Where some of my ancestors lived

in the last thousand years of our pan-European Journey

Edward Gelles

Introduction

In a preceding essay entitled "Reflections on my ancestral background" I considered the movements of my ancestors across Europe from the viewpoint of my genealogical studies. It might be helpful to add some notes focusing mainly on the geography of their odyssey.

The story of our earlier migrations from the Levant, Caucasus, and the Mediterranean littoral has a somewhat speculative and indeed partly legendary character.

But my published work deals principally with the past thousand years or so, and the relationships of more than a hundred Jewish families in hundreds of towns and smaller settlements. Their journey took them across Europe, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, and from the Atlantic to the shores of the Black and Caspian seas, in a diversity of directions. In this more recent history we come across many threads to ancient times and occasionally return to lands that had been home for some of our forebears in previous millennia.

A substantial proportion of the families in my ancestral background were rabbinical, in some instances producing many generations of rabbis (of greater or lesser importance). They furnished the Jewish people with their spiritual and social leaders for many centuries. Their prominence in my story arises not only from their family connections and migration patterns but also because the lives of rabbis are generally much better documented than those of their flocks. Rabbis were generally more mobile from earliest times. In their ultimately

established pan-European family network they moved far to study with eminent scholars, take up new rabbinical appointments, or enter into arranged marriages, which tended to bring together priestly and secular community leaders

The results of my genealogical studies throw more light on the intermarriages of these families and the personal and occupational as well as wider economic and political reasons for their migrations.

The inter-connections with many of the oldest and most important rabbinical families make my ancestral background a microcosm of the millennial history of European Jewry.

Interactions with the changing environment

European Jews have enjoyed periods of economic and cultural well being and a measure of integration in different parts of our continent, but also suffered periods of persecution including confinement to ghettos, forced conversions, or expulsions. Periods of crisis in European history left their mark on the genetic admixtures of following generations.

A so-called "genetic bottleneck" with depleted maternal stock of "Ashkenazi" Jews around the time of the "Black Death" appears to have significantly exacerbated their degree of inbreeding caused by the religious intolerance that arose at the time of the first crusade.

Changing religious attitudes towards Jews were part of the socioeconomic conditions which influenced interaction with their environment, including their legal status, permitted areas of residence, access to universities and the learned professions, and occupations they were permitted or encouraged to follow.

In the past thousand years of European history certain events had the most far reaching direct and indirect effects on our migrations and

genetic admixture. In the period of the Crusades (from the end of the 11th century onwards), the Spanish and Portuguese inquisitions and their aftermath (mainly in the 16th century) the rise and decline of Ottoman power (15th -17th centuries), the Protestant Reformation (from the early 16th century), the Thirty Years War and the contemporaneous suffering of Polish Jewry (in the mid 17th century), the 18th century Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the period of Napoleon, and his legacy that saw widespread Jewish emancipation, the loosening hold of ages-old rabbinical orthodoxy, a reversal of many centuries of eastward migration, an increase in conversions and inter-marriage, the rise of nationalism, ethnic anti-semitism, and modern Zionism in the 19th century, followed in the 20th century by two world wars, the Holocaust and a substantial exodus of its survivors.

The rise and decline of European Jewish Communities

The size and importance of Jewish communities in Europe waxed and waned over time under these manifold religious and socio-political, and economic influences. There were numerous major expulsions that lasted for centuries, such as those from England in 1290, from France in 1306 and separately from Provence in 1394, from Spain and Portugal after 1492 and 1497, and Southern Italy in 1541. In some of these countries varying numbers of converts or a sprinkling of privileged foreign Jews remained. Individual towns, notably in Germany and in the lands of the Austrian Empire, imposed expulsions which were rescinded after a relatively short time but often repeated at later dates. Even the community of Prague, which enjoyed a golden age in the 16th century, suffered a series of short term expulsions. There was a general expulsion of Jews from Vienna in 1670 but numerous exemptions were soon introduced and within a generation or so the community recovered its importance and influence through prominent Court Jews such as Samuel Oppenheimer and Samson Wertheimer.

A thousand years ago there were Jewish settlements in Italy and Sicily, Iberia, south-western France, the Rhineland, and elsewhere. By the mid-12th century the communities described by Benjamin of Tudela on his pan-European journeys numbered a few hundred souls at most. There was widespread instability in the 14th century. and a continuation of a centuries long migration of western Jews to eastern Europe. The massive outflow of Iberian Jews was followed by the growth of communities in the Low Countries and some migration of "conversos" or "New Christians" to Britain and further afield. At the beginning of the 17th century the number of Jews in Frankfurt, Worms, Vienna, and Prague were in the mid to higher thousands. The later 17th and early 18th centuries saw a súbstantial population increase in parts of eastern Europe. That was a time of economic upswing and a relatively favourable political environment. In the mid 18th century the city of Brody in Galicia became an important entrepot for trade between the Austrian and Russian Empire. For a brief time Brody had the second largest Jewish population in Europe after Amsterdam. It was not until the later 19th century that industrialisation and emancipation led to the growth of Jewish communities, reaching hundreds of thousands before the Second World War, in the major metropolitan centers, such as Warsaw, Berlin, and Vienna.

Where some of my ancestors lived

My Gelles line was joined to Jaffe three hundred years ago. I had a grandmother and a great-grandmother from Weinstein and Horowitz rabbinic families on my father's side and from Wahl and Chayes families on my mother's side. A few of the towns where they and their forebears lived are given below. These comprise only a fraction of the place names in my published books. (Names of towns in the present essay are high-lighted in red when first mentioned).

My father David Itzig Gelles and mother Regina Griffel were born in Kudrynce and Nadworna in Galicia at a time when that province was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. My father studied at the Yeshiva of Munkacz in Hungary before seeking a secular education at the University of Czernowitz (in the Austrian province of Bukowina) He then moved to Vienna and obtained his doctorate in law from its University (1916). My mother came to Vienna with her parents at about the same time. My paternal grandfather Nahum Uri Gelles (1852-1934) was born in Narayow and died in Vienna. He was Chief Rabbi of Solotwina for fifty years ((succeeding his father-in-law Rabbi Zvi Arye Weinstein (d.1884). My maternal great-grandfather Eliezer Griffel (1850-1918) was head of the Jewish community in Nadworna. These small towns were not far from Lvov (Austrian Lemberg), the capital of eastern Galicia. My relatives were also found in other Galician towns including Cracow, Tarnobrzeg, Przemysl, Drohobycz, Boryslaw, Stanislau (Stanislavov now called Ivano-Frankivsk), Kolomea, Tykocin, Bolechow, Brody, Krystynopol and Belz. My Gelles line goes back to rabbis in Brody (north east of Lvov) at the beginning of the 18th century, after they had come down from the area of Grodno in Lithuania.

back to Prague in the 16th century

Going back to the 16th and 17th centuries, some Gelles rabbis were in Prague at the time of the most splendid period in that city's Jewish history when the community's Chief Rabbis Isaac Chayes, Judah Loew, and Mordecai Jaffe were among my ancestors and Chief Rabbi Isaiah Halevi Horowitz was a close cousin of my Horowitz ancestral line.

some of my paternal ancestors

I am a sixth generation descendant of Chief Rabbi Shmuel Helman (Hillman) of Kremsier, Mannheim and Metz (d. 1764). Shmuel Helman's eldest son was Rabbi Moshe of Glogau. The marriages of two of the latter's daughters linked Glogau in Silesia with Eisenstadt in the Austrian Burgenland and with Brody and other towns in Galicia. His daughter Chana married Yechiel Michal Segal, Chief Rabbi of Eisenstadt, who was a son of Asher Lemel (1705-1789), Chief Rabbi of Glogau and Eisenstadt. Another daughter of Rabbi Moshe of Glogau became the wife of my great-great-grandfather Rabbi Moses Gelles of Glina and Brody, who was the eponymous grandson of a noted scholar of the Brody *Klaus*.

I am a sixth generation descendant of the scholar, Rabbi Moses Menachem Mendel Levush (died ca. 1760). He was most probably a direct descendant of Mordecai Jaffe, the Chief Rabbi of Prague, Grodno, and Posen (1530-1612), who was called the *Levush* after the Hebrew title of his magnum opus. Moses Levush became known as Moses Gelles, on adopting the family name of his father-in-law, Rabbi Shmuel Gelles. The latter was most probably the Rabbi Gelles of Siematycze, a descendant of Uri Feivush ben David, the Chief Rabbi of Vilna, who went to the Holy Land in the 1650's to become *Nasi* (head) of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem.

I am also a seventh generation descendant of Isaac Horowitz, Chief Rabbi of Brody, Glogau, and Hamburg (1715-1767). This Horowitz line goes back to Pinchas Halevi Ish Horowitz of Prague and Cracow (1535-1618), and then further back to medieval Spain. Pinchas Horowitz marrried the sister of Chief Rabbi Moses Isserles of Cracow and became President of the Council of the Four Lands (the head of Polish Jewry).

my Italian background

My Italian background goes back to ancient times, to hellenised Jews and the Roman Empire. The Kalonymos of Lucca, spread to the province of Septimania in south-western France in Carolingian times and also flourished at Mainz in the Rhineland. In the later days of the Italian Renaissance the ancestors of Rabbi Mordecai Jaffe of Prague were in Bologna and Mantua, while my Katzenellenbogen from Hesse Nassau became Chief Rabbis of Padua and Venice.

Their scion Saul Wahl (1545-1617), who was the ancestor of my maternal grandmother Chawa Wahl, went to Brest (Litovsk) and became an important community leader in Poland-Lithuania. His extensive progeny spread across much of eastern and central Europe.

The family of my Chayes great-grandmother came from Portugal via Provence to Prague, where in the 16th century my ancestor Isaac ben Abraham Chayes (1538-1617) was Chief Rabbi. He was succeeded in that office by his brother-in-law, the great Rabbi Judah Loew (ca.1525-1609).

The Chayes produced a distinguished unbroken line of rabbis for a dozen generations in Lithuania and Poland, latterly based at Brody, and also had a branch in Livorno in the 18th/19th centuries, where Guido Chajes was ennobled by the King of Portugal for his services as Vice-Consul. Berenstein & Chajes were merchant bankers in nearby Florence. Our distant cousin Zvi Hirsch Perez Chajes (1876-1927) became Chief Rabbi of Trieste and subsequently of Vienna in the early 20th century.

the German background

More distant relations with an important family nexus from Germany are revealed by DNA matches of myself and some of my closest

cousins with present-day descendants of Oppenheim, Wertheimer, Loewenstein, Stern, Rothschild, Bluhm, Salomon, Rosenthal, and others.

Some, like Oppenheim, Wertheim, and Loewentein had topological names indicating their family place of origin. From the towns of Trier (Treves), Speyer, and Heilbronn the Treivish, medieval rabbis of Paris and Marseilles, the Shapiro, and the Halpern (Heilprin) took their names. Many other old German towns such as Worms, Frankfurt, Cologne, Hannover, and Hamburg played roles in the lives of these families.

The Minz rabbis from Mainz included the Chief Rabbi of Padua, Judah Minz (d.1508), whose granddaughter Hannah became the wife of the so-called "Maharam of Padua", Meir Katzenellenbogen, (1483-1565), the progenitor of the great Italian–Polish dynasty. His family came originally from Katzenellenbogen in Hesse-Nassau. His son, Rabbi Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen of Venice, married Abigail Jaffe. They were the parents of my ancestor Saul Wahl. The Wahl -Katzenellenbogen in Germany had connections with the towns of Fuerth, Bamberg, Anspach, and so on.

from Worms back to Troyes, Narbonne, and Catalonia

The oldest Jewish community in Germany is believed to be that of Worms. The historical association with neighbouring towns of Speyer and Mainz was recognised by the use of the Jewish acronym of "SHUM" for these three ancient towns.

. Some of my closest ancestral lines went back to the 16th century Rabbi Judah Loew of Prague, whose family came from Worms, and to the 11th century Rabbi Salomon ben Isaac of Troyes, known as *Rashi*. The latter was also associated with the city of Worms. Interestingly, Rabbi David Oppenheim of Prague (1664-1736) was

born in Worms and so was the related Court Jew of Vienna, Samson Wertheimer (1658-1724).

Rashi was descended from the Kalonymos, who were the leading family in Narbonne (in *Septimania*) from the 8th to the 14th centuries and had many connections in Provence and in Catalonia. Shem Tov Halevi and Benveniste in Gerona and Barcelona were among these families.

from Spain and Portugal to the Low Countries and beyond

The family of Joseph Nasi (Benveniste), who were *Marranos* in Portugal, left Lisbon for Antwerp, were later in Venice and Ferrara before ultimately coming to Constantinople where they enjoyed the patronage of Ottoman Sultans. Joseph Nasi (1520-1579) became Duke of Naxos and Prince of the Cyclades.

Other Portuguese "New Christians" from this period included the Belmonte who went to Amsterdam where some reverted to their original faith. Some migrated westwards to Britain and the New World while others went east to Hamburg and beyond, in the process rendering their topographical name as Schoenberg.

From the period preceding the inquisitions migration from Portugal and Spanish Galicia to Bayonne and Bordeaux (Gascony), continued with links to the Low Countries, and this was one of several significant routes in our millennial journey. Some "conversos" within my ancestral background may have come to England in this way in the late 14th century and settled in the west country and in the north west.

in Poland and Lithuania

Some ancestors came to these lands in the days of Casimir the Great in the 14th century. Later history included the union of Lublin in 1569 between Poland and Lithuania, the end of the Jagiellon dynasty

followed by the period of elective kingship, the rise and decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the depredations of the Cossack leader Bogdan Chmielnicky in the mid 17th century, and the three 18th century partitions between Prussia, Russia, and Austria.

My ancestral families of Gelles, Jaffe, Horowitz, Chayes, and Wahl-Katzenellenbogen, were found in many parts of these extensive lands, and were particularly associated with Galicia from the late 17th to the early 20th centuries.

The land of Galicia in south eastern Poland became an Austrian province from 1772 to 1918, returned to the resurrected Polish Republic after the first world war and was divided between Poland and the Ukraine after the second world war.

Mordecai Jaffe of Prague became one of the founders of the Council of the Four Lands, which remained the semi-autonomous governing body of Polish Jewry for several centuries. He held high posts in Lithuania, and then in Posen; families of his descendants were found in numerous towns in Lithuania, the province of Posen, and in Silesia. Grodno, Gorzd, Kretinga, Kaidani, Memel and then in the province of Posen, Graetz, Lissa, and Krotoschin come into our story, and further into Prussian Silesia the city of Glogau.

Saul Wahl became an entrepreneur and powerful Jewish community leader, a protege of the Radziwill princes of Lithuania, and influential in affairs of state - famously, in the days of the 1589 interregnum leading up to the election of the Swedish Prince Sigismund Vasa as King Zigmunt III of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. Saul Wahl's immediate descendants were allied by marriage with leading Jewish families such as Horowitz and Isserles.

Horowitz and Chayes rabbis held senior posts for many generations across these lands and were latterly in Brody and elsewhere in Galicia where my Gelles rabbinic line flourished.

Galician connections included our Taube cousins who were based in Krystynopol and Belz before many moved to Lvov. Feivel Taube was involved as community leader of Belz in the appointment of Shalom Rokeach (1779-1855) as the first Rabbi of a most important Chasidic dynasty. This Shalom Rokeach was a first cousin of another Moses Levush aka Gelles (d.1851) who was a great-grandson of Moses Gelles, the noted scholar of Brody.

Our related Shapiro had a long line of outstanding rabbis including Nathan Nata Shapiro of Grodno in the 16th century, his eponymous grandson, the Chief Rabbi Nathan Nata Shapiro of Cracow (1585-1633), who was the grandfather of Rabbi Shmuel Helman of Metz, and the Chasidic leader Rabbi Pinchas Shapiro of Koretz (1726-1791), whose only daughter married Rabbi Shmuel Gelles, a grandson of my ancestor Moses Gelles of Brody. The Shapiro line of descent continued to Rabbi Yehuda Meir Shapira (1887-1934), a member of the Polish Parliament, founder of the Lublin Sages Yeshiva, and teacher of my first cousin Josef Gelles. Yehuda Meir and my grandfather Nahum Uri Gelles were close followers of the Chasidic leader Rabbi Israel Friedman of Czortkow (v.i.).

We had distant connections with other rabbinic lines such as the Halevi Landau of Opatov (Apt), whose Ezekiel Landau became a distinguished Chief Rabbi of Prague in the 18th century. His son Shmuel Landau married Hinde, the daughter of Rabbi Uri Feivush, younger son of Rabbi Shmuel Helman of Metz. (Uri Feivush was Chief Rabbi of Hanau, Lissa, Bonn and Cologne and died on a visit to Metz in 1771).

Among Kohanic connections were the Hakohen Rapaport. Simcha Rapaport was Chief Rabbi of Grodno and Lublin (d. 1717) and his son Chaim was Chief Rabbi of Lvov (d.1770).

migration from Galicia in the 18th and 19th centuries

This turbulent period in eastern Europe saw major frontier changes in Poland and far reaching economic declines and upswings. My ancestors were also involved in the rise of the ultra-orthdox Chasidic movement from which many of my father's generation broke away in the late 19th century. These movements included migration from Galicia eastwards to the Ukraine and Azerbaijan, south to Hungary and west to Austria and the imperial capital of Vienna, while distant relatives in the province of Posen moved westward to Berlin. Brilliant marriages brought some of their progeny to Vienna thus coming nearer to kinsfolk than their forebears had been for a long time.

I have already mentioned that Moses Gelles of Brody, the progenitor of my immediate Gelles-Jaffe line was related to the Chasidic leader Rabbi Pinchas Shapiro of Koretz and Shepetivka. Rabbi Shmuel Gelles, a grandson of Moses Gelles of Brody and Sarah Rachel Scheindel Shapiro were the progenitors of a rabbinic line in the Ukraine that adopted the name of Polonsky after the town of Polonnoye. Their Ukrainian journey took them to Berdichev, Zvenigorodka, and Kolnibolet.

Other Galician relatives such as the Brodsky flourished in 19th century Odessa and Kiev.

My grandfather and his father were close to the Chasidic Friedman dynasty of Ruzhin, Sadagora, and Czortkow. Rabbi Israel Friedman of Czorkow (1854-1933) attracted a large devoted following. He lived in Vienna from the time of the first world war until his death. My grandfather was a close adherent and was buried next to Israel Friedman and his wife Bathsheva Ruchama, a daughter of the Friedman Rabbi of Sadagora. It was not until many decades later that I found the Czortkower's eponymous great-grandson who is Rabbi of a Chasidic community in Manchester. Comparison of our autosomal

DNA supported our family connections through Shapiro and Horowitz links.

The economic decline of Galicia and the rising oil wealth of Baku in Azerbaijan is the background to other migrations in this perod. Members of my Weinstein grandmother's rabbinic line were found in several towns on the route to the Caspian sea. The former world chess champion Gary Kasparov was born to a Weinstein family who had been in Baku for three generations. He adopted a Russian modification of his Armenian mother's name of Kasparian. It would be interesting to compare his DNA with that of my Weinstein family.

There was considerable movement from Galicia to Rumania and Hungary in this period. My ancestor, Yehuda Aaron Horowitz was a rabbi in Solotwina until about 1858 when he moved to Saniawitz in the neighbouring province of Bukowina. His half brother Efraim Fischel Horowitz was Rabbi of Bolechow, Mariampol, and Linsk and moved to Hungary in 1841, where he was Chief Rabbi of Munkacz until 1860. At the end of the 19th century my father was sent from Solotwina to study at Munkacz where an ultra orthodox branch of the Shapiro had established themselves. At that time Zvi Hirsch Spira (1845-1913) was Chief Rabbi. There were related Galician families in other Hungarian towns – a Moses Gelles, printer at Ungvar and his extended family perished in the Holocaust.

Going on to Austria, distant Gelles relatives were to be found in Eisenstadt and at Mattersdorf in the so-called "Seven Communities" as well as in Baden (bei Wien). Rabbi Ahron ber Gelles was head of the Eisenstadt community in the 19th century and links between Rabbi Shmuel Helman's descendants between Silesia, Posen and Eisenstadt have already been mentioned. Samson Wertheimer, the great Court Jew of Vienna, was Rabbi of Eisenstadt and had progeny there as well as in Vienna, Hungary, and Moravia

from the province of Posen to Berlin

In a recent essay posted on my web page "Connections between Brody in Galicia and towns in Lithuania, Silesia, and Posen" I wrote:

"To the south-west of the city of Posen lay the little town of Graetz (Grodzisk Wielkopolski) where a Jaffe family lived, who were believed to be descended from the Levush. Isaac ben Daniel Jaffe moved to Berlin. His son adopted Itzig as the family name. This Daniel Itzig (1723-1799) and his progeny became prominent Court Jews to the Prussian King and formed important connections with the Mendelssohn family and also with the Eskeles and Arnstein Court Jews of Vienna.

Further to the south -west of Posen was the town of Lissa (Leszno) and to the south -east lay Krotoschin (Krotoszyn).

David Tebele (d.1792) was Chief Rabbi of Lissa. His father was Nathan Nata ben Aryeh Leib (d. 1764), who came down from Grodno to Brody where he became its Chief Rabbi. David Tebele was a fourth generation descendant of Aryeh Leib Fischls, a notable Chief Rabbi of Cracow, and of Uri Feivush, Chief Rabbi of Vilna. He was thus meaningfully related to the Gelles line of Brody.

Rabbis who might be distantly related to my Brody line were Siegfried Gelles (1884-1947), and Benjamin Gelles (1916-2000). They were born respectively in Krotoszyn and Lissa. Siegfried's father Benjamin Gelles had come to Posen from Lithuania. Siegfried Gelles was Chief Rabbi of Lissa and later Rabbi of Moenchen-Gladbach, whence the family came to England in 1939. His son Benjamin was a rabbi in Manchester and later Rabbi of Finchley.

the Mendelssohns and other descendants of Saul Wahl

The progeny of Saul Wahl Katzenellenbogen spread widely beyond Poland and Lithuania over three or more centuries. Their marriages with Horowitz, Isserles, and Kohanic families have been mentioned above, while later descendants included Moses Mendelssohn, his grandson Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Karl Marx, Martin Buber, and many others.

Conclusion

This geographical sketch of my wider European ancestry in the past millennium is weighted towards my closest or most prominent family connections, including Weinstein, Horowitz, Shapiro, Jaffe, Wahl-Katzenellenbogen, Chayes, Hillman, Oppenheim, and Wertheimer. About a hundred towns are mentioned, including Gerona, Barcelona, Narbonne, Amsterdam, Worms, Speyer, Mainz, Frankfurt, Heilbronn, Hannover, Hamburg, Metz, Bologna, Padua, Venice, Vienna, Eisenstadt, Prague, Cracow, Lviv (Lwow, Lemberg), Brody, Grodno, Vilna, Glogau, Posen, and Berlin.

This appendix to my "Reflections on my ancestral background" goes beyond a list of place names in emphasising, for example, the importance of Worms in our odyssey, of Prague at the crossroads, or the different paths followed by Gelles, Itzig and others to the area of Grodno in Lithuania, and then westward, in the footsteps of Rabbi Mordecai Jaffe, to the province of Posen, and to Glogau in Prussian Silesia, whence different routes led westwards to Berlin or south to Galicia, Hungary, and Vienna.

For further details access "Edward Gelles" and click "Balliol Archives & Modern Manuscripts".