Special Issue Reprint

Current Trends and Topics in Jewish Genealogy

Edited by
Hanoch Daniel Wagner

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About the Editor

Hanoch Daniel Wagner

Prof. Hanoch Daniel Wagner obtained his PhD at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, under the supervision of Prof. Gad Marom (1982). He was a postdoctoral associate and Lecturer at Cornell University (1982–1985) with Prof Leigh Phoenix. Prof. Wagner then joined the Weizmann Institute's Department of Materials Research (now the Department of Molecular Chemistry and Materials Science), where he holds the Livio Norzi Professorial Chair in Materials Science.

Preface

Jewish genealogy is a fascinating field that seeks to trace the ancestral roots of Jewish families and communities throughout history. It involves using various sources such as archival and historical records, DNA analysis, and oral histories to piece together a comprehensive picture of a family lineage and the historical events that have shaped their lives. In recent decades, there has been an increasing interest in Jewish genealogy as more people seek to connect with their roots and understand their family history, especially in view of the tragic disappearance of millions of Jews during the Holocaust. Advances in technology, such as the availability of online genealogical databases, DNA testing, and social media platforms that connect people with common ancestry, have facilitated this.

Hanoch Daniel Wagner
Editor

Article

Uncovering Names and Connections: The "Polish Jew" Periodical as a Second-Tier Record for Holocaust Remembrance and Network Analysis in Jewish Genealogy

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Abstract: This paper explores the *Polish Jew* journal as a pivotal second-tier record for advancing Holocaust studies and Jewish genealogy. Traditionally underutilized in academic research, this periodical provides a unique repository of names and narratives of Holocaust victims, filling crucial gaps in primary record collections. The investigation centers on the journal's potential not only to contribute names to existing databases of Holocaust victims—many of whom are still unrecorded—but also to enhance genealogical methods through the integration of network analysis. By examining *Polish Jew*, this study illustrates how second-tier records can extend beyond mere supplements to primary data, acting instead as vital tools for reconstructing complex social and familial networks disrupted by the Holocaust. The paper proposes a methodological framework combining traditional genealogical research with modern network analysis techniques to deepen our understanding of Jewish community dynamics during and after World War II. This approach not only aids in identifying individual victims and survivors but also in visualizing the broader interactions within Jewish diaspora communities. This research underscores the significance of *Polish Jew* in the broader context of Holocaust remembrance. It offers a novel pathway for the future of Jewish genealogical research, advocating for the strategic use of second-tier records in scholarly investigations.

Keywords: Yad Vashem; *Polish Jew*; Holocaust studies; network analysis; Jewish genealogy; diaspora dynamics; second-tier records; integration

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1. An Under-Explored Second-Tier Record

This article explores the significance of the periodical *Polish Jew*, published during the Second World War by the Polish Jewish immigrant organization American Federation of Polish Jews (1941), as a critical second-tier record for both Holocaust remembrance and Jewish genealogy. The impetus for this research is the correspondence in 1969 from various agencies involved in the legal and other handling of World War II regarding the importance of the wartime editions of the monthly *Polish Jew*. More concretely, it involved the *Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg* (Central Office of the State Justice Administrations Ludwigsburg) sending in January 1969 a letter titled Polish Jew-Der polisher Id to the *Internationaler Suchdienst* (International Tracing and Service: ITS) in Bad Arolsen, marking the beginning of a series of correspondences spanning several months.[1] The sender, a *Rechtsassessor* (legal assessor), acknowledged in the letter that his organization was reluctant to part with their material, which indicated the high value placed on the sent items. The insured shipment of 2000 DM and the request to return everything as soon as possible evidenced the worth of the periodical *Polish Jew*.[2] The monthly journal proved to be of immense importance for the work of several official bodies dealing with the aftermath of the crimes of the Nazi regime. Established in 1958, the Central Office, which was responsible for the prosecution of Nazi crimes, found the journal to be a valuable resource in identifying the locations, witnesses, and victims of massacres and the so-called

Holocaust by bullets (Einsatzgruppen murders) and mobile gas chambers (gas vans) that had taken place in Poland but are scarcely described.[3] As the correspondences continued to unfold over months, it became clear that ITS, established as part of the International Division of the Red Cross to assist in the tracing of War missing persons and victims of Nazi persecution, also found the journal to be of great value. The periodical *Polish Jew* contained many names of victims of the Holocaust, as well as the names of displaced Polish Jews who had been expelled or fled to the U.S.S.R., among other places.[4]

The *Bayerische Landesentschädigungsamt* (Bavarian State Office for Compensation), which was founded in 1949 and responsible for providing compensation to victims of Nazi persecution and their families, was thus also interested in the periodical, as it offered valuable information for identifying and documenting the victims and survivors of the Holocaust. The journal contained names, stories, and other details of Polish Jews during the Second World War, which were crucial to the restitution and reparation process. Using the journal's information, the Bavarian State Office for Compensation could assess claims more accurately, restore the rights of individuals, and help provide financial compensation. It also helped the organization reconstruct historical events and support the broader goal of justice and remembrance for the victims of Nazi persecution.

Despite the importance of the journal, attention to this source by historians, genealogists, or Holocaust memorial sites such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (U.S.H.M.M.) and Yad Vashem is minimal. Among historians, any analysis of the periodical yet needs to be included. For genealogical research, the journal also has remained unexplored. This might have something to do with the fact that magazines such as *Polish Jew* are so-called second-tier records. Coined by renowned genealogist Sallyann Sack in her editorial for AVOTAYNU in 2016, the term second-tier records refers to sources that, while not vital records like birth or death certificates, and while thus often unconventional and difficult to find, offer rich context and details that can bridge gaps in personal histories.[5] The *Polish Jew* periodical epitomizes this classification, providing a wealth of information that transcends the listing of names and dates of Holocaust victims (murdered, refugees, and survivors). It paints a picture of community networks, aid organizations, and individuals' active participation in rebuilding shattered lives during and after World War II.

Sack noted that second-tier records went unappreciated and remained unknown. In the editorial mentioned above, she advocated for a second-tier digitization project that eventually took shape in the Documentation of Jewish Records (DoJR) worldwide project.[6] The DoJR, supported by the L'Dor V'Dor Foundation, systematically digitizes Jewish archival materials globally. Its primary goal is to facilitate genealogical research by preserving and making accessible a wide range of historical documents that are often overlooked or inaccessible. This includes community records, letters, and personal documents, enabling a more nuanced reconstruction of family histories and community dynamics. DoJR's efforts serve genealogists and support academic and remembrance work, providing a tool for historical recovery and cultural preservation.[7]

While concerted efforts have made first-tier records more accessible, genealogist Marlis Humphrey says these collections may still pose challenges due to "incorrect filing, ambiguous labeling, loss, or concealment".[8] A study by the L'Dor V'Dor Foundation indicates that only 15 percent of records referring to Jewish ancestors have been identified, with the remaining 85 percent often hidden in plain sight and rarely labeled as Jewish. This article explores through an analysis of the periodical *Polish Jew* the importance of second-tier records for Holocaust remembrance and the future of Jewish genealogy. It attempts to do this by approaching this source in two ways. One, as a source of names—more specifically, names that may be part of the one million names of Holocaust victims that have still not been found and therefore are not yet in the databases of organizations such as Yad Vashem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (U.S.H.M.M.), or the Arolsen Archives (former ITS). This approach is referred to here as more or less traditional because it builds on the conventionally existing intertwining of Holocaust research and remembrance on the one hand and Jewish genealogy on the other. Both have been reinforcing each other

for decades, and this should not be understood only symbolically. Jewish genealogists have made tangible contributions to Yad Vashem's Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names. For example, the list of 5000 Jews executed in Kovno or Kowno (now Kaunas) during the Nazi occupation of Lithuania, initially compiled in 1944, was brought to light by aforementioned Jewish genealogy pioneer Sallyann Sack.[9] These names were incorporated into Yad Vashem and the U.S.H.M.M. through her efforts.[10] Yad Vashem's (n.d.) database, in turn, enables the rediscovery of families, sometimes including survivors who have provided information about others who perished. However, as demonstrated by Sallyann Sack's case, genealogical research beyond Yad Vashem can uncover names crucial to its mission.

This article highlights the importance of the periodical *Polish Jew* for Jewish genealogy and Holocaust remembrance and research, intertwining with their quest to uncover names, forge connections, and memorialize lost lives through physical monuments or the metaphorical family tree's visualization. Jewish genealogy is instrumental in this mission, diligently tracing family lineages, linking relatives, and revitalizing the names etched on memorials. The names in *Polish Jew* include survivors, such as refugees who lived in places such as Mauritius, Iran, Rhodesia, and the U.S.S.R.[11] In the latter country, many Jews were also expelled, or they ended up as prisoners. Among the names of these groups are those that cannot yet be found in Yad Vashem's online database or names that are linked to a location in some other way than the journal. The *Polish Jew* periodical, therefore, serves as a crucial piece in the intricate puzzle of Holocaust historiography and remembrance, as will be discussed in this article. The second way to explore and analyze the monthly magazine offers new avenues for research and memorialization. This article also aims to reassess the journal's dual role in enriching Jewish genealogy and enhancing our understanding of Holocaust narratives and experiences. It, therefore, discusses how the journal *Polish Jew* can be a starting point for an innovative step within Jewish genealogy, namely the combination of genealogy and network analysis. By integrating traditional genealogical methods with modern network analysis, we can uncover new layers of insight into the vibrant cultural fabric of Jewish life in Poland before the War and trace the transformative journeys of those who contributed to and were affected as described and shaped by Polish Jews. It explores how *Polish Jew* provides insight into the cultural integration and community life of Polish Jewish immigrants in the United States during the War, their perceived and actual information position, and how they assessed their agency.

2. The Monthly *Polish Jew*

As far as we know, not many copies of the periodical *Polish Jew* exist, and the organizations that own the yearbooks of the American Federation (with the editions of the past year's Polish Jew 1940–1945) are not all easily accessible. Alternatively, some loose copies of the magazine are available online only at the National Yiddish Book Centre in Amherst, Massachusetts, and the Arolsen Archives. This means that access to the periodical is limited. The quality of copies online at the Arolsen Archives' website is only sometimes good. Incidentally, the quality of the material was already a concern expressed by the correspondent to the above-mentioned agencies as early as 1969. This was one reason they sent original copies of *Polish Jew* despite the usual reluctance to lend original material. This dispatch also included a summary, translated into German, of the articles that the agencies considered most important to their tasks. This dispatch also included a summary, translated into German, of the articles that the agencies considered most important to their tasks. The monthly *Polish Jew/Poylisher Id* was a publication of the American Federation for Polish Jews. Initially established as the Federation of Russian-Polish Hebrews in 1908, the organization aimed to support Polish community members in New York by any means and bolster local landsmanshaft's efforts.[12] By 1920, it had modified its name by removing "Russian", and in 1926, it transitioned from "Hebrews" to "Jews". In response to the growing need for support in Poland, it established the World Federation of Polish Jews in 1935, focusing on relief and economic help for Polish Jews.[13] In 1933, the Federation published its monthly magazine, *Poylisher Idn (Yiddish for Polish Jews)*, which journalist

and Zionist Zelig Tygel edited. From June 1941 onwards, the name was *Poylisher Id/Polish Jew*. The magazine then appeared in a Yiddish and an English edition. People could buy the periodicals for 10 cents each. The American Federation then attached a more concise and later equal-sized English-language edition to each Yiddish-language edition. The publishing company bundled two sets of twelve issues each year and provided them with a preface in a bilingual Yearbook. When one opened the book, one saw the Yiddish-language yearbook, and when one turned it over, the back cover became the front of the book, and one could read the English-language installments.[14] The magazine and the yearbook are now almost completely forgotten.

The *Polish Jew* periodical published in 1941 (Figure 1), highlighting its role as a crucial second-tier record for Holocaust remembrance and Jewish genealogy. This publication served as a vital resource for documenting the names and stories of Holocaust victims and survivors, contributing significantly to the preservation of Jewish heritage (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170825, accessed on 25 April 2024).

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HELP THOSE WHO STILL HOPE TO HELP THEMSELVES

פרעזידענט בנימין ווינטער רופט די לאנדסמאנשאפטן צו באניטער טעטיג־קייט פאר דעם קומענדיגן יאהר

אינהאלט:

בנימין ווינטער, פרעזידענט.

Figure 1. Front page of the *Polish Jew* periodical.

This is not true of another publication during the war of the American Federation for Polish Jews, which collaborated with the Association of Jewish Refugees and Immigrants from Poland to release *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* (*Polish Jew* 1943a), a 400-page report published in 1943 that gathered data from various sources, including *The Polish Fortnightly*

Review, the restricted *Gazeta Żydowska*, refugee testimonies, and international news agencies.[15] It comprised two parts: the first detailed the systematic annihilation of Jews under the Nazi regime, and the second described the long history of the Jewish community and its many contributions to Poland. The publication provided preliminary figures on the Holocaust's toll and identified key extermination camps like Treblinka, Bełżec, and Sobibór.[16] However, it lacked details on some death camps and the final fate of many ghetto deportees, although this information was already available.[17]

3. Reporting the Destruction of the Polish Jewry

In 1942, a year after the publication of the first edition of the magazine, the American Federation for Polish Jews evaluated at their annual convention that the issues of *Polish Jew* contained articles dealing with every phase of the Polish Jewish situation. It presented information that is highly needed by those who are concerned about the welfare of Polish Jewry. "During the past year, we have received many letters from abroad, which indicate that the paper has acquired a stronghold in parts as remote as England and Palestine. During the coming year, we hope to institute many new departments to make the publication of still greater service".[18]

Polish Jew reported on how Jews were slaughtered and destroyed in Poland. It did so through eyewitness accounts that reached the American Federation for Polish Jews, among others, through the Polish government in exile in London. In the process, the public was not spared and was treated to atrocities not usually found in American newspapers.[19] It should be kept in mind that in 1940, 1941, and partly in 1942, the authors of the magazine *Polish Jew* described the Holocaust without the extermination of the Jews being known as such. The realization that Jews were not victims of the War but removed were deliberately exterminated became more and more apparent with each issue of the magazine. An example is the article *The Action in Sosnowitz*. From a reliable source, the contribution stated to have received news about the murder of Jews that took place between 26 August and the end of October. On 26 August 1942, all Jews from Sosnowitz were ordered to assemble 65,000 people, old and young, men, women, and children, to gather in the large square next to the Jewish Hospital, as they all had to be given identification cards. For two days and two nights, the Jews had to stand in the square until the selection of 5000 Jews, who were supposedly chosen for forced labor, began. Other groups were returned to the city, but many deemed unfit for hard labor were transported away without anyone knowing where they were taken. Other Jews were taken to the house at Tarnower Str. 11. There, they were shot. Small children were thrown from the 4th floor onto the street below. On 25 October 1942, a census of the Jews in Sosnowitz took place. Their number was 18,000; earlier, there were about 30,000 Jews.[20] Another article provided a harrowing account of the atrocities committed against Jews in Poland during the Holocaust, mainly focusing on the tragic events that occurred in the Chelmno woods. It starts by explaining the gruesome daily routine of Jews who were forced to dig graves for the bodies of their community, only to be killed themselves. Eyewitnesses who managed to escape these horrors revealed the horrific details of this and other massacres.[21] Their attempts to inform the outside world about the carnages in the Chelmno woods were initially futile, underscoring the isolation and helplessness experienced by the victims.[22]

Overall, *Polish Jew* published reports from the Polish underground highlighting the systematic mass murders of Jewish people—men, women, and children alike. Just like other Jewish magazines and weekly newspapers, as well as the Yiddish Daily Press, the periodical details the extreme and intensified brutality faced by the Jewish population and recounts specific incidents, such as the execution of prisoners in Lublin and the murders within the Warsaw Ghetto.[23] *Polish Jew* also reported on Treblinka. *Polish Jew* wanted to inform Polish Jews in the United States about what had happened in the area where they were born or where their families had remained after they had emigrated.[24] In addition, it wanted to provide information about Jews who were fleeing and displaced. In particular,

this included Jews who had ended up in the U.S.S.R. either through imprisonment, flight, or expulsion. Stimulated by the community of Polish Jews in the United States, the magazine increasingly published names of displaced persons. In some cases, the magazine described the patterns of flight and displacement of a particular group, which can also be a valuable addition to Yad Vashem's database.[25]

4. Names of Displaced Jews

In August and September 1943, *Polish Jew* published a list of Polish Jewish refugees in the U.S.S.R. with 330 names (from names beginning with A). In December of the same year, the periodical printed a list of children who arrived in Teheran on 31 July with 20 names and a list of Polish Jewish refugees now in the U.S.S.R. with 260 names (names beginning with K-Z). It also provided a list of Jews who had fled to Jamaica. In February 1944, *Polish Jew* published a list of 105 names of Polish Jewish refugees now in East Africa and Rhodesia and a List of Polish Jewish refugees in the colony Santa Rosa in Guanajuato, Mexico, with 27 names. A month later, it provided a death list of Jews from the ghetto of Warsaw and, in April 1944, another list of 450 names of Polish Jewish refugees in the U.S.S.R., followed by a similar type of list in May and June 1944 with 170 names and another one in July/August with 100 names and 50 names in September/October 1944. In that month, Polish Jews also printed a list with 120 names of Jewish refugees in Mauritius.[26] In total, the Central Office found 1594 names of Polish Jews. Of these, a small but still substantial number cannot be found in Yad Vashem's Shoah victims and survivors database. Most of the Soviet refugees mentioned, for example, are found there, but some names of the lists published in the *Polish Jew* editions of 1944 are missing. The names on the list of Jews who fled to Tehran are entirely missing from the Yad Vashem databases, although names of Jews who fled to Iran can be found there. The list of Jews who escaped to Santa Rosa is also missing, and the list of Jews who fled to Rhodesia can be found in the Yad Vashem database, but the names on this list match the names of Jews who fled to Tehran. In addition, the journal published a list of names of Jews who allegedly survived the battle of Minsk.[27] Yad Vashem, in collaboration with its global partners, has embarked on a monumental project to document and preserve the histories of those who faced anti-Semitic persecution during the Holocaust. The records currently account for more than 4.9 million of them, but according to the estimation of Yad Vashem, there were approximately 6 million Jewish victims. Even if the number of victims is closer to 5 million, there are names missing. This extensive archive not only includes those who perished but also the survivors and individuals whose fates remain unknown. Among these, according to Yad Vashem, the identities of roughly one million victims are still not uncovered, and as time advances, the urgency to uncover these lost names grows. It is a crucial and ethical obligation for the community to continue this quest to reclaim and honor the identities of those who were lost. Some of these missing names can be found in *Polish Jew* and the yearbooks of the American Federation for Polish Jews, which underlines the importance of these second-tier records that, after 1969, have never been used again for this purpose.

5. The Destruction of Polish Jewish Culture

Polish Jew outlined the devastating impact of World War II on Jewish literature and the press in Poland. It describes the extensive losses suffered, with the destruction of Jewish cultural, educational, and historical resources. Prior to the War, it stated, Poland boasted a vibrant Jewish community reflected in a rich array of publications and libraries, all of which were systematically obliterated. The Nazis not only eradicated physical institutions—libraries, bookstores, archives, and museums—but also destroyed the literary heritage by burning countless volumes of books and manuscripts in both Yiddish and Hebrew. The printing infrastructure that supported Jewish newspapers and literary publications was thoroughly dismantled, with equipment being shipped off to Germany. The remnants of this once-thriving cultural landscape are now mere memories, with distant communities like New York lacking complete archives of past publications. The scope of

this tragedy is immense, revealing a cultural annihilation so severe that the Jewish literary and press legacy in Poland has been almost entirely wiped out, leaving a gaping void where a vibrant community once existed. By documenting and detailing the destruction of Jewish literature, press, libraries, and other cultural resources, *Polish Jew* sought to ensure that this profound loss was recognized and remembered. Additionally, the magazine intended to underscore the importance of preserving what little remained of this heritage and inspire efforts to restore and revive Jewish cultural and literary traditions in Poland and beyond. The underlying goal was to honor the legacy of the Polish Jews by acknowledging their contributions and the tragedy that befell them, fostering a commitment to remembering and learning from this dark chapter in history. "Our losses are so horrifying that one must simply tear [one's garments in mourning]. Of Poland's over 300 Jewish writers, poets, and journalists, barely 100 have survived". Most are found in the Soviet Union. A second group arrived in America by various means, numbering 33. In Israel, there are several Jewish writers from Poland. "In Shanghai, ten remain, two have found a place of rest in Canada, one in London, and one serves in the Polish army. About 46 Jewish writers and journalists from Poland, there is precise information that they perished—a part during the fighting in the Polish ghettos and a part were exterminated in the concentration camps or died in detention chambers".[28] The editorial continued with a message about the second group of writers about whom it is known that they remained in Nazi-occupied Poland; there are no precise reports of their fate, and "God forbid opening one's mouth to the devil"—there is significant doubt as to whether they are alive.[29] Another group, which we have marked as 'lost', numbers about 17 writers, about whom there were reports that they escaped from Nazi Poland to the areas taken over by the Soviet army in September 1939. Their names, however, do not appear on the lists that have come from the Soviet Union, and they have not given any sign of life, so one cannot know at all what has become of them, the writer of *Polish Jew* continued. The same lists of displaced Polish Jews in the U.S.S.R. that the World Jewish Congress provided are still used for the database of Yad Vashem. This means that the names that *Polish Jew* was missing are still missing. The difference is that *Polish Jew* knew these names were missing from the list and which names were specific. It is questionable whether, so many years after the fact, we still have this knowledge so ready to hand, and possibly there too, this is an essential second-tier record. Among the names, the American Federation for Polish Jews did not know where they were at the time; for example, the Lodz-born writer Zishe Bagish wrote stories and modernist poetry in Yiddish. He is said to have been murdered in Auschwitz, for which there is no proof, nor is it clear what happened to him. There is no record of him in the Yad Vashem database. Since Yad Vashem also pays much attention to the lives of people before the Holocaust, we do find information about another Polish Jewish writer, Urke Nachalnik. We came across him in an educational text from Yad Vashem describing the lives of victims. Urke Nachalnik (Itzchak Baruch Farbarowicz 1897–1939) is described as a former underworld figure, and several essential novels have been translated into several languages.[30] However, we do not learn what exactly happened to him, and we find no further information about him in Yad Vashem's database.[31] Again, then, *Polish Jew* seems to fill a knowledge gap.

6. Building a Community

Help was to be provided for the displaced Jews from Poland, many of whom were in the U.S.S.R. Right from the beginning of the War, *Polish Jew* reported on various aid initiatives for those who stayed behind, fled, or were expelled. In particular, the Women's Association Ezra of the American Federation for Polish Jews was involved.[32] They tried to raise money for goods through benefits, luncheons, dinners, and tombolas. This happened in New York but also in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Chicago, and *Polish Jew* reported on it.[33] Ezra represents a significant contribution of Jewish American women during World War II, focusing on support for their counterparts affected by the War in Europe and building on an already rich tradition.[34] Collaborating with the United States Treasury Department, among other organizations, the Division successfully raised nearly $300,000

through the War Bond Loan Drive. This financial contribution was recognized by the War Finance Committee of New York, which awarded a citation for the group's effective participation in the Fourth War Loan. These collective efforts of the Women's Division underline a structured and effective response to the wartime atrocities, underscored by a strong sense of duty and community solidarity. Their work during this period exemplifies the significant role of organized groups in humanitarian efforts during critical historical moments. In addition to their fundraising efforts, the Division organized various events to generate further support. These included a Rummage Sale and a Rummage Sale Tea Party and donor dinners and luncheons, such as one scheduled at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. These activities demonstrate the Division's practical approach to securing funds necessary for relief and rehabilitation efforts. Furthermore, under the broader umbrella of the American Federation for Polish Jews, the Philadelphia Ezra concentrated on immediate and long-term support for European Jewry, aware of the ongoing and future challenges. This subgroup was particularly active in mobilizing resources and spreading crucial information, notably by distributing *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*. *The Black Book* was one of the Federation's successes and was widely described in the magazine. Because of the context we learn from *Polish Jew*, this publication can be viewed in two ways. Influential Americans sponsored the book. These were mostly, but not all, Jewish. The most important name was Eleanor Roosevelt, and the other was Albert Einstein.[35] The ability to name these key individuals appeared to demonstrate both successful integration and effective networking skills. The other side of the story is that *The Black Book* was highly reluctant to publish what happened to the Jews. Information that was widely available at the time, such as the gas chambers of Auschwitz, is not mentioned in it. This had to do with anti-Semitism in the United States as well as the fear of being seen as communist propagandists. *The Black Book* relied heavily on *Polish Jew*. This meant that it also addressed the significance of Jews in culture, economics, and science. This is, on the one hand, a sign of emancipation and pride and, on the other, a deeply sad fear that if the excellence of Polish Jews was not brought to attention, the mass murder that took place of Jews that what we have come to call more belatedly the Holocaust might receive even less attention than was the case at that time anyway.

These accounts reveal that the Polish Jewish community was searching for a shared identity that would resonate with the American mentality and society, both perceived and real. The shared identity was one of unity and vitality. Polish Jews had contributed to Poland's culture and economy and had done so for a long time. This was already evidenced by an essay by Heinrich Heine, who had written about the Jews and was published proudly in the magazine. This was supported by lists of names of influential Polish Jews who had fled or been killed. The narrative of *Polish Jew* is also that of integration into American society, not only by adopting the association structure of non-Jewish Americans and charitable organizations but also by explicitly advertising in *Polish Jew* events for buying war bonds at a time when advertising from the government was most intensified. This brings us to another important point: *Polish Jew* as a source. Beginning with a single name and preface by its president, increasingly during the war years, we learn more about the persons behind *Polish Jew* and the Federation with its various sections, contacts, and, at the end of the War, even its members. During the year 1944, there were more and more advertisements. These were not ads advertising goods, restaurants, or the like, but they were ads of solidarity and remembrance. By the end of the War and just after its end, *Polish Jew* counted many pages with only names: of families, names of companies, often with family names, and the location of these companies. This makes it possible through network analysis to map the emancipating and integrating movement of Polish Jews in the United States during the War, as well as their information position and cultural and social references. This is also interesting in genealogical terms. After all, it gives an extra layer to the research of descent. What happened to families after they emigrated to the United States, and what was their cultural, social, and other frame of reference during the War? A great deal of this is unintentionally revealed in *Polish Jew*. It is also made clear how a

unity that did not originally exist was shaped and how people wanted to do this not from victimhood but from an embraced, assumed, and perhaps actually felt vitality.

7. Network Analysis

In the expansive field of genealogical research, particularly when contextualized within the histories of Jewish immigrant communities, network analysis emerges as a crucial tool that not only elucidates familial ties but also enhances our understanding of broader societal integration processes. Utilizing the *Polish Jew* periodical, enriched with detailed reports and initiatives by entities such as the Women's Division of the American Federation for Polish Jews, this methodological approach offers a novel pathway to explore the complex narratives of Polish Jewish immigrants in the United States during and after World War II. *Polish Jew* unlocked a world of union and connection among a very diverse group of Polish Jews who might never have had anything to do with each other in their country of origin due to differences in worldview, standing, and culture of town or country. Many lists of officers of the Federation appeared in *Polish Jew.* The lists were sometimes pages long. This, combined with the advertising companies mentioned earlier, provided the opportunity to map networks of Polish Jewish families in terms of location and function. This, combined with the authors and editors of *Polish Jew* and the topics and locations mentioned in this magazine, as well as the names of those who were displaced, can make network research very lively and add something to Jewish genealogy. Network analysis integration in genealogical studies allows for a comprehensive mapping of social connections that extend beyond traditional genealogical data. By examining the multifaceted relationships highlighted within *Polish Jew*, researchers can visualize how Polish Jewish immigrants forged new community bonds, interacted with existing social structures, and established pivotal roles within American society. Therefore, this journal serves as a repository of names and familial links and a vibrant canvas depicting the social dynamics of integration and community resilience. The contributions of the Women's Division, for instance, illustrate the proactive role of women in facilitating community cohesion and cultural continuity, which are essential aspects of the immigrant experience. These women organized educational programs, social events, and fundraisers, effectively weaving a tight-knit fabric of support that helped new immigrants navigate the complexities of their new environment. Through network analysis, we can trace how these activities linked individuals and families together, fostering a collective identity and mutual support system crucial for their integration into American society. By applying network analysis to the narratives and data in *Polish Jew*, researchers can undertake a genealogical study that does more than reconstruct family trees—it can also illuminate the pathways of cultural integration and community influence. Such an approach allows for a deeper appreciation of how individual lives were interwoven with communal developments, how leadership dynamics within the community evolved, and how Polish Jews contributed to and were shaped by broader societal trends. Moreover, this analysis can extend to tracing migration patterns, identifying key figures in community networks, and understanding the flow of information and resources. Each of these aspects contributes to a richer narrative of the Jewish immigrant experience, highlighting not only survival and resistance but also the active construction of new community structures in the host country. In proposing this combined approach of traditional genealogy and network analysis, this study aims to provide a holistic view of the Jewish immigrant community, contributing valuable insights into acculturation and societal integration processes. This innovative methodology not only enriches our historical knowledge but also enhances our understanding of the enduring impact of immigration on the cultural and social landscape of America.

8. Conclusions

In conclusion, this study of the *Polish Jew* periodical has highlighted its crucial role as a second-tier record within the context of Holocaust studies and Jewish genealogy. By mining the depths of this underutilized source, the research not only recuperates

forgotten names and narratives of Holocaust victims and survivors but also innovatively employs network analysis to reveal intricate patterns of familial and community ties. This approach provides a more nuanced understanding of the Jewish diaspora's social dynamics during and after World War II, illustrating the transformative power of such records in constructing a more comprehensive historical narrative. The importance of *Polish Jew* extends beyond its utility as a mere repository of names; it serves as a vital conduit through which the fragmented stories of displaced Polish Jews can be reassembled, providing a fuller picture of their experiences and the networks they formed. As this study demonstrates, integrating traditional genealogical methods with network analysis not only enriches our understanding of individual and collective identities but also enhances our capacity to memorialize the Jewish experience during the Holocaust more comprehensively.

Furthermore, *Polish Jew* legitimizes a call for broader recognition of second-tier records in scholarly research, particularly in areas where primary sources are scarce, damaged, or incomplete. The strategic use of such records, as exemplified by *Polish Jew*, offers significant potential to advance Holocaust remembrance and the study of Jewish genealogy. It underscores the necessity of preserving and incorporating these documents into mainstream research and educational frameworks to ensure that no victim or survivor's story is untold. In addition to the insights provided by *Polish Jew*, a comparative study with the magazine *Aufbau*, which targeted German-speaking Jews from Central Europe, could further enrich our understanding of Jewish diaspora publications during and after World War II. *Aufbau* served a similar target group as *Polish Jew* but focused on a different cultural and linguistic demographic. This comparison could be valuable for future research, offering a broader perspective on the role of periodicals in preserving Jewish heritage and fostering community among displaced populations. Re-evaluating the contributions of periodicals like *Polish Jew* within the broader discourse of historical and genealogical research leads to the rediscovery of lost voices and serves to expand Jewish genealogy and embrace a more holistic approach to history that recognizes the value of diverse narratives in constructing a more inclusive and accurate record of the past. As we continue to uncover and utilize such secondary sources, they will undoubtedly become indispensable tools in the ongoing effort to understand and memorialize the complex legacies of the Holocaust and the resilient spirit of the Jewish people. *Polish Jew* provides an insight into the emancipation process of Jews in the United States who joined the American Federation for Polish Jews. Such information is essential for Jewish genealogy. A network of advertisers, active directors of the society's chapters, and the writers and heroes of Jewish culture point to the way Polish Jewish families in the United States shaped their identity. It gives us the opportunity to explore and get to know a family that was based not on blood ties but on descent and a mode of self-presentation while the world of Polish Jews in Europe was destroyed.

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Notes

1. Deeplink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170461, accessed on 24 April 2024. DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170823, accessed on 22 March 2024.
2. Deeplink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170461, accessed on 24 April 2024.DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170462, accessed on 24 April 2024. DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170463, accessed on 24 April 2024.
3. See (Vice 2021).
4. DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170462, accessed on April 24, 2024. DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170463, accessed on 24 April 2024.

[5] See (Sack 2016).
[6] See (Sack and Kluveld 2024).
[7] See (Humphrey 2019).
[8] https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=30766, accessed on 21 March 2024.
[9] DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170462, accessed on 21 March 2024; DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170463, accessed on 21 March 2024; DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170464, accessed on 21 March 2024.
[10] See (Kapiszewski 1999).
[11] See (Heller 1997).
[12] See (*Poylisher Id* 1942).
[13] See (Apenszlak and Kenner 1943).
[14] See (Mahler 1944).
[15] See (Brown-Fleming 2016).
[16] *Poylisher Id* (1942), 7, https://archive.org/details/nybc201313, accessed on 23 March 1924.
[17] See (Wyman 2007).
[18] DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170474, accessed on 19 March 2024.
[19] (*Polish Jew* 1943c): "In Nazi Poland. Eye Witnesses Describe Nazi Mass Murders", *Polish Jew*, April 1943; I. Schwarzbart (1942), "The Crimes Committed by the Germans Against the Jewish Population in Poland", *Polish Jew*, September 1942; (*Polish Jew* n.d.) "The Massacre at Mikuliczyn (near Stanislov)", *Polish Jew* (n.d.).
[20] DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170471, accessed on 19 March 2024.
[21] See (Wyman 2007, p. 28).
[22] (*Polish Jew* 1943e): "The Indiscriminate Slaughter in Poland", *Polish Jew*, February 1943; (*Polish Jew* 1943f): "The Liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto. Jews Massacred in Cold Blood. Polish Government Report", Polish Jew, January 1943; "Women's Division", (*Polish Jew* 1942): *Polish Jew*, November 1942; Jacob Apenszlak (1942), "The Burgomaster of the Ghetto", *Polish Jew*, November 1942.
[23] See (*Polish Jew* 1943d).
[24] DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170711, accessed on 19 February 2024.
[25] See (Arolsen Archives n.d.).
[26] (*Poylisher Id* 1942): (New York: The Federation, 1942), 60 http://archive.org/details/nybc201313, accessed on 25 April 2024.
[27] (*Poylisher Id* 1942): (New York: The Federation, 1942), 17 http://archive.org/details/nybc201313, accessed on 22 February 2024.
[28] https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/pdf-drupal/en/education/biographies_polish_jews.pdf, accessed on 24 April 2024.
[29] In the Yad Vashem database we find one (1876) but this is a family member not the writer. This was a grain Merchant born 3 years earlier: https://collections.yadvashem.org/en/names/10851595qwe3-, accesses on 1 June 2024.
[30] "Women's Division", *Polish Jew*, November 1942.
[31] See (*Polish Jew* 1943b).
[32] See (Grinstein 1959).
[33] DeepLink: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/82170703, accessed on 23 February 2024.
[34] See (Werner 1942).
[35] https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/topic/1-2-7-2_9010900?s=magazine, documents: 821707068, 82170769, 82170770, nt/821707718217077282170773, 82170774821707758217077682170777, accessed on 25 April 2024.

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Article

Tracing Jewish Ancestry and Beyond—Exploring the Transformative Impact and Possibilities of the Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) Project

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Abstract: This article analyses the transformative impact of the Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) project, launched in 2017, on Jewish genealogy. Jewish genealogy, deeply rooted in centuries of tradition and cultural significance, transcends mere ancestral tracing, embodying a comprehensive exploration of Jewish history and heritage. The DoJR project represents a monumental shift in this field, aiming to compile a comprehensive, freely accessible online catalog, JCat, of every existing document of every Jew who ever lived. This endeavor reshapes our approach to Jewish genealogy and profoundly deepens our understanding of Jewish history. This article delves into the historical context of Jewish genealogy, tracing its evolution from ancient times through various challenges, including the Holocaust's devastating impact on Jewish genealogical records. It highlights the pioneering efforts in the field and the modern advancements that have facilitated the growth of Jewish genealogy, including DNA testing and digital technologies.

Keywords: DoJR; Jewish genealogy; Jewish heritage; AI HTR; handwriting recognition; Jewish historical records; history of Jewish genealogy; AVOTAYNU

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1. Every Jew That Ever Lived

Exploring Jewish lineage and heritage transcends a mere pastime.[1] It is also more than finding the names of one's ancestors, however important these names are.[2] Instead, it is a profound journey into history, a quest to connect with one's roots, and a dedication to preserving a collective past.[3] Researching one's forbears can be a healing and distressing undertaking.[4]

Jewish genealogy, rich in history and tradition across millennia, is distinct in the world of genealogical research.[5] In 2017, the field witnessed a groundbreaking development with the initiation of the Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) project.[6] This ambitious initiative aims to uncover and document every available record of every Jew who has ever lived. According to an estimation by Prof. Sergio DellaPergola, approximately 120 million Jews have possibly lived from Abraham's time to the present, with half of them becoming part of the Jewish population through birth or conversion between 1500 B.C.E. and 1700. The other half did so 300 years from the 18th century to today. This model does not account for the descendants of those who ceased to be Jewish, which, if included, would significantly increase the numbers.[7]

The project aims to aggregate all Jewish records into JCat, a comprehensive, freely accessible online searchable catalog. This endeavor is poised to revolutionize the landscape of Jewish genealogy, offering a new dimension to our understanding and methodology in tracing Jewish ancestry, history, and heritage. This article focuses on an in-depth analysis of the DoJR project, exploring its historical roots, innovative tactics, and influence on Jewish genealogy. Additionally, it aims to provide insights into how DoJR is revolutionizing Jewish

genealogy by amalgamating traditional methodologies with modern techniques, turning the search for ancestral knowledge into a global collaborative pursuit.

2. Historical Context and the Evolution of Jewish Genealogy

In examining the Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) project and its profound impact on Jewish genealogy, it is imperative to contextualize its emergence within the historical trajectory of Jewish genealogical research. Jewish genealogy is not a recent phenomenon but has roots in ancient times. The Torah and other antique Jewish texts are replete with genealogical lists, signifying the importance of lineage and heritage within Jewish culture.[8] These records were not merely chronological listings but served multifaceted roles, from establishing tribal affiliations and priestly lineages to maintaining land rights and religious responsibilities. Keeping these genealogies was a matter of cultural importance and a legal necessity, deeply intertwined with Jewish identity and religious practices, including the transference of knowledge. As Anthony Joseph stated, "In Jewish tradition, genealogy is rooted in the very origins of the people itself since Genesis is devoted to the lineage of the Patriarchs. The very definition of who is a Jew, while not capable of being reduced down to a single concept, is not the case of those born into the faith requires matrilineal proof of identity."[9]

During the medieval and early modern periods, Jewish communities dispersed across Europe and the Middle East faced unique challenges in maintaining genealogical records. Many Jewish genealogies were orally transmitted, with written records often being lost or destroyed due to persecution and migrations.[10] Despite these obstacles, some Jewish communities managed to maintain detailed records, including synagogue registries, community ledgers, and even personal family manuscripts. These documents provide invaluable insights into the lives and movements of Jewish people during these turbulent times.[11]

The 19th and 20th centuries marked significant shifts in Jewish genealogical research, primarily influenced by mass migrations. As Jews moved across continents, fleeing persecution and seeking better lives, their genealogical trails became increasingly complex and dispersed. This era witnessed the fragmentation of Jewish family histories, making tracing lineage more arduous. However, it also spurred interest in genealogy to preserve connections with lost homelands and dispersed family members. Thus, the modern era of Jewish genealogy began taking shape with the efforts of pioneering individuals and organizations.

The early 20th Century saw the establishment of various Jewish genealogical societies dedicated to the preservation and study of Jewish family histories. The Gesellschaft für die Jüdische Familien-Forschung (Society for Jewish Family Research), inaugurated in 1924, initiated its periodical to serve as a connecting point for Jewish genealogists and to offer a platform for their scholarly work. Its founding editor, ophthalmologist Arthur Czellitzer, emphasized the critical role of understanding one's lineage, especially for the Jewish community.[12] He argued that, in the absence of a unified nation or language for Jews at that time, a deep knowledge of one's ancestry could foster a connection to one's authentic roots,[13] transcending the potential loss of religious customs inherited from ancestors.[14] Czellitzer articulated in the inaugural edition that the society's foremost objective was to amass an extensive collection of Jewish family records, thereby establishing a comprehensive archive for Jewish genealogical research, an ideal not unlike DoJR's. Regrettably, this valuable collection was lost after Czellitzer, fleeing the horrors of the Holocaust, took the documents to the Netherlands, where they were destroyed. Tragically, Czellitzer himself fell victim to the Holocaust, perishing in the Sobibor death camp in Poland in 1943.

The Holocaust wrought incalculable damage to the Jewish genealogical landscape. Countless records were lost, and entire family lines were obliterated.[15] In the post-Holocaust era, the urgency to reclaim and reconstruct Jewish family histories became more pressing than ever.[16] Survivors and descendants sought to piece together the fragments of their

shattered pasts, leading to a resurgence in genealogical research.[17] This period also saw the emergence of new methodologies and technologies, including using Holocaust records and testimonies to trace family histories. In response to these formidable historical challenges, Jewish genealogical societies, archives, and research initiatives emerged as indispensable institutions.

Since the 1970s, Jewish genealogy has experienced significant advancements as a result of technology, access to archives, and the establishment of organizations dedicated to Jewish family history research. Establishing Jewish genealogical societies, such as the Jewish Genealogical Society (1977) and the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (1988), has provided a platform for individuals interested in Jewish genealogy to connect, share research, and access resources.

Technological advancements such as digitizing historical records made it easier for researchers to access vital records, immigration records, census data, and other documents relevant to Jewish genealogy. JewishGen, founded in 1987, has become one of the most significant online resources for Jewish genealogy. It offers access to extensive databases, records, and research tools specific to Jewish family history. JewishGen's Family Finder database connects researchers with shared family interests, facilitating genealogist collaboration. Projects such as the JewishGen Yizkor Book Project have made these books (memorial books written by Jewish communities to commemorate those lost during the Holocaust) accessible to researchers through digitalization and translation. The books provide insights into prewar Jewish life and genealogical information.

The inception of Jewish Records Indexing-Poland (JRI-Poland) in 1995 marked a pivotal moment in Jewish genealogy, particularly for those tracing their roots back to Poland. Founded by Stanley M. Diamond, Michael Tobias, and Steven Zedeck, JRI-Poland embarked on a mission to index Jewish vital records, revolutionizing worldwide access to ancestral information for Jewish genealogists. The project's initial phase focused on indexing records microfilmed by the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, covering the period from approximately 1808 through 1880. This monumental task was primarily carried out by volunteers, who painstakingly indexed the Polish language index pages found within the microfilmed record books. These early efforts laid the groundwork for an extensive database, offering insights into the Jewish diaspora's lineage through Polish territories.[18]

The partnership formed in 1997 between JRI-Poland and the Polish State Archives (PSA) was a significant milestone, allowing JRI-Poland access to approximately five million Jewish vital records not previously microfilmed. This collaboration expanded the database's scope and facilitated a broader understanding of Jewish family histories during a critical period. The agreement underscored the importance of digital access to historical records, setting a precedent for future digitization projects.

JRI-Poland's contribution to Jewish genealogy has been widely recognized, culminating in receiving the 2014 International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (IAJGS) Award for Outstanding Contribution to Jewish Genealogy via the Internet. This accolade reflects the organization's impact on the field, providing researchers, Holocaust survivors, and the public with tools to reconstruct family trees and unearth lost connections. By making previously inaccessible records available online, JRI-Poland has played a crucial role in preserving Jewish heritage and facilitating personal discoveries that bridge the past with the present.

Interpreting these sources, however, remained difficult for most beginners. The internet has given rise to online communities and forums where Jewish genealogists can collaborate, seek advice, and share research findings. These platforms provide opportunities for networking and knowledge exchange among researchers worldwide. Finally, educational programs and genealogy conferences dedicated to Jewish genealogy have proliferated. These events offer workshops, lectures, and resources for researchers of all levels, helping individuals enhance their genealogical skills and knowledge.

AVOTAYNU, the International Review of Jewish Genealogy, founded in 1985 by Gary Mokotoff and Sallyann Amdur Sack, evolved into a publishing company dedicated to Jewish genealogy and has played a significant role in the solidification of Jewish genealogy by publishing a range of resources, including family history books, journals, and guides to help researchers navigate complexities. An example is Rabbi Shmuel Gorr's *Jewish personal names: their origin, derivation, and diminutive forms* explain the roots of more than 12.00 personal names with English transliteration.[19] A more recent example is *The Jacobi Papers: Genealogical Studies of Leading Ashkenazi Families* edited by Emanuel Elyasaf, four volumes dedicated to the findings of Paul Jacobi, a founding member of the Palestine Jewish Genealogical Society when it was formed in 1937.[20]

The company also sponsored conferences and events, providing opportunities for genealogists to connect and share their research. Overall, it created a worldwide community of knowledge, transference of knowledge, and remembrance. The journal AVOTAYNU published numerous articles on Jewish genealogy research, methodology, resources, and profiles of notable Jewish genealogists. The journal has played a critical role in establishing Jewish genealogy as a severe field of study and has been instrumental in fostering a community of Jewish genealogists. Mokotoff became a prominent spokesperson of this group, also initiating discussions with the LDS Church in 1994 about their practice of posthumously baptizing Holocaust victims. In AVOTAYNU of Spring 1994, he wrote, "Baptism is a Christian ceremony that is particularly repugnant to Jews. It reminds us of the centuries of persecution against Jews where our ancestors were given a choice to be baptized or suffer death. His statement led to the establishment of a rule that bars baptisms of Holocaust victims except in rare cases where they are direct ancestors.[21]

DNA testing, including autosomal DNA, Y-DNA, and mitochondrial DNA analysis, has revolutionized Jewish genealogy research by allowing individuals to discover genetic connections, identify distant relatives, and confirm or uncover Jewish ancestry. DNA databases like 23andMe, AncestryDNA, and MyHeritage DNA have become popular tools for genealogists.[22]

The endeavor to elevate genealogy to the status of an academic discipline is still in its nascent stages.[23] This movement saw one of its early milestones in 2007, when Dr. Neville Lamdan, a founding member of the International Institute for Jewish Genealogy (IIJG) in 2004, orchestrated a seminal seminar in Jerusalem. This event laid the groundwork for academic discourse in genealogy, culminating in the publication of a booklet in 2013 by Prof. H. D. Wagner. This publication is significant, as it constitutes the initial effort to showcase a collection of scholarly perspectives within the domain of genealogy.[24] Moreover, the 2018 international conference on "Genealogy and the Sciences" hosted by the Weizmann Institute marked a pioneering venture in the field, distinguished by its unprecedented depth and breadth in exploring genealogy's academic and scientific facets. This conference stands out as a unique contribution to the field, pushing the boundaries of traditional genealogical research by integrating rigorous scientific methodologies and academic inquiry.[25]

3. The Pioneer Decades

Equally crucial to the growth of the discipline were the studies written by Jewish genealogy pioneers that provided valuable guidance, methodologies, and historical context for researchers tracing their Jewish ancestry. These pioneers (this concise overview is not exhaustive) have worked diligently to uncover the complex history of Jewish families, tracing their roots to understand the rich history of Jewish communities worldwide. Their books and publications have provided practical guidance and resources to those seeking to explore their Jewish family histories, and their work will continue to influence the field.

One of the earliest pioneers in Jewish genealogy was Rabbi Malcolm Stern, who, in 1960, with the volume of *Americans of Jewish decent*,[26] created "a compendium of hundreds of family trees and of a group which, in effect, constitutes a small civilization: the descendants of early American Jews."[27] Genealogist Dan Rottenberg considered this an excellent start of

a giant jigsaw puzzle. He explained that a genealogist can fit enough pieces together, and few genealogists assemble more than the picture of their own immediate family. "They can see only the vaguest outlines of the mural we would have if we were able to fit together, say, the family trees of everyone on earth."[28] he stated in 1979 or, as the DoJR would say in the present, every Jew that ever lived." In 1978, Stern published a comprehensive collection of genealogies of Jewish families in America, covering six hundred families from the first Jewish immigrants to the United States in 1654 to the present day.[29] Stern's book was, according to Rottenberg, "a seminal work in Jewish genealogy, providing a wealth of information on American Jewish families and how they have contributed to the growth and development of the United States."[30]

Daniel Rottenberg wrote a pioneering work, *Finding Our Fathers: A Guidebook to Jewish Genealogy,* in 1977. The book is a comprehensive guide to Jewish genealogy research, providing practical advice on how to trace one's Jewish ancestry and navigate the complex maze of Jewish records. Rottenberg's book was one of the first comprehensive guides to Jewish genealogy research, and it has helped countless people uncover their Jewish family histories. The same goes for *The Unbroken Chain: Biographical Sketches and Genealogy of Illustrious Jewish Families from the 15th–20th Century*, in which Neil Rosenstein (1976) analyzes the genealogy of prominent Jewish families over several centuries.[31]

In the 1980s, Arthur Kurzweil contributed significantly to Jewish genealogy. With *My Generations* and *From Generation to Generation: how to trace your Jewish Genealogy and Personal History*, he provided a step-by-step guide to researching one's Jewish ancestry.[32] The book included practical advice on navigating archives, finding records, and conducting interviews with family members.[33] Kurzweil's book was groundbreaking in its approach to Jewish genealogy research, and it has helped many people uncover their Jewish family histories.[34]

Alexander Beider's research has been instrumental in deepening the understanding of Jewish genealogy and the origins of Jewish surnames. Beider's books offer invaluable scholarly insights into the complexities of Jewish genealogy and onomastics. One of his most notable works is *A Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from Galicia*.[35] This book provides an extensive list of Jewish surnames from the Galicia region, now part of Poland and Ukraine. It comprehensively analyzes each surname's origin, meaning, usage, and genealogical information about the associated families. This book is an essential resource for anyone researching Jewish ancestry in the Galicia region. Another of Beider's seminal works, *A Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Russian Empire*, explores the history and evolution of Jewish surnames in the Russian Empire, providing detailed information about their origins, meanings, and variations.[36] It is a comprehensive resource for anyone researching Jewish ancestry in the Russian Empire. Beider's other notable works include *Jewish Surnames in Prague*.[37] Each of these books offers a unique perspective on Jewish genealogy and naming practices, providing valuable insights into the complexities of Jewish ancestry.

In addition to his books, Beider has contributed numerous articles and papers to academic journals and genealogical publications, offering a perspective on genealogy as an academic discipline. His research has been instrumental in advancing our understanding of Jewish genealogy, surnames, and naming practices. Overall, Alexander Beider's contributions to Jewish genealogy are significant and have played a vital role in expanding our knowledge of Jewish ancestry. His books and research are valuable resources for genealogists and historians, comprehensively analyzing Jewish surnames and naming practices throughout history.

Jewish genealogy was also shaped by pioneering women in the field. Their work helped to expand our understanding of Jewish history and culture, and their contributions have been instrumental in shaping the field of Jewish genealogy as it exists today. Miriam Weiner published several books on Jewish genealogy in Eastern Europe, including *Jewish Roots in Poland: Pages from the Past and Archival Inventories* (1997) and *Jewish Roots in Ukraine and Moldova* (1999).[38] Her publications provide in-depth analyses of the available archival

resources and practical guidance on navigating and interpreting these records. Weiner's work primarily focused on documenting Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, and she was instrumental in bringing attention to the importance of preserving Jewish records in the region. She traveled extensively throughout Eastern Europe, documenting cemeteries and collecting records. Her efforts led to the creation of the *Routes to Roots Foundation*, which has since become a leading organization in preserving Jewish heritage in Eastern Europe and two seminal works.[39]

Sallyann Amdur Sack made significant contributions to Jewish genealogy, including comprehensive overviews of the archival resources available for Jewish genealogy research in Lithuania and Israel, and provided practical guidance on navigating and interpreting these records. She discovered, in the Jewish State Museum of Lithuania in Vilnius, a list of five thousand Jews killed in Kaunas (Kovo/Kowno) during the Nazi Occupation. The list is now part of Yad Vashem's Holocaust Survivors and Victims database, where Sack is mentioned as the famous genealogist.[40] With Mokotoff, Sack published *Where Once We Walked*, which became a staple for Jewish genealogists around the world since it offered a comprehensive guide to the towns and cities where Jews lived before the Holocaust. The book is organized alphabetically by country, making it easy for researchers to find the necessary information. The first edition (1991) covered over twenty countries and 20,000 towns. The authors spent years researching and compiling information from various sources, including archival records, historical documents, and personal accounts. Over the years, the book has been updated several times to reflect the latest information and discoveries. The second edition, published in 1999, included an additional 10,000 towns and expanded coverage to include the former Soviet Union. The third edition, published in 2002, added even more information, including new entries for previously excluded towns. In addition to the printed book, an electronic version of *Where Once We Walked* is also available. The electronic version includes all the information from the printed book and additional features such as interactive maps and the ability to search for towns by name or location. The book has been praised for its thoroughness and diligence. It is considered an indispensable resource for anyone researching Jewish genealogy, particularly those looking to trace their family's roots in Eastern Europe. Overall, *Where Once We Walked* is a testament to preserving Jewish history and heritage. The book serves as a reminder of the vibrant communities that once existed and the devastating impact of the Holocaust on Jewish life. The thought behind it is the precursor of the DoJR project in which Sack is very much involved, and this might be one of the reasons why this project recognizes the pioneers of Jewish genealogy ideals next to the project's innovative character.

4. DoJR's Rationale and Framework

The Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) project aims to discover and inventory every record of every Jew that ever lived, including primary and secondary records. While primary records such as vital and census data are critical for genealogists and family historians, secondary-tier records can be equally valuable in providing a more comprehensive understanding of an individual or family's history. Second-tier records can include family histories, biographies, newspaper articles, and obituaries, which may contain personal anecdotes, stories, and other details found in primary records. These records can help to fill in gaps and provide context for primary sources, offering a more complete picture of an individual or family's life. DJOR recognizes the value of second-tier records and has prioritized including them in its cataloging efforts. The project also recognizes the challenge of discovering records hidden in plain sight and the need to discover vulnerable records (also known as "Records-at-Risk") before they deteriorate or are destroyed. It aims to uncover these records, ensuring they are accessible to researchers and future generations.[41]

DoJR developed a comprehensive framework to classify and organize many Jewish genealogical records worldwide and to classify the facilities (custodial entities) that hold those records. Its primary purpose is to facilitate access to these records by providing a

standardized and structured way to categorize them, thus managing the sheer volume and diversity of first and second-tier records and the number and diversity of the facilities that have those records in their custody. In genealogy, the term "taxonomy" may not be a common household word, but it plays a pivotal role in the project. Taxonomy, in its most fundamental sense, refers to the science of classification. It involves arranging and categorizing objects, organisms, or information into hierarchical structures based on shared characteristics or attributes. In the context of genealogy, a taxonomy is a systematic framework used to classify and organize genealogical records and their custodians, allowing for efficient retrieval and analysis. The main categories for the record types are vital events, institution records, historical events, emigration/immigration, population and residency, government, persona, media, compiled sources, and reference tools. The DoJR taxonomy serves several critical purposes within the project:[42]

1. Standardization: By providing a standardized framework for organizing records, the taxonomy ensures consistency in record classification. This standardization is essential for making records accessible to researchers worldwide and maintaining data integrity.
2. Effective Survey: The taxonomy of custodial entities ensures that all anticipated types of organizations that potentially hold Jewish genealogical records are included in DoJR surveys. The taxonomy of record types provides a comprehensive checklist of record types relevant to Jewish genealogical research so that record collections are not overlooked.
3. Efficient Retrieval: With thousands of records scattered across the globe, efficient retrieval is paramount. The taxonomy's structured hierarchy and classification system make it easier for users to locate specific records based on their research needs.
4. Preservation of Jewish Heritage: Jewish genealogy is not just about tracing individual family trees but also about preserving Jewish heritage and history. The taxonomy aids in preserving Jewish cultural and historical records, ensuring they are accessible to future generations.
5. Collaboration: The DoJR project is a collaborative effort involving researchers, genealogists, archivists, and institutions from various countries. The taxonomy provides a common language and framework for these diverse stakeholders, fostering collaboration and data sharing.
6. Scalability: As the DoJR project continues to grow, scalability becomes crucial. The taxonomy can accommodate an ever-expanding dataset, allowing for the inclusion of newly discovered types of record collections.

In addition to uncovering and inventorying records, the DoJR project also works through partnerships to preserve and digitize these records. Digital archiving ensures that fragile and rare documents are preserved for posterity and can be accessed by researchers worldwide. The project's use of state-of-the-art technologies like artificial intelligence (AI) enables the project to be implemented at scale by automating record collection analysis and generation of catalog entries and associated metadata where records are already digitized. The same AI can also be used to enhance the effectiveness and reach of genealogical research, allowing for more efficient and accurate transcription of handwritten documents.

DoJR presents an integrated approach to genealogical research. The project provides a more complete picture of Jewish history and heritage by uncovering and inventorying various records. The project's efforts to preserve and digitize these records ensure that they are accessible to researchers and future generations, contributing to preserving and celebrating Jewish culture and identity and sharing many similarities with the pioneers of Jewish genealogy. Firstly, the project is driven by a profound connection to Jewish history and culture, recognizing the significance of lineage and heritage within Jewish society. Its goal of discovering every existing document of every Jew who ever lived reflects its aim to preserve and share Jewish genealogical data with future generations. Secondly, the project is committed to fostering collaboration and knowledge exchange, acknowledging the importance of working together to achieve its objectives, giving back to the community,

and facilitating advancing the objectives of others. This emphasis on community-building and cooperation helps cultivate a sense of shared purpose and collective memory. Thirdly, the project is dedicated to accuracy and rigor in its research, acknowledging the importance of verifiable sources and meticulous documentation. By utilizing innovative technologies such as artificial intelligence and digital archiving, the project enhances the effectiveness and reach of genealogical research while maintaining high accuracy and attention to detail—achieving a level of comprehensive survey that cannot be accomplished by manual methods alone. Finally, the project is patient and persistent in its research, recognizing that uncovering genealogical data demands considerable time and effort. Overall, the DoJR project is aligned with the pioneers of Jewish genealogy in its unwavering commitment to preserving and sharing Jewish genealogical data, its emphasis on collaboration and knowledge exchange, its dedication to accuracy and rigor in research, and its patience and persistence in uncovering genealogical data.

The commercialization of Jewish genealogy has created both opportunities and challenges for the preservation and accessibility of Jewish history and heritage. On the one hand, commercial genealogy companies have made significant investments in digitizing and indexing records, making them widely accessible to the public. On the other hand, commercialization has also privatized historical records, creating accessibility issues and concerns about protecting personal data. Privatizing historical records by commercial genealogy companies raises concerns about accessibility and control over Jewish history and heritage. These companies often charge high fees for access to records, creating barriers to entry for individuals and families who cannot afford them. Moreover, companies often retain ownership and control over their records, limiting public access and creating concerns about protecting personal data.

The Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) project can help address these concerns by providing a free, online searchable catalog of Jewish records and where to access them, whether in commercial databases, open source and free databases, private or public archives, or any combination of the aforementioned. The project's emphasis on collaboration and community also fosters a sense of collective memory and bolsters Jewish identity, connecting Jews worldwide with their roots and spiritual traditions. Moreover, the DoJR project's commitment to identifying and preserving "Records-at-Risk" protects historical documents, including those that commercial genealogy companies and others have privatized. By focusing on identifying and preserving these records, the project ensures that they are available for future generations to learn from and appreciate. This approach is crucial and time-sensitive because many records risk being lost due to neglect, deterioration, or destruction.

5. Towards the Acceptance of Jewish Genealogy as a Discipline in (Digital) Humanities

Because of its characteristics, the DoJR project could become significant for Jewish genealogists, historians, and other scholars in the humanities. The project's ambitious goal is to open new avenues for exploring Jewish history and culture, providing invaluable insights into the lives, experiences, and contributions of Jewish communities worldwide. Historians can benefit from the DoJR project by accessing primary sources that shed light on Jewish history and culture. The project's extensive catalog of records, ranging from birth and death certificates to immigration documents and synagogue records—including more than 350 types of records—provides a comprehensive and diverse resource for researchers. By examining these documents, historians can gain a deeper understanding of Jewish history, including migration patterns, community life, and the development of Jewish institutions and organizations. Moreover, the project's emphasis on collaboration and knowledge exchange fosters community among Jewish genealogists and historians, promoting interdisciplinary research and collaborative problem-solving. By bringing together scholars from different disciplines and regions, the project develops a vibrant and inclusive community of researchers, advancing our collective understanding of Jewish history and

culture. In the humanities, the DoJR project still must be universally acknowledged as significant for its contribution to discovering, preserving, and promoting Jewish cultural heritage that becomes accessible and visible to a global audience. The project democratizes access to Jewish history and culture by empowering individuals and communities to rediscover and reconnect with their heritage.

The DoJR's use of citizen science has several benefits. First, it allows for a significant increase in the amount and diversity of data available for research.[43] Second, it provides an opportunity for individuals worldwide to participate in an important project and contribute to preserving Jewish history and culture. Third, it fosters a sense of community ownership and engagement in the project, leading to a higher level of participant investment and commitment. Overall, the use of citizen science by the DoJR is a powerful approach that allows for a more inclusive and collaborative approach to genealogical research. Furthermore, the project's use of cutting-edge technologies, such as artificial intelligence and machine learning, introduces new efficiencies in archival research, enabling researchers to analyze and interpret large volumes of data quickly and accurately. This technological innovation enhances the effectiveness and reach of genealogical research and contributes to developing new methodologies and practices in the humanities.

The Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) project could also be significant for DNA researchers, as it provides a rich tool for exploring the genetic history of Jewish communities worldwide. By combining genealogical records with DNA data, researchers can gain insights into the genetic makeup of Jewish populations, including migration patterns, genetic diversity, and ancestral origins. The project's extensive catalog of genealogical records provides a valuable resource for DNA researchers, enabling them to reconstruct family trees and trace the genetic ancestry of individuals and communities. By analyzing the DNA of individuals with shared genealogical ancestry, researchers can identify genetic markers and mutations specific to Jewish populations, providing clues about their genetic history and origins. Moreover, the project's emphasis on collaboration and knowledge exchange fosters community among DNA researchers and genealogists, promoting interdisciplinary research and collaborative problem-solving. By bringing together experts from different fields and regions, the project develops a vibrant and inclusive community of researchers, advancing our collective understanding of Jewish genetic history. By combining genealogical records with DNA data and using advanced technologies, researchers can gain insights into the genetic makeup of Jewish populations, contributing to our understanding of their migration patterns, genetic diversity, and ancestral origin.

Pursuing Jewish genealogy through the DoJR project deserves recognition as a unique and independent discipline within the digital humanities. This is due to the project's reliance on a rich tradition of research and scholarship in Jewish genealogy, which has historically employed traditional and digital research techniques. Jewish genealogy demands a comprehensive understanding of Jewish history, customs, and practices. It involves curating, examining, and interpreting genealogical data, such as family trees, historical archives, and related materials. Recently, digital technologies have completely transformed genealogical research, and the DoJR project is at the forefront of this revolution. The DoJR project is an interdisciplinary endeavor that leverages knowledge and skills from diverse fields like history, computer science, and archival studies.[44] The study of Jewish genealogy through the DoJR project is an independent and distinctive discipline within the digital humanities, rooted in a strong tradition of research and scholarship.[45]

6. The Intersection of Tradition and Innovation

The project stands at the intersection of tradition and innovation and embodies the essential continuity of Jewish culture and identity while introducing a paradigm shift in our Jewish history and heritage. At the heart of DoJR lies the concept of Yizkor, a remembrance of the deceased in Jewish tradition. The project's focus on Yizkor reflects the importance of memory and heritage within Jewish society. In this sense, DoJR embodies the continuity of Jewish culture and identity, connecting past generations to present and future ones.

Similarly, the Torah contains genealogical lists that signify the role of family history in establishing tribal affiliations, priestly lineages, land rights, and religious responsibilities. The Torah's emphasis on genealogy reflects the importance of lineage and heritage within Jewish society, highlighting the continuity of Jewish culture and identity. In this sense, Jewish genealogy is deeply embedded in Judaism's rich history and culture, reflecting the centrality of memory and heritage within Jewish society.

By embracing the principles of Yizkor and the Torah, the project embodies the essential continuity of Jewish culture and identity while introducing a paradigm shift in how we understand and approach Jewish history and heritage. The DoJR project's transformative impact on Jewish genealogy initially redefines how we conduct surveys for relevant record collections across a previously unapproachable number of facilities and how we catalog the collections for meaningful searches by researchers with diverse research objectives. DoJR's transformative impact on Jewish genealogy shapes Jewish history by preserving and documenting the history and heritage of the Jewish people, shedding light on previously unknown individuals and untold stories, and providing a powerful tool for individuals to connect with their roots.

The Documentation of Jewish Records Worldwide (DoJR) project is a monumental undertaking representing a significant milestone in Jewish history. The project aims to discover and document every existing document of every Jew who ever lived, compiling a comprehensive inventory of Jewish genealogical data. This ambitious endeavor ensures that no one in the Jewish community will ever be forgotten, preserving the memory and heritage of the Jewish people for future generations. In this sense, DoJR is a building, a house, and a family home for the future. It provides a platform for Jewish community members to connect with their roots, fostering a sense of belonging and connection to their ancestral past. Moreover, the project shapes Jewish history by preserving and documenting the history and heritage of the Jewish people and shedding light on previously unknown individuals and untold stories. This approach ensures that future Jews have access to an unparalleled wealth of information about their ancestors, communities, and cultural heritage. The DoJR project is a monument of the Jewish People worldwide, representing a unique intersection of tradition and innovation deeply rooted in Jewish society's rich history and culture. By embracing the principles of Yizkor and the Torah, the project embodies the essential continuity of Jewish culture and identity while introducing a paradigm shift in understanding and approaching Jewish history and heritage.

The DoJR project ensures that no one in the Jewish community will ever be forgotten, preserving the memory and heritage of the Jewish people for future generations. It is a powerful and transformative initiative that shapes Jewish history and culture, providing a comprehensive and accessible repository of Jewish genealogical data. The project represents a living testament to the enduring legacy of the Jewish people, ensuring that their rich and vibrant cultural heritage will continue to be celebrated and remembered for generations to come. It has become a landmark in the Jewish history itself. The formation history of the DoJR would, therefore, require a monograph, taking advantage of the fact that oral history is still possible.

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Notes

1. (Glenn 2002).
2. (Glenn 2002; Leissner 2001).
3. (Commentary Magazine 1980).
4. https://www.dojrww.org (accessed on 1 February 2024).
5. (Rottenberg 1977).
6. DoJR—L'Dor V'Dor Foundation (LDVDF).
7. (DellaPergola 2024).
8. (Joseph 1994).
9. (Joseph 1994, p. 111).
10. (Lohrmann 2000; Englisch and Allert 2002).
11. (Malka 2002, 2022).
12. (Czellitzer 1909, 1934).
13. (Brenner and Penslar 1998).
14. (Gausemeier et al. 2020, p. 29).
15. (Gordon 2016).
16. (Stein 2009).
17. (Wenzerul 2014).
18. (Diamond 2016).
19. (Gorr and Freedman 1992).
20. (Elyasaf 2019).
21. [Elder J. Richard Clarke] "In light of the concerns raised in your letter, we have reviewed our procedures regarding temple ordinances for the dead and have adopted the following refinements: first, that temple ordinances be performed only at the request of family members; and second, that family members wishing to perform such ordinances also have permission from the nearest living relative before proceeding".
22. (Smolenyak and Turner 2004).
23. (Kluveld 2020).
24. (Wagner 2013).
25. (Weizmann Institute of Sciences, Rehovot, Israel 2020)
26. (Stern 1960)
27. (Rottenberg 1979, pp. 127–29).
28. (Rottenberg 1979)
29. (Stern 1978)
30. (Rottenberg 1979, pp. 127–29).
31. (Rosenstein 1976, 1990).
32. (Kurzweil 2004)
33. (Kurzweil 2004)
34. (Kurzweil 2004)
35. (Beider 2004)
36. (Beider 1993, 2008)
37. (Beider 1995, 1998)
38. (Weiner and Polish State Archives 1997; Weiner 1999).
39. (Stern 2006).
40. (Central DB of Shoah Victims' Names—Record Details n.d.)
41. (Humphrey et al. 2020; Humphrey and Stein 2021).
42. https://dojrww.org/taxonomy/ (accessed on 1 February 2024).
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genealogy

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Article

Contemporary Jewish Genealogy: Assuming the Role of Former Landsmanshafts †

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† This article is an updated version of the text "Landsmanszaft—na marginesie badań nad żydowską społe-cznością genealogiczną" by Klauzińska previously published in a book *W krainie metarefleksji Księga poświęcona Profesorowi Czesławowi Robotyckiemu*, Kraków, 2015, pp. 464–82 (In Polish).

Abstract: To understand the changing trends in Jewish Genealogy over the past 40 years, the author has interviewed more than one hundred genealogists around the world. All of them are connected to the two most important genealogy organisations, JewishGen and JRI-Poland. They range from hobbyists researching their own families to professionals researching specific prewar Polish shtetls and those serving the entire genealogical community. Based on their responses to 26 questions, the author has identified two important features of contemporary Jewish genealogy: its democratisation and institutionalisation. The democratisation of genealogical research has contributed to a great expansion of the field. The focus of interest is no longer limited to only rabbinical families but is also concerned with the common man. Thus, genealogists today speak not only on behalf of *sheyne yidn* and otherwise distinguished families but also on behalf of the millions of murdered „ordinary" Jews who once lived in Poland. The institutionalisation of genealogy refers to the degree to which genealogical research organisations like JewishGen or JRI-Poland now provide some of the same functions provided years ago by the *landsmanshaft* institutions. Today, descendants of a particular shtetl often discover and connect to each other through genealogical researchers and these genealogical organisations. How these Jewish genealogical practices can be/are used to strengthen the *landsmanshaft*-like function will be examined.

Keywords: Polish Jews; identity; micro-genealogy; macro-genealogy; *landsmanshaft*; genealogical community

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1. Introduction

This is an essay about *landsmanshaftn*, Jewish associations of people originating from common ancestral towns, and about genealogy.

Many years of interactions with Jewish genealogists related to past communities in Poland[1], and with local genealogists[2], have led me to contacts with *landsmanshaftn* in Israel and the United States[3]. This resulted in a number of very interesting research meetings. Questions posed to some of those genealogists were challenging and eventually helped them to define what genealogy meant to them, to determine if they felt part of a larger genealogy community, and, eventually, to define who they were.

Rafał Żebrowski pointed out that "(…) professional historians should monitor the phenomena which will certainly give new impetus to Jewish studies in our country and around the world". Should historians be the only ones to do that? Indeed, Jewish genealogy sheds light on the raison d'être of many areas of discourse on memory, post-memory, Polish–Jewish relations, and, eventually too, on Hasidism, conversion, and the role and structure of the rabbinate. This sphere of activity of tens of thousands of Jews, which has not been analysed yet, constitutes a virtual world, around which the institution of Jewish genealogy is centred today, thanks to which it exists, and through which *landsmanshaftn* are being reconstructed today.

2. Methods

The research methods used in this project included interviews, observations, and a standardised questionnaire distributed in the JewishGen discussion group forum: soc.genealogy.jewish. Spatial and financial limitations prevented me from conducting enough in-person interviews, so I opted for the email questionnaire. The questionnaire was posted on JewishGen by Stanley M. Diamond M.S.M, founder and executive director of JRI-Poland. He also posted it to the JRI-Poland mailing list. Most of the questions in the questionnaire were open-ended, allowing for descriptive answers.

One hundred and seven questionnaires were returned, which were filled out by people affiliated with genealogical organisations or unaffiliated but performing their own genealogical research. The respondents include amateur and professional genealogists.

Most respondents reside in the United States of America or Israel. A large number also have university education, in contrast to their ancestors who mostly came from small towns and poor shtetl communities. A few shared memories of rabbinical connections in their families. Their ancestors either emigrated from Poland before World War II or survived the Holocaust.

I had limited contact with Orthodox Jewish genealogists. Two of them, from Borough Park, Brooklyn, for whom I worked as a local genealogist in Poland, offered to help, and I was able to visit the Yochsin Institute in Borough Park.

It should be noted that the institution of *landsmanshaftn* was not a strict goal of the survey. The primary purpose was to understand the process of becoming a Jewish genealogist participating in the larger Jewish genealogical community. Only four of the twenty-six questions on the questionnaire dealt with travel to Poland. However, the research observations and the respondents' answers led me to analyse the activity of the Jewish genealogists today in the context of the institution of *landsmanshaftn*, as described in this paper.

The following Table 1 illustrates the respondents' place of residence, Table 2 illustrates their education, Table 3 illustrates their generation (from which generation the respondent born outside of Poland belongs), Table 4 illustrates how many of them use JRI-Poland and the JewishGen website in their research, and Table 5 illustrates whether they consider themselves to be members of the genealogical community.

Table 1. The respondents' place of residence.

RESPONDENTS	PLACE OF RESIDENCE
66	UNITED STATES
11	ISRAEL
8	ENGLAND
7	CANADA
3	AUSTRALIA
2	FRANCE
2	NO INFO
1	RPA
1	GERMANY
1	SCOTLAND
1	SWEDEN
1	BELGIUM
1	POLAND
1	CHINA
1	ARGENTINA

Table 2. The respondents' education.

RESPONDENTS	EDUCATION
24	DOCTORATE
44	GRADUATE DEGREE
28	UNDERGRADUATE DEGREE
4	COLLEGE
3	HIGH SCHOOL
2	ENGINEER
1	TWO YEARS OF THE UNIVERSITY STUDIES
1	NO DATA

Table 3. The respondents' generation (from which generation the respondent born outside of Poland belongs).

GENERATION	1	2	3	4	1 and 2	2 and 3	1 and 5	BORN IN POLAND
RESPONDENTS	33	42	16	1	2	6	1	6

Table 4. How many of them use JRI-Poland and the JewishGen website in their research.

HAVE YOU USED THE JRI-POLAND/JEWISHGEN DATABASE IN YOUR PERSONAL RESEARCH OR TO ASSIST OTHER RESEARCHERS?	YES	NO	OTHER ANSWER	NO ANSWER
RESPONDENTS	98	5	2	2

Table 5. Whether they consider themselves members of the genealogical community.

DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU ARE A MEMBER OF THE GENEALOGICAL COMMUNITY	YES	NO	OTHER ANSWER	NO ANSWER
RESPONDENTS	67	27	11	2

3. Genealogy

Contemporary Jewish genealogy represents a domain where various analytical approaches converge. Genealogy encompasses multiple meanings, covering Jewish history from its biblical beginnings to rabbinical successors. It includes diverse practices adopted by both professional and amateur researchers seeking various genealogical sources, who simultaneously act as creators and participants in the compelling development of a genealogy community. Finally, this field has become a house for all sorts of institutionalised research expressed in the movement involving numerous genealogical associations and institutions. The democratisation of genealogical research (understood as popularised, or widely disseminated), has contributed to a great expansion of the field. The focus of interest is no longer limited to only rabbinical families but is also concerned with the common person. Thus, genealogists today speak not only on behalf of *sheyne yidn* and otherwise distinguished families but also on behalf of the millions of murdered "ordinary" Jews who once lived in Poland.

As Robotycki notes, the mental effect of such actions is the creation of a distinct genealogical knowledge paradigm, encompassing a system of professionals, their ethical standards, knowledge structures, and methodologies, along with institutions that unify and organise forms of expression.

Landsmanshaftn

The institutions, the existence of which is related to genealogical research, are the *landsmanshaftn.* This is a subject that has hardly ever been studied by Polish specialists in Judaic studies in recent years. It is difficult to find analyses of the broad spectrum of activities undertaken by *landsmanshaftn*; there is no information concerning various areas of their current activities, nor descriptions or analyses of their evolving structure.

Studying the environment of *landsmanshaftn* in France in the 1990s, Jonathan Boyarin realised that at that time, those associations were actively engaged in organising the funerals of their oldest members. The researcher noted that "despite the appearance of continuity created by institutions such as *landsmanshaftn*, their survival is not 'natural,' nor does their decline represent the exhaustion of some quantum of extra cultural energy brought along from the journey from home" (Boyarin 1997, p. 31).

The Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft* is a good example[4]. With the death of its oldest members, the number of people participating in the annual ceremonies commemorating the Jews murdered during the Holocaust, which until recently took place in the Trumpeldor cemetery in Tel Aviv, has been steadily decreasing. The few survivors who were still alive tried to keep the fervour of life in the organisation. However, the interest and activities of other people gathered around the *landsmanshaft* were practically non-existent. Professor Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz expressed her conviction that after the old die, no one would cultivate the tradition of *landsmanshaftn*, and thus, they would be doomed to extinction. It seemed that such a fate awaited the Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft* until its presidency was taken over in the early 2000s by Professor Daniel Wagner, an amateur genealogist at the time, who began to play an important role in the re-consolidation of the *landsmanshaft*.

Contemporary Jewish genealogy is becoming an increasingly institutionalised cultural phenomenon, yet it is still often overlooked by scientists as a phenomenon belonging more to "the realm of kitsch" rather than to "high art" (which should be dealt with by academics[5]). Such a stereotypical notion puts the research on genealogy into the background, and as a result, changes taking place in *landsmanshaftn* remain unnoticed. In this context, the attitudes of the individual should not be forgotten, nor should they be marginalised. Contemporary Jewish genealogists, who are also members and often leaders of *landsmanshaftn*, "are no longer just little old ladies in tennis shoes, as in the stereotype of hobbyists genealogists", in the words of Gary Mokotoff (Mokotoff 2005).

As in the case of Zduńska Wola and Prof. Wagner—a genealogical "town leader"—the appearance of an institutionalised Jewish genealogy community can play an important role in maintaining the existence of *landsmanshaftn* in the future. Additionally, this example perfectly illustrates how the genealogy community can serve practical functions, constituting a base that enables maintaining cordial relations with other *landsleit*. In the past, members of *landsmanshaft*, motivated by the need for contact with *landsleit*, formed kinds of clubs and places for social gatherings (Goldberg-Mulkiewicz 2003, p. 28). In this way, they kept their collective identity. Additionally, as Sorin states, *landsmanshaftn*:

> served as a sanctuary from the excessive strains of acculturation, ambition, and even ideology, and it gave the immigrants a breathing space, a place to be themselves, to continue the tradition of *tsedakah* and self-help but a place also to settle into a game of pinochle (…). The world of the *landsmanshaft* very much reflected the broader themes of American Jewish life and clearly was not a mere nostalgic 'brotherhood of memory'. The *landsmanshaft* was a vehicle for a mutual aid, philanthropy, health service, insurance, credit and relaxation; and it was a way

> station, an ingenuous social improvisation, from which immigrants could go on to confront the new society around them (Sorin 1997, p. 82).

The first immigrants settling in the New World needed a kind of "anchor" and safe haven that would retain them but also set out the framework of their new lives.

This role is partly being taken up by genealogists gathered around the two biggest web portals devoted to Jewish genealogy—JewishGen and JRI-Poland (Jewish Records Indexing). Having enjoyed freedom, diverse ways of thinking, and opportunities provided by post-modernism, they feel the need to get closer to the traditional Jewish community, which some of them had drifted away from. Most of the genealogists who took part in the survey were first- and second-generation descendants born outside Poland, and the vast majority have higher education and identify themselves as members of the genealogy community[6]. They practice their Jewishness mainly during major holidays, weddings, and funerals because it is dictated by tradition, not necessarily by faith. Therefore, the actual drift back to the Jewish community with all its religious and cultural background was possible only either through the Torah or genealogy or, as suggested by Artur Kurzweil, the Torah and genealogy.

Analysing the significance of Poland for American Jews visiting their ancestors' homeland, Jack Kugelmass attempts to demonstrate that such visits represent secular tribal rituals. The term "secular" is used, as he explains, to distinguish it from the traditional ritual, which has a much more complex scope and nature. According to Kugelmass, a secular ritual appropriates only certain forms of traditional ritual and creates a new significance[7]. He also wonders what caused Eastern Europe (including Poland), despite providing an almost ideal staging background for such secular Jewish rites, to be discovered so late. Kugelmass draws attention to two important reasons for this state of affairs. He sees one of them in the trend for genealogical research, which began with the broadcasting of the TV mini-series *Roots* (Kula 2001, pp. 105–6). This, in turn, according to him, came upon a favourable ground in Poland. According to the American researcher, "East European countries (...) see Western tourism as a relatively simple way to generate income" adding that the subject of the Holocaust finally appeared as a matter of Jewish discourse, or as a secular religion of American Jews, as Jonathan Woocher called this phenomenon (Kugelmass 1993, pp. 422–23). Kugelmass focuses mainly on Jews arriving to Poland in groups whose primary purpose is to visit sites of the Holocaust. He characterises those visitors as follows:

> There is something unique about Jewish tourism in Poland. **Jewish tourists see nothing quaint about the local culture** either Jewish or non-Jewish; their interest is the dead rather than the living. They go as antiquarians rather than ethnographers; **consequently, they bring back with them no experiences** that deepen their knowledge of the local culture. **The experiences they remember are likely to be those that enhance an already existing negative opinion**[8] (Kugelmass 1993, pp. 410–11).

One needs to bear in mind that Kugelmass' text was written in the nineties. The nature of Jewish tourists to Poland has gone through significant changes since then[9]. The groups of Hasidim (Kugelmass 1993, p. 402) and students mentioned by Kugelmass have been joined by another group—*landsleit*. Such groups are completely ignored by the author, although these groups had already been visiting Poland in the nineties. However, Kugelmass pays attention to the fact that many Jews undertake individual visits. According to him, they come mainly to Warsaw[10], where they rent a car to go to the town where their family came from (Kugelmass 1993, p. 402).

Therefore, an expansion of Kugelmass' discussion platform seems important. I suggest dividing visits to Poland into the following categories:

1. Group visits.
    1.1. Youth groups travelling to Poland as part of tours organised by schools or travel agencies[11].

   1.2. Youth groups travelling to Poland to participate in the March of the Living (Gruber 2004, pp. 161–62).
   1.3. Groups of Hasidim travelling to the graves of tzaddikim.
   1.4. *Landsmanshaft* organised groups, whose main purpose is to visit a particular city or town in Poland.
2. Individual visits.

A journey to Poland can mean different things to different people. For members of a particular *landsmanshaft*, these groups of Jewish tourists are organised groups wishing to jointly experience the places of origin of their ancestors[12]. *Landsleit* wish to undertake a journey towards the truth about their ancestors but also get to know themselves better. The labyrinth of genealogical research, often researched before the journey, is to lead them inside their own axis mundi.

Let us examine this pilgrimage to their inner selves.

4. Case Studies

As noted, there have been groups of *landsmanshaftn* with roots in Ożarów (2001)[13], Zduńska Wola (2007, 2023)[14], and Zgierz (2009). All of them were the result of genealogical research undertaken by one of the *landsmanshaft*'s members. In the case of the Ożarów *landsmanshaft*, this person was Norman Weinberg, while in the case of Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft*, it was Daniel Wagner. The example of the latter illustrates very clearly the different levels of fascination associated with searching for one's roots, as revived by "Polish Jews" over the last forty years. Wagner began his research in the late nineties as an amateur investigator not associated with any Jewish genealogy institution. Today, he is a member, among other organisations, of The Israel Genealogy Research Association and JRI-Poland, where he is co-ordinator and chairman of JRI Shtetl CO-OP for the towns of Zduńska Wola and Grodzisk Mazowiecki. Wagner recently became the Chairman of the International Institute of Jewish Genealogy, located in Israel.

In 2003, Wagner became the new president of the Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft*. At that time, a handful of elderly people were present at the memorial in the Trumpeldor cemetery in Tel Aviv. However, after two terms of his presidency, the number rose to almost one hundred. With his genealogy approach and interest, Wagner seems to have reacted to the current needs of the Jewish community in general. He offered the Jewish descendants from Zduńska Wola another way of identification and participation in the life of the *landsmanshaft*. A similar activity was undertaken a few years ago by Jose Klingbeil, trying to re-consolidate through genealogical research the members of the Kutno *landsmanshaft*. At the very beginning of his work, the group consisted of 50 people. Klingbeil contacted Wagner via genealogical web portals, asking for help and advice on how he should proceed and what steps should be taken to reconstruct the group. Such a reconstruction of *landsmanshaft* groups can also be observed among the old Jewish communities of Będzin, Ożarów, Szczekociny, Zgierz, and Rymanów. Such examples can be multiplied, and they point to changes taking place in many such communities. This certainly illustrates a continuous process of change, which they are subject to.

The *landsmanshaft's* visit to Zgierz was initiated by a current resident of the city from the Society for the Protection of Cultural Zgierz, who implemented the project of translating the Zgierz Yizkor (memorial) Book into Polish. For this purpose, she contacted the project manager of Yizkor Books at JewishGen.

Members of these groups (Ożarów, Zgierz, etc.) arriving in Poland consisted of people living in different countries around the world, including the United States, Canada, Argentina, European countries, Israel, and Australia, among others. What united them was the fact of having ancestors from the same town in Poland and direct or indirect contact with JRI-Poland or JewishGen.

It is worth noting that visits to Poland are often coordinated on-site by local associations or larger organisations focused on preserving Jewish heritage. In the case of Zgierz, it was the Society for the Protection of Cultural Zgierz. In Ożarów, the local coordinators

were Andrzej and Łukasz Omasta from PJCRP—the Poland Jewish Cemeteries Restoration Project, Inc. In Zduńska Wola, it was the Yachad historical society[15], and in Szczekociny the visit was coordinated by local teachers.

The visits were similar in all the towns. The most important part was a meeting at the cemetery, where prayers were said. There, the local authorities and the representatives of organisations coordinating the visit gave speeches. Thus, the main and official celebrations open to everyone willing to participate were held in the cemeteries. In the case of Zduńska Wola, they coincided with the opening of a new cemetery gate. In Ożarów, the celebrations went along with the rebuilding of the entire cemetery wall and erecting a *matzeva* commemorating the Jewish community in Ożarów. In Zgierz, a monument in honour of the murdered was set up. In this way, such a visit was always connected with leaving a kind of physical trace. Some people also thought about personal commemorations of their loved ones. Mary Seeman from the Zgierz group wanted a commemorative plaque for her grandfather, Isucher Szwarc, who died in December 1939 in a vain attempt to protect his library collection from Nazi invaders. After several years of effort and with much help, in 2022, she managed to successfully install three *stolpersteine* (memorial stones) in the sidewalk in front of McDonald's, the former site of her ancestral home[16].

When asked whether he left any trace of his visit to Poland, one respondent answered that his only purpose in leaving a trace was his contribution to the translation of the Zgierz Yizkor Book into Polish[17]. An old woman from the Zduńska Wola group, inspired by the activities related to the memory of the local Jews, decided to fulfil her dream. She wanted to set up a memorial for her family in the Zduńska Wola cemetery, whose members died during the liquidation of the ghetto and in the Kulmhof extermination camp. She had this idea in her mind for many years. However, she did not decide to implement her plans because she was afraid that the monument would be vandalised by the local people. Menachem Daum came to Poland in 2009, accompanied by students from the Shalhevet High School in Los Angeles. He took the whole group to Działoszyce, where his wife came from. While there, they symbolically restored the Jewish cemetery in the town:

> On May 15th, 2009 I brought a group of Jewish high school seniors from the Shalhevet School in Los Angeles, accompanied by two Holocaust survivors, to Działoszyce where they were greeted by Polish students and teachers from the local high school as well as by students from Krakow's Jagiellonian University. Together we symbolically restored the town's Jewish cemetery by affixing 100 plaques with names of Jews buried there to the trees that now cover the cemetery. The genealogical information for these 100 plaques that enabled this historic event to take place was researched by Polish genealogist[18].

Attempts to preserve the physical evidence of the presence of Jews (in this case, mainly cemeteries and synagogues) made by *landsmanshaftn* arise from the need to possess tangible items that would consolidate the *landsmanshaft*'s sense of identity. As Yi-Fu Tuan wrote, each "homeland has its landmarks, which may be features of high visibility and public significance, such as monuments, shrines, a hallowed battlefield or cemetery. These visible signs serve to enhance a people's sense of identity; they encourage awareness (…)" (Tuan 1977, p. 159).

The need to belong to a *landsmanshaft* group is very strong among the people with whom the study was carried out. For example, another respondent was particularly interested in the organised meetings providing the opportunity to receive messages about the history of Zgierz, and she hoped to get to know other people having connections with the town[19].

Since genealogical research constitutes an axis around which *landsleit* are focused, a visit of the whole group to the local registry office is an important part of a visit to Poland. Individual visits or visits by just a few families assisted by a local genealogist also take place. It depends on many factors, such as the attitude of local officials to such practices and the degree of expertise of the group leader in genealogical research. In Zduńska Wola, it was planned in advance and prepared thanks to Wagner's involvement in research on

the genealogy of the entire Jewish community of the town. Thanks to previously prepared material, the participants received copies of birth, marriage, and death certificates of their ancestors. There was also a meeting held with a long-standing employee of the office who shared tomes of records stored in the official archives and assisted Wagner during his earlier research work. Documents obtained from the registry office are often the only tangible trace of the life of one's family in Poland. Upon returning home, *landsleit* show these treasures to their families. For some *landsleit*, they become a basis for writing articles, which are later published in magazines issued by genealogical associations around the world, while others place them in family chronicles or as presents during the annual celebration of Passover. Some even use them to obtain Polish citizenship.

All meetings and ceremonies I attended for my research, with the exception of visits to the registry office and meetings with town authorities, were open to the public. Many local residents attended and asked about specific Jewish families who were their neighbours before the war, in the hope that they came with the group. In this respect, the visits differed from those of the nineties, which predominantly were closed, discrete meetings[20]. During a visit in 2007, the members of Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft* went to visit the houses in which their ancestors lived before the war. It was important to reach the "heart of the journey" either alone or in the company of only the closest family members or a local guide. Only there the final catharsis could take place.

It should be noted that, in the past, *landsmanshaftn* lived on their own. The members of the *landsmanshaft* in Israel rarely contacted, for example, members of the *landsmanshaft* in the United States. They were very distant associations in spatial terms. Today, this has changed: the time needed to cover the same distance is much shorter, typically mere minutes; *landsleit* only need to enter the address of the website dedicated to their town on ShtetlSeeker or send an email to the coordinator of the group. Bauman notes that "cybernating space of the human world has been imposed with the advent of the global web of information. (…) elements of this space (…) are 'devoid of spatial dimensions, but inscribed in the singular temporality of an instantaneous diffusion'" (Bauman 1998, p. 17).

The boundaries between *landsmanshaftn* of the same town have become fluid and often only conventional. Slowly, these organisations are beginning to function as one unified community of *landsmanshaft*, or parallel in two ways: as traditional *landsmanshaft* and as the one functioning on the Internet[21]. Therefore, next to the real life of a *landsmanshaft*, the life of a cyber-*landsmanshaft* goes on. And, as pointed out by Alessandra Guigoni, although the cyber-world is not identical to the real world, it allows people to function not only in a cognitive but also in an emotive way (Kuźma 2008, pp. 48–49).

Engaging collectively in family research allows Jews to construct a genealogical pattern that legitimises them as a long-standing nation and positions them in history as an autonomous entity within a larger context.

Most of the group consists of representatives of the first and second generations born after the Holocaust. Among them, there are a few survivors—witnesses of history: their aim is to legitimise the stories of the life of their ancestors. As noted, organising *landsmanshaftn*'s visits is now preceded by intensive genealogy research conducted by a group coordinator, who is an emissary of a given *landsmanshaft*, during his or her previous visits to Poland or with the help of a local genealogist. Genealogical research could be focused mainly on one's own family, as in the case of Norman Weinberg[22], or on the genealogy of the entire Jewish community of a town or city. The latter was and still is conducted by Daniel Wagner. It results in research projects carried out based on the collected data[23]. As seen in other towns (Kutno or Szczekociny[24]), genealogists, initially driven by the need to know their roots, over time become the leaders of *landsleit* scattered in the diaspora. Their search for family becomes the search for other people from the same town. In this way, they contribute to the consolidation of *landsleit* and generally support the institutions of *landsmanshaftn*. It happens that some *landsleit* travelling to their place of origin start exploring the history of their own family only after visiting the town of ancestors, motivated both by the stories of their fellow *landsleit* and by direct contact with the landscape in which

their ancestors lived. Homeland landscape is, as Yi-Fu Tuan puts, (…) personal and tribal history made visible. The native's identity—his place in the total scheme of things—is not in doubt, because the myths that support it are as real as the rocks and waterholes he can see and touch. He finds recorded in his land the ancient story of the lives and deeds of the immortal beings from whom he himself is descended, and whom he reveres. The whole countryside is his family tree" (Tuan 1977, pp. 157–58).

After a visit to the town of his ancestors a participant of the reunion of *landsleit* from Zgierz, wrote: "I felt it was part of who I am even though I was not born there"[25]. A Respondent, who visited Poland with a group that was not exactly composed of *landsleit*, but still was organised (and guided by his cousin), expressed his feelings in this way:

> My head is in England—but part of my heart lies in the soil of Poland, in the souls of its people—the country of my parents and their parents for perhaps hundreds of years. Although I was born, educated and have lived most of my life in England—part of my soul has its roots in the soil of Poland—perhaps with my ancestors. It is a very strange feeling I have in my psyche—I feel that I belong to Poland—a country whose language and customs I do not know[26].

Another respondent wrote that she simply wanted to take a walk in the places where her grandparents walked. "Regain THEM somehow". It was an effort to find the missing part of what the respondent is[27]. Menachem Daum, whose family come from Zduńska Wola, says:

> Somehow when I step into a Jewish cemetery in Poland I feel much more viscerally connected to my ancestors than I ever had standing at the Western Wall in Jerusalem. It is much more difficult for me to relate to King David of 3000 years ago than my grandparents who lived in Poland[28].

Meetings of the group leader with the rest of *landsleit* usually take place earlier, before leaving for Poland, either via the Internet or in person (if they live in the same country or, if it is possible, through trips made by the leader) and by participating in annual genealogy conferences. The latter seems to be especially valuable. Current relations between members of the various *landsmanshaftn* are much closer than, for example, twenty years ago. Some people coming from a given town in Poland are aware that such an association existed or still exists in their country, but they have never taken part in its activities. The level of self-identification and belonging to the Jewish community is limited to the fact that they just know that they are Jews. However, over the course of time, they turn to their past and see a gap, often unspoken by the family soon after experiencing the trauma of the Holocaust; later on, in the hustle and bustle of everyday life and because of the fragility of memory, the thin thread connecting them with the history of their family is lost. Emissaries—group leaders—therefore find fertile ground for the development of genealogy research that may benefit the *landsmanshaftn* groups, especially now, when the last witnesses of that pre-war Jewish Poland are still around to be interviewed. It is a necessary element of a transmission belt between the generations. The vast majority of genealogists involved, like Wagner, in reconstructing *landsmanshaftn* are middle-aged people, born after the war or just before its outbreak, and mostly, they are secular Jews[29].

Conference meetings of people from the same town give them another opportunity to maintain a permanent bond and, in this way, build a common identity. Contemporary society, as Kaja Kaźmierska states, has broken a natural bond with the past as a result of the transition from continuity to change (Kaźmierska 2007, p. 8). Today, people are trying to commemorate the past. Actually, Pierre Nora provides an example of Jewish identity: according to him, it is no longer built on rooting in the past understood as being rooted in a tradition of certain values, especially religious values, which were once the basis for its formation. Currently, we are dealing with a very vague definition of tradition, which has no other history apart from its own memory. In this case, being a Jew means as much as remembering that you are one (Ricoeur 2007, p. 536; Kaźmierska 2007, pp. 9–10). Thus, the tendency of non-religious Jews to approach the tradition of their re-

ligious great-grandparents, and sometimes, even to approach the Jewish community in general, becomes noticeable. Daniel Wagner notes:

> Genealogy gives another perspective to your existence as a man, and in this case it helped defined me as a non-religious Jew who enjoys Jewish traditions. It rescaled my relation to my family. It gives a deeper sense of the time that passes. It gives a meaning to the word 'memory'. It allows the meeting of different minds because genealogists have different backgrounds, languages, religious convictions, skin color, traditions, etc., but a common goal.

Some genealogists take on a greater interest and appreciation of religion based on their own research. In some cases, it leads down a path to Orthodox Judaism. An example of such a case is Arthur Kurzweil. He believes that research into his family helped him become who he is today. Once more Jewish by culture, today a religious Jew—he went through a metamorphosis. He describes this transformation in the following words:

> Some of you have known me long before I put the yarmulke on my head or long before a lot of changes happened in my life. I would say without a shadow of doubt that it was my genealogical research that affected me like Kafka's *Metamorphosis*—you know, one morning you wake up and you're a cockroach! I hated those Orthodox Jews, and one morning I woke up and I realized that I was part of them (Kurzweil 2004, p. X).

Kurzweil echoed such a sentiment: "I didn't know it when I began my research, but my search for information about my family history was really, at its core, a yearning for Jewish identity".

Such a common experience during *landsleit*'s visits to the land of their ancestors seems to stimulate researchers, town leaders, and entire *landsmanshaftn* to even greater "genealogical effort". The collective genealogical experience shapes individual feelings and has a significant impact on furthering one's development of family research. As Szpociński sees it, a genealogical conference is "one of the ways to be faithful to the ancestors and save the values for posterity" (Szpociński 2008, p. 135).

Analysing the attitude of a *landsmanshaft* in Israel, Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz pointed out that "this problem is viewed differently in *landsmanshaftn* operating outside the state of Israel"(Goldberg-Mulkiewicz 2003, p. 29). Jonathan Boyarin, who studied the community of a *landsmanshaft* of Polish Jews in Paris, presented this in the following way. According to him, Poland is a nostalgic home to Polish immigrants in Paris. Their home in everyday life is France, while Israel remains the ideological homeland (Boyarin 1997, pp. 19–20). Boyarin conducted research mainly on the *landsmanshaftn* of Warsaw, Radom, and Lublin. Most of his respondents were born in Poland. As he points out, they were groups of elderly people (Boyarin 1997, pp. 8, 194).

Analysing the returns of Jews to their birthplaces and childhood hometowns, Goldberg-Mulkiewicz noted that "they break with the tradition to isolate the Jewish community in a town". At the same time, "they give visitors a sense of completion, leading to the ultimate ending of both tangible things remaining after the Holocaust of Jewish communities, and one's own links with that world" (Goldberg-Mulkiewicz 2003, pp. 41–42). Visiting the town of his birth, Zduńska Wola, Aszer Ud Sieradzki said: "Since heaven helped me during the hardships, I decided that I should bear witness to what happened to the Jews in Zduńska Wola to future generations (Klauzińska 2003, p. 186).

His arrival to the town was a kind of settling the account with the past. The visit deepened his ideological bonds and strengthened his community spirit (Klauzińska 2003, pp. 186–87). What then drives the *landsleit* born after the war and beyond Polish borders? As Menachem Daum puts it:

> Poland was always a fascinating but a forbidding place. My parents had no interest in returning and my father tried to discourage me from going. It just seemed like a sad place of utter destruction. But when I heard Rabbi Carlebach

> was going I felt his presence and his songs would make Poland bearable. I was not disappointed.
>
> He adds:
>
> But perhaps what had an even bigger impact were the stories my mother told me about her growing up as a young girl in a magical place in her memory named Zduńska Wola. It was clearly the best time of her life. When she would tell these stories she would smile and be happy, which was rare for her. Her life after Zduńska Wola was very sad as she lost her first husband and son and nine brothers and sisters during the Holocaust. So for me Zduńska Wola became like Camelot before everything changed. My father also comes from Zduńska Wola but his fondest memories were not so much of what happened in ZW but rather stories of his pilgrimages to Góra Kalwaria to be with his Hasidic master. When my parents would tell me these stories the world was whole again. Perhaps part of my interest in genealogy was to reach back over the Holocaust and re-connect to that time and place before the world went mad[30].

Camelot Castle, the Arthurian seat of the King's court, was also a symbol of order in the chaos, an ideal state standing in opposition to anarchy. Daum's journey to Poland was therefore a return to the lost paradise, which he had never been able to experience, the lost paradise of his mother's family and ancestors. We can see here the romanticisation of the past, which becomes manifested paradise, as Ewa Domańska says (Domańska 2005, p. 275).

As noted, Jack Kugelmass wrote that the Jews visiting Poland are not interested in anything apart from the sites of mass death and therefore they do not see anything particularly interesting in local history, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Consequently, they **do not** bring back experiences that would deepen their knowledge of the local culture[31]. According to Kaja Kaźmierska, "Poland is becoming a real part of the collective history supporting the identity and a designatum of a certain symbolism. The stories told by grandparents and parents cease to be a myth enchanted in the mysterious town names. Own experience makes their feelings real. (…) As a site of the Holocaust [Poland] is also a 'secular vision of hell', a negative centre (…), becoming in this way a cautionary cultural text"(Kaźmierska 2008, p. 201).

Daum's words seem to contradict such a perception of Poland. Susan Welsh says that genealogical research has given her greater self-awareness and interest in countries such as Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine, where her family comes from[32]. Fay Bussgang said "Since 1989 and our first trip to Poland, genealogy and Polish-Jewish relations have been my main interests"[33]. Some of the respondents to the survey believe that thanks to their family search, they became more proficient in historical research[34] or that their interest in the history of Polish Jews increased[35]. Some of these researchers, like Howard Orenstein, Norman Weinberg, Daniel Wagner, and Jose Klingbeil, are involved in rededications and renovations of Jewish cemeteries and erecting monuments in these compounds.

Stanley M. Diamond M.S.M, founder and executive director of JRI-Poland, writes:

> My interest in genealogy has changed my life in countless ways. In the study of family history, I have learned much about history and geography, and of life in Poland and surrounding countries. Today, the towns in Poland in which Jews lived are as familiar to me as the cities and towns in Canada[36].

Rhoda Miller believes that genealogy has strengthened her sense of Jewishness and created a relationship with the Holocaust, which she never had before. She has been researching the Holocaust since that time, and she taught a university course on this subject[37]. Isak Gath has learnt to read Polish and Russian documents to be able to conduct his own research in archives in Poland[38]. When Daniel Wagner arrived in Poland for the first time in 1999 to discover the secrets of his own family, his visit started with getting off the train and heading to a taxi[39]. There, he was strolling along a line of cars closely studying the drivers and wondering which of them would not be anti-Semite. A few years later, when

asked whether he feels like a member of a genealogical community, he said: "Yes, we are a huge family. It includes also the Poles that I've met. JewishGen and JRI-Poland are the most wonderful projects on Earth because they connect people"[40].

As the above-mentioned examples show, "(…) the past refracts differently in each individual experience" (Kapuściński 2003, p. 15). Therefore, joint visits of those born outside Poland are aimed at developing collective memory, through which they will be able to build themselves and create their own identity as a *landsmanshaft* (Kapuściński 2003, p. 19). Although their ancestors are already dead, and in some cases, they never met them, *landsleit* will fill this gap. Nevertheless, if the memory is to last, you have to constantly repeat and remember a story, you need to re-initiate the entire system of signs, symbols, and practices, which are often forgotten, and which were practised by your parents. Remembering, however, means not only the storage of knowledge and memories but also their evaluative selection, as Dariusz Czaja says (Czaja 2003, p. 76).

Some residents of towns visited by Jews also inspire and encourage *landsleit* to discover their roots and explore Poland. Mark Halpern said: "1996. I was on a business trip to Poland and decided to visit my mother's birthplace, Bialystok. My guide, (…) planted the seed for searching my roots"[41].

Both communities, the descendants of former residents and the current residents of the towns, often work jointly on the protection and renovation of old Jewish heritage sites. Both of these groups break down the barriers that could potentially divide them.

The visits of organised groups of *landsleit* are a way to sustain the identification and, at the same time, to participate in the life of the *landsmanshaft*, in which, until then, there was no opportunity to participate. The ties between *landsleit* and their descendants loosened over time; sometimes they were completely obliterated. Consolidating the group through visits to the town of origin a specific town, constant contact via the Internet with JRI-Poland town's leaders, and creating Family Finder, as well as focusing on JewishGen projects, such as Yizkor Books or ShtetlSeeker, genealogists, in a way, reaffirm continued existence of *landsmanshaftn*. Such activities are necessary for the Jews coming from one town to feel unity and to strengthen their ties. As Kugelmass remarks, "(…) without bodily practices tribal memory cannot be maintained" (Kugelmass 1993, p. 429).

The practice of joint arrivals based on genealogy and mythologisation of the ancestors aims to consolidate the identity of a *landsmanshaft*. As Margaret Mead claimed, "The continuity of all cultures depends on the living presence of at least three generations" (Mead 1970, p. 2). In the case of *landsmanshaftn*, this continuity was disrupted by the Holocaust. The oldest *landsleit* born in Poland are currently passing away. The second and third generations[42], which include the majority of Jewish genealogists, have realised that this is the last time that they can save the ark of *landsmanshaft*. They continue to preserve the memory of the towns from which their ancestors originated. Collecting all existing documents and traces related to individual families, but also to entire Jewish communities of Polish towns, they are trying as hard as they can to embed themselves in the trajectory of life and create a solid bridge between the past and the future.

5. Conclusions

Genealogists/town leaders contribute to the fact that today, the existence of *landsmanshaftn* scattered in the diaspora is largely based on new technology: the Internet. However, it was long ago when the anthropologist Margaret Mead noted that technical inventions, when they take the form of institutions, often bring irreversible changes to the nature of a culture. Indeed, the institution of Jewish genealogy is constantly undergoing transformation. It has come a long way since the days when the main determinant of creating a genealogical lineage was a high social status: today, anyone can easily create his or her own genealogy almost without leaving home. We will have to wait for possible larger changes, which *landsmanshaftn* may be subject to. Undoubtedly, they will be influenced by changes in the way Jews approach genealogy, and this seems to be an "island" that constitutes an extremely important and enduring element that has been at the heart of Jewish culture for

millennia. Even though this "island" disappeared beneath the surface of the Holocaust, it has reappeared and remains the same "island" with new levels of reality. Consequently, the duration of Jewish genealogy is constant, and the rebirth of *landsmanshaftn* is one of the effects of the changes that take place within this genealogy.

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Notes

1 It refers to the genealogists of Polish Jews. By "Polish Jews", the author means people who have their roots in Polish territory, including the lands now belonging to Belarus, Lithuania, and Ukraine. Excluding those areas would be artificial. Therefore, referring to the Polish Jews today, one must remember the internal diversity of this community and the full range of contrasts, thanks to which nowadays we can distinguish Galician Jews, Litvaks, and Ukrainian Jews. Jewish genealogists often explain that their family came from Poland, but today, many of these places belong to, for example, Belarus. Still, in their family memory, the town that grandparents came from was Polish and continues as such in the stories. The most of respondents, however, are now residents of the United States, Israel, and Europe. Polish Jews were a highly diverse community, starting from Hasidim to Misnagdim, Zionists, Agudists, and Socialists. Eventually, living in a small town or, on the contrary, in a large, developing city, was not insignificant for the history of individual Jewish families.

2 Genealogical research in Poland is conducted by dozens of local researchers, who tend to focus their attention on the region in which they live, but of course, this is not a rule. They work mainly in Warsaw, Łódź, Kraków, Białystok, and other places. Often, they remain in regular contact with JRI-Poland and the Jewish Historical Institute Genealogy Department in Warsaw. A local genealogist seems to be a very interesting and important figure for the entire process of contemporary Jewish genealogy because he or she coordinates the interactive network in the process of organising a trip to Poland and the whole genealogical structure. Local genealogists sometimes become one of the creators of modern genealogy. Conducting research into a particular family, a local genealogist often establishes contacts of almost transcendental dimension, becoming a link between the past and the present. Thanks to her or him, these two time spaces become one, and the decision of Jewish families to have their roots studied by an outsider becomes, at the same time, a kind entry and letting the genealogist into their family home.

3 In Yiddish, the term *landsleit* refers to an acquaintance or someone from the same town or area. Of course, such kinds of associations exist not only in the two countries mentioned in the text but also in all of Europe and Australia, which is where the Jewish diaspora is the most numerous.

4 Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft* was one of the first established in Israel after the war. The former residents consolidated there as early as 1946. In the United States, Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft* was established in 1902. Cf. (Wola 1952). New York, collection No. 341: Records of First Zduńska Wola Benevolent Society, catalogue No. 808.

5 Historians especially were and often still remain rightly sceptical about the religious sources of Jewish genealogy, the credibility of which aroused many doubts. The reasons for these doubts are obvious: In Israel, the appropriate lineage has always legitimised performing relevant functions. It was connected with religious commandments and the need to belong to a particular tribe, clan, family, home, or even—according to Laredo—a tent. By belonging and the continuity of origin, the people of Israel created and consolidated dynastic structures. For many rabbinical families, it was important to maintain the mythical yichus derived from King David, which was often achieved by falsifying their true origins. *Vide* (Laredo 1978).

6 Among the 107 respondents, there are 24 PhD holders, 44 people holding a university degree corresponding to the title of MA from the Polish education system, and 28 people holding a degree corresponding to BA. According to the survey, 67 of 107 respondents answered that they feel similar to members of a genealogy community.

[7] As an example, Kugelmass notes the visit of the United Synagogue Youth group in Treblinka. Its members prepared pieces of paper with letters to each of the people murdered in the camp. Then, they scattered them on the camp premises. As Kugelmass reports, this act was similar to putting *kvitelach* on the graves of *tzaddikim* practised by Hasidim. *Vide*. (Kugelmass 1993).

[8] Bold by the author.

[9] Such changes have also been pointed out by Ruth Gruber. *Vide* (Gruber 2004).

[10] It is usually Warsaw or Kraków, which are cities with main international airports.

[11] The main purpose of such trips is to places connected with mass death, like Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Treblinka, the Radegast station in Łódź, etc. Such visits have already been analysed by researchers in terms of *thanatotourism* (dark tourism). *Vide* (Tanaś 2006; Muszel 2007).

[12] I do not analyse *landsmanshaft* groups from large cities such as Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź. These cities constitute the intellectual and financial centres of the country. Local *landsmanshaftn* from these large centres have been organising group visits for a much longer period, and their agenda was very different than in smaller towns, the former shtetls. To a large extent, it was dependent on the policies pursued by individual cities. Warsaw, Kraków, and Łódź were among the first cities in Poland to begin to organise ceremonies commemorating the liquidation of the local Jewish ghettos. The *landsleit* of the big cities often visit their hometowns around dates commemorating the most terrible moments for the Jewish people during the Second World War. Such events continue to attract a number of former residents and their descendants. The main aim of their visit is to pay their respects to the murdered Jews.

[13] The group of former residents of Ożarów came back to Poland in September 2011. The visit was organised due to two facts. That year, ten years had passed since the previous visit of former residents of Ożarów. The second reason was to hand over a petition to the Embassy of the German Embassy. The former residents visited Tykocin and Treblinka, where most Jews from Ożarów were killed. They also went to Ożarów, where a ceremony to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the rededication of the cemetery was held. A meeting with the mayor of Ożarów also took place. In the cemetery, the ceremony included the opening of a newly built ohel. The ceremony was led by Rabbi Tanchum Becker from Israel. *Landsleit* spent a day in the town of their ancestors, which culminated with a walk around the town and key Jewish historical sites. The group was guided by the mayor of Ożarów, Marcin Majcher. After that, the group moved to Tarłów, where a ceremony rededicating the Jewish cemetery was held. Thanks to the initiative of PJCRP—Poland Jewish Cemeteries Restoration Project, Inc.—the cemetery was fenced and tidied up. Other places visited by the group included Łosice, Sandomierz, Kraków, Łódź, and Warsaw. Additionally, for interested visitors, trips to Auschwitz and Wieliczka were organised. The group included 22 people, but only half of them decided to visit the museum in the former Auschwitz death camp. The arrival of Ożarów *landsmanshaft* members was organised by Norman Weinberg together with PJCRP, which he founded. Weinberg's example shows how far genealogists' actions can reach in many cases. Weinberg began with genealogical research into his own family and then established contacts with other *landsleit* of Ożarów. His interests and research resulted in founding PJCRP and taking up projects aimed at restoring other Jewish cemeteries in Poland. At the moment, works have been started or already finished in almost thirty cemeteries. During Weinberg's group's visit in September 2011, PJCRP handed the German ambassador in Poland a petition to the German government for help and financial assistance for the restoration of cemeteries and commemorating the mass graves of victims of the German Nazis. That petition had already been signed by numerous organisations in Poland and around the world and mayors of various Polish cities and towns, as well as individuals.

[14] Members of Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaft* visited their hometown (as an organised group) for the first time in 1946. During that visit, the decision was made to bring to Israel the ashes of their loved ones murdered during the Holocaust. According to Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, they were shipped to Haifa, where a solemn funeral and procession through the city was organised. The landsmanshaft members came to Zduńska Wola for the second time in 1990. The group was made up of three people out of a few dozen who survived the Holocaust: Katriel Klein and Dawid Lewi from Israel (who died in 2011) and Bolesław Sieradzki—the only survivor living in Poland (who died in 2011). The visitors attended a meeting with the mayor, the chairman of the town council, and the director of the local museum. They were given a plaque dedicated to the Jews from Zduńska Wola. Then, they went to the Lokator community centre, where an exhibition dedicated to the Jewish community was prepared. A closed meeting was held there, which was attended by around thirty people. In 1994, a group of fifty-eight former residents and descendants of Zduńska Wola visited the town again. There were people from Israel and the United States. Almost all the participants of that reunion were born before the war in Zduńska Wola. The main aim of their visit was to commemorate the murdered Jews. The visitors were accompanied by the Chief Rabbi of Poland, Pinkas Menachem Joskowicz, also born in Zduńska Wola. The participants met with the town authorities and recited a prayer in the Jewish cemetery at the memorial to the murdered. The monument had been commissioned to a local company by the *landsmanshaft* a year before. The group also visited the town museum. After the visit to Zduńska Wola, they went to Chełmno, Kraków, Auschwitz, Lublin (Majdanek), and Warsaw. Information on the visits comes from the following sources: *The Chronicle of the Jewish Cemetery* kept by Elżbieta Bartsch beginning in 1984 (archives of Elżbieta Bartsch) and a film showing the visit of Aszer Ud Sieradzki to Poland (archives of the author). *Vide* (O. Goldberg-Mulkiewicz 2003), Stara i nowa ojczyzna …, p. 32; *Vide* (Yizkor Book of Zduńska Wola 1968), Tel Aviv, p. 448.

[15] Established in 2004 as the Committee for the Renovation of the Jewish Cemetery in Zduńska Wola and beginning in 2006 as the Yachad historical society. The society was disbanded in 2012.

16 Questionnaire No. 73 (all questionnaires come from the author's archives).

17 Questionnaire No. 58 (anonymous respondent).

18 Questionnaire No. 74.

19 Questionnaire No. 57 (anonymous respondent).

20 A few years ago, one of the Zduńska Wola descendants, who does not belong to any of the genealogical organisations, became the president of the Zduńska Wola *Landsmanshaft* in Israel. In 2023, he organised a visit of the Zduńska Wola organisation to the town of their ancestors. The group included just over 20 people from Israel. They met with the mayor, visited the town museum, and took a tour of the city with a local guide. The group also went to the cemetery where a prayer was said at a mass grave. The group did not visit the registry office, nor did they schedule any meetings with the local residents. The group then went independently to the town park, where they took a group photo. One of the participants noted on his personal Facebook profile upon his return: יחד איתנו כאן נמצאת קבוצה לא גדולה של ישראלים שעד אתמול לא הכירו זה את זה. המשותף לכולנו הוא המקום הקטן והשכוח הזה, זדונסקה וולה, **מקום מקולל** שעבורנו הוא גם שורש (Together with us here is a small group of Israelis who until yesterday did not know each other. What we all have in common is this small and forgotten place, Zduńska Wola, **a cursed place** that for us is also a root) (bold by the author).

21 Individual Zduńska Wola *landsmanshaftn* still works in this way. For example, a group of the oldest former residents of Zduńska Wola forming the *landsmanshaft* in New York City does not work actively among former residents of Zduńska Wola centred on the Internet around Daniel Wagner. In turn, those who are concentrated around him live around the world, including the United States.

22 A website dedicated to the Jewish cemetery in Ożarów states that Norman Weinberg started researching his family history in 1996 after visiting the website REIPP SIG (now JRI-Poland). What he found on the website encouraged him to intensify his family research in Poland. He also decided to restore the Jewish cemetery. A few years later, he contacted Andrzej Omasta and together they planned cemetery restoration projects. *Vide*.: http://www.ozarow.org/index.htm (accessed on 25 January 2024).

23 The first of these projects was *Strategies For The Integration of Genealogical Datasets* implemented for the International Institute for Jewish Genealogy in Jerusalem (together with Jakub Zajdel and the author of this text) and *Photographic and Topographic Census Project in the Jewish Cemetery of Zduńska Wola* (together with the author of this text and the Yachad historical society).

24 In Szczekociny, it is dealt with by a local organisation called ReBorn Roots. Although I do not discuss Szczekociny in detail, it is worth noting. For several years, former Jewish residents and descendants have organised a festival called Yahad, in cooperation with Agnieszka Piśkiewicz, a former English teacher, and Mirosław Skrzypczyk, a local teacher. All residents are invited to the festival. Its programme is divided into two parts. The first one, commemorating the Jews of Szczekociny, takes place in the Jewish cemetery. It is attended by *landsleit* from Israel, Germany, and the United States, residents of the town, the Chief Rabbi of Poland, and other invited guests. The second part of the festival takes place in the local school and its surroundings, where a stage is set. The *landsmanshaft* and ReBorn Roots organise a concert, Hasidic dance classes, a sampling of Jewish cooking, and the promotion of books telling the story of Jewish Szczekociny: the translation of Szczekociny Yizkor Book and a memoir by Izyk Bornstein. Each of these events attracts large numbers of people.

25 Questionnaire No. 58. (anonymous respondent).

26 Questionnaire No. 34. (anonymous respondent).

27 Questionnaire No. 64. (anonymous respondent).

28 Questionnaire No. 74.

29 The article does not address the topic of Jewish genealogists coming from Orthodox and Hasidic circles. It should be noted, however, that they exist as well. One person who stands out is Naftali Halberstam, the founder and leader of the Yochsin Institute of Jewish Genealogy in Borough Park, Brooklyn, New York. However, the genealogy that he practices has very different roots and different objectives and, therefore, brings about different results.

30 Questionnaire No. 74.

31 Many of the descendants of the former Jewish residents of Zduńska Wola have visited the town several times since the end of the nineties. In the last ten years, they have started to bring their children with them in order to interest them in their family history and the place where their ancestors came from.

32 Questionnaire No. 36.

33 Questionnaire No. 44.

34 Questionnaire No. 31. (anonymous respondent).

35 Questionnaire No. 18 (anonymous respondent).

36 Questionnaire No. 94.

37 Questionnaire No. 84.

38 Questionnaire No. 105.

39 Interview with Daniel Wagner during research works at the Jewish cemetery in Zduńska Wola in 2004.

40 Questionnaire No. 55.

[41] Questionnaire No. 69.

[42] Marianne Hirsch defines them as a generation of post-memory. They are people born after the war and, therefore, they know the Holocaust only from stories; they grew up in its shadow. Among my 107 respondents, 42 people represent the second generation (39.26%) and 16 people belong to the third generation (14.96%). Six people belong to the second and third generation at the same time, because one of their parents was born after the war, and the other one just before the war (5.6%). The fourth generation is represented by one person (0.9%). *Vide* (Hirsch 1997).

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Article

Using Auschwitz Prisoner Numbers to Correct Deportation Lists

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Abstract: A list of the first Jews deported from Compiègne, France on 27 March 1942 to Auschwitz-Birkenau was never found. Similarly, there is no known arrival list for this convoy. All the 1112 men entered the camp, were assigned prisoner numbers, and were then tattooed. In 1978, Serge Klarsfeld created a list by assembling sub-lists from WWII and immediate post-war sources. Despite significant ongoing research by Klarsfeld and others, no definitive list was ever compiled. Material recorded and maintained by the Nazis (daily count book, death registers, entry cards) pertaining to this early period does exist. This paper demonstrates how systematic use of Auschwitz prisoner numbers combined with French censuses and metrical records enabled us to significantly revise our records of who was deported in this transport, by eliminating dozens of names, amending many more, and adding several others.

Keywords: Auschwitz; France; Jewish surnames; Jewish communities; Holocaust; Shoah

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1. Introduction

Eighty years after the Holocaust, research and identification of all the Jewish victims has not yet been achieved. Yad Vashem—The World Holocaust Remembrance Center[1] in Jerusalem, Israel—claims to have gathered around 4.8 million names[2]. If first-hand witnesses and survivors are ageing and dying, the release of sources to the public domain and the collapse of the Iron Curtain make a variety of online archival material accessible. This also applies in countries such as France, where the amount of war damage was relatively small but where the post-war authorities preferred not to expose blatant proof of the collaboration of the Vichy regime with the Nazis in the excluding legislation to which the Jews were submitted, the Aryanization of Jewish properties, and the round-ups performed by the French police and gendarmerie, until 1995 when the role of the French regime in the persecution of the Jews was finally acknowledged officially by President Jacques Chirac[3].

The first transport of Jews from France took place on 27 March 1942 (Klarsfeld 2019, pp. 345–48), deporting men who were arrested in Paris in 1941 as early as May 14 in what is known as "La rafle du billet vert", the green ticket roundup (Klarsfeld 2019, pp. 95–141), and August 20 (Klarsfeld 2019, pp. 183–99) and December 12 in what is known as "la rafle des notables", the roundup of the notables (Klarsfeld 2019, pp. 288–89), who were then imprisoned in internment camps, Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande in the Loiret department, Drancy near Paris, and Compiègne. The train from Compiègne reached Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp and killing center[4] three days later, on March 30 (Czech 2021, p. 29). There is no evidence that the Anti-Jew section of the SicherheitDienst prepared a list of the men to be deported as was carried out in all subsequent transports. If there was one, it was never found. Similarly, there is no known arrival list in Auschwitz compiled by the camp administration, as can be found, for example, for Convoys 2 to 5 from France[5].

In his pioneering 1978 *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (Klarsfeld 1978, p. 25; 1983, pp. 41–56), Serge Klarsfeld explained how, in the absence of such a document, he carefully created a master list for this transport by combining several lists:

1. Three lists of respectively 554, 764, and 285 names originating from the French Ministry of Veteran Affairs. The first list, which was handwritten, apparently extracted from the census registration of the Jews[6], includes family names, given names, dates and places of birth. The second list, dated September 1946, includes names, given names, birthdates, birthplaces, Auschwitz-allocated prisoner numbers, and dates of death. The third list, from July 1949, similar to the second list, presents men who perished in Auschwitz between 1 and 18 April 1942.
2. The names of 19 survivors[7].
3. A list of 565 men interned in Drancy, found in the Archives of the Ministry of Veteran Affairs, with names, birthplaces, birthdates, citizenship, addresses, and professions.
4. Five smaller lists from the authorities of Drancy, dated 25 and 26 March 1942, including 58 war veterans considered fitting for work; 21 men from the Cherche-Midi Prison, from the Avenue Foch Gestapo headquarters or designated by Heinrichsohn[8]; 5 doctors and 30 volunteer male nurses; and an additional list of men to be deported.

Klarsfeld concluded:

> "The total number of names obtained from these lists, eliminating any double counting, is 1189. Yet it seems, from other German documentation, that 1112 people were actually deported."

He added:

> "To these 1112 names must be added 34 Yugoslavian Jews imprisoned at Compiegne and claimed by Eichmann on March 18. A document from Dannecker[9] attests to the deportation of those 34 Jews, confirming that they will form a separate group within the convoy (XXVb-18)."

Despite this conclusion, Klarsfeld's 1978 list includes 1145 names. In the latest edition of his Memorial, after 34 years of additional research, Klarsfeld reduced this list to 1130 names, acknowledging the following:

> "18 names among those indicated in our list would then be those of men who had not left." (Klarsfeld 2012, pp. 19–20)[10]

At the writing of this article (November 2023), Yad Vashem also indicates this convoy included 1112 men, but their nominal list includes 1220 distinct individuals[11] while Le Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, the main French institution commemorating the Holocaust, lists 1152 men[12].

As can be seen, historians have differences of opinions regarding the size and composition of this transport. However, all apparently include men who were not deported by this convoy.

While converting Klarsfeld's memorial into digital form (Stroweis 2018) and thereafter expanding it, I focused on identifying the exact place of birth of all deportees (Stroweis 2021). On Convoy 1, about half of the men were born in Poland, a quarter were born in France, and the remaining quarter were from Turkey, Romania, Germany, the Soviet Union, and other European countries (Stroweis 2018; 2019, p. 30).

2. Results

Thanks to sources[13] available online but either ignored or not taken into account, I present solid tools and criteria to reduce the uncertainties, to include or to exclude names to/from Klarsfeld's list. The result is not yet a definitive list.

3. Materials and Methods

We first present the four major sources used for this study, then the basic methodology to compare them.

A general caveat with Holocaust-related archival sources is the difficulty in handling material that is highly inaccurate. Foreign Jewish and geographic names were (and still are) unfamiliar to French clerks. Transliteration of given names and surnames from non-Latin alphabets (Hebrew, Cyrillic, Greek, and Arabic) or from foreign languages may produce many variations, even in metrical records. Therefore, this research is somehow similar to fuzzy logic[14], where reasoning and conclusions are obtained despite some partially true pieces of evidence.

3.1. Memorial to the Jews Deported from France

The starting point is naturally Serge Klarsfeld's *Memorial to the Jews deported from France* already mentioned above. It is mainly based on deportation lists. Klarsfeld found the copies of these lists[15] that were given to UGIF, the General Union of French Israelites, a body created by the Vichy regime to represent the Jews of France. But, as mentioned earlier, there is no such list for Convoy 1.

3.2. The Auschwitz Calendar

What is the origin of the repeated statement that this convoy consisted of 1112 men?

Danuta Czech[16], a late historian at the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, worked for several years to reconstruct a day-by-day calendar of the major events which occurred in the camp, including transport arrivals, releases, public hangings, etc. This masterpiece work, known as the Auschwitz Chronicle or the Auschwitz Calendar, was first published in Polish between 1958 and 1964, then updated and translated into German (Czech 1989), English (Czech 1990), and Italian (Czech 2002). I used the Italian version, which is available online (Czech 2021). The Calendar entry for 30 March 1942 reads as follows:

> "1112 Jews, arrived with a RSHA[17] transport from the camp of Compiègne, France, and were assigned prisoner numbers 27533 to 28644. They come from different European countries and were arrested in Paris on 14 May, 20 August and 12 December 1941. Some were held prisoner in the Drancy camp, the others at Compiègne.
>
> This is the first mass transportation of Jews from France arriving to the concentration camp at Auschwitz. They have not yet been subjected to any selection." (Czech 2021, p. 29)

In his 1945 testimony (Fajnzylberg 1945; 2005, pp. 219–38), Alter Fajnzylberg, a survivor from this convoy (also known as Stanisłav Jankowski) said:

> "There were 1118 men, only Jews in the transport. [...] When we arrived [at Auschwitz] several among us were missing because, during the transport many had died due to the harsh conditions. [...] After five weeks in Birkenau, the prisoner number 27675 was tattooed on my breast[18]."

The number 1112 is the assumed number of live prisoners who entered the camp; therefore, the number of men departing France should have been slightly higher. Beyond casualties during transport, three men are known to have escaped from the train while still in France near Soissons: Aisne: Roger Messaoud Abouab[19], Sadia Gaston Surfati[20], and Georges André Rueff[21]. Fajnzylberg's count of 1118 Jews leaving Compiègne is therefore indeed plausible.

If Fajnzylberg's memory that inmates were tattooed five weeks after arrival is accurate, then some of them may have been murdered before being assigned a prisoner number.

From subsequent transports from France, we know that individuals selected to enter the camp were assigned successive prisoner numbers according to the alphabetical order of their surname. Men and women received prisoner numbers from separate series[22]. The alphabetic order was not always strictly followed, due to spelling variants in their registered surnames, or because specific ranges of numbers were used according to the sub-camps or kommandos the prisoners were sent to. A pseudo-alphabetic order was usually

enforced within such sub-groups according to the surname first initial, e.g., all surnames starting with the letter B after all surnames starting with A. Still, the prisoner numbers, when available, may occasionally give us some clues to who was gassed upon arrival and who may have been admitted to the camp, when taking into account the newcomers' ages. Unfortunately, no verification can be carried out for this first transport where prisoner numbers were assigned regardless of inmate surnames.

3.3. Auschwitz Prisoners Database

The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum maintains an online database of the prisoners (named here as APD, for Auschwitz-Birkenau Prisoners Database) who were admitted to the camp[23]. Its scope is partial, and currently includes 265,706 individual records from 445,163 source items for Polish civilians and criminals, Soviet prisoners of war, Roma, Sinti, and Jews. A typical entry includes the surname and given name of the prisoner, and sometimes place of birth, date of birth, prisoner number, fate, and date of death; rarely is a profession or photo included. The source of this information is always mentioned, e.g., arrival list (Zugangsliste), entry registration (Personalbogen), daily count book, including transfers and deaths (Stärkebuch), death book (Sterbebücher), hospital registration (Krankenbau), etc.

The search form of this database has one single field where you can enter one or more parts of a given name, a surname, or a birthplace. I discovered by chance that it is possible to search the database according to a prisoner number by entering even just a few consecutive digits. For example, a search for "276" yields the records for all inmates whose prisoner number contains that string, among them Pinkus Abramovici, a Jew born on 30 January 1895 and whose prisoner number **276**10 appears in the Stärkebuch[24], and Jakub Biedrzycki, a Polish shoemaker from Sochaczew whose name and prisoner number 1**276**0 appears on an arrival list[25] from 6 April 1941. While it is a lengthy process, this allows comprehensive research by prisoner numbers.

3.4. List of Deportees Published in the French Journal Officiel

The French Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre (National Office for Veteran Affairs and War Victims, known as ONACVG) is responsible for granting the status of "Mort en Déportation"—died in deportation—to deportees from France who did not survive. These posthumous recognitions, based on archival material collected by the Service Historique de la Défense[26] (SHD), have been granted since 1985 to about 80,000 victims of deportations from France, either due to repression (i.e., political opponents, underground resistance movements, or hostages) or to persecution (i.e., as Jews[27]). The legal decrees have been published in the *Journal Officiel de la République Française* (Official Journal of the French Republic), the government gazette of the French Republic, which is available and searchable online[28]. This covers approximately two third of the victims[29] and half of the deportees[30]. A typical mention includes the victim's name, given name, maiden name, place and date of birth, and place and date of death, but not the convoy number. When the exact date of death is unknown, it is set, by convention, as five days after the departure of the convoy from France. I spotted the names of 991 men from Convoy 1 in the various decrees.

3.5. Method and First Results

Significant material pertaining to the male Auschwitz inmates from the first five transports from France has survived, and was embedded in the database. I therefore collected one by one the prisoner numbers for the deportees from Convoy 1 in the list established by Serge Klarsfeld. In parallel, I checked the records for prisoners whose prisoner number is in the 27533–28644 range. For both queries, I searched the Auschwitz Memorial database, once by prisoner name, once by prisoner number. I then compared the findings. When comparing two lists, three situations may occur: items may be found in both lists, items may only appear in the first list, or items may appear only in the second

list. I also verified that two prisoners do not share the same number. I then also looked up the lists published in the *Journal Officiel*.

The first prisoner number for a man of Convoy 1 is 27533, as mentioned in the Auschwitz Calendar. It was attributed to Jakob Lesselbaum[31] born in Warsaw on 8 January 1899. The last prisoner number for Convoy 1, 28644, was given to Kopel Fingerhut[32] born in Warsaw on 22 March 1905.

Among the 1112 numbers from 27533 to 28644, using the Auschwitz Prisoners Database or, in three cases, thanks to survivor testimonies, I was able to re-assign their prisoner number to 1064 men from Klarsfeld's list, confirming their presence in this convoy. This left 48 prisoner numbers in this range unassigned. Seven additional men on Klarsfeld's list are known as prisoners in the database but without known prisoner numbers. On the other hand, 46 men from Klarsfeld's list were not found in the Prisoners Database.

3.6. Men Not Arrived by Convoy 1 from France

Some 15 additional men in Klarsfeld's list were also found in the Auschwitz Prisoners Database, but their prisoner numbers were outside the 27533–28644 range indicated by the Auschwitz Calendar. I first assumed that these were errors in the numbers provided by the database due to poorly readable sources or indexing errors, as such situations occur elsewhere. I then noticed that, for most of them, Serge Klarsfeld was not able to retrieve their last address in France. A deeper examination became necessary.

3.6.1. Case 1: Emanuel Spiegler

Emanuel Spiegler's name appears on Klarsfeld's list for Convoy 1, as well as on the memorial wall at the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris[33]. According to Klarsfeld, he was born in Bardejov, Slovakia on 15 December 1896; his last address in France is unknown.

Pawel Spiegler, maybe a relative, was also born in Bardejov, on 8 October 1899. He lived at 40, Rue Philippe de Girard, Paris 18 with his wife Elisabeth née Weisz. Both were deported to Auschwitz: Pawel[34] by Convoy 4 on 25 June 1942 and Elisabeth[35] by Convoy 38 on 28 September 1942. None of them survived.

From the Auschwitz Prisoners Database, we learn that Emanuel Spiegler was murdered on 20 May 1942[36]. He was assigned the prisoner number 32064, far beyond the expected range. Checking who were the men with such a prisoner number according to Danuta Czech's Calendar, I found that, on 23 April 1942, from a transport of 1000 Jews from Slovakia, 543 men were given prisoner numbers 31942 to 32484, while 457 women received prisoner numbers 5769 to 6225 (Czech 2021, p. 35). Therefore, Emanuel's birthplace, prisoner number, and lack of a Parisian address, all concur to conclude that he was deported from Slovakia and not from France as formerly assumed.

On the other hand, the Auschwitz Prisoners Database teaches that Pawel Spiegler was assigned prisoner number 42546[37], which is indeed within the range of numbers assigned to the men of Convoy 4 from France, 41773 to 42772. There is no record for his spouse in this database.

3.6.2. Case 2: Mozes Abram Beidner

Mozes Abram Beidner's name appears on Klarsfeld's list for Convoy 1, as well as on the memorial wall at the Mémorial de la Shoah[38]. According to Klarsfeld, Beidner was born on 13 October 1920 in Brzesko (a town approximately 50 km—31 miles—west of Kraków) and he lived in Paris (street address not known). The Auschwitz Prisoners Database confirms his name, birthplace, and birthdate, and yields the following additional details: his prisoner number was 28746 (outside Convoy 1 range), his date of arrival to the camp was 2 April 1942 (i.e., three days after Convoy 1 arrived), his mug shots reveal he wears a Magen David star patch as Jew[39] with no nationality, and his recorded profession was "worker". Indeed, the Auschwitz Calendar relevant entry on April 2 reads as follows: "30 prisoners, interned by Sipo and SD from Krakow, receive the numbers 28739 to 28768.

(Czech 2021, pp. 30–31)" All this leads to the conclusion that Beidner too was not deported from France.

3.6.3. Summary of Men Not Arrived by Convoy 1 from France

We reached similar conclusions regarding 15 men formerly considered to have been deported in Convoy 1 from France. Table 1 lists their name, birthdate, birthplace, prisoner number, arrival date at the camp, and the place of origin of their transports as deduced from their prisoner number according to the Auschwitz Calendar. In most cases, their birthplace is located in the proximity of the origin of the transport that brought them to the camp. The table is sorted by ascending prisoner numbers. It also includes, for convenience, the two prisoners from Convoy 1 from France with the lowest and highest prisoner numbers, Jakob Lesselbaum and Kopel Fingerhut.

Table 1. Deportees with prisoner numbers outside expected range.

Prisoner No.	Name	Birthdate	Birthplace	Arrival	Arrived from
27524	Salomon Samuel[40]	9 February 1913	Lesko, Pol.	Mar. 30, 1942	SIPO Kraków, Pol.
27533	Lesselbaum Jacob	8 January 1899	Warszawa, Pol.	Mar. 30, 1942	RSHA Compiègne, Fr.
28644	Fingerhut Kopel	22 March 1905	Warszawa, Pol.	Mar. 30, 1942	RSHA Compiègne, Fr.
28646	Kolaric Brano[41]	29 December 1920	unknown	Apr. 01, 1942	Unknown
28650	Knoz Martin[42]	11 November 1922	unknown	Apr. 01, 1942	Unknown
28680	Freidl Richard[43]	18 December 1913	Unterkanitz now Dolní Kounice, Czech Rep.	Apr. 01, 1942	Brno, Czech Rep.
28746	Beidner Mozes	13 October 1920	Brzesko, Pol.	Apr. 02, 1942	SIPO Kraków, Pol.
28771	Knaster Israel[44]	31 December 1924	Warszawa, Pol.	Apr. 02, 1942	Oppeln/Opole, Pol.
28789	Rosenberg Isidor[45]	1 March 1910	Kraków, Pol.	Apr. 03, 1942	SIPO Kraków, Pol.
28792	Brauner Heinrich[46]	12 December 1905	Mosciska, Pol./Mostyska, Ukr.	Apr. 03, 1942	SIPO Kraków, Pol.
28795	Kleinmuntz Hermann[47]	18 April 1914	Kraków, Pol.	Apr. 03, 1942	SIPO Kraków, Pol.
28900	Hammer Heinrich[48]	7 July 1907	Rogowo, Pol.	Apr. 11, 1942	Katowice, Pol.
28906	Schmitt Leo[49]	29 September 1906	Holíč, Slovakia	Apr. 13, 1942	RSHA Slovakia
28990	Markovic Abraham[50]	1 December 1904	Seľce, Czechosl. now Siltse, Ukr.	Apr. 13, 1942	RSHA Slovakia
29300	Sonnschein Heinrich[51]	10 December 1922	unknown	Apr. 13, 1942	RSHA Slovakia
32064	Spiegler Emanuel	15 December 1896	Bardejov, Slov.	Apr. 23, 1942	RSHA Slovakia
39176	Tenczer Czyla[52]	18 March 1900	Klimontów, Pol.	Jun. 7, 1942	RSHA Compiègne, Fr.

There is no doubt left: none of these men was deported by Convoy 1. The sub-lists used to reconstruct Klarsfeld's list for this convoy included the names of prisoners—Jews and non-Jews—who were sent to Auschwitz from other countries.

The case of Czyla Tenczer is slightly different. He was indeed deported from France, aboard Convoy 2 (which left Compiègne on 5 June 1942 and reached Auschwitz on June 7) as his prisoner number 39176 corroborates[53], and not on Convoy 1 as formerly thought.

Brano Kolaric was assigned prisoner number 28646, just two numbers above the highest prisoner number for Convoy 1. His given name Brano, or Braňo, is of Serbian or Croatian origin[54], while his surname written as Kolarić or Kolarič is either from Slovenia or Croatia[55]. Both suggest a Yugoslavian origin. Could he perhaps be one of the 34 Yugoslavian men abovementioned by Klarsfeld? The Auschwitz Calendar does not indicate the origin of the transport reported as arrived on April 1st and whose 15 inmates were assigned prisoner numbers 28646 to 28680, but Joseph Kolaric (number 28647), Franz Kerencic (number 28648), Franz Knez (number 28649), and Martin Knoz (number 28650), all have Slovenian, Croatian, or Montenegrin surnames supporting this hypothesis; however, subsequent numbers were given to men of Polish and Czech origin. In any case, we have not found pre-war traces of Brano Kolaric's existence in the genealogical sources from France.

3.7. Men with Prisoner Numbers in Target Range Not Formerly Identified

The systematic scan of the Auschwitz Prisoners Database for numbers in the 27533–28644 range also revealed the names of six men not found in Klarsfeld's list, see Table 2.

Table 2. Men with prisoner numbers in 27533–28644 range not formerly identified.

Prisoner No.	Name	Birthdate	Birthplace
27906	Kostoveski Avraham[56]	2 April 1908	Odessa, Ukraine
28387	Dinner Pinchos[57]	10 May 1911	Shpikov/Shpykiv, Ukraine
28468	Prilutzky Boris[58]	9 August 1898	Bendery, Moldova
28502	Diner Shlioma[59]	10 March 1900	Kishinev/Chișinău, Moldava
28581	Rozeszweig, Mendel[60]	22 March 1899	
28642	Slupinski Anton[61]	10 August 1908	Danzig/Gdańsk, Poland

In order to definitely assert that they were part of Convoy 1, we searched for signs of their presence in France in 1942 or earlier, using traditional genealogy sources (e.g., civil records, population censuses, and naturalization records) to confirm or deny whether these men lived in France before their deportation. Below we examine each case.

3.7.1. Case 3: Avraham Kostoveski

Avraham Kostoveski became a French citizen in 1925. His naturalization on 10 April 1925 under the spelling Avraham Kostovetzki was published as part of a decree published in the French *Journal Officiel*[62]. This was early enough to be considered a French citizen even once the 22 July 1940 denaturalization legislation was passed by the Vichy regime, when all naturalizations obtained after 1927 were reexamined and often nullified (Zalc 2016). Avraham Kostovetzki was part of Convoy 1.

3.7.2. Case 4: Pinkas Dinner

Pinkas Dinner's name can be found on the 1936 population census[63] at 6 Boulevard Rochechouart, Paris 18, so he was part of Convoy 1 too.

3.7.3. Case 5: Boris Prilutzky

In 1949, following a tribunal judgment[64], a death record[65] was registered for deportee Boris Prilutzky citing his Parisian address at 10, Rue Eugène Labiche, Paris 16 and the name of his spouse Elsbeth Franziska Lucia née Leipziger. The act declares that Prilutzky died in Compiègne on 27 March 1942, i.e., the place and date of the departure of Convoy 1. A handwritten amendment posted in the margin of the death record, fifty years later on November 1999, states that the record was rectified by the Ministry in charge of the Veteran Affairs to indicate that Prilutzky received the honorific mention "Died in deportation" and that he died in Auschwitz on 1st April 1942 instead of Compiègne on 27 March 1942. The new place and date of death are not supported by any evidence. They are set, by convention, at the destination of the transport and five days after the train left France. Thus, there is no doubt that Prilutzky resided in France and was deported to Auschwitz by Convoy 1.

3.7.4. Case 6: Shlioma Diner

Shlioma was a chemical engineer, married with one child, as can be found in the Paris 1936 census[66], confirming he was part of Convoy 1. His address was in the 12th arrondissement, at 3 Place Daumesnil, today known as Place Félix Eboué[67].

3.7.5. Case 7: Mendel Rozeszweig

The surname Rozeszweig is probably misspelled and a distortion of Rozencwajg (Polish spelling), Rosenzweig (German spelling), or a hybrid combination. As no record has been found for this man, according to any spelling, we cannot reach any conclusion about his itinerary.

3.7.6. Case 8: Anton Slupinski

This study would not be complete without mentioning an enigma, the unexpected case of Anton Slupinski, prisoner number 28642, born in Danzig, today Gdańsk, in Poland. His name does not appear on Klarsfeld's list. His prisoner number is within the 27533–28644 range, but he was probably not deported from France.

There are two records in the Auschwitz Prisoners Database for this man: The first record, based on a finding at Auschwitz I Block 4, includes his prisoner number and a photo. The second record[68], from the death books, has no prisoner number. Both records mention his name, his birthdate, his birthplace in Danzig, and his date of death as 7 September 1942. Most likely, the museum archivists deliberately chose not to merge the two records as the birthdates differ, to avoid possible confusion between two distinct homonyms. My guess is that the two records refer to the same man, as the difference in birthdates (10/08/1908 in mm/dd/yyyy vs. 18/10/1908 in dd/mm/yyyy format) could be due to a recording error in registration.

In any event, in the black and white mug shot photo, Slupinski is presented as a Pole, and his triangle badge does not seem to classify him as a Jew. In addition, the name Slupinski is not listed in the dictionaries of Jewish surnames (Beider 1996, 2004, 2008; Menk 2005) or found in major Jewish genealogy databases such as JewishGen[69] and Jewish Records Indexing—Poland[70]. Even if Slupinski was a false identity name, his presence in Convoy 1 would have caused Nazis to identify him as a Jew for the photo. Finally, we found no trace of an Anton Slupinski in the genealogical sources from France. It is unlikely that there was any confusion with his prisoner number, as the number is clearly shown on his photo. Our conclusion is that he was not deported from France, despite his prisoner number.

Slupinski's prisoner number 28642 is the penultimate in the 27533–28644 range. It is possible that the registration of the last prisoner from the Convoy 1 from France, Kopel Fingerhut, prisoner number 28644, was delayed, and therefore took place after the registration of Slupinski, causing a minor misunderstanding not detected by the Auschwitz Calendar.

3.8. Findings from the French Journal Officiel

As mentioned above, in the *Journal Officiel*, deportees without a known date of death were declared dead five days after the departure of their convoy from France. For such men from Convoy 1, the registered date is therefore 1 April 1942. While searching the *Journal Officiel* lists for men who died in Auschwitz on that very date, I encountered two names not included in Klarsfeld's list: Gaston Perles and Nicolas Adalbert Schwarz.

3.8.1. Case 9: Gaston Perles

According to the *Journal Officiel*[71], Gaston Perles was born in Paris 16 on 10 November 1888 and he officially died in Auschwitz on 1 April 1942. Auschwitz Prisoners Database also has a record[72] for Gaston Perles, with the same place and date of birth, without prisoner number, and indicating he was murdered on 4 April 1942, as found in the death books—that is, eight days after his departure from Compiègne and five days after he arrived. Despite the absence of his prisoner number, there is no doubt he was deported in Convoy 1, as no Jews from France arrived at Auschwitz before Convoy 1. Perhaps he died before being tattooed, which would explain why his prisoner number is not recorded on the death books. This also explains why he did not appear on our search according to prisoner number on the Convoy 1 range.

3.8.2. Case 10: Nicolas Adalbert Schwarz

According to the *Journal Officiel*[73], Nicolas Adalbert Schwarz was born in Antwerp, Belgium on 27 January 1899 and he officially died in Auschwitz on 1 April 1942. The Auschwitz Prisoners Database has no record for him. A 1921 population census shows him living at 26 Rue de la Paix in Bois-Colombes, a suburb of Paris, with his wife Frederika née Spitzer and their two children born in France in 1921 and 1924. All four were Dutch citizens. He was an employee of the Polak and Schwartz office in Bois-Colombes. Polak and Schwartz was a Dutch enterprise from Zutphen, Netherlands, involved in concentrated fruit juices[74]. Nicolas Adalbert's parents came from this same town, so he was probably the family representative for the company in France. He too should be considered as deportee by Convoy 1.

3.9. Further Clean-Up

Despite Klarsfeld's extreme care to avoid including the same person in his 1978 and 2012 lists, some cases of men listed twice remained undetected until recently. This is due to severe distortions in the spelling of names, mismatch of birthplace and birthdate, and/or lack of an address in France. To help with this verification, we systematically looked up all surnames on Klarsfeld's list and compared them to the names found in established dictionaries of Jewish surnames of both Ashkenazi and Sephardi origins[75], including their spelling variants. This revealed very improbable names. Here are a few examples where the second surnames are the correct ones:

- Chaim Arozonas vs. Chaim Akotonas,
- Pinkus Druker vs. Pinkas Dinner,
- Gilbert Foussir vs. Albert Souffir,
- Joseph Ludym vs. Joseph Fudym,
- Leib Gartelman vs. Leib Guitelman,
- Israel Harltov vs. Israel Mazaltov,
- Gutko Landman vs. Judka Langman,
- Léon Latman vs. Léon Altmann,
- Wolf Lewek vs. Lewek Wolf,
- Max Lichtmann vs. Mejlech Littmann,
- Abram Prinzewski vs. Abram Pinczewski.

Klarsfeld's list also includes the names of two men about whom there is no evidence of their presence in France; there is no trace in the Auschwitz Prisoners Database, no

mention in the *Journal Officiel*, and no known place of birth: Stroul Gryn (born 1890) and Leb Krasnava (born 1905). We assume that there are no good reasons to keep them.

3.10. Deportees Who Died during the Transport

Could we possibly find out how many deportees died before arriving at Auschwitz, and identify their names? Unfortunately, I am not aware of any survivor testimony that could shed a light on this question. We may never have a definite answer. But this research makes it possible to narrow down the list of 'candidates' among the men who left Compiègne by ruling out the escapees, the survivors, and those listed in the Auschwitz Prisoners Database, a proof that they entered the camp: only 33 men remain. It is possible to further reduce this number to 21 men by filtering out all those whose death occurred after 1st April 1942, in particular according to the information published in the *Journal Officiel*. Two examples appear below.

3.10.1. Case 11: Hersz Josef Sluszny

Hersz Josef Sluszny, born in Siedlce, Poland in 1901, appears on Klarsfeld's list but not in the Auschwitz Prisoners Database. His last known address was 117, boulevard Voltaire, Paris 11. According to a 2003 decree published in the French *Journal Officiel*, he was murdered on 6 May 1943 in Auschwitz[76], that is, after a long stay in the camp.

3.10.2. Case 12: Abram Fuks

Abram Fuks, born in Dobra, Poland in 1896, lived in France before the war; his name appears on Klarsfeld's list for Convoy 1, but not in the Auschwitz Prisoners Database. However, his transfers from Auschwitz to Gross-Rosen and then to Flossenbürg—two concentration camps—have been documented[77], so we know that he did not perish on the way to Auschwitz.

4. Conclusions

We have correlated several sources to better assess the list of the deportees from Convoy 1. We modified Klarsfeld's original list by adding and removing names, based on solid observations.

At this stage, our list now holds 1116 names of men who left Compiègne. It does not include the names of Mendel Rozeszweig, Stroul Gryn, or Leb Krasnava whose fate is uncertain as discussed above.

Our conclusions are as follows: three men escaped from the train, so 1113 arrived at Auschwitz; an unknown number of them perished during the transport; at least 1097 men entered the camp; for 1064 among them, their prisoner number is known; a maximum of 1111 of these men were assigned prisoner numbers between 27533 and 28644 (not 1112 due to the case of Anton Slupinski); 32 survived the deportation. These numbers are very close to what the survivor Alter Fajnzylberg declared.

The resulting list can be directly consulted at the online Memorial to the Jews deported from France at: https://stevemorse.org/france/see.php?ConvoyconvoiKind=exact&ConvoyconvoiMax=1 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

We have significantly modified the list of the men deported by Convoi 1. As can be seen from this study, the devil is in the details. Further research based on new evidence and offline sources (e.g., Archives from the French Ministry of Defense) may shed light on a few cases, and cause minor changes.

I have also made use of the Auschwitz Prisoners Database for other transports coming from France; the records often helped to identify the places of birth of the deportees, and the prisoner numbers served to deduct the convoy numbers and avoid confusion between homonym deportees.

Finally, two additional remarks:

- Ironically, we took advantage of the Nazi dehumanization policy of substituting the names of their prisoners with numbers, in order to restore some historical facts about these men.
- I would like to highlight that the removal of some 20 names from the French deportation list does not mean these men were not deported to Auschwitz; they definitely were! We simply conclude they were not sent from France, that they arrived at the camp from other places such as Poland, the Netherlands, and Slovakia by transports that took place at the same period.

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Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Notes

1 The Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names, Yad Vashem, https://yvng.yadvashem.org (accessed on 26 February 2024).

2 Yad Vashem press release, 7 June 2022: https://www.yadvashem.org/press-release/07-june-2022-14-53.html (accessed on 26 February 2024). Since this announcement, this figure has grown to 4.9 million names.

3 Chirac Affirms France's Guilt In Fate of Jews, Marlise Simons, *New York Times*, 17 July 1995, see https://www.nytimes.com/1995/07/17/world/chirac-affirms-france-s-guilt-in-fate-of-jews.html (accessed on 26 February 2024).

4 We follow Raul Hilberg, the well-known historian of the Holocaust, preferring the term "killing center" to "extermination camp".

5 For example, Auschwitz entry list for Convoy 2 (left Compiègne on June 5, 1942, arrived to Auschwitz on 7 July 1942), Arolsen Archives, see https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/document/130582351 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

6 A Vichy legislation dating from 27 September 1940 required all Jews from the zone occupied by the German army to register (Klarsfeld 2019, pp. 26–28). A similar legislation was enacted in the non-occupied zone on 2 June 1941 (Klarsfeld 2019, pp. 130–31).

7 There are 32 survivors according to recent research (Doulut et al. 2018, pp. 239–40; 2022).

8 SS-Untersturmführer Ernst Heinrichsohn: Anti-Jewish section of the Gestapo, assistant to Theodor Dannecker until December, 1942 (Klarsfeld 1983, p. 656).

9 SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, Chief of the Anti-Jewish section of the Gestapo from 1940 to August 1942 (Klarsfeld 1983, p. 656).

10 See also online at https://stevemorse.org/france/intro2012/Preface_Memorial_2012_francais.pdf#page=19 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

11 Yad Vashem, nominal list of the victims of Convoy 1 from France, see https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en&advancedSearch=true&deportation_value=5092580 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

12 Le Mémorial de la Shoah, Victims database, deportees from Convoy 1, http://tinyurl.com/y7bnxwjm (accessed on 26 February 2024).

13 As the material is freely available online, the reader will find in notes all the references instead of cluttering the article with dozens of screenshots.

14 Fuzzy logic, Wikipedia article, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fuzzy_logic (accessed on 26 February 2024).

15 These lists can be viewed online on the Mémorial de la Shoah website at https://ressources.memorialdelashoah.org/rechav_pers.php when researching a specific individual (accessed on 26 February 2024).

16 Danuta Czech (1922–2004). *The author of the Auschwitz Chronicle dies at 82*, Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, https://www.auschwitz.org/en/museum/news/danuta-czech-1922-2004-the-author-of-the-auschwitz-chronicle-dies-at-82,362.html (accessed on 26 February 2024).

17 RSHA: Reichssicherheitshauptamt, the Reich Security Main Office, headed by Heinrich Himmler, whose goal was to fight all "enemies of the Reich" inside and outside the borders of Nazi Germany.

18 Jews were usually tattooed on their left forearm, but deportees of this convoy were tattooed on the breast or near the armpit, see Bernard Pressman testimony (Pressman 1996).

19 Mémorial de la Shoah, Victims database, record for Roger Abouab, https://ressources.memorialdelashoah.org/notice.php?q=identifiant_origine:(FRMEMSH040870778743) (accessed on 26 February 2024).

20 Mémorial de la Shoah, Victims database, record for Sadia (Gaston) Surfati, https://ressources.memorialdelashoah.org/notice.php?q=identifiant_origine:(FRMEMSH0408707153166) (accessed on 26 February 2024).

21 Mémorial de la Shoah, Victims database, record for Georges Rueff, see https://ressources.memorialdelashoah.org/notice.php?q=identifiant_origine:(FRMEMSH0408707127321) (accessed on 26 February 2024).

22 Number series of KL Auschwitz prisoners, Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, see https://www.auschwitz.org/en/museum/auschwitz-prisoners/prisoner-numbers (accessed on 26 February 2024).

23 Auschwitz Prisoners Database (APD), entry form, https://www.auschwitz.org/en/museum/auschwitz-prisoners (accessed on 26 February 2024).

24 APD record for Pinkus Abramovici, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=17463 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

25 APD record for Jakub Biedrzycki, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=31094 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

26 A department of the French Ministry of Defense, https://www.servicehistorique.sga.defense.gouv.fr (accessed on 26 February 2024).

27 In occupied France, Roms, homosexuals, and Jehovah's witnesses were arrested. Roms were interned in camps throughout the country. None of them were deported to concentration camps, apart from some rare cases.

28 https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr (accessed on 26 February 2024).

29 Les Morts dans les Camps (i.e., those who perished in the [deportation] camps), Patrick Cheylan, see https://www.lesmortsdanslescamps.com/indexen.html (accessed on 26 February 2024).

30 See the memorial from the Foundation for the Memory of Deportation (FMD) which lists the names of the deportees from France due to a repression cause, http://www.bddm.org/liv/index_liv.php (accessed on 26 February 2024).

31 APD record for Jakub Lesselbaum, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=141012 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

32 APD record for Kopel Fingerhut, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=67844 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

33 Mémorial de la Shoah, Victims database, record for Emanuel Spiegler, https://ressources.memorialdelashoah.org/notice.php?q=identifiant_origine:(FRMEMSH0408707154646) (accessed on 26 February 2024).

34 Pawel Spiegler deportation, https://stevemorse.org/france/sef.php?IdKind=exact&IdMax=61871 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

35 Elisabeth Spiegler née Weisz, deportation, https://stevemorse.org/france/sef.php?IdKind=exact&IdMax=61870 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

36 APD record for Emanuel Spiegler, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=216439 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

37 APD record for Pawel Spiegler, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=216445 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

38 Mémorial de la Shoah, Victims database, record for Mozes Beidner, see https://ressources.memorialdelashoah.org/notice.php?q=identifiant_origine:(FRMEMSH0408707146369) (accessed on 26 February 2024).

39 APD record for Mozes Abram Beidner, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=27571 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

40 APD record for Samuel Salamon (sic), https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=200022 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

41 APD record for Brano Kolaric, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=120869 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

42 APD record for Martin Knoz, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=119268 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

43 APD record for Freidl Richard, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=72475 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

44 APD record for Israel Knaster, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=119014 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

45 APD record for Isidor Rosenberg, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=194084 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

46 APD record for Heinrich Brauner, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=39271 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

47 APD record for Hermann Kleinmuntz, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=117640 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[48] APD record for Heinrich Hammer, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=90640 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[49] APD record for Leo Schmitt, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=204524 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[50] APD record for Abraham Markovic, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=152343 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

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[52] APD record for Czyla Tenczer, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=231161 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[53] Men from Convoy 2 were assigned prisoner numbers 38177 to 39176 (Klarsfeld 2019, pp. 386–87; Czech 2021, p. 53).

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[55] The Kolaric surname, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kolaric_(surname) (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[56] APD record for Maurice Kostoveski, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=124986 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[57] APD record for Pinchas Dinner, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=57835 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[58] APD record for Boris Prilutzky, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=184925 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[59] APD record for Shlioma Diner, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=57776 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[60] APD record for Mendel Rozeszweig, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=196028 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[61] APD first record for Anton Slupinski, https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=213050 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[62] Naturalization decree 4090-25 on 10 April 1925, for Daniel Kostovetzki, former soldier of the French Foreign Legion, and for his three children Israel, Abraham, and Szoel, published in *Journal Officiel* on 28 April 1925, see https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6489719p/f19.item (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[63] Archives de Paris, 1936 Paris 18 Census, image 282, https://tinyurl.com/3mtkyu39 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[64] A "jugement déclaratif de décès" is a French legal procedure to declare the death of someone absent.

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[67] https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Place_F%C3%A9lix-%C3%89bou%C3%A9 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[68] APD second record for Anton Slupinski, see https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=213051 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

[69] JewishGen, https://www.jewishgen.org (accessed on 26 February 2024).

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[72] APD record for Gaston Perles, see https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=en&ok=osoba&id_osoba=176041 (accessed on 26 February 2024).

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genealogy

Article

Searching for Jewish Ancestors before They Had a Fixed Family Name—Three Case Studies from Bohemia, Southern Germany, and Prague

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Abstract: Anyone who traces their Jewish ancestors back to the 18th century and even further back in history encounters the challenge of looking for ancestry without the clue that a fixed family name provides. Before the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, when Jews were forced by law to adopt a fixed family name, Ashkenazim Jewish families used patronymic names as last names. A patronymic name changes every generation. Sometimes, in larger cities, various types of nicknames were used as last names. Such a nickname could change within a generation and often indicated the place a person came from, his occupation, or personal characteristics. In this article, I will show, using three case studies, how I have faced the challenge of determining which patronymic names and nicknames my ancestors used as last names before they were forced to adopt a fixed family name. The three case studies are the ancestors of Josef Stern, who lived in the late 18th and early 19th century in Neu Bistritz in southern Bohemia, today Nova Bystrice in Czechia; Julius Strauss, 1883–1939, who lived in the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th century in Frücht and Giessen in Nassau/Hesse, today in southern Germany; and Simon Reiniger, who lived in Prague in the 18th and early 19th century.

Keywords: Jewish family names; patronymics; nicknames; Bohemia; Nassau/Hesse; Prague

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1. Introduction

Mandatory legislation from the sovereign who ruled Christian countries where Jews lived forced Jews to adopt a fixed family name. The first to legislate such a law was Austrian Emperor Joseph II, who issued the Jewish name law *Das Judenpatent* in 1787 (Beider 1995). All the other European sovereigns followed with corresponding laws: the Tsar of Russia in 1804, Napoleon in 1808, and then the various German states (Jarvits et al. 2019). Often, a long time passed, however, before the laws were implemented (Kaganoff 1977). Among the last European sovereigns to legislate that Jews must adopt fixed family names was the German Grand Duke of Nassau. The year was 1841.

2. Results

In the following, I will show, using three case studies, how I have faced the challenge of determining which patronymic names and nicknames my ancestors used as last names before they were forced to adopt fixed family names.

2.1. Joel Pinkas, Who Became Josef Stern: Brandy Producer and Tobacconist in the Late 18th Century, Bohemia

My first example is Josef Stern, a brandy producer and tobacconist who lived in 1793 in Neu Bistritz in southeastern Bohemia. Today, the town is named Nova Bystrice and is located in Czechia. A census of Jews in Bohemia from 1793 shows that Joseph was married to Barberdl, and they had four sons and four daughters (Marek et al. 2003). All children were unmarried and are mentioned in the census with their given names. The oldest son was Wolf. The given name of a first-born son is often important when looking for what

patronymic names the ancestors of Josef Stern may have used before the law of fixed family names was introduced in 1787.

The information about Josef Stern and his family is sparse, as there are no vital records of Neu Bistritz for the period before the mid-19th century. In addition to the 1793 census, I use another source, a Familiant book. A Familiant book is a record kept of all male Jews in Bohemia between 1811 and 1848. In the Tabor district Familiant book, I found that Josef Stern, son of Elias Stern and Fransiska Herschmann, married Barbara Wottitz in 1775. Four sons were born to Josef and Barbara between 1781 and 1798. Löbl, one of the sons recorded in the 1793 census, is absent from the 1811 Familiant book; we assume that he probably died before that year. Another son was born after the 1793 census was conducted. The oldest son, Wolf, born in 1781, is included in the 1811 Familiant book.

With so little information about Josef Stern, it would seem difficult to trace the last name he used before the 1787 law was enacted. Fortunately, the Familiant book from the Tabor district has additional information about Josef Stern, most significantly, his previous name. It was Joel Pinkas. With this information, I can search for Joel Pinkas in the 1783 census of the Jews of Bohemia (Ebelová and Kolektiv 2010). By 1783, he already lived in Neu Bistritz, was married, had four children, and made a living manufacturing liquor. The information in the 1783 census is more sparse than that in the 1793 census. The 1783 census does not record the given names of the wife of Joel Pinkas, nor those of his children.

Knowing Joel/Josef Stern's patronymic name, I assumed that Pinkas was his father's given name. To my surprise, however, in the Familiant book from the Tabor district, Joel/Josef's father is recorded as Elias Stern.

Josef Stern's Father, Elias, and an Older Brother, Abraham

Next, I searched for Elias Stern in the 1793 census, where I found considerable information about him and his family. Elias Stern was recently deceased in the town of Neuhaus. Today, Neuhaus is Jindrichuv Hradek in Czechia and is located about 15 km northeast of Neu Bistritz, where Josef Stern lived. Another important fact in the 1793 census was that Elias Stern's widow, Fransiska, was his second wife and the owner of a distillery and a potash mill in Neuhaus.

The 1793 census also lists Josef Stern as the third son of Elias Stern's first marriage. Josef Stern had an older brother, Abraham, who, like his father, was dead by 1793. He had owned a distillery in the town of Wittingau (today, Trebon), 23 km southwest of Neuhaus. In addition, the census notes that Elias Stern's widow owned a house in the town of Schwihau in southwestern Bohemia, today Svihov in Czechia.

I now had several facts that proved important for my continued search for the patronymic names of the Stern family as well as for the ancestors of Josef and Elias Stern. My search for additional information about Josef Stern's older brother, Abraham, yielded additional clues. There are several sources about him, but according to the 1793 census, not only was he deceased, but so was his wife, Rebecka (Matusikova 1994–1995). They were survived by several minor children, of whom the oldest son was named Wolf. In other words, he had the same given name as his cousin, Josef Stern's oldest son. Was Wolf also a given name in the previous generations? If this was the case, it could also have been used as a patronymic name.

My next step was to look for Josef Stern, alias Joel Pinkas, in the voluminous marriage records of all Jews in Bohemia who married between 1717 and 1783. I found him in the town of Neuhaus as Joel Pinkas, who was married to Brenndl on 17 December 1775. The same record also lists Josef's oldest brother Abraham, but now with the patronymic name Pinkas. Abraham married Rikl on 4 April 1766, also in Neuhaus.

Another groom married in Neuhaus was a man called Pinkas Wolf, who married Vögele on 17 May 1778. Was this Elias Stern's wedding to his second wife, Franziska? It may be because Vögele (Feigele in Yiddish) could be Franziska in German.

I returned to the 1783 census, looking for Pinkas Wolf and Abraham Pinkas. According to this census, taken before the 1787 imperial name law, Pinkas Wolf was the owner of a

distillery in Neuhaus. In the same census, his son Abraham Pinkas lived in Kardasch Recice, 12 km northwest of Neuhaus, where he had a distillery and ran a yarn and wool trade.

A local history of the Jews in Neuhaus published in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Cechoslovakischen Republik 1930–1932* (*Yearbook of the Jewish Historical Society of Czechoslovakia*) and available online provided further clues that Elias Stern and Pinkas Wolf must have been one and the same person. Pinkas Wolf is mentioned in the local history of the Jews in Neuhaus as the owner of the distillery in Neuhaus from 1766 to 1785, and Elias Stern is mentioned as the owner of the same distillery from 1785 to 1793 when Elias Stern died, and his widow Franzl took over the distillery (Rachmuth 1930–1932). Franzl is short for Franziska.

In another local history, one of the Jews in Schwihau, also published in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Cechoslovakischen Republik* 1932 and available online, I found some important data that helped me, at last, determine which patronymic names the Stern family had used before 1787 (Teply and Blanska 1930). It also revealed previously unknown ancestors of Josef and Elias Stern. The information in the Schwihau paper comes from individual real estate purchase agreements from 1674 up to 1709 and on local censuses of the Jews in Schwihau 1734, 1739, and 1747.

Here, I read about Wolf Pinkas, whose family had lived in Schwihau as early as 1674 and that Wolf Pinkas owned a house there in 1729. The house was taken over in 1745 by the son of Wolf Pinkas, whose name was Pinkas Wolf. He kept the house in Schwihau but moved himself to Neuhaus to open a distillery there. This Pinkas Wolf's first-born son was named Abraham and was born about 1740 in Schwihau.

All the different pieces fell into place. Abraham, born 1740 in Schwihau, must have been Abraham Pinkas, who married in 1766 in Neuhaus as Abraham Pinkas according to the marriage records of Jews in Bohemia (1717–1783) and died in 1791 as Abraham Stern in Wittingau according to Catholic Jindřichův Hradec and Třeboň (Neuhaus and Wittingau) burial records of 1781–1795, where the small group of Jews in Wittingau is listed on the last pages of the Catholic burial book.

The information in the 1793 census, showing which patronymic names the Stern family had used before 1787 and that the widow of Josef Stern's father, while living in Neuhaus, also owned a house in Schwihau, was crucial to my search for ancestors of Josef Stern. Without these data, I probably would not have searched for ancestors of Josef Stern in the town of Schwihau, 160 km east of Neu Bistritz. In addition, I learned that it was no coincidence that both Josef and Abraham Stern named their first-born sons Wolf. Both were named after their grandfather, Wolf Pinkas.

Now, I had the lineage of the family back to the late 17th century. Wolf Stern, born 1781 in Neu Bistritz, was the son of Josef Stern, who was born Joel Pinkas. His father, Pinkas Wolf, was born about 1720 in Schwihau and died in 1793 in Neuhaus as Elias Stern. He was the son of Wolf Pinkas. This Wolf Pinkas was born about 1690 in Schwihau, where the family had lived since 1674.

2.2. The Merchant Louis Strauss and His Ancestors in Early 19th Century Nassau and Hesse in Southern Germany

Another example of how to find patronymic names comes from Frücht, a village in southern Germany which, in the middle of the 19th century, belonged to the Grand Duchy of Nassau. Today, it is a municipality in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Jews here were not forced to abandon their patronymic names and adopt fixed family names until 1841.

In this example, we start with the merchant Louis Strauss. He was the father of a married uncle of my father, Julius Strauss, who died in 1939 in Stockholm, Sweden, but was born in Giessen in Hessen in Germany.

In the 1849–1930 civil marriage records of Giessen in the state of Hesse in Germany, I found the information that Louis Strauss, now with the given name Löw, married Johanette Beyfuss in 1879 in the town of Giessen and that Löw Strauss was born in 1851 in the village

of Frücht. The marriage record also shows that Löw Strauss was the son of Isaac Strauss from Frücht. Johanette Beyfuss was from Giessen, and the Strauss family settled in Giessen, where their two children, Bertha and Julius, were born in 1879 and 1883. Giessen is located 100 km east of Frücht.

Louis Strauss died in 1917, according to a card index of Jews who lived in Giessen between 1903 and 1937. The card index was kept by the City of Giessen. This death record listed the widow of Louis Strauss as Johanette Beyfuss, thus confirming that I have found the right marriage couple in the marriage records of Giessen, despite the given name of the groom being Löw Strauss instead of Louis Strauss. Changing a given name from a typical Jewish name such as Löw to the common name Louis was not uncommon among Jews in this part of Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century. The given name Löw, however, was crucial in the further investigation into which patronymic names the Strauss family had used before 1841.

The father of Löw Strauss, Isaac Strauss, died in 1881 in Giessen and was from Frücht. This information came from a list in the Hesse state archives of people buried at the Jewish cemetery of Giessen compiled by Josef Marx, a cantor and teacher in Giessen between 1836 and 1908.

Löw/Louis, son of Isaac Strauss, was born in 1851. Isaac himself must, therefore, have been born before 1841 when the family was forced to take the fixed family name Strauss. What was his patronymic name? I know that Isaac Straus was from Frücht, but was he, like his son Löw, born in Frücht?

To find the patronymic name the family used before 1841, I continued to search for documents from the Hesse state archives, where I found three tax lists. The oldest of these three tax lists was from 1811; the other two were for the period 1820–1840 and the period 1844–1865. Now, I had sources with information about Jewish families in Frücht both before and after 1841 and should be able to find the patronymic names the family had used before they had been forced to take a fixed surname and selected the family name Strauss.

Twelve Jews were recorded on the tax list for 1844–1865, among them a widow Strauss and her adult son Israel Strauss. No Isaac Strauss was on this tax list. He may already have moved from Frücht.

Six Jews were on the 1820–1840 tax list. One had the given name Löw and the patronymic name Isaac, i.e., Löw Isaac. This could be the grandfather of Löw Strauss. The oldest tax list, from 1811, had more information. Here, we read that Löw Isaac was 44 years old in 1811, was a cattle and fruit dealer, and his wife was Ceila, who was 43 years old. This could be the widow Strauss from the 1844–1865 tax list. Also listed are all the names and ages of their two daughters and three sons. A note in the 1811 tax list showed that in 1798, Löw Isaac had become a protected Jew (Schutzjude) in Frücht. This might indicate that he was not born in Frücht but had moved there in 1798 or that he had inherited the position from his father, who had passed away in 1798. All children of Löw Isaac were born after 1798 and seem to have been born in Frücht. The oldest son was named Israel, age eight in 1811, i.e., born about 1803. The second oldest son was named Isaac, age five, i.e., born about 1806.

This Isaac is likely the same person as Isaac Strauss, who was from Frücht and died in 1881 in Giessen. Why? The fact that the Jewish population in 1811 in Frücht consisted of only three families and only one of these families had a son named Isaac, born about 1806 in Frücht.

The fact that Löw Isaac died before 1841 made it possible for the son of Löw Isaac, Isaac Löw/Isaac Strauss, to name his son Löw since Ashkenazik Jews named their children after deceased relatives only. The way the first names were inherited from one generation to another provides the following lineage of the Strauss family both before and after they adopted their fixed family name. Julius Strauss, who was born in 1883 in Giessen and died in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1939, was the son of Louis Strauss. Louis Strauss was born in 1851 in Frücht as Löw Strauss and died in Giessen as Louis Strauss in 1917. Louis/Löw Strauss was the son of Isaac Löw, born about 1806 in Frücht, and died in 1881 in Giessen

as Isaac Strauss. He was the son of Löw Isaac, born about 1767 and dead before 1841 in Frücht. His father was Isaac, and he lived in the mid-18th century and could have died in 1798 when his son became a Schutzjude in Frücht.

With the help of the three tax lists and knowing how given names are inherited among Ashenazic Jews, I was able to find the birth year, the birthplace, and the birth patronymic name of the father of Louis Strauss, as well as the given name, patronymic name, birth year, and family of the grandfather of Louis Strauss and the patronymic name of his father before he had a fixed family name. The fact that the Jewish population in 1811 in Frücht consisted of only three families helped considerably[1].

2.3. The Reiniger Family: An Example of the Use of Nicknames as Surnames in 18th Century Prague

In the early 16th century, Prague experienced a large increase in the Jewish population. At the same time, many Jews, together with their patronymic names, started to use nicknames as surnames (Muneles 1966).

My example from Prague concerns a group of siblings who, when they had to take a fixed family name, called themselves Reiniger, a last name that they had already used before 1787 as one of several nicknames used as last names. I start with an ancestor who I know lived in Prague before the name law was introduced in 1787. His name was Simon Reiniger, and according to the Prague Jewish vital death record, he died on 27 December 1831 in Prague at the age of 80, i.e., he was born about 1751. Simon Reiniger was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Wolschan, today Olsany in Prague.

The Wolschan cemetery was destroyed in the 1960s when the communist regime closed it and built a park, and later, in the late 1980s, built a TV tower in the former cemetery. Only a few tombstones were preserved, but not that of Simon Reiniger.

Fortunately, a burial registry, a Chevra Kadisha book, still exists. Here, I found Simon Reiniger as Simche Menaker, son of Koppl, who died, according to the Hebrew calendar, on Tewet 27, 5592, which was 31 December 1831. In the Familiant book of Prague from 1811, I read that the previous given name of Simon Reiniger was Simche and that he was the son of Koppl Reiniger and his wife, Estrl.

I searched without success for Koppl Reiniger in the Prague Jewish death records, but I did find the wife of Koppl Reiniger and the mother of Simon Reiniger in the death records. Her name was Estrl, and she died on 21 September 1787 in Prague. Two books of Jewish death records exist for 1787, her year of death. In one book, she is recorded as the wife of Koppl Reiniger, and in the other, as the wife of Koppl Schlosser. Schlosser is the German word for a locksmith. The oldest son of Koppl and Estrl was Markus, who was born about 1750. He was a locksmith and later, in 1792, an iron dealer (Ebelova 2006). He called himself Markus Schlosser in 1779 in the Prague Fassions, but later he was recorded as Markus Reiniger in the 1792/1794 census and in the Familiant book 1811, as Markus Ederer in the vital death records 1825, and as Mordche Menaker in the burial registry.

Now, I had four nicknames used as last names: Menaker, Reiniger, Ederer, and Schlosser. Menaker in Hebrew means a butcher who removed veins for koshering meat. Reiniger in German means a purifier and, in this case, a purifier of meat. The surname Ederer is also connected to the butcher's profession. Ederer or Äderer comes from the German word Äder, which in English means vein. Three nicknames used as surnames indicate that the men in the family were or could have been butchers.

Koppl Reiniger, the husband of Estrl and father of Simon/Simche, is included in a list of property owners in Prague whose houses burnt down in the great fire of 1754 (Zdeck 1934). From this, we know that he had lived in Prague in the middle of the 18th century. Koppel Reiniger is not recorded on the list of Prague Jews who took fixed family names in 1788. The list is a printed compilation made by the rabbi and archivist Simon Adler (1884–1944) (Adler n.d.) and is transcribed from a report book, *Berichtenbuch*, prepared by the city authorities in Prague (1786–1789). However, on that list, we find a Majer Reiniger, who, according to the list, changed his last name in 1788 from Menaker to Reiniger.

Majer Reiniger died on 2 May 1790 in Prague, according to the Prague Jewish death record. He was buried the same day at the Wolschan Jewish cemetery in Prague, but in the Chewra Kadisha book, he is recorded as Mayer Menaker, i.e., with the last name he, according to the Berichenbuch of the Prague Magistrate, had before 1788. The Prague Jewish death record, however, uses his new fixed family name, Reiniger. Had this difference something to do with the fact that the Prague Jewish vital records were kept on behalf of the imperial authorities, and the Chewra Kadisha books were something the Prague Jewish community kept voluntarily? Perhaps, but I need more evidence for such a conclusion.

I found Mayer Reiniger in the marriage records of Jews in Bohemia (1717–1783), showing that he married Riffka Buml on 28 February 1760. This indicates that the last name Mayer Reiniger, chosen in 1788 as his new fixed family name, had been used earlier, but then as a nickname used as a last name, then alternating with other nicknames used as last names, such as, for example, Menaker. The next record where I found Mayer Reiniger was in the 1751 census of the Jews of Prague. This is a special census called sworn declarations (Petrusova and Putnik 2012). Jews who wanted to return to Prague when Empress Maria Theresa was forced to recall them after all Jews had been expelled from the city in 1748 were required to file a sworn declaration that they had lived in Prague before 1748. Otherwise, they were not allowed to resettle.

In this census, Mayer Reiniger is mentioned as an orphan of the deceased Simche Reiniger and had lived with Simmel Salomon Pohl, a trouser tailor, and his wife Cheye in a house on Hanpass Street in Prague. From this, I moved another generation back in the lineage of Mayer Reiniger, also known as Mayer Menaker. I learned that he was the son of Simche Reiniger.

2.3.1. New Insights Provided by Searching for a Group of Siblings

Who were the trouser tailor Simmel Salomon Pohl and his wife Cheye? Now, I had to expand my investigation and search for information about two people hitherto unknown to me, Simmel Salomon Pohl and his wife Cheye. I wanted to know their relationship with the orphan Mayer, son of Simche Reiniger.

Consulting the marriage records of Jews in Bohemia, 1717–1783, I learned that on 28 June 1737, Simmel Salomon and Cheye Äderer obtained their permission to marry. She used the same nickname as last name as the first-born son of Koppl Reiniger, Markus Ederer, also known as Markus Schlosser or Markus Reiniger.

In the online collections on the website of the Jewish Museum in Prague is a handwritten index of surnames from tombstones in the old Jewish cemetery in Prague. The index is in German and Hebrew and was compiled by the historian Leopold M. Popper (1826–1885). This index was used by another historian, Simon Hock (1815–1887). For several decades, Hock gathered material for a history of Prague's Jews, collecting information primarily from the headstones at the old Jewish cemetery. This material was edited posthumously by David Kaufmann and published in 1892 under the title *Die Familien Prags*.

The old Jewish cemetery ceased to be used in 1787, i.e., the same year the imperial law of fixed family names was introduced (Polakovic 2007–2008). Thus, the handwritten index of the tombstone inscriptions is especially useful when searching for last names used by Jews in Prague before they adopted fixed family names. I was also able to use a transcribed version of the index interpreted and compiled by genealogist Nancy High, which made the research easier (High 2018).

With the help of this index, I found another clue as to why the orphan Mayer Reiniger lived with the trouser tailor Pohl and his wife, Cheye Äderer. Cheye died in about 1753, according to the index, and was buried in the old Jewish Cemetery in Prague. The index reported that Cheye was the daughter of Simche Menaker. The sworn declarations of 1751 told me that the father of the orphan Mayer Reiniger, also known as Mayer Menaker, was the deceased Simche Reiniger. Was the orphan Mayer's father Simche Reiniger and Cheye Äderer's father, Simche Menaker, one and the same person? In that case, the orphan Mayer

Reiniger, also known as Mayer Menaker, lived in 1751 in Prague with his older sister Cheye and her husband, the trouser tailor Simmel Salomon Pohl.

Another clue I followed was the given name of Simon Reiniger, second-born son of Koppl Reiniger, who died 80 years old in 1831 and was buried as Simche Menaker. The given name Simche indicates that he could have been a grandson of Cheye's father, Simche Menaker, and a nephew of Mayer Reiniger/Menaker. Simon/Simche, son of Koppl, was born around 1751, and Mayer's father Simche had died before 1748 because Mayer was an orphan when living with his sister Cheye in 1751. If Simche, father of Mayer, and Simche, father of Cheye, were one and the same person and this Simche died before about 1751, Koppl Reiniger had the possibility (because of the Ashkenazi naming tradition) to name his second-born son Simche in 1751 after his father, Simche. In other words, Cheye Äderer, Mayer Menaker/Reiniger, and Koppl Reiniger/Schlosser may all have been siblings. My next step was to learn if this was true.

In my research about Simon Reiniger, who died in 1831 in Prague and was the second-born son of Koppl Reiniger, I found another Simon/Simche Reiniger, born about 1755 and dead in 1817 in Prague, in the Prague Jewish marriage and death records. This Simon Reiniger was the son of Enoch Reiniger, who, according to the Prague Jewish death record, died in 1813 at the age of 90 years, i.e., born about 1723.

I now had four people who could be siblings: Koppl Reiniger, also known as Koppl Schlosser, who lived in Prague in 1754 and whose second oldest son was named Simon/Simche, born about 1751; Enoch Reiniger, born about 1723 and died in Prague in 1813 and whose oldest son also was named Simon/Simche, born about 1755; Mayer Reiniger, also known as Menaker, born about 1732, who was the son of Simche Reiniger and was an orphan in Prague 1751 and seems have been living with his older sister Cheye Äderer, who was the daughter of Simche Menaker and married to the tailor Pohl. All these nicknames used as last names, Ederer, Äderer, and Reininger, are German words that have to do with slaughter and the profession of a butcher. Menaker is a Hebrew word with the same meaning.

The next step was to go through the index of the Prague Jewish death records and look for individuals with the last name Reininger, whose age at death showed that they were born early in the 18th century, all with the aim of finding additional people who might be siblings of Enoch, Koppl, Mayer Reiniger, and Cheye Äderer.

Doing this, I found Moses Reiniger, who died on 20 September 1785 in Prague at the age of 70. That is, he was born about 1715. Moses Reiniger was buried in the old Jewish cemetery in Prague, and in the index of the inscriptions of the tombstones at the old Jewish cemetery in Prague, he is listed as Moshe ben Simche Menaker. I also found him in the 1751 census in Prague, the sworn declarations. Here, Moses Reiniger was listed as Moysses Simches, and his profession is *ausäderer*, i.e., a butcher. Ausäderer is an archaic German word for a person who worked to remove inedible and forbidden parts in meat, such as veins.

2.3.2. A Family of Butchers

The German word for the occupation of Moses Reiniger, also known as Moyses Simche in the 1751 census/sworn declarations, *ausäderer*, provided another clue. Could Ausäderer also have been a nickname used as a last name? It is not listed in the book *Jewish Surnames in Prague from 15th–18th Centuries* written by Alexander Beider (Beider 1995). However, Ausäderer was a nickname used as a last name. In both the 1751 census/sworn declarations and in the marriage records of the Jews in Bohemia (1717–1783), Koppl Reiniger used Ausäderer as his last name instead of his later-used last names Reiniger or Schlosser. He married Estrl Piesek on 12 February 1742 in Prague as Koppl Ausäderer. In 1751, according to the census/sworn declarations, he lived in Prague as Koppl Ausäderer with his wife Estrl and their two daughters, Ressel and Bella. The address of the family was Zigeuner, i.e., at the Zigeuner synagogue in Prague Judenstadt. Opposite the synagogue was situated the so-called Fleischbänke. The German word Fleischbänke in English is meat shop or

(verbatim) "meat bank". I found the information about the location of the Fleischbänke in Prague Judenstadt in a book about the Jewish township of Prague, which is available online (Herrmann et al. 1903, p. 67).

According to the 1751 census, an orphan boy by the name of Enoch lived in the household of Koppl Ausäderer. This must have been Koppl Ausäderer's younger brother, i.e., the above-mentioned Enoch Reiniger, who died in 1813 in Prague and was born about 1723.

It was my friend and genealogist colleague, Randy Schoenberg, who helped me finish things off. He had carefully gone through the 1729 census of the Jews in Prague. This census is presented in an article in the *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Cechoslovakischen Republik 1932* (Prokes 1932). In the 1729 census on page 97, household no. 8, the butcher Simche Enoch Buntzl is recorded with his wife Breindl and their three sons Koppl, Moses, and Enoch and their two daughters Cheye and Peyerle. The son Mayer is not recorded in the 1729 census because he was born about 1732. What happened to the youngest daughter, Peyerle, remains to be explored.

With the help of the patronymic name of Simche Enoch Bunzl, I also succeeded in going back by another generation in the lineage of the family. Enoch was the given name of the father of Simche Enoch Bunzl. One of Simche Enoch Bunzl's sons, Enoch, had thus been named after his grandfather. In addition, two grandsons of Simche Enoch Bunzl, Koppl's son Simon/Simche and his cousin Enoch's son Simon/Simche, were also named after their grandfather. Buntzl was Simche Enoch's nickname used as a last name, which suggests that he or his family was from the town of Jungbrunzlau in northeastern Bohemia, today's Mlada Boleslav in the Czech Republic (Beider 1995).

Today, both the 1729 census of Jews in Prague as well as several other of the above-mentioned sources are indexed and available on the Austria-Czech database at JewishGen. On the website geni.com and in the project Jewish Families from Prague on the Geni site, there is considerable information about some of the sources I have used. Articles and documents can be uploaded.

2.3.3. Epilogue

One of the sons of Simche Enoch Bunzl, also known as Simche Reiniger or Simche Menaker, Enoch Reiniger, born circa 1723 and died in Prague in 1813, was not a butcher. He was a scribe. In the 1792 and the 1794 censuses of the Jews in Prague, his occupation is recorded as Zehngebotschreiber, which is German for someone who writes down the Ten Commandments. Scribe in German is Schreiber and in Hebrew Sofer. In a Prague Familiant book, one of the sons of Enoch Reiniger, Joachim Moses Reiniger, is recorded as the son of Enoch Schreiber. In the burial records of the Wolschan Jewish cemetery in Prague, one of the daughters of Enoch Reiniger, Caje-Sara, who died in 1835, is recorded as the daughter of Enoch Sofer.

Can we see any pattern in the use of different surnames in the Reiniger family in Prague, a pattern that can offer some explanation for why they used all these different last names? The last name Menaker was used throughout various burial records, both before and after the introduction of the imperial name law in 1787. The last person with the fixed family name Reiniger, who was buried in Prague with the last name Menaker, was Simon Koppl Reiniger's unmarried daughter Malka, also known as Maria, who died on 6 January 1855 in Prague.

Last names in German, such as Ausäderer, Äderer, Ederer, Reiniger, Schreiber, and Schlosser, were used in the records compiled by the imperial authorities as the Familiant books; the 1729, 1751 (the sworn declarations), and their continuation Prague Fassions; the 1792/1794 censuses; in the large compilation of marriage records of the Jews in Bohemia 1717–1783; and in the vital records kept on commission of the imperial authorities by the Prague Jewish community.

One possible conclusion might be that in the records the Jewish community kept voluntarily without an order from the imperial authorities, such as burial records as well

as the inscriptions on the tombstones, the family Reiniger used the last name Menaker, a Hebrew word for butcher, or Sofer, the Hebrew word for a scribe. In all records compiled by or commissioned to be kept by the imperial authorities, members of the family were recorded with patronymic last names and/or with a nickname used as a last name in German like Ausäderer, Äderer, Ederer, Reiniger, Schreiber, or Schlosser. When the family had to take a fixed family name in 1787, they chose the family name Reiniger, and that became the surname that descendants still bear today.

3. Conclusions

As the previous three case studies illustrate, to find the patronymic names an ancestor used before being forced to adopt a fixed family name, one may have the advantage of comparing censuses or tax lists from the time just before and the time just after the introduction of the name law. Sometimes, you can find special name lists of what family name your ancestors took, but this is just luck because such lists are rare and are often hard to find.

Patronymic names also convey a lineage. A given name in one generation will become a patronymic name in the next generation, and so on, and vice versa: given names in one generation could indicate what patronymic names the previous generations used.

But for those who search for the nicknames that their ancestors used as surnames, the challenge is much greater, which my case study from Prague shows. The function of the nickname used as a surname was to distinguish one person from another when neither a given name nor a patronymic name was sufficient to do that. This is what happened when the Prague Jewish population grew. In addition, many Prague Jews used their patronymic name together with the nickname they used as a surname.

Nicknames used as surnames were often a person's occupation or the place or country a person came from. Sometimes it was a physical description, for example, whether he was short or tall, big or small, or light- or dark-haired.

A patronymic name is replaced with each new generation, but nicknames used as surnames could be changed within a generation, even several times during the lifespan of one and the same individual.

Unfortunately for the genealogist, one can easily confuse a nickname used as a surname with a fixed family name, especially when some of the nicknames used as surnames in 1787 became the new fixed family name.

We must remember that most Ashkenazi Jews did not have fixed family names until the end of the 18th century in the Austrian Empire, not until the first half of the 19th century in the Russian Empire, and in some German states, only from the middle of the 19th century.

Researchers looking for nicknames used as surnames of their ancestry could have great help expanding the scope of their research, not only to examine an individual and trace his or her lineage back in history but to research entire families consisting of all siblings and their spouses in one generation and trace their lineages back in history by using already developed family trees as sources of clues.

For my research, the branches of Jewish families from Prague listed on the Geni World Family Tree have been invaluable. One must, however, not simply accept as fact everything listed. It is imperative to evaluate the sources of the various profiles in the tree and check the data against original sources such as vital records and censuses (Appendix A).

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Appendix A. Archives and Online Resources

Archiv Zidovskeho musea v Praze (Jewish Museum Prague, archives)

ZNO Praha, soupisy prazskych Zidu 1748–1838 (sworn declarations, 1748–1749 (1751))
Jmenný rejstřík ke Starému židovskému hřbitovu v Praze, písmeno M P
(Leopold M. Popper's excerpts of those buried in the old Jewish cemetery in Prague with surnames beginning with M and P)
https://collections.jewishmuseum.cz/index.php//Search/Index (accessed on 31 December 2023)
Jewish cemetery Olsany/Wolschan in Prague, list of those buried 1788–1890.

Geni World Family Tree
https://www.geni.com/home (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Project, Jewish Families from Prague
https://www.geni.com/projects/Jewish-Families-from-Prague/7995 (accessed on 31 December 2023)
Documents for Jewish Families from Prague
https://www.geni.com/projects/Jewish-Families-from-Prague/media/7995 (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Giessen (Hesse) Stadtarchiv (City Archives)

Einwohner Kartei verstorbene jüdische Bürger 1903–1937
https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/68354?availability=Family%20History%20Library (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (State Archives of Hesse)
https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/start.action?oldNodeid= (accessed on 31 December 2023)

HHStAW, 205, 381 Verzeichnung der Juden und ihrer Vermögensverhältnisse im Amt Nassau aufgrund einer Umfrage des Regierungsassessors Lange zwecks Ausarbeitung eines Staatsgesetzes zur Stellung der Juden im Staat 1811. Liste der jüdischen Familienvorstände, ihrer Frauen und Kinder mit Angaben zu Alter, Schutzaufnahme, Erwerbszweig, Vermögen, Schatzung u.a
HHStAW, 211, 11447 Kultusverhältnisse der Israeliten im Amt Braubach 1841–1865
HHStAW Bestand 220 Nr. 3589Vermögensaufstellungen der Juden von Frücht 1820–1840
HHStAW Bestand 365 Nr. 370 Gräberverzeichnis des jüdischen Friedhofs am Nahrungsberg in Gießen, zusammengestellt auf Grundlage des Memorbuches und der Sterbeurkunden durch Josef Marx, Kantor und Lehrer in Gießen Laufzeit 1836–1908
HHStAW, 211, 11447 Kultusverhältnisse der Israeliten im amt Braubach
HStAM, 905, 329 Standesamt Gießen Heiratsnebenregister 1879

JewishGen

Austria-Czech Database
https://www.jewishgen.org/databases/AustriaCzech/ (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Jewish Theological Seminary, New York
https://digitalcollections.jtsa.edu/islandora/object/jts%3A143974#page/1/mode/1up (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Register der Leichsteine v.J 5440 (1680) bis 5618 (1857) (Register of Gravestones 1680–1857) compiled by the Chewra Kaddisha in Prague in 1857 by David J. Podiebrad and David S. Radnitz.)

Kultur-Büro AHB—Name adoption and other lists—Germany

During the first decades of the 19th century, Jews were forced by law to take on full civil names. The following lists will help you to go back into the 18th century to search for your ancestors. https://www.a-h-b.de/en/projects/genealogy/name-adoption-lists (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Narodni Archiv (National Archives of Czechia)
https://vademecum.nacr.cz/ (accessed on 31 December 2023) or
https://zayt.org/ (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Familiantbuch 145 HBF XV/V Taborsky
Familiantbuch 163 HBF XVII Praha, pism. E
Familiantbuch 176 HBF XVII Praha
Familiantbuch 186 HBF XVII Praha, Index
Familiantbuch 187 HBF XVII Praha, Index
Kardasova Recice HBMa 756 Z 1784–1843 (death records)
Kniha svatebních konsensů 1717–1783, (Gubernial marriage register)
Praha HBMa 2661 O 1784–1843 (marriage records)
Praha HBMa 2753 Z 1784–1801 (death records)
Praha HBMa 2754 Z 1787–1822 (death records)
Praha HBMa 2755 Z 1802–1822 (death records)
Praha HBMa 2756 Z 1822–1831 (death records)
Praha HBMa 2757 Z 1831–1841 (death records)
More information about Narodni Archiv sources above at JewishGen Austria-Czech Database
https://www.jewishgen.org/databases/AustriaCzech/ (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboňi (State Regional Archive of Trebon)
https://digi.ceskearchivy.cz/8053/45/2682/2379/45/0 (accessed on 31 December 2023)

Czech Republic Church Books, 1552–1963 Catholic Jindřichův Hradec Třeboň Burials (Pohřby) 1781–1795 (v. 39)

Note

[1] Some years after I had deduced the patronymic names of Louis Strauss's ancestors, I found the website Kultur Büro—AHB—where one finds a list of Jews in Germany who adopted permanent family names during the first half of the 19th century. It is a compilation from various German archives. In the list of the Braubach district in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate to which the town of Frücht belongs today, I read that Löw Isaac's widow and Israel Löw in 1841 took the family name Strauss. The widow Strauss from the 1844–1865 tax list was the widow of Löw Isaac in the 1811 tax list.

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genealogy

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Article

Notes toward a Demographic History of the Jews

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Abstract: As an essential prerequisite to the genealogical study of Jews, some elements of Jewish demographic history are provided in a long-term transnational perspective. Data and estimates from a vast array of sources are combined to draw a profile of Jewish populations globally, noting changes in geographical distribution, vital processes (marriages, births and deaths), international migrations, and changes in Jewish identification. Jews often anticipated the transition from higher to lower levels of mortality and fertility, or else joined large-scale migration flows that reflected shifting constraints and opportunities locally and globally. Cultural drivers typical of the Jewish minority interacted with socioeconomic and political drivers coming from the encompassing majority. The main centers of Jewish presence globally repeatedly shifted, entailing the intake within Jewish communities of demographic patterns from significantly different environments. During the 20th century, two main events reshaped the demography of the Jews globally: the Shoah (destruction) of two thirds of all Jews in Europe during World War II, and the independence of the State of Israel in 1948. Mass immigration and significant convergence followed among Jews of different geographical origins. Israel's Jewish population grew to constitute a large share—and in the longer run—a potential majority of all Jews worldwide. Since the 19th century, and with increasing visibility during the 20th and the 21st, Jews also tended to assimilate in the respective Diaspora environments, leading to a blurring of identificational boundaries and sometimes to a numerical erosion of the Jewish population. This article concludes with some implications for Jewish genealogical studies, stressing the need for contextualization to enhance their value for personal memory and for analytic work.

Keywords: Jewish population; geographical distribution; demographic transition; international migration; who is a Jew?; Jewish identity options; Jewish population genetics; Jewish genealogical studies

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From the perspective of historiography and the social sciences, it is customary to address genealogical studies as *ancillary* or *auxiliary* (Stampfer 2019). Genealogy is often appraised as a specialized approach to collect, process and organize biographical data—no matter how technically articulated and sophisticated—meant to help the main analytic thrust within the broader conceptual framework of a given main underlying discipline. When genealogy holds the centerstage, the roles are somewhat reversed, and the main disciplines themselves turn into the auxiliary tools that provide the essential context to the particular case under investigation. This paper aims at offering a basic demographic framework to the genealogical study of Jews which constitutes the main theme of this volume. It summarily covers a wide time span, from Jewish ethnogenesis to present time (DellaPergola 2001, 2023).

1. Jewish Population Size and Geographical Distribution

1.1. Early Origins

At the outset, it may be useful to briefly review the main developments in world Jewish population, namely its estimated global size and continental distribution (for earlier

treatments of similar matters, see (DellaPergola 1983, 2001, 2014, 2023)). I will not enter here into the question of Jewish population size during antiquity, and limit the overview to the last millennium, or so. However, it must be remembered that the beginning of a Jewish idea and collective entity dates back around the second millennium B.C.E., at least if one follows the Biblical narrative. According to the *Mikra* (literally Readings = Scripture), the Jewish people originated from the intuition of one man, Avraham the son of Terach, who lived in Ur Kasdim in Mesopotamia. This man assumed, accepted, and diffused the idea of one omnipresent, omniscient, and infinitely powerful God, and of the possibility of direct, mutual communication between God and the individual person. The subsequent development of a Jewish community—and later population—involved the growth of one person's family into a multi-generation dynasty, followed by transition into several tribes of descendants of the same original ancestor, or rather of his grandson Jacob. Jacob was renamed Israel after a dramatic nocturne encounter and fight with a stranger entity (*Genesis*, 32, 29). His children and subsequent descendants became, by definition, the *Bnei Israel* (*Sons of Israel*). Only later were the *Sons of Israel* attributed the caption of *people*—firstly by Pharaoh in Egypt (*Exodus*, 1, 9). These people would be known in Egypt as *'Yvrim* (those from the other side (*'ever*—of the river Euphrates) = *the Hebrews*) (*Exodus*, 1, 6), and much later as *Yehudim* (those from Judea = *the Jews*) (*Ester*, 8, 16).

The ancient demographic history of Jews, as told by both internal and external sources, involved a transfer of nomadic people to an ideal *spiritual centre* in a place on the Eastern Mediterranean shore known as the Land of Canaan, renamed by the Jews *Eretz Israel* (*The Land of Israel*—among other attributes of the place). Since the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem in the 6th century B.C. and the deportation of the residents, substantial shares of all Jews lived elsewhere, forming a Jewish *Diaspora*. Such *Eretz Israel-Diaspora* dual presence characterized the rest of Jewish history, through rising and declining weights of its geographical components.

1.2. Antiquity through Middle Ages

From antiquity to the Middle Ages, Jews were abundantly dispersed across all then-reachable regions. The Biblical account of 70 Israelites (actually 66 males) who went from the Land of Israel to Egypt (*Genesis*, 46, 8–27) and the 600,000 who allegedly left Egypt (*Exodus*, 27–41) cannot rely on documentary support. However, it is interesting to note that that over a period of 430 years of stay in Egypt, which can be deducted by a reading of the text, such an apparently amazing population increase—corresponding to a 2.15% annual growth rate—would be feasible through a simple combination of a total fertility of 6 children and a life expectancy at birth of 40 years (Coale and Demeny 1966; DellaPergola 1993b).

Beyond literary sources, and based on archaeological evidence, on information about the level of development of agriculture and commerce, and on assumptions about population sustainability of the land, different scholars have expressed widely different opinions about Jewish population size in ancient times (see the review in Bachi 1977). At the high of the Roman Empire, some high estimates of 4 to 6 million were suggested for the total number of Jews around the enlarged Mediterranean basin (Beloch 1886; Juster 1914; Baron 1971), of whom roughly half were in the Land of Israel. Other opinions, with whom we tend to concur, suggested much lower figures, namely 600,000–1 million in the Land of Israel (Avi Yona 1947; Albright 1960; Broshi 2001), if not less (McEvedy and Jones 1978). Similar or slightly higher numbers might be postulated for the Jewish Diaspora at the time.

A synthesis of Jewish population history between the Middle Ages and present is presented in Figure 1. Within the limits of abundant yet fragmentary evidence of unequal quality, during the Middle Ages, the Jewish population was geographically scattered and mobile. Local Jewish populations were quite small, and their size widely fluctuated over time. During a period of time extending over five hundred years, between the 12th and 17th centuries, the size of world Jewry probably never fell much below one million nor exceeded one and a half million. The data for the late 12th century comprise this author's processing from the memories of the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela, who is

generally considered reliable at least for those parts of the world that he actually visited (de Tudela 1170; DellaPergola 1983, 2001; Botticini and Eckstein 2012). Jews at that time were still markedly concentrated in the Middle East and Asia but were expanding into Western Europe and had already moved from Europe's southern shores into the central and northern parts of the continent.

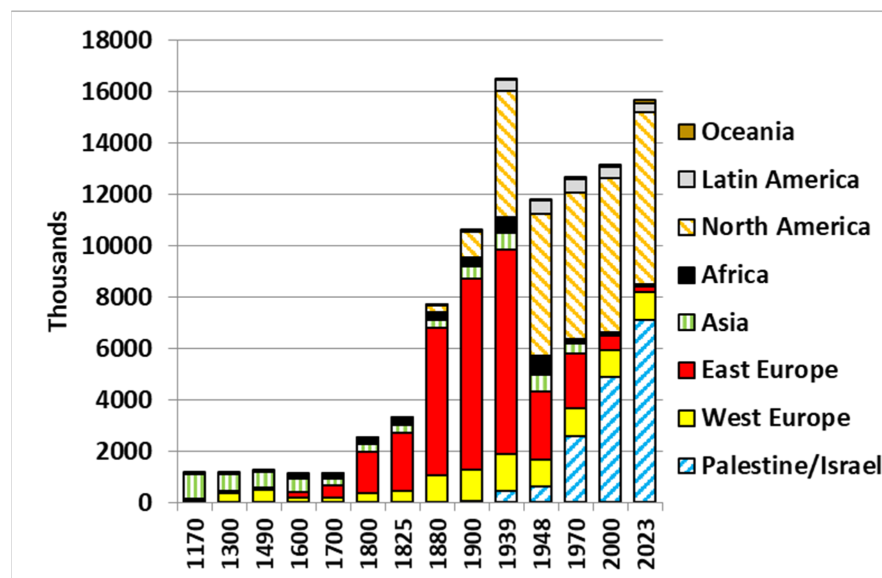

Figure 1. Distribution of Jewish population in the world by major areas—1170–2023. Source: (DellaPergola 2001, 2023; Lestschinsky 1929, 1948; Schmelz 1970; and author's processing).

As a rule, stages of slow demographic build-up were suddenly followed by major disruptive events and decline. Population crises, connected with major epidemics—epitomized by the 13th century Black death—wars and famine, but also political crises—such as Gengis Khan conquests in the early 13th century—affected both Jewish and general populations of a given locale. Other factors, negatively affecting Jewish populations alone, were massacres of entire communities, forced conversions, major expulsions, and segregation into ghettos or enforced residence areas. The most notable expulsion, preceded by several other ones from England and from various European continental lands, was from Spain and Portugal toward the end of the 15th and early 16th centuries (see below). Jews who left the Iberian Peninsula redistributed within Western Europe, throughout the Mediterranean shores, in Eastern Europe, and eventually in the American continent that had recently become part of the geopolitical and economic World system (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989).

1.3. Early Modern Era through World War II

The Jewish population size probably reached one of its lowest levels ever after the wave of violence against Jewish communities in Eastern Europe (1648–1660). The latter events followed the Thirty Years War which, by itself, caused a serious demographic crisis and population decline in the European regions concerned. During the second half of the 17th century, there were possibly around or fewer than one million Jews left in the world. Soon after, though, the Jewish population started growing significantly.

During the 18th century, when the already noted negative factors began to attenuate—namely the eruption of large-scale epidemics, and the massacre or forced conversion of entire Jewish communities—world Jewry possibly more than doubled their numbers. As against a rough estimate of 1.1 million Jews in 1700, the Jewish population was estimated at 2.5 million around 1800. Until then, the Jews had grown more slowly than the total population, but in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, growth rates shifted. Before World War I, Jews attained annual growth rates of 1.6–1.8%, and in 1900, world Jewry reached 10.6 million, a four-fold increase since 1800. Jewish growth rates

slowed down in the interwar years, but the absolute Jewish population increase was still substantial, and on the eve of World War II, an absolute historical peak of 16.5 million was attained.

The demographic developments just outlined were not synchronic and were mainly noted in Eastern Europe (Stampfer 1989, 1997). Yearly growth rates of over 2% were typical of Jews in Eastern Europe during the last quarter of the 19th century, higher than Europe's faster growing general populations such as England, Poland and Russia between the 1880s and 1910 (McEvedy and Jones 1978). The demographic evolution of East Europe's Jewish communities is better illustrated by the fact that whilst around 1650 they possibly numbered between 250,000 and 350,000 people (following Weinryb 1972), by 1900, their total size could be projected at 8.5 million—also considering the families of Eastern European Jewish emigrants to western countries. These estimates are consistent with Jewish vital statistics of Jewish deaths and births and translated into estimates of life expectancy and fertility rates for various countries in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ruppin 1913; DellaPergola 1983; Schmelz and DellaPergola 2006a). The very rapid Jewish population growth in Eastern Europe, namely in the Pale of Settlement (Rowland 1986) during the 19th and early 20th century does not need alternative explanations, such as large-scale immigration or conversions to Judaism—which surely did not occur during the modern era.

On the other hand, the Jewish population grew much more slowly outside Eastern Europe. In Western and Central Europe, there was moderate growth, and an early slowdown emerged. While the former was induced by seclusion into ghettos, forced conversions and dislocation through repeated expulsions, the latter was significantly related to modernization, integration and the beginnings of assimilation of Jews into more developed societies. In the less developed societies of North Africa and the Middle East, the Jewish population did not take-off until the end of the 19th or the early 20th century (DellaPergola 2010).

Among the consequences of these internal developmental lags, the geographical distribution of the Jewish people radically changed. Whereas in a more distant past the Jewish presence was mostly in areas culturally dominated by Islam and was later numerically split between Islamic and Christian nations, the rapid Jewish population surge in Eastern Europe now generated its quantitative predominance in a global perspective. Around 1880—close to the onset of major Jewish intercontinental migration flows in the early 1880s—Eastern European Jews, including the Balkans, constituted about 75% of the world total, up from 52% around 1700. Concurrently, the number of Jews in North Africa and Asia, including the minute *yishuv* (settlement) in Palestine, stagnated or slowly grew, hence their share declined, possibly from about 35% of world Jewry in 1700, to 8% in 1880. Jews in Western and Central Europe basically kept their share of the total—14% in 1880, versus 13% in 1700—while new Jewish communities were beginning to emerge in America, from less than 1% of world Jewry in 1700, mostly in the Caribbean area, to 3% in 1880.

Major geographical shifts between 1880 and 1939 mainly reflected mass international migrations (Lestschinsky 1960; Schmelz and DellaPergola 2006b). The share of Jews in the Americas was up to 33% of the total; Eastern and West-Central Europe were down to 49% and 8%, respectively. Jews in Moslem countries featured further moderate relative decreases, down to 7% of the total Jewish population, while Palestine's *yishuv* grew up to about 3% of world Jewry in a still predominantly Arab environment (Notestein and Jurkat 1945). Along with these changes in Jewish geographical distribution, each regional Jewish population substantially increased its absolute size between 1880 and 1939.

1.4. Post World War II to Present

Major events in the 20th century determined an unprecedented redirection of Jewish history, and radically transformed Jewish demography as well (DellaPergola 2023). On the eve of World War II, world Jewry was estimated at 16.5 million. In 1945, the number left approached 11 million, reflecting the estimated loss of about six million because of persecution and the Holocaust (*Shoah*) (Lestschinsky 1948; Fein 1979; Benz 2001; DellaPergola 1996), but also a moderate increase in areas not affected by the Shoah (DellaPergola 2011).

The murdering of close to six million Jews during World War II caused the loss of 36% of pre-war Jewry, over 60% of European Jewry, and almost all of the large Central-Eastern European Jewish populations. Neither the countries more directly concerned, nor the Diaspora overall, nor, for that matter, world Jewry, ever recovered their pre-war Jewish population size. Deferred demographic consequences of the Shoah, such as mass murdering of children and non-marriage, hindered Jewish population development in the longer term (DellaPergola 1996). In turn, under the impact of a massive geographical redistribution following large-scale migrations since the end of WWII, the *yishuv* in Palestine became the fastest growing component of world Jewish population. In 2023, the world Jewish population was estimated at 15.7 million (DellaPergola 2023).

Demographic trends in Israel and in the Diaspora were quite different. In Israel, Jews increased from half a million in 1945 to 7 million in 2022, also reflecting the immigration of over 3.5 million. The Jewish Diaspora stood at 10.5 million in 1945, was quite stable until the early 1970s and, by 2022, had decreased to 8.2 million. The world's total population increased from 2.315 billion in 1945 to 8 billion in 2022, and the share of Jews among the world's total population diminished from 4.75 per 1000 in 1945 to 1.95 per 1000 in 2022.

The geographical distribution of Jews has drastically changed over the last few decades, reflecting, firstly, intensive international migration but also the differential impact of marriage, fertility, life expectancy, ageing, assimilation, and, hence, variable growth rates in different Jewish communities across the world (see Figure 2). The major difference between 1970 and 2022 was the shifted rank of the two largest Jewish populations—the U.S. was the largest in 1970 and Israel was the largest in 2022. The world Jewish population also became more strongly concentrated in fewer main and more developed locations (DellaPergola et al. 2005). In 2022, Israel and the U.S. accounted for over 85% of the total, versus 63% in 1970. Twenty-three other countries, each with more than 10,000 Jews, accounted for 14% of the world total, and another eighty countries, each with smaller Jewish populations, together held 1%. Of the 24 largest Jewish communities besides Israel, 2 were in North America, 6 in Latin America, 11 in the European Union and other Western Europe, 2 in Eastern Europe, one in the Balkans, 1 in Oceania, and 1 in Africa (DellaPergola 2023). Several countries that were prominent in 1970, mostly in Asia and Africa as well as republics of the former Soviet Union (Tolts 2018), disappeared from the 2022 top list. By the mid-21st century, a potential majority of all Jews worldwide might live in Israel.

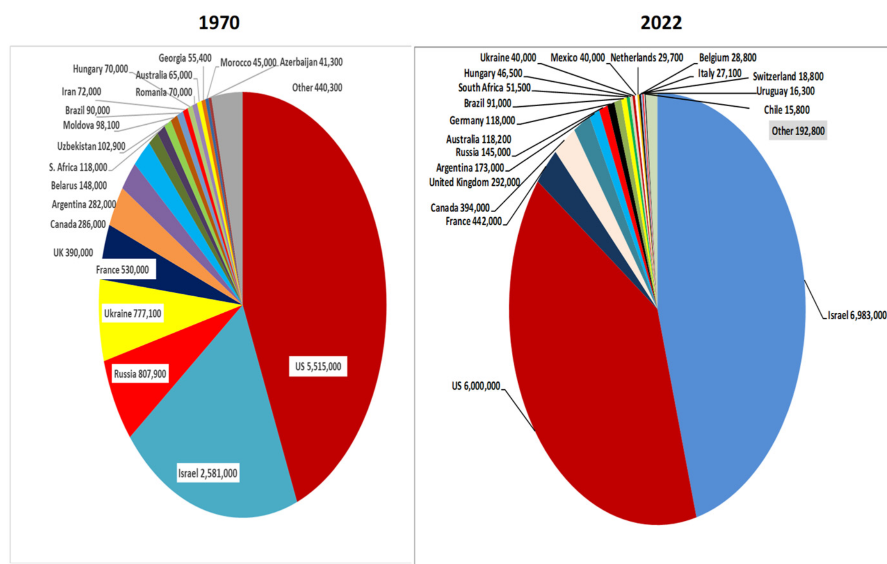

Figure 2. Twenty largest Jewish populations in the world—1970–2022. Source: DellaPergola (2023).

1.5. How Many Jews ever Lived?

Demographers, historians and genealogists might wish to engage in the study of the number of Jews who ever lived, including the descendants of *Conversos*, who lived in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, or of those Middle Eastern Jewish populations which were Islamized much earlier in the area between the Eastern Mediterranean shores and the Saudi peninsula, or even of converts during the Roman Empire. Today, greater awareness of history and also greater interest toward Judaism brings people to research their own ancestry, namely in South America, and even to seek an official return within the fold of Judaism (Parfitt 2002; Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs 2018).

Table 1 presents an explorative model of the cumulative number of persons who lived on Earth, and, of those, the number of Jews since inception to 2022. This is similar to attempts to evaluate the total number of human beings who ever lived (Keyfitz 1966; Durand 1974; McEvedy and Jones 1978; Biraben 1979). Our model is based on some elementary assumptions about the number of births—expressed by birth rates per 1000 population—and of conversions in different historical periods, each characterized by different environmental and cultural conditions but also by different availability and plausibility of data. The annual birth rates for the pre-modern period were consciously imagined at a rather low level of 25 per 1000, considering the frequent disruptions due to persecutions, high death rates, and repeated migrations. The population sizes underlying the numbers of births and conversions for the period after 1170 are those presented in Figure 1 above. For earlier periods, the suggested estimates consider traditional and critical narratives for antiquity, and prevailing notions and assumptions for the eras between the Roman period to the early Middle Ages (Baron 1971; Bachi 1977; DellaPergola 1983; Botticini and Eckstein 2012; McEvedy and Jones 1978). The cumulated numbers are different from periodical population estimates as they only factor in the input of births and conversions to Judaism, but not the output of deaths and secessions.

Table 1. Tentative estimates of number of Jews who ever lived on Earth—thousands, 1500 B.C.E.-2022.

Years	Years	Initial Pop. Estimate	Final Pop. Estimate	Pop. Growth Estimate	Average Pop.	Birth Rate per 1000	Yearly Births	Total Births Period	Total Conversions	Total Addition	Cumulated J. Pop.
1500–1100 BCE	400	0	600	600	60	25	1.5	600	40	640	640
1100–1060 BCE	40	600	600	0	600	25	15	600	4	604	1244
1060–400 BCE	560	600	250	−350	500	25	13	7000	5	7005	8249
400 BCE–0	400	250	2500	2250	500	25	13	5000	1000	6000	14,249
1–500	500	2500	1200	−1300	1000	25	25	12,500	5	12,505	26,754
500–1700	1200	1200	1200	0	1000	25	25	30,000	12	30,012	56,766
1700–1800	100	1200	2500	1300	1750	30	53	5250	10	5260	62,026
1800–1900	100	2500	7600	5100	6500	35	228	22,750	10	22,760	84,786
1900–1940	40	7600	16,500	8900	13,500	25	338	13,500	4	13,504	98,290
1940–1945	5	16,500	11,000	−5500	13,750	10	138	688	0	688	98,978
1945–2015	70	11,000	14,800	3800	12,900	20	258	18,060	70	18,130	117,108
2015–2022	7	14,800	15,700	900	15,250	15	229	1601	30	1631	118,739

Source: author's estimates.

If these assumptions are correct, about 120 million Jews possibly ever lived from Avraham to the time of this writing. About half of them entered the Jewish population by birth or conversion during the 3200 years between 1500 B.C.E. and 1700, the other half did during the 300 years between sometime in the 18th century and today. The descendants of those who ceased to be Jewish were not included in this model. If the latter were to be added, the numbers would be much higher. Readers may detect possible weaknesses in this model. Any correction, improvement or alternative assumptions would obviously lead to different results.

2. Determinants of Jewish Population Change

As with any population, Jews are subject to two main determinants of demographic transformation:

1. The balance of births and deaths, or vital events, which is relevant both locally and globally, through significant variation across countries;
2. The balance of immigration and emigration, or international migration, which is relevant locally, again through high variability across countries, but can also indirectly affect the global trends in the longer run;
3. A third determinant, relevant only to a sub-population, like the Jews, is defined not only by its physical existence but also by certain specific symbolic or cultural criteria: the balance of accessions to and secessions from Judaism, or identification changes.

While the different types of events outlined here are analyzed by demographers in aggregate format, genealogical studies study them individually and in connection with other similar events pertaining to one given family or a network or related families. To understand the likelihood that such events happen or not, three types of factors must be considered (Dixon 1971):

1. The desirability of the event, reflecting on its normative aspects;
2. The feasibility of the event, reflecting the economic support framework needed for the event;
3. The availability of means and tools—legal, logistical, technological, or other—essential for the event to come into being, and variable according to the specific circumstances of each event.

It is important to appreciate that demographic events, namely those relevant to genealogists, do not happen randomly but rather reflect a complex chain of explanatory determinants. The impact of each of these factors on Jewish demography historically will be reviewed in the following.

3. International Migration

3.1. Premodern

Besides the negative impact of the mentioned periodically destructive factors, international migration was the leading mechanism of Jewish population change in the long term. The geography of the Jews to this day reflects events that occurred in the distant past, namely large-scale migrations. Figure 3 schematically illustrates the main migration streams and some of the main areas of settlement and resettlement between antiquity and the Middle Ages. For a more detailed treatment, the reader is referred to DellaPergola (2001).

The prime and nearly perennial thrust of global Jewish migrations was the dialectic between the pristine location in *Eretz Israel* (the Land of Israel), and the rest of the world where a Jewish Diaspora (dispersion, or exile) of varying size and influence developed. As noted, the center of Diaspora Jewry repeatedly shifted, but the general trend was one of continued diffusion as long as the settled ecumene reached new and more distant frontiers. In Figure 3, flow n.1 illustrates the exile from *Babel* (Babylon), after the fall of the First Temple between the 8th and the 6th century B.C.E. Flow n. 2 testifies of a partial return (*Shivat Zion*), while the majority would remain in what later would become Iraq, further expanding northward and eastward.

A major expansion westward followed two parallel paths: a southern one (n. 5 in Figure 3) and an eventually more influential northern one (n. 3 in Figure 3). The latter, following the northern shores of the Mediterranean, led to Turkey and Greece—with the formation of the Romaniote communities (Bonfil et al. 2011)—but most importantly to insular and continental southern Italy. This for a while in antiquity was one of the densest areas of Jewish settlement in Europe. But what counts more was the drift to Rome and to the north, up to the border areas of today's France and Germany, where the original community of *Ashkenaz* was born and consolidated already since the 4th century (n. 4 in Figure 3). A parallel northbound stream passed from southern France, along the Rhone and

Rhine valleys. The Ashkenazic settlements expanded to East European lands after the 11th century (n. 6) and continued to grow there into the 16th century thanks to the relatively more hospitable conditions found there, as against the frequent expulsions incurred by Jews in various parts of Western Europe. As noted, those initially tiny East European communities were bound to become the backbone of world Jewry.

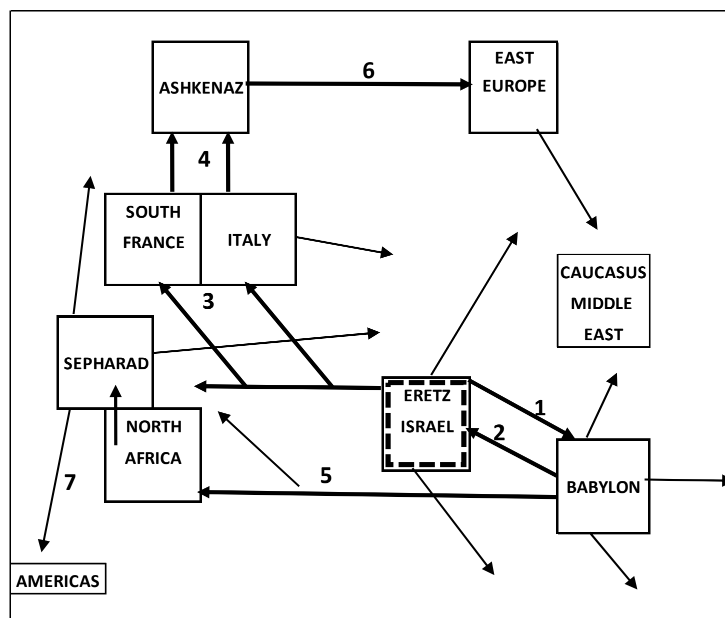

Figure 3. Main Jewish migration streams in antiquity and the Middle Ages. Source: elaborated from DellaPergola (2001).

In turn, the southern westbound migration path (n. 5), passing from Alexandria, and following the westward expansion of Islam (since the 7th–8th centuries), reached the northern shores of Africa and the south-western shores of Europe—especially the Iberian Peninsula. The expulsion from Spain and Portugal, variously evaluated at around 100–150,000 Jews (out of a total Jewish population of 250–300,000), followed by expulsions from other Spanish-held territories, such as Southern Italy and Sicily, generated a very large dispersion of the Sephardic settlement (Gerber 1994). Such migrants reached into Western, Central and Northern Europe, North Africa, the Ottoman Empire, namely the Balkans, Turkey (namely Constantinople), Syria and the Land of Israel (Lewis 1952), and the newly settled Americas (path n. 7 in the figure)—initially the Caribbean islands, followed by Brazil and other northern parts of South America.

As exemplified in Figure 3, along these migration streams, there were several smaller others toward areas such as Yemen, Central, Southern and Eastern Asia into China (namely Kaifeng; see Leslie 1972), the Caucasus, the northern shores of the Black Sea, possibly Ethiopia (Kaplan 1995), the newly reached Americas, and eventually New Amsterdam—later New York (Sarna 2004).

This elementary scheme carries several significant implications for the possible commonalities and differences within the Jewish world. The origins of the Jews were clearly Middle Eastern. The early demographic and cultural Jewish partition began with the development of a large and influential Diaspora in Babylonia, with a smaller but constant presence in the Land of Israel. It is possible that the split between the 2nd and the 8th centuries into what was to become *Ashkenazic* Jewry and *Sephardic* Jewry might be traced to the different frequencies of their respective ancestral roots in *Eretz Israel* and in *Babel*. Some support for this view rests on analyses of prevailing Jewish rituals relying on either version of the *Talmud*—the *Yerushalmi* (the Jerusalem version) vs. the *Bavli* (the Babylonian version) (Grossman 1973; Bonfil 1983). Other scholars, however, do not accept this opinion as they find reliance on the *Talmud Bavli* already by the 8th century in Western European locations (Soloveitchik 2014; Lifshitz 2022).

When significant Jewish migrations occurred, it is likely that a minority left while a majority remained. Jewish migrants therefore comprised a self-selected pool of people. Jewish communities that remained in pre-existing locales were exposed to cultural and social change, which could lead to demographic erosion and assimilation, and sometimes disappearance. One case in point may have been the significant presence of Jews in Saudi Arabia—still mentioned by de Tudela (1170), which eventually completely disappeared with the rise of Islam, yet leaving behind still retrievable genetic markers (see below) (Hammer et al. 2000).

If the assumptions presented here are correct, the main thrust of pre-modern Jewish migration history can be summarized by a significant movement from the early Middle East, westward to North Africa and Southern Europe, then northward to the early *Ashkenaz* of Central-Western Europe, and finally eastward to Eastern Europe (*Ashkenaz* in a broader figurative sense).

3.2. Modern and Contemporary

During the early modern period, constant migrations of moderate entity occurred, with no outstanding long-distance major flow. Small-scale—though culturally significant—and wavelike Jewish migrations occurred to the Land of Israel and to the Americas, as well as throughout Europe (Israel 2002). This relative stagnation was followed by a dramatic migration surge since the 1880s, throughout the 20th century, and in the first decades of the 21st century. A total of over nine million Jews relocated, mostly to a different continent, along with a huge urbanization process. Of these, nearly four million moved before 1948 and over five moved after 1948 (Willcox and Ferenczi 1929; Lestschinsky 1960; Kuznets 2012; Schmelz and DellaPergola 2006b). Figure 4 illustrates the rhythm and main directions of Jewish international migrations between 1880 and 2022, showing the partition between those moving to Israel (*aliyah* = figuratively ascent) and to other destinations.

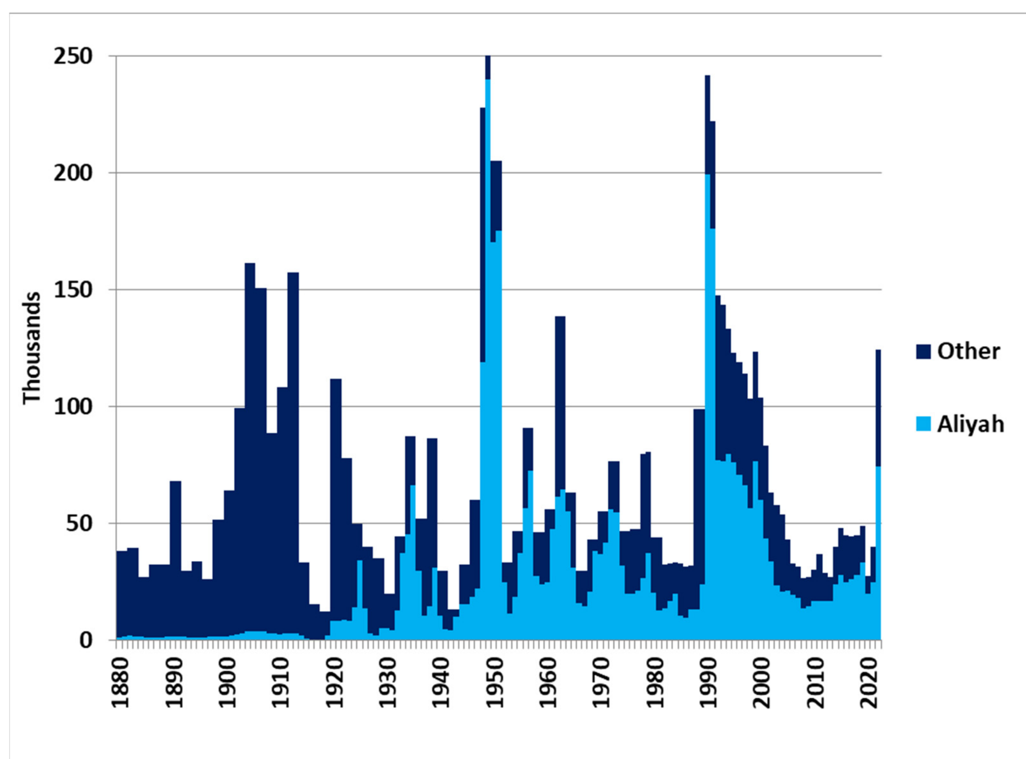

Figure 4. International migration of Jews, total and to Israel (*aliyah*), thousands—1880–2022. Source: adjusted from Willcox and Ferenczi (1929); Gurevich et al. (1944); Sicron (1957); Lestschinsky (1960); Schmelz and DellaPergola (2006b); DellaPergola (2009b, 2020); Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 1950–2023, and author's processing.

The marked wavelike profile of world Jewish migration reflected the response of Jews to major crises and the consequent destabilization and push factors that emerged in different epochs and parts of the world. It also reflected the ever-changing opportunities, often limited by stringent quotas, to find adequate resettlement locations. The main peaks appeared mostly in correspondence with major global geopolitical changes, namely the liquidations of major empires and the emergence of a new world order. In particular, we note the surge of migration mostly to the U.S., preceding and following the end of the Russian, Habsburg, and Prussian Empires at the end of World War I; the end of the British Empire as background of Israel's independence in 1948 and the subsequent major *aliyah* wave; the end of the French Empire and decolonization in North Africa in the 1950s and 1960s; and the end of the Soviet Union—also a form of an Empire—following the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the subsequent exodus of nearly 90% of all Jews who lived there. Russia's war in Ukraine is reflected in the data for 2022. The important lesson to be learned is that paramount developments in Jewish society reflected and were largely dependent on major changes occurring in the general surrounding environment (DellaPergola 1998, 2009b, 2020). Jews finally adjusted to the opportunities and constraints offered by a truly global system of economies and cultures (Inglehart and Welzel 2005).

The shifting population sizes and geographic distributions between the 18th century and World War II, already noted in Figure 1, reflect the variable Jewish growth rates in Eastern and Western Europe, Asia and Africa, and in the new communities in the Americas and Oceania. This massive reshuffling of the Jewish presence derived from the changing balance of hold and push determinants in the places of origin, and of pull and repel in the places of destination. Examples of these factors are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Examples of factors related to Jewish international migration.

Factor	Example
Hold	Prohibition to emigrate (such as from the former Soviet Union); legal, socioeconomic and cultural conditions favorable to Jewish presence (like in Western democracies)
Push	Expulsion (such as from European countries in the Middle Ages); physical persecution, economic sanction, cultural discrimination (like in 19th century Eastern Europe, or in Moslem countries)
Pull	Normative attractiveness of place (like the Land of Israel); positive legal and socioeconomic conditions (like in Western democracies, or Israel's Law of Return)
Repel	Prohibition to immigrate or quotas regulating immigration (like in the U.S. in the 1920s); unfavorable socioeconomic conditions in receiving country

The role of migrations, both ancient and modern, in creating and reshaping the character of Jewish communities globally cannot be over-evaluated, no less than their geographical alignment and shifting center of gravity. Jewish individuals and organized communities disconnected and reconnected as well as innovated but also kept traces of past memories (Bokser Liwerant 2021; DellaPergola 2021). Similar experiences occurred in the migration experiences of other ethnoreligious and sociocultural groups, but the Jews were on the move over a more extended time span and with greater complexity and articulation geographically.

4. Demographic Transitions

4.1. Lifecycle Vital Events

The *demographic transition* was a crucial process in modern demographic history epitomized by the reduction in the levels of mortality and subsequently of natality (Thompson 1929; Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa 1986; Livi-Bacci 2017). These changes reflected the different timing in the modernization of mortality and fertility and in turn affected population

growth rates, first generating expansion, and later shrinkage. Modern Jewish demographic transitions generally preceded the non-Jewish populations in the same locales (Livi 1918, 1920; Lestschinsky 1926; Bachi 1976; DellaPergola 1983, 1992, 2001; Bachi and DellaPergola 1984). Jews often (though not always) anticipated the early take-off of rapid demographic expansion, but in due course, they also anticipated the modern slowing down of growth and even turning into a deficit of births versus deaths. In quick synthesis, major demographic changes can be explained by a combination of three factors:

1. Factors specifically related to religion, culture and community organization of the Jews;
2. Factors related to legal and other patterns of interaction between the Jewish communities and the non-Jewish environment;
3. Factors related to the general characterization of the societal environment and shared by Jews and others at a given time and place.

The unfolding of demographic processes among Jews in Eastern Europe calls for special attention. According to the evidence, the few thousand Ashkenazic Jews in the Middle Ages had grown to several hundred thousand by the 18th century, and to several million toward the end of the 19th. One may ask whether such an increase, which would make European Jewry the overwhelming majority of the world total, was at all possible, and in the affirmative, under which conditions?

We reconstructed this crucial phase of Jewish demographic history by combining the evidence from censuses and vital records, with some life-expectancy and fertility levels assumptions (Mahler 1958; Weinryb 1972; Baron 1971, 1976; Gieysztorowa 1976; Bloch 1980; DellaPergola 1983; Stampfer 1989, 1997, 2018; Jagur-Grodzinski 1997; Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2018; Troskovaite 2018; Toch 2018) (Table 3). According to the sparse notions of the early Middle Ages (de Tudela 1170), Jews in Eastern Europe were then only beginning to settle, coming from the west, whereas by the end of the 19th century, they constituted the source of massive emigration to the west, in particular to the Americas. Our tentative estimates are not limited to the main nucleus of the Polish-Lithuanian communities but also cover a broader area including Bohemia, Galicia, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine, and Russia. Thus, they incorporate small pre-existing Jewish communities in Europe, which probably arrived from the Black Sea and more southern locations (DellaPergola 2001).

Table 3. Tentative estimates of population size and main demographic variables among Jews in Eastern Europe, 1170–1900.

Year	Years Span	Jewish Population Thousands	Yearly Growth Rate %	Life Expectancy Female	Total Fertility Rate
1170		7			
	130		0.9–1.0		
1300		25			
	190		0.3–0.4	25	5.8
1490		50			
	160		1.0	27.5/30	6.4/5.9
1650		250			
	115		1.1–1.2	30	5.9
1765		910			
	60		1.5–1.6	35	5.9
1825		2272			
	55		1.7	40	5.5
1880		5727			
	20		2.0	45	5.4
1900		8510 [a]			

[a]. Including emigrants overseas. Adjusted from DellaPergola (2001). Sources: Baron (1971); Weinryb (1972); Bloch (1980); DellaPergola (1983, 1992); Stampfer (1989); Coale and Demeny (1966), and author's estimates.

The Jewish population growth rates suggested in Table 3 draw from stable population models (Coale and Demeny 1966) that mathematically link the different parameters of demographic change under various assumptions of life expectancy, fertility and generation length. Once assuming a certain population size and growth rate, the demographic models determine whether these assumptions would be plausible and under which conditions of mortality and fertility. Coale-Demeny "West" models, better than others, fit populations with relatively low child mortality, as plausibly was the case of the Jews (Schmelz 1971). We (DellaPergola 2001) assumed an average age of women giving birth around 29, with Jewish brides marrying young, and a longer span of childbearing reflecting better health and longevity.

Under an assumption of Jewish female life-expectancy at birth gradually improving from a level of 25 years in 1300–1490, to 45 years toward the end of the 19th century, the latter estimated on the basis of available data (Bloch 1980), Jewish total fertility rate (TFR) should have approached most of the time five to six children born alive per woman (only some of whom would survive to adulthood). This is highly feasible.

Early longevity advantages among Jews versus contemporaneous populations were probably enhanced by widespread adherence of Jewish communities to traditional ritual prescriptions, such as selective control over food, personal and family hygienic norms, the presence of Jewish physicians, and social assistance awarded to the Jewish poor. Socio-economic differences between Jews and non-Jews later became the main determinant of persisting mortality and fertility differentials. More widespread urbanization, significant advantages in educational levels, and secondary and tertiary occupational specializations translated into better Jewish survivorship and longevity. Comparisons of causes of death for Jews and non-Jews confirm these assumptions, namely a lower incidence of Jewish deaths related to socially related causes, such as consumption of alcohol or venereal disease, and lower infant mortality due to gastrointestinal causes, possibly reflecting more widespread and longer breastfeeding with its related benefits (Woodbury 1925; Schmelz 1971; Jelliffe and Jelliffe 1978; DellaPergola 1983).

Average total fertility rates of 6–7 children were often recorded across demographic history. Much higher levels of 10 children or more were only recorded among the Hutterite community in the U.S. during the 1920s, Israel's Muslim community during the 1960s, and Israel Bedouins still in the 2000s, all of whom enjoyed better health conditions than populations in a more distant past. Many of the same social factors associated with the early decline of Jewish mortality, such as better education and urbanization, later translated into an earlier onset and quicker decline of Jewish fertility. The data and estimates reported here support the view of a small initial pool of immigrants rapidly expanding to a very large population (Xue et al. 2017).

The basic differences in the timing and speed of demographic evolution of Jews and non-Jews followed similar patterns in different continents (DellaPergola 2001). Death rates generally declined earlier among Jews, and the same happened later with regard to birth rates. Jews in England and in the U.S. in the late 19th and early 20th centuries represented cases of Jewish communities whose composition changed under the impact of immigration from predominantly German to mostly East European stock, entailing temporary increases in fertility and growth rates, before eventual decline (Kosmin 1982; Billings 1890; Grabill et al. 1958; Chiswick 2020).

4.2. Structural and Normative Correlates of Demographic Behaviors

In constructing an interpretation of historical changes in the demographic patterns of Jewish versus other populations, factors related to geographical distribution and differences in settlement density are usually mentioned—often the product of legal and political constraints. Other factors touched upon social class differences between Jews and the majority population, property and inheritance arrangements, cultural habits, namely gender inequality, psychological differences linked to the minority status of Jews, and sometimes biological factors and inherited properties (Bachi 1976; Bachi and DellaPergola 1984).

Differences related to the normative order prescribed by the different religions or other ethical persuasions to which people adhere are less often mentioned in the scientific literature but deserve careful examination (DellaPergola 1983; Bachi and DellaPergola 1984). This is precisely the terrain on which the Jew should be evaluated as an active bearer of his or her own autonomous cultural and religious values and not simply as a passive actor, a *different* person, or a victim of discrimination aimed at nullifying the legitimacy of such otherness. Normative differences, although eventually diluted or even forgotten in widespread long-term processes of modernization, appear to have exerted singularly powerful and lasting influences on the demography of marriage, the family, and household structure.

Table 4 compares a number of fundamental parameters for family formation and procreation, as they are prescribed, respectively, by Jewish and Catholic normative codes (or else, widely predominant by common practice). A similar scheme can be drawn comparing Judaism with other branches of Christianity, with Islam, or with any other religious or moral doctrine. In this and the following table, items in brackets indicate a prescription in a certain direction but with explicit exceptions provided for by religious law, or are preferable but not strictly enforced.

Table 4. Scheme of normative Jewish and Catholic codes about marriage and fertility.

Variable	Prevailing Norms		Possible Added Effect of Normative Judaism on Frequency
	Jewish	Catholic	
Marriage			
1. Universal	Yes	No	+
2. Early	Yes	No	+
3. Monogamic	Yes/No [a]	Yes	(+)
4. Heterosexual	Yes	Yes	
5. Consanguineous	(Yes)	No	(+)
6. Endogamic (religion)	Yes	(No)	(-)
7. Patrilocal	Yes/No [a]	No	
8. Arranged marriage (*shiduch*)	Yes	No	+
9. Divorce	(Yes)	No	(-)
10. Remarriage	Yes	(No)	+
Fertility			
1. "Procreate and multiply"	(Yes)	No	(+)
2. Sex only for procreation	(No)	Yes	(+)
3. Purity/couple separation	Yes	No	(+)
4. Contraception—men	No	No	
5. Contraception—women	(No)	No	(-)
6. Sterilization	No	No	
7. Abortion	(No)	No	(-)
8. Breastfeeding of infants	Yes	(No)	(-)
9. Adoption	(Yes)	Yes	
10. Assisted reproduction	(Yes)	No	+

[a] Variable according to geo-cultural areas. Parentheses indicate weaker effects, such as for circumstances allowed but not encouraged, or encouraged but weakly enforced. Adjusted from DellaPergola (2018).

This scheme of normative prescriptions underlines similarities but also some fundamental differences between Jewish and other civilizations. Jewish marriage is normatively

heterosexual. Judaism emphasizes mandatory marriage—also affecting the attitude to remarriage—and endogamy, and the role of marital love as an important element of stability and peace in the home (*shalom bayt*). The Catholic ideal and normative priority would rather stress ascetism and abstinence, as well as more ecumenical inclusiveness in the range of possible partners (Noonan 1968). The possibility of divorce among Jews contrasts against total rejection in the Catholic ethos. In various instances, the Jewish marriage model, if cogently applied, would presumedly lead to higher levels of nuptiality and, hence, fertility. Jewish traditional marriage, according to regional circumstances, could be monogamic—in Europe since the year 1012 (Grossman 1981)—or polygamic in Muslim environments (Goiten 1967). The residential choices of the new family, related to dowry customs, could be patrilocal or matrilocal, in robust correlation with pre-marriage dowry arrangements (Weinstein 2006; Andreoni et al. 2018).

The normative foundations of Jewish and Catholic family behavior thus appear to be diametrically opposed in several respects. The concept of a Judeo-Christian civilization is hardly supported by an examination of traditional family patterns. Of course, it must be borne in mind that in any real population actual behaviors corresponded only partially to the normative prescriptions of the group in question. Not everyone ever chose to follow the commandments, and not everyone was even aware of the existence of those standards and their implications. It is important to underline, though, that family formation in the past was principally the product of decisions taken by an authority within the family independent of the free will of the spouses themselves. The role of intermediaries or matchmakers could be conspicuous, especially when communities were small and geographically spread, or special social class interests had to be preserved when determining the composition of a new household. But it is also important to realize that the devising of activist matrimonial strategies can be individualized and interpreted in the sense of a diffuse preoccupation with Jewish survival and continuity of significance not only regarding economic interests but also an ideal existential imperative. The emergence of freedom of choice and romantic love was a relatively late development, part of a broader process of secularization and individuation (Goode 1970; Shorter 1975).

In order to highlight the unique aspects of the development of birth patterns among Jews in different locales and at different times, and to enable comparisons to be made between Jewish populations and contemporaneous or co-resident non-Jewish populations, it is also necessary to highlight the points of contact between fertility processes and the detailed normative system that regulated the lives of Jews in the past. Such codes continue to regulate their lives currently among relatively small communities still closely guarding Jewish tradition.

In this context, it is worth briefly examining some of the voluntary and involuntary intervening factors affecting fertility levels (Davis and Blake 1956; Bongaarts 1978). With regard to each of these factors, we can compare the extent to which laws and customs prevalent among tradition-abiding Jews could lead to boosting or depressing their birth levels. In several respects, the Jewish model, if applied, might plausibly lead to higher fertility levels. However, certain forms of birth control—limited to women, in any case, forbidden to men—can be retrieved in normative Judaism, with great restrictions (Feldman 1968; Irshai 2012). Normative Judaism does not impose to maximize the birth rate but demands that each adult marry and procreate *at least one boy and one girl*. More children are welcome but not mandatory. These observations throw some light on the empirically ascertained lower or equivalent levels of Jewish birth rates compared to those of the Catholic population during the late modern era—including rules for adoption (Kapnek Rosenberg 1998). Taking this into account, in historical times prior to modernization, it is plausible that the Jewish population could have grown more rapidly than the surrounding population. Under certain specific physiological conditions, however, strict enforcement of Jewish prescriptions concerning sexual life could lead to some impairment of fertility (Toaff 1970). Overall, high rates of natural increase occurred among Jews mainly thanks to

certain advantages that religious regulatory prescriptions might have created with respect to the determinants of morbidity and mortality levels.

4.3. Differential Reproduction

Jewish marriage and fertility transitions followed definite regional patterns and time schedules (Rabinowitsch Margolin 1909; United States Bureau of the Census 1945; Katz 1959; Schmelz 1966; Cohen 1976; Nahon 1981; Plakans and Halpern 1981). The general demographic literature customarily marks a Trieste–Leningrad dividing line between Western and Eastern European marriage patterns (Hajnal 1965). This partition is equally relevant in the case of the Jewish family. In addition, a further division separated the northern Christian from the southern Islamic civilizations within which Jewish communities developed and from which they absorbed important cultural and behavioral traits. This virtual line might run between Tangier and Astrakhan, emblematically separating north from south Italy around Rome (DellaPergola Forthcoming). In each area, Jews, as noted, anticipated the surrounding others, possibly with some exceptions at the local level (Livi 1918, 1920; Grabill et al. 1958; Bachi 1976; Coale et al. 1979; Nouschi 1980; Kosmin 1982; Livi Bacci 1986; Allegra 1993; DellaPergola 1993a; Schellekens and van Poppel 2006; Derosas 2007; Vobecká 2013; Lowenstein 2023).

Further insights on the Jewish fertility transition are provided by an analysis of parity progression ratios (PPR), which illustrate the pace of family formation. PPRs measure the propensity of a family of a given size to expand by adding an additional birth (Blau 1953; Bensimon and DellaPergola 1984, 2001; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 1950–2023). These likelihoods are expectedly different as a function of current parity. PPRs could be calculated for Jewish women of different ages in different countries at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Four main patterns appear, outlining the whole course of demographic modernization. Fertility was typically high and unchecked among Jewish women in Eastern Europe who had children in the second half of the 19th century, meaning that a woman with one or five children had an equal probability of having one further child. Fertility control began among Jewish women in Central Europe shortly after the mid of the century, and emerged in Eastern Europe at least one generation later, by stopping higher parities and distancing more between births. The next stage was a clear partition of the Jewish population across Europe between a larger segment with declining birth rates and a smaller one with persisting high fertility. This also characterized Israel's population well into the 20th century. Finally, much lower, down to extremely low, fertility prevailed, but a bi-modal profile could still be observed toward the end of the 20th century. Bimodality implies a diffused decline in the propensity to add a child once one, two, or three are already born. On the other hand, women with relatively larger families—around six births in the past, and later around four—apparently made no or lesser efforts to prevent a further birth.

Importantly, then, the diffusion of modernization and secularization during the 19th century implied a general lowering of fertility rates, but it did not involve all women, not even in the same locale. Each Jewish community displayed a modernizing majority and a more traditional minority. In the East European past Jewish context, and among the contemporary very orthodox, segregated Jewish communities, there often appeared a consonance between a relatively higher social status and a higher degree of religious observance. The social class-religiosity relationship, which crucially affected household size, was reversed from positive to negative at the peak of modernization—if and when modernization reached out to the different segments of the Jewish population.

As a consequence of these patterns, Jewish communities grew at quite different speeds, and the same occurred between different sectors within the same community. In any case, the burden of demographic growth was mainly carried by relatively small minorities within the total Jewish population in Eastern Europe in the past, and in Israel, in the U.S., or elsewhere today (Hartman 2017). Differential fertility was and remains a crucial engine in the uneven transmission of physical and cultural characteristics across the global Jewish population at large.

5. Jewish Identificational Options and Choices

5.1. Boundaries of Jewishness

Far from being a fixed entity, Judaism—both as a set of norms and as a set of people—was and is subject to variations and transformations over time and across space. As noted, over time, the Jewish world system increasingly came to depend on an intertwined cluster of demographic and socio-cultural variables. Biology—particularly the role of fertility in generating new lives—and personal choices—particularly the individual willingness or ability to be part of a Jewish community—were the two drivers of Jewish demography in the past and present. Following modernization, the nature and coherence of world Jewish peoplehood was increasingly challenged in the context of the numerous existing identificational options along the continuum between full Jewish self-segregation and full Jewish integration in the broader societal context (Gordon 1964; Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1986; DellaPergola 2023). Nevertheless, *being* was and is the eternal prerequisite to *choosing*, thus letting a primary role to procreation in determining the existence, presence, nature, evolution, and characteristics of populations, and of world Jewry among them.

Judaism is notoriously a multi-variate cluster of normative, cognitive, behavioral, affective, relational and other perceptions and experiences. It can be at the same time a shared ancestry, a religion, an ethnicity, a culture, an organized community, a social group, a complex of collective and personal historical memories, folklore, and more. In a more distant past, each of these different options totally overlapped. Someone identified as a Jew by parentage was also identified as Jewish by religion, by ethnicity, by a peculiar vernacular, and by residential neighborhood, occupation, and other personal traits. Separation between Jews and non-Jews was marked by a thick boundary, often legally reinforced (see Figure 5).

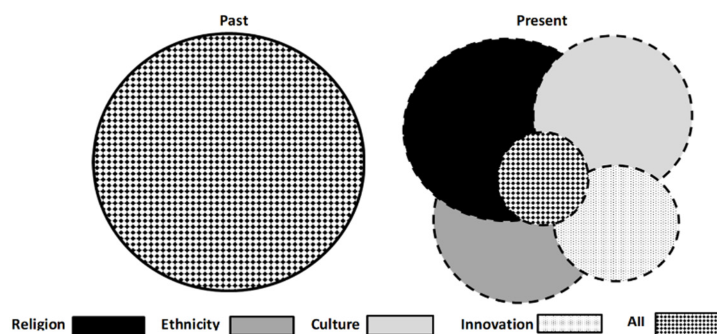

Figure 5. The contents of Jewish identification: past and present. Source: author's elaboration.

Modernization and secularization introduced a growing differentiation emerged between the different possible identification markers. The relevance, intensity, contents and complexity of Jewish identification could not be caught any more by one single indicator. Different if not rival modes of belonging and association emerged through a gradual split of a developing national secular identification from the earlier overarching religious one, of the linguistic from the political, of folklore from social class. At the same time, new forms of Jewish identification possibly emerged. People can today define themselves as Jewish by ethnicity but not by religion, or vice versa (Herman 1977). The Jewish cognitive, affective and experiential sides could be variously expressed through different markers, creating new challenges to the analytic quest to study its changing nature and intensity (Phillips 1991; DellaPergola and Staetsky 2021). In other words, there are multiple doors of entry to and exit from Jewish identification, whereas previously there was one path only. The boundaries separating these various options and all of them from the non-Jewish environment have become flexible and porous.

Throughout history, passages from and into Judaism occurred all the time in the form of formal conversions—voluntary or under coercion—and most of the time resulted in a negative balance for the Jewish side, with rare exceptions concentrated over specific time spans, especially during antiquity in the Middle East and Mediterranean basin. In

the contemporary era, especially in the U.S., religious shifts are frequent between holding a religion or not holding it, and between different religious denominations. In these exchanges, the net balance was usually negative for the Jewish population (Rebhun 2016).

5.2. Intermarriage

One momentous correlate of the Jewish population becoming more integrated in the surrounding civilizations can be found in Jewish marriage patterns, from historical and contemporary perspectives. Of particular significance was the likelihood to marry inside or outside the community of belonging, which testified to the degree of resilience of pre-existing Jewish bonds versus the tendency to assimilate into a broader, multi-ethnic societal frame of reference. Table 5 summarizes the frequencies of Jewish intermarriage across the world between the 1930s and the 2020s, showing great gaps between different countries, along with a generally increasing frequency in the Diaspora. However, the growing weight of Israel among total Jewry, where marriages with non-Jews are few, created a powerful balancing factor. The U.S. data on the share of Jews marrying a non-Jewish partner not converted to Judaism underlie fast-increasing heterogamy (Kosmin et al. 1991; DellaPergola 2009a; Phillips 2018; Pew Research Center 2021).

Table 5. World synopsis of intermarriage rates among Jews currently marrying—1930s–2020s.

% Jews Currently Marrying Non-Jews	1930s			1980s			2020s		
	Country	Jewish Pop. Distribution		Country	Jewish Pop. Distribution		Country	Jewish Pop. Distribution	
		N 000	%		N 000	%		N 000	%
	Total	16,500	100	Total	12,979	100	Total	15,166	100
0–0.9%	Poland, Lithuania, Greece, Palestine, Iran, Yemen, Ethiopia	4130	25	Israel	3659	28			
1–4.9%	Latvia, Canada, United States, Latin America, United Kingdom, Spain-Portugal, Other Asia, Maghreb, Egypt, Libya, Southern Africa	6600	40	Mexico, Africa not else stated	57	1	Israel	6871	45
5–14.9%	Switzerland, France, Austria, Luxembourg, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Estonia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia	5340	33	North Africa, Asia besides Israel	46	0	Mexico, Panama, Belgium, Gibraltar, Iran, North Africa	92	1
15–24.9%	Italy, Germany, Netherlands	385	2	Southern Africa	120	1	Caribbean low, Venezuela, India, Singapore, South Africa, Australia	184	1
25–34.9%	Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia	45	0	Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Brazil, Other Latin America, Europe not else stated	936	7	Canada, Chile, Rest of Latin America, Austria, France, United Kingdom, Turkey, China, Rest of Africa, N. Zealand	1196	8
35–44.9%				Argentina, Italy, France, Belgium	818	6	Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Spain, Rest of West Europe	310	2
45–54.9%				United States, USSR, Austria, Switzerland, Netherlands	7186	56	Germany, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Switzerland, Asian FSU, Rest of Asia	255	2
55–64.9%				Scandinavia, West Germany, Eastern Europe non-USSR	156	1	United States, Denmark, Rest of East Europe	6036	40
65–74.9%							Sweden, Poland, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine	71	0
75% +				Cuba	1	0	Russia, Cuba	151	1
Weighted world average			5%			33%			31%

Sources: (DellaPergola 2009a, 2017; DellaPergola and Staetsky 2020; Graham 2018, 2020); and author's estimates.

A parallel trend was the growing tendency to intermarriage in Israel between Jews of different geographic origins. Based on a dichotomous classification of Europe and America vs. Asia and Africa (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 1950–2023; Okun 2004), the percent of inter-subethnic marriages rose all the time, though it did not yet reach the level expected if the choice of spouse was random and only depended on the size of the different extant population groups.

Interaction of Jews of different origins in Israel and the interaction of Jews and non-Jews in the Diaspora are two symmetric though different aspects of the increasing contact and assimilation of Jews within the broader societal contexts where they live. The demographic implications for the future of Jewish populations in the Diaspora and in Israel are obviously different.

6. Defining, Classifying, Counting the Jews

6.1. Conceptual Steps in Jewish Population Research

Following the discussion of Jewish identification modes among the Jewish global collective, the not-unsubstantial chore remains of defining who the constituting people are

for the purpose of empirical studies. Numerous challenges must be met in establishing and implementing the criteria for attribution. At first look to determine who is a Jew may seem quite simple. However, Jewish population estimates are quite complex to attain, as such or as a framework for sampling. Different organizations or individual scholars may produce data lacking uniform definitions, reflecting the very different institutional, cultural and socioeconomic contexts of the Jewish presence.

In the rather open, fluid, and somewhat unbound environment of contemporary societies, the very feasibility of undertaking a valid and meaningful study of the Jewish collective generates debate. Four different intellectual stances can be detected in this respect, which can be defined as *maximizing* (Moles 1965), *consolidationist* (DellaPergola 2013, 2014), *situational* (Schnapper 1994), and *manipulative* (Kimmerling 1999; Sand 2009). Difficulties involve sources of data, possible alternative Jewish population definitions, and techniques adopted to actually reach the target (for extended treatment, see DellaPergola 2014).

An outline of the metacriteria that precede the operational definitional options should distinguish between principles established *from within the group* itself or *from the outside*. A second distinction is between *normative* definitions, based on juridical principles reflecting traditional Rabbinical law (*Halakha*), on other rulings by progressive Jewish religious movements; and *operational* definitions based on various criteria. The traditional rabbinical ruling is that a Jew is *anyone who was born of a Jewish mother or was converted to Judaism by a Jewish court*. In antiquity, patrilineal, not matrilineal criteria prevailed in the attribution of children to the Jewish people (Cohen 2001). Other Jewish rulings—such as by the Reform movement—recognize patrilineal descent along with matrilineal descent. Normative definitions provide absolute conceptual criteria but are not practical in empirical work because, in theory, one should verify the personal status and background of each individual in the world before assessing the Jewish population worldwide.

Operational definitions rely on particular proxies of quintessential aspects of the population at stake. Among these, some particular genome configurations may be designated as indicative of a Jewish origin (see below). Attribution can rely on broad and somewhat abstract concepts like religion or ethnicity, often ascertained through self-assessment by the people investigated. Otherwise, one characteristic frequent among the group at stake can be chosen as representative—such as certain countries of origin of immigrants or certain urban residential areas known for their high Jewish population density. These markers can be attributed from the outside, from the inside, or from both sides. Definitions can be *stringent* if they require the simultaneous satisfaction of several criteria, with a *minimalist* quantitative outcome; or *lenient* if they only require the presence of one single criterion among the many possible, resulting in a *maximalist* yield. This clearly entails huge variation in the actual results and in the assessment of their consequences.

Any empirical study of a Jewish population or of any other population group or subpopulation requires solving three main problems: *defining* the target group; *identifying* those such defined, by means of membership lists in organizations, typical surnames, customer or electoral lists, or selecting micro-areas for subsequent canvassing; and *covering* the persons such identified through fieldwork, face-to-face, by mail, telephone or internet. It follows that the more conceptual aspects, besides ideal theorical premises, often must comply with practical and logistical feasibility. The ultimate empirical step—obtaining relevant data from relevant persons—crucially reflects the readiness of people to cooperate in the data collection effort.

6.2. Definitional Alternatives and Their Implications

Unlike in the past, besides occasional exceptions, in contemporary times, a clean binary division between Jews and non-Jews is no longer possible (DellaPergola 2014). A major and growing bone of contention in the quantitative study of contemporary Jewry is whether or not group identities should hold mutually exclusive definitions and boundaries. Holders of multiple identities constitute a growing share in contemporary societies. Hence, four

major definitional concepts were developed to provide consistent comparative foundations for Jewish population studies. These are illustrated in Figure 6.

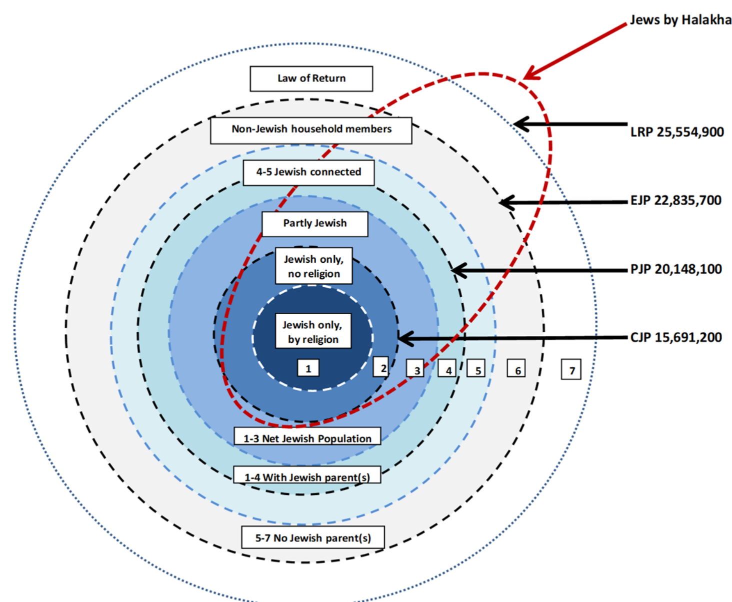

Figure 6. Configuring contemporary Jewish populations—2023. Source: DellaPergola (2023).

As specified in DellaPergola (2014, 2023), the *Core Jewish population* (*CJP)* (Kosmin et al. 1991) includes all those who identify themselves as Jews, *or* who are identified as Jews by a respondent in the same household, *and* do not have another monotheistic religion. Such a definition reflects *subjective* perceptions, whether or not backed by *Halakhah* or other normative definitions. It includes people who identify as Jews by religion, as well as others who are not interested in religion but see themselves as Jews by ethnicity or by other cultural criteria. Some others do not recognize themselves as Jews when asked but can be included if they descend from Jewish parents and do not have another religious identity. Converts to Judaism by any procedure as well as other people who declare they are Jewish even without conversion may also be included in the *core* Jewish population.

Other more extensive definitions are the *Jewish Parents Population (JPP)*, including persons who are not Jewish but are the direct descendants of Jews; *the Jewish Enlarged Population (EJP)*, including all non-Jewish members of a household with at least one core Jew; and the *Law of Return Population* (LRP), the legal instrument to immigration and citizenship in Israel, which extends eligibility to Jews, children and grandchildren of Jews, and the respective spouses, irrespective of their present identity.

Figure 7 displays seven concentric circles plus an intersectional ellipse, corresponding to different Jewish population definitions, showing global estimates for 2022 (DellaPergola 2023). In 2022, the *CJP* was estimated at 15.3 million, the *JPP* at 20 million, the *EJP* at 22.7 million, and the *LRP* at 25.4 million. A 10 million gap separated the more restrictive from the more extensive criterion. A line describing the possible extension of a Jewish population according to the *Halakha* also appears, hinting that many people eligible on rabbinical grounds are not actually part of the collective of people as empirically assessed here. At the same time, some who are conscious of their current or past Jewish identity may not be eligible on rabbinical grounds.

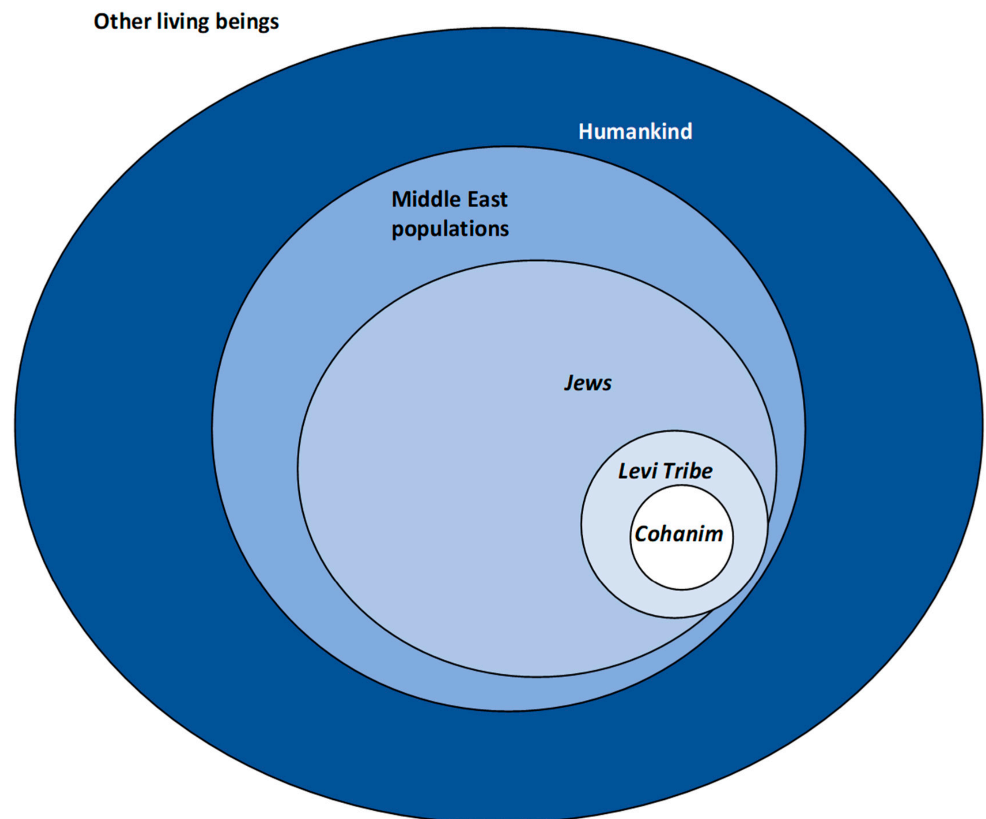

Figure 7. Schematic representation of the positioning of Jews on a global DNA scale. Source: author's elaboration.

Jewish populations in the Diaspora are sometimes documented through population censuses or socio-demographic surveys where respondents may choose how to answer questions on religious or ethnic identities (DellaPergola 1975, 2023; Kotler-Berkowitz et al. 2003; Heilman 2005, 2013; Sheskin and Dashefsky 2022). In Israel, personal status is determined by the Ministry of the Interior, based on decisions by the Israeli Central Rabbinate and by the Supreme Court (Corinaldi 1998, 2001; Gavison 2009). In Israel, therefore, the *core* Jewish population does not express subjective identification but reflects definite legal rules entailing matrilineal Jewish origin, or conversion to Judaism, *and* not holding another religion.

7. A Note on Population Genetics

The discussion on the Jewish population was significantly transformed by the recent emergence of genome-mapping-based literature. The tragic political misuse of genetics in the past must always be present in the mind, calling for the cautious use of these tools. Genome studies have the double purpose of mapping out and taking care of genetically inherited disease as well as of clarifying the ancient genetic origins of the Jews. It should be clarified, at the outset, that in any population, within-group variation is ostensibly greater than between-group variation. It has also been extensively argued above that the determinants of Jewish identification are rooted not only in biological but also in cultural factors. Some of these are anchored in a distant past, nonetheless based on a voluntary contemporary perception of the sense of belonging of an individual with the Jewish religion or nation.

Recent studies of population genetics uncovered the early shared backgrounds and subsequent mutations of contemporary Jewish populations (Bonné-Tamir et al. 1992; Motulsky 1995; Skorecki et al. 1997; Hammer et al. 2000; Risch et al. 2003; Behar et al. 2004a, 2010;

Bradman et al. 2004; Adams et al. 2008; Carmi et al. 2014; Yardumian and Schurr 2019). Although the historicity of the traditional Biblical account should be critically scrutinized, recent genome research allowed us to figure out the ancient antecedents of fatherhood and motherhood of present populations. Some contemporary DNA evidence would indeed attribute the shared male ancestry of many contemporary Jews to a man who might have lived in the Middle East around the 17th century B.C.E. (Hammer et al. 2000). On the Jewish matrilineal side, mitochondrial DNA studies do not reveal one shared ancestress but rather several ones (Thomas et al. 2002; Behar et al. 2008). This is not surprising in view of the fact that the Jewish forefathers had wives (Avraham's Sarah, Itzhak's Rebecca, and Jacob's Leah and Rachel plus the concubines Bilha and Zilpa), each of which had different mothers, not to mention King David's grandmother who was Ruth the Moabite. Allowing for such initial heterogeneity, especially on the maternal side, and instances of rejoining in antiquity, much recent research concurs in showing shared ancestry and other markers across many Jewish populations, despite their widespread dispersion over the globe. Ashkenazi, North African, and Sephardi Jews share substantial genetic ancestry, and they derive it from Middle Eastern and European populations (Lucotte et al. 1993; Semino et al. 2004), although the eventual geographical separation and isolation of different Jewish communities also shows up (Kopelman et al. 2020). These findings are graphically summarized in Figure 7.

Often, Jews in different countries share more similarity than Jews and the non-Jews of the same place. Jews also share certain genome segments with populations that are not Jewish and whose origins are from various areas of the Middle East. A Sephardi Jew, an Ashkenazi Jew, and a Palestinian Arab may share a common ancestor (Nebel et al. 2001). Evidently, conversion does not affect the genome; therefore, it is possible today to retrace the ancient Jewish origins of population groups, which are not Jewish (mostly Moslems and Christians). At the same time, is it possible to detect the early input of other population groups in the genome of contemporary Jewish populations. An interesting refinement is that the *Cohanim*—the Priests, a selected sub-set of the descendants of the ancient Tribe of Levi—share among themselves a greater amount of similarity (Skorecki et al. 1997), arguably reflecting the later common ancestry of this group vis-à-vis the more ancient common Abrahamitic origins. On the other hand, it also appears that the broader Levi tribe's descendants may have incorporated some individuals with non-Jewish ancestries (Behar et al. 2003, 2017).

The more specific discussion about the origins of Ashkenazic Jewry focuses on a relatively closed group of founders who moved to East Europe at a relatively late stage of Jewish history. The last generation of genetic studies confirms the existence of some similarity between Jews of Eastern European origins and Jews of southern European, namely of Italian and Middle Eastern origin, through intermediate stages of prolonged residence in various Western and Central European areas. Reflecting repeated bottlenecks due to epidemics and local massacres, the initially higher heterogeneity of these small populations apparently decreased (Waldman et al. 2022). Some linguists and geneticists hypothesized Slavic and Turkish influences on Yiddish language and literature as well as on genetics. A substantial input of converts in the early Middle Ages was hypothesized, entailing that Ashkenazi Jews were the product of the fusion of Jewish immigrants with Eastern European non-Jews (Koestler 1976; Herzog 1992; King 1992; Das et al. 2016). These hypotheses were disproven by more recent research (Behar et al. 2014; Stampfer 2014). Actually, the fact a very small initial pool of people could grow very rapidly over several centuries—such growth being interrupted by periodical bottlenecks (Behar et al. 2004b; Carmi et al. 2014)—can explain well what has been clearly demonstrated by recent medical research. The high genetic and genealogical proximity among Ashkenazi Jews generated a uniquely high frequency of certain inherited diseases, such as Tay-Sachs, but also possibly some immunities facing certain environment-related diseases, such as tuberculosis (Fraikor 1977; Risch et al. 1995; Withrock et al. 2015). On the Sephardic side, recent genetic research

confirms the presence in Spain and Portugal of significant traces of Jews who converted to Catholicism during the Inquisition (Adams et al. 2008).

8. Implications for Genealogical Studies

The preceding survey summarily reported the main stages and articulations of Jewish demographic history, with an emphasis on the modern and contemporary eras. Genealogy strives to reconstruct history and society through particular personal linkages of marriage and reproduction obtained thanks to patient work of family reconstitution (Fauve-Chamoux 2016). The study of Jewish genealogy mostly focuses on a specific subpopulation, or more frequently on particular sub-sets of Jews related to local geography, selected spans of years or generations, or peculiar personal characteristics—such as genealogies of rabbis or other notable Jewish families (Jacobi 2019). What is sometimes felt is a lack of broader contextualization, and in particular the merger and expansion of those particular sub-sets into a much broader demographic frame of reference.

The background information provided here may be useful to those who worked and currently work to create one or more databases of genealogical information, including as many as possible Jewish records (e.g., Gasperoni 2018; Gasperoni et al. 2023). Given contemporary technical capabilities, the creation of a vast integrated international database would not be a prohibitive task, provided all pieces of relevant information can be collected and organized. At the same time, the continuing expansion of the pool of extended family members, inclusive of Jews and non-Jews, may challenge such a project.

A few major conclusions of interest for genealogical studies can be drawn from the present survey:

1. The Jews stem from an initial small nucleus of people originally located in the Middle East. Their subsequent history involved significant entries of people who were external to the original founders, and a massive number of exits, often under duress but also following voluntary choices. This implies a lot of inner coherence but also a certain inherent initial diversity, and huge ramifications out of the core Jewish population at any point in time.
2. The size of Jewish minorities has always been relatively small, although at certain points in time, Jewish concentrations could represent a significant share and even the majority of the total population of the respective locales.
3. The Jewish population is historically dispersed all around the world. Jews influenced, and were deeply influenced by, the respective environments of residence, enhancing transnational diversity.
4. Jewish identity was always differentially and selectively transmitted from one generation to the next by a self-selected pool of families substantially smaller than the total, translating into a different rhythm of growth of the various geographical segments, and of specific sub-groups within each locale. The physical and socio-cultural characteristics and the relational networks of the descendants were therefore significantly different from those of the founders.
5. Genealogy is capable of holding together, connecting and reconnecting the ever-transforming chain of the generations, thus restituting coherence to the whole system of Jewish communities and individuals.
6. There is no Jewish family where genealogy does not point to multiple geographical origins and possible extensions among non-Jewish populations.
7. Genealogy is a compilation and interweaving of events affecting human beings that really occurred. The occurrence of such events could sometimes reflect mere randomity but was most often the product of specific sets of determinants that embedded particular Jewish norms and values along with more general factors shared by Jews and others.

The information presented in this paper, and in particular these last observations, may help provided genealogical studies a much-needed and appropriate contextualization. This, in turn, may enhance the value of genealogy for personal memory and analytic work.

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genealogy

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Article

The Genesis of Jewish Genealogy

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Abstract: This paper examines the structure, message, and content of biblical genealogies in light of literary analysis and social anthropology. In particular, the focus is on the so-called "Table of Nations" in Genesis 10. My basic assumption is that most biblical genealogies are a literary genre employing various devices that carry a message using symbolic numbers, chiastic structure, and anticipation. These lists interact and supplement the narrative, sometimes as a foil to the story line. They are inserted at relevant points of change in the story of mankind from Adam and Eve to Joseph and his brothers. I even propose that these insertions are the earliest form of dividing the book of Genesis into installments, a precursor to weekly Torah readings and to the later division into chapters as in the printed text. The underlying message of this chapter is the value concept of the brotherhood of mankind stemming from one father—Noah. This innovative idea of universal kinship breaks with the common pagan view prevalent in antiquity that man's place is to serve the gods and to have little or no personal identity. Note that the great urban cultures of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia have left us no real records of family lineage other than the long king lists that reflect dynastic power. No doubt the importance of oral and written lineage stems from a tribal culture like that of the ancient Hebrews and their kindred. This overriding view even shaped the Nimrud pericope, describing his founding the urban centers of Babylon and Assyria. Genealogy became the natural medium expressing this message of universal kinship. Basic to understanding biblical genealogies is discerning two patterns of kinship, one, linear, stretching up to ten generations, and two, segmented genealogies, noting an eponymous "father" and his segmented offspring or wives. Our understanding of these structures in the Bible is shaped by the research of social anthropologists who studied oral genealogy among analphabetic tribes in Africa and the Middle East. I apply these observations and methodology in a detailed commentary on the Table of Nations.

Keywords: biblical genealogy; book of Genesis; Table of Nations

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1. Introduction

For over 2000 years, the central focus of the Sabbath service in most synagogues—the Jewish place of prayer—is the weekly Torah reading of the Five Books of Moses. The first book is Genesis, where we find the famous narratives of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden and the stories of their descendants from Noah down to Joseph and his brothers. While these stories have shaped western literature, less attention has been given to the interspersed genealogies throughout the book, which are integral to the narrative. They are more than just lists of "begats", but rather a literary genre in their own right. In fact, most of the genealogies serve an additional editorial purpose of dividing the book into periodic instalments, a prelude to dividing the book into *sidrot* and *parshiot*, reflecting the Jewish tradition of public readings, and the later division of the book into chapters that became the norm with the advent of printing. For instance, Genesis 10 is a unique extended list of genealogies that has been called the "Table of Nations", purporting to name the seventy progeny of Noah and his three sons. It serves to mark the end of the prediluvian period and the beginning of the history of mankind.

Similarly, the short genealogy of Nahor in Gen 22: 20–24 divides the early history of the Patriarch Abraham and his son Isaac from the latter's marriage to Rebecca and their

family story. Abraham's death is followed by the genealogies of his other descendants, i.e., Ishmael and the sons of Keturah (Gen 25). Later on, Gen 36 presents five lists of the children of Esau, providing a long pause before the story of Joseph. These genealogies are brief digressions noting related families in the overall dynamic flow of the narrative leading up to the story of the Children of Israel.

In this paper we will look at the form, message, and structure of biblical genealogies,[1] particularly the Table of Nations,[2] in light of literary analysis and social anthropological methods (Fortes 1949; Evans-Pritchard 1951; Peters 1960, pp. 29–53). In the past fifty-plus years, this method has been applied to biblical genealogies (Johnson 1969; Demsky 1971, 2016; Malamat 1973; Wilson 1977, pp. 18–55; 1984; Bendor 1996; Levin 2001, 2012).

The Table of Nations (Genesis 10) stands out as a unique expression of ancient Israel's understanding of the known world and the interrelationship of its inhabitants. More than an encyclopedic list of contemporary peoples, it is the capstone of the pre-Patriarchal chapters (Genesis 1–11), succinctly summarizing, in genealogical form, the innovative universalistic message of the Bible. It contrasts sharply with the picture of mankind found in the pagan world as reflected in such works as the *Enuma Elish* (the Babylonian Creation epic) or Hesiod's *Theogony,* where different gods manifested in Nature create man in anonymous droves, relegating him to a secondary, servile position while the great heroes are conceived individually or through divine insemination in the unfolding of pagan myth.

In the biblical narrative, mankind is descended from a common father, first Adam and later Noah. Monogenesis implies the brotherhood of man, a repeated motif finding its universalistic expression in these stories. Its particularistic Israelite counterpart is found in the Prophets: "Look back to Abraham your father and Sarah who brought you forth. For he was only one when I called him, But I blessed him and made him many" (Isaiah 51:2); "Have we not one father [Jacob/Israel]? Did not one God create us? Why do we break faith with one another, profaning the covenant of our fathers?" (Malachi 2:10).

The underlying message of the Table is the brotherhood of man descending from the three sons of Noah who survived the Flood. Initially, no one nation or race is preferred over another, but each is presented as objectively as possible. The idea of the family of nations is expressed implicitly in the choice of the medium of genealogy. While the geographical areas of the descendants of the three brothers are broadly delineated,[3] there is, however, some apparent territorial overlapping, which no doubt reflects an interrelationship and dependence of one nation upon another over time. This condition is expressed poetically:

"May God enlarge Japeth,

And let him dwell in the tents of Shem;

And let Canaan be a slave to them". (Genesis 9:27)

One may even find in the typological number of seventy names, including the three sons of Noah and their sixty-seven descendants, a literary device expressing the totality of mankind. This harmonious number, though not explicit, is certainly significant as a summation of primeval history as it is in summing up the patriarchal period in Genesis 46:27. The implied parallel between the macrocosmos (nations of the world) and the microcosm (the tribes of Israel) has not been lost (see Genesis 4:27; Exodus 1:5; Deuteronomy 10:22; 32:8). It is obvious, even from the Table (see vss. 5, 20, 31, 32), that there was no attempt to present a complete encyclopedic list of all the known nations. Israel as well as other related peoples (Nahor, Lot, Ishmael, Keturah, and Esau) are accounted for in genealogies in the later chapters of the book of Genesis. The enumeration of seventy nations in this chapter is therefore a literary device expressing an inclusive number for all of mankind (compare Judges 8:30; 12:14; II Kings 10:11).[4] As Nahum Sarna (1989, p. 69) cogently summed up: "The Table [is] a document thus far unparalleled in the ancient world. This strangely perplexing miscellany of peoples and tribes and places is no mere academic or scholastic exercise. It affirms first of all, the common origin and absolute unity of humankind after the Flood; then it tacitly, but effectively, asserts that the varied

instrumentalities of human divisiveness are all secondary to the essential unity of the international community, which truly constitutes a family of man."

2. The Form

There are two basic types of biblical genealogies recording kinship patterns. One is linear, which is dynamic and diachronic, presenting one line of descent to the tenth generation, as in Genesis 4:17–26; 5:3–32; 11:10–26. Social anthropologists have termed this cultural feature "structural depth".[5] It is also a literary means of indicating a passage of time. The second type of biblical genealogy is segmented, presenting from two to twelve segments, i.e., sons, of the founding "father" and from two to five "generations" in depth,[6] something like a multi-generational family picture that is static or synchronic. In polygamous tribal lineages, these segments (or branches) are named for the different matriarchs or, alternatively, for the many sons of the eponymous father. This horizontal line has been termed by anthropologists "spatial depth", reflecting the settlement pattern of the tribal territory.

Sometimes, short linear genealogies are in ascending order: C, son of B, son of A, and at other times in descending order: A, father of B, father of C. These lists serve another literary purpose, which is to introduce the central hero of the ensuing story. For instance, Samuel's lineage: "There was a man from Ramathaim of the Zuphites, in the hill country of Ephraim, whose name was Elkanah son of Jeroham son of Elihu son of Tohu son of Zuph, an Ephramite. He had two wives one named Hannah and the other Peninnah: Peninnah had children, but Hannah was childless" (I Samuel 1, 1–2). Another is that of Saul: "There was a man of Benjamin whose name was Kish son of Abiel son of Zeror son of Bechorath son of Aphiah, a Benjaminite, a man of substance" (I Sam 9, 1). And then David: "David was the son of a certain Ephratite of Bethlehem in Judah whose name was Jesse" (Ibid. 17, 12). And in the later books—Mordecai: "A Jew by the name of Mordecai son of Jair son of Shimei son of Kish, a Benjaminite" (Esther 2, 5). A much longer genealogy is that of Ezra the Scribe (Ezra 7, 1–5). Two different extended lineages of Jesus are found in Mathew 1:1–17 and Luke 3: 23–38 (Johnson 1969).

One of the most interesting examples of this type of genealogy is that of Moses and particularly Aaron, which interrupts the narrative in Exodus 6, 13–28. This aside is enclosed by what is called a "resumptive repetition" or *Wiederaufnahm*, i.e., restating verses 13 and 28, indicating that the lineage is an inserted "sidebar".

Moreover, this genealogy seems to be a composite of segmented types. It begins with the standard sons of Jacob but stops at Levi, the relevant eponym. At this point, it becomes a short, segmented genealogy listing his three sons and their progeny along with their life spans. Notably, some of their wives and descendants are mentioned who will appear in later narrative:

The following are the heads of their respective clans.

The sons of Reuben, Israel's first born: Enoch and Pallu, Hezron and Carmi; these are the families of Reuben.

The sons of Simeon: Jemuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jahin, Zohar, and Saul' the son of a Canaanite woman; those are the families of Simeon.

These are names of **Levi**'s sons by their lineage: Gershon., Kohath and Merari; and Levi's life was 137 years.

The sons of Gershon: Libni and Shimei by their families.

The sons of **Kohath**: **Amran**, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel; and the span of Kohath's life was 133 years.

The sons of Merari: Mahli and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites by their lineage.

Amran took to wife his father's sister **Jochebed**, and she bore him **Aaron** and **Moses;** and the span of Amran's life was 137 years.

The sons of Izhar: Korah, Nepheg and Zichri.

The sons of Uzziel: Mishael, Elzaphan and Sithri.

Aaron took to wife Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab and sister of Nahshon, and she bore him Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.

The sons of Korah: Assir, Elkanah and Abiasaph. Those are the families of the Korahites.

And **Aaron**'s son **Eleazar** took to wife one of Putiel's daughters, and she bore him **Phineas**.

Those are the heads of the fathers' houses of the Levites by their families.

In essence, the more complex segmented genealogies, especially in their earlier oral form, were a means of identifying the status of the individual among his tribesmen, vis-a-vis his rights of inheritance (Numbers 36, 6; Judges 11, 1–2), permitted marriages, and responsibilities to redeem those in need (Ruth 3, 12; 4, 4). One had to know his paternal cousins (Arabic: *ibn 'am*) as well as his maternal relatives (Arab. *ibn ḫal*).

There are other mechanisms that shape tribal genealogy, allowing it to expand and contract in light of historic and social developments. One is "structural amnesia" or "telescoping", i.e., dropping names or skipping a generation or two, especially in the middle of a linear genealogy, either because of a repetition of a series of the same names or because a certain member dies young, leaving his offspring to be raised by the grandfather. Another common feature, especially in segmented genealogies, that allows the family tree to grow and even accept new members is called "fluidity." Fluidity in a living society is commonly found in oral genealogies. It indicates the grafting of a segment from another clan or tribe. This might be due to intermarriage, i.e., a "connubium", sometimes recognized as giving equal status to a distaff member of the family. Alternately, adopting a foreign clan may be due to migration or conquest of an intruding family. When these oral genealogies are written down, as in the Bible, they are frozen in time. Similar or identical segments might therefore be found in more than one tribal genealogy, which has led literalist commentators to view the two as "contradictory genealogies which are in fact accurate records of the lineage functioning in particular contexts" (Wilson 1984, p. 59; Levin 2001; but see Sarna 1989, p. 68).

2.1. Classification

As we will see below, the Table of Nations, with a few exceptions, is a collection of segmented genealogies that has many of the above-mentioned literary and social characteristics. In line with the narrative, the segments have been ordered according to the three sons of Noah: Japeth, Ham, and Shem, inverting their ages (Genesis 5:32; 9:18; 10:1). This present order was editorial, to give an implicit direction of the nations of the known world from the geographically furthest to the closest to ancient Israel, the subject of the book.

The grouping of the nations in this chapter follows a threefold empirical criterion: ethnic kinship, geographic continuity, and linguistic affinity (vss. 5, 20, 31). Applying empirical criteria to define the nations of the world in antiquity is innovative. Though primitive and not always exact, it is the basis of scientific thinking.[7] It is no wonder that modern linguists in the nineteenth century adopted two of its categories, i.e., Semitic and Hamitic languages, from this chapter.

While there was some cognizance of linguistic families in the biblical period, as might be inferred from the terms "the language of Canaan" (Isaiah 19:18), a passage that indicates that language did cross the ethnic divisions is presented in the Table. Compare the Chaldean language (Daniel 1:4) or in general (Isaiah 66:18, Zachariah 8:23) or even observable dialectic differences (Deuteronomy 3:9; Judges 12:6; Nehemiah 13:24). Under the multi-national Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires, many languages could be heard (Esther 1:22; 3:12; 8:9). Certainly, the fall of the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1–9) symbolizes linguistic diversity as the natural order (see Deuteronomy 28:49; Jer. 5 15; and II Kings 18:26) Therefore, this criterion does not seem to have been a real factor in Genesis 10, as can be seen in the grouping of such diverse linguistic peoples as the Elamites, the Assyrians, and the Lydians as Semites.

2.2. Terminology

In order to understand the chapter, something must be said about the particular terminology of genealogies, specifically about the familial terms *ab* "father" and *ben* "son" and the verb *yld* "to beget". Furthermore, an examination of the names shows that various nominal forms are interspersed in the chapter, sometimes in the same genealogy, including personal names (e.g., Nimrod), place names (e.g., Mizraim, Elishah, Tarshish, Sidon), national or tribal names in the plural (e.g., Kittim, Dodanim, Kasluhim, Caphtorim), as well as gentilic adjectives (e.g., Amorites, Arkites). Accordingly, Cassuto (1959, pp. 117–53) emphasized that the above kinship terms cannot be taken literally, but rather metaphorically, as is the case in many genealogies found in the book of Chronicles (e.g., Salma the father of Bethlehem, I Chronicles 2:51). "Father" expresses the eponymous founder or hero to which peoples or tribes relate themselves. Similarly, "sons" should not be taken literally; the term "sons" is an expression of an intrinsic connection or union of comparatively equal groups that may have been based on a variety of ethnic, geographic, political, or social factors.

The root *yld* "to give birth" is used to express kinship, as in the forms *toledoth*, i.e., "genealogical or historic accounts" (Genesis 6:9; 10:1; 11:10) and *hityaled* "registered" (Numbers 1:18). The latter forms are replaced by *ktav hamityahasim* (genealogical tree) and *hityahhes* (to relate in kinship) in the Second Temple period. Other terms found in Genesis 10 that were taken from the genetic relationships of the family unit are *bekhor* "first born" (vs 15) and the verb *ys'* (vss 11, 14) meaning "progeny", as in *se'esa'* (Isaiah 61:10). The Table of Nations is therefore a sophisticated presentation in genealogical form of the relationship of most of the then-known peoples of the ancient Near East.

3. Family and Territory

Essentially, there are two concurrent principles of identification in the Bible: family and territory (village, city, or country) (see I Samuel 1:1; Ruth 1:2; 4:10; I Chronicles 2–8 passim) and both are present in Genesis 10. In addition to an ethnic relationship implied in the genealogies, additional geographic details are given regarding Nimrod's realm (vss. 10–12), the borders of the land of Canaan (vs. 19), and the dwelling places of Joktan (vs 30). These geographic asides are missing in the parallel account in I Chronicles 1. The first one bears on the overall history of urban civilization, understood to have begun in Mesopotamia, while the second one reflects interest in the land of Canaan for the anticipated history of Israel.

On the other hand, the grouping of Canaan with the Hamites or the Philistines with the Egyptians or the Elamites with the Semites is probably indicative of the implicit criteria of political association and cultural influence. For a good part of the second half of the second millennium, the land of Canaan fell under the suzerainty of Egypt. Furthermore, the Philistines, one of the Sea Peoples, maintained mercantile connections with Egypt and, for a time, acted in conjunction with Egyptian imperialistic diplomacy. Gaza, one of their centers, was formally the capital of the Egyptian Province of *pa-Kn'n*, i.e., Canaan. The Elamites shared a cuneiform culture with Mesopotamia and from the beginning of history was considered part of the Babylonian and Assyrian sphere of influence.

As mentioned above, one of the difficulties of biblical genealogy is the appearance of certain nations in more than one genealogy. A case in point is the repetition of the South Arabian Sheba and Dedan among the sons of Kush (10: 7) and again as the offspring of Keturah (Genesis 25:3), or Sheba, a third time, as a son of Joktan (Genesis 10:28). Similarly, Aram appears in the Table as the fourth son of Shem (10:22), whereas in the genealogy of Nahor he is a grandson, the son of Kemuel (Genesis 22:21). Furthermore, Uz appears as Aram's oldest son in Genesis 10:23 and as Nahor's first-born in Genesis 22:21. Again, Ludim is related to Egypt (10:13), whereas Lud is a son of Shem (10:21), if indeed they are identical. These supposed contradictions are generally attributed to different literary sources; however, they are more likely to be identified as a fundamental aspect of tribal genealogies, i.e., fluidity, a feature of oral genealogies that allows for repetition of the same segments grafted onto different, though related, genealogies. These joins reflect new

political and social unions formed over a period of time. The Table of Nations, with its world-wide subdivisions and universal message, was composed at the time of the writing of the book of Genesis, whereas the localized, familial lists of Nahor and Keturah present a more historical older tradition.

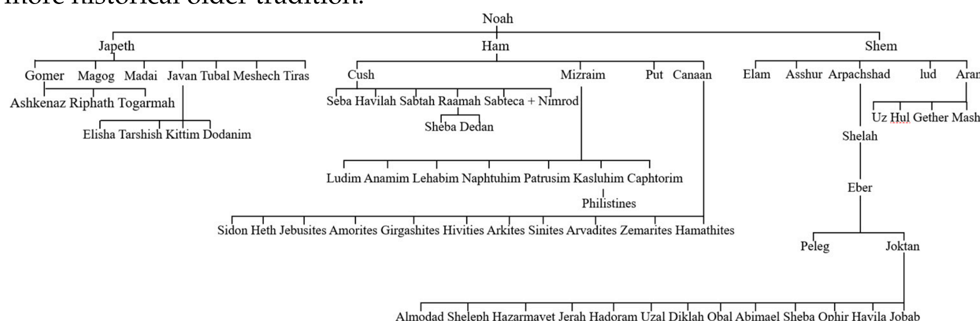

TABLE of NATIONS (Gen 10)

4. The Individual Units

4.1. Japheth

The genealogy of Japheth is made up of two units of seven nations. The name Japheth may reflect the name Iapetos, the son of Uranus (Sky) and Gea (Earth), one of the Titans of Greek mythology. The sons of Japheth number a group of nations located from the northeast of the Fertile Crescent (Madai) to the Greek islands (Javan = Ionia) in the west, including peoples who resided in Anatolia.

Gomer, according to most scholars, is identified with the Assyrian Gimirrai, the Cimmerians in classical sources. They were an Indo-European people who resided north of the Black Sea and who by the end of the eighth century BCE relocated to Asia Minor. In Ezekiel 38:6, Gomer is mentioned in league with Gog king of Magog. Gomer's progeny is Ashkenaz, which has been identified with the Assyrian Ashquza, i.e., the Scythians. Jeremiah describes how they joined with Ararat, the Mannaens, and the Medes in an attack on the Neo-Babylonian empire (51:27–28). According to Herodotus, they even advanced on Egypt. From the Greek name Scythopolis, we can infer that some had settled in Beth Shean.

Riphath is unknown. In the parallel version in I Chronicles 1:6 the name is written Diphath. Togarmah, however, is documented in the fourteenth century BCE Hittite sources, where it is called Tegarama, as well as in Assyrian sources as Til-Garimum, which fell before Sargon II and Sennacherib. It was located north of Harran and Carchemish on the Euphrates River. Ezekiel identified it as a supplier of horses and mules in the Tyrian mercantile empire (Ezekiel 27:14; 38:6). The expanded name Beth-Togarma, as used by Ezekiel, may indicate that this kingdom fell under Aramean influence, as did other north Syrian neo-Hittite peoples.

The second son of Japheth is Magog. This is the land of Gog (Ezekiel 38:2; 39:6), who is identified by most scholars with Gyges of Lydia in western Asia Minor. According to Herodotus (Bk. 1, 8–14), he founded the local dynasty in the early seventh century BCE

Madai refers to the Medes, an Indo-Iranian people who dwelt to the east of Mesopotamia. During the seventh century BCE, they reached the height of their political power and contributed to the fall of the Neo-Assyrian empire and later, in the sixth century, to the weakening of the Neo-Babylonian empire (see Isaiah 13; 21:1–10; Jeremiah 25:25). They were finally conquered by the Persians under Cyrus the Great in 550 BCE

Javan represents Ionia, the area around the Aegean Sea, the home of the ancient Greeks, and is mentioned already in the eighth and seventh centuries in Assyrian documents as Iaman. Ezekiel refers to Javan along with Tubal and Meshesh as slave traders (Ezekiel 27:13). An echo of trade in Judean captives in cooperation with the Phoenicians and Philistines is found in Joel 4:6.

The four sons of Javan are Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, ordered in two pairs. The first pair are place names, the second, names of people in the plural. Elishah is

identified with Alashiya, mentioned in Hittite, Akkadian, Egyptian, and Ugaritic texts as well as Ezekiel 27:7 as "the coasts of Elishah", identified as Cyprus or a part thereof.

Tarshish has been identified with sites as far apart as Tarsus in Asia Minor and Tartessos in Spain. The name appears in the ninth century BCE Nora inscription from Sardinia. Possibly, it was a common name for far-off Phoenician colonies where different metals like silver, iron, tin, and lead could be bartered (Ezekiel 27:12) or refined (Jeremiah 10:9), as Albright (1944, pp. 254–55) has suggested. In any case, it lent its name to worthy sea-going vessels that set sail both in the Mediterranean and Red Seas (e.g., I Kings 10:22; 22:49; Isaiah 23:1, 10, 14). Tarshish is mentioned in conjunction with Pul (Put? Cf. Ezekiel 27:10), Lydia, Meshech, Tubal, and Javan (Isaiah 66:19) and with Sheba and Dedan (Ezekiel 38:1; see also II Chronicles 20:36–37).

Kittim is commonly identified with the Phoenician colony of Kt(y), Greek Kition, modern Larnaka on Cyprus. They traded in boxwood furnishings inlaid with ivory (Ezekiel 27:6). Kittian mercenaries are mentioned in the ostraca from Arad, where they were stationed in the defense of the southern border of the late Judean monarchy.

The identification of Dodanim is an ancient crux with no ready solution. The parallel text in Chronicles 1:7, as well as the Septuagint and Samaritan versions of the Torah, read Rodanim, identified with the Isle of Rhodes. However, this may be no more than an interpretive reading as the Chronicles has done with the Mash/Meshech. Others have explained the name as a biform or a mistake for the Danuna mentioned for the first time in the El Amana letter number 151 (ca. 1360 BCE). The Dananim are known from the Azitawada and Kilamuwa inscriptions (9th-8th centuries BCE), the former being the ruler of that people residing in Adana, in present-day southern Turkey. In Assyrian sources, the island of Cyprus is called Yadnana, a reflex of this same name. This line of interpretation would place the Dodanim in close proximity to Elishah and Kittim.

Tubal and Meshech are a pair mentioned together in Ezekiel 27:13; 32:26; 38:2–3; 39:1 either with Javan or with Magog (see also Isaiah 66:19) and were located in eastern Asia Minor near Cilicia. They are mentioned together in Assyrian sources as Tabal and Mus(h)ku. Herodotus mentioned two neighboring peoples, Tibaroi and Moschoi, who lived on the southern shore of the Black Sea. Their geographic proximity and close political ties probably made them inseparable in the eyes of the Israelites, Assyrians, and Greeks.

Tiras, the youngest of the sons of Japheth, has been identified with one of the Sea Peoples called by the Egyptians Twrwsha. Tiras may also be reflected in the Greek Tyrsenoi, that is, the ancient Etruscans, who, according to Herodotus, migrated from Lydia in Asia Minor to Italy.

4.2. Ham

The second son of Noah to appear in the Table of Nations is Ham. However, according to Genesis 9:24, he seems to be the youngest.

Ham's four sons are Kush, Mizraim (Egypt), Put, and Canaan. Kush's genealogy gives him five sons and two grandsons, totaling seven (see Japheth above). Kush is Nubia, the land to the south of Egypt, beyond the first cataract at Aswan (Ezekiel 29:10). The name has come to stand generally for Africans residing on the southern extremity of the biblical world. The Septuagint occasionally translates the name Kush as Ethiopia. The sons of Kush, to the point that they can be identified, are found on the African and Asiatic sides of the Red Sea.

Complicating the picture is the similarity of the name Kush to other nations in the biblical world. The Kwshw are mentioned in the nineteenth century BCE Egyptian Execration Texts and probably refer to a West Semitic tribe living in the Negeb or in Seir (ancient Edom). In the Bible they are called Kush (II Chronicles 14:8) or Kushan, in league with Midian (Habakuk 3:7). It is probably in this context that we should understand the reference to Moses's Kushite wife (Numbers 12:1), who was none other than the Midianite Zipporah.

Furthermore, between the eighteenth and the fourteenth centuries BCE, the Kassites, Kushshu in the Nuzi documents and Kossaios in classical Greek, ruled Babylon and were in direct contact with Egypt and Canaan. At the end of this period, the Canaanites in their correspondence with the Egyptian court refer on various occasions to the African Kushite mercenary forces by the name Kashi (EI Amarna letters 127, 131, and others). On the basis of homonymous association, one can better understand the intentional identification of apparently disparate elements as African peoples, Nimrod the Mesopotamian, and South Arabian sites (Sheba and Dedan) as all related to Kush.

Seba was the oldest son of Kush. It is often assumed that this is the South Arabian form of Hebrew Sheba. However, the several biblical references to this name in conjunction with Egypt and Kush (Isaiah 43:3; 45:14) and alongside Sheba, as in this genealogy as well as in Psalms 72:10, would indicate that this was an independent kingdom probably in Africa.

Havilah is mentioned twice in connection with the territories of Ishmael and Amalek, somewhere on the southern boundary of Israel (Genesis 25:18; I Samuel 15:7). Since Havilah reappears with Sheba in Joktan's genealogy (Genesis 10:29), it must be located in the Arabian Peninsula. On the other hand, it is mentioned in Genesis 2:11 as the land around which flows the Pishon, one of the four great rivers that flowed from the Garden of Eden; there one finds gold, bdellium, and lapis lazuli. Note that the Gihon, the second river, encircles the land of Kush. The connection of these remote riverine areas (see Isaiah 18:1–2) with Eden in Mesopotamia assumes a different conception of world geography than our own.

Sabta (Septuagint: Sabata) has no agreed-upon identification. However, of all the various suggestions in Africa and in the Arabian Peninsula, perhaps the most suitable would be the city of Sabota, the ancient capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Hazarmaveth, 420 km northeast of Aden. Sabbeca remains unidentified.

Raamah has been identified, though not without linguistic difficulties, with the South Arabian city of Rgmt located in the district of Majran. This area lies between that of Dedan to the north and the kingdom of Sheba to the southeast.

Independent of this name-list of Afro-Arabian sons of Kush is the passage on Nimrod (vss. 8–12). Needless to say, this section has raised many problems as far as the suggested connection between Kush and Mesopotamia and the introduction of narrative between genealogies. Furthermore, the identity of Nimrod and a few of the cities he established remains in doubt.

Regarding a Kushite Nimrod, as mentioned above, there seems to be an underlying homophonous association between Kush and the Cassites, who controlled southern Mesopotamia for several hundred years during the late second millennium BCE This identification was intentional in the present context. Certainly, from the biblical point of view, the Kushites lived in Babylon with the rest of Noah's descendants before the Dispersion (Genesis 11:1–9). The Nimrod story has a structural function in the Table, for by adding his name to the number of nations listed in the fixed genealogies, plus Noah's three sons, the sum of seventy is attained. Then again, the passage gives details about an ancient monarch and about the beginning of post-diluvian urban civilization. Various scholarly attempts to identify Nimrod with an historical Mesopotamian king or with a mythological god have been suggested (Levin 2002). Perhaps Nimrod is a composite figure of the ideal Mesopotamian king. In any case, Nimrod was the subject of Israelite legend and prophecy (Genesis 10:9; Micah 5:5).

The "mainstays" (Speiser 1964) of Nimrod's kingdom were the ancient capitals of Babylon, Erech and Accad, which, along with Sippar and Nippur in local Mesopotamian tradition, became the major centers of post- diluvian urban society. The last named Calneh is unknown from Mesopotamia, though an inappropriate north Syrian namesake is well documented (e.g., Amos 6:2; Isaiah 10:9). Albright (1944), however, has convincedly suggested that the word be vocalized *kullanah* "all of them (i.e., the above three cities)" to be located in the Land of Shinar, ancient Sumer.

Nimrod's building activity continued into northern Assyria, emphasizing that area's cultural debt to Sumer and Babylon in the south. Two of the four listed cities, Calah and Nineveh, are well-known capitals of Assyria. The other two, Rehoboth-Ir and Resen, are unknown and are probably descriptive phrases of the two better-known cities or parts thereof (Hurowitz 2008). Calah was the larger and more impressive city until it was supplanted by Nineveh at the end of the eighth century. It is noteworthy that the modern name of Calah is Nimrud.

Mizraim "fathered" seven nations, all written in the plural, who were either part of Egypt or dependent upon her (Görg 2000). Cassuto has pointed out that the order of these seven follows the progression from a simple two-radical stem "Lud" to a three- "Lahab" and then four-letter stem Patrus.

The Ludim are generally identified with Lydia in Asia Minor. However, an African location is preferred in light of Jeremiah's and Ezekial's prophecies to the gentiles, where Lud is mentioned along with Put (Jeremiah 46:9) and Kush (Ezekiel 30:5) as archers serving Egypt. Anamim and especially Lehabim have been located in Cyrenaica or ancient Libya.

Patrusim is clearly the identifiable province of Upper Egypt (Isaiah 11:11, Jeremiah 44:1; 15; Ezekiel 29:14; 30:14). Naphtuhim has been understood as referring to the north land, i.e., Lower Egypt. The name has a Hebrew plural ending attached to what seems to be a preserved Egyptian term *n-Ptaḥ*, i.e., "belonging to the god Ptaḥ" (Görg 2000, p. 29). Ptaḥ's sacred city was Memphis south of the Delta, which was one of the ancient capitals of Egypt. Its Egyptian name was *Ḥut-ka-Ptaḥ*, i.e., "The abode of the soul of Ptaḥ". When the Greeks arrived, they could not pronounce the gutturals, so they called that area "Aigyptos", which became the European name for the entire country.

The Kasluhim remain unidentified. The mention of the Philistines as coming from their land is also difficult, since the Philistines are associated in the Bible with the last members of this list, i.e., Caphtor (e.g., Kftyw, Akkadian: Kaptara Ugaritic: KPTR), ancient Crete (Amos 9:73; Jeremiah 47:4). Note that the Philistines or a part thereof are also called Cretans (Ezekiel 25:16; Zephania 2:5, Cf. also II Samuel 8:18). An interesting reference to the Caphtorim is found in Deuteronomy 2:23, where they are described as supplanting the native Avvim, who dwelt in open settlements probably to the south of Gaza (see also Joshua 13:3) bordering the land of Egypt.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the location of Put, Ham's second son. Some identify it with Punt in the Horn of Africa (Somalia), while most recent commentators, following the ancient Greek and Latin translations, tend to identify Put with Libya (see also Nahum 3:9 and Josephus, *Antiquities* 1:6:132).

The list of the Canaanite nations is a literary unit in its own right. It has been studied by Tomoo Ishida (1979) along with parallel two- (Genesis 13:7; 34:30; etc.), five- (Exodus 13:5; etc.), six- (Exodus 3:8; 17; 23:23; 33:2, etc.), seven- (Deuteronomy 7:1; Joshua 3:10; 24:11), eight- (Ezekiel 9:1), and ten- (Genesis 15:19–21) name lists of indigenous Canaanites. Ishida noted the inner structure of these lists presents three documented designations for the native population: Canaanites, Hittites, or Amorites, and three or four of the lesser-known ethnic groups: Perizites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Girgashites. He assumed a basic six-name list that is sometimes expanded into seven. The totality of the indigenous population can be summarized by mentioning one of the major and one of the minor peoples, e.g., Canaanites and Perizites (Genesis 13:7; 34:30; Judges 1:4–5). As is the case in Genesis 10, the name-list is sometimes expanded, as in Ezra 9:1, adding three non-Canaanite nations: Ammonites, Moabites, and Egyptians, or in Genesis 15:19, adding the Kenites, Kenizites, Kadmonites, and Rephites.

The sons of Canaan in the Table of Nations fall into two clearly discernable groups of six indigenous nations, including the eponymic Canaan, Heth, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, and the Hivites, and six Phoenician–Syrian kingdoms including Sidon and the coastal city states of Arka(ta), Siannu, Arwad and Sumur plus the neo-Hittite kingdom of Hamath in the Syrian hinterland. Canaan, Sidon, and Heth are proper names; the others are adjectival forms. Their order seems to be based on a chiastic relationship between Sidon

and the other minor kingdoms, and Heth and the native peoples of the Land of Canaan. It is possible that underlying this order is the assumption that Sidon "the first born" should be considered the "father" of the northern city-states, while Heth is the "father" of the southern indigenous nations (Figure 1).

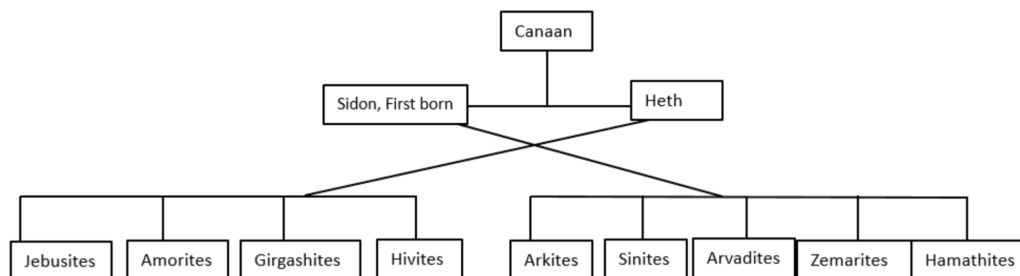

Figure 1. Descendants of Canaan.

At this point in the Table of Nations, a geographic aside, describing the borders of the land of Canaan, is added. The starting point is again Sidon in the north, probably referring to the kingdom of Sidon, including the Phoenician coast. The southwestern corner of Canaan was the land of Gerar and city of Gaza, probably indicating that at this time Nahal Besor (Wadi Gaza) was identified as the Brook of Egypt. This would be another case of "anticipation", i.e., a literary technique of introducing seemingly parenthetical information early in the book that will become significant later in the narration (Sarna 1981). It seems to me that noting such a boundary line here illuminates the later description of Jacob's funeral cortege, which encamped near Abel-Mizraim, as viewed by the Canaanites (Gen 50: 10–11) (Demsky 1993).[8] Furthermore, the southern border extended eastward from Gerar through Beersheba and Arad (Numbers 21:1; 33:40) to the five cities of the plains south of the Dead Sea: Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Seboim, and Lasha' (also called Bela' or Zoar—Genesis 14:8). This border is the geographic background of the patriarchal journeys of Abraham and Isaac that will enfold in this area of the Promised Land (Genesis 19:28; 20:1).

4.3. Shem

Of the five sons of Shem, only two are given in detail: Aram, the youngest, and Arpachshad, the third. The four sons of Aram are Uz, Hul, Getter, and Mash, of whom almost nothing of substance is known. These four names may be ancient tribal or place names (see Genesis 22:21). Uz might be connected with that land mentioned in Job 1:1 or, less likely, with the Horite namesake in Genesis 36:28 (see Lamentations 4:21). However, this archaic name, as well as Buz (Genesis 22:21), continues to appear in Jeremiah (25:20, 23) as a designation for close and distant neighbors. Mash might be a geographic term for some part of the Lebanon mentioned in the story of Gilgamesh (Table IX, col. 2: lines 1–2). Later versions and even the parallel in Chronicles attempt to give a corrected reading on the basis of a better-known name (LXX, Chronicles: Meshech; Samaritan Torah: Massa). The position of Aram as the youngest son of Shem as compared to the Nahor name-list reflects the rising importance of the Arameans by the end of the second millennium BCE in the constellation of peoples around the Fertile Crescent.

At this point in the chapter, several of Abraham's ancestors are mentioned. Moving from ethnic and geographic names to personalities, the genealogy changes from a segmented to a linear form: Arpachshad, Shelah, and Eber.

The name Arpachshad still defies explanation. The second half of the name may be a reflex of Chesed (Genesis 22:22) and represents the home of the Chaldeans, from where the Patriarchs sojourned (Genesis 11:31). Eber has been cited above in one of the designations of Shem, "the father of all the children of Eber". He is the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews, who include the Israelites.

Peleg and Joktan are Eber's sons. The latter is the eponymous father of the last segmented genealogy in the Table, including thirteen (south) Arabian tribes and kingdoms.

The number is problematic and has been viewed as either an expansion of an original twelve-son list or a fourteen-unit name-list including Joktan. However, it might have been conceived to balance the other above-mentioned thirteen offspring of Shem.

The identification of most of the names is uncertain. However, Hazarmaut and Sheba are two known South Arabian kingdoms and Ophir, the source of high-quality gold, was probably located on the east coast of Africa. Uzal may be the same as Meuzal, mentioned in Ezekiel 27:19 as trading in polished iron, cassia, and calamus.

Chapter eleven, verses 10–32 presents a ten-generation linear genealogy from Shem down to Abraham, giving biographical data reminiscent of chapter five. This list reconnects the reader to the narrative.

By focusing on the so-called Table of Nations in Genesis 10, I have tried to show how genealogy became a literary genre in the Bible. Noted were such literary devices as chiasms, anticipation, and symbolic numbers, which enhance the message of these sources. Furthermore, introducing linear genealogies with a structural depth of ten generations was a means of neatly summarizing earlier generations without narrative. On the other hand, segmented genealogies placed at transitional junctures in the narrative served as pauses in the overall story.

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Notes

1 The other great corpus of biblical genealogies is found in I Chronicles chs. 1–9, forming the introduction to the Chronicler's history (ca. 400 BCE) of the Davidic dynasty. Implying that David's royal legitimacy goes back to the beginning of history, the Chronicler ingeniously summarized the book of Genesis in his first chapter by avoiding the narrative and editing the genealogies. Chs 2–8 contain many short segmented tribal and clan lineages (in additions to census and priestly lists) that reflect the tribal kinship and settlement patterns of the land of Israel during the first half of the first millennium BCE (Demsky 1971). Finally, ch. 9 is a collection of lists of clans that inhabited Jerusalem, David's capital.

2 This chapter or a part thereof was recopied in the book of I Chronicles 1:1–36. It was also the basis of the description of the sons of Noah in the book of Jubilees 8:9–10. Noteworthy are the modern commentaries that tried to understand this chapter and its context from a historic and literary point of view (Simons 1954; Cassuto 1959; Grintz 1962; Sarna 1989; Oded 1986; Rainey 2006; Speiser 1962, 1964).

3 The biblical world reflected in this text extends from the Greek islands in the west, includes Anatolia, and extends to the Iranian plateau in the east. In the south, it includes peoples of the Arabian Peninsula and northern Sudan, as well as Cyrenaica, west of Egypt.

4 In this system, there are shorter units of seven/fourteen nation (sons of Japheth; descendants of Kush) or of twelve and six units or certain tribal leagues (Nahor, Ishmael, Keturah, Esau, Israel).

5 Note the reference to the tenth generation in unacceptable unions, Deuteronomy 23: 3: bastards; ibid. vs 4: Moabites and Ammonites.

6 See Deut. 23:8–9.

7 Compare the order of the species into four genera (animals, birds, insects, and fish) and subsequent division into "clean and unclean" according to their physical characteristics (Leviticus 11: 1–30; Deuteronomy 14: 9–21).Note, in this text, skin pigmentation was not a factor for identifying races.

8 Another example of anticipation is the mention of Rebeccah in the Nahor family tree (Gen 22:23), who will be the wife of Isaac (ibid. ch. 24).

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Article

Surnames of Jewish People in the Land of Israel from the Sixteenth Century to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

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Abstract: This paper outlines a study of surnames used by various Jewish groups in the Land of Israel for Ashkenazic Jews, prior to the First Aliyah (1881), and for Sephardic and Oriental Jews up to the end of the 1930s. For the 16th–18th centuries, the surnames of Jews who lived in Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron can be mainly extracted from the rabbinic literature. For the 19th century, by far the richest collection is provided by the materials of the censuses organized by Moses Montefiore (1839–1875). For the turn of the 20th century, data for several additional censuses are available, while for the 1930s, we have access to the voter registration lists of Sephardic and Oriental Jews of Jerusalem, Safed, and Haifa. All these major sources were used in this paper to address the following questions: the use or non-use of hereditary family names in various Jewish groups, the geographic roots of Jews that composed the Yishuv, as well as the existence of families continuously present in the Land of Israel for many generations.

Keywords: Jewish surnames; Land of Israel; Yishuv; history of Ottoman Jews

1. Introduction

No study of surnames used by Jews who lived in the territory of the Land of Israel before the creation of the State of Israel has been published until now. However, this information allows us to analyze the presence in that territory of Jews deriving from various diaspora centers. It also permits us to see whether the presence of families was continuous or discontinuous and the geographic distribution of communities inside of the Land of Israel at various periods. This information also allows us to follow the naming practices of various Jewish groups. This article addresses all these topics. Section 2 presents a synthesis about the demographic figures collected by other researchers, with a focus on the regions of origin of these Jews and the geography of the Yishuv. Other sections directly address the onomastic questions formulated above in this paragraph using the demographic data of Section 2 to corroborate certain ideas. For Ashkenazic Jews, this article considers only the period before the First Aliyah (1881). For Jews of other origins, the period of consideration is extended up to the creation of the State of Israel (1948).

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2. Demographic Figures

During the second half of the 12th century, Benjamin of Tudela provided the following estimates for the number of Jews in various places of the Land of Israel visited by him (from north to south): 50 in Alma, 200 in Acre, 50 in Tiberias, 200 in Caesaria, 300 in Ramla, 200 in Jerusalem, and 240 in Ashkelon (in which 40 are Karaites) (Adler 1907, pp. 19–29). In 1481, Rabbi Meshullam of Volterra noted the presence of about 250 Jewish families in Jerusalem and 50 in Gaza (Mešullam da Volterra 1989, pp. 75, 70). For Jerusalem, he indicated that the community members originated in Iraq, Aleppo, Gaza, Damascus, Cairo, and some other places. In 1488, Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinoro (Italy) referred to 67 Jewish families in Jerusalem (out of a total of about 4000 families living there), some of which were temporarily converted to Catholicism in the past, 22 Jewish families in Hebron (of which about one half also went through a temporarily conversion), and the presence of Jews in

Gaza.[1] During the next decades, some Jewish exiles expelled from Spain and southern Italy eventually settled in the Land of Israel. They were mainly coming from Salonica and settling in cities, while the rural Jewish population of the Land of Israel was composed of local Arabic-speaking (*musta'riba*) Jews (David 1999a, pp. 4, 16). Rabbi Moses Basola noted in 1521–1522, that is, already after the Ottoman conquest of the area (1517), the presence of only two large Jewish communities, both comprising about 300 households: Jerusalem (of which fifteen were Ashkenazic, all others being Sephardic, Maghrebi, or *musta'riba*) and Safed (with three synagogues: Sephardic, Maghrebi, and *musta'riba*) (David 1999b, pp. 61–62, 82).

Turkish tax documents of the 16th century provide the number of Jewish households for various places. Among them, only a few exceed fifty at some moment: Jerusalem (199 households in 1525/26, 224 circa 1538, 324 in 1553/54, 237 in 1562/63),[2] Pekiin (33 in 1525/26, 54 in 1533/34, 45 in 1572/73), Kafr Kanna (west to Tiberias, 50 in 1525/26, 52 in 1533/34, 77 in 1572/73), Gaza (95 in 1525/26 [among which 31 are from the Maghrebi, 7 "Frankish",[3] and 2 Syrian families], 98 in 1538/39, 115 in 1548/1549, 81 in 1556/57, and 73 in 1596/1597), and Nablus (71 in 1538/39 [among which three are from the Maghrebi, five "Frankish," and one from Kurdistan], 36 in 1548/49, and 15 in 1596/97).[4] Safed was the largest Jewish center, with 233 households in 1525/26 (among which 131 were *musta'riba*, 21 Portuguese, 48 "Frankish", and 33 Maghrebi Jews), 719 in 1555/56, 945 in 1567/68, and 976 in 1596/97.[5] The following table shows the list of congregations present in Safed all linked to the geographic origins of their members (Cohen and Lewis 1978, p. 161; Lewis 1952, p. 6). Table 1 presents the number of households and, in the parentheses, the number of bachelors.

Table 1. Jewish congregations in mid-16th-century Safed.

Congregation Name	Area of Origin Concerned	1555/1556	1567/1568
Qurṭuba	Córdoba (Spain)	35 (7)	53 (2)
Sabîliya	Seville (Spain)	67 (4)	160
Qastilia	Castile (Spain)	181 (12)	200
Araḡûn ma'a Qatalân	Aragon and Catalan (Spain)	51 (3)	72
Pûrtuqal	Portugal	143 (18)	200
Pûlya	Apulia (Italy)	21 (1)	25
Qalâwriya	Calabria (Italy)	24	20
Ṭâliyân	Italy	29	35
Musta'riba	Arabic speakers from Middle East	98 (10)	70
Maḡâriba	Maghreb	38 (7)	52 (3)
Macâr	Hungary	12	15
Alâmân	Germany	20 (1)	43 (7)

The numerical superiority of Sephardic Jews in Safed is explicitly stated in Responsa by Rabbi Moses Trani (1574) (David 2013, p. 45*). Because of the importance, both demographic and intellectual, of the Sephardic migrants in the cities of the Land of Israel during the 16th century and their continuous contacts with other Ottoman communities, local Arabic-speaking Jews (*musta'riba*) gradually adopted Judeo-Spanish and other elements of the Sephardic culture (Levy 1994, p. 64; Morag Talmon 1992, p. 471). In the early 1570s, a Provençal Yeshiva sponsored by Joseph Caro was created in Safed. Many members of the Provençal congregation likely migrated to Safed from the Avignon area after the decree expelling local Jews promulgated in April 1569.[6] The congregation was still extant in 1637.[7]

During the last quarter of the 17th century, when most famous local sages passed away, while others left Safed following a significant deterioration of its economic situation (closely related to the decline of the local textile industry), the size of its Jewish congregation diminished (Emmanuel 1935, pp. 55–57; David 1999a, p. 99; 2013, pp. 51*–54*). The Jewish presence in the Land of Israel declined significantly during the 17th century in comparison to the previous century, with Jerusalem being already the main Jewish center of

the area during the second half of the century.[8] Since at least the second half of the 16th century and the whole 17th century, Jews present in that city were divided in two communities only: Ashkenazim and "Sephardim" (the last one covering all non-Ashkenazic groups).[9]

The arrival in 1700 in Jerusalem of hundreds of poor Jews from Eastern and Central Europe led by the Polish Jewish preacher Judah Hasid provoked a large economic and social crisis that ended in 1720 by the burning by creditors of the Ashkenazic court and its synagogue and the dispersion of the entire Ashkenazic community of the city.[10] During the 18th century, the Jewish population was mainly concentrated in five cities: (1) Jerusalem: about 1000 persons in 1709 and 5000 in 1770; (2) Safed: some 200 households in 1730, but only 40–50 families in 1765; (3) Hebron: circa 40 households in 1700, 200 persons in 1743, and 300 persons in 1782; (4) Acre: 100 households in 1742; and (5) Tiberias: 12 families in 1726, but over 150 households in 1769 (Barnai 1992, pp. 173–77).

During the 17th–18th centuries, the Portuguese community of Amsterdam collected money to support poor "Portuguese" (that is, ex-Converso) Jewish families prompted to emigrate from the Netherlands. Some of them were presumed to go to the Ottoman Empire. Table 2 presents the number of families concerned:

Table 2. Number of poor "Portuguese" families receiving money to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire.

Destination	1598–1639	1640–1669	1670–1699	1700–1729	1730–1759
Land of Israel	27	12	46	63	7
Other parts of the Levant + southeastern Europe	2	3	78	93	14

The Land of Israel (and, more precisely, Jerusalem) was their main destination during the first two thirds of the 17th century.[11]

During the 19th century, the first censuses of the Jewish population of the Land of Israel organized by Sir Moses Montefiore recorded the number of persons appearing in Table 3.[12]

Table 3. Number of Jews in the Montefiore censuses (1839–1875).

Place	1839	1849	1855	1866	1875
Jerusalem	2916	4523	4533	5799	11,237
Safed	1384	1858	2060 [a]	3567	3753
Tiberias	801	1165	1461	2082	1552
Hebron	419	346	519	509	939
Jaffa	86	264	254	538	660
Haifa	138	no data	151	14	531
Acre	248	281	188	no data	no data
Nablus (Shechem)	75	84	59	64	no data
Shfaram	106	118	114	no data	no data
Pekiin	no data	75	63	60	no data
Ramla	no data	8	97	no data	no data
TOTAL	6173	8722	9499	12,633	18,672

[a] This figure covers Safed and other places in Upper Galilee.

Table 4 presents the distribution by congregation, with details provided in parentheses for the four Jewish *holy cities*: Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron (abbreviated as J, S, T, and H, respectively).

Table 4. Distribution by congregations in the Montefiore censuses.

Congregation	1839	1849	1855	1866	1875
Sephardic	4392 (2425 J, 768 S, 320 T, 247 H)	4684 (3060 J, 839 S, 554 T, 231 H)	4513 (2649 J, 718 S, 661 T, 249 H)	5338 (2796 J, 1229 S, 1033 T, 280 H)	8142 (6000 J, no data S, 1161 T, 450 H)
Ashkenazic	1772 (491 J, 612 S, 476 T, 172 H)	2917 (1172 J, 11,019 S, 611 T, 115 H)	4063 (1651 J, 1342 S, 800 T, 270 H)	5943 (2313 J, 2338 S, 1049 T, 229 H)	9690 (5057 J, 3753 S, 391 (partial) T, 489 H)
Maghrebi	no data	291 (J)	233 (J)	690 (J)	no data
Georgian	no data	no data	no data	no data	180
no indication	9	830	690	662	660
TOTAL	6173	8722	9499	12,633	18,672

One can observe that the number of Ashkenazic Jews exceeded that of Sephardic Jews already in 1866. Between 1881 and 1939, with the influx of Jews (*First-Fifth Aliyahs*) coming mainly from Eastern Europe, but since 1933 also from Central Europe, the proportion of Ashkenazic Jews increased significantly. At the turn of the 20th century, Yemenite Jews were also migrating to the Land of Israel. Morag Talmon (1992, p. 472) provided the following figures for the size of the Sephardic congregations in Jerusalem: 11,750 in 1890, 16,000 in 1900, 20,000 in 1910, and 13,446 in 1916. According to her (p. 476), in 1918, in the Land of Israel there lived about 11,000 Sephardic, 4400 Yemenite, 33,000 Ashkenazic, and 7600 other Jews (most likely Middle Eastern and Maghrebi ones).

3. Surnames before the 19th Century

For Jews who lived in the Land of Israel before the 16th century, hereditary surnames were rather exceptional. In the Middle Ages, surnames were not used yet in the area. No source listing the names of local Arabic-speaking (*musta'riba*) Jews is available. However, there is little chance that these Jews used hereditary family names as no such tradition was established for non-Jews of the same area, while for Middle Eastern Jews from neighboring Syria, surnames started to be used during the last third of the 18th century only. A few Ashkenazic scholars present in the Land of Israel at the turn of the 16th century tended not to have surnames either. For these reasons, the earliest sources showing surnames used in the Land of Israel date from the 16th century and correspond to recent non-Ashkenazic migrants to that area.[13]

Rabbinical writings refer to more than sixty surnames of Jews, mainly rabbis, who lived in Safed during the 16th century.[14] The largest group encompasses scholars bearing typical Sephardic surnames such as Abulafia, Albotene, Alcabeṣ, *Alshekh (), Ben Ezra, Benveniste, Besudo, *Calay (), Caro, Cordovero, Curiel, Dato, Falcon, Galante, Guedelha, de Leiria, Najara, Oliveira, de la Reina, Sagues, Ṣahalon, Sarug, Surujon, and de Vidas. Many of them were Jewish exiles from the Iberian Peninsula (who originally settled in southeastern Europe) or their descendants. Some others were "Portuguese" Jews who went through a period of conversion to Christianity. This origin is explicitly stated in the available documents for bearers of the surnames Oliveira, Guedelha, Ḥazan, and *Pudniro(?) (), and is particularly plausible for Cordovero, de Leiria, de la Reina, and Sagues.[15] The group of Jews from various regions of Italy (including Sicily) was rather large, for example, Colon, Gallico, Luzzato, Miscian, Tivoli, Trabut, and Vital. The names of Maghrebi scholars—such as Azulay, Bensusan, Ben Tebul, Halewa, and Ohana—represent the third group. Jews from other areas—such as Maurogonato from Crete and Luria (of Ashkenazic paternal ancestry)—were marginal. Iscandari derived from the Arabic name of Alexandria could be a rare representative of *musta'riba* Jews. Moses Galante, the appointed head of the newly created Provençal Yeshiva in Safed (the early 1570s), originated from Rome. Yet, as indicated in the previous section, several other members of the Provençal congregation are likely to have migrated to Safed from the Avignon area after the expulsion of local Jews (1569). One of them appears in a letter compiled in Safed in 1575 as Israel *Yarḥi (). The odds are high

that he was the same individual as Ysrael de Lunel listed among the Jews embarking a ship in Marseille to go to the Levant in 1569.[16] The list of signatories of a letter sent in 1637 by the same congregation includes the following names: Galante, Cohen, Ṣarfati, *Carmi (), *Caspi (), *Baze (), and *de Lattes () (Schwarzfuchs 1991, p. 159). For the last three surnames, we find their equivalents in the same ship embarking list from Marseille.[17] Carmi represents a Hebraicized form of Cremieu, a name commonly present in the Avignon area since at least the first third of the 16th century.[18] Ṣarfati was originally a Hebrew nickname for migrants from northern France.

In 16th-century Jerusalem, we find representatives of the same groups but in smaller numbers in comparison to Safed. Sephardic names—Abzaradiel, Alascar, Albotene, Almosnino, Attia, Ben Habib, Calay, Castro, Marhaim, Masud, Nahmias, Pizanti, de Vidas, and Zacuto—dominate.[19] Only the Ashkenazic surname Bak represents Italy. Bensusan and Cohen Solal came from the Maghreb. Ankari () is also likely to be of Maghrebi origin. Ben Sayah (), Cohen *Shabi (), and Shekhemi () could be *musta'riba* Jews.

During the 17th century, certain "Portuguese" Jews settled in Jerusalem. Jacob Tirado (died in 1612), the founder of the Sephardic community of Amsterdam, was one of them. As discussed in the previous section, "Portuguese" communities of Amsterdam and, to a lesser extent, Livorno played an important role in the Jewish life, both economic and (since the end of the 17th century) spiritual life of the Land of Israel. In the lists of families of Jerusalem, Safed, and Hebron that received financial support from Amsterdam during the first third of the 18th century, we find numerous migrants bearing surnames which were typical of "Portuguese" congregations, such as Abarbanel Soza, Aboab Osorio, Almeyda, Bueno Mesquita, Corea, Crespo, da Cuña, Fernandes Medina, Gabay Henriques, Gomez Patto, Lopes Nunes, Lopes Pereira, de Morales, de Oliveyra, and da Silva. Only in a few exceptional cases do the names of the receivers of support betray non-"Portuguese" Jews: Abadi (typical for Syrian Jews), Satrit, and Sermati (both commonly found in the Maghreb in the forms of Chetrit and Zermati, respectively).[20]

For the 18th century, we know the surnames of about 150 other Jews who lived in Jerusalem.[21] Their origins are rather heterogenous: bearers of Ashkenazic surnames Rokeach, Luzzatto (both from Amsterdam, but originally, from Poland and Italy, respectively), Jaffe, Horowitz (from Belorussia), Katzenellenbogen, Mintz (from Hungary), and Rappaport (from Izmir); Treves (also from Izmir though the surname originated in France and was common in Italy); Jews from Italy bearing the surnames Gallico, Rovigo, Segre, and Sanguinetti; bearers of surnames that originated in Italy but became gradually widespread in the Ottoman Empire, such as de Botton (from Istanbul), Salmona, Trinki, and Finci; Moroccan migrants Ayash, Ben Attar, Maymaran, and Toledano; Abadi and Diwan (from Aleppo); Mizrahi (a name typical for Middle Eastern Jews); Sharabi from Yemen; descendants of "Portuguese" Jews Carregal, de Curiel, Rosanes (from Istanbul), Munion, Musafia, Serano, Valero, and de Velasco; and bearers of names typical for Sephardic exiles such as Abulafia (from Izmir), Alcalay, Alhadef (from Rhodes), Altaras, Amarillo (from Trikala), Asael, Aseo, Ben Forado, Ben Sanchi, Benveniste, Berab, Caldero, Camondo, Covo, Danon, de Mayo (from Salonica), Pardo (from Venice), Pizanti (from Istanbul), and Samanon (from Salonica). For both Algazi and Ḥazan, we know from historical sources that their bearers came to Jerusalem from Izmir. In tombstone inscriptions from the 1790s we can see references to Jews from Georgia: Anukashvili and Moshiashvili, both based on Hebrew male given names (Hanuka and Moshe, respectively) and ending in the Georgian patronymic suffix *-shvili* (შვილი), meaning 'child of'.

4. Montefiore Censuses

The earliest representative lists of Jews living in the Land of Israel date from the 19th century only. They correspond to the Montefiore censuses (1839–1875). Table 5 presents the number of persons who appear in the census data without surnames.[22]

Table 5. Number of persons without surnames in the Montefiore censuses.

Congregation	1839	1849	1855	1866	1875
Ashkenazic	1550 of 1772	2676 of 2917	3659 of 4063	5162 of 5943	7941 of 9690
Sephardic	305 of 4392	402 of 4684	183 of 4513	103 of 5338	999 of 8142

From this table, one can observe that during the period in question, Ashkenazic Jews were mainly ignoring the official surnames they received at the turn of the 19th century after the promulgation of laws forcing them to adopt hereditary family names. They followed the traditional Jewish naming pattern appearing in the census names with their given names and patronymics only. Among those who used other types of names, one can distinguish several groups. The first group encompasses western Ashkenazim. In 1849, all 48 members of the German congregation had surnames. In 1866, only 6 out of 65 members of the Dutch–German congregation are listed without surnames, while in 1875, all 87 members of the same congregation appear with surnames. Among the examples are Fribourg from Lorraine, Goldschmid and Hess from Amsterdam, Halberstadt, Lilienthal, Rosenthal, Rumpf, and Schnattich from various German cities, Hahn from Moravia, *Oplatke (), and Steinberg from Bohemia. The second group includes names drawn from toponyms from Eastern Europe. Some of them end in the Yiddish suffix *-er* designating inhabitants of various places: Baltineshter, Benderer, Sener, Shidlover, Mez(e)richer, and Zagrer. Others were formed without adding any suffix: Amdur, Aniksht, Delatyn, Kosev, Mez(e)rich, Salant, Sniatyn, Telenesht, Tysmenitz, and Zablotow. In principle, any of these names could be either a hereditary surname or a personal nickname based on the name of the place from which the bearer came to the Land of Israel. The last possibility is surely valid in cases when the last name of the person is based on his place of origin that is also explicitly indicated in the census data, for example: Barlad from the city of Bîrlad (Romania), Tomaszower from Tomaszów (Poland), Dokshits from Dokshitsy (Belorussia), Molyev from the city of Mogilev (whose Yiddish name is Molev), Chernobyler from Chernobyl (Ukraine), *Kolmier () and *Ibertyn () from the Galician towns of Kołomyja and Obertyn, respectively, and *Veblov () from the Lithuanian city of Virbalis, called Verbelove in Yiddish. Two examples are also known for western Ashkenazim: Bamberger from Bamberg and Prag from Prague. The third, the largest, group covers about 450 surnames of Jews from Eastern Europe. Some of these names correspond to famous rabbinical dynasties: Auerbach, Epstein, Frenkel, Ginzburg, Heilprin, Heller, Horowitz, Landau, Lurie, Margulis, Mintz, and Yoffe. However, the large majority of names are those adopted at the turn of the 19th century only, for example: Bergman, Berlin(er), Binder, Blattner, Blumenfeld, Drapkin, Engel, Eisenberg, Eisenstein, Eisler, Falk, Feinstein, Finkelstein, Fradkin, Frumkin, and Glikin.

Surnames were rather unusual for the congregations formed in Jerusalem by Jewish migrants from Georgia. In the census data of 1875, 111 of 189 members of the Georgian congregation of Jerusalem have only a given name and patronymics. For others, we can discern only a few different names, including *Batia, *Binia, *Eligula, *Kundia, *Mardakhia, *Mizrahi *Papia, *Zutia, *Krikhel,[23] *Levi, *Pichkhadze, *Ajami (′), *Mizrahi, and *Gurji. The last three names are not real surnames; they represent nicknames meaning 'Persian', 'Oriental', and 'Georgian', respectively, that are unlikely to be inherited. None of them are known in Georgia. *Mizrahi and *Gurji are by far the most common last names in the Georgian congregation of Jerusalem, with twenty-six and twelve bearers, respectively.

The situation is totally different for Maghrebi Jews. For them, the numbers of persons listed without surnames are: 15 (thirteen widows and two orphans) of 291 persons in 1849, just 1 man of 233 persons in 1855, and none in 1866. In other words, during the 19th century for all Jews of Maghrebi origin, the use of hereditary family names was already a strongly established tradition. By far, the largest group came from the western Maghreb, that is, Morocco and the Oran area of Algeria.[24] Among them we find, for example, bearers of such surnames as Abecassis, Abergel, Abbu, Abutbul, Abujdid, Aflalo, Amsallem, Asayagh, Asulin, Azulay, Ben Harosh, Benhamu, Benkiki, Bohbot, Buzaglo, Darmon, Elankri, Elkaim, Elmaleh, Hadida, Ibghi, Malka, Moyal, Ohana, Ohayon, Sananes, Shetrit, Waknin, and Yayon. The number of

migrants from the eastern Maghreb (the Constantine area of Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli) is significantly smaller. Among the examples are Alush, Betito, Bismut, Hajaj, Jarmon, Serusi, Shemama, and Tayeb. The proportion of Jews born in the Maghreb was particularly high in Safed and Tiberias. In Safed, we find about 450 families with surnames with the birthplaces of the family heads known that are distributed in the following way: about 230 Maghrebi, about 160 Ashkenazic, about 30 Syrian, and a similar number of Sephardic from various parts of the Ottoman Empire. For almost 300 migrant families with surnames in Tiberias, the distribution is as follows: more than 180 Maghrebi Jews, about 50 Syrians, about 25 of Ashkenazim, and a similar number of various Ottoman Sephardim. In Jerusalem, their presence was important as well. For almost 1500 migrant families with surnames, the distribution is as follows: about 300 Maghrebi Jews, a similar number of Ashkenazim, about 60 Syrians, but almost 800 various Ottoman Sephardim. Multiple surnames brought to the Land of Israel from the Maghreb are of ultimate Iberian origin, for examples: Akrish, Bar Sheshet, Biton, Carsenti, Corcos, Elnekave, Shulal, and Toledano.

As can be seen from Table 5, in Sephardic congregations, the proportion of people listed without a surname is bigger than in the Maghrebi community. Yet, it is still quite small in comparison to Ashkenazic congregations.[25] We can presume that the families in question had either Middle Eastern (*musta'riba*) or Romaniote roots. The latter origin is particularly plausible for Jews listed with the "surname" *Bekhar* ().[26] For people appearing with actual surnames, these surnames mainly reveal the provenance of their paternal ancestors from medieval Iberia, for examples: Abravanel, Afumado, Akrish, Alajem, Albaranes, Alfandari, Almosnino, Amarillo, Ben Susan, Ben Yakar, Biton, de Calo, Camhi, Corcos, Crespin, Danon, Esforno, Mursiano, Nahon, Negrin, Pardo, Sasportas, Surujon, Taragano, and Zamero. Some other names reveal the "Portuguese" ancestry: Belilios, Coronel, Fernandes, Ferera, Mendes, Miranda, Paredes, Sarabia, Silvera, and Sotto. Among surnames implying roots from Sicily, southern, or central Italy are Adato, Anav, Augustari, de Botton, Capuano, Chimino, Matalon, Perahia, Piperno, Recanati, Salerno, Sonino, Talbi, Taranto, Varsano, and Ventura. A few names—such as Aksioti, Maurogonato, and Politi— reveal Romaniote ancestry. For all names from the above categories, the census data often indicate the immediate provenance from various other Ottoman provinces or—only for some bearers of surnames typical for Spanish exiles—their birth in the Maghreb. A group of surnames of Syrian origin includes, among others, Abadi, Abudi, Ades, Arazi, Dwek, Ḥamawi, Ḥemsi, Jamus, Katri, Laḥam, Manobla, Sethon, Shabot, Shama, Shweke, Stetie, and Turkie. Their bearers are often listed with Damascus or Aleppo indicated as their birthplace. Iraqi origin is rare: Agha Baba (born in Baghdad), Ḥuṣin (, from Baghdad), and Khabash (born in India).

Only for a very few surnames can we conjecture their inception in the Land of Israel since we do not find any reference to them in other countries: *Bendoli (,), *Eshḥadi (,), and *Shaḥrur (). Several reasons can be proposed to explain why their number is so small. As discussed above, during centuries that preceded the Montefiore censuses, the Jewish population of the Land of Israel was dramatically unstable, with major communities that were temporarily ceasing to exist (as it was the case for those of Safed and Tiberias in the 17th century) and a regular influx of new migrants and outflow of Jewish inhabitants to other areas. Non-Ashkenazic migrants were usually coming already with fixed surnames. Ashkenazic migrants from Eastern Europe either had no surnames, or, at least, they were ignoring surnames assigned to them following laws promulgated by Christian authorities at the turn of the 19th century. Before the 20th century, in the Land of Israel nothing was prompting Ashkenazic settlers to acquire new surnames. Surnames were not a part of their traditional naming patterns, while Middle Eastern non-Jews, including Arabs and Turks, were not using surnames either. No official regulation forced any inhabitant of the area in question to acquire a fixed family name. Similar factors were valid for local *musta'riba* Jews. On the one hand, we can conjecture that they represented the majority among the members of Sephardic congregations listed without surnames. On the other hand, we have no evidence that the same *musta'riba* families were living in the Land of Israel without interruption. At some periods, they were

able to migrate to the territories of modern Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, or Iraq merging with local Arabic-speaking Jews.

Certain Jews born in neighboring provinces of the Middle East are listed in the censuses with their last name drawn from the Arabic name of their native city or area by the addition of the Arabic demonymic suffix –*(âw)i* or *-li* (of Turkish origin): Antebi from Anteb (today, Gaziantep, Turkey), (al-)Basrawi from Basra (Iraq), (al-)Ḥalabi from Aleppo, *Dimashki () from Damascus, Kurdi from Iraqi Kurdistan, and Urfali from Urfa (today, Şanlıurfa, Turkey). In such cases, the last name more likely represents a personal nickname rather than a family name.

Data present in the Montefiore censuses allow the discontinuity of the presence of certain families in the Land of Israel to be illustrated. Multiple names appear in sources from the 16th to 18th centuries either just once or during short periods. None of them appear in documents from the 19th century Land of Israel. Among them are Albotene, Amigo, Avzaradel, Besudo, Castro, Cohen Tanuji, Egozi, Feruz, Goyozo, de Lattes, Lonzano, Parente, Samanon, and numerous "Portuguese" surnames, including Abarbanel Soza, Abendana, Aboab Osorio, Bueno Mesquita, Cohen Azevedo, Barboza, Cardozo, Crespo, da Cuña, Delcampo, Goimerans, Gomes Patto, de Lima, Mesias, Milano, de Morales, Munion, Nunes, de Oliveira, Serano, da Silva, Tirado, and de Velasco.

No continuity can be observed for Ashkenazic families. As discussed in the first section of this article, the presence of Ashkenazim was irregular before the 19th century. Moreover, even during the 19th century, surnames were marginal for this group. As a result, examples of the same surname found in sources dating from different centuries are exceptional and limited to a very few surnames used by rabbinical dynasties. Spiro (or Spira, Shapiro, and Shapira, in Hebrew sources) is one of them. One bearer of this name was an emissary from Jerusalem in 1655. Bearers appearing in the Montefiore censuses were born in various provinces of the Russian Empire or Austrian Galicia.

For dozens of non-Ashkenazic surnames appearing in the Montefiore census data, we find references, usually in Jerusalem or Safed, dating from the 16th to 18th centuries. However, almost without exception, these surnames have bearers referred to in the 19th century as born outside of the Land of Israel, often in the same countries from which migrants with the same names came during the previous centuries. If we just take names starting with A-, then such a situation is valid for Aboab, Alazraki, Alfandari, Algranati, Alkalay, Almosnino, Altaras, Amar, Amarillo, Angel, Arditi, Arie, Ariel, Asael, Aseo, and Atias (all with bearers born in the territories of modern Turkey, Greece, and/or Bulgaria), Abadi from Syria, Abdala from Iraq, Abutbul, Ayash, and Azulay (born in Morocco). For these names, we have direct evidence about different branches of their bearers coming to the Land of Israel at different periods.[27]

The name Azulay can be taken to illustrate this phenomenon in more detail. During the 1580s, Mesod Azulay, a migrant from the Maghreb, was one of the rabbis living in Safed. At the end of the same century, Abraham ben Mordecai Azulay, a Moroccan rabbi, born in Fez, migrated to Hebron, where he died in 1643. Yehuda Zeraḥia ben Moses Azulay, another Moroccan rabbi, born in Marrakesh, moved to Jerusalem in 1812. The Montefiore census data show the presence of multiple other families whose heads migrated from the western Maghreb between 1830 and 1863; the data show at least two different from Marrakesh, and at least four different from each of the following cities: Meknes, Oran, and Tetouan.

Data that would show a continuous presence in the Land of Israel of generations of the same family are rarely available. The branch descending from Abraham ben Mordecai Azulay represents one of the exceptions. From texts written by his scions, we know that his famous great-great-grandson, Haim Joseph David ben Isaac Azulay (1724–1806), was born in Jerusalem, the city where both his father and grandfather lived too. During the last decades of his life, he dwelled in the Maghreb and Italy, died in Livorno, but at least some of his descendants continued living in the Land of Israel. For example, his grandson Nissim Zeraḥia ben Abraham Azulay was killed in Safed during the earthquake of 1837 (Gaon 1937, pp. 27–36). Consequently, for this branch, seven generations lived in the Land of Israel between the turn of the 17th century and the 1830s.

The case of Abulafia is quite similar. On the one hand, we have direct evidence about the arrival in the Land of Israel at various periods of members of different branches of this Sephardic family. Jacob ben Haim Abulafia was a rabbi in Safed during the second half of the 16th century before moving to Tiberias at the end of the century. In the Montefiore census data, we find references to several families whose heads moved to Jerusalem from the territories of modern western Turkey and northern Greece. During the first third of the 20th century, David ben Eliahu Abulafia, born in Gelibolu (Turkey), migrated to Jerusalem. On the other hand, rabbinic sources kept traces of several generations of descendants of Jacob ben Haim Abulafia who lived in Tiberias, Hebron, and Jerusalem. The rabbinical authority Haim ben Jacob (circa 1660–1744) was apparently his great-grandson. After being a rabbi of Smyrna, he returned to the Land of Israel and played an active part in the restoration of the Jewish community of Tiberias. Haim Nissim Abulafia (circa 1800–1861), the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, was a direct descendant of Haim ben Jacob. Isaac, the son of Haim Nissim, died in 1910 in Tiberias (Gaon 1937, pp. 4–15; Barnai 1992, p. 149).

5. End of the 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century

With the mass *Aliyah* of Jews from Eastern Europe that started during the 1880s, the corpus of surnames used by Jews in the Land of Israel changed dramatically. These newcomers brought surnames mainly based on German, Yiddish, Slavic languages, and Hebrew that were acquired at the turn of the 19th century in the Pale of Settlement of the Russian Empire, Kingdom of Poland, or the Habsburg Empire (primarily in Galicia). During the 1930s, the mass arrival of German Jews in the Mandate Palestine provided another layer. Consideration of all these Ashkenazic names is beyond the scope of this study.

For non-Ashkenazic Jews, the general characteristics of their corpus of surnames can be analyzed using information contained in the censuses of Jerusalem conducted for the Turkish government. The census of 1890 recorded the names of several thousand Jewish males belonging to various Jewish congregations of the city, including the Ashkenazic ones.[28] About 2400 of the persons listed appear with surnames. Among 190 non-Ashkenazic Jews whose native place is known, 122 were born in Yemen, 17 in Bulgaria, 15 in the Syrian cities of Aleppo and Damascus, 13 in the territory of modern Greece (among them, 10 in the Thessalian cities of Larissa and Trikala), and 10 in Monastir (now Bitola, North Macedonia).[29] The presence of numerous Yemenite Jews is one of the main idiosyncrasies of this census: migrants from Yemen are exceptional in earlier sources for the Land of Israel. Names revealing the Yemeni provenance appear also for dozens of persons whose place of birth is not indicated. In total, the census refers to about 70 different Yemenite surnames. Many of them are based on Yemenite toponyms: Arusi, Baydani, Busani, Dahari, Dahbani, Damari, Damti, Ḥajbi, Ḥamdi, Ḥazi, Raḥabi, Rosabi, Sayani, Sharabi, Sharafi, and Ukashi. Since for almost all of them we also find references in Yemen,[30] these surnames in Jerusalem could be migrated ready-made forms. However, we cannot formally exclude a possibility that some of the above names were not hereditary in Yemen yet, being just personal nicknames revealing the places of origin of their bearers. For another large group, we can be almost sure that they were already hereditary in Yemen: Asbaṭ, Daḥbash, Gartah, Ḥibshush, Jizfan, Magilah, Qalazan, Ṣarum, and Ṣefirah. Several names are based on occupations: Ḥaddad 'ironsmith', Naddaf 'cotton carder', and Tabib 'physician'. At least, Naddaf, known as a Yemenite surname in multiple other documents, was not formed in Jerusalem based on the profession of the migrant; the name was brought to the Land of Israel as a ready-made surname. For last names coinciding with male given names used in Yemen, the situation is the most ambiguous, for example: Efraim, Giyat, Ḥasan, Jemal, Maḥbub, and Saliḥ. In theory, any of them could be a surname, or the second given name of the person listed in the census, or the given name of his father. A similar difficulty exists for the name Yamani, meaning '(one) from Yemen', in Arabic. On the one hand, it was already used in Yemen as both a family name and a male given name. It could come to Jerusalem as a ready-made surname, or be a given name of the father, or a nickname applied already in the Land of Israel for a person coming from Yemen.

The population registration made in 1910 was led by the Council of the Sephardi and Oriental Communities of Jerusalem. It covered 2204 non-Ashkenazic families listing, in Hebrew, their surnames, given names of family heads along with their places and years of birth, as well as occupations. In total, 119 persons are listed without family names. For 163 of the remaining 2085 persons, their birthplace is not indicated. About two thirds were born in the Land of Israel (almost all in Jerusalem). Among 120 persons coming from the territory of modern Greece, more than one half (63) were born in the city of Larissa. In total, 29 originated from Salonica, 11 from Trikala, and 10 from Ioannina (of which 4 are listed without surnames). Groups of persons born in other areas encompassed 77 in Monastir (of which 13 are without surnames), 52 in Bulgaria (including 30 from Sofia, of which 6 are without surnames, and 7 from Plovdiv, of which 3 are without surnames), 46 in Iraq (among them 30 are from Baghdad, of which 6 have no surnames, 9 from Mosul, of which 5 are without surnames), 43 in Yemen (more than one half of them are from Sanaa), 32 in the territory of modern Turkey (among them, 10 are from Istanbul, 6 from Aydin, 5 from Izmir, and 4 from Urfa; all four of them bearers of the last name Urfali that, for them, likely represents a toponymic nickname rather than a hereditary surname), 31 in Syria (26 from Aleppo and 5 from Damascus), and 9 in Egypt.[31]

In the two censuses in question, we find references to Jews from the Caucasus and Central Asia. The largest group was from Georgia. In 1890, we find not only several names known from the Montefiore census of 1875 (Batia, Eligula, Gurji), but also Ajiashvili, Benia and Beniashvili, Davarashvili, Janashvili, Jinjikhashvili, Nanikashvili, and Shabtoshvili. At the turn of the 20th century, we also find in various documents from Jerusalem references to Khakhiashvili, Khikhinashili, and Topchiashvili. Sherbet ben Nisim Anisimov, a rabbi from Dagestan, came to Jerusalem already in 1865. His last name represents a Russified form based on the given name of his father, Nisim. Jews from Bukhara regularly appear in the Land of Israel (almost exclusively in Jerusalem), starting with the end of the 19th century. To this group most likely belong Isakharoff and Kashayoff, appearing in the census of 1890. For Aminoff, Musayoff, Pinhasoff, Shalomayoff, and Sufiyoff, their Bukharan origin is indicated explicitly in sources of the last decade of the 19th century. The ending *-off* in these surnames represents a Germanized spelling of the Russian possessive suffix *-ev* (Cyrillic *ев*, for forms ending in *-yoff*) or *-ov* (Cyrillic *ов*, for others). For both Mountain Jews from Dagestan and Bukharan Jews, their surnames were assigned only after the corresponding areas were annexed by the Russian Empire. Most often, as for Georgian Jews, their surnames are based on male given names.

Sources from the last twenty years that preceded the creation of the state of Israel allow us to observe the composition of non-Ashkenazic communities of the Land of Israel and the surnames of new non-Ashkenazic migrants.

The list of voters for the Sephardic congregation of Jerusalem (1939) covers more than 1.100 persons (Tagger and Kerem 2006, pp. 218–27). For 615 of them, their surnames allow us to identify the geographic origin of ancestors: Middle Eastern names cover more than 40 percent, Sephardic names about 40 percent, Maghrebi names about 7 percent, and surnames from Italy (including Sicily) about 4 percent. The list of voters for the Sephardic congregation of Safed (1934) covers 139 persons (Tagger and Kerem 2006, p. 238). In that list, bearers of surnames originally brought from the Maghreb continue to represent the largest category (almost 50 clearly bear them), though their dominance is not as distinct as it was in the Montefiore censuses. More than 30 persons bear names typical of Middle Eastern Jews, but two thirds of them are covered by a single name, Mizrahi. More than 50 persons have names that do not reveal the geographic origin of their ancestors: Cohen, Levi, and several names coinciding with male given names (Asher, Nahum, Nissan, Peres, Ruben). Surnames typical of Sephardic Jews in the narrow sense—that is, revealing ancestors that were either Jewish exiles from Iberia or the "Portuguese" Jews—are a small minority. The assignment to that category is doubtless for Amarillo and Pinto that were common in various provinces of the Ottoman Empire. About 150 different surnames appear in the voter list for the Sephardic community

of Haifa compiled in 1939 (Tagger and Kerem 2006, pp. 212–13). They are distributed almost evenly between three groups: Maghrebi, Middle Eastern, and Sephardic.

Table 6 compares names present in the Sephardic voter lists of Jerusalem, Safed, and Haifa to the data of the Montefiore censuses for non-Ashkenazic communities for the same three cities. This information allows us to evaluate the stability of local communities.

Table 6. Presence of names in voter lists (1930s) and the Montefiore censuses.

City	Voter List			Montefiore Censuses	
	Year	Number of Surnames	Percentage Present in Montefiore Censuses	Number of Surnames	Percentage Present in the Voter List
Jerusalem	1939	360	65	1,366	27
Safed	1934	57	65	308	12
Haifa	1939	173	21	127	31

We can observe that, on the one hand, in both Jerusalem and Haifa, about one third of surnames used in the mid-19th century were still present in the same cities during the 1930s. In Safed, this percentage is significantly smaller. In theory, in all places, these figures may be relatively small not only because of families that left them, but also since voter lists could be less representative than the censuses. On the other hand, in both Jerusalem and Safed, about two thirds of surnames known in 1939 were already known in the same cities in the mid-19th century. In Haifa, this percentage is much smaller. In other words, Haifa received the largest number of new settlers and Safed lost the largest portion of settlers already present. These indicators can be explained by the economic development of Haifa during the first decades of the 20th century and apparently the decline in the importance of Safed.

6. Conclusions

In this article, it was shown that the presence of various Jewish families in the Land of Israel was mainly discontinuous. This rule is not absolute; exceptions to it do exist. Various Jewish groups that constituted the Yishuv during the 19th century did not follow the same naming practices. Ottoman Jewish migrants with the Sephardic ancestry, those from the Maghreb, and Ashkenazim from Western Europe, regularly used surnames. The same is true for Syrian Jews, though their sample is too small to make statistical conclusions. The situation is quite different for Ashkenazim from Eastern Europe and Georgian Jews; they mainly appear without surnames, while in that period all Jews of the Russian and Habsburg Empire already had official surnames. This fact shows that these surnames were marginal for the consciousness of the Jews in question, being not an integral part of their culture yet. It also appears that the inception of a very few surnames took place in the Land of Israel. The members of the Yishuv using surnames mainly brought these names as ready-made forms from the areas from which they moved to the Land of Israel.

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Notes

1. Schwab (1866, pp. 28–30). Obadiah mentions several Ashkenazim: Kopmano from Italy in Jerusalem and Moses from Prague in Gaza (who fled there from Jerusalem).
2. A Portuguese Christian pilgrim to Jerusalem noted at the start of the 1560s that about thirty Jews living there came from Portugal. Surely, he means Jews who in Portugal were (at least, ostensible) Catholics (David 1987, p. 66).

3 The Ottoman Turkish documents use the word **ifranjiye* having the same root as the words "Frank(ish)" and "France," and used by Muslims since at least the Fourth Crusade (1204) to designate Christians from Western Europe. David (1999a, p. 109) suggested that "Frankish" Jews present in the Land of Israel originated from Provence from which Jews expelled at the turn of the 16th century. The information in our possession does not preclude, however, the possibility of other geographic sources from Western Europe: Italy and/or Spain.

4 Cohen and Lewis (1978, pp. 94, 111, 128, 149), David (1999a, pp. 26–33). Our list covers neither Hebron (where no more than 20 households was recorded), nor Tiberias (where during the 1560s and 1570s there was an unsuccessful attempt by Don Joseph Nasi and Dona Gracia Mendes to establish a major Jewish settlement).

5 Cohen and Lewis (1978, p. 161), Epstein (1980, p. 260). Two Christian pilgrims who visited Safed in 1552 and 1565 noted the presence in the city of numerous Jews from Portugal who formerly were Christians. These "Portuguese" Jews founded in 16th-century Safed a *Brotherhood of Repentant* (David 1987, pp. 70, 75).

6 A contract signed in July 1569 lists 75 families (covering 298 persons) ready to embark ships going from Marseille to the Levant (Schwarzfuchs 1991, p. 152).

7 In the Hebrew letters sent by its leaders in 1637, the congregation is not called "Provençal" or "Provence," but "France" () (Schwarzfuchs 1991, pp. 158, 159).

8 In Safed, the Jewish community ceased to exist altogether in 1655, but about three years later it was renewed (David 2013, p. 54*). After the destruction of the city of Tiberias in 1660, its local Jewish community was renewed in 1740 only. Communities of Hebron and several villages in Galilee were significantly smaller than that of Jerusalem (Barnai 1992, pp. 54, 74, 109).

9 (Rozen 1985, pp. 102–7; David 2013, pp. 52*–53*). In 1625, the general administration was still in the hands of Sephardim: both community officers (*parnasim*) were Sephardim. Yet, their cultural dominance was no more valid during the 17th century (David 2013, p. 53*).

10 Barnai (1992, pp. 110–14). At the beginning of the 18th century, only a few hundred Ashkenazic Jews were living in all of the Land of Israel, mainly in Jerusalem. A letter of 1735 refers to seventy Ashkenazim present in the city (Barnai 1992, pp. 161–62).

11 Data taken from Levie Bernfeld (2011, p. 234).

12 All information about these censuses present in this article is based on an Excel file listing all persons counted that was kindly provided to me by the Montefiore Endowment association.

13 Meshullam of Volterra provides the following list of notable Jews of Jerusalem in 1481: Joseph da Montagna(na) Ashkenazi, Jacob, Moses, Amram Zedekiah, Obadiah Samuel, Mordecai *Ḥalpatan, Jacob Joseph ben Obadiah Abraham, Nathan Samuel ben Joseph, Obadiah ben Israel, Shalom Ashkenazi, Nathan, Moses, Samuel, Ḥalifa, *Sevilliano, Nissim. We can observe that in this list, two community leaders have the nickname Ashkenazi (the first of them apparently came from the town of Montagnana in northern Italy, compare the entry Montagnana in Beider 2019), another notable had a nickname indicating his provenance from Seville, and one *hapax legomenon* (*Ḥalpatan). All other persons are called by given names and, sometimes, patronymics. The same Jewish traveler also refers to two rabbis in Gaza: Moses ben Judah and Meir, both with the nickname Sefardi (Mešullam da Volterra 1989, pp. 70, 82–83). Moses Basola notes the presence in Jerusalem in 1521 of Rabbi Israel, the head of the Ashkenazic yeshiva, Rabbi Pereṣ, a newcomer from Germany, and Isaac, the judge of the *musta'riba* congregation (David 1999b, p. 83). Note that all of them are called by their given names only.

14 The story about the presence of a Spanish Kabbalist Joseph de la Reina in Safed in the 1470s is doubtful. The earliest exposal of the legend about his death—said to be provoked by his attempt to advance the arrival of the messiah by entering in a direct contact with the King and the Queen of the Demons—are from the 16th century when the first Sephardic congregation has been established in the city. De la Reina sounds as a typical name of "Portuguese" Jews: it is used by Spanish Catholics, while no reference to Jewish bearers is known in the Iberian Peninsula before the 1490s.

15 David (1987) considers that members of the Portuguese congregation present in Safed during the 16th century were mainly (or exclusively) ex-Conversos. His global idea sounds attractive. Most Jews present in Portugal between 1492 and 1497 were recent exiles from Spain. For this reason, for those who succeeded to escape without being converted from Portugal in 1497, it would be illogical to become culturally associated in their destination country to Portugal, the country where they lived for five years only. Yet, the assertion by David (1987, p. 76) that surnames based on Portuguese toponyms reveal ex-Conversos appears inadequate. Indeed, in the detailed lists of Jews who lived in Portugal before 1492 (Tavares 1984), we find, without surprise, numerous surnames of this kind including, among others, de Leiria and Sages. The same lists also refer to Albotene. Consequently, bearers of these and other names present in Safed could, in principle, be culturally associated with Portugal without being going through the stage of formal conversion to Catholicism.

16 Schwarzfuchs (1991, p. 153). Note that means 'lunar' in Hebrew, while the initial letters of the toponym Lunel (on the source word for the surname *de Lunel*) coincide with those of the word *luna* meaning 'Moon' in Occitan.

17 Caspi (from Hebrew 'of silver') represents a Hebrew calque of the name based on the toponym *Largentière* whose root *argent* means 'silver' in Occitan.

18 The Hebraicized form is known in Savoy and Piedmont since the end of the 15th century (see the entry CREMIEU in Beider 2019).

19 According to David (1999a, p. 65), the Sephardic component becomes dominant in Jerusalem only during the period between 1520 and 1570, while at the beginning of the 16th century they still represent a minority. To back this opinion, he states that among

twenty signatories of a rabbinic regulation compiled in 1509, only four-five have identifiable Sephardic names, others are Ashkenazic, *musta'riba*, or Maghrebi. The consideration of the list in question (published in Ankawa 1869–1871, 2:23a) corroborates the idea by David. (A)bzaradiel, Albotene, and Bensusan are doubtless Sephardic names. One rabbi has the nickname ha-Sefardi. Two other rabbis have the nickname Ashkenazi, and Isaac Zelikman is obviously Ashkenazic too. One rabbi is from Crete (). Samuel Masud () is a local Jew, as is, most likely, Jehiel *Atan (). The origin is unclear for Nathan *Shato (), Joseph ben Isaac ha-Levi, and eight rabbis listed only with given names and patronymics. Yet, they are unlikely to belong to Sephardic Jews who usually had family names already before the expulsion from Spain and Portugal.

[20] The lists appear in Nahon (1993, pp. 224–31). The numbers of fund receivers are 105 in 1705/06, 83 in 1720/21, and 77 in 1728/29. Some of them do not correspond to specific families but rather associations such as whole communities of various cities or yeshivot.

[21] Main sources are: (Barnai 1992; Brisk 1901–1909; Gaon 1937; Yaari 1951).

[22] Persons identified under the name *Bekhar* () are also counted as having no surnames. With a very few exceptions they belonged to the Sephardic congregations.

[23] In Georgia, the first names are known with the Georgian patronymic ending *-shvili*: Batiashvili, Biniashvili, Eligulashvili, Khundiashvili, Mardakhiashvili, Papiashvili, and Zhutiashvili, while *Krikhel is usually spelled Krikheli.

[24] The numbers of members of the Maghrebi congregations whose birthplace is indicated in the census data are: 69 in 1849, of which 32 from Morocco, 30 from Algeria (including 20 from Oran or neighboring Tlemcen); 98 in 1855, of which 46 from Morocco and 30 from Algeria; 288 in 1866, of which 254 from Morocco.

[25] The absolute number of Sephardim listed without surnames is large only in 1875. It is 999. Yet, of them, 589 are widows or orphans, that is, population categories for which Jewish sources from various countries often omit their family names.

[26] This word represents a Hebrew acronym for 'son of esteemed Mister' and is traditionally put between the given name of a Jewish man and the given name of his father.

[27] The absence of such evidence is not sufficient to conclude about a continuous presence of a family in the Land of Israel. For example, Abraham Almeyda lived in Jerusalem in 1706. David Almeida (), 25 years old, a native of Jerusalem, appears in the Montefiore census of 1839. On the one hand, he could be a direct descendant of Abraham. On the other hand, no data in our possession preclude the possibility of dealing with two independent branches. The father or the grandfather of David could come to Jerusalem from either Istanbul (where the name regularly appears in the tombstone inscriptions between mid-17th century and the end of the 18th century), or one of the "Portuguese" congregations in Western Europe such as Amsterdam, Livorno, Venice, or Bordeaux (where multiples references to Almeida, Almeda, or d'Almeida are found during the 18th century, Beider 2019).

[28] In this article, the information about the censuses of 1890 and 1910 is based on Excel files kindly provided to me by the Israel Genealogy Research Association after the authorization of the city of Jerusalem archives.

[29] In this list, only Bulgaria and Thessaly were already outside of the Ottoman Empire.

[30] In this paragraph, the information about the surnames used by Yemenite Jews is taken from Gaimani (2017).

[31] Only four persons appearing in the census data were born in the Maghreb, all in Morocco. This information should not be misinterpreted to imply that the number of Maghrebi migrants present in Jerusalem in 1910 was so small. Most likely, either the census did not cover the Maghrebi congregations, or it covered it, but the corresponding information was lost. A list of 480 heads of Jewish families of Jerusalem protected by French consulate was compiled circa 1910. For 412 of them, their place of birth is indicated: Jews born in the Maghreb—140 persons from Morocco, 80 from Algeria, 9 from Tunisia, and 2 from Libya—cover 56 percent of the total. This list was kindly provided to me by the *Cercle de la Généalogie Juive* (French Jewish genealogy association).

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genealogy

Article

Picturing Jewish Genealogy: Using Nineteenth-Century Portrait Albums as a Genealogical Source

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Abstract: This essay argues that the earliest genre of Jewish family photograph albums, the nineteenth-century portrait-card albums created by the bourgeoisie, may become a starting point for genealogical discoveries. Some display the visual genealogies of extended families, and many reveal the genealogical memories of family migration. The case studies presented here showcase the process through which an album became a starting point for the construction or expansion of a family's genealogy. They draw on the radial sources commonly employed by family genealogists, including birth and burial records, censuses, and other archival materials. The discussion looks at the role of family albums in the passing down of family history to future generations.

Keywords: family album; photograph album; family history; nineteenth-century Jews; visual genealogy; kin keeping; visual culture; bourgeoisie; memory

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[The thick photograph album's] favoured location was . . . on pier or pedestal tables in the drawing-room. Leatherbound, embossed with metal mounts, it sported upon its gold-rimmed, fingerthick pages absurdly draped or laced figures—Uncle Alex and Aunt Riekchen, Trudchen when she was little . . .. (Benjamin[1931] 2011, p. 18)

As Walter Benjamin informed us, the heavy album on display in his family's elegant drawing room in nineteenth-century Berlin contained photographic portraits of family members. Unfortunately, its fate is unknown. This album, and those of many other bourgeois Jews of the same era, contained collections of stylized studio photographs taken during the craze for photographic self-portraits that began among the bourgeoisie in the 1850s and continued, worldwide, well after the invention of Kodak's portable box cameras in 1888. The collection of portraits between the album's covers, a visual archive, was a product of the photo-sharing visual culture of the period.

Relatively few of these Jewish family heirlooms survived the twentieth century, compared with those that belonged to non-Jews. Well-off Jews in the Russian Empire lost their possessions during the Russian Revolution, including their family albums. During World War II (WWII), the Nazis looted or destroyed albums that belonged to Jews whom they deported and/or murdered. Nevertheless, some one hundred nineteenth-century Jewish portrait albums are now preserved in at least 24 different museums, archives, and libraries worldwide. It is not known how many remain in private hands. Made by Jews in the British, German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires, as well as in France, Italy, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia's cities, these heritage objects invite us to discover and reconstruct the memories of long-forgotten ancestors.

This article argues that the earliest genre of the family photograph album may catalyze the construction or expansion of a family's genealogy, embody a visual genealogy of extended families, and/or reveal genealogical memories of family migration or dispersion. Jews left photographs and portrait albums, just as they left headstones in graveyards, for us to visit, study, and discuss when they were gone. After outlining the methodology used, this essay presents case studies in which genealogical discoveries, visual genealogies, and memories of family dispersion are extracted from such albums. Finally, the discussion looks at the role of family albums in the passing down of family history to future generations.

1. Introduction

The portrait-card albums created by bourgeois Jews in the nineteenth century contain mini-archives that may be of interest to genealogists. As Susan Sontag famously noted, “Those ghostly traces, photographs, supply the token presence of the dispersed relatives. A family’s photograph album is generally about the extended family—and, often, is all that remains of it.” (Sontag[1973] 1977, pp. 8–9). Such albums embody “genealogical memory”, which the anthropologist Gaynor Macdonald defined as “the memory of real people in real time.” (Macdonald 2003, p. 232).

Nineteenth-century Jews and non-Jews used their portrait albums as mnemonics. Stories told about relatives who featured in an album transmitted both genealogy and family history. As Anna Dahlgren noted, such books “were conversation pieces that functioned better without text, as the images could prompt social contact in the form of inquiries and discussion” (Dahlgren 2010, p. 175). For this reason, album makers did not write the names of the subjects on the album’s pages. The “show and tell” function of these books disappeared when albums were given away to institutions. Martha Langford observed that the deposition of an album in a museum “suspends its sustaining conversation, stripping the album of its social function and meaning” (Langford 2008, p. 5). For many families that owned albums, the destruction of the Holocaust cut off the communication of family history prematurely. The oral communication of family memories around historical albums that were not impacted by war eventually ceased with time; Jan Assmann found that the transmission of family memories lasts, at best, only three generations (Assmann 1995, p. 127). Most of the private owners of a nineteenth-century family album today no longer know the names of unlabeled portraits. Such memory loss challenges the genealogical use of historic albums today. Luckily, sometimes, a person who inherited an album, aware that its genealogical information was rapidly fading, noted on its cardboard pages the names of the people whom they could recognize therein and, occasionally, dates as well. These inscriptions are vital for genealogists.

The collection of photographic portraits began in France in the 1850s among the elites and the middle classes and quickly spread across the globe. In 1854, the Frenchman A. A. E. Disdéri invented a technology to make multiple prints from a single photographic plate. He stuck his albumen prints on small cards the size of a visiting card, a carte de visite (ca. 11.4 cm × 6.3 cm). Other photographers soon embraced this technology, and millions of people, including Jews, flocked to photographers’ studios to acquire such newly affordable self-portraits (McCauley 1985). If they were satisfied that these showed them at their best, they gifted and exchanged them with family and friends. Disdéri’s photographic process significantly cut the cost of portraiture and revolutionized visual culture. It generated a veritable mania for creating and collecting these small images, which the Parisian journalist Victor Fournel named, in 1858, “*portraituromanie*” (cited in Charpy 2007, p. 148), recently termed “cartomania” by English-speaking researchers (e.g., Cosens 2003, pp. 34–35; Rudd 2016, pp. 196–97).

In 1861, *The Photographic News* predicted that the family portrait album, “an illustrated book of genealogy,” would “supersede the first leaf of the family Bible,” which often contained lists of the births and deaths in the owner’s family (Carte de Visite Portraits 1861, p. 342). However, most albums do not contain such information and did not serve Jews as birth and *yahrzeit* registers. (*Yahrzeit* is the Yiddish term for the anniversary of a death.) In the late 1850s and early 1860s, newly designed albums that resembled Christian liturgical books enabled the exhibition of personal photographic collections of portraits to guests in the home (see Figure 1). As Benjamin noted, these books were expensively bound and had thick, gilt-edged cardboard pages with pre-cut apertures the size of the photographic cards. Each page framed one, two, or more portraits, depending on the number of apertures provided. Portraits could be removed from their frames on the album’s page, given away, and replaced. The binding of the album, as well as the rich clothing seen in the portraits, conveyed class.

Figure 1. Photographic portrait album of Hannah Merton, née Cohen. Leatherbound album with metal straps in the style of a Christian liturgical book, two cartes de visite per page, with the French patent printed on every page, early 1860s. Richard Levy Family Archive, Album 5.

Jewish and non-Jewish men and women often collected and displayed photographic images of friends, casual acquaintances, and famous people they admired, in addition to portraits of their relatives. Photographic and art historians around the world have studied these nineteenth-century portrait albums from various perspectives. For example, Elizabeth Siegel studied the social uses of portrait albums in the nineteenth-century USA; she wrote that "the album was seen to be filled as much by the desire to construct a family tree as by the urge to acquire portraits in great numbers" (Siegel 2010, p. 125). Patrizia di Bello examined gender issues in four albums created by British women (Di Bello 2007); Martha Langford (2008) focused on the albums' orality in her study of such books in the McCord Museum of Canadian History. Jill Haley's doctoral thesis surveyed evidence of colonialism in the albums of nineteenth-century immigrants to Otago, New Zealand (Haley 2017). Cultural anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards similarly stressed the importance of "show and tell" when looking for meaning in historical albums (Edwards 1999, p. 230; 2005, p. 35). Earnestine Jenkins (2020) argued that an album assembled by a woman of mixed race in Memphis fashions a legacy of status and shared identity, which she, her family, and mixed-race friends could not previously claim in the urban South prior to the reconstruction. As each album is a unique visual archive that embodies the maker's social world, Annie Rudd (2016) and Stephen Burstow (2016) compared the nineteenth-century photo-sharing visual culture with social media in the digital age. None of these considered the vintage albums as a primary source for genealogists.

Photographs have nevertheless long served as a focus for discussing collective family memories. Anthropologists Roslyn Poignant and Gaynor Macdonald (2003, pp. 235–36) have used collections of photographs of native Australian peoples with fractured histories to facilitate the telling of genealogies, establish family continuities, and revive genealogical

memory. Poignant (1992, p. 74) observed that the photographs "established continuities of self and families and made biographies and genealogies visible". The albums of fashionably dressed mixed-race women, dating from the decades after the American Civil War, distanced their owners from the trauma of slavery and rape and became meaningful for the entire group of women of color forging their new identities (Jenkins 2020, p. 30). Such work on non-Jewish people who experienced racist violence is relevant for Jewish families, especially for those whose links to the past were shattered traumatically in the twentieth century. Marianne Hirsch (1997) recovered memory from old family photographs, including those of her own Jewish family who experienced the Shoah. Using her imagination, she sought to convert memories that were buried in the photographs into living memory relevant to the present. Hirsch's concept of "postmemorial work" involves an effort to reactivate distant memory from photographs, within the context of a traumatic family narrative, by a deeply connected later generation that has no empirical knowledge of the first-generation subjects portrayed (Hirsch 2008, p. 111). Trauma is inherent in the biographies of some of the Jewish families whose albums survived the twentieth century, such as the albums of the Dreyfus and Freiberg-Deutsch families, described below for the first time. Trauma is not, however, a necessary theme for the reactivation of nineteenth-century albums for genealogical purposes.

Few scholars have studied nineteenth-century albums created by Jews. Nebahat Avcıoğlu (2018) looked at immigrant narratives in the album of Hungarian-born Elisabeth Leitner, née Saphir (1842?–1908), a cosmopolitan woman who drifted between empires and nations throughout her life, immersing herself in the local culture and making friends locally before moving on. Michaela Sidenberg (2020) published an overview of the 23 multi-generational Jewish family photograph albums that are preserved in the Jewish Museum of Prague. She noted that most of these albums, and many more whose whereabouts are no longer known, came into the museum's collection from the Prague *Treuhandstelle* Warehouses, where the Nazi authorities collected the movable property of deported Jews from Prague and its environs. Lavie Shai (2014) published his study of the family album of the Valero bankers in Jerusalem, focusing on the album's revelation of the history of photography in Jerusalem and the Ottoman Empire. Daniela Götz examined an unlabeled, early-twentieth-century Austro-Hungarian album. She studied the dedications and annotations on the backs of the photographs as well as the subjects' dress. A postcard addressed to Ludwig Beran, dated 1917, showing a young woman and a three-month-old baby led Götz to identify only Ludwig Israel Beran (1866–1942) and nobody else in the album. As many Jews named Beran perished in the Holocaust, this album may be all that remains of his family (Götz 2016).

In her publications in British and French genealogical society journals, Klein argued that nineteenth-century Jewish albums reveal meaningful narratives about a family's cultural identity, migration, international networks, and leisure activities. In one study, she focused on the albums of Anglo-Jews, particularly those in the Salomons Museum at Broomhill, near Tunbridge Wells (UK), and others in the author's own family archive (Klein 2020). She also extracted genealogical discoveries from the Crémieux (Klein 2021, p. 15 n. 29), Ettinger (Klein and Ginzberg 2021), and Szulc-Bertillon (Klein and Chenu 2023) albums discussed below. This article examines the concept that such albums can serve as sources for genealogists.

Jewish men and women exchanged and collected portraits, which they displayed in albums. Several studies of non-Jewish albums (for example, Warner 1992, p. 30; Di Bello 2007; Siegel 2010, p. 140) have claimed that the collection and arrangement of portraits in an album was a predominantly female pastime. In the nineteenth century, Jewish men were more likely to maintain international contacts with family members for business and philanthropic purposes, whereas Jewish women more frequently took on the role of keeping up with their aging parents, married siblings, cousins, in-law relatives, and all aspects of family news, including the births of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Women were indeed more likely to become collectors and makers of family

albums, and their albums are more likely to reveal genealogical information. Men, however, did sometimes become collectors and album makers. In the case studies discussed below, the Crémieux, Dreyfus, and Freiberg-Deutsch albums reflect women's work and serve as primary genealogical sources. In contrast, the portraits in the Melchior album belonged to a man interested in photography; he maintained his own photographic studio and also collected photographs of his extended family. He or his wife may have arranged the album. The Szulc-Bertillon, Ettinger, and De Beer albums display portraits collected by both husband and wife. The case studies below are a sampling of Jewish family albums with genealogical narratives.

The albums of bourgeois Jews show the established Jewish elites, in some cases, and the nouveau riche, in others, in all their finery. Photography historian Julia Hirsch and dress historian Lou Taylor warned that the photographic studio may present "a chamber of fictions" (Hirsch 1981, p. 70) and cautioned against "reading" clothes in nineteenth-century portraits (Taylor 2004, p. 163). For bourgeois Jews, as Marcel Proust revealed, the visit to the photographer was an occasion to show off one's latest sartorial acquisitions (Proust[1913] 2013, p. 166). Such Jews had no reason to pose in someone else's clothing or appurtenances, except for a fancy-dress ball or a traveler's souvenir for which a costume could be rented. What is known about the wealth of the Jewish album makers strongly suggests that they, their family, and their friends wore their best garments taken from their own wardrobes for their portraits and that these images convey an accurate testimony of pedigree and class.

"Genealogy" encompasses the study of families and family histories and the tracing of their lineages. Although the Jews' albums did not document family history in any organized or hierarchical fashion, they shaped the manner in which family history could be remembered. As conversation pieces, they encouraged viewers to ask questions about ancestors and, in this way, facilitated the handing down of genealogical memory. Who are these people? How are they related to each other? How, when, and where did they live? Who is missing from the family album? Vintage albums are fascinating catalysts for visualizing and discovering family history.

2. Methodology

A series of activities may enable the genealogist to reactivate genealogical narratives, construct or extend a family tree, and/or trace family migration. John Berger, who studied how people look at and understand photographs, observed that "To read a photograph, we need to know the historical context" (Berger and Mohr 1982, p. 109). To read a vintage portrait album, the first step requires the careful documentation of all the textual and pictorial information in it, including on the cover, each cardboard page, and both sides of the photographic cards, to extract names, relationships, dates, and any other clues. In addition, the family historian studies the signs, gestures, and other non-linguistic forms of communication, including facial features, hairstyles and head-dresses, costumes, uniforms, office regalia, and accessories, such as jewelry and medals. Textual information, including names, locations, and dates, as well as semiotic information gained from the visual clues, can lead the genealogist to search for contextual material in family, community, and state archives; military records; cemetery records and gravestones; and newspapers and journals. Books, other pictorial sources, and interviews with the descendants of the original owners of the album may contribute further information about the portraits in a particular album. In addition, facial recognition software may assist with the naming of relatives, as Scott Genzer's pioneering work has shown (Genzer 2019).

The genealogist cannot assume that every portrait in an album depicts a family member. The social aspect of exchanging portraits nevertheless helps the researcher of family history when a dedication on the photographic card names the relationship of the donor to the collector, e.g., "from your sister Henriette" and "to my dear aunt Flora". Such inscriptions are usually on the reverse side of the photograph and become visible only when the card is extracted from the album. Occasionally, albums also contain genealogical information inscribed on the album's page, added by a descendant sometime in the

twentieth century, such as birth and death dates, or the relationship of a subject to the new owner of the album (grandmother, cousin, etc.). Also, in some instances, portraits have been labeled on the album page and then removed or replaced with another portrait (as in the Szulc-Bertillon album described below). The remaining name below the empty frame may prove helpful to the genealogist.

The name and location of the photographers of an album's nineteenth-century portraits, printed on the base and/or reverse of the portrait card, enables the mapping of family dispersal. As the album format hides this information, it is necessary to extract the card from the album to access this, a difficult task that the keepers of such albums do not always permit. The Toitū Settlers Museum in Otago, New Zealand (see the De Beer case below), the Center of Jewish History in New York (viz., the Freiberg-Deutsch album and a few others in their collection), the Jewish Museums of Belgium, Prague, and Sweden, the Center for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, the Museum of Jewish Art and History, Paris, and the Salomons Museum in England have photo-documented or enabled the photo-documentation of both sides of the portrait cards in their nineteenth-century albums. The Jewish Museum of Prague, however, has not digitized page views, and therefore, any extant written text identifying sitters is not visible to viewers. In contrast, the National Library of Israel, the Rothschild Archive in London, the Anglo-Jewish Archive at Southampton University, and the Jewish Museum of Denmark (two Melchior albums and four Meyer family albums) did not permit this, limiting the reactivation of genealogical memories of migration, as well as the search for dedications and genealogical information on the reverse of the cards. Other institutions, including the Göteborg City Museum and the National Library of Sweden, have not documented their albums. The Jewish Museums of Berlin and Frankfurt have noted the photographers and their locations on only some of their Jewish albums and not others.

Facts and information about a particular album do not necessarily generate a genealogy. Relationships between the portraits in an album are not instantaneously obvious. The family historian therefore seeks connective threads in the collection of photographs, in juxtapositions, and in signs on both sides of the photographic cards. Two or more cards placed together or facing each other, taken by the same photographer at the same time, are likely related—a man and wife or a couple and their child/ren. Geographic information on the photographic cards, where visible, may reveal migration and family dispersion or merely bear witness to a business trip or a holiday at a spa or seaside resort. External contextual information, such as extant family trees (even if incomplete), biographies of owners and/or subjects, places of residence, occupations, and political events, helps the viewer extract, develop, and revive the genealogical stories embedded in an album. To cite Berger again: "without a story, without an unfolding, there is no meaning" (Berger and Mohr 1982, p. 89). As both Langford (2008) and Hirsch (2008) stressed, imagination, interpretation, and discussion of the album and its contents are as necessary now as in the past for revitalizing these albums, making them relevant to individual spectators today, and for "reading" genealogy in these memory objects.

Unfortunately, some albums offer no visible evidence of the name of the person whose collection is displayed or of the identity of any of the portraits. Hand-written names and dedications are often hard to decipher. In addition, as genealogists well know, the search for information about a name may involve consideration of a variety of spellings in numerous languages and alphabets.

This study presents four case studies to show how family albums of nineteenth-century bourgeois Jews could become catalysts for genealogical discoveries. It also discusses four other Jewish albums that display visual genealogies, albeit in no organized fashion, and two other case studies from which genealogical memories of migration are revived. Nineteenth-century portrait albums owned by Jews that house only celebrity collections are beyond the scope of this study.

The choice of which albums would serve as case studies was determined by their potential for genealogical study. An unlabeled album without any personal names is

unlikely to reveal genealogical discoveries, analogous to an unmarked or severely corroded gravestone. Some albums, such as the three Prussian Burchardt family albums in the Jewish Museum Berlin, two in the Museum of Jewish Art and History in Paris that belonged to the sister and sister-in-law of Alfred Dreyfus (the French artillery officer accused of treason in 1894), and the four made by Ida Samuel, her mother Jane Spiers, and her father-in-law Salvador Levi in the Jewish Museum of Belgium, portray family genealogies that have already been well documented. The Melchior and Salomons families, whose albums show aristocratic genealogies, also have detailed family trees. The Schames album, in the National Library of Israel (NLI), which offers evidence of family dispersion in the wake of Nazi racial laws, may have been a good candidate for another genealogical case study. However, as mentioned above, the NLI, as well as some archives and museums, did not permit the extraction of photographs from their albums to access all of the data hidden on the reverse of the portraits and have thereby limited the possibilities for genealogical research. Full-page scans are missing from the online view of some albums, including the many in the Jewish Museums of Prague. Other albums, such as those in the Jewish Museum of Amsterdam, may yet prove useful for genealogical research. Many of these albums were donated by living descendants, except those in the Jewish Museum of Prague and those in the Center for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, which were mostly looted by the Nazis. Institutions, however, have often not kept records of the provenance of their albums. A brief summary of all of the albums named in this article is provided in Appendix A.

3. Case Studies

Text and context are needed to give genealogical meaning to the visual archive within a portrait album. The case studies below are a result of an examination of the content of each album and each of its portraits, as well as research to provide the backstories of the named individuals and their families. Only two of the albums mentioned in the case studies above, the Ettinger and Berthe Dreyfus's albums, remain today in the hands of relatives of the album compilers. The Szulc-Bertillon couple has no surviving descendants. Descendants and relatives of the sitters and makers of the albums in public archives and museums are no longer connected to these objects, voluntarily or involuntarily.

3.1. Genealogical Discoveries

The albums presented in the case studies below formed the catalyst for original genealogical research. Unlike some genealogical sources, Jewish albums usually show matrilinear as well as patrilinear relatives: women and girls, as well as men and boys.

The fully labeled Crémieux album revealed just one unknown female relative, whereas a few unknown female relatives were discovered via the unannotated Ettinger album. In contrast, research of the annotated Szulc-Bertillon and Dreyfus albums led to the construction of extensive, hitherto undocumented family trees. The Szulc-Bertillon album, in particular, added women to the genealogy of a highly musical family in Warsaw. The Dreyfus album revealed an international cousinhood.

3.1.1. The Crémieux Album: A Genealogical Memorial

Most albums that have been donated to institutions for preservation are either unlabeled or partially labeled. However, someone had labeled the contents of the "Adolphe Crémieux family album" before its deposit in the French National Archives, together with other archival material related to the French politician, who was also a Jewish activist (French National Archives 369ap/3, dossier 3). The names beneath each portrait facilitated the search in newspaper archives, scanned books, and genealogical websites for information about each one.

The lineage of the old French Jewish Crémieux family is well documented. This album, however, contains a collection of portraits that clearly belonged to Amélie Crémieux (1800–1880), née Silny, the wife of Adolphe Crémieux, and portrays her two sisters, who

were born in Metz. It is unusual in that 85% of friends and family in the portraits had died by the time the album was assembled in its present form. She therefore created most of the album as a memorial collection, rather than a work in progress. It is of special interest, genealogically, for revealing her elder sisters and some of the women who, like her, married into the Crémieux clan. Her small album does not contain any portraits of herself, her husband, or her children. Only 9 of its 33 portraits portray men. The album contains a sampling of her mostly female non-Jewish friends, whom she met at literary and musical salons, as well as Jews from the financial and social elites of her era.

Although Amélie Crémieux converted to Catholicism in 1846, the sixteen portraits of Jews within the album defines it as a small repository of Jewish genealogical memories. Eugénie Beer (1793–1869) and Rose Berncastel (1794–1876) are among the few members of her own family on display. Eugénie Beer, Amélie's eldest sister, did not appear in any published family trees (e.g., Geni.com, geneanet.org, myheritage.com) prior to Klein's publication (Klein 2021, pp. 8, 15, n. 29). A book about a Viennese musician led to the discovery that Eugénie Silny was a talented pianist who married Markus (Meschulam) Hirsch Beer (1785–1857), one of the leaders of the Jewish community of Vienna prior to 1848 (Kroll 2007, pp. 120, 248, 358, 367, 379). Eugénie must also have sent Amélie the three portraits of her grandson's beautiful young wife, Henriette Kann, née Biedermann, who died aged 27 in 1865 and is memorialized in this album.

Klein's publication led Jacques Gerstenkorn to identify the portrait of his great-grandfather Samuel Mayer in this album (private correspondence, 23 September 2021), whom Klein had mistaken for someone else. Gersternkorn was excited to see the image of his ancestor. Samuel Mayer (d. 1856) married Ernestine Berncastel, a daughter of Amélie's sister, Rose. Ernestine's sister, Adèle Weil, is well-known as the grandmother of Marcel Proust.

The album also contains portraits of two women who married into the Crémieux family: Esther (1800–66), née Lévy-Salvador, whose husband Jacob Vidal Crémieux was a cousin and childhood friend of Adolphe's, and two portraits of Esther's lovely daughter-in-law Leontine (1837–1869), the daughter of the banker and Strasbourg Jewish community leader Achille Samuel Ratisbonne. Leontine was only 32 when she died.

3.1.2. The Ettinger Album: Rabbinic Genealogies

Jewish albums were predominantly owned by individuals or families who had inherited wealth or had made their money in finance or business. Hayim Ettinger (1857–1928) was an observant Jew, a successful merchant, and a philanthropist. His maternal grandfather was wealthy; there is no evidence that his own father was a man of means. Nevertheless, the Ettinger album memorializes an extended and dispersed family, including the wives of two rabbis, whose given names were omitted in an old book of rabbinic genealogies (Beilinson 1901, pp. 170–73).

In 1922, 65-year-old Hayim and his wife Esther (c. 1852–1941) left Odessa for Palestine with their leatherbound family portrait album. Today, the Ettingers' relatives may not be able to find the graves of many of their Eastern European cousins, who, the album reveals, lived in the late nineteenth century in Kiev, Warsaw, Uman, Mezritsh (now Międzyrzec Podlaski, Poland), Odessa, Riga, Kishinev, and elsewhere, but they can now visualize them in the family album and re-create their stories. The published study of Klein and Ginzberg (2021) related stories about the Ettinger couple and album. It did not focus on genealogy, although it led to a few genealogical discoveries.

At first glance, Arnon Ginzberg, who now owns the album, could only identify two of its fifty portraits from copies he had seen in his grandfather's home: the simply dressed family matriarch on the first page of the album was Hayim Ettinger's paternal grandmother, Mary Simḥevitz (d. 1865), and on one of the inner pages, a photograph taken in Uman of the Ettingers' son-in-law in a fedora hat, Meir David Piness (1872–1936). According to the book containing rabbinic genealogies, Simḥevitz was from Minsk (now Belarus), the unnamed daughter of Rabbi Hayim Simḥevitz was from Minsk, and the wife of Yakov

Hillel Ettinger, Hayim's grandfather, was also from Minsk. The same book revealed that Dov Piness of Rozhinoy (now Ruzhany, Belarus) married one of Mary's daughters. He was likely a relative of Ettinger's son-in-law (Beilinson 1901, p. 170).

Arnon's nephew, Alon Ginzberg, and Klein examined both sides of each photograph, consulted historical family documents that had lain untouched for decades, contacted a relative who had immigrated to Israel from the former Soviet Union in 1990, and scoured newspaper archives in Hebrew and Yiddish, as well as online family trees, for names and connective threads. Anna Grudinovker and Shoshana Levit kindly translated nineteenth-century inscriptions. Klein and Ginzberg ultimately succeeded in identifying 19 people in the album and expanded the entangled Ettinger–Ginzberg family tree, where the children of one branch married the children of another branch, as in the Rothschild and so many other Jewish families.

The Ettingers' social world began in a well-to-do Orthodox environment, where women wore a head-dress, a *sheitel*, and boys attended yeshiva, men engaged in business as well as Torah study, and family names repeated themselves generation after generation. Hayim, who features as both a child and an adult in this album, was born in 1856 in Uman in the Russian Empire (now in Ukraine). He was born a few months after the death of his father, also named Hayim, whose grandfather was the distinguished Polish Talmudist Yehiel Michl Ettinger of Rawer (now Rava Mazowiecka, Poland), also known as Michli Rawer or Michl Ettinger Rawski (Landa 1837, p. 1), who headed a delegation of Jewish deputies to Csar Alexander I in Paris (cited in Fijałkowski n.d.). Baby Hayim was the third son of Hayim Ettinger (senior) and Hannah, née Tulchinsky, who also features in the album. A few years after her husband died, Hannah wed Aryeh Leib Ginzberg, a Torah teacher and widower from Pinsk (now Belarus). She gave birth to more children in Uman before he also died in 1866 (*HaCarmel*, 12 Adar 5626, 134). The album contains two portraits bearing the names of Uman photographers from the 1880s or 1890s of yet-unidentified young women.

Alon Ginzberg knew that Hayim (junior) and his two brothers Yakov Hillel and Yona Ettinger had two half-brothers, Berish and Arie Zeev Ginzberg; the album led to the discovery of a half-sister as well, named Rachil. A passport issued in Riga, now in the Yad Vashem Archives (in M. 43, Archives in Latvia, file no. 2756) and dated 1922, provides a portrait of "Rachil Leiba Berlin, née Ginsburg," born 12 September 1863. This document, which was uploaded to geni.com, names her parents, Leyba Ginsberg and Chana Ginzberg (Etinger), as well as her husband, Berka Zalmanovich Berlin. Two portraits in the album, from Riga, one of a man and one of a woman, show newly married Berka and Rachil, confirmed by face-matching software.

A portrait of a man with receding dark hair and a waxed mustache taken in Kishinev led to a search for relatives in that city. Alon Ginzberg discovered that Lova Ginzberg, a descendant of Berish Ginzberg, who settled in Israel after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, kept a family tree and some old photographs. One of his photographs enabled the identification of a woman seen posing with her husband for a snapshot displayed in the Ettinger album. This was Klara, born in 1882, a daughter of Berish, and her frail-looking husband, Avram Gendrikh, born in 1881, who lived in Kishinev. Both were murdered in the Shoah (Yad Vashem Archive Data Base, s.v. Gendrikh). Face-matching software was not needed to assert that the portrait of the much younger man with the waxed mustache, photographed in Kishinev, is Avram Gendrikh.

Alon Ginzberg knew that Hayim Ettinger's wife was named Esther but did not know her maiden name or her place of birth. With help from Yosef Vidman in B'nei Brak, the 1866 hand-written marriage contract in Arnon Ginzberg's cupboard provided the answer. Esther was the daughter of R. Shimon Papirna and lived in Mezritsch, some 800 kms north-west of Uman. A portrait in the album taken in Mezritsch is evidently her mother. A memoir in an Israeli newspaper, *Yediot Aharonot* (1959), by Yehoshua H. Yeivin, the grandson of Esther's sister, related that Reb Shime'on was from Paritch (now Parichi, Belarus), a Talmudic scholar and entrepreneur with broad literary interests who sported a brown top hat, a fashion favored by the learned Jews of the "Mitnagdim" ("opponents" of Hasidism). This

information enabled the identification of his portrait in the Ettinger album. Yeivin also mentioned that Shimon's wife was named Feige and she withdrew to her room after her husband died. The album preserved two portraits of her, one in her prime and one in her retirement. Yeivin's memoir provided a few more additions to the fast-growing Ettinger family tree.

Thirteen portraits taken in Odessa date from the Ettingers' residence in that city during the 1890s and early 1900s. They show Hayim and Esther, their son and daughter, her husband and son, among others. Hayim built a profitable business in the Black Sea port, became a leader of the Jewish community, and an active Zionist. Burial records in Tel Aviv provided dates for the births and deaths of Hayim, his daughter, and his grandson.

The aforementioned book with rabbinic genealogies (Beilinson 1901, p. 173) enabled the identification of a portrait of an elegant, elderly woman photographed in Bobruysk (now Babruysk, Belarus): she had to be Esther's pious and affluent aunt, the wife of Michael Margolioth of Bobruysk, daughter of Shaul Papirna of Paritch and his wife Dvora Margolioth (Figure 2). She wears a *sheitel* in her portrait, as well as earrings, a fancy brooch, and tailored cuffs. Her hat is fashionably decorated with feathers. Like many other women in the rabbinic genealogies, Mrs. Margolioth's first name remains unknown. Her portrait preserves her memory.

Figure 2. Mrs Michael Margolioth, daughter of Shaul Papirna and Dvora Margoliot. Photo: R. Zakrojski, Babryusk. Ettinger album. Arnon Ginzberg archive.

Finally, research of this album led to the discovery of another album held by Yoram Yeivin in Hod Hasharon, Israel, the grandson of the writer of the above-mentioned memoir published in *Yediot Aharonot* and the great-great-grandson of Esther's sister, Tsina Golda Papirna. His album was partially annotated by his father and includes a portrait of Esther's sister. Klein and Ginzberg's findings expanded Yeivin's family tree. Dedications on the back of the portraits in the Yeivin album include the names and images of hitherto unknown Yeivin relatives.

3.1.3. The Szulc-Bertillon Album: A Genealogy of Musicians

Wives and daughters, unnamed in rabbinic genealogies, have often been ignored in the biographies of Jewish musicians. The Szulc-Bertillon album led to the discovery of hitherto forgotten members of a large, extended musical family in nineteenth-century Warsaw.

Researching the Parisian Bertillon family in 2017, Alain Chenu acquired a thick leather-bound portrait album in a sale of Bertillon papers. The album had probably been a wedding present given to Jacques Bertillon (1851–1922), an atheist, and Caroline Szulc/Schultze (1867–1926), who was born into a Jewish family in Warsaw. They both studied medicine in Paris, he a few years before her, and married in 1889. The couple began to fill the album with their own collections of portraits, including some of his family members, some of hers, and medical and feminist friends. They later added portraits of their two daughters, which were removed at some point. The Klein and Chenu study, published in French (Klein and Chenu 2023), discussed the non-genealogical narratives that they found in this album, which are beyond the scope of this study, and attempted to construct Caroline's Polish genealogy, helped by the annotations on some of the album's pages and dedications on the back of some of the album's portraits, skillfully deciphered and translated by Monica Kluzek.

Polish and French newspapers and other archives, as well as cemetery listings, assisted in the documentation of Caroline's highly musical family. Leon Tadeusz Błaszczyk's (2014, p. 248) book on the Jews in music in Poland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries proved a useful but not entirely reliable source. The numerous spellings of Karolina/Caroline's surname in Polish, Russian, Hebrew, Yiddish, and French—Szulc/Szultz/Schultz/Shultze—as well as that of her Wakhalter/Waghalter/Wachalter cousins, burdened the search. Similarly, the first names of her male relatives varied according to the sources consulted—Adam/Abram/Abraham; Icek/Iccek/Isaak/Itzhak; and Henryk/Hayim. Following the textual and semiotic clues in the album, Klein and Chenu sketched the genealogy of Caroline's Jewish family to highlight its musicality and its role in the musical activities of late nineteenth-century Warsaw.

The album exhibits three portraits of Caroline, the latest of which was her gift to her fiancé, dated 22 June 1889, according to the dedication on the reverse. The civil registration of the couple's wedding on 11 October 1889 notes that the bride, "Caroline Szultz, dit [pronounced] Schultze," was born in Warsaw on 20 May 1867, daughter of Abraham Szultz, a 59-year-old musician living in Warsaw, and Elka Kaliska, deceased. The album displays a carte de visite portrait of her father, according to the Polish inscription, "to my dear daughter, Caroline," on the reverse. The annotation beneath the portrait noted the date that Caroline's father died, 11 March 1906. On 30 March 1906, the *Gazeta Kalisk* reported that the 78-year-old double bass player, Adam Szulc, had died in Paris. Records of the Warsaw Theater of Varieties showed his employment as a double bass player in 1870 and 1871 (Błaszczyk 2014, p. 248). Błaszczyk reported erroneously that this musician was named Adam Abram Szulc, born in 1827, and was buried in the Okopowa cemetery in Warsaw in 1902. The elaborate headstone in the Warsaw cemetery, engraved with an image of a hand placing coins in a charity box, marks the grave of the philanthropist Abram Schultz, son of Saul, a wealthy merchant, who died at the age of 75 on 14 May 1902 (Virtual Cemetery (jewish.org.pl), sv. Schultz). This error highlights the necessity to check primary sources and the danger of relying solely on secondary sources.

A portrait on the same page as Caroline's father is apparently her mother. The dedication on the reverse, "as a souvenir to the much-loved lady-doctor from her loving and devoted mother", is signed Paulina Szultz. This was not the mother's name, according to the marriage certificate. Klein and Chenu were unable to discover whether Paulina was Caroline's sister, aunt, or step-mother. We were also unable to find any Polish records of Elka's birth, marriage, or death.

Another portrait revealed Caroline's sister, Henryka, inscribed with "A token of remembrance! For my dearest sister, Karolina, a sign of affection from loving Henryka Szultz, Warsaw 2 September 1888." Two other portraits taken in Warsaw, apparently show Caroline's maternal relatives, the young adults Hélène Kaliska and Julien Kaliski. A penciled annotation in the album notes that Hélène became Mme Neymanowicz, but no other records of this woman were found.

The album provided many more entries for Caroline's family tree. Two early photographs in the album, with similar dedications on the reverse, taken at the same studio, show Caroline's uncle, Henryk Szulc, who closely resembles Caroline's father. Henryk wrote on the back of his portrait: "To my dear niece Karola, Uncle Henryk Szulc." A photograph of two young women in their late teens and in Polish dress (Figure 3) was inscribed with the following: "To my dear cousin, Karola Szulc, your loving cousins Emilia and Felicia Szulc." These two photographs are dated "Warsaw 25/7/85." A penciled comment in the album added decades later notes that the two girls are the sisters of "Joseph Szulc (le musicien). Félicie est morte [Felicia died, presumably unmarried] et Emilie (Mme Apenszlak) mère de [mother of]. . ." Emilie evidently had a child, but the writer did not know its name. The Bertillon couple would have met Felicia's younger brother, Joseph Szulc (1875, Warsaw–1956, Paris), a virtuoso pianist who arrived in Paris in 1899 to work with Jules Massenet. He composed a symphony and violin sonata, wrote light operas, and set Verlaine's poems to music. He also conducted orchestras in Brussels and Paris and married a non-Jewish operetta singer, Suzy Delsart (Letellier 2015, p. 386). Could Emilie's child have been Leonora Apenszlak, born in 1904, who lived in Warsaw in 1939 and survived the war, https://new.getto.pl/en/People/A/Apenszlak-Leonora-Unknown (accessed on 5 November 2023)? Felicia was about the same age as Caroline.

Figure 3. Felicia and Emilie Schultze. Photo: Karoli and Pusch, Warsaw. Szulc-Bertillon album.

Błaszczyk (2014, p. 249) provided a brief biography of Henryk Szulc and his five musical sons, one of whom was the virtuoso pianist and composer Joseph in Paris. This biography says nothing about his daughters, although the album reveals that he had at least two. Błaszczyk mentions the cellist Leon (1857–1935), clarinetist Maurycy (c. 1865–d. 1936), violinist Michał (d. c. 1930), and Bronislaw (1881–1955), a horn player and composer who

arrived in Palestine in 1938. Błaszczyk noted that Henryk Szulc (1836–1903), a composer and conductor, worked as a violinist in the Grand Theatre and Opera Orchestra of Warsaw and taught the double bass at the Warsaw Conservatory.

Leon Szulc visited the same photographer as his sisters and father just before Caroline left for Paris. On the reverse of his portrait, he wrote, "A ma chère cousine Caroline, souvenir, Léon Schultz. Varsovie, le 27 juillet 1885." Leon played his cello in the Grand Theatre and Opera Orchestra in Warsaw. His brother Maurycy, on the same album page as Henryka and Felicia, studied clarinet and for many years played this instrument as well as a base clarinet in the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra (Błaszczyk 2014, pp. 250–51).

Henryk's brilliant career was reported in the press on several occasions (e.g., *Echo Muzyczne*, 2 March 1895, 103; *Kurjer Warszawski ier* 21 March 1900, 2, which also stated that his great-grandfather was a musician). Henryk's lengthy obituary in the *Echo Muzyczne* (20 February 1903, 178) reported that he had *six* musical sons and a prodigal grandson. Henryk's sixth son, Hermann, omitted by Błaszczyk, posed with his father and is named in the Szulc-Bertillon album. The dedication in French on the portrait of Henryk and his son says, "à Mlle Caroline Schultz, docteur en médecine, souvenir sympathique de son oncle et cousin." It must date from 1889, before her marriage. The boy appears to be about 17 years old and was therefore born ca. 1872. Four years later, in 1893, the same young man sent Caroline his portrait, with a dedication in English: "To my dearest cousin, as a slightest token of regard and admiration, Hermann, Berlin, 11/12/93." Another obituary of Henryk's in the *Kurjer Codzienny* (12 February 1903, 2) says that the talented grandson performed at the age of ten at Warsaw's Music Society. This has to be Leon Szulc's son, Jozef/Joseph, born in 1893, who had proved his great talent as a pianist at a concert in 1903 (*Kurjer Codzienny*, 12 February 1903, 2) and later became a professor of piano in Strasbourg. He survived WWII in Cairo, where he founded a conservatory (Błaszczyk 2014, p. 250). Leon's second son, Roman, also escaped the Nazis and worked as a timpanist in the Boston Symphony Orchestra (Błaszczyk 2014, p. 251).

The album displays another of Caroline's cousins, a teenager in school uniform, whose dedication says, "To my cousin Caroline, a token of affection and respect. Henryk. 8/6/[18]85." The penciled annotation says that this was Henryk Waghalter or Wakhalter. This led to the discovery of another branch of Caroline's genealogy. The population registers on JRI Poland, https://www.jri-poland.org/ (accessed on 5 November 2023), revealed that the Waghalters and Szulc families were related through several marriages. Adam's parents were likely Jakub/Jakob/Yakov Szultz (d. 14 April 1876), a cellist, and Fajga/Fayge Waghalter. Adam had an aunt or a sister who married a Waghalter/Wakhalter, who had a son named Henryk. Błaszczyk (2014, pp. 265–67) listed ten musicians in the Waghalter family, who were born in Warsaw, including Henryk (1869–1961), who became a renowned cellist. Henryk and his younger brother Jozef (1880–1942) played in the Jewish Symphony Orchestra in the Warsaw Ghetto, but only Henryk survived the war. A website, www.waghalter.com (accessed on 5 November 2023), devoted to the compositions of his talented younger brother Ignaz (1881–1949) reported that Henryk, Jozef, and Ignatz had another 18 siblings, including Wladyslaw (1885–1940), who played in Berlin's German Opera orchestra. Both their parents were musicians, and their great-grandfather, Lejbuś Waghalter (1790–1868), was known as the "Paganini of the East" (Błaszczyk 2014, p. 267). Ignatz left Europe in 1937 and died in New York. Warsaw newspapers mentioned two other noteworthy young cellists from this family, Aloiza Waghalter and Hipolyt (b. 1897), who became a soloist in Warsaw's Music Society Orchestra (e.g., *Kurjer Warszawski*, 13 June 1891, 1 and 15 February 1905, 3).

Caroline was related to most of the 23 Szulc musicians and 10 Waghalter musicians listed in Błaszczyk, as well as others not listed there. She had no grandchildren. Thanks to the dedications on the reverse of the photographic cards and the annotations on the album's pages, Klein and Chenu's (2023, pp. 32, 36) study discovered some of the musicians' mothers, wives, and sisters who had not interested music historians.

3.1.4. The Dreyfus Album: An International Cousinhood

Louise Dessaivre inherited an album created by her great-grandmother, Berthe Dreyfus, who was born in Antwerp in 1879. This album, too, became a catalyst for searching genealogical websites and public archives in order to construct Berthe's nineteenth-century family tree, the family's dispersion, and their genealogical memories. In 1901, she and her husband, Ferdinand Lazard, moved to Amiens, France. In 1944, they were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau and murdered, https://hal.science/hal-03425716/ (accessed on 5 November 2023), and all their belongings were pillaged. However, Berthe had already given her album and autograph book to her daughter Simonne Audelet, who survived the German occupation in hiding with her non-Jewish in-laws, and these heirlooms remained intact.

The 91 photographic portraits that Berthe collected in her album spanned from the 1860s to the early years of the twentieth century. She penciled in the names of many portraits on the cardboard pages. A few cards have dedications on the back. Dessaivre could identify Berthe's parents, Hélène Michel (1845–1936) and Arnold Lucien Dreyfus (1847–1913), Berthe's sister Anna, her husband Alfred Dreyfus, and their daughter Hélène, whom Berthe had not named. Dessaivre recalled that Berthe and Anna had a sister, Céline, who died aged 16 in 1891 and who appears to be missing from the album. "The other branches of the family—the Philips, Krijns, Francks and Blochs are almost unknown to me," wrote Dessaivre, "but my grandmother talked often of these cousins of her mother" (private correspondence, 24 September 2021). The album's photographs have enabled the construction of Berthe's nineteenth-century family tree, showing her maternal and paternal relatives.

The photographers' details on the base or reverse of the portraits revealed the cities in which Berthe's extended family resided and enabled localized searches of online databases. One maternal branch lived in Amsterdam, and another maternal branch remained in Antwerp. The paternal branches lived in Paris, although Berthe's paternal grandmother came from the Moselle region of Lorraine.

The Dutch connection: Ten photographs from Amsterdam show the Van Messel and De Vries families. Dessaivre discovered that Berthe's maternal aunts, Josephine and Marie Agatha Michel, both married Jewish Dutchmen, Juda van Messel of Leeuwarden and André (Asser Hijman) de Vries of Amsterdam, and their children, Marianne Van Messel and Marianna De Vries, were named after Berthe's maternal grandmother, Maria Anna Krijn/Kryn (1828–1892).

The Krijn/Kryn family in Antwerp: Maria Anna Krijn/Kryn had at least seven siblings who survived into adulthood and married, discovered by searching for names that appeared in the album in several genealogical databases. While the name Krijn/Kryn was very popular in the Netherlands, especially among non-Jews, it was less common in Antwerp. Dessaivre was able to locate Maria Anna's parents and siblings via Geneanet.com. Maria Anna's youngest sister, Fijtje, married into the Philip family, as discussed below. Krijn relatives in the album include Maria Anna's sister Marie, who married Maurice Grevel, and their brother, "Uncle Rick" (Henricus), who worked in the diamond business, his wife Catherine, and some of their children, who all lived in Antwerp. Two portraits showed a young woman named Anaïs Franck (1882–1927); a Google search revealed her husband, Frans Franck, a decorator and furniture maker, art patron, and initiator of Antwerp's De Kapel group of progressive intellectuals. Berthe's autograph book provided the clue to where Anaïs fit in the family tree. She had signed her entry "Cousine Anaïs Franck". Anaïs' maiden name, we discovered, was Anna Krijn, a grand-daughter of Henricus Krijn, Uncle Rick, and thus Berthe's second cousin.

One of the larger portraits in the album showed a man with a mustache and a dark stripe down his pale trouser leg. He posed smugly, with a white dog perched on the table (Figure 4). The penciled note beneath this portrait said, cryptically, "father of Bouneque?" The text on the back revealed that this was a passport photograph of "Michel Joseph Kryn," Berthe's grandfather, Joseph Michel, the husband of Maria Anna Krijn/Kryn, who adopted

her name to mark their association. It was dated 25 October 1870 (or 1871, unclear) and countersigned by the Burgermeister of Antwerp, who attested to its authenticity. The online Directory of Belgian Photographers, https://fomu.atomis.be/index.php/michel-kryn-j;isaar (accessed on 5 November 2023), lists Berthe's grandfather, Michel Joseph Kryn, born in Maastricht in 1819. The directory notes that he had worked as a money exchanger before becoming an optician who created magnifying lenses for photography and sold stereoscopes. Berthe's father, Arnold Lucien Dreyfus, who also initially worked as a money changer, took over his business, according to the directory.

Figure 4. Joseph Michel, grandfather of Berthe Dreyfus, Antwerp, 1871, recto and verso. Photo: Photographie Artistique. Dreyfus album, private collection.

The Paris jewelers: Berthe's father had a sister, Sara Céline, who married a jeweler, Arthur Moise Philip, and they and their two children, Emile and Georges Arnold Philip, feature in the album. Emile and Georges both served in the French army, and Berthe displayed photographs of them in military uniform. Arthur's brother, also a jeweler, Edouard Moise Philip, married Maria Anna Krijn's youngest sister, Fijtje, whom Berthe called Caroline, and their daughter, named Berthe Helene Philip, married her first cousin, Georges Arnold Philip. Edouard, his wife, and their two children are seen and named in the album. The Philip family is therefore related to Berthe Dreyfus, the album owner, via both her parents.

Berthe labeled two of the album's portraits "*Grand mère* Philip" and "*Grand père* Philip," although they were not actually her own grandparents (Figures 5 and 6). The photograph of "grandmother", adorned with an elaborate lace head covering and Biedermeier style of dress (identified by Lou Taylor, personal correspondence, 20 September 2023), reproduces an amateur watercolor painting. She was not the grandmother of Berthe Dreyfus, the album owner; her title is honorific. Breslau-born Annette Jacob (1802/1803–1886) was the mother of the jewelers Arthur and Edouard Philip and the wife of Jacques/Jacob Moyse Philip (1801–1886, see Figure 6), also a Parisian jeweler. As described below, an aristocratic-looking ancestor in one's album implied an aristocratic pedigree.

Figure 5. «Grand' mère Philip» Annette Jacob, 1830s. Photo: A. Zagel, 76 rue de Rivoli, Paris. Berthe Dreyfus album. Private collection.

Figure 6. «Grand' père Philip» Jacob Moyse Philip. Photo: Photographie Tufferau, 48 rue Vivienne, Paris. Dreyfus album, private collection.

The Lorraine relatives: There is no doubt about the bourgeois status of Berthe's portly, double-chinned Parisian paternal grandfather, Isidore Dreyfus (1814–1883), clearly a successful businessman, and his tightly corseted wife, Philippine Aron (1812–1869) (see Figure 7). The album revealed descendants of Philippine Aron, who came from Phalsbourg, a small town in the Moselle region, just east of Strasbourg, where Jews had

lived from the time of Louis XIV. Mme Edinger, the Bloch family, and Commander Leopold Stettheimer/Stetemer, we discovered, were all connected to the Aron family. Mme Edinger was Philippine's sister Caroline, and an unlabeled photograph on the same album page, taken by the same Parisian photographer, must be Caroline's daughter, Clara Coblentz. Clara's daughter Berthe married Sam Bloch, and their two girls, another Berthe (the fourth in the family!) and Andrée, all appear on page 15 of the album. Commander Stetemer was not in uniform, but he had a fine, waxed mustache and a pin in his lapel. His mother, Esther Estelle Aron of Phalsbourg, was apparently a cousin of Philippine and Caroline.

Figure 7. Isidore Dreyfus and his wife Philippine Aron. Photos: A. Zagel, 76 rue de Rivoli, Paris. Dreyfus album, private collection.

Our research enabled the construction of extensive and intertwined family trees. We were unable to discover the identity of "Tante Merek, mother of Elise." Merek may be a diminutive of Maria Josepha Ravays, the wife of Maria Anna Krijn's brother Moses Krijn, or Margareta, a sister of Maria Anna, Moses, and Henricus, or the "tante" may signify an honorific aunt who is not actually related. We were unable to identify ten of the people in the album, most of whom are likely also relatives of Berthe, although she also displayed the family's servants and portraits of friends, some of whom had signed her autograph book.

These case studies, and the other albums discussed below, maintained family networks and enabled descendants to visualize and learn about their ancestors.

3.2. Aristocratic Lineage

The collection of photographic family portraits enabled Jews to create a visual genealogy, intentionally or unintentionally, which portrayed their bourgeois heritage. Nineteenth-century Jews did not initially collect portraits to memorialize their family histories, although their collections of richly attired ancestors and descendants, preserved as family heirlooms and displayed in albums, came to serve this function. In the early nineteenth century, opulent Jews commissioned painted portraits of themselves and their wives and, on occasion, also their parents, imitating the non-Jewish aristocracy. The early-nineteenth-century portraitist could, of course, embellish the painting of a wealthy Jewish patron. In contrast, a photograph of a live model provided a more accurate likeness, although the photographic artist could touch up a print to make it more flattering. Descendants sometimes displayed

photographic reproductions of their family's painted portraits in their albums to convey an aristocratic pedigree, as in the Dreyfus album described above and the four examples below.

Gustav Przibram's family album in the Jewish Museum Vienna (Inv. No. 4515) shows that he and his wife were proud of their aristocratic heritage. Gustav was the grandson of Aron Beer Przibram (1781–1857) of Prague and Therese Esther Jerusalem (1783–1866), who was Aron's wife and niece. Descended from the eminent Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel, the Maharal of Prague, Aron built an immense fortune in the textile business. He and his wife were richly dressed for their portraits in the Przibram family album. Most of the other 23 portraits in this album portray the families of Gustav's parents, Salomon and Marie Dormitzer, whose mother was Therese Esther Jerusalem's sister. This album also exhibits Gustav's wife, Charlotte von Schey, and her ennobled Austro-Hungarian parents, the Jewish banker Baron Freidrich Schey von Koromla and his wife Hermine, née Landauer. The luxurious dress of the women, including the rich fabrics, jewelry, and lace, shows the family's aristocracy, as well as three generations of its intertwined genealogy.

A much larger album—the largest in this study—belonged to the family of Israel Barendt Melchior (1827–1893) and spans four generations of an extensive family at the pinnacle of Danish Jewish society (Danish Jewish Museum, JDK0148x2). This collection of some 370 photographic cards portrays a highly interconnected Ashkenazic family, where marriages took place between uncles and nieces as well as with other members of the Danish Jewish elite, including the Henriques and Meyer families. The first page displays photographs of ancestors, including reproductions of painted portraits of Israel Barendt Melchior's maternal grandparents, Lea/Galathea (1755–1814) and Lion Israel (1758–1834), dressed in the fashion of Napoleon's empire (Figure 8), and images of his parents, Gerson Moses Melchior (1771–1845) and Birgitte Melchior, née Israel (1792–1855). Yet another photographic card on the album's first page reproduced a painting of Israel Barendt's sister Henriette Melchior (1813–1892) sumptuously dressed in the late 1830s. These portraits attest to the family's wealth in the early nineteenth century. Israel Barendt Melchior had seventeen siblings. Unusually, some of the pages in this album are organized genealogically, with photographs of Israel's siblings' nuclear families arranged together. For example, portraits of Israel's sister Sophie (1809–1883), her ten children, and their spouses and children are followed by his sister Galathea (1818–1906), her German husband, Dr. Nathan Levi Marcus, and their children, displayed one next to another. Some portraits reveal the Melchior family's participation in the pastimes of the leisured class, including masquerades, tableaux vivants, fancy-dress parties, and play acting in the salon.

Other Jewish album makers similarly exhibited photographic reproductions of long-dead ancestors in their albums, portraits of Jews who had acquired wealth in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century and formed part of the old bourgeoisie, as opposed to the nouveau riche Victorians. For example, Sir David Lionel Salomons (1851–1925), a photographer and an avid collector of photographic portraits, inserted a photographic reproduction (Figure 9) of a youthful painting of his Dutch-born paternal grandmother, Mrs. Levi Salomons, née Matilda de Metz (1775–1838) (Salomons Museum, UK, Album 510), among the many portraits of his extended family and his friends. The original likely came from inside a locket or pendant. Her short curly hair ("coiffure à la Titus") followed the French Revolutionary fashion (1790s), as did the choker around her neck. The ruffle on her bodice and the small shawl suggest a date up to about 1804 (Lou Taylor, private correspondence, 21 September 2023).

Figure 8. Lea and Lion Israel, grandparents of Israel Barendt Melchior. Melchior album. The Danish Jewish Museum, JDK0148x2, p. 1.

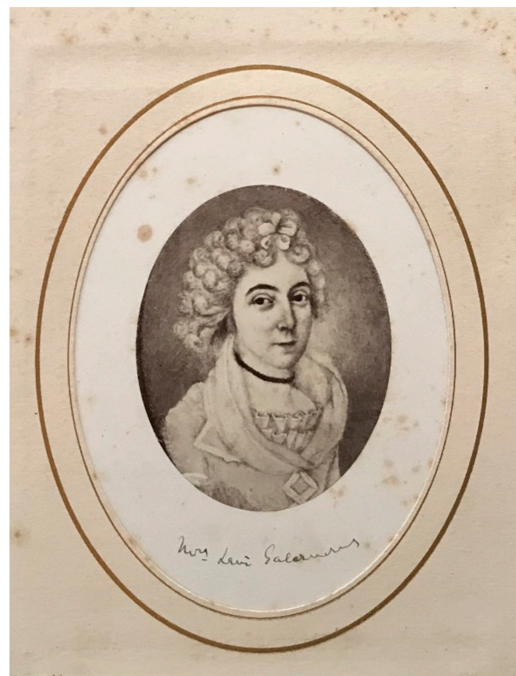

Figure 9. Mrs. Levi Salomons, née Matilda de Metz (1775–1838). Salomons Album 510, Salomons Museum, UK.

The reproduction of a painted portrait of Salomon Josephson (1784–1834), the first generation of the talented Josephson family born in Sweden, features in an album (Figure 10) that belonged to the family of his son, the Swedish composer Jacob Axel Josephson and his second wife, Lotte Piscator (Jewish Museum of Sweden, album 1259). Jacob Axel converted to Christianity in 1841, yet his family album preserved a visual genealogy of 29 members of the Jewish Josephson family—Jacob Axel's siblings and their families. Salomon Josephson was clearly already very wealthy when he posed, shaved and balding, for his painted portrait in a starched white stand-up collar, white dress shirt, and tie. His plump widow, Beate Levin (1791–1859), who was born in Copenhagen, sat for her photographic portrait in Stockholm in the 1850s in an embroidered black satin dress with white lace cuffs and collar, as well as an elaborate indoor bonnet (Figure 11).

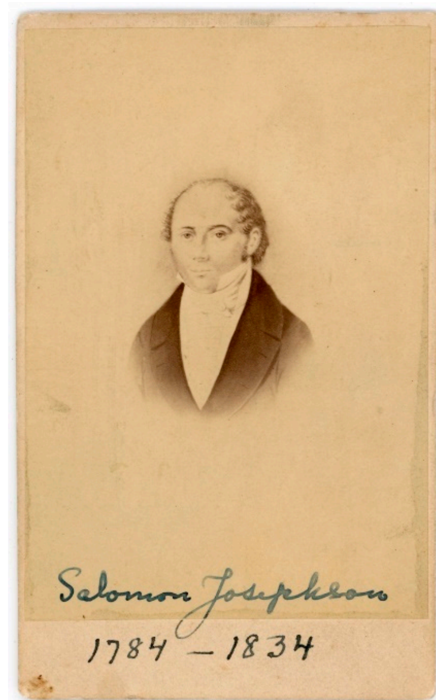

Figure 10. Solomon Josephson. Photos: Martin Josephson, Stockholm. Josephson album JUD01259, Jewish Museum of Sweden.

Figure 11. Solomon Josephson's wife, Beate Levin. Photos: Martin Josephson, Stockholm. Josephson album JUD01259, Jewish Museum of Sweden.

The Przibram family migrated to Vienna from Prague, and Baroness Schey moved from Trieste to Vienna after her wedding. Israel Barendt Melchior's grandmother moved from Copenhagen to Stockholm, where she raised her family, and Matilda Salomons moved from Leiden to London. Salomon Josephson's father left Prenzlau in Brandenburg to

engage in business and settle in Stockholm. His wife was born in Copenhagen. Most nineteenth-century Jews had genealogical memories of migration.

3.3. Genealogical Memories of Migration and Dispersal

Many more Jewish albums, compared to non-Jewish albums, bring together dispersed relatives. In the nineteenth century and especially in the last two decades, millions of Jews migrated, either voluntarily or due to the force of circumstances, and their large families increasingly dissolved into nuclear family units. They moved away from their birthplace in order to seek new business opportunities, wed, or escape war and anti-Semitic decrees and violence. Many sent each other their latest portraits from their new residence, which collectors arranged in their albums.

The in-gathering of far-flung relatives between the covers of Jewish albums maintained the connectedness of a scattered family, sometimes over many decades. Although Amélie Crémieux lived in Paris, her album brought together members of her family in Vienna, Metz, and Strasbourg. The Ettinger album, as noted, gathered portraits from relatives spread out between Uman, Mezritch, Kiev, Bobruysk, Odessa, Kishinev, Riga, and Warsaw, within and beyond the Russian Empire. The Szulc family dispersed from Warsaw to Paris and Berlin; the Dreyfus couple had cousins in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Paris. Albums of continental Jews show far more cross-border mobility than British and Scandinavian Jewish albums, which reflect the stability and dominance of the established moneyed class. Some albums show migrations from small towns to large urban centers, as in the case of the Ettingers.

The contents of Jewish portrait albums frequently embody genealogical memories of family migration. Even when most of their portraits are unnamed, albums bring together and visualize a multi-generational, physically dispersed, yet emotionally connected family, as presented in the following two examples of dispersed German Jews. The De Beer family from northern Germany emigrated in the nineteenth century, whereas the Freiberg and Deutsch families from the Rhineland fled the Nazis, and this album (and others, such as the Schames family album in the National Library of Israel, TMA 4833/1) became a valuable repository of family history following the trauma of the Shoah.

3.3.1. The De Beer Albums: Toward a Colonial Genealogy

When, in 1936, Augustus De Beer of Roslyn, Dunedin, deposited the two albums containing his family's collection of photographic cards in the Toitū Settlers Museum, Otago, New Zealand (1936/118/2, 1936/118/3), he likely believed that these would contribute to the history of Jewish settlement in the region. The museum's inventory records the albums as having belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Louis De Beer, the parents of Augustus. These two unannotated albums offer only a few names yet preserve the genealogical memories of Jewish families who emigrated from Emden and Hamburg. The portraits of family, friends, and celebrities convey the strong ties of the Antipodean immigrants with their *Heimat*, the German homeland. Of the 356 portraits in these albums, 61 were printed in German lands; 33 were printed in Australia, the first destination of these German Jews in the 1860s; and 111 were taken in the coastal town of Dunedin, New Zealand, where some members of the De Beer family settled. Whereas these albums bear witness to the maintenance of family bonds among first-generation colonialists in the Antipodes with their relatives back in Germany, the donation by Augustus to the local museum may also reflect the desire of the second generation to disengage from the family's German past after the rise of the racist Nazi party in Germany.

The family's genealogical narratives have lain dormant for almost a century. These albums have never been thoroughly researched or exhibited. The current research catalyzed the construction of the family's genealogy. The probate of Mrs. Rosette De Beer, née Frank (b. Hamburg 1851–1927), widow of Louis De Beer, confirms that Augustus was one of the couple's three surviving sons. The probate, state, cemetery, and newspaper archives provided further information that aided the construction of the forgotten genealogy of

this colonial family. Louis De Beer's obituary (*Lake Wakatip Mail*, 21 January 1887, p. 5) noted that he, Louis Solomon De Beer, was born in Emden. The *Bendigo Advertiser*, an Australian newspaper, reported his arrival on a ship from Rotterdam, together with his cousin, Joseph Van der Walde, on 13 December 1866, after four months at sea. Just over one year later, according to another Australian newspaper, *The Age* (21 February 1868, p. 4), he arrived in Adelaide, from where he was due to sail to Callao, a Peruvian port. However, Louis De Beer and his cousin settled in Queensland, New Zealand, where Louis worked as a draper and gained British citizenship in 1870. The following year, he married Rosette in Queensland, where their four sons and daughter were born: Solon, known as "Louis" (b. 1872–1934), Isidore Louis (1874–1920), Augustus Louis (1876–1954), Samuel Louis (1882–1957), and daughter Chanella/Schanette, known as "Nettie" (1879–1922). In 1902, Rosette and her daughter moved to Dunedin, where her sons were in business. The Southern Cemetery preserves the gravestones of Rosette and four of her children, inscribed in Hebrew and English.

The photographs from Emden and Hamburg show family, and possibly also friends, whom the De Beer couple left behind. The portraits appear in no obvious order in the two albums, although, occasionally, a few by the same photographer appear to be members of one family, taken on the same day. Two photographs sent from Hartford, Connecticut, show Martha Frank and her little brother Julius, a niece and nephew of Rosette's. At least one from Emden shows Joseph van der Walde's sister-in-law Emilie with her two eldest children. Most of the portraits date from the 1860s to the 1880s. Others, marked and unmarked, likely show the De Beer couple's parents, aunts, uncles, siblings, and cousins who stayed behind.

Louis's brothers, Isaac/Isidore De Beer (1839–1910) and Salomon De Beer (1849–1917), also left Emden for the Antipodes. Isidore settled in Melbourne, and he and his family likely feature among the unnamed Melbourne portraits. In 1874, Salomon married Sophia Jacobs, the daughter of a Polish immigrant, in Christchurch, New Zealand. This couple settled in Dunedin, where Salomon was an active member of the Jewish community. They and their five children likely also feature among the many portraits taken in Dunedin. By 1888, they had moved to Melbourne and may appear in some of the Australian photographs. Obituaries in the local newspapers reveal that Louis and Joseph were active members of the Jewish community, and they and Salomon De Beer were elected Freemasons, where they contributed to the well-being of others in their town (Figure 12).

The portraits from Australia show one evidently wealthy woman, with her hair covered in a net and an elaborate lace headdress on top. Others show Louis's uncle, Samuel De Beer, and his family. Samuel was Louis's youngest uncle, born in Emden in 1818, who emigrated to Australia in 1852, drawn by reports of the gold fields and new business opportunities. In Melbourne, where Samuel earned a living as a shipping agent, he married London-born Louisa Hart, who appears in one of the De Beer family albums, as do other members of her family. Samuel was likely instrumental in persuading at least four of his nephews to try their luck in Australia.

As Louis De Beer never lived in Dunedin, where the majority of the portraits were taken, and the albums contain only three portraits from Queenstown, it appears that the albums were arranged by Rosette, after she was widowed. She would have gathered together the family collections of loose photos, some brought over from Germany by the emigrants and others received in the mail over the years. This was her way of preserving and keeping together her vastly dispersed family. Her children apparently no longer felt the need to hold on to family memories when Augustus gave the albums to the Toitū Settlers Museum, set up in Dunedin in 1908, to document the lives of the early settlers and subsequent waves of migrants.

Figure 12. Unnamed Freemason. 1870s. Photograph: R. J. Nicholas, Invercargill, New Zealand. De Beer album, 1936/118/3, recto and verso. Collection of Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand.

3.3.2. Rosa Freiberg's Album: Dispersal before and after the Nazi Era

The album of Rosa Freiberg, née Deutsch (1860–1957), who was born in the small town of Ingenheim in the Rhine Palatinate, not far from Karlsruhe, reveals her family's dispersal. Preserved in the Center for Jewish History in New York (AR 25181, ALB 187), this album contains portraits of six of Rosa's siblings and many of her nephews and nieces, alongside some of her friends. Most of its 43 studio portraits were made in towns in the Rhine Palatinate in the 1880s and 1890s. However, three of her sisters left home in the late nineteenth century when they married: two sisters raised their families in Mainz (10 portraits from Mainz), and another did likewise in Alsace (6 portraits from Strasbourg), whereas her other siblings remained in the region of Ingenheim (14 portraits from nearby Landau). Ingenheim's Jewish community dwindled from a maximum of 619 in 1856 to under 200 in 1900, when Rosa, her children, her mother, and three of her other siblings still lived there.

The album also displays 15 portraits in postcard format from the 1890s and early decades of the twentieth century, as well as 30 snapshots, including some taken in the USA after WW2. These are stuck over the pre-cut apertures on the album's thick pages. A color snapshot dated 1963 was added to the album after Rosa had died. Rosa and three of her children, as well as one of her sisters and some of her nephews and nieces, escaped to the USA following the Nazi rise to power. One niece emigrated to Palestine.

The album, annotated by one of her grandchildren, gained genealogical significance following the Shoah, as it shows images of many members of Rosa's family in the Rhineland prior to the Nazis' arrival and preserves portraits of some whose lives were cut off by the Nazis, including her daughter Ida, born in Ingenheim in 1895; her brother Abraham/Albert, who died at the internment camp at Gurs, France; her niece Fanny Bader, née May, who perished at Auschwitz in 1944; and her cousin Hedwig Mayer, born in Steinbach, near Frankfurt, in 1883, who was murdered at Sobibor. It also displays Rosa's nephew who died in infancy in Mainz in 1897 and another nephew, Alfred Blum, who was killed in Flanders

in the first year of the First World War. A note on a snapshot taken in [Bad] Ragaz, 1912, picturing one of Rosa's nieces, indicates that she found refuge in Argentina, presumably during the Nazi era. Other notes indicate a family that emigrated to Milwaukee.

Whereas the archive deposited in the Center of Jewish History by Rosa's grandson, Werner Marx, includes genealogical material regarding the Marx and Freiberg families (Marx 2003), he apparently did little research on the Deutsch family from Ingenheim. This album is more than just a collection of photographs; it contains valuable clues for investigation, including family names, relationships, and places of residence, starting points for radial research.

The albums discussed here, and many other Jewish albums, hold together dispersed families. They are living memorials to the departed. Unlike tombstones, these photographs bring genealogy to life.

4. Discussion

When Augustus De Beer and others donated their historical family albums to an institution, they had a sense of the importance of their heirlooms—a public importance that stretched beyond the family, even though most did not supply any genealogical or explanatory information. Similarly, when the Nazi authorities salvaged family photograph albums from deported Jews in Prague and elsewhere, they considered these would eventually have historical interest. This study set out to show that an active effort to research, discuss, and publish the albums' historical narratives has given them genealogical meaning.

This study found that relatives who are alive today discovered hitherto unknown genealogical information via the research of their albums; they were able to visualize their ancestors within their nineteenth-century social networks and expand their knowledge about their extended family and its dispersal.

The studies of nineteenth-century albums mentioned in the introduction have placed album narratives in bigger, more universal narratives, including gender narratives, colonialism, and aspired identities. The Ettinger and Szulc-Bertillon albums have gender narratives, the De Beer albums have a colonial narrative, and the Crémieux album has an identity narrative. The genealogical study of named and unnamed albums pioneered here can be viewed in the framework of "connected histories," a concept developed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam and applied to early modern Jewish history by David B. Ruderman (Subrahmanyam 1999; Ruderman 2010). Genealogy maps connectedness. The albums' contents link nuclear families, conversations, spaces, and temporalities of the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Jewish bourgeoisie.

Commemoration provides another broad framework for unrelated spectators of such albums. Each album may serve as a potential "site of memory," a site with a symbolic aura with a transmittable memorial function that bridges the past, present, and future, as envisaged by Pierre Nora and Jay Winter (Nora 1989, p. 12; Winter 2008, p. 62). Each spectator's search for meaning in an album is crucial to its preservation as a site of commemoration. Descendants who donated their ancestral albums to institutions likely hoped that these visual archives would somehow become sites of memory, beyond family memory and genealogy—sites of Jewish memory or, in the case of De Beer, colonial memory. The albums discussed here contain images capable of engaging the public in questioning the backstories of their contents and imagining the lives of the people portrayed. How do they differ from one's own ancestors and their backstories? In what ways, if any, are their stories Jewish stories? What happened to these families in the mid-twentieth century?

Although trauma and loss are not a central theme in this study, for Ettinger's relatives in Israel today and for the descendants of Berthe Dreyfus, the Burchardt and Schames families, and Rosa Freiberg, the trauma and murders during the Second World War (WW2) shattered and scarred their family history. The study of albums for genealogical insights gave rise to "postmemorial work," to use Marianne Hirsch's concept. The reactivated memory of distant family history reconnected the extended Ginzberg family, as well as Louise Dessaivre, to the lives of their ancestors before these were shattered during WW2 in

Eastern Europe and in France, respectively. Both of these families had kept their albums within the family. In the case of institutionalized albums, the descendants, if any are still alive, forwent engaging in postmemorial work on their own families.

The case studies presented here, some in more detail than others, show that it is possible to construct or discover additions to a family tree and/or reactivate the micro-histories and collective memories of Jewish families from some nineteenth-century portrait albums. These sources have advantages and disadvantages for researchers of family history.

4.1. Advantages: Context

Just as the cemetery provides context for a gravestone, so too does the album provide context for a portrait. The album houses relationships between the portrait collector and the subject of every portrait. It creates a virtual salon, where dispersed relatives of all ages meet. The Ettinger, Szulc-Bertillon, Berthe Dreyfus, De Beer, Freiberg, and Schames albums, and many others, hold together dispersed families, evidenced by the locations of the portraits' photographers. This virtual salon preserves family networks across continents and oceans and, in the case of Amélie Crémieux, after conversion to Christianity. Some family members left their birthplace in the nineteenth century in order to marry, study, or seek business opportunities; others fled abroad in the twentieth century following the imposition of the Nazi racial laws.

The nineteenth-century photo-sharing culture, which, in many ways, resembles that of social media today, laid the groundwork for discovering visual genealogies and revealing forgotten, hitherto unknown relatives of the album makers in the case of Mrs. Crémieux, Hayim and Esther Ettinger, Caroline Bertillon, Berthe Dreyfus, and the De Beer couple.

As women as well as men, the elderly, the very young, and ancestors face each other on an album's pages, the spectator develops a sense of extended family, a community of people, even after memory is lost. The albums bring women out of the shadows and give them an honorable place in Jewish history. These albums also show their acculturation into the middle class in the towns where they settled, for example, via the portrait of the Freemason.

Historically, these albums had a role in passing on family history from generation to generation in families that were comfortably off. Loose, isolated nineteenth-century photographs, although useful for family historians, nevertheless provide less information than an album, which, as shown here, embraces numerous and dispersed relatives. The research of albums that remain in the hands of family descendants, such as the Ettinger and Berthe Dreyfus albums, has led to both a revival of the album's mnemonic function—a revival of conversation about the family's ancestors—and the discovery, via the album, of distant cousins, strengthening kinship bonds and enabling the reconstruction of the extended family. The revitalization of the album of the Bertillon couple, whose descendants are no longer living, revealed an exceptional Jewish woman from Warsaw, a medical pioneer in her day, and some of the women in her musical family.

4.2. Disadvantages: Missing Materials

Researching their backstories, it becomes obvious that these visual genealogies are incomplete; not every family member appears. Some relatives may have refused to be photographed, were unable to be photographed, or were displeased with their portrait and refused to share it. These exclusions would have been obvious a century or more ago, when family discussions of an album could fill in the gaps. Now, the genealogist has to use the album's clues and any available contextual material to discover who is missing.

Accessibility is paramount for researchers. Unfortunately, some institutions that have been entrusted with nineteenth-century albums have entombed these visual remnants of past lives, guarded by property and/or access rights. The data embedded in these books may not be visible. In the Crémieux, Melchior, Przibram, and Schames albums mentioned above, as well as many others stored in institutions, the textual material printed on the portraits, at the base or on the reverse, is mostly inaccessible. Admittedly, it is

sometimes difficult to access the reverse of a portrait without damaging the album's page, and therefore, some institutions forbid researchers from extracting the portraits themselves. In other cases, where the portraits have been professionally removed from the album and both sides have been digitized, as has been carried out for the albums in the Jewish Museum of Prague, full-page views are missing from the digital database. Therefore, any written material on the album pages is lost from public view. In order to make photograph albums accessible, this essay has argued that the documentation of all aspects of the album is essential. Digitization, including full-page scans and scans of both sides of each portrait, will reduce the damage caused by the further handling of the album and enable access to countless viewers, within the family or within the institution, and beyond—if there are no limitations on rights. Digital materials require updating, however, when software storage technology changes from decade to decade.

Digitization limits the psychological experience of looking, not merely seeing or viewing. The spectator loses the special relationship with the album when examining it on a screen. Viewing a family album has always been a social, performative event. When an album became a memory object, a grandparent could "read" it with younger family members, pausing to talk about a specific portrait, to recall an anecdote, or to explain how the subject of the photograph is related, before turning the page and focusing on another portrait. When studying such albums, the researcher takes over the role of that grandparent and searches beyond the portrait for missing information in order to reconstruct family narratives.

5. Conclusions

What can the descendants of the people pictured in these albums learn from these visual archives, especially after a long period of dormancy? The two albums in this study that have remained in the possession of a descendant or a relative showed that descendants were able to construct a family tree in one case and considerably broaden an extant family tree in the other. They discovered lost family connections and forged new bonds between formerly unknown cousins. Moreover, the narration of the visual genealogies and the reconstruction of genealogical memories of dispersal extends these albums' kin-keeping significance into the future, as their makers and at least some of their descendants may have hoped.

What genealogical meaning is there to an album whose portraits lack narration about them from someone who knew them? The revitalization of nineteenth-century albums may enable people who have no acquaintance with those who feature within them to discover Jewish connectedness, particularly the strength of kinship links across borders and across generations.

Why is it important to connect spectators/readers to broader interpersonal narratives, such as the connected histories mentioned above, and/or the social history of the Jewish bourgeoisie, Jewish mobility and migrations, and collective memory? The nineteenth-century albums described in the case studies above embody connectedness: connectedness through kinship and marriage, connectedness in the face of migration and dispersion, and connectedness in their adoption and portrayal of the values and behaviors of the leisured class. Although each album displays male and female family members of all ages within their social world, often in disparate locations and across national borders, these people are connected between each album's bindings. Tuning in to the albums' connectivities is especially important in the face of the catastrophic rupture that WW2 imposed on Jewish genealogies and the cessation of the process of passing on the names and memories of family histories. The reactivation of the albums' genealogical narratives strives to re-establish lost connections.

In conclusion, this study set out to show that well-documented family albums can form an important source for storing and transmitting family history and genealogy. Some individuals have used Facebook, genealogy websites, and/or DNA findings to connect with dispersed family and distantly related cousins, some of whom are discovering Jewish roots

that had been abandoned or hidden by their parents or grandparents. Visual materials, including family albums, as shown here, may also enable individuals to connect with dispersed family and their Jewish roots. This genealogical study of vintage albums led to the reconstruction of a sense of family for some descendants of the albums' sitters, as well as the identification of unknown relatives. By mapping the connectedness of the people portrayed in these visual archives, questioning the relationships between the album makers and the sitters, and revitalizing the conversation about these objects decades after the death of their owners, this study has revitalized the albums' function as a site of memory where Jews and non-Jews can bridge the past, present, and future. Genealogists may know who counted as family in the past. It is more challenging to define who counts as family now; who will be considered family in the future? We should also note how we maintain kinship links with far-flung relatives and consider whether such links will be preserved in the coming generations. Finally, how do we, in the digital age, transmit family history to our children, if at all?

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Appendix A. Summary of Albums Mentioned

- Burchardt, Rosa (1821–1893). Prussian, partially labeled album with 238 portraits, spanning 1851–1900; Jewish Museum Berlin, Inv. No. 2000/500/46. https://objekte.jmberlin.de/object/jmb-obj-102787 (accessed on 5 November 2023). Also two fully labeled albums that belonged to her husband Hermann (Hirsh) Burchardt (1820–1904); Jewish Museum Berlin, Inv. No. 200/500/47 with 26 portraits, mainly from Berlin, spanning the 1860s–1870s. https://objekte.jmberlin.de/object/jmb-obj-103380 (accessed 12 November 2023). And Inv. No. 200/500/48 with 9 portraits from Berlin and Budapest, spanning 1861–ca. 1940. https://objekte.jmberlin.de/object/jmb-obj-1033802 (accessed 12 November 2023).
- Crémieux, Amélie (1800–1880). French, fully labeled album with 33 portraits, spanning the 1850s–1870s, locations not visible; French National Archives, 369ap/3, dossier 3.
- De Beer, Louis (d. 1887) family. German immigrants to Australia and New Zealand, two unlabeled albums in Toitū Settlers Museum, Otago, New Zealand, spanning the 1860s–1880s; one with 199 portraits, Inv. No. 1936/118/2, and the other with 157 portraits, Inv. No. 1936/118/3.
- Dreyfus, Berthe (1879–1944). Antwerp and Paris, mostly labeled album with 91 portraits, spanning the 1860s–1902; private ownership (Louise Dessaivre, Amiens, France).
- Dreyfus, Alice, née May (1864–1945). French, partially labeled album with 61 portraits, spanning the 1860s–ca. 1920; Museum of Jewish Art and History, Paris, Inv. No. 99.52.023.
- Ettinger, Hayim (1857–1928) family. Russian Empire, unlabeled album with 50 portraits, spanning 1865–1920s; private ownership (Arnon Ginzberg, Petah Tikva, Israel).
- Freiberg, Rosa, née Deutsch (1860–1957). German (Rhineland Palatinate), partially labeled album with 88 portraits, spanning 1880–1963; Center for Jewish History, New York, AR25181, alb. 187. https://digipres.cjh.org/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE3031616 (accessed 12 November 2023).
- Lévi, Salvador (1850–1930). Metz, Paris, Brussels, partially labeled album with 50 portraits, spanning 1860–1910; Jewish Museum Belgium, BE/MJB/FondsLévi Box 14a, Y 156.
- Josephson, Jacob Axel (1818–1880) family. Stockholm, Göteborg, mostly labeled album with 69 portraits; Jewish Museum Sweden, JUD01259. https://digitaltmuseum.org/0210211126016/album (accessed 12 November 2023).

- Melchior, Israel Barendt (1827–1893) family. Copenhagen, partially labeled album with 377 portraits; Danish Jewish Museum, JDK0148x2.
- Przibram, Gustav (1844–1904) family. Vienna, mostly labeled album with 25 portraits, spanning the 1860s–1870s, locations not visible; Jewish Museum Vienna, Inv. No. 4515.
- Salomons, David Lionel (1851–1925). England, fully labeled album with 244 portraits, spanning the 1850s–1880s; Salomons Museum, Broomfield, England, album 510.
- Samuel, Ida (1881–1965). Belgian, partially labeled album with 68 portraits from the 1870s, 1890s–1910. Jewish Museum Belgium, BE/MJB/FondsLévi Box 13, Y155.
- Schames, Ludwig (1852–1922) family. Frankfurt and elsewhere, unlabeled, partially annotated album with 120 portraits, spanning 1880–1950, locations not visible; National Library of Israel, TMA 4833/1. https://rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE23602770 (accessed on 5 November 2023).
- Schil, Rachel, née Dreyfus (1856–1942). French, partially labeled album with 60 portraits, spanning the late 1860s–1937, mostly the 1880s–1890s; Museum of Jewish of Jewish Art and History, Paris, Inv. No. 99.52.022. https://www.mahj.org/fr/decouvrir-collections-betsalel/album-de-photographies-25981 (accessed on 5 November 2023).
- Samuel, Jane/Jeannette, née Spiers (1842–?). Belfast, Brussels, Paris, Rotterdam, two albums in the Jewish Museum Belgium; one partially labeled, with 141 portraits, spanning the 1860s–1890s, Inv. No. BE/MJB/FondsLévi Box 15, Y 157, and one mostly unlabeled, with 38 portraits, mostly 1860s, with a few from the 1890s–1910, Inv. No. BE/MJB/FondsLévi Box 15, Y 156.
- Szulc/Schultze, Karolina/Caroline (1867–1926) and her husband Jacques Bertillon. Warsaw and Paris, mostly labeled album with 72 portraits, spanning 1877–1905; private collection (Alain Chenu, Paris).
- Yeivin, Israel (d. 1895) and his wife Rachel. Mostly Russian Empire and Warsaw, mostly unlabeled album with 42 portraits, spanning the 1880s–early 1900s; private collection (Yoram Yeivin, Hod Hasharon, Israel).

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Researching Pre-1808 Polish-Jewish Ancestral Roots: The KUMEC and KRELL Case Studies

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Abstract: Tracing the ancestral roots of Polish Jews before the introduction of metrical data in 1808 represents a unique and complex challenge for genealogists and historians alike. Indeed, limited official records, shifting geopolitical boundaries, and the absence of standardized documentation practices characterize that early era. Sometimes, however, genealogical sources and records unique to Jews, based on religious daily life and traditions, have subsisted. When available, they open unforeseen avenues into identifiable family histories for which no other record, or personal memories, are available. In other cases, less well-known archival records unexpectedly emerge to elucidate a perplexing genealogical problem. The present article deals with two such instances with a similar starting point, namely, the apparent impossibility of merging two family clusters with the same surname in a given town. The first case deals with two separate KUMEC clusters in the small Polish town of Konskie. Research of this specific case, using limited official records, leads to the discovery of a single-family line dating back to the early 1600s, by means of complementary metrical and rabbinical data. The second case deals with two distinct KRELL clusters in the city of Warsaw, which, after 25 years of extensive but unsuccessful research, finally leads to merging into a cohesive KRELL ancestral line dating back to the early 1700s, by means of a less exploited source of archival records. The present study puts forward guiding principles for searches back to pre-1808 Jewish family history. As such, it should be useful to researchers encountering similar roadblocks in the quest for their Jewish ancestors.

Keywords: pre-metrical records; sources and records unique to Jews; nicknames and surnames; Polish-Jewish roots

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1. Introduction

The history of Polish Jews is woven with rich cultural, religious, and social aspects, spanning centuries of existence in the heart of Eastern Europe. Their genealogical heritage is a testament to their resilience, adaptability, and enduring presence in the region. However, tracing the ancestral roots of Polish Jews before the introduction of metrical data in 1808 presents a unique and complex challenge for genealogists and historians alike. This period, characterized by limited official records, shifting geopolitical boundaries, and the absence of standardized documentation practices can generally be considered to be a genealogical brick wall. Exceptions exist for Galicia and Bukovina (Kalik 2018; Czakai 2021), where precise lists appeared from the end of the 18th century when hundreds of thousands of Jews adopted newly created German surnames.

The absence of comprehensive and structured records prior to the implementation of metrical books—which recorded vital events such as births, marriages, and deaths—underscores the significance of alternative sources and methodologies in piecing together the ancestral narratives of Polish Jews. This era is marked by the unique challenges that the Jewish community faced in Poland including persecutions, expulsions, and waves of migration,

which further complicated the preservation of genealogical information. Consequently, tracing lineages back to this pre-metrical data period necessitates a deep understanding of the socio-political context, religious practices, and communal dynamics that shaped the lives of Polish Jews. Genealogists navigating this historical terrain must rely on alternative resources such as rabbinical records, communal registers, oral traditions, and rare archival documents.

Some genealogical sources and records are unique to Jews, based on religious daily life and traditions. These sometimes open unforeseen avenues into identifiable family details or histories for which no other records, or personal memories, are available. This will be illustrated here through two case studies, both involving the apparently irresolvable unification of two family clusters with identical surnames. To reconstruct the forgotten past, we delved into the methodologies and scarcer resources available, to bridge the gap between available historical records and the desire to unearth older ancestral stories. Those 'sources and records unique to Jews' mentioned earlier proved invaluable in the specific case studies examined here. The first case study in the current paper builds upon and expands a previous study (Wagner 2008) focused on the genealogical challenge of rare Jewish data predating the imposition of Napoleon's metrical records in Poland. Merging two family clusters, in this case, leads to the discovery of a single-family line dating back to the early 1600s, by means of complementary metrical and rabbinical data. A second case study again deals with two distinct clusters with the same surname in the city of Warsaw, which, after 25 years of extensive but unsuccessful research, finally leads to merging them into a unified ancestral line dating back to the early 1700s, by means of a less exploited source of archival records. These examples offer possible guiding principles for similar searches into pre-1808 Jewish family history sources, before the existence of metrical data in Poland. In the next section, we succinctly review the main sources of Polish-Jewish records available for ancestral research.

2. Polish-Jewish Records

Civil registers—A few words of historical context may be of assistance regarding some of the difficulties in Jewish-Polish family research that will appear hereafter. In 1807, Napoleon defeated Prussia and established the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a French protectorate in which civil registration was introduced (on 1 May 1808) using the so-called Napoleonic format. In practice, this meant that the civil registration of deaths, marriages (and sometimes pre-marital agreements), and births, which did not exist before 1808, was instituted according to the Code of Napoleon. Thereafter, from 1826 on, all religious communities (Evangelical Lutherans, Russian and Greek Orthodox, Protestants, Jews, and so on) were authorized to keep distinct civil registers (evidently facilitating religion-specific genealogical research), still using the Napoleonic Code. From 1808, the civil registers were held in Polish, and from April 1868 until 1918, in Russian. Subsequently, they were again recorded in Polish. An additional difficulty with Jewish family research has to do with the fact that until about 1821, Jews usually had no last names, only patronymic ones (for example: Dwora, daughter of Abram), with a clear potential for confusion.

Specific Jewish sources—Genealogical research for Jewish-Polish ancestry involves exploring sources that are uniquely relevant to the Jewish community in Poland. These include—but are not limited to—the following:

- Rabbinic sources: Rabbinic sources include records and writings produced by Jewish religious leaders, such as rabbis. This category encompasses a wide range of materials, including *responsa* (answers to legal questions), sermons, and communal records maintained by rabbinic authorities. Rabbinic sources can offer insights into the religious and legal aspects of Jewish life. Family relationships, events, and community dynamics may be documented in responsa and communal records. Rabbinic genealogies, especially those found in works like Otzar Harabanim (Friedman 1975) and several others, can also be valuable for tracing lineages.

- Approbations (Haskamot): Approbations are endorsements or approvals often found at the beginning of a Jewish book, indicating that the work has been reviewed and approved by a reputable authority, such as a rabbi. In addition to providing information about the book's approval, Haskamot may contain details about the author, the community in which they lived, and sometimes even the names of the author's family members. Researchers can glean insights into the social and intellectual networks of the time.
- Pinkas HaKehillot: Pinkas HaKehillot is a series of books that document the daily history of Jewish communities in various towns and cities. They provide information about community life, synagogue records, and sometimes lists of residents.
- Jewish cemeteries: Headstones in Jewish cemeteries often contain vital information such as names, birth and death dates, and sometimes even relationships. Headstones may contain symbols, inscriptions, or epitaphs that provide additional information about the deceased, their character, or their relationships. This can provide insights into family connections, religious affiliations, and migration patterns.
- Mohel Books: Mohel books, or circumcision records, document the circumcisions performed by a mohel (ritual circumciser) in a Jewish community. These records often include details such as the names of the child, the parents, and sometimes the date and location of the circumcision. Mohel books can provide valuable information about family relationships, generations, and sometimes even the names of grandparents. These records may offer insights into the religious and communal life of the Jewish population in a specific area.
- Ketubot (Marriage Contracts): Ketubot are Jewish marriage contracts that outline the rights and responsibilities of the husband and wife. These documents often include details about the bride, groom, and their families. Ketubot can be essential for genealogical research as they provide information about the names of the bride and groom, their fathers' names, and occasionally additional family details. These records are especially helpful for tracing the maternal lines of a family.
- JewishGen: JewishGen is a platform that appeared in 1995 on the internet as a pioneering Jewish genealogy resource. It lists millions of Jewish records, hundreds of translated yizkor (memorial) books, research tools, a family finder, educational classes, historical components, and many other resources.
- Jewish Records Indexing—Poland (JRI-Poland): JRI-Poland is an online database that provides access to a vast collection of Jewish vital records from Poland, including information on births, marriages, and deaths. The database is continually updated and serves as a great resource for researchers looking to trace their Jewish roots in Poland.
- Polish State Archives (PSA): The Polish State Archives hold a variety of records, including vital records, census data, and other documents relevant to genealogical research. Researchers may find information about Jewish ancestors in these archives, particularly in vital records from specific towns and regions with significant Jewish populations.
- The Jewish Historical Institute (JHI) in Warsaw: The JHI in Warsaw is a key institution for researching Jewish history in Poland. It holds a variety of documents, including vital records, synagogue records, and other materials relevant to Jewish genealogy. The JHI is an important resource for researchers looking to explore their Jewish-Polish roots.
- Yizkor Books: Yizkor books are memorial books written by Jewish communities in memory of their towns and residents who perished during the Holocaust. These books often contain historical information, photographs, and personal accounts that can be valuable for genealogical research.
- Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP): Located in Jerusalem, CAHJP houses a significant collection of documents related to Jewish history, including materials from Poland. Researchers may find letters, diaries, and other personal documents that can aid in genealogical research.

- Holocaust Records: For those researching Jewish ancestry in Poland during the Holocaust, records from Yad Vashem in Israel and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum can provide information on Holocaust victims and survivors.

When delving into these specific Jewish sources, it is essential to approach the research with an understanding of Jewish naming conventions. Moreover, researchers may need to consult multiple sources to build a comprehensive family history. This will be demonstrated here, using two intricate case studies in ancestral branches of my family. In both of these cases, there were two clusters, each with the same last name, but based on metrical data only, it was not possible to figure out how they were related.

3. First Case Study: Two KUMEC Family Clusters in Konskie

My great-grandfather Icek-Meir BAUM (Figure 1) died in 1932 in Brussels and is buried in the Jewish cemetery of Putte, Holland. The epitaph testifies that Icek-Meir was the son of Aharon Tubi and grandson of Rabbi Moshe from Kinsk (Yiddish for Konskie).

Figure 1. The grave of my paternal great-grandfather, Icek-Meir BAUM, who died in 1932. The epitaph states that Icek-Meir was the son of Aharon Tubi and grandson of Rabbi Moshe from Kinsk (Konskie).

Using the available metrical records of Konskie, I had no trouble finding an 1832 marriage record documenting the union of Mosze BAUM with Ronia KUMEC, the daughter of Mendel KUMEC. It was the first time I heard about the KUMEC branch of my tree. This detailed document, adorned with elegant calligraphic handwriting (see Figure 2), revealed that Mosze BAUM hailed from Wyszogrod, a small town west of Warsaw, and that Ronia's father Mendel served as the rabbi of Konskie (though he did not officiate at his daughter's wedding).

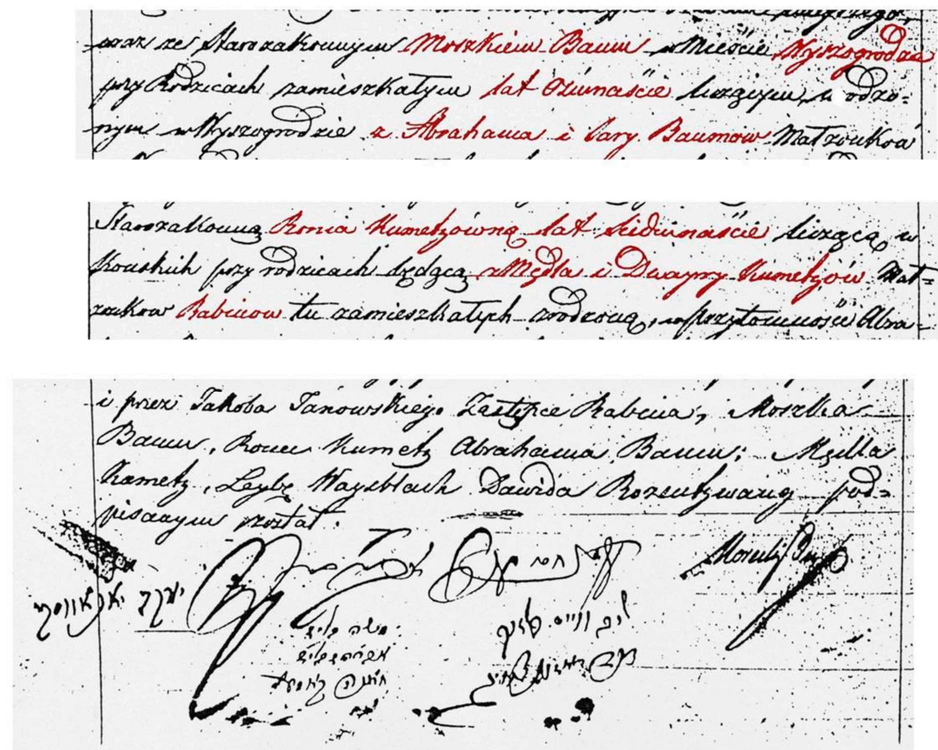

Figure 2. Selected portions of the 1832 marriage record of Mosze BAUM and Ronia KUMEC in Konskie, stating that Mosze and his parents are from Wyszogrod.

The Konskie records revealed that there were two separate KUMEC families: one led by Rabbi Mendel KUMEC and his wife Dwojra, the other by Uszer KUMEC and his wife Frajdla. Despite the rarity of the KUMEC surname, I could not figure out how these families were related. Rabbi Mendel's 1842 death record listed Mordka (Mortek/Markus) and Rajca/Rojza as his parents. In contrast, the parents of Uszer did not appear in his 1848 death record.

I considered three possibilities: (a) Mendel and Uszer were unrelated (unlikely but possible); (b) they were siblings (Mendel being the older one); or (c) they were first cousins. All of these assumptions proved to be incorrect.

An immediate question surfaced: why did Mosze BAUM (or his parents) from Wyszogrod, about 130 km away, choose a bride from distant Konskie? Another puzzle emerged about the *shidech* (Yiddish for 'bride selection procedure')—how intricate could it be, considering the challenges of distance and communication?

One possible scenario was to consider that both families originally lived in Wyszogrod. Perhaps the parents had known each other, arranging the marriage in advance. However, this was mere speculation since there was no concrete evidence of any KUMEC individual residing in Wyszogrod, the supposed meeting ground for the BAUM and KUMEC families.

3.1. *Wyszogrod: Exploring the Earliest Metrical Records*

In the mid-1990s, while on a trip to Salt Lake City, I explored the Wyszogrod 1808–1826 Mormons microfilms, in my quest for a birth record for Mosze BAUM. The fact that there were no surnames before 1820–1821, and that the records for all religions were amalgamated, did not facilitate the search for Mosze BAUM's birth document. Moreover, the handwritten documents were nearly illegible. In the end, the record was discovered in the 1816 listing. Remarkably, the scenario I had imagined proved to be correct: Wyszogrod served as the birthplace for Mendel KUMEC and his family, as documented in the records predating 1826. The findings included the following:

- A somewhat difficult-to-decipher birth record from 1815 was located for Ronia. The document specifies Ronia's parentage as Mendel Mordka (Mendel, son of Mordka) and Dwojra Josek (Dwojra, daughter of Josek).
- In 1818, another birth record was discovered, documenting the birth of Ronia, the daughter of Mendel Mordka, who held the title of 'podrabin' (Under-Rabbi), and Dwojra Josek (refer to Figure 3). In contrast to the 1815 record, this second document not only confirmed Ronia's birth but also revealed the presence of her twin sister, Sara. The absence of Sara's birth information in the 1815 record suggests that the 1818 entry might have served as a substitute or correction for the earlier omission. Interestingly, both Ronia and Sara went on to marry in 1832, in Konskie.

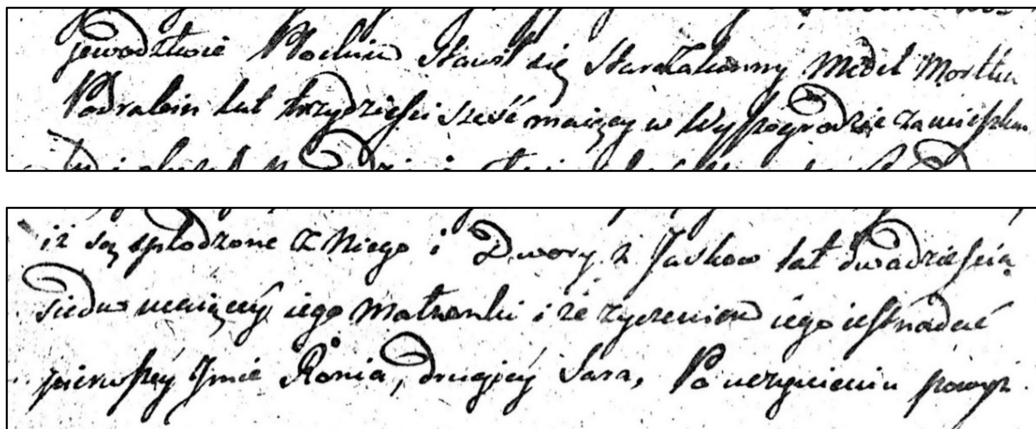

Figure 3. Selected portions of the birth record from Wyszogrod in 1818, which documents the arrival of twin sisters, Ronia and Sara, born to Mendel Mordka and Dwojra Josek.

Did the second KUMEC family cluster in Konskie, specifically Uszer and Frajdla, have its roots in Wyszogrod? Such a connection would corroborate the hypothesis of a close relationship between Mendel and Uszer KUMEC. The response was affirmative, as a birth record for Uszer, born in 1812, was discovered, with his parents listed as Mendel Mordka and Dwojra Josek (Figure 4). This established Mendel and Uszer as father and son. Everything was coming together: the age differences, the names spanning across generations, and notably, the occurrence of the double name "Mendel Uszer" in a descendant destined for KUMEC's future.

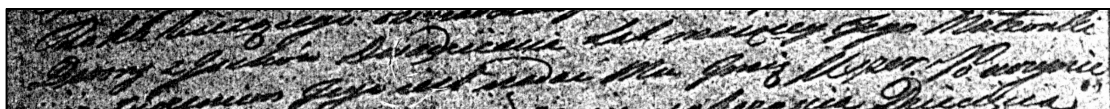

Figure 4. A segment in the 1812 Wyszogrod birth record of Uszer, the son of Mendel Markus/Mortka and Dwojry Joskow, proved difficult to interpret.

Despite the suboptimal quality of the microfilms containing the 1808–1825 metrical records, likely attributed to the deteriorated state of the original books, a thorough and systematic examination yielded several additional discoveries (not detailed here):

- The marriage record from 1815 documenting the union of Ester Effrem, a sibling of Mendel KUMEC, with a man named Uszer Markus (adding an additional layer of complexity).
- The death record from 1813 of Markus Effrem/Froim, possibly aged 60, husband of Rojza, the daughter of Wolek Effrem. Mendel Markus himself is listed as one of the witnesses, establishing that this Markus (also identified as Mordka/Mortek) was indeed Mendel's father. This fact was corroborated by Mendel's 1842 death record, which identified Dwojra as Mendel's mother. Moreover, there is a chance that Mendel

Markus had a sibling named Abram Mordka, who seems to be referenced as a witness in Markus Effrem's death record, although the text is difficult to decipher).

3.2. Wyszogrod: The Yizkor Book

The subsequent logical step was to examine the Yizkor Book of Wyszogrod, accessible online (Rabin 1971), anticipating that the surname KUMEC might have persisted in the communal recollection of the town. A significant breakthrough emerged on pages 19–20, albeit expressed in concise terms: Rabbi Asher KUMEC had served as an officiant first in Tykocin (referred to as Tiktin in Yiddish) and later in Wyszogrod.

3.3. Tykocin: The Yizkor Book

Upon further examination of the online Tykocin Yizkor Book (Bar Yuda and Ben-Nachum 1959),a thorough and detailed segment about Rabbi Asher/Uszer/Oszer KUMEC was discovered:

> "*Asher KUMEC was born in Tykocin in the early 1700s, and served there in 1767 as a Rabbinical Judge (Av Beit Din). Earlier, he had been a pupil of Rabbi Shalom Rokach of Tykocin, and then replaced him upon Rokach's passing. However, he only served for a year before moving in 1768 to the small community of Wyszogrod where he served as Rabbinical Judge. He gave his Approbation ('Haskama', an introduction to a manuscript by an eminent religious personality) to 'Hagorat Shmuel' (Shmuel's Belt), the book of Rabbi Shmuel Ben Azriel from Landsberg, a Rabbi in Plock. (. . .) Another book, 'Pnei Arieh' ('Arieh's Face') written by Rabbi Arieh Leyb KATZ (KAC, or K"C), who was Asher KUMEC' son-in-law, has an Approbation by Asher KUMEC' own son, Froim KUMEC*".

This discovery extended the family tree, tracing its origins to the early 1700s. Genealogy research in rabbinical books was the expected next step.

3.4. Rabbinical Books

The subsequent information was uncovered in various books sourced from the Jewish National and University Library on the Givat Ram campus of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, as well as from the Library of the University of Bar-Ilan. The progress in this investigation was significantly facilitated by the invaluable assistance of Rabbi Dov Weber from Brooklyn, New York:

a. The 1770 book authored by Rabbi Shmuel Ben Azriel from Landsberg, titled "Hagorat Shmuel" ("Shmuel's Belt") (Ben Azriel 1770), a Rabbi in Plock, notably includes an approbation ('Haskama') from Rabbi Asher KUMEC. From this, we glean the insight that "due to modesty, Rabbi Asher rarely provided his endorsement for books" (refer to Figure 5).

b. The cover page of the book "Pnei Arieh" ("Arieh's Face") (Katz 1787) penned by Rabbi Arieh Leyb KATZ (KAC, or K"C) and published in 1787 in Nowy Dwor, makes reference to the author's father-in-law, Rabbi Asher KUMEC. Notably, the book contains an approbation provided by Rabbi Efroim KUMEC, Asher KUMEC's son (refer to Figure 6).

c. The book "Divrei Gdolim" (Michelson 1933) ("Words From the Great Ones") (Figure 7) includes a biography (pages 6–10) of Rabbi Asher KUMEC encompassing the following key details:

- Natan, the son of Asher KUMEC, passed away in 5581 (1820–1821).
- Efroim, the son of Asher KUMEC, served as a Rabbinical Judge in Wrzesnia.
- A daughter of Asher KUMEC was wedded to Arieh Leyb, the author of "Pnei Arieh".
- Rabbanit KUMEC, Asher's wife, passed away on 11 Cheshvan 5531 (30 October 1770).

הכ"ד המדבר לכבוד אכסניא של תורה. ולהגדילה
ולהאדירה. היום יום ג' שנכפל בו כי טוב כ"ט למב"י
תק"ל לפ"ק.
הק' אשר מטיקטין חונה פה ק"ק ווישגראד יע"א.

Figure 5. The front page of "Shmuel's Belt" (Ben Azriel 1770) and a snippet from Asher KUMEC's approbation.

אפרים בן לא"אמ"ו הגאון האמיתי החסיד מוהרר אשר קמץ זלה"ה מלפנים הי"ה
דגלו פרוסה בכמה קהלות בפולין קטן החונה לע"ע פה ק"ק ווערשא ואגפיה

Figure 6. The initial page of "Pnei Arieh" (Katz 1787), featuring the concealed alphabetical date highlighted in the bottom line text, along with an excerpt from Efroim KUMEC's approbation.

ספר

דברי גדולים

כולל חידושים על פרשיות התורה ונ״כ, באגדה ודרוש
ופלפול, מגאוני ישראל וגדוליו, קדושי משוש דור
ודור זי״ע.

ושלשה ספרים נפתחים

א) ספר שביל הישר מזקני הר״ר צבי
הירש אשכנזי אבד״ק אה״ו, אמשטרדם,
לבוב, בעל שו״ת חכם צבי.

ב) ספר מילי דאבות מהר״ר אשר קמץ
אבד״ק ווישגראד, והר״ר משה כ״ץ אבד״ק
מאקאווא, הנודעים בשם „הגדולים מטיקטין״.

ג) ספר חמדה טובה, מבדו״ז הר״ר מרדכי
הלוי אבד״ק טיקטין זצוקל״ה.

אספתי מספה״ק ומכתי״ק והבאתי לביהד״פ בעזהשי״ת,
זעירא צבי יחזקאל מיכלזאהן בועד הרבנים
דפה ווארשא, בעהמח״ס דגן שמים, ושו״ת בית
יחזקאל, ופינות הבית וש״ס.

פיעטרקוב

בדפוס ר׳ חנוך העניך נ״י בהרה״ג ר׳ ישעי׳ זאב זצ״ל פאלמאן

שנת תרצ״ג לפ״ק

PRINTED in POLAND

Figure 7. The front page of the book "Divrei Gdolim" (Michelson 1933).

It is highly likely that Efroim KUMEC, referenced in both "Pnei Arieh" and "Divrei Gdolim", corresponds to Mendel's grandfather Effrem/Froim, as documented in the 1813 death record of Mendel's father, Markus. Several indicators support this connection, notably the naming of one of Mendel's children born in 1827 as Efroim Leyb. Additionally, the "Pinkas Hakehilot of Poland (Vol. VI, Poznan)"(Wein and Grosbaum-Pasternak 1999) makes reference to "Rabbi Efroim, son of Rabbi Asher KUMEC, who, before arriving in Wrzesnia, served as a Rabbinical Judge in various small communities in Poland".

Regarding Natan, the son of Asher KUMEC, mentioned in "Divrei Gdolim", further exploration in the Wyszogrod metrical data led to the discovery of the 1820–1821 death record of Nusen Uszerowicz, aged 84, holding the title of 'podrabin' (Under-Rabbi). Additionally, the death record from 1811 for Laja, who was 68 years old, and the wife of Nusen Uszer, aged 70, was found, providing additional context.

d. Considering the notable presence of Rabbis in the KUMEC lineage, turning to the authoritative work "Otzar HaRabanim" (Friedman 1975) ("A Treasury of Rabbis") appeared to be a logical decision. This reference indeed furnished the date of death for Rabbi Asher KUMEC, which occurred on 4 Kislev 5540 (13 November 1779).

e. Additionally, insights from "Pinkas Kahal Tiktin" (Nadav 1996) ("The Minutes Book of the Jewish Community Council of Tykocin"), a remarkably well-preserved and

distinctive tome containing records of rabbinical meetings in Tykocin from 1621 to 1806, unveiled the following details concerning Rabbi Asher ben Mordechai and the persistence of the KUMEC surname:

1. Page 20:
   -Rabbi Asher ben Mordechai is noted as the Rabbinical Judge in Tykocin and Wyszogrod.
2. Page 28—Item 56, Rosh Hodesh Nisan 5502 (5 April 1742):
   -Rabbi Asher ben Mordechai is designated to become a 'Magid (speaker)' in the congregation.
3. Page 37—Item 70, 27 Sivan 5516 (25 June 1756):
   -Mention of Rabbi Asher ben Mordechai.
4. Page 145:
   -Reference to Mordechai KUMEC.
5. Page 148—Item 232, 26 Kislev 5466 (13 December 1705):
   -"The widow of Mr Mordechai KUMEC" is mentioned.
6. Page 151—Item 240, 20 Tamuz 5466 (2 July 1706):
   -Mention of "Sara the widow of M"hram [Moreinu HaRav Mordechai] KUMEC".
7. Page 602—Item 909, Pesach 5498 (1738):
   -Mention of Mr Asher ben Mordechai.
8. Page 606—Item 918, Pesach 5499 (1739):
   -Mention of Mr Asher ben Mordechai.
9. Page 607—Item 919, 6 Iyar 5499 (14 May 1739) or 6 Iyar 5502 (10 May 1742) (?):
   -Mention of Mr Asher ben Mordechai.

These entries offered valuable historical insights into the names of Rabbi Asher KUMEC's parents: Rabbi Mordechai KUMEC and Sara, both born in the 17th century.

f. In January 2008, after attending a scientific conference in the USA, I seized the chance to convey my appreciation to Rabbi Dov Weber for his invaluable assistance and guidance in utilizing rabbinical sources for my research. During our conversation about our shared interest in genealogy, Rabbi Weber shared with me a copy of "Avnei Zikaron" (Weber and Rosenstein 1999) ("Stones of Remembrance"), a book he co-authored with Neil Rosenstein in 1999. The book relies on the original manuscript titled the same, authored by Samuel Zvi Weltsman of Kalisz (1863–1938), housed at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.

Before World War I, Weltsman extensively journeyed through areas of Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus, meticulously documenting the epitaphs of 921 notable Jewish individuals interred in 51 communities. To our astonishment, as we examined the pages, we encountered text directly copied from the tombstone of Rabbi Asher KUMEC (see Figure 8). This extraordinary discovery carries special importance, especially considering the absence of the two Jewish cemeteries in Wyszogrod today.

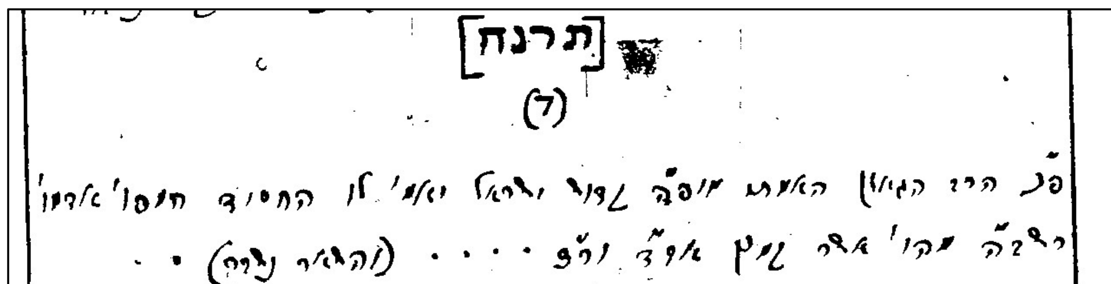

Figure 8. Weltsman transcribed the epitaph of Rabbi Asher KUMEC by hand, extracted from the "Avnei Zikaron" manuscript (Weber and Rosenstein 1999). Only the initial segment of the text survived from the fractured tombstone.

The thorough investigation detailed earlier is condensed and outlined in the KUMEC–BAUM family tree, as depicted in Figure 9. This family tree encompasses the lineage of direct descendants starting from my oldest ancestor Mordechai KUMEC (born on, or more likely, before 1685) and extending down to Ronia KUMEC and Moshe BAUM, along with one of their sons, Aron Tobias (my paternal grandmother's grandfather). Twelve generations separate Mordechai KUMEC from my grandchildren Michael, born in 2019, and Yehuda, born in 2021.

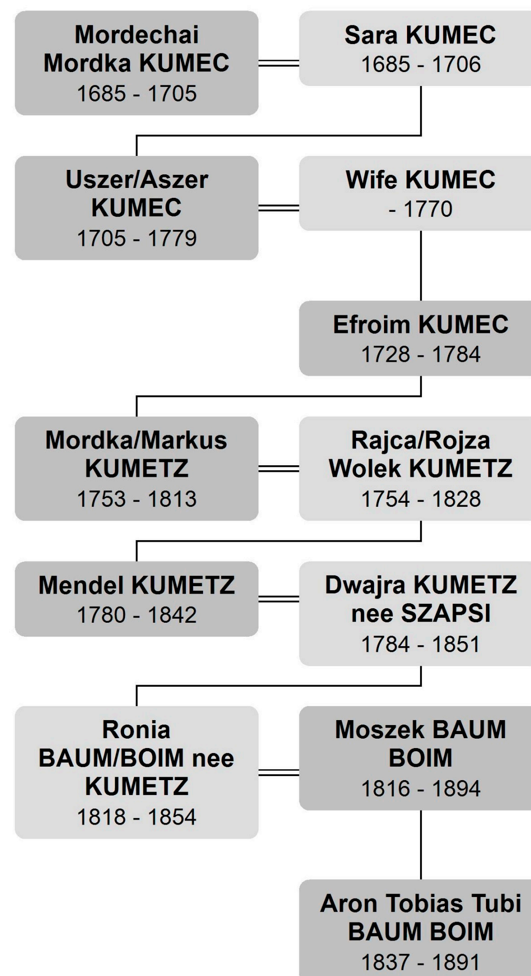

Figure 9. Seven generations of the KUMEC rabbinical lineage, spanning from around 1685 (or possibly earlier) to 1891. This genealogical chart traces the descendants from Mordechai and Sara through to Aron Tobias (Tubi) BAUM, the author's paternal grandmother's grandfather (see Figure 1).

Based on the case study research presented, specific conclusions can be drawn:

1. Unknown origin of the KUMEC surname: The exact origin of the surname KUMEC remains unidentified, but we strongly posit that KUMEC could have served as a moniker or nickname for the earliest ancestor, Mordechai.
2. Early appearance in records: The designation KUMEC, possibly functioning as a familial or personal identifier, is documented as early as the year 1705 in the Pinkas Kahal of Tykocin (Nadav 1996). This significantly predates the mandated use of surnames in metrical records, which became a legal requirement for Jews in the early 1820s.
3. Absence in early metrical records of Wyszogrod: Although the surname KUMEC is absent in the initial metrical records of Wyszogrod, it is evident that the name persisted as a traditional family surname. This continuity is demonstrated by its reappearance in the Konskie 1824 birth record of Mortek, Mendel KUMEC's son. This suggests that

the surname KUMEC has deep historical roots within the family, possibly originating as a personal identifier and subsequently being maintained as a familial surname despite the legal changes governing surnames for Jews in the early 19th century. The investigation highlights the importance of considering alternative sources, such as community records, in genealogical research, especially when surnames predate legal requirements.

4. A rabbinical line: Mordechai, the earliest progenitor of the lineage, held a religious position (indicated by 'Moreinu HaRav' above). Consequently, he marks the initiation of what is likely a minor rabbinical line, extending through subsequent generations to the BAUM family (and very likely continuing through various other KUMEC lines of descendants). This lineage persisted until my great-grandfather, Icek-Meir BAUM, who served as a Rabbinical Judge in Brussels, Belgium, until his passing in 1932.
5. Mendel Mortkowicz is mentioned as a Podrabin (Under-Rabbi) in the 1815 birth record of his daughter Ronia, and also in the 1818 birth record of the twins Ronia and Sara. Subsequently, Mendel is referred to as the Rabbi of Konskie in the 1821 birth record of his son Josek (not displayed here). This appears to come close to the information presented in the Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland, Volume I (Poland), Pinkas HaKehillot Polin (published by Yad Vashem, Jerusalem). Indeed, the Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland provides specific information about the rabbis of Konskie, including R. Yekutiel (his name is recorded in 1827) who was a disciple of the Seer of Lublin (died 1815), then R. Mendel (about 1829, very likely Mendel KUMEC), and R. Joshua of Kinsk.
6. Subsequently, KUMEC lineages originating from Konskie spread to various towns and cities across Poland, including Piotrkow, Belchatow, Checiny, Bendin, and Lodz, among others. Over time, these familial lines extended their migration beyond Poland, reaching various locations worldwide such as Belgium, France, the USA, Uruguay, Australia, Israel, and more.

A more general conclusion regarding research into Polish-Jewish ancestral lines appears to limit the extent of success of such investigation to two sets of circumstances: (i) the case of a rabbinical lineage that is documented in religious books; (ii) the particular instances of relatively rare family names that happen to have persisted throughout the centuries (unlike nicknames which remained attached to specific individuals), including, for example, HOROWITZ, LANDAU, and more. As already conjectured in a precursor paper on this issue (Wagner 2008), the KUMEC surname discussed in the present paper could be a rare example of a nickname that turned into a persistent surname.

4. Second Case Study: Two KRELL Family Clusters in Warsaw

4.1. The First KRELL Cluster

My maternal grandfather David KRELL was born in Warsaw in 1901 in a Jewish Orthodox family. David's father was Henoch KRELL, married to Sura Ruchla, born RECHTDINER. For a long time, I had been unaware that I carried my great-grandfather's first name. In the mid-1920s, David apparently decided to leave the orthodox world and move to Belgium, where he met his future wife, my grandmother Esther POTAZNIK, who had grown up in a small Polish town, Zdunska Wola. They were married in Liège in 1930. Later on, they managed to escape deportation to the death camps by continually fleeing from village to village in the Belgian countryside. After the war, the Holocaust was never brought up, and they never spoke about their past life in Poland or the fate of their Polish families in the war. They only said that no one had survived and that there was nothing to talk about. Of David's siblings and his parents, Henoch and Sura, I knew nothing. In 1998, after my mother passed away, I found a request for financial reparations from the post-war German authorities, written by David in the 1950s, in which he stated that he had had three brothers and sisters without mentioning their names. David passed away in 1983.

A handful of pictures of our KRELL relatives were discovered in my mother's old family album, some with inscriptions on the backside; see Figure 10.

Figure 10. (**Top**, **left** to **right**): Henoch and Sura Ruchla (both on 20 March 1931); David as a youngster (about 1915); Ester and David as a young couple (early 1930s); (**Bottom**, **left** to **right**): Chaim Leyb/Lejb, and Mendel (only the back side text has survived), most likely brothers of David.

4.2. Warsaw: The Metrical Records

This first KRELL cluster, my mother's paternal family, was rather small. It grew a little larger when, in the late 1990s, I began to investigate the Warsaw metrical records, first via the Mormons microfilms in Salt Lake City, then online via JRI-Poland. Most of the Jewish metrical records of Warsaw, eighty to eighty-five percent or so, did not survive WWII destruction.[1] The 1901 birth index for Grandfather David had survived, but not his birth record, unfortunately. Yet, an 1891 birth record did exist for a Blima, born in Warszawa on 22 November/4 December 1890, the daughter of Henoch KRELL, aged 20, and Sura Ruchla RECHTDINER, aged 21 (Figure 11). Blima was likely the eldest of David's siblings. This provided an approximate birth range for Henoch and Sura Ruchla, namely 1868–1870, but neither their birth records nor their marriage record could be found. Their parents remained unidentified.

Other sources of information were needed: address and telephone books; notary and other records from the Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie (the State Archive in Warsaw), including branches of the Archive located in Milanówek and Grodzisk Mazowiecki; business records; army draft books; Books of Residents if available; and more.

Specifically, Jewish resources in Warsaw were necessary as well, including the Jewish cemetery at Okopowa Street (which fortunately survived World War II largely unharmed), the Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (ŻIH, The Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute), and possibly the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews.

4.3. Warsaw: The Okopowa Jewish Cemetery

Established in 1806, the Warsaw Jewish cemetery at Okopowa Street is one of the largest in Europe. It is a beautiful and quiet place for reflection and remembrance, and it is full of history. In it, a few years ago, I discovered the graves of two previously unidentified siblings of David, Fale (or Pale) TROCHE and Mendel KRELL. This unexpected finding provided written evidence that their father, Henoch, was still alive when they passed away

in the 1930s; see Figure 12. However, no grave could be found for Henoch himself among the extant twenty-one KRELL tombs[2] in the cemetery.

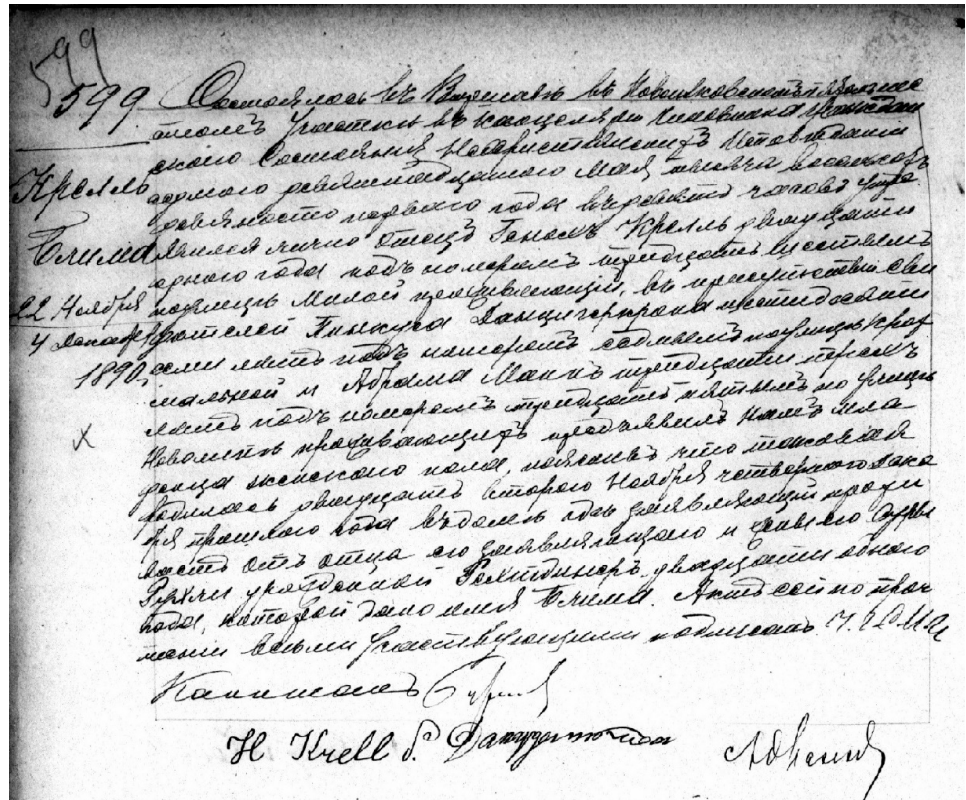

Figure 11. Birth record of Blima KRELL, daughter of Henoch and Sura Ruchla RECHTDINER, born 22 November/4 December 1890, in Warsaw, District V/VI, Mila St 36, which remained Henoch's address at least until 1930.

Figure 12. (**Left**) Grave of Fale TROCHE, daughter of Henoch Henich HaKohen ('still alive') KRELL, died on 13 November 1932, aged 36, and was 5 years older than David. Her husband Naftule was also 'still alive'. (**Right**) Grave of Menahem Mendil, son of Henoch Henich HaKohen ('still alive') KREL, died on 14 December 1937.

Additional information about Blima, the eldest daughter of Henoch and Sura Ruchla, was discovered in the Opoczno Book of Residents.[3] She is quoted as being the daughter of Henoch KREL and Sura Ruchla RECHDYNER, being the widow of a man whose surname was ZAMLUNG, and having links with a GROSBART family from the town of Mszczonów and with a GELBLUM family. These surnames and the town of Mszczonów were familiar: indeed, they belonged to the second KRELL cluster.

The Warsaw address books and phone books were an additional source of information. Henoch's address in Warsaw, stated as Mila 36 in 1890 on his daughter Blima's birth record (Figure 11), remained the same in 1908, 1909, 1910, and 1930. The address of Chaim Leyb (likely David's brother; see Figure 10) in 1930, 1935, and 1938/1939 was Nalewki St. 18. (however, much earlier, in 1869, another Chaim Leyb resided at Krochmalna (house 1016)). The first reconstituted KRELL cluster, including the newly found siblings of David, is shown in Figure 13.

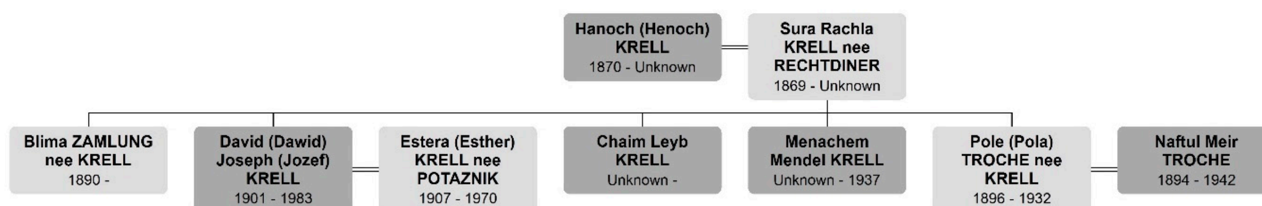

Figure 13. First KRELL cluster in Warsaw. Henoch and Sura Rachla were the author's great-grandparents; David and Estera were his maternal grandparents. The identities of Henoch's parents and Sura Rachla's parents were not known.

4.4. The Second KRELL Cluster

It rapidly became clear, from the metrical records, the address books, as well as from the graves in the Okopowa cemetery, that a second, much larger KRELL cluster had existed in Warsaw, which had several common characteristics with the first cluster, as follows:

(i) Grandfather David was a Kohen (an heir member of the priestly status descended from Aaron, the elder brother of Moses). Indeed, the male KRELL tombstones in the Okopowa cemetery all have the Kohen 'open hands' symbol;

(ii) Several first names (Chaim Leyb, Blima, Malka, Josek, Mordka-Mendel, and more) repeatedly appear in both clusters;

(iii) Physical appearance: a few years ago, I had been startled by a photograph on a webpage of an unknown KRELL man, originally from Uruguay, who had a shocking resemblance to Grandfather David. His ancestry originated from the larger KRELL cluster in Warsaw, and I was told that a few years earlier he had contacted the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, searching for KRELL relatives.[4]

However, it was not possible to formally merge this second cluster with the smaller cluster described in Figure 13. This impasse resulted from a lack of documentation, specifically, from the apparent impossibility of formally identifying Henoch's parents and thereby combining both clusters. A similar barrier existed for Sura Ruchla RECHTDINER: the names of her parents could not be found either. This deadlock, namely, the impossibility of merging the KRELL clusters, lasted for more than 20 years.

There were two specific research objectives: (i) to trace the ancestral roots of the second KRELL cluster as far back in time as possible, through careful study of archival and specifically Jewish records; (ii) to find the missing link between the two KRELL clusters.

First objective: tracing the KRELL ancestral line

The earliest KREL/KRELL metrical document (1836, #70) in Warsaw found on the JRI-Poland website is the death record of Hersz Lewkowicz KREL, the son of Lewek (or Leyb/Layb), a butcher, and of Malka), Figure 14. Hersz was a stall keeper and died on 26 June 1835 (thus, registered a year late) at the age of 37 in the Jewish hospital on Pokorna Street #2098. Hersz's wife was Laie/Laia.

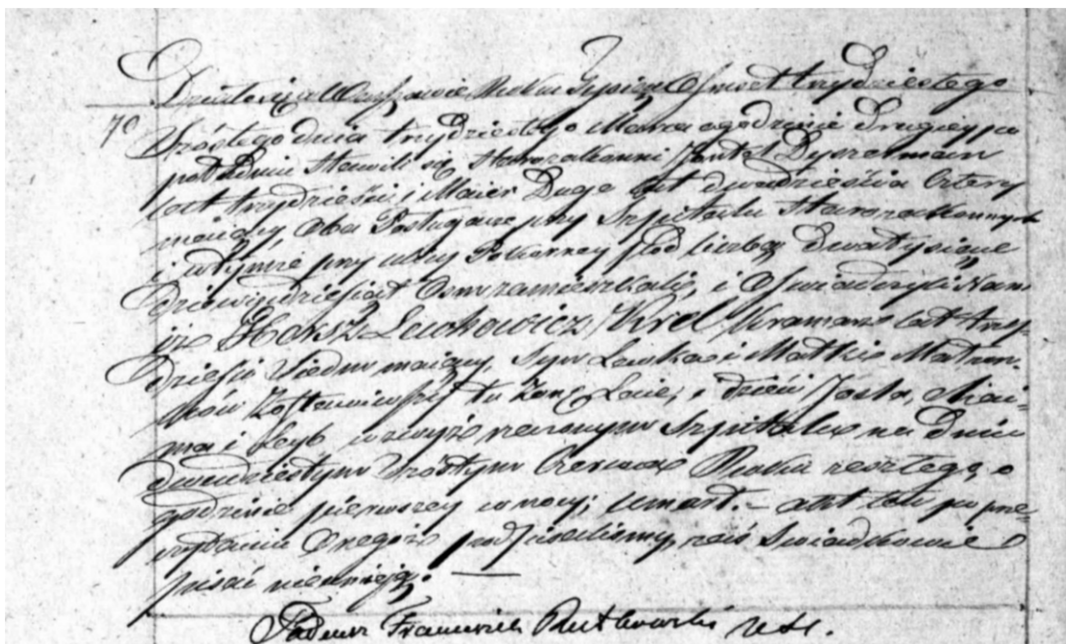

Figure 14. Death record (Warsaw, 1836/D70) of Hersz Lewkowicz KREL.

Evidence gradually emerged of related KRELL records found outside Warsaw, in Mszczonów and Grodzisk Mazowiecki.[5] The Mszczonów records, currently not available in the JRI-Poland database, were accessed through alternative Polish websites,[6] as presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Pre-1826 KREL/KRELL records from Mszczonów.

YEAR	TYPE/ REC#	SURNAME	FIRST NAME, AGE	YEAR OF BIRTH	DATE OF EVENT	PLACE OF BIRTH	RESIDENCY	FATHER, AGE, OCCUPATION	MOTHER, AGE	SPOUSE	COMMENTS, ADDRESS
1819	B/4	KREL	Josek		6 Jan 1819	Mszczonów	Mszczonów	KREL Hersz, 20	Łaie, 19		House 100
1821	B/25	KRELL	Ester		20 Mar 1821	Mszczonów	Mszczonów	KRELL Hersz, 22, stall keeper	Łaja z MICHLOW, 21		House 27
1821	D/19	KRELL	Ester, 3 months	1821	18 Apr 1821	--	Mszczonów	KRELL Herszek, stall keeper	Łaja z MOŚKÓW		died in House 27
1822	B/26	KREL	Jankel		7 Apr 1822	Mszczonów	Mszczonów	KREL Hersz, 26, stall keeper	Łaja z MECHLÓW, 24		House 27
1823	D/55	KRELL	Layb, 76	1747	30 Jul 1823	--	Mszczonów	butcher	--	Malka z HER-SZKÓW	died in House 99; witness: Hersz KRELL, butcher, son
1824	B/4	KREL	Leyb Chaim		9 Jan 1824	Mszczonów	Mszczonów	KREL Hersz, 31, trader	Łaja z MECHLÓW, 24		House 99

The 1823 death record in Mszczonów of Layb, Hersz's father, is shown in Figure 15.

These records form the basis of the oldest reconstituted KRELL ancestor line. Since Hersz was born between 1793 and 1799 (his age fluctuates on several of his children's records), likely in Mszczonów, his parents Leyb and Malka—who both died in Mszczonów—must have been born around 1768. Both Hersz and his father Leyb were butchers. Malka's parents were Hersz Moszek and Pesa, both born around 1743 in Mszczonów.

Malka's paternal grandfather Moszek, born around 1718, is, thus, the oldest ancestor on the KRELL line; see Figure 16.

Figure 15. Death record (Mszczonów, 1823/D55) of Layb/Leyb/Lewek, 76 years old, father of Hersz KREL.

Moszek
1718 -

Hersz
1743 -

Pesa
1743 -

Malka KRELL
1768 - 1828

Layb/Lewek KRELL
1768 - 1823

Hersz KREL
1793 - 1835

Laja KREL nee SZUK-CZAK-MICHLOW
1800 -

Figure 16. The most ancient KRELL line, from Mszczonów.

Second objective: identifying Henoch's parents, thereby merging the KRELL clusters

Our starting point in Figure 16 is Layb KRELL: apparently, the first to bear this surname, who can be viewed as the most recent common ancestor (MRCA) of all the individuals discussed here.[7] Based on documented records, Layb's son Hersz KRELL and his wife Laja CZAK/SZUK begot three male and four female children, all born in Mszczonów. Carrying the KRELL surname, these three male descendants[8] were Josef/Josek (married to Chawa CEJLON), Jankel (unmarried and fate unknown), and Chaim Leyb—sometimes called Chaim Yehuda Leyb, for example, on his tombstone in Warsaw—married to Blima GUTKIND). The birth records of Josek and Chaim Leyb are shown in Figures 17 and 18.

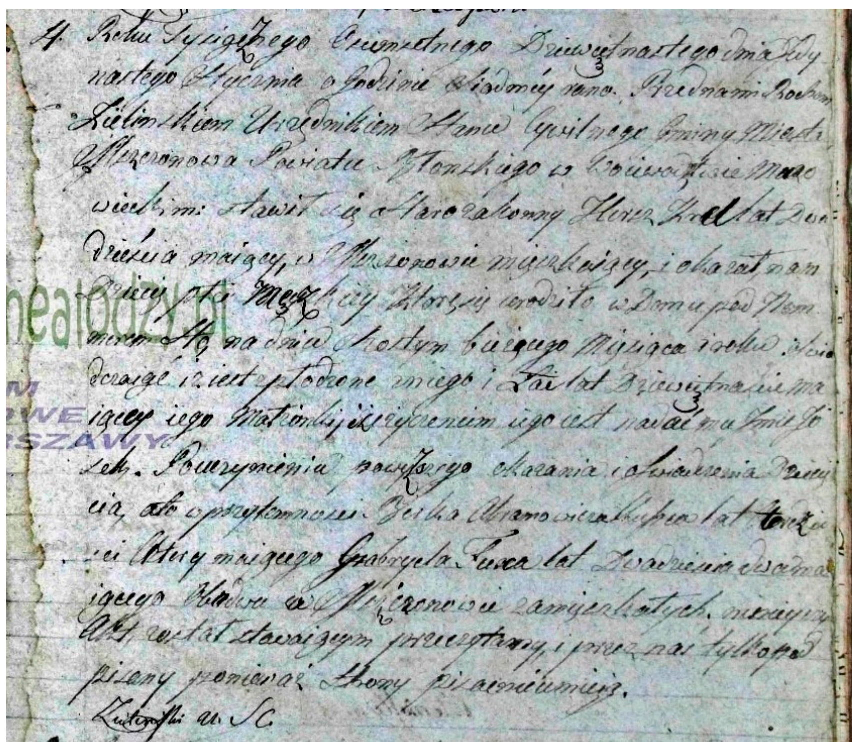

Figure 17. Birth record of Josek, son of Hersz and Lai, in Mszczonów 1819/B4.

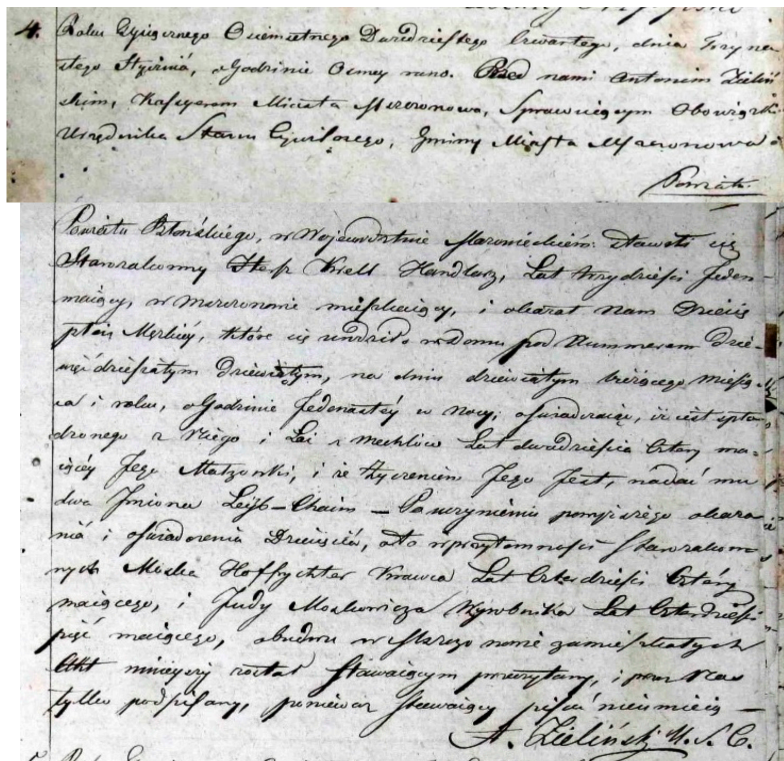

Figure 18. 9 January 1824—Birth record (#4) in Mszczonów of Leyb-Chaim, son of Hersz, 31, trader, and Lai, daughter of Mechel, 24, (https://metryki.genbaza.pl/index/list) (accessed on 21 March 2024) in the year following the death of his grandfather Layb. In Jewish tradition, appending 'Chaim' ('life' in Hebrew) to the name of a newborn is used from time to time to honor a recently dead parent (or child) to symbolically continue the family chain.

Thus, Henoch's parent candidates include the following couples and two of their male children:

- Josek KRELL (1819–1875) and Chawa CEJLON (1819–1879), who had four male children: Abram (1842–1921), Mordka (1852–1909), Azryel (1854–1855), and Moszek (1857, fate unknown), and five female children: Gitel (b. 1839), Maryem (b. 1848), Ryfka (b. 1848), Bina/Blima Chaja (b. 1855), Chawa (b. unknown, died bef. 1898), and a baby who died at birth (1846), thus, ten children, all born between 1839 and 1857 in Warsaw;
- Chaim Leyb KRELL (1824–1884) and Blima GUTKIND (1824–bef. 1879), who had four male children: Hersz (1852–1854), Mendel (1861, fate unknown), Moszek (1863, fate unknown), and Mechel (1864, fate unknown), and seven female descendants: Malka (b. 1846), Sura (b. 1849), Chawa (b. 1851), Rywka (b. 1853), Fajga (b. 1859), Rojza (b. 1863), Dwojra (b. 1865), and likely another girl,[9] Gitel (no birth record), thus, twelve children, all born between 1849 and 1865 in Grodzisk and/or Warsaw.
- Two of Josek's male children, Abram (b. 1842) and Mordka (b. 1852), also fall within the right age range to potentially have fathered Henoch (born around 1865–1870). Mordka indeed had a son named Henoch, who died young in 1879; see footnote 2. The epitaph on the tombstone of that young Henoch indeed states '*My son, a child*', which eliminates the possibility of that Henoch being my great-grandfather and, most certainly, the likelihood of his father Mordechai being the searched-for father of my Henoch. As to Abram and his wife Sura Fajga MALINIAK, they begot 10 children between 1862 and 1882, but there is no indication that they had a son named Henoch. That option will be shown to be wrong

The presence of numerous KRELL tombstones in the Okopowa cemetery in Warsaw demonstrates that during the first half of the 19th century, many members of the KRELL family migrated from Mszczonów to Warsaw. However, prior to his own move to Warsaw, Chaim Leyb first relocated for a few years to Grodzisk Mazowiecki, seemingly motivated by the fact that his future wife, Bluma/Blima GUTKIND, lived in that town,[10] in which several GUTKIND families resided. Their marriage record, presumably from the early-to-mid 1840s in Grodzisk, could not be found. However, between 1846 and 1855, five children (Malka; Hersz, a baby who died at one year old; Sura; Chawa; and Rywka) were born there to Chaim Leyb and Blima; see Table 2. In 1859, a sixth child, Fajga, was born in Czyste, a village located right outside Warsaw which ceased to exist in 1916 as a separate administrative entity and was integrated into Warsaw. Subsequently, around 1860, Chaim Leyb and his family moved to Warsaw, in District IV, where five more children were born: Mendel (1861), the twins Mosze and Rojza (1863), Michal (1864), and Dvora (1865).

As an interesting aside, in 1863, the Jewish newspaper Hamagid indeed referred to Josek and Chaim Leyb as brothers (also including Yitzchak Goldman, a family member); see Figure 19.

הודעות.

מהרמב״ם הנדפסים אצלי ביופי ובהדור עם כל הנושאי כלים נגמר עד היום ארבע׳ כרכים, והסוכנים הכללים בכל מדינת פולין הן המה בווארשא ה״ה המשכילים המופלגים ומפורסמים מו״ה יצחק גאלדמאן ומהור״ר חיים ליב קרעלל אחיו של הרב הגביר מו״ח יוסף קרעלל, ואין רשות לאחר בלי כחם למכור בכל מדינת פולין כפי המודעה שלהם הנדפסה ווארשא י״ג תשרי העבר.

Figure 19. Excerpt from the Yiddish newspaper Hamagid, published on 1 July 1863 in Poland, mentioning the brothers Josek and Chaim Leyb KRELL as well as Yitzchak GOLDMAN (Chaim Leyb's son-in-law).[11] The passage mentions that selling of four volumes of a book (about the Rambam?) in Poland is restricted to their authors (Yitzchak Goldman and Chaim Leyb Krell).

Table 2. KRELL–GUTKIND records from Grodzisk Mazowiecki.

YEAR (REG.)	TYPE/REC#	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	DATE OF EVENT	PLACE OF BIRTH	RESIDENCY	FATHER, AGE, OCCUPATION	MOTHER, AGE	COMMENTS
1846	B/25	KREL	Malka	16 Jun 1846	Grodzisk	Grodzisk	Chaim Lajb KRELL, 23, dealer	Blima GUTKIND, 21	
1854	D/15	KRELL	Hersz	24 Aug/5 Sep 1854	--	Grodzisk	Chaim Lejb KRELL	Blima (GUTKIND),	One-year-old baby; witness: Mordka Szlama GUTKIND, szkolnik, age-35
1855	B/35	KRELL	Sura	13 Jul 1849	Grodzisk	Grodzisk	Chaim Lajb KRELL, 32, trader	Blima GUTKIND, 27	witness: Mordka Szlama GUTKIND, szkolnik, age-36
1855	B/36	KRELL	Chawa	18 Mar 1851	Grodzisk	Grodzisk	Chaim Lajb KRELL, 32, trader	Blima GUTKIND, 27	witness: Mordka Szlama GUTKIND, szkolnik, age-36
1855	B/37	KRELL	Ryfka	20 Jul 1853	Grodzisk	Grodzisk	Chaim Lajb KRELL, 32, trader	Blima GUTKIND, 27	Late registration due to father's illness; in the two previous records, late registration because father was unaware of the law
1859	B/100	KREL	Fajga	28 Nov 1859	Czyste	Czyste village	Chaim Lajb KREL, 37, trader	Blima GUTKIND, 37	

In 1903, the newspaper Ha-Tsefira, published in Warsaw, listed apparently related KRELL, MINC, GESUNDHEIT, and possibly other family members, all Gur Hasidim, see Figure 20.

ע"י ר' העניך קרעלל מבית חסידי גור דזיקא 27 ;
ל. מינץ 20 רו"ב ; וו. מינץ 2 ר. ; ה. מינץ , נ. פעלדבוים,
ברוך עפשטיין כ"א 1 רו"ב ; מ. קאמינער 75 ק. ; נ. ד. ויס-
קינר , מ. געזונדהייט , ה. קרעלל , י. געזונדהייט כ"א 50
ק. ; א. מ. קלייזמאן 1.50 ר. ; י. קאליסקי 35 ק. ; ב. גאלד-
בערג , מ. ווייס , ב. גוטראד כ"א 25 ק. ; י. ליבש 30 ק. ;
אליקים , י. תאומים כ"א 20 ק. , ס"ה 31.5 ר..

Figure 20. Excerpt from the Yiddish newspaper Ha-Tsefira, published on 26 May 1903 in Warsaw, which lists contributors and their contributions (in kopek and ruble), to the families of the victims of the 19–21 April anti-Semitic pogrom in Kishinev.[12] Note the presence of several KRELL (including Henoch/Henich), MINC, and GESUNDHEIT family members, and others, all Gur Hasidim.

4.5. Furthering the Search

Research into the Business and Army Draft Warsaw archives (in Milanówek) did not yield any result about Henoch, although other KRELL family members appear in these archives. Notary records were explored as well for 1890 and nearby years, keeping in mind that an *alegata* (a supplementary document attached to a marriage record) could possibly be found for Henoch and Sura Ruchla, which would surely include birth dates and parents' names. The only reference to Henoch appeared in an 1890 index of notary Krzystof Kierskowsky, but unfortunately, the document itself did not exist anymore. Searching other notaries (M. Markiewicz, L. Wichrowski) yielded information about related KRELL individuals but not about Henoch.

The odds of finding Henoch's parents' names, and, thus, of merging the two KRELL clusters, remained rather bleak for more than twenty years. Progress slowly occurred through exchanges with newly found researchers of the second KRELL cluster.[13] Significantly, DNA testing demonstrated that indeed there was a genetic connection between members of both KRELL clusters. However, concrete authenticating evidence was still lacking.

4.6. The Solution

The missing link unexpectedly materialized through the Duma Voters list for Warsaw, a perhaps less explored database. These are lists of eligible voters for the Russian parliament (Duma) in the early 1900s, which contain patronymics of the (all-male) voters. There were four czarist-era election periods: the 1st Duma from January 1906 to April 1906, the 2nd Duma from December 1906 to February 1907, the 3rd Duma from September 1907 to October 1907, and the 4th Duma from September 1912 to October 1912. The Warsaw Gubernia Voters list is only partially available on JewishGen for 1907, but no KRELLs appear. The Genealogy Department[14] of POLIN, the Jewish Museum in Warsaw, was able to assist with the 1906 list from District V of Warsaw, in which Henoch KRELL finally materialized (number 4295 on the list): the son of Chaim (patronymic: 'Chaimov', or ao), residing at Mila 36. This is the first, and so far, the only, concrete evidence of a son–father connection between Henoch and Chaim Leyb KRELL, Figure 21.

Figure 21. Excerpt of the 1906 Duma Voters list for Warsaw, District V, in which one finds “4295 KRELL Henoch Chaimov (written as Cyrillic ao), Mila 36”.

Henoch was thus the 13th and youngest child of Chaim Leyb and Bluma/Blima, born when his mother was about 46 years old.

4.7. Closure—Conclusions

1. During the 20th century, the numerous KRELL descendants from Mszczonów, Grodzisk Mazowiecki, and Warsaw have spread to various countries, including Belgium, France, Israel, the USA, Uruguay, Australia, and more.
2. From the present genealogical data, not all of them being presented here, it is clearly apparent that different Kohanim families were more likely to be wedded with each other: the records show that multiple intermarriages occurred between and within Kohanim branches including KRELL, GROSBARD, RECHTDINER, and more. Kohanim may be recognized by the characteristic open hands symbol on their (male) tombstones, such as on the grave of Chaim Leyb KRELL; see Figure 22 (note the inclusion of the middle name Yehuda).

Figure 22. Grave of Chaim (Yehuda) Leyb KRELL, son of Tzvi (Hersz) HaKohen. Note the characteristic Kohen open hands symbol.

3. The parents of Sura Ruchla RECHTDINER are still unidentified. This obstacle represents a challenging merging issue similar to that described here for Henoch, namely, linking two RECHTDINER clusters.

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Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Notes

1. Personal communications from Hadassah Lipsius (JRI-Poland) and Ania Przybyszewska-Drozd and Yale Reisner (the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw).
2. An 1879 grave exists in Sector 71 for a Henoch KRELL, whose father was Mordechai/Mordka HaKohen, 'still alive'. The epitaph states 'My son, a child', which eliminates the possibility of this Henoch being my great-grandfather and most certainly, the likelihood of Mordechai being the searched-for father of my Henoch. There is also a Henoch KRELL, born in 1877 in Lodz, son of

Szmul Moszek and Rywka Leah SALOMON, died in Konskie in 1940 together with his wife Bina Przedborska, in unknown (but likely violent) circumstances. So far, a connection with the Warsaw KRELL lines has not been found.

[3] Stanley Diamond, personal communication.

[4] Anna Przybyszewska, personal communication.

[5] Petje Schroder and Anna Przybyszewska, personal communications.

[6] https://metryki.genbaza.pl/, https://geneteka.genealodzy.pl/, both sites accessed on 21 March 2024, courtesy of P. Schroder.

[7] Interestingly, surnames are inherited in a similar way as specific regions of the Y (male) chromosome. For this and other scientific aspects of such correlative issues, see (Rhode et al. 2004; King and Jobling 2009; Manrubia et al. 2003; Wagner 2013).

[8] The focus here is on tracking the patrilineal surname KRELL since the objective is to search for Henoch's parents.

[9] Eve Locker (USA) and Inbal Kandel (Israel), personal communications.

[10] Blima might have been born in the same year as Chaim Leyb. Indeed, an 1824 birth record in Grodzisk was uncovered for a Bluma GUTKIND: 1824/B109, father Moszek (22), mother Reyzly Michlow (18).

[11] Source: The National Library of Israel (NLI).

[12] See above Note 11.

[13] Personal communications from A. Krell (USA), S. Krell and L. Krell (Uruguay), M. Taub (Israel), I. Kandel (Israel), E. Locker (USA), M. Herman (USA), D. Msellati (France), and Ch. Nissimov (Israel).

[14] M. Shefi and M. Wzorek, personal communication.

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