# Contributions to Rhenish-Jewish History



# An Encounter With Two Millenia

The Updated Concept for MiQua LVR- Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Quarter Cologne

Thomas Otten Christiane Twiehaus





# An Encounter With Two Millennia

# The Updated Concept for MiQua

LVR - Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Quarter Cologne (As at August 2018)

Thomas Otten - Christiane Twiehaus

### Dear readers and friends of MiQua,

"But there's nothing for them to put on display!"

For years, the idea of a Jewish museum in Cologne was thwarted by this argument.

This updated outline of the concept for the new museum, published by the Friends of MiQua, makes it clear that the opposite is true.

It is perfectly tangible, yet at the same time astounding! The area in front of Cologne City Hall, the excavation of the mikveh, the synagogue and the surrounding buildings, or rather, their foundations, have all been there for centuries. Now they are taking their place as the central feature, the monument itself.

In addition, underground finds from the archaeological site provide evidence and insights into the life of Cologne's Jewish citizens until their expulsion in 1424.

Above ground, in the new museum, that history will be continued, taking in the centuries following the expulsion, when Jews settled in the territories across the Rhine ruled by the archbishop, and their return to Cologne from the French occupation of 1798 right up to the present day – a history conveyed through the stories of individuals.

Then it will be clear that MiQua is a wonderful addition, a link to the collection of Judaica in Cologne's City Museum and to the exemplary work of the Nazi Documentation Centre. Emperor Constantine's famous edict of 321 is evidence that at that time Jews in Cologne had full rights and obligations. From 2021, when MiQua. LVR - Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Quarter Cologne is opened, it will celebrate 1,700 years of Jewish life in Cologne, with all its ups and downs.

The Jewish section of MiQua is inseparably linked to the amazing Roman finds, especially the praetorium, part of which has been open to visitors since the 1950s. Together with the finds spanning the years right up to the present, that will form the 6,000 square metre underground area where people will be able to experience two millennia of Cologne's history.

We, the Friends of MiQua, have spent years promoting a Jewish museum at precisely this location in Cologne. We are therefore happy and proud that we can support this significant project, the only one of its kind in Europe, and play our part in its realisation. Our deputy chairman Horst Großpeter made a very special contribution, a substantial donation towards the purchase of the Amsterdam Mahzor (see pages 17/18).

Below is a brief overview of the members of the board of the Friends of MiQua, to give you an insight into the people involved in this project, who are increasingly impressed by the work of the MiQua team, which has our wholehearted support.

The members of the Executive Board of MiQua-Freunde e.V. are: Dr. Klaus Burghard (chairman), Horst Großpeter (deputy chairman), Wilfried Hommen (secretary), Helmut Fußbroich (treasurer). Further elected members are; Konrad Adenauer, Ilan Simon and Dr. Ulrich Wackerhagen. In addition, Dr. Thomas Otten (founding director of MiQua), Dr. Christiane Twiehaus (head of MiQua's Department of Jewish History and Culture), and Dr. Marcus Trier (director of the Romano-Germanic Museum) are members of the board by virtue of their positions and the articles of association.

(A personal note: regrettably, there is only one female board member! But that is something that you, dear friends and the readers of this publication, can change in the future!)

But what can the board members achieve without the backing of a large number of members?

This unique project deserves to have really wide support. If you find the museum concept outlined in this publication convincing and would like to join the Friends of MiQua, please be assured that you will be most welcome. To join us, please fill out the form at <a href="http://www.juedischesmuseum-koeln.de/kontakt.html">http://www.juedischesmuseum-koeln.de/kontakt.html</a> . (The internet site will be updated soon.)

Best regards,

Dr. Klaus Burghard, Chairman

#### The authors

#### Dr. Thomas Otten

Born in Bonn in 1966. Studied prehistory and early medieval archaeology, classical archaeology and ancient history at the University of Bonn and at the University of Munich (LMU). Doctoral thesis on "The excavations below St. Viktor in Xanten. Cathedral and immunity". Managing director of Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz e. V., (Rhenish association for the preservation of historical monuments and protection of the countryside) from 2000 to 2006. Head of the department for the conservation historical monuments at the Ministry of Construction, Accommodation, Urban Development and Traffic for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia from 2006 to 2016. Member of the board of trustees of the North Rhine-Westphalia Foundation for Nature, Homeland and Culture since 2002, member of the board of trustees of the Foundation for the Promotion of Archaeology in the Lignite Mining Region in the Rhineland since 2007, and Vize-Chairman of the German Limes Commission since 2015. Curator responsible for organising the archaeological exhibitions "Fundgeschichten: Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen" in 2010 and "Revolution jungSteinzeit" in 2015. Director of MiQua. LVR-Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Ouarter Cologne since 1 June 2016.

#### Dr. Christiane Twiehaus

Born in Hanover in 1976. Degree courses in Jewish studies, music and European art history at the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien (Centre for Jewish Studies) and Ruprecht-Karls University in Heidelberg. Specialised in the study of Jewish art with Prof. Hannelore Künzel and the talmud and rabbinic literature with Prof. Aharon R.E. Agus. Master's thesis with Dr. Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek on the architect Edwin Oppler and his 19th century synagogues. Doctoral thesis supervised by Prof. Annette Weber on the reception of synagogues in the Baden region in the media. Her career has included working in exhibition management at the Bundeskunsthalle in Bonn, at the theatre in Bonn, and as an academic associate and exhibition curator at the Jewish Museum of Franconia in Fürth, Schnaittach and Schwabach. Head of the Department for Jewish History and Culture at MiQua.LVR-Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Quarter Cologne since 2014.

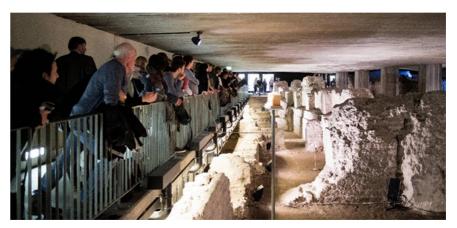


Fig. 1: A foretaste of the archaeological exhibition – visitors viewing the praetorium during the museum night on 4 November 2017.

#### Introduction

MiQua. LVR - Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Quarter Cologne, right in front of the City Hall, is an exceptional cultural project in all respects. The museum will present one of the most important archaeological and architectural finds in the history of the city of Cologne and the Rhineland: the Roman praetorium, the medieval Jewish quarter and the goldsmiths' district. An interdisciplinary team of specialists at Landschaftsverband Rheinland (LVR) has been working on a concept for the new museum and its exhibitions since summer 2014. The City of Cologne is funding the investment in the new buildings for the Archaeological Quarter, including the Jewish museum, and the initial fittings. LVR will then take over responsibility for the exhibitions and other events.

Back in 2008, the City of Cologne held an architectural competition for the archaeological zone and Jewish museum. The winning design was submitted by the architects Wandel Hoefer Lorch & Hirsch of Saarbrücken, Germany. The original cube on the side of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum was

subsequently removed from the plans on the basis of a decision by the city council and in 2009 the present dimensions of the site were defined.

## The fundamental exhibition design

The archaeological site is the star of the museum. Quite simply, that is the basis for the underlying concept, which has evolved from archaeological finds at this location. Knowledge of these sensational archaeological finds in Cologne, the praetorium, the medieval Jewish quarter and the Christian tradesmen's district, goes back at least to Otto Doppelfeld's excavations beneath and in front of City Hall in the 1950s. Since then, the focus has been on two thousand years of history right in the heart of the city.

The museum concept is inextricably linked to the architecture of the building, which will comprise a protective structure above the archaeological site. The interior will be free of visible supports, opening up perspectives and insights into the archaeological level. The upper floor will have space for permanent and temporary exhibitions, events and the necessary functional areas (entrance hall, ticket desk, etc.). A glazed rhomboid structure above the synagogue and mikveh will allow views from the exhibition level down to the archaeological site.

# A tour of the museum: The archaeological site

Visitors will start with a 600-metre underground tour of the archaeological site, which covers a total area of 6,000 square metres. The unique archaeological finds will be presented in context at the site where they were found. In other words, only objects found here will be on display.

The archaeological tour follows the organic sequence of the site. At the same time, there will be scope for themed tours focusing solely on the praetorium or the buildings that belonged to the Jewish community.



Figs. 2, 3: The entrance area in the mikveh, the Jewish ritual bath (above), and the stairs leading down to the groundwater level (right).

The tour will start in the medieval Jewish quarter with the synagogue, the Jewish ritual bath (mikveh), the dance house and the hot baths. Historically, this archaeological site is particularly interesting because in 321, during the reign of Emperor Constantine, an edict on officials of the city council indicates that there were Jews and probably a Jewish community in Cologne at that time. However, the four construction



phases of the synagogue only date from the early 11th to early 15th centuries. The remains of the ark, where the torah scrolls were kept, in the east wall of the synagogue, and the space below the bimah in the middle of the synagogue point to weekly torah readings.



Fig. 4: Late medieval fragment of a slate with a Hebrew list of names and sums of money.

The outstanding and unique finds include an extensive collection of slates with Hebraic inscriptions. They include names, biblical quotations and exercises, giving an insight into the topics of Jewish teaching and scholarship in the Middle Ages.

MiQua also aims to embed the people who lived here and their stories into the exhibition. The objective is to make the site and the remains easier to understand and to introduce a new perspective: giving the people a voice of their own as well as presenting an exhibition about Jews and Jewish history. They include a family that probably

lived in the Jewish quarter in Cologne for 250 years until the pogrom of 1349, identified by the name HaLevi. Their family tree will be presented in the exhibition, linked to the medieval synagogue and supported by information, quotations and audio presentations.

A 'time warp' will transport visitors to the praetorium, the seat of the Imperial Governor, administrative centre of the Province of Lower German and centre of the Roman colony along the river Rhine. As the governor's palace, the praetorium will form part of the application for UNESCO world heritage status "Frontiers of the Roman Empire – The Lower German Limes", which is being prepared by the German federal states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate in collaboration with the Netherlands and will be submitted to UNESCO in 2020.

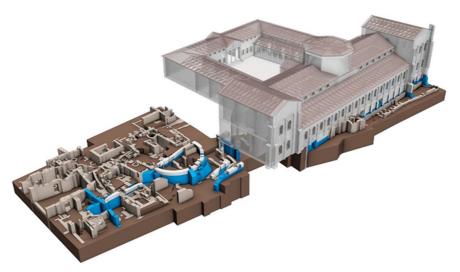


Fig. 5: Computer reconstruction of the praetorium in construction phase IV (4th century) - on the right of the picture. The left half of the picture shows the preserved remains in the southern section of the archaeology walk, including the medieval Jewish communal buildings. The visualisation shows the monumental dimensions of the Roman governor's palace.

This impressive ensemble will form the starting point for an explanation of the complex construction of the praetorium in four phases from the first century to late antiquity, the history of the Roman province, and the continuity of buildings and the square in the early Middle Ages. Inscriptions and other stone monuments, a governors' gallery and individual finds from the palace will be on display. The 250 square metre exhibition area to the north of the praetorium is already used for exhibitions, presenting the history of this Roman province, the Roman administration and the creation of the Lower German Limes. A special tour of the sewer system of Roman Colonia is also available. 3D reconstructions of the praetorium based on the latest scientific research highlight the monumental nature and distinctive architectural features of the palace complex.

The next stage in the tour will take in other parts of the Jewish quarter, including an insight into the less salubrious side of the medieval period. The debris from the pogrom of 1349, a whole layer documenting widespread destruction, is testimony to the murders, theft and expulsions of the medieval pogroms, an important caesura in the history of Europe as a whole. The finds on display here are very clear evidence of the violence directed against the Jewish quarter and its inhabitants. The entire history until the return of the Jews in the period after 1372 and the complete restitution of the synagogue to the community in 1395 can be presented, including disputes within the city about the possessions stolen from the murdered Jews.

In the Roman apse, which has been part of the square in front of the City Hall in recent years, the exhibition will examine Emperor Constantine's decree of 321, along with the question of a Jewish settlement to the north of the Alps in the first millennium through an interactive map based on archaeological finds and written sources.

As a result of the complex archaeology of this site, there are constant overlaps between the Roman and medieval periods. For instance, in the Portalsgasse (Enggasse in the medieval period) and the Judengasse, Jewish houses were built over the southernmost sections of the praetorium. Here visitors will literally be transported between different layers of history. The same goes for the remains of the Roman baths beneath the medieval gold-smiths' quarter, while the medieval Jewish quarter was built over the large apse of the late Roman period. Visualisation of scenes from the period and reconstructions of key buildings will allow direct comparison of the historical reconstruction and the archaeological remains. Finally, a series of medieval domestic cellars will give visitors an insight into the spatial, chronological and functional layout of the Jewish quarter and the adjacent Christian goldsmiths' quarter. Rich findings such as smelting furnaces and



Fig. 6: Dice made of bone and walrus ivory found in the Jewish quarter (above).

Fig. 7: Goldsmith's tools from the medieval goldsmiths' district (right).



crucibles, tools, slag and other production residues illustrate the medieval craft of the goldsmiths. Finds from the early modern era show that these premises were used until they were destroyed in the Second World War. The central themes of the museum will be everyday medieval life and the phenomenon of the co-existence of Christians and Jews, who lived side-by-side in very close proximity. Supplemented by rich historical sources, various aspects of social and commercial history will be depicted, accompanied by narratives that have been handed down through the ages. One example is the term "ghetto", how this term was coined, its stigmatisation and its emotive significance as part of a deeper insight into the perceptions and definitions of space and boundaries.



Fig. 8: The Hebrew inscription above the waste removal point in a latrine in the Lyvermann house (13th century) specifies its purpose.

The more recent history of this site and of the museum itself, with all the associated obstacles, opinions and debates, will also have a place in the exhibition: the museum is not simply a platform for history, it is also part of this history.

Just before the stairs up from the excavation level, visitors will be able to view a special find in the context of medieval Jewish history: a latrine in the cellar of the Lyvermann house, together with an inscription indicating its function.

# The new museum: Jewish history from 1424 to the present

While the history of the Jewish community and its archaeological traces at this site end in 1424, the year in which Jews were expelled from Cologne, a sequence of rooms in the upper story of the museum will present Jewish history in Cologne from 1424 to the present day. From here, visitors will also have insights into the remains of the medieval synagogue, with a transparent rhomboid frame providing a visual link between the exhibition area and the archaeological site. In addition to its architectural function as a link between the two levels of the building, this will create a continuous thematic link to the permanent exhibition.

The permanent exhibition on the upper level will approach Jewish history and culture in Cologne principally through the question of cultural identity, using different positions, perspectives and intentions spanning time and space. On the one hand, Jewish history and culture in Cologne is dominated and shaped by people. This is a multi-faceted picture that dissolves the simple and superficial perception of two groups — Jews and non-Jews — that co-existed without contact to one another, yet at the same time high-lights the fine boundary between the two extremes: an urban community existing independently of religion, and ostracism.

Jewish history and culture in Cologne is also a history of places, of authentic locations, their past, present and future. Some memorials still exist or have recently been created, while others have been forgotten or overlaid, so they are hardly perceptible in the urban organism of the city. Yet they all form part of the bigger picture of Jewish history in Cologne.

This section of the permanent exhibition will therefore focus on three key ideas, which will also dominate the archaeological tour: history narrated from multiple perspectives, the fact that people shape history, time and space, and the museum brought to life by its location. For Jewish history in Cologne since 1424 that means going out into the city, virtually and in reality.

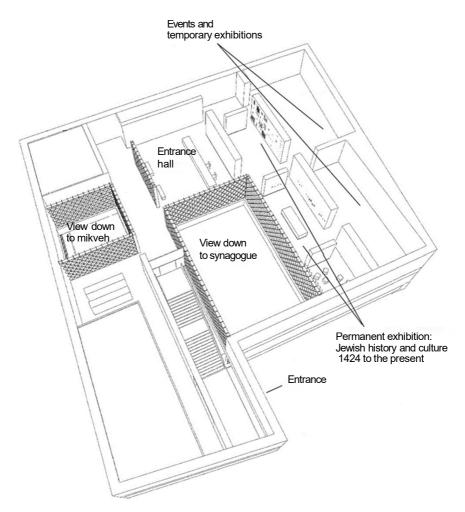


Fig. 9: Plan of the upper floor of the new museum. From here, there will be views down to the underground excavations of the synagogue and mikveh.

The permanent exhibition on the upper floor will approach Jewish history and culture in Cologne in three sections, to foster visitors' understanding of this history through different angles and perspectives. One key objective is to highlight the people who shaped history, eyewitnesses, and people who have explored the question of Jewish identity and Jewish localities.



*Fig. 10:* The digital visualisation shows the remains of the synagogue, the first viewing point after entering the underground tour from the upper floor.

The first part of the exhibition will look at the history of Judaic exhibitions and collections in Cologne over the past hundred years. It will explore the different motives and historical contexts in which they were embedded, the message they were used to convey, and the messages and identities ascribed to them. Exhibitors and collectors will have their own voice.

Back in 1914, the Werkbund exhibition on the site of the present Kölnmesse exhibition centre included a look at Jewish religion and contemporary Jewish life. This was the first exhibition by the Deutscher Werkbund, which was founded in 1907. Alongside a Catholic and a Protestant church, it exhibited the vestibule and prayer hall of a synagogue, a public sign of the equality of Jewish religious life, designed by the architect Friedrich Adler.

In the years before 1933 there were two further exhibitions of Jewish history and contemporary Jewish life in a wider context: the Millennium exhibition in 1925 and the Pressa exhibition with a special Jewish section in

1928. The decision to build a Rhenish museum following the millennium exhibition was accompanied by a decision to establish a Judaica collection. This collection has survived to the present day in the City Museum in Cologne. Today, it is curated by staff at this museum and contains more than 350 artefacts from religious and everyday life. The first major exhibition in Cologne after the holocaust was the Monumenta Judaica in 1963, depicting 2000 years of Jewish history and culture in the Rhineland. In response to plans for a Jewish museum, Gesellschaft zur Förderung eines Hauses und Museums der Jüdischen Kultur in NRW e.V., an NGO dedicated to establishing an institute and museum of Jewish culture in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, began to collect exhibits and accept donations. Renamed MiQua-Freunde e.V., it is now the association of friends of MiQua. This section of the exhibition will end with selected items from a contemporary private collection in Cologne.

The second section of the exhibition will approach Jewish history from a biographical perspective. It will focus on people from the past 600 years: well-known and less well-known figures, men and women. The aim is to show the close links that existed, and still exist, between the city's Jewish and non-Jewish heritage. The individuals include Cilli Marx, a teacher at the city's Jewish school and co-author of the interconfessional "Domfibel" published in 1929, Ernst Zwirner, architect of the synagogue in the Glockengasse, and Mr. and Mrs. Stern, who in 1798 became the first Jewish inhabitants of Cologne since the expulsion of the Jews in 1424.

The third section will feature an interactive digital tour of the city, enabling visitors to discover the places in Cologne that are part of its Jewish history and culture or defined as Jewish. Using different people to guide visitors through the city, it will form a two-way link between the museum and the city. Pictures and stories will be combined to give an impression of Cologne's varied Jewish history, which extends across the entire city and was – and still is – part of the city.

The upper floor of the museum will include one very special exhibit: the Amsterdam Mahzor purchased in 2017 in collaboration with Joods Historisch Museum in Amsterdam. This 13th century illuminated Hebraic manuscript is one of the oldest manuscripts of its type, comprising 331 parchment pages depicting the specific rites performed by Jews in Cologne on feast days. It will be presented with a line of sight to the synagogue, the place where the cantor would have read from the book on feast days. Exhibiting such an outstanding testimony to Jewish cultural heritage in the German-speaking world at its place of origin is unique in Germany. When the MiQua museum opens in 2021, the mahzor will be displayed alternately in Cologne and Amsterdam.

In this way, MiQua's concept covers the entire 2000-year history of the city and raises awareness of an important part of the cultural heritage of Cologne, the Rhineland and Europe. The museum will therefore create a close link between a multi-faceted past and the challenges of the present and future.



Fig. 11: The Amsterdam Mahzor, which dates from around 1250.



Fig. 12: One of the richly illuminated pages of the 13th century manuscript showing a special rite used in Cologne.



Fig. 13: Symbolic laying of the foundation stone in June 2018 with (right to left) Armin Laschet, Minister-President of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, Henriette Reker, Lady Mayoress of Cologne, and Prof. Jürgen Wilhelm, First Deputy President of Landschaftsversammlung Rheinland.

### Before the opening

A symbolic ceremony to lay the foundation stone was held on 28 June 2018 in the presence of Armin Laschet, Minister President of the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia, Henriette Reker, Mayoress of the City of Cologne, Prof. Jürgen Wilhelm, First Vice-Chairman of LVR, and Ulrike Lubek, Director of LVR. The foundation stone was carved by master stonemason Markus Heindl, with the generous support of Dombauhütte, under the directorship of master cathedral builder, Peter Füssenich. The foundation stone symbolises two millennia of buildings and history at this site, the shared history of Jews and Christians, and the archaeological heritage of Cologne.

The museum regards itself as an integral part of the history of the location where it is being built. The MiQua logo is therefore placed at the top of the foundation stone, and repeated along one of the sides, symbolising the two levels of the museum: the underground archaeological level and the visible museum building. In addition to the standard western date on which the foundation stone was laid, two further dates are given as symbols of the historical and archaeological levels of the excavations at this site: the Jewish year and the year in the Roman calendar. Using the Jewish calendar, the foundation stone was laid in the year 5778 (which ran from 21 September 2017 to 9 September 2018). The Jewish calendar counts from the Biblical date of the creation of the world. The Roman year 2771 is based on the Roman calendar. From the perspective of the Christian era, the Roman calendar begins with in the year 753 BCE, when Rome was founded.



Fig. 14: The MiQua foundation stone, a gift from the cathedral masons (Dombauhütte).

Since June, the fencing around site where the museum is to be built has featured illustrations of the upcoming exhibition and the building under construction. Alongside plans drafted by the Wandel Lorch architects, it shows four of the people who lived and worked here over the past 2000 years. The MiQua team invites you to visit the site of the future MiQua and find out more about the location and its people.

In 2019, we will be able to present the Amsterdam Mahzor in Cologne. Together with Joods Historisch Museum and the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, there are plans for a special exhibition in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. Within sight of the excavations and the site of the MiQua, the Mahzor will therefore be on display close to its "birthplace". We are very grateful to Dr. Marcus Dekiert, Director of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, for this ideal opportunity to present this exhibit.

You can find up-to-date information on MiQua in our blog at <a href="https://miqua.blog/">https://miqua.blog/</a> and on Twitter: <a href="https://twitter.com/museum\_miqua/">https://twitter.com/museum\_miqua/</a>.

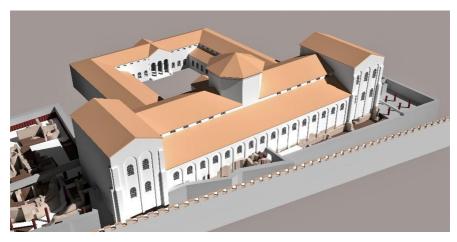
## MiQua: archaeological finds and digital views





Figs. 15, 16, 17: Agrippina (above left) will be displayed as an art installation rather than a stone statue. The gold ear-ring (above right) set with precious stones and an antique gemstone was found in an 11th century sewer. Below: The area under the bimah, where the torah scrolls were read in the medieval synagogue.











Figs. 18, 19, 20, 21: (clockwise from top) A 3D reconstruction of the praetorium showing the distinctive 4th century octagon. The Genialinus Gemmatus dedication stone (1st half of the 3rd century). The fragments of a small dog and a bird's head with grapes are assumed to come from the medieval bimah and may have been the work of the cathedral masons (Dombauhütte).





Fig. 22, 23: Visualisation of the past – lighting technology provides a visual impression of a dome projected above the remains of the octagon walls in the praetorium.

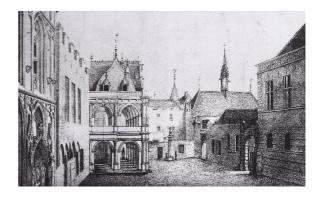


Figs. 24, 25, 26: (from top to bottom) The new museum will restore the square in front of the City Hall to its former closed form (see simulation above).

The middle photo shows the square in front of the City Hall with the renaissance arcade in around 1930.

The lithograph by Anton Wünsch based on a drawing by Peter Weyer (1823/27) depicts a similar historical view.





#### Illustration credits

- Front cover: Wandel Lorch Architekten
- Fig. 1: Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Michael Jakobs)
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- Fig. 3: City of Cologne (Michael van den Bogaard)
- Fig. 4: City of Cologne (Christina Kohnen)
- **Fig. 5:** Darmstadt Technical University/ Architectura Virtualis using data from the University of Cologne/ City of Cologne and the LVR-MiQua reconstruction project
- Fig. 6: Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Tanja Potthoff)
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- Fig. 9: Wandel Lorch Architekten
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- Fig. 11: Klaus W. Schmidt
- **Fig. 12:** Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, and Landschaftsverband Rheinland (acquired in 2017 by Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, and Landschaftsverband Rheinland with the support of Kulturstiftung der Länder, Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung, Kulturförderung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, C.L. Grosspeter Stiftung, Rheinischer Sparkassenund Giroverband, Sparkasse KölnBonn and Kreissparkasse Köln)
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- Fig. 14: Klaus W. Schmidt
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- Fig. 16: City of Cologne (Christina Kohnen)
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- Figs. 19, 20, 21: City of Cologne (Christina Kohnen)
- Fig. 22: Wandel Lorch Architekten
- Fig. 23: Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Stefan Arendt)
- Fig. 24: Wandel Lorch Architekten
- Fig. 25: Cologne City Curator
- **Fig. 26:** Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, (Rhineland picture archive, Cologne) rba mf 089607

Back cover: Klaus W. Schmidt

Published by: MiQua-Freunde. Fördergesellschaft

LVR-Jüdisches Museum im Archäologischen Quartier Köln e.V.

www.juedischesmuseum-koeln.de

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This is the eighth in a series of publications on Rhenish-Jewish history. The other volumes are available in German only and can be downloaded from: <a href="http://www.juedischesmuseum-koeln.de/publikationen.html">http://www.juedischesmuseum-koeln.de/publikationen.html</a>

Verlag der Buchhandlung Klaus Bittner, Albertusstrasse 6, D-50667 Cologne Tel. + 49/221/25 74 870

ISBN of this volume: 978-3-926397-40-9





