earlier. The dark red part still exists.



## 7. The location of the Judenkirchhof

Although the Judenkirchhof at least from 1298 on is documented and some of its grave markers and fragments are known and still remain, there is some confusion *where exactly* it was located. Paul von Stetten in his *“Geschichte der Juden in der Reichsstadt Augsburg”* only mentions the construction of the wall by the Jews of Augsburg in 1298 from where the name of the “bastey” (bastion) derived, but surprisingly he does not mention the cemetery at all.<sup>xxix</sup> Fritz Leopold Steinthal in his 1911 dissertation says: *“The cemetery of the community was at the Heilig Kreuz gate outside the city wall”*.<sup>xxx</sup> The statement shows a striking lack of local knowledge or the authors’ mix-up with the same named Heilig Kreuz cloister, mentioned in the wall contract from August 1298. Although since 1330 the name Heilig Kreuz gate is documented, which may be older than town expansion in 1301,<sup>xxxi</sup> however the gate was located 400 m southeast of the Judenkirchhof. New age Augsburg Rabbi Dr. Richard Grünfeld in his *“Festschrift”* noted *“... the Judenkirchhof was situated outside of the town in the proximity of the Heilig Kreuz church opposite the place of execution. Also a garden nearby the Judenkirchhof belonged to the community.”*<sup>xxxii</sup> In a more recent dissertation Sabine Mütscherle in 1996 confirms the cemetery *“was located outside of the town in the northwest on the road which went past the Heilig Kreuz cloister”*.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Beside Paul von Stetten who did not mention the cemetery, the common scholarly opinion clearly locates the Judenkirchhof *outside* the city. The question is why? Reconsidering the wall contract from 1298, it unambiguously also implies the aspect of defense and shelter for the Jewish community. How it would actually be possible to protect the Judenkirchhof from encroachments or attacks if the Jews of Augsburg built a high city wall *behind* it and will expose it thereby? Would that make any sense? Isn’t it in the contrary quite more reasonable to expect that the Judenkirchhof inside the city fortification – built by the Jews – would be way safer? Why the Jewish leaders of Augsburg should have been enthusiastic and grateful, as expressed in the 1298 letter, if their own structure would not have secured their own cemetery? Even Johann Jakob Fugger (1516-1575) was aware that Jewish cemeteries in 14<sup>th</sup> century were secured by strong walls.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

According to the chronicle of Augsburg merchant Burkhard Zink (1396-1475), who makes *no reference on the location* of the cemetery, fifteen years after the departure of the Jews about 1440, “all” stones of the Jewish cemetery were built in several municipal edifices and structure, such as the stairs to the town hall, the “bird’s nest” (an oriel) on the *gate* (!) by the town hall or its tower for the alarm bell.<sup>xxxv</sup> Reports mention the use of some 200 grave markers for this purpose “only”, but obviously many other tomb stones were built in different other construction all over the city of Augsburg, probably not abruptly but according to requirements. Strangely there are no reports from the time when the old town hall was demolished and the new still existing one was built at the end of the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>xxxvi</sup> although one would think that hundreds or at least dozen of old grave marker would have come to light again, insofar they were not used again instantly.



Former medieval town hall of Augsburg<sup>xxvii</sup>

The elementary problem in positioning the destroyed medieval cemetery exactly is the factor that there are no contemporary maps or townscapes. The oldest known cartographic view of the city dates some sixty years later, when the situation already had fundamentally changed. The city wall had been considerably increased, the moat widened and deepened and many of the previously vacant plots now were developed and built-up with several municipal buildings. Therefore the oldest 16<sup>th</sup> century graphics of course cannot illustrate the Jewish cemetery as it was, but the city fortifications which were established in its ambit.



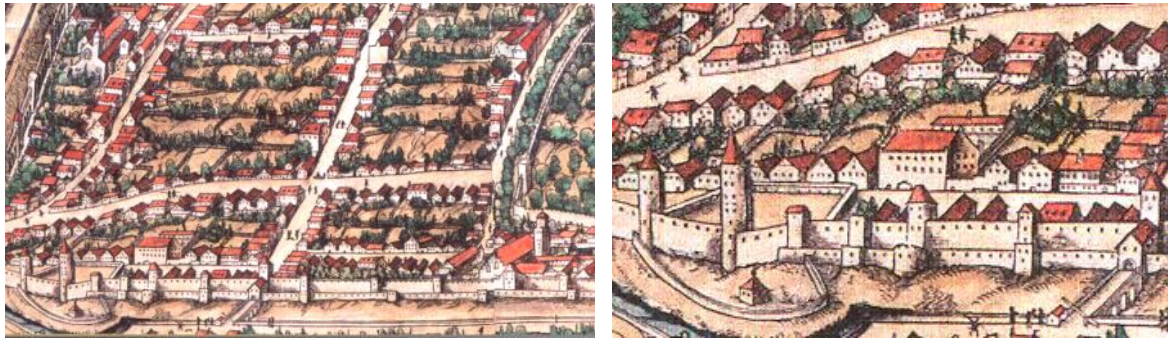
1514 illustration of the city fortification, detail<sup>xxviii</sup>

The depiction shows located on the outskirts on the left near the bridge of the *Klinker* gate a small curved wall with constant embrasures. There also are the explanatory labels "*Hauptstatt*" (verbatim: "head site", meaning *beheading block*; today "*Hauptstadt*" in German means "capital" of a state), "*Judenturm*" and "*Judenkirchhof*".<sup>xxix</sup> The later suggests



congruence with the medieval cemetery, which however was razed 60 years earlier. The existence of a “Judenturm”, depicted within the small walled in area, in 1421 was mentioned in municipal Baumeisterbuch records. In the background there are the imposing towers of the city fortification.

Shortly afterwards in 1521 the scenario of local goldsmith *Georg Seld* (1454-1527) gives an intriguing insight into the inner city.



The small curved wall in front of the city wall with the little tower is depicted in a quite similar manner. Behind the two soaring towers with red peaked roofs however there now appears a somewhat quadratic obviously empty but nonetheless walled in court and another unbuilt area on the left next to it. The clearly visible space, not developed eighty years after the destruction of the Judenkirchhof indeed may be identical with it, if we consider it within the city walls.

Actually nothing else but the label of the 1514 image indicates that the Jewish cemetery was as a kind of addition to the city wall in front of it. The rather small area labeled here as “Judenkirchhof” subsequent maps no longer referred to that way, but as “Judenwall” (Jews rampart) instead. Although both names still recollected the Jewish cemetery, the structure did not outline it. Actually it just depicted an early fortification outwork located in front of a fortress, which originally were *half-moon shaped* and therefore named *demi-lune* or *lunette* (both French: “half-moon” and “little moon”)<sup>xxx</sup>. In later times the crescent-shaped outwork changed to a structure with flanks called *redan* or *ravelin*. The rather rare early 16<sup>th</sup> century illustrations indeed are quite remarkable but nonetheless have nothing to do with the cemetery. Other maps of medieval Augsburg however show a number of ravelins all around the whole city wall. The octopartite map of copperplate engraver *Wolfgang Kilian* (1581-1663) from 1626 shows the later development of the previous *demi-lune* outwork which now appears as a strong bastion, the “Judenbastei” Paul von Stetten in 1803 refers to.

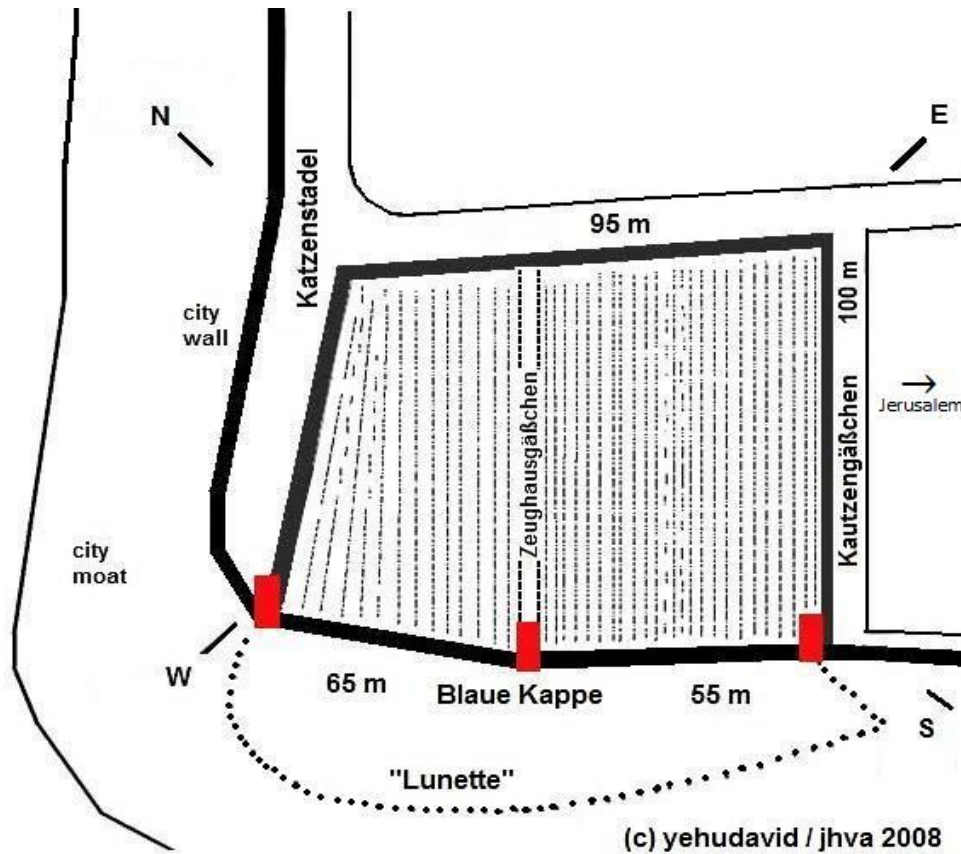
Given that the insight of Seld shows the area of the former Judenkirchhof within the city walls, it is no problem to locate and outline it. According to that the grave yard was bounded on the southeast by the Kautzengäßchen and in the northeast by the Katzenstadel. In western direction it was bounded by today’s Blaue Kappe which to the northwest leads to the Katzenstadel. The extent of the almost quadratic walled in court were some 95 to 100 m, what results to a total area of 9.500 square meters. If the walled off space also was part of

the cemetery it must have been even bigger. However, if we calculate that the space between two graves was some 2m and a grave some 90 cm wide, what would be rather generous for medieval circumstances, there would have been some 45 rows with some 100 graves each, in total some 4.500 burial places. But this calculation of course is only to allow a ballpark estimate. Effectively, using the example of the medieval Jewish cemetery of Worms, the grave markers often were more narrow and the space forward and sideward less. Especially children grave marker quite often only measure 20 to 40 or 50 cm. Since we may assume a higher rate of infant mortality we also may expect a higher number of children tomb stones. So we may presume that the number of graves at the cemetery was much higher than in our first more modest estimation and probably amounted to some 6000 burials sites. Famous Augsburg humanist *Conrad Peutinger* estimated the number of grave markers at the cemetery roughly “several hundred”. It is unclear where the grave markers were during the time span of more than sixty years after the alleged complete removal of all grave markers, mentioned by Burkhard Zink. It is conceivable that in the days of Peutinger at least some of the tomb stones were still on the site of the cemetery and therefore could explain his guess.

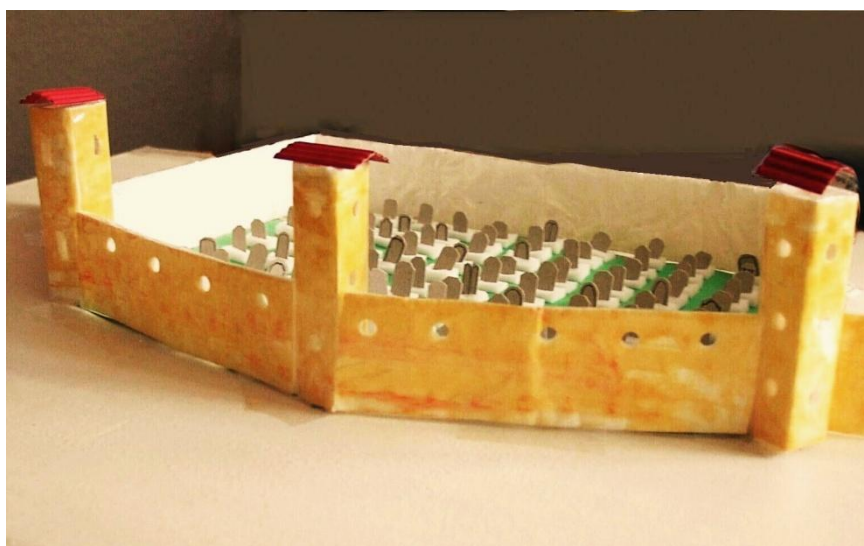
Of course it is debatable, *how many* Jewish burials may have taken place at all. On average the Jewish community in Augsburg approximately had 300-400 people; at times we may assume 800 or more, in recent years however the figure rapidly decreased to some 150 or even less. Within the walls of Augsburg then lived roughly ten thousand people in general. If we consider a generation of some 20 years there is a mean of ca. 350 and twelve generations from 1200 to 1440, what would make a nominal average of some 17 annual burials and a total amount of more than 4.000 burials. Abortive births, child deaths as well as a not to be underestimated number of deceased from other towns who were buried at the Judenkirchhof of Augsburg as well of course are to be added. Different documents bear witness that numerous out-of-town Jews from far and wide were buried in Augsburg. Some records however just mention the toll collected by the guards when a corpse transport went to town. The municipal *Baumeisterbuch* for instance in 1389 notes the takings for five dead Jews from Aichach, two from Donauwoerth and another two from Lauingen. The entrance fee was five guilders.



*Tomb stones at the medieval Jewish cemetery of Worms*



All things considered the situation around 1430's conveys an impression of an almost occupied burial ground. Probably there was no possible extension and no additional compound either. Beside a mood in the imperial city which turned grim and hostile to the Jews, we therefore may assume that this was a decisive factor for the growing movement of Jews from Augsburg we track from decreasing entries in municipal tax lists since the first quarter of 15<sup>th</sup> century. If the Judenkirchhof actually was established the way as the map shows (different from the model), the grave markers also very likely were headed towards southeastern direction that is Jerusalem, as required by Jewish traditional law.



However, the map also allows comparing the likely area of cemetery to that of the (dotted) *lunette* (or *demi-lune*) in front of the city wall. It occupied a space of some 3.000 square meters, which provided room for some 1.500 burials only. If as in 1389 already nine burials were from out-of-town Jews, a less rate of five “moved in” dead in 200 years of occupancy alone would amount to one thousand, while a higher annual rate of ten would exceed by far the available space. But there is another conclusive argument to rule out the commonly-received belief in a Jewish cemetery beyond the bounds of the city wall, built by the Jews in late 13<sup>th</sup> century. A report in German-Jewish journal “Der Israelit”<sup>xxxii</sup> from spring 1891 reports the finding of a medieval Hebrew grave marker in the course of construction works for the building of a prison.<sup>xxxiii</sup> During the Nazi rule the prison was used by the infamous Gestapo and won notoriety. Among the temporary prisoners were many Jews. Antonie Rädler a Catholic inmate of the jail in December 1938 claimed to have a Marian apparition.<sup>xxxiii</sup> In the place of the prison, which was destroyed by bombardments during Second World War, afterwards a new building was erected, used by the local branch of the state insurance institution. Today after extensive restorations and the establishment of an underground car park, the building houses the Augsburg’s Citizens Registration Office (Bürgeramt), where at a window an inscription in white affixed letters only reminds of the former Gestapo prison. Two grave markers found here at least temporarily survived.



“Katzenstadel” prison at Blaue Kappe (Stadt Augsburg)

## 8. Medieval headstones, fragments and remnants

Only few of the medieval Jewish tomb stones from the Judenkirchhof have remained. Three already mentioned markers are built into the wall of the inner courtyard of the Peutinger house near the cathedral, two partially preserved fragments are in different museums in Augsburg, the one is as part of a permanent exhibition, and the other in a basement is not publicly accessible. Five others only are known from a late 17<sup>th</sup> century description and finally there was a 13<sup>th</sup> century stone, found by excavations, as mentioned before, which was photographed in 1927, but was destroyed by US American bombardments in 1944. Overall we therefore just know eleven more or less good preserved or documented medieval Hebrew grave markers.

In many other towns there are remnants of medieval Jewish headstones or fragments. In Regensburg for instance all over the old city are grave markers or fragments built into facades, in courtyards, interior walls of houses or among clerical tomb stones in the cloister of the cathedral, many are located in the vicinity of the old Jewish quarter of Regensburg, destroyed after the expulsion of the Jews in 1519. A notable example for it was the use of a Hebrew memorial stone as seat of toilet, wherefore a round hole was cut into the stone. Numerous other memorial plates reportedly were spread in villages and towns in the region.



*Medieval Jewish grave markers in Regensburg: one in the cloister of the cathedral, the other in a music shop*

The example of Regensburg illustrates a grueling variety of motifs and purposes in the usage of Hebrew grave markers, which ranged from filthy debasement, to mere practical exploiting to blazoning ostentation and humanist souvenir hunting in floors, interior walls,

facades, courtyards, towers, churches, gardens and the like. Since the exploitation of memorial plates of Jews in Regensburg took place about the same time when Conrad Peutinger integrated the three grave markers in the walls of the courtyard of his house, which he acquired in 1515, in addition to the reported use for municipal construction works of the town hall, etc. we may expect a similar variety of motifs and intended purposes in Augsburg as well. Actually there are reports from grave markers which were found in quite different places. However, since it is safe to assume that the vast majority of the stolen head stones just were used as acceptable building material all over the city without making a fuss about it. Future building operations within the limits of the old city therefore may bring about further findings, as it was the case in 2001, when a fragment was found at the Heilig Geist Spital structure.

The particular description of the known testimonia of the Augsburg Judenkirchhof is in two parts. The first will base on the eight grave markers depicted in 1686 by Matthias Beck. Conveniently his order is retained. The second part refers to other findings of grave markers or fragments.

*Matthias Friedrich Beck* (1649-1701) was born in Kaufbeuren, some 70 km southeast of Augsburg in Bavarian Swabia. Educated in Thuringian town of Jena, Master Beck in 1678 became preacher in Augsburg and author of many not printed and thus also not translated Latin scripts. His priority was the study of oriental languages. Relevant to our purpose however is his Latin work on Augsburg's Jews which in 1686 was printed on 62 small, roughly postcard sized pages. The extensive title of the work is "*Monumenta Antiqua Judaica, Augustæ Videl. Reperta & enerrata cum Mantissa*".<sup>xxxiv</sup> 250 years after the end of the Jewish community in the imperial city the protestant scholar outlines the history of the Jews in the city. One chapter has a detailed depiction of eight preserved Jewish grave markers or fragments which quotes the Hebrew inscriptions with Latin translation and comments to their particular place of discovery, etc.<sup>xxxv</sup> At the presentation and translation of the Hebrew inscriptions, as his Latin reference explains, Matthias Beck gathered help from *Rabbi Yehuda Leb* from Pfersee.

As mentioned before, three of the eight grave markers of the Beck Collection along with a number of Roman inscription plates still are preserved in the walls of the court yard of Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547), who in 1520 was author of *Inscriptiones Romanæ*, a scholarly work on classical Roman inscriptions and was on good terms with emperor Maximilian I. It is unclear where those grave markers were during the time span of more than sixty years after the alleged complete removal of "all" grave markers, as mentioned by Burkhard Zink. It is conceivable that in the days of Peutinger at least some of the tomb stones were still on the site of the cemetery and therefore could explain his guess that there were some two hundred.

# Monumenta Antiqua

Judaica,  
Augustæ Vindel. reperta,

& enarrata,  
cum Mantissa

III. Monum. Vetustorum Roman.  
Operis Velferiani

de Antiquis Monum. August.  
Appendice quadam.

Studio  
MATTHIÆ FRIDERICI BECKII.

Prostant AUGUSTÆ Vindel.  
Apud Viduam THEOPH. GOEBELII  
Typis Koppmayerianis impressa, 1686.

Christi 1237: Euphemia talis est: *Requies  
ejus sit Gloria seu Gloriosa, quæ desumpta  
sunt ex Esa. XI. 10. reliquæ verba sunt: in  
Horto Eden cum cæteris Justis, Amen, Amen,  
Amen, Sala.* Similis vovendi forma subje-  
cta est Monumento Buxtorffiano priori su-  
pra §. 9. adducto. Observet etiam, Curio-  
se Lector, velim, Judæos Lapididas, perinde  
atq; olim Romanos, literas unius vocis divi-  
dere, ut hîc ה.א.ת, quod imitatus sum, ut  
quam accuratissimè in minimis etiam Ebræis  
exprimerem; in Latino: *s-it.* Geminũũ  
exemplum Monum. IIX. suppedabit.

VI.

לעולם שלם  
בר יעקב קב  
הנפטר ב"ב  
לאל הש ע"ג

Monumentum  
Adolescentis Salom  
Filij R. Jacobi  
defuncti XII.  
Millen. Sex. 73. Cal.

§. 35.

Title and sample page of Beck's 1686 study

A. The **first** monument of the collection, according to Beck and to some extent still correct, is preserved in the house of Peutinger near the highest temple in a tenebrous passage inserted in the right side showing to the east.<sup>xxxvi</sup> The "temple" he refers to is the cathedral of Augsburg. The color of the stone is *cinereous* and its shape is *round*.<sup>xxxvii</sup> The letters are not expressive and without any attention ("*sine ulla adhibita cura*"). Since today the inscription only is hardly legible, the latter of course also can be referred to the present state.<sup>xxxviii</sup>



The inscription however refers to a rabbi called Baruch.<sup>xxxix</sup> The recorded Hebrew epigraph with the Latin translation of Beck together with our English one reads as follows:

to the head (of) R(abbi) Baruch	<i>ad caput R. Baruchi</i>	לראש ר ברוך
who descended to the cedars	<i>qui descendit ad eos qui sunt inter Cedros</i>	שירד לבארזים
on day 2, 4rd of Sivan	feria II, IV Sivan	ביום ב ד בסיון
h(is) s(oul be) b(ound in the bundle) of life	S.A.E.I.F. viventium	תנב החיים

Of course we can rule out a roundish or rather elliptic shape of a medieval tomb stone. Right away it furthermore is not possible to determine whose grave marker it is since the inscription obviously isn't complete extant and a year is missing as well as the usual patronymic mentioning of the father of Baruch . The day however is mentioned as second, i.e. Monday, 4<sup>th</sup> of Sivan, usually May or June. The assumption to regard the omission of the year as indication for the exact (fifth) millennium, fails since in the year 5000 the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sivan (2nd of June 1240) was a Shabbat and the inscription mentions **ביום ב** – day 2, what necessarily is Monday.

According to Beck his consulted authority *Rabbi Yehuda Leb* teacher of the nearby Jewish community of Pfersee<sup>xl</sup> had in contemplation to read the letters **תנב** of the line right at the bottom of the inscription as indication for the year, what would make 452. Understood as a Hebrew date 5452 it would be 1692, what would make no sense, since Beck and the scholar of Pfersee investigated the inscription in 1686. One millennium earlier however it would refer to the Hebrew date of 4452, what would make the year 692. Since such a dating would precede all other known dates more than 500 years, which of course would be very unlikely, all the more so because the grave marker seemingly was from a cemetery which was first recorded in 1298. However, also in the year 692 the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sivan was no Monday, but a Shabbat likewise. However, the consideration by Rabbi Yehuda of Pfersee itself is correct, since the letters indeed *could* be read as a date. Since actually we do not know the other conversation of the sage with the Protestant scholar, we may assume that he insisted on this interpretation. Rather it is conceivable that the Rabbi liked the idea of an evidence of a far back reaching Jewish community in Augsburg, the more so because in 1686 Jews in the imperial city had no lasting permit of residence. The Hebrew inscription **תנב החיים** most likely partly abridges the abbreviation **תנצבה** which is quite common at Hebrew grave

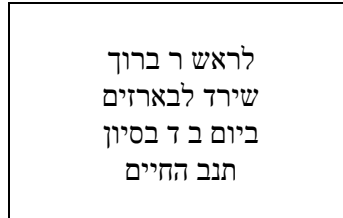


markers until today and refers to 1. Samuel 25.29.<sup>xli</sup> Although the letter **צ** for **צורה** (*bundle*) was missing the meaning would not differ and the fully spelled **החיים** at the end leaves no reasonable doubt to identify the very intention. Steinthal<sup>xlii</sup> who refers to the remarks of Beck in this account, without giving any reason now considers to read instead of **נב תנב** only **נב** or even **ב**, by what 452 becomes 52 or 2. A year 52 therefore may be the year 1292 and the date 2 would make 1242. Admittedly in 1242 (or in Hebrew year 5002) the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sivan would be a Monday (a Wednesday in 1292), but the probability that the date of 4<sup>th</sup> of Sivan will be a Monday approximately is given roughly each three years or in a third of a century. Since there is no reason, to factor in only one third of three letters as indicator for the date of the year, that of course just is insufficient. Steinthal however obviously doubts his own speculation and submits instead that the inscription is *not depicted correctly* and that there are sorts of things which would be impossible in Hebrew and at a Jewish grave marker.<sup>xliii</sup> He owed an explanation for this assessment which actually is a misjudgment. Steinthal obviously missed to inspect the tomb stone first-hand and therefore also did not offer any alternative reading of it. His conclusion on that account is, that *even when* the tombstone was from the year 1242, it would not be of particular *meaning*, since about that time there were already other testimonials for the existence of a Jewish community in Augsburg. His interest in it is just restricted on the rather facile question of the dating.

The *reading* described by Matthias Beck and Rabbi Yehuda is *complete and correct*, but of course the inscription is *not intact* and some parts of it, which beside some other information at least would have mentioned his father. After the name of *Baruch* there inevitably followed a “bar” or “ben” with the name “x” of his father, since otherwise no one would have been able to relate the grave marker undoubtedly to him as a specific person, what of course was the very reason for the setting of the grave marker. Since there no patronymic reference and Baruch also in medieval times is not exactly a rare name there are no further points of reference which may allow a reasonably certain identification.

Beck reads the abbreviation **ר** as rabbi,<sup>xliv</sup> what is rather likely but not obligatory, since it also may refer to a person of high esteem within the Jewish community who had no official position of a leader of the Jewish community likewise acknowledged by the municipality of the imperial city. Though Beck refers to the municipal law of Augsburg which mentions the “Juden Meister” to explain the title Rabbi as head of the Jewish court and official representative of the Jews, there is the fact that a **בית דין**, a Jewish court, at least consist of three judges, who all would have had the honorific title of a rabbi, although probably only one appeared as the rabbi to the public. The same of course applied to the head of the *Shul*<sup>xlv</sup> (yeshiva), which with its students usually was organized apart from the synagogue of the Jewish community of the city. Therefore we may not take it for granted that the abbreviated title rabbi inevitably refers to a leader of the Jewish community from an external non-Jewish standpoint.

Since the tomb stone is surrounded by a roundish frame the beginnings as well as the ends of the top and bottom lines are lacking. Only the middle parts somewhat likely are preserved entirely, but the line which after the month of Sivan would mention the year obviously is not.



Since the date of the year was demolished it is of no use to speculate or to read it into other parts of the inscription.<sup>xlvi</sup> We should acknowledge the sad but simple fact that beyond repair it is destroyed.

Remarkable however is the phrase **ירד לבארזים**, which Beck in Latin translates as “*descendit ad inter Cedros*”, what means “*descended to the cedars*”. Although an above mentioned Latin inscription nearby the Peutinger house refers to the Syrian god Elagabal as “familiar” in Augsburg, cedars *are not*, but native to elevated regions in the Mediterranean. The tree hardly is *perennial* (frost-resistant) and was not cultivated north of the Alps before 18<sup>th</sup> century. The announcement that R. Baruch *descended to the cedars* therefore does not literally mean that he was buried next to a cedar tree at the Judenkirchhof of Augsburg as one maybe might assume. However, there are numerous references to cedars in the Hebrew bible, especially in the context of the sanctuary in Jerusalem as built by King Salomon. A verse of *the Psalm* for instance states: “*The righteous flourish like palm trees, he grows like a cedar of Lebanon.*”<sup>xlvii</sup> The reference to cedars as sign for a Tzaddik is quite familiar in Talmudic writings. The treatise *Moed Katan* has the phrase „*five cedars I have planted in Israel*”, with what the quoted scholar expressed that he educated five other sages. In the context with a funeral there is the famous question of R. Ashi to R. Papik: “*What you will say when I will pass away?*” The answer which has become a winged word, was: “*When (even) the cedars fall in flames, what will say the hyssop that grows on the wall*”,<sup>xlviii</sup> what means: “*when even great sages will perish, what hope is there for ordinary people?*”

The “*descent to the cedars*” we therefore confidently may understand in this context and take it as a metaphor that the deceased was buried as renowned scholar among others at the cemetery. It is possible that R. Baruch was regarded as a *great sage*, but since we do not know who he was and when he actually lived and died it is not possible to identify him or to speculate anything else.

Finally, it is *conceivable* to refer the grave marker to “*Baruch von Rothenburg*” who in 1364 in the Augsburg’s municipal taxpayer lists is mentioned as “*ir Hochmaister*” (their rabbi). Since the entry in that year is cancelled it furthermore may indicate, that Rabbi Baruch actually died in that very year. In fact, in 1364 the 4<sup>th</sup> of Sivan *is a Monday*, what would answer the criteria. The day of death thus would be 4<sup>th</sup> of Sivan 5124, resp. Monday 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1364. However, although somewhat plausible, guessing however would be no kind of memory, inappropriate and neither serves his reputation nor that of others.

**B.** Also the **second** inscription of the collection in 1686 already was a fragment only, which is missing today. Handed down are only two lines:

Josephi, quae mortua est 991 Calc. Ist R.E.I.H.E.A.	Yosef, who was buried 991	יוסף שנפטרה תתקצא לפ' ויהי מבצעא
--	---------------------------	-------------------------------------

Although the name *Yosef* is mentioned, the Hebrew verb **נפטרה** has a *feminine* ending and therefore refers to a *woman or girl* as commemorated person, the daughter or more likely the wife of a man named Yosef. Her own name quite sure was stated the line before, which however is missing. If she was a wife it was usual to refer to her father first and then to mention the name of her spouse. The dating 991 beyond doubt refers to the Hebrew year 4991 and corresponds to 1230/31, since thousand years less would be the year 230/31 what of course can be ruled out. The abbreviation 'לפ' marks the common notation of the date, omitting the millennium. The second abbreviation at the end of the final line as correctly pointed out probably by the Pfersee Rabbi means **מנוחתה בגן עדן אמן**, *may she rest in the Garden of Eden, amen*.

Since there is no further reference, it is impossible to say, who the woman or girl was, other than she was a relative of a man called Yosef. It indeed is conceivable that Yosef refers to a Jew mentioned 1212 in a deed from Wuerzburg, as was assumed, but again also Yosef was a very common name. Also the “proximity” of time (18/19 years) alone therefore can't be a sufficient criteria.

**C.** The **third** memorial inscription, likewise a fragment only, is from the same period of time.

Corona Eliakimi, quae mortua est I. Jiar 992. Calcul. Memoria ejus ad vitam Eternam, A.A.A.S.	Crown of Elyakim, died 1st Ijar 992, her memory for eternal life amen amen amen sela	כתר אליקים הנפטרה א באיר בתתקצב לפר' זכרונה לחיי אד אאאס
---	--	--

Once again the female ending of the verb **הנפטרה** as well as the noun **זכרונה** let us know that it is a *woman* who the inscription is reminiscent of as *Crown* of Elyakim. It suggests the assumption that it is the *wife* of Elyakim, the rest of the inscription however unfortunately reveals nothing more but her date of death. Probably following another hint by R. Yehuda Leb from Pfersee, Matthias Beck refers to Proverbs 12.4 where it is stated **שת־חיל עטרת בעלה**, “*a strong woman is the crown of her husband*”. Although the term **עטרת** (*ateret*) used

in the verse, differs in style from כתר (*keter*) in the inscription, both are somewhat synonym. The term אשת-חיל (*eshet-chayil*)<sup>xlix</sup> however until today is a quite common expression on grave markers of wives and mothers. Fortunately the day of death is recorded entirely. It is the first day of the month of Iyar in the year 992. The new moon of the month of Iyar because of the following festival of Purim that month actually was regarded as a day of rejoicing. The exact date in the year 4992 corresponds with Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> of April in 1232. The plea that the memory of Elyakim's wife may be preserved is confirmed by the formula „*amen, amen, amen, sela*“ which was common on medieval tomb stone inscriptions. Since we do not know her name and that of her father, it is questionable, if this way the wish 775 after her death still can be obliged.

**D.** The **fourth** inscription is the first of Beck's Collection, which we can assign to a definite Person:

Monumentum hoc appositum est capiti pueri  Abrahami, filis Eliakimi	Memorial which was set to the head of the youngster  Abraham son of Elyakim	ציון הלו הקום לראש הנער  אברהם בן אליקים
--	--	--

We learn that the memorial plate was written for a boy or teenager whose name was *Abraham* and who was the son of *Elyakim*. It might be that, as Beck assumed, he was the son of the woman who was mentioned in the previous inscription as “*crown of Elyakim*”. Although the name Elyakim was less current than Baruch or Yosef for instance, this is not certain, because the available leftover of the quoted inscription has no dating and no other reference points. It can be hundred years older or younger as well. The attribute **לראש הנער** not necessarily needs to refer to an actual lad (“to the head of the youngster”). Just as well it can be understood as “head of the youths” (the preceding Hebrew article ה may indicate a corresponding emphasis) which would introduce Abraham ben Elyakim as teacher. Since no other parts of the following inscription are preserved an undoubted definition so far is not possible.

E. The **fifth** inscription in the notation of Beck appears obviously as only partly preserved fragment with incomplete lines.

.....	.....	.....
... .. Caslev	..... in Kislev	בכסליו .....
... .. Anno 996 ... ..	..... 60 year in 996 .....	... ס שנת בתתקצו לפר'
... .. culi. Requies ejus s	..... she rests ...	... רט מנוחתה ת
It Gloriosa in Horto Eden	she blessed in garden of Eden	הא ברוך בגן עדן
Cum caeteris Justis,	with the gate of the righteous	עם שאר צדקניות
Amen, Amen, Amen, Sela	amen, amen, amen, sela	אמן אמן אמן סלה

The fragment has no names, but the feminine ending of the word **מנוחתה** indicates a woman. She died on an unknown day in the month of Kislev, which in the given year 4996 began at Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> of November and ended on Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1235.<sup>1</sup> The number 60 before the dating „year 996“, unconsidered in the Latin translation furthermore indicates an age of 60 of the deceased woman, who then was born in 4936, that is 1175/6. Since on 25<sup>th</sup> of Kislev begins the eight-day festival of *Hanucka*, which is not mentioned, we may assume that the woman died earlier. The formula „amen, amen, amen, sela“, abbreviated in the third inscription here is fully spelled. As the references to the Garden of Eden it indicates a Chassidic background.

**F.** The **sixth** inscription of the collection refers to another fragmentary monument, which according to Beck was located at the house of a casket maker (*arculari*) named *Daniel Herz*, which previously was in possession of the “recently deceased” vintner Klopfer and known as “beim Stadel” (at the barn / grange). The monument was built “ob dem Mauerberg”<sup>li</sup> on a hill, where it was located at the right side of the wall. The stone which had a porch had a *black* color with gleaming *golden* letters.

... .. Monumentum ... ..	... .. memory ... ..	..... סימן .....
Adolescentis Salom ... ..	for the bachelor Sholem ...	לעלם שלם -
Filis R. Jacobi ... ..	son of rabbi Yaakow K.	בר יעקב ק'
Defuncti XII	who died on day .....	הנפטר ביום
Millen, Sex 73 Cal.	(l)el(ul) the sixth 73	לאל הש עג ל'

The inscription refers to a youngster named *Sholem bar R. Yaakow*, who died in the month of Elul 5073, probably the 6<sup>th</sup> or on a sixth day (= Friday). 6<sup>th</sup> of Elul 5073 corresponds with Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1313, a Friday in Elul that year allows 1<sup>st</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup> or 29<sup>th</sup> of Elul (resp. 24<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> of August or 7<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1313) as possible date.

Beck reads the **בר** (bar, i. e. son) as abbreviation of „בר ר“, that is „bar rabbi“ son of rabbi, what is correct if the dot above the letter ר of the word בר actually existed as it is noted in his records. The quality of the head stone, as reported, obviously was very precious with golden letters on a blackish surface, maybe of marble or granite stone, what even in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century would have indicated an outstanding degree of wealth, all the more so in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Although the title of rabbi not necessarily requires going along with richness, it most certainly does in this particular case, because the opulence of the memorial stone expressed by its material was dedicated just to the (apparently juvenile) son of the rabbi not to himself. The name of the **עלם** (*elem*)<sup>lii</sup> is noted as **שלם** what reads as *Sholem* or *Shulem* and refers to *שלמה* (*shlomo*) that is *Salomon*. Attached to his father’s name Jacob, according to Beck is the token **קג** (kg), what as almost everywhere in the world today also in Hebrew would be the common short form for “1000 gram”, the *kilogram* (kg). A not exactly frequent abbreviation known in medieval Hebrew literature was *קהילה גדולה*, literally “*great community*”, what of course would make any sense if the inscription would have mentioned the name of a town afterwards.<sup>liii</sup> Obviously that was not the case. The other known possibility in legal contexts is familiar as *קנין גמור*, verbally a “*transacted business*” or a “*valid sale*”, what means an “*outright property*”. Although the later thieves who had stolen the grave marker from the Judenkirchhof obviously regarded it as possession

without any limitations, claims or even as a sort of “public domain”, such a remark within the text of the inscription following the name of the rabbi of course would make no sense.

Another speculative interpretation would be קגן (kagan), which indeed is a name, but actually in the Russian pronunciation of the actual Aramaic *kahan*, which again varies the Hebrew *kohen*. Of course we can rule out the possibility that in early 14th century Augsburg there had been a Kohen from Russia who had buried his son using Russian spelling in Hebrew. Since there is no other plausible explanation it may be assumed that the notation maybe was not correctly understood by Beck. Since to other medieval head stones from the same family in Augsburg are verifiable, it is suggested that the epigraph may have been a ligature of ק which abbreviated the name קלונימוס *Kalonymos*.<sup>liv</sup>



*“Am Mauerberg”, Augsburg*

The last two inscriptions mentioned in the collection of Beck are still preserved in the courtyard of the Peutinger house. Considering the old age their state is remarkably good.<sup>lv</sup>

**G.** The **seventh** inscription is dedicated by a parent to his or her son who died on a 28<sup>th</sup> of Elul.

... hoc est ...		
... Obitus ...	dead	מיתה
Filis mei Sender	my son Sedir	בני סעדיר
b.m. 28. Elul	b(lessed) m(memory) 28 Elul	ז"ל כח אלול
Fer. 3 CCV Mill.	da(y) 3	יוג רהלא
Sex. S.A.E.L.I.F.V.		ה התנצבה

The name of the son is written as **סעדיר** (*sedir* or *seder*) what Beck, inserting an „n“ takes as סענדיר („*sender*“), what would be a misspelled abbreviation of the name *Alexander*.<sup>lvi</sup> The common Hebrew notation of the name however would be אלכסנדר or abbreviated as סנדר.

The interpretation by Beck (which had the approval of Dr. Richard Grünfeld in 1917) requires the naming Alexander for a medieval Jewish boy in Augsburg as well as a parent who then forgot the correct spelling of the name on the grave marker of the child. As we know from medieval Augsburg records and deeds, many Jews (as in modern times) sometimes also had none Jewish names.<sup>lvii</sup> A naming like Alexander would be rather peerless and it's preconditioned twofold misspelling is little likely and therefore maybe too much speculation. There will be a huge number of other assumable possibilities which's writing may differ in two letters from the actual name of the inscription.

Reading סעדיר as *Seder*, as it is actually written, will simply refer to סדר *seder*, meaning “order” or “arrangement” what is best known as *the Seder*, the arranged festival table which marks the beginning of the eight day Passover festival. Usually conducted at home, the *Seder* has a determinate order of food and prayers. To name a son, who was born at the very time of the Seder accordingly would have been a possibility and the spelling in this occasion would have been in order not to confuse it with the proper Hebrew word.

Regarding the dating Beck takes the letters **רהלא** with the ה of the following line as short form of **רהלאוף הששי**, that is 205 (רה) to the millennium (לאוף) namely the sixth (הששי).



To read the letter ה as abbreviation for הששי is odd. As a single letter it is the numeral 5, as a prefixed ה it only indicates an article without any significance at all. The same way it was possible to argue that a simple letter “ט” could have been an understandable abbreviation for “*the sixth millennium*”, what of course would have no recognition value either.

The date of 28<sup>th</sup> of Elul 5205 would be 31<sup>st</sup> of August in 1445, indeed a Tuesday (day 3, as abbreviated in the inscription: יוג). However the date of 28<sup>th</sup> of Elul falling on a Tuesday rather is no curiosity, since within a decade both criteria matched in the Hebrew years 5202, 5205, 5206, 5209 and 5212. Another reading would be to take רה as a common abbreviation for ראש השנה (rosh hashana), the Jewish New Year. The token לא then was 31, ה as number 5 stands for 5000, what without any trouble makes the year 5031. However there also is the shortened יוג for “day 3”, which of course also can be read as “3 days”, in that case before the New Year, which after Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> of Elul and Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> followed on Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> of Tishri. If the interpretation is correct, the boy died just three days before the New Year 5031, on 28<sup>th</sup> of Elul in 5030. According to the Christian calendar this was 16<sup>th</sup> of September 1270, likewise a Tuesday (“day 3”).

Be it as it may, the date of 1445 however either is an anachronism or a curiosity. The council of Augsburg in summer 1438 set a final deadline to the Jews to leave the city within two years. After 1439 there were no Jews recorded in the municipal tax payer lists, commonly regarded as prove that there were no more Jews in Augsburg. More than five years after the exceeded deadline, one also may not assume a sudden dead in the close vicinity. A proper handling required a minyan for the Kaddish prayer at the funeral, as well as for the setting of the memorial stone, which almost always took place on different days. Even if it was thinkable that five years after the expulsion of the Jews of Augsburg, a larger group of Jews was allowed to enter the at least twice the city and the cemetery, maybe for a fee, there was another question: Why a Jew would bury his child at a cemetery in a city where he has no free entry and no right of residence and therefore no guarantee to see the grave of his baby ever again? At least it indicates a residence very close to the city or in Augsburg *proper*. The same question applies to the following inscription which rather doubtless is from 1445.



*Medieval children grave marker from the Judenkirchhof at inner court wall of Peutingger house*

H. The **eight** and last inscription of the Beck collection usually is regarded in the context of the seventh one. Both grave markers for almost 5 centuries are fixed side by side in the wall of the house of the former humanist Conrad Peutinger. Since both markers are quite similar in style, wording<sup>lviii</sup> and measures they also are regarded as belonging to related siblings.

Obitus	death	מיתה
Fillae mea Machlon	My daughter Machalat	בתי מחלת
Fer. 3. 27 Tis	da(y) 3, 27 tish	יוג כז תש
Ri CCVI Millen.	ri 206 to mil	רי רו לאל
Sexti, S.A.E.L.I.E.	sixth	ששי תנצב'
V.		ה

According to Beck the name of the daughter reads *machlon* and all subsequent authors astonishingly agree and adopt this reading. *Machlon* however is rather strange and odd and would be a name with a pretty unfavorable purport and meaning of מחל “disease, malady, infirmity” and in addition to that *machlon* without doubt grammatically clear is *masculine*. Again there is the question why a parent would name his child something like “sick-maker” using a male grammar form when the aim was to commemorate his little passed away daughter? Does that make any sense?

At the grave marker in the second line after **בתי** (my daughter) there only is written the beginning of the name מחל (what as mentioned before would read as *machal*, i.e. disease, etc.) and the one-footed inception of a following letter. In order to gain “machlon” the additional letter needs to be the end-form of the Hebrew letter “nun” which however has a descender that extends below the baseline of the neighboring letters which have none. The quite good preserved inscription however *has no* descender in that word, so the reading of a Hebrew *nun-sufit* letter is not possible and the word cannot be read as *machlon*. Thus the most likely suggestion is to identify the name of the girl as *Machalat*, what certain is not the most popular, but still is a creditable name known to attentive readers of the bible. A daughter of Ishmael, brother of Isaac had this name. She was married to Esav the brother of Yaakov.<sup>lix</sup> Also Yerimot son of King David had a daughter of this name. She was married to Rehavam the son of King Salomon.<sup>lx</sup>

The date of dead is mentioned as day 3, 27<sup>th</sup> of Tishri. After that it is noted ר which is 206 and therefore 5206, i.e. Tuesday 28th of September 1445.

### 9. Other grave markers and fragments

Beside the eight inscriptions in the writing of Matthias Beck of whom only three are preserved, there are *three other* head stones and remnants we know, two of them are preserved in museums in Augsburg.

**A.** One fragment was discovered in 2001 at construction works at the *Heilig-Geist-Spital* at the south end of the historical city in Augsburg and some 1800 m away from the medieval Judenkirchhof, which recently has become part of the new permanent exhibition of the *Jewish Cultural Museum*, which is in a side wing of the synagogue, where it can be viewed. In order not to violate photo copyrights the finding here only is depicted in a however quite accurate drawing.

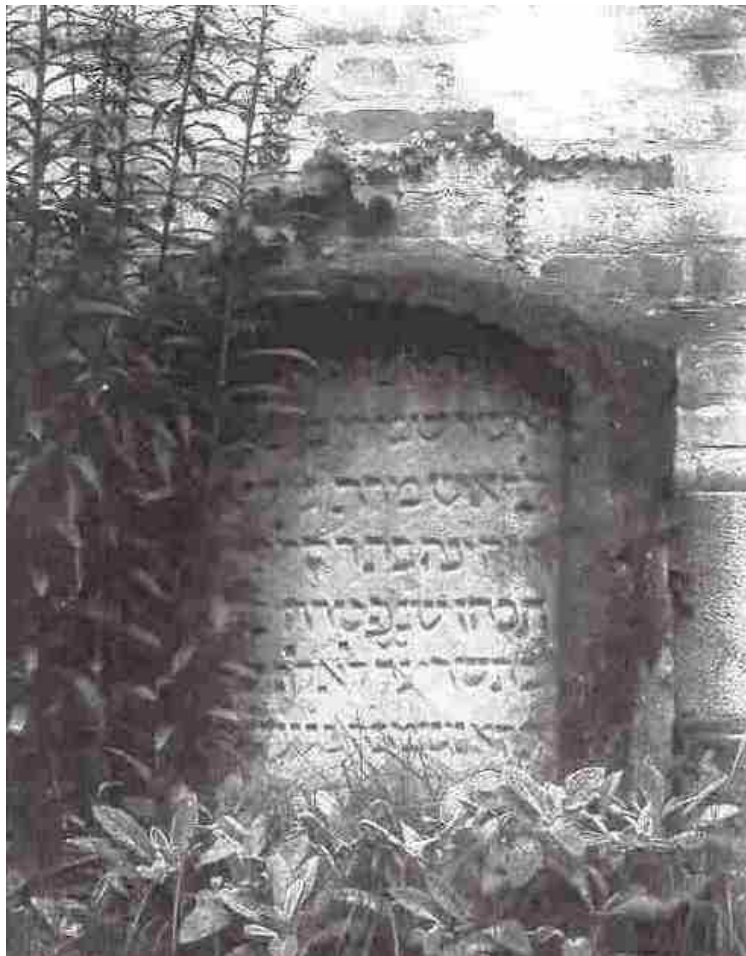


0 ...  
ה בכסלו שנת צג  
לפרט תנצברור  
מן סלה....

The fragment only on the left has a part of its border and is broken somewhere in the middle. The inscription however has two roughly complete lines only, which beginnings are missing. Above and below are some remnants of letters. Since the upper part of the stone is not preserved we do not know to whom it does refer. Quite sure however is the date 5<sup>th</sup> of Kislev year 93, what is 24<sup>th</sup> of November in 1332. In the Museum instead of the numeral ה a n is read what would be the 8<sup>th</sup> of Kislev and thus *three days later*. The second line adds the word **לפרט** (according to the counting) and the common formula of **תנצב** with the last word spelled out. The partly preserved above line reads **מן סלה** “amen sela” as we know it from other grave markers.

## B. Kalonymos head stone in Augsburg

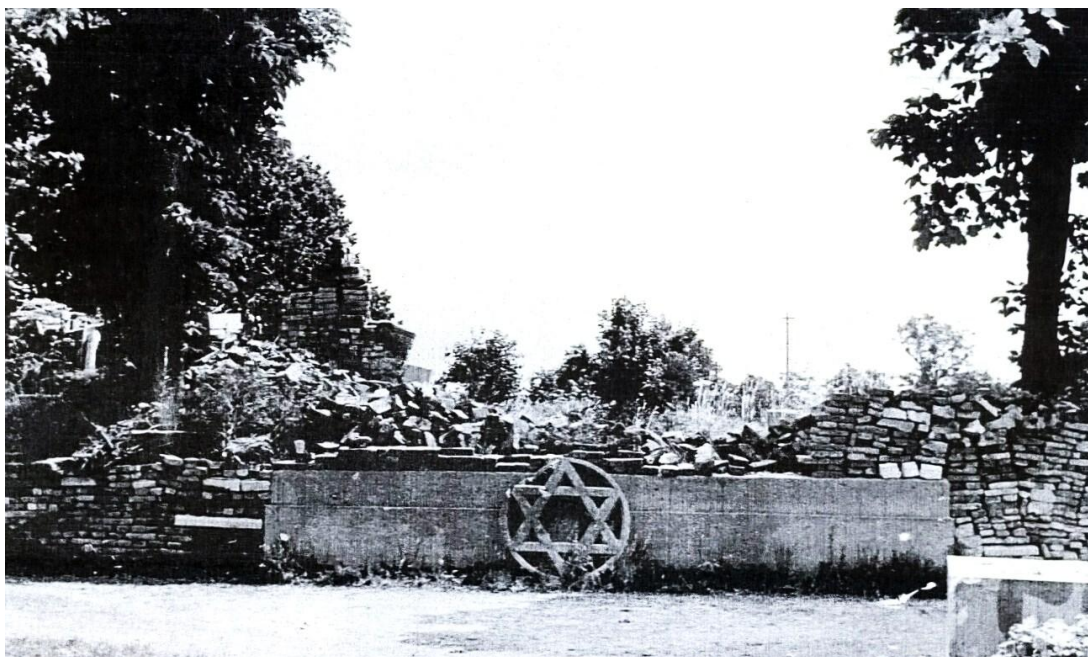
In the property of local historian *Louis Dürrwanger* (1878-1959) in the municipal archive of Augsburg there is a photograph of a medieval Hebrew grave marker, which according to his 1930's notes is located at the Jewish Cemetery in the city district of Hochfeld.<sup>lxi</sup> The picture is identically equal to a photograph which also appears in the collection of Theo Harburger in the Central Archive of the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem.<sup>lxii</sup> The printed version of the collection has the same photograph dated 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1927.<sup>lxiii</sup> According to Harburger's notes the grave marker measures 97 cm, 30 cm and 5cm and was the monument for the woman *Gute*, daughter of Rabbi Kalonymos the priest, died 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1293. As the photograph shows the grave marker stands in front of a brick wall with a grayish stone base. Harburger also mentioned "Jüdischer Friedhof" what was somewhat unclear since he had no reference why at the currently used cemetery in Augsburg, which opened only in 1867 there was a medieval grave marker. Actually the wall on the picture from 1927 is identical with the wall which still surrounds the cemetery as a comparison shows.





*Northern wall of Hochfeld Jewish Cemetery in Augsburg*

Unfortunately on the photograph from 1927 some branches as well as shadows cover parts of the inscription for what reason not all parts are sure. Legible however is the information that memorial stone was set לראש מרת גוּטא הזקִינָה *at the head of the old lady Gute*, who is described as *daughter of Rabbi Kalonimos the priest* בת ר קלונימוס הכהן *who died the 25<sup>th</sup> of Tishri 54 to the millennium*: שִׁנְפִטְרַת כֹּהֵן תִּשְׁרִי נֹד לֵאלֹפִי ... the date in the Christian calendar corresponds with Sunday, 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1293. The last legible line תְּהָא נִשְׁמַתָּה בְּגַן עֵדֶן says “*may her soul be in the garden of Eden*”. Maybe another following line added one of the common phrases, either “*amen sela*” or the תְּנַצְבָּה.



*Destroyed Tahara house at Hochfeld cemetery in Augsburg, 1948*

The grave marker was placed at the northern wall of the Jewish cemetery of Augsburg in the Hochfeld district between Alter Postweg and Haunstetter Str. near the Tahara house and roughly opposite the memorial for the fallen Jewish Wehrmacht soldiers of the First World War. In February 1944 when the Tahara was hit by an US bomb aimed to the nearby Messerschmitt factory, the Tahara as well as the walls in this part of the cemetery were destroyed.

### C. The grave marker in the lapidarium

Finally there is another Hebrew head stone fragment in the so called *lapidarium* (stone collection) in the basement of the municipal *Maximilian-Museum* in Augsburg, where it is not accessible to the public. The first time the head of the museum Dr. *Emmendoerfer* granted us access to the stone at the end of July in 2008 liaised by Mrs. *Agnes Maria Schilling*. A second more closer examination was possible only in May 2010.



The red notes at backside of the grave marker fragment read „gef. 1929 Rathaus-Keller“, that means “found in the basement of the city hall”, what not necessarily means that this was the actual finding place. The current city hall of Augsburg was built by Elias Holl during the Thirty Years War from 1615 – 1624.

The partly preserved inscription of the tomb stone reads as follows:

ד זאת אשר

מצבה לר א

ב' בר פנחס

יוג תשר

קסו ל

“... which is the memorial for R. Aw'(raham) bar Pinchas (died on) da(y) 3 Tishr(i) 166 according shortened counting) “

The date reads as 3<sup>rd</sup> of Tishri 5166, which corresponds to Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> of August 1405 in the Christian calendar. Less likely but possible is that “day 3” refers to the *third day of the week*. The first opportunity for a Tuesday in Tishri 5166 however was Rosh Ha-Shana, the New Year, 15<sup>th</sup> of Tishri of course marks the beginning of the eight day festival of Sukkot and Shmini Atzeret on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of Tishri its ending, furthermore the 29<sup>th</sup> of Tishri would precede the New Moon of Cheshvan and all of these very likely would have been mentioned at the grave marker – and maybe was – since it would have been regarded as appreciable. However we cannot rule out 8<sup>th</sup> of Tishri 5166 which was a Tuesday (day 3) and would equal 1<sup>st</sup> of September in 1405.

In the tax payer records from Augsburg for the year 1404 is mentioned “*der Hochmeister*” along with “*Lazarus Sohn des Hochmeisters Abraham*”. As Beck already pointed out “Hochmeister” means rabbi. Although the first entry has no name, the following second one makes clear that the before mentioned Hochmeister is Abraham. The following year 1405 notes “ein Hochmeister” only, but no name, also Lazarus the son of R. Abraham is not recorded any more. Since it is rather unlikely that at the same time there were two different rabbis in Augsburg with the name Abraham, it’s safe to assume that all notes refer to one and the same person. The information that Rabbi Abraham actually died on 27<sup>th</sup> of August or 1<sup>st</sup> of September in 1405 however was a sufficient explanation why he no longer was mentioned in the following years. In addition to that it was the only known correspondence between a preserved grave marker and a municipal record. The tomb stone fragment allows identifying the rabbi as *Abraham bar Pinchas* who from Hebrew sources is known as a member of the Kalonimos family as well.



## 10. References on further head markers in medieval Hebrew literature.

In general only little is known about the buried at the Judenkirchhof. From taxpayer lists and other municipal documents several hundred names of medieval Augsburg Jews are known, but of course, it only can be assumed that those of them who died prior to 1440 plausibly were buried in Augsburg. Taxpayer records usually only mention house owners and businessmen. Contrary to common expectation and prejudices their share in the Jewish population with less than five percent is relatively little. Namely entries in municipal deeds or tax records are neither continuous nor consistent and alter spellings of names of a particular person almost on all occasions. However offspring of medieval Jews from Augsburg as well as a number of their students, who spread all over Europe, beside notes in memory books, etc. left many historical and genealogical references in remarks and comments of own writings. Since history from a Jewish perspective *always* is *family history*, already best known from many family trees in the Tora and other writings of the Hebrew bible, family relation always have attracted the attention of Jews. In few occasions there are complete transcriptions of grave marker inscriptions of medieval Augsburg Jews, others mention genealogical relations, own family trees or those of their teachers or spouses. Exemplarily three samples may be sufficient to illustrate the variety of information:

### A.

אבן מצבה לראש

מרת אסתר בת ר

יוסף בר יצחק קלון

כה הנקב יו כה שבט

שנת סו לפר אמן

אמן אמן סלה<sup>lxiv</sup>

*“Memorial stone to the head of Mrs. Ester daughter of R. Yosef bar Yitzchak Kalon. Koh(en) who die(d) da(y) 25 Shvat in the year 66 according to counting, amen, amen, amen sela.”*

The quoted grave marker inscription refers to a woman who was the daughter of *Rabbi Yosef Kalonimos Kohen* and granddaughter of his father *Yitzchak*. She died on Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> of February in 1306 – as we know from later genealogical remarks obviously when giving birth to her son *David*, who again was the grandfather of *R. Yosel ben Yakow*, a scholar who lived in Vienna and Worms and was author of a commentary on the Biblical book of *Mishli* (Proverbs).

**B.**

*R. Yosef ben Moshe* (1423-1490), student of *Yakow Weil* the last medieval rabbi in Augsburg in his somewhat common book “rightful compilation” recalls that his mother *Feige* was buried at the Jewish cemetery in Augsburg before he became Bar Mitzvah, probably in 1435 or 1436.<sup>lxv</sup> His family at this time lived some 28 years in the small town of *Hoechstaedt* on the Danube River, some 50 km northwest of Augsburg, where he himself was born. A month after the burial Yosef was sent by his father Moshe to the holy community of Augsburg in order to learn Tora and the Kaddish prayer. Later Yosef moved to Landau (Palatinate) and to Vienna where he became student of *R. Israel Isserlein* (1390-1460).

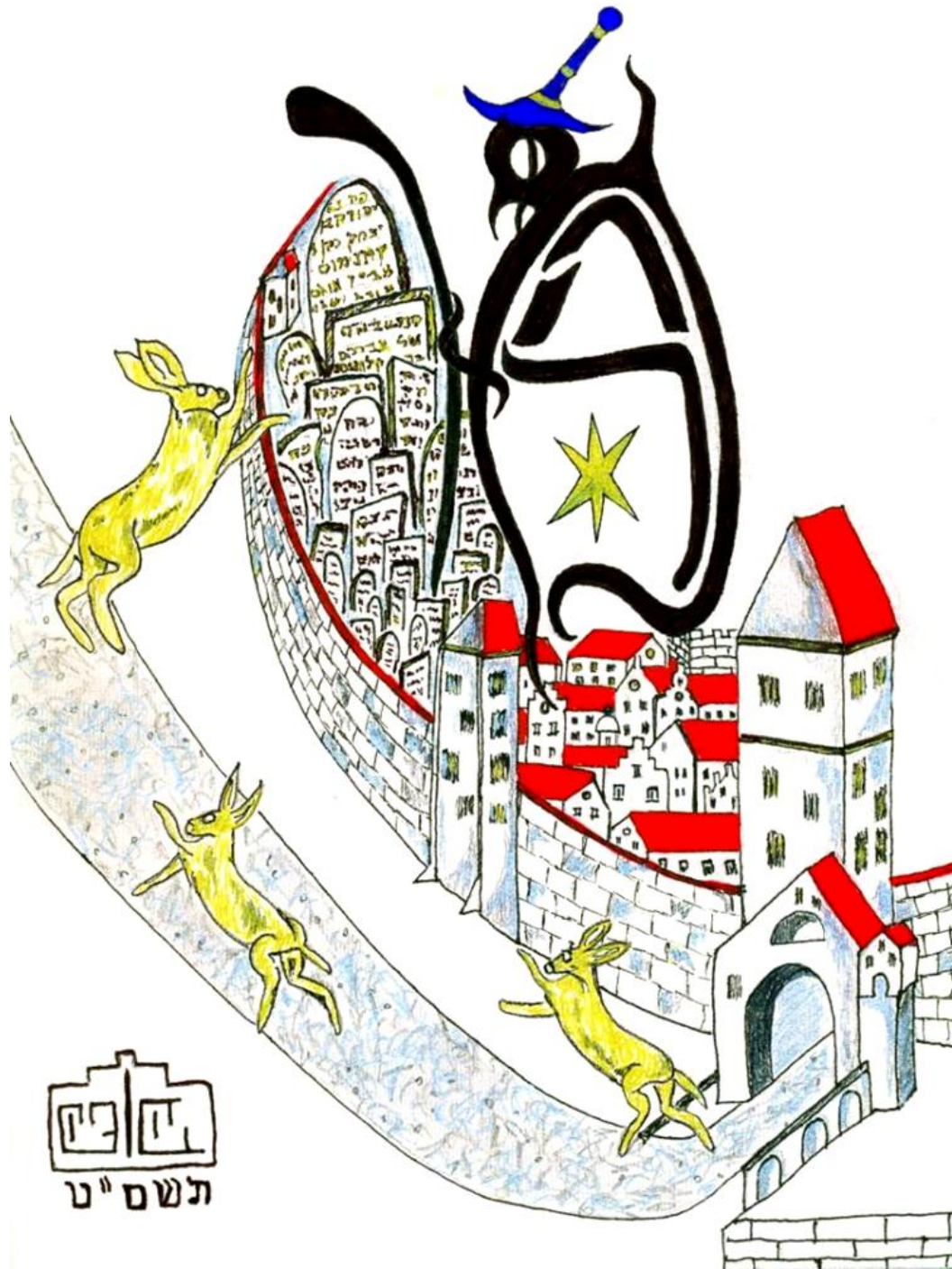
**C.**

Another example is a list of successive ancestry which in excerpts reads as follows:

ר אהרון בן נפטלי מאוקשפורק נב' יב באדר קמב, משה בן אה' נב כא כס שנת קע, יוסף בן משה נב קצד, אה' בן יוסף נב ריב באולם, משה בן יוסף נב יז בתשרי רלו<sup>lxvi</sup>

*R. Aharon ben Naftali from Augsburg* (actually written as “Auksh’purk”) *di(ed) 12<sup>th</sup> in Adar* (5)142<sup>lxvii</sup>, *Moshe ben Ah(aron) di(ed) 21<sup>st</sup> (of) Kis(lev)* (in the) year (5)170<sup>lxviii</sup>, *Yosef ben Moshe di(ed)* (in the year) (5)194<sup>lxix</sup>, *Ah(aron) ben Yosef di(ed)* (in the year) (5)212<sup>lxx</sup> in Ulm, *Moshe ben Yosef die(ed)* (on) 17<sup>th</sup> of Tishri (5)236<sup>lxxi</sup>, ...

However, a detailed elaboration would require quite lengthy Hebrew quotes, translations as well as umpteen comments on their contexts, authors, people, places and circumstances involved, literary tradition, printing history and the like, and therefore goes far beyond the scope of this paper. Because in addition to that at the current level of academic research on medieval Jewish history in the region Hebrew sources still are not regarded as most primal source, at this point it seems appropriate to accomplish this kind of work at a later date or leave it for future generations.



תשס"ט

## Notes and references

<sup>i</sup> ca. 48°22'24-26" N, 10°53'15-18" E

<sup>ii</sup> Two of them are in Augsburg Museums, three others integrated in a house wall

<sup>iii</sup> Even the two page Jewish Encyclopedia article from 1901 on Jewish history of Augsburg does not mention the existence of the cemetery: <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/2132-augsburg>

<sup>iv</sup> Roman emperor Titus 39 – 81, who according to Flavius Josephus in the year 70 destroyed the Jewish sanctuary in Jerusalem

<sup>v</sup> *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 13.04.2006, and *Augsburger Extra – Wochenzeitung für Augsburg*, 19.04.2006

<sup>vi</sup> The *Stadtbuch* of Augsburg, the municipal law from 1276, written in Middle High German, which also includes a number of regulations for the Jews in Augsburg, does not mention the cemetery

<sup>vii</sup> „Die nördliche Vorstadt wurde erst im 14. Jahrhundert in die zunächst provisorische Befestigung einbezogen. Sie umschloss Heilig-Kreuz, St. Stephan, St. Georg und ist bis in unsere Zeit nur locker bebaut gewesen. ... Die frühere Ortsbezeichnung zwischen langer Gasse und Frauentorstraße hieß „Auf dem Feld“, später „in Natans Garten“. Am Ostende der Georgenstraße lag der „Windhof“, nachdem die Frauentorstraße „Windgasse“ hieß.“ (Walter Groos – *Berichte zum frühen Augsburg*, Augsburg 1979, p. 48)

<sup>viii</sup> StA Augsburg, Hochstift Augsburg/Münchner Bestand, Lit. 978, fol.51-55

<sup>ix</sup> Reinhardt H. Seitz – *Zur Topographie der älteren Judengemeinden in Augsburg und Lauingen (Donau)*, in: *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Schwaben*, Peter Fassl (Hrsg.), Sigmaringen 1994, S. 29 f.

<sup>x</sup> After the destruction of the Jewish quarter in Regensburg in 1519 many grave markers of the Jewish cemetery were immured as “trophies”, “decoration” or “protection symbol” in Christian houses. A number of Hebrew tomb stones remained until today. One – in however less good condition – is eponymous for a street as well as the middle school (Realschule) “Am Judenstein”. The grave marker previously was positioned in a former garden, but there is no local connection to the medieval Regensburg cemetery which was located in another part of the city.

<sup>xi</sup> Raphael Strauss – *Regensburg and Augsburg*, Philadelphia 1939, p. 104

<sup>xii</sup> „Der Alte Einlass stand an der Stelle des Stadttheaters. Dort setzte die Stadtmauer der nördlichen Vorstadt mit einem rechten Winkel an die alte Mauer vom Gögginger Tor (heute Königsplatz) zum Heilig-Kreuz-Tor an ... die Ummauerung hat wohl um 1300 begonnen und wurde Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts vollendet.“ (Walter Groos – *Berichte zum frühen Augsburg*, Augsburg 1979, p. 41)

<sup>xiii</sup> Paul von Stetten – *Kunst-, Gewerb- und Handwerks-geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg*, vol. 1, p. 231

<sup>xiv</sup> „Wir Benditte, Juedlin sin sun, Michel, Lambt, Aaron sin bruder, Osterman, Joseph von Werde, Mosman sin sun, Joseph von Biberach und sin tochterman Maus, Liebermaenin un ir sun Saelickman, Choewellin von Frideberch, Joseph von Muelrestat, Jaecklin und diu gemain der juden in der stat ze Auspurch, si sein genent oder nicht, arme und riche, tun chunt allen den, die disen brief lesent, hoerent oder sehent, daz wir umb soelhe genade, ere und triwe, die uns die ersamen, ratgeben und die gemain der stat Auspurch angelegt habent, daz si uns niht laider getan habent, noch unrecht gewaltes ueber uns gestatte habent, un in noch getrawen, daz si ir zuht und ire ere an uns behalten mit unsers herren chuenig Albrehtes des Roemischen chueniges haelfe, haben wir in gelobt ungebeten ungenoeette von unsers saelbes mut und willen, daz wir der stat ze eren und ze nuz und dem richen ze dienst ain mauer machen wellen vor unser chirchhof hindan fuer der stat maur zem heiligen chriuece untz an den graben, in vier iaren, in der hoehe und in der dicke, als uns die beschaiden liute her

*Hartman der Langemantel und her Cunrat der Lange uns beweisent, die uns darzu ze phlegern geben sein; und haben daz gelobet mit unsern triwen in aides weis uns, unser man und frawen, junge und alt, arme und riche, hern Hartman dem Langemantel und hern Cunrat dem Langen an der ratgeben und an der gemain der juden in der stat, und haben darumb gesetzt unser schul und swaz diu gemain der juden in der stat aigens hat ze rethem phande, ob wir den bawe niht volbraehten in dem vorgeaten zil, so habent die ratgeben und diu gemain der stat gewalt, den bawe in ze volbringen von unserm gut und auf unsern schaden anz und anz. Wollten auch etliche unser genozze von hinnan varn, die suelen zu dem bawe tun, als si an geziucht, ee si von uns varn, uns sullen uns des der vogt, die ratgeben und auch di gemain der stat beholfen sin. Choment auch mer juden unsere genozzen her, die sullen uns auch zu dem bawe helfen, ieglicher nach sinen staten. So veriehen wir die ratgeben und auch diu gemain der stat, daz wir den juden gehaizzen und gelobet haben mit unsern triwen, und sines vogtes, swer danne unser vogr ist, haelfe triwlich schermen suellen vor unreht und vor gewalt. Daz des niht vergezzen werde, darumb ist gemacht dirre brief, versiegelt und gevestent mit der stet insigel ze Auspurch und mit unserm insigel, din baiden dran hangent.*

*Do daz geschah, do warn von Christes geburt zwelf hundert iar in dem ahten und niuntzigosten iar, an sant Bartholomeus abent.“*

<sup>xv</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia; "Literaturblatt des Orients," 1842, col. 73

<sup>xvi</sup> Louis Dürrwanger on page 13 of his still unpublished 152 pages work "Die Juden in Augsburg – Kriegshaber" notes: "Wenn das bei Stetten abgebildete, *heute verschollene* Judensiegel v. J. 1298 (mit doppelköpfigen Reichsadler u. Judenhut darüber) nicht nachträglich „konstruiert“ ist, so stützt es die Vermutung, dass jene Judengemeinde bereits damals mit den Rechten einer juristischen Person ausgestattet war.“ Dürrwanger obviously not only queried the authenticity of the seal, but furthermore also stated that today it is lost ("heute verschollen"). Surprisingly no older photograph is known. Current archivists in the Stadtarchiv of Augsburg have no explanation for the Dürrwanger account. Recently a restored version of the seal was published, which can be seen online: <http://www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de/index.php?id=154>

<sup>xvii</sup> Not far from the medieval Judenkirchhof today runs the „Langemantel Str.“ which connects to the bridge over Wertach river in Oberhausen where it joins Ulmer Str. to Kriegshaber.

<sup>xviii</sup> The term „Yiddish“ meaning German "Juedisch" (Jewish) originated in 19th century USA, medieval sources rather use the self-imposed term "Taytsh" (similar to German "deutsch" or English "Dutch"), sometimes in order to distinguish it from "Ashkenas" language, spoken by the non-Jewish population. In later times however Jews in German lands refer to themselves as "Askenasim".

<sup>xix</sup> „Lange hernach ward eine bastey in der Gegend angelegt, die bis auf den heutigen Tag noch die Judenbastey heißt.“ Paul von Stetten, Johann Melchior Hoscher - *Geschichte der Juden in der Reichsstadt Augsburg*, Augsburg 1803, p. 9

<sup>xx</sup> „Der Friedhof der Gemeinde lag am Heiligen Kreuztor vor der Stadtmauer“ (p. 77). Fritz Leopold Steinthal – *Geschichte der Augsburger Juden im Mittelalter*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin 1911

<sup>xxi</sup> Franz Häußler – *Augsburgs Tore, der Reichsstadt Wehr und Zier*, Augsburg 2002, p. 108

<sup>xxii</sup> „... der Judenkirchhof lag vor der Stadt in der Nähe der Heilig-Kreuzkirche gegenüber der Richtstätte. Auch ein Garten bei dem Judenkirchhof gehörte der Gemeinde.“ (p. 9) Dr. Richard Grünfeld – *Ein Gang durch die Geschichte der Juden in Augsburg, Festschrift zur Einweihung der neuen Synagoge in Augsburg am 4. April 1917*, Augsburg 1917

<sup>xxiii</sup> „Er lag außerhalb der Stadt im Nordwesten, an der Straße, die am Heilig-Kreuz-Kloster vorbeiführte.“ Sabine Mütscherle – *Juden in Augsburg 1212 – 1440*, Stuttgart 1996, p. 48

<sup>xxiv</sup> Johann Jakob Fugger, Sigismund von Birken – *Spiegel der Ehren des höchstlößlichen Kaiser und Königlichen Erzhauses Österreich*, 1668, p. 279 (chronicle of the year 1315)

<sup>xxv</sup> „... und als sie nun all hie auß der stat kommen warn, da hett man willen, die stieg auf das rathaus und das vogelnest auf den dem tor an dem rathaus und den turn zu der sturmglögen ze machen, und mocht man nit stain darzu haben, die man fast teur bezllen must: da fuer man zu und nam den juden all ir grabstain in dem judenkirchhof und verpaut sie all an den ietzelgelten stuecken, des man aber seider nit vil genossen hat.“  
Burkhard Zink, Chronik Buch IV, 1416-1468 in *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg*, Band 2, p. 163, Leipzig 1866 (first print). Also: Raphael Strauss – *Regensburg and Augsburg*, Philadelphia 1939, p. 192: „... the site of the burial ground (was) included in the development of the city's fortifications (1523), and the tombstones (were) used in large measure for reconstruction work in the Town Hall“.

<sup>xxvi</sup> In 2015 it is possible to remind the 400th anniversary of the commencement of the construction work on 25<sup>th</sup> (!) of August 1615

<sup>xxvii</sup> Graphische Sammlung der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Augsburg

<sup>xxviii</sup> Graphische Sammlung der Städtischen Kunstsammlungen Augsburg

<sup>xxix</sup> The caption however stems from a later time

<sup>xxx</sup> *Herders Conversations-Lexikon*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1856, Band 4, S. 43 and Hugh Chisholm on „Lunette“ in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Ed.). Cambridge University Press, 1911

<sup>xxxi</sup>

"Der Israelit" vom 7. Mai 1891:

"Augsburg, 24. April. Gegenwärtig wird hier der sogenannte Judenwall, die nordwestliche Bastei der alten Stadtbefestigung, abgetragen, um einem Gefängnisbau Platz zu machen. Beim Abbruch derartiger Objekte rechnet man gewöhnlich darauf, irgendwelche Funde zu machen, die aber bis jetzt am Judenwall noch ziemlich spärlich sind. Nur einige zersprungene Steinkugeln und ein roh zugehauener Sandstein mit einer Inschrift wurden ausgegraben. Dieser Stein aber ist von einigem Interesse, weil er in unverkennbarem Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte des Walles steht. Er ist nämlich ein israelitischer Grabstein mit hebräischer Inschrift, wie solche in der Einfahrt und im Hofraum des Hauses PeutingerstraÙe D. 95, in die Wände eingemauert, noch mehrfach erhalten sind. (Die Erhaltung dieser Steine ist dem gelehrten Stadtschreiber Dr. Konrad Peutingen zu verdanken, der am 28. Dezember 1547 im 82. Lebensjahre in diesem Hause starb.) Nun wissen wir, dass an der Stelle des Judenwalles früher ein israelitischer Begräbnisplatz war, welchem ohne Zweifel der gefundene Stein entstammt. Von diesem jüdischen Begräbnisplatze, der schon im 13. Jahrhundert bestand, hat ersichtlich auch der später dort errichtete Wall seinen Namen bekommen. In den Jahren 1298-1302 erbauten die Juden auf eigene Kosten die Stadtmauer an ihrem Begräbnisplatz, und zwar vom alten Zeuggässchen an bis zur Wertachbrucker Mauer, wie die Chroniken schreiben, aus Dankbarkeit für erhaltenen Schutz. Aber die Zeiten änderten sich und 1438 wurden alle Juden aus Augsburg ausgewiesen und zogen auch 1440 ab. An dieses Ereignis knüpft sich eine interessante Episode der Augsburger Geschichte. Die Augsburger bauten damals ein Rathaus und verwendeten dazu kurzer Hand etwa 200 Grabsteine von dem nach Austreibung der Juden entbehrlich gewordenen Begräbnisplatze als Baumaterial. Nun erregte, wie 'Fugger's Ehrensiegel' (5. Buch Kapitel 10) meldet, der damalige Rathausbau so allgemeines Aufsehen, dass man glaubte, die Augsburger müssten durch Vertreibung der Juden sich beträchtlich bereichert haben. Der kaiserliche Insiegelbewahrer von Mörsber brachte es deshalb beim Kaiser dahin, dass in der kaiserlichen Kanzlei nachgeforscht wurde, ob den Augsburgern das Privilegium erteilt worden sei, die dem kaiserlichen Kammergericht unterstehenden Juden vertreiben zu dürfen. Da sich hierüber nichts vorfand und auch der Augsburger Rat keine schriftliche Erlaubnis vorzulegen vermochte, wurde die Sache dahin ausgeglichen, dass die Augsburger dem Kaiser 12.000 Gulden Strafe zahlen mussten. Jeder der 200 Steine kam ihnen demnach auf 60 Gulden oder ca. 360 Mark zu stehen, da der Gulden damals etwa 6 Mark jetzigen Geldes wert war. 1455 wurde der Begräbnisplatz vollständig eingeebnet und zu den Festungswerken gezogen, 1518-1523 eine Bastei daselbst errichtet und dieselbe, die nur schlecht aufgeworfen worden war, 1531 besser angelegt und zu einer wirklich Bastion nach der italienischen Befestigungsmanier ausgebaut. Seine letzte Gestaltung und Einrichtung hat der 'Judenwall' in den Jahren 1807 bis 1809 bekommen."

<sup>xxxii</sup> Already during the Napoleon wars some houses at the Katzenstadel were used to incarcerate imperial prisoners of war: *Reminiscenzen aus dem französischen Revolutionskriege oder historisches Tagebuch der merkwürdigen Kriegsbegebenheiten in und bey der Stadt Augsburg in den Jahren 1800 und 1801 mit beständiger Hinsicht auf die großen Weltereignisse der damaligen Zeit*, Nicolaus Doll Augsburg 1801, p. 70

<sup>xxxiii</sup> „Im selben Jahr wurde Antonie zum erstenmal verhaftet und in das berüchtigte Gefängnis "Katzenstadel" nach Augsburg gebracht. Dies war für sie eine schlimme Erfahrung: denn sie wusste nicht, dass es kriminelle Frauen und Mörderinnen gibt, die keinen Glauben hatten und nicht beten konnten. Am 7. Dezember 1938 war Antonie im Gefängnis sehr verzweifelt, aber der Himmel half ihr. Um die Mitternacht vom 7. auf den 8. Dezember trat die Hl. Jungfrau aus einer Lichtwolke heraus auf sie zu, tröstete sie und sagte ihr, sie würde noch vor Weihnachten freigelassen werden.“ (<http://www.gebetsstaette.de/stimpfle.htm>)

<sup>xxxiv</sup> That is “Discovered Ancient Jewish Monuments of Augusta Vindelicorum, narrated with add-ons” (16<sup>th</sup> century Latin name for Augsburg which allegedly combines the names of the rivers Lech (licus) and Wertach (virda) to Vindelicorum. Joining the Latin river names the byname of Augusta actually ought to be “Virdallicorum”. In contrary an abbreviated “August. Vindel.” which appeared on prints time and again was held for the name of a person.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Dürrwanger, p.9: „Kulturgeschichtlich auffällig ist bei Beck der Satz „non superimponi lapidem sepulchra, prout Christianis nobis mos est, sed juxta illud erectum stare“ Demnach hatten Christen damals keine aufrechtstehenden, sondern auf dem Grabe liegende Grabdenkmäler. (Dürrwanger underlined the last sentence)

<sup>xxxvi</sup> „in aedibus Peutingerianis, sitis prope Templi summi cryptam tenebricosam ... lateri earum orientali insertum“

<sup>xxxvii</sup> To be more exact, the actual shape of the fragment bordered by an overhanging 2 cm thick stony frame, however isn't quite circular but rather elliptic. The height is some 55 cm, while the lateral diameter measures some 68 cm.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Louis Dürrwanger oddly noted on page 7 of his work “Die Juden von Augsburg – Kriegshaber” to the picture of the grave marker: “jetzt Bombenzerstört” (now destroyed by bombs).

<sup>xxxix</sup> Beck explains that the title rabbi refers to the medieval German term “Juden Meister” (master of the Jews) as mentioned in the Juris Municipalis, Rubr. CCXI, that is chapter 221 of the Stadtbuch law from 1276.

<sup>xl</sup> R. Jehuda Leb, *Scholae Pfersensis in vincina Moderator*

<sup>xli</sup> תהי נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים – his soul be bound in the bundle of life

<sup>xlii</sup> See note xiii

<sup>xliii</sup> „Die Inschrift ist nicht richtig überliefert; wir finden verschiedenes in ihr, was im Hebräischen und was auf einem jüdischen Grabstein unmöglich ist.“ (Steinthal, p. 11)

<sup>xliv</sup> “apud Judaeos usitato, dignitate Rabbi, id est Doctor vel Magister, inde colligo, Archi-Synagogum Augustanum, fuisse, ...”

<sup>xlv</sup> The term „shul“ (Middle High German German „Schul“, Yiddish שול, or „Schule“ in current German) usually is regarded as deriving from Latin *schola* and again from Greek σχολή, which however actually means *leisure time* or *idleness*; but Jewish sources derive it from Talmudic writings. The Aramaic שוליא (shulya, shalya) means

*pupil, student or prentice*, which again is derived from Hebrew verb שאל (sha'al, sho'ol) which means „to ask, call for, demand“, originally „to extract from“ (in the sense of *to undress* it still is preserved in the Arab verb خلع). The Aramaic term also was used for disciples of a particular rabbi.

<sup>xlvi</sup> Actually this also is the conclusion of Dr. *Johann Nepomuck Franz Anton von Raiser* in his short depiction of the grave markers of the Peutinger house at the end of his *Die römischen Alterthümer zu Augsburg, und andere Denkwürdigkeiten des Ober-Donau-Kreises*, p. 101 and 102, Augsburg 1820: "Das Jahr ist nicht bemerkt, solches wurde daher durch verschiedene künstliche Wortauslegungen, welche bey Beck in der angezogenen Schrift § 28 nachgelesen werden können, nur vermuthet." Raiser however refers to the deceased as „Ober-Rabiner namens Baruch“, without explaining where a title of a “chief rabbi” actually may derive from.

<sup>xlvii</sup> צדיק כתמר יפרח כארז בלבנון ישגה: Psalm 92.12

<sup>xlviii</sup> „מועד קטן ג כה): אם בארזים נפלה שלהבת – מה יגידו אזובי הקיר..?“; compare also 1. Kings 4.33

<sup>xliv</sup> אשת-חיל is the beginning phrase of a 22 verse poem of King Salomon from the 31st chapter of the biblical book of Proverbs which as famous hymn traditionally is sung on Friday evening in order to welcome the “Shabbat Queen” or to be thankful for one’s wife or mother, or women in general: “Who can find a strong women with a value which is far beyond pearls ...?”

<sup>i</sup> Beck erroneously converts the date to 1237.

<sup>ii</sup> The still existing street name „Mauerberg“ refers to the ancient city wall in the south-eastern part of the former Burgstadt, as depicted in the introduction.

<sup>iii</sup> The male equivalent to עלמה sometimes incorrectly translated as „virgin“ (however, a girl or woman in the *state of virginity*, independent of age, concretely is בתולה) characterizes what we express as teenager, adolescent or juvenile.

<sup>iiii</sup> In more recent times on many tomb stones is the abbreviation ק"ק what in Hebrew or Aramaic shortens either קהילה קדושה or קהילה קדישא both in the meaning of „holy community“. Next to the abbreviation then follows the name of the town or village the dead is referred to.

<sup>liv</sup> The *Kalonymos* were a renowned Jewish family in Europe with many members in France, Italy and in German lands, as *Rashi* for instance. Other prominent members as *Yehuda ha Chasid*, also known as *Yehuda of Regensburg* or *Eleasar of Worms* are regarded as founders of medieval Ashkenazi Chassidism, while many prayers and poems in Jewish festival books are by different members of the *Kalonymos* family. The name *Kalonymos* however actually is Greek καλό νυμος (*kalo nymos*) and means *good name* or שם טוב in Hebrew. Israel ben Elieser (1698-1760), better known as *Baal Shem Tov* (or again abbreviated as *Besht*) who is regarded as founder of *modern* Chassidism referred to that name.

<sup>lv</sup> According to the account of Mrs. Agnes Maria Schilling at least a former owner of the building used to care the two small tablets with Hebrew letters because she held it for a copy of the Tablets of the Law of Moses.

<sup>lvi</sup> „corruptum fort. ex Alexander“

<sup>lvii</sup> For instance Jutta, Guetlin, Eberhart, Seligmann, Sueskind, Enslin, Hartman, Falk, Wolf, Lemlin, Feivel, Lieberman, Pruenlin, Gutkind, and the like, which all refer to German language.

<sup>lviii</sup> Both grave markers are distinguished from the common use to note the father after the name of the child.

<sup>lix</sup> ספר בראשית 28.9

<sup>lx</sup> דברי הימים ב 11.18 2 Chronicles,



<sup>lxi</sup> On page 5 of work on the History of the Jews in Kriegshaber he notes “*jetzt am Leichenhaus des israel. Friedhofs Augsburg*” (now at the mortuary of the Israelite cemetery of Augsburg). For the picture see property box of Louis Dürrwanger in the *Stadt Archiv Augsburg*, Fuggerstr. 12

<sup>lxii</sup> CAHJP P160/199

<sup>lxiii</sup> Theodor Harburger - *Inventarisierung jüdischer Kultur- und Kunstdenkmäler in Bayern*, herausgegeben von den Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem und dem Jüdischen Museum Franken – Fürth & Schnaittach, 1998, volume 2, p. 42 – the picture also was printed on table LXXXIII of the second volume of „Jüdisches Lexikon“ 1927, (<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/titleinfo/362236>)

<sup>lxiv</sup> תולדות יהודים במדינת שואבן, טז (לא פורסם)

<sup>lxv</sup> יוסף בן משה - ספר לקט יושר

<sup>lxvi</sup> ספר הגינה הנצחי, ה"תצב

<sup>lxvii</sup> = 1382

<sup>lxviii</sup> = 1410

<sup>lxix</sup> = 1434

<sup>lxx</sup> = 1452

<sup>lxxi</sup> = 1476