

# READING BETWEEN THE LINES: MINING JEWISH HISTORY THROUGH EXTRACTION OF POLISH ARCHIVE DATA

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- Opatów
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## Abstract

What began as a study to explain the perceived proliferation of “other” towns outside the town of Opatów during the review of 19<sup>th</sup> century Jewish marriage record extracts from that town’s archive, evolved into an exploration of how these “other” towns became a “spouse pool” for marriage-seeking Jews from Opatów.

The process of town identification became a pivotal exercise in the analytical process. Evaluating locations outside the archival town meant going beyond mere town name extraction; it meant pinpointing the precise location on a map. Accurate assessment of town location is a critical underpinning of genealogical research without which inroads are stymied. This paper highlights issues and prescribes methodology logic for resolving them.

By benchmarking statistics from record extracts during the same time frame from two Polish archive towns, relevance is determined. Techniques used in business analyses are applied to genealogical research, enabling illumination of similarities and anomalies. Applying such methodology is a way of “reading between the lines” of archive extracts, and allows for isolating salient aspects of any archive data.

After validating the evidence of “other town” statistics in town archive marriage records, the marriage registrations are divided into four segments in terms of each couple’s towns of residency. Comparison in this way enables isolating disparities that are evident in the segment comprised by non-Town brides who married non-Town grooms. To further splice the data we apply a frequency distribution model, which clearly isolates the towns skewing the data. We then discover the political mandates underlying the deviation by examining the history of these specific towns.

This paper demonstrates the theory that “other towns” of spouses listed in 19<sup>th</sup> century marriage records from a Polish town archive during a specific time frame were a function of the locations with which the town had entrenched network connections. In the case of Opatów, these connections had been forged in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the confluence of political, economic, and religious currents dictating Jewish life.

Regrouping the data from the Opatów archive, we identify all the couples where one partner is from the town while the spouse is not. We then map out the far-flung towns, color-coding them by the historic reason for the connection. In this way we create a model that comprises towns from which Jews from Opatów would seek a spouse if they did not marry a cousin or neighbor. This technique can be applied to other town archives to garner different slices of Jewish historical reality in different periods of time.



Figure 1: Scene from Opatów<sup>1</sup>

## I. Overview

On a micro level, a select vital record extract from a town archive<sup>2</sup> can aid a researcher in confirming specific family connections or providing new insights. On a macro level, statistics gleaned from years of vital record extracts from a town's archive can illuminate societal patterns underscoring historical realities. Recent digitization of the Opatów records and collaboration with Jewish Research Indexing – Poland (JRI-Poland) have greatly facilitated the extraction and data review processes.

Observing that the number of “other towns” appearing in the Opatów Archive record extracts seemed high in relation to that from other towns inspired a detailed investigation of statistical data. In-depth segmentation analyses were conducted on marriage extracts, benchmarking statistics from the Opatów Archive against those from the Działoszyce Archive to ascertain relevance. Działoszyce was selected since both towns had identical Jewish populations in 1856 according to the Jewish Encyclopedia.

<sup>1</sup> Kirshenblatt, Mayer, and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, Detail from *Sefer Torah Procession*, 1995 from *They Called Me Mayer July*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2007, page 37

<sup>2</sup> “town archive” in this paper refers to the set of Jewish books of vital event records registered in that town

In order to prepare the data, “other towns” appearing in the archive extracts were identified geographically and distance to the archive town was assigned utilizing the JewishGen Gazetteer Communities Database.

Taking a specific 30-year time frame, this paper compares and analyzes vital records from the town archives of Opatów and Działoszyce in terms of:

- Representation of archive town versus “other towns”
- Towns appearing in highest frequency and their distance from the base town
- Bride and groom segmentation slices from marriage registrations.

Disparities between the two town data sets and observations in archive town representation in records are discussed as implications of historical realities – a way of reading between the lines.

This paper illustrates how the confluence of three historical currents from the 18<sup>th</sup> century – political, economic, and religious – flowed into the next. Their impact suggests reasons why connections were forged between Opatów and specific “other towns” which manifest themselves in 19<sup>th</sup> century marriage records. Towns from which a partner came to marry a spouse from the town of Opatów are analyzed by distance to the archive town, with explication of underlying town connections. The archive record listing the single “outlier” town is dissected on the micro level.

## **II. Objectives**

What begins as a study to explain the proliferation of “other” towns in a town archive evolves into an exploration of why these others towns became a spouse pool for the marriageable Jews in Opatów. It addresses the question, if you didn't marry a cousin or your neighbor, from where could you find an eligible spouse?

One objective of this paper is to expose the hidden history that can be gleaned from archive record extracts and show how the records mirror Jewish life. Another is to inspire other researchers to tackle archive data from their town of interest and explore the extracts in depth. Going to the next level enables researchers to expose patterns illuminating their town history by articulating in a new way what the records reveal. This is all in the interest of understanding the historical realities of our ancestors and appreciating their efforts in coping with the challenges of their daily life.

At the signing of the agreement between the Polish State Archives and Jewish Research Indexing - Poland, the General Director of the PSA, Władysław Stępnia, made a comment about the intrinsic value of the JRI-Poland database and expertise for academic research<sup>3</sup>. In his letter with the agreement he wrote:

*I hope that signing this agreement will open a new phase in the cooperation between JRI-Poland and state archives in Poland. I am also convinced that the results of common efforts will be*

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<sup>3</sup> Noted by Stanley Diamond, Executive Director JRI-Poland



*helpful for many people who are interested in centuries-old Polish-Jewish relations, common history and genealogical research.*<sup>4</sup>

Analysis of 19<sup>th</sup> century Opatów Archive record extracts, from the macro level to the micro level aims to implement the vision of this agreement by showing how laws and Jewish response made Opatów unique and how the reality of Jewish history maps onto the characteristics of archive data.

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<sup>4</sup> News release: "Polish state Archives and Jewish Research Indexing – Poland sign historic agreement providing expanded access to Jewish records in Poland," Bethesda, Maryland and Warsaw, Poland, February 15, 2013.

### III. Introduction

#### Opatów Archive Extract

Following Warren Blatt<sup>5</sup>, current Managing Director of JewishGen, volunteers have extracted the Opatów Archive record registrations piecemeal since 1997. The recent digitization of the Jewish books has enabled, for the first time, full vital data extraction of the Opatów Archive's Birth (1835-1909), Marriage (1836-1910) and Death (1831-1908) (BMD) records. We are fortunate that so many years of data<sup>6</sup> have survived intact the passage of time and the ravages of history. David Price of Toronto – Cyrillic Extractor par excellence – and the author had the opportunity to revisit the now digitized records and generate nearly 23,000 Excel lines of detailed extraction.

Seemingly unusual in the output is the diversity of towns mentioned in the registrations; one expects the archive town to overwhelmingly predominate town listings in its own archive.

Since most "other towns" found in a town archive would most likely appear in marriage registrations, a quick check was warranted. Taking marriage extracts of gmina archives in the Kielce-Radom region, town<sup>7</sup> names were standardized and a Pivot function applied on the data to obtain a unique list and count of represented towns.

Table 1 shows the number of different towns; the total number of spouses from the town archive with town identified<sup>8</sup> and the time frame; the number of spouses from the archive town and its percentage to the total.

Table 1: Comparison of Marriage Data from Select Archives

| Town Archive | Time Frame | Total # different towns | Total Spouses | # Archive Town Spouses | % Town Spouses |
|--------------|------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Opatów       | 1836-1910  | 329                     | 5,766         | 3,134                  | 54%            |
| Działoszyce  | 1826-1868  | 167                     | 2,299         | 1,569                  | 68%            |
| Wiślica      | 1826-1886  | 120                     | 1,192         | 830                    | 70%            |
| Pińczów      | 1826-1912  | 291                     | 4,968         | 3,657                  | 74%            |
| Wolbrom      | 1826-1870  | 92                      | 1,324         | 1,001                  | 76%            |

Irrespective of the number of records and time frames, the percentage of spouses from the town of Opatów in their own archive appears low compared to that of other archive towns. While the time frame is similar and average number of total spouses per town for Opatów and Pińczów is the same (17), there is a large disparity in the percent of town spouses to total.

<sup>5</sup> Co-founder of the Kielce-Radom Special Interest Group (1997-2004)

<sup>6</sup> Polish Jewish event registration began in 1808 in Civil Records; Jewish Opatów birth registrations survived from 1835

<sup>7</sup> "town" refers to the place where a spouse resides

<sup>8</sup> In some cases, the town name for a spouse was omitted or indecipherable

This disparity prompted a deeper investigation into the Opatów Archive extracts to determine if the primary reason for “other towns” was purely geographic. Clearly the same time period had to be evaluated. The Działoszyce Archive was selected for overall benchmarking purposes since the two towns had identical Jewish population in 1856 and percentages are closer than the other towns examined. The period for analysis is 1836-1865, selected since the Opatów Archive marriage records exist only from 1836. Additionally, the “other towns” listed in the Opatów Archive marriage records would be examined in terms of their distance from Opatów. Furthermore, an explanation for the appearance of “other towns” in the Archive would be sought: what connected these “other towns” to Opatów?

### Geographic Situation

Figure 2 pins Działoszyce (2) and Opatów (1), separated by a distance of about 70 miles. Both towns are assigned to the Świętokrzyskie województwo (one of 16 provinces/voivodeships established in 1999) in the southeast quadrant of Poland. Działoszyce lies 27 miles northeast of Kraków and 35 miles southwest of Kielce in which county it resides. Opatów lies 59 miles southwest of Lublin; 82 miles northeast of Kraków, and 102 miles south of Warsaw. Both towns hold gmina (municipal district) status and Opatów holds powiat (county) status as well.

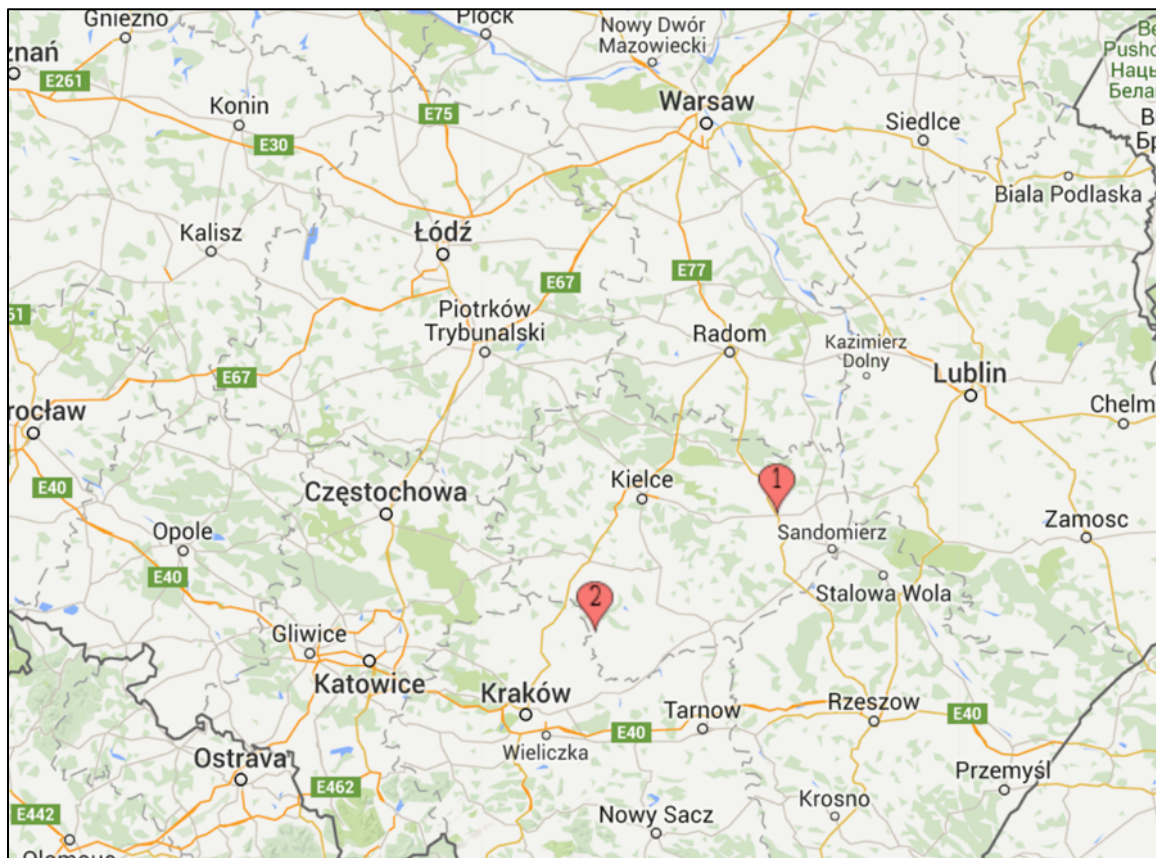


Figure 2: Działoszyce - Opatów

## Brief Historical Background

First mentioned in the year 1189, Opatów was one of the largest settlements in the Sandomierz Voivodeship, part of the historic land of Małopolska in the original “Kingdom of Poland.” Opatów received city status in 1361. It was sold with its surrounding villages in 1518 by Lubusz bishops who had owned it for several centuries to nobleman Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. Szydłowiecki restored the town following its destruction after the 1502 Tartar Invasion and in turn permitted Jews to take up residency in 1538<sup>9</sup> – providing the first town in Sandomierz province to be settled by Jews. The original privilege (a formal expression of rights and fiscal obligations) for the Jews of “Apt” – as Opatów was known in the Yiddish-speaking community – was released in 1545 by then owner Jan Tarnowski, starost [Elder] of Sandomierz.

Like Opatów, Działoszyce was a “private town” (a town owned by nobles rather than the king or clergy) in Kraków Voivodeship, also part of the historic land of Małopolska. Działoszyce received city status concurrent with town privatization in 1409 based on the Magdeburg Law (a set of town privileges that regulated the degree of internal autonomy granted by a local ruler). While the first Jews settled in Działoszyce some time during the reign of Casimir the Great (1334-1367)<sup>10</sup>, they received their first privilege only in 1707<sup>11</sup> issued by the town’s owner, Jan Stradomski, some 170 years after Opatów.



The 1815 Congress of Vienna sliced up regions of Poland into eight voivodeships. Both Opatów and Działoszyce belonged to “Congress Poland” as the “Polish Kingdom” was otherwise called. The latter name was certainly a misnomer, since the region was part of Russia, ruled by the Tsar. “Poland” had effectively ceased to exist in 1795 following three partitions by the ruling nations of Prussia, Russia and the Austrian Empire. In 1816, both Opatów and Działoszyce had municipality status, the former assigned to a restructured Sandomierz voivodeship and the latter to the voivodeship of Kraków.

Figure 3 identifies the eight voivodeships in

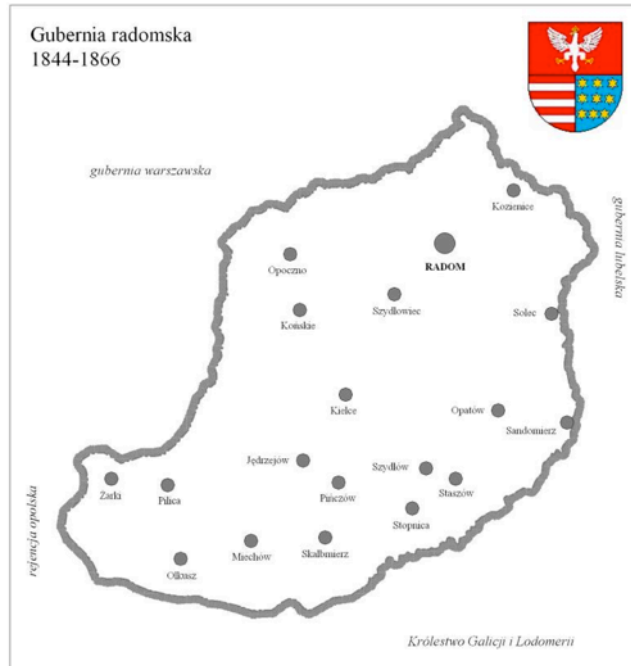
<sup>9</sup> Kowalski, Waldemar. "Opatów." YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe 13 September 2010. 21 June 2015 <<http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Opatow>>

<sup>10</sup> Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Działoszyce ve-ha-seviva, HaMenora: Tel Aviv: 1973. “The Beginnings of the Działoszyce Settlement,” page 11, <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Dzialoszyce/dzi011.html>>

<sup>11</sup> Virtual Shtetl, “Działoszyce,” <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/dzialoszyce/5,history/>>

“Congress Poland” corresponding to the period of the years 1816-1844<sup>12</sup>.

**Figure 3: Administrative division of the Polish Kingdom in 1831**



In 1844, the eight “województwo” were reshuffled into five “gubernias,” and both Działoszyce and Opatów were assigned to Radom, with Opatów designated a powiat (county) seen on the Radom Gubernia Map of Powiats in Figure 4.

**Figure 4: Map of the Radom Gubernia 1844-1866<sup>13</sup>**

Both cities held the equivalent of today’s gmina status. Both had a remarkably similar Jewish population in 1856, Opatów constituting 2,517<sup>14</sup> and Działoszyce 2,514<sup>15</sup>.

In 1867, following the 1863 Polish Rebellion, “Vistula Land” replaced the “Kingdom of Poland,” which effectively ceased to exist as an autonomous entity and the region was divided into ten gubernias, subdivided into 84 powiats. Opatów remained part of the redistricted Radom gubernia while Działoszyce was assigned to the Kielce gubernia.

During this 30-year analysis period cholera epidemics ravaged the European population in various intervals, heavily affecting the whole Kielce-Radom region in 1831 and 1848-9. In Opatów, cholera struck in 1837, 1850 and 1852; it is listed as the cause of death in Działoszyce records during 1831 and 1852. Great fires damaged Opatów in 1849, 1859 and 1860. Fires destroyed much of Działoszyce in 1846<sup>16</sup>. There were political tremors throughout the period, with widespread eruption in the 1863 Polish Rebellion.

<sup>12</sup> Wikipedia, “Congress Poland,” <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress\\_Poland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_Poland)>

<sup>13</sup> Wikipedia, “Radom,” <[http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gubernia\\_radomska](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gubernia_radomska)>

<sup>14</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia, Jerusalem, Israel: 1972, Keter Publishing House, Vol 12, p1410-1411

<sup>15</sup> ibid, Vol 6, p331-334

<sup>16</sup> Sefer yizkor shel kehilat Działoszyce ve-ha-seviva, op.cit.

## IV. Analyzing Locations

Analyzing locations means going beyond mere town name extraction; it means pinpointing the place on a map, which is not clear-cut in many vital archive records, as described below. These town identification issues underscore the challenges for all researchers attempting to ascertain the places their forefathers traversed.

Once the location was determined in the Opatów and Działoszyce records, the distance in miles between the location and the respective archive town of registration was assigned, as well as the character of the place (village or town). The registrars were quite diligent in designating a place as either a wsi (village) or miście/miasto (town). For purposes of our segmentation analysis, regardless of designation, the event place is referred to as a “town.” JewishGen Gazetteer Communities Database searching all localities was the primary source for distance determination.

### Town Identification Task

The task of town identification<sup>17</sup> required time-consuming, exhaustive analysis for the following reasons:

- **Unreadable handwriting**

Deciphering a clerk’s handwriting is sometimes a blinding challenge. Some of the Polish registrars had notoriously horrific penmanship, seriously difficult to interpret. The solution employed by the author is to add columns on the extract file with “standardized data” – including surnames, given names, and towns – for whatever is readable. Excel filtering and pivoting are the tools deployed to evaluate known data, and unless the record is a one-off, extracts from other records typically illuminate the data from the record in question.

- **Different town in margin**

In Opatów Archive birth records from 1835 (the first year of extant archives) town names were embedded in the body of the record. Only in 1843 do we see the appearance of a new convention – listing a town name in the margin, adjacent to the record. This may have happened after someone reviewed the 1842 records and realized that no town was mentioned at all in birth records for that year. From 1843 it actually looks like a registrar added the town name after the fact. See Figure 5.

By comparison, highlighting a town name above the registration or in the margin was standard in Działoszyce records as early as 1810 in the civil registrations and continued with the Jewish books from 1826 onwards.

The place written in the margin of birth records – a common format instituted in many 19th century Congress Poland Jewish archival records – must not be inferred necessarily as the location where the event occurred; if different from the archive town it reflected

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<sup>17</sup> Słownik Geograficzny is a useful resource for advanced researchers proficient in Polish



the father's town of origin or employment, and a reading of the fine print is necessary to isolate the event town.

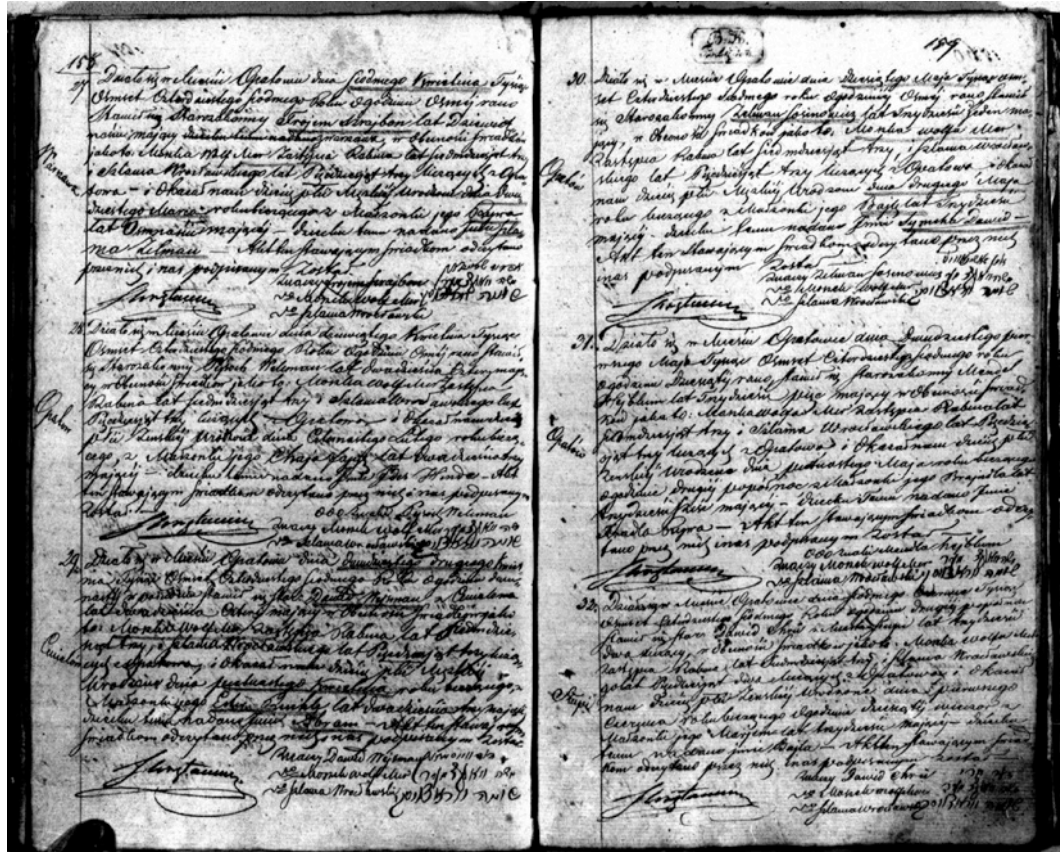


Figure 5: Page spread from 1847 Opatów Archives birth registrations

- **Name abbreviating**

Opatów clerks listed “Opole” when they were actually referring to Opole Lubelski. Similarly, they wrote “Janów” when referring to Janów Lubelski. Delving into individual records and searching JRI-Poland for surname appearances conclusively enabled proper town identification in most cases. There are many listings as well for “Słupia” and the reference was either for Stara Słupia or Nowa Słupia in all cases, not for the more distant town of Słupia.

- **Multiple town listings**

Multiple locations were sometimes listed in one record in sequence, and it is not always clear which meant what; typically one would expect the second location to qualify the first, as in a town name followed by the gmina or gubernia in which it is situated. There is sometimes no clear connection between locations listed.

- **Reassigned or defunct gmina and gubernia**

Administrative boundary reassignments in Congress Poland which occurred at various intervals effected gmina/gubernia jurisdiction changes: gmina status disappeared for some towns so the gmina qualifier is not relevant in current terms. As a starting point, analysis of towns listed in the archive records is predicated on today's district affiliation lists to determine where exactly the place is situated in relation to the archive town. This is problematic because there has been shifting in gmina assignment since the 1830's. Several villages comprised in the county of Opatów were once municipalities, including Modliborzyce, Grzegorzowice and Baszowice, to name a few localities that have since lost this status.

The village Grzegorzowice, for example, once had gmina status and existed as a municipality in the county of Kielce until 1954.<sup>18</sup> Today it is a village within the gmina of Waśniów in the county of Ostrowiec. We find, for example, two birth registrations from the Opatów Archive birth extracts listing location as "Jeleniów, Grzegorzowice." These two villages are some 4km apart, and at the time, the former was under Grzegorzowice municipal jurisdiction. Today, Jeleniów is under the gmina of Nowa Słupia in the county of Kielce.

- **Defunct towns**

The Opatów record extracts include several entries for "Chełm." But this is not the well-known Chełm in the Lublin gubernia. First, the place is identified in all records as the wsi (village), not town. But it is not the village of Chełm south of Wolbrom, nor the village of Chełm near Kraków. The registrar on occasion qualified the location, sometimes as "Chełm, Słupia", once as "Chełm, Stara Słupia" and in other records as "Chełm, Grzegorzowice." In fact, documentation for this Chełm was found on the Polish Wikipedia site, referring to "the defunct village in the district of Kielce in today's municipality of Nowa Słupia," listed under the category of "abandoned villages Świętokrzyskie Province."

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<sup>18</sup> Wikipedia, "Grzegorzowice," <[http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gmina\\_Grzegorzowice](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gmina_Grzegorzowice)>

- **Which Gorki?**

Places with the same names are far from unusual in Poland. In most cases the locality closest to the archive town was selected. In some records an identifiable qualifying gmina or powiat is listed that identifies a town with the same name farther away.

One town difficult to pinpoint that had no qualifying gmina was listed in the Opatów marriage registration of 1851 (Akt 18). The town “Gór” was written in the margin, as seen in Figure 6. In the body of the record the town for the groom looked like it could be “Gorze.” Since there is no “Gorze” in Poland, perhaps the town was Górne, Góra or Góry, of which there were proliferated locations for each (although not for the truncated “Gór”). A search on JRI-Poland for the groom’s parents (Boruch and Ryfka ZYNGIER) found this parental combination in an applicable time period listed in the archives of one town only - Konskie. On Google Maps we find very close to Konskie the town of “Górny Młyn,” which appears on the village list in the gmina Konskie<sup>19</sup>. With relative certainty we can assign the groom’s town – 49.7 miles WNW from Opatów – for purposes of analysis.

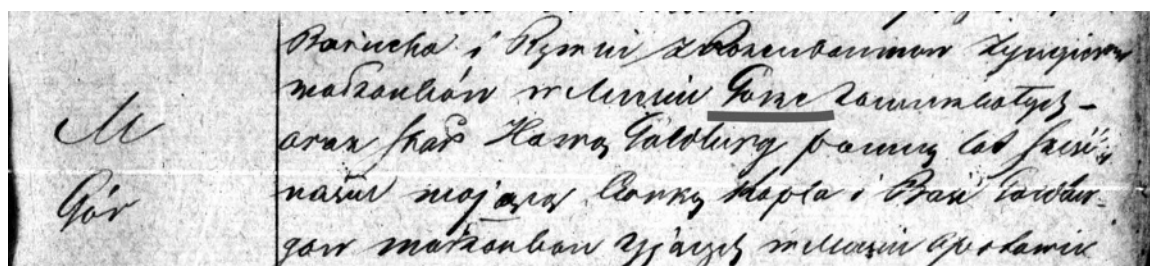


Figure 6: detail from marriage document

- **Place name change**

In some cases it was not possible to find an extracted town on today’s map because the town name had changed. The Opatów record extracts include listings for the town of “Nowa Aleksandria,” not found on today’s maps. This town name existed from 1846 to 1918 and was subsequently renamed Puławy, located in Lublin province.

- **Place not found**

JewishGen Gazetteer, derived from the US Board on Geographic Names<sup>20</sup> was the primary source for distance calculation. In some cases, the town in the obviously close location was not found but could be located on Google maps. An example is Milejowice in the gmina of Ostrowiec, in which case the distance was extrapolated. There were rare cases when the locality could not be found by any search method, in which case the record was deleted from the analysis.

<sup>19</sup> Wikipedia, “Konskie,” <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gmina\\_Ko%C5%84skie](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gmina_Ko%C5%84skie)>

<sup>20</sup> US Board on Geographic Names, <<http://geonames.usgs.gov/>>

## **Identification Logic**

In general, the following identification rules were applied when the town name was ambiguous:

1. The town by that name closest in geographic proximity to the archive town (for obvious reasons). This was overridden by:
2. Gmina/powiat/gubernia qualifiers
3. Evaluation of towns listed on other registrations by the family
4. Cross-referencing on JRI-Poland to discern from which specific towns family records appear.

## V. The Marriages



Figure 7: Scene from Opatów<sup>21</sup>

Applying the same quick test on Opatów and Działoszyce Archive marriage data but during the same time frame, we obtain Table 2.

Table 2: Marriages Comparison 1836-1865 for Two Towns

| Town Archive | Total # different towns | Total Spouses | # Archive Town Spouses | % Town Spouses |
|--------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Opatów       | 171                     | 2,068         | 1,203                  | 58%            |
| Działoszyce  | 152                     | 1,777         | 1,209                  | 68%            |

While the number of spouses per town averages around 12 for each town archive total and the number of archive town spouses is markedly identical, the percentages to total are disparate. This means that the average number of spouses per non-Town in the Opatów archive is higher than that in the Działoszyce Archive. We will slice the data further to examine the segments.

Since we are examining the marriage records from specific town archives and have a preconceived notion that weddings generally took place in the bride's town, we would expect that the majority of the brides in marriage records from a town archive would hail from the archive town. How consistent is this statistic in the two archives over the same time period?

<sup>21</sup> Kirshenblatt, Mayer, op. cit., *The Hunchback's Wedding*, 1996, page 324

## Archive Town Bride Representation

Table 3: Marriage Registration Comparison

| 1836-1865 Marriage Extract Data |                        |              |              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Archive Town                    | # Brides <sup>22</sup> | #Town brides | %Town brides |
| Opatów                          | 1034                   | 672          | 65%          |
| Działoszyce                     | 884                    | 662          | 75%          |

Table 3 shows the percentage of brides from the archive town to the total of their respective archive. Once again, we note a distortion in the Opatów Archive data, where 65% of brides are from the archive town compared to 75% for Działoszyce. Numerically, the total number of marriage registrations in the Opatów Archive exceeds those in the Działoszyce Archive by nearly 17% (1,034 compared to 884), yet the difference in the number of brides from each of the respective archive towns (672 compared to 662) is negligible, mirroring the relationship of number of all archive town spouses in Table 3.

The 884 marriages registered in the Działoszyce Archive with both bride and groom from identifiable locations showed that brides were from 96 different towns, grooms from 107, with 152 net different locations. The comparable statistics from the Opatów Archive showed brides from 106 different towns, grooms from 120, with 171 net different locations.

### Town and non-Town Splice

We now splice the marriage data into segments by applying a pivot function to cull unique towns and count the number of brides from each town. Figure 8 is a graphic segmentation composite where the two lower blocks comprise the archive town brides and the two upper blocks represent the brides not from the archive town.

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<sup>22</sup> The total number of brides in Działoszyce reflects the count of brides for whom an identifiable town of residency is listed both for her and for the groom



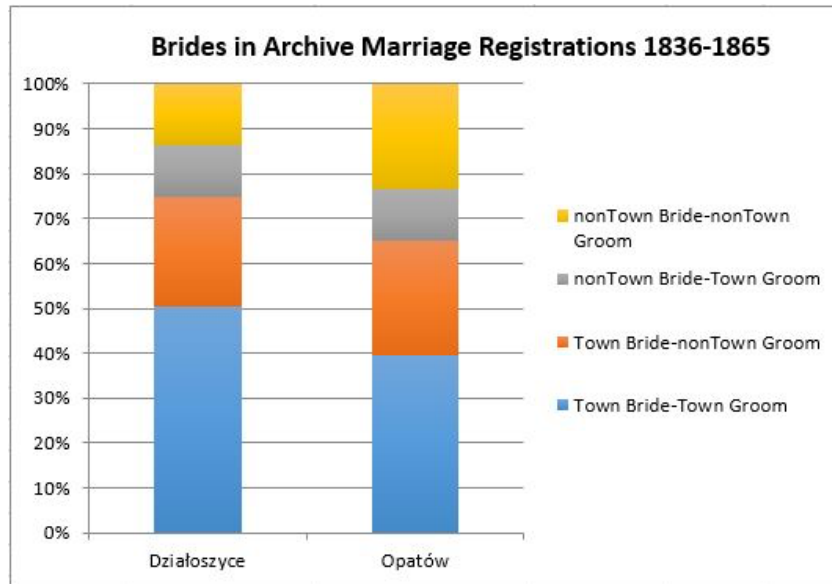


Figure 8: Bride Breakdown by Town, non-Town

The lowest bar with both bride and groom from the archive town (T-T) accounts for 40% in the Opatów Archive and 50% in that of Działoszyce. Using the same color-coding, Table 4 shows the raw numbers comprising the charts seen in Figure 8.

Table 4: Archive Spouse Segments

|       |  |             |        |
|-------|--|-------------|--------|
|       |  |             |        |
|       | Code                                   | Działoszyce | Opatów |
|       | Town brides marrying Town grooms       | 444         | 410    |
|       | Town brides marrying non-Town grooms   | 218         | 262    |
|       | NonTown brides marrying Town grooms    | 100         | 121    |
|       | NonTown brides marrying nonTown grooms | 122         | 241    |
| Total |  | 884         | 1,034  |

The salient disparity shows in the nT-nT segment, where the counts in the Opatów Archive are double that of the Działoszyce Archive (241 compared to 122). See APPENDIX A: Details of Działoszyce and Opatów Archives Marriage Record Extracts for statistics.

### Both marriage partners from outside the archive town (nT-nT)

Comparing the number of towns for each archive town, we find a higher number of brides per town in the Opatów Archive segment: 241 brides from 82 towns compared to 122 brides from 66 towns. We dissect this further.

If we sort the towns by number of brides each town registered in the respective archives, it's straightforward to rank the towns and group them by frequency buckets. This data comprises only brides from outside the archive town who married grooms from outside the archive town. The data are shown in Table 5 and charted in Figure 9. For example, let's review the 3-10 Frequency Segment. This means that a town registered marriages in the town archive for 3 up through 10 brides. In the Działoszyce Archive there were 46 brides from 11 different towns that fit this criterion. In the Opatów Archive were 51 brides from 13 different towns. The number of towns that appear once (one bride only) are virtually identical in each archive. There is a striking dichotomy in the 11 and more (11+) frequency segment, with 11 brides from 1 town registering in the Działoszyce Archive and 103 brides from 3 towns in the Opatów Archive.

Table 5: Frequency Segmentation of nT Brides by #Towns and #Brides

| Frequency | Działoszyce Archive<br># other towns | Opatów Archive<br># other towns | Działoszyce Archive<br># nT brides | Opatów Archive<br># nT brides |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1         | 43                                   | 45                              | 43                                 | 45                            |
| 2         | 11                                   | 21                              | 22                                 | 42                            |
| 3-10      | 11                                   | 13                              | 46                                 | 51                            |
| 11+       | 1                                    | 3                               | 11                                 | 103                           |
| Total     | 66                                   | 82                              | 122                                | 241                           |

Figure 8 displays this graphically. From front to rear, the first two rows are the town counts for each respective archive town and the rear two rows are the number of brides. We see visually that the 11+ towns are unique. Let's review these towns.

#### Top "Other Towns" in Marriage registrations

The one town from the Działoszyce Archive is Koszyce, registering 11 brides.

The three towns from the Opatów Archive are Ćmielów, Łagów and Nowa Słupia, registering 35, 35 and 33 brides respectively, representing 43% of the total nT-nT segment.

What do these four towns have in common?

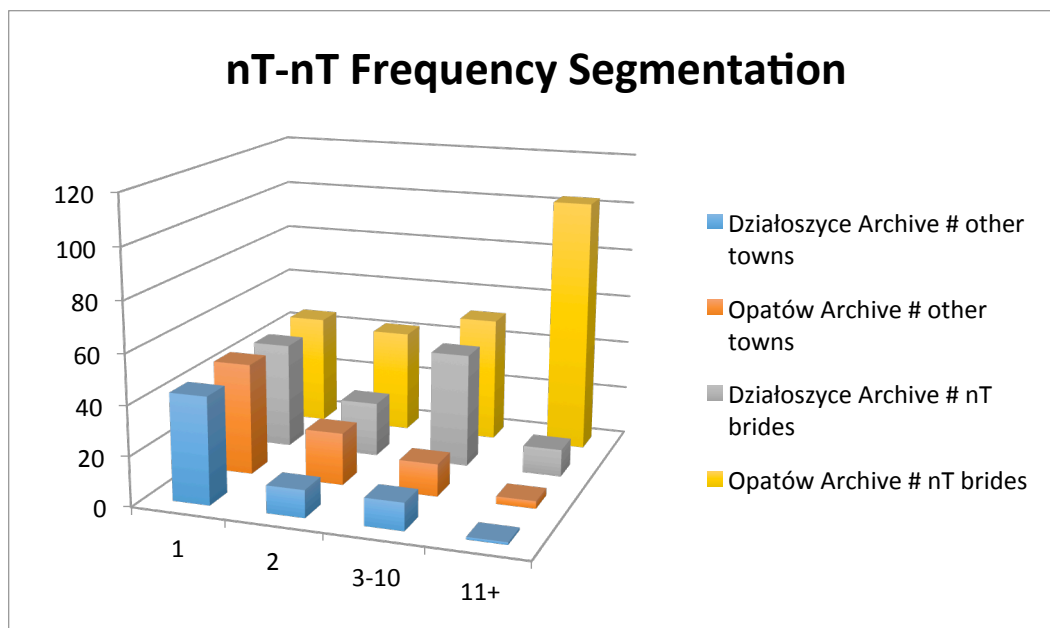


Figure 9: nT Bride Counts and #Towns by Frequency Segments

## Two Historical Factors

### 1. No Jews Allowed

While Jews were granted the privilege to settle in Opatów, there were towns (typically “royal cities”<sup>23</sup>) that obtained the “privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis” (the right not to admit Jews). Until 1862, some 90 out of 453 cities and towns in the Kingdom of Poland were entirely forbidden to Jews, 31 had separate Jewish districts, and others banned Jews from specific streets.<sup>24</sup> Still other towns forbade Jews from entry to the city except on certain market or fair days. The privilege in some cases also stipulated those professions that were permitted and forbidden to Jews. Towns that forbade Jewish settlement within its city walls included Ćmielów, Łagów and Nowa Słupia<sup>25</sup>. Koszyce residency was also banned to Jews.<sup>26</sup> In spite of this ban, Jews clearly considered themselves residents of these towns, even without having their own local synagogue, mikvah or cemetery.

In June 1861 a decree presented by Count Aleksander Wielopolski to the Polish Council of State was accepted by which Jews received the right to vote for and serve on municipal and local councils. Wielopolski subsequently proposed the abolition of all restrictions on the purchase and

<sup>23</sup> Polish Wikipedia, “Privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis,” [http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Privilegium\\_de\\_non\\_tolerandis\\_Judaeis](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Privilegium_de_non_tolerandis_Judaeis)

<sup>24</sup> American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies (AAPJS): Sources for the History of Jews in Polish Lands during the Nineteenth Century, <http://www.aapjstudies.org/index.php?id=145>

<sup>25</sup> JewishGen, Questions and Answers, Warren Blatt, “Why are there no Jewish vital records in certain towns prior to the 1860’s?” <http://www.jewishgen.org/InfoFiles/Poland/Questions.htm#q13>

<sup>26</sup> Virtual Shtetl, <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/koszyce/5,history/>

lease of urban and landed real estate by Jews and on their right to live in cities and countryside. In the June 1863 declaration, the rebel National Government granted Jews full and unconditional equal rights.<sup>27</sup> The “privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis” was thereby annulled.

## 2. Below the Critical Mass

As Jewish populations typically clustered around the rynek (market place) in or near the centers of towns, exclusion from town center habitation surely affected the growth rate of the Jewish population in those towns as well. Since a minimum population of about 500 Jews warranted a town registrar<sup>28</sup> during these years these towns could not reach the critical mass. Today, Jewish archives survive only from Nowa Słupia.

The case of Łagów is particularly interesting. Łagów Jews originally were affiliated with the kehilla in the town of Raków, some eight miles south. By government decree in 1843, Łagów and seven villages within a ten-mile radius of Łagów were separated from Raków kehilla and attached to that of the powiat town of Opatów – nearly 15 miles away.

These communities suffered from this forced attachment. In 1853 and again in 1859, members sent a petition to the Radom Gubernia Authorities asking to be incorporated into the Raków kehilla, stating obvious reasons of hardship, including the distance to traverse and health hazards risked in order to bury the dead in the Opatów. Both petitions were denied. Łagów remained part of the Opatów kehilla until 1878 when its own kehilla was established and the synagogue, mikvah and cemetery were founded. These historical facts are clearly reflected in the Opatów Archive: brides from Łagów had marriages registered in the Opatów Archive only from 1848. Now we can understand why not before. If the Raków Archive had survived we could have validated the earlier registrations.

Post-1878 Łagów started its own archive that ironically was destroyed during the Second World War<sup>29</sup>.

## Comments

These four towns therefore supported a relatively high Jewish population. Yet they were not entitled to Jewish independence and could not grow freely. As well, three were part of the powiat of Opatów and could not attach themselves to the kehilla of a closer town.

The records of both archives clearly show the dependence of these centers on their archive communities, underscoring the fact of the “privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis” mandate.

The difference in the nT-nT segments of the two town archives is thus a function of the geographic proximity of towns to Opatów that were under this mandate in concert with Opatów’s powiat status.

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<sup>27</sup> AAPJS, op.cit.

<sup>28</sup> JewishGen, op.cit.

<sup>29</sup> ibid.

### Spouses who came from outside to marry a partner from the archive town (T-nT, nT-T)

The combined marriage segments of T-nt and nT-T, where one spouse from the archive town marries a partner from outside the archive town represents a comparable percentage to total marriages in each of the two towns: 37% for Opatów and 36% for Działoszyce. The raw counts, seen in Table 4, are 383 and 318 respectively.

The pertinent question is why would a bride or groom from these specific towns come to marry a partner from the archive town? In other words, what is the connection between the archive town and the “other” town? Let’s take the town archive of Opatów and review the details further.

There were 121 brides and 262 grooms who came from outside the town to marry an Opatów spouse, as shown in Table 6. Applying the distance calculations to each town, we find that 283 of them were from 49 towns within 20 miles of Opatów. From towns farther than 20 miles, there were 78 brides and 22 grooms from 43 “other” towns who married 100 Apters.

APPENDIX B details the list of “other” towns, their distance from Opatów and the number of spouses who came to marry both brides and grooms from Opatów. Most of the towns within 20 miles were affiliated with the Opatów kehilla (listed in Virtual Shtetl) or assigned to the Opatów powiat. Twenty miles is also a reasonable assessment of a comfortable day’s journey by horse and buggy.

Table 6: Opatów nT-T and T-nT number of Towns and counts

| Brides and Grooms from archive town married | Opatów |       |
|---|--------|-------|
|   | #Towns | Count |
| nT-T & T-nT                                 |        |       |
| Within 20 miles                             | 49     | 283   |
| Farther than 20 miles                       | 43     | 100   |
|   |        |       |
| <b>Total nT-T &amp; T-nT</b>                | 92     | 383   |
| <b>Total marriage count</b>                 |        | 1,034 |

The question, then, is where are the 43 “other” towns farther away than 20 miles and what were their connections to Opatów? To understand this, we need to review the historical backdrop prior to our time frame.

## VI. Historical Background

Let us now examine three major historical currents permeating, if not dictating Opatów life in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They fomented connections between Opatów and other localities that were entrenched by and persisted into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They map out why relationships were established with specific places – both near and far – as well why there is such a breadth of localities exhibited in the Opatów Archive birth and marriage records.

### 1. Administrative Connections with the Council of Four Lands: Political Liaisons

The Jews in Poland, closeted in their own communities, were granted permission to organize their legislative and administrative affairs autonomously, governed by a kahal [community council]. Evolving around 1580 from meetings to review tax assessment and collection, The Council of Four Lands was an elaborate organization of land and regional councils comprised mostly of elected officials (kahal elders) and observing rabbis. The areas comprising the Council of Four Lands included Great Poland (Poznan); Little Poland (Kraków); Red Russia (Podolia and Galicia, Lemberg) and Volhynia (Ostrog).<sup>30</sup>

The council regions were divided into districts, with Opatów at the head of one of the six districts in the region of Kraków-Sandomierz [Krakow was independent]. See **Figure 10**.

The Opatów district, including the town itself, consisted of 14 communities.<sup>31</sup> The other five districts were Chęciny, Olkusz, Pińczów, Szydłów and Wodzisław.<sup>32</sup>

The first Council meetings took place annually in Lublin at the great spring fair<sup>33</sup>. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Council representatives met twice yearly, adding the town of Jarosław in Galicia. They dealt with issues of the burdens of taxation (allocation as well as collection) and acted as parliamentary bodies for Jewish society, including as a court of appeals. While their jurisdiction covered legislative, administrative, judicial and spiritual functions, from the standpoint of the Polish state, the councils served the Polish government as bodies that collected Jewish taxes<sup>34</sup>. It is worthwhile to note that throughout the 17th century, the Opatów representatives to the Council of Lands as well as the regional council were most often members of the Landau family, who additionally served as Opatów kahal elders.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia: 1906, Funk and Wagnalls, <<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4705-council-of-four-lands>>

<sup>31</sup> Hundert, Gershon David, The Jews in a Polish Private Town: The Case of Opatów in the Eighteenth Century, Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1992, page 110

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*, page 194

<sup>33</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia, *op.cit.*, "Council of Four Lands"

<sup>34</sup> Bartal, Israel, The Jews of Eastern Europe 1772-1881, 2005: University of Pennsylvania Press, "The Jews of the Kingdom," page 20

<sup>35</sup> Hundert, Gershon David, *op.cit.*, page 114



Those of us studying family history in the post-World War II era probably cannot fathom the level of sophisticated organization that existed in the Jewish communities of greater Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>36</sup>. No modern transportation, no modern methods of communication, let alone telecommunication or Internet, yet multi-level administrative jurisdiction was in place effected by regularly scheduled meetings, attended by elected officials who traversed huge distances. They were united not just by religious practices, but also by a common vernacular. Yiddish was the lingua franca crossing territorial boundaries, enabling the Ashkenazi Jewish community to create an infrastructure that effectively established a "state within a state." No parallel institution of Jewish central autonomous self-government existed anywhere in Europe.<sup>37</sup>

The Council of Four Lands was dissolved in 1764, as its operation was deemed unnecessary by the royal fiscal authority<sup>38</sup> and ceased to function as an official body. Yet the relationships that had been cemented over nearly 200 years between Opatów, Lublin, other districts, and the 14 communities in its district surely persevered into the 19th century. The majority of the towns shown in **Figure 10** appear in the Opatów Archive registrations. See APPENDIX B.

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<sup>36</sup> Observation made by Stanley Diamond, Director JRI-Poland

<sup>37</sup> Leksykon Lublin, the Council of Four Lands,  
<[http://teatrnn.pl/leksykon/node/2074/the\\_council\\_of\\_four\\_lands\\_1580\\_%E2%80%93\\_1764](http://teatrnn.pl/leksykon/node/2074/the_council_of_four_lands_1580_%E2%80%93_1764)>

<sup>38</sup> Leksykon Lublin, op.cit.

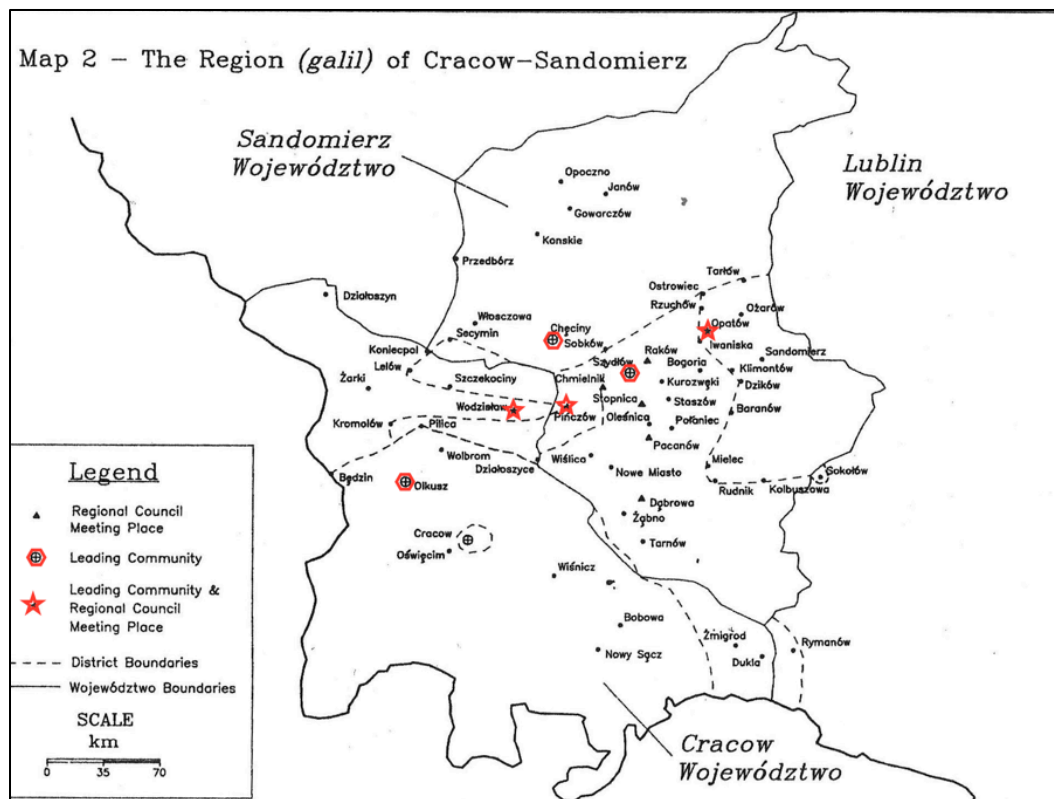


Figure 10: Regional Map of Kraków-Sandomierz<sup>39</sup>

Important towns in the Kraków-Sandomierz Region during the time of the Council of Four Lands are shown in the map prepared by Professor Hundert in **Figure 10**, with red stars denoting “leading community & regional council meeting place” and red hexagons denoting “Leading Communities.” These represent the six districts in the Kraków-Sandomierz Region.

While not stated on the Legend, towns with bullets on the map were important communities that were part of districts (“regional councils”). Though not a district, Działoszyce is shown as an important community.

<sup>39</sup> Hundert, Gershon David, op.cit, page 111

## 2. Merchant Trading Connections: Economic Liaisons

In the towns of Poland-Lithuania, Jewish commerce developed and flourished during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Fairs held in major cities were important opportunities for Opatów merchants who became active traders and traveled great distances. “With the exception of Pińczów, which was by far the dominant center of commerce in this part of Poland, no other town in the region had nearly as many merchants active in the domestic and internal markets as Opatów.”<sup>40</sup>

The majority of Opatów Jewish merchants who traded domestically concentrated their trade within a triangular area defined by Warsaw, Kraków and Lublin<sup>41</sup>. By extending the corner to Zamość from Lublin, Figure 11 maps the region within which most marriage partners were imported to Opatów.

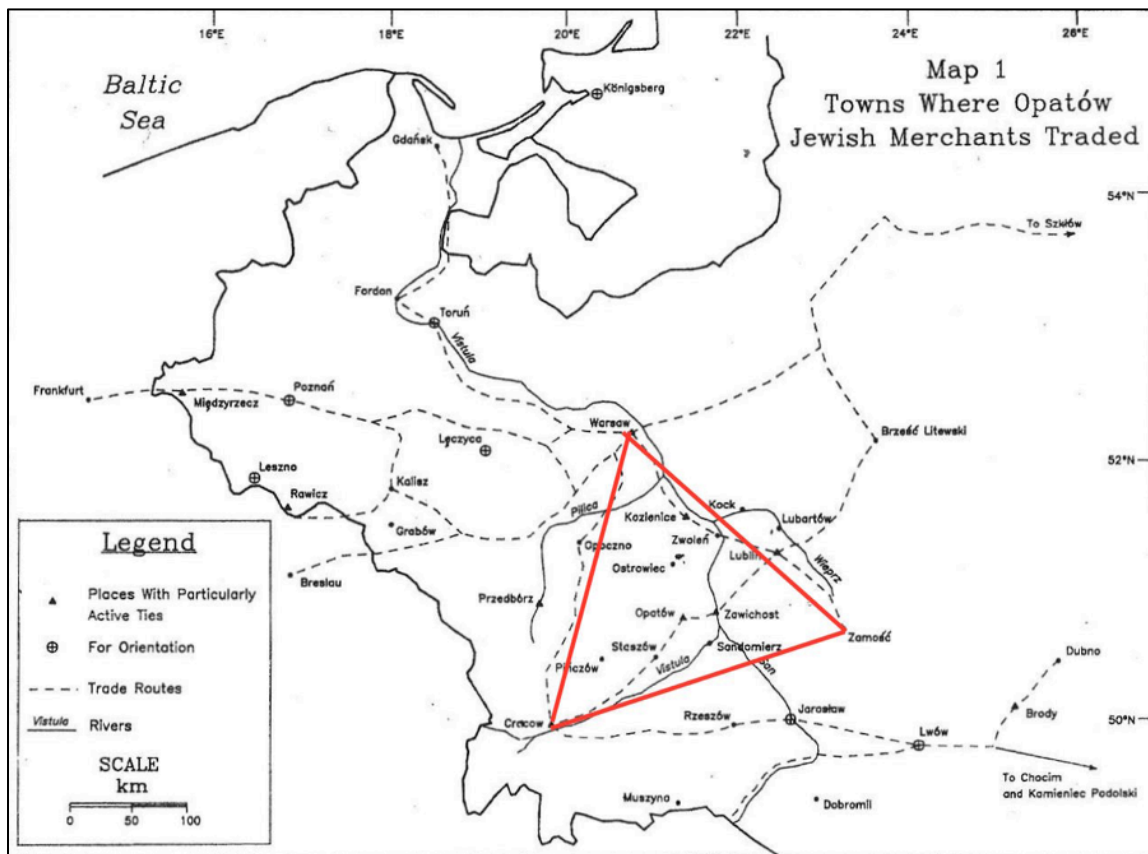


Figure 11: Towns where Opatów Jewish Merchants Traded in the 18th Century<sup>42</sup>

As noted by Professor Adam Teller of Brown University, “Jewish trading networks, important for economic success, helped strengthen ties between different centers and so contributed to the development of transnational elements in East European Jewish culture.”<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*, page 54

<sup>41</sup> *ibid*, page 60

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*, page 55

In this context, according to ChaeRan Freeze, Associate Professor at Brandeis University, attending annual fairs in large cities like Lublin, Jewish merchants gathered not only to trade but also “to negotiate potential marriages.”<sup>44</sup>

During the 18th century, Opatów was an esteemed political and commercial center, with representatives and merchants traveling routinely throughout Congress Poland. The networks established with trading towns continued in the 19th century. Towns along and within the trading triangle are especially apparent in the Opatów Archive extracts. See APPENDIX B.

### 3. Hasidic Center Connections: Religious Liaisons

The third current originating in the 18<sup>th</sup> century impacting Opatów was the spread of Hasidism. According to Glenn Dynner, “By the first decades of the nineteenth century, Hasidism approached such dimensions that, in terms of sheer influence, it had emerged as the most important cultural development in modern East European Jewish History.”<sup>45</sup> Rabbi Moshe Yehuda Leib Erblich of Sassov (1745-1807) established a Hasidic Court in Opatów near the end of the 1700’s. Many Hasidim flocked to his court, with some settling permanently in the town to be near their rabbi. In this way the Hasidic community continuously grew. Note the distances traversed in the name of Hasidism: Sassov, formerly Eastern Galicia, now in the Ukraine, lies 168 miles ESE of Opatów.

Elimelekh Lipman ben Elazar of Leżajsk (1717-1786)<sup>46</sup> was a pivotal Hassidic teacher. Among his disciples were the renowned Avraham Yehoshua Heshel (1755-1825)<sup>47</sup> – the “Apter Rabbi” – who settled in Opatów around 1800, and the equally distinguished Yaakov Itzhak HOROWICZ-SZTERNFELD (1745-1815)<sup>48</sup> – the Chozeh (Seer) of Lublin. A disciple of the latter was Meir HaLevi ROTENBERG, who became rabbi in Opatów in the 1820’s. The connection between the Apter Rabbi and the Chozeh had to further strengthen the already tight linkage between Lublin and Opatów.

Another disciple of Elimelekh Lipman was Yisrael ben Shabtai HOPFSZTAJN (1733-1814), born in Opatów – the Maggid of Kozienice [Kozhnitser Maggid]. And so the network connections extended. The importance of *yichus* and its perpetuation in the Hassidic community further enforced bonds among towns.

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<sup>43</sup> Teller, Adam. "Trade." YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe 28 October 2010. 21 June 2015 <<http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Trade>>

<sup>44</sup> Freeze, ChaeRan Y., Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia, Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2002. “Marriage,” page 13

<sup>45</sup> Dynner, Glenn, Men of Silk: The Hasidic Conquest of Polish Jewish Society. 2008, page 7

<sup>46</sup> Gershom, Yonasson, Jewish Tales of Reincarnation, page 264

<sup>47</sup> *ibid*, page 263, although other sources state year of birth 1745

<sup>48</sup> Polish State Archives Lublin, 1815 D130, death of Icek Leyzorowicz STERNFELD, Rabbi of Lubelski age 70

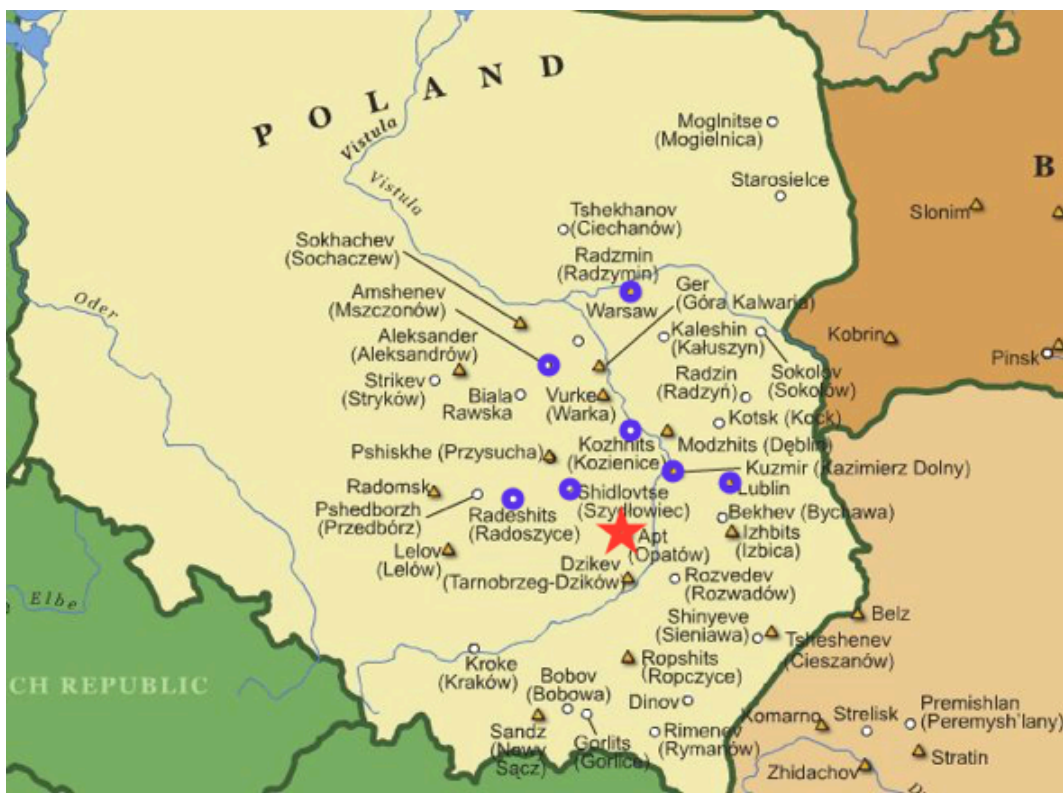


Figure 12: Detail of Map of Major Hasidic Courts, 1815-1929<sup>49</sup>

Figure 12 shows a map detail of major Hasidic Courts. Opatów is tagged with a red star; the purple circles indicate towns that appear on the list of 43 towns from which spouses were “imported.”

As a major Hasidic Court, Opatów developed intimate ties with other Hasidic towns, both courts as well as towns under Hasidic influence.

<sup>49</sup> Długosz, Elżbieta, “Time of the Hasidism” exhibition, The Historical Museum of Krakow-Old Synagogue

## VII. Mapping the Marriages

The 793 partners who married the 672 brides (410+262) and 121 grooms from the town of Opatów from 1836-1865 (see Table 4) came from 92 different localities, including Opatów, the archive town. Dissecting the locations outside of Opatów in 383 marriages (262+121) we find that nearly every locality falls into a category. The location was:

- attached to the Opatów kehilla and/or
- under Opatów county jurisdiction
- designated a Hasidic Court or situated in a region of Hasidic Influence
- an active regional council meeting place, large community and/or
- encompassed by the Opatów merchants trading route triangle.

See spreadsheet in APPENDIX B with itemized data.

Figure 13 pinpoints the locations of Opatów and the 43 localities farther than 20 miles from Opatów from where spouses came to marry a partner from the town of Opatów as indicated in the Opatów Archive record extracts from 1836-1865.

Some towns fall under more than one category such as Lublin: a High Court, on the Trade Route, and a Regional Council Community. The hierarchy for pin color designation is as follows:

- Blue: The town of Opatów (pin 1)
- Pink: Towns that were Hasidic High Courts
- Green: Regional council meeting places and leading communities from the 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries
- Red: Trade Route towns.

A triangle formed with Kraków, Warsaw and Zamość as corners containing the territory within which Opatów Jewish merchants traded (see Figure 11) nearly perfectly encompasses the area from where a partner came to marry an Opatów spouse in our example. Trading centers outside the triangle are Warta, in Kalisz (pin 43) and Opole Lubelski (pin 28). The latter was also a town heavily influenced by Hassidism.



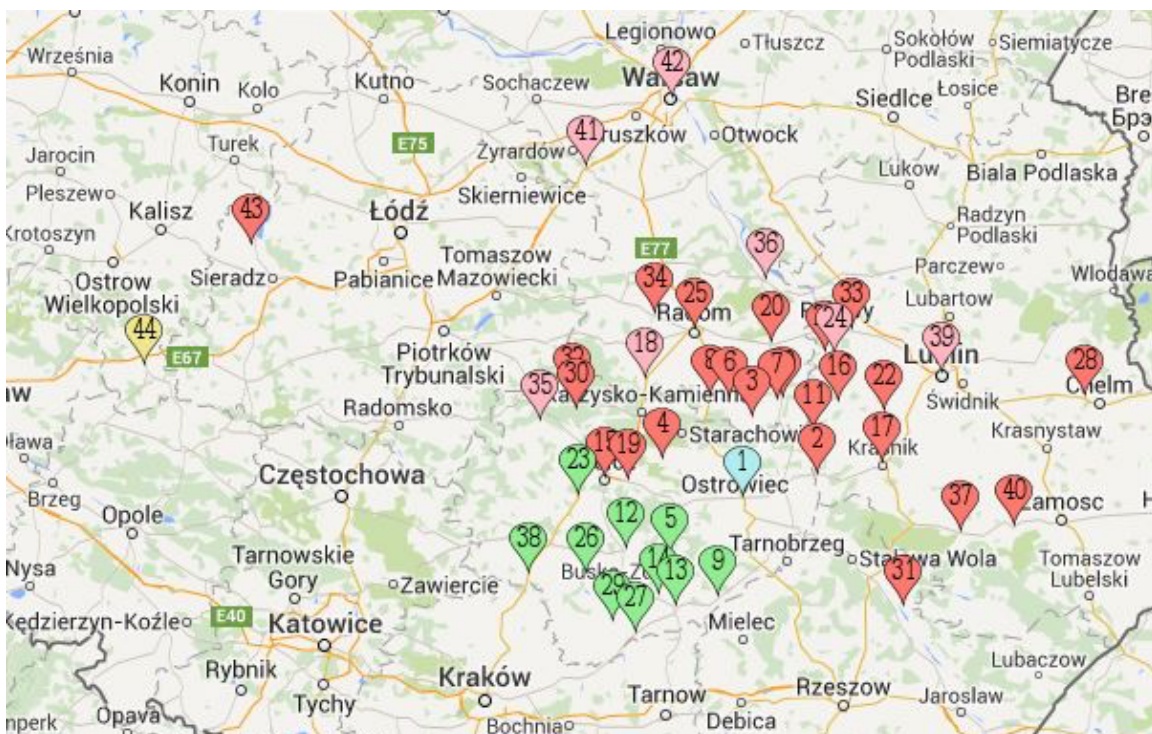


Figure 13: Map of 43 Opatów Spouse Locations >20 miles

## VIII. Record Examination: The Outlier

There is a single outlier on the map (yellow pin 44) – Kępno, Prussia. Why would a bride from Opatów marry a groom from such a far-flung town?

Let's examine that one outlier that doesn't fit neatly into any overlay. We see in record #12 from 1852 [1852 M12] that the groom, Jonas, age 25, is from Kępno, Prussia, over 150 miles away from Opatów.

Izrael Jonas, born 1827 in Kępno, is registered as the son of Chaskiel (Ezekiel) LANDAU and Nucha.

Recall that the LANDAU family was the most prestigious of all clans in Opatów during the 17-18<sup>th</sup> centuries – the aristocracy of the town – tracing its lineage to prominent rabbis in the later Middle Ages and the singularly most significant family in Opatów during the time of Council of Four Lands.

Here's the lineage in our story:

- Izrael Jonas LANDAU (b1827) [named after mother's grandfather] of Kępno was the son of:
  - R. Yechezkel LANDAU (b1800) of Kępno, who was the son of R. Isaac LANDAU of Włodawa, who was the son of Yehuda LANDAU, A"BD Włodawa<sup>50</sup>, whose father was R. Josef LANDAU (1726-1801), A"BD Posen who married Freida, the daughter of Yechezkel ben Yehuda LANDAU (1713-1793), Chief Rabbi of Prague from 1755 (Figure 14)



**Figure 14: Yechezkel ben Yehuda LANDAU (1713-1793)<sup>51</sup>**

- Izrael Jonas LANDAU's (b1827) mother was Nucha/Necha, who was the daughter of<sup>52</sup>:
  - R. Samuel Josef LANDAU (1770-1837)<sup>53</sup>, rabbi in Kępno who was the son of:
  - R. Izrael Jonas LANDAU (1740-1824), rabbi in Kępno who was the son of:
  - R. Josef LANDAU (1705-1785) of Opatów, served as elder of the Regional Council, married his niece, Brandle HEILPERIN, whose father, Majer ben Binyamin Wolf HEILPERIN was Rabbi of Opatów from 1712-1718<sup>54</sup> and later Rabbi of Lublin. While living in Opatów, Josef LANDAU held the position of rabbi of Międzyrzecz Podlaski. He was the son of:
  - R. Yechezkel LANDAU (d1747), who served as rabbi of the kloyz in Opatów and married daughter of Menahem Mendel AUERBACH, Rabbi of Krotoszyn<sup>55</sup>. He was the son of:
  - R. Tzvi Hirsch LANDAU [aka Hirsch Witeles] (1655-1714) of Opatów, who was a delegate to the Council of Four Lands, whose son Judah (1690-1737) was the father of the famous Yechezkel ben Yehudah LANDAU. Tzvi Hirsch was the son of:
  - R. Yechezkel (Ezekiel) ben Binyamin Wolf LANDAU (1620-1686), head of the yeshiva<sup>56</sup>, judge, merchant, powerful community leader in Opatów, who married Witta, daughter of the Opatów kehilla rabbi.

<sup>50</sup> Rosenstein, Neil, The Unbroken Chain, Lakewood, New Jersey: C.I.S. Publishers: 1990. pg 541: G10.1

<sup>51</sup> Wikipedia <[http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ezechiel\\_Landau](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ezechiel_Landau)>

<sup>52</sup> Rosenstein, Neil, op.cit, page 757: G12

<sup>53</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia, "Landau," <<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9608-landau>>

<sup>54</sup> Hundert, Gershon David, op.cit., page 190

<sup>55</sup> ibid, page 120

<sup>56</sup> ibid, page 32

See Figure 15 for partial tree schematic.

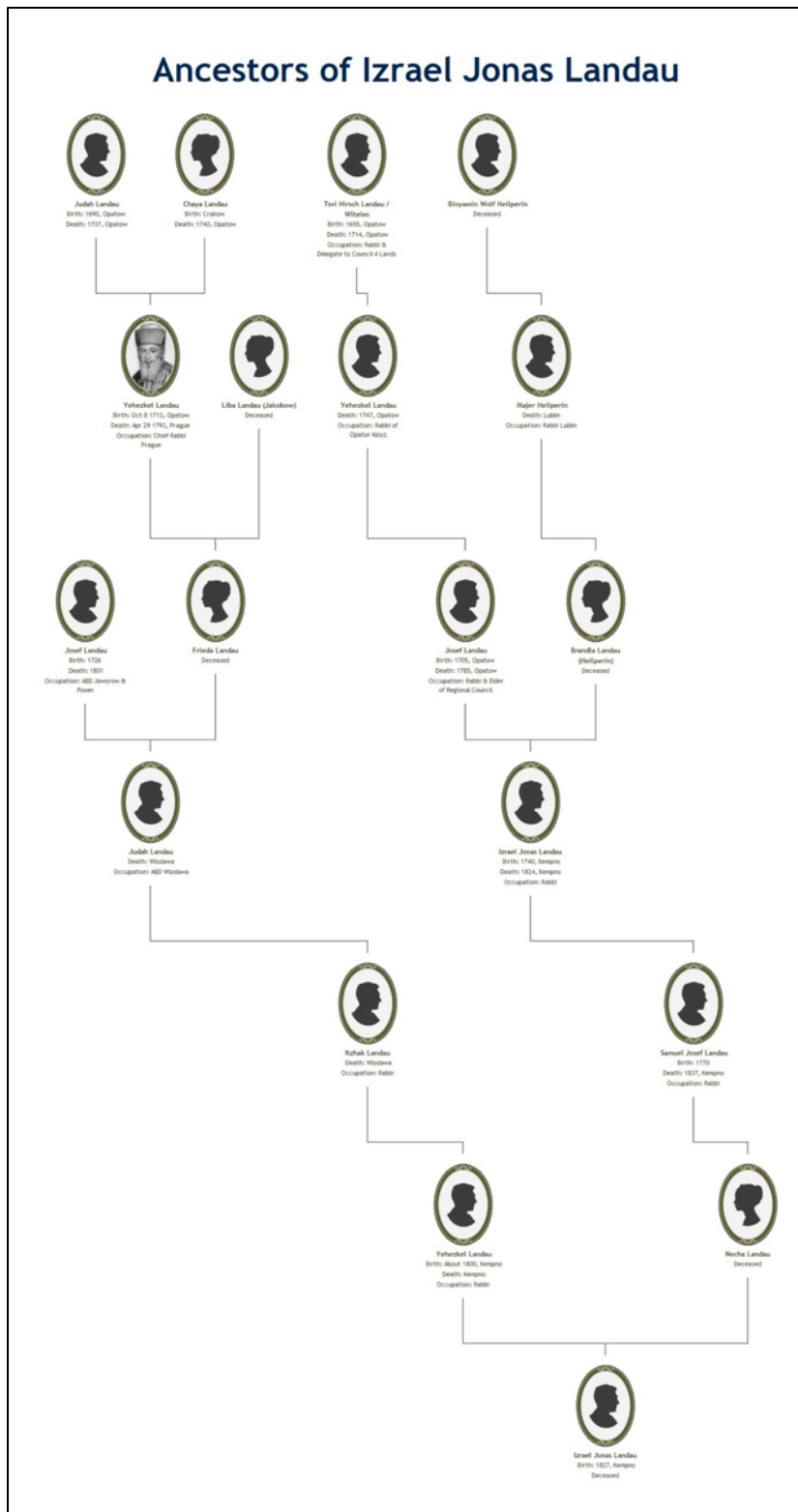


Figure 15: Tree Schematic of the Ancestors of Izrael Jonas LANDAU of Kępno

So who was the bride?

The bride was Ruda, the daughter of Gabriel Yehuda LICHTENFELD (1811-1887)<sup>57</sup>. Born in Lublin, buried in Warsaw, LICHTENFELD was a maskil [enlightened intellectual], well-known poet, mathematician and scholar. He was also a descendant of Moses Isserles (1520-1572)<sup>58</sup>, an eminent rabbi, Talmudist and posek [legal scholar], depicted in Figure 16, who was prominent in the Council of Four Lands.<sup>59</sup>



**Figure 16: Moses ben Israel Isserles [ReMA] (1520-1572)<sup>60</sup>**

So this is a marriage between two esteemed, pedigreed families, with the groom having ancestral family connections in Opatów. The extract underscores the historical reality that families were willing to travel far and wide to secure marriages of stature; a prestigious union made distance almost irrelevant.

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<sup>57</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia, op. cit, "Lichtenfeld, Gabriel Judah"

<<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9953-lichtenfelf-gabriel-judah>>

<sup>58</sup> Rottenberg, Dan, Finding Our Fathers: A Guidebook to Jewish Genealogy, Random House: 1977, page 274

<sup>59</sup> Jewish Encyclopedia, op. cit, "Isserles, Moses Ben Israel (ReMA),"

<<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8340-isserles-moses-ben-israel-rema>>

<sup>60</sup> Wikipedia, "Moses Isserles," <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moses\\_Isserles](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moses_Isserles)>

## IX. Summary

During the period 1836-1865, Opatów as the town of residence in is a notably lower percentage (58%) of the total registered marriages in the Opatów Archive than the respective Działoszyce percentage (68%). The percentage of brides from the town of Opatów in the Opatów Archive (65%) is notably lower than the respective percentage in the Działoszyce Archive (75%), although the number of brides from each respective archive town is similar. The percentage differences in number of registrations from other towns is in part a reflection of Opatów powiat status, giving the town a far greater administrative reach within a 20-mile radius than Działoszyce, and in part the manifestation of the “privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis,” where Jews were prohibited from residing in certain towns. The Opatów Archive extracts include registrations from three larger towns within a 20-mile radius of the town that fell under this political mandate and were members of the Opatów kehilla, skewing the archive statistics. Geographically only one such town was affiliated with Działoszyce.

Locations listed in the extracts reflect changing administrative policies. Jewish life in certain towns and villages was severely impacted when Opatów received powiat status. Marriage registrations start appearing after 1848 in the Opatów Archives from towns that now had to reluctantly comply with political dictates that affected their kahal affiliation.

Analysis of the raw data further shows that the total number of different towns listed on marriage registrations in the Opatów Archive is notably greater than that in the Działoszyce Archive for the same period.

Historically, Opatów was a town of stature and power. While both Opatów and Działoszyce had active merchant traders on the road, Opatów was second only to Pińczów in the region. In the time of the Council of Four Lands, Opatów was a head district, Działoszyce a community within a district. Opatów had a far greater share of Hasidic scholars than Działoszyce and was a major Hasidic center. Działoszyce was less so.

The confluence of historical currents – political, as a powerful Regional District during the time of Council of Four Lands and its administrative power as powiat from 1844; economic, with merchant trader mobility and clout; and religious, with prestige as a Hasidic Court – expanded the realm of towns and villages and dictated the specific towns with which Opatów interacted and established connections. The historical vital records mirror the relationships of communities in a specific time frame. The Opatów Archive marriage extract analyses accordingly reflect Opatów positioning in the region as a well-networked town. Marriage analyses specifically substantiate connections with far-flung towns in securing prestigious unions. The bulk of these towns are a direct subset of the towns with which Opatów developed entrenched, historic connections, towns that created a sort of “spouse pool” for marriage-seeking Apters.

Reading between the lines as illustrated in the Opatów archive extracts can be applied to other town archives to garner different slices of Jewish historical reality in different periods of time.

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## **APPENDIX A: Details of Działoszyce and Opatów Archives Marriage Record Extracts**

### **Opatów Archives**

During this time period, 1,034 marriages were registered listing both bride and groom from identifiable locations.

#### Opatów Brides

- 65% (672) of the brides were from Opatów
- 61% (410) of the 672 Opatów brides married men from Opatów
- The 262 non-Opatów grooms were from 63 different places, 49 of which were towns and 14, villages. Of the 35 locations farther than 20 miles from Opatów, 2 were villages
- 94% (246) of the 262 non-Opatów grooms were from towns.

#### Non- Opatów Brides

- The 362 non-Opatów brides were from 105 distinct locations
- Of the 362 non-Opatów brides, 128 (35%) were from Nowa Słupia, Ćmielów, and Łagów
- Of the 362 non-Opatów brides, 33% (121) married men from Opatów. 82% of these brides lived within a radius of 20 miles; 22 brides were from locations farther away, (only one of which was a village as opposed to a town) ranging from 20.1-101.7 miles
- Of the 231 brides from towns, 94% married grooms from towns, whereas 45% of 131 brides from villages married grooms from villages.

### **Działoszyce Archives**

During this time period, 884 marriages were registered listing both bride and groom from identifiable locations.

#### Działoszyce Brides

- 75% (662) of the 884 brides were from Działoszyce
- 67% (444) of the 662 Działoszyce brides married men from Działoszyce
- The 218 non-Działoszyce grooms were from 76 different places, 45 of which were towns and 31, villages
- Of the 41 localities farther than 20 miles from Działoszyce, 4 were villages, 37 towns
- 79% (173) of the 218 non-Działoszyce grooms were from towns.

#### Non-Działoszyce Brides

- Of the 222 brides not from Działoszyce, 45% (100) married grooms from Działoszyce.

## **APPENDIX B: Opatów Brides and Grooms Marriage Breakout by Location**

Of the 1034 marriage registrations in the Opatów Archive, 410 listed both bride and groom from the town of Opatów, and 241 with both bride and groom from outside the town. The remaining 383 marriages represent spouses from Opatów who married partners from 92 other locations: 283 married spouses from 49 locations within 20 miles of Opatów, and 100 married spouses from 43 locations farther than 20 miles away.

Table 7 details the following:

Place from where the spouse came to Opatów sorted by distance in miles from Opatów

- Whether the place was a Village or Town (V or T)
- ID number on map of >20 miles away locations (Figure 13)
- The count from the location for Opatów brides
- The count from the location for Opatów grooms
- Notation of how the location connected to Opatów:
  - Kehilla membership known
  - Part of Opatów County (all Kehilla were part, but known Kehilla membership supersedes)
  - Hasidic Court (HC) or Hasidic Influence (HI)
  - Trade Route coverage (TR)
  - Council of Four Lands Regional Community (R)



**Table 7: Opatów Spouse Town Classifications, Marriage extracts 1836-1865**

| Spouse From:    | V or T | # on Map | Distance | For Opatów brides | For Opatów grooms | Kehilla | Opatów county | Hassidic | Trade route | Regional community |
|-----------------|--------|----------|----------|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------------|----------|-------------|--------------------|
| Opatów          | T      | 1        | 0.0      | 410               | *                 | K       | C             | HC       | TR          | R                  |
| Marcinkowice    | V      |          | 0.7      | 1                 | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Kornacice       | V      |          | 2.2      |                   | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Karwów          |        |          | 2.5      |                   | 2                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Bogusławice     | V      |          | 2.8      |                   | 2                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Jałowęsy        | V      |          | 2.9      | 1                 |                   | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Gojców          | V      |          | 3.0      |                   | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Brzezie         | V      |          | 3.2      |                   | 2                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Nikisiałka Mała | V      |          | 3.7      |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Oziebłów        | V      |          | 3.9      |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Małoszyce       | V      |          | 4.0      | 1                 |                   | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Przeuszyń       | V      |          | 4.5      |                   | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Obrečna         | V      |          | 4.9      |                   | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Rudniki         | V      |          | 4.9      |                   | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Modliborzyce    | V      |          | 5.5      | 2                 | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Gołoszyce       | V      |          | 5.7      | 1                 |                   |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Rzuchów         | V      |          | 5.8      |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             | R                  |
| Olszownica      | V      |          | 7.5      |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Ćmielów         | T      |          | 7.5      | 13                | 13                | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Iwaniska        | T      |          | 7.7      | 23                | 4                 |         | C             |          |             | R                  |
| Ostrowiec       | T      |          | 9.7      | 40                | 6                 |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Klimontów       | T      |          | 10.0     | 14                | 7                 |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Wszachów        | V      |          | 10.8     | 2                 |                   |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Piórków         | T      |          | 10.9     |                   | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Piotrów         | T      |          | 11.4     | 1                 |                   | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Dobručna        | V      |          | 11.5     | 1                 |                   |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Bogoria         | T      |          | 12.3     | 4                 | 3                 |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Kunów           | T      |          | 12.4     |                   | 2                 |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Ożarów          | T      |          | 12.4     | 10                | 6                 |         | C             |          |             | R                  |
| Kiełczyńska     | V      |          | 12.4     | 1                 |                   |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Sobów           | T      |          | 13.2     |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Skały           | V      |          | 13.3     |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Nowy Staw       | V      |          | 13.6     | 1                 |                   | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Łągów           | T      |          | 14.5     |                   | 4                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Nowa Słupia     | T      |          | 14.9     | 6                 | 8                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Trzcianka       | V      |          | 15.7     |                   | 1                 | K       |               |          |             |                    |
| Baszowice       | V      |          | 15.9     |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Sandomierz      | T      |          | 16.1     | 18                |                   |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Lasocin         | V      |          | 16.2     |                   | 1                 |         | C             |          |             |                    |
| Koprzywnica     | T      |          | 16.5     | 3                 |                   | K       |               |          |             |                    |

| Spouse From:      | V or T | # on Map | Distance | For Opatów brides | For Opatów grooms | Kehilla | Opatów county | Hassidic | Trade route | Regional community |
|-------------------|--------|----------|----------|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------------|----------|-------------|--------------------|
| Antoniów          | V      |          | 17.9     | 1                 |                   |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Winiary           | T      |          | 18.0     | 1                 |                   |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Chańcza           | V      |          | 18.0     | 1                 |                   |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Korytnica         | V      |          | 18.2     | 1                 |                   |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Raków             | T      |          | 18.4     | 10                | 5                 |         |               |          |             | R                  |
| Tarłów            | T      |          | 19.1     | 2                 |                   |         | C             |          |             | R                  |
| Zawichost         | T      |          | 19.2     | 9                 | 4                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Osiek             | T      |          | 19.4     | 2                 |                   |         |               |          | TR          | R                  |
| Staszów           | T      |          | 19.6     | 14                | 14                |         |               |          | TR          | R                  |
| Annopol           | T      | 2        | 20.1     | 8                 | 8                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Siemno            | T      | 3        | 20.1     | 5                 | 4                 | 1       |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Bodzentyn         | T      | 4        | 22.3     | 3                 | 3                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Szydłów           | T      | 5        | 23.1     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               |          | TR          | R                  |
| Pasztowa Wola     | V      | 6        | 24.9     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Babilon           | T      | 7        | 26.0     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Iłża              | T      | 8        | 26.2     | 5                 | 5                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Połaniec          | T      | 9        | 26.4     | 5                 | 3                 | 2       |               |          | TR          | R                  |
| Lipsko            | T      | 10       | 26.7     | 5                 | 5                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Józefów nad Wisłą | T      | 11       | 28.0     | 5                 | 5                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Chmielnik         | T      | 12       | 31.7     | 2                 | 1                 | 1       |               | HI       | TR          | R                  |
| Pacanów           | T      | 13       | 32.1     | 2                 |                   | 2       |               |          |             | R                  |
| Stopnica          | T      | 14       | 32.4     | 3                 | 2                 | 1       |               |          |             | R                  |
| Kielce            | T      | 15       | 32.8     | 1                 |                   | 1       |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Opole Lubelskie   | T      | 16       | 34.0     | 2                 | 1                 | 1       |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Kraśnik           | T      | 17       | 36.3     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Szydłowiec        | T      | 18       | 38.1     | 8                 | 8                 |         |               | HC       |             |                    |
| Radlin            | V      | 19       | 38.5     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Zwolen            | T      | 20       | 39.1     | 1                 |                   | 1       |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Janowiec          | T      | 21       | 41.6     | 2                 | 2                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Skrzyniec         | T      | 22       | 41.7     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Chęciny           | T      | 23       | 42.5     | 4                 | 3                 | 1       |               |          | TR          | R                  |
| Kazimierz Dolny   | T      | 24       | 42.8     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               | HC       |             |                    |
| Radom             | T      | 25       | 43.0     | 3                 | 3                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Pińczów           | T      | 26       | 43.5     | 2                 | 2                 |         |               |          | TR          | R                  |
| Nowy Korczyn      | T      | 27       | 43.6     | 3                 | 1                 | 2       |               |          | TR          | R                  |
| Janów Lubelski    | T      | 28       | 44.0     | 2                 | 2                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Wiślica           | T      | 29       | 45.1     | 2                 | 1                 | 1       |               |          |             | R                  |
| Małachów          | V      | 30       | 46.7     | 1                 |                   | 1       |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Krzeszów          | T      | 31       | 49.0     | 1                 |                   | 1       |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Górny Młyn        | T      | 32       | 49.7     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Końskowola        | T      | 33       | 50.1     | 1                 |                   | 1       |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Przytyk           | T      | 34       | 51.2     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               |          | TR          |                    |
| Radoszyce         | T      | 35       | 54.0     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               | HC       |             |                    |
| Kozienice         | T      | 36       | 54.5     | 3                 | 2                 | 1       |               | HC       |             |                    |
| Frampol           | T      | 37       | 55.5     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Wodzisław         | T      | 38       | 56.1     | 2                 |                   | 2       |               |          |             | R                  |
| Lublin            | T      | 39       | 58.8     | 2                 | 2                 |         |               | HC       |             |                    |
| Szczebrzeszyn     | T      | 40       | 68.6     | 1                 | 1                 |         |               | HI       | TR          |                    |
| Mszczonów         | T      | 41       | 90.4     | 1                 |                   | 1       |               | HC       |             |                    |
| Warszawa          | T      | 42       | 101.7    | 2                 | 1                 | 1       |               | HC       |             |                    |

| Spouse From:   | V<br>or<br>T | # on<br>Map | Distance | For<br>Opatów<br>brides | For<br>Opatów<br>grooms | Kehilla | Opatów<br>county | Hassidic | Trade<br>route | Regional<br>community |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------|------------------|----------|----------------|-----------------------|
| Warta, Kalisz  | T            | 43          | 135.9    | 1                       | 1                       |         |                  |          | TR             |                       |
| Kępno, Prussia | T            | 44          | 152.6    | 1                       | 1                       |         |                  |          |                |                       |
| Total          |              |             |          | 694                     | 177                     |         |                  |          |                |                       |