Jewish Support of the Salzburg Lutheran Refugees in 1732/33
by Wolfgang Splitter

The expulsion in 1732/33 of more than 20,000 Lutherans from the Austrian archbishopric of Salzburg as well as from the Bavarian area of Berchtesgaden is one of the most dramatic examples of confessional migration in early modern times. Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars alike have generated many studies with respect to certain aspects of this historic episode. For example, migratory routes to Brandenburg and East Prussia as well as Hanover, Holland, and Georgia in the American colonies have been investigated rather thoroughly. Scholarly attention to other aspects of the story has, however, developed more slowly. Two examples will suffice. It took 250 years before the first iconographic study on the Salzburger emigration was published. The first multi-perspective treatment, focusing on the main actors, was another decade in coming. Much work remains to be done, for example, on the publicity and propaganda generated by the migration, analysis of sermons, tracts, photographic artifacts, and, in this essay, the chronicles of Jewish efforts to aid the refugees.

Prior to World War I, a few historians and amateur researchers briefly noted instances of Jews helping these Lutheran refugees. However, these comments, mostly in footnotes, failed to provoke substantial interest and debate among scholars. This is all the more surprising because the indices of the two standard Lutheran compendia on the Salzburger emigration, originally issued in the 1730s, listed numerous cases of Jews acting "merciful to the emigrants" and "proving their love and good works" to them. One such source even devoted two chapters to the Jews' generous support. It is also remarkable that Jewish beneficence appears at all in the narrative of an intra-Christian conflict. Anyone who digs into these accounts of Jewish aid to the Protestant exiles will encounter an array of tactical exploitation, rhetorical stylization, Christian
hopes for conversion, and biblical-allegorical deconstruction of traditional stereotypes. Precisely these matters are the subject of investigation in this essay.

_Lutheran Compendia_

The two standard Lutheran works on the Protestant emigration from Salzburg and Berchtesgaden, authored by Christoph Sancke (who died after 1749)\textsuperscript{10} and Gerhard Gottlieb Günther Göcking (1705–1755),\textsuperscript{11} were part of the confessional propaganda that accompanied an “eighteenth-century cultural and media event, almost comparable to the Reformation and the Thirty Years’ War, but now free of satire and polemics.”\textsuperscript{12} Contrary to those earlier polemics, Lutheran chroniclers here neither accused Catholics of religious fanaticism nor did they denounce their leaders, as was the case “in some later accounts.”\textsuperscript{13} Göcking, for example, extolled the “goodness and affability” of the bishops of Augsburg and Bamberg, as well as the compassion of the Bavarian and Palatine electors and other Catholic sovereigns.\textsuperscript{14} At the beginning of his first volume, Göcking acknowledged that in the Catholic church many people “recognize just as clearly as we do the injustice of the force used against so-called heretics.” Notwithstanding his complaints about the refugees’ fate, Göcking finds it important “to make a fair distinction,” for “not all papists are of the same blindness and foolishness.” After all, some of them showed “compassion for our persecuted fellow believers” by “trying in every way to make the hardships of the journey more bearable for our emigrants.”\textsuperscript{15}

Lutherans writing about the 1732/33 emigration knew, as did the Protestant estates represented in the _Corpus Evangelicorum_ at the Imperial Diet, that the expulsion of Lutherans from Salzburg and Berchtesgaden violated neither the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire nor the Peace of Westphalia of 1648.\textsuperscript{16} For this reason Lutheran writers often targeted, rather rigorously, not the legal principle but the contestable circumstances of the expatriation and the heroic endurance it required. Sancke, in particular, seemed eager “to remind the public of the power of the Evangelical [i.e., Lutheran] religion and to promote the preservation of confessional identity by
praising the Evangelical attestors to the faith." Accordingly, he goes into great detail to explain to his readers why it is only fair to "pay attention to their example with due diligence," this being, as he points out, the true purpose of his "little work."

United in their efforts to present the Lutheran mass exodus as a "triumphal procession of Evangelical strength of faith," Göcking and Sancke claimed to have drawn on an abundance of different sources. While Sancke (whom Göcking accused of plagiarism) emphasized that he had "taken pains to talk" with many expatriates, Göcking advertised his own work with publishers by arguing that his material was largely unique, containing countless conversations with emigrants and with those commissioners whom Prussia's King Frederick William I (1688-1740) had placed in charge of organizing the transfer of Salzburgers to Brandenburg and East Prussia. But only with great difficulty did Göcking find a publisher in 1733, whereas Sancke's tome, issued anonymously, was then going through its third edition. By that time, the Francke Foundations' Orphanage Press in the Pussian enclave of Halle, in Saxony—then the foremost publisher of Protestant literature in Germany—had rejected Göcking's request to print his first volume, explaining that the requested honorarium was excessive, given that he was employing sources which had already appeared in earlier works. His feeling of rivalry with Sancke (about whom he arguably knew little more than that he lived in the Saxon city of Leipzig) was likely responsible for much of his criticism of the former's Historie, which, however, did not prevent him from borrowing many items of information from it. While Sancke, in marketing his work, did so without endorsements from others, Göcking secured support from Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693-1755), then Germany's leading Protestant church historian.

It was left to Mosheim to recommend this "quite profound and reliable history, which surpasses all other books of its kind," to the public and to extoll its author for his excellent character and scholarship. "For his narratives, the author has drawn on such sources that no one has hitherto had access to, except him," stressed Mosheim, possibly having in mind, among other things, Göcking's many accounts of Jewish aid for the exiles, whose comprehensive coverage distinguishes this work from the one by Sancke.
Both authors largely refrained from exploiting Jewish charity for anti-Catholic propaganda. Some anti-Catholic invective in their books can be found in the reports from Klein-Nördlingen (now: Kleinerdlingen), once a commandery of the Order of St. John, the German Protestant branch of the Knights Hospitaller. In this “papist” Swabian village, writes Göcking, “the priest was the main tool of the spirit of persecution.” Following Sancke, he complains that this “cleric” forbade his congregants to “give those who were taking a rest a drink of water or even to do them the least favor, because he considered them heretics and dogs.” Thus it was up to the Jews to “put the holy Catholic Christians to the greatest shame” with their generosity. Sancke takes another sideswipe at the Catholics in his account of an incident in Hesse-Cassel, where Jewish charity so impressed the Lutheran exiles “that they shouted full of amazement: How is it possible that these people, whom we are taught to regard as enemies, shame our brothers who claim to believe in Jesus Christ as we do but nevertheless persecute us most severely and even chase us away?” In Berlin, Sancke learned (and, through his book, Göcking probably did too), that a “papist soldier” explained his donation to the Salzburgers with his conviction that “such persecution and expulsion of members of other religions . . . does not come from God but from the devil,” and that he by no means approved of these measures. From Danzig and Hildesheim, where Jews also held collections, Sancke and Göcking could offer nothing but positive reports about the Catholic inhabitants there.

In retrospect it is fair to say that neither author exploits Jewish support merely to rail against Catholics. This is all the more worth mentioning because in the decade before the expulsions from Salzburg and Berchtesgaden the re-Catholicization of the electoral Palatinate around 1720 and the “Blood-Bath of Thorn [now: Toruń, Poland]” in 1724 had revived the old confessional controversies, causing a constitutional crisis that brought the Holy Roman Empire to the verge of another religious war. Against this background it would have been enticing for Sancke and Göcking to serve and stimulate anti-Catholic resentment among Lutherans by publicly exposing local Catholics as hypocrites whose hard-heartedness was outshone by the truly Christian reaction of many “enemies of Jesus.”
Documented Cases of Jewish Help for Lutheran Emigrants

Since Sancke and Göcking resisted, for the most part, the temptation to indulge the anti-Catholic feelings of the Protestants, historians must look for other motives to explain the high and grateful regard in which these authors held Jewish benevolence toward the Lutheran refugees. Together, the two authors identify one count, sixteen places in the Holy Roman Empire, one independent state, and three cities outside the empire where Jews aided Lutherans exiled from Salzburg and Berchtesgaden (see the table on pp. 148-49). Moreover, Göcking speaks about “a certain place” where one Jew “amply gave presents to these people.” In consequence of previous wars and expulsions, many regions of Germany had but a small Jewish population. For example, in the Swabian town of Harburg (mentioned in Göcking’s work), the Jewish community did not start prior to 1671, then consisting of five families. In 1700, just 152 Jews with letters of protection by a Christian ruler and another 96 Jews, having no such document, lived in the margraviate of Brandenburg. That same year, Pomerania counted no more than 52 Jewish families, while “extremely few Jews” were said to live in West and East Prussia. Due to the Lutheran expellees’ natural preference for Protestant territories, the sources mostly record cases of help from Jews under Lutheran and (rarely) Reformed rule. Still, Jewish collections in the Catholic prince bishoprics of Bamberg, Hildesheim, and Würzburg, in the imperial city of Regensburg (whose substantial Protestant minority was partly governed by a Catholic majority), and in Harburg (which came under the sovereignty of the Catholic Oettingen-Wallerstein family in 1731) suggest that confessional considerations were of no significance in the decision of local Jews to aid the expatriates passing through their towns and villages. Jewish support for the Salzburgers and Berchtesgadeners thus was clearly a historical phenomenon that followed neither regional nor political patterns. Unlike the obligatory official collections imposed on Christians by Protestant counts and princes, Jews always made their donations “of their own free will,” as Göcking points out several times.

“It is only fair to start” with the village of Klein-Nördlingen, Göcking notes at the beginning of his detailed narrative on Jewish
Jewish Support of Lutheran Expellees from Salzburg and Berchtesgaden in 1732/33

Table: Forms of Jewish Aid to Lutheran Emigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Territorial Affiliation</th>
<th>Empire</th>
<th>Confession</th>
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<td>19-08-1732</td>
<td>Kl.-Nördlingen</td>
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<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>FG (i)</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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help for the emigrants. Here, the Catholic priest had “strictly ordered” his congregants “not to give water” to the exiles, nor to do them a kindness of any sort, as mentioned above. As a consequence, the Lutherans “almost died of thirst owing to the oppressive heat,” in fact, they were “dropping off like flies.” Because the inhabitants had “taken the buckets from all the wells,” the strangers were glad when Jews living nearby allowed them to scoop water from their own wells “as much as they wished.” They “also gave them bread, beer, and some money, according to their few means.”

The Catholic ruler in his capacity of ecclesiastic superior received an urgent request “to put an end to this disorder” created by the village priest. “However, one has never heard of anyone doing anything about it.” In neighboring Harburg, too, Jewish inhabitants offered gifts to the expellees. Jews in nearby Gunzenhausen, although being
"destitute people themselves, . . . slapped two Reich talers together and brought them to Commissioner Göbel," who sent the donation "to Councilor of War Herold in Halle." 43

In this city (Halle) on the Saale river “there happened a nice incident with a Salzburger and [some] Jews,” Göcking goes on to report. The emigrant, having received “a bright and brand new eight-groschen coin,” was happily tossing the money from one hand to the other when “a group of Jews” took notice of him. All of a sudden, one Jew “snatched the pretty coin out of his hand”—only to return it to him the next moment, even giving him “much more than that.” Yet Halle was also the place where a Jew stole from a Salzburger. The thief was “instantly taken by the head, subjected to the yoke, and displayed to the youngsters in the public marketplace. After that he was put into the cart.” As Göcking alleges, this was “the only known example of a Jew cheating or stealing from Salzburgers.” 44

In his second volume, Göcking later followed up with another case, this time in the Brandenburg town of Neustadt-Eberswalde, in which a Jew had “caused these distressed ones even more grief.” For changing Bavarian money into Prussian currency, this money changer had demanded “far too much surcharge.” Elsewhere, however, “one does not know of any Jew who had become a burden to our emigrants on their journey,” Göcking assures his readership. 45 Here and there Jews actually cautioned one another against taking advantage of the exiles’ plight. The Jews in Halberstadt, “on their own initiative, issued an admonition in their temple” to the effect “that anyone attempting to make even the smallest profit from these people should be damned.” 46

In Nauen, Brandenburg, “a Jewish woman, standing in the street with her purse, handed out money to every person that was passing by.” When she saw a sick Salzburger, “being very feeble,” leave a pharmacy, she offered him “some money” as well. “However, he refused to accept it,” for he deemed the woman to be poorer than himself. As the emigrant believed, “he would have sinned if he had taken the offering from her.” 47 In Hildesheim, too, the Jews proved themselves to be “generous.” They did so chiefly “because an unknown villain had dared to steal some of the money donated” to the exiles. 48 In the Thuringian town of Weimar “quite a few Jews”
demonstrated “their compassion and charity in a way that is otherwise very unusual for them.”49 Near Coburg, then also in Thuringia, one Jew sent two guilders to the townhall as “a small present.”50 A Jew from Fürth, near Nuremberg, even gave “over one hundred guilders.”51 When the Salzburgers arrived in Berlin, the Jews “slipped these expellees many things.” In this city, “a poor Jew” heard a young Salzburger being “examined” in matters of faith. The incident moved the man so much that “he brought one Reich taler the next day and had this little gift distributed among children.”52 The Jews in the Baltic seaport of Danzig53 were no less “charitable.” As a group of expatriates was passing through the city, Jewish inhabitants “gave them many things, throwing them onto their wagons.”54 In the Prussian capital of Königsberg,55 the Jews also “showed their sympathy.” One Moses Lewin, for example, donated two bottles of wine “in order that the exhausted ones may refresh themselves on their journey.”56

In Harburg, the Jews expressed their willingness “to receive” emigrants “into their homes and give them free room and board.”57 The Jews of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder “entreated Court Councilor Thering,” the mayor, “to acknowledge them so much as to allow them to accept some pilgrims into their homes for doing good to them according to their circumstances.”58 In a similar move, a Jew in Regensburg set an “example of compassion.” No sooner had he heard of their arrival than he asked for permission “to cater for twenty persons at his expense. But the city council declined to allow for more than twelve of them. He took care of them in the most cordial manner and showered them with presents.”59 In the East Pomerian village of Bahn,60 “one Jew requested twelve individuals from among these people for looking after them.” He not only “fed them as best as he could but also gave each one of them some money.”61

In Halberstadt, the Jews collected 36 talers “of their own accord and rendered them to Councilor of War Ursinus,” bringing the total of money donated to the Lutheran exiles in that city to “nearly 150 Reich talers.”62 The Jews in Frankfurt-on-Oder even donated twice within three weeks.63 In the Catholic prince bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg, Jews handed over substantial amounts of guilders and talers as well.64 In the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, the “most eminent”
Jews presented the Berchtesgadeners there with 4,000 talers, "using these words: . . . We ask you to accept this money."65 "The Jews in Holland were particularly busy"; they collected 25,000 guilders.66 In Nijmegen, Benedict Levi Gompers, "a banker of Jewish nationality," distributed 1,200 guilders that he had gathered "on many persons' accounts" to Lutheran emigrants from Dürrnberg, near Salzburg.67 When several hundred expellees reached Berlin, the Jews showed themselves "eager" to help. They "held a voluntary collection in their synagogue," which they surrendered to Privy Councilor von Herold "even that same day." The following day, "Jewish women in their separate synagogue brought together 204 ¾ cubits of linen "in order to make shirts for the old and needy" emigrants."68

Soteriological Explanations

From a Lutheran perspective, by leaving their homeland the emigrants had obediently complied with the will of God. Pietists generally tended to interpret the exodus as a "breakthrough of faith" in the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, "where clandestine Protestants had been converted more or less suddenly by God's grace and by acts of Providence so that they, quite in line with Pietism, henceforth attested to Christ overtly and loudly, becoming shining examples of faith."69 Of course, there had not occurred a spiritual rebirth according to the understanding of Halle Pietism—one of the leading branches of continental Lutheranism in the eighteenth century—especially as "the pious practice of the Salzburgers differed from the Pietists' one."70 However, the exodus of 1732/33 invited soteriological explanations that led far into Jewish history.71 The "erudite and diligent" Berlin schoolmaster, Joachim Christoph Bodenburg (1690—1759), for one, put the Lutheran exiles on a par with the ancient people of Israel as God's "first-born son" in a poem he had composed to mark the arrival of hundreds of Salzburgers.72 Like him, other public speakers and Protestant preachers quoted from the Pentateuch and from those Psalms that bear witness to God's covenant with Israel and speak about the Jewish exile in Egypt and the land of Canaan. Even in distant Georgia, Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius (1703—1765) deemed his Salzburg congregants to be descendants of
the Israelites. Again and again he drew on the Book of Exodus and on the Prophets to point out the "miraculous way" in which God had rescued his faithful Lutherans from "papist tyranny, their spiritual Egypt." As he claimed, his flock had much in common with the ancient Jews, having in fact taken their place in America.73

Because the emigrants had "left their fatherland, houses, farms, fields, cattle, fathers, mothers, children, relatives, and friends for the sake of Jesus and his word" in order to abide by their creed, Protestants in Germany admired them as martyrs who had obeyed Christ's dictum regarding the rewards of following him.74 At the same time, their fate offered the Jews a chance to recognize "that Jesus the Crucified is the true Messiah and Savior of the world," provided that they "take notice of the miracles of these times and turn from darkness to marvelous light."75 The fact that Göcking here cites the New Testament76 is quite in line with other accounts in his narrative that deal with the Jews and create associations with the Bible. These accounts can be read as allegories, which were familiar to most contemporaries of his times. Today, however, they need to be explained to a readership that lacks biblical literacy.

Allusions to the Old or the New Testament are not always as plain as in the quotation of the aforementioned Jew who, following Genesis 1:27, had justified his gifts for the expatriates by arguing that "they are humans and have been created in the image of God. Yet God has commanded [us] to be friendly to strangers," reasoning which Göcking found "especially pleasant."77 More often, allusions are reminiscent of some words of Jesus or biblical stories. For example, the meal catered by the Jew in Regensburg for twelve Salzburgers as well as the meal served to the "twelve heads" by the Jew in his home in Bahn are both reminiscent of the Last Supper. Likewise, anyone versed in the Bible would associate the "destitute" Jews in Gunzenhausen who donated two Reich talers or the poor Jewish woman in Nauen handing out money to needy Salzburgers with the poor widow in the Gospel according to Mark, who contributed two small copper coins to the treasury in the Temple. As Jesus told his disciples, this woman had "put in more than all those who are contributing to the treasury. For all of them have contributed out of their abundance; but she out of her poverty has put in everything she had, all she had to live on" (12:44).
Even the strange episode in Halle, where a Jew first snatched a coin from a Salzburger before immediately returning it to him and giving him “much more than that,” carried a message of Jesus. The Christian had resisted repaying evil for evil, but commended the apparent thief to God’s forgiveness. After standing the test of faith, the Christian promptly received a multiple reward for not having avenged himself.7 8

While the Jewish women in Berlin had justified their gift of 204½ cubits of linen with Deuteronomy 10:18, Christians interpreting this act of charity could point to the words of Christ: “I was naked and you gave me clothing. . . . [J]ust as you did it to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it to me.”79 In Klein-Nördlingen, too, those “declared enemies of the Christians” who kindly helped emigrants in need did what the apostle Paul had taught about true fraternal fellowship: “If your enemies are hungry, feed them; if they are thirsty, give them something to drink.”80 Last but not least, the accommodation of Salzburgers in Jewish homes would have called to mind the Nativity of Jesus, when Mary and Joseph, in the nick of time, found refuge in a stable after a long and strenuous journey.81

Deconstruction of Traditional Stereotypes

The active sympathy that many Jews showed for the hardships of these exiles did not fail to impress Gentiles favorably. The meticulous accounts by Sancke and Göcking regarding these Jewish donations and services to the emigrants (as well as the chroniclers upon whose accounts they in part depended) also reveal contemporary Christian amazement at the eager readiness of the Jews to help people across religious boundaries. Göcking even admits that the Jewish generosity toward the Lutheran refugees compels him to rethink negative Christian perception of the Jews.

Who is not aware that the Jews can be called the Christians’ declared enemies? . . . Therefore, can the Salzburgers reasonably expect even the least favor from those who reject and despise the one for whose sake they have become strangers and pilgrims? . . . Nevertheless, it did happen, contrary to all expectations. In many places, the Jews showed their love to these heroes of faith and there is almost no place where they did the least harm to them.82
From the modern point of view, implementing a paradigm shift, the Jews challenged four anti-Jewish stereotypes all at once. There was, first, the Jew quoted earlier who insisted that the Salzburgers were "humans" who "were created in the image of God. However, God has commanded [us] to be kind to strangers." By resorting to this divine commandment, the Jew ignored all limits of religion, descent, or property. Fully in line with Christ's teaching, he obeyed God rather than any human authority and its orders. Help in need is a universal right instituted by God, not some arbitrary right of civil society or a secular ruler's privilege; this was the Jew's message to his fellow humans, Jews and Gentiles alike. The second challenge replaced the malicious medieval stereotype of Jews who poisoned wells with the generous portrait of Jewish donors of refreshing water. In Klein-Nördlingen they gave the Salzburgers and their animals all the water they needed. The third challenge turned the conventional allocation of roles between Jews and Christians upside down. The topos of the ever-wandering Jew, who even had to beg Christian rulers for permission to traverse their territories, was replaced by resident Jews who generously fed and clothed Christian exiles. Finally, the fourth challenge replaced the disparaging portrait of the greedy Jew with the portrait of the Jew as generous benefactor. Recalling the way the Jewish congregation in Halberstadt admonished congregants against taking advantage of the refugees, Göcking especially praised the spontaneous voluntarism of the Jewish appeal, even more than the specific gifts the Jews there made to needy Salzburgers. The case in Halle was to the point of the strict moral code: where initially it appeared that a Jew had robbed a refugee of a coin, in the end the allegedly thieving Jew became the noble benefactor who gave more coins back.

All four challenges have in common the topos of what may be called "inverse participation." Jews who for centuries had been at the mercy of Christian authorities in nearly all matters of life—public and private—now at their own discretion Jews allowed Christians temporarily to use their personal properties. They alone decided whether they wanted to share water and food, lodging or money with exiles. They alone determined who of the refugees they would take into their families, and how long they would extend hospitality to these
strangers. Concomitantly, dire straits required the emigrants, as Göcking pointed out, to accept help from people who, according to Christian tradition, were “altogether lost and damned” because they, due to their notorious “obstinacy,” refused to worship Jesus as their Messiah.86

Only additional research into the primary sources will determine to what extent contemporaries appreciated Jewish solidarity with the Lutheran exiles. Preliminary investigation suggests, however, that at least some contemporaries sensed the extraordinariness of the Jewish hospitality extended to the Christian refugees. But the reality of this hospitality offered by “declared enemies of the Christians”—“living trees that have already died twice” . . . “humans who have been deprived of the privilege of salvation,” as Göcking regarded them87—did not fit the artistic portrayal common to canvas and copperplate. Remarkably, among the countless drawings, paintings, and engravings of the “Salzburg transaction” there is not a single known visual representation that shows any Jew—let alone a Jew aiding a Lutheran expellee.88 At that time, there were, of course, many depictions that stigmatized Jews as outsiders of Christian society, in pointed hats, with a yellow circle on their coats, glancing furtively about, worshipping Mammon, or secretly indulging in satanic rituals.

On the other hand, quite a number of Lutherans believed that they were living at a unique time in the history of salvation. Perhaps these Jews who lived in concert with the social and moral teaching of Jesus could be drawn to Christ, the Savior of the world? These sympathetic Jews seemed closer to eternal life than ever before. In sermons and speeches Protestants publicly praised the Jewish generosity. “The Jews are strong in love, witnessing in amazement more than they can grasp and saying, ‘What, O God, do you allow to happen in our times?’” declared Joachim Christoph Bodenburg, the Berlin schoolmaster, in early December of 1732.89 During the expulsion of the Lutheran Salzburgers and Berchtesgadeners, many people were talking about “amazement” and “miracles,” attributed to the omnipotent power of God, at work with “good advice” and “sound wisdom.”90 The pure and plain humanity of Jews toward Gentiles that had survived so many centuries of bitter hostility was viewed with relief. Jewish support for the emigrants induced Johann Göbel,
the Prussian commissioner for the transfer of Salzburgers to Brandenburg and East Prussia, to speculate that God himself may have awakened the Jews for the purpose of assisting the exiles with love and charity. He did not, however, hold out much prospect for Jewish conversions to the Christian faith. The heartlessness of Catholics who otherwise deemed themselves to be faithful Christians would most likely preclude the prospect, he feared.91

At the time of the confessional migration of 1732/33, Lutheran scholars were ever more interested in the Jewish people, their religion, culture, and language. To Sancke, a solid command of Hebrew was indispensable to understanding the Bible. Bodenburg directed his attention to the music of the ancient Israelites.92 In the seventeenth century, the orthodox Lutherans Esdras Edzard (1629–1708) and Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705) had taken preliminary steps toward a more differentiated Christian regard for Judaism, but their success was fairly limited.93 In his 1675 reform treatise, Pia Desideria (Pious Desires), the progenitor of Lutheran Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), had, by reinterpreting the soteriological meaning of baptism and spiritual rebirth, reconsidered the chances for salvation of the Jews. He attached particular importance to the Apostle Paul’s promise that eventually the Jews would be saved.94 Since God, according to Romans 11:25, had not once and for all locked the gates to heaven and salvation, he argued, every Christian is called to turn lovingly to the Jews with prayer and the gospel. Everything else was to be left to God. As Spener believed, in the Christian study of the Old Testament the Talmud and even the Kabbalah—which Luther had condemned as “humbug”95—could be useful.

Whereas Spener never authored tracts aiming to proselytize Jews, Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694–1760), one of Edzard’s disciples, became the first Lutheran Pietist to devote himself to missionary literature that specifically targeted Jewish readers.96 For this reason, his “Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum,” founded in 1728 at Halle, first operated mainly as a publishing house for all kinds of missionary treatises. Callenberg started with a fictitious dialogue between two rabbis about Israel’s salvation, followed by excerpts from the New Testament which showed that Jesus’ teachings honored Jewish law. In
the 1730s, Callenberg compiled Yiddish textbooks and dictionaries, raising among Christians the reputation of this language from "the jargon of rogues and peddlers" to a genuine language in its own right.97 This Lutheran openness to rabbinical exegesis and the search for common ground was not exercised at the cost of compromising the confessional core of the tradition. Yet such an open posture did contrast sharply with the attitude of other Protestants at the time. As late as 1700 some Protestant ecclesiastics, striving for "the glory of Jesus Christ, the true Messiah and Savior of the World," were still campaigning "powerfully against the Jews as those who shamefully and obstinately deny this divine truth."98 Lutheran gratitude was mindful that Jewish aid was being extended to refugees from the same confessional community whose leaders just a generation earlier had aggressively agitated against them. Furthermore, these Jews had suffered the hard-heartedness of many Catholics and had been victims of sporadic forced mass conversions to Christianity.99 That they remained nonetheless committed to such generous practical charity left a powerful impression, which shaped the Lutheran outreach to the Jewish community.

_Perspectives for Further Research_

While it is too early for a final assessment of the Jewish assistance to the Lutheran emigrants from Salzburg and Berchtesgaden, some future fields of research can be sketched out. First of all, it is necessary to identify and locate those sources that Sancke and Göcking used in their narratives. Of particular interest are the records kept by the Prussian authorities and by the _Corpus Evangelicorum_, which are stored in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin and in local and state archives of those regions of Germany that the expellees passed through en route to their final destinations or in which they settled down permanently. As letters from Commissioner Göbel suggest, correspondence of Prussian authorities promises to provide valuable information about Jewish support of the Lutheran expellees. In June of 1732, for example, Göbel wrote that two poor Jews in Gunzenhausen had donated two talers for exiles. This is the same news that Göcking later drew on in the first volume of his "history." In a memorandum to the imperial count of Oettingen-Spielberg two
months later, Göbel, at the behest of the king of Prussia, addressed the conduct of the Catholics in the free imperial city of Nördlingen. His complaint about their refusal to help the expatriates reappears in both Sancke's and Göcking's works as the report from Klein-Nördlingen contrasting Jewish compassion with Catholic cold-heartedness.

Secondly, researchers need to explore the Jewish sources from the era, broadening the discussion with the help of Jewish scholars. Investigation of such sources is indispensable to illuminating the motives of Jewish donors and supporters. Unfortunately, to date not a single such document of Jewish origin has been located; the Jews whom Sancke and Göcking occasionally quote are cited only in the filtered version of Lutheran accounts. Because such narratives were part of confessional propaganda, the authenticity and reliability of the exact quotations could be challenged. Scholars might search for sources in the records of Jewish congregations, where documentation of internal rules or announcements concerning the emigration may have survived. For example, is there internal documentation of the admonition to the Jews in Halberstadt or notes on the local collections in Berlin, Hesse, and other regions? Further, donations rendered to state officials were usually accompanied by written declarations from the Jewish representatives. Individual benefactors, too, let “themselves be heard in public” or added a brief dedication to their “small gifts,” some of which may still be found in the files of state or church authorities. Other Jews turned directly to local officials to have their gifts transferred to the needy, or to offer free room and board. Some notes of these contacts may have been preserved in official papers. Dogged effort to unearth rare and new material may indeed meet with the sort of success experienced by a cooperative of local researchers in southern Germany called “Alemannia Judaica.” Over the past few years, both professional historians and qualified amateurs have discovered quite a number of original sources, piecing together many previously isolated bits of information. They are making valuable contributions to our knowledge and understanding of German-Jewish history that clearly go beyond the trodden paths of common historiography.

Finally, as to motive, references to the Pentateuch by Jewish donors suggest that the driving force behind Jewish charity was first and
foremost observance of the divine commandment to love one’s neighbor. However, it is reasonable to assume that religious conviction was not the only motive. After all, the expulsion of the Lutheran Salzburgers and Berchtesgadeners was a most welcome opportunity for the Jews to correct the negative perception by most Gentiles. The plight of the Lutheran refugees provided a chance for Jews to show Christians that they need not fear Jewish presence in their communities. If not in the emergency of 1732/33, when then would it ever be possible for this small cultural and religious minority, always under suspicion by Gentiles, to demonstrate that it posed no threat to Christian community? Surely the Jewish response to the plight of the Lutheran refugees should encourage Christian rulers to extend a permanent welcome to Jews and to make their communities safe. Jewish solidarity with the Lutheran exiles made it much more difficult for opponents of the Jews to bar them from equal civil rights by arguing that the “enemies of Jesus” had a subversive influence on Christian society.

NOTES

1. The expulsion resulted from “emigration decrees” issued by the Roman Catholic prince bishop of Salzburg, Leopold Anton Eleutherius von Firmian (1679–1744), on 31 October 1731—the 214th anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation—and by the Catholic prince provost of Berchtesgaden, Cajetan Anton Notthafft von Weißenstein (1670–1752), on 26 October 1732.

2. For important contemporary Catholic publications, see [Anonymous], Die Catholisch-ruffende Glaubens-Stimm (Munich: J. L. Straub, 1732); [Anonymous], Catholische Gedanken Von dem Salzburgischen Emigrations-Weesen (Munich, 1733); [Giovanni Battista de Gaspari], Aktenmaßige Geschichte der berühmten salzburgischen Emigration, trans. by Franz Xaver Huber (Salzburg: Mayersche Buchhandlung, 1790).


11. Born in Dahlum, duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel; matriculation in Lutheran theology, University of Helmstedt, 1728, and University of Halle, 1730; court preacher, Berlin, 1732/33; adjunct to Christian von Herold (see below, n. 42), Prussian councilor of war and finance; ordination, 1733; pastor in Wannstedt, Harz Mountains, 1733–1742; pastor in Kroppenstedt, near Magdeburg, 1742–1755.


18. [Sancke], *Historie*, 1: no page. (“Vorrede”) (this author’s translation).

20. For Göcking's charges against Sancke, see Gerhard Gottlieb Günther Göcking to Gotthilf August Francke (1666–1769), Berlin, 6 December 1732, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen, Missionsarchiv (Archives of the Francke Foundations, Mission Archives), Halle (hereafter AFSt/M), AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 73, p. 651. For the number of Göcking's publications, see Göcking to Samuel Urstsperger (1685–1772), Berlin, 22 October 1732, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 76, p. 660.

21. Sancke, Historie, 4:no page. ("Vorrede") (this author's translation).

22. See Göcking to Urstsperger, Berlin, 22 October 1732, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 76, p. 661; Göcking to Heinrich Zopf (1684–1740), Berlin, 6 December 1732, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 72, p. 647; Göcking to Francke, Berlin, 6 December 1732, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 3, p. 652.

23. For Sancke's reasons for publishing his work anonymously, see his Ausführliche Historie, 4:no pag. ("Vorrede").

24. Namely, the Waisenhausbuchhandlung of the Franckesche Stiftungen.

25. See Göcking to Francke, Berlin, 10 December 1732, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 74, p. 658. For Göcking's hope that the Francke Foundations' Orphanage Library in Halle would publish his work, see Göcking to Zopf, Berlin, 6 December 1732, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 72, p. 646, and Göcking to Francke, Berlin, 6 December 1732, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 73, p. 652. Earlier, Göcking had offered his project to Johann Andreas Rüdiger (d.1751), a publisher in Berlin, by whom he felt put off.

26. See Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1:415 (n. *). Note that none of Göcking's ten letters of 1732/33 that are stored in the Francke Foundations' Mission Archives and treat his publication project mentions Sancke by name, although Göcking's rivalry with Sancke is discussed in all of these communications. See AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 3, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 37, AFSt/M 5 C 5 : 72–78, and AFSt/H (= Hauptarchiv [Main Archives]) A 188b: 211.

27. See Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 2:184 (n. *), 213 (n. *), 415 (n. *).


29. See Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1:561–566, 2:211–212, and [Sancke], Historie, no pag. See the index at the end of pt. 4 ("Jüden," "Jüdinnen," and "Jüdische Collecte").


31. [Sancke], Historie, 3:211 (this author's translation).


33. [Sancke], Historie, 3:79–80 (this author's translation).

34. [Sancke], Historie, 2:73. See also Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1:548 (this author's translation).

35. See [Sancke], Historie, 2:73 (Berlin); 3:73 (Danzig), 226 (Hildesheim). Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1:548 (Berlin).

36. The "Blood-Bath of Thorn" (or "Tumult of Toruri") arose from a conflict between the Lutheran mayor and Catholic students at the local Jesuit college. After Lutherans in this city under Prussian rule had vandalized the college, the mayor and nine other Lutheran officials were found guilty of neglect of duty and were executed in early December of 1724. For the religious conflict of 1715–1725 as a constitutional issue, see Arein, Das Alte Reich, 2:272–295, and Max Brauchbach, Vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Französischen Revolution (Gebhardt, Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, 10), 6th ed. (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1983), 115–121.


42. [Sancke], Historie, 3: 211–12 (this author's translation). Klein-Nördlingen (now: Kleinordlingen) then belonged to the free imperial city of Nördlingen. It was under the jurisdiction of Franz Albrecht (1663–1737), imperial count (after 1734: prince) of Oettingen-Spielberg. Johann Göbel: Prussian commissioner and special plenipotentiary; representative (at the imperial diet?) in Regensburg, 1735. Christian von Herold (1669–1744): Prussian privy councilor of war and finance, Berlin.

43. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1: 563 (this author's translation).


45. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 2: 211–12 (this author's translation).

46. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1: 563 (this author's translation). See also [Sancke], Historie, 2: 102.

47. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1: 64 (this author's translation).

48. [Sancke], Historie, 3: 226 (this author's translation). See also Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1: 563.


50. [Sancke], Historie, 3: 144 (this author's translation).


52. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1: 565–66 (this author's translation). See also [Sancke], Historie, 2: 70, 73.

53. Now: Gdansk, Poland.

54. [Sancke], Historie, 3: 73 (this author's translation).

55. Now: Kaliningrad, Russia.

56. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 2: 212 (this author's translation). Lewin: living in Königsberg, Prussia, since 1718; merchant; head of the local Jewish community; granted the legal status of "Royal Prussian Elder of Protected Jews." Date of Lewin's death (before 1737) established from Max Kreutzberger and Selma Stern, Der Preussische Staat und die Juden (Tübingen: Mohr, 1963), 42 and ibid., n. 5. See also David Fraenkel, "David Friedländer und seine Zeit," Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland 6 (1936): 67.

57. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 1: 563 (this author's translation).


60. Now: Banie, Poland.

61. Göcking, Emigrations=Geschichte, 2: 212 (this author's translation).


64. See [Sancke], *Historie*, 3:144.


66. [Sancke], *Historie*, 3:27 (this author's translation). See also Göcking, *Emigrations=Geschichte*, 2:293. The donations of the Dutch Jews were for the benefit of either the Salzburgers (Göcking) or the Waldensians (Sancke).


69. Leeb, “Salzburger Emigration,” 278 and n. 5 (this author's translation). See also [Sancke], *Historie*, 2 (“Vorrede”), 4 (“Vor rede”).

70. Leeb, “Salzburger Emigration,” 278 (this author's translation).

71. See, for example, the special sermons preached by Lutheran clergy to groups of Salzburgers at their stopovers in German towns and villages, as listed in [Sancke], *Historie*, 4: no page. [254–259, after the last page number].


76. See Acts 26:18 and 1 Peter 2:9.


84. See Acts 5:29.


88. See Marsch, *Salzburger Emigration*. For the term, “Salzburg transaction,” see above, n. 3.

89. Quoted in Göcking, *Emigrations=Geschichte*, 2:139 (this author’s translation).

90. Prov. 8:14.


98. Quoted from the title of a pamphlet published anonymously by Friedrich Ragstadt von Weille (b.1648) and reprinted in Martin Hermßdorff, *Historia Fanaticorum* (Frankfurton-the-Main: M. Hermßdorff, 1701) (this author’s translation).

99. For example, 3,000 members of a Ukrainian-Jewish community were reportedly baptized in 1729. See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, no. 78 (7–14 May 1730).


103. Sancke and Göcking expressly mention C. v. Herold (Berlin), J. Göbel (Gunzenhausen), E. Ursinus (Halberstadt), and J. L. Thering (Frankfurt-on-the-Oder).

