

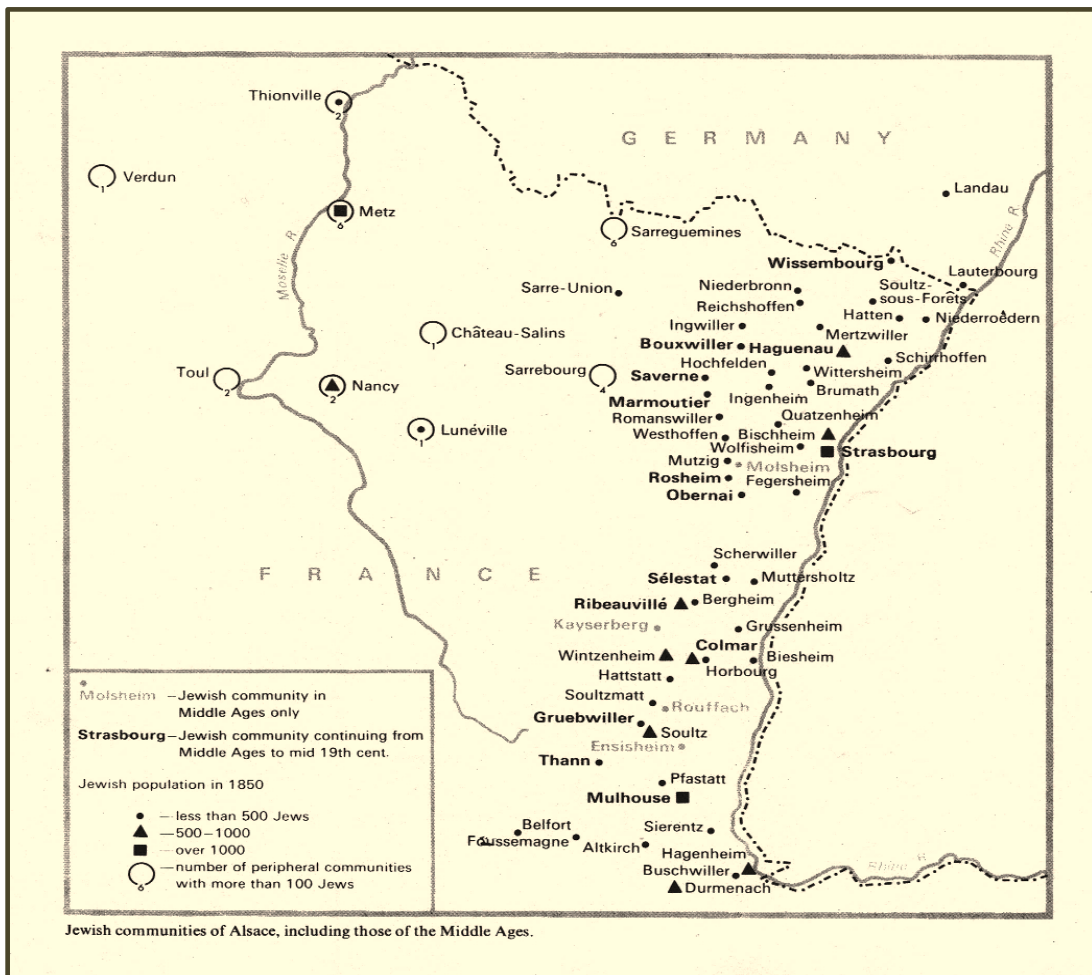
THE JEWISH PRESENCE IN SOUFFLENHEIM

By Robert Wideen : 2018

Soufflenheim Genealogy Research and History
www.soufflenheimgenealogy.com

Jews are first mentioned in Alsace in the 12th century. There were 522 families in 1689 and 3,910 families in 1784, including four families totaling 19 people in Soufflenheim. By 1790, the Jewish population in Alsace had grown to approximately 22,500, about 3% of the population. They maintained their own customs, spoke Yiddish, and followed Talmudic laws enforced by their Rabbis.

The Jewish presence in Soufflenheim is first documented with the arrival of refugees in the 15th century. By the late 1700's there was a Jewish street in the village, a Jewish lane on the outskirts, a district known as Juden Weeg, and a Jewish path in the Judenweg area of the Haguenau Forest leading to the Jewish Forest Road. Their influence on the local dialect is documented in *Yiddish in the Speech of Soufflenheim*.



Jewish Communities of Alsace, Including those of the Middle Ages. Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971)

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SOUFFLENHEIM JEWS

The following Jews lived in Soufflenheim.

Name	Spouse	Mentioned	Residence	Children
Josell	Jüdel	1678-1707	Soufflenheim	
Löbel		1681	Soufflenheim	
Götschel		1682	Soufflenheim	
Hirtzel		1682-1724	Soufflenheim	
Joseph		1701-1711	Soufflenheim	

Schiehler		1711	Soufflenheim	
Martin		1738-1762	Soufflenheim	
Seligmann		1739	Soufflenheim	
Samuel		1739	Soufflenheim	Leiser Samuel
Joseph son of Samuel		1758	Soufflenheim	Kronle Joseph
Salomon		1746-1773	Soufflenheim	Simon Salomon
Nathan Koschel		1784	Soufflenheim	
Nachman Lobel		1796	Soufflenheim	
Leiser Samuel Family				
Leiser Samuel	Beyle Salomon	1739-1805	Soufflenheim	Hindel, Samuel, Jacob, Zerle
Hindel Leiser	Hirtzel Landauer	1775	Soufflenheim	Breinel, Recka, Simcha, Treina, Isac, Samuel (Wintzenheim)
Samuel Leiser	Marianne Bloch	1750-1803	Soufflenheim	Jacques, Leopold, Daniel (Schirroffen)
Jacob Leiser	Dele Jacob Fromet Jacob	1765-1793	Soufflenheim	Samuel, David, Barbe, Esther (Schirroffen)
Zerlé Leiser	Gumbert Kahn	1784-1785	Soufflenheim	No Children
Feisel Hälf Family				
Feisel Hälf	Kronle Joseph	1750-1801	Soufflenheim	Samuel, Elle, Hündel, Reitz, Blümel, Rächel
Samuel Halff	Schenel Sanel	1758	Soufflenheim	Ulric, Ursule, Rose (Haguenau)
Hündel Feisel		1784	Soufflenheim	
Reitz Feisel		1784	Soufflenheim	
Blümel Feisel		1784	Soufflenheim	
Rächel Feisel		1784	Soufflenheim	
Elle Feisel	Jonas Abraham	1789	Soufflenheim	
Simon Salomon Family				
Simon Salomon	Miryam Baroukh Ghanyin Borach	1746 1773-1784	Soufflenheim	Salomon, Baruch, Hirtzel, Sara
Salomon Simon		1784	Soufflenheim	
Baruch Simon		1784	Soufflenheim	
Hirtzel Simon		1784	Soufflenheim	
Sara Simon	Bere Levi	1779-1784	Soufflenheim	Abraham Canard, Ester (Haguenau)

center of trade and commerce, with its horse market of particular importance to the Jewish horse traders of Soufflenheim. In times of strife it was a place of refuge. Upon death the place of burial.

THE EARLIEST JEWS

The earliest mention of Jews in Soufflenheim are refugees from Alsatian towns following the Burgundian Wars (1474-1477), in response to pressure exerted by the Swiss Confederation.



Haguenau in the 17th Century, Gallica.bnf.fr/

According to Paul Elchinger in *La Cité des Potiers*:

“Towards the end of 1476, troops of the Swiss Confederation passing through Haut-Rhin on their way to France to do battle with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, plundered the Jews of Mulhouse, Colmar, and Kaysersberg, and killed some of them. Returning to Switzerland from Nancy following their victory on January 5th, 1477, the same Swiss devastated part of Bas-Rhin. Jews were again the main target, particularly in Sélestat.

Fearing additional problems with the Swiss, Jews were evicted from the towns of Ammerschwih, Rosheim, Obernai, Sélestat, Colmar, Mulhouse and Kaysersberg. Some took refuge in villages of the diocese of Strasbourg. Many went to Châtenois and Scherwiller. The main villages which granted them asylum were: Riedseltz, Sultz-sous-Forêts, Surbourg, Hatten, Bühl, Betschdorf, Eschbach, Sessenheim, SOUFFLENHEIM, Rountzenheim, Herrlisheim, Schweighouse, Wittersheim, Batzendorf, Brumath, Wingersheim, Waldenheim, Ettendorf, Bouxwiller, etc. ... either in the Bailwick of Haguenau or in the County of Hanau, or on the land of the Nobility of Lower Alsace.”⁽³⁾

History of the Jews of Haguenau confirms the arrival of Jewish refugees: “In 1470, the Swiss Confederates ravaged Alsace and killed or hunted the Jews from Mulhouse, Colmar, Kaysersberg,

Obernai and Selestadt. These cities resolved not to admit any more Jews among them. Haguenau, fortunately, did not imitate them, and the Jews of that city were still doing quite well after these terrible tremors. It was on this occasion that the environs of Haguenau received some of these fugitive families, who nourished the hope of one day enjoying the protection afforded them by Haguenau.”⁽⁴⁾

During the 16th century, the Jewish population of Alsace was about 100-120 families. About 60 families lived in Lower Alsace about 50 in Upper Alsace. The most important community at that time was Bergheim, with a population of 17 families. That's where the rabbinate was.⁽⁵⁾

FROM 1648

Jews are not mentioned again in Soufflenheim until the end of the 30 Years War in 1648 and French control of Alsace. *La Cité des Potiers* continues:

“Later on, the reunification of Alsace with France did not spontaneously give the full and entire sovereignty to Louis XIV. The main and previously independent towns, the Nobles depending of the (Holy Roman) Empire, as well as many others, kept their prerogatives. The Jews had the most to lose, having to content the King, the towns as well as the Nobility.

At that time there are Jews in Bouxwiller, Träenheim, Westhoffen, Balbronn, Offendorf, Herrlisheim, Ingwiller, Hatten, Bühl, Pfaffenhoffen, etc. The Barony of Fleckenstein authorized some Jews to settle down in Soultz, Trimbach, Riedseltz, Oberbronn, Niederbronn, Gundershoffen, Mertzwiller, Uhrwiller, and Lembach. Wissembourg and Lauterbourg also took pity and sheltered some of those whose ancestors had been persecuted by these towns. Some others settled along the Rhine in Sessenheim, Rountzenheim and SOUFFLENHEIM.”⁽⁶⁾

During the Thirty Years' War and immediately thereafter, Jews arrived in Alsace, especially from the Baden country. Their role as providers of horses for the army, or for supplies of fodder or grain, had earned them the support of military leaders. A census in 1689 counted 525 families, approximately 2,600 people, throughout Alsace: 391 lived in Bas-Rhin and 134 in Haut-Rhin. Very few resided in cities.⁽⁷⁾

Schirmgeld

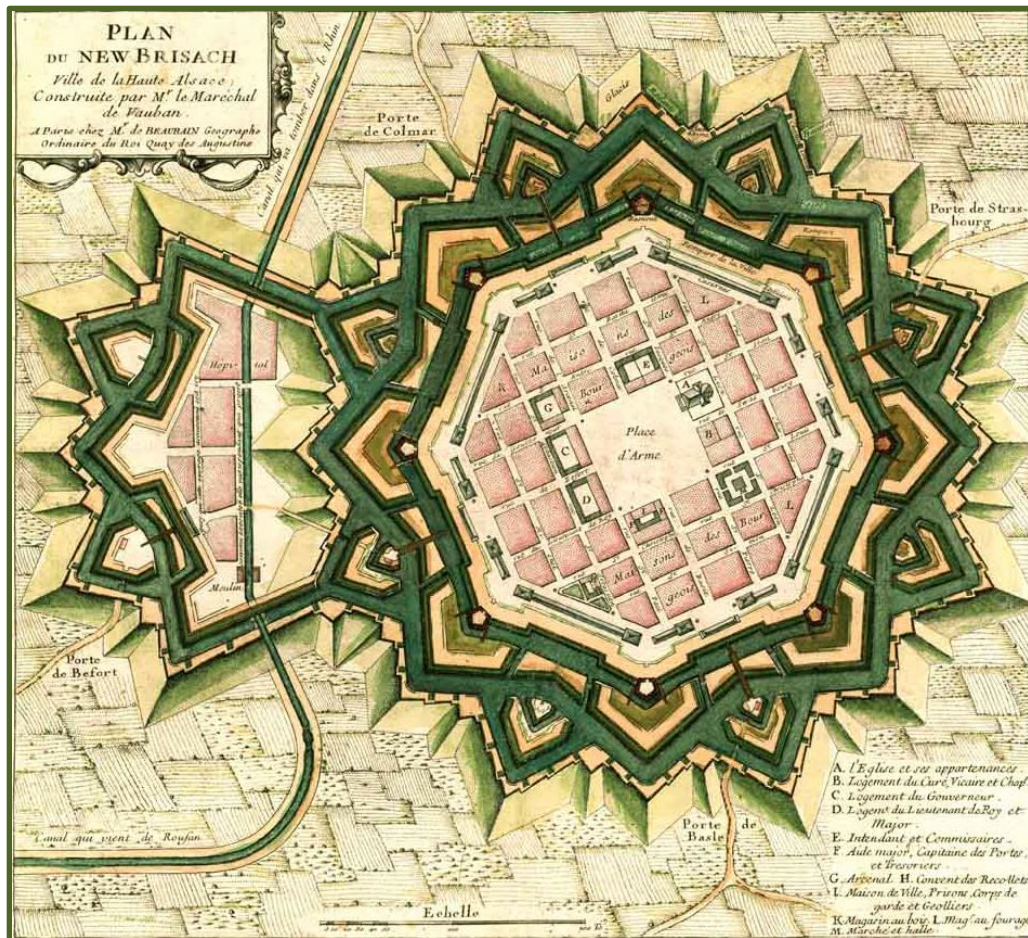
Beginning in 1671, the Soufflenheim town accounts list income received from the Schirmgeld (community protection), paid by Jews to live in Soufflenheim. The schirmgeld was 5 shilling annually per resident from 1671-1673 and 1 Gulden annually per resident by 1680. Accounts from 1674-1679, 1686-1689 and 1700-1708 are missing.

Year	Protected Residents	Schirmgeld Paid	Description
1671	3	1 G 5 s	Income paid by three protected residents here: 1 G 5 s

1672	5	2 R 5 s	Income by five protected residents paid tax: 2 R 5 s
1673	5	2 R 5 s	Income from protected residents as tax for Community protection: 2 R 5 s
1680	2	2 R	Income paid by two protected residents for the year 1 R each: 2 R
1682	2	2 R	Received from 2 protected residents here: 2 R

The first known Jew in Soufflenheim is Josell, who paid the church a tax of 5 s in 1678, previously paid by Hans Gotz, on a house in the village. The next mention is Löbel in 1681. Otilia, wife of innkeeper and former mayor Lorentz Schaeffter, owed Löbel for salt and another Jew for dresses purchased for her daughter. In 1682, Simon Schwartz owed money to the Jews Hirtzell and Götschel. ⁽⁸⁾

The first mention of Jewish house ownership is in 1685. It belonged to Jossel and his wife Jüdel. In September of that year, they purchased a small house in Soufflenheim for 40 gulden from Jacob Walter, a burgher in Soufflenheim and Margaretha his wife. ⁽⁹⁾ Jossel was still living in this location in 1707. The Town Accounts in 1694 state he received 24 florins and 5 sous interest from the village.



Neuf-Brisach and its fortifications. Designed by Vauban circa 1697. Home of Leiser Samuel's wife Beyle Salomon.

There were approximately 4-5 Jewish families in Soufflenheim from the late 1600's through 1791:

- Four names are mentioned by the late 1600's: Löbel, Hirtzell, Götschel and Jossel.
- Four are mentioned circa 1700-1725: Jossel, Joseph, Schiehler and Hirtzel.
- Five Jews are mentioned or are believed to be living in Soufflenheim circa 1726-1750: Martin, Seligmann, Samuel, Feisel Hälf, and Salomon (Zalmen).
- Four families are mentioned in 1784: Leiser Samuel and Beyle Salomon, Feisel Halff and Croennel Joseph, Simon Salomon and Kayen Baruch, and Samuel Leiser and Maria Schiellen.

1784 CENSUS

In 1784, Louis XVI ordered a general census of all Jews in Alsace. There were four Jewish families totaling 19 people living in Soufflenheim at this time.

"The 1784 census lists 3,918 Jewish families in Alsace, of which almost 45% did not have a fixed last name. These families used the name of the father or grandfather as a surname. There were families where the grandfather, son and grandson had different family names: the grandfather called Isaac Abraham (Isaac son of Abraham), the son Jacob Isaac (Jacob son of Isaac) and grandson Abraham Jacob (Abraham son of Jacob).

Among those who had a family name in 1784, 17% of the total families were named Levy and Kahn. Then come the names Dreyfuss, Bloch, Weyl or Weill, which represent 13%. So, 30% of Jews in Alsace at that time are called Levy, Kahn, Bloch, Dreyfuss and Weill (52% of those who already have a fixed surname).

Interestingly, the 45% of the Jews who have no family name other than the name of the father or grandfather are very unequally distributed. In lower Alsace, 63% of families are affected, while in upper Alsace it is 17%. It is possible that the Jews who settled in lower Alsace are older than those of Haute-Alsace." ⁽³⁹⁾

GENERAL CENSUS OF THE JEWS OF ALSACE, tolerated in the Province of Alsace, to enforce the Regulation Patent Letters dated July 10th, 1784 of His Majesty Louis XVI.

Commune de Soufflenheim Number 142 (Status: 04 December 1784)

Family	Title	Surname	Given Name
Family Number 1	Head	SCHMULEN	Leyser
	Wife	SALOMON	Beylen

	Son		Jacob
	Daughter		Zerlen
	Valet	KOSCHEL	Nathan
Family Number 2	Head	HÄLFF	Feisel
	Wife	JOSEPH	Croennel
	Daughter		Hündel
	Daughter		Reitz
	Daughter		Blümel
	Daughter		Rächel
Family Number 3	Head	LEYSER	Schmulen
	Wife	SCHIELLEN	Maria
Family Number 4	Head	SALOMON	Simon
	Wife	BARUCH	Kayen
	Son		Salomon
	Son		Baruch
	Son		Hirtzel
	Daughter		Sara

Relationships

Four families are mentioned in the 1784 census:

- Leiser Samuel and Beylen Salomon
- Feisel Halff and Croennel Joseph
- Simon Salomon and Kayen Baruch [Borach]
- Samuel Leiser and Maria Schiellen [Bloch]

At least three of the families are related: Samuel Leiser is the son of Leiser Samuel and the nephew of Feisel Halff. ⁽⁴²⁾

The relationship of Simon Salomon and Kayen Baruch to the other families is unknown. Salomon was from Soufflenheim, perhaps born there. Kayen Baruch was from Hagenbach in the Palatinate, 20 miles north.



Judengasse in Fegersheim, Alsace, home of Samuel Leyser's wife Marianne Schiele Bloch. Alemannia Judaica

ORIGINS

There are no known Soufflenheim Jewish records prior to 1755 stating a previous residence.

Some may have been descended from Jews expelled from France centuries earlier – the name Bloch is French. From the middle of the 17th century onwards, many Jews came to Alsace from Baden and the Rhineland.

By the end of the 18th century, most Soufflenheim Jews came from other communities in Bas-Rhin, some near, some far. Only three are specifically described as originating outside of Alsace:

- Kronle Joseph, probably from Muggensturm, 20 miles east, in Baden-Wurttemberg.
- Miryam and Hayn Borach were from Hagenbach, 20 miles north of Soufflenheim in Rhineland-Palatinate (near Lauterbourg). They previously lived in Alcken, 134 miles north of Soufflenheim on the Moselle river in Rhineland-Palatinate.

The place of origin of the heads of household in the 1784 census, their spouses and many of their children are found in Jewish marriage contracts from 1755-1789 and civil marriage records after 1791.

There are ten spouses: seven from Bas-Rhin, one from Haut-Rhin, and two (sisters) from Rhineland-Palatinate. The average distance from Soufflenheim is 22.2 miles. Remove the village of Neuf-Brisach, at 64 miles the farthest away, and the average distance is 17.5 miles.

The below birth dates are approximate.

Name	From	Married	Spouse	From	Distance from Soufflenheim
Leiser Samuel 1729-1805	Souffenheim	1755	Beyle Salomon 1737-1796	Neuf-Brisach, Haut-Rhin	64 Miles South
Kronle Joseph 1722-1808	Souffenheim	1758	Feisel Hälf 1726-1801	Rountzenheim, Bas-Rhin	2.2 Miles East
Simon Salomon 1739-bef 1803	Souffenheim	1764 1773	Miryam Borach Hayn Borach	Hagenbach, Rhineland-Palatinate	20 Miles Northeast
Hindel Leiser 1752-1794	Souffenheim	1775	Hirtzel Landauer 1746-1816	Wintzenheim, Bas-Rhin	30 Miles Southwest
Samuel Leiser 1750-aft. 1812	Souffenheim	1781	Marianne Bloch 1752-1803	Fegersheim, Bas-Rhin	30 Miles South
Zerlé Leiser 1764-1797	Souffenheim	1785	Gumbert Kahn 1754-1830	Schirrhoffen, Bas-Rhin	2.7 Miles Southwest
Ella Feistell	Souffenheim	1789	Jonas Abraham	Soultz sous Forêts, Bas-Rhin	10 Miles Northwest
Jacob Leiser 1766-1823	Souffenheim	1793	Dele Jacob 1765-1801	Krautergersheim, Bas-Rhin	34 Miles South
Samuel Halff 1757-1840	Souffenheim	c. 1795	Schenel Sanel 1771-1831	Gunstett, Bas-Rhin	15 Miles West
Sara Simon 1783-1823	Souffenheim	1803	Bere Levy 1782-bef. 1823	Ohlungen, Bas-Rhin	14 Miles West

OCCUPATIONS

Prior to the French Revolution, Jews were barred from living in many cities, and instead lived in numerous small hamlets and villages. They were barred from most occupations, and concentrated in trade, services, and moneylending.

Soufflenheim estate records and contracts show the Jews there dealing in cows, oxen and goods such as salt, corn and grain. Some records refer to money lending, specifically mentioning borrowed money or interest on debt. Most debts simply mention an amount owed, no reason provided, presumably for money borrowed or for goods or services rendered.

Horse trading was an important occupation for some: “At the time of the census in the year 1784 four Jewish families counting 19 members lived in Soufflenheim. They traded horses which they conveyed to the Horse Market at Haguenau. The rue des Juifs on the Brunnenberg and the Chemin des Juifs through the forest in the direction of Haguenau up to the Forester's House called Eberbach still exist”. ⁽¹²⁾



Synagogue in Soultz sous Forêts, Alsace, home of Ella Feistel's husband Jonas Abraham.

An early record documents this occupation. In 1714 Haguenau issued an edict prohibiting resident Jews from transacting business on Sundays or Christian holy days. “A Jew of Soufflenheim having violated this law, and having bought a horse on a public holiday, was sentenced to six guilders”. ⁽¹⁰⁾

Feisel Half and his son Samuel are the only Jews described as horse traders. Others are described as livestock dealers, typically cattle, but could include horses. The Jews in Soufflenheim were involved in various types of trade, primarily livestock, but also grain and other commodities, and may have been part of the Jewish network, based in Fort Louis, that supplied the garrison.

All four heads of household in the 1784 census were traders or merchants, as were their children and many relatives. Their occupations are listed as “handelsmann”, “handelsleute” and “maquignon”.

A handelsmann is someone engaged in trade, such as horses or cattle. The most common definitions of handelsmann are businessman, merchant and trader (handels = trade, mann = man). Other definitions are merchant, hawker, dealer, seller, peddler. A handelsleute is a trading person (handels = trade, leute = people). "Maquignon" is the French word for horse dealer.

Jews could engage in any profession after receiving French citizenship in 1791. In 1796, Feisal Half is described as a butcher and Nachman Lobel as a shopkeeper.

The following records list their occupations.

Jewish Occupations

Year	Name	Occupation	Residence	Relationship
1793	Leiser Samuel	Handelsmann	Soufflenheim	
1793	Jacob Bahr	Handelsmann	Krautergersheim	Father-In-Law of Jacob Leiser
1796	Feisel Half	Butcher	Soufflenheim	Resident of Soufflenheim
1796	Nachman Lobel	Shopkeeper	Soufflenheim	Resident of Soufflenheim
1802	Jacob Bahr	Livestock Merchant	Krautergersheim	Father-In-Law of Jacob Leiser
1794	Hirtzel Landauer	Handelsmann	Wintzenheim	Husband of Hindel Leiser
1801	Jacob Leiser	Handelsmann	Schirhoffen	Son of Leiser Samuel
1801	Samuel Leiser	Handelsmann	Soufflenheim	Son of Leiser Samuel
1801	Gomber Kann	Handelsmann	Schirhoffen	Husband of Zerle Leiser
1803	Hirtzel Landauer	Handelsman	Wintzenheim	First Wife Hindel Leiser
1803	Samuel Leiser	Handelsmann	Schirhoffen	Son of Leiser Samuel
1803	Simon Salomon	Handelsman	Schirhoffen	Father of Simon Salomon
1803	Simon Salomon	Hantelsleute	Soufflenheim	Deceased
1803	Simon Salomon	Merchant	Soufflenheim	Deceased
1803	Hirtzel Simon	Handelsman	Schirhoffen	Son of Simon Salomon
1808	Feisel Half	Horse Dealer (Maquignon)	Soufflenheim	Deceased
1808	Feisel Half	Former Cattle Merchant in Haguenau	Soufflenheim	Deceased
1808	Samuel Half	Horse Dealer	Haguenau	Son of Feisel Half
1808	Hirtzel Simon	Handels Jud (Trading Jew)	Schirrhoffen	Son of Simon Salomon
1814	Hirtzel Simon	Juif Commercant (Jewish Trader)	Schirrhoffen	Son of Simon Salomon

1817	Hirtzel Simon	Juif Commercant	Schirrhoffen	Son of Simon Salomon
1822	Hirtzel Simon	Commercant	Schirrhoffen	Son of Simon Salomon
1826	Hirtzel Simon	Peddlar	Schirrhoffen	Son of Simon Salomon
1841	David Liebschutz	Livestock Dealer	Schirrhoffen	Son of Jacob Leiser
1874	Daniel Liebschutz	Handelsmann	Schirrhoffen	Son of Samuel Leiser

According to the Soufflenheim Town Accounts, Jews were required to “pay a specific tax for grazing (Weidgeld) of flock equal to 4 gulden 5 pfennigs”. ⁽¹³⁾



Mill in Krautergersheim, Alsace. Jacob Leiser’s wives were from Krautergersheim, sisters Dele and Fromet Jacob.

HOMES

The Jewish families in Soufflenheim lived in several locations, particularly the Judengasse (rue Posterieure) in the center of the village south of the Road to Haguenau:

- Jösel and Joseph, circa 1678-1707, lived on or near the Ziechbach, a brook which no longer exists. The current Rue Ziech may have followed the course of this stream. Philipp Kieffer's house was adjacent to both the Ziechbach and Jösel and Joseph.
- Schiehler, circa 1711, lived near the Geissmatten (Goat Meadow).
- Hirtzel, circa 1724, lived on the west side of the path to Betschdorf, on or near a path called Judenweg, the current Rue des Juifs.
- Simon Sallmann [Salomon] lived behind a house located on the Götz Eck in 1779.
- Feissel Halff, circa 1784, lived on Hintergasse, the current rue Posterieure, known in the late 1700's as the Judengasse.

CONVERSIONS

The term “Jew” was sometimes applied to Christians who were descended from Jews who had been baptized. ⁽¹⁴⁾ There was a farmer named Martin Jud in Soufflenheim. Jud translates as “Jew”.

Martin Jud or an ancestor may have been Jewish. Interestingly, Martin Jud lived on the Hintergasse, later known as the Judengasse, next to the house of the Jew Feissel Half. Jud was clearly a Christian during his adult life in Soufflenheim and was well integrated into the village.

Martin Juden (Jud) House: 1766

Lorentz Kieffer & Catharina Daul Marriage Contract, 12 April 1766, 6E33/65: Catherine Daul House: One side Johannes Mey, weaver, second side Johannes Eysen, behind MARTIN JUDEN'S heirs and for part the Hintergässel, front the Road to Haguenau.

1766	Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau
	Johannes Eysen	Catharina Daul: 1766	Johannes Mey, weaver: 1766
		Martin Juden's Heirs	Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)
	(Feissel, Jew)	Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)	
	Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)		

By law, Jewish children born out of wedlock were baptized. ⁽¹⁵⁾ Conversions were also voluntary, and could include inducements:

“If conversions to Christianity were rare, it was not that the Israelites in the city [Haguenau] were not excited about it. They were tempted by the offer of bonuses of all kinds. A sum of 300 pounds in cash and clothes were promised to the neophyte, when he was a man. For women, the sum was not fixed.

In 1711, a Jewish girl who consented to embrace Christianity to marry a young Catholic in the city, the hospital housed her free of charge until the day of the wedding, she received a wedding gift of 50 guilders, and the municipality exempted her and her husband for a period of three years from the fees of the bourgeoisie [burghers] and the cost of the marzahl mares.

On the other hand, it was not good for Jewish girls to let themselves go [pregnant and unmarried], even if it was in the company of a Christian. They were obliged to go to the hospice to await their deliverance, their child was baptized, and after returning to their homes they were fined several florins.” ⁽¹⁶⁾

DURING THE TERROR

On September 27, 1791 Jews in France became full French nationals and received the same rights as every French citizen. All special taxes for Jews were abolished. They were allowed to engage in any profession, acquire buildings, and live wherever they wanted.

The period of the French Revolution from September 5, 1793, to July 27, 1794 was known as The Reign of Terror. With civil war spreading and hostile armies surrounding France, the Revolutionary government issued a decree to take harsh measures against suspected enemies of the Revolution.

The majority of the population of northern Alsace was opposed to the revolutionaries. On December 22, 1793, following the defeat of the counter revolutionary forces, 40,000 to 50,000 Alsatians fled the advancing French troops to safety in the Palatinate and northern Baden during the “Great Flight”. Many from Soufflenheim left, including the Jewish families of Feisel Half, Samuel Leiser and Jacques Leiser. ⁽¹⁷⁾

Feisel Half went to Haguenau, a traditional place of refuge for Jews during times of crisis, and the home of his son Samuel Half:

“The Revolution overthrew all the legal barriers and Israelites from the surroundings of Haguenau settled down in the town to flee the plundering which took place after the collapse of the Old Regime. Those who arrived at that time [included] Half, from Soufflenheim.” ⁽¹⁸⁾

Samuel Leiser and Marianne Bloch went to Konigsbach in Baden, where their son Daniel was born in 1794. The site of a synagogue, Jewish families had first settled there in 1699, working mainly in the cattle trade. ⁽¹⁹⁾

IN THE 19TH CENTURY

No Jews are found in Soufflenheim in the census records of 1808, 1851, 1882, 1910, 1936, and 1953. The last Jews known to have lived in Soufflenheim were Samuel Leiser and his wife Marianne Bloch in 1801. By 1803 they had moved to Schirrhoffen.



Miriam Wife of Samuel d. 1803



Leyzer Samuel d. 1805

Marianne (Miriam) Bloch (d. 1803) and her father-in-law Leiser Samuel (d. 1805) are buried at the Jewish cemetery in Haguenau. Tombstones name Soufflenheim as their place of residence. They are the only known Soufflenheim burials in the Jewish cemetery. There are likely others, as some tombstones are illegible, some do not list a place of residence, and many were buried without one. A large number were destroyed during heavy fighting in the cemetery in World War II. ⁽²⁰⁾

THE END OF THE COMMUNITY

Jews could live wherever they wished after receiving French citizenship in 1791. Some from Soufflenheim moved to Schirrhoffen and Haguenau with their much larger Jewish communities. The destruction of Fort Louis and the complete loss of its Jewish population coincides with the demise of the Jewish community in Soufflenheim. Jews in Fort Louis provided the garrison with all types of supplies, including horses. The Jewish horse traders and merchants in nearby Soufflenheim may have been affected as well.

Soufflenheim: City of Potters (1978) speculates that “The above-mentioned families [in the 1784 census] did not exist anymore in 1807, having most probably left during the French Revolution”.⁽²¹⁾ At least two of the three Jewish families known to have left during “the terror”, those of Samuel Lieser and Feisel Halff, eventually returned. Jacob Leiser presumably also returned to Soufflenheim, at least briefly, and is found in Schirrhoffen in 1797.

Soufflenheim, un cite (1987), *Le yiddisch dans le parler de Soufflenheim* (1987), and *Soufflenheim, terre de potiers* (1998) say nothing about the disappearance of the Jewish community.

Alain Kahn, in his 2010 study *The Jewish Presence in the North Ried* states: “After Jews began using family names, the 1808 census no longer mentions Jews in Soufflenheim, but the descendants of these families [1784 Census] are found in Schirrhoffen.”⁽²²⁾ Three of the four families in the 1784 census moved to Schirrhoffen.

Research by Mark Drexler in 2017 provides the 1808 status of 15 of the 22 Jews from Soufflenheim in 1784 (19 in the census plus 3 living elsewhere):

- Four were living in Schirrhoffen.
- Six had moved to Schirrhoffen and were deceased by 1808.
- Three were living in Haguenau, one of whom previously resided in Schirrhoffen.
- One passed away in Soufflenheim prior to 1808.
- One passed away in Wintzenheim prior to 1808.

1784 Census	Title	Surname	Given Name	Status in 1808
Family 1	Head	Schmullen	Leyser	d. 1805 Schirrhoffen
	Wife	Salomon	Beylen	d. 1796 Schirrhoffen
	Daughter	Leiser*	Hindel	d. 1794 Wintzenheim
	Son	Leiser	Jacob	In Schirrhoffen d. 1823 Schirrhoffen
	Daughter	Leiser	Zerlen	d. 1797 Schirrhoffen
	Valet	Koschel	Nathan	Unknown
	Family 2	Head	Hälff	Feisel	d. 1801 Soufflenheim
Wife		Joseph	Croennel	In Haguenau. d. 1808 Haguenau
Son		Halff*	Samuel	In Haguenau. d. 1840 Haguenau
Daughter		Feisel	Hündel	Unknown
Daughter		Feisel	Reitz	Unknown
Daughter		Feisel	Blümel	Unknown
Daughter		Feisel	Rächel	Unknown
Daughter	Feisel*	Ella	Unknown. m. Jonas Abraham of Surbourg in 1789	

Family 3	Head	Leyser	Samuel	In Schirrhoffen
	Wife	Schiellen	Maria	d. 1803 Schirrhoffen
Family 4	Head	Salomon	Simon	d. 1803 Schirrhoffen
	Wife	Baruch	Kayen	d. 1803 Schirrhoffen
	Son	Simon	Salomon	In Schirrhoffen
	Son	Simon	Baruch	Unknown
	Son	Simon	Hirtzel	In Schirrhoffen
	Daughter	Simon	Sara	In Haguenau (previously in Schirrhoffen) d. 1823 Haguenau

* Hindel Leiser, Samuel Halff and Ella Feisel were not living in Soufflenheim at the time of the 1784 census. Hindel was living in Wintzenheim- Kochersberg and Samuel in Haguenau. Ella's residence unknown.



Chapel La Klose in Olungen, constructed in 1213. Sara Simon's husband Bere Levi was from Olungen.

A FINAL WORD

French Jews chose permanent names in 1808. The names were registered at the Town Hall in books labeled "DJ" (Declarations Juifs), officially titled 'Declarations de prise de nom patronymique des Juifs 1808' (Declarations of Patronymic Naming of Jews 1808).⁽⁴⁰⁾

"On 20 July 1808, Napoleon 1 gave the order forcing Jews to adopt names and final names. During the summer and autumn of 1808, Jews stood in the town halls to declare to definitively adopt certain names. Their statements were recorded in duplicate registers. Here is the usual presentation:

"Here before us, Mayor of the commune of Westhoffen, canton of Wasselonne, arrondissement of Strasbourg, the Bas-Rhin department, appeared Abraham Moyse, who said he would take the name Blum for the family name and keep the name of Moyse, and signed with us the 9th October 1808." Follows the signatures of Moyse Blum and the Mayor.

Generally speaking, almost all of the families with a fixed surname before 1808 retained it. The exception to the rule were those named Levy who, because of their large numbers, needed to distinguish themselves from one another, and adopted various names in some municipalities.

According to the whim of the Secretary of the Town Hall, or, due to subtle differences in pronunciation, names could have a variety of spellings. Nearly 770 names were recorded in 1808. The range of names in the 1784 census did not exceed 200."⁽⁴¹⁾



Inauguration of a synagogue in Alsace, attributed to Georg Emmanuel Opitz, Jewish Museum of New York.

There were no Jews living in Soufflenheim in 1808. Former Jewish residents of Soufflenheim, in **BOLD**, and their descendants in Haguenau, Schirrhoffen, and Witzenheim (Bas-Rhin) declared the following names. Contributed by Mark Drexler.

Date	Name	New Name	Residence In 1808	Relationship	Source
14 Oct 1808	SAMUEL HALFF	Samuel Halff	Haguenau	Husband	5E179 #172
14 Oct 1808	Feistel Halff	Ulric Halff	Haguenau	Son	5E179 #173
14 Oct 1808	Beyle Halff	Ursule Halff	Haguenau	Daughter	5E179 #174
14 Oct 1808	Reitz Halff	Rose Halff	Haguenau	Daughter	5E179 #175
14 Oct 1808	Schoennel Sannel	Jeanne Hertz	Haguenau	Wife	5E179 #176
14 Oct 1808	GREINEL JOSEPH	Caroline Gantz	Haguenau	Mother of Husband	5E179 #177
21 Oct 1808	HIRTZEL SIMON	Jean May	Schirrhoffen	Husband	5E450 #41
21 Oct 1808	Breinel Landauer	Jeanne Landauer	Schirrhoffen	Wife	5E450 #41
21 Oct 1808	Simon	Simon May	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #41
21 Oct 1808	Isaac May	Isaac May	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #41
20 Oct 1808	Lazare Levy	Lazare Levy	Haguenau	Husband	5E179 #500
20 Oct 1808		Ester Levy	Haguenau	Daughter	5E179 #501
20 Oct 1808	SARA SIMON	Sara Canard	Haguenau	Wife	5E179 #502
20 Oct 1808		Abraham Canard	Haguenau	Wife's Son	5E179 #503
20-21 Oct 1808	SAMUEL LEYSER	Samuel Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Husband	5E450 #17
20-21 Oct 1808	MIRIAM SCHIELE	Eva Bloch	Schirrhoffen	Wife	5E450 #17
20-21 Oct 1808	Jacques Leyser	Jacques Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #17
20-21 Oct 1808	Leopold Leyser	Leopold Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #17
20-21 Oct 1808	Daniel Leyser	Daniel Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #17
20-21 Oct 1808	Simon Leyser	Simon Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #17
20-21 Oct 1808	JACQUES LEYSER	Jacques Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Husband	5E450 #53

20-21 Oct 1808	FROMET BAHR	Veronique Bahr	Schirrhoffen	Wife	5E450 #53
20-21 Oct 1808	Samuel Leyser	Samuel Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #53
20-21 Oct 1808	David Leyser	David Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Son	5E450 #53
20-21 Oct 1808	Barbe Leyser	Barbe Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Daughter	5E450 #53
20-21 Oct 1808	Esther Leyser	Esther Liebschutz	Schirrhoffen	Daughter	5E450 #53
17-26 Oct 1808	Hirtzel Landauer*	Zacharias Landauer	Wintzenheim	Huband	Entry #24
	HINDEL LEISER		Wintzenheim	Wife	Deceased
17-26 Oct 1808	Rosina Landauer	Rosina Landauer	Wintzenheim	Daughter	Entry #25
17-26 Oct 1808	Sofia Landauer	Sofia Landauer	Wintzenheim	Daughter	Entry #26
17-26 Oct 1808	Karlen Landauer	Karlen Landauer	Wintzenheim	Daughter	Entry #27
17-26 Oct 1808	Isac Landauer	Isac Landauer	Wintzenheim	Son	Entry #28
17-26 Oct 1808	Samuel Landauer	Samuel Landauer	Wintzenheim	Son	Entry #29

*Wintzenheim-Kochersberg (Bas-Rhin). No archive designator number. Hindel Leiser of Soufflenheim, deceased.

THE JEWISH INFLUENCE

The Jewish population in Soufflenheim was never large, unlike nearby Schirrhoffen, home to 380 Jews at its peak in 1851, as well as a Jewish school, synagogue, and rabbi, none of which existed in Soufflenheim. However, the population was large enough to influence both the village and surrounding area. There was:

- A Jewish street in the village (Judengasse), the current rue Posterior.
- A Jewish lane on the outskirts (Judenweg), the current Rue des Juifs (Street of the Jews).
- A district known as Juden Weeg (Jew's Way), in the area of the Judenweg.
- A Jewish path (Judenweg), the current Chemin des Juifs (Path of the Jews), through the Haguenau forest to Route Forestière de Juifs (Jewish Forest Road).
- An area in the Haguenau forest adjacent to Soufflenheim called Judenweg.

The Jewish presence also influenced the local dialect as documented by Octavie Roll in *Le yiddisch dans le parler de Soufflenheim* (Yiddish in the Speech of Soufflenheim).⁽²³⁾

JUDENGASSE

The Judengasse (Jew's street), current rue Posterieure, was located in the central part of the village, south of the Road to Haguenau. It was known as the Hintergasse (back alley/street) in 1682 and 1766, and as the Judengasse by 1790.



Rue Posterieure, Former Judengasse/Hintergasse

The name has reverted back to Hintergasse. Officially, it is known as rue Posterieure, the French translation of Hintergasse.

Property records in 1766 and 1790 connect the Hintergasse to the Judengasse:

- In 1766 Catharina Daul and Joannes Mey, weaver, lived next to each other on the Road to Haguenau.
- In 1766 the street behind Catharina Daul is called the Hintergasse.
- In 1790 the street behind Joannes Mey, weaver, is called the Judengasse.

Conclusion: Hintergasse and Judengasse are the same street.

The Jewish family of Feissel Halff family lived on the Judengasse in 1784.

Catharina Daul House: 1766

Lorentz Kieffer & Catharina Daul Marriage Contract, 12 April 1766, 6E33/65: Catherine Daul House: One side Johannes Mey, weaver, second side Johannes Eysen, behind Martin Juden's heirs and for part the Hintergässel, front the Road to Haguenau.

1766 Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau
Johannes Eysen	Catharina Daul: 1766	Johannes Mey, weaver: 1766
	Martin Juden's Heirs	Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)
(Future House of Feissel, Jew, 1784)	Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)	
Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)		

Hans Mey, Weaver, House: 1790

Michael Kieffer & Catharina Mey Marriage Contract, 31 July 1790, 7E44/18: Hans Mey, weaver House: One side Joseph Daul (Catherine Daul's brother), second side the Jews' Street (Judengasse), down the Road to Haguenau.

1790 Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau
Joseph Daul	Hans Mey, weaver: 1790	Judengasse (Former Hintergasse)
Martin Juden's Heirs (?)	Judengasse (Former Hintergasse)	
Judengasse (Former Hintergasse)		

Feissel Halff, Jew, House: 1784

Andre Eisen & Maria Anna Schwartz Marriage Contract: 23 January 1784, 6E33/122: House: One side Philipp Kieffer, other side Michel Vögele, on the Road to Haguenau, behind Feissel, Jew.

1784 Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau	Road to Haguenau
Philipp Kieffer	Andre Eisen & Maria Anna Schwartz: 1784	Michel Vögele
	Garden	
	Feissel, Jew	Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)

	Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)	
Hintergasse (Future Judengasse)		

JUDENWEG

The Judenweg (Jew's Path/Way) is mentioned in 1782 and 1786 as the District Im Juden Weeg. Originally a path, it was a narrow lane by the 1780's. By 1809 it was known as the rue des Juifs (Street of the Jews), it's present name.



Rue des Juifs in Soufflenheim (Judenweg in the 18th century)

A street sign on the corner of Rue des Juifs and Rue des Hirondelles says Rue des Juifs, and in smaller letters, Judegass (Jew Street).

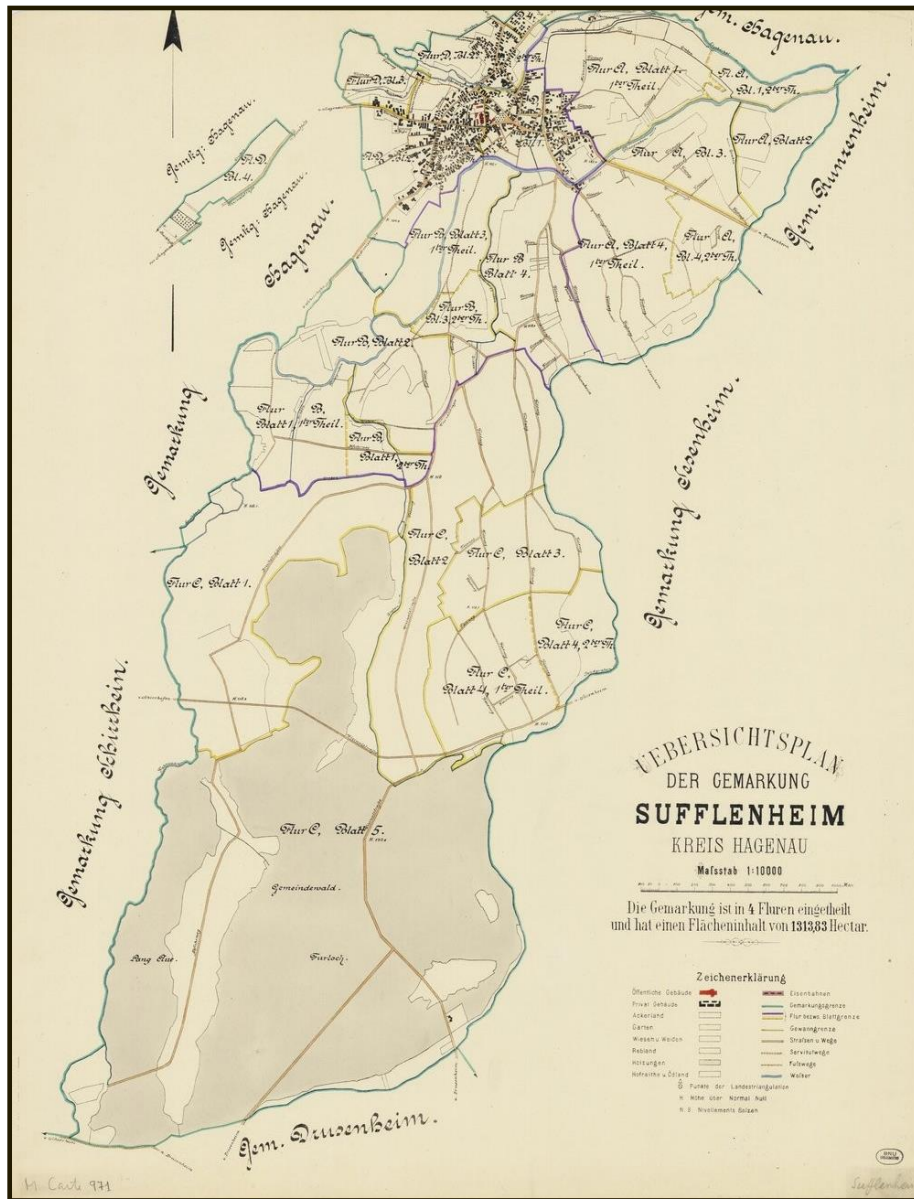
Rue des Juifs runs 435 yards east/west from the Road to Betschdorf to the Haguenau Forest, where it continues as a path called Chemin des Juifs (Path of the Jews), westward in the direction of Haguenau, through an area of the forest called Judenweg.

The Judenweg is located in an area known in the 18th century as Im Gefäll (the Slope). There is also a street in the area named Gefäll.

Im Gefäll is first mentioned in 1724 and is primarily used to identify property in the north western part of Soufflenheim. In the late 1700's this included the path to Betschdorf, the path to Königsbrück, the Judenweg, the Juden Weeg district, and the northernmost part of the Road to Bischwiller.

Im Gefäll is also used to identify fields west of the village near the Road to Haguenau, on the northern edge of Kurtz Gelend (Kurzgelaend).

The only known Jew who may have lived on the Judenweg is Hirtzell in 1724. He owned property in the Gefäll area near the path to Betschdorf, adjacent to a field. The location was on or near the Judenweg and may have been his home. Prior to 1791, Alsatian Jews typically could only own land for their personal use.



Soufflenheim 1838/1887: Approximately 11 houses on the Judenweg (Jew's Path) at this time.

The cadastral map of Soufflenheim from 1838, updated in 1887, shows houses on the Judenweg extending from the path to Betschdorf to slightly past the Rue Brucker, perhaps six houses on the south side and five on the north side. The entire Rue Brucker contained a number of houses by this time.

JUDEN WEEG DISTRICT

Notarial records use the description “District Im Juden Weeg” (in the Jew’s Path/Way) to describe the location of property on or near the Judenweg, an area in the northwest part of the village between the road to Betschdorf and the Haguenau forest.

Two properties located on or near the Judenweg are described as being in the Juden Weeg District:

- 1782 land sale of Marguerite Heitz uses the description “District Im Juden Weeg”.
- 1786 inventory of Stephan Zettwooch uses the description “District Im Gefäll Im Juden Weeg”.

Land Sale of Marguerite Heitz (Wife of Joseph Kieffer), 11 March 1782, 6E33/120

To Peter Metzler: One field holding a sester and a viertel: District Im JUDEN WEEG: One side Marcel Arbogast, other side Johannes Roth’s widow [Veronica Meder. Roth d. 1780], upper part is the forest, down an ending, pays yearly to the forest administration in Haguenau a sum with interest of one sol six deniers.

1782	Johannes Roth’s widow (Veronica Meder)		Path to Betschdorf >
Forest	Marguerite Heitz: Field in the Juden Weeg	Ending	Path to Betschdorf >
	Marcel Arbogast		Path to Betschdorf >

Inventory of Stephan Zettwooch (Widow Marianna Biff), 11 January 1786, 6E33/68

Field: District Im Gefäll Im JUDEN WEEG. 3 1/2 vierzel field: One side Barbara Schmuck, second side Barbara Burger, upper part the woods, down the path to Betschdorf. Page 316 of the land records.

1786	Barbara Schmuck		Path to Betschdorf
The Woods	Stephan Zettwooch: Field in the Juden Weeg		Path to Betschdorf

	Barbara Burger		Path to Betschdorf
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A 1724 property adjacent to a Jew named Hirtzel is described as being in the District Im Gefäll, on the path to Betschdorf. Hirtzel's property was on, or near, the Judenweg, in what would come to be known as the Juden Weeg district.

Inventory of Barbara Kieffer, 05 April 1724, 6E33/58

Field: District: Im Gefäll, On the Path to Betschdorf: One acre: One side is HIRTZEL, JEW, the other side the forest, above is Hans SEYLER, down is the forest.

1724	Hirtzel, Jew		Path to Betschdorf
Forest	Barbara Kieffer: District Im Gefäll, Path to Betschdorf	Hans Seyler	Path to Betschdorf
	Forest		Path to Betschdorf

The same property that shared a boundary with Hirtzell in 1724 also shared a boundary with Hans Seyler. In the 1762 inventory of Michel Mossner, a land record in the same area mentions the name Georg Seyller. Both records list Seyler as the up side, forest as the down side, and forest on another side.

The 1762 field is found on page 317B in the land record book. Hirtzell's 1724 property, no page given, would also have been 317B or adjacent, definitively putting his home either on or very close to the Judenweg (pages 316 and 316B in the land records).

Inventory of Michel Mössner, 21 January 1762, 6E33/63

Field: District: Im Gefäll, down on the Way to Betschdorff and surrounded by the forest: 2 ½ viertzel 4 schuh. One side Jacob Mössner and Lorentz Wirth, up Georg SEYLLER, down the forest. Page 317B of the land records.

1762	Jacob Mössner and Lorentz Wirth		Path to Betschdorf
Forest	Michel Mössner: District Im Gefäll, Way to Betschdorf	George Seyller	Path to Betschdorf
	Forest		Path to Betschdorf

Jewish Residence in the Gefäll/Juden Weeg District

The Chemin des Juifs begins where the Rue des Juifs ends, on the border of the Haguenau Forest. It runs west for two miles on the north side of the Eberbach River in the direction of Haguenau, through a part of the forest named Judenweg. It connects with the Route Forestière de Juifs (Jewish Forest Road) slightly north of the Forester's house called Eberbach, near the route to Haguenau.



Eberbach River in the forest of Haguenau. Jewish horse traders from Soufflenheim followed the Judenweg path along the river.

AN AREA IN THE FOREST CALLED JUDENWEG

The area in the Haguenau forest adjacent to Soufflenheim on the northwest is called Judenweg. It derives its name from the Judenweg (Jew's Path) traversing it from east to west, from Soufflenheim to the Route Forestière de Juifs. The Judenweg is approximately two miles east/west by two thirds of a mile north/south. It is bordered by the Sentier des Potiers (Path of the Potters) on the north, the Eberbach River on the south, the Jewish Forest Road to the west, and Soufflenheim on the east. The name Judenweg is still seen on maps. ⁽²⁵⁾



Judenweg/Chemin des Juifs near Soufflenheim, on the north side of Eberbach River.



Judenweg/Chemin des Juifs near the Route Forestière des Juifs. Judenweg is shown.

Route Forestière de Juifs (Jewish Forest Road)

Route Forestière des Juifs is six miles long. It runs from the northern edge of the Haguenau Forest near the pottery town of Betschdorf, to Schirrhoffen on the southern side of the forest. Schirrhoffen, a community with a large Jewish population in the 1800s, borders Soufflenheim on the southwest, about 2 ½ miles from the center of the village.

The Route Forestière de Juifs (north/south) intersects the Chemin des Juifs (east/west). Travelers on the Chemin des Juifs on their way to Haguenau would also have traveled on Route Forestière de Juifs.



The Forester's House called Eberbach on the Jewish Forest Road. Jewish horse traders from Soufflenheim passed by this house on their way to the horse market in Haguenau.

They [Jews from Soufflenheim] traded horses which they conveyed to the Horse Market at Haguenau. The rue des Juifs on the Brunnenberg and the Chemin des Juifs through the forest in the direction of Haguenau up to the Forester's House called Eberbach still exist. ⁽²⁶⁾

The Forester's House called Eberbach is on the northwest corner of D1063 and Route Forestière des Juifs, about 75 yards south of the Eberbach River.

YIDDISH IN THE SPEECH OF SOUFFLENHEIM

Jews in Soufflenheim spoke Judeo-Alsatian, a subtype of Western Yiddish, originally a mixture of German, Hebrew and Aramaic. French elements were added beginning in the 12th century. From 1650 onwards, it was influenced by the arrival of numerous Jews from nearby German areas such as Baden, Swabia and Rhineland. "Jews spoke Yiddish daytsh at home, galeres-daytsh with the Alsatians and "goyemlikh" with non-Jewish people in the street. Cattle dealers spoke in a jargon that they simply called "loshen" among themselves." ⁽¹¹⁾

In *Le yiddisch dans le parler de Soufflenheim* (Yiddish in the Speech of Soufflenheim), Octavie Roll identified 29 yiddish words in the Soufflenheim dialect:

"Many of the words marked with an asterisk (*) were used by the travelling merchants and the peddlers. Indeed, there were no Jews in Soufflenheim, but the Jews of Schirrhein - merchants, peddlers and brokers, came to Soufflenheim by the "Judestressel", leading through the forest... to do business in our village. It was, rather, bargaining with a lot of talk, one trying to take advantage of the other when it came

to the sale of a house or an animal (horse or cow), more rarely farm equipment for agriculture or products of the fields. The words "bajes", "massik" state it clearly. The bargaining are to be found in "ferschachere", "jöger", "kaljes", "mage", "mumes", reifes", "schöifl", "seifelbajes".

To make "e gute masemade" (a good deal) you had to find "beduchti litt" (people with money). When one had made a good deal one had "masl" (great joy, great pleasure) and to do so one had to stay "schdichen" (to keep his mouth shut) before. Sometimes the Jew exaggerated. He was "e Kafriile", "e möische", "e kalöjmes" ; he was "maschugge". All these words are still used by the people of Soufflenheim. Sometimes the Jew had even "mores" if it was not too "köjscher". In that case he vanished for a long time : "er esch bleide gange" (he lost his money), "wenn er sech nemi üsem gschlamlas het kenne rüs ziehe" (when he didn't manage to get out of the confused situation). When a few Jews arrived together "esch a lescheres komme" (a lot of people at the same time).

They most probably brought with them such words as "jenischer" (basket maker) and "schigsel" (modern young woman), still known by the older people, but that the younger do not use anymore." (27)

Word	Definition
Bajes*	Pejorative meaning : badly kept up house, decayed house, usually small. From the Hebrew bajith = house.
Bleide	In the expression "bleide gehn" : has taken to his heels. From the Hebrew peletah = to escape
Beducht*	To be rich, of great wealth. From the Hebrew bätúach = sure, trustworthy.
Ferschachere*	To sell after long bargaining, often making an exchange, nearly always with a loss. From the Hebrew sachar = to peddle.
Jenischer	A basket maker. From the Hebrew jana.
Jöger*	In the expression "wie röjger?" = how much is it worth? From the Hebrew jakâr.
Kafriile	Someone who makes friends with a person in order to take advantage afterwards.
Kaljes	In the expression "kaljes mache", to wrong someone in his business, to be unfair in trade and ruin the other ; to prevent someone from making a good deal.
Kalöjmes	In the expressions "des esch kalöjmes" = this is a lie, fraud, humbug ; "du besch e kalöjmes" = you are a liar, a humbug. From the Hebrew chalomôth = daydreaming.
Kochem	The most important person. From the Hebrew chakhâm = wise.
Köjscher	Genuine, legitimate, correct. In the expressions "make sure everything is kosher" or "that doesn't seem kosher". From the Hebrew kosher = kosher.

Lescheres	In the expression "e lescheres" = a big crowd of people, a big amount, a mass of something. From the Hebrew aschir = rich.
Mage*	A hidden defect. From the Hebrew magkhâh.
Maschugge*	Half mad. From the Hebrew meschuggâ.
Masemade*	In the expression "er het e gute masemade gmacht" = he made a very good deal. From the Hebrew massâ-u-mattân.
Massik*	An untamable horse or cow. A human being too can behave "wie e massik" = like an untamable animal. From the Hebrew massik = able to do a lot of damage.
Masl	A great joy, a great pleasure. From the Hebrew massâl.
Moïsche	A suave but false person. From the Hebrew moschâbh.
Mores	In the expression "er het mores" = he is afraid. From the Hebrew morâ.
Mumes*	Money. In the expressions "die han mumes" = they have got money and "hesch mumes" = have you got money. From the Hebrew mamôn.
Reifes*	Profit: "e gute reifes" = a good profit ; "der het sine reifes" = he has benefits ; also used to say the contrary "do haw sch jetzt mine reifes" = I have been badly paid for the good I did. From the Hebrew rewach.
Röjes	In the expression "er het röjes" = he is annoyed, frustrated. There is another expression "vor de röjes get ehm neme nix me" = nobody pays you for your frustration. From the Hebrew ragas = to be angry.
Schdichem	Silent, lips sealed, not a word. In the expressions "er esch so schdichem" = he is so silent ; "warum besch so schdichem?" = why are you so tight lipped? From the Hebrew schatack.
Scheigr	Stupid, silly, trouble making. From the Hebrew schakkâr : a liar, a deceitful person.
Schigsel	Sometimes "e judeschigsel" : a young very modern fashionable girl, a kind of model. From the Hebrew schékez. This expression was used in 1929 when talking about the first women wearing makeup.
Schlamasl Gschlamsasl	Disorder, a complicated situation. From the Hebrew schâllo massâl : something that's of no happiness.
Schöiff*	Second rate, bad. In the expression "es geht em schöiff" = things are going wrong for him ; his business doesn't go well ; he is not well. From the Hebrew sébhel.

Seifelbajes	It is said only in regards to manure overflowing from the toilets, which were often located at the boundary of the property. In the expression "no esch dem sine seifelbajes em Nochber sine Gärtte glofe" = then his toilets overflowed into his neighbor's garden". From the Hebrew sébhel = manure.
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THE SURROUNDING JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Soufflenheim, Jews and non-Jews, had extensive contact with Jews outside of the village, particularly in Haguenau, Fort Louis, and Schirrhoffen. Other records mention Beinheim, Bischwiller, Eschpach, Gunstett, Mommenheim, Niederroedern, Rountzenheim, Surbourg, Winckhershein, Wittersheim, and The Ziegelhof.

Between 1689 and 1716, the number of Jewish families in the Bailage of Haguenau, which included Soufflenheim, increased from 60 to 86. ⁽²⁸⁾

Community	Families in 1689	Families in 1716
Bailage of Haguenau	60	86
Haguenau	19	35
Fort Louis	6	17

Enumeration of Israeli Families in Alsace. Years 1689 and 1716. From Neyremand, Attorney at the Imperial Court of Colmar, 1859.

The 1784 Jewish Census

In 1784, Louis XVI ordered a general census of all Jews in Alsace. Approximately 178 of about 1,000 communities had a Jewish population. There may have been more Jews in Soufflenheim and elsewhere than mentioned. Some may have been there illegally, so did not declare themselves, or because they were peddlers, always on the road.

In addition to the following communities, Jews were scattered among approximately a half dozen villages of 3 to 20 people per village, including SOUFFLENHEIM, with 19 people. ⁽²⁹⁾

	Haut-Rhin	Bas-Rhin	Total
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More than 300 Souls	6	3	9
Between 200 and 300 Souls	11	6	17
Between 100 and 200 Souls	16	29	45
Between 50 and 100 Souls	8	44	52
Between 20 and 50 Souls	7	35	42

North Reid Census Records

The following census records show the Jewish population of communities in an area known as the North Reid, of which Soufflenheim was part. ⁽³⁰⁾

	1784	1808	1851	1882	1910
Herrlisheim	63	103	170	163	156
Offendorf	13	7	34	39	54
Schirrhoffen	127	253	380	342	85
SOUFFLENHEIM	19	-	-	-	-
Fort-Louis	55	-	-	-	-
Bischwiller	-	-	97	206	237

“The part of Alsace called Ried North, or Uffried, is located north of Strasbourg along the Rhine up to the height of Soufflenheim. As everywhere else in Alsace, Jewish communities existed there from the high middle ages but not much is known of them until after the Thirty Years War. Alsace was ruined after the war. It is from the second half of the 17th century that communities started to recover and develop. This was the case for the communities in this area of Alsace, namely: Soufflenheim, Schirrhoffen, Fort Louis, Herrlisheim, Offendorf and Bischwiller.

Indeed, it seems that there is a small Jewish community in Soufflenheim in 1784, when a census mentions four families representing a total of 19 people. After Jews began using family names, the 1808

census no longer mentions Jews in Soufflenheim, but the descendants of these families are found in Schirrhoffen.” (31)

FORT LOUIS

“Fort Louis belonged directly to the King of France after 1648. It was a stronghold built on the Rhine by Vauban in 1688, not far from Soufflenheim which had the same status - to ensure the French control of a crossing of the river. The village grew quickly and, in the words of the time, had 180 fires, or taxable households, in 1698 (about 900 people) and 320 in 1750 (approximately 1500 people). Besieged by the Austrians in 1793, the stronghold of Fort Louis capitulated under intense bombing on November 14. The fortifications will be permanently destroyed in 1814, and Fort Louis will remain from there a small simple village.



1735 Map of Fort Louis of the Rhine and Isles of the Marquisate of Baden with the post of Sellingen.

The presence of garrison personnel, up to 3500 men, created important needs for supplies and equipment. Two Jewish families will move there towards the end of the 17th century, the Dreyfus and the Aron. They arrived with nothing, will quickly form a family consortium able to satisfy all the needs of the customer (food, forage, wagons, horses...). In 1784, these are 13 families, which constituted a community of about 55 people. We note the presence of seven maids and servants and a certain Jacob, tutor, which proves that religious instruction was provided. When the census was taken in 1808, the Jewish

community of Fort Louis no longer existed. We find the families of 1784 especially in Haguenau. They had lost almost all their belongings under the bombings.”⁽³²⁾

Fort Louis consisted of three major parts: a main fort named Fort Carré on the island of Goesenheim in the middle of the river, a fortified bridgehead named Fort Alsace on the Alsatian side and a fortified bridgehead named Fort Marquisat on the German side.

There were 2,000 soldiers from different royal regiments stationed there in the 18th Century. The garrison was frequently replaced because the harsh climate, high humidity, and unsanitary premises made living conditions difficult and the mortality rate high. To encourage settlers to settle in Fort Louis, Louis XIV granted them certain privileges: one market per week, two annual fairs and tax benefits. The city had up to 34 innkeepers in the 18th century. The inhabitants were supplying the garrison and the craftsmen maintained the buildings of the fortress.⁽³³⁾

Fort Louis was placed under siege without success by Austrians troops during the winter of 1705/1706 during the War of the Spanish Secession. During the wars of the French Revolution, a force of Austrians, Hessians and Bavarians besieged Fort Louis and its Republican French garrison of 4,500 men from October 14, 1793 to November 14, 1793 and captured the fort after a 30-day siege. Fort d'Alsace was completely destroyed by a fire that lasted two days.

Forced to retreat a month later, during the night of January 17-18, 1794, they destroyed the forts, blew up the munitions depots, damaged the bastions, and burned the bridges as they retreated across the Rhine, forcing the entire civilian population to follow them.

The Jewish horse traders in Soufflenheim may have had commercial ties to the fort, perhaps assisting the Dreyfus and Aaron families in provisioning the garrison. The village of Fort Louis, on the same island as the fort, lost its entire Jewish population following the destruction of Fort Louis and the loss of its military personnel. Perhaps contributing to the loss of Soufflenheim's Jewish population as well.

A connection between the Jews in Soufflenheim and the Dreyfus family of Fort Louis is found in the 1773 marriage contract deposit of Ghanyn Borach, wife of Salomon Simon, a trader in Soufflenheim:

“Marriage contract of Salomon Simon and Ghanyn Borach, 10 August 1773, Roeschwoog Notary 6E33/111. Today 10 August 1773 appeared here in Fort Louis du Rhin in presence of two witnesses here under named, Simon Salomon Jew in Soufflenheim on one side and Abraham Drey[fus], Jew in Fort Louis, in name of Ghanyn Borach wife of Simon Salomon and daughter of deceased Borach in his life Jew in Hagenbach and of Alcken, on the other side, these declared that Simon Salomon and Ghayn Borach were married on the 5th of this month of August, and to satisfy the decree of the Sovereign Council of Alsace and pass mortgage they have made a deposit of their marriage contract written in Hebraic letters joined between him Simon Salomon and Ghayn Borach in the hands of the royal notary to be registered among his contracts ; passed in Fort Louis in this office on day named in presence of Claude François Dupré and of Jean Trautmann, lawyers here as witnesses who signed after the record was read and interpreted in German for them. Signed: Abraham Treÿfouss, Dprés, Trautmann, Beunat.”

Over 23 records from 1693 to 1747 document money owed by people from Soufflenheim to Jews in Fort Louis, sometimes for money loaned, sometimes for purchases of animals or other goods.

Jews were present in the Rhine valley since Roman times. Written records document an established and prosperous community in Strasbourg in the middle of the twelfth century, the same period that Haguenau was growing into a fortress.

“It would be surprising if Haguenau, looking for men to ensure its development, did not open its doors to a few Jewish families. In 1162, Philippe Auguste expelled the Jews of the Kingdom of France. For many, Alsace became home. Witness the names Picard and the Bloch (equivalent of Wallach, i.e. French), the names of many in our province.

We can think, without evidence, that when Haguenau was in full development, 20 years after the "Charter of 1164", it would have attracted a few immigrants. On a list of Jews from 1347, we will even find French sounding names.”⁽³⁴⁾



The Fortified Town of Haguenau in 1622.

In his 1885 book *History of the Jews of Haguenau*, the Jewish historian Elie Scheid, a native of Haguenau, writes:

“Immigrants shared the same rights as the ancient inhabitants. These advantages naturally brought to Haguenau many foreigners, and among them Jews, who were attracted, with liberties largely granted, by the hope of business to be done in a city which received the frequent visits of great personages. These Jews probably arrived from Germany shortly after the elevation of Haguenau to the rank of city [1164]. Others probably came a little later, in 1182, from the French provinces of the East when the Jews were driven out of France by Philip Augustus. Haguenau, which wanted to become a big city, opened its arms to all the newcomers, Jews or Christians. What makes us believe that among our ancestors were French families, is that on a list of the Jews of Haguenau, dated 1341, a large number of names are French.”⁽³⁵⁾

At least three people from Soufflenheim moved to Haguenau: Feisel Halff's son Samuel Halff, a horse trader, lived there from at least 1784, Samuel's mother Greinel Joseph, and Sara Simon.

There were extensive commercial contacts between Soufflenheim and the Jews of Haguenau, more than with any other community. Over 50 inventory records, contracts and other sources from 1668 to 1790 document loans of money and also credit extended for the purchase of animals and other items.

The Jewish Cemetery

The Jewish cemetery in Haguenau was probably established during the Middle Ages. It served all the Jews of the region, including Soufflenheim. The oldest Epitath preserved there dates from 1654.



The Jewish Cemetery in Haguenau, 2008, David Blum

Dates on the tombstones use the Hebrew calendar. Unlike the civil calendar in which one day becomes the next at the stroke of midnight, the transition from one day to the next in the Jewish calendar occurs somewhere between sunset and nightfall. Therefore, the Jewish date always overlaps with two days in the civil calendar.

Jean-Pierre Kleitz describes:

“Upon entering the cemetery, there is a building for the preparation of the dead. Here they were "purified" and dressed. There is also a prayer room. The first building was built in 1874. A second building, larger than the first, was built in 1887. In the same year a house was built in front of the cemetery for the caretaker. The cemetery was built outside the walls of the town, isolated from any dwelling, and on an uncultivated parcel. In 1766, the existence of a wooden palisade fencing the cemetery was reported. The wooden palisade was replaced by a stone wall in 1801.

Two centuries ago, there were about 150 Jewish communities in the approximately 1,000 communes in Alsace (15%). There are 68 Jewish cemeteries in Alsace, 45 in the lower Rhine and 23 in Haut-Rhin. The cemetery at Haguenau houses the deceased of 20 Jewish communities. Among the largest communities, in addition to the Jews of Haguenau, there are those of Soultz-sous-Forêts, Surbourg, Schirrhoffen, Schweighouse sur Moder, Hatten, Goersdorf, Herrlisheim, Kutzenhausen, and Batzendorf. At the end of the 19th century, some communities, such as Hatten, Schirrhoffen and Soultz, created their own cemetery. The number of burials is difficult to estimate because not all of the graves have a funeral monument. Under the surface of the cemetery, an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 people were able to be buried there. A register of the steles existed before 1940 but disappeared during the Second World War. After the war, an accurate record was restored.

Most of the stelae were damaged during a battle in the cemetery. In late 1944, almost all of Alsace had been freed, except for the Colmar pocket. In the North of Alsace, the allies had liberated Wissembourg and Lauterbourg. The Nazis counter attacked on January 1, 1945 in an operation called "Nordwind". They drove the allies to the Moder. Exhausted and short of fuel, they could go no further, stopped by a harsh winter. The allies remained in Haguenau, entrenched behind a discharge channel, 150 yards from the cemetery. In March 1945, the allies launched a counter attack. They noticed that the Nazi soldiers had infiltrated the "No-mans-Land" between the modern and the discharge channel and occupied the Jewish cemetery. The day of the Allied counterattack, they launch hundreds of mortars on the cemetery to eliminate the soldiers of the Reich. After this bombing, some sections of the cemetery were almost empty of stelae. An estimated 500 stelae were destroyed. All other stelae were damaged. All of the funeral monuments have been photographed, and there are approximately 3,200 remaining.”⁽³⁶⁾

The Synagogue

The first synagogue in Haguenau was confiscated during the Jewish expulsion of 1349. When the Jews returned they constructed a synagogue in a home on Salt Street. It was rebuilt after a fire in 1676, and was used until 1820, when a new synagogue was built. Haguenau was the seat of a rabbinate beginning in the 16th century, which had authority over all of Haguenau up to Landau.



The Synagogue in Haguenau. Constructed in 1820.



Interior of the Synagogue in Haguenau.

SCHIRRHOFFEN

“For Schirrhoffen, which belonged to the Immediate nobility of lower Alsace, a local census dating from 1725 mentions the presence of four families from Germany, who were paying to the Lords of places the right of protection, the schirmgeld. They were Lazare Elie, installed since 1723, and Salomon Moyse, Jacob Weyl and Gerstel Meytel, installed since 1725.

The community developed quickly and early in the 19th century after the revolution, the Jews found themselves largely the majority. In 1841 there were 466 Jews and 179 Christians. In 1882 there were still 342 against 183 Christians. The first rabbi, Aron Lazarus, born in Germany in 1787, took office in 1826. With regard to the economic situation of the Jews of Schirrhoffen, the 1851 census shows that out of the 137 persons engaged in a trade, 83 lived in low-level jobs or in small trades (domestic servants, maidservants, or day laborers), ten people were considered rich (owners and merchants).

The writer Alexandre Weill lived in this community. Born in 1811 in Schirrhoffen, this son of a cattle merchant was first a student rabbi then a journalist and writer frequenting the prestigious literary circles of Paris (Hugo, Balzac, Lamartine). He left many colorful testimonies of life in the rural Jewish communities in Alsace in the 19th century.” ⁽³⁷⁾

A number of Jews from Soufflenheim moved to Schirrhoffen: Zerlé Leiser married Gomber Kann of Schirrhoffen in 1785. Her parents Leiser Samuel and Beylen Salomon were there by 1796. Jacob Leiser arrived with his family by 1797, and his brother Samuel Leiser with his family by 1803. Sara Simon lived there by 1799, prior to moving to Haguenau.

Samuel and Jacob Leiser changed their surname to Liebschutz in 1808. Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz's son David Liebschutz and Sara Weill had two daughters: Caroline and Marie Liebschutz. Caroline married Leon Weill, the mayor of Schirrhoffen from 1865-1871. Marie married Rabbi Zacharie Lazarus of Schirrhoffen.

Over 35 records from 1741 to 1801, mostly inventories but also several contracts, list debts to Jews in Schirrhoffen and Schirrhoffen for loans of money, several times for horses and cows, and once for supplies.

A Story of the Jews of Schirrhoffen and the Catholics of Soufflenheim

By Alexandre Weill

The synagogue was inaugurated one Saturday preceding the new Jewish year in 1818. This ceremony caused a rather serious incident that agitated all of the Jewish population of the village.

A few days before the inauguration, [an individual named] Frohny came to Alexandre [Weill] and said to him: "Alexandre, I want to save you, because I love you, but all the Jews will have their throats cut. Saturday, when you go to the new Synagogue, all the Catholics of SUFFLEN and Schirein will come to seize your temple to make a church of it."



Synagogue de Schirrhoffen

The small Alexandre, whose spirit was always positive, did not need to hear this warning twice. He ran to his house and presented the statement to his father. He, in turn at once informed the schoolmaster Mr. Lévy and the mayor, Michel Heisserer. All the Jewish population, in agitation, gathered immediately, not to take measures for their defense, but to request God to divert this dreadful calamity.

While they were waiting, the mayor informed a higher authority, i.e. the prefect. There was much happiness in the Jewish population, when Friday evening, in the middle of the finish of the festival, one could hear the drum, and soon after, the steps of a Grenadier company sent by the prefect.

The arrival of the company comforted everyone. Friday evening, the whole company, drum, banner flying in the wind, preceded the procession of the small procession taking care of the new synagogue. The rabbi went ahead of it to bless it. Some soldiers and grumbling old men poured out tender tears. It seemed that each one of them was regarded as the benefactor of three hundred hearts.

These brave men were of a chivalrous generosity. The Grenadier Company had hardly arrived at the village when that emissary of bad news left. The blow was averted. To prove that the alarm was false, all the Catholic youth of SUFFLEN took part in the dances that continued until the night of Monday. Never was a village festival merrier, nor more vibrant. One person said that harmony prevailed and was followed by all the tumultuous pleasures of youth. And all was thanks to an indiscretion by Frohny, and a Grenadier company's response. ⁽³⁸⁾

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Haguenau Notary Records 6E16 bundles 306, 307 and 308 contain Jewish records only from localities in the area. Bundle 306: Sales and Jewish Loans, 1779. Bundle 307: Jewish Loans of Money 1739-1754, Jewish Loans of Money and Inventories 1755-1765 and 1766-1791, and Jewish Marriage Contracts 1755-1765 and 1766-1791. Bundle 308: Jewish Marriage Contracts and Inventories 1766-1791

APPENDICES

- Soufflenheim Jewish Records
- Jewish Genealogy in Soufflenheim
- History of the Jews of Haguenau

SOUFFLENHEIM JEWISH RECORDS

There are four main types of records for Jewish genealogy research in Alsace:

- Marriage contracts beginning in 1701.
- 1784 Jewish census.
- Civil records beginning in 1792.
- 1808 Jewish name declaration records.

In 1701, Louis XIV ordered all Jewish marriage contracts to be filed with Royal Notaries within 15 days of marriage. Over time, these documents were registered with increasing frequency. In 1784, Louis XVI ordered a general census of all Jews in Alsace.

Jews became citizens of France in 1791 and Jewish civil registration begins from 1792 onwards. To avoid problems raised by the continuous change of the last name, Napoleon issued a Decree in 1808 ordering all Jews to adopt permanent family names, a practice already in use in some places. In every town where Jews lived, the new names were registered at the Town Hall. They provide a comprehensive census of the French Jewish population in 1808. Information includes the name of the spouse and children. There were no Jews living in Soufflenheim at this time. However, a number of former Jews from Soufflenheim and their descendants in Haguenau, Schirrhoffen, and Witzenheim- Kochersberg changed their name, and the names of their children.

Keeping registers of births, marriage, and deaths is not part of the Jewish religious tradition. For most people, the normal naming practice was to add the father's given name to the child's. An example from Soufflenheim is Samuel ben Eliezer whose father is Eliezer ben Samuel or Hindel bat Eliezer whose father is Eliezer ben Samuel (ben = son of, bat = daughter of).

Permanent surnames were typically used only by the descendants of the priests (Kohanim) and Levites, a Jewish male whose descent is traced to Levi. The Tribe of Levi served particular religious duties for the Israelites and had political responsibilities as well. The Levites, who were not Kohanim, were specifically assigned to singing and/or playing music in the Temple, serving as guards, and carrying.

The following records pertain to the Jewish residents of Soufflenheim. Records listed as (MD) contributed by Mark Drexler.

Contents

- Birth Records
- Marriage Records
- Death Records
- Name Declaration Records
- Marriage Contracts
- Cemetery Records
- Census Records
- Schirmgeld
- Church Accounts
- Inventories and Contracts

BIRTH RECORDS

SCHMULLEN JACOB LEYSER

25 March 1796 Soufflenheim Birth Record, Online Page 83/96) (MD)

Schmullen Jacob Leyser birth record: Born 25 March 1796 (5 Germinal Year 4). Son of Jacob Leyser, age 31 (occupation not stated) and Teltz Jacob, age 25. Witnesses Feysel Halff, age 63, butcher, and Nachman Lobel, age 40, shopkeeper. All residents of Soufflenheim.

[No overt wording was observed to show that these people were Jews. Feysel Halff's signature is the only one written in Hebrew. There is -- and this is typical of this period's records -- no detail regarding the location of the parents' house. The name 'Lobel' (with umlaut on the 'o') is interesting since that seemed to have been an 'early' Jewish name that we hadn't seen reappear.]

SANEL HALFF

05 November 1796 Haguenau Birth Record, Page 20 (MD)

Sanel Halff Birth Record: Born 05 November 1796 (15 Brumaire Year 5). Daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.

[Samuel Halff of Soufflenheim is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

DAVID LIEBSCHOETZ

06 May 1797 Schirrhoffen Birth Record (MD)

David Liebschoetz, son of Jacob Leisser, age 32. Born 06 May 1797 (17 Floreal Year 5) in Schirrhoffen.

[David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

FROMETTE HALF

19 November 1798 Haguenau Birth Record, Page 31 (MD)

Fromette Half Birth Record: Born 19 November 1798 (29 Brumaire Year 7). Daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.

[Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

FEISTEL SAMUEL

16 April 1801 Haguenau Birth Record, Page 103/167 (MD)

Feistel Samuel Birth Record: Born 16 April 1801 (26 Germinal Year 9). Son of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.

[The name Feistel Halff was changed to Ulric Halff in 1808. Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

BEHL HALFF

23 October 1803 Haguenau Birth Record, Page 5, #27 (MD)

Behl Halff Birth Record: Born 23 October 1803 (30 Vendemiaire Year 12). Daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.

[The name Beyle Halff was changed to Ursule Halff in 1808. Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

SIMON LEVY

04 Complementary Year 12 Haguenau Birth Record (MD)

Simon Levy Birth Record: Born 04 Complementary Year 12 in Haguenau. Son of Lazare Levy, butcher, age 26, and Sara Simon. Death recorded on 01 August 1806, at age 21 months.

[Sara Simon is the daughter of Simon Salomon of Soufflenheim.]

REITZ HALFF

13 May 1806 Haguenau Birth Record Page 31, #219 (MD)

Reitz Halff Birth Record: Born 13 May 1806. Daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.

[The name Reitz Halff was changed to Rose Halff in 1808. Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

JEAN MAY (HIRTZEL SIMON) & BREINEL LANDAUER

Children of Jean May (Hirtzel Simon) of Soufflenheim and Breinel Landauer, in Schirrhoffen, as listed in the Beit Hatfutsot database:

No birth of a Simon May in tables yr 11-1812.

- Birth of Isaac May, 19 Aug 1808, son of Simon May (handels Jud, age 30) and Johanna Landauer.
- Birth of Reine Mey, 24 June 1814, daughter of Johann Mey (Juif commercant, age 31) and Breinel Herzele.

- Birth of Zieberle May, 13 April 1817, son of "Jean May or Herzel Simon" (Juif commercant, age 36) and Breinel Landauer.
- Birth of Leon Mey, 18 Feb 1822, son of Jean Mey (commercant, age 43) and Brigithe Landauerin; interesting second declarant Jean Stamm (age 34, clerk of the mayory, resident of Sufflenheim).

CAROLINE LIEBSCHUTZ

05 January 1834 Schirrhoffen Birth Record (MD)

Birth record of Caroline Liebschutz, 05 Jan 1834, daughter of David Liebschutz, age 37, and Sara Weill, age 36.

[David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

MARIE LIEBSCHUTZ

04 May 1838 Schirrhoffen Birth Record (MD)

Birth record of Marie Liebschutz, 04 May 1838, daughter of David Liebschutz, age 40, and Sara Weil, age 34.

[David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

MARRIAGE RECORDS

JACOB LEISSER & DELE JACOB

09 September 1793 Krautergersheim Marriage Record, Online Page 8/34, (MD)

Krautergersheim, marriage 09 September 1793: Jacob Leiser, age 27, son of Leiser Schmullen burger and handelsmann in Sufflenheim and Beyle Salomon; and Delsel Jacob, age 19, daughter of Jacob Bahr burger and handelsmann here and Kraunel. Jacob Leiser, born 06 May 1766 in Sufflenheim, son of Leiser Schmullen and Beyle Salomon. Delsel Jacob, born 10 January 1774 in Krautergersheim, daughter of Jacob Behr and Kraunel. Supporting the bride: Moses Bahr and Jacob Bahr. Supporting the groom: Leiser Simon. Krautergersheim, marriage 9 September 1793.

[The entry in the Krautergersheim 10 Year Table reads: "Lazard Jacob & Delsel Jacob.]

JACOB LEISSER & FROMET JACOB

12 July 1802 (23 Messidor Year 10) Krautergersheim Marriage Record (MD)

Jacob Leisser of Schirrhoffen, age 37, born in Schirrhoffen, widower of Dele Jacob, married on the 23 Messidor Year 10 (12 July 1802), to Fromet Jacob daughter of Jacob Behr, livestock merchant, and Braunel.

HIRTZEL SIMON & BREINEL LANDAUER

20 April 1803 (30 Germinal Year 11) Wintzenheim Marriage Record (MD)

Hirtzel Simon, age 17, born in Schirrhoffen, handelsman, still-living mother Hayhen Bor___[hidden in spine] and father Simon Salomon, handelsman, resident of Schirrhoffen; marriage to Breinel Landauer, age 22, born in Wintzenheim, still-living father Hirtzel Landauer, handelsman, and mother Hendel Leisser, resident of Wintzenheim.

[Hertzel Simon is the son of Simon Salomon & Hayn Borach]

SARA SIMON & BERE LEVI

01 June 1803 (12 Prarial Year 11) Schirrhoffen Marriage Record (MD)

Bride: Sara Simon, age 25, born in Soufflenheim 08 May 1779. Daughter of Simon Salemon and Kayemin(?), both deceased, lived in Soufflenheim. Occupation: hantelsleute (trading people). Groome: Bere Levi, age 21, born in Olungen on 08 March 1782. Son of Bere Levi, butcher living in Haguenau, and deceased Escher(?) Samuel, in life former married people and butcher living in Haguenau, Lower Rhine Department.

[No death record found of either of Sara's parents in Schirrhoffen. They may have died in Soufflenheim between 1784 and 1792 or across the river in exile.]

SARA SIMON & BERE LEVI

01 June 1803 (12 Prairial Year 11) Schirrhoffen Marriage (MP)

Appeared here to contract marriage Bere Levi aged 21 years, born in Ohlungen the 8 March in year 1782 son of Bere Levi butcher in Haguenau and of deceased Roser Samuel his wife both in Haguenau in her lifetime, and Sara Simon 25 years old, born in Soufflenheim the 8 May 1779 daughter of deceased Simon Salomon and of Karin his wife, in their life merchants in Soufflenheim, in front of me Antoine Runtz maire in Schirrhoffen, both declared they wanted to marry each other, passed in presence of Jacob Volf, 60 years old, merchant in Schirrhoffen, Hiertzel Machole, 30 years old in Schirrhoffen, district Bischwiller, Bas Rhin, and Elias Hirtzel, 36 years old, butcher in Schirrhoffen, and me, mayor, Anton Runtz here who first read aloud the present documents and received their consent, and declared them married, follow the signatures or marks of those who cannot write. Signed: X Sara Simon Hebraic signatures and Runtz, mayor.

DAVID LIEBSCHOETZ & SARA WEILL

18 December 1816 Schirrhoffen Marriage Record (MD)

David Liebschoetz, son of Jacques Liebschoetz [Jacob Leiser] and deceased Delz Bahr, to Sara Weill. Married in Schirrhoffen on 18 December 1816. Born 06 May 1797 (17 Floreal yr 5), in Schirrhoffen.

[David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim]

DANIEL LIEBSCHUTZ & BABETE WOESLCH

27 November 1827 Schirrhoffen Marriage Record (MD)

Daniel Liebschutz, born in 1794 in Konigsbach, Baden, son of Samuel Liebschutz and Marie Anne (not Eve) Bloch, both deceased (apparently in Schirrhoffen). Married to Babete Woelch.

[Daniel Liebschutz is the son of Samuel Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

MARIE LIEBSCHUTZ & ZACHARIE LAZARD

17 October 1857 Schirrhoffen Marriage Record (MD)

Marriage record of Marie Liebschutz and Zacharie Lazard, 17 Oct 1857. Lazard Zacharie, age 28, Rabbi, son of Lazarus Aron and Sommer Rachel, both deceased and of Schirrhoffen, and Liebschutz Marie, age 19, daughter of David Liebschutz, age 60, and Weill Sara, age 53, of Schirrhoffen. (much more detail is present in this document).

[Zacharie Lazarus was the Rabbi in Schirrhoffen. David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

DEATH RECORDS

HINDEL LANDAUER

05 January 1794 Wintzenheim Death Record Online Page 11/43 (MD)

Death record of Hundel Landauerin [Hindel Landauer], 05 January 1794 (16 Nivose Year 2). Hundel Landauerin, born Leisserin, age 42 years, born in Suflum [Soufflenheim], (parents not named), resident of Wintzenheim, died the previous afternoon at 2 o'clock; declarant and husband Hirtzel Landauer, handelsmann, age 46.

[Hindel Landauer is the daughter of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim.]

BEYLE SALOMON

11 May 1796 (23 Floreal Year 4) Schirrhoffen 10 Year Deaths Index, Death Record (MD)

Beyle Salomon from Soufflenheim was married to Leiser Samuel, not Jacob Leiser as listed in the following two index entries. They had a son named Jacob Leisser who may have been a witness on the original record. The Year 4 death records are missing, so no formal record can clarify.

Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index:

- Index Entry 1: 11 May 1796 (23 Floreal Year 4): Leiser, (Salemon) wife of Leiser (Jacob).
- Index Entry 2: 11 May 1796 (23 Floreal Year 4): Salemon, (Beyle) wife of Leiser (Jacob).

ZERLE LEISSER

16 April 1797 (27 Germinal Year 5) Schirrhoffen Death Record, Page 6/12 (MD)

Cerle Leiser, age 33, wife of Gumber Kann, age 38, ein hantels guth in Schirrhoffen. Death recorded 16 April 1797 (27 Germinal Year 5).

Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index:

- Index Entry 1: 16 April 1797 (27 Germinal Year 5): Kahn (Leisser) born Zerle wife of Kahn (Gumber).
- Index Entry 2: 16 April 1797 (27 Germinal Year 5): Leiser, (Zerle) wife of Kahn (Gumber).

[Mark Drexler Comments: I have learned more about Gumber Kahn and about some interesting changes of names. I will describe what I found in a sensible sequence, very unlike the path of discovery.

I had good reason to believe that Gumber Kahn remarried soon after the death of his wife Zerle Leiser, and that he remained in Schirrhoffen and had children there with his second wife. I did not find his marriage in the Schirrhoffen index, and there are no marriage records for Year 6, but luckily there was a rare book of 'publications of marriage' covering Year 6: In a record dated 14 Ventose yr 6 (found on p.3/6): Gumer Kahn, age 42, widower of Zerle Leisser; to marry Hintele Moiser, age 24, daughter of Moiser Lefi and Sorrlle (of a place name that I cannot readily decipher; likely the place of their marriage; spelling looks like 'Techpen', but multiple characters will require further decryption).

Birth records yielded several 'Gumber' entry's, but only one with a rare given name and having a legible record. Record dated 19 Brumaire year 9: Seligman Gumber, son of Gumber Kahn and Hintel Mauschen.

The marriage record of this Seligman Gumber is a treasure trove. It is dated 10 March 1830. (This record is in French, displays good handwriting, and is on a pre-printed form, easy to read and well worth a look on p.3/9). Several names of people here include alternate names, clearly indicating that they had (perhaps recently) changed the names they were commonly known by. First, although it is not explicitly stated here, Seligman Gumber had by that time added the surname 'Kahn'. Seligman Gumber Kahn is seen in this record with the alternate name 'Isaac Cahen' (and in fact his signature is spelled just that way). The record says the groom was born in Schirrhoffen on 19 Brumaire yr 9; the son of "Gumber Kahn or Gottlieb Cahen", age 75, present, and "Hintel Mauschen or Jeanne Lewy", age 55, present. The bride was Marie Abraham, born in Mittelhausen on 4 December 1806; the daughter of "Frommel Abraham or Abraham Levi", age 62, living in Mittelhausen, present, and the deceased "Keilen Moses or Keilen Levy".

Witnesses in the above record were Samuel Kahn, age 40, cousin of the groom (not necessarily a first cousin); and Joseph Ruff, age 27, first cousin of the groom; both residents of Schirrhoffen. Also, Josue Levi, age 30, brother of the bride; and Benjamin Weill, age 27, first cousin of the bride; both residents of Mittelhausen.

Finally, the death record of Gottlieb Kahn, dated 17 December 1830: Age 76; born in Schirrhoffen; son of deceased Daniel Kahn and deceased Judithe Heymann (both born in Schirrhoffen); husband of Jeanne Levy, age 56. Declarants were Seligmann Gomber Kahn, age 29, son of the deceased; and Abraham Kahn, age 62, brother of the deceased (both of Schirrhoffen).]

SANEL (HALFF)

07 February 1798 Haguenau Death Record (Page 32/86) (MD)

Sanel (Halff) Death Record: Died 07 February 1798 (19 Pluviose Year 6): Sennel Samuel, age 1-1/2 years; daughter of Samuel 'Feust' (not 'Halff'; presumed error), marchand de bestiaux (livestock merchant) and Schenel (Schenel Sanel).

[Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

FEISSEL HALFF

03 January 1801 Soufflenheim Death

73 years old, born in Rountzenheim, living in Soufflenheim, widower of deceased Froenle Joseph, as declared by Michel Daul and Schmuhlen Leiser of the same family as the deceased, undersigned with Messner, mayor.

FROMET HALF

13 July 1800 Haguenau Death Record (MD)

Fromet Half Death Record: Died 13 July 1800 (24 Messidor Year 8). Daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.

[Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

FEISEL HALFF

03 January 1801 (13 Nivose Year 9) Soufflenheim Death Record, Online Page 4/14 (MD)

Feysel Halff died 13 Nivose Year 9 (03 January 1801). Died at 3 o'clock this morning. Age 75. Born in [not legible], resident of Sufflenheim. In life, husband of Krenle Joseph. Declarants: Shmulen Leysser, occupation [hantelst__ [not legible], nephew(?) of the deceased, resident of Sufflenheim. Michael Daul,

farmer, and neighbor of the deceased, resident of Sufflenheim. Signed: Shmulen Leysser, Michael Daul, Joseph Messner, Mayor.

[Despite having been indexed under Feysel, his surname appears to be HALFF. The name is recorded in the 10 Year Table as "Feysel, Half" (names here are written surname-first). However, in the record (where names are written surname-last) his name is seen as "Feisel Half" (in the margin) and "Feysel Halff". His place of birth is hidden in spine, further deciphering would net the first few characters). There is no indication his wife was deceased. I searched for another record of Krenle Joseph and found none in the Soufflenheim 10 Year Tables. One declarant was Shmulen Leysser (the scribe spelled his name "Schmullen Leyser") his age was not given, and his occupations are cryptic (hantelst__[hidden in spine], probably relating to commerce; and 'k?!?her'). He apparently was a nephew of the deceased, though couched in odd terms as the child of the brother and sister of the deceased (by my interpretation). I did a quick search for Schmulen and Leysser in the Soufflenheim 10 Year Tables (through 1832) and turned up nothing. The second declarant was Michael Daul (no age given). Michael Daul was born 23 September 1773, son of Niclaus Daul and Richarde Wagner. He married Magdalena Burger on 20 Messidor Year 8 (09 July 1800). His signature on his marriage record exactly matches that on the Feisel Halff death record.]

DELE JACOB

13 January 1801 (23 Nivose Year 9) Schirrhoffen Death Record, Page 2/7 (MD)

Deles Jacob, age 36, wife of Jacob Leisser, hantels man von Schirhoffen [burger, but age not given], daughter of Jacob Behr and Roesnell [?] married people and hantels leuth living in Grutershersheim (Krautergersheim) department of Lower Rhein; witnesses Gomber Kann, age 45, hantels man living in Schirhoffen, and Leibel Aberham, age 55, hantels man living in Schirhoffen. Death recorded 23 Nivose Year 9 (13 January 1801).

Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index:

- Index Entry 1: Jacob, (Delle) wife of Leisser (Jacob).
- Index Entry 2: Leisser, (Dele) born Jacob, wife of Leisser, (Jacob).

MARIANE STILLE

05 June 1803 (16 Prarial Year 11) Schirrhoffen Death Record, Online Page 3/5 (MD)

Mariane Stille, age 51, wife of Schmullen Leiser, hantelsman living in Schirhoffen (no age given). Death record 16 Prarial Year 11 (5 June 1803).

[Samuel Leiser is the son of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim.]

LEISSER SCHULMEN (Samuel)

18 April 1805 (28 (or 21) Germinal Year 13) Schirrhoffen Death Record, Page 6/7 (MD)

Leisser Schmulen, age 76, born in Schsuflum (?), husband of deceased Beilen Jut, formerly lived in Schirhoffen; witnesses were Jachob Leisser, son of the deceased, and Joseb Bechel, burger and farmer in Schirhoffen. Death recorded 28 Germinal Year 13 (the index date is 21 Germinal Year 13).

Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index (Second Series of 10-year Tables): Index Entry: Leisser, Schumen: 21 Germinal Year 13.

[The deceased's birthplace did not read 'Suflenheim' or 'Suflum', but might have been intended to read 'Suflum' and the beginning 'Sch' was simply not scratched out. The Department appeared to be the same "Nittereinish" (Nieder Rheinisch - Lower Rhine), as it included Schirhoffen. The deceased wife's apparent surname 'Jut' might possibly have been the scribe's word for 'Jew', and not a name at all.]

LEISSER SCHMUHLEN

18 April 1805 Schirrhoffen Death

Aged 76 years native of Soufflenheim, widower of deceased Beilen Jut here in Schirrhoffen as declared by Jacob Leisser son of the deceased and Joseph Bechel burgher farmer here in Schirrhoffen, both undersigned with me mayor. Signed: Joseph Bechel, Schandel.

CAROLINE GANTZ (Greinel Joseph)

16 December 1808 Haguenau Death Record, Page 28/34, Record 249 (MD)

Caroline Gantz Death Record: Caroline Gantz, age 86, born in MueKensturm(?), residing in Haguenau, died in [__] number 233 red quarter Haguenau, widow of Feistel Halff, horse dealer (maquignon) -- (no reference to his place of death). Declarant Samuel Halff, 51, horse dealer residing in Haguenau (no relationship with the deceased stated)

[Caroline Gantz (Greinel Joseph) is the wife of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

CAROLINE GANTZ

16 December 1808 Haguenau Death

In front of the mayor appeared Samuel Halff aged 51 years, and David Katz 26 years old cattle merchant in Haguenau who declared that on the 16 December Caroline Gantz aged 86 years, born in Winklenheim, living in Haguenau, widow of Feist Halff, former cattle merchant in Haguenau, died in house 233 Quartier Neuf in Haguenau, the declarers signed with the mayor. Signed: Samuel Halff, David Katz, Dietrich.

SIMON LIEBSCHUTZ

08 May 1812 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Simon Liebschutz Death Record: Died 08 May 1812 (recorded 11 May 1812) at age 4. Declarant: Samuel Liebschutz, father, age 62. Mother: Shown as " D'Eve Elle' " (significance of odd 'name' unknown).

[Simon Liebschutz is the son of Samuel Liebschutz (Leiser) of Soufflenheim]

ZACHARIAS LANDAUER

29 December 1816 Wintzenheim Death Record (MD)

Death record of Zacharias Landauer, 29 December 1816, age 70, born in Wintzenheim (parents not named), husband of deceased Leiser Hindel.

[Hindel Leiser is the daughter of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim.]

BERETZ [BERE] LEVY (Senior)

02 August 1817 Haguenau Death Record (MD)

Beretz Levy Death Record: In Haguenau, the presumed elder Bere Levy died at age 86 on 02 Aug 1817. His name was shown in that record as 'Beretz' Levy and his deceased wife's as 'Esther'.

[The Schirrhoffen marriage record called Sara's husband 'Bere' Levy, and his father the same -- Bere Levy (and notably, he was a butcher). And the elder Bere's wife was 'Esther' (or similar). Beretz Levy does not appear in the 1808 DJ book, or so I believe, but his son does, going by the name 'Lazare' Levy. In fact, the only place I have seen Sara's husband called 'Bere' is in the Schirrhoffen marriage record; all the Haguenau records call him 'Lazare'. Beretz Levy Senior is the father of Bere Levy, husband of Sara Simon, daughter of Simon Salomon of Soufflenheim.]

SARA CANARD (Sara Simon)

09 January 1823 Haguenau Death Record (MD)

Sara Simon Death Record: Died in Haguenau on 09 Jan 1823: Sara Canard, age 40, born in Schirrhoffen, widow of Levy Lazare.

[Mark Drexler Comments: I have learned a bit more but have now hit the wall pursuing the Simon family. Unless we stumble upon something elsewhere, I am calling this line exhausted. It looks like Sara might have been the last one; I have not found mention of her brothers (yet?), and apparently her parents were deceased by the time of her marriage in Schirrhoffen. No death record found of either of Sara's parents in Schirrhoffen. Maybe they died in Soufflenheim between 1784 and 1792. Maybe they died across the river in exile. I think I searched the Haguenau records well enough that I would have seen her brothers had they been there. If Sara had surviving children, I cannot find the evidence. Sara, judging from several bits of circumstantial evidence, ended up in Haguenau. No hard connections in the Haguenau records, but it seems almost certain that the following represents our Soufflenheim Sara Simon. Remember that her husband's parents were in Haguenau. The whole business of tracing Sara and her branch of Levy was frustrating because certain desired corroborating records don't appear. Oh, well...I think I have a good case.

That Schirrhoffen marriage record called Sara's husband 'Bere' Levy, and his father the same -- Bere Levy (and notably, he was a butcher). And the elder Bere's wife was 'Esther' (or similar). In Haguenau, the presumed elder Bere died at age 86 on 2 Aug 1817 (his name was shown in that record as 'Beretz' Levy and his deceased wife's as 'Esther'). Good enough. Unfortunately, Beretz Levy does not appear in the 1808 DJ book, or so I believe, but his son does, going by the name 'Lazare' Levy. In fact, the only place I have seen Sara's husband called 'Bere' is in the Schirrhoffen marriage record; all the Haguenau records call him 'Lazare'.

The DJ book has 4 sequential entries that appear to represent the family of Sara and Lazare, but there is no husband/wife language there: #500 is Lazare Levy keeping the same name; #501 is Lazare calling his daughter 'Ester Levy', born 1806 in Haguenau; #502 is Sara Simon renaming herself 'Sara Canard'; and #503 is Sara calling her son 'Abraham Canard', born 1799 in Schirrhoffen. OK -- apparently Sara had a son in Schirrhoffen before marrying Bere/Lazare Levy. I did not find a corresponding birth record in Schirrhoffen. I did not find any justification for Sara's chosen new surname 'Canard' -- no such surname in use in those places.

Sara Simon and Lazare Levy had a son named Simon Levy born in Haguenau on 04 Complementary yr 12 (and Lazare was called a butcher therein). That son Simon's death was recorded on 01 August 1806, at age 21 months, and his father Lazare's age was given as 26. I could not find records in either Haguenau or Schirrhoffen for the children Abraham Canard and Ester Levy, not birth, marriage, nor death records. Sara's death was recorded in Haguenau on 09 Jan 1823: Sara Canard, age 40, born in Schirrhoffen, widow of Levy Lazare.

JACQUES LIEBSCHOETZ (Jacob Leiser)

29 July 1823 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Jacques Liebschoetz Death Record: Died 29 July 1823. Jacques Liebschoetz, age 55, born in SUFFLENHEIM, husband of Veronique Baer, son of deceased Jacques Liebschoetz and "Babette". The declarants were David Liebschoetz, age 25, and Samuel Liebschoetz, age 26.

[The death record for Veronique was searched for without success. Jacques Liebschoetz/Leiser is the son of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim.]

BREINEL LANDAUER

10 June 1826 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Breinel Landauer Death Record: Died 10 June 1826, Schirrhoffen: Breinel Landauer, wife of Simon May; age 43 years, one month, 2 days; born in Wintzenheim, resident of Schirrhoffen; house number 00 [!]; father Jean Landauer, merchant, and mother ___elene Liebschutz [no further detail on parents]; first declarant Simon May, age 38, peddler, husband of deceased, second declarant a neighbor Joseph Oppenheimer.

JEANETTE HALFF (Schenel Sanel/Jeanne Hertz)

23 November 1831 Haguenau Death Record, Page 72/92 (MD)

Jeanette Halff (Schenel Sanel/Jeanne Hertz) Death Record: Died 23 November 1831: Jeanette Halff, age 60, born in Gunstett, (parents not listed), wife of Samuel Halff, trafiquant (trader) in Haguenau. Declarant: Ulric Halff, age 31, son of the deceased.

[The name Schoennel Sannel was changed to Jeanne Hertz in 1808. Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

SAMUEL HALFF

12 February 1840 Haguenau Death Record, Page 10/103 (MD)

Samuel Halff Death Record: Died 12 February 1840: Samuel Halff, age 83, brocanteur (second-hand dealer) in Haguenau, widower of Jeanette; born in Sufflenheim. Declarant: Ulric Halff, age 40, brocanteur in Haguenau, son of the deceased.

[Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

SAMUEL WOLFF LIEBSCHUTZ

07 October 1841 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Liebschutz Samuel Wolff Death Record: Died 07 October 1841 in Schirrhoffen. Liebschutz Samuel Wolff, age 1 year 4 months, son of Liebschutz David, age 45, livestock dealer in Schirrhoff, and Sare Weill, age 43. Declarant: David.

[David Liebschoetz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

ULRIC HALFF

09 May 1850 Haguenau Death Record, Page 35/105 (MD)

Ulric Halff Death Record: Died 09 May 1850. Halff, Ulric, indivant (AKA?) Samuel Feistel, age 49, born in Haguenau, residing in Haguenau. Son of deceased Halff, Samuel and deceased Hertz, Jeanne. Husband of Weill(?), Jeanne [AKA] Zippora Nathan, age 49, native of B__willer. Declarants were two neighbors.

[Ulric Halff was named Feistel Samuel at birth in 1801 (DJ Book, Entry 173). His named was changed to Ulric in 1808. Ulric Halff is the son of Samuel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

DAVID LIEBSCHUTZ

26 April 1860 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Death record of David Liebschutz, 26 April 1860, age 63, born in Schirrhoffen, husband of Sara Weill, son of Jacques Liebschutz and Delphine Baer (both deceased). Primary declarant was Rabbi and son-in-law Zacharie Lazard.

[David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

DANIEL LIEBSCHUTZ

23 March 1874 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Daniel Liebschutz Death Record: Died 23 March 1874. Daniel Liebschutz; age 82, handelsmann; widower of Babette Welsch; son of deceased Samuel Liebschutz and deceased Marie Anne Bloch. Declarant: Salmon Gradewohl, son-in-law, age 40.

[Daniel Liebschutz is the son of Samuel Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

SARA WEILL

17 November 1883 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Death record of Sara Weill, 17 Nov 1883, age 94, born in Schirrhoffen, widow of David Liebschutz, daughter of Jonas Weill and Rebecca May. Primary declarant was Leon Weill.

[David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

KAROLINE LIEBSCHUTZ

09 January 1892 Schirrhoffen Death Record (MD)

Death record of Karoline Liebschutz, 09 Jan 1892, age 58, wife of Leon Weill, daughter of David Liebschutz and Weill Sara, both deceased and of Schirrhoffen.

[Leon Weill was the mayor of Schirrhoffen from 1865-1871. David Liebschutz is the son of Jacob Leiser/Liebschutz of Soufflenheim.]

NAME DECLARATION RECORDS

Jews were required to adopt permanent names in 1808. The new names were registered at the Town Hall in books labeled "DJ" (Declarations Juifs), officially titled 'Declarations de prise de nom patronymique des Juifs 1808' (Declarations of Patronymic Naming of Jews 1808). The virtual books labelled 'DJ' are found on the on-line virtual bookshelves with the registers of births, marriages, and deaths. The official designation for the Haguenau DJ book is 5E179. The Schirrhoffen DJ book is 5E450.

The records can also be found in *Recueils des déclarations de prise de noms patronymique des Juifs en 1808* by Pierre Katz: Bas-Rhin (4 volumes 800 pages), new edition, 1999.

Name Change records and commentary contributed by Mark Drexler (MD)

Schirrhoffen Jewish Name Declarations

The 1808 new name registration records in Schirrhoffen are in French. Each entry in the DJ book gave the subject's previous name along with the chosen new surname and the declarant's own forename of choice. They were clearly not stuck with their old given name, and most changed. Also, declarants are often seen to have declared spouses' names (for name and surname) and names of their children, and occasionally a name of another relative. Each record presumably represented a household. All entries were made on 20-21 October 1808.

Two name-change records in Schirrhoffen involve people who previously resided in Soufflenheim, the brothers Samuel and Jacob Leiser. Their name in the Schirrhoffen records is "Leyser". Both changed their family names to Liebschutz.

SAMUEL LIEBSCHUTZ (Samuel Leiser of Soufflenheim)

20-21 October 1808 Schirrhoffen Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E450, Entry 17 (MD).

Entry 17: Samuel Liebschutz (new name), formerly "Samuel Leyser", wife Eva Bloch, and children Jacques, Leopold, Daniel, and Simon Liebschutz. Schirrhoffen 20-21 October 1808.

[Samuel Liebschutz/Leyser is the son of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim).

JACQUES LIEBSCHUTZ (Jacob Leiser of Soufflenheim)

20-21 October 1808 Schirrhoffen Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E450, Entry 53 (MD)

Entry 53: Jacques Liebschutz (new name), formerly "Leyser Jacques", wife Veronique Bahr, wife's sister Emerence Bahr, children Samuel, David, Barbe, and Esther Liebschutz. Schirrhoffen 20-21 October 1808.

[Jacques Liebschutz/Leiser is the son of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim. His wife Veronique Bahr may have changed her name from Fromet to Veronique.]

Haguenau Jewish Name Declarations

The bulk of the Haguenau renaming episode ran from 10 October through 25 October, then a final 7 entries were recorded on 30 November 1808 (for 658 entries total). The Halff family of entries (172-177) was recorded in the DJ book on 14 October; the Levy-Simon set (501-503) was recorded on 20 October.

The 658 entries in the Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book were scanned looking for minor children born in Soufflenheim. This can be done because in these records a man declares his minor child in a separate entry, stating his own name, his child's names (old and new), and the child's birthdate and birthplace. No references to Soufflenheim were found amongst the birthplaces declared for minor children. The vast majority of the minors had been born in Haguenau. A fair number of the minor children were reported as born in places other than Haguenau. It was a diverse assortment of places, many that seemed surely across the river. Among those that seemed to be in Alsace, Fort-Louis was the most abundant. When the Jewish population abandoned Fort-Louis, many of them clearly went to Haguenau.

The Samuel Halff Family

Samuel Halff, of Soufflenheim, is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim. The DJ book entries, being in sequence (172-177), strongly suggest a household (presumably, given the content of the death and birth records described) headed by Samuel Halff and including his children, his wife, and his widowed mother.

SAMUEL HALFF (of Soufflenheim)

14 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 172 (MD)

Entry 172: Samuel Halff: Kept his names unchanged. He listed three minor children: Entries 173, 174, 175. 1808 DJ Book.

[Samuel Halff is the son of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

ULRIC HALFF

14 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 173 (MD)

Entry 173: Feistel (renamed to Ulric) Halff: Born 01 May 1801 in Haguenau. Information provided by his father Samuel Halff. 1808 DJ Book.

[Ulric Halff is the son of Samuel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

URSULE HALFF

14 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 174 (MD)

Entry 174: Beyle (renamed to Ursule) Halff: Born 30 October 1803 in Haguenau. Information provided by her father Samuel Halff. 1808 DJ Book.

[Ursula Halff is the daughter of Samuel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

ROSE HALFF

14 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 175 (MD)

Entry 175: Reitz (renamed to Rose) Halff: Born 19 May 1806 in Haguenau. Information provided by her father Samuel Halff. 1808 DJ Book.

[Rose Halff is the daughter of Samuel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

JEANNE HERTZ

14 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book, Entry 176 (MD)

Entry 176: Schoennel Sannel (renamed to Jeanne Hertz). No relative named. 1808 DJ Book.

[Jeanne Hertz is the wife of Samuel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

CAROLINE GANTZ (Greinel Joseph of Soufflenheim)

14 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 177 (MD)

Entry 177: Greinel Joseph (renamed to Caroline Gantz). No relative named. 1808 DJ Book.

[Caroline Gantz is the wife of Feisel Halff of Soufflenheim.]

The Sara Simon Family

Sara Simon, of Soufflenheim, is the daughter of Simon Salomon of Soufflenheim. The 1808 Jewish Name Declaration Book has four sequential entries: 500, 501, 502, and 503 that appear to represent the family of Sara Simon and Lazare (Bere) Levy, but there is no husband/wife language there.

LAZARE [BERE] LEVY

20 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 500 (MD)

Entry 500: Lazare Levy keeping the same name.

[Lazare (Bere) Levy is the husband of Sara Simon.]

ESTER LEVY

20 October 1808 Haguenau 1808 Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 501 (MD)

Entry 501: Lazare Levy calling his daughter 'Ester Levy', born 1806 in Haguenau.

[Lazare (Bere) Levy is the husband of Sara Simon.]

SARA CANARD (Sara Simon of Soufflenheim)

20 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 502 (MD)

Entry 502: Sara Simon renaming herself 'Sara Canard'.

[Sara Simon is the daughter of Simon Salomon of Soufflenheim]

ABRAHAM CANARD

20 October 1808 Haguenau Jewish Name Declaration Book 5E179, Entry 503 (MD)

Entry 503: Sara Simon calling her son 'Abraham Canard', born 1799 in Schirrhoffen.

[Sara Simon is the daughter of Simon Salomon of Soufflenheim. Apparently, Sara had a son in Schirrhoffen before marrying Bere/Lazare Levy. No corresponding birth record found in Schirrhoffen. No justification found for Sara's chosen new surname 'Canard'. No such surname in use in those places.]

Wintzenheim-Kochersberg Jewish Name Declarations

The 1808 Jewish Name Declaration Book for Wintzenheim-Kochersberg does not appear to have an archive designator number. In the space for 'cote' (e.g., 5E179 or 5E450) there is shown "original en mairie". Apparently, if you wanted to view the original manuscript you would not go to the Archives in Strasbourg but rather to the town hall of the village of Wintzenheim-Kochersberg.

There were 91 name declaration entries in the DJ book in question. The first was entered on 17 October 1808 and the last was entered on 26 October 1808.

This book includes a tabulation of the entries (some of the DJ books I have seen did not have such a tabulation, but most did): Bloch, 4 entries; Blum, 11 entries; Dreyfuss, 1 entry; Gutlib, 1 entry; Kab, 1 entry; Klein, 14 entries; Landauer, 10 entries; Levis, 15 entries; Mey, 1 entry; Meyer, 1 entry; Ross, 1 entry; Schuhler, 2 entries; Ulfman, 1 entry; and Weil, 28 entries.

The Hindel Leiser Family

Hindel Leiser of Soufflenheim is the daughter of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim.

The DJ book (1808) in Wintzenheim-Kochersberg showed Hirtzel Landauer change his own name to Zacharias Landauer (entry 24) and declare his three daughters and two sons (entries 25-29): Rosina, Sofia, Karlen, Isac, and Samuel Landauer. There was no indication of any change in the children's names. Judging by other cases I've seen, these were their names at birth and they kept those names.

Hirtzel's declared minor children (as of 1808) had their birthdates given:

Entry 27: Karlen, born 26 April 1794.

Entry 28: Isac, born 20 October 1785.

Entry 29: Samuel, born 30 March 1792.

There were three other Landauer minor-children entries, all indicating Landauer as both former and current surname, and all children of Judith Schuhler:

Entry 82: Joseph (formerly Gossel) Landauer, born 20 June 1793.

Entry 83: Fromet (unchanged) Landauer, born 3 Brumaire Year 9.

Entry 84: Sofia (formerly Solgen?) Landauer, born 26 Thermidor Year 6.

The Triena/Dreinen/Theresia Landauer Family (Presumed daughter of Hindel Leiser)

1808 Wintzenheim-Kochersberg Jewish Name Declaration Book (MD)

Hindel Leiser of Soufflenheim and Hirtzel Landauer had a daughter named Treina Landauer.

Entries 30, 32, and 33 might be Landauer-related, if Triena/Dreinen/Theresia Landauer was part of the Leman Bloch family. Her insertion after Leman Bloch and before Leman Bloch's children suggests she might have been Leman Bloch's wife.

Entry 30: Leman Bloch declaring himself, keeping 'Bloch' and maybe giving himself a new forename that I cannot easily decipher: The first letter might not be 'L', but I'll pretend it is and say I see something like Lescheneaiapti/Lescheneraiepti/Lescherwaiepti. Then again, maybe Leman kept the name 'Leman' (considering he used it in the following records of his children).

Entry 31: Dreinen Landauer changed her own name to Theresia Landauer.

Entry 32: Leman Bloch declaring his minor son Joseph Simon Bloch.

Entry 33: Leman Bloch declaring his minor daughter [messy, cryptic; maybe something like Cysten] Bloch.

The Hertzal Simon/Jeanne Landauer Family

21 October 1808 Schirrhoffen DJ Book; Entry 41 (MD)

Hertzal Simon declares he has taken the family name MAY and forename Jean; his wife Jeanne Landauer; and his children Simon and Isaac May. [The wife's name here is Jeanne, not Eve. So there are only 2 children, suggesting a marriage in the previous few years. Marriage not recorded in Schirrhoffen, back to 1792.]

[Hertzal Simon is the son of Simon Salomon and Hayn Borach]

CEMETERY RECORDS

Burial records at the Jewish cemetery in Haguenau. A database of burials, searchable by community, is found at *Le cimetière Israélite de Haguenau*, *Le judaïsme d'Alsace et de Lorraine*.

MIRIAM WIFE OF CHMOUEL (Miriam Bloch wife of Samuel Leiser)

06 June 1803 Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 19, Tomb 1522

- Last Name & First Name: Miriam wife of Chmouel
- Sex: Female
- Hebrew Name: Miriam wife of Chmouel [Samuel]
- Date Deceased: 06 June 1803, 16 Sivan 5563
- Place of Residence: SOUFFLENHEIM

Epitath: Miriam, wife of Chmouel of Soufflenheim. Deceased on the 16th Sivan 5563 according the small comput. May her soul be bound to all the living. Amen Séla.

Epitaphe: Miriam épouse de Chmouel de Soufflenheim. Décédée le seize Sivan 5563, selon le petit comput. Que son âme soit liée au faisceau des vivants. Amen Séla.

Hebrew: אס נצבה ל תקסג סיון טז נ זופלים שמואל אש מרים

LEISER SAMUEL

11 April 1805 Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 14, Tomb 1453

- Last Name & First Name: Eliezer ben Chmouel
- Sex: Male
- Hebrew Name: Eliezer ben Chmouel
- Date Deceased: 11 April 1805, 12 Nissan 5565
- Burial: 11 April 1805, 12 Nissan 5565
- Place of Residence: SOUFFLENHEIM

Epitath: Here rests Leyzer (Lazare) son of Chmouel (Samuel) of Soufflenheim. Deceased and buried the 12th Nissan 5565 according the small comput. May his soul be bound to all the living.

Epitaphe: Ici repose Leyzer fils de Chmouel de Soufflenheim. Décédé et inhumé le douze Nissan 5565, selon le petit comput. Que son âme soit liée au faisceau des vivants.

Hebrew: תנצבה לפק תקסה ניסן יב יום נ"נו זופלים שמאל ב' ליזר ט פ

CHMOUEL ZEÉV BAR DAVID (Samuel Wolf Liebschitz)

07 October 1841 Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 15, Tomb 1515

- Last Name & First Name: Liebschitz Chmouel Zeév
- Sex: Infant
- Hebrew Name: Chmouel Zeév bar David
- Date Deceased: 07 October 1841, 22 Tichri 5602
- Place of Residence: Schirrhoffen
- Comment: The date is uncertain due to the similarity of the letters (Kaf?) and (Bet) or 1859/10/20.

Epitaph: Here rests the child Chmouel Zeef, son of David Liebschitz of Schirrhein. Died on Chmini Atzerat 602 (or 620 ?) according to the small comput. May his soul be bound to the living. Died on Thursday October 7th, 1841 (if 602) or Thursday October 20th, 1859 (if 620).

Epitaphe: Ci-git l'enfant Chmouel Zeev fils de David Liebschitz, de Schirrhein. Décédé à Chmini Atzeret 602 (620 ?), selon le petit comput. Que son âme soit liée au faisceau des vivants. Amen. Décédé le jeudi 7 octobre 1841 (si 602) ou le jeudi 20 octobre 1859 (si 620).

Hebrew: א ה"תנצב ל' כ"ב"תר' עצרת שמיני נפטר שיראן ליבשיטץ דוד בר זאב שמואל הילד ט"פ

FAYECH (FEYSSEL) HALFF (Ulric Halff)

09 May 1850 Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 13, Tomb 772

- Last Name & First Name: Halff Fayeck.
- Sex: Male.
- Hebrew Name: Fayeck bar Chmouel.
- Date Deceased: 09 May 1850, 27 Iyar 5610
- Place of Residence: Haguenau.

Epitaph: Here rests Feyszel son of the Honorable Schmouel Half of here [Haguenau]. Deceased on the 27 Iyar 5610, according the small comput. May his soul be bound to all the living. Amen Séla.

Epitaphe: Ici repose Feyszel fils de l'honorable Schmouel Half d'ici (Haguenau), décédé le 27 iyyar 610 du petit comput. Que son âme soit liée au faisceau des vivants. Amen.

Hebrew: אמן תנצבהה פק תרי אייר כז נפטר מפה האלף שמואל בר פייסל ט"פ

GOETSCH LIEBSCHITZ (Daniel Liebschitz)

23 March 1874 Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 15, Tomb 1487

- Last Name and First Name: Liebschitz Goetsch
- Sex: Male
- Hebrew Name: Goetsch ben Chmouel
- Date Deceased: 23 March 1874, 5 Nissan 5634
- Place of Residence: Schirrhoffen

Epitaph: Here rests an honest, upright and God-fearing man who kept up and respected the Shabbat and the feasts. Goetchel son of Chmouel Liebschitz of Shirrhein, died on Monday the 5th of Nissan 634 according to the small comput. May his soul be bound to the living. Died on Monday, March 23rd, 1874.

Epitaphe: Ci-gît un homme intègre, droit et craignant D., qui gardait et respectait le Shabbat et les jours de fêtes. Goetchel fils de Chmouel Liebschitz de Schirrhein, décédé le lundi cinq Nissan 634, selon le petit comput. Que son âme soit liée au faisceau des vivants Décédé le lundi 23 mars 1874.

Hebrew: ק"לפ ד"תרל ניסן ה' ב' ביום נפטר שיראן ליבשיטץ שמואל בן געטש ט"ו שבת וכבד שמר אלהים ירא וישר תם איש ה"תנצב

MARRIAGE CONTRACTS

In 1701 Jews were required to file marriage contracts with notaries or other public officers. The traditional Jewish marriage contract is called a Ketubah. It provides for a money settlement payable to the wife in the event of divorce or the husband's death. As the notaries could not read Hebrew, the marriage contracts were accompanied by a summary in French. Standard civil marriage contracts were filed beginning in 1791.

18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace

Abstracts of all Alsatian Jewish marriage contracts from 1701-1791, over 5,000 total, are found in the book *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, by Andre Aron Fraencke. Seventeen contracts pertain to Soufflenheim.

Andre Fraenckel writes:

"This book presents a set of more than 5,000 marriage contracts concerning the Jews of Alsace and covering most of the 18th century. The first date is 1702, the last of 1791. These two dates are the extreme poles of our research: On the one hand, on 21.1.1701, a judgment of Louis XIV ordered that the minutes of the marriage contracts of the Jews of Alsace passed before their rabbis be deposited 15 days later with notaries or other public officers. On the other hand, in 1791 the Jews participate in the common law and from that moment there are few contracts of marriage filed before a notary. Because of the royal judgment of 1701, we today have the extraordinary opportunity to be able to follow the Jewish families in Alsace throughout the 18th century, through the thousands of marriage contracts, scattered in the registers of the notaries of the 18th century and stored in the repositories of archives of Bas-Rhin, Haut-Rhin and the territory of Belfort. We have consulted hundreds of notaries with the idea to group all of their contracts in the same bundle. After 1800, notaries recorded marriage contracts written in French, whereas in the 18th century most were found in the original Hebrew.

The notaries of the time were obviously not reading Hebrew; The repository text of these often specifies that "Such day, such Jew and the Jewish one have come to deposit what they say is their marriage contract written in Hebrew language." Rare are the notaries who demanded a full translation of the Act,

but some of them recorded a summary of it in German or French; This is the case of most of the contracts from the notariats of Obernai and Landser.

We don't know the exact circumstances in which the decision of Louis XIV was enacted, but we can imagine them quite easily if we consider some basic data of the Hebrew law:

According to Jewish law, the woman is not heir to her husband; in case of death of the husband - possessions pass to his children, or in the absence of descendants, his ascendants or collateral. To ensure the future of married women, Hebrew law provides that in case of divorce or death of the husband, the wife will be entitled to a dower (1) secured by an official act, the Ketubah. In practice, in countries "Ashkenazi", the dower was made up of the "increased by one-third" contributions to the woman by the husband (2): so a 1000 guilders dowry given to the bride was a dower of 1500 guilders. In common parlance, the word Ketubah means both the dower and the Act which guarantees this. The Ketubah represents a claim on the property of the husband and the wife is recognized as the first creditor up to the amount provided for in her Ketubah.

The Jews of Alsace had internal autonomy, in particular with regard to the marriage law, and the Ketubah could be opposed to any creditor of the husband, Jewish or non-Jewish. Before the order of 1701, a Jewish debtor could declare to his creditors that all his property was mortgaged by the Ketubah to his wife.

One can then imagine such a debtor having written a new Ketouba where the dower promised to the wife would appear as much more important than originally intended! It is undoubtedly to avoid this that the administration of Louis XIV had demanded that the marriage contracts of the Jews of Alsace be deposited with the notary.

So, these are the Jews of Alsace who, little by little, take the habit of filing their marriage deeds by notary; However, for the first years, from 1701 to 1720, we have only found 3 registered contracts, then 51 for the next period, from 172 to 1730. After 1730, the number increases tremendously, no doubt as a result of a call to order from the authorities or, perhaps because unregistered Ketouboth resulted in injury to a widow or a divorcee. It must be added that, between 170 and 1791, the number of Jews in Alsace grew from 3,000-3,500 to about 20,000.

We have used the word Ketouba although this term is not entirely accurate; According to the custom of the Rhineland Jewish communities known as the Choum Takanoth (Speyer, Worms, Mainz), all Ketouboth read in public should include the same amount: 1200 florins for a girl, 600 guilders a widow or a divorcee. The given reason is extremely interesting: "Kedey chelo levayech mi cheeyn lo" (to not shame him who has nothing). Of course, it had to be another act to report on the actual situation and, in particular, the respective contributions of the spouses: these are the Tenaim, literally "conditions", whose purpose is the claim of the wife on the property of the husband as well as other conditions specific to each family, sort of an addendum to the official Ketubah.

The Tenaim richonim (3) were established at the time of the conclusion of the agreement between the families, at the time of the engagement, specifying the respective contributions, including the place and date of marriage and fine (Knass breakdown).

The Tenaim a'haronim (4) were established at the time of marriage, most often taking the conditions of the Tenaim richonim and attesting that the amounts were paid. A few exceptions, the Tenaim recorded and retained by the notary are a Tenaim a'haronim.

The rabbis or scribes that wrote those contracts had models; Therefore, all have an identical structure.

Thus:

Mazal tov ytsma 'h vey'a' aleh kegan ratov 'ad lema' lah ("That good luck germinates and grows as a Green Garden").

Conditions between the parties at the time of the 'Hupa between... Moïse Bloch, son of Alexander of Wintzenheim in Haute-Alsace, on behalf of his son Goetschel on the one hand, and Mordekhai nicknamed Siessel, son of Yo'hanan Legme, and daughter Gittel of Wintzenheim also. Goetschel married Gittel and the latter received the wedding ring. Moïse Bloch brings to his son a quarter of his house, but the donation is effective only after the death of the said Moses and his wife Keple. Goetschel Bloch will not sell, rent or Exchange its share of House during the life of his parents.

Parents are committed to bequeath 100 reichsthalers after their death; In addition, Moïse Bloch brings a place in the synagogue, to the right of the Ark of the Covenant.

Jeckel, brother of Coetschel, is committed to give the 'Halitsa (5) free in case of need and the father undertakes that the minor son give the commitment of 'Halitsa when they arrive at their majority.

Siessel, father of Gittel, brings 1000 reichsthalers (1500 guilders), or 200 in cash, an obligation of 400 reichsthalers to be paid in a year and a claim of 400 reichsthalers on Jacob chops at Oberbergheim of which Siessel vouches.

An obligation of 400 reichsthalers to be paid in a year and a claim of 400 reichsthalers on Jacob chops at Oberbergheim of which Siessel vouches.

It is expected that his daughter will have a share of the inheritance [in Talmudic law, girls do not inherit in the presence of boys]. In addition, Siessel is committed to giving free living and cover for three years. From this moment the couple will live in love and affection, without hiding anything from one to the other, without removing or closing anything; they will manage together at equal rights.

If Goetschel behaved towards his wife in an unbearable way for her ... Ketubah : 1500 reichsthalers [although the Ketubah read publicly surrendered only 800 reichsthalers]. The wife shall will also take priority of her wedding ring, her clothes and gifts.

Made in Wintzenheim, Wednesday 13 Kisslev 5505, 18.11.1744, recorded 3. 12.1744.

Notes: 1) Dower: Right of the surviving spouse on the property of her husband. 2) Formulation usual in the Talmud which means here that the amount brought in dowry by the bride corresponds to two thirds of the one she expected to reach in the case of divorce or death of her husband. 3) Tenaim richonim, "First conditions": contract engagement. 4) Tenaim a'haronim, "conditions". 5) ' Halitsa: Ceremony whereby a widow without children is clear links of the levirate and becomes free to marry any other than his brother-in-law."⁽⁴¹⁾

Soufflenheim Marriage Contracts

Seventeen Jewish marriage contracts in *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace* involve Soufflenheim. Six are duplicate contracts found in other notaries. Of the remaining 11:

Eight are Soufflenheim marriage contracts:

- Leyser Samuel & Beyle Salomon (16 December 1755)
- Feisel Halff & Kronle Joseph (02 June 1758)
- Simon Salomon & Miryam daughter of Baroukh (25 January 1764)
- Simon Salomon & Ghayn Borach (10 August 1773)
- Hirtzel Landauer & Hindel Leyser (10 March 1775)
- Samuel Leiser & Marianne Schiele Bloch (30 November 1781)
- Gumbert Kahn & Zerle Leiser (13 June 1785)
- Jonas Abraham & Elle Feistel (14 December 1789)

Two are from another community, with a person from Soufflenheim assisting:

- Leyser Levy & Sara daughter of deceased Aaron (05 February 1756)
- Jacob Levy & Hindel Daughter of Aaron (24 December 1765).

One is from another community, but “passed” in Soufflenheim:

- Simon son of Rabbi Juda & Elie Weyl (18 April 1780)

All marriage contract abstracts are listed below with the exception of the six duplicate records. Also listed are six French notary records corresponding to six of the abstracts. Five of the French notary records are “Marriage Contract Deposits”, with the ketouba, in Hebrew/Aramaic, attached. Only one record, from the notary at Obernai, summarizes the ketouba in French, also attached.

- **LEYSER SAMUEL & BEYLE DAUGHTER OF SALOMON WORMBSER**

16 December 1755 Obernai 6E38/83 Marriage Contract Summary

In front of me Royal notary of Obernai, appeared in my study personally Leyser Samuel Jew in Soufflenheim widower and new husband here on one side. And Beyle Jew girl daughter of Salomon Wormbser and Ester, both Jews domiciled in Neubrisach, accompanied by Lehemann Jacob Jew in Rosheim her cousin, as bride, on the other side.

In first Leyser Samuel declares that the named Beyle has a contract of a religious ceremony of marriage on the 15th of December in Niedernai in front of the Rabbi of this place, and the contract in Hebrew language has been produced here to me notary as accepted and undersigned. At first a dowry of 300 Gulden has been consigned to the husband and received with the usual condition of another sum for the union itself of 240 gulden, so that Bele brings in a total of 600 Gulden as her own property. She also brings in her clothes and personal objects that will remain her property without any contest. For better assurance of this, Samuel Leyser puts a mortgage on his general property without exception. For best guaranty the present Hebraic contract has been undersigned and this certified especially if they would die this year or the following, this contract would be presented as ratified, confirmed, and obliging both parts, renouncing any revocation of the same, passed in Obernai the 16 December 1755.

In presence of Peter Huber and Dietrich Keller, both burghers here, also Ignatz Simonnaire, lawyer, as witnesses and the notary (two Hebrew signatures)

[Note: A second scan of the same entry follows, perhaps the day of the deposit, not mentioned as such.]

LEYSER SAMUEL & BEYLE DAUGHTER OF SALOMON WORMSER

16 December 1755 Obernai 6E38/83 Marriage Contract Abstract

Obernai Notary. 16 December 1755. The widower Leyser Samuel in Soufflenheim. And Beyle daughter of Salomon Wormser and of Esther in Neuf Brisach. Assisted by Lehmann Jacob in Rosheim. Dowry: 360 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel, Page 169 (F). This contract is also found in the Bischheim notary records.

- **FEIST [FEISSEL HALFF]**

02 June 1758 Roeschwoog Notary 6E33/118 Marriage Contract Deposit

On the 2nd June in year 1758 appeared in front of the undersigned notary with the required witnesses Feist Jew in the village of Soufflenheim, who made deposit in my study in this bailiff resort of Haguenau, to include it in our contract of the marriage contract written in Hebrew, passed in Fort Louis du Rhin on the named day month and year, in presence of Etienne Bruel and Christian Schiffmacher burghers witnesses undersigned. Signed: Schiffmacher, Bruel, the royal notary.

OURI "SCHRAGA" "FEISEL" SON OF NAFTALY & KRONLE DAUGHTER OF JOSEPH

02 June 1758 Roeschwoog Notary Marriage Contract Abstract

Roeschwoog Notary. 02 June 1758 (18 Iyar 5518). Passed in Soufflenheim. Ouri "Schraga" "Feisel" son of deceased Naftaly, from Rountzenheim living in Soufflenheim. And Kronle daughter of Joseph son of Samuel. Dowry: 300 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel, Page 197 (A).

- **SCHIMEN SALOMON & MARIAM [BAROUKH]**

25 January 1764/19 July 1783 Roeschwoog 6E33 Marriage Contract Deposit

According to the form and content, the Procurer of the King required has signed with us, without prejudice of the rights of the named parties, made in Haguenau on the 19 July 1783. Signed: Barth.

To-day twenty five January in year thousand seven hundred sixty four, in front of the royal notary residing at Fort Louis du Rhin undersigned and of undersigned witnesses named after this, appeared personally Schimen Salomon Jew in Soufflenheim on one side, and the named Mariam his wife, assisted and authorized by her husband Schimen Salomon, who presented to us and required the deposit of a marriage contract in Hebraic letters, passed between the named Schimen Salomon and Mariam on the 18th of this month, which deposit is made according to the arrest of the Sovereign

Council of Alsace, for better authenticity and security of the named contract, interpreted in German language in Fort Louis du Rhin, in front of the notary, on the day month and year as mentioned, in presence of Joseph Beunnat, lawyer, and Laurent Spitz, day laborer in Fort Louis, witnesses undersigned: Spitz, Beunnat, Boucher royal notary.

(Translator's Note: The same contract written and deposited in Fort Louis on the 25th of January 1764 has been registered a second time on 19 July 1783, for some reason that I cannot explain.)

SIMON SON OF SALOMON "ZALMEN" & MIRYAM DAUGHTER OF BAROUKH

25 January 1764 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Marriage Contract Abstract

Roeschwoog Notary: 25 January 1764 (14 Chevath). Passed in Hagenbach. Simon son of Salomon "Zalmen" in Soufflenheim. And Miryam daughter of Baroukh in Hagenbach. Assisted by El'hanan Mosché in Hagenbach. The husband brings a house into the union. Dowry: 144 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel.

- **SIMON SALOMON & GHAYN BORACH**

10 August 1773 Roeschwoog 6E33/111 Marriage Contract Deposit

Today 10 August 1773 appeared here in Fort Louis du Rhin in presence of two witnesses here under named, Simon Salomon Jew in Soufflenheim on one side and Abraham Drey, Jew in Fort Louis, in name of Ghayn Borach wife of Simon Salomon and daughter of deceased Borach in his life Jew in Hagenbach and of Alcken, on the other side, these declared that Simon Salomon and Ghayn Borach were married on the 5th of this month of August, and to satisfy the decree of the Sovereign Council of Alsace and pass mortgage they have made a deposit of their marriage contract written in Hebraic letters joined between him Simon Salomon and Ghayn Borach in the hands of the royal notary to be registered among his contracts ; passed in Fort Louis in this office on day named in presence of Claude François Dupré and of Jean Trautmann, lawyers here as witnesses who signed after the record was read and interpreted in German for them. Signed: Abraham Treÿfouss, Dprés, Trautmann, Beunat.

SIMON SON OF SALOMON "ZALMEN" & CHAYÉ DAUGHTER OF BARUCH

10 August 1773 Roeschwoog 6E33/64 Marriage Contract Abstract

Roeschwoog Notary. 10 August 1773 (16 Av). Passed in Hagenbach. Simon son of Salomon "Zalmen" in Soufflenheim. And Chayé, daughter of deceased Baruch, in his lifetime in Hagenbach. Assisted by her brother Zevy "Hirsch" son of Barouch. And by Abraham Dreyfuss in Fort Louis. Dowry: 100 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel, Page 199 (F).

- **HIRTZEL LANDAUER & HINDEL LEYSER**

10 March 1775 Haguenau Notary 6E16/308 Marriage Contract Deposit

Deposit of a marriage contract between Hirtzel Landauer Jew in Wintzenheim and Hindel Leyser. In front of the Royal Notary near the Sovereign Council in Alsace undersigned appeared the undersigned Hirtzel Landauer Jew in Wintzenheim, Basse Alsace, and Leyser Samuel Jew in Soufflenheim in name of Hindel Leyser his daughter, those have presented to me their marriage contract written in Hebrew, containing thirty-five lines, and asked the mentioned notary to include it in the records of his study. This contract has been certified by the signatures, which request has been accepted. Passed and interpreted in German language to the present in Bischheim on the 10th of March in year 1775, in presence of Louis Klein, lawyer, Jean Pierre Mettler, sergeant, both in this place as required witnesses, undersigned with the notary. Signatures: Hirtzel Landauer, Leyser Samuel, Peter Mettler, witness, Klein, the royal notary.

NAFTALY "HIRTZEL" LANDAUER & HINDEL DAUGHTER OF ELIÉZER "LEISER"

10 March 1775 Haguenau Marriage Contract Abstract

Haguenau Notary. 10 March 1775 (6 Adar II 5535). Passed in Wintzenheim. Naftaly "Hirtzel" Landauer son of deceased Mosché-Isaac in Wintzenheim. And Hindel daughter of Eliézer "Leiser" son of Samuel in Soufflenheim. The husband brings a small house in Wintzenheim into the union. Dowry: 400 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel, Page 6 (D). [This contract is also found in the Obernai notary records.]

- **SAMUEL LEISER & MARIANNE SCHIELE BLOCH**

30 November 1781 Roeschwoog 6E33/119 Marriage Contract Deposit

In front of the royal notary resident in the town of Fort Louis du Rhin undersigned appeared Samuel Leiser Jew in Soufflenheim assisted by Leiser Samuel also Jew in Soufflenheim his father on one side and Marian present wife of Samuel Leiser authorized by him and assisted by Schiehle Bloch Jew in Fegersheim his father on the other side, those declared that the named Samuel Leiser and the named Marianne were married the 29th of this month in Soufflenheim and during the celebration a contract of marriage in Hebraic language has been written which they presently have given as deposit into the hands of the notary to satisfy the decree of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, with mortgage, asking the notary to register this record in his office ; passed and interpreted in German language in Fort Louis du Rhin on the named date 30 November 1781 in presence of François Reffé, lawyer and of Xavier Rauber burghers here, witnesses who signed with Samuel Leiser and Marianne Schiehle Bloch, in front of the notary. Signed: Schmulen Jew in Soufflenheim, Rauber, Reffé, Wagatha, notary.

SAMUEL SON OF ELIEZER "LEYSER" & MARIAN DAUGHTER OF "SCHIELE" BLOCH

30 November 1781 Roeschwoog 6E33/80 Marriage Contract Abstract

Roeschwoog Notary. 30 November 1781 (12 Kisslev). Passed in Soufflenheim. Samuel son of Eliezer "Leyser" in Soufflenheim. And Marian daughter of Yehochoua "Schiele" Bloch in Fegersheim. The father of the husband brings a house into the union. Dowry: 850 Gulden. Ketouba: 1275 pounds

(livres). Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Aron Fraenckel, Page 201 (I).

- **GUMBERT KAHN & ZERLE LEISER**

13 June 1785 Roeschwoog 6E33/123 Marriage Contract Deposit

Deposit of a marriage contract in Hebraic letters on the 13 June 1785. In Fort Louis du Rhin the undersigned were present : Gumbert Kahn Jew in Schirhoffen, on one side, and Zerle Leiser as present wife of the named Gumbert Kahn, authorized by him, and also by Leiser Samuel Jew in Soufflenheim her father on the other side ; the couple Gumber Kahn and Zerle Leiser declared they were married on the 8th of this month according to the Hebraic law in the village of Soufflenheim ; a marriage contract in Hebraic letters has been written, which they here and now deposit into the hands of the named notary undersigned to satisfy the decree of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, observing the conditions of mortgage of their property mobiliary and immobiliary, present and future, which they both promise. Made and interpreted in German language in Fort Louis du Rhin on the 13 June 1785, in the afternoon in presence of Nicolas Haaser burgher, and François Xavier Furterer, lawyers in this city undersigned with the notary and comparants. Signed: Harter, Haasser, Wagatha, notary.

EFRAYIM “GUMBERT” KAHN & ZERLÉ DAUGHTER OF ELIEZER “LEISER”

13 June 1785 Roeschwoog 6E33/81 Marriage Contract Abstract

Bischheim Notary. 13 June 1785 (30 Sivan). Passed in Soufflenheim. The Efrayim “Gumbert” Kahn widower son of Gedalya in Schirroffen. And Zerlé daughter of Eliezer “Leiser” son of Samuel in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 150 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel, Page 202 (I). [This contract is also found in the Bischeim notary records.]

- **JONAS ABRAHAM & ELLA FEISTEL**

14 December 1789 Haguenau 6E16 Marriage Contract Deposit

In front of the royal notary of Haguenau and Sovereign Council of Alsace appeared Jonas Abraham Jew in Soultz sous Forêts, on one side, and Feistel Half Jew in Soufflenheim, father of Ella Feistel on the other side, who produced a contract in Hebraic letters, which they explained to be the marriage contract of Jonas Abraham and Ella Feistel, registered in front of the notary and holding mortgage and required the same that this piece would be registered into the records of the undersigned notary, and undersigned by themselves as well. Passed and interpreted in German language in presence of Jean Baptiste Sarselle and Louis Ritt, in this town, lawyers undersigned by all also those in Hebraic letters, Haguenau 14 December 1789. Signed: Ritt, Sarselle, Ballet royal notary. [The marriage contract was initially registered with the notary in Soultz.]

JONAS SON OF ABRAHAM & ELLE DAUGHTER OF FEISTEL HALFF

14 December 1789 Haguenau 6E16/308 Marriage Contract Abstract

Haguenau Notary. 14 December 1789 (22 Kisslev 5550). Passed in Kuppenheim (Bade). Jonas son of Abraham in Surbourg. And Elle daughter of Feistel Halff son of Naftaly in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 280 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel, Page 69 (J).

Additional Marriage Contracts

Three additional marriage contracts also pertain to Soufflenheim. Two mention people from Soufflenheim assisting the bride, and one was passed in Soufflenheim.

- **LEYSER LEVY & SARA DAUGHTER OF DECEASED AARON**

05 February 1756 Obernai 6E30/84 Marriage Contract Summary

In front of the undersigned royal notary of Obernai appeared in my study here Leyser Levy Jew of Niedernai son of deceased Samuel Levy Jew in the same place, as new husband on one side. And Sara Jewin daughter of deceased Aaron former Jew in Valff, assisted by Leyser Jew in Soufflenheim, her cousin, as bride, on the other side.

And the named Leyser Levy declares that Sara bride and him had a contract written in front of the Rabbi who married them, and this contract has been produced in original in front of the notary and signed, has been brought into the union a sum in money of three hundred thirty-six gulden. This sum has been placed by him Leyser Levy for needs of Sara as usual between Jewish husband and wife, presented and accepted as total full property with a supplementary amount of two hundred sixty gulden for the celebration of the marriage, so six hundred gulden total for her personal property, also clothes, as privilege which cannot be contested in any way. For better assurance of this a general mortgage has been placed by him Levy to be used if any need.

The complete declaration has been ratified in form of the law in presence of the undersigned and witnesses Ignatz Simonaire, Johann Michel Daigue. Passed in Obernai 05 February 1756. Signed: Daigue, Peter Huber, Simonaire, Huzinger.

LEYSER LÉVY & SARA DAUGHTER OF DECEASED ARON

05 February 1756 Obernai Notary Marriage Contract Abstract

Obernai Notary. 05 February 1756. Passed the 4th in Niedernai. Leyser Lévy son of deceased Samuel in Niedernai. And Sara daughter of deceased Aron in Valff. Assisted by Leyser in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 336 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel, Page 169 (I).

[Niedernai 1784 Jewish Census: Mentions a couple named Leyser Levy and Sara (without children in the household -- any children they had were probably old enough to have left the household.)]

- **JACOB LEVY & HINDEL DAUGHTER OF AARON**

24 December 1765 Haguenau 6E16/307 Marriage Contract

In front of the Royal notary of the royal prefecture of Haguenau registered in the Sovereign Council of Alsace undersigned appeared Jacob Levy Jew son of Borach Levy also Jew and of Rössel Aaron his wife in Surbourg, on one side, and Hindel, Jewish daughter of deceased Aaron in his lifetime a Jew in Rountzenheim and of Soerel his widow assisted by Feissel Halff Jew in Soufflenheim a parent to her, and also authorized by the mentioned Jacob Levy her present husband, on the other side, this couple has made a deposit in the study of the mentioned notary of a contract of marriage in Hebrew characters which is the marriage contract of Jacob Levy and Hindel, and asked the notary to include it in his registers with usual mention of mortgage, and the required witnesses have undersigned the present record after it has been interpreted in German language, passed in Haguenau the 24 December in year 1765 in presence of Michel Elbel, François Xavier Hallez, lawyer, both in this city, undersigned. Signed: Elbel, Hallez, Hatt, royal notary.

JACOB LEVY & HINDEL DAUGHTER OF AARON

24 December 1765 Haguenau 6E16/307 Marriage Contract Abstract

24 December 1765 (6th Taveth 5526). Passed in Haguenau. Jacob Lévy son of Barouch son of Kloumious and of Reis daughter of Aron in Surbourg. To Hindel (Rossel) daughter of the deceased Aron in lifetime of Rountzenheim and of Sorelé. Assisted by her brothers Leizer and Isaac living in Valff and by her relative Feissel Halff from Soufflenheim. The groom's parents give a house but as a counterpart Jacob will have to give 120 florins. If Barouch requests it Jacob will have to find other lodgings without Barouch having to give him any compensation. Dowry: 300 florins. Ketouba: 600 florins. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Aron Fraenckel, Page 45 (M).

[Surbourg 1784 Jewish Census: The family of Jacob Levy and Hindel Aron is mentioned in the Surbourg 1784 census: #6, Jacob Levy, wife Hindel Aron, sons Aron, Baruch, Calmen, Jonas, Sodig. Feissel Halff of Soufflenheim was related to Hindel Aron. There are no families named Feissel or Halff in the Surbourg census.]

- **SIMON LÖB & ELE WEYL**

18 April 1780 Roeschwoog 6E33/118 Marriage Contract Deposit

Deposit of a Jewish marriage contract in Hebrew. Appeared today the 18 April in year 1780 in Fort Louis du Rhin with the undersigned witnesses Simon Löb, Jew in Fort Louis on one side and Ele Weyl wife presently of the named Simon Löb, assisted by him on the other side, who presented a contract passed the 6th of this month in front of the Sovereign Council of Alsace with mortgage attached, deposit of the marriage contract presented today in presence of the undersigned. Passed in Fort Louis in presence of Nicolas Haaser, Jean Baptiste Rössler, both in Fort Louis, required to this and the royal notary Beunnat.

MENA”HEM-SIMON SON OF RABBI JUDA “LOEB” & ELIE WEYL

18 April 1780 Roeschwoog 6E33/73 Marriage Contract Abstract

Roeschwoog Notary. 18 April 1780 Roch “Hodech Nissan. Passed in Soufflenheim. Mena”hem-Simon son of rabbi Juda “Loeb” from Harchwitz near Prague living in Fort Louis. And the widow Elie Weyl daughter of Kalman from Surbourg. The husband has acquired the right to settle in Fort Louis. Dowry: 400 Gulden including a house and furniture. Ketouba: 400 Gulden. Source: *18th Century Jewish Marriage Contracts in Alsace*, Andre Fraenckel.

Marriage Contracts of Wissenbourg in the 18th Century

The following excerpts from *The Marriage Contracts of Wissembourg in the 18th Century* by Grand Rabbi Max Warschawski, found at Le judaisme d'Alsace et de Lorraine, relate directly to marriage contracts in Soufflenheim. Wissembourg is 18 miles north of Soufflenheim. Both were in the jurisdiction of the rabbi with authority over lower Alsace, who sat in Haguenau. The language, structure and contents of the contracts would have been similar in both communities.

“The marriage contract followed the nuptial ceremony. The marriage contract (Tenaim A'haronim) was a notarial Act, written by a Rabbi or, failing a Rabbi, by a letter (officiat or other). Signed by the spouses, their parents and two witnesses without any relationship to the two families, these contracts were valuable, because they had an indisputable legal value. Twenty-nine marriage contracts from the 1700's were studied. The people in the contracts were essentially from the communities around Wissembourg located either in Alsace, or in the part of the Palatinate that was then part of Alsace. The contracts deposited with the notaries of Wissembourg have been drawn up for Jews domiciled within the jurisdiction of these notariats and married in the communities of this same region.

Fifteen contracts among those of Wissembourg contain commitment for one of the parties, to obtain the right of residence: ('Hezkath Yishuv). This term, in the Middle Ages, applied to a rule instituted by Jewish communities. To prevent commercial competition and to protect families tolerated in a locality against the authorities of guardianship (city, lord, bishop), who could have admitted, for a fee, other Jews, to the detriment of the first, the leaders of the communities had instituted the 'Hezkath Yishuv, right of residence. Any Jew wishing to settle in a community had, beforehand, to obtain the agreement of his co-religionists by means of certain taxes and by committing to participate in the common taxes. In our contracts, it is not a question of this Community right, but of the obligation of the Jews to ask the civil authorities for permission to stay in the locality before founding a home. Depending on the time and place, this authorization was more or less difficult to obtain because the number of tolerated families was limited. It often took the death of a head of the family for a new couple to be allowed to settle in the locality. From 1751, the regulations, still more draconian, sought to prevent the installation in Alsace of new Jewish families coming from abroad. That's why the Hezkath Yishuv was precious and often expensive. In our contracts, obtaining the right of residence is, in general, left to the husband or his family who undertake to obtain it at their exclusive expense. There are only two contracts in which the bride's family undertakes to obtain this right of residence. Eleven contracts mention the right of residence in Wissembourg. Three contracts mention the right of residence in Riedseltz. One contract states the right of residence in Lembach. The fourteen remaining contracts do not mention this right of residence, either because the fiancé already owns it or because there is no problem in obtaining it.

In eleven contracts there are apartments or houses. With two exceptions, it is the husband to bring the housing for the couple. This dwelling is sometimes a whole house given by the parents of the fiancé or

the fiancée, more often a half-house that the parents give to their son. In several contracts, the father of the fiancé agrees to give the couple an apartment in his house for a given time, or to participate in the rent of an apartment for a variable duration of 3, 5, or 8 years (three contracts). We note that only two contracts, which refer to housing, concern localities other than Wissembourg. All the others concern Wissembourg itself and among them, seven are contracts of the Dreyfus family.

It used to be the practice for parents or parents-in-law of a young couple to provide food for their children during the early stages of marriage until their situation is stabilized. This is called Mezonoth (food). This commitment is also included in seven of the contracts.

There are finally some cases in which the contract ensures a situation to the fiancé. It is usually a business association with his father, but limited association only a few years. The marriage contract will stipulate these provisions and will fix the terms and conditions. Of the twenty-nine contracts, therefore, there are only five which provide for a commercial association. They all concern Jews living in Wissembourg.

The central part of marriage contracts concerns cash contributions by both spouses: dowry or donation (Nadan, Nedounya). In the Wissembourg contracts, the financial clauses obviously occupy the essential place. It must not be forgotten that according to Jewish law, women cannot inherit from their husbands. In the event of the death of the latter, his property belongs to his children and, in the absence of direct descendants, to his family. The Talmudic tradition has therefore provided for the future of the woman, the modalities of Ketuba, namely: the dower (Mohar), guaranteed by the law and those of the dowry (Nedounya), that the husband doubles by the counter-dot (Tossefeth). The material details contained in the contracts, concern especially the case of rupture of the union by the death of one of the spouses or by the divorce. In the contracts, the dowry brought by the husband always appears first, followed by that of the wife.

- Dowry of the husband: When it is the father of the fiancé who appears in the contract, he brings for his son a cash sum or an acknowledgment of debt. When the fiancé engages himself, there are never any figures expressed. He brings "kol asher lo", all he has, without any detail.
- Dowry of the wife: There is no contract that does not include a dowry of the wife, endowed with a variable amount of course. Payment was either immediate or staggered. It sometimes happens that the dowry is supplemented by a sum paid at the birth of the first or first two children. A single contract states that the widowed wife brings the furniture from her first marriage.
- Amount of dowries: This amount is very variable. The promised sum is sometimes divided into two parts. A first sum returned on the spot, the rest to pay in a period of six months to three years. In two contracts, the dowry is guaranteed by the sons born of a first marriage of the woman.

Some of the Wissembourg contracts concerned wealthy families. This explains why these contracts were registered with the notaries while the more modest families were satisfied with the document signed before the rabbi or the scribe of the community.

CENSUS RECORDS

GENERAL CENSUS OF THE JEWS OF ALSACE, tolerated in the Province of Alsace, to enforce the Regulation Patent Letters dated July 10th, 1784 of His Majesty Louis XVI.

Commune de Soufflenheim Number 142 (Status: 04 December 1784)

Family	Title	Surname	Given Name
Family Number 1	Head	SCHMULEN	Leyser
	Wife	SALOMON	Beylen
	Son		Jacob
	Daughter		Zerlen
	Valet	KOSCHEL	Nathan
Family Number 2	Head	HÄLFF	Feisel
	Wife	JOSEPH	Croennel
	Daughter		Hündel
	Daughter		Reitz
	Daughter		Blümel
	Daughter		Rächel
Family Number 3	Head	LEYSER	Schmullen
	Wife	SCHIELLEN	Maria
Family Number 4	Head	SALOMON	Simon
	Wife	BARUCH	Kayen
	Son		Salomon
	Son		Baruch
	Son		Hirtzel
	Daughter		Sara

SCHIRMGELD

Beginning in 1671, the Soufflenheim town accounts list income received from the Schirmgeld (community protection), paid by Jews to live in Soufflenheim and elsewhere in Alsace. Accounts from 1674-1679, 1686-1689 and 1700-1708 are missing. The schirmgeld was 5 shilling annually per resident from 1671-1673 and 1 Gulden annually per resident by 1680.

Year	Protected Residents	Schirmgeld Paid	Description
1671	3	1 G 5 s	Income paid by three protected residents here: 1 G 5 s
1672	5	2 R 5 s	Income by five protected residents paid tax: 2 R 5 s
1673	5	2 R 5 s	Income received from protected residents as tax for Community protection: 2 R 5 s
1674-1679	N/A	N/A	Missing Accounts
1680	2 3	2 R 1 R 5 s	Income paid by two protected residents for the year 1 R each: 2 R Income paid by three protected citizens here for the year: 1 R 5 s [citizens - not Jews?]
1681	0		No protected residents or income mentioned.
1682	2	2 R	Received from 2 protected residents here: 2 R
1683	0		No protected residents or income mentioned.
1684	0		No protected residents or income mentioned.
1685	0		No protected residents or income mentioned.
1686-1689	N/A	N/A	Missing Accounts
1700-1708	N/A	N/A	Missing Accounts

CHURCH ACCOUNTS

1678 Church Account

Income Money:

Same from Josell Jew before him Hans Götz on a house : 5 s

1753 Church Account

Received as Pfenning Zins Land Tax:

From Hirtz Jew's heirs and Christian Elchinger before him Simon Mössner on their farm house, each for a half : 7 s 6 d

1753 Church Account

Income Money Pfenning Zins:

Same Michel Zettwoch before him Joseph Jud on his farm house : 5 s

INVENTORIES AND CONTRACTS

The following table lists all Jews mentioned in Soufflenheim inventories and contracts, including those living in other communities: Bischiller, Eschbach, Fort Louis, Gunstett, Haguenu, Mommenheim, Niederroedern, Rountzenheim, Schirrhein, Schirrhoffen, Surbourg, Winckhershein, Wittersheim, and the Ziegelhof. The debt section of all inventories was searched through 1793. Also included are references to places with Jewish names, such as the Judenweg and Judengasse, though no systemic search was conducted.

Year	Name	Community	Record
1707	Salomon	Beinheim	Hans Peter Stiffelmeyer Inventory 03 August 1707 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Debt: To Salomon the Jew in Beinheim: 3 Gulden 5s 4 d
1788	Kan	Bischwiller	Agathe Studer 31 October 1788 Roeschwoog 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Kan, Jewish merchant in Bischwiller: 3 Gulden 8 s

1693	Juden Street	Eschpach	<p>Maria Würtz Sale 15 January 1693 Haguenau 6E16/58</p> <p>Sold by Maria Würtz assisted by Hans Jacob Schöffter provost in Soufflenheim her husband, to Andres Theuss burgher in Eschpach, and Eva Helmer his wife of one garden of 3 ½ viertel in the village of Eschpach one side the district Velt Garten, second side the common property, and street, up fields, down the common property and Juden Street.</p>
1693	Jäckel	Fort Louis	<p>Hans Friedrich Beller Debt, 16 June 1693, 6E16/59</p> <p>Hans Friedrich Beller burgher in Soufflenheim receives loan of money from the hands of Jäckel Jew in Fort Louis and Josell Jew in Soufflenheim.</p>
1707	Josel	Fort Louis	<p>Catharina Ertz Inventory, 26 July 1707, 6E33/58</p> <p>Debt: To Josel Jew in Fort Louis: 6 Gulden 5 s</p>
1707	Josel	Fort Louis	<p>Maria Sigler [Sigel] Inventory, 29 July 1707, 6E33/58</p> <p>Debt: To Josel, Jew in Fort Louis: 64 G</p>
1707	Josel	Fort Louis	<p>Hans Peter Stiffelmeyer Inventory, 03 August 1707, 6E33/58</p> <p>Debt: To Josel the Jew: 20 Gulden in Fort Louis</p>
1711	Joseph	Fort Louis	<p>Anna Maria Christmann Inventory, 04 May 1711, 6E33/58</p> <p>Debt: To Joseph the Jew in Fort Louis for rest of money due on sale of oxen: 40 Gulden</p>
1714	Joseph	Fort Louis	<p>Jacob Herckell Inventory, 16 October 1714, 6E33/58</p> <p>Debt: To Joseph Jew in Fort Louis loan of money: 2 Gulden. And two years interests on the same: 1 Gulden 7 s</p>
1724	Feissel	Fort Louis	<p>Andres Mosser Inventory, 30 March 1724, 6E33/58</p> <p>Debt: To Feissel Jew in Fort Louis: 16 Gulden</p>
1724	Not Given	Fort Louis	<p>Paul Mosser Inventory, 04 April 1724, 6E33/58</p> <p>Debt: To Joseph Jew in Fort Louis: 13 Gulden</p>
1727	Isack	Fort Louis	<p>Andres Thomas Debt, 23 September 1727, 6E16/131</p> <p>Anna Maria Reiffsteck widow in Niederbetschdorf, assisted by Andres Thomas, burgher and potter in Soufflenheim, promises to pay to Isack Jew living in Fort Louis du Rhin, a sum of 150 Gulden on three years and this until end 1728, each Pentecostal day of the year, with 50 Gulden each time, plus 7 gulden 5 schilling interest ; she puts a mortgage on this debt on her house and farm, fields and garden with all dependences attached ; Isack will handle as he likes,</p>

			use and in free property, in presence of witnesses Adam Schaeffter, provost here.
1729	Salomon Jonas	Fort Louis	<p>Hans Michel Kieffer Sale, 01 June 1729, 6E33</p> <p>Came in front of the notary of Fort Louis: Jean Michel Kieffer merchant, domiciled in this city and Anne Marie Riedinger his wife authorized by him to contract, who both recognized that they have made sale, cession without any trouble or impeachment of any kind to : Salomon Jonas, Jew in Fort Louis and his heirs, of a house in this city, one side Jean Brem, other side Jean Scheen, with all dependences and rights, house which he Jean Michel Kieffer has acquired on the 1st July 1726 for an amount of 424 pounds which sum has been paid in totality and liquidity, sum that he now asks from the new acquirer, in front of the notary of Fort Louis du Rhin, in presence of witnesses Philippe Stromberg and Michel Schlegel, both burghers of the place undersigned with Jean Michel Kieffer and Salomon Jonas. Anne Marie Riedinger declared she cannot sign and made her mark on this document.</p>
1729	Simon Piquert	Fort Louis	<p>Jacques Scheffter Acquisition, 16 December 1729, 6E33/81</p> <p>In front of the royal notary of Fort Louis du Rhin in presence of the undernamed witnesses appeared Salomon Piquert Jew in this town who sold for himself and his heirs to Jacob Scheffter master butcher and burgher of this city living in Soufflenheim, here present accepting one house in this city, corner of street d'Orleans and of d'Huxelle, one side Vincent Cress master tailor in this city, other side Isaac Jew also named the red Jew, behind Jean Adam Regnoldt ; with all dependences ; this house he has acquired by auction on the first February 1729, ; the present sale for a sum of 680 pounds, on this the acquirer has paid immediately the sum of 400 pounds, the remaining 280 pounds will be paid next Christmas with interest of 5% ; passed in presence of Jean Claude Cladt member of the magistrate of the city, Joseph Trautmann burgher here, the sale passed on the 16 December 1729. Undersigned: Jacob Sch��ffter, Cladt, Trautmann, Boucher notary.</p> <p>Today 5th of January 1731 appeared Salomon Piquert Jew in Fort Louis du Rhin in front of the notary, recognized he has received from Jacob Scheffter master butcher burgher here the sum of 280 pounds that the last one owed to him by contract; receipt was given in presence of Thomas Heusler and Eloy Parmentier undersigned with Boucher notary. [Salomon Piquert previously translated as Simon Piquert]</p>
1730	Abraham Dreyfus	Fort Louis	<p>Michel Zettwoch, 30 October 1730, 6E16/120</p> <p>Sale for 300 Gulden. Appeared in front of the royal notary Abraham Dreyfus Jew in Fort Louis and Joseph Dreyfuss Jew in the same place his father, declared both to have sold to Michel Zettwoch burgher in Soufflenheim for 300 Gulden one house in the village containing 7 R and 1 sch on the village street, one side Mathis Kieffer near the fountain well, other side Adtam May, pays each year to the church five schilling tax, except this in free property, the sum of 300 Gulden has been received and receipt given, one part will be paid on Eastern 1732 and the last on Eastern 1733, undersigned: Abraham Dreyffus Jew in Fort Louis, X Michel Zettwoch, Eggs witness, Sch��ffter provost, Wolff notary.</p>
1730	Joseph Dreyfuss	Fort Louis	<p>Michel Zettwoch, 30 October 1730, 6E16/120</p>

			<p>Sale for 300 Gulden. Appeared in front of the royal notary Abraham Dreyfus Jew in Fort Louis and Joseph Dreyfuss Jew in the same place his father, declared both to have sold to Michel Zettwoch burgher in Soufflenheim for 300 Gulden one house in the village containing 7 R and 1 sch on the village street, one side Mathis Kieffer near the fountain well, other side Adtam May, pays each year to the church five schilling tax, except this in free property, the sum of 300 Gulden has been received and receipt given, one part will be paid on Eastern 1732 and the last on Eastern 1733, undersigned: Abraham Dreyffus Jew in Fort Louis, X Michel Zettwoch, Eggs witness, Schäßter provost, Wolff notary.</p>
1730	Abraham	Fort Louis	<p>Jacob Wendterich Inventory, 03 November 1730, 6E33/59</p> <p>Debt: To Abraham Jew in Fort Louis, loan of money: 70 Gulden</p>
1733	Abraham Dreyfus	Fort Louis	<p>Hans Irr Inventory, 05 August 1733, 6E33/59</p> <p>Debt: To Abraham Dreyfus Jew in Fort Louis. Because of inheritance of the 04 June 1732, a capital of 200 Gulden due.</p> <p>Debt: To the same one [Abraham Dreyfus] the interest on this capital.</p> <p>Debt: To the same [Abraham Dreyfus] for a cow: 18 Gulden.</p>
1734	Abraham Dreyfus	Fort Louis	<p>Niclaus Träher Inventory, 15 April 1734, 6E33/59</p> <p>Debt: To Abraham Dreyfus Jew in Fort Louis letter 27 November 1732 on loan of money in Capital: 60 R</p>
1743	Salomon Nathan	Fort Louis	<p>Lienhard Haberkorn Inventory, 14 March 1743, 6E33/60</p> <p>Debt: To Salomon Nathan Jew in Fort Louis, for cereals: 79 Gulden</p>
1743	Abraham Dreyfus	Fort Louis	<p>Thomas Schaeffer Cession, 17 October 1743, 6E33/88</p> <p>Came here Thomas Schaeffter burgher in Soufflenheim assisted by Jacob Schaeffter also burgher there, on one side, and Abraham Dreyfus Jew of Fort Louis, concerning a sum of money loaned on the 12 October 1742, and the named Thomas Schaeffter has not paid the remaining three hundred forty-one florins, and has been condemned to do so by the justice court of Hagenau on the total capital of seven hundred fifty florins.</p>
1746	Schmeyer	Fort Louis	<p>Catharina Huss Inventory, 18 June 1746, 6E33/60</p> <p>Debt: To Schmeyer Jew in Fort Louis: 36 Gulden sale of a cow</p>
1747	Dreyfus	Fort Louis	<p>Jacob Haasser Inventory, 23 February 1747, 6E33/61</p> <p>Debt: To Dreyfus Jew x in Fort Louis: 280 Gulden and interests</p>
1747	Salomon Becker	Fort Louis	<p>Margaretha Jäck Inventory, 06 June 1747, 6E33/61</p> <p>Debt: To Salomon Becker, Jew in Fort Louis for leather: 207 Gulden</p>

1747	Abraham Dreyfus	Fort Louis	Maria Träher Inventory, 15 November 1747, 6E33/61 Debt: To Abraham Dreyfus Jew there [Fort Louis] for loan of money: 18 R
1747	Schayen	Fort Louis	Maria Träher Inventory, 15 November 1747, 6E33/61 Debt: To Schayen Jew in Fort Louis for 1 fiertel corn estimated: 6 R
1720	Barach Marcholi	Gunstett	Barach Marcholi Inventory 27 May 1720 Haguenau 6E16/195 Gunstett Inventory Index Deceased Barach Marcholi, former protected resident in Gunstett. He died on 11 March 1720. 1) Rebecca, his wife, represented by Liebmann Levi, Jew of Winckhershein. Schiele Bäss, Jew in Haguenau. Malgen. Rössel. Other details transcribed in inventory.
1720	Rebecca	Gunstett	Barach Marcholi Inventory 27 May 1720 Haguenau 6E16/195 Gunstett Inventory Index Deceased Barach Marcholi, former protected resident in Gunstett. He died on 11 March 1720. 1) Rebecca his wife, represented by Liebmann Levi, Jew of Winckhershein, Schiele Bäss, Jew in Haguenau. Malgen. Rössel. Other details transcribed in inventory.
1668	Lösser	Haguenau	1668 Soufflenheim Town Account Expense: To the Jew Lösser in Haguenau for exchange of 10 thaler money: 3 s 4 d
1699	Not Given	Haguenau	Lorentz Cron Inventory, 04 December 1699, 6E16/269 Debt: To the Jew in Haguenau loan of money: 16 G
1704	Meyer	Haguenau	Ottilia Stöckhellreÿsser Inventory, 22 April 1704, 6E33/58 Debt: To Meyer Jew in Haguenau for a horse: 60 Gulden
1707	Aron	Haguenau	Maria Sigler [Sigel] Inventory, 29 July 1707, 6E33/58 Debt: To Aron, Jew of Haguenau: 7 G 5 s
1707	Schieli	Haguenau	Maria Sigler Inventory, 29 July 1707, 6E33/58 Debt: To Schieli, Jew of Haguenau: 6 G
1707	Aron	Haguenau	Hans Peter Stiffelmeyer Inventory, 03 August 1707, 6E33/58 Debt: To Aron the Jew in Haguenau: 6 Gulden
1714	Schilen	Haguenau	Jacob Herckell Inventory, 16 October 1714, 6E33/58

			Debt: To Schilen Jud in Haguenau, remainder on a letter of loan of money: 25 Gulden
1724	Seligman Abraham	Haguenau	Paul Mosser Inventory, 04 April 1724, 6E33/58 Debt: To a Jew in Haguenau Seligman Abraham: 20 Gulden
1724	Seeligmann Jud	Haguenau	Paul Mosser Inventory, 04 April 1724, 6E33/58 Debt: To Seeligmann Jud in Haguenau: 18 Gulden
1727	Reims	Haguenau	Andres Thomas Debt, 23 September 1727, 6E16/131 An extract is joined dated 28 September 1727 where Reims, Jew in Haguenau, asks complete payment of this debt contracted by Anna Maria Reiffsteck; decision is given.
1728	David Reins	Haguenau	Michel Kilck Debt, 23 September 1728, 6E16/131 Obligation for 80 Gulden. In front of the notary appeared Michel Kilck, burgher in Soufflenheim, declared that he contracted an obligation in money towards David Reins, Jew here in Haguenau, of 80 Gulden in money so that he is now debtor of the sum that Anna Maria Leiber widow of deceased Martin Reiffsteck, former burgher in Betschdorf, has engaged in on the 9 May 1725, confirmed by sentence passed 27 September 1727, and that he Michel Kilck promises to reimburse, setting general mortgage over his property, and first a house in Soufflenheim one side Paul Mosser's heirs, second side Lorentz Daul, pays 5 schillings yearly to the holy Community, except this in all free property. In presence of Joseph Eggs, Andreas Lantz, in Haguenau. Signed: X Michel Kilck, X Anna Maria Leiber, David Reins, Lanz Eggs witnesses, Wolff royal notary.
1730	Hirzel Macholin	Haguenau	Lorentz Widhammer Inventory, 03 November 1730, 6E33/59 Debt: To Hirzel Macholin Jew son in Haguenau 6 Gulden
1732	Hans Rein	Haguenau	Michel Wagner Debt, 30 June 1732, 6E16/121 Receipt given to Hans Rein, Jew in Haguenau, by Michel Wagner burgher in Soufflenheim and Barbara Wolff his wife.
1734	David Rein	Haguenau	Anton Götz Debt, 15 December 1734, 6E16/121 Soufflenheim. Receipt of 24 Gulden. Compares in front of the undersigned notary David Reins Jew in Haguenau declared that he received from the hands of Anthoni Götz burgher in Soufflenheim a sum of 24 Gulden and that he gives here receipt of this to him; record passed in Haguenau the 15th December in year 1734. [Date also translated as 13 Dec 1731]
1734	Jacob	Haguenau	Niclaus Träher Inventory, 15 April 1734, 6E33/59 Debt: To Jacob Jew there for a horse: 15 R

1734	Samuel	Haguenau	Niclaus Träher Inventory, 15 April 1734, 6E33/59 Debt: To Samuel Jew in Haguenau: 10 R 5 s Wheat: 1 measure
1734	Seligman	Haguenau	Niclaus Träher Inventory, 15 April 1734, 6E33/59 Debt: To Seligman Jew in Haguenau for three billets: 18 November 1732, 03 March, and 02 December 1733: 151 R, and for corn, 2 measures of oat: 3 s
1737	Seligmann Feissel	Haguenau	Joseph Irr Debt, 04 May 1737, 6E16/122 Obligation of 164 Gulden of Joseph Irr, burgher in Soufflenheim, and of his deceased father Hans Irr before him towards Seligmann Feissel, Jew in Haguenau as from earlier documents dated 23 November 1736, 21 July 1732 and 2nd March 1731.
1738	Not Given	Haguenau	Maria Irr Inventory, 08 July 1738, 6E33/59 Debt: To a Jew in Haguenau: 15 G
1746	Leyser	Haguenau	Dorothea Köhlhoffner Inventory, 10 February 1746, 6E33/60 Debt: To Leyser Jew in Haguenau
1746	Lazarus Seeligmann	Haguenau	Martin Mahler Inventory, 16 June 1746, 6E33/60 Debt: To Lazarus Seeligmann Jew in Haguenau of money: 12 January 1740: 50 Gulden. More to the same: 15 Gulden 8 schillings 6 d. And in 1742: 34 Gulden. And 31 December 1745: 12 Gulden plus interests.
1747	Aron	Haguenau	Maria Träher Inventory, 15 November 1747, 6E33/61 Debt: To Aron Jew in Haguenau for one fiertel corn estimated interest on 20 R: 4 R
1747	Aron Moog	Haguenau	Maria Träher Inventory, 15 November 1747, 6E33/61 Debt: To Aron Moog Jew in Haguenau for loan of money: 20 R
1750	Leyser	Haguenau	Hans Georg Bildstein Inventory, 12 May 1750, 6E33/61 Debt: To Leyser Jew in Haguenau: 7 Gulden
1751	Leyser	Haguenau	Catharina Albrecht Inventory, 16 October 1751, 6E33/61 Debt: Due to Leyser Jew in Haguenau in money: 1 Gulden 5 schillings Debt: To the same for sale of a cow: 4 Gulden 1 schilling 8 d
1752	Leyser	Haguenau	Lorentz Mosser Inventory, 25 September 1752, 6E33/61

			Debt: Due to Leyser Jew in Haguenau for sale of horse: 21 Gulden
1759	Leyser	Haguenau	Andres Vögele Inventory, 25 April 1759, 6E33/62 Debt: Due to Leyser Jew in Haguenau: 14 Gulden
1759	Leyser	Haguenau	Magdalena Vögele Inventory, 04 April 1759, 6E33/62 Debt: To Leyser Jew in Haguenau: 50 Gulden loan of money
1759	Hirtzel	Haguenau	Magdalena Vögele Inventory, 04 April 1759, 6E33/62 Debt: To Hirtzel Jew [Haguenau?]: 70 Gulden
1760	Leyser	Haguenau	Bartholome Mey Inventory, 15 January 1760, 6E33/62 Debt: To Leyser Jew in Haguenau: 60 Gulden due from 1758 loan
1760	Jacob Hirsch	Haguenau	Bartholome Mey Inventory, 15 January 1760, 6E33/62 Debt: To Jacob Hirsch Jew in Haguenau loan of money: 13 Gulden
1762	Hirzel	Haguenau	Salome Metzler Inventory, 19 January 1762, 6E33/63 Debt: To Hirzel Jew in Haguenau: interest due: 5 g
1762	Leyser	Haguenau	Salome Metzler Inventory, 19 January 1762, 6E33/63 Debt: To Leyser Jew in Haguenau: handwritten loan: 10 g
1762	Leyser	Haguenau	Jacob Müller Inventory, 19 February 1762, 6E33/63 Debt: To Leyser Jew in Haguenau for capital and interests: 35 Gulden
1763	Leyser	Haguenau	Frantz Nuber Inventory, 27 September 1763, 6E33/64 Debt: Towards Leyser Jew in Haguenau for loan of money: 12 Gulden
1763	Hirzel	Haguenau	Carl Daul Inventory, 11 October 1763, 6E33/64 Debt: To Hirzel Jew in Haguenau for loan of money: 30 Gulden Debt: To Hirzel Jew in Haguenau: 33 Gulden
1764	Auschel	Haguenau	Ursula Kelhoffner Inventory, 01 December 1764, 6E33/64 Debt: To Auschel Jew in Haguenau: 12 Gulden
1765	Not Given	Haguenau	Dominique Meyer Inventory, 28 September 1765, 6E33/64

			Debt: To one Jew in Haguenau: 13 Gulden loan of money
1765	Aaron Gintzler	Haguenau	Joseph Daul Inventory, 28 September 1765, Roeschwoog 6E33/64 Debt: To Aaron Gintzler Jew in Haguenau: 35 Gulden, in money contracted the 28 December 1764
1766	Aaron Abraham	Haguenau	Magdalena Ambos Inventory, 14 May 1766, 6E33/64 Debt: To Aaron Abraham Jew in Haguenau: 17 Gulden
1773	David Braunschweig	Haguenau	Catharina Daul Inventory, 19 July 1773, 6E33/65 Debt: To David Braunschweig Jew in Haguenau: 13 Gulden
1779	Koschel Moyses	Haguenau	Anna Maria Jäck Inventory, 01 August 1779, 6E33/67 Debt: To Koschel Moyses Jew and merchant in Haguenau. Money: 60 Gulden
1782	Benjamin Bernheim	Haguenau	Marie Elisabeth Matter Inventory, 24 January 1782, 6E33/67 Debt: Towards Benjamin Bernheim Jew in Haguenau. In capital: 240 Gulden. Interest for 4 years: 48 Gulden
1783	Zadoch Moch	Haguenau	Valentin Eisenkirch Inventory, 22 February 1783, 6E33/67 Debt: To Zadoch Moch in Haguenau for loan of money: 66 G. Same to other Jews here: 36 G.
1783	Joseph	Haguenau	Eva Moser Inventory, 09 May 1783, 6E33/67 Debt: Towards Joseph Jew in Haguenau: Capital 93 Gulden. Interest 4 Gulden 6 schillings 6 pfennings.
1785	Benjamin Bernheim	Haguenau	Thomas Papinger Inventory, 12 January 1785, 6E33/68 Debt: Towards Benjamin Bernheim [Haguenau]. Obligation dating back to 21 October 1779: 128 Gulden
1787	Koschel Moses	Haguenau	Anna Gutmann Inventory, 25 May 1787, 6E33/68 Debt: To Koschel Moses merchant Jew in Haguenau. In capital: 200 Gulden
1788	Nathan Moyses	Haguenau	Michel Burge, 13 June 1788, Roeschwoog 6E33/69 Debt: To Nathan Moyses merchant in Haguenau for loan of money: 50 Gulden
1788	Nathan Moses	Haguenau	Agathe Studer, 31 October 1788, Roeschwoog 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Nathan Moses Jew in Haguenau loan of money : 24 Gulden

1790	Benjamin Bernheim	Haguenau	Joseph Lehman, 30 April 1790, Roeschwoog 6E33/69 Debt: To Benjamin Bernheim Jew in Haguenau: 60 G. Interest: 24 G 4 s
1735	Seligmann	Haguenau (?)	Soufflenheim, une cite: Chapter 4: Anxiousness and Military Concerns In 1735, Seligmann the Jew pays 300 florins in the account of repartition of fodder due by Soufflenheim.
1682	Losser	Mommenheim	Simon Schwartz Inventory 15 December 1682 Haguenau 6E16/269 One house in the village of Mommenheim, with barn farming place, house and dependences, near the "Lauben" one side Diebolt Breÿssler's heirs, second for part Lorentz Oster, and the common property, behind Hans Winkel's share, and for part Löscher, Jew, in front the common street, down on the place: 30 Gulden.
1787	Meyen Meyer	Niederroedern	Michel Burkard Inventory 23 February 1787 Roeschwoog 6E33/68 Debt: Towards Meyen Meyer Jew in Niederroedern. In money: 100 Gulden.
1687	Jackhel	Rountzenheim	Joseph Burckhardt Inventory 02 November 1687 Haguenau 6E16/269 Debt: To Jackhel Jew in Rountzenheim: 24G
1734	Hitzell	Rountzenheim	Niclaus Träher Inventory 15 April 1734 Roeschwoog 6E33/59 Debt: To Hitzell Jew in Rountzenheim
1736	Hirzel	Rountzenheim	Anna Maria Zwinger Inventory 29 March 1736 Roeschwoog 6E33/59 Debt: To Hirzel Jew in Rountzenheim: 23 Gulden
1747	Hirzel Half	Rountzenheim	Jacob Haasser Inventory 23 February 1747 Roeschwoog 6E33/61 Debt: To Hirzel Half Jew in Rountzenheim loan of money: ?
1789	Aron	Schirhein	Johann Georg Zinck, 20 February 1789, Roeschwoog 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Aron merchant Jew in Schirhein: 3 Gulden
1801	Jacques Leiser	Schirhoffen	Laurent Kieffer Senior Obligation, 08 February 1801, 7E44/18

			Obligation in Soufflenheim for 160 francs. Laurent Kieffer Senior husband of Marguerite Renck, towards Jacques Leiser, merchant in Schirhoffen. Sale of cereals the 28 Pluiose year 9 by Antoine Renck, guardian of Barbe Kieffer.
1741	Salomon	Schirrhein	Maria Bruckher Inventory, 17 January 1741, 6E33/60 Debt: To Salomon Jew in Schirrhein: 24 Gulden loan of money
1758	Götschel	Schirrhein	Joseph Haass Inventory, 19 April 1758, 6E33/62 Debt: Due to Götschel Jew in Schirrhein a capital of: 87 Gulden
1762	Borach	Schirrhein	Salome Metzler Inventory, 19 January 1762, 6E33/63 Debt: To Borach Jew in Schirrhein: for loan of money: 23 g 5 s
1762	Götschel	Schirrhein	Salome Metzler Inventory, 19 January 1762, 6E33/63 Debt: To Götschel Jew in Schirrhein for handwritten loan: 107 g 5 s
1763	Gotschel	Schirrhein	Anton Pfanner Inventory, 29 March 1763, 6E33/64 Debt: Towards Goetschel, Jew in Schirrhein: 50 Gulden. Interest: 6 Gulden
1763	Borach	Schirrhein	Anton Pfanner Inventory, 29 March 1763, 6E33/64 Debt: To Borach Jew [Schirrh?]: 13 Gulden 5 schillings
1763	Borach	Schirrhein	Carl Daul Inventory, 11 October 1763, 6E33/64 Debt: To Borach Jew in Schirrhein for loan of money: 30 Gulden
1766	Goetschel	Schirrhein	Magdalena Ambos Inventory, 14 May 1766, 6E33/64 Debt: To Goetschel Jew in Schirrhein: 4 Gulden
1766	Gombert	Schirrhein	Barbara Stäblerin Inventory, 06 February 1766, 6E33/64 Debt: To Gombert Jew in Schirrhein for a horse: 10 R
1766	Göschel	Schirrhein	Barbara Stäblerin Inventory, 06 February 1766, 6E33/64 Debt: To Göschel Jew in Schirrhein according to inventory of Salome Metzler in year 1762 15 January: 107 R 5
1787	Koschel Weyl	Schirrhein	Anton Studer Inventory, 09 February 1787, 6E33/68 Debt: Towards Koschel Weyl Jew in Schirrhein. No amount named.

1745	Cain	Schirrhoffen	Maria Stiffelmeyer Inventory, 23 April 1745, 6E33/60 Debt: To Cain Jew in Schirrhoffen, loan in money of: 50 Gulden
1760	Baruch	Schirrhoffen	Bartholome Mey Inventory, 15 January 1760, 6E33/62 Debt: To Baruch Jew in Schirrhoffen, loan of money due also white flour: 27 G
1760	Goetschel Welsch	Schirrhoffen	Peter Brumbach Inventory, 26 June 1760, 6E33/62 Debt: To Goetschel Welsch as guardian of Kaufmanns Jew in Schirrhoffen his heirs: 19 Gulden money
1760	Kaufmanns	Schirrhoffen	Peter Brumbach Inventory, 26 June 1760, 6E33/62 Debt: To Goetschel Welsch as guardian of Kaufmanns Jew in Schirrhoffen his heirs: 19 Gulden money
1761	Borach	Schirrhoffen	Anna Maria Wagner Inventory, 18 April 1761, 6E33/63 Debt: Towards Borach, Jew in Schirrhofen for a sale of horse rest: 6 Gulden
1762	Borach	Schirrhoffen	Niclaus Nuber Inventory, 19 January 1762, 6E33/63 Debt: Towards Borach Jew in Schirrhofen loan of money: 512 Gulden
1762	Goetschel	Schirrhoffen	Anton Kuhmann Inventory, 1762 17 February, 6E33/63 Debt: To Goetschel Jew in Schirrhoffen for loan of money: 5 Gulden 5 s
1762	Borach	Schirrhoffen	Jacob Hassler Inventory, 12 May 1762, 6E33/63 Debt: To Borach Jew in Schirrhofen: 19 Gulden
1764	Borach	Schirrhoffen	Ursula Kelhoffner Inventory, 01 December 1764, 6E33/64 Debt: To Borach Weyl Jew in Schirrhofen for money: 18 Gulden
1768	Borich	Schirrhoffen	Maria Magdalena Brotschy Inventory, 09 September 1768, 6E33/64 To Borich the Jew in Schirrhoffen for a sold calf left: 1 G 5 s
1772	Abele	Schirrhoffen	Joseph Harter Inventory, 17 March 1772, 6E33/65 Debt: To Abele Jew in Schirrhoffen: 6 Gulden
1773	Borach Weil	Schirrhoffen	Catharina Daul Inventory, 19 July 1773, 6E33/65 Debt: To Borach Weil Jew in Schirrhoffen: 33 Gulden

1774	Koschel	Schirrhoffen	Maria Ursula Vögele Inventory, 11 January 1774, 6E33/65 Debt: To Koschel Jew in Schirrhofen: 20 Gulden in money.
1782	Löwel Abraham	Schirrhoffen	Francisca Geiler Inventory, 28 October 1782, 6E33/67 Debt: To Löwel Abraham Jew in Schirrhoffen. In money on capital of: 42 G
1784	Lowel Abraham	Schirrhoffen	Michel Buchmuller Inventory, 27 May 1784, 6E33/68 Debt: Towards Lowel Abraham Jew in Schirrhoffen. Money: 12 Gulden capital. Interest: 1 Gulden
1788	Leibel Abraham	Schirrhoffen	Joseph Lengert, 28 October 1788, 6E33/69 Debt: To Leibel Abraham Jew in Schirrhoffen, loan of money, interest: 6 G 3 s
1788	Aaron	Schirrhoffen	Agathe Studer, 31 October 1788, 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Aaron Jew in Schirhofen: 2 Gulden 2 s
1789	Aron	Schirrhoffen	Johann Georg Zinck, 20 February 1789, 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Aron Jew in Schirhofen: 8 schilling
1789	Götschel	Schirrhoffen	Johann Georg Zinck, 20 February 1789, 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Götschel Weyl Jew in Schirhofen: 16 Gulden 5 s
1789	Sussel	Schirrhoffen	Johann Georg Zinck, 20 February 1789, 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Sussel Jew in Schirhofen: 6 Gulden
1789	Leyser	Schirrhoffen	Johann Georg Zinck, 20 February 1789, 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Leyser Jew in Schirhofen: 2 Gulden 5 schillings
1790	Aron	Schirrhoffen	Margaretha Lehmann, 30 April 1790, 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Aron Jew in Schirhofen: 5 Gulden
1793	Koschel	Schirrhoffen	Hans Michel Papinger, 13 January 1793, 6E33/69 Debt: Towards the Jew in Schirhofen for supplies: 7 Gulden 4 s 3 d Debt: Towards Koschel Jew (rest) for sale of a cow: 9 Gulden
1678	Josell	Soufflenheim	Church account income pfenning zins tax from Josell Jew before him Hans Götz on a house : 5 s

1681	Löbel	Soufflenheim	<p>Odilia [Wife of Lorentz Schäffter] Inventory 15 April 1681 Haguenau 6E16/269</p> <p>Debt: To Löbel the Jew who has furnished 2 1/2 sester of salt: 3 R 5 s</p>
1681	Not Given	Soufflenheim	<p>Odilia [Wife of Lorentz Schäffter] Inventory 15 April 1681 Haguenau 6E16/269</p> <p>Debt: The garden still owes to the Jew who has made a loan of money to buy dresses to the daughter: 6 R</p>
1682	Götschel	Soufflenheim	<p>Simon Schwartz Inventory 15 December 1682 Haguenau 6E16/269</p> <p>Debt: To Götschel, Jew in Soufflenheim: 1 G 5 s</p>
1682	Hirtzel	Soufflenheim	<p>Simon Schwartz Inventory 15 December 1682 Haguenau 6E16/269</p> <p>Debt: To Hirtzel, Jew in Soufflenheim: 3 G 3</p>
1685	Jösel	Soufflenheim	<p>Jacob Walter & Margaretha Sale 25 September 1685 Haguenau 6E16/311</p> <p>Sale for 40 Gulden. Jacob Walter, burgher here in Soufflenheim and Margaretha his wife, sale to Josel, Jew here in Soufflenheim, and Jüdel his wife, of one small house in Soufflenheim one side near Philips Kieffer, second side Hans Siegel's heirs, down and in front the common property street, pays yearly 10 gulden capital to the church, except this in all free property.</p>
1691	Jösel	Soufflenheim	<p>Hans Thomen Inventory 01 August 1691 Haguenau 6E16/269</p> <p>Debt: Due to Josel Jew in Soufflenheim: 12 Gulden</p>
1691	Not Given	Soufflenheim	<p>Friedrich Kalckbrenner Inventory 17 March 1691 Haguenau 6E16/269</p> <p>Debt: To the Jew here: 1 Gulden 4 s</p>
1691	Jösel	Soufflenheim	<p>Hans Ertz Inventory 29 October 1691 Haguenau 6E16/269</p> <p>Debt: Due to Jösel, Jew here, for a sold cow: 22 1/2 G</p>
1693	Jösel	Soufflenheim	<p>Hans Friedrich Beller Debt 16 June 1693 Haguenau 6E16/59</p> <p>Appeared in front of us royal notary Hans Friederich Beller burgher in Soufflenheim declared that he became indebted for a pair of oxen of a sum of 45 Gulden to Jäckhel, Jew in Fort Louis and Josell Jew in Soufflenheim, promises to repay this sum next Christmas 1693, which has been agreed by</p>

			the present persons and witnesses Johann Albrecht Alberthal and Johann Paul Wolff, undersigned 16 June 1693. Signed: Bernauer, notary.
1693	Jösel	Soufflenheim	Andreas Goetz Inventory 08 February 1693 Roeschwoog 6E16/269 Debt: To Jösel, Jew here: 1 G 5 s
1694	Jösel	Soufflenheim	Soufflenheim, une cite Chapter 3: Communal Accounts In 1694 the commune pays to Jösel, the Jew, 24 florins and 5 sous interest.
1699	Josel	Soufflenheim	Michel Thoma Inventory 01 December 1699 Hagenau 6E16/269 Debt: To the Jew Josel: 8 G
1699	Josel	Soufflenheim	Catharina Rothgerber Inventory 02 December 1699 Hagenau 6E16/269 Debt: To Josel the Jew: 12 G
1701	Joseph	Soufflenheim	Hans Jacob Kieffer Inventory 15 June 1701 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Debt: To Joseph the Jew: 2 G 8 s
1701	Josell	Soufflenheim	Wendling Götz Inventory 16 June 1701 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Debt: To Josell the Jew here: 2 Gulden 5 s 9 d. Debt: To the same one [Josell the Jew here]: 9 s
1704	Joseph	Soufflenheim	Ottilia Stöckhellreÿsser Inventory 22 April 1704 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Debt: To Joseph Jew here: 57 Gulden
1707	Jösel	Soufflenheim	Maria Sigler Inventory 29 July 1707 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 One house with yard and dependence in the village of Soufflenheim, first and second side the common street, in front the road, on the back Jösel the Jew, has been estimated: 100 Gulden. NB: The present house and dependencies has been given on auction to the widower [Mathis Kieffer] and his present wife, Maria Irr.
1707	Joseph	Soufflenheim	Hans Philipps Kieffer Inventory 13 January 1707 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 One house, yard, and dependences, one side and the other the common land of Soufflenheim, on the Common street, near Joseph the Jew, and behind the

			common land, estimated only in the construction, as the widow owns the piece of land and soil.
1711	Hirtzel	Soufflenheim	Hans Jacob Becker Inventory 03 May 1711 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Debt: Due to Hirtzel the Jew: 1G 6 d
1711	Joseph	Soufflenheim	Hans Jacob Becker Inventory 03 May 1711 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Debt: By Joseph the Jew: 6 G 5 s. Has been asked for payment.
1711	Schiehler	Soufflenheim	Hans Jacob Becker Inventory 03 May 1711 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 District near Geissmatten, Properties Upper Part of Bartel Georg, and down Martz Untz: One and 1/2 viertzel and a third viertzel, one side Catharina daughter, second side Georg Irren's heirs, upper part is Schiehler, Jew here, down is an ending. Page 148 of land record. To Mathis.
1724	Hirtzel	Soufflenheim	Barbara Kieffer & Hans Georg Mettweg Inventory 05 April 1724 Roeschwoog 6E33/58 Fields: District Im Gefäll, Section Unten Uff Den Betschdorfer Weeg (On the Path to Betschdorf): 1 acre 2 1/2 field and 4 feet. One side is Hirtzel, Jew, the other side the forest, above is Hans Seyler, down is the forest. To Antoni and Otillia.
1729	Hirtzel, Heirs	Soufflenheim	Hans Georg Fridmann 20 May 1729 Haguenu 6E16/119 Sale for 32 Gulden. Appeared Hans Georg Fridmann and Dominic Harter, both in Soufflenheim declare that they sold for themselves and their heirs to Hans Georg Bildstein burgher and shoe mender there, one small garden containing one half viertzel and 11 ruethen, 12 shoes, one side the common property, in front Hirtzel Jew his heirs in all free property for 32 Gulden, value of Strasbourg, paid in liquidity, receipt given, in presence of the undersigned. Signed: Dominic Harter, X Hans Georg Bildstein, Jacob Scheffter provost, Eggs witness, Wolff notary.
1738	Martin	Soufflenheim	Maria Irr Inventory 08 July 1738 Roeschwoog 6E33/59 Debt: To Martin, Jew here: 1 G
1739	Seligmann	Soufflenheim	Hans Pfefferkorn Inventory 06 March 1739 Roeschwoog 6E33/59 Debt: To Seligmann and Leyser, Jews here for rest of oxen sold: 46 Gulden
1746	Salomon	Soufflenheim	Anna Maria Gut Inventory 03 February 1746 Roeschwoog 6E33/60

			Debt: To Salomon Jew here for sale of a horse: 56 Gulden
1750	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Adam Müller Inventory 13 May 1750 Roeschwoog 6E33/61 Debt: To Leyser Jew here. Loan of money: 18 Gulden 7 schilling 6 d. Plus: 3 Gulden. Plus: 13 Gulden. Plus, for a calf: 7 Gulden. Plus: 12 Gulden and two years interests.
1750	Feistle	Soufflenheim	Feistle Soufflenheim Deposition 02 June 1750 Roeschwoog Notary Index 6E33 184/1 A-M [Feistle Halff?] Index double checked: date correct, number 39 in bundle 6E33/94. Not found in bundle. The entire bundle was checked in case the day or month is wrong and nothing was found. When searching for Feistle in bundle 6E33/94, the following record was found: One widow Feyle in Hatten on the 6th of June?
1751	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Maria Anna Wendrich Inventory, 15 February 1751 Roeschwoog 6E33/61 Debt: Due to Leyser Jew here for sale of cow and of iron: 21 Gulden
1751	Martin	Soufflenheim	Maria Salchner Inventory 27 May 1751 Roeschwoog 6E33/61 Debt: To Martin Jew, loan of money [Soufflenheim?]: 4 Gulden
1753	Hirtz, Heirs	Soufflenheim	1753 Church Account Received as Pfenning Zins Land Tax from Hirtz Jew's heirs and Christian Elchinger before him Simon Mössner on their farm house, each for a half : 7 s 6 d
1757	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Ursula Rinck Inventory 02 September 1757 Roeschwoog 6E33/62 Debt: Due to Leyser Jew here: 6 Gulden
1757	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Michel Mäy Inventory 02 September 1757 Roeschwoog 6E33/62 Debt: Due to Leyser Jew here for sale of iron: 1 Gulden 7 schillings 6 d
1757	Leyser Schmuhlen	Soufflenheim	Jacob Daul Inventory 13 August 1757 Roeschwoog 6E33/62 Debt: Due to Leyser Schmuhlen Jew here for sale of iron and nails: 4 G 8 s
1758	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Hans Georg Götz Inventory 13 April 1758 Roeschwoog 6E33/62

			Debt: Due to Leyser Jew here for two loans of money a total of: 28 G 5 s
1758	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Ottilia Traher Inventory 15 April 1758 Roeschwoog 6E33/62 Debt: Due to Leyser Jew here in money: 24 Gulden
1758	Martin	Soufflenheim	Joseph Wilhelm Inventory 21 April 1758 Roeschwoog 6E33/62 Debt: To Martin, Jew of this place, for loan of money: 6 R
1760	Leyser Schmuhlen	Soufflenheim	Peter Brumbach Inventory 26 June 1760 Roeschwoog 6E33/62 Debt: To Leyser Schmuhlen owner of Feissel Halff loan of money. Written 21 January 1759: 9 Gulden. Interest: 1 Gulden 5 s. Plus, two measures of white flour: 1 Gulden 9 s.
1761	Feissel	Soufflenheim	Anna Maria Wagner Inventory 18 April 1761 Roeschwoog 6E33/63 Debt: Towards Feissel Jew here: 7 Gulden
1761	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Joseph Halter Inventory 16 September 1761 Roeschwoog 6E33/63 Debt: Towards Leyser Jew here loan of money: 1 Gulden 5 schillings
1762	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Hans Zinger Inventory 18 January 1762 Roeschwoog 6E33/63 Debt: To Leyser Jew here for capital and interests: 24 Gulden
1762	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Salome Metzler Inventory 19 January 1762 Roeschwoog 6E33/63 Debt: To Leyser, Jew here, for corn: 3 g
1762	Martin	Soufflenheim	Salome Metzler Inventory 19 January 1762 Roeschwoog 6E33/63 Debt: To Martin, Jew here, for a pair of oxen he has sold him and still promised to pay: 18 g
1762	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Jacob Hassler Inventory 12 May 1762 Roeschwoog 6E33/63 Debt: To Leyser Jew here for loan of money: 2 Gulden 1 schilling

1763	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Anton Pfanner Inventory, 29 March 1763 Roeschwoog 6E33/64 Debt: To Leyser Jew here: 6 Gulden
1770	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Anna Maria Billy Inventory 28 September 1770 Roeschwoog 6E33/65 Debt: To Leyser Jew in Soufflenheim: 3 Gulden in money
1774	Feissel Half	Soufflenheim	Philipp Kieffer & Anna Maria Hummel Marriage Contract 27 January 1774 Hagenau 6E16/76 In name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Be known to everybody that in front of the royal notary appeared today in Soufflenheim the honorable Philipp Kieffer widower of deceased Maria Anna Heusler, as husband, and the honorable young maid Anna Maria Hummel daughter of honorable Anton Hummel burgher here and of Barbara Messner his deceased wife, assisted by Joseph Messner burgher and scribe here, and have decided of the following marriage contract in presence and consent of the present to this: First, the couple intends to have an official ceremony of marriage here, in the catholic church. Second, as to what concerns a house here in Soufflenheim, on the road to Hagenau, one side Bernhard Essen, the other side Antoni Jäckh junior, up the road to Hagenau and down Feissel Half Jew and for part Anton Jäck, it will be inherited by the husband at time of death of the wife for the estimate ; in case the husband dies before the wife, the same house goes to the wife for the estimate. On the same house the bride will have a right before inheritance of a personal sum of 160 Gulden. Third the father of bride gives her into the union a young bull and a cow, also 22 Gulden. Fourth, what both during their union will earn by good economy will be declared common and shared as usual between them as two shares for the husband and one for the bride. Passed in Soufflenheim and undersigned 27th January 1774. Signed: Philipp Kieffer, X Anna Maria Hummel, X Antoni Hummel, X Joseph Messner, Joseph Messner, Jacob Mössner, Antoni Messner, Johannes Mockers witness, Kieffer provost.
1779	Simon Sallmann	Soufflenheim	Joseph Köhlhoffner & Margaretha Roth Marriage Contract 06 November 1779 Roeschwoog 6E33/115 Joseph Kehlhoffner, son of honorable Michel Kehlhoffner burgher and farmer here and of Maria Anna Sensenbrenner his wife, and Margaretha Roth, daughter of Johannes Roth burgher and shoe mender here and of Veronica Meder his wife. The husband brings to his bride the half of his house in Soufflenheim and that the second half will go to her for the estimate after his death, so for an amount of hundred gulden. This house in Soufflenheim is in der Götz Eck named, one side Frantz Hecht, other side the common street, up is Dominic Götz, down Simon Sallmann. In case the bride would die before her husband, the half of the house would be given to the husband for the estimate of one hundred gulden. In Soufflenheim the 6th November in year 1779. Signed: X Joseph Kehlhoffner, X Margaretha Roth, Michel Kehlhofer, X Maria Anna Sensenbrenner, Johannes Roth, X Veronica Meter, Jacob Daul, Johannes Mockers, Kieffer, provost.
1782	Leiser	Soufflenheim	1782 Church Account, Income on Pfennig Zins Tax

			Same paid Johann Georg Stattner before him Jacob Bruder on his farming place one side Leiser, Jew, and for part Frantz Eck, other side near Anton Stucker as on page 269a: 7 s
1784	Feissel [Halff]	Soufflenheim	Andre Eisen & Maria Anna Schwartz Marriage Contract 23 January 1784 Roeschwoog 6E33/122 House: One side Philipp Kieffer, other side: Michel Vögele. [Front] on the road to Haguenau, behind Feissel, Jew.
1790	Leyser	Soufflenheim	Elisabeth Meyer 15 May 1790 Roeschwoog 6E33/69 Debt: Towards Leyser Jew in Soufflenheim for meat: 1 Gulden 3 s 9 d
1696	Not Given	Soufflenheim (?)	Hans Leffler Inventory 10 February 1696 Haguenau 6E16/269 Debt: To the Jew: 2 s
1762	Nachmann	Surbourg	Salome Metzler Inventory 19 January 1762 Roeschwoog 6E33/63 Debt: To Nachmann Jew in Surbourg for a pair of oxen he sold for him: 144 g
1766	Männel	Surbourg	Barbara Stäblerin Inventory 06 February 1766 Roeschwoog 6E33/64 Debt: One pair of oxen estimated 60 R left to the widower for this amount and paid only partly to Männel, Jew in Surbourg, so that one part of the amount is paid 33 R and the rest to pay is now: 27 R
1720	Liebmann Levi	Winckhershein	Barach Marcholi Inventory (Gunstett) 27 May 1720 Haguenau 6E16/195 Inventory Index Deceased Barach Marcholi, former protected resident in Gunstett. He died on 11 March 1720. Rebecca his wife, represented by Liebmann Levi, Jew of Winckhershein. Schiele Bäss, Jew in Haguenau. Malgen. Rössel. Other details transcribed in inventory.
1707	Jewish Community	Wittersheim	Diebold Kieffer Tax 11 February 1707 Haguenau 6E16/17 Wittersheim: Taxes paid by the Jewish community there in presence of the mayor of the place and several members of the community; among them: Diebold Kieffer signs.
1789	Koschel Moyses	Ziegelhof, the	Maria Anna Sensenbrenner 15 July 1789 Roeschwoog 6E33/69 Debt: To Koschel Moyses Jew of the Ziegelhof, for loan of money: 20 gulden

JÖSEL & JÜDELL

Josell is the most commonly mentioned Jew in Soufflenheim in the 1600s and the first mentioned by name. In 1678 he paid a church tax of 5 s on a house, previously paid by Hans Gotz. He is the first known Jew to own property. In 1685, Josell and his wife Jüdel purchased a small house for 40 gulden. Josel was still living in this location in 1707, 22 years later.

Josel and a Jew from Soufflenheim named Joseph could be related. Perhaps even the same person, as Josel is a variant of Joseph. Josell is mentioned from 1685-1707. Joseph from 1701-1711. Joseph's 1707 house is either in the same location as Josel's, adjacent, or nearby.

Records:

1678 Church Account Income: Received from Josell Jew before him Hans Götz on a house : 5 s

1685 Church Account Income: Received from Jesell Jew before him Hans Goltzen on his house : 8 s

Sale for 40 Gulden. Jacob Walter, burgher here in Soufflenheim and Margaretha his wife, sale to Jösel, Jew here in Soufflenheim, and Jüdel his wife, of one small house in Soufflenheim one side near Philips Kieffer, second side Hans Siegel's [Sigler] heirs, down and in front the common property street, pays yearly 10 gulden capital to the church, except this in all free property, record passed 25 September 1685. Sales Contract of Jacob Walter & Margaretha: 25 September 1685.

Debt: Due to Jösel, Jew here, for a sold cow: 22 ½ G. Inventory of Hans Ertz, 29 October 1691

Debt: To Josel Jew in Soufflenheim: 12 Gulden. Inventory of Hans Thomen, 01 August 1691

Debt: To Jössel, Jew here: 1 G 5 s. Inventory of Andreas Goetz, 18 February 1693

Appeared in front of us royal notary Hans Friederich Beller burgher in Soufflenheim declared that he became indebted for a pair of oxen of a sum of 45 Gulden to Jäckhel, Jew in Fort Louis and Josell Jew in Soufflenheim, promises to repay this sum next Christmas 1693, which has been agreed by the present persons and witnesses Johann Albrecht Alberthal and Johann Paul Wolff, undersigned 16 June 1693. Signed: Bernauer, notary. Debt of Hans Friedrich Beller: 16 June 1693.

In 1694 the commune pays to Josel, the Jew, 24 florins and 5 sous interest. Soufflenheim, une cite: The Communal Accounts, Page 66.

Debt: To the Jew Josel: 8 G. Inventory of Michel Thoma Inventory, 01 December 1699

Debt: To Josel the Jew: 12 G. Inventory of Catharina Rothgerber, 02 December 1699

Debt: To Josell the Jew here: 2 Gulden 5 s 9 d. Inventory of Wendling Götz, 16 June 1701

Debt: To the same one [Josell the Jew here]: 9 s. Inventory of Wendling Götz, 16 June 1701

One house with yard and dependence in the village of Soufflenheim, first and second side the common street, in front the road, on the back Josel the Jew. Inventory of Maria Sigler, 29 July 1707. The record was checked a second time. The description "Jösel the Jew" is correct.

LÖBEL

The second known Jew in Soufflenheim is Löbel. In 1681, he provided salt to Otilia, wife of innkeeper and former mayor Lorentz Schaeffer.

Records:

Debt to Löbel the Jew who has furnished 2 ½ sester of salt: 3 R 5 s. Debt to the Jew who has made a loan of money to buy dresses to the daughter: 6 R. Inventory of Otilia Schaeffer, 15 April 1681. The record was checked a second time. Löbel the Jew is correct.

[The record does not state that Löbel is from Soufflenheim. However, if a person is not from Soufflenheim, records typically provide the name of their community. There is no community given for Löbel, indicating he is likely from Soufflenheim. In this same record another Jew, not named, probably also from Soufflenheim, loaned 6 Gulden to Otilia Schaeffer to buy dresses for her daughter.]

GÖTSCHEL

Mentioned in 1682. Götschel is a diminutive of "Goetsch" mainly found in Alsace and the Vosges. It is short for "Gottschalk", of Germanic origin, often a Jewish/Ashkenazi name. Gott + Scalc = servant of God.

Records:

Debt to Götschel, Jew in Soufflenheim: 1 G 5 s. Inventory of Simon Schwartz, 15 December 1682. The record was checked a second time. Götschel, Jew in Soufflenheim, is correct.

HIRTZEL

Hirtzell is mentioned in 1682, 1711, and 1724. The heirs of a Jew named Hirtz paid a church land tax in 1753 on a house they shared with Christian Elchinger that was previously owned by Simon Mossner. Hirtzel has no surname and there are gaps in the records, so it is possible there was more than one Hirtzel in Soufflenheim. The 1724 land record was checked a second time. The descriptions "Hans Seyler" and "Hirtzel, Jew", are correct. Hirtzel's property bordered a field and was on or near the Judenweg, current Rue des Juifs. Jews were typically not allowed to own land other than for their house, so he probably lived in this location.

Records:

Debt to Hirtzel, Jew in Soufflenheim: 3 G 3. Inventory of Simon Schwartz, 15 December 1682.

Debt to Hirtzel the Jew: 1G 6 d. Inventory of Hans Jacob Becker, 03 May 1711. The record does not state that Hirtzel is from Soufflenheim. However, if a person is not from Soufflenheim, records typically provide the name of their community. No community is given for Hirtzell, indicating he is likely from Soufflenheim.

Fields: District: Im Gefäll. Section: On the Path to Betschdorf: 1 acre 2 ½ field and 4 feet. One side is Hirtzel, Jew, the other side the forest, above is Hans Seyler, down is the forest. Inventory of Barbara Kieffer & Hans Georg Metteweg, 05 April 1724.

Sale for 32 Gulden. Appeared Hans Georg Fridmann and Dominic Harter, both in Soufflenheim declare that they sold for themselves and their heirs to Hans Georg Bildstein burgher and shoe mender there, one small garden containing one half viertzel and 11 ruethen, 12 shoes, one side the common property, in front Hirtzel Jew his heirs in all free property for 32 Gulden, value of Strasbourg, paid in liquidity, receipt given, in presence of the undersigned. Signed: Dominic Harter, X Hans Georg Bildstein, Jacob Scheffter provost, Eggs witness, Wolff notary. Sales contract of Hans Georg Fridmann, 20 May 1729

1753 Church Account : Received as Pfenning Zins Land Tax: From Hirtz Jew's heirs and Christian Elchinger before him Simon Mössner on their farm house, each for a half : 7 s 6 d

JOSEPH

Joseph is first mentioned in 1701. In 1707 he lived near Philipp Kieffer, as did another Jew named Josel. Joseph and Josel could be related. Perhaps even the same person, as Josel is a variant of Joseph. Joseph's 1707 house is either in the same location as Josel's, adjacent, or nearby. In 1753, Michel Zettwoch paid a church tax on a house previously owned by Joseph "Jud" (Soufflenheim resident Martin Jud had no children or known siblings named Joseph). Josell is mentioned from 1685-1707. Joseph from 1701-1711. The 15 June 1701, 13 January 1707, and 03 May 1711 records were checked a second time. The description "Joseph the Jew" is correct.

Records:

Debt to Joseph the Jew: 2 G 8 s. Inventory of Hans Jacob Kieffer [potter], 15 June 1701.

One house and yard and dependences, one side and the other the common land of Soufflenheim, on the common street, near Joseph the Jew, and behind the common land, estimated only in the construction, as the widow owns the piece of land and soil. Inventory of Hans Philipps Kieffer, 13 January 1707.

Debt: To Joseph Jew here: 57 Gulden. Inventory of Ottilia Stöckhellreÿsser, 22 April 1704

Debt by Joseph the Jew: 6 G 5 s (has been asked for payment). Inventory of Hans Jacob Becker, 03 May 1711.

1753 Church Account: Income Money Pfenning Zins: From Michel Zettwoch, before him Joseph Jud on his farm house : 5 s

SCHIEHLER

Schiehler is mentioned in a 1711 land record. His property was adjacent to a field owned by Hans Jacob Becker. The record was checked a second time. The description "Schiehler, Jew" is correct. Prior to 1791,

Jews were typically not allowed to own land other than for their house, so Schiehler probably lived in this location. Schiehler's property is located near the Geissmatten (Goat Meadow). At that time Soufflenheim had a goat meadow, goat well (Geisswell), and goat woods (Giesswald). Schiehler's property, Geissmatten, and Geisswell are on page 148 of the land records. Giesswald is on page 46.

Records:

District near Geissmatten (Goat Meadow): One and ½ viertzel and a third viertzel, one side Catharina daughter, second side Georg Irren's heirs, upper part is Schiehler, Jew here, down is an ending. Page 148 [land record]. To Mathis. Inventory of Hans Jacob Becker, 03 May 1711.

MARTIN

Martin is mentioned in 1738, 1758, and 1762. All three records were checked a second time. The description "Martin, Jew" is correct. The name is not Martin Jud, a farmer living in Soufflenheim at the same time as Martin, Jew.

Records:

Debt: To Martin, Jew here: 1 G. Inventory of Maria Irr: 08 July 1738.

Debt: To Martin Jew, loan of money [Soufflenheim?]: 4 Gulden. Inventory of Maria Salchner, 27 May 1751

Debt: To Martin, Jew of this place for loan of money: 6 R. Inventory of Joseph Wilhelm: 21 April 1758.

To Martin, Jew here for a pair of oxen he has sold him and still promised to pay: 18 g. Inventory of Salome Metzler: 19 January 1762.

SAMUEL

Samuel is the father of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim. Leiser Samuel's 1775 marriage contract does not describe his father as deceased or living in another location, so he may have been alive and living in Soufflenheim at this time.

Records:

Marriage contract between Naftaly "Hirtzel" Landauer son of deceased Mosché-Isaac in Wintzenheim, and Hindel daughter of Eliézer "Leiser" son of Samuel in Soufflenheim. The husband brings a small house in Wintzenheim into the union. Dowry: 400 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 10 March 1775 (6 Adar II 5535). Passed in Wintzenheim. Haguenau Notary.

[The following "Samuel son of Leyzer of Schirrhein" died in 1749. Perhaps the father of Leiser Samuel of Soufflenheim: Haguenau Jewish Cemetery: Epitaph: Chmouel (Samuel) son of Leyzer of Schirrhein. Deceased the 10 Décédé le dix Adar 5509, according the small comput. May his soul be bound to all the living. Last Name & First Name: Chmouel ben Eliezer. Sex: Male. Hebrew Name: Chmouel ben Eliezer. Date Deceased: 28 February 1749, 10 Adar 5509 (Jewish Calendar = 28 February 1749). Place of Residence: Schirrhoffen. Location of the Grave: Section 14, Tomb 1454.]

JOSEPH

Joseph is the father of Kronle Joseph, wife of Feisel Halff. Kronle Joseph's 1758 marriage contract does not describe her father as deceased or living in another location, so he may have been alive and living in Soufflenheim at this time. Kronle was born about 1722 in MueKensturm(?). There is a place called Muggensturm next to Rastatt, one of the localities which hosted North Alsatian refugees during the Great Flight of 1793.

Records:

Marriage contract between Ouri "Schraga" "Feisel" son of deceased Naftaly from Rountzenheim living in Soufflenheim, and Kronle daughter of Joseph son of Samuel. Dowry: 300 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 02 June 1758 (18 Iyar 5518). Passed in Soufflenheim. Roeschwoog Notary.

SELIGMANN

Debt: To Seligmann and Leyser, Jews here for rest of oxen sold: 46 Gulden. Inventory of Hans Pfefferkorn, 06 March 1739

SALOMON (ZALMEN)

Simon Salomon's 1764 and 1763 marriage contracts do not describe his father Salomon (Zalmen) as deceased or living in another location, so he may have been alive and living in Soufflenheim at this time. Simon brought a house into his first marriage. They lived in Soufflenheim, so the house was probably in Soufflenheim, perhaps a gift from Salomon (Zalmen).

Records:

Debt: To Salomon Jew here for sale of a horse: 56 Gulden. Inventory of Anna Maria Gut, 03 February 1746

Marriage contract between Simon son of Salomon "Zalmen" in Soufflenheim, and Miryam daughter of Baroukh in Hagenbach. Assisted by El'hanan Mosché in Hagenbach. The husband brings a house into the union. Dowry: 144 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Passed in Hagenbach. Simon Son of Salomon and Miryam Daughter of Baroukh Marriage Contract, 25 January 1764, (14 Chevath). Roeschwoog 6E33/58.

Marriage contract between Simon son of Salomon "Zalmen" in Soufflenheim, and Chayé, daughter of deceased Baruch, in his lifetime in Hagenbach. Assisted by her brother Zevy "Hirsch" son of Barouch. And by Abraham Dreyfuss in For Louis. Dowry: 100 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. Passed in Hagenbach. Simon Son of Salomon and Chayé Daughter of Baruch Marriage Contract, 10 August 1773. (16 Av), Roeschwoog 6E33/64.

NATHAN KOSCHEL

Nathan Koschel is mentioned in the 1784 Jewish census as the valet of Leiser Samuel in Soufflenheim. The Haguenau 1784 Jewish Census lists Samuel Feissel (presumably Samuel Halff, son of Feissel Half

of Soufflenheim) and the family of Nathan Koschell. Nathan Koschell in Soufflenheim could be related to the Nathan Koschell family in Haguenau. Samuel Feissel is entry 14 and Nathan Koschel is entry 15.

Records:

Soufflenheim 1784 Jewish Census: Family Number One. Head: Leyser Schmulen. Wife: Beylen Salomon. Son: Jacob. Daughter: Zerlen. Valet: Nathan Koschel.

Haguenau 1784 Jewish Census: Residence 14: Samuel Feissel, valet. Blienel (no last name), servant. Residence 15: Nathan Koschel, husband. Jüttel (no last name), wife. Hirtzel, son of Nathan Koschel. Raphael, son of Nathan Koschel. Sorlé, daughter of Nathan Koschel. Ribec, girl child (fille d'enfant - relationship to Nathan Koschel not given). Sara (no last name), servant.

NACHMAN LOBEL

Birth record of Schmulen Jacob Leyser: 25 March 1796 (5 Germinal Year 4). Son of Jacob Leyser, age 31 (occupation not stated) and Teltz Jacob, age 25. Witnesses Feysel Halff, age 63, butcher, and Nachman Lobel, age 40, shopkeeper. All residents of Soufflenheim.

LEISER SAMUEL FAMILY

LEISER SAMUEL & BEYLE SALOMON

Leiser Samuel (c.1729-1805), merchant. In 1755, married Beyle Salomon (c.1737?-1796) of Neuf-Brisach, 64 miles south of Soufflenheim. Four children: Samuel, Hindel, Jacob, and Zerlé. Moved to Schirrhoffen by 1796.

Beyle Salomon was from the fortified town of Neuf-Brisach, in Haut-Rhin, built to guard the border between France and the Holy Roman Empire and subsequently the German states. It was constructed after the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, which resulted in France losing the town of Breisach, on the opposite bank of the Rhine. Its name means New Breisach.

Records:

Debt: To Seligmann and Leyser, Jews here for rest of oxen sold: 46 Gulden. Inventory of Hans Pfefferkorn, 06 March 1739

Debt: To Leyser Jew here. Loan of money: 18 Gulden 7 schilling 6 d. Plus: 3 Gulden. Plus: 13 Gulden. Plus, for a calf: 7 Gulden. Plus: 12 Gulden and two years interests. Inventory of Adam Müller, 13 May 1750

Debt: To Leyser Jew here for sale of cow and of iron: 21 Gulden. Inventory of Maria Anna Wendrich, 15 February 1751

Marriage contract of Leyser Samuel & Beyle daughter of Salomon Wormbser, 16 December 1755
Obernai Notary 6E38/83: In front of me Royal notary of Obernai, appeared in my study personally Leyser Samuel Jew in Soufflenheim widower and new husband here on one side. And Beyle Jew girl daughter of Salomon Wormbser and Ester, both Jews domiciled in Neubrisach, accompanied by Lehemann Jacob Jew in Rosheim her cousin, as bride, on the other side. In first Leyser Samuel declares that the named Beyle has a contract of a religious ceremony of marriage on the 15th of December in Niedernai in front of the Rabbi of this place, and the contract in Hebrew language has been produced here to me notary as accepted and undersigned. At first a dowry of 300 Gulden has been consigned to the husband and received with the usual condition of another sum for the union itself of 240 gulden, so that Bele brings in a total of 600 Gulden as her own property. She also brings in her clothes and personal objects that will remain her property without any contest. For better assurance of this, Samuel Leyser puts a mortgage on his general property without exception. For best guaranty the present Hebraic contract has been undersigned and this certified especially if they would die this year or the following, this contract would be presented as ratified, confirmed, and obliging both parts, renouncing any revocation of the same, passed in Obernai the 16 December 1755. In presence of Peter Huber and Dietrich Keller, both burghers here, also Ignatz Simonnaire, lawyer, as witnesses and the notary (two Hebrew signatures). [Note: A second scan of the same entry follows, perhaps the day of the deposit, not mentioned as such.]

Marriage contract between the widower Leyser Samuel in Soufflenheim, and Beyle daughter of Salomon Wormser and of Esther in Neuf Brisach. Assisted by Lehmann Jacob in Rosheim. Dowry: 360 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 16 December 1755. Bischheim Notary.

Marriage contract between Leyser Lévy son of deceased Samuel in Niedernai, and Sara daughter of deceased Aron in Valff. Assisted by Leyser [her cousin], in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 336 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 05 February 1756. Passed the 4th in Niedernai. Obernai Notary.

Debt: To Leyser Jew here: 6 Gulden. Inventory of Ursula Rinck, 02 September 1757

Debt: To Leyser Jew here for sale of iron: 1 Gulden 7 s 6 d. Inventory of Michel Mäy, 02 September 1757

Debt: To Leyser Schmuhlen Jew here for sale of iron and nails: 4 G 8 s. Inventory of Jacob Daul 13 August 1757

Debt: To Leyser Jew here for two loans of money a total of: 28 G 5 s. Inventory of Hans Georg Götz, 13 April 1758

Debt: To Leyser Jew here in money: 24 Gulden. Inventory of Ottilia Träher, 15 April 1758

Debt: To Leyser Schmuhlen owner of Feissel Halff loan of money. Written 21 January 1759: 9 Gulden. Interest: 1 Gulden 5 s. Plus, two measures of white flour: 1 Gulden 9 s. Inventory of Peter Brumbach, 26 June 1760

Debt: Towards Leyser Jew here loan of money: 1 Gulden 5 schillings. Joseph Halter, 16 September 1761

Debt to Leyser Jew here for corn: 3 g. Inventory of Salome Metzler, 19 January 1762.

Debt: To Leyser Jew here for capital and interests: 24 Gulden. Inventory of Hans Zinge, 18 January 1762

Debt: To Leyser, Jew here, for corn: 3 g. Inventory of Salome Metzler, 19 January 1762

Debt: To Leyser Jew here for loan of money: 2 Gulden 1 schilling. Inventroy of Jacob Hassler, 12 May 1762

Debt: To Leyser Jew here: 6 Gulden: Inventory of Anton Pfanner, 29 March 1763

Debt: To Leyser Jew in Soufflenheim: 3 Gulden in money. Inventory of Anna Maria Billy, 28 September 1770

Marriage contract between Naftaly "Hirtzel" Landauer son of deceased Mosché-Isaac in Wintzenheim, and Hindel daughter of Eliézer "Leiser" son of Samuel in Soufflenheim. The husband brings a small house in Wintzenheim into the union. Dowry: 400 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 10 March 1775 (6 Adar II 5535). Passed in Wintzenheim. Haguenu Notary.

Marriage contract between Samuel son of Eliezer "Leyser" in Soufflenheim, and Marian daughter of Yehochoua "Schiele" Bloch in Fegersheim. The father of the husband brings a house into the union. Dowry: 850 Gulden. Ketouba: 1275 pounds (livres). 30 November 1781 (12 Kisslev). Passed in Soufflenheim. Roeschwoog Notary.

1782 Church Account: Income on Pfennig Zins Tax: Paid Johann Georg Stattner before him Jacob Bruder on his farming place one side Leiser, Jew, and for part Frantz Eck, other side near Anton Stucker as on page 269a: 7 s

1784 Jewish Census Soufflenheim. Entry 1. Head Leyser Schmulen, wife Beylen Salomon, son Jacob, daughter Zerlen, valet Nathan Koschel.

Marriage contract between Efrayim "Gumbert" Kahn, widower son of Gedalya in Schirrhoffen, and Zerlé daughter of Eliezer "Leiser" son of Samuel in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 150 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 13 June 1785. Passed in Soufflenheim. Roeschwoog Notary.

Debt: Towards Leyser Jew in Soufflenheim for meat: 1 Gulden 3 s 9 d. Inventory of Elisabeth Meyer 15 May 1790

Marriage record of Jacob Leisser and Dele Jacob, 09 September 1793, Krautergersheim: Jacob Leiser, age 27, son of Leiser Schmullen burgher and handelsmann in Sufflenheim and Beyle Salomon, and Delsel Jacob, age 19, daughter of Jacob Bahr burger and handelsmann in Krautergersheim and Kraunel. Jacob Leiser, born 06 May 1766 in Sufflenheim, son of Leiser Schmullen and Beyle Salomon. Delsel Jacob, born 10 January 1774 in Krautergersheim, daughter of Jacob Behr and Kraunel. Supporting the bride: Moses Bahr and Jacob Bahr. Supporting the groom: Leiser Simon.

Death record of Beyle Salomon. Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index. [Beyle married to Leiser Samuel, not Jacob Leiser as listed in the index entries. Original Year 4 death records are missing]:

- Index Entry 1: 11 May 1796 (23 Floreal Year 4): Leiser, Salemon wife of Leiser, Jacob.
- Index Entry 2: 11 May 1796 (23 Floreal Year 4): Salemon, Beyle wife of Leisser, Jacob.

Death record of Leisser Schmulen: 18 April 1805 (28 Germinal Year 13), formerly lived in Schirrhoffen, age 76, born in Schsuflum (?), husband of deceased Beilen Jut, formerly lived in Schirrhoffen; witnesses were Jachob Leisser, son of the deceased, and Joseb Bechel, burger and farmer in Schirrhoffen. [The deceased's birthplace did not read 'Sufflenheim' or 'Sufflum' but might have been intended to read 'Sufflum' and the beginning 'Sch' was simply not scratched out. The Department appeared to be the same "Nittereinisch" (Nieder Rheinisch - Lower Rhine), as it included Schirrhoffen.]

Death record of Leisser Schmulen. Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index: Leisser, Schumen: 11 April 1805 (21 Germinal Year 13).

Death record of Leisser Schmulen: 18 April 1805 (28 Germinal Year 13), Aged 76 years native of Soufflenheim, widower of deceased Beilen Jut here in Schirrhoffen as declared by Jacob Leisser son of the deceased and Joseph Bechel burgher farmer here in Schirrhoffen, both undersigned with me mayor. Signed: Joseph Bechel, Schandel. Source: Marie Peres

Burial Record of Leiser Samuel: Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 14, Tomb 1453: Last Name & First Name: Eliezer ben Chmouel. Sex: Male. Hebrew Name: Eliezer ben Chmouel. Date Deceased: 11 April 1805, 12 Nissan 5565 (12 Nissan 5565). Place of Residence: Soufflenheim. Epitath: Here rests Leyzer (Lazare) son of Chmouel (Samuel) of Soufflenheim. Deceased and buried the 12th Nissan 5565 according the small comput. May his soul be bound to all the living.

HINDEL LEISER & HIRTZEL LANDAUER

Hindel Leiser (c.1752-1794) married Hirtzel Landauer (c.1746-1816) in 1775. Moved to Wintzenheim, BR, 30 miles southwest of Soufflenheim. Six children: Breinel, Recka, Simcha, Issac, Samuel.

Records:

Marriage contract deposit of Hirtzel Landauer and Hindel Leyser, 10 March 1775, Haguenau Notary 6E16/308: Deposit of a marriage contract between Hirtzel Landauer Jew in Wintzenheim and Hindel Leyser. In front of the Royal Notary near the Sovereign Council in Alsace undersigned appeared the undersigned Hirtzel Landauer Jew in Wintzenheim, Basse Alsace, and Leyser Samuel Jew in Soufflenheim in name of Hindel Leyser his daughter, those have presented to me their marriage contract written in Hebrew, containing thirty-five lines, and asked the mentioned notary to include it in the records of his study. This contract has been certified by the signatures, which request has been accepted. Passed and interpreted in German language to the present in Bischheim on the 10th of March in year 1775, in presence of Louis Klein, lawyer, Jean Pierre Mettler, sergeant, both in this place as required witnesses, undersigned with the notary. Signatures: Hirtzel Landauer, Leyser Samuel, Peter Mettler, witness, Klein, the royal notary.

Marriage contract between Naftaly "Hirtzel" Landauer son of deceased Mosché-Isaac in Wintzenheim, and Hindel daughter of Eliézer "Leiser" son of Samuel in Soufflenheim. The husband brings a small house in Wintzenheim into the union. Dowry: 400 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 10 March 1775 (6 Adar II 5535). Passed in Wintzenheim. Haguenau Notary.

1784 Jewish Census Wintzenheim (Basse Alsace): Entry 11: Head Hirtzel Landauer, wife Hindel Leyser, daughters Breinel, Recka, Simcha, Treina.

Death record of Hindel Landauer: Wintzenheim, 05 January 1794 (16 Nivose Year 2), age 42, born Leisser, in Suflum (Soufflenheim). Wife of Hirtzel Landauer, age 46, handelsmann.

Death record of Zacharias Landauer, Wintzenheim, 29 December 1816, age 70, born in Wintzenheim, husband of deceased Leiser Hindel.

1808 Wintzenheim-Kochersberg Jewish Name Declaration Book: Hirtzel Landauer changed his own name to Zacharias Landauer (entry 24) and declared his three daughters and two sons (entries 25-29): Rosina, Sofia, Karlen, Isac, and Samuel Landauer. There was no indication of any change in the children's names. Hirtzel's declared minor children (as of 1808) had their birthdates given: Entry 27: Karlen, born 26 April 1794. Entry 28: Isac, born 20 October 1785. Entry 29: Samuel, born 30 March 1792.

SAMUEL LEISER & MARIANNE SCHIELE BLOCH

Samuel Leiser (c.1750-aft. 1812), merchant. In 1781 married Marianne Bloch (c.1752-1803) of Fegersheim, Bas-Rhin, 30 miles from Soufflenheim, slightly south of Strasbourg. Moved to Schirhoffen between 1801-1803. Changed his name to Samuel Liebschutz in 1808.

Records:

Marriage contract deposit of Samuel Leiser and Marianne Schiele Bloch, 30 November 1781, Roeschwoog Notary 6E33/119: In front of the royal notary resident in the town of Fort Louis du Rhin undersigned appeared Samuel Leiser Jew in Soufflenheim assisted by Leiser Samuel also Jew in Soufflenheim his father on one side and Marian present wife of Samuel Leiser authorized by him and assisted by Schiehle Bloch Jew in Fegersheim his father on the other side, those declared that the named Samuel Leiser and the named Marianne were married the 29th of this month in Soufflenheim and during the celebration a contract of marriage in Hebraic language has been written which they presently have given as deposit into the hands of the notary to satisfy the decree of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, with mortgage, asking the notary to register this record in his office ; passed and interpreted in German language in Fort Louis du Rhin on the named date 30 November 1781 in presence of François Reffé, lawyer and of Xavier Rauber burghers here, witnesses who signed with Samuel Leiser and Marianne Schiehle Bloch, in front of the notary. Signed: Schmulen Jew in Soufflenheim, Rauber, Reffé, Wagatha, notary.

Marriage contract between Samuel son of Eliezer "Leysen" in Soufflenheim, and Marian daughter of Yehochoua "Schiele" Bloch in Fegersheim. The father of the husband brings a house into the union. Dowry: 850 Gulden. Ketouba: 1275 pounds (livres). 30 November 1781 (12 Kisslev). Passed in Soufflenheim. Roeschwoog Notary.

1784 Jewish Census Soufflenheim: Entry 3. Head Schmulen Leyser, wife Maria Schiellen (no children).

Terre de Potiers: On December 22, 1793, many families fled the advance of the French troops. A number of citizens of Soufflenheim left for exile [including] Feysel Half, Jacques Leiser, and Schmuler Leiser.

Death record of Feisel Halff: 03 January 1801 (13 Nivose Year 9), Soufflenheim, 3:00 am, age 75. Born in [not legible], resident of Sufflenheim, husband of Krenle Joseph. Declarants: Shmulen Leysser, occupation [not legible], nephew(?) of the deceased, resident of Sufflenheim. Michael Daul, farmer, and neighbor of the deceased, resident of Sufflenheim. Signed: Shmulen Leysser, Michael Daul, Joseph Messner, Mayor. [Shmulen Leysser apparently was a nephew of the deceased, though couched in odd terms as the child of the brother and sister of the deceased (by my interpretation).

Death record of Mariane Stille: 05 June 1803 (05 June 1803), Schirhoffen, age 51, wife of Schmullen Leiser, hantelsman living in Schirhoffen (no age given).

Burial record of Miriam wife of Chmouel (Samuel Leiser): Haguenau Jewish Cemetery: Section 19, Tomb 1522: Last Name & First Name: Miriam wife of Chmouel. Sex: Female. Hebrew Name: Miriam wife of Chmouel. Date Deceased: 06 June 1803, 16 Sivan 5563. Place of Residence: Soufflenheim. Epitath: Miriam, wife of Chmouel of Soufflenheim. Deceased on the 16th Sivan 5563 according the small comput. May her soul be bound to all the living. Amen Séla.

Jewish Name Declaration, 20-21 October 1808, Schirrhoffen: Samuel Liebschutz (new name), formerly "Samuel Leyser", wife Eva Bloch, and children Jacques, Leopold, Daniel, and Simon Liebschutz. Entry 17: Samuel Leyser changed surname to Liebschutz. Children listed with only their new given names.

Death record of Simon Liebschutz: 08 May 1812, Schirrhoffen, age 4. Declarant: Samuel Liebschutz, father, age 62. Mother: Shown as " D'Eve Elle' ". Recorded 11 May 1812.

Marriage record of Daniel Liebschutz and Babete Woelch, 27 November 1827, Schirrhoffen: Daniel Liebschutz, born in 1794 in Konigsbach, Baden, son of Samuel Liebschutz and Marie Anne Bloch, both deceased (apparently in Schirrhoffen).

Death record of Daniel Liebschutz: 23 March 1874, Schirrhoffen, age 82, handelsmann, widower of Babette Welsch. Son of deceased Samuel Liebschutz and deceased Marie Anne Bloch. Declarant: Salmon Gradewohl, son-in-law, age 40.

Burial record of Goetsch Liebschitz (Daniel Liebschitz), 23 March 1874, Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 15, Tomb 1487: Last Name and First Name: Liebschitz Goetsch. Sex: Male. Hebrew Name: Goetsch ben Chmouel. Date Deceased: 23 March 1874. Place of Residence: Schirrhoffen. Epitaph: Here rests an honest, upright and God-fearing man who kept up and respected the Shabbat and the feasts. Goetchel son of Chmouel Liebschitz of Shirrhein, died on Monday the 5th of Nissan 634 according to the small comput. May his soul be bound to the living. Died on Monday, March 23rd, 1874.

JACOB LEISER

Jacob Leisser (c.1766-1823), merchant. In 1793 married Dele Jacob (c.1765-1801) of Krautergersheim, Bas-Rhin 34 miles south of Soufflenheim. Left during the "great flight". Residing in Schirrhoffen by 1797. Married Fromet Jacob in 1802, Dele Jacob's sister. Changed his name to Jacques Liebschutz in 1808.

Records:

1784 Jewish Census Soufflenheim. Family 1. Head: Leyser Schmulen, wife Beylen Salomon, son Jacob, daughter Zerlen, Valet Nathan Koschel.

1784 Jewish Census Kruatergersheim: Family 1: Husband Jacob Bähr, wife Krunel, son Isaac, daughters Breinel, Teltz, Esther, Bessel, Sorlé, Fromet, father David.

Marriage record of Jacob Leisser and Dele Jacob, 09 September 1793, in Krautergersheim: Jacob Leiser, age 27, son of Leiser Schmullen burgher and handelsmann in Sufflenheim and Beyle Salomon, and Delsel Jacob, age 19, daughter of Jacob Bahr burger and handelsmann in Krautergersheim and Kraunel. Jacob Leiser, born 06 May 1766 in Sufflenheim, son of Leiser Schmullen and Beyle Salomon. Delsel Jacob, born 10 January 1774 in Krautergersheim, daughter of Jacob Behr and Kraunel. Supporting the bride: Moses Bahr and Jacob Bahr. Supporting the groom: Leiser Simon. [All participants' signatures, except those of the groom and the scribe, were in Hebrew. The entry in the Krautergersheim 10 Year Table reads: "Lazard Jacob [&] Delsel Jacob."]

Terre de Potiers: On December 22, 1793, many families fled the advance of the French troops. A number of citizens of Soufflenheim left for exile [including] Feysel Half, Jacques Leiser, and Schmuler Leiser.

SCHMULLEN JACOB LEYSER

25 March 1796 Soufflenheim Birth Record, Online Page 83/96) (MD)

Birth record of Schmullen Jacob Leyser: 25 March 1796 (5 Germinal Year 4). Son of Jacob Leyser, age 31 (occupation not stated) and Teltz Jacob, age 25. Witnesses Feysel Halff, age 63, butcher, and Nachman Lobel, age 40, shopkeeper. All residents of Soufflenheim.

Birth record of David Liebschoetz: 06 May 1797 (17 Floreal Year 5) Schirrhoffen, son of Jacob Leisser, age 32. The names of mother and the child are not mentioned, only the name of the father.

Death record of Deles Jacob: 13 January 1801, Schirrhoffen: age 36, wife of Jacob Leisser, hantelsman von Schirrhoffen [age not given], daughter of Jacob Behr and Roesnell married people and hantels leuth living in Krautergersheim, department of Lower Rhein. Witnesses: Gomber Kann, age 45, hantelsman living in Schirrhoffen, and Leibel Aberham, age 55, hantels man living in Schirrhoffen.

Death record of Deles Jacob: 13 January 1801, Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index:

- Index Entry 1: Jacob, (Delle) wife of Leisser (Jacob).
- Index Entry 2: Leisser, (Dele) born Jacob, wife of Leisser, (Jacob).

Debt of Laurent Kieffer Senior, 08 February 1801 7E44/18: Obligation in Soufflenheim for 160 francs. Laurent Kieffer Senior husband of Marguerite Renck, towards Jacques Leiser, merchant in Schirrhoffen. Sale of cereals the 28 Pluiose year 9 by Antoine Renck, guardian of Barbe Kieffer.

Marriage record of Jacob Leisser and Fromet Jacob, 12 July 1802, Schirrhoffen: Jacob Leisser of Schirrhoffen, age 37, born in Schirrhoffen, widower of Dele Jacob, married on 12 July 1802, to Fromet Jacob daughter of Jacob Behr, livestock merchant, and Braunel(?). Krautergersheim civil record.

Death record of Leisser Schmulen: 18 April 1805, Schirrhoffen, age 76, born in Soufflenheim, husband of deceased Beilen Jut, formerly lived in Schirrhoffen. Witnesses: Jachob Leisser, son of the deceased, and Joseb Bechel, burger and farmer in Schirrhoffen.

Name Declaration, 20-21 October 1808, Schirrhoffen, Entry 53: Jacques Liebschutz (new name), formerly "Jacques Leyser", wife Veronique Bahr, wife's sister Emerence Bahr, children Samuel, David, Barbe, and Esther Liebschutz.

Marriage record of David Liebschoetz and Sara Weill: 18 December 1816, Schirrhoffen: David Liebschoetz son of Jacques Liebschoetz and deceased Delz Bahr, to Sara Weill. Married in Schirrhoffen on 18 December 1816. Born 06 May 1797 (17 Floreal Year 5), Schirrhoffen.

Birth record of Caroline Liebschutz: 05 January 1834, Schirrhoffen, daughter of David Liebschutz, age 37, and Sara Weill, age 36.

Death record of Jacques Liebschoetz (Jacob Leisser): 29 July 1823, Schirrhoffen. Jacques Liebschoetz, age 55, born in Sufflenheim, husband of Veronique Baer, son of deceased Jacques Liebschoetz [incorrect, father is Leiser Samuel] and "Babette". Declarants: David Liebschoetz, age 25, and Samuel Liebschoetz, age 26 [sons].

Birth record of Marie Liebschutz: 04 May 1838, Schirrhoffen, daughter of David Liebschutz, age 40, and Sara Weill, age 34.

Death record of Samuel Wolff Liebschutz: 07 October 1841, Schirrhoffen, age 1 year 4 months, son of David Liebschutz, age 45, livestock dealer in Schirrhoff, and Sara Weill, age 43. Declarant: David Liebschutz.

Burial record of Chmouel Zeév Bar David (Samuel Wolf Liebschutz): 07 October 1841 Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 15, Tomb 1515. Last Name & First Name: Liebschutz Chmouel Zeév. Sex: Infant. Hebrew Name: Chmouel Zeév bar David. Date Deceased: 07 October 1841 (Tichri 5602). Place of Residence: Schirrhoffen. Epitaph: Here rests the child Chmouel Zeef, son of David Liebschutz of Schirrhein. Died on Chmini Atzerat 602 according to the small comput. May his soul be bound to the living.

Death record of David Liebschutz: 26 April 1860, age 63, born in Schirrhoffen, husband of Sara Weill, son of Jacques Liebschutz and Delphine [Dele] Baer, both deceased. Primary declarant: Rabbi and son-in-law Zacharie Lazard.

Marriage record of Marie Liebschutz and Zacharie Lazard: 17 October 1857, Schirrhoffen. Zacharie Lazard, age 28, Rabbi [Schirrhoffen], son of Aron Lazarus and Rachel Sommer, both deceased and of Schirrhoffen, and Marie Liebschutz, age 19, daughter of David Liebschutz, age 60, and Sara Weill, age 53, of Schirrhoffen.

Death record of Sara Weill: 17 November 1883, Schirrhoffen, age 94, born in Schirrhoffen, widow of David Liebschutz, daughter of Jonas Weill and Rebecca May. Primary declarant was Leon Weill.

Death record of Karoline Liebschutz: 09 January 1892, Schirrhoffen, age 58, wife of Leon Weill, daughter of David Liebschutz and Sara Weill, both deceased and of Schirrhoffen. [Leon Weill was the mayor of Schirrhoffen from 1865-1871.]

ZERLE LEISER & GUMBERT KAHN

Zerlé Leiser (c.1764-1797). In 1785 she married merchant Gumbert Kahn (c.1754-1830) of Schirrhoffen. No children. Moved to Schirrhoffen.

Records:

1784 Jewish Census Soufflenheim. Family 1. Head: Leyser Schmulen, wife Beylen Salomon, son Jacob, daughter Zerlen, valet Nathan Koschel.

Marriage contract deposit of Gumbert Kahn and Zerle Leiser, 13 June 1785, Roeschwoog 6E33/123. Deposit of a marriage contract in Hebraic letters on the 13 June 1785. In Fort Louis du Rhin the undersigned were present : Gumbert Kahn Jew in Schirrhoffen, on one side, and Zerle Leiser as present wife of the named Gumbert Kahn, authorized by him, and also by Leiser Samuel Jew in Soufflenheim her father on the other side ; the couple Gumber Kahn and Zerle Leiser declared they were married on the 8th of this month according to the Hebraic law in the village of Soufflenheim ; a marriage contract in Hebraic letters has been written, which they here and now deposit into the hands of the named notary undersigned to satisfy the decree of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, observing the conditions of mortgage of their property mobiliary and immobiliary, present and future, which they both promise. Made and interpreted in German language in Fort Louis du Rhin on the 13 June 1785, in the afternoon in presence of Nicolas Haaser burgher, and François Xavier Furterer, lawyers in this city undersigned with the notary and comparants. Signed: Harter, Haasser, Wagatha, notary.

Marriage contract between Efrayim "Gumbert" Kahn, widower son of Gedalya in Schirrhoffen, and Zerlé daughter of Eliezer "Leiser" son of Samuel in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 150 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 13 June 1785 (30 Sivan). Passed in Soufflenheim. Roeschwoog Notary.

Death record of Cerle Leiser, 16 April 1797 (27 Germinal Year 5), Schirrhoffen: Cerle Leiser, age 33, wife of Gumber Kann, age 38, ein hantels guth [trading person] in Schirrhoffen.

Zerle Leiser death record: Schirrhoffen 10 Year Table of Deaths Index:

- Index Entry 1: 16 April 1797 (27 Germinal Year 5): Kahn (Leisser) born Zerle wife of Kahn (Gumber).
- Index Entry 2: 16 April 1797 (27 Germinal Year 5): Leiser, (Zerle) wife of Kahn (Gumber).

FEISEL HALFF FAMILY

FEISEL HÄLFF & KRONLE JOSEPH

Feisel Hälf (c.1726-1801), horse trader, from Rountzenheim. In 1758 he married Kronle Joseph (c.1722-1808) of Soufflenheim. Six children: Samuel, Elle, Hündel, Reitz, Blümel, Rächel.

Records:

Deposition of Feistle, 02 June 1750, Roeschwoog Notary Index 6E33 184/1 A-M, Entry 39. Not in bundle.

Marriage contract deposit of Feist [Feisel Hälf], 02 June 1758 Roeschwoog Notary 6E33/118: On the 2nd June in year 1758 appeared in front of the undersigned notary with the required witnesses Feist Jew in the village of Soufflenheim, who made deposit in my study in this bailiff resort of Haguenu, to include it in our contract of the marriage contract written in Hebrew, passed in Fort Louis du Rhin on the named day month and year, in presence of Etienne Bruel and Christian Schiffmacher burghers witnesses undersigned. Signed: Schiffmacher, Bruel, the royal notary.

Marriage contract between Ouri "Schraga" "Feisel" son of deceased Naftaly from Rountzenheim living in Soufflenheim, and Kronle daughter of Joseph son of Samuel. Dowry: 300 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 02 June 1758 (18 Iyar 5518). Passed in Soufflenheim. Roeschwoog Notary.

Debt: To Leyser Schmuhlen owner of Feissel Halff loan of money. Written 21 January 1759: 9 Gulden. Interest: 1 Gulden 5 s. Plus, two measures of white flour: 1 Gulden 9 s. Inventory of Peter Brumbach, 26 June 1760

Debt: Towards Feissel Jew here: 7 Gulden. Inventory of Anna Maria Wagne, 18 April 1761

Marriage contract of Jacob Lévy son of Barouch son of Klonimous and of Reis daughter of Aron in Surbourg, and Hindel (Rossel) daughter of the deceased Aron in lifetime of Rountzenheim and of Sorelé. Assisted by her brothers Leizer and Isaac living in Valff and by her relative Feissel Halff from Soufflenheim. The groom's parents give a house but as a counterpart Jacob will have to give 120 florins. If Barouch requests it Jacob will have to find other lodgings without Barouch having to give him any

compensation. Dowry: 300 florins. Ketouba: 600 florins. 24 December 1765 (6th Taveth 5526). Passed in Haguenau.

Marriage contrat of Philipp Kieffer & Anna Maria Hummel: 27 January 1774: In name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. Be known to everybody that in front of the royal notary appeared today in Soufflenheim the honorable Philipp Kieffer widower of deceased Maria Anna Heusler, as husband, and the honorable young maid Anna Maria Hummel daughter of honorable Anton Hummel burgher here and of Barbara Messner his deceased wife, assisted by Joseph Messner burgher and scribe here, and have decided of the following marriage contract in presence and consent of the present to this: First, the couple intends to have an official ceremony of marriage here, in the catholic church. Second, as to what concerns a house here in Soufflenheim, on the road to Haguenau, one side Bernhard Essen, the other side Antoni Jäckh junior, up the road to Haguenau and down Feissel Halff Jew and for part Anton Jäck, it will be inherited by the husband at time of death of the wife for the estimate ; in case the husband dies before the wife, the same house goes to the wife for the estimate. On the same house the bride will have a right before inheritance of a personal sum of 160 Gulden. Third the father of bride gives her into the union a young bull and a cow, also 22 Gulden. Fourth, what both during their union will earn by good economy will be declared common and shared as usual between them as two shares for the husband and one for the bride. Passed in Soufflenheim and undersigned 27th January 1774. Signed: Philipp Kieffer, X Anna Maria Hummel, X Antoni Hummel, X Joseph Messner, Joseph Messner, Jacob Mössner, Antoni Messner, Johannes Mockers witness, Kieffer provost.

Marriage contract of Andre Eisen and Maria Anna Schwartz, 23 January 1784: House, one side Philipp Kieffer, other side Michel Vögele, on the road to Haguenau, behind Feissel, Jew.

1784 Jewish Census Soufflenheim: Family 2: Head Feisel Hälf, wife Croennel Joseph, Daughters Hündel, Reitz, Blümel, Rächel.

Marriage contract between Jonas son of Abraham in Surbourg, and Elle daughter of Feistel Halff son of Naftaly in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 280 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 14 December 1789 (22 Kisslev 5550), Haguenau Notary. Passed in Kuppenheim (Bade).

Terre de Potiers: On December 22, 1793, many families fled the advance of the French troops. A number of citizens of Soufflenheim left for exile [including] Feysel Half, Jacques Leiser, and Schmuler Leiser.

History of the Jews of Haguenau: The Revolution overthrew all the legal barriers and Israelites from the surroundings of Haguenau settled down in the town to flee the plundering which took place after the collapse of the Old Regime. Those who arrived at that time [included] Half, from Soufflenheim.

Death record of Feisel Halff: 03 January 1801 (13 Nivose Year 9), Soufflenheim, died at 3:00 am this morning, age 75. Born in [hidden in spine], resident of Sufflenheim. Husband of Krenle Joseph. Declarants: Shmulen Leysser, occupation [hantelst__][not legible] [hantelsman/handelsleute], nephew(?) of the deceased, resident of Sufflenheim, Michael Daul, farmer, and neighbor of the deceased, resident of Sufflenheim. Signed: Shmulen Leysser, Michael Daul, Joseph Messner, Mayor. [Shmulen Leysser apparently was a nephew of the deceased, though couched in odd terms as the child of the brother and sister of the deceased (by my interpretation). Michael Daul was born 23 September 1773, son of Niclaus Daul and Richarde Wagner. He married Magdalena Burger on 20 Messidor Year 8 (09 July 1800). His signature on his marriage record exactly matches that on the Feisel Halff death record.]

Death record of Feisel Halff: 03 January 1801 (13 Nivose Year 9): 73 years old, born in Rountzenheim, living in Soufflenheim, widower of deceased Froenle Joseph, as declared by Michel Daul and Schmuhlen Leiser of the same family as the deceased, undersigned with Messner, mayor. Source: Marie Peres

Name Declaration, 14 October 1808, Haguenau, Entry 177: Greinel Joseph changed her name to Caroline Gantz.

Death record of Caroline Gantz [Greinel Joseph]: 16 December 1808, Haguenau, age 86, born in MueKensturm(?) [Muggensturm?], residing in Haguenau, died in [___] number 233 red quarter Haguenau, widow of Feistel Halff, horse dealer (maquignon). Declarant Samuel Halff, 51, horse dealer residing in Haguenau (no relationship with the deceased stated). [There is a Muggensturm next to Rastatt, in Baden-Württemberg. There is a Muckensturm, 79 miles east, in Baden-Wurttemberg.]

Death record of Caroline Gantz [Greinel Joseph]: 16 December 1808, Haguenau, In front of the mayor appeared Samuel Halff aged 51 years, and David Katz 26 years old cattle merchant in Haguenau who declared that on the 16 December Caroline Gantz aged 86 years, born in Winklenheim, living in Haguenau, widow of Feist Halff, former cattle merchant in Haguenau, died in house 233 Quartier Neuf in Haguenau, the declarers signed with the mayor. Signed: Samuel Halff, David Katz, Dietrich. Source: Marie Peres

[Feisel lived on Hintergasse (current Rue Posterior), known in the late 1700's as Judengasse. Kronle Joseph was born in Muckensturm, northeast of Stuttgart. She appears to have been single and residing in Soufflenheim prior to marriage, as no other location is mentioned in her marriage contract. Her father is Joseph, son of Samuel. Feisell Half was from Rountzenheim. His father's name was Naftaly, Hebrew for Hirtzel (derivatives of Naftali are Hertzl, Herzl, Herschell, and Hirschel). In 1734, a Hitzell from Rountzenheim loaned money to Niclaus Träher of Soufflenheim.]

SAMUEL HALFF & SCHENEL SANEL

Samuel Halff (c.1757-1840), horse dealer. Circa 1795 married Schenel Sanel (c.1771-1831) of Gunstett, 15 miles west of Soufflenheim. Lived in Haguenau.

1784 Jewish Census Haguenau: Entry 14: Samuel Feissel, valet, Blienel, servant. Entry 15: Nathan Koschel, husband. Jüttel (no last name), wife. Hirtzel, son of Nathan Koschel. Raphael, son of Nathan Koschel. Sorlé, daughter of Nathan Koschel. Ribec, girl child (fille d'enfant). Sara (no last name), servant. [Samuel Feissel is presumably Samuel Halff, son of Feissel Half of Soufflenheim. Samuel Feissel and the Nathan Koschell family appear to live next to each other or very close. Nathan Koschell is presumably related to Nathan Koschell of Soufflenheim, the valet of Leiser Samuel.]

Five children of Samuel Halff are found in the Haguenau birth records. The mother's name in these birth records varies in spelling but reduced to Schenel Sanel. Sanel died 07 February 1798 in Haguenau, described as the daughter of Samuel Feust, livestock merchant. Fromet died 13 July 1800 in Haguenau.

- Sanel Halff: Born 05 November 1796, Haguenau, daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel
- Fromette Half: Born 19 November 1798, Haguenau, daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel
- Feistel Samuel: Born 16 April 1801, Haguenau, son of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.
- Behl Halff: Born 23 October 1803, Haguenau, daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.
- Reitz Halff: Born 13 May 1806, Haguenau, daughter of Samuel Halff and Schenel Sanel.

1808 Jewish Name Declaration: Samuel Halff Family:

- Entry 172: Samuel Halff: Kept his names unchanged. He listed three minor children:
- Entry 173: Feistel (renamed to Ulric) Halff: Born 01 May 1801 in Haguenau.

- Entry 174: Beyle (renamed to Ursule) Halff: Born 30 October 1803 in Haguenau.
- Entry 175: Reitz (renamed to Rose) Halff: Born 19 May 1806 in Haguenau.
- Entry 176: Schoennel Sannel (renamed to Jeanne Hertz). (Wife of Samuel Halff)
- Entry 177: Greinel Joseph (renamed to Caroline Gantz). (Mother of Samuel Halff)

Death record of Caroline Gantz (Greinel Joseph), 16 December 1808, Haguenau, age 86, born in MueKensturm(?), residing in Haguenau, died in [__] number 233 red quarter Haguenau, widow of Feistel Halff, horse dealer (maquignon). Declarant Samuel Halff, 51, horse dealer residing in Haguenau.

Death record of Jeanette Halff (Schenel Sanel): 23 November 1831, Haguenau, age 60, born in Gunstett, wife of Samuel Halff, trafiquant (trader) in Haguenau. Declarant: Ulric Halff, age 31, son of the deceased.

Death record of Samuel Halff: 12 February 1840, Haguenau, age 83, brocanteur (second-hand dealer) in Haguenau, widower of Jeanette (Schenel Sanel), born in Sufflenheim. Declarant: Ulric Halff, age 40, brocanteur in Haguenau, son of the deceased.

Death record of Ulric Halff: 09 May 1850, Haguenau: Halff, Ulric, indivant Samuel Feistel, age 49; born in Haguenau, residing in Haguenau, son of deceased Samuel Halff and deceased Jeanne Hertz. Husband of Weill(?), Jeanne [AKA] Zippora Nathan, age 49, native of B__willer. Declarants were two neighbors.

Burial record of Fayeck (Feysse) Halff (Ulric Halff): 09 May 1850 Haguenau Jewish Cemetery Section 13, Tomb 772, Last Name & First Name: Halff Fayeck. Sex: Male. Hebrew Name: Fayeck bar Chmouel. Date Deceased: 09 May 1850, 27 Iyar 5610. Place of Residence: Haguenau. Epitath: Here rests Feysse son of the Honorable Schmouel Half of here. Deceased on the 27 Iyar 5610, according the small comput. May his soul be bound to all the living. Amen Séla.

HÜNDEL, REITZ, BLÜMEL & RÄCHEL FEISEL

Daughters of Feisel Hälf and Kronle Joseph.

Records:

1784 Jewish Census Soufflenheim: Family 2: Head Feisel Hälf, wife Croennel Joseph, daughters Hündel, Reitz, Blümel, Rächel.

ELLE FEISTEL & JONAS ABRAHAM

In 1789, Ella Feistell married Jonas Abraham of Soultz sous Forêts, ten miles northwest of Soufflenheim.

Records:

Marriage contract deposit of Jonas Abraham & Ella Feistell, 14 December 1789, Haguenau 6E16: In front of the royal notary of Haguenau and Sovereign Council of Alsace appeared Jonas Abraham Jew in Soultz sous Forêts, on one side, and Feistel Half Jew in Soufflenheim, father of Ella Feistel on the other side, who produced a contract in Hebraic letters, which they explained to be the marriage contract of Jonas Abraham and Ella Feistel, registered in front of the notary and holding mortgage and required the same that this piece would be registered into the records of the undersigned notary, and undersigned by themselves as well. Passed and interpreted in German language in presence of Jean Baptiste Sarselle

and Louis Ritt, in this town, lawyers undersigned by all also those in Hebraic letters, Haguenau 14 December 1789. Signed: Ritt, Sarselle, Ballet royal notary.

Marriage contract between Jonas son of Abraham in Surbourg, and Elle daughter of Feistel Halff son of Naftaly in Soufflenheim. Dowry: 280 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 14 December 1789 (22 Kisslev 5550), Passed in Kuppenheim (Bade), Haguenau Notary.

SIMON SALOMON FAMILY

SIMON SALOMON & HAYN BORACH

Simon Salomon, trader, (c.1739?-after 1803). Married Miryam of Hagenbach in 1764 and her sister Hayn Borach in 1773. Four children: Salomon, Baruch, Hirtzel, and Sara. Sara Simon went to Schirhoffen, then Haguenau. Hirtzel went to Schirhoffen.

Records:

Marriage contract of Joseph Köhlhoffner & Margaretha Roth: 06 November 1779. Joseph Kehlhoffner, son of honorable Michel Kehlhoffner burgher and farmer here and of Maria Anna Sensenbrenner his wife, and Margaretha Roth, daughter of Johannes Roth burgher and shoe mender here and of Veronica Meder his wife. The husband brings to his bride the half of his house in Soufflenheim and that the second half will go to her for the estimate after his death, so for an amount of hundred gulden. This house in Soufflenheim is in der Götz Eck named, one side Frantz Hecht, other side the common street, up is Dominic Götz, down Simon Sallmann. In case the bride would die before her husband, the half of the house would be given to the husband for the estimate of one hundred gulden. In Soufflenheim the 6th November in year 1779. Signed: X Joseph Kehlhoffner, X Margaretha Roth, Michel Kehlhofer, X Maria Anna Sensenbrenner, Johannes Roth, X Veronica Meter, Jacob Daul, Johannes Mockers, Kieffer, provost.

Marriage contract deposit of Schimen Salomon & Mariam [Baroukh], 25 January 1764/19 July 1783, Roeschwoog 6E33. According to the form and content, the Procurer of the King required has signed with us, without prejudice of the rights of the named parties, made in Haguenau on the 19 July 1783. Signed: Barth. To-day twenty five January in year thousand seven hundred sixty four, in front of the royal notary residing at Fort Louis du Rhin undersigned and of undersigned witnesses named after this, appeared personally Schimen Salomon Jew in Soufflenheim on one side, and the named Mariam his wife, assisted and authorized by her husband Schimen Salomon, who presented to us and required the deposit of a marriage contract in Hebraic letters, passed between the named Schimen Salomon and Mariam on the 18th of this month, which deposit is made according to the arrest of the Sovereign Council of Alsace, for better authenticity and security of the named contract, interpreted in German language in Fort Louis du Rhin, in front of the notary, on the day month and year as mentioned, in presence of Joseph Beunnat, lawyer, and Laurent Spitz, day laborer in Fort Louis, witnesses undersigned: Spitz, Beunnat, Boucher royal notary. (Translator's Note: The same contract written and deposited in Fort Louis on the 25th of January 1764 has been registered a second time on 19 July 1783.)

Marriage contract between Simon son of Salomon "Zalmen" in Soufflenheim, and Miryam daughter of Baroukh in Hagenbach. Assisted by El'hanan Mosché in Hagenbach. The husband brings a house into the union. Dowry: 144 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 25 January 1764, (14 Chevath). Passed in Hagenbach. Roeschwoog Notary.

Marriage contract of Simon Salomon and Ghayn Borach, 10 August 1773, Roeschwoog Notary 6E33/111. Today 10 August 1773 appeared here in Fort Louis du Rhin in presence of two witnesses here under named, Simon Salomon Jew in Soufflenheim on one side and Abraham Drey, Jew in Fort Louis, in name of Ghayn Borach wife of Simon Salomon and daughter of deceased Borach in his life Jew in Hagenbach and of Alcken, on the other side, these declared that Simon Salomon and Ghayn Borach were married on the 5th of this month of August, and to satisfy the decree of the Sovereign Council of Alsace and pass mortgage they have made a deposit of their marriage contract written in Hebraic letters joined between him Simon Salomon and Ghayn Borach in the hands of the royal notary to be registered among his contracts ; passed in Fort Louis in this office on day named in presence of Claude François Dupré and of Jean Trautmann, lawyers here as witnesses who signed after the record was read and interpreted in German for them. Signed: Abraham Treÿfouss, Dprés, Trautmann, Beunat.

Marriage contract between Simon son of Salomon "Zalmen" in Soufflenheim, and Chayé, daughter of deceased Baruch, in his lifetime in Hagenbach. Assisted by her brother Zevy "Hirsch" son of Barouch. And by Abraham Dreyfuss in Fort Louis. Dowry: 100 Gulden. Ketouba: 600 Gulden. 10 August 1773 (16 Av). Passed in Hagenbach. Roeschwoog Notary 6E33/64.

1784 Jewish Census Soufflenheim. Family 4. Head Simon Salomon, wife Kayen Baruch, sons Salomon, Baruch, Hirtzel, daughter Sara.

Marriage record of Sara Simon and Bere Levi, 01 June 1803 (12 Prarial Year 11), Schirrhoffen: Sara Simon, age 25, born in Sufflenheim 08 May 1779, daughter of Simon Salemon and Kayemin(?), both deceased, lived in Sufflenheim. Occupation: hantelsleute (trading people). Groome: Bere Levi, age 21, born in Olungen on 08 March 1782, son of Bere Levi, butcher living in Haguenu, and deceased Escher(?) Samuel, in life former married people and butcher living in Haguenu, Lower Rhine Department. (No death record found of either of Sara's parents in Schirrhoffen.)

SALOMON, BARUCH, & HIRTZEL SIMON

Sons of Simon Salomon.

Records:

1784 Jewish Census: Residence: Soufflenheim. Family Number Four. Head: Simon Salomon. Wife: Kayen Baruch. Sons: Salomon, Baruch, Hirtzel. Daughter: Sara.

HIRTZEL SIMON

Hirtzel Simon changed his name to Jean May. Five children with Breinel Landauer: Simon, Isaac, Reine, Zieberle, Leon.

[Mark Drexler comments:

1) Schirrhoffen DJ book; entry 41 (21 October 1808): Hirtzel Simon declares he has taken the family name MAY and forename Jean; his wife Jeanne Landauer; and his children Simon and Isaac May. (The wife's name here is Jeanne, not Eve).

So there are only two children, suggesting a marriage in the previous few years. Marriage not recorded in Schirrhoffen, back to 1792.

2) Marriage record, Wintzenheim, 30 Germinal Year 11: Hirtzel [20 April 1803]: Simon, age 17, born in Schirrhoffen, handelsman, still-living mother Hayhen Bor__ [hidden in spine] and father Simon Salomon (handelsman, resident of Schirrhoffen); marriage to Breinel Landauer, age 22, born in Wintzenheim, still-living father Hirtzel Landauer (handelsman) and mother Hendel Leisser, resident of Wintzenheim.

3) Death record 10 June 1826, Schirrhoffen; Breinel Landauer, wife of Simon May; age 43 years, one month, 2 days; born in Wintzenheim, resident of Schirrhoffen; house number 00 [!]; father Jean Landauer (merchant) and mother ___elene Liebschutz [no further detail on parents]; first declarant Simon May, age 38, peddler, husband of deceased, second declarant a neighbor Joseph Oppenheimer.

Whether Eve or Jeanne, she apparently reverted to using the forename Breinel. The first three characters of her mother's name are questionable (maybe Sof- , but the S and f don't look right). Apparently Hirtzel Landauer changed his forename to Jean, but moved from Wintzenheim before 1808 -- he doesn't appear in the DJ book there.

4) Death record 16 Nivose Year 2 (5 January 1794), Wintzenheim (on-line page 11/43): Hundel Landauerin, born Leisserin, age 42 years, born in Suflum [Soufflenheim], resident of Wintzenheim; died the previous afternoon at 2 o'clock; declarant and husband Hirtzel Landauer, handelsmann, age 46.

So Hindel Leisser did NOT become ___lene Liebschutz. Re-checking Breinel's marriage record, her mother Hindel Leisser might be shown as deceased (a word or two cannot be deciphered that are probably critical).

Hirtzel/Jean Landauer must have remarried to another Leiser/Liebschutz after Hindel's death (other Leiser became Liebschutz in Schirrhoffen). Such a marriage does not appear in either the Wintzenheim or Schirrhoffen tables 1792-1832. Whatever the case, Breinel's 1826 death record apparently did not correctly identify her birth mother.

5) Salomon Simon and Baruch Simon: No evidence found of either of these in the Schirrhoffen tables 1792-1832. They did not appear in the Schirrhoffen DJ book.

6) Children of Jean May (Hirtzel Simon) and Breinel Landauer, in Schirrhoffen, as listed in the Beit Hatfutsot database:

No birth of a Simon May in Tables Year 11-1812.

- Birth of Isaac May, 19 Aug 1808, son of Simon May, handels Jud, age 30, and Johanna Landauer.
- Birth of Reine Mey, 24 June 1814, daughter of Johann Mey, Juif commercant, age 31, and Breinel Herzele.
- Birth of Zieberle May, 13 April 1817, son of "Jean May or Herzel Simon", Juif commercant, age 36, and Breinel Landauer.
- Birth of Leon Mey, 18 February 1822, son of Jean Mey, commercant, age 43, and Brigithe Landauerin. Second declarant Jean Stamm, age 34, clerk of the mayory, resident of Sufflenheim.

Simon May, born 1808 in Schirrhoffen, Alsace, France, son of Jean May and Breinel Landauer, died after 1851. Source: Beit Hatfutsot Database

No other children were found born to these parents in Schirrhoffen. The names of the parents (and the age of the father) in the records shown above are quite a mish-mash but they all do, arguably, represent the same people. Those records do not hold any apparent clues regarding the brothers of Hirtzel Simon. There were two other apparently-Jewish May/Mey males (Leopold and Lehmann) having children in Schirrhoffen roughly contemporaneously with Jean Mey; but a sampling of those records did not show a relationship with Jean.

Name Change: Hirtzel Simon/Jeanne Landauer Family, 21 October 1808 Schirrhoffen DJ Book, Entry 41: Hirtzel Simon declares he has taken the family name MAY and forename Jean; his wife Jeanne Landauer; and his children Simon and Isaac May. [The wife's name here is Jeanne, not Eve. So there are only 2 children, suggesting a marriage in the previous few years. Marriage not recorded in Schirrhoffen, back to 1792.]

Breinel Landauer Death Record: Died 10 June 1826, Schirrhoffen: Breinel Landauer, wife of Simon May; age 43 years, one month, 2 days; born in Wintzenheim, resident of Schirrhoffen; house number 00 [!]; father Jean Landauer, merchant, and mother ___elene Liebschutz [no further detail on parents]; first declarant Simon May, age 38, peddler, husband of deceased, second declarant a neighbor Joseph Oppenheimer.]

SARA SIMON & BERE LEVI

Sara Simon (c.1783-1823). She moved to Schirrhoffen, where she had a son, then to Haguenau with her husband Bere Levi (c.1782-bef. 1623) of Ohlungen, 14 miles west of Soufflenheim. Changed her name to Sara Canard in 1808.

Records:

1784 Jewish Census: Residence: Soufflenheim. Family Number Four. Head: Simon Salomon. Wife: Kayen Baruch. Sons: Salomon, Baruch, Hirtzel. Daughter: Sara.

1784 Census Ohlungen: Entry #2, husband Beres Levy, wife Ester, daughters Bessel, Guttel, Hannen, Mariem, sons Borach, Lazare (husband of Sarah Simon).

Marriage record of Sara Simon and Bere Levi, 01 June 1803 (12 Prarial Year 11), Schirrhoffen: Sara Simon, age 25, born in Sufflenheim 08 May 1779, daughter of Simon Salemon and Kayemin(?), both deceased, lived in Sufflenheim. Occupation: hantelsleute (trading people/merchants). Groome: Bere Levi, age 21, born in Olungen 08 March 1782, son of Bere Levi, butcher living in Haguenau, and deceased Escher(?) Samuel, in life former married people and butcher living in Haguenau, Lower Rhine Department.

Marriage record of Sara Simon and Bere Levi, 01 June 1803 (12 Prarial Year 11), Schirrhoffen: Appeared here to contract marriage Bere Levi aged 21 years, born in Ohlungen the 8 March in year 1782 son of Bere Levi butcher in Haguenau and of deceased Roser [Escher?] Samuel his wife both in Haguenau in her lifetime, and Sara Simon 25 years old, born in Soufflenheim the 8 May 1779 daughter of deceased

Simon Salomon and of Karin [Kayemin?], his wife, in their life merchants in Soufflenheim, in front of me Antoine Runtz maire in Schirrhoffen, both declared they wanted to marry each other, passed in presence of Jacob Volf, 60 years old, merchant in Schirrhoffen, Hiertzel Machole, 30 years old in Schirrhoffen, district Bischwiller, Bas Rhin, and Elias Hirtzel, 36 years old, butcher in Schirrhoffen, and me, mayor, Anton Runtz here who first read aloud the present documents and received their consent, and declared them married, follow the signatures or marks of those who cannot write. Signed: X Sara Simon Hebraic signatures and Runtz, mayor. Source: Marie Peres

Birth record of Simon Levy, 21 September 1804 (04 Complementary Year 12), Haguenau: Son of Lazare Levy, butcher, age 26, and Sara Simon. Death recorded on 01 August 1806, at age 21 months.

1808 Haguenau Name Declaration Book, Entries 500-503: Lazare (Bere) Levy and Sara Simon family.

- Lazare (Bere) Levy: Entry 500: Lazare Levy keeping the same name.
- Ester Levy: Entry 501: Lazare Levy calling his daughter 'Ester Levy', born 1806 in Haguenau.
- Sara Canard (Sara Simon): Entry 502: Sara Simon renaming herself 'Sara Canard'.
- Abraham Canard: Entry 503: Sara Simon calling her son 'Abraham Canard', born 1799 in Schirrhoffen.

Death record of Beretz Levy (Senior), 02 August 1817, Haguenau: The presumed elder Bere Levy died at age 86. His name was shown in that record as 'Beretz' Levy and his deceased wife's as 'Esther'.

Death record of Sara Canard (Sara Simon), 09 Jan 1823, Haguenau: Age 40, born in Schirrhoffen, widow of Levy Lazare.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF HAGUENAU

Histoire des Juifs d' Haguenau, Judaism of Alsace and Lorraine: <http://judaisme.sdv.fr/> Translated into English by Google/Reverso <http://judaisme.sdv.fr/synagog/basrhin/g-p/haguenau/hist-hag/hist1.htm>

The original book in its entirety can be found online at Gallica-BnF: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k94203701/f12.item.r=histoire%20juive%20haguenau>

About the Author

Elie Scheid, 1841-1922, born in Haguenau, trained as an accountant, hops trader for a brewery, member of the Haguenau city council, and inspector of agricultural colonies in Palestine for Baron Edmond de Rothschild. He published two major texts on Judaism in Alsace: *Histoire des Juifs de Haguenau* (1885) and *Histoire des Juifs d'Alsace* (1887). His father, Siméon Abraham, was born in 1769 in Schirrhoffen, adjacent to Soufflenheim, an important Jewish community. After the French Revolution he settled in Haguenau, where his family had provided many members to the Rabbinical Court, working first as a peddler, then as an iron trader. Elie was born to his second union with Sarah Moch of Haguenau.

HISTOIRE DES JUIFS D' HAGUENAU

(Extracted from *The Revue Des Etudes Juives*), By Elie Sheid, A la Librairie A. Durlacher, 83 bis, rue de Lafayette, Paris, 1885.
(Subtitles are from the editorial staff of the site ASIJA)

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I. UNDER GERMAN DOMINATION

From the 12th to the 14th Century

Chapter 1

In the many works of historians of Alsace there are scattered local or general notices on the Jews of this province, but they are mostly vague and without precision. For Haguenau especially we only have short notes from Schoepflin and a few passages from Strobel. No one has yet been concerned with extracting from the city archives the details of a local monograph on the Jews who inhabited it from the 12th century to the present day.

We wanted to undertake this work and we did it to the extent of our strengths. Its setting, though restricted to the boundaries of the former Imperial City, is large enough to merit our attention, and the facts we know tie quite well together to form an ongoing history. One will find there like an image of the history of the Jews, in all the cities of the Middle Ages.

The origin of the village of Haguenau is lost in the mists of time. Its rise to the rank of city is relatively modern.

In 1125, Frederic, the One-eyed, Duke of Alsace, built "the Burg", the imperial castle, around which quickly grouped the residences of its officers and functionaries.

In 1164, Haguenau officially took the name of town, was surrounded by walls, and received from Frédéric Barberousse ⁽¹⁾ the diploma regulating its administrative and legal organization. It is on this diploma that all the future development of the city rests, which was to become the first among its Alsatian sisters.

The inhabitants had received many privileges. They were free and frank of all seignorial rights; they had unlimited grazing permits in the forest, except for sheep. Their goods, for the whole of Germany, were exempt from customs duties for entry and exit, etc., etc.

The most important privilege was the freedom granted to them to go and fetch litter, firewood and timber from the forest (except oaks and beeches). The inhabitants enjoyed this privilege for more than six centuries, without the forest having to suffer.

The immigrants shared the same rights as the former inhabitants. These advantages naturally had to bring to Haguenau many foreigners, and among them Jews, who were attracted, with freedoms widely granted, by the hope of business to be transacted in a city which received frequent visits from great personages. These Jews probably arrived from Germany shortly after Haguenau's rise to city status. Others undoubtedly came there a little later, in 1182, from the French provinces of the East when the Jews were driven out of France by Philippe-Auguste. Haguenau, who wanted to become a big city, opened the arms to all the new ones who come, Jews or Christians, as Schoepflin says ⁽²⁾ *Iudaeos nunquam, non Hagenoa admisit* (Haguenau, at all times admitted Jews). What makes us suppose that among our ancestors appeared French families, it is that on a list of the Jews of Haguenau, dated 1341, a large number of names are French.

On their arrival, the Jews were doubtless granted the right to buy houses in all parts of the city, because then there had not yet been the idea of locking them in a ghetto. Contracts relating to houses which, in the 14th century, belonged to Jews, and which, upon the arrival of the Jews in Haguenau, must have been purchased by them are found in the city archives. We see two Jews living in the street which received the name of Rue des Juifs. A third was the owner of the house *zum Bracken*, a fourth of that of *zum Pantier*, both in *Volfsgasse* ⁽³⁾ and contiguous to the town hall. A fifth lived in a house in a street that ran alongside a property, which in the 14th century became the civilian hospital. This one was responsible for keeping the swimming pool (*mikveh*) at home, as we will show later. Finally a Jew had settled in the *Ortiebensgasse* (now the rue de l'Ecurie), and later, in the following century, one of his heirs purchased a house which adjoined it, from behind ⁽⁴⁾, in *Lungegasse* (today rue Meyer or rue du Théâtre).

So here they are six families. Their first concern was to have a synagogue. In order to be in sufficient number to pray (ten men) each of the six fathers took a Jewish servant. When their establishment seemed stable enough to them, they bought a house in the Marché-aux-Grains crossroads, opposite the rue des Juifs, next to that *zum Spiegel*, and soon they installed a small synagogue ⁽⁵⁾.

In 1252, enjoying a certain tranquility, confident in the future, they devoted the few savings they had made to the restoration of this synagogue.

In commemoration of this event, they had the date 5012 engraved on a stone corresponding to the year 1252, and placed it inside the temple.

How could this stone have been preserved until our days, and in 1819, be walled up, in the current synagogue, especially after the confiscation made in 1341, of the building which contained it? This is what we do not know. We suppose that the Jews managed to come to an agreement with the new owner to redeem at least this memory.

From their establishment in Haguenau until the middle of the 13th century, these few Jewish families lived peacefully among their compatriots. But from the end of the 12th century the fable began to circulate that the Jews killed Christian children for their Passover. This fable increases the excitement of the crowd, already inflamed by the preaching of the Crusades and by this Bull of Innocent III (1199), which said that the Jews deserve to be exterminated, but that Christians need them to see them one day come to embrace the religion of Christ.

The Jews of Haguenau, as well as all their co-religionists in Germany, asked Conrad, king of the Romans, to protect them against popular hatred. This one declared in 1234, that the Jews were particularly serfs of the Imperial Chamber ⁽⁶⁾ (*servi sunt camerae nostrae speciales*); consequently, he took under his protection their persons and their goods,

According to the chronicler Richer de Senones, in 1236, the Jews of Haguenau were like those of Erfurt, of Fulda, accused before Frederick II of having killed Christian children.

They were acquitted, no doubt, adds the historian, because they had bought this acquittal by weight of gold. The emperor showed too much indulgence there, he adds (*nimiam imperatoris in eos indulgentiam improbens*) ⁽⁷⁾.

In 1262, Richard IV, King of the Romans, granted the city of Haguenau a diploma confirming the privileges granted by his predecessors. He added a paragraph concerning the Jews: "We want and order that the Jews of Haguenau, serfs of our Imperial Chamber, are, according to our letters patent, subordinate only to our Chamber, and to our orders. Let no one allow themselves to subject them to any undue and unusual service, nor to break our law in any way, if he does not want to incur our disgrace" ⁽⁸⁾.

This order, which left no doubt as to what was watching them, assured them a little more rest. For more than half a century, the situation of the Jews was thus quite prosperous.

At the beginning of the year 1313, Henry VII, Count of Luxembourg, who had been appointed king of the Romans in 1308, was poisoned at Buon-Convento. The throne was then contested by Frederick the Fair of Austria and Louis of Bavaria. As the imperial cities could not do without the protection of a lord, at least, Haguenau addressed himself to this effect, to John, son of Conrad, and to John, son of John, both lords of Lichtenberg, and the October 27, 1313 a treaty was concluded between the two parties.

The first article basically said:

"We take under our protection the bourgeois of Haguenau, Christians and Jews, and all that is part of the city. We will also keep the oath we have taken to them, to come to their aid in case of need" ⁽⁹⁾.

For this protection, the city had to pay a certain sum of money, which it paid, in part, by a tax on the Jews: a method of payment then generally accepted.

Also article XII of the same treaty, concerning this clause, adds:

"On the other hand, the Jews must give us per year, *because we are their administrators*, fifty agent marks ⁽¹⁰⁾, and no more, and must also do their chores in the city, as is right" ⁽¹¹⁾.

This tax was distributed among the six fathers of families ⁽¹²⁾.

Despite these double rights of protection that the Jews had to settle, we will never meet a complaint, as long as we are not too unfair to them. They were so used to being seen as the true free treasurers of all the powerful, that a little more or a little less taxation hardly affected them. They only wanted to live and work to support themselves and their families.

Soon after, Frederick was named king of the Romans, and in 1315 sent the city of Haguenau a diploma, which allowed him to dispose of the proceeds of the Ungeld (tax on wine) at his will, and forever, and he further promised never to give in fief to anyone, neither the contribution to be paid to the Empire, nor the tribute to be paid by the Jews ⁽¹³⁾.

The clearest result of this diploma, for the Jews, was that they were allowed to continue to reside in the city, and that they were left alone.

This happy situation ended with the 14th century. This century was not auspicious for Jews in general. In all the Catholic countries, it was as if the word was given to pounce on them, and those of Alsace were not spared more than the others.

Persecutions began in the Haut-Rhin. In 1333, there arose a veritable army of peasants, marching under the command of an innkeeper, who had taken the title of *Armleder*, because it had as a rallying sign a leather bracelet, attached to the arm. The main goal of this troop was the pillage and murder of the Jews. She drove them out of Rouffach, Ensisheim and the surrounding area, and massacred most of them, numbering about 1,500. Several families had taken refuge in Colmar. Armleder laid siege to it, but to no avail. These same bands spread successively over Germany, and soon there were formed in the latter country new troops of peasants armed with pitchforks, axes and scythes, who marched under the leadership of two former nobles, also wearing the bracelet in leather and also responding to the name of Armleder ⁽¹⁴⁾. Neither Bavaria, Bohemia, nor Austria were spared. One of the leaders of this army had spread the rumor that an angel from heaven had appeared to him and had entrusted him with the mission of avenging in the blood of the Jews the tortures and wounds that their ancestors had subjected to Christ ...

Louis of Bavaria, in 1331, in vain to issue edict after edict to announce that the Jews were under his protection, he was not listened to. And had he been, his orders had come too late: the greatest harm had been done. Fortunately, the Emperor seized one of the two chiefs and had him beheaded. This example is enough to soon disperse all these bands. However, they did not fail to reform on other points.

In the last years of the reign of Louis of Bavaria especially, the civil war, anarchy had reached its culmination in Alsace: in Sélestadt, they had burned almost all the Jews. However, those of Haguenau would still have been fairly quiet, without the ambition of the great.

In July 1346, Charles, son of King John of Bohemia, was made king of the Romans by a number of princes of the Empire. He hastened to announce this news to the city of Strasbourg as well as to the other imperial cities, and at the same time asked them for complete obedience. These and their Jews, unable to serve two princes, were quite disposed to regard Charles as a usurper. Charles, receiving no answer, began by giving full powers to Jean de Lichtenberg, dean of Strasbourg, and immediately Haguenau, along with the other towns, was banished from the Empire. Then, in the name of Charles IV, John confiscated the houses of the Jews as well as their temple. The city, in turn, impoverished beyond measure by long wars of previous years, and calculating the profit to be derived from the situation, plundered the Jews, subjected them to all kinds of torture, and finally drove them out of the city. No one raised their voice in favor of these unfortunate people, hunted like wild beasts, prowling around the city, and not knowing where they could find an asylum. They kept coming back to Haguenau and begged the magistrate for mercy, but in vain.

During this time, Charles, to obtain resources, gave among other pledges the *Schultheisamt* of Haguenau with its privileges in the forest and the convents which were there; to Duke Frédéric de Teck, for 1,400 marks ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Fortunately for these towns, on October 11, 1347, Louis died, poisoned, some say, of a stroke, according to others. They began to breathe, and having only one master, they thought of looking after their own interests. Haguenau eventually took pity on the Jews and allowed them to return to the city, on condition that they would pay his debts. Rather harsh condition; but as the creditors were

Jews from Strasbourg, they accepted, hoping to be able to come to an arrangement with their co-religionists. So they went to the town hall and signed the following declaration:

"We, Vernard Spitze and Claus Meiger, aldermen in Hagenau, hereby let all those who see them be heard read, that before us appeared the Jews whose names follow, namely: Meyerlin, son of old Dyrel, Lasond, Isaac Dyrel son, Dyheman, Isaac Moyses son, Jacob Senderlin son, Symelman, son-in-law of Bychelin, Michel, son-in-law of Viden, Dyrel, brother of Seckelin, who announced that, of goodwill, of their own accord, and by mutual agreement, after having thought about it carefully, and for the common good of the Jews of Hagenau, they agreed to pay all the debts that our city has, to this day, contracted towards the Jews of Strasbourg.

For this, they will release all the notes which are thus in the hands of these creditors, so that the debt will be fully paid at the next feast of Notre-Dame.

They undertake, moreover, to avoid any inconvenience to the city, for any recognition which could be presented before the term fixed above, and in its goods, and in its other properties; they will also ensure that no one comes to claim interest in any way.

As a surety, they introduced the prudent and honorable Diemar Bogener the old and Diemar Bogener the young, Pierre Schotte, Cuntze Rosenbaum Schoeffen, and the bourgeois Sieurs loansen Harrer and Hermann Duchmann.

To cover the collateral, the above-mentioned Jews pledge their bodies and property, their claims on houses and farms, their interiors with all household items, in a word, everything they own, whether they are movable or immovable, or goods of another denomination.

It is understood that, if the Jews do not pay all these debts, and if someone has the misfortune to present one of his recognitions, the bourgeois guarantors designated above will have the right to attack the said Jews, and to make them sell everything until full payment.

The Jews recognize once again that no one forced them to make this sacrifice, nor coerced them against their own will. They undertake at the same time, again, to observe all the rights, usually called municipal rights.

On the other hand, no one will harm them in the privileges that have been granted to them.

Done and spent in Hagenau, the Tuesday before All Saints' Day in 1347" ⁽¹⁶⁾.

The Jews complied, and the city of Hagenau was able to pay the Emperor his tribute. As a reward for this submission, and by virtue of the powers conferred on him, John of Lichtenberg, on Thursday before Saint Catherine of the same year, lifted the ban of the Empire pronounced against the city. He consequently allowed her to hold her offices, without fear of being disturbed in the service. He further gave her full absolution ⁽¹⁷⁾ for everything she had recently done to the Jews, promising her that no one would ever have recourse against her for the tribulations she had put them through ⁽¹⁸⁾.

The Jews for their part, hardly returning to the city, sought to find houses. They bought, among others, four in *Hoffersgasse* (Rue du Sel), took two contiguous for the synagogue, reserving the others for homes.

Let us say here that in 1492, this collapsing synagogue was completely rebuilt. The building, this time, was worthy of the community and the city. On one of the cornerstones was engraved the inscription of which we give a facsimile.

"This stone (is the one) that we have laid as a cornerstone, for this humble temple; may we be taken into account up there of the money brought for the repair of this house, with joy. May God send his servant Elijah, to build it and found it with happiness and joy, and we will respond strongly to Amen, at all times and circumstances."



The date, as we can see, is marked by the signs placed on the letters: ו-מ-ה-ב-י-ה-ה-ד-ע-א-ב or next to them. By adding it, we find the year 252, that is to say 5252 of the era of creation, corresponding to the year 1492 of the Christian era.

Only all these sacrifices had completely ruined them and they no longer had sufficient resources, neither to make the necessary repairs, nor to obtain books of the law and other objects indispensable to worship.

They came to an understanding with a Sieur Claus Mundelin who lent them 100 Strassburger pfenning pounds, at 10%, against first mortgage, on these common properties, with everything they contained ⁽¹⁹⁾.

Simon of Lichtenberg, to whom the emperor had given four Jewish houses, confiscated in 1347, gave them to the city the following year. They were:

1. That *zum Bracken* which had belonged to Isaac Dyrel, nicknamed Stein im Auge;
2. That of *Sanfel*, next to the previous one called *zum Pantier*;
3. The house of Sanfel fils, located rue des Juifs;
4. The house of Michel, Viden's son-in-law, in the *lunge Gasse* (rue du théâtre), and *Orttiebens Gasse* (rue de l'Ecurie).

The other Jewish houses such as that in the rue des Juifs next to the *Kirschurlaube* (current Sorg house), the property in the alley of the civil hospital, where the mikvah was located, and finally the synagogue ⁽²⁰⁾ also called *das Judenus* ⁽²¹⁾, had been ceded by the emperor to Baltram, count of Deux-Ponts. The latter, on the Monday after Valentine's Day in 1349, sold these three properties to the city for three hundred Strassburger pfenning.

He had to give him three bonds against this sum guaranteeing the city the reimbursement of his money, in case the Jews were ever allowed to claim their properties. He would also have to take into account any damage that may result to her ⁽²²⁾.

Although still in a precarious situation, the Jews of Haguenu were much less unhappy than their co-religionists from other towns in Alsace and if they had to endure this exile of a few months, it was the first and the last. So later, in 1349, when fanaticism raised the pyres in Strasbourg, the Jews of Haguenu, along with some Jews from other towns, were sheltered from the auto-dafé.

14th to the 16th Century

Chapter 2

A few years after his accession to the throne, Charles IV made a trip to Alsace, and stopped for a long time at Hagenau. During his stay, the magistrate asked him to confirm a right that he had already assumed on his own in 1347, that of welcoming the Jews again. He did not refuse and, in 1353, he granted them this privilege:

We, Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Romans, etc., having found that the Schultheis, the council and the inhabitants of the town of Hagenau have always behaved properly towards us and the Holy Empire, which has won our friendship, and in the hope that they will continue in this way in the future, we have allowed them, knowingly, by special and very royal grace to receive in the said city of Hagenau Jews of any country, and to maintain them in all the rights they had had in the city at all times.

We ask all our princes and those of the Holy Empire, the counts, the dukes, the towns, the boroughs, the knights and the squires, finally all our devoted subjects, not, under any pretext, to molest or to divert of their goods, the city, the citizens of Hagenau and all the Jews who will come to their homes and reside there. If anyone allows himself to harm them in any way, or to damage their properties, we pray, and if necessary we request, by virtue of our power, the landvogt who will be there at that time, and all those of the imperial cities of Alsace, to do them justice, by helping them as much as possible, to protect them and severely punish those who have contravened our orders, because they will have deserved our disgrace, like that of the Holy Empire.

This act is sealed with our royal seal at Hagenau, after the birth of Christ, thirteen hundred years, then the fifty-third year, the first Tuesday after All Saints, the eighth year of our reign ⁽²³⁾.

The city freed from its debts was then in a period of tranquility and prosperity. In her gratitude for those who had paid her debts and who had kept their commitments so well, she gave in May 1354, to the community, an amplification of the privilege of Charles IV, by which the magistrate specified the rights and obligations of Jews.

This document was written on parchment, while until then the Jews were told verbally the orders which concerned them.

Also considering that this piece was a valuable title to keep, the community officials had taken care to put on the back in Hebrew characters: *Ze hatenoim minn hoir, ascher nossnou lajehoudim mehagenau*; that is to say, "this privilege comes from the city and was given by it to the Jews of Hagenau".

From generation to generation, this document has passed into the hands of various presidents who have succeeded one another in the Jewish community of Hagenau. Only about twenty years ago, the son of one of them, Mayer Strauss, handed it over to the archives, where we have been able to read it ⁽²⁴⁾.

Let it not be imagined, however, that after that the Jews had only to come into the city, to be admitted there. The six families that we know only had the right of residence. But these six families, as we have already said, and as we will see again, took, by the marriages of children, rather great developments.

Ten years after the acquisition of the synagogue, the church and the convent of the Franciscans found it bad that the Jews officiated in this temple, because formerly, under the Ottelin property, there had been a chapel placed under the invocation of Saint James. The community hastened to come to an agreement with these two powers, and in the month of September 1358 ⁽²⁵⁾, acquired the right to officiate in the synagogue, by agreeing by treaty to pay in turn the six years of land rent at the convent, as much at the church, and two denarii for the sacristan charged with collecting the funds.

During the stay of Charles IV in Hagenau, in 1353, peace was concluded in all Alsace. It lasted until 1356. At that time, the ten imperial cities, in order to have more guarantee of security, had concluded between them a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. Hagenau was the first to take advantage of it, in 1359, when Jean de Lichtenberg came to attack it. Hagenau's allies rushed to his aid and forced Jean to sign peace with Erstein.

City War

The league of cities lasted until the death of Charles IV (1378). However, to protect themselves against the new Emperor Wenceslas IV, eight of these cities, Colmar, Hagenau, Mulhouse, Obernai, Rosheim, Sélestadt, Seltz and Wissembourg, signed, in 1379, a new act of confederation for five years ⁽²⁶⁾.

So, helping Wenceslas, one of the most disastrous wars that had ever been seen in our province broke out in Alsace, undertaken by the lords against the towns, the *town wars or Städte-Krieg*.

Hostilities began in 1383. In order not to be completely wiped out, fifty-two towns in the Palatinate and Alsace agreed to help each other. As Wenceslaus had sided with the lords, the towns no longer paid him taxes, and even cashed those which went to the Empire, among others, the tribute of the Jews.

At the head of the movement were Haguenau, Colmar, Kaysersberg, Sélestadt and Turckheim.

The emperor sent Stanislas de Vitenmüle in vain to these five cities, to try to bring them back to him. The Jews came to an understanding with their direct authorities, and the envoy returned to his master empty-handed.

Wenceslas, returning to the charge, sent Lutzen de Wedel with a mission to make things right. Lutzen had the same success as Stanislas. Then, at the end of his resources, the emperor addressed himself directly to the rebel towns by letter, asking them to force the Jews to pay the sums he demanded ⁽²⁷⁾.

You didn't have to be a great diplomat to see that the cities didn't want to give up the tribute of the Jews. So they paid no attention to the letter and the threat it contained. Sometime later, Wenceslas had them summoned before the Prague tribunal, to answer for their disobedience, but they did not comply with this summons any more than at his first invitation.

Haguenau, Colmar and Sélestadt, with their inhabitants, Christians or Jews, were then banished from the Empire.

However, the war could not last forever, and when we saw most of Alsace sacked and 150 villages burned, peace was concluded in May 1389 at Eger in Bohemia ⁽²⁸⁾.

Immediately afterwards, Wenceslas lifted the ban of the Empire pronounced against the Master and the Council of Haguenau, ban which they had deserved, "mainly because, against us and the Holy Empire, they had prevented the Jews, serfs of the Imperial Chamber, who live in Haguenau, from obeying us, and in addition had lent them assistance" ⁽²⁹⁾.

A similar letter from the Aulic Court was sent to them for the same reasons a few days later.

Finally, on December 21, Wenceslas, by letters patent, also lifted the ban which had been pronounced against the Jews of Haguenau.

The Reign of Duke Palatine Robert

Shortly after, the deceit of a lord brought about the forced abdication of the madman who wore an imperial crown on his head, and Duke Palatine Robert succeeded Wenceslas.

Hardly called to power, Robert appointed as landvogt in Alsace, Hanneman of Sickingen. The latter immediately wrote to the magistrate of Haguenau that he undertook to protect the inhabitants of the city and with them the Jews. He added:

"If it happens that a Jew, among those who have been accepted as inhabitants of Haguenau, is guilty of any wrongdoing, he will have to appear in court, before the council of Haguenau.

I will attend it myself and I will agree with the opinion of the plurality, for the sentence that will be pronounced in this case."

After the massacre of the Jews of Strasbourg in 1349, it was decreed that the City would never receive one again. However, in 1369 ⁽³⁰⁾, the following families: Vifelin son of Aram, Mannekint and Jacoben his brother-in-law of Speyer, Deyat of Bergheim, Simon his brother, Vifelin the brother of Manne de Vorms; in 1383 ⁽³¹⁾, Simon son of Eliatz, Joseph Rosen, Mennelin of Ulm, his brother Lowen, Moyses of Bretheim, Abraham the husband of the lamewoman, Velin, Lowen of Wesel, Isac de Mollosheim, Mathis de Brisac, and later still some others were allowed to return to Strasbourg to settle there. The city even granted them a site to install a cemetery. But this situation lasted only twenty-one years and in 1389 they were driven out again, and this time the law remained in force for four centuries, until 1789 ⁽³²⁾.

Of these Jews driven out in 1389, a certain number spread in the surroundings of Haguenau. It also happened in the city itself. They were allowed to stay there for a year. This authorization was renewed, and by the end of the 14th century most of them were still in Haguenau.

Among these newcomers was one named Mensch. This one, for a reason not known to us, had to pay a certain amount of money to the emperor. The Jew, finding it exorbitant, preferred to sneak out of the city. Later, Dietrich of Wasseinheim came to receive this sum; he found Mensch's door closed: the Jew died. The emperor's envoy accused Walther, who was then zinsmeister in Haguenau, of having agreed with the Jew to make him leave. In order to recover his money, he had Walther snatched from his home by his

people, who locked him up in the speicherhof (customs). However, as the emperor was hated, and his representatives even more, the zinsmeister's party was taken in the city. Immediately, the Ritter family, composed of the Sieurs Jean, Pierre, Claus and Simon, headed some bourgeois, ran to the speicherhof and delivered Walther. During the day they learned that Dietrich of Wasseinheim had threatened the Ritters with revenge by the emperor for their daring help. They rang the bell and, preceded by the bourgeois carrying banners and followed by a large crowd, they returned to the speicherhof to force the landvogt to make amends for his threat. It was only a miracle that he escaped death.

He allowed this anger to subside; but in 1404 he came to lodge a complaint with the city of Hagenau, saying that for a miserable Jew he had almost lost his life:

"These Ritters and their companions, he said, came to the speicherhof with swords and knives, and without the help of Sieur Gering Lavelin, a former blacksmith, I was assassinated. "I want to die," he added, "if the affair has not taken place as I have traced it here at the table" (33).

Also, and for the loss which the emperor had incurred and for the dangers which he himself had run, he asked that the city force Walther to give him the Jew and two thousand florins, or in case the Jew should not be found, three thousand florins. As no one could, or rather did not want to, testify against Walther, he was acquitted, apparently, after which he was never apprehended.

Jewish Refugees during the Reign of Sigismund

Robert did not keep the throne for long, and died in 1410, lamented by his subjects; he was replaced by Sigismund, brother of Wenceslas.

The Jews, as we have already related above, had multiplied sufficiently in Hagenau and in the surroundings, so that Sigismund already believed himself obliged to stop this increase. To this end, he sent the municipality an edict in which he said:

"Therefore, and in order to prevent the evil from getting worse, and to free the Christians from it, we decree that no bourgeois or inhabitant of the city from now on will be able to rent or sell to the Jews any house, in the city or in the suburbs of Hagenau. Nor give them any dwelling. No Jew shall be able to acquire or rent them, without the knowledge, permission and written consent of the Master and the Senate who are or will be in Hagenau. Whoever contravenes this law, a Christian or a Jew, shall be punished with a fine of thirty fine gold marks, applicable half to the imperial chamber, half to the magistrates of Hagenau.

On the other hand, let us ask and order our imperial Landvogt, our officers and his, not to disturb those who remain Hagenau, whom our ordinance does not touch, but to keep them there on the contrary and to protect them, if they like to keep our favor" (34). (1436.)

When around 1440, the Armagnacs came to devastate Alsace ⁽³⁵⁾, all these families scattered everywhere, received from the city the authorization to come and stay there for some time, for a fee.

They unfortunately needed to have recourse very often to this hospitality, which was never refused them, but which they had to pay in cash, happy again to find at a high price a shelter against looting and massacres.

In 1470, the Swiss Confederates ravaged Alsace and killed or drove the Jews from Mulhouse, Colmar, Kaysersberg, Obernai and Sélestadt. These towns, taking advantage of the occasion, resolved, in a conference held in Colmar (1411), not to admit any more Jews among them ⁽³⁶⁾. Some soon returned from these decisions, others adhered to them, but these exclusions were confined to Haut-Rhin. Happily, Hagenau did not imitate them, and the Jews of this town still got through these terrible shocks. It was on this occasion that the surroundings of Hagenau scoured some of these fugitive families, who nourished the hope of one day benefiting from the protection that Hagenau could offer them.

We thus Arrive in the 16th Century

The first years of this century were a period of tranquility for Alsace. Around 1525, the peasant war broke out, which ended with the capture of the internal leaders in Hagenau ⁽³⁷⁾. The Jews were therefore not much more worried than their compatriots.

Unfortunately, in 1544, a troop of soldiers prepared to march towards France and met in Alsace ⁽³⁸⁾. The Jews of the neighborhood, fearing to be looted, came again to ask for permission to take refuge in Hagenau. It was granted to them. Twelve whole families, with their servants and their goods, arrived in the city and for these few days, each had to pay six florins ⁽³⁹⁾. As soon as the danger passed, they returned home.

The situation of the Jews of Haguenau changed in part in the middle of the 16th century; here are the circumstances. Those of Portugal, at the end of the previous century, had been obliged to be baptized. Later, around 1550, these "false Christians", as they were called, came from Holland and went to Alsace to go to Italy: they were almost everywhere imprisoned, especially in the Haut-Rhin. They were accused of wanting to go to the Turks to sell them arms. Colmar especially had become inexorable towards the Jews in general, and did not even want to allow them to pass through the city ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

It is obvious that, in these circumstances, those of the Bas-Rhin should not be spared. They were criticized for dressing like everyone else, which did not allow Christians to recognize them. Later, it is true, they were accused of not dressing like their compatriots!

Also, Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, to whom the latter had given full powers to administer, published a decree which was only the reproduction of the edicts of the popes on the part of the rouelle. The Jews were, in truth, neither less well nor better regarded. Despite this decree, the peasants who already knew them as Jews, before the publication of this edict, saw them without any surprise wear this degrading mark:

Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Hungary, Bohemia and the Romans, Infant of Spain, Grand Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Styria, Croatia, Corinthia, Württemberg, Count of Tyrol, etc., etc. ...,

Let us ordain to all prelates, counts, dukes, knights, squires, commanders of countries, captains, bishops, governors, administrators, lieutenants, employees, mayors, judges, magistrates, common bourgeois, and then to all our other clerical or lay subjects, of any position or situation, residing in our Austria, either at the bottom, at the top, or before, in our principalities and countries, duchies and territories, who will see or hear of the present, to observe the following:

Very often complaints have come from our subjects, that the Jewish nation, to whom we have allowed to inhabit some villages or cities of our possessions, not only does too much usury, and seeks to ruin the Christian people, but still, what is worse, engage in all kinds of evil actions, such as slander, insult, and contempt for our Christian name, belief, and religion. These evils come largely from the fact that these same Jews dwell in many places among the Christians, that they dress especially like the latter, and that they bear no outward sign, so that they trade, without sometimes being able to distinguish them from our faithful.

This is why, as true Catholic Lord and reigning prince, by the authority of our power, after weighing the pros and cons, we abrogate all that has been done up to this day, and order:

Within a month, after the publication of this edict, each Jew will be required to wear on his frock coat or overcoat, on the left side of his chest, a yellow wheel, of which below the size of the diameter, neither less wide nor smaller, made of a piece of yellow cloth, so it's in plain sight.

If one of them allows himself, after the expiration of this first month, to infringe our statutes and ordinances, and not to use this sign, he will be the first and the second time completely exposed. He will take his clothes and everything he wears on him. Half of the booty will belong to the one who took the prize, and the other half to the magistrates or to the justice of the country in which the Jew was found at fault.

But if the thing is renewed for the third time, it is necessary that not only be taken away all that it will carry on him, but that he, his wife and his children be driven immediately and forever from all our properties.

In the event, however, that these Jews trade outside their country, they do not need to wear this sign on the roads, until the moment when they seek to find accommodation for the night, either in the cities, either in the towns or in the villages.

Only then must they take the yellow badge again so that they are recognized.

We therefore recommend that everyone in particular ensure that this ordinance is observed among the Jews.

Anyone who meets a Jew without this sign, and does not do his duty, will be severely punished, and will still pay for what has been lost in this way.

Let all these recommendations be carried out to the letter if we do not want to incur our disgrace.

Given in our city of Vienna on the first day of August 1551 of our reign, the Romans the 21st and other states the 25th year.

Signed: FERDINAND ⁽⁴¹⁾.

We find again traces of this yellow badge in 1561. It was then still compulsory for a few years, then it disappeared.

The thought of parking the Jews even germinated in the Council of Haguenau. We have seen that at the beginning of their arrival the Jews had had the choice of procuring houses where they wanted. We have therefore found them in the most beautiful streets of Haguenau. From 1348, out of a feeling of fear and in the thought that they would be stronger together, in the event of a riot, they had almost all gathered around the synagogue.

In the following century, around 1620, there was talk of the town hall assigning them a single district where they would be allowed to reside ⁽⁴²⁾. The motion did not find an echo, and this idea was abandoned.

However, although they were free to remain where they wanted, the Jews continued to confine themselves voluntarily to a kind of ghetto.

17th Century

Chapter 3

The years of unrest continued. There were constantly in Alsace, passing through, German troops heading for France, others even staying in Alsace ⁽⁴³⁾.

The Jews of the surroundings, never predicting anything good from these unpleasant visitors, applied to the city for authorization to come and take refuge in Haguenau. It was granted to them in return for 80 Strasbourg florins (at 5.05 7. = 404 fr).

But as they had already come this way three times, the magistrate was afraid to see them, later, found a kind of law on this precedent, and asked them before their exit from Haguenau, through their attendant Lazarus de Surbourg, to sign an act by which they acknowledged that they had been admitted to enter Haguenau only by "the grace and mercy of the magistrate".

Four years later, an armed troop from Burgundy, under the command of the Sieur de Maleroy, had marched on Strasbourg. She claimed to come to the aid of Protestants. At first it was well received. But when it was seen that her intention was to seize Brissac, the ten Allied towns began to wage war on her, and a few months later she returned to France via Saverne.

The Jews of the surroundings, always with Lazarus of Surbourg, in front, came to take refuge during the hostilities in Haguenau. They had to pay 150 Strasbourg florins for this temporary stay. They had arrived in July 1579 ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

One can imagine with what ardor they recited the lamentations on the day of the 9th of Ab. - But this noise did not suit the magistracy of the city: they summoned the attendant of the community and informed him that under article 2 of the Law of 1561, she forbade foreigners to pray in her synagogue. She did more. The Jews of Haguenau had to sign a treaty by which they undertook never to allow their co-religionists from outside to come to their temple. The first time they were found to be at fault in this respect, the synagogue would be closed. After the feasts, the local Jews were able to return home, but they had not been allowed to go to the synagogue all this time.

The community continued, as in the past, to have only six families, not counting the servants it needed. When one of the leaders died, he could be replaced. The most complete arbitrariness reigned in this matter. A certain Jew, in fact, who liked or benefited from protection, was often admitted without a loose purse; another was without reason, refused, or paid heavy fees.

During the hostilities, one of the six fathers, named Gerson, had died in Haguenau. He left a widow. The latter petitioned for the right to lodge her son-in-law Alexandre de Soultz-Sous-Forêts with her, so that she would not be alone. She claimed him as guardian of her minor children.

The Senate made an agreement with her on the following conditions:

"Her son-in-law will be able to come and stay with her, if he pays twenty Strasburger-Pfenning pounds every year (at 9.05 = 193 francs). Only if she remarries, or if, as a result of any affair, she changes her situation, her son-in-law will have to return to Soultz" ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

She did not remarry, she conducted exemplary behavior, and thus Alexandre could remain in Haguenau. He became the father of the Blums.

Everything remained quiet for some time, when, around June 1587 ⁽⁴⁶⁾, French and German troops, enrolled on behalf of Henri de Navarre, gathered in the Bas-Rhin. Two months later, they were joined by an army of Swiss Confederates.

The Jews of the surroundings, not finding themselves yet in safety at their home, came again to implore the magistrate of Haguenau to be good enough to allow them to reside in the town until after the war. Authorization was granted to them in return for 200 Strasbourg florins.

They were, with Lazarus of Surbourg at the head, Baruch of Soultz, Schlumme of Kutzenhausen, Raphaël of Beinheim, Mayet, brother-in-law of the preceding one in Schaffhausen near Hochfelden, Isaac and his son-in-law Salmé of Wittersheim, Süskind of Brumath, Mara and his son-in-law Hayem from Hatten and Model from Betschdorf ⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Despite all the sums they had paid to the city, they could only take up residence with the Jews of Haguenau.

Finally, after emptying their purses, they were able to return home to wait for better times.

Bonéfés' Plea

In 1607, by the death of one of its members, the community was further reduced to five households. A Jew from Wintzenheim (Bas-Rhin) named Bonéfés, thinking that the occasion was good to obtain the authorization to replace the deceased in the city, came to ask this favor of the magistrate of Haguenau.

It was in 1608. The city, enjoying a moment of tranquility, refused to admit it, alleging as a reason that it did not know him well enough to receive him in its midst. By dint of pleas, however, he managed to stay in Haguenau on a trial basis for two years. If during this period of time he behaved well, he might perhaps be allowed to settle his residence in this city.

He had, while waiting, to pay the tax like his co-religionists, and to obtain accommodation with one of them. It is easy to imagine what his kind of life was during those twenty-four months. His conduct did not give rise to any complaint, and finally at the expiration of the time allotted to him, he addressed to the local authorities, on parchment, the following writing:

I, Bonus, Jew of Wintzenheim, hereby acknowledge, for myself, my heirs and my descendants, that when two years ago the nobles, sages, very learned and honorable members of the magistracy and of the council of the saint imperial chamber and of the city of Haguenau, were kind enough to grant my request and allowed me to reside until this day in the city, it was by special grace on their part, and without the shadow of a right for my part.

As during this time I behaved well, I could not help but ask the city to grant me its protection and support for a subsequent stay. No one, I'm sure, has had a complaint about me so far. So I hope with complete confidence that the city will grant me, without interruption, its support and protection, both for myself and for my wife and my children after me, for a certain tribute to be paid every year.

I hope all the more that the higher authority made me understand that I could be accepted if, during these two years, I did not give rise to any complaint, which I can flatter myself. In my life, and after my death, my widow and my children, we will not forget this benefit, and as soon as we have the authorization, we will also try to have a house for our home and our family.

Here is what I agree to:

1. I will take the oath that is customary to take at the town hall, for myself, my heirs and my descendants, and I will agree by this that if I have obtained the authorization to remain in the city with my wife and my children, it was only by special grace and by the mercy of an honorable council, and not by right or royalty. I will also undertake, by this oath, never to do anything, neither against the royal or imperial privileges, nor against the freedoms, justice and the habits and customs of the locality, or any other acts, especially those which concern Jews, neither now nor later.
2. As long as I remain here, and that I will be tolerated there, I will not buy houses or goods, to resell them, neither directly nor indirectly.
3. If it pleases the venerated council not to want me anymore, in case I no longer suit him, for any misdeed, and he denounces his protection to us, I undertake to leave the city and seek a foot on land elsewhere, without resorting to complaints, supplications or recriminations. Before leaving, I will then be obliged to pay all my creditors.
4. For this support and this protection, I will pay annually twenty pounds strasbourger pfenning to the city, apart from what will be incumbent on me for capitations and faculties, to the stettmeister or others.

I also pledge never to lend money, make credit or take pledges under the statutes and regulations of the city, as every Jew should.

5. I will also always have in my stable two good horses that I will put at the disposal of the bourgeois who want to ride them, at a moderate price.

6. I will not keep other Jews in my house, and I will only give shelter to a poor person passing through for one night, as has always been done, and the next day I will take charge of sending him away.

7. The council will also do me the grace of allowing me to have each week, in the forest, a cart of dead wood for my own use.

All of the above I will keep to the letter; and for, apart from the oath, more security, I have me, Bonus, put at the bottom of the present, my signature, written with my own hand.

I, moreover, asked the noble and just Jean-Louis Surger, of Mutzig, to be good enough to put his seal at the bottom of this act, to confirm once again what is said above.

(What I, Jean-Louis Surger, referred to above, after the Bonus prayer, did, and acknowledge having done, without this act having to be detrimental to me, my heirs, my descendants or successors in my study.)

Done in Haguenau on Monday June 21. 1610.

Signed in Hebrew: Ich, BONEFES, bekenne wie owe steit ⁽⁴⁸⁾.

(I, Bonéfés, I recognize as it is written above.)

In an extraordinary meeting, held ad hoc, he was admitted under the conditions set out above. This Bonéfés was the root of all the Bonéfés or Bonef which, in 1808, took the name of Rose. He was also the first Jewish innkeeper in the city of Haguenau. Only later, in the following century, were there two.

In 1610 unrest broke out in Alsace, which once again forced the Jews from around Haguenau to take refuge in the city; they had to buy this refuge for 70 florins. When peace reigned again, the Jews had to leave Haguenau. Among them was an educated man, physician and rabbi; he asked the magistrates for permission to stay in the city. The council, in response, informed him of the following conclusions:

"We forbid Haym, Jew, rabi, to settle with us" ⁽⁴⁹⁾.

So he had to go too, to return to Landau, the town from which he had come.

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)

After a few years of rest, the Thirty Years War began. In 1621 the Swedish troops came to Alsace. Immediately the Jews from around Haguenau rushed to the city again to take shelter. They had to pay 12 reichsthalers per household and per semester, as temporary residence fees. Towards the end of the year, Mansfeld seized Haguenau, where his soldiers, with the consent of their superiors and in defiance of convention, began to plunder most of the establishments of the city, which were to be sacred to them, but where they sought treasures. Naturally, they did not fail to destroy everything in the Israelite temple as well. The books that they found and which could hardly be useful to them were torn up and thrown into the streets ⁽⁵⁰⁾.

The Israelites mourned these misfortunes, when, at the beginning of the year 1622, Archduke Leopold came to the aid of Haguenau and laid siege there to take it by storm. Mansfeld had had time to raise a war contribution, for which the Jews paid 400 florins.

In the meantime, in April, one of the Israelite refugees died. The community could not think of having him buried outside the city, in the current cemetery; she addressed herself accordingly to the Stettmeister Capito ⁽⁵¹⁾. He ceded part of his garden to them, to bury their dead, in return for a fee of one reichsthaler per death, which was to be paid to him personally. However, to be safe from all eventualities, they had to, on the day of death, and before they could even come to an agreement with Capito, submit the case to the magistrate. The council met on the 19th (in the meantime a second Jew had died) to agree on the question. The Israelites, it was said, not being able to leave the city to go to the cemetery to bury their two dead because of the troops which would arrest them, ask for a place in the city, and that as soon as possible. In fact, the longer the thing drags, the more danger there is (because

of the contagion and the large agglomeration of troops). They want to give the city a florin, as the right of burial ⁽⁵²⁾, as in the past. It was then decided:

"Let them arrange this matter as best they can, so that there will be no danger to the city, and that, while waiting for the end of the siege, they will bury their dead in the communal garden recently placed at the disposal of the Council commissioner. Let them pay for each burial a golden florin. Only that they take note that this authorization is granted to them only during the duration of the hostilities around Haguenu. After that, we will see to come to an agreement with them" ⁽⁵³⁾.

The Jews, called to hear these conclusions, begged the honorable members of the council to be good enough to moderate their demands. They agreed to pay this exceptional tribute to a Reichsthaler. When it was all over, the Stettmeister Capito came forward to tell his colleagues that he had already granted the Jews a corner of his garden, in return for one reichsthaler per death (in addition to the reichsthaler which was to be paid into the municipal fund), in adding that no one could claim anything against this arrangement. Of course he was proved right: he would have been obliged only to have had two Reichsthalers poured over him, if he had wanted to.

The Jews from the surrounding villages, who returned to their homes at the end of 1622, again came running in January 1623 to beg the authorities of Haguenu to be so good as to allow them to take refuge once again in the city. They received the authorization, on the condition that each family would give as residence rights the sum of 12 reichsthalers (at 5.80 = 69 fr. 60) and bring, with their goods, three viertel (sacks) of rye per head.

The Jews begged the magistrate to reduce this sum, given the great sacrifices they had made for nearly three years. The tax was then reduced to eight reichsthalers.

Finally, Haguenu recovered his freedom and above all a little peace: the foreign Jews returned to their villages.

Reconstruction of the Temple

When the spirits were a little quieted, the Israelite community thought of rehabilitating its temple. At the end of her tether, she turned to the bank, which was under the patronage of the city, to take out a loan. This bank's funds came from deposits, and it was through loans that this money was used. Mayer, in the name of all the Jews of Haguenu, therefore borrowed in February 1623, from the deposit made by the heirs of Philippe Wüllwesheim, the sum of one hundred pounds *neue ungarische ducats* (1063 fr.). To collect this sum, Mayer had to sign a note and give as security a gold chain weighing 16 1/2 loths and a half quintel (259 grams 7/10), in addition, three vermeil goblets weighing together 196 loths (i.e. 3 kilog. 62 1/2 gr.). The Jews were able to repay this advance with interest on September 20th of the same year ⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Thanks to the tranquility that had begun to reign in the city, the authorities once again had time to think of the Jews. During these last years of the war, one of the six fathers of a family was detained in Saverne, by the siege that Mansfeld had undertaken. He was forced to create an occupation there for food. He succeeds in his business, he liked moreover in this city. As he distinguished himself during the siege, Archduke Leopold had allowed him, at his request, to sell his house in Haguenu to another Jew and to come and live in Saverne. On his arrival in Haguenu, he presented his replacement to the magistracy. She forbade him to sell his house to this fellow believer. As this Jew Jäckel or Jacob believed himself within his rights, he lodged a complaint with Archduke Leopold, who interceded for him with the Landvogt ⁽⁵⁵⁾. After negotiations, he was able to get permission to leave, leaving in his place the so-called Gerstel, later called the German, to distinguish him from another Gerstel, then called the Welch, because he had arrived after French troops.

They were therefore again six families, when finally, on July 13, 1626, Jonas, son of Simon, received permission to settle in Haguenu as a protected Jew. However, he could not buy a bourgeois house; but he had to go and stay with his father, pay 12 reichsthalers (69 fr. 60) for his reception, supply a musket to the arsenal, pay 24 schillings in capitation every year, and 4 thalers for the wine he could drink (if he doesn't have it at the table, too bad for him). He was, of course, obliged to come to the town hall, to the Stettmeister, take an oath of loyalty to the laws of the city, etc. ⁽⁵⁶⁾. It was the first time, after four and a half centuries, that the community had more than six families. This impulse, once given, the movement followed. As the city needed money, a situation that recurred often during this century, it minted money by taxing the Jews, at the pleasure of the Stettmeister.

With the war raging again, in 1627 foreign Jews returned. It was after the feast of Pentecost. In June, Bildstein proposed to make those of the Reich pay one Reichsthaler per week for each man, and one schilling for each woman, child, servant and even cattle, to tax those of the Landvogtei, at the rate of two florins per man and the others at the rate of one schilling. The tax difference was exceedingly small, as we can see: Bildstein took advantage of every opportunity. The Israelites outside therefore made a collective demand for a reduction in this extraordinary tax, especially for children, women, servants and cattle. On June 14, the council met and after a rather long debate, in which Bildstein held to his first proposal, those of the Reich were imposed at the rate of one florin

per week and per man, those of the Landvogtei of a reichsthaler ⁽⁵⁷⁾. The Jews returned to the charge, saying that these ten years of continuous wars had almost ruined them and that they should be pitied. The magistrate replied that he understood their position, but could not change anything, and that the rich who were among them had only to pay for the poor ⁽⁵⁸⁾. Finally, pushed to the limit, they had no other resource than to turn to Commander Colonel Ascanius, governor of the city. The latter had compassion on them and imposed them as follows: Those of the Reich, together, at one hundred florins per quarter, those of the Landvogtei at six thalers per quarter, and per head, which made more than one hundred percent decrease. Despite all these sacrifices made, they were not allowed to go to the synagogue.

The Synagogue is too Loud

Here is an interesting story about it ⁽⁵⁹⁾: at the meeting of January 31, 1628, the council took the following resolution: as in the synagogue we hear cries continuously, both night and day, it will be closed. Simon, the president, then came to announce that this house belonged to him, and that he should be authorized to allow prayers to be made there. He was asked to show his privileges. He went on to say that there was no special freedom concerning the synagogue, but that it related to the promises that the magistrate had made in 1519 to the community. Bonus and Mayer came on behalf of their fellow believers to say that from time immemorial they had always been able to freely worship wherever the Jews were. The secretary of the council, after reviewing the treatises made with the Jews, reported that it was not explicitly said that they were free to have a synagogue, and even less that they could meet in community; that this permission was, and always had been, a mere tolerance on the part of the magistrate. The council therefore maintained its first decision: the temple should be closed. But Simon in his capacity as owner, and because the land rent receipts were in his name, could come to the synagogue and say his prayers there.

On February 28, Bonus and Mayer returned to ask, on behalf of their co-religionists, for permission to pray in the temple. They were put back to fortnight. Finally on March 10 the following contract was drawn up and read to the Israelites:

How in the Future the Jews of Haguenau Should Behave, in Relation to their Synagogue.

As they very often came to annoy the members of the council, that they run after them, and that they implore incessantly and very humbly, they touched the hearts of the magistrates. They therefore want out of pure grace, and without any obligation, to allow them to return to their synagogue; only this authorization was granted to them only on condition that no foreigner enters. If they transgress this order, they will, for the first offense, be punished with a fine of ten florins and even more, but if, against their duty and their oath, they do so again, we reserve the right to impose an arbitrary penalty on them.

The protected Jews of Haguenau, to whom we hereby give again permission to come with theirs to the synagogue, must, if they do not want to be forbidden from service, both inside and outside the temple, to be more modest, not to hinder anyone with their prayers, above all to moderate their usual cries, when they address their God, and in addition, to try to be reserved, and to become honorable people. In this way the idea will never occur to the council of wanting to hinder them in their offices; but once again, that by their ways they do not offend the bourgeoisie of our locality.

Just as the Jews hold their Sabbath highly sacred, and do not want to deal with worldly matters, so they must also find it very rational that we do not like to see them on Sundays and feast days leading their cattle, grazing, and, consequently, gesticulating in the streets of the city. On the contrary, we want them to abstain from it completely, as we have already made them understand more clearly. Otherwise, the magistrate will be obliged to punish them arbitrarily.

Besides that they will do well, if they do not want to be worried, to conform continually, to all the regular rights, to all the privileges, to all that is just, not to transgress any of our commandments which concern especially the Jews.

The Israelites naturally replied that they wanted with all their heart, punctually obey all the articles that had just been read to them ⁽⁶⁰⁾.

Nevertheless, after having once again regained possession of this freedom which was so dear to them, a few days later they addressed themselves again to the Council, to submit a serious question to it.

"We are only seven fathers of families," they said, in their petition, "and there must be ten of us to say our prayers. So we beg once again as humbly as possible, that strangers be allowed to come at the temple, so that we may be in number".

They were careful not to speak of their Jewish servants, whom they had always had, in order to have minyan, and because they could not hire Christian servants. No matter how much they implored, nothing helped. Foreigners were never allowed to go to the synagogue ⁽⁶¹⁾.

In September of the following year (1629), Bonus married his daughter to a young man from the surroundings of Cologne named Isaac, and obtained, for his son-in-law, the authorization to come and stay in Haguenau, on the conditions which had been made to him, to himself in 1610, with the difference that the young groom was only asked for a horse in his stable at the disposal of the bourgeoisie. A month later, in October, Mayer was also able to establish his son Löwel, under the same conditions ⁽⁶²⁾. So here they are with nine households to support all the charges which the city continually imposed them. In 1630, in addition to their ordinary taxes, they were forced to pay 400 guilders in war contributions. They had to make sacrifices to pay, but they were forced to. In addition, they had to bear the greater part of the taxes which weighed on their compatriots of Haguenau.

Resumption of the Thirty Year's War

The war still continued. The city had a sort of civic guard to maintain order within its walls. However, no Jew was admitted into its ranks, although we have seen by the example of Jacob, that even then a Jew knew how to be brave. On the other hand, he was obliged to be replaced. Another anomaly, which it is difficult to understand, was that they were not entrusted with garnisaries; and if the idea had occurred to the civil authorities, the military commanders would have refused. To compensate for all these exemptions from drudgery, lodgings for soldiers and guards to mount, they had to pay twenty florins (at 3 fr. 81 = 11 fr. 40) per week, which they had to divide between them. To avoid any delay, they were obliged to make the payments every Tuesday ⁽⁶⁴⁾ in the hands of the receiver ⁽⁶⁵⁾.

Events are rushing. We are in 1631. We only hear about war. Great preparations are being made in the city so as not to be caught off guard. From the start, the Jewish community is obliged to pay two thousand florins (a 3 fr. 81 = 1140 francs), it must provide four horses for the service of the post office, while the rest of the inhabitants only have to deliver two horses or 90 florins ⁽⁶⁶⁾. In September, the Jews beg the magistrate to exempt them from the twenty florins they paid to be exempt from drudgery and other charges, and offer to be released in kind. So they propose to deliver, from this month until the following Passover, a hundred carriages of wood and a quintal of candles. We accept their proposal; only the term is brought closer, and the quantity increased. Thus they were forced to bring from September 1631, to the carnival of 1632, one hundred and fifty kloffter (600 steres) of wood, three quintals of candles and two bags of salt. When they were willing to work for the city, they found no workmen to make the wood. The Council also punished them for their delay, by imposing on them the obligation to provide twenty kloffter of wood in addition, and asked that the community provide ten per week, until complete delivery ⁽⁶⁷⁾.

However, the Swedes were announced on one side, and the Lorraine on the other. All the Jews not only from the surroundings of the Landvogtei of Haguenau, but also of the county of Hanau, of the Landvogt of Strasbourg, came to take refuge in Haguenau. They thus arrived in the month of January 1632. They numbered 268, including 124 old people, 131 children, and 7 unmarried. Their taxation was fixed at 2 florins per capita or 536 florins (at 3 fr. 87 = 2074.fr. 32), plus 24 florins per family for war contributions, in return for which they were allowed to stay until Easter. Some others had to pay thirty reichsthalers per month (at 5 fr. 80 = 114 fr.) ⁽⁶⁸⁾. The attendant of those who were named from the Landvogtei, was Haym de Landau, with whom we have already met in 1611. He gave the town hall a list of all those who had followed him, and who amounted to 43 people. They had to pay until Easter one Reichsthaler per head, and, in addition, 15 Reichsthalers per family, for war contributions. This same Haym, in his capacity as a scholar, was obliged to keep a register in which he registered all the Jews who entered or left the city. This book had to be constantly up to date, so that, if authority wanted to verify it, it would always be presentable. If any irregularity was found there, Haym was warned that he would be brought to justice.

The Jews of Haguenau also had heavy taxes. Besides all that they paid, they still had, from January of this year, thirty reichsthalers to pay per month, for the maintenance of their soldiers ⁽⁶⁹⁾.

Time passed very quickly, we could see the feast of Easter coming and Haguenau was always in fear of being taken by the Swedes. The Jews asked for an extension of their stay, which was granted to them until Pentecost, with the same tax they had already paid. As a supplement, they still had to contribute 500 florins to the maintenance of the war officers who were in the city. They complained about these excessively high taxes to the sub-bailiff and the prefecture council; those of the Landvogtei also addressed the following letter to the local authorities:

Haguenau, June 28, 1632.

To the magistrates, very noble, etc.,

We, poor Jews, have come to bore you again with our petition and ask you for a thousand pardons. For the permission of our stay in the city, the commendable magistrates of the imperial chamber and of the city of Haguenau have asked us once again for a new Reichsthaler per head. It is true that we have been granted three terms for the payment, extended until Saint John. But with the best will, we cannot pay such a high protection fee. If you count, Gentlemen, that from Christmas to Easter we were obliged to pay you 430 florins, and if you let the thaler remain, that would make us 207

thalers, which, out of 46 florins, make 330 florins. We would therefore have to pay 760 florins for six months. If you still calculate that next to the Jews of [missing]

We do not remember that the united Jewry of Landvogtei, whose richest have taken refuge this time elsewhere, has ever been so squeezed. The maximum they were asked for was 200 florins, and even a few years ago, in 1610, they were satisfied with imposing them at 70 florins.

In view of all these contributions, we hereby very respectfully ask you to grant us our request, relieving us of this last imposition, which would be our complete ruin.

You would thereby be doing us a distinguished grace which the undersigned will never forget.

In the meantime, Gentlemen, that you will listen to us in our just complaint, we are your very obedient subjects and very devoted servants.

The Jews of Landvogtei, gathered for the moment in Haguenau ⁽⁷⁰⁾.

The Landvogt interceded for them. The Senate replied:

"Over the past eighty years, we have gradually increased the levy on foreign Jews who came to seek refuge with us. The city of Haguenau is endowed with imperial privileges which have always left the magistrate the freedom to accept or refuse Jews, and even to expel from its midst those who live there, if it is his pleasure. Therefore, each time the Jews are told what they will have to pay for protection fees, they have the choice to leave the city and its radius, or to stay. However, to please the Landvogt, we want to modify our request for this second contribution from Easter to Pentecost, reducing them by a third" ⁽⁷¹⁾.

This discount was a real pleasure for them. These unfortunate people did not know that the Swedes would not enter the city until December, and that they were even still quite far away. Besides that, the Lorrainers who were in garrison at Haguenau harassed them anyway and their flying patrols, which we met on all the roads, molested them wherever they could.

The New Jewish Cemetery

The Jewish population of Haguenau having thus become more dense, the mortality increased and, given the state of siege, it had to think of appropriating a cemetery in the interior of the city. Already, during a siege, the Jews had buried their dead in the garden of the Stettmeister Capito. This cemetery soon filled up, when hostilities resumed. The Jews wishing to have one like the Catholics, near their house of prayers, took advantage of the situation to ask for permission to establish one in the city. This authorization was granted to them, and for this purpose they bought a garden located near the clock tower (currently rue des Roses). In making this request, the Jews alleged that one of their number had just died and that they could not transport his body out of the city, because of the danger. Soon it was learned that the Jews, exceeding their rights, had buried several bodies in the new cemetery without further authorization from the Council. Immediately (April 28, 1632) the Stettmeister Bildstein called the Council together and demanded punishment for the offenders. The following decision was then taken:

"As the Jews committed this crime without the knowledge of the Honorable Council, they will have to dig up their dead, transport them out of the city, to their usual resting place, and additionally pay for each burial so made ten reichstalers of fine" ⁽⁷²⁾.

The Jews replied with a petition ⁽⁷³⁾ in which they explained that they were victims of a misunderstanding, and asked permission to leave these bodies in their place of burial, that there was no danger to them there. Preserve, that on the contrary it would be dangerous to exhume them.

The Council ordered an investigation and the Jews had to obey. But the ordinary cemetery had no more room, so they had to buy a property adjoining it, which the Council allowed them to convert into a burial place on condition that no Jews from outside the city were buried there. They then founded a company responsible, under the control of the administration of the community, with the management of the cemetery. This society which was composed of almost all the Jews of the city and those of the surroundings, took the name of Hebrah of Gemilout Hasadim.

Jews are Crushed by Taxes Again

Meanwhile the Swedes had left and had been replaced by the Imperials under the command of Metternich. Of the Jewish refugees, only two could continue to reside there; they were the doctor Haym and a widow of Schweighausen, the latter at the request of the

governor, because she could speak French ⁽⁷⁴⁾. Thus in 1633 the Israelite community numbered eleven households. The loads which weighed on her were very heavy, and it is difficult to understand why they were able to bear them. In addition to ordinary taxes, in 1634, contrary to established jurisprudence, they had to receive garrisons, who were entitled to the lodging, to one reichsthaler per week (5 fr. 80) per rider; three per standard-bearer, four per lieutenant and ten per captain. In addition, they were forced to pay the fifty Reichsthalers that Metternich demanded from the city every week. They demanded and they were only granted that the bourgeois would lodge the cavaliers in their homes ⁽⁷⁵⁾. For once the Jews could not contain themselves. On December 25th, a Sieur Greiff, member of the Council, having come to serve on Bonus, one of the officials of the community, the decree which imposed these heavy contributions on them, Bonus, indignant, told him, in the presence of a crowd of bourgeois and soldiers:

"You are one of those who made this ordinance, you were part of the meeting which went to meet Metternich as far as **SOUFFLENHEIM**. You seemed happy to see yourself followed by a general and his soldiers; you had done everything to bring them into the city, now that they are there, you are discharging on the Jews the impositions caused by their presence" ⁽⁷⁶⁾.

The soldiers approved of Bonus's words and praised him for his courage, but Greiff summoned him to the magistrate the next day, December 26th, claiming a thousand thalers in damages and jail time against him. Bonus appeared; he denied nothing, simply said that it was indignation that had forced him to speak in this way, that every day he had to wipe away the tears and pleas of his co-religionists, that he did not feed any bad sentiment towards Greiff and the members of the Council.

The magistrate postponed the pronouncement of the judgment until December 28th and had him taken preventively into the cage of the sorcerers, a special prison reserved for sorcerers condemned to death: one could not stand there. His wife pleaded with Colonel Hartenberg, who obtained a reduction of the sentence; the accused was put in another dungeon. On the 28th, the sentence was handed down, he was sentenced to a thousand francs in fine, to six months in prison in the tower called *Armbruster Turm*, for having offended not only Sieur Greiff, but all the magistrates.

The year 1634 saw two more new fathers admitted to settle in Haguenau. The first, named Hirtzel, before remained until then in Eschpach, the second was the son-in-law of Mayer ⁽⁷⁷⁾. Little by little the community grew, soon after Haguenau counted a thirteenth Israelite family. Doctor Ungar, in fact, allowed Isaac's widow of Ueberrach to remain in the city for a time, because she could render services there by her knowledge of French. She later married and stayed permanently in Haguenau.

The city seemed therefore to depart from its strictness, but also increased the admission fees that the Jews had to pay. Until the Revolution, it was this method that prevailed.

The Thirty Years' War continued to bring troops to the city; one garrison left, another replaced it. The Jews again had to house riders, this time they had the courage to ask the magistrate, in order to be able to bear this new charge, permission to sell horses on Sundays and holidays. This authorization was granted to them, insofar as religion would not be harmed. They kept it for eighty years, and then it was taken from them.

As hostilities continued, the tax-burdened Jews declared that they were no longer in a position to pay their protection fees. The city, having itself become poor, could not give up this resource and agreed to reduce these rights by half. The city was soon even obliged to borrow money from its proteges; the doctor Haym received from the Council thanks for having lent twenty florins ⁽⁷⁸⁾.

In 1637, new taxes, they had to provide the furniture of the Landvogtei.

In 1648, having forgotten to offer the city authorities the New Year's gift they were accustomed to give, the Council reminded them of their duty, declaring to them that otherwise they would be deprived of their rights of protection. These gifts were later converted into a special tax.

In 1648, having forgotten to offer the city authorities the gift of New Year's Day which they were accustomed to give, the Council recalled them to their duty, declaring to them that, failing which, they would be deprived of their rights of protection. These gifts were later converted into a special tax.

Legislation Governing Jews under German Rule

Here ends the history of the Jews of Haguenau during the German domination; it remains for us to make known, for this period, the legislation which governed them.

When one of them, to replace one of his co-religionists who had died or left Haguenau, wanted to settle in this city, he first had to take many steps, as we saw for Bonus ⁽⁷⁹⁾ in 1610. Then, when all the conditions were discussed and accepted, he was obliged to go to the town hall and take the following oath ⁽⁸⁰⁾:

"As true as the commandments just read are written in there, and I want to keep them all my life, so that I may relive the help of my Lord God, who created heaven and earth, I 'water and fire, air and fog, moss and grass, mountains and valleys, and all creatures, I want to keep the oath I'm going to take. And if I were to stray from it, I no longer want the Covenant that God made with Moses on Mount Sinai and that he fixed on the tablets of stone, ever come to my aid. And the holy names that are in it must not help me, the five books of Moses. And if I break this oath, I want to be deprived of the blessing that has come to us, thanks to the greatest and holiest of the commandments, that of circumcision, by which the Lord made a pact with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Finally, if I forget myself in this sense, may my wife be considered a widow, my children as orphans, and my salvation can no longer be answered (that is to say that I am civilly dead)."

Then he revealed himself and promised, like the other inhabitants, to observe all the laws of the city, and never to allow himself to resort to any other justice than that of the local magistrate ⁽⁸¹⁾.

Residence Permits in the 14th Century

We have, on various occasions, shown the conditions under which Jews who wanted to come and reside in Haguenau were admitted ⁽⁸²⁾.

The city, at all times, had also, as we have related, allowed the Jews of the surroundings to come and take refuge temporarily in Haguenau, to escape the dangers of all kinds that they had to run in the villages, during the incursions of the various kinds of enemies which ravaged Alsace. Beside these Jews, she had also granted a fixed residence for a certain time to foreign Israelites who wanted to live in Alsace, and who did not momentarily know where they should go, or where they would be definitively admitted.

In 1371, a Jew named Eliatz, who had first been authorized in 1369 to stay for two years in Strasbourg, came to ask for permission to also stay one year in Haguenau. It was granted to him in return for ten Strassburger Pfenning pounds (at 19 fr. 45 = 194 fr. 50) to be paid both to the city and to the emperor, for the right of residence during this year. He left at the end of this time. In 1386, we see his son asking the landvogt Stanislas de la Vitenmüle for permission to come and live in Haguenau for a year. The landvogt for its part took eleven florins against which he gave the following receipt ⁽⁸³⁾:

We, Stanislas of Vitenmüle, landvogt in Alsace, hereby acknowledge publicly that we have taken under the protection of the holy empire of our gracious lord the king of the Romans, and under our own protection, Mennelin of Thumifer, Deyat his son, Vifelin his son-in-law, to dwell as Jews at Haguenau, with their wives, and their children, and all their servants, who make a soul, and even a household, for I naturally exclude those who lend money at interest for their own account, all this, from that day on, for a whole year.

Thus, during all this time, these same Jews can remain in Haguenau, or in any other locality of Alsace which suits them.

There, they are permitted to lend money at interest, to buy, sell and enjoy all the rights, freedoms and other privileges that the Jews, their predecessors, have had to this day.

They must not do any public act without calling two bourgeois or two Jews accustomed to the place where they reside as witnesses.

They should serve only the holy empire of our master the king, and ourselves. And for this authorization, and for this lapse of time, they paid us eleven guilders in hard cash, which we are perfectly satisfied with.

This is also why we will support them loyally and faithfully, and we will protect them both for ourselves and for the king, as long as our means will allow us, without any other guarantee.

After having thus put himself in order with the emperor, he still had to be approved by the city. He had to intercede for several weeks, and finally, as money was scarce, and a year had quickly passed, Haguenau agreed, on January 11, 1381, to receive him for ten Strassburger Pfenning (at 16 fr. 80 = 168 Fr.). As a receipt she gave him the following setback:

We, master and council of Haguenau, hereby let it be known that we have taken upon ourselves, and take upon ourselves, following this act, for us and our town of Haguenau and all our citizens and subjects, to protect Mennel son of Eliatz, Jew of Thumifer, with his wife, his children, his family and all his servants, like one of us, as we have done towards the Jews long ago and now, however without any other guarantee. This protection, we grant it for a year, from the feast of Our Lady, for the sum of ten pounds Strassburger Pfenning that he paid us.

Meanwhile, this Jew, his family, or his servants must not lend money at a rate higher than two pfennings per pound, to the townspeople, and three per pound, and per week, to the peasants of the surroundings. And for these loans, either in Haguenau or in the village, they will not be able to accept or give an account before the end of the year. In witness whereof, we have attached to this act the seal of our city, on this day of Saint Anthony of 1387 ⁽⁸⁴⁾.

Apart from these taxes which they had to pay to the emperor and the city, the Jews were still subject to a special contribution for their prayers. Half of all fines inflicted during services were to revert to the city by right, as we will see later. Unfortunately for the budget of the municipal fund this tax brought nothing, and for several centuries we do not find the slightest trace of a fine.

Did the Jews of Haguenau have a special officiating minister during their existence under German rule? We do not think so. In any case, they could not officially recognize him, and we rather assume that one of them officiated for free.

But they had a fair amount of freedom, since they were allowed to choose where they lived or wanted to live, and they were certainly valued, otherwise they would not have been allowed to have their synagogue on the Main Street.

They also had to pay a tax for their burial place.

In the main towns where Jews were tolerated, the authorities had dedicated some uncultivated place for this purpose. Thus in Mainz they had given them a sandy place which was of no connection, and which later took and kept, because of this destination, the name of "*Judensand*". In Saverne they were given a place known as "*Sandberg*", which had since been called "*Judenberg*". In Rosenwiller, they had been granted a place on a piece of land, part of which was used for the quarantine, so that later, as still today in the land register, this cemetery is simply named "*der Schinderwasen*". In Strasbourg they were also given a place of this kind. In all these cities, they paid a fee for the concession of the cemetery. In Strasbourg, for example, this right was one Strassburger Pfenning pound per year.

We have never seen that the Jews of Haguenau sent their dead to an outside cemetery. We therefore suppose that at all times they made their burials in the place which still serves as a necropolis to them today, and which received from there the denomination of "*Judenberg*" ⁽⁸⁵⁾. This site was vast and arid and produced nothing. The city could not do better than to concede part of it to the Jews, except to be compensated by them. They had to pay ten Schillings (at 0.96 = 9 fr. 60) for each death ⁽⁸⁶⁾. Later, this right was sometimes higher, sometimes lower, but it remained nonetheless until the French Revolution. One of the conditions imposed on them was that, if they found a treasure in these lands, half of it would return to the city, and the other goes to the Jewish community.

Apart from the temple and the cemetery of which we have spoken, they also had, we have said, their swimming pool (*Mikveh*). We find traces of it in a house sale made on April 19, 1328 before the magistrate, and signed by all the Schaeffens, twelve in number. The deed of sale is as follows:

We, the mayor and magistrate of the city of Haguenau, let it be known that Dimar Bogener, our citizen, and Ellekind, his wife, have come before us, and have informed us that they have sold all their property to Ottelin Truttmann, Schultheis, our bourgeois, at the rate of one hundred pounds Strassburger Pfenning (at 24 fr. = 2,100 fr.) that they received from him to enjoy, as they like, the house called *Gernandes Huse* as well as the cellars that are below, with all the outbuildings and rights that are part of it.

This house is located on the one hand next to bourgeois Jean Salzmann, on the other hand it touches the alley alongside the Jewish swimming pool (*zweiter seils stossent an das gesselein obvendung der Jüdinnen Kelre*) ⁽⁸⁷⁾, etc., etc.

If the sale of this simple house is signed by all the magistrates, it is because Truttmann wanted to make an official document of it. In fact, the next day, April 20, he made a gift of the property to the city, to make it the current civilian hospital. As a result, the Jewish swimming pool was none other than the house mentioned above, and inhabited later, and in our time, by innkeeper Mannheimer ⁽⁸⁸⁾.

When, a few years later, during the persecutions of 1347 in Haguenau, Jewish houses were confiscated, it suffered the common fate. After their return to Haguenau, the Jews no longer established a single swimming pool. Almost every household had its own in its own house, as they still exist today, without being used. There are some in the rue des Juifs, in the Braunberger house, and in the neighboring house, Moch property, in the Rue du Fossé, in the houses of Marx Weill, Marx Lévy, Veil Jeune, etc., etc.

Special Regulations for the Jews of Haguenau Established by Emperor Ferdinand

Finally to close the exposition of this special legislation, it remains for us to quote the regulation for the Jews of Haguenau and the surroundings, made in 1558, and published in 1561. At this time, Charles V abdicated the crown of Germany in favor of his brother Ferdinand. Hardly invested with this new charge, this one thought of making for the Jews a regulation much more explicit than any which had appeared until then. This regulation was aimed rather at the Jews of the surroundings of Haguenau, who, coming in the

last days, from all sides, needed to know exactly what legislation would be applied to them. As this act is long, and there are a number of repetitions in it, mainly at the beginning, we thought it best to reproduce only a summary. The exordium is rather obscure. For the explanation of the different articles, we have not, most often, translated word for word. Moreover, as the original is further away, it is easy to see ⁽⁸⁹⁾.

We, Ferdinand, etc., hereby declare and let it be known that having, both for ourselves and for our successors in the House of Austria, finally released our Prefecture of Haguenau from the hands of our very dear and beloved uncle, the serene Prince Otto Henri Elector, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, etc., we have noticed that a large number of Jews have settled in our prefecture, and in particular in a few adjoining centers up to five, six and even more families, in some villages.

At present they remain there without observing any order or rule of law, which has given them the license to undertake to this day with other Jews various forbidden trade and commerce, so that our faithful subjects in our prefecture suffer very considerable damage daily.

First of all, because the Jews shop for large quantities of grain, fruit, food and livestock for their consumption at the highest prices.

Then, because, owing to the high food prices caused by them, our farmers are sometimes obliged to sell their buildings and household goods. The evil consists above all in this: that many of the latter are no longer in a position to pay their taxes, rents, farm dues, etc., etc. It then happens that they are sometimes forced to leave their own property first, then those they hold on lease, or emphyteusis, and even from time to time their wives and children.

At first glance, we had resolved to expel all the Jews there from our prefecture, in order to completely destroy their harmful trade. If we did not carry out our plan, it was because of the following thoughts that we had:

If we allow the Jewish nation, which until now has been tolerated by Christians, to live, when it observes the laws that these same Christians have dictated to it, it is only to bear witness to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and to the death that this nation inflicted on our Savior, and the punishment which it has drawn by it. Because, basically, the penalty of the Jews is great, if we consider that they were stripped of all their goods, lands, lordships and jurisdictions, that they also saw their kings dethroned, that they found themselves dispersed in all the provinces and subject to the laws and regulations imposed on them by Christian princes and judges, to whom they are obliged to obey.

However, if this people were to disappear completely, this beautiful testimony that they give to the Christian religion would also cease to exist.

Having therefore regard to these considerations and to the privileges which have been bestowed upon them by us and our predecessors, kings, emperors, and reigning princes of the house of Austria, and by other reasons which affect us, we have decided not to expel from the said prefecture the Jews who are there, but to make the necessary arrangements for our faithful subjects and inhabitants of the said prefecture to be guaranteed against these pernicious businesses, and against usury on the part of the Jews; and then that, on their side, the Jews are not exposed to being molested by Christians for nothing.

In order to achieve this, we have willed and ordained, will and order that the following declaration, emanating from ourselves, be executed according to its form and content, under the penalties set forth therein:

Art. 1. - No Jew can be received any longer except with the consent of our *Landvogt* and the advisers. Jews can only be admitted to the following villages: Wingersheim, Mountzenhausen, Leutelshousen, Bossendorf, Ettendorf, Batzendorf, Eschbach, Forstheim, Gounstatt, Surbourg and Wallick, and in none of these villages can reside more than one family or household, that is, husband, wives, children and servants. Each of these families, for this tolerance, will pay annually two florins to our revenue or *Zinsmeisterei* (at 5 fr. 12 = 10 fr. 21).

If some Jews were bold enough to settle or enter our prefecture, without express permission from our *Oberlandvogt* and of our advisers, as they have done up to this day, our subjects and inhabitants of the villages in which these Jews would thus have settled will denounce them immediately to our *Oberlandvogt*, and to our advisers, to have them punished for their temerity and their daring, and to drive them out of the said villages.

Art. 2. - In none of these villages will Jews be allowed to have a synagogue. In the event that those who live in our prefecture, or foreigners, assemble openly or in secret in some village to hold a kind of temple there, they will pay us, each time they have been accused and convicted of it, a silver mark (40 florins at 5 fr. 12 = 54 fr. 20) for a fine.

Art. 3. - Jews residing in the villages of our prefecture will not be able to accommodate foreign Jews in their homes, not even overnight, without notifying the authority. The latter can spend a day and two nights with their co-religionists, if they have previously made a declaration and received permission.

If, in spite of this defense, a Jew allows himself to break this law, by lodging foreign co-religionists, he will pay us as a fine, as many florins as he has had Jews at home, and one florin per night.

Foreign Jews, for their part, if they entered our prefecture without the authorization of our Landvogt and our advisers, will pay the same fine.

Art. 4. - No Jew, residing in one village of the prefecture, may not lend money on land or other buildings, or have them ceded, either by contract or in any other way.

If it happened that a Jew lent money on real estate, not only would he lose this sum, but also he would be punished and fined by the judge, according to the quality of the material; if one had passed bonds, they would be null and of no value.

However, in a very urgent case, Christians will be allowed to borrow money from the Jews, but then the latter will only be able to count one florin per year in twenty (5 0/0).

Only, for more regularity, the borrower must come with his wife and the Jew before *the Landvogt*, to whom he will share the sum he wants to borrow and the pledge he wants to give.

If these kinds of operations are carried out clandestinely, and we manage to reveal them, the Christian will pay a fine of five Strassburger Pfennig pounds (40 fr. 25 = 51 fr. 25), and the Jew, besides that he will lose his claim, will suffer further punishment from our *Zinsmeister*.

Art. 5. - We do not allow any Christian to act as an intermediary, so that a Jew, for the money lent, obtains a mortgage on his debtor. To avoid any misunderstanding on this subject, we declare worthless any writing of this kind when there is a Jew involved. And if a notary, or any other public official, allows himself to perform such acts, they will be deprived of their places and will never again be able to have them.

If the employee had not been appointed by the government, we ask that the authorities in each place take care of him, give him jail, or punish him in some other way, as merits such an offense.

Art. 6. - If one of our subjects pays a debt to a Jew on any debt, the Jew must put on the back of the note in very legible letters the sum he has received, so that he cannot come and ask for the entire capital ⁽⁹⁰⁾.

Art. 7. - Under penalty of a fine and loss of his debt, no Jew of Haguenau may summon a Christian before a jurisdiction other than that of our Landvogt, before our judges or advisers of Haguenau itself.

Art. 8. - We forbid Jews to buy, without written permission, silver vessels, clothes, zinc, copper, tin, canvas or any other household item, so that they cannot acquire anything that may have been stolen.

Art. 9. - When they leave their homes, Jews should be appropriately dressed.

Art. 10. - They cannot make a note, nor pass any kind of writing, in a hotel, inn or pint, no more in town than in the village, under penalty of a silver mark.

Art. 11. - They cannot have any other properties than those which they will need for their own use.

Art. 12. - No Christian should give work to a Jew on Sunday, or trade with him on that day.

Art. 13. - No Jew, man or woman, young or old, should be buried on Sundays, nor on feast days, under pain of a fine of one mark (51 fr. 20) for the family of the Jew, and the same. for the Christian who will have led the body.

Art. 14. - We also forbid the Jews, under penalty of a fine of one mark, to play with Christians, not a little, not a lot, neither at home, nor at the inn.

Art. 15 - Any Jew who allows himself to discuss religion with a Christian will be punished with prison.

Art. 16. - Jews, men and women, residing in the towns and villages of *Landvogtei*, must stay at home throughout Holy Week, keeping their houses with doors and windows closed as much as possible. They will not put on festive clothes or

adorn themselves, in consideration that the holy Catholic Church and its members are in mourning, especially during this time of the year, for Jesus Christ, our savior and our sanctifier.

Art. 17. - We do not allow Jews to marry without permission from the *Landvogt*, nor to invite strangers to the wedding, without the sanction of the magistrate. Under no circumstances will they be able to get married on Friday or Saturday, because these are still days of mourning. Under penalty of a fine mark, they will not dance with a Christian (male or female) nor will they make demonstrations in the streets.

Art. 18. - The tent festival should be celebrated at home. They will not be able during these eight days to invite a Christian to come and see them.

Art. 19. - We forbid them to give unleavened bread to a Christian during their Passover without the express permission of the authorities. Anyone who contravenes this regulation will be fined one guilder.

Art. 20. - Jewish women who want to take a bath should take it in secret, as soon or as late as possible, so that no one can be offended. The punishment, in case this article is not strictly observed, is left entirely to the judgment of our *Landvogts* and magistrates.

Art. 21. - Finally we want them to continue to wear the yellow badge, that they use a wagon bit when they want to ride a horse, that they do not transport any kind of merchandise, and especially that they do not carry weapons, if they do not want to be fined three florins.

Finally, we want them to continue to carry the yellow wheel, to use a trolley bit when they want to ride a horse, to carry no kind of goods, and especially that they do not carry weapons, if they do not want a fine of three guilders.

Done at Vienna on July 20, 1561, after the birth of Christ, our Roman reign in the 34th year, and the others in the 35th year.

Signed : FERDINAND.

II. DURING THE FRENCH PERIOD

After the Treaty of Westphalia (1648)

Chapter 1

The Treaty of Westphalia, by passing Alsace to France, was not to bring any significant change in the condition of the Jews of Hagenau. The king of France inherited the rights of the emperor of Germany, and the municipality kept its own. However, we can see that the latter is loosening a little of its harshness towards the Jews; there is no more characteristic proof of this than the unusual and unique favor even in its annals which it granted to some Jewish families who had come from abroad by giving them *free* temporary residence permits in the city. Here are the circumstances.

In 1656, Charles-Gustave, King of Sweden, having allied with the Elector of Brandenburg to seize Poland, their armies invaded this country. Several Jews of the region, impoverished by the war, left Poland where they could no longer live, to go to a more hospitable land. They arrived in Alsace at the beginning of the year 1657; the municipality, moved by the story of their misfortunes, on the proposal of Abraham the attendant, allowed these poor people to stay temporarily in Hagenau without having to pay ordinary residence fees⁽⁹¹⁾. Their co-religionists did not show less generosity towards them, they came to their aid, and soon the emigrants were able to go and settle in the surrounding villages, such as Batzendorf, Dauendorf, Wittersheim. Several of them were to come later, through their descendants, to increase the number of privileged Jews living in Hagenau.

The royal authority more than once exerted pressure on the municipality to admit the Israelites. In this same year 1657, in fact, we see Henri de Lorraine, Count of Harcourt, appointed by Louis XIV governor of upper and lower Alsace, give a Jew named Gerson, one of the suppliers of the French army, a letter recommendation for the magistrate of Hagenau. Gerson immediately obtained the right of residence. As soon as he arrived, he had asked for and obtained permission to sell goods in neighboring villages, however with the *prohibition of en auner*. As he had made up his mind to sell salt in Durenbach as well, and as the sale of this commodity was the monopoly of the town of Hagenau, the City Council notified him on March 21, 1658 that he had to leave town within six months, that his lease was canceled and that, until his departure, he was "banned from society". His co-religionists, a little jealous of his prosperity and for fear of the municipality, observed this last prescription and refrained from speaking to Gerson. The latter, during a service, complained aloud about their conduct, and the president of the Israelite community then fined him a reichsthaler. Gerson, having refused to submit to this punishment, he [delete word?] was prohibited from entering the synagogue⁽⁹²⁾. He

protested against this measure to the prefecture council and to the count of Harcourt. By letter of April 3, 1658, the prefectural council requested the municipal council to reinstate Gerson in his rights and to give him the freedom to trade. The grand bailiff, the letter said, has always had the right to admit a Jew to the city he wants, he can even make him a bourgeois and force the municipality to recognize him as such, which could happen for the Jew Gerson.

By virtue of our authority and in the name of His Highness, we therefore ask you not to make said Gerson pay a higher right of protection than that of his co-religionists and to maintain his lease.

For his part, the Comte d'Harcourt, who, then being in Pagny, had received Gerson's complaint a little later, wrote on the 24th of the same month to the municipality:

Having previously granted a commission to a Jew, Gerson, to remain at Haguenau, I cannot believe that you wished to put an obstacle there and prevent him from enjoying peacefully the permission I gave him. So I am writing this letter to you only to tell you that you will give me great pleasure to assist him in what he will need your favor, and not to allow him to be worried or disturbed by some of your inhabitants.

This is what I allow myself of your friendship, and that you will believe me, as I always am, your very affectionate to serve you,

HENRI DE LORRAINE ⁽⁹³⁾

These letters took immediate effect, the municipality hastened to recognize the validity of Gerson's lease and allowed him to live quietly in the city. His co-religionists, however, continued to view him with a dim view; the commander of the place having imposed on the Jews a contribution of forty reichsthaler per month, they accused Gerson of being the instigator of this vexation. Gerson brought the slanderers to the local courts and the two parties were sent back to back.

The newcomer was not resentful, he let these moody movements pass and more than once he was able to help his co-religionists ⁽⁹⁴⁾. He used his relations with the army to reduce the contributory charges of the Jews; he obtained permission for a young man to marry under the protection of the city magistrate.

Thus, the Israelite community, which for four and a half centuries had consisted of only six families, had reached, in the space of thirty years, fifteen families. Their number increased still further during the disturbances which preceded in Alsace the conclusion of the peace of Nijmegen. The Jews from around Haguenau had taken refuge, as usual, in the city. Once the order was restored, the refugees left with the exception of the following families: Mayerle and Isaac from Hochfelden, Alexandre and Hirtzel from Wingersheim and Daub Feistel from Gunstett, who were allowed to stay in Haguenau on condition that they pay the same fees as their co-religionists ⁽⁹⁵⁾. To remedy the poor state of its finances, the city granted almost every year right of citizenship to a new Jewish family; in 1695 the community numbered thirty-four homes.

Later, the municipality, having no doubt seen the city's financial situation improve, decided that it would no longer admit new Jewish families. In 1721, a Jew from Froeschwiller having requested the right to settle in Haguenau, his request was mercilessly rejected. On this subject he addressed the following letter to the intendant of Alsace:

To Monsieur d'Angervillers, State Councilor, and Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in Alsace,

Very humbly begged the named Mayer, a Jew, living for about eight years in the village of Froeschwiller, three hours from the town of Haguenau, saying that having married the daughter of the named Mayer Kan of the said town of Haguenau, and that by the marriage contract said Kan promised the supplicant to obtain permission for him to remain in the said town of Haguenau, because it was granted to the Jewish families who live there and who are from there, to have one of their children with them, although he is married, according to a regulation made by the Messieurs du Magistrate de la Ville, and as the supplicant's father-in-law is from a family which has been in the said town for a hundred years, wished by virtue of the said privilege to take the said supplicant, his son-in-law, to stay with him, and enjoy the same prerogatives enjoyed by all the other Jews of the said city, the Gentlemen of the Magistrate opposed it, on the pretext that the said supplicant was not from the place, a difficulty which was not made by them to a number of other Jews who are in the same situation.

It is the subject of the suppliant who dares to implore the help of Your Highness, Monsignor, humbly beseeching her to respect, please, the statement of the present, and accordingly order that said suppliant shall enjoy the privilege accorded to all Jewish families originating in the city of Haguenau, the suppliant's father-in-law having no children whom he wishes to keep with him but his daughter. Offering in addition, said suppliant Mayer to prove by good certificates of the Bailly de la Seigneurie Derkheim, which depends on the village of Froeschwiller, where he lived for eight years, as he has always behaved well without reproach.

In doing so, Monsignor, please also order Your Grandeur that he will be able to begin thus and as do those of his nation and will do justice.

January 3, 1722. (Signed in Hebrew) Mayer ben Hehaber, B. Ephraim.

At the bottom of this plea, the steward wrote:

We sent the supplicant back to the magistrate of Haguenau. Done in Strasbourg, January 15, 1722. BARON D'ANGERVILLERS ⁽⁹⁶⁾.

It is probable that the magistrate did not grant Mayer's request. However, the municipality later relaxed in its severity, so much so that in 1735 the number of Jewish families in Haguenau was already forty.

18TH CENTURY

Chapter 2

Taxation of Jews

If the growth of the community was subjected to various vicissitudes, from 1648 until the middle of the 18th century, the civil condition of the Jews was not less during the same period, it also had its history, especially as regards the charges they were responsible for.

At the beginning of the French administration in Alsace, the intendant of this province, M. d'Haussonville, fixed the contributory share of the Jews in residence in Haguenau, those of the city and those of the surrounding villages, together at 25 reichsthaler per month. Soon after, his successor, M. de Boussan, falsely interpreting the decree of M. d'Haussonville, issued the following edict, which he believed to be confirmatory of that of his predecessor:

The Sieur de Boussan ..., steward of justice, police and finance, in upper and lower Alsace and count of Montbéliard,

On what has been shown to us by the community of Jews of Haguenau, the former in front of M. Baron d'Haussonville would have taken them to the protection and safeguard of the King, and in return for the contributions they paid each month, exempted from chores, lodgings of warriors, and other charges.

We have taken and put, take and put the aforementioned Jews in the protection and safeguard of the King, and in our particular, to pay each month the sum of twenty-five risdaler. To have them, twenty-one risdaler, in the hands of the commissioner established at Haguenau and four to the mayor of the said town, granting that we exempt them from all courtship, lodgings of warriors, and charges generally whatever, let us all pray that they will belong urge those over whom the power of our authority and the authority of our charge being to let them fully and freely enjoy the said exemption and not require anything from them.

In witness whereof, we have affixed the seal of our arms to these presents ⁽⁹⁷⁾.

The Jews had no difficulty in showing M. de Boussan that the tax fixed by d'Haussonville was that of the Israelites of Haguenau and the surrounding area together, and that their share was to be calculated in proportion to their number. The intendant immediately rectified his error (October 7, 1648).

Extraordinary contributions were not spared them during the period which elapsed between the Treaty of Westphalia and the Peace of Nijmegen and which was constantly agitated by disturbances. Germany was not resigned to the loss of Alsace, and for over thirty years this province was the scene of struggles between the Imperials and France. The peace of Nijmegen was greeted with joy by all Alsatians and particularly by the Jews of Haguenau. Some of the Jews from the neighborhood who had taken refuge in the city, hastened to return to their villages, but taking care beforehand to enter into an agreement with the municipality which promised to welcome them again and to protect them in the event of war, they must pay 4 florins (15 fr. 48) per family. The Jewish signatories to the agreement were Calme de Surbourg, Mosché and Lazarus de Gunstett, Moysse and Gerson de Werth, Alexandre d'Uhrwiller, David, Hertzell, Zacharias, Senderlé and Libmann de Soultz ⁽⁹⁸⁾.

The taxes paid by those of the city continued to increase. Until 1695, they paid 10 florins in capitation per year. At that time the municipality, to simplify the collection, fixed the total contribution of the Israelite community at 200 florins per year. From 1695 to 1702, this contribution amounted to 225 and up to 450 florins for exemption from drudgery ⁽⁹⁹⁾. These exemptions alone cost the Jews, in 1702, the sum of 600 florins. In 1703, the municipality asked them for the same object twice as much, that is to say 1200

florins, and it even informed the rabbi that, in view of the increase in general charges, each Israelite head of family was required to pay an additional tax of 60 florins. We have here a short table of the effects of the War of the Spanish Succession. However, this new tax was so heavy that the Jews appealed to the local authorities ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. The majority of the council upheld their claim, halved this additional contribution and even granted them terms of release.

These times of war and common trial had the effect of disposing the municipality to more benevolent sentiments for the Jews. We saw them regularly discharge their charges, pay contributions two or three times higher than the other inhabitants of the city, one could not help but a little pity for them. But tranquility returned, the mania for regulating their condition also returned, and we know the spirit which presided over these regulations. The peace signed, in 1714, prohibition was made to the Jews, with publication in the temple, to receive and lodge the Israelites foreign to the city. These were to stay at the Jewish inn; on entering the city with goods, they had to consign them to customs, under pain of confiscation. Finally, to all trade was prohibited on Sundays. A Jew from **SOUFFLENHEIM** having violated this defense and having bought a horse on a public holiday, was fined six florins. The seller, who was a Christian, got off with a simple warning.

New Regulation of the Presence of Jews in Haguenau

A few years later, on March 18, 1720, a new regulation was voted which remained in force until the Revolution ⁽¹⁰¹⁾:

The Jews, it says there, who currently reside in Haguenau can stay there. Those who are among the protected of the city have the option of marrying one of their sons with the privilege of the right of residence in the city. The other children, boys or girls, will be obliged to leave the city if they marry, under penalty of a fine of twenty marks (50 fr. 40). However, if the parents have promised the table to the young couple, as part of the dowry, they will be able to keep their children with them ⁽¹⁰²⁾. He who has married and settled his son in the city will not be able to see such a right conferred on his grandson. The latter will only be able to claim it after the death of his grandfather ⁽¹⁰³⁾.

The Jews believed for a moment that their taxes were going to fall. The servants of the Jews of Alsace made, on December 10, 1734, an agreement with all the cities of the province for the contribution to be paid by their co-religionists, and this transaction was ratified by the governor, Mr. Feydeau de Brou, in 1735. Those of Haguenau hastened to write to him that they would be happy to be treated on the same footing as those of other towns in Alsace. They forgot that Haguenau was a free city and that it had the right to set the tax share of its citizens. M. de Brou answered their request in these terms:

Considering the present request, we Councilor of State and subdelegated intendant, order that each Jewish family established in Haguenau, will pay for the present year, to the said city, in the usual terms, so much for royal impositions, ordinary and extraordinary, as fodder and other labor and horse chores, lodgings for warriors and other charges, double the sum for which each Jewish family is included in the particular role of the capitation of the Jews of Lower Alsace, for the purpose of which the servants of the Jews domiciled in Haguenau will be required to deliver shortly, to the Magistrates of the said city, an extract of the said role of the capitation, containing the coat of each of the said families. Certified true, barely for the said Jews, to be awarded double what they should pay.

Done in Strasbourg, April 29, 1735.

FEYDEAU ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Things therefore remained as they were until the day when the period of heavy taxation reopened. In 1740, the War of the Austrian Succession attracted many armies in Alsace and particularly in Haguenau. The charges became very heavy for the municipality, it forced the Jews to accept an "accommodation", the clauses of which we will see later. The Jews were pleased, for, seeing that a new subdelegate had arrived in the province of Alsace, and fearing that he might think it advisable to make changes to their regulations, they hastened to ask him for confirmation of this convention. The municipality of Haguenau, questioned on the causes of this new arrangement, replied on February 19, 1740 with the following letter:

To Mr. Gayot, sub-delegate general and intendant in Alsace in Strasbourg.

Sir, we have the honor to return to you the documents and the request that the community of the Jews presented to you, to confirm to them the accommodation that the magistrate made with them concerning the contribution of the royal funds.

The reasons which led us to enter into this accommodation with them are purely for the good of our citizens and inhabitants, because you would be pleasant to see, Sir, in the attachments to their request that the said community of Jews has been for the ordinary, and almost all the years of the peace assessed between six hundred and eight hundred pounds, and that during the last war in the time that we had taxed it in proportion to the impositions, she obtained an ordinance of which we attach a copy of Monsignor the Intendant who counted it both for the ordinary and extraordinary

royal impositions as fodder and other charges, to double the sum for which each Jewish family is included in the role of the poll tax of the Jews of Lower Alsace, so that according to this ordinance, our citizens and inhabitants were obliged to bear what by this ordinance was released to the said community of Jews from the imposition to which we had had taxed it for its side share and which amounted to at least five thousand pounds during the last war and if the case happened, our citizens would be equally embarrassed to pay for them if the magistrate had not made this accommodation. Monsieur de Brou's prescription would always serve this purpose.

By this accommodation, the said community of Jews is obliged to contribute during the war to all taxes generally whatever and also that it would be taxed by the magistrate himself on the ground by pound, and by this place it returns a good to our citizens and inhabitants who will no longer be obliged to bear the burdens alone during the war, as it happened, and to pay for the said community of Jews because of the aforesaid ordinance.

We have not freed the Jews by this accommodation of the lodgings of warriors, because they provide beds to the poor citizens and inhabitants for the lodging of the garrison; the Jews, moreover, only lodge in necessity, and what they now pay can be used for lodging and chores; they were never imposed particularly for one or the other of this city, and if the case happened during the war, by accommodation, they would be subject to it and to pay them as an imposition.

You will, however, be pleased, Sir, to rule on this as you please.

We have the honor to be, with infinite respect, Sir, your very humble servants.

The Magistrates of Haguenau.

Gayot immediately ratified this treaty ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

War Damage in Haguenau

Chapter 3

The history of the Jews of Haguenau and its surroundings during the period that we have just passed through had not entirely taken into account these changes in legislation and taxation; the wars which devastated Alsace during these many years had not been without creating incidents which were often sad for them.

In 1674, Turenne took up his winter quarters in Alsace and had delegated the Marquis de Vauban to the command of Haguenau. The Jews of the villages, according to their custom, came to take refuge in the city, their co-religionists welcomed them into their homes and, as they foresaw a long siege, bought a certain quantity of grain necessary for their maintenance and that of their guests. Immediately the inhabitants of the city cried out at the hoarding and wanted to force them to resell their provisions. The Jews had the happy inspiration to address themselves to Turenne who sent the Marquis de Vauban the following letter:

I say this to the command of the king's troops, in Haguenau, to tell him that the service of the king requires that he do all the good he can to the Jews who are established there, so that he may hold his hand exactly, so that we do not touch their exemptions, immunities, especially so that they become exempt from all kinds of housing for warriors, that they can do their trade and traffic in complete safety and freedom, and that the food clerks do not worry them about the subject of the grain, which I wish that sufficient provisions be left to them which they need for the subsistence of their families, and that of the Jews of the countryside who have taken refuge with them, and finally that he treats them in such a way that they have nothing to complain about.

Done at the camp, this November 19, 1674.

TURENNE ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

This is an example of the high tolerance given by the great captain before the 18th century, and it is an honor for the Jews of Haguenau to have had a man like Turenne as their protector for a moment.

But after the unexpected death of the great captain, the general of the Imperials, Montécuculli, arrived in front of the city walls, Haguenau was mercilessly bombarded. Fortunately Conde was not long in coming to the aid of the besieged city and Montécuculli considered it prudent to fall back on Strasbourg.

Soon the city could no longer serve as a refuge for the Jews of the surroundings, because, by order of the French government, it was dismantled. The municipality sent them back, issuing them passports; as the war continued in Alsace, instead of returning to

their villages, they headed for the Rhine to seek asylum in some town in Germany, but they were forbidden to cross the river and they were forced to come back to implore mercy of the magistrates of Haguenau. The council met (January 17, 1661) to rule on their request and discussed at length. A member of the meeting was of the opinion to allow them, to remain temporarily in Haguenau, because, he said, they will be for us a good source of income. Another, named Roth Jacob, didn't want to voice his opinion, because it was Sunday ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

These did not have to rejoice at this favor, for they soon witnessed a lamentable spectacle. On the evening of February 9, Captain La Brosse unexpectedly came to warn the inhabitants that the next day he would set fire to the main houses of the city. The next day, in fact, before daybreak, soldiers under his command spread throughout the city and set fire to the streets of Sel, des Juifs, des Cordeliers, du Bouc, de l'Ecurie and de l'Anneau: and they went into the Grande-Rue and burned everything up to the Burgmühl. They ruined one hundred and fifty houses. The Jews were less sorry for the destruction of several of their houses than for that of the temple which they had inaugurated only twelve years before and which had cost them so much trouble ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

The 18th century began with a return to war in Alsace. Usually hostilities had the immediate effect of driving Jews away from the countryside. Haguenau offered them secure asylum, in return for the payment of an extraordinary contribution. The city believed it had the right to grant residence permits on its own. This right was challenged this time. Two Jews, named Leiser de Surbourg and Zacharias de Soultz, had taken refuge in Haguenau without special authorization from the governor of Alsace, the Marquis d'Huxelles; the latter wrote the following letter to the municipality of Haguenau:

Strasbourg, June 13, 1701.

To the magistrates of the city of Haguenau. As soon as you receive my letter, you will not fail to notify the Jews Leser and Zacharie on my part, to have to leave your city with their wives and children, within a fortnight's time, as of this day, to withdraw, it will seem good to them, elsewhere than in Alsace, to which you will hold your hand exactly, and suffer no more than any Jew, whether a foreigner or any other, shall dwell in your city without my permission, declaring to you that if something is done about it contrary to that which I have set before you, I'd take it out on you, unless you have given me notice.

I'm all yours.

HUXELLES ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾.

The city submitted for the moment, it made the refugees leave the city, however leaving them free to go wherever they wanted, but noted its reservations for the future and promised to claim its rights and privileges. To immediately show the governor of Alsace the extent of his rights, the municipality issued a decree with regard to the Jews; she decided that they were henceforth forbidden to keep shops on fair days, to sell new goods "from hand to hand", even without auener. One of them, named Lyon Coublance (he was Gerson's son, Welsch Gerstell) was selling new goods, but in a room that even had no window to the street. The merchants of the city having heard of this complained, and he had to cease trading after paying a fine of sixty florins and costs. Coublance complained to the intendant of Alsace, he pleaded against the city of Haguenau, but finally, he was ordered to pay the costs, the city having the right by virtue of its privileges to establish on the Jews the laws which suited it. Coublance, no longer able to find the means to live there in Haguenau, gave up his house, sold his goods in the neighboring villages and went to settle in Lixheim ⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

The Conversion of Abraham Moch's Son-in-law

Chapter 4

In the year 1731, a new event in the annals of the community disturbed the Israelites of Haguenau. The servant of the Jews, Abraham Moch, had, in 1723, married his daughter Kendel to Bernard Hirtz of Colmar, of whom she had, in 1726, a son named Lequel and, in 1729, a daughter, Beislé. Suddenly, in 1731, Hirtz converted to Catholicism. His wife, accompanied by her children, immediately took refuge with one of her uncles living in Bischheim. Hirtz then, having unsuccessfully asked his father-in-law to return his wife and children to him, summoned him to court. Moch accepted the fight and had the defense, which we reproduce in full, read at the hearing by a lawyer from the city:

Abraham Moch, domiciled in the city of Haguenau, responding to the summons given to him and to the demand against him formed and served on the 22nd of this month of August, on behalf of Bernard Hirtz, formerly Jewish, and currently new Catholic, living in said city.

To appear on Monday 27th of the said month, before you, the lenders, stettmeister and magistrates of the said city of Haguenau.

That Bernard Hirtz undoubtedly imagined that in consideration of his conversion, the defendant would not find any lawyer or attorney, who wished to work for him in the cause submitted to your decision. But apart from the fact that justice must not be denied to anyone, of such quality and condition as it may be, it is because, as in the present case, it is a question of defending the authority of the king, attacked by the transgression that Bernard Hirtz would like to do to the ordinances of His Majesty, and the attack he would like to give to the custom and universal police of the kingdom, this defendant has found and will find in all the courts where the cause will be brought zealous patrons and defenders who will know how to teach Bernard Hirtz to respect the laws, customs and traditions of the kingdom, and the ordinances of our kings.

God forbid that the defendant and Kendel his daughter whisper about the change of state and religion of Bernard Hirtz, heretofore their husband and son-in-law, all they want is that he persists and lives in good Christian in his new possession of home.

But however Bernard Hirtz explains the obscure demand contained in his request, it cannot support itself.

He is asked what purpose he wants to speak to Kendel formerly his wife.

Is it to try to get her to follow his example? - He is told that he will never succeed. She explained it in his absence, since he stole it in the sight and the knowledge of the whole city; and that he drove out their two children, are the guarantors of it..

Is it to restore to the said Kendel his contributions and actions and matrimonial agreements, included in their marriage contract, first passed in the manner of the Jews, confirmed and ratified by Master Rumpier, royal notary in Obernheim, on December 29, 1723?

The defendant, in his capacity as natural guardian of his daughter and of his said children, is in a position to receive the said sums and to give a discharge thereof.

Is it to force the said Kendel to live in a conjugal relationship with him, although she persists in the Judaic religion?

He knows or ought to know that the religion which he has just abandoned, and the religion he has just embraced, also defend themselves, under the most rigorous penalties, and that by breaking and annulling their marriage, one and the other restored them to their first state of freedom, so that they were both in a position to contract marriage, with whomever they saw fit, at the very moment of his abjuration.

Wherefore, when he hath no more right, power, or authority over said Kendel, how can he ask a wise magistrate, that he should be strong enough to speak unto him, and to come before him, especially after he hath taken away from him, and from his children, and even from their servants, all their garments; without exception, and having reduced them to the same state where Adam and Eve were, after having transgressed

Thus, as soon as he no longer has any right, nor power, nor authority over the said Kendel, how can he ask a wise magistrate to force him to speak to him and to appear before him, especially after having taken from his children and even their servants all their clothes, without exception, and reduced them in the same state where Adam and Eve were, after having transgressed the loyalty of God?

Is it finally to force said Kendel to hand over and entrust their said children?

The ordinances of our kings and the universal usage received and followed in these kinds of cases, in all the parts of the kingdom where the Jews are tolerated, are expressly contrary to them. And on this occasion, the defendant summons and challenges Bernard Hirtz to produce any order from our royals and mainly from Louis Quinze, gloriously reigning, which authorizes it in his chimerical claim.

Could it be, by chance, article 42 of the letter of Monseigneur le Blanc, of March 1, 1727, written to Monseigneur le Maréchal Du Bourg, to Monseigneur Du Harlay, then intendant of Alsace, and to Mr. Neef, prosecutor general of the sovereign council of the same province?

This wise minister, whose prudence and whose knowledge nothing escaped, interpreting the wishes of the king, his master, took care not to understand, not to name the Jews in all the body of the letter, and especially in this article, which only concerns Calvinists and Lutherans who return to the fold of the Catholic Church, whose children must be educated and brought up in the same religion, unless during the conversion of their fathers or of their mothers. They would not have already attended the supper (these are the terms of this letter).

This great minister was not ignorant of the royal ordinances and the custom constantly established on such occasions; he was nothing-less (sic) perfectly informed of the settlement of the Jews in Alsace, and even of the number of their families; and yet he spoke in the whole body of the letter only of the Protestants, the Lutherans, and the Lord's Supper, when it was a question of conversion.

This is because the kings have always regarded the Protestants and the Lutherans as relapsing from the religion of their fathers and their sovereign, while they considered the Jews as zealous observers of the loyalty of their first patriarch, without ever having abandoned the religion of their fathers.

Moreover, do the kings of France, of the anointing of God, do they not know as well as their ministers, that almost all the conversions of the Jews are not sincere, and that of one hundred, ninety at least return and die in their first home?

If, from what has just been said on this article, the defendant is able to justify by an ordinance of the reigning king, and by an authentic act attended, by order of the Most Reverend Bishop of Metz, and Mr. Legros, priest, and his chaplain, said deed received by two royal notaries, in the same city, sealed and controlled, royal control established following parliament, how will Bernard Hirtz and his council be able to justify his false approach and his unjust pretension?

The defendant produces a transaction dated August 7, 1743, deposited with two royal notaries on the same day and examined the following day, wherby Claude Marie Eliézer, a converted Jew, residing in Thionville, assisted by said Monsieur Legros, ceded and permitted to his wife and to her father and mother, the child of their marriage, made according to the law of Moyse;

This act is sufficient to make known that the custom which is observed in Metz and in all the extent of the generality and the parliament of Metz is to leave to the father or to the mother who persist in the loyalty of Moyse, the children who 'they had from their marriage before the conversion of one of them. Because it cannot come in the right direction, that without this usage a bishop would have sent a deputy to agree to such a transaction. Moreover, the parliament of Metz and the attorney general would not have tolerated it, and if this custom were not constant and well established, no notary would have dared to receive the deposit, and this act would never have passed the test, and the Jews of Alsace enjoy and must enjoy the same privileges and prerogatives as those of the generality of Metz.

There are an infinite number of ordinances that attest to this.

The defendant contents himself with producing one from Monsieur de la Grange, intendant of Alsace, dated March 2, 1674, which justifies his claim. He produced, moreover, an ordinance of the king, of July 15, 1728, by which His Majesty, in consequence of these letters patent, bearing the establishment of the Jewish nation in the city of Bordeaux, on the conversion of Alexandre Meyer, Jewish, whose three daughters had voluntarily entered the Ursuline convent in the same town, and from which their mother had endeavored to remove them by a vow of surprise. His Majesty made very express inhibitions and defenses (sic) to all superiors, religious men and women, convents and communities, to receive, in the future, in their homes, the children of the Jews, under pretext of religion before the age of twelve years, enjoins His Majesty to the Sieur intendant de Party, in its generality of Bordeaux, to hold regularly the hand at the execution of the aforesaid ordinance, which it wishes to be published and displayed, wherever need be, and which has been done on the orders of the said master intendant.

This ordinance decides two cases which meet in the cause in question.

The first, which cannot be received or given azile (sic) to the children of converted or unconverted Jews, under the age of twelve, to withdraw voluntarily elsewhere in order to convert to the same ones.

And the second, that His Majesty wants and understands that no Jew, undoubtedly for the above mentioned considerations, can convert to the Catholic religion (sic) only after having reached the age of reason.

In these circumstances, from what background can Bernard Hirtz claim and hope for the representation and government of Kendel formerly his wife and their children?

Moreover, if this representation could take place, by what loyalty or order would the defendant be bound by it?

Did not her daughter come out of her paternal power, when she contracted marriage with said Hirtz, and were not the children born of this marriage under the domination and the power of their father and mother?

We could elaborate on this article further, but the defendant relies on it in the light of his judges.

It is therefore inappropriate and without any foundation that Bernard Hirtz had the defendant summoned to be condemned to represent them both.

For these reasons and others to substitute for law and equity, the supplicant hopes for your justice, that you please, Gentlemen, refer the request and summons of Bernard Hirtz, of the 22nd of this month of August, reserving the defendant, in his capacity as natural guardian of Kendel, his daughter and his two children, his action against the said Bernard Hirtz, both for reasons of the contributions, actions and matrimonial agreements, made in their marriage contract of December 29th, 1723, that by reason of the theft and abduction made in the house and in the absence of the said Kendel, of all his effects, furniture, clothes and cash, and again for all the other kidnappings and claims to be brought against said Hirtz. That is what the defendant continues to do, at the expense.

Signed: ABRAHAM MOCH.

Signified to Mr. Gehl opposing attorney, the 29th day of the month of August 1731 ⁽¹¹¹⁾.

The case was judged forthwith. Moch took eight days to introduce his daughter and grandchildren to Hirtz. However the magistrates addressed the following day, August 30th, the following letter to Colmar:

To Monsieur Neel, adviser to the king, his attorney general at the Sovereign Council of Alsace, in Colmar.

We have the honor to report to you on the subject of the conversion of Sieur Bernard Hirtz, former Jew, who abjured his religion on the 25th of this month. As there are difficulties concerning two children, one being only five years old and the other two, in order to ascertain whether they are to be returned, as he asks, moreover, said children having been distracted with their mother since the said Bernard Hirtz, called today Louis-Estienne Bernard, declared himself wanting to enter our religion.

Said Louis presented us with a request on the 21st of this month, by which he implores our help so that the said children with their mother be represented, the decree at the bottom of the said day ordering Abraham Moch, his father-in-law, who made them escape and abduct, to represent them at the magistrate's first hearing.

When the parties appeared before us, Maître Channeur as assistant to said Abraham Moch, and Maître Böhm, his attorney, produced an ordinance from the king, dated July 15, 1728, by which His Majesty forbids all superiors of convents, religious and nuns, to receive Jewish children who escape from their father and mother to become Catholics before the age of twelve.

A transaction between a man named Eliezer, a Jew who converted to Thionville assisted by Mr. Le Gros, chaplain of Monsignor the Bishop of Metz, on the one hand, and Isaac Salomon, his wife, with Jacob de Morange, his uncle, on the other hand.

Copy of a letter from the late Monsignor Le Blanc to Monsignor Marshal Du Bourg on March 4, 1727.

An order from the late Mr. de La Grange on March 2, 1674.

Abraham Moch's response to the request was served on him on the 22nd of this present month.

A second request presented to us by the said Louis Estienne Bernard.

And the sentence of the magistrate rendered accordingly on the 29th of the current.

By all these documents you can see, Sir, that the fact in question today has no relation to what was practiced in Bordeaux, nor in the diocese of Metz.

And the said ordinance of July 15, 1728, only prohibits that the superiors of the communities cannot receive Jewish children, for facts of religion before they have reached the age of twelve years.

But today it is a father who asks for his children who are young, to give them the education he deems suitable, and who wants to know at the same time what has become of his wife and who asks for nothing else than being able to talk to her.

By our said sentence, we ordered that the mother and children be represented on Wednesday 5th of next month for any delay, three days later than said Abraham Moch made us hope to be able to represent them.

As we have no knowledge, if there is any ordinance of His Majesty which prescribes that the infants of converted Jews must follow the religion of their father and mother, we have the honor to ask you, sir, what we can or must do about it. It appears to us that the letter of Monsignor Le Blanc, of March 1, 1727, which deals with the subject of Lutheran children, must also take the place of the children of Jews, whose father or mother is converted.

We also ask you to let us know that if in case said Abraham Moch does not represent his daughter and children to us, in this case we must not treat this kidnapping as an abduction, and have it arrested.

We have the honor to be, etc.

The magistrates of Haguenau ⁽¹¹²⁾.

Neff's response echoed the authorities of the city of Haguenau.

Moch had to return her two children to Bernard Hirtz on September 19th, while the mother had two weeks to say whether she wanted to follow her husband or not. During this time, Hirtz was able to see her, every day, without obstacles. Finally, on October 3rd, Kendel gave up living with her husband and returned to her parents again.

As for Bernard, he was admitted at Haguenau, but the Jews fled from him and the Christians did not trust him. He therefore did bad business and enlisted in 1737. After two years of absence he returned to exercise the functions of bailiff. He was not happier than before. He remained some time in Haguenau, then left for Einsisheim with his two children.

As for Bernard, he was confessed at Haguenau, but the Jews fled him and the Christians did not trust him. He therefore made bad business and enlisted in 1737. After two years of absence He returned to exercise the functions of bailiff. He was no happier than before. He stayed some time in Haguenau, then went to Einsisheim with his two children.

If conversions to Christianity were rare, it was not that the Israelites in the city were not excited about it. They were tempted by the offer of bonuses of all kinds. A sum of 300 pounds in cash and clothes were promised to the neophyte, when he was a man. For women, the amount was not fixed. In 1711, a young Jewish girl having consented to embrace Christianity in order to marry a young Catholic in the city, the hospital accommodated her free of charge until the wedding day, she received a wedding present of 50 florins, and the municipality exempted her and her husband, for a period of three years, from the rights of the bourgeoisie and the *coux de marzahl* ⁽¹¹³⁾.

On the other hand, it was not good for young Jewish girls to have let themselves go wrong, even in the company of a Christian. They were required to go to the civil hospice to await their deliverance, their child was baptized, and, to return to their homes, they had to pay a fine of several florins ⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

If the municipality was keen on respect for good morals, the Church was no less keen on that of religious solemnities, and, in 1737, a Jew at his wedding having made dance to the sound of violins on Ash Wednesday, she addressed the authorities from the city the following claim:

To the royal lender Stettmeister of Haguenau.

Having learned from people sure as Schmoulen, a Jew from the town of Haguenau, to whom we granted, on Ash Wednesday, for the ceremony, of a wedding, the violins from the synagogue to the house only, following the custom of the Jews, excluding dancing in his house.

Which having abused our permission, and made the dance at home, with the ordinary sounds of a public feast (sic), despite our inhibition, which caused scandal.

And as said Jew, to justify his conduct, can only allege that one (sic) permission claimed on our part, by a false exposition, we very humbly beg you to have regard to our admonitions, and to condemn this same Jew to a fine for the benefit of the Church, and that in the future such abuses, so contrary to the spirit of the Church, should be stopped, should order the city symphonists not to be present at the ceremonies of the Jews, without our express permission.

Signed: M. HOFFMANN, rector of the parish of Saint-Georges, in Haguenau, this March 19, 1737.

The Jew Schmoulén was sentenced to a fine of five florins.

Trades Allowed to the Jews in the 18th Century

Chapter 5

Surprisingly, as we move towards the end of the 18th century, we do not see that the sentiments of the people nor the spirit of the law become more liberal; when the Israelites do not suffer for their religious quality, they suffer the repercussions of the troublesome competition they make with their fellow citizens.

Thus two Jews alone were authorized to have a cabaret specially reserved for their co-religionists in Haguenau; they were forbidden, on pain of a fine, to give drink to Christians. This arrangement was quite lucrative, because on Tuesday, market day, the number of Jews from the suburbs was large in the city.

The prosperity of these two privileged people excited the jealousy of an Israelite named Jacob Alexander who asked the municipality to dispossess the two innkeepers of their rights in order to confer them on him, alleging that their hotel was small, foreign Jews could not come in large number, to the detriment of the interests of the city, while his, on the contrary, was large and comfortable ⁽¹¹⁷⁾.

The petitioner had hit the nail on the head by appealing to the interests of the municipality, and he received the monopoly of Jewish hotelier (1743). The two former cabaret-keepers, having called in vain to the Colmar tower, were forced to leave the city, and one of them, named Isaac Senderlé, having taken on the status of second-hand dealer, was arrested a few years later under the indictment of concealment of sacred vessels stolen from Strasbourg Cathedral. He was sentenced to death and, according to the old people who heard about this event in their childhood, he was burned alive ⁽¹¹⁶⁾.

The Jews asked earnestly to collect the ashes of the executed and buried in the Jewish cemetery Haguenau, in a separate corner. On his grave, they had the following inscription engraved:

"Here lies a just and holy man, Alexander, son of Isaac, of the holy community of Haguenau, who died a martyr of the faith, on Friday, 3 kislew 5513 (December 1752). May his soul rest in peace."

The Jews were convinced of his innocence, and if they believed that he had been a martyr, it was because there was a rumor that he had been offered his life, on condition that he accepted baptism.

In 1754, some Jews of the city wanted to try to sell leather, but the tanners of the surroundings of Haguenau believed themselves infringed in their rights and addressed to the municipality the following request, which shows what was then the state of mind of the merchants:

Gentlemen, Gentlemen the royal lender (sic) Stettmeister and magistrates of the city of Haguenau.

Very humbly supplicate Philippe Strohl, bourgeois, chamoiseur from Werth, and Balthazar Müntzer, bourgeois, chamoiseur from Bischwiller, both in their own name and that of the chamoiseurs of Bouxwiller, Ingwiller and other places of Lower Alsace, saying that in all time, it was forbidden to the Jews to exhibit for sale, and to sell in the principal cities of our province, hides, skins and other furskins, that it happens however that for some time, the Jews dare to sell in our city, all kinds of pelts, against the use and the rights of suppliants; it is to obviate the inconveniences that they have the honor to present to you their very humble request, tending that it please you, Gentlemen, to forbid all the Jews to exhibit in this city, for sale.

This June 25, 1754 ⁽¹¹⁷⁾.

As we can imagine, the tax prosecutor ruled in favor of the tanners.

For second-hand clothes dealers, they were prohibited from selling new clothes, except on fair days. The merchants soon became jealous and reminded the municipality that the Jews were only allowed to sell horses, cattle and old clothes and to lend money, that accordingly this unfair competition had to be stopped (1766) ⁽¹¹⁸⁾.

Financial State in the First Half of the 18th Century

Chapter 6

The rights of protection and other taxes to which the Jews were subjected continued to vary, in spite of the agreements which ceaselessly intervened between them and, the municipality or the great bailiff and which claimed to be final. Thus, in 1714, the rights of protection amounted to 10 pounds or 5 florins per family; in 1742, following a request presented to the king by the Duke of Châtillon, grand bailiff of Haguenau, and with the consent of those concerned, they were doubled ⁽¹¹⁹⁾.

In 1740, to be exempt from the drudgery and lodging of the garrisons, they had agreed to pay a fixed fee of 700 pounds, and, in case of extreme necessity, to provide 20 beds. In 1744 the stettmeister dispensed the burghers from housing the soldiers who had come to the city and sent them to the Jews. These having complained to the intendant of Alsace ⁽¹²⁰⁾ received satisfaction ⁽¹²¹⁾. Marshal de Coigny, governor of Alsace, even issued a decree forbidding the troops and bailiffs, provosts and bourguemestres, from violating these conventions in all the towns of Alsace where the Jews were domiciled, in return for payment by them of the amount and a quarter in addition to their poll tax and double in time of war ⁽¹²²⁾. In addition, the intendant general, de Vanolles, made with the Jews of Haguenau, a new treaty which regulated their poll tax at the rate of 1 livre per cent of their capital in time of peace, and of 2 livres 10 sols in time of war. This arrangement was not to the liking of the municipality of Haguenau, which held to its former privileges as an imperial city and which, in fact, kept them until 1790.

Establishing the capitation role was not always without difficulties. In 1749, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the trustee clerk of the town hall simply took over the 1748 list, adding the impositions of three new Israelites admitted to the city, without subtracting those of deceased Jews. Hence, as we understand it, complaints; but this time the Jews also addressed themselves to the general officials of the Jews of Alsace. They obtained full and complete satisfaction ⁽¹²³⁾ and the stettmeister asked them to draw up the list of heads of families themselves with the amount of their fortune. It is to this circumstance that we owe to be able to give the following interesting piece:

• 1 ° Feistel Moch	has a fortune of	.....	7,500	florins
• 2 ° Aron Abraham Moch	-	.....	11,000	-
• 3 ° Jacob Alexandre-		.....	2,400	-
• 4 ° Lippmann Moch	-	.....	7,000	-
• 5 ° Meyer Feistel Moch	-	.....	4,700	-
• 6 ° Meyer Moch	-	.....	5,200	-
• 7 ° Aron Feistel Moch	-	.....	3,200	-
• 8 ° Leiser Levi	-	.....	2,800	-
• 9 ° Seligman Levi	-	.....	2,600	-
• 10 ° Alexandre Levi	-	.....	2,250	-
• 11 ° Hirtzel Macholi	-	.....	2,000	-
• 12 ° Samuel Moch	-	.....	1,300	-
• 13 ° Jeckel Isaac	-	.....	1,200	-
• 14 ° Abraham Coblentz (Hertz)-		.....	1,200	-
• 15 ° Borach Levi	-	.....	1,000	-
• 16 ° Bezalael	-	.....	1,000	-
• 17 ° Jeckel Bickert	-	.....	1,000	-
• 18 ° David Levi	-	.....	1,000	-
• 19 ° Samuel Lévi	-	.....	950	-
• 20 ° Hirtzel Lévi	-	.....	900	-
• 21 ° Hayem Landau	-	.....	600	-
• 22 ° Moyse Reims	-	.....	650	-
• 23 ° Aron Meyer Moch	-	.....	450	-
• 24 ° Libermann Marx	-	.....	400	-
• 25 ° Götschel Samuel	-	.....	200	-
• 26 ° Judel Moyses	-	.....	200	-
• 27 ° Bonaf Aron	-	.....	200	-
• 28 ° Moyses Koppel-		.....	200	-
• 29 ° Lehemann	-	.....	150	-
• 30 ° Scheié Judel	-	.....	150	-

Poor people without fortune and without faculties: 1 ° Ansel; 2 ° Jacob Lévy; 3 ° Leiser; 4 ° Lebel Abraham; 5th widow Leyé.

Exempt: The rabbi, the substitute, two cantors and an assistant, Meyer Bonus the beadle, and finally three widows.

Certified true, in Haguenau, April 40, 1750, by us, the attendants Aron Abraham MOCH, Jacob ALEXANDRE and Lippman MOCH ⁽¹²⁴⁾.

We have yet another list, from 1760, drawn up in connection with an extraordinary contribution of 454 florins 9 schel. 3 denarii, share of the Jews in the payment of 4,145 florins imposed on the city of Haguenau.

Here is the figure paid by each Jew according to his faculties ⁽¹²⁵⁾:

Domes- tiques.	Servantes.	Noms des pères de famille.	Facultés.	Florins.	Schil- lings.	Deniers
1	1	Lazarus Moyses, rabbin..	,	12		
1	1	Aron Moch.....	10.000	11		
1	1	Lippmann Moch.....	5.000	6		
		Jacob Alexandre.....	500	1	5	
1	1	Leiser Lévy.....	6.400	7	4	
	1	Meyer Moch.....	7.000	8		
		Abraham Aron Moch....	5.300	6	3	
1	1	Aron Feistel Moch.....	4.300	5	3	
	1	Koschel Moyses.....	4.700	5	7	
	1	Göttschel Samuel.....	3.500	4	5	
	1	Meyer Dambach.....	1.700	2	7	
	1	Hirtzel Seligmann.....	1.600	2	6	
	1	Samuel Moch.....	1.200	2	2	
		Aron Meyer Moch (le jeune).....	1.700	2	7	
	1	Chaïm Hirtzel.....	3.100	4	1	
		Marx Mayer Moch.....	1.500	2	5	
		Bezallael.....	600	1	6	
	1	Baruch Moch.....	1.000	2		
	1	Calmé Reims.....	400	1	4	
		Anschel Marx.....	300	1	3	
		Moïse Reims.....	300	1	3	
1		Getschel Schmule.....	300	1	3	
1	1	Samuel Lévy.....	1.000	2		
		Bonef Meyer.....	300	1	3	
		Getschel Jacob Lévy....	200	1	2	
		Jacob Jecquel.....	300	1	3	
		David Hirtzel Lévy.....	250	1	2	6
		Feisel Lévy.....	200	1	2	
7	15	<i>A reporter.....</i>	62.650	93	86	6

We see that since the year 1627, when the city admitted with great difficulty a seventh father, the Israelite community had increased notably; we can guess for what reasons. Not content with the admission fees that it made the new arrivals pay, the municipality wanted to take advantage of this increase in population by raising the amount of taxes on Jews from 683 to 1,063 pounds. But since the order of Vanolles, they were no longer subject to the whims of the stettmeister, and the Jews having complained to the subdelegate general of Alsace, Roullin, the latter, after having learned of the role of the impositions of Jews in previous years, won their case ⁽¹²⁶⁾.

The municipality, to avenge itself for this defeat, had the Jews who remained in the city summoned before it as the eldest sons of protected persons, under the benefit of the law of March 18, 1720. Here is the judgment which was rendered:

Enter the tax attorney of this applicant city. His indictment of the 4th of the present month of May follows, on the same day on the one hand against Hirtzel Mecholi, Samuel Moab, Jackel Weyl, Judel Mausché, Marx Libermenn, Göttschel Schmoulé, David Lévy, Aron Moch, Moyses Weyl, Bonef Meyer, Göttschel Lévy and Lehmann Salomon, all Jews residing in this, defendant city (sic), by Me Bailer their other attorney.

After the plaintiff concluded following his indictment that the defendants should be ordered to leave this city within barely twenty-four hours of being forced there by the legal authorities, for having established themselves and fixed their homes in this city without permission of the magistrate, condemns them (sic) each in (sic) fifty pounds fine and costs, and that Mr. Büller for the defendants, said for defenses that they are established in this city, and fixed there their home without the protection of Lord Oberlandvogt and the magistrate, from whom they all obtained permission as elders of their families, which was granted to them by the statutes and again by a decree of the magistrate of March 18, 1720, but have no written permission, since so far we have never given any, and having always paid exactly the fees received from them, which should be equivalent and worth a written permission, and that they will comply with the last submission, what the magistrate will order for the rest, under the merit of which declaration they dare to hope for the ordinary mercy and

kindness of the magistrate, that he will have compassion on this poor people of Israel, that he will not want to destroy them, and that they will be dismissed from the summons with costs.

The magistrate, continues the writing, by grace, granted the defendants tolerance in this city, has charge by them to return within twenty-four hours to the poor, namely:

Hirtzel Macholi	3 books
Samuel Moch, lackel Weyl, Judel Mausché, Lehmann. Solomon, each	4 -
Libermann Marx, Götttschel Schmoulé, each the sum of	6 -
David Lévy	7 -
Finally, Aron Moyses, Moyses Weyl, Bonef Meyer and Götttschel Lévy, each the sum of	9 -

which they will be required to justify by receipt to the regent Sieur Stettmeister to then be included in the register of the marzähl, to the payment of which sums they will be forced under penalty of expulsion, has made iterative defenses (sic) to all Jews to settle in this town without a permission decree from the magistrate and condemned them jointly and severally to pay the costs liquidated at 14 livres 4 sol ⁽¹²⁷⁾.

Increase in the Number of Jews in the Second Half of the 18th Century

Chapter 7

The chapter on the admission of Jews to Haguenau is one of the most interesting in the history of the Israelite community of this city during the second half of the 18th century. We see the resistance of the municipality to new ideas which then blew to persist until the end, and it took the Revolution to reverse a state of affairs humiliating and vexatious.

In 1753, the community clerk sent the following request to the municipality:

To Messrs the royal lender (sic), Stettmeister and magistrates of Haguenau.

Humbly pleads Abraham Aron Moch, Jew of Haguenau, saying that he has a girl named Güdel, wanted in marriage by Moyses Koschel, Jew of Mittelbronn, who is a perfect honest man, and comes from brave parents. This alliance would make the happiness of said Güdel, and fulfill his desires, his father and mother.

In the condition that the parents lay, is that the spouses obtain their establishment in this city; that besides it would be a consolation to the suppliant, if he could, in his old age, see his daughter before his eyes, and as he has a house in this town to give him, he has recourse to the favors of the magistrate, who of all times have had special kindness for the Moch family, in consideration of the good conduct of its members and of its seniority.

This considered, Gentlemen, it please you, continuing to spread your good graces on the family of the suppliant, to accept the alliance of his daughter Güdel with the said one, Moyses Koschel, and, that they fix their establishment in this city, in the house which the suppliant there is above the street of the Jews, near the PP. Cordeliers.

Consequently, to grant said Koschel the necessary permissions to enjoy the said establishments, with the same rights as the other accepted and received Jews, under the promises that he will behave there as an honest man and will bear the usual charges and rights with exactitude and will be justice .

Haguenau this May 13, 1753.

Signed: ABRAHAM-ARON MOCH ⁽¹²⁸⁾.

Where many of his co-religionists had failed, Abraham Moch succeeded, and the next day the magistrate of Haguenau forwarded his request to the tax prosecutor, warmly supporting him. The latter returned the petition with these words:

"Having regard to this request, I do not prevent: At the expense of the spouses to pay a sum of one hundred pounds for the benefit of the poor of the city and to provide a whole bed for the needs of the said city. This May 14, 1753. *Signed* : Pot de Argent" ⁽¹²⁹⁾.

In 1754, another representative of the community of the Israelites, Jacob Alexander, asked permission for his son Nathan to marry a Jewess from Niederbronn and to establish a soap factory in Haguenau for wholesale. This request was granted, against payment by Nathan of 50 pounds to the fund for the poor. As for the factory he wanted to found, he could only do so on condition that he did not sell less than an "eighth of a hundred", moreover, he was only allowed to continue his state as long as 'there would be no Christians to compete with him ⁽¹³⁰⁾.

In 1755, two new admissions took place, that of Borach Moch, son of Gerson, who had to pay 25 florins to the hospital fund, and that of Calmé Reims, who had to pay 50.

The Israelites thus becoming more numerous, the municipality had an interest in knowing exactly the fortune of its proteges, and, in 1753, it instructed the attendant to draw up the roll according to the following model:

1.1 ° Aron Moch, aged 47, born in Haguenau, married for 25 years.

- Has three children admitted to the manance, here, in the years...
- Resides in his own house, located rue...
- Has owned this one since...
- Has bought this same house from...
- His fortune consists of...
- His faculties consist (sic) of
- A... domesticated...

2.2 ° Meyer-Feistel Moch, etc., etc.

Then it will be necessary to put the widows.

Example: Treidel, widow Abraham-Aron Moch, etc., etc.

Then we must name the foreign Jews residing in Haguenau, but who have not yet been admitted to the manance.

Eg. Hirsch, the beadle, etc., etc. ⁽¹³¹⁾.

Haguenau, September 1, 1763.

De Colommé, regent.

As applications for admission increased, fees were increased.

In 1761, the widow of Nathan Alexander, of whom we spoke earlier, in order to be able to raise her four children, asked for permission to marry Abraham Samuel d'Offenbach, in order to continue the state of her first husband. The authorization was granted to him, but it cost him six hundred pounds, paid into the fund for the poor.

The community, frightened by the ever-growing claims of the municipality, asked to be placed in the same rank as certain Israelite communities in Alsace and to pay no longer to the city, but to the king, the rights of protection. A similar petition had been presented by other communities, and it was read at the University of Saint-Thomas, in Strasbourg, by the officials of the Jews. The interested towns were consulted and here is the response of that of Haguenau (October 31, 1767):

It is not necessary to have recourse to the thesis defended at the University of Saint-Thomas to know the state of the Jews. The annals of the world have made him so notorious that nobody ignores it. This thesis was so unfavorable to them that the city of Strasbourg, by whose signature she was supported, maintained its ban order and its corporal law, the strongest in the province, so that every Jew is obliged to pay her for each momentary entry into the city, notwithstanding the regulations and the ordinances cited in their favor. It is enough to say that the law and the fact of this city are based on a principle from which these cities could not deviate from. This principle is developed through the very history of the proscriptions of this wandering people. We know that in the general dispersion of the Jews, several of them penetrated as far as Gaul and settled there.

They were driven out by an edict of Childebert in 533. - Returned under disputes (sic) pretexts, they were driven out by an edict of Dagobert in 633. - Reestablished under the reign of Charles the Bald under the conditions of an edict of 877, they

remained there until 1096, when they were generally proscribed by all the princes and states of Europe. - Received nevertheless shortly afterwards still in France, under conditions which greatly aggravated the weight of their servitude, they remained there as slaves, until Philippe-Auguste, convinced of their malignity, as history says, drove them out of all his states in 1182.

And although Pope Innocent III demonstrated by his letter of 1212 that this nation which had deserved, through its own fault, to be subjected to perpetual servitude, and which Christian piety had nevertheless endured with kindness, did not give thanks to the benefactors but crimes and insults, however an ordinance of Saint Louis of 1269, another of Philip the Bold in 1271 and a decree of the parliament of 1290, show that they were still tolerated in this kingdom, under the conditions of servitude which had been imposed on them by Philippe-Auguste.

Philippe le Bel drove them out again in 1306, Philippe de Valois in 1346, King John in 1377, and finally Charles VI, banished them in perpetuity from all his States, and made them forbidden to return there under penalty of life.

This is why they retired to neighboring countries and mainly to the city of Metz, and the other imperial cities of Alsace and Germany, where they were received only under harsh and onerous conditions. They did not stay there long, without bringing into play the springs of their malignancy. Hence several regulations on the part of the rulers and magistrates of these cities (the edict of the emperor Ferdinand issued with regard to the Jews of our prefecture is a sample), some expelled them, others suffered them under the conditions imposed; and when several of these towns came under the domination of France, the kings tolerated them with the same charges - and nowhere else in the states where they were last proscribed in perpetuity by the declaration of April 23, 1615.

It is in these circumstances and to prevent the multiplication and the too great competition that the magistrate of Haguenau had imposed on them the corporal right of which they complain. - The city was for then a free city and immediate state of the empire, a quality which, according to the constitutions of the empire, gives it the power to impose and to raise these kinds of rights in its territory. The city passed with the possession of these rights under the domination of the king, who, by virtue of the Treaty of Westphalia, maintained it there just as he maintained the city of Strasbourg there by virtue of the capitulation. - The said treaty article is formal. For all these reasons and others to be replaced, the magistrate begs the intendant to leave Haguenau in his former rights, and in hope, etc.

The Jews of Haguenau were therefore forced to remain in the same state.

In 1771 Abraham Aron Moch was once again given permission to marry one of his daughters, Sara, to a local Jew, Benjamin Lazarus Bernheim of Rixheim. Five years later, he again addressed a request to the city authorities for one of his co-religionists to benefit from protection rights. Here is the letter he wrote about it:

Gentlemen, Gentlemen the royal lender, Stettmeister and magistrate of the city of Haguenau.

Suplie (sic) very humbly Abraham-Aron Moch, Jew, negotiating in this city saying: that the grace which he seeks is a consequence of the confidence which he has in the kindnesses of the magistrate, kindnesses which he has already often felt (sic) as well as his own, and of which he will always try to make himself more worthy.

He owns a house located (sic) in this town ⁽¹³³⁾ next to the Canonic house occupied by Sieurs Lempfried and Montfleury ⁽¹³⁴⁾. This house becomes totally dependent on him, because he cannot rent it to a Christian, and those of his nation who are a little at ease own it in the same way, the poor are unable to pay any rent, he found the right moment to get rid of it.

Nochem Weyl, Jew of Bazendorf, a well-off man, would like to acquire it, if the magistrate wanted to grant him and his family the right to live in this said town; the suppliant animated by confidence dares to flatter himself, Gentlemen, that you would kindly give your hands to it, that is the subject of the present request.

Tending, that it please the magistrate to pardon the supplicant, and said Nochem Weyl to grant the latter the right of residence in the said town. They will not cease with theirs to make themselves every day more attached and ardent to the interests of the city, and to address (sic) their wishes to the Almighty for the preservation of the magistrate.

June 16, 1776.

Signed: ABRAHAM-ARON MOCH ⁽¹³⁵⁾.

This favor cost the applicant 3,000 pounds. From 1778, admissions multiplied. In this year, it is Koschel Moyses who obtains the authorization to establish his son Nathan, married with a young girl from Neuville; cost 300 pounds; in 1779, it was his brother-in-law, Abraham Aron Moch, who obtained the same favor for his son Jacob (Koppel), married to a daughter of Koschel Moyses, but this time for free; in 1781, it is David Rheins, for 300 pounds, it is still Nochem Weyl, for his son Jonas. The latter even had a

suspension of the payment of this duty, it is true, of 400 pounds. In 1782, the price decreased. Samuel son of Bezall and grandson of Samuel Halberstad, rabbi of Haguenu, pays only 200 pounds ⁽¹³⁶⁾.

The well-known ordinance of Louis XVI in 1784 seemed to bring about changes in the regime of the Jews; but it was only an illusion, and Nochem Weyl, having wanted to take advantage of it to admit his son Caim to Haguenu, who still lived in Batzendorf, here is what the municipality replied:

The council, after meeting on September 1st, concluded: seen by the magistrate the request presented by Nochem Weyl, a Jew from this expositive city, who, finding himself advancing in age, he would like to be relieved by Caïm Weyl his son, who has the opportunity to marry the daughter of Isaiah Hirtzel, living Jew of this city, who was raised by Leiser Levy his grandfather. He is not asking for a new establishment or a second home. His son will live (sic) and will stay with him in his house, and will replace him after his death, and to be approved, he presented his request for the magistrate to grant the pardon to the suppliant to allow his son Caim to marry and settle in this city with the daughter of the late Isaiah Hirtzel, also living a Jew in this city, thereby remaining in the house of the suppliant.

The decree of is communicated to the tax prosecutor, affixes at the bottom of the request, conclusions of her and all considered.

The magistrate received the said Caim son of the suppliant to the manance of the Jews of this city, on the charge by him to behave honestly to comply with the police regulations, to pay exactly the Schirmgeld, to pay a sum of two hundred pounds to the fund of the poor, including one hundred pounds on October 1st and the other one hundred on December 1st, and in addition that of eight hundred pounds, payable from yesterday to one year, to be employed in the repair of the red post office of this city.

Signed at the end of the hearing, Antoine de Cointoux with initials, made in Haguenu the days, months and years above ⁽¹³⁷⁾.

In 1785, Calme Rheins was obliged to pay a thousand pounds for the admission of his son David to the ranch of the city, and the following year for his son Israel.

In 1786, Abraham, son of the rabbi of Haguenu, addressed the following request to the magistrates:

To Gentlemen and Gentlemen, the royal lender, Stettmeister and magistrate of the city of Haguenu.

Very humbly begged Abraham Gougenheim son of Jacob Gougenheim, sworn rabbi of the Jews of this city,

Saying that finding a way to marry, he is only required to obtain the grace of the magistrate, the reception under his protection and to remain there, thanks which it is advisable to ask. He comes from an honest family, he himself professes an honest man, his father raised nine children, of which seven are established. There is only the suppliant and another to be established, subject of the most humble request.

This considered, Gentlemen, you please do the grace to the suppliant to receive him under your protection, thus allowing him to live and to fix his domicile and his abode in this city; to the offers he makes to continue to make a profession of honesty, to pay the right of protection and other charges and to comply with the statutes, judgments and police regulations. For this grace, he will not cease to address his wishes to the Almighty for the preservation of the magistrate.

ABERAHAM (sic) GOUGENHEIM ⁽¹³⁸⁾.

The tax prosecutor vetoed it; then, at the rabbi's urging, the magistrate of Haguenu consented to welcome Abraham Gougenheim, on condition that he would pay 1,200 pounds. But Abraham, unable to accept such leonine conditions and even the reduction of 300 pounds which was offered to him in the second place, decided to retire to Lixheim.

In 1789 again, Benjamin Bernheim had to pay 2,000 pounds so that his son Raphael could settle in the city with his young wife Sara, daughter of Aron Abraham Moch, but under no conditions could he obtain such authorization for his son-in-law Samuel Lévy of Ingwiller ⁽¹³⁹⁾.

The Revolution came to overturn all these legal barriers, and it was in large numbers that the Israelites from the vicinity of Haguenu came to settle in the city, at the same time to escape the scenes of looting which had followed the collapse of the old regime ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾.

To obtain the right of residence, it was enough for the Israelites to take an oath of loyalty to the State. Here is the record of one of these statements:

"Before us, president and members of the municipal administration of the municipality of Haguenau, appeared the citizen Michel Samuel, resident of this municipality, who made the declaration whose content follows: " I recognize that the universality of French citizens is the sovereign and I promise submission and obedience to the laws of the Republic ". - We have given him notice of this declaration, which he signed with us, at the common house, on 5 Fructidor year V. - *Signed* VEINUM and Michel BAR ELIOQUUM⁽¹⁴¹⁾.

Organization of the Religious Community

Chapter 8

It remains for us to make the history of the Jews of Haguenau as a religious community.

Towards the middle of the 17th century, the Israelites requested permission to call a rabbi in the city; but the authorities opposed it. The Jews then used a subterfuge; one of them, named Löwel, was given permission to hire an accountant who would stay with him, on condition, it is true, that every year he would renew this license⁽¹⁴²⁾. This accountant was a rabbi named Meyer (1660).

His first care was to build a new temple to replace the old one which had become insufficient and threatened with ruin. The municipality allowed it, but the Community had to abandon the courtyard between the temple and the house of an Israelite named Moyses. From there, the rue de la Synagogue, still called so today. The Franciscan convent also asserted its rights, it demanded that the Community raise the royalty that it had been paying it since 1358. The Jews had to accept an annual tax of three schillings six deniers, to which they were subjected until 1790.

The temple was inaugurated in 1665. The rabbi succeeded in having his authority unofficially recognized by the municipality, and the latter, to show the esteem it had for him, got into the habit of having the Israelites who had a dispute judged by him.

But, in 1677, happened the misfortune that we have reported previously, the synagogue was set on fire. It was therefore necessary to think again of the means of rebuilding it. After five years of effort, the Israelites managed to raise the sum necessary for this pious work. Not deeming it useful to re-apply for a permission given to them a few years earlier, they began work on September 17th. The next day the council meets on this subject. The dean of the Schöffen, Franz, declared that he had given the order to the masons to cease their work, because, the site of the synagogue having been formerly that of a chapel; permission was needed to build it again. The stettmeister was of the opinion that, given the ancient destination of this land, the Jews could not build their synagogue there. All the members of the Council shared this sentiment, and they ordered the Israelites to cease the work, even if it means appealing to the king⁽¹⁴³⁾. But the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the clergy decided not to oppose this construction. The Jews then addressed the following request to the governor of Alsace:

Monseigneur de la Grange, adviser to king in his council, steward of justice, police and finances in Alsace and Brisgau.

Very humbly implores the Jewish community of Haguenau, saying (sic) that the convents and the churches to which their synagogue which is harmed a long time ago, with most of the buildings of the said city, pay annually certain censes, their allowed, with the knowledge and consent of the magistrate of the city, to have it rebuilt in the place where it was, but having thus started on this footing and the old foundations and hovels, they were denied it eight days later, to desist until with your permission; the suppliant community, having (sic) of whom (sic) peacefully possessed the said synagogue for several centuries, implore (sic) your protection and justice, monseigneur, for you to keep the supplicants in their former right, and if is needed⁽¹⁴⁴⁾.

They were finally able to rebuild their temple, the date of this event has been preserved by the following inscription engraved on a stone:

The Hebrew means: "Let this be a remembrance, of this synagogue, the night of ..., the year 1683."

The German placed opposite completes this inscription in erased parties: "In 1676, it was set on fire, in 1683 rebuilt"⁽¹⁴⁵⁾.

R. Meyer's successor was Wolf Hohenfelden, who stood out for his spirit of gentleness and conciliation. In 1720, he was replaced by Elie Schwab of Metz, who, to take office, requested the authorization of Louis XV. The latter, who thought of giving a general rabbi for Alsace, delivered to Elie Schwab letters patent conferring on him the title of rabbi of all Lower Alsace. This was not the account of the rabbis of Bouxwiller, Mutzig and Niedernay, who, with the help of their respective lords, brought a lawsuit against Schwab. The latter declared that he only claimed to exercise his ministry in Haguenau. New letters patent were sent to him as follows:

Said Elie Schwabe will exercise the functions of rabbi of the Jews in the royal prefecture of Haguenau, and in the upper and lower bailiffs of Lauterbourg and Fiexbourg, in the towns of Landau, Fort-Louis, Wissembourg and generally in all the

provosts, lands and places in Lower Alsace, which do not depend on the Bishop of Strasbourg, on the succession of the late Count of Hanau, and on the directory of the nobility of Lower Alsace; and for the execution of the said judgment, all necessary letters patent would be sent, which the said Elie Schwabe very humbly made us beg to grant him.

For these reasons, etc., etc., said Elie Schwabe will be able to perform the functions of rabbi in the royal prefecture of Haguenau, etc., etc. ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾.

Sometime later he received, not without difficulty, permission from the municipality to come and settle in the city.

As in all the Israelite communities of that time, he had trouble with the attendants, his administrators. These, named Aaron Abraham Moch, Lipmann Moch and Jacob Alexandre had been seriously wrong, in the eyes of the rabbi, to be appointed to their charge not by the community and especially by the rabbi, but by the royal lender, the stettmeister and the magistrates of the city (1738). In the letter which he wrote on this subject to the governor of Alsace to have these nominations annulled, Schwab lets the tip of his ear be pierced, and he declares that these officials would not have been elected by their co-religionists because of the scandals they had caused by their lack of respect for the rabbi ⁽¹⁴⁷⁾.

The governor, after investigation, ordered that new elections be made. The rabbi therefore triumphed. But his triumph was short-lived, Aaron Abraham Moch and Lippman Moch obtained the votes of their co-religionists and their election was sanctioned by the government of Alsace (February 5, 1739). They happily avenged themselves by making the rabbi notify their appointment by bailiff ministry.

Schwab, who had not known how to behave with his constituents, nor with the substitutes he had given himself, found a way to sue the rabbi of Lower Alsace and lose him. These repeated defeats acted on his brain and he was insanely stricken.

The rabbi's wife and her brother whom she had brought from Metz asked the governor that Schwab be locked up in a separate place, to prevent any accident, and that, during his illness, his functions be entrusted, on an interim basis, to a rabbi from Alsace they designated. Feydeau, the governor, granted their request and appointed, in replacement of Schwab, Samuel Weyl, "rabbi of the Jews of Haute-Alsace and those of the lands of" ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾.

Fortunately Schwab was able to heal himself quickly and the memory of this sad illness served on both sides to make the rabbi's relations with his community easier. As soon as he recovered, he had to make the Jews of Landau return to duty, who were in his jurisdiction and who had wanted to shirk his authority ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. He died in 1746, after having had much trouble with his constituents, in his last days.

The appointment of his successor went smoothly. In 1745 there had come to the city a rabbi named Samuel Halberstadt, friend of Eibenschutz, the famous rabbi of Metz. He had been driven out of Prague along with 20,000 of his co-religionists. The municipality mantra itself as benevolent towards him as it had been to the exiles from Poland in 1657, and it allowed him to stay with his wife in the city, for a year, without paying any protection fees. This term having elapsed, she continued the same tolerance for him for a year. When Elie Schwab died, he was the perfect choice to replace him. He then obtained, on his request, the right of permanent residence ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾, but he did not enjoy it for long, because he died in 1753.

He was replaced in 1755, after two years of interim, by Lazarus Moyses previously rabbi in Bouxwiller, who received the authorization to fix his residence in Haguenau ⁽¹⁵¹⁾, and even was able to make a treaty with the provost of Wissembourg, to fulfill the functions of rabbi in this city. He belonged to a family of well-known rabbis. His father Moïse was chief rabbi of the country of Anspach, his grandfather Saul, of Pintschub in Poland, and his great grandfather Moses of Helma in the same region. The latter had for father Meyer, chief rabbi of Lithuania, son himself of Saul Wohl, called "Lord in Israel" who is claimed to have been king of Poland for a day. Saul Wohl was the son of Chief Rabbi Jehouda Padoua, son of the famous Moses Padoua.

Our Lazarus Moyses was also the stock of several rabbis, his son Hirsch succeeded him in Haguenau, one of his filler was the mother of Wolf Roos rabbi of Saverne and another the grandmother of the current chief rabbi of the Israelites of France, Mr. Isidor, who bears the first name of Lazarus. The patronymic name of the family was Katzenellebogen ⁽¹⁵²⁾.

Lazarus Moyses died in 1771 and was succeeded by Jequel Gougenheim, formerly rabbi in Rixheim. It was intended to first say prayers for the restoration of the health of the beloved king, Louis XV, and to see the doors of the synagogue closed in 1794. In February of that year, in fact, order was given to hand over the keys of the synagogue to the city authorities. It was forbidden for Gougenheim to bear the name of rabbi, and for the Israelites to meet together to pray. Gougenheim was not intimidated by these orders:

"Even if I die in the breach," he said, "I will have no rest until I have my temple". And he multiplied his approaches to his co-religionists, he communicated his ardor to them so well that on the Passover feast the Israelites gathered in a factory belonging to Samuel Ah and converted into an oratory. It was there that they prayed, having, for greater safety, sentries posted in the neighboring streets. On Saturdays, they walked around the city, wearing their weekly clothes, and on Yom Kippur, they took turns

walking around all day, wearing a blouse and whip in hand. In order not to stop lighting the Sabbath lamp on Friday, while escaping the surveillance exercised by the police rounds.

This situation lasted nearly a year and a half and only ceased with the decree of February 21, 1795, which allowed public worship to be celebrated. The Jews did not reopen their synagogue until July, as can be seen from the memoirs of the community's gravedigger, Jonas Korb, and from the following play:

Considering the petition presented to the municipality of Haguenau by the citizen Jacques Moch, on behalf of the citizens of the Hebrew religion of the said place, for the purposes that he be given the key of the former synagogue, together the opinion of the said municipality.

Hearing the substitute syndic prosecutor, the directory of the district of Haguenau, deliberating in public session, and considering that the building used for the former Hebrew worship belongs to the citizens of the Israelitic religion (sic) who live in Haguenau that the law does not have not declared of such (sic) buildings national domains, that this building was intended for a religious worship, and that it was closed only by a measure of general security.

Stop granting the petitioner the building known as the synagogue, formerly used for Hebrew worship, on condition of maintaining the said building and submitting to the municipality of Haguenau by the proposal of the said worship, to submit to the laws of the republic, and to comply in all other points with the law of the 11th of this month.

Copy will be given to the municipality of Haguenau to know.

Haguenau, the 24th of the month of prairial of the 3rd year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Signed: VEINUM, HALLES ⁽¹⁵³⁾.

We will stop here the history of the community of Jews of Haguenau; to push it further would have almost entered the news and departed from the scope of the articles in this Review. From the day the Israelites became French citizens, their history was no more than that of their religious interests. Would to God that she had never had anything but this character.

SOURCES AND NOTES

History of the Jews of Haguenau: Notes

1. **Archives of Haguenau AA.1.**
2. *Alsatia illustrata*, tome, I, p. 356.
3. This street still exists in part, between the Huffel and Fretin houses. Until 1347 the first of these houses formed the property of these two Jews.
4. Current Heimann House.
5. These two houses were demolished a few years ago, arches the neighboring houses, for the expansion of the market place.
6. As such, they depended only on the justice of the Empire.
7. We do not know what credit to give to this story, we have found nothing in the archives about this story. (Schoepfflin, t. II, p. 356).
8. Archives of Haguenau, AA, bundle I. See further on, in **supporting documents, n. 1.**
9. *Des wir die burger von Hagenowe, beide Christen and Juden, und alles das zu Hagenowe gehort, in umsern schirm nehmen und gelobent bitem eide den wir ihn geschwuren top zu den heiligen... ihn beholfen zu sein.*
10. At 51 francs 60 the marc = 2 550 francs (from 1885)
11. *Die Juden zu Hagenowe sullent uns dienen, und geben jaehrlich, die weil wir ihr pflieger sint, 50 marks silber, und sit me, und sullent denach die juden dienen, zu der stadt notdusft als bescheidenlich ist.* - (Mone, Zeitschrift far die Geschichte des ober Rheins, t. VIII.)
12. Although we saw a few more names later (1317), there were never more than six Jewish households in Haguenau: the married son and sometimes even the son-in-law were counted in the same family, if they had a residence permit, (**Arch. de Hag. GG. 64**) and if their business was carried out in the name of the father and the stepfather, This view was changed after an edict of 1436, which we will relate later; then one will only accept to form part of a household only the father, the mother, the unmarried children and the servants. It was only during the Thirty Years' War that the figure of six was exceeded.
13. Archives of Haguenau, AA, bundle II.— See further, **supporting documents, N. 2.**
14. Strobel, *Valedandische Geschichte des Elsasses*, t. II.
15. The contribution of the Jews of Haguenau alone brought to de Teck the sum of 111 small florins, following receipt of 1348 (Arch. De Haguenau GG. Bundle 63).
16. Archives of Haguenau GG. 63. See the original **with supporting documents, n ° 3.**
17. As Charles IV forgave Selestadt for having burned his Jews in the same year. - Schoepfflin, *Als. illust.* t. II, p. 381.
18. Arch. by Hag. GG. bundle 63, see **n ° 4 below**.

19. see below for the wording of this act, **supporting documents n ° 5.**
20. This is how we found the location of the first temple. Because on this occasion, and in 1382, when the city bought an annuity on this property, we find the following designation: *Ich Dimar Bogener der alte Scheffen zu Hagenaw, hot verkeult und gebet zu kautende, recht und rcdelich Cur sic! ' und alien sin erben, dem erben priester her Johanse den mannennt. von Kenzingen, dem stete schriber zu Hagenaw der es emoting an scat und in ram meister und rates und der Burgere wegen gemeuilichen zu Hagenaw, unclallen sinen nachkommen an demselhen ambacht. die vier Schillinge Strassburgcr Pfennige geltes, drier ruling, nuvven rechtes ewiger zinse, die er het fti dent Gadente, fif dent Kornzerkt, daz da etwanne was der Juden Sehnlle arab Viederhalb pfunt pfenning Strassb. etc. etc.Neehsten Christtage nach Sant-Barnahe 1382 .-* Arch of Hag. bundle DD 2.
21. In a contract signed in 1456, it was still called *das Juden hus* (DD. J aux Arch ..)
22. Arch. by Hag. GG. 64
23. Hag Archives. GG. 64. **See original, in supporting documents, n ° 6.**
24. **See n ° 7 below .**
25. Strasbourg Archives. Book of Colligends of the Franciscans. D. 192.
26. Strobel, *Vaterl. Geschichte des Els . t. II, p. 402.*
27. See below, **supporting documents, n ° 8.**
28. Strobel, *V aterl. Geschichte des Els . t. II, p.421*
29. **Arch. From Hag. GG. 64**
30. Konigshofen, *Chronicles of Alsace* , p. 1053.
31. *Ibid.*, P.1056.
32. The first who could return to live there was **Cerf Beer** , in 1771, following his letters of naturality. He was the only one there until 1789.
33. Arch. by Hag. FF. 2.
34. City Archives. Cartular. **Original further on, n ° 10.**
35. Arch. by Hag., EE. 56.
36. Gyss, *Histoire d'Obernai* , volume 1, p.270.
37. Arch. by Hag. EE. 68.
38. The soldiers were enlisted in Alsace to leave in the army of Charles-Quint. The ten towns had to supply 800 men on foot and 10 on horseback. Gyss, *Histoire d'Obernai* , volume 1, p.364.
39. Arch. by Hag. GG. 65.
40. Mossmann, *Chron. on the Jews of Colmar* , p. 23.
41. City Archives. GG. 65. **See the original, no.11 below.**
42. Arch. de Hag., book of Protoc. of the cons. BB. 58.

History of the Jews of Haguenuau: Notes 2

43. Arch. by Hag. EE. 76.
44. Arch. by Hag. GG. 65. See **supporting documents. n ° 12.**
45. *Ibid.*
46. Gyss. *Hist. d'Obernai* , volume 1, p. 370.
47. Arch. by Hag. GG. 65.
48. Archives of Haguenuau. GG. 65.
49. **See further, n ° 13.** Arch. by Hag., BB. 55.
50. In the midst of this *commotion*, a *machsor* from the morning of Yom Kippur was picked up , in pieces. The leaves were 0.47 high by 0.31 wide; they served to bind, for several years, the registers of the protocols of the council of that time, and they are still in this state in the archives. It is clear that the writer was not a scholar. These pages are full of spelling mistakes and are full of omissions. Another hand took care of the correction. The rite is half Polish, half German.
51. He lived in the Antoine Guntz house, rue du Sel, and had a garden behind his house, as we can still see it today, overlooking the grain market.
52. Arch. by Hag., BB. 59.
53. Liv. of Protoc. of the Council, to the arch. by Hag., BB. 59.
54. They had taken out a loan for this from a private individual, under better conditions (Arch, de Hag. Cahier, CC. 153).
55. "To our lovers and feales the Unterlandvogt and advisers of Lower Alsace in Haguenuau. Leopold, by the grace of God, Archduke of Austria, etc., etc.
You will see, by the attached copy, that the town of Haguenuau wants to oppose a resolution we recently took regarding the name Jacob, a Jew in Haguenuau. We had allowed him to sell his house, located in the said town to another Jew, and the town intends to prevent this sale.
Said Jew is not the first to come. He rendered us services and even more to the city of Saverne, during the siege of this locality by the troops of Mansfeld. He helped with special skill in putting out the bombs that were thrown there, and thus prevented several fires. We took this opportunity to give him a public testimony of our gratitude, especially since our intimate advisers had sent us very favorable information about him.
We must, if we want to be fair, rescue the said Jew and seek as much as possible to dissuade the city of Haguenuau from its opposition. If, on the contrary, it finds sufficiently plausible reasons which deserve to be discussed, we can agree on this subject to discuss them. You will give your opinion on the proposals to be made to one or the other party.
Always have us as before, in affection, etc.
Rouffach, April 16, 1628. "(Arch. De Hag., BB. 15).
56. Protoc. du Conseil, aux Arch, de Hag., BB., 61. **See n ° 14 below.**

57. Arch. by Hag., BB. 62.
58. *Ibid* .
59. Protoc. of the Council. Arch. de Hag., BB, 62.
60. Arch. by Hag., BB. 62, see **further n ° 15.**
61. *Ibid* .
62. *Ibid* ., BB. 63.
63. *Ibid* ., EE. 83.
64. Tuesday was then called *Zinstag* (interest day), hence probably the *Dienstag* and certainly the patoise translation of Tuesday, among the peasants of Alsace, by Zistig.
65. Arch. by Hag., BB. 65.
66. *Ibid* ., EE. 84.
67. *Ibid* ., BB, 66.
68. Arch. by Hag., BB. 67.
69. *Ibid* .
70. Arch. by Hag., BB. 13.
71. *Ibid* .
72. Book of Protoc. advice. In the archives of Haguenu, BB. 68.
73. *Ibid* .
74. Haym had to pay eight reichsthalers (46 fr. 40), as annual rights of protection, and one schilling (0 fr. 39) per day, as war contribution. The widow paid half. This Haym's family took the name Rehns from the next.
75. Archives of Haguenu, BB. 70.
76. Book of Protoc. from the Council to the archives of Hag., BB, 70.
77. Book of Protoc. from the Council to the city archives, BB. 70.
78. Book of Protoc. Council meetings. Archiv. by Hag., BB. 71. It is even remarkable that the Council calls Haym "the honorable Jewish physician", an epithet of no small value.
79. See. above, p. 22.
80. Cartulary of Haguenu. **Original further on, n ° 16.**
81. All foreigners who came to stay in Haguenu had to take an oath of loyalty to the magistrate, according to their profession or their quality. This oath was necessarily imposed on the Jews as well. Only it differed from that of Christians. Before pronouncing the general formula, the Jew placed his right hand on the Bible and covered his head.
The Jews of. Strasbourg, the Duchy of Hanau-Lichtenberg, Colmar, Ober-Mundat and the Bishopric of Strasbourg had to take almost the same oath, with more or less similar formalities. The Jews of the bishopric of Strasbourg alone were obliged, during this ceremony, to put their feet on a pigskin.
82. See above, p. 17-21.
83. Arch. by Hag. GG 64. - **See below, n ° 17.**
84. Arch. by Hag. GG 64. - **See below, n ° 18.**
85. 85- We believe all the more that Haguenu had always had its own cemetery, that there exists in the archives of the city a contract of sale of a house, from the beginning of the 14th century, located " *neben dent Judenkirsckhof* ".
86. Arch. by Hag. CC 312. - We take the value of currencies in the excellent work of Father Hanauer, *Economic Studies on Alsace* , 1st vol.
87. Arch. of the Haguenu civil hospital.
88. In this way, we also manage to explain to ourselves why, in his capacity as tavern owner, before needing a good cellar, he was obliged to have a second one, at the back of his property, the one that existed in the front. still being too humid, owing to the old sources which continued to filter there. Today, this whole group of houses is replaced by an annex to the civilian hospital.
89. Arch. by Hag. GG - **Original, n ° 19.**
90. We do not know how the Jews should go about writing legibly, on the back of the note, the sum received. It was not until the middle of the 18th century that we find a signature written in a language other than Hebrew.

History of the Jews of Haguenu: Notes 3

91. Archives of Haguenu, BB. 88.
92. Arch. by Hag., BB. 88.
93. Arch. by Hag. GG. 66.
94. In 1668 he was able to buy a house; in the contract of sale was inserted this clause - which was customary whenever the Israelites became owners - that if, within a year, a Christian wanted to take it back, he could buy it at the same price. This right remained in force until the French Revolution. (Arch. De Hag., BB. 98.)
95. Arch, de Hag., BB. 98.
96. Arch, de Hag., GG. 68.
97. Arch. by Hag., GG. 66.
98. Arch. by Hag., BB. 98.
99. *Ibid* ., EE. 93.
100. *Ibid* ., GG. 67.
101. Just as much as the municipality enjoyed it, because it did not fail to derogate from it whenever its interests were at stake.
102. This clause was, as we can imagine, very often invoked. The custom was so well established to give children, in addition to a dowry, the table and the lodging that, some thirty years ago, it was still in force in the families of the Jews of Alsace.
103. Arch. by Hag., BB. 114.
104. Arch. from Haguenu, GG. 67.

105. Arch. by Hag., GG. 67.
 106. Arch. from Haguenau, GG. 66.
 107. Book of Council Protocols. Arch. by Hag., BB. 94 and 95.
 108. Book of Council Protocols. Arch. by Hag., BB. 94 and 95. As if this disaster had not been enough for them, a few soldiers, in collusion with four peasants from Schoeffolsheim, entered the town one fine morning, on November 21, and began to loot some Jewish houses. Complaint was brought by the Jews before the municipality which, after investigation, attested the injustice committed to their detriment and gave them a letter addressed to M. de La Grange, intendant in Brisac, so that he supported the good rights of the Jews. As for her, she inflicted a punishment on the peasants. The arbitrators she appointed, namely: Engelbert and Camedin, preacher, André Keith, mayor of Batzendorf, and Jacob Heintz, mayor of Mommenheim, after having ascertained the facts, condemned the four peasants to a fine of 200 florins. (Arch. by Hag., GG. 66.)
 109. Arch. by Hag., GG. 67.
 110. His family remained in this city until 1792, when one of his descendants, named Gerson Koblenz, returned to settle in Haguenau. This Gerson, during the constitution of the civil status for the Jews in 1808 took or received the name of Géréon Koblenz.
 111. Arch. by Hag., GG. 67.
 112. Arch. by Hag., GG. 67.
 113. Arch. by Hag., BB. 114 and following.
 114. Young Christian girls were hardly better treated in such cases. On their recovery, they were thrown in prison, then, the following Sunday, they were seated on a donkey, they were given a lighted candle in their hands, they were capped with a crown of straw and they were taken for a ride in this device. main streets of the city, where all the inhabitants crowded. On a repeat offense, the prison sentence was lengthened, then the delinquent was expelled from the city (Arch. De Hag., BB. 114 et seq.).
 115. Arch. by Hag., GG. 68.
 116. 116- The current gravedigger of Haguenau, aged 86, remembers that his predecessor told him about Senderlé's ordeal.
 117. Arch. by Hag., BB. 14-15.
 118. Arch. by Hag., BB. 31
 119. Arch. de Hag., GG. 67, This convention was confirmed by the king on March 16.
 120. Arch. by Hag., GG. 68.
 121. Ordinance of Vanolles, of May 1, 1744, *ibid* .
 122. Arch. by Hag., GG. 68.
 123. Arch. by Hag., GG. 68.
 124. Arch. by Hag., GG. 68.
 125. Arch. by Hag., GG. 70.
 126. Arch. by Hag., GG. 69. Done at Strasbourg, July 17, 1764.
 127. Arch. by Hag., BB. 149.

History of the Jews of Haguenau: Notes 4

128. Arch. by Hag., GG. 68.
 129. Arch., De Hag., BB. 149.
 130. Arch. by Hag., BB. 138-139.
 131. Arch. by Hag., GG. 70.
 132. Arch. by Hag., GG. 69.
 133. Currently rue de l'Ecurie.
 134. Previously occupied by the chapter of Surbourg.
 135. Arch. by Hag., BB. 32.
 136. Arch. by Hag., GG. 70.
 137. Arch. by Hag., BB. 171.
 138. Arch. by Hag., BB. 41.
 139. Arch. by Hag., BB. 176.
 140. Among those who arrived at this time, let us quote: the Ah families, from Fürth (Bavaria); Baliveau, from Lemberg (Russian Poland); Bauer, of Fort-Louis, whose chief, employee of heaters and lights, had formerly lived in Balbronn; Bénédict, of Fort-Louis; Blin, of Fort-Louis; Bloch, from Ohlungen; Braunberger, from Frauenberg; Koblenz, from Lixheim; Dreyfous, from Fort-Louis, their residence for a long time, because we see coming from this city to the cemetery of Haguenau a Herz Dreyfous in 1680, an Isaac Dreyfous in 1697, again a Hörz in 1706; Eisenmann, from Kutzenhausen; Goldschmidt, from Prague; **HALF, FROM SOUFFLENHEIM**; Halfen from Busenberg; Haussmann, Essingen and Ohlungen; Hersch, of Dauendorf; Heumann, from Sultz-sous-Forêts; Lazare Kahn, from Dinsheim; Korb Jonas, from Dauendorff; Korb Raphael, from Witterswiller; Mey, of Ohlungen, their residence for more than two centuries: in 1605, a Hayem Mey, in Ohlungen, has, in Haguenau, a lawsuit with a pelletier-pharmacist (*kirsner-apotheker*, which probably meant bandager); Meyer, from Westhoffen; Scheid, from Schirhoffen; Strauss, of Gundershoffen; Stuffle, of Langenschwallbach; Weill, from Batzendorf (a Hurtz Weill in February 1680, a Lazarus Weill in April 1684, a Mausché Weill in April 1715, come from Batzendorf to the cemetery of Haguenau); Weinberg of Ettenheim, etc., etc.
 141. As for the entrance fees of foreign Israelites passing through the city, the Jews demanded, in 1770, that they be abolished, but in reality the tax authorities more often turned a blind eye, as is evident from a letter. addressed in 1774 by the municipality to the magistrates of Wissembourg (Arch. de Hag., BB. 29). Moreover, the ordinance of 1784 suppressed them completely.
 142. Arch. by Hag., BB. 90.
 143. Proton pound. advice. Arch. by Hag., BB. 100.

144. Arch. particul.
145. This stone can still be found today in a house in rue du Sel belonging to Mr. Klein, the site of the temple until 1819.
146. Ordinances of Alsace.
147. Arch. by Hag., GG. 70. For Jacob Alexander, the Jews had ratified this irregular appointment.
148. Arch. by Hag., GG. 70.
149. Arch. by Hag., GG. 67.
150. Arch. by Hag., GG. 68.
151. *Ibid.*
152. This genealogical table is found on a work by Hirsch Kalzenellebogen owned by the Chief Rabbi Isidor.
153. Protocol book for town hall meetings.