

The Zolkiew Memorial Book

ספר זכרון ז'ולקייב

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בית המדרש הגדול בז'ולקייב
נבנה בשנת ה'תרס"ב בידי רבי יצחק

Page 000: A Portrait of the Great Synagogue
in Zolkiew
(Drawn by an Unknown Artist)



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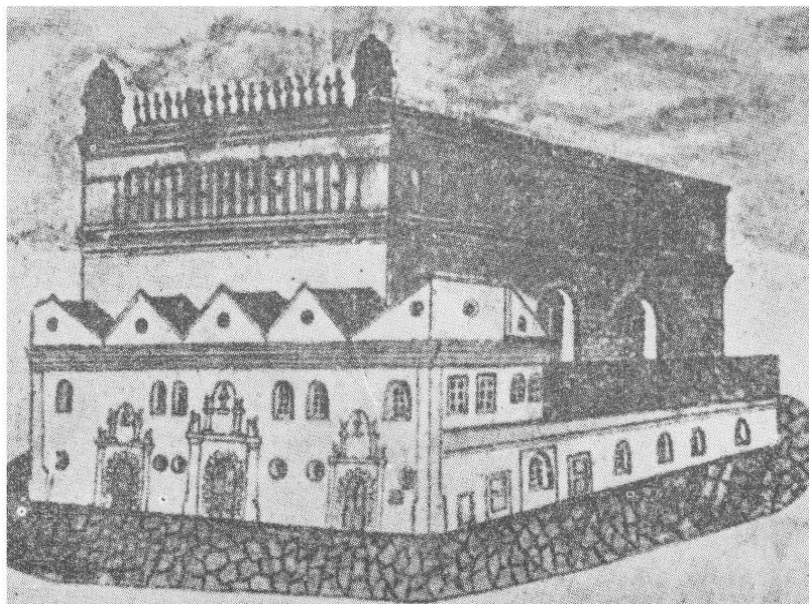
ספרי זכרון לקהילות הגולה

ספר ז'ולקיב (קריה־נשגבה)

ע"י: "ארגון יוצאי ז'ולקיב" בישראל ובתפוצות

בהשתתפות:

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בית הכנסת הגדול בז'ולקיב
(ציור עתיק מאת צייר בלתי נודע)



הוצאת חברת "אנציקלופדיה של גלויות", ירושלים

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Dedication

Foreword

'*Sefer Zolkiew*' has been written to satisfy two motives: The will to revive a rich period in Jewish life and from showing the way that was taken, in the chronology of the Jews in the European Diaspora, which the hand of time aims to make us forget, and the desire to erect a permanent monument to those of our brethren who were killed in the destruction of their community. It is possible that the deep imprint made by Zolkiew on the inner recesses of its scions, that have managed to reach this far, could be the driving force that has nourished us during all the episodes of writing this book, and gave us the possibility to overcome the difficulties imbedded in this endeavor.

'*Sefer Zolkiew*' is the realization of an idea that began about ten years ago. In its essence it documents the life of the Jewish community founded in the year 1610, and after 333 years was cruelly erased from the earth. It would be a distortion of true history to see in Zolkiew a typical Jewish town to be found in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. Both the scions of the resident community and those from the surrounding areas sensed its uniqueness, that found expression in the spiritual people that it produced for the world, and also that it created most of the splendor that struck all who saw it. Her *Houses of Study* were rich with Torah Sages in large numbers, and all of it was saturated with an international Jewish atmosphere, defying the darkness that fell on some of its people that did not identify wholeheartedly with the Zionist concept, but each and every one faithfully supported this international concept and breathed life into it.

Of that worth preserving, the source of the town's pride is the *Great Synagogue*, and the spiritual strength of the many passing through their respective generations, and that stood on its hill for about 250 years. It is because of this institution that the town acquired its reputation, and it was a symbol of the town itself. Also, that which was destroyed was not forgotten, not in its character or its appearance, and was initiated with this book, as if it were itself a 'synagogue' in the city of Beersheba.

We are far from thinking that the totality of our writing in this book covers everything about our town , but in a large part, it served as a focal point for the survivors of the town to shed the heavy emotional burden that they carried with themselves, and also to engage the interest of others in the emotions and experiences that were part of them.

There are five principal chapters in '*Sefer Zolkiew*:'

- A. The Chronology of the Jews of Zolkiew
- B. Chapters of Memories
- C. Movements and Institutions
- D. Personalities
- E. The Holocaust and Destruction

In the first chapter, we summarized an historical view developed by the historian of note, Dr. G. M. Gelbar ז"ר¹, who describes the evolution of Zolkiew and its Jews. In the second chapter a free hand is given to the scions of Zolkiew who brought their ideas for the book from their memories of everything that impinges on the atmosphere of the town.

The third chapter relates tales of the *Halutzim*², the stories of the pioneering initiatives of the young, that found fertile soil in which to nurture their dreams, and those that aroused an international spark in the hearts of its people that had remained dormant for so many years. Much of the color of the spiritual life in the city is expressed in its personalities, who are the focus of the fourth chapter. There is little room to recall all of its great people, and we contented ourselves with memorializing a part of them, among them people of faith and belief, people of ideas, scholars and Enlightened people also. In the fifth part, that is dominated by the destruction of the town, emphasis is placed on descriptions and details that were communicated in words that seemed to come from the diaries of people that came out of their hiding places in the depths of the earth, and from that vantage point saw and witnessed the destruction of their town. Here we include writings, reports and letters that were written literally in the shadow of Death itself, in the concentration camps.

To our disappointment, our work was not made any easier by the indifference of part of our scions in *The Land* and external to it, that were not responsive to our requests to try and produce material for this book. Because of the limited number of those willing and able to participate in this way, we were compelled to dedicate a great deal of time to do research for material in archives and libraries both in *The Land* and the Diaspora. After assembling this material, we tried, by whatever means possible, to be faithful to the chronological order of the events and to provide a full description of the link between the written material and pictures, and to those places that were fundamental to the tribulations they had to endure.

In order to express the respect and value we feel for all scions of our town, those who were not privileged to be saved, and those that are found with us, we declined to publish family pictures in the book, as well as 'Yizkor' sentiments normally accepted by other books of this kind, despite the fact that publishing this material was tailor-made to lighten the financial burdens that had to be assumed to produce this book.

After a lengthy judgement process we agreed to publish the book in the Hebrew language only, because most of the material that was provided to us was written using this language as the core, and also the extensive surrounding text prevented us from the possibility to

¹ You will see many instances of this Hebrew acronym for: 'Of Blessed Memory.'

² The singular of this word is *Halutz*, and is used to describe a (Jewish) individual who makes *aliyah* to the Land of Israel.

include in one book material in another language. It is clear that the publication of the text in another language in one book was prevented as a result of technical reasons only.

Our thanks go out to everyone who tried to support our endeavor, whether with the finances for our expenses and/or the content along with advice, and especially with the publication of "*The Encyclopedia of the Diaspora*" who partnered with us in the publication of this book.

"The Organized Committee of Émigrés from Zolkiew" in Israel

Translator's Foreword

The translation of *The Zolkiew Memorial Book* into English is my latest endeavor. The work had the unfortunate experience of colliding with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. While this may have slowed down my progress, I never gave up. This product is the result of that determination. It is being released in tandem with my translation of *The Sokal Memorial Book* and should be available in time.

Like many of my prior eighteen translations, it does not tell us anything “new,” but it has many unique attributes. The center of the book is dominated by a daily diary kept by Klara Kramer that brings to life the terribly oppressing attempts to stay alive hidden by truly Righteous Gentiles, who risked their own lives and that of their families to allow Jewish people to survive the relentless effort exhibited by Nazi Germans to root them out and murder them. Reading this diary will take you into the darkest corner of the dangers Jews faced when confronted by a pitiless host of Nazi German murdering conquerors.

It is noteworthy that the Righteous among the Gentiles were *Volksdeutsche*. These were originally German born people who left for the Ukraine and their progeny to seek a better life. Little did they know what they would confront in the terrifying future that lay ahead of them.

It is anxiety-provoking slow progress of the Russian Army, in driving out the Nazi Germans that pervades Klara's entire diary. It underscores the fragility of life faced by the victims, Jewish in particular, but not exclusively so. It is a stark portrait of man's inhumanity to man at its worst. The diary forms a major section of this book, and I recommend that you – at least – skim it to get the ‘flavor of the times.’ The first chapter of the book will help to give you the socio-political context for the creation of Zolkiew and the various tribulations it underwent in the early Middle Ages. I would draw your attention to the defeat of the Ottomans at the gates of Vienna by the Polish King Jan Sobieski. It is significant for you to know about this, because this was the high-water mark of the attempt of the Ottoman Empire to overrun and conquer Christian Europe. It is impossible to prognosticate the future of Western Europe – and the New World – had Sobieski not succeeded.

Try to read the history of Zolkiew as written by N. Gelbar starting from page 153-185. You will be gratified by what you will learn about Jewish life in Eastern Europe, especially what was at that time Galicia. You will get a better insight to the tribulations that Jews had to endure in an environment that looked askance at them, if not hate them outright.

As is common in these Memorial Books, a great deal of time is devoted to the learned scholars (mostly clergy) who often doubled as leaders of their Jewish community. And so we toiled away, as the world around us stood still combating its microscopic enemy.

But we finally got it done! Smaller satellite communities are mentioned in passing. In this case they were not of a size to have a separate book done. The story of their fate is familiar to all of you who have become acquainted with the fate of Eastern European Jewry.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the support of my editor, Karen Rosenfeld Roekard of Berkeley, CA who continues to give of her time and energy notwithstanding setbacks in health. The Staff of the Yizkor Book section of JewishGen deserves an equal recognition, especially Lance Ackerfeld, for their tireless encouragement to the toiling we undertake behind the scenes

Jack Solomon Berger

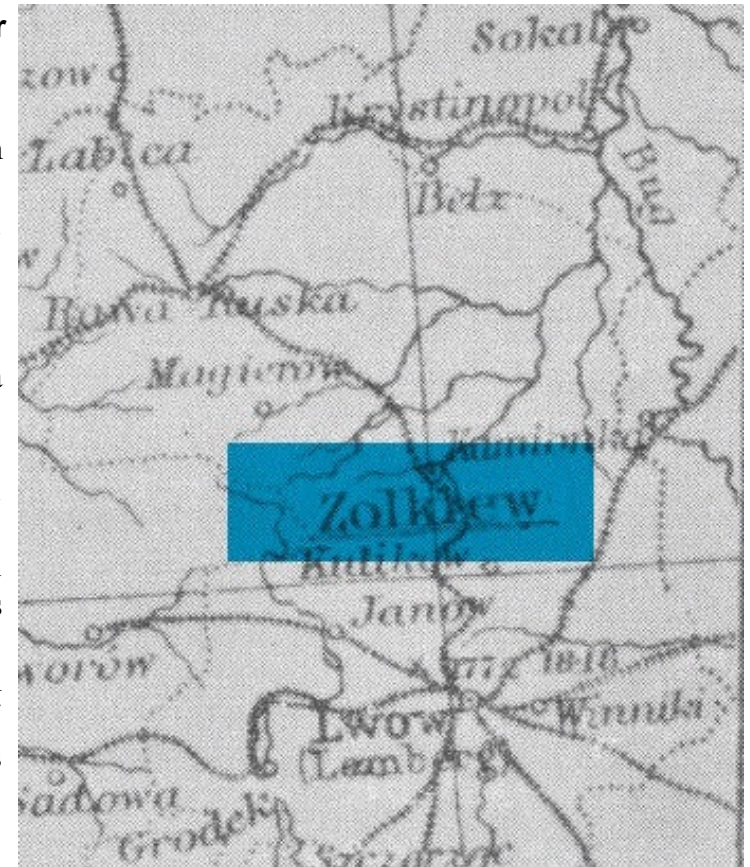
Winter, 2023

The Chronology of the Jews in Zolkiew

By N. M. Gelbar

1. The City and Its Chronology

The city of Zolkiew was built up on the land of the nearby village of Vynnyky, that had been in existence since the year 1398 and paid a tith (zhieszenica) to the Archbishop of Halicz, Jakob Strafa. During the 14th and 15th centuries Tatars invaded the territory, and they wrecked most of the dwellings. The village of Vynnyky did not suffer any less. In the year 1514 the entire town was practically burned down, however, its leader Andrzej Wisucki undertook to rebuild it from new. In his old age, in the year 1560, he left all of his possessions – Vynnyky, Soposzyn, Maczaszun, Glinski, Wala, Miszianica – to his comrade Stanislaw Zolkiewski, a member of a family of the nobility that was located a near distance to the village of Zolkiew, in the district of Krasnostov with a connection to Chelm. Zolkiewski took an active part of his life in city matters, and was also a representative to the *Sejm*³, and in the year 1569, he signed the document that served as and unification of Lithuania and Poland. For these services, he received as a privilege, ownership of the *voiedestvo*⁴ of Belz. After his death (1596), his second son Stanislaw II (1550–1620) inherited Vynnyky, such that when he completed his studies outside of the country, he enlisted in the military, took part in the war against Czar Ivan the Terrible. He excelled in drawing near to Pskov (1582) and in the war against the Austrian Nobleman Maximilian, an enemy of the Polish king Zygmunt III and was appointed *Hetman*⁵ and received from the king the *Starostvo*⁶ of Hrubieszow. He devoted a great deal of his attention to the village of Vynnyky, where he resided.



Page 002: A Map of Zolkiew and its Environs on a Map of Poland Before The Second World War

³ The Polish Parliament

⁴ A designation of a provincial area.

⁵ One of the many titles accorded to senior Polish rulers.

⁶ The Polish name for an ‘Elder’ leader of a community

When the Tatars again attacked Reisen⁷ in 1594, he gave an order to fortify the village with stout walls and, after his death in the letter of his wife Regina of the house of Herbert Mapelstein, requested permission to call the newly-erected fortress Zolkiew. It was in this fashion, that the village of Vynnyky became a ‘city,’ and in 1598 the “Acts of the City” for the leadership committee and on January 1, Zolkiewski created an order to have the poor of the city dressed in accordance with the Catholic faith.

On February 22, 1603, king Zygmunt III changed the name of Zolkiew to the name Zolkiewski, in recognition of his victory beside Rawa, and with an official document (*Piwszwili Lokatzini*), on the basis of the Magdeburg Laws⁸, and by his command, he granted free voting privileges for the office of Mayor, the right to carry a sword (*Prawda miecka*) and excused the city dwellers from the taxes of Poland and Lithuania, instituted four fair days a year, and two such fairs bi-weekly.

The center of the city was surrounded by an area of fortified walls, surrounded by two suburbs—the Lvov suburb and the Cracow suburb that was also called the Glinski suburb. The Poles lived in the cit and villages, along with Ruthenians, Armenians, Tatars, and Jews who populated the norther part of the city. In accordance with the ordinance of February 22, 1803, the ranks of the itemized voters in the city were completed. At the head of the city stood the *Mukhtar*⁹ (Consulas) and on its right was a small hamlet (a magistrate’s quarters comprised of 4 Consuls) 7 Judges, 12 Members, 1 Record Keeper (*Notras Intus Zuwitats*) that were elected annually, apart from the terms of the elected, the citizens of the city were given the right, on the basis of the Magdeburg Laws, to erect a municipal building, stores, baths and butcher shops, in accordance with the example of the other towns. It was for this reason that the city was first to run market fairs and days, bi-weekly, and twice annually to hold a full market fair. There were to be 4 fairs in the month of March, May, July and Nov, and market days bi-weekly on Thursdays and Saturdays. Separate detailed rules were documented separately, and the first *Mukhtar* elected was Paul Szczeneszliwi.

Despite the fact that the city suffered a variety of invasions in its first years, it did get erected and developed. The number of working people grew, and their unions followed them extracting additional special privileges. The area of the city broadened, roads were paved in the Lvov suburb and the Glinski [suburb] and were built with lights. Thanks to his military effort in the war against the Russians, and the deposition of the Czar Szuisky¹⁰, it became

⁷ An alternative local name for Ruthenia. You may see them used interchangeably.

⁸ Magdeburg law was adopted in large parts of Central and especially Eastern Europe. This network of cities steadily expanded as numerous rights were granted throughout the entire Middle Ages and the early modern era. It primarily spread in the territory of the present-day countries of Poland, the Czech Republic and what is more, Magdeburg law and the *Sachsenspiegel* were also adopted and incorporated in municipal and comprehensive legal systems. Magdeburg law began spreading beyond the “mother city” in the mid-12th century. Stendal, Leipzig und Jüterbog are the first cities known to have adopted Magdeburg law. The final city assumed to have been endowed with Magdeburg law was the then-Russian city of Poltava now in present-day Ukraine in 1752

⁹ Taken from the Hebrew/Arabic, and is the Semitic equivalent of a ‘crowned’ individual of authority.

¹⁰ Appears to be Vasili IV Ivanovich Shuisky (1552 - September 12, 1612). His rule coincided with the *Time of Troubles*. He was the only member of House of Shuisky to become Tsar and the last member of the Rurikid dynasty to rule as tsar.

Zolkiew, in which Zolkiewski lived with his central administration, and nobility were invited to Zolkiewski's house, [military] officers, and country senior officials from all the ends of Poland, and it was in Zolkiew that he wrote his memoirs about the war in Russia.

He concerned himself with all segments of the city's population, granted them privileges and did all that was possible to provide for their religious and educational needs. Apart from Roman Catholic churches, he gave permission to do so to Ruthenian people in a written order of June 21, 1612, permitting them to erect their own church, and granted them privileges equivalent to the remaining citizenry. However, for political reasons, when the *Starosta*¹¹ Sigmund Grabowski forbade Ruthenians to stand for election as official of the city, against the argument that this stood against the laws of the Church, the Ruthenian leadership presented themselves before Zolkiewski, and relied on the charter that gave them permission to erect their own church in which they were promised the right to vote both passively and active municipal elections – and he ordered that this privilege be properly implemented.

In the years 1618-1620 it was not possible for Zolkiewski to think about development of the city, because he was occupied with leading armies into war that broke out in those years.

On October 7, 1620, he was killed beside Cecora. The demand was to get his body back for which they were asked for 3 million gulden, and after the agreement was finally reached, he was buried in Zolkiew, his daughter Sophia's husband, Jan Danielewicz, the inheritor of the city of Zolkiew and its possessions.

In the year 1620, the Tatars again invaded Reisen and also besieged Zolkiew, but thanks to the effort of the leader of the palace, Stupnitski, who threw down many barrels of angered bees? onto the camp of the invaders. The Tatars fled past the gates of the city. For this act, he received a part of the town Mokrotyn from Danielewicz, as a gift. In the years 1625-1627 the city was widened especially the streets near its roads, and many houses were built, among them a hospital in the direction of Lvov, using monies that were set apart by Sophia, who had come to live there after she married in 1605 Sophia¹², who was the second wife (husband died in 1527), devoted her assets and possessions to caring for the needy.

During this period, the economic circumstances of the city improved, and it became a center of economic activity. The senior among the gentile wholesalers was Almaz Jurkewic, who would bring his merchandise from Poznan, and on one of his trips (1630) on his way there he died in transit. There were any number of people who engaged in beer brewing, which was known for its excellent taste. Sophia Danielewicz, known as a very religious Catholic, first of all looked after the churches, donated large sums of money to monasteries, and set up institutions to collect funds for the churches. During her lifetime, set up funds for support of the churches. Also, the work on fortifying the city was finished and streets were paved. In the year 1632 she turned over the management of these municipal matters to her son-in-law Jakob Sobieski, who supported the workers, and left behind a written privilege (on 3/8/1632) to the various unions of lumbermen, carpenters, hat makers, glaziers, and wagon-drivers (who were able to create wheels out of wood) Along with this, Sophia continued her management of municipal affairs, involving herself in every issue that interested her, she offered her views and made sure that the municipal leadership carried them out, and especially that the city and her friends would deal honestly with the residents of the city.

¹¹ The Slavic term for the city 'Elder' who was the official in charge of management.

¹² Also rendered as Zofia.

Sophia died in August 1634, and the city lost that which was inherited by her son Stanislaw Danielewicz, which he controlled for only three years since he died in 1637 as a captive of the Tatars, and at that time, the city [assets] went over to his brother-in-law Jakob Sobieski, who also inherited from his father a market and the city of Zolocow and its possessions. Sobieski worked to preserve the assets of two cities. Among his assets, he built pools, and was able to conduct a good fish business. In his concern for security, he saw to the improvement of the fortifications, and involved the townsfolk in the work on these fortifications and roads. And it was not only the wars that befell Poland in these years, but also the Cossack rebellions in the Ukraine, that are bound up with the events of (1648-649). Jakob Sobieski, who was known, it happens, as a fiery speaker, stood guard over the privileges that had been granted to the city and its residents, and saw to the preservation of municipal elections, and selection of commissioners when necessary. In 1639, the Tatars, once again, fell upon the city environs of Zolkiew, they plundered it for sheep, and took a number of farmers into captivity, but the city itself did not suffer.

In addition to commerce, there was a development of work in the time of the reign of Sobieski in Zolkiew. In 1642, in addition to the existing unions, the following groups were organized in 1632: saddle makers blacksmiths, weapons & arms, coal products, side products from the saddle work, locksmiths and jewelry, providing proof to the extent of economic development, and in this way, it also has a pharmacy. Workers were obligated to pay a fee to the masters of the city, in accordance with their earnings, especially butchers, who increased their income from the sale of cow's milk. Jakob Sobieski died in 1646 (1316), and his wife Theophila received control of the city into her hands.

And here, touching on everything, came the Chmielnicki storm, and in 1648, laid siege to the city.¹³ The heads of the city offered 'redemption money' of 22,000 Gulden to Chmielnicki, and he leaves Zolkiew and goes to Zamość. In 1649 the matriarch of the city invited the founder of the Dominicans to settle in the city, and allocated land to them to raise a church and a monastery, and donated a significant amount of money for this purpose (50,000 gulden), and in this way wanted to memorialize the memory of her son Mark, who fell in battle against Bogdan Chmielnicki beside Batow, on June 2, 1652 when he was 24 years old.

On September 26, 1655, the Cossacks invaded Zolkiew, and the citizenry of the city showed them the stores and warehouses. The Cossacks, and a citizen of the city, Soamnon, showed them the stores and warehouses. The Cossacks plundered the facilities to distill beer and mead. The invasive battles that struck the city served as an influence for great impact on the life of the city and its economy.

Theophila Sobieska died in the year 1661 and the city then passed as an inheritance to her son, Jan Sobieski. Who had been selected in the year 1674 to be king of Poland. During his reign, the city, in which he resided, prospered due to his devoted affection, and he concerned himself with its development and expansion. And it was indeed, because of his efforts, the city developed economically. And as a result, in the year 1665, it was attacked by the

¹³ This is the historic rebellion of the Cossack leader Bogdan Chmelnitski against Polish sovereignty over Ukrainian territory. The Chmelnitski rebellion also viciously assaulter Jewish communities of the area.

*Hetman*¹⁴ Juzhi Lobomirski, wh, following the order of the king, was pursued, Sobieski, plundering his castle and assets. As an embellishment to this act of plunder, Sobieski was appointed as a *Hetman* in the year 1666. The city also suffered in the times of the wars against Turkey.

Ulrich of Vradom, who visited Poland in the years between 1670-1672, wrote as follows in his book of adventures about Zolkiew:

‘We reached Zolkova by way of the swamps, and on December 5, 1670, during the late hours. This is a city whose buildings included a palace surrounded by thick walls of indescribable height. In its outer midst were wooden houses. The great Hetman Sobieski received this settlement as an inheritances from his mother of the Zholkiawski¹⁵ family. She erected a Dominican monastery here, and a beautiful church. Within the walls of the palace, there is a Catholic Church built from magnificent stone. Apart from this, there were 3 other non-Uniate churches, and the synagogue of the Jews, who were to be found in significant number. The deputy *Starosta*¹⁶ Kaminski received us in a gracious manner.

In 1675, the Turks invaded the city, but they retreated after the Polish victory beside Socawa.

In May 20,1680, an officer was placed in charge of real estate in the city, and by his order 271 houses were built, of which 183 were in the hands of Christians, and 88 – to the Jews. After the war with the Turks, Sobieski allowed the monks of the Dominican monastery, whose residence was in Kamienec-Podolski and after the capture of that city by the Turks, he left it to settle in Zolkiew. At the same time, the monastery of the Ruthenian Basilisks¹⁷ moved here, and the city became a substantial center for the Christian faith.

After the great victory of Sobieski over the Turks at the gates of Vienna (1683), in which he saved Europe from capture by the Turks, he made a lot of time to be in Zolkiew, and worked out its issues and order, among the others the matter of the privileges of the unions of shoe makers and lumber men. In 1687, a new municipal building was erected in which members of the city occupied space until 1832. Because of the difficult economic circumstances of the city because of the wars, and the Great Fire of 1691 that destroyed its suburbs, Sobieski had to bear the burden for eight years to pay the taxes on drink (*Czafawa*) and window taxes (*Fadimneh*) under the writings of survival of those parts of the city that were burned, and on March 11,1693, Sobieski issued a new set of orders, in which he allocated all of the privileges that the city had enjoyed up to this point.

¹⁴ A hetman was the highest military officer in the hetmanates area of Ukraine, the Zaporizhian Host (1649–1764), and the Ukrainian State (1918). The title was used by Ukrainian Cossacks from the 16th century.

¹⁵ Possibly Zolkiewski?

¹⁶ A city ‘Elder’ charged with the oversight and management of a city.

¹⁷ In the early 14th century the Ruthenians, or Rusyns, an Eastern Slavic people, settled on the southern side of the Carpathian Mountains in territory that extended from present-day Ukraine to present-day Slovakia. Although they belonged to Eastern Orthodox churches, most of them were under Catholic-Hungarian rule.

In this ordinance it was set that out of the 4 heads of the city (*Burmistrz*¹⁸) there will be 3 Catholics and one Greek Orthodox member, and of the six judges (*Lawnici*) – 5 Catholics and one Greek Orthodox. He permitted the Jews to pick their leadership for themselves

In the processes that were set up to collect taxes from the houses, it was settled that houses close to the palace were levied with a tax of 1 gulden and 5 groschen, and for the rest of the houses, and the houses on the Jewish street: 18 groschen. Houses in the center was 1 gulden and 5 groschen, and in the outskirts – 18 groschen. As to the outskirts of Lvov and Cracow, 18 groschen for houses in the center, and 13 groschen for houses to the rear. The collection of royal and municipal taxes was allocated to a special committee, made up of 12 members of the city in authority – 2 men with authority from each labor union, and also 2 representatives of the Jewish community.

After the death of King Sobieski (June 17, 1696) the city was transferred under the rule of his young son, Constantine.

At the beginning of the 18th century, Zolkiew was subjected to the full assault of the plundering Swedes, the Cossacks, and the Russians. In the year 1701, the Russian Czar Pyotr Alexeyevich reached Zolkiew, and made praise for Poland widely known, in order to compel the union of Poland and Russia, and to persuade the Swedish king Charles XII to sue for peace. It is to be understood that foreign armies levied taxes, confiscated foodstuffs and merchandise, but thanks to the efforts of Constantine, life in the city returned to its normal state. His wife erected a hospital after his death (in April 4, 1726), lowered the level of taxation and turned her attention to the care of the religious institutions.

In the year 1728, Zolkiew went over into the hands of Constantine's eldest brother, Jakob Sobieski. Even during his reign, the city suffered from the passing through of foreign armies, especially that of Russia, incidents that cost the city dearly in precious blood. Jakob Sobieski was not an administrator, and did not concern himself with [the city's] development, and he gave over the management of the affairs of the city to his appointed officials. After his death (12/19/1737) the city went over into the hands of his daughter Maria Karolina de Boullion who sold off all of her possessions after 3 years, in March 11, 1740. Zolkiew and 10 towns (Kulikovo, Varitzow, Zarudziza¹⁹, Zaborow, Czostków, Zloczów, Sasow, Marcopola, and Ziarna Pomorzany²⁰) and 140 villages to the Duke Mikhail Kazimierz Radziwill, who was called '*Pani Ribenky*.'

[In turn] Radziwill turned over the management of the affairs in Zolkiew to a *Starosta* of his, Mayor Czyczynski. Because of the debts that fell to him from Jakob Sobieski, the *Voievode*²¹ of Sandomierz Jan Tarlow, seized Zolkiew as well, that was returned to the Radziwill family only after trials, and the ruling of the tribunal court. But the city remained in her hands only up to the year 1787, when Karol Radziwill died, and all of his possessions were sold off.

¹⁸ Leading official in charge of a city, area, etc. Similar to a burgomaster.

¹⁹ Shown as Zaruddya on modern maps.

²⁰ There is a Piekarnia Ziarno in Poland, not far from Zolkiew

²¹ The ruler of a *Voievodstvo*.

During this period, a visible development took place in the economic life of Zolkiew, especially in the creation of linens and leather, whose quality became noteworthy in all parts of Poland. During the sixties of the 18th century, a Russian army took up residence in the city, but they departed in 1767.

A plague, that broke out during the summer of 1770, from July 4 to August 10, claimed the lives of 57 Christians, and 98 Jews. Dr. De Lakazow with a number of medics were specially dispatched from Warsaw. The majority of the residents of the city fled to the fields and forests. Their condition in the forests was severe, for lack of food. On the roads, there were the bodies of the dead, because there were no grave diggers, and added to this was the fact that the summer stretched into the month of November, being very hot, and the number of citizens who died rose to the hundreds. It was only in the winter, that people began to return to the city. A severe plague broke out in Zolkiew during 1770 as well, that caused chaos in the city.

In the meantime, compelling political changes took place in Poland. The First Partition²² took place in 1772, and Reisen and Little Poland fell to the partition of Austria. An Austrian army entered Zolkiew in October of the same year, and the Laws of Magdeburg were annulled, and the city was pronounced to be a city of the district. Franz Gering was appointed the Senior Officer (*Becirks-Hetman*) of the district by the Austrian rulers. According to the direction of the *gubernium*²³ (the country's rulers) given in Lvov on November 18, 1773, the citizenry was ordered to arrange for a ceremony of the swearing in of loyalty to the King, in accordance with the ranks of: clergy, nobility, etc. and the same for the inhabitants of – cities, towns and villages, and the Jewish communities.

This ceremony took place in Zolkiew on December 29, 1773, and they swore allegiance to the king. The appointed officers, and especially the District Officer, were not well-received – there was a skeptical and humorous reaction by the people. And this was no surprise, because the original foundation of the new people was both low and tainted, corrupted by bribery, perfidy, and thievery. Most of them had come to Galicia in the hopes of finding an ‘El Dorado’ to get rich and enjoy life, but to the knowledge of the Poles they were worse than the Tatars. This is according to documentation prepared by the Polish poet Franciszek Karpiński.

The authorities took away the pharmacy from the Dominicans, that had been in existence from the 17th century, and turned it over to a secular pharmacist on March 23, 1798.

In the year 1785, the first of the basic schools were established in Zolkiew. In 1787, the town of Zolkiew was awarded the role of judging and ruling on criminal cases. In that same year, the monasteries were closed. A military hospital was set up in the Dominican monastery, the castle was sold to the Radziwiłł family, to Adam Juzpalewicz. They build three wings to a high standard, and rented the property out for offices and dwellings. He himself [i.e. Juzpalewicz] settled down in part of the castle, which contained the rooms of the king Sobieski.

²² The first of a number of land seizures by Russia, Prussia and Austro-Hungary that resulted in the dismemberment of a weakened and vulnerable Poland.

²³ Derived from the Russian, *guberniya*, meaning a ‘province.’ This designates a governing body in the province.

To the Austrian rulers, Zolkiew did not arouse the sense of being a city, the only places that were considered worthy of such a designation were to their knowledge, the cities of Lvov, Jarostaw, Przemysl, Sambor, Drohowitz, Brody, Tarnopol, Zamość, Zaborow, Buczacz, Tarnow, Biala, Podgórze.

Because of wars and invasions and assaults that took place in the first half of the 18th century Zolkiew was very run down. Baltazar Hecht, a professor at the university of Lvov, who toured all the parts of Galicia at the beginning of the Austrian capture wrote: ‘Zolkiew, the place where there is a seat of the kingdom in the past, still exists, but the deteriorated state is great, and the palace was close to crumbling. In comparison to the villages of the mid-size cities like Biala, Krasnow, Podgórze, Sambor, Drohowitz, and Stary, whose leadership was knowledgeable and in good order, in the running of Zolkiew did not enter their minds, because the head of the city and members of the municipal council were not equipped to manage the issues of the city, and there were amongst them those who did not know how to read and write.

Like the rest of the Galician villages, Zolkiew was burdened with heavy difficulties during the first years of the Austrian administration, this was up to the time that the size of the Galician taxes, especially for fields, were owed to the Austrian treasury. So, for example, 8 types of taxes were set for houses – 4 Kreuzer to 5 Gulden. And there were ruined houses in the city whose worth was less than the taxes they owed.

At the beginning of the 19th century, there was improvement in the economic condition of the city and the increase in the number of workers, such as a factory of home modeling, whose requirements rose from year-to-year, reaching 250 packs of woven goods, and 50 packs of mesh. In Hocyskan in the district of Zolkiew there was also a paper factory. Here, work on leather goods opened up in a recognizable level, and in the center of the city Glinski, there was a factory for the creation of clay that produced vessels that were very beautiful and expensive. The owner of this operation, Nikrowic employed more than 300 workers and the returns on the output rose to 30,000 Gulden.

In 1785, in Mokrotyn beside Zolkiew, a plantation farm of ‘Rhimbarbarum²⁴’ was erected through the efforts of the residents. By 1792 they had grown to 36,000 plants, whose roots were sent to Vienna to examine their effectiveness for medical purposes.

In the year 1808 there were 2,166 residents in Zolkiew.

In 1809 the Polish army entered Zolkiew headed by the nobleman Jozef Poniatowski. A government was set up under the aegis of Wincenty Rolokowski. A Polish battalion took up residence in the town. On August 18 Zolkiew celebrated the birthday of Napoleon. The streets were decorated for this event, and many Poles from the surrounding area came to the city. In the evening, a celebration was held with the participation of invited guests, and the streets were filled with parties of the common people.

*

In the first half of the 19th century there were not any special changes in the life of the city. In 1838, a fire broke out that burned down many houses, the synagogue, other houses of worship, and churches, were completely consumed. The Basilian Dominican monastery were consumed along with their large libraries. Money was collected all across Galicia to help those who suffered damage.

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Possibly a form of rhubarb

In 1848, the citizenry was aroused to active community service, to the Viennese Parliament, that was elected that year. From Zolkiew the Ruthenian farmer Kozar Pankov was elected. In August 1848 there were assaults at the members of the *Starostvo*, but nobody was hurt.

During the forties, Baron Krieg served as the District Officer, and he did much to develop the city and erected a general hospital (1844).

During the maintenance for the Church in 1861, two copper coffins were discovered. It was found out later that these were the coffins of the Sobieski sons, Jakob and Constantine. On June 16, a funeral was conducted, and the Polish nationalists in the city that caused this were crucified for the demonstration. From Lvov and its environs hundreds of Poles came to participate in the funeral.

During this period, the district office (*Becirks-Hauptmanschaft*) was located here, the Office of Taxation, the Post Office, and the Educational Advisory Committee were here, all of this under the supervision of the Head of the City. Deputies, and the Municipal Committee which, according to law from the year 1874, consisted of 30 members, of which 12 Poles, 3 Spiritual people, 12 Jews. The District Education Committee (*Powiatowa Rada Szkolna*) was led by the chairman and his deputy, overseeing the schools and [had] 6 members. Apart from this, there was also a District Advisory Committee (*Rada Powiatowa*) consisting of 26 members who were: 10 property owners, 4 from cities of the district, and 12 from the villages. The Advisory Committee was led by a Chairman, his deputy, and six members.

In the city there were a school for boys and a school for girls. Here they had different curricula and activities. In 1876, the following were elected: 13 Smiths, 3 Locksmiths, 1 plumber, 2 watchmakers, 3 Upholsterers, 5 Carpenters, 1 Pipefitter, 5 Carvers, 58 Shoemakers, 29 Tailors, 5 Bookbinders, 3 Wagon Drivers, 11 Fence Makers, 2 Weavers, 4 Arch Makers, 21 Bakers, 1 Dyer, 2 Woodcutters, 1 Hatmaker, 2 Hairdressers, 2 Soap Makers, 3 Tanners, 2 Builders, 2 Window Washers.

In 1850 there were 570 houses and the number of residents was 5,500 of which 2,000 were Jewish.

In the election of 1880; 6,794 residents were counted in Zolkiew of which 1,866 (24.5%) were Polish, 1,145 (16.9%) were Ruthenians, 3,757 Jews (55.3%) 26 Other (0.3%)

In 1890: 7,143 residents, of which 1,430 (20%) were Polish, 1,919 (26.9%) Ruthenians, 3,873 (53%) Jews, 49 Other (0.4%)

In the year 1900: 8,966 – of which 2,212 (24.7%) Polish 2,697 (30.1%) Ruthenian, 4,008 (44.7%) Jews, 49 (0.4%) Other

In 1910: 9,463 of which 2570 (27.2%) Were Polish, 3,013 (31.8%) Ruthenian, 3,845 (40.6%) 3,845 (40.6%) Jews, 35 (0.4%) Other.

Chapter 2. The Beginnings of The Jewish Settlement

The work, that even back in the year 1939 was on the Jewish cemetery in the village of Vynnyky, and has a standing headstone dating from 1640, which proves that a Jewish settlement existed there even before the announcement of the change of the name of the village to the city of Zolkiew.

The Jewish settlement spread and grew in tandem with the growth of Zolkiew, where most of the Jews came from neighboring Lvov, and accordingly, it was tied to the Lvov congregation.

In the year 1600, the *Hetman* Stanislaw Zolkiewski allowed Jews to settle in Zolkiew, to construct their own house of prayer, and designated for their use, an area of houses beside the gates of the wall, a special locked area in which was called the Jewish Street (*Ulica Żhidowska*)²⁵, where they had permission to build houses for themselves, in which they could live, a kitchen for preparation of beer and mead, and a bath house. However because of the absence of a cemetery, they were forced to inter their dead in the cemetery of Lvov.

To increase the Jewish populace the *Hetman* of Zolkiew, Stanislaw Zolkiewski, invited the Jews to settle in Zolkiew, and to erect a synagogue on their own and designated a special plot for houses beside the city wall that became called the street of the Jews (*ul. Żhidowska*) on which they had permission to also build houses and wells, buildings for cooking for distilling beer and mead, a bath house. However because of the absence of a cemetery, they were forced to continue burying their dead in Lvov.

The growth of the Jewish settlement of Zolkiewski was aided by the effort of Israel ben Joseph who was called Eideles, the owner of property in Zlotow, and the son-in-law for the Rabbi R' Yehoshua Falk (the owner of the *ס"מ"ה*). Zolkiewski himself wanted Jewish residents in his new city.

When he erected his city, he was responsive to the request of Israel ben Joseph Eideles and in the year 1600 he responded favorably to the request of Israel Eideles to permit Jews from Lvov to settle in Zolkiew as a result of the overcrowding in the Jewish neighborhoods in Lvov, and many Jews took advantage of this, to leave Lvov and settle in the new city.

On June 11, 1615, when he erected his city, he was responsive to the request of the Jews by a written ordinance, in accordance to his verbal promise and permitted them to create a synagogue and *mikva*²⁶, and he permitted an edge of this property to be used as a cemetery parcel. In a like manner, he promised them comparable treatment in business with Christians, permitted them to have a separate judge to deal with their issues, with the privilege of appeal to the rulers of the city. Over the course of 20 years, they were responsible to pay 2 Gulden, as well as all other payments made by Christian residents.

As indicated, from the beginning of the Jewish settlement in Zolkiew was strongly connected to the congregation in Lvov, but in 1619 (ת"ש) it organized itself as an independent community, however, on the basis of the limited autonomy granted by the Lvov congregation, and especially limited the closeness

²⁵ *Ulica* is the Polish word for a 'street.' It is often abbreviated as '*ul.*' '*Żhidowska*,' is Polish for 'Jewish.'

²⁶ A ritual bath used by observant Jewish people for purification. Related to, but not the same as a baptismal bath, or immersion. The more observant would 'go to the mikva' at dusk on Friday, to purify themselves for the Holy Sabbath.

in the matter of allocating parcels to newly arrived Jews, and for each and every instance that took place, the Zolkiew community was obliged to tell the Lvov congregation, and get its permission.

The relaxation that the management of the city cause a large stream of Jews to come to Zolkiew, especially from Lvov, something that did not register with his wife, Regina Zolkiewska, who offered a strong support to the Jesuits. In the year 1618, Zolkiewski was appointed a '*Hetman* of the Kingdom' (*Wilka Korona*) and he disappeared for months and years from Zolkiew, at in those instances, his wife ran the city.

On October 8, 1619 she made public views to limit the extent of the Jewish settlement, by levying a payment of 50 Grezhbini, for the construction of the municipal walls and 6 Groschen on every well for all the Jews who came from the outside and who wants to settle down in Zolkiew. Apart from payments, they were also made responsible to carry the debt of the citizenry. In accordance with a proclamation it was forbidden for them to buy or borrow from Christian homes. The Jewish butchers were burdened to provision the castle with 8 'stones' of milk.

As previously indicated, the Jews concentrated themselves in a special neighborhood of their own, and they even had their own special gate (*Brama Żhidowska*). It is interesting that in that same year (1619) itself, difficulties were manifested in obtaining an occupancy license for Jews in Zolkiew, even from the heads of the community themselves, who decided on the following on 11 Tammuz ט"ז (1619) which stated the following:

'It has been agreed in our community י"ב with the knowledge and concurrence of the important people of the community that no person in this world will receive entry permission [to the city] for a generation except under the condition that he commit himself to give all immigrants, and all the head taxes that are due to him, and also forgive old debts of those people who reside in our community י"ב without any divisions in the world even if he is given a lead of thirty days from the day of his arrival. And all members of our community that will object to this will be fined ten red Gulden.²⁷'

By a decision taken by the community of Lvov, that from 1624 on, it will be forbidden for the head of the community in Zolkiew to decide on [the amount of] new taxes. Additionally the amount owed on older debts was not waived. In the year 1614 R' Aharon ben R' Moshe (who passed away on 7 Kislev (י"ז)) with the consent of the 'heads' and 'the good ones' as to the amount of the taxes and fines, and all these sums were given over for expenditures needed for all undertakings." The *Shammes* ²⁸ was put up as the head of this endeavor, who was given the responsibility to only deal with matters of taxation. R' Aharon personally assumed responsibility to turn over all amounts within the 14 days after the first of the month, either in cash or a secured lease, or the amount of money he had to take out of his own pocket. R' Aharon ben R' Moshe, who was among the most trusted of the business people, also gave a *Torah* scroll to the synagogue, with the condition that if a synagogue is built to the specification of synagogues in other towns, it [i.e. the *Torah*] will remain there perpetually; but if he moves away to another location before a synagogue is built, he has the right to reclaim his *Torah* scroll

²⁷ In another part of the book, red Gulden appears to be the same as *Groschen*, but this is questionable.

²⁸ An official factotum who looked after a variety of ritually connected tasks.

The first Rabbi in a Zolkiew congregation was taken on in the year 1626 – R' Yekhezkiel Issachar son of Hanoch Avraham, who served as the Rabbi until 1637, and a court that renders just law was established, of which he was the head. . In a special decision of the heads of the congregation, from 27 Sivan שפ"א (5381) a fine of fifty red Gulden²⁹ was announced – half of it for building a synagogue in Lvov ,and the other half to build one in Zolkiew – because no citizen of the congregation , not the plaintiff nor the defendant has permission and harmony to ever go to the Great Synagogue in Lvov. Only demands of more than 100 gulden were within the ambience of the court in Lvov to hear. In the year that the congregation was formed, the congregation gave a transfer of the Jews of Zolkiew, raised by the well-to-do of the congregation, Aharon Zelig ben Moshe, Avraham br' Shmuel Margalit, and Israel ben Yehuda י"ב³⁰ to the owner of the city Regina Zolkiewska, the sum for the congregation that had been decided, and sized, at the seat of the national committee.

On October 7, 1620, Zolkiewski fell as a battle casualty against the Turks beside Cacura. His son-in-law inherited the city of Zolkiew, the *Voievode* of Ruthenia, Stanislaw Danielewicz, the husband of his daughter Zofia, she who practically managed the city issues, while her husband watched over the city of Olesko. After her death in 1634, as mentioned above, the city went over to the hands of her son, Stanislaw Danielewicz, who during his short reign (1634-1637) granted the Jews in Zolkiew on June 18, 1635 a privilege in which he allowed to them all of the privileges granted to them by previous rulers, and broadened them inn a number of easements, such as the right to be home owners, land parcels, vineyards and fields, With this, he forbade the acquisition of new houses without the permission of the palace. And in instances where this prohibition was violated – the house would be confiscated.

This privileges also grants permission to build a new synagogue. In this official document Danielewicz advises that in accordance with the request of the heads of the community, ‘citizens of the city of Zolkiew,’ he is giving ‘all privileges, permissions, purchases that are being granted, or were granted by the rulers of the city Zolkova that came before me, all decrees, privileges, documents, purchases, are being granted because they were given on part or as a whole, and therefore all of the freedoms that were given to them by the city of Zolkova I give I allow and hold them, and will look out to assure they are not violated.’ All the houses, land properties, vineyards and orchards that the Jews have obtained to date, are still valid, and we behave according to their dictates, and they remain in their hands now, and rescued people. However, in the future without the express permission, they shall not buy any house in the city from Christians, and they are prohibited to spread out in the direction of the palace. The buyer will lose the house that he bought. It is permissible for Jews, with previously granted permission, to erect a new synagogue in the same place on a foundation of wood or stone, as they desire, and to decorate its interior in accordance with their customs. He and those that follow after him shall not disturb them in this process, except that centrally, in front of the synagogue, a separate house is required to hide it from the street.

This enabling legal document laid the basic law down to expand the Jewish population in Zolkiew, and provided for the possibility to expand the boundaries of those in it, even without the intention of the palace.

Before this previously mentioned document, in 1628, the Jews owned 21 houses, of them 13 were on *ul. Blozka*, 4 near *Skalca*, and 4 in the remaining streets. But not one of them in the center of the city (*Rynek*.)

²⁹ Later text identifies this as *Groschen*, which is unclear, since *Groschen* are the smallest denomination of Polish coins.

³⁰ An acronym for the Hebrew ‘**Kohen Tzedek**’ meaning a just man of priestly descent.

After the year 1635, the number of Jews buying homes in Zolkiew increased. The congestion of the Jewish section of Lvov and the limits placed as a result, which occurred without number, forced many Jews to uproot themselves from Lvov and move to nearby Zolkiew. Houses were especially bought up after the great conflagration of January 14, 1645, in which Jewish houses were also burned, in 1648, when Chmielnicki laid siege to Lvov. The price of houses was between 400-600 Gulden, and of vineyards, 500-700 Gulden. Depending on location and timing. The number of houses obtained by Jews grew and went at such a pace that in September 1664 Jan Sobieski and rulers of the city, publicized an explicit directive that no Jew may obtain ownership by buying it from a Christian, without the consent of the palace.

Despite this, Jews succeeded to get permits from the palace authorities, and they bought houses even within the city, such as Yaakov Bezalel who bought a house at a price of 1,800 Gulden at the *Rynek*, Number 17, according the local sources, he received this house called by his neighbors, ‘The House of the Authorities’ (*Kamienica Krolewska*) as a gift from Sobieski. At the center of the city, at Number 10, the printer Uri Favus *HaLevi*³¹ also bought a house done in English Renaissance style for his printing location.

In the year 1680 there were 88 Jewish houses up to 271, and in 1765 the number of houses in Jewish hands numbered 270, with 159 in the city-center, 81 in a Lvov suburb, and 20 in a Cracow suburb, in which lived 1,500 souls. In the year 1788, the Austrian authorities established that the homes in the center of the city were owned by Jews.

According to municipal law, and the same in the documents of record, the homeowners were responsible for paying all the municipal taxes, country-level taxes placed on the houses, depending on their location. Like all other cities, Zolkiew also had a number of Jewish homes, synagogues, a hospital, a Rabbi’s manse, the prosecutor and the doctor were released from the obligation of paying taxes for the good of the city.

From the time of the establishment of the city, and through the 17th century, good relations existed between Jews and non-Jewish people – the Poles, Ruthenians and Armenians. Jews also lived outside of the Jewish street, and the opposite as well, there were non-Jews who lived on the Jewish street. During this period, one does not hear of any conflict between Jews and non-Jews no even on the position of commercial competition. Also, the relationships of the city authorities and the government and the palace towards the Jews was normal.

In 1634, when the Jewish man Hertz Potlicki bought a house without notifying the authorities and the palace, and not obtaining any consent, the city ruler Zofia Danielewicz gave a direction in writing , to list the house in the folio of possessions, after he paid her a fine.

In 1649 the Christian Jan Tkacz killed a Jew. The court was not advised, after it made use of an investigation and torture, it issued a death sentence to be carried out in the Cracow suburb. Apart from the murder itself, no further incidents are known, but matters changed in the 18th century.

³¹ An honorific added to the name of someone claiming patrilineal descent from the tribe of Levi. Levites enjoy certain ritual prerequisites because of their role as servants in the Jerusalem Temple.

From an economic standpoint, the city of Zolkiew had an advantage due to its geographic location. In Lvov, a conquest was underway on the northwestern side through Kulikovo – Zolkiew, Rawa Ruska, Lubicza on to, Zamość, and from there, by way of Tarnogura³² to Krasnistaw and Piaski to Lublin, which in those days was one of the unique centers of commerce in Poland. This road laid a possibility in the hands of the Jews of Zolkiew the possibility of taking part in the commerce with the north – they travel to Danzig bringing back merchandise and selling them merchandise from Poland. There were also Jewish businessmen who had connections with their counterparts in Breslau, Frankfurt-am-Oder, Koenigsberg, but there was only a small number of them. From the list of attendees at the fairs in Leipzig in the years 1681-1699 we are aware of only one Jew from Zolkiew, Joseph Borowowitz. The fairs in Breslau were visited by Yaakov Lazarus, Nathan Moshe. In the period 1693-1696, also Matityahu (Mattes) Freiling.

In the year 1722 there is no record in the visitor's list of names of Jews from Zolkiew to Breslau fairs.

In 1722 the names of Fishl Leib, Nathan Leib'l, and Shimon Leib'l appear.

In 1725 Fishl Leib'l and Hesh'l Shmuel came again, visitors from Zolkiew told that the number grew because of the year 1692 by a noticeable amount at the beginning of the 18th century.

Yet the city of Zolkiew was bound to Lvov, and was forced to buy *Etrogim*³³ in Lvov– and under threat of a punishment of confiscation – they had to sell whiskey to the Christians, and deal only with Jews in Lvov.

Except for local commerce and external commerce, the Jews were engaged in the distillation of beer and mead. Jews also were present in significant numbers – tailors, furriers, hat makers, gold- decorated items.

A short time after the establishment of the Jewish settlement in Zolkiew, the Jews approached the task of erecting a synagogue. They had already receive permission to do this back in 1600 from Stanislaw Zolkiewski. In 1624 a House of Prayer was created in the house of Aharon ben R' Moshe in accordance with the agreement that was signed between the *Bet-Din Senior*³⁴ and the heads of the Lvov congregation, on 4 Nissan שפ"ד (1624), ' which committed itself with full responsibility that the upper floor of the building will become the synagogue permanently, and takes on the responsibility to immediately and without delay, to install and activate an oven, and also assumes responsibility to make the windows in accordance with those of Avraham

³² Possibly Tarnogród in Poland

³³ The plural of 'Etrog.' *Etrog* is the yellow citron or *Citrus medica* used by Jews during the week-long holiday of *Sukkot* as one of four species brought together for ritual purposes. Together with the *lulav*, *hadass*, and *aravah*, the *etrog* is taken in hand and held or waved during specific portions of the holiday prayers.

³⁴ Essentially the Chief Justice of the religious court (*Bet-Din*).

Hittelmakher.³⁵ In the event of delay of any sorts, they must place the bottom floor – and no prevailing advantage is ever to fall on Mr. Aharon, based on some man from Zolkiew claiming a preference that the synagogue is in his house.’ And he wishes to uproot his family from Zolkiew or wishes to sell his house, the congregation is obligated to give him 600 Gulden for the house and no more.

There were minor disputes that we settled regarding the windows and Aharon be Moshe and his wife assumed responsibility for writing of the upper part of the building, and the walking by people in his house explicitly well-explained as to which person it is due and proper.’

After his death on 7 Kislev ה'שפ"ה the congregation bought the house and all of its boundaries from his son and heir Benjamin Moshe.

With the growth of the settlement, the synagogue was insufficient in size, and in 1627 the Jews requested of the city rulers Stanislaw Zolkiewicz to allow them to build a new synagogue. There requested was granted in a written ordinance on the date of 18/6, 1635. But even without this permission, the Jews of Zolkiew did not manage to raise a new synagogue until the end of the 17th century, after new additional permissions were granted which they received from Jan Sobieski on December 12, 1664, 1678, and 1687.

Nevertheless, a rumor got spread around that Jan Sobieski erected the glorious synagogue as a recognition of thanks to his Jewish Doctor Dr. Simcha Menachem da Jonah, for curing him of an illness, and in fact, the King donated needs of the construction to the congregation, which consisted of all the wood and stones.

According to Polish law, there was also a need for the permission of the Church. On March 22, 1662, the community received the permission from the Archbishop of Lvov, Constantine Lipsky, in which is said that in accordance with the wishes of the king, it is permissible to erect a synagogue built of stone on the old parcel on which the (older) synagogue was built of wood. The construction lasted many years. In one of the amendments in the folio it is said: ‘since this work will require a great deal of preparation, lasting more than a few days, according to having found in the microfiche that belongs to the congregation, it was worth five hundred Polish Gulden, every year, it is not needed for the preparations to put up an advance for the building that they planned and brought for the purpose of the construction.’ The synagogue built in the Polish renaissance style, in the form of a fort with a protective roof, and the entrance way inside is supported by gilded pillars, it was out up in 1690-1691. Inside, symbols of Poland were placed, and the insignias of the ruling House of Sobieski.

At first, the settlement brought its dead to be buried in the Lvov cemetery. By the written ordinance of Stanislaw Zolkiewski it was promised that the field will be allocated for use as a Jewish cemetery. However, already since 1610 they began to bury the dead in the cemetery that existed before the city of Vynnyky was founded, as it was possible to learn from a headstone that was put up before 1640. It was Stanislaw Danielewicz who gave the formal authorization to the Jews to own a cemetery. This permission was also formalized in the written ordinance that was granted to them by the King Sobieski in 1678.

³⁵

Literally a ‘hatmaker’ and a good example of the use of one’s profession as a last name.

Before 1656 the cemetery street beside the field inherited by Matiasz Skiwicki, sold his garden for 700 Gulden, the heirs of Skiwici, his sister Anna, and afterwards, her son Lukasz argued that the congregation still owed them the full amount because of an easement for which there is no proof, because a fire broke out in Zolkiew and the city books were burned. However, the congregation has two receipts from 11/6 1696 from Matiasz, and one from 1718 from Anna Skiwicki. After court sessions, in 1730, a compromise agreement was signed, according to which the congregation paid Lukasz Skiwici 18 Gulden, and he dropped all of his other demands. The congregation was cut off from the legal ownership of the field.

With the passing of years, the cemetery expanded beside the inherited parcels adjacent to it, in a substantial amount, in the wake of substantial offers by field owners. From the outset, the cemetery was surrounded by a wall.

III. In the Days of Sobieski and Radziwill

1.

As said before, after the death of Stanislaw Danielewicz in 1637, his sister Theophilia and her husband Jakob Sobieski the *Voievode* of Belz and the *Castellan*³⁶ of Cracow, who managed the affairs of the city, in the name of his wife, until his death in 1646. There were no compelling changes in the lives of the Jews during his rule. One characteristic episode casts one ray of light on the Jewish way of life in this period.

In the year 1641 during the time that Zolkiew was owned by the *Voievode* of Ruthenia Jakob Sobieski (the father of the king Jan Sobieski III), who was noted for being an intelligent man, a difficulty was promulgated into the law, but it was honest and had no ulterior motives, Zolkiew became a city in his possession, this thing went against the explicit directions he set.

The Jewish man Gamba (Fawa) retained a young Christian girl named Maruszka as his servant. In the course of time he fell in love with her, and lived an intimate life with her from Passover to July. When she became pregnant by him, she did not tell this to the man, but quite the opposite, she hid the condition until the baby was born. The baby was stillborn, and she fell under suspicion of having killed him. However, in the absence of six witnesses – as required under Magdeburg Law – she was obligated by a court of the *Voievode* Sobieski to swear that she did nothing to cause the death of the newborn and that she did not kill him.

On March 16, the *Voievode* Jakob Sobieski ruled that Maruszka had to submit to a public flogging by whip, in the city marketplace, and expulsion from the city.

The Jewish man Gamba denied the entire matter, but the court did not believe him, and sentenced him also to a flogging with whips in the marketplace of the city and then expulsion from [the city], all of his possessions to be confiscated by the Elder of the city.

³⁶ A *Castellan* is the title used in Medieval Europe for an appointed official, a governor of a castle and its surrounding territory referred to as the castellany.

In order to prevent the occurrence of similar events, the city Elders ordered the prohibition of the hiring of Ruthenian servant (girls), under threat of expulsion from the city. Despite this, another similar incident occurred after nine years – in 1732.

After the death of Jakob Sobieski his wife Theophila took over the duties of ruling. Despite the fact that she was under the influence of clergy and monasteries, her relations with the Jews was proper and just, as is proven by her court decision in the matter of the murder of a Jew by the Christian, Jan Tkacz, who was sentenced to death, as indicated above. The period of her reign was a very difficult one, full of attacks and assaults for the many bloody years of *Ta''Kh v'Ta''T*.³⁷

As to the fate of the Zolkiew community, Nathan Hannover, the author of '*Yevayn Metzullah*³⁸' writes:

'And they traveled from there (Lvov) and besieged the Sacred Congregation of Zolkova, and asked to approach the wall to put up ladders. They poured boiling water from the wall, and the invaders fled from them. And so they shot heavily after them through the episodes of fire, and killed many of them. And these invaders took counsel and they said: Would it not be better to send men to the city to try and appease them as we did with the sacred congregation of Lvov, the capitol. So they sent people to the men of the city and said to them: You are no better than the capitol Lvov who could not stand up against us and they made a compromise with us. Accordingly it would be better for us to do the same with you. And if not, all of us will descend on you, and wreak the same havoc on you, and inflict our brand of justice on you, and inflict bizarre deaths on you. Just as we have done in the remaining settlements of yours. This appeared good to the city Elders, that these invaders wanted to make a compromise with them, and so they sent a priest with one Jewish man from the land of Russia, from Chernigov, to arrange a compromise between them, and they settled for having the city residents will give them twenty thousand gulden and six thousand for their senior commander, Glawacki, previously mentioned, and they traveled from there and left behind several thousand Cossacks to guard the city from the rest of the Cossacks so they not besiege the city even one more time. And all of the fortresses in Little Poland³⁹, Russia Podolia and Lithuania did the same thing that they had besieged and pressured.

And the author of 'Mourning Poland' writes:

Waves of water will pour from my eyes for the rest of the Hebrews. How the dear scions of the holy congregation of Buska and the honest scions of the holy congregation of Berhyn, and the pure scions of the holy congregation of Zolkova suffered from the Cossacks.

³⁷ The English equivalent to this Hebrew acronym is a designation of the years 1648-1649, which were the years of the onset of the invasion by Bogdan Chmelnitski and the Cossacks.

³⁸ 'The Mud of the Depths,' indicating the degree of the travesty referred to.

³⁹ 'Little Poland' was used to describe what was left of that country after it was partitioned.

R' Shmuel Fyvusz ben Nathan Fyvel conveys in the book '*Tit HaYavan*⁴⁰' where Chmielnicki 'went to Zolkova and there, there were about three hundred *balebatim*⁴¹ who gave a great sum of money to redeem their lives.'

On September 26, 1655, after seven years, Chmielnicki made a second assault against Zolkiew and this time conquered it. A resident of the city, Syamyam, revealed to the Cossacks where the merchandise was hidden, and similarly pointed out the stores and homes of Christians and Jews that were plundered by the Cossacks, and the damage to goods was very substantial.

But it was rather during these days of the Holocaust that the Jewish settlement in the city grew, because Jews came there from Lvov, after they lost their possessions because of the plunder and the redemption money they paid. After the year of *Ta''Kh*, the community grew to an extent that it had the nerve to free itself from the patronage of the mother-community in Lvov, and to fight for it in the provincial committee of Ruthenia. This condition improved after the death of Theophila Sobieska (1661), whose estates were inherited by her son, Jan Sobieski in Olesko, Zolkiew and its possessions, its palaces.

During the control of the city by Jan Sobieski, the city developed, and with it, the Jewish community, both from an economic and political point of view, and especially after he was crowned as King of Poland in 1674. Zolkiew went from being a provincial town to the level of a full city and a political center.

The Jews enjoyed the good feelings of Jan Sobieski and his support. From that time on, there was a royal standard (*harazhny karanny*) and afterwards that of *Hetman-Starostvo* Jaworow and the rulers of Olesko. Zolkiew raised its closeness to them, and also created ties to the Jews. In serving as the *Starosta* in Jaworow, he helped the community and was personally supportive of creating a synagogue in the city. He valued the economic status of the Jews, and their importance to the improvement of its condition. In his courtyard in Zolkiew there were many Jews, and they had a special and loyal relationship to the designated administrator for customs, Yaakov Bezalel ben Nathan, who settled in Zolkiew in 1685, and managed the tax office in Lvov.

The towns and villages around Zolkiew and Lvov complained to the King through him, that he is conducting an abusive relationship with the Christians, and the Warsaw Magistrate, which even saw fit to convey with consternation to the city of Lvov, because the issues in Poland had reached the state that 'the Kingdom's taxes was turned over to a Jew and he assaults and oppresses Lvov merchants, something that is not possible in Warsaw.'

For this reason, the King was well-received by the Jews who saw a Patron in him, and stories were converted mouth-to-mouth about his deeds and generosity. In September 1664, he granted a privilege to the Jews, in which he authorized all the ordinances that they had received from Stanislaw Danielewicz in the year 1635.

In the written ordinance that he granted to the city in the year 1678 regarding the ordering of commerce, he explicitly authorized the liberties and laws given to the Jews by his predecessor, and he references the ordinance of September 12, 1664. In addition in his written ordinance of 1665, he references his privilege in which he granted them permission to build a synagogue.

⁴⁰ The Clay made from the Mud

⁴¹ The plural in Hebrew for the 'Master of the House.'

After the Great Fire that broke out in Zolkiew in 1691, in 4/9 1691 the King released the city from the onus of all taxes for eight years. Because all of the written ordinances of the city were incinerated, on March 11, 1693 the King authorized all of its privileges and it was authorized in the relaxation of constraints, that it would be permissible for the Jews to participate in the elections of the monarchy, city heads and judges. From analogous ordinances, the Jews also enjoyed these privileges in the specific cities such as Brody, Walichow. And the cities of Prince Radziwill in Lithuania. He permitted the possession of a bath house of their own, and levied against them taxes for the expenses of the city watchmen, who looked out for potential conflagrations. It is said there, that Jews who bought houses from Christians shall pay the same taxes as Christians. For setting taxes, the community shall designate two 'heads' to a second ratings-committee.

Once a year, the Jews were also given permission to send one or two empowered people to attend the sitting of the Municipal Council, in which an accounting is given on the municipal finances, since the Jews participated in a fifth of the expenses disbursed. They are to pay the produce tax (*Czafawa*) in accordance to older addenda. For purposes of setting the remaining government and municipal taxes, an office composed of twelve men, two representatives from each labor union and two appointees of the community, and they are tasked with estimating the taxes honestly and with justice.

This ordinance, in fact laid, the foundation for the life of the community and the Jewish community in Zolkiew, authorized all previous privileges preceding it, and in addition added a new item, that authorized Jews to participate in national and municipal elections by the participation of their officials named to the ratings-committee.

With this the King carefully oversaw the inspection of the taxes paid by the Jews, and in July 27, 1693 he ordered the tax collectors to keep an eye on the Jews, where the élite cover them with their protection. The city suffered during this period, and the Jews in their entirety, from conflagrations that broke out in the years 1645, 1657, 1691, and 1699, in which many of the homes of the Jews were burned down.

The following took up residence in Zolkiew during the reign of King Sobieski, and were active in the life of the community: Dr. Menachem da Jonah, the King's royal physician, the tax appraiser Yaakov ben Nathan, and their services were recognized even before the establishment of the community, on the basis of their recognized influence and contact that caused them to be valued by the King.

Dr. Simcha Menachem Emmanuel the son of the physician Yokhanan Baruch da Jonah, was a unique person of his kind. His father settled down as a physician in Lvov. His mother Aksa was the daughter of the physician Dr. Menachem Tzunzfort of Lvov and died in 1666. His brother Eliezer too, was a specialist in Lvov and died on 28 Elul 5433 (1673). His brother Yaakov graduated from medical school in Padua in 1678 together with his friend Levi Lieberman Fortis from Lvov, the brother of Yitzhak Fortis (קִינ) ⁴². His brother Joseph was a merchant in Lvov and died in 1712. Their father, Dr. Yokhanan Baruch was among the élite of the Lvov community, was an outstandingly wise man of whom it was said: 'He had with him the Covenant of the *Torah*, and the *Mitzvah*.' He died on 14 Nissan 5429.

⁴² The Latin (and then Hebrew) word for 'strong.'

Simcha Menachem, after having completed his medical studies at Padua in 1664, returned to Lvov in which he worked as a physician and married Nessia bat R' Pesach. He was quickly recognized as one of the better doctors in the surroundings as well. Together with his professional work, he dedicated some of his time to the issues of the Lvov community, during the hard times after *Ta"Kh*.

King Sobieski who was struck by a severe illness in 1670-1671, invited him to serve him and cure him, and requested that he live beside him in Zolkiew. He responded to his request and remained in Zolkiew until the King died in 1696. Afterwards, he returned to Lvov (*Blakharska Street* 19). While he was in Zolkiew, he took an active part in the life of the city, and was endeared to the Jewish populace, and even after his departure, the heads of the community would turn to him.

Here, for example, is one that happened in 1701 when one of the citizens of the city shamed and accused the community of blasphemy, and he was asked to get involved with the quarrel. In his letter to the congregation of 12 Kislev 5461 (1701) he wrote that 'he was beloved by all members of the community from the young to the old that they listened to the speaking of the Rabbi *Our Teacher and Rabbi* R' Issachar Ber, *Bet-Din Senior* and a *Teacher of Justice*⁴³ in your congregation.' And analogously: 'It is certain that all of the spirits of the world will not dislodge the ruling of his (of the Rabbi) from its place, and should man intentionally accost another to alter this, it would be as if he were to alter the *Divine Presence*⁴⁴ itself.' His letter made an impression on the congregation, and the government council that dealt with such a matter, issued a ruling, with the consent also on the words of the 'Honored and Gloried Great Rabbi, *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Issachar Ber who was the *Bet-Din Senior* mentioned before, and the Officer and Leader, the Specialist physician *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Simcha ״ג⁴⁵ when they observe a few people diluting and simplifying the words of the Sages of the Generation to arouse conflict and to burst out in a way such that their souls are in their mouths, and with all their might stood in this outburst with their souls in their mouths, paving the road and gating it off with a gate, so that no one will not suffer any injury and not fall to the ground, even if it is most deficient of all amendments, and from this and that side, the matter is closed and everything was in good taste and an understanding made in truth and honesty that is worthy of God and Man.'

His portion was respected also in the sitting about the dispute between the printers in Lublin and Cracow, and Uri Fyvusz from Amsterdam. After the last one transferred his printing house to Zolkiew in 1690. Our issue was brought before the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*⁴⁶ in Jaroslaw that passed a special ordinance regarding this issue. Dr. Da Jonah was designated to enlighten us on this, that 'Uri Fyvusz will not print more than seven hundred copies in the holy congregation of Zolkiew, and written by hand in those copies, the Rabbi ״ה and the *Bet Din Senior* of Lvov or ?? The head officer and official and the wealthy man The *Rabbi and Our Teacher and Rabbi* Simcha son of *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Yokhanan ״ג, of the holy congregation of Lvov.

43 A second honorific normally bestowed on a person known to render legal decisions.

44 The Hebrew word, '*Shekhina*' is used to describe this spiritual phenomenon.

45 The Hebrew acronym for '*May His Candle (Continue to) Give Light*,' as a way of wishing a long life to the person named.

46 Literally 'The Council of the Four Lands' given to a supervisory council who oversaw religious rules and regulation in the countries of Poland, Lithuania, Ruthenia and Ukraine.

‘*Reb Simcha Doktor*’ – how the people called him– was accepted by all ranks of the populace, both Jews and Christians. He was a Torah Great, a master of the *Haskalah*⁴⁷ and a seeker of faithfulness, as is evidenced, among others, his house built in Renaissance style. His generosity was especially appreciated, because he had an open hand for helping the poor and the indigent.

His first wife Nessia, died in 1693. After he returned from Zolkiew to Lvov in 1696, he married a second time but lived with her for a very few years. He passed away on 28 Adar 5462 (1702).

Yaakov Bezalel ben Nathan, Sobieski’s agent, was different from him. His origins are not known, his father was killed in the slaughters of Ta”Kh. In 1685 he came to Zolkiew and inherited a right of residence in the city. Back as far as 1682, he bought a magnificent house in the middle of the city for 1800 Gulden from the jeweler Stanislaw Tumasowitz. This took place after he had notified the heads of the community on 10 Tammuz 5445 that in his soul ‘he felt a need to be an equal as one of the community י”צ, and to assume the yoke of being one of the citizens י”צ. The heads of the community reacted positively to his request. After some bargaining, they granted him and his progeny a franchise of residence in the community. He took upon himself to take on the community yoke, ‘as payment of the obligation of the community from now and in the future along with sons and sons in-law and all other worldly gifts, that will be in his ambit י”צ, and he personally completely nullified all of the personal privileges that he had received from the King י”ר⁴⁸ and similarly from the officers and commanders of the Four Lands, and the same from ‘the officers and commanders and leaders of the Galilee י”צ who oppose any amendments from the community.’ Quickly, he was acclimated in the community. On *Hol HaMo’ed*⁴⁹ of Passover in the year 5447 the *Gabbaim*⁵⁰ of the synagogue were elected, and in the year 5449 the head of the community, and not only this, but also designated that his son-in-law Hanoch is entitled ‘to be head of the community and to occupy his seat and act like him in all matters.’ Only in instances where it was required to make a presentation to the king or officers, he personally would organize the affairs of the community. He served as an agent for the King, Sobieski, and in this position he would illuminate and review the figures for the income of the tax offices in Ruthenia, Wolhyn and Podolia, and distribute the tax money in all the stations in the southeastern ambit of Poland. His official title was ‘The administrative agent bearing the authority of His Majesty.’

Thanks to his great influence in the King’s courtyard, and not from a lack of effort, the privilege of building a new synagogue was attained in 1687, along with the consent of the Lvov Archbishop Lipski (1692).

⁴⁷ The Hebrew word for ‘Enlightenment.’ It was used to describe the totality of all knowledge outside of the frameworks of Holy Writ, generally shunned by the very pious.

⁴⁸ The Hebrew acronym for ‘**Y**arim **H**odo’ which mean elevate his glory. Used as an honorific most usually for a monarch, such as a King.

⁴⁹ The Jewish holidays of Passover and *Sukkot* are bracketed with two set of solemn dates: one at the beginning of a week, and one at the end of that week. This is the Hebrew name for those days, where some of the stricter constraints of the holiday are relaxed.

⁵⁰ The plural form of ‘*Gabbai*,’ which was a title given to lay members of the congregation that assumed responsibility for managing specific parts of prayer ritual.

In the days of the war against the Turks and the Cossack invasion, Bezalel donated 400,000 Gulden for the needs of the kingdom. It is understood that a Jew at this level was an enemy to the Christians, who opened up with a load of insinuations and incitements against him, and rumors grew about him that he was the enemy of Christians, and because of this, rumors spread that he cheapens the Christian faith and blasphemes against it. The towns in Lvov, Poznań⁵¹, Warsaw were incited against him, and cause the flowering of fabricated rumors that he was an enemy of the Christians. Representatives to the *Sejm* in Grodno in the year 1693 raised his conduct for judgement, and they argued that he steals from the country's treasury and blasphemes against the Christian faith. An investigation committee was elected, but in the dissolution of the *Sejm*, the matter was removed from the order of the day.

We do not know if he was pushed out of his position and imprisoned. We know that he died in Zolkiew on 19 Tishri 5457 (1696).

The heir of the King Jan Sobieski III – his son Constantine (1696-1726) his widow, Maria de Weisel (1726-1728) his firstborn son Jakob (1728-1737), and his daughter Maria Karolina de Bouillon (1737-1740) all of them authorized the ordinances of 1693.

In the final years of the reign of the house of Sobieski in Zolkiew, the Jews of the city were shaken by the tale of Jan Serafinowicz. According to sources from the Catholic Church, this convert was born on April 5, 1683 to his father Yaakov Shaul that was the Rabbi of Grodno. He himself served as the Rabbi in Slutsk and afterwards in Lithuanian Brisk. After he was struck by a black fear, and his sanity was compromised, his family brought him to Zolkiew to the Kabbalist and Miracle worker who tried to heal him. Because of his efforts, he was dangerous to the surroundings, was put into chains and imprisoned in the cellar of a doctor's house. In the cellar, according to the stories of the Church, he pondered about Christianity, and one day when he prayed to Jesus about his fear, the door to his cell was opened, and he emerged from there healthy, faced straight at the Church – and converted to Christianity.

The legend stops here. But the truth was that on April 25, 1710, a young Jew converted to Christianity under the aegis of Constantine Sobieski and Elizabeata Syaniowska, but it is not known whether this comes from Serafinowicz. In general, it is difficult to establish if Serafinowicz was a real historical figure. Despite the efforts of the Jews of Sandomierz, to where the stories of the Church came, he did not present himself to a 'discussion' of his anti-Talmudic theses and his complaints that the Jews have a need for Christian blood whose place has been set in Warsaw at the palace of Syaniowska for May 22, 1712, and from then on any trace of him vanished and were lost. It is possible that this never happened at all.

With the sale of Zolkiew on 11/iii 1740 to the prince Casimir Radziwill a new chapter was opened up in the chronicles of Jewry.

A month after the purchase on April 22, 1740, Radziwill authorized by ordinance that those ordinances they had received from Stanislaw Danielewicz on June 16, 1635 and those of Jan Sobieski on September 21, 1664, the authorization of the King Jan Sobieski and his sons Jakob, Ludwig and Constantine in the year 1667, as well as the authorization of Constantine of December 27, 1726.

⁵¹ It is one of four historical capitals of medieval Poland and the ancient capital of the Greater Poland region, currently the administrative capital of the province called Greater Poland Voivodeship. Rendered as Posen in German. This city, capital of *Wielkopolskie województwo* (province), west-central Poland, is located on the Warta River near its confluence with the Cybina.

In accordance with a request made by Radziwill, the Polish King, August III on March 31 of the same year, authorized all the referred to privileges by way of a special report card.

In this period, conflicts began between the Jews and the city residents regarding the allocation of taxes, and the rulers of the city dispatched commissars to investigate these flagrant complaints. To put an end to these conflicts, on June 17, 1741 he put out new amendments. According to the amendments which were based on the investigations of the commissars, the Jews had levied upon them a requirement to pay out of every 100 Gulden paid in taxes – 60 Gulden, and the rest of the 40 Gulden had to be paid by the Christians.

It was decided by these amendments that the Jews have to bear payment of the salaries to the *Beller*⁵² of the city and service workers, and to partake in the costs of repair to the fortifications, the city wall, the bridges and roads and the franchise for the city siren. They are responsible in partnering with the Christians in protecting the city from enemies, and for this reason every Jew must be able to carry a rifle, sword or a pinion. In these amendments, it was stressed that it was forbidden for Jews to hold Christian service people, but Christian women may bring water to the Jews from a well during the day. The washing of white goods of the Jews is permitted by them but only in their own homes. Accordingly, Christian women are forbidden to spend the night in Jewish houses, and every violation of this prohibition is punishable by two hundred floggings. But it is permissible to engage Christian servants without their wives. According to these amendments, the Jews of Zolkiew were given a single fortress-tower – apparently for purposes of protecting and kitchens, and they were responsible for repairs and to assure their upkeep and good condition.

Radziwill did not live in Zolkiew permanently and was invited there from time-to-time. For all the days of his rule, he concerned himself with maintaining order in the city, and he oversaw the equitable application of law honestly and with justice. On May 3, 1758, the home of Yitzhak Pasmanik was plundered. Meir Jakobowicz, who came from Muszczysko and was found in the morning severely wounded and unable to recognize anyone before class. What was shown after an investigation with torture, that the plundering was carried out by Yitzhak Pasmanik, Elazar Burkovnik and Eliyahu an appointee of the town, according to the evidence of the Prince Radziwill in his authorization to kill them by sword, despite the fact that Meir Jakobowicz remained alive.

Radziwill was concerned also about the development of the city from an economic standpoint. In the year 1746 he put up a weaving factory and making porcelain, and for the need to sell these goods, a special store was opened in Lvov. In Tartakov near Zolkiew, he created a Jewish printing house that only lasted a short time. He also attempted to get an ordinance for the preservation of the Jews from the Catholic Church, especially in connection with the issue of erecting a new synagogue that had been authorized in the ordinances of Danielewicz and Sobieski.

His efforts were crowned with success in 1741. During the visit of the Archbishop Ignacy Wizhitzki to Zolkiew on June 27, 1741, he granted an authorization to the privileges for Jews in connection with a synagogue, but they are not to damage the customs of the existing old synagogue in accordance with the request of Radziwill and his explicit request.

In granting this request, it was emphasized that the law is that the Christians cannot suffer and not forgive the Jews for the murder of Jesus, but quite the opposite, it is their obligation not to permit them to build new synagogues and not to renew the old ones and not permit them to practice their faith, in

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A general overseer of public areas.

order to punish them for the sin that they committed. But in the follow-on to the indifference and prevarication, and the relaxation of protection of the landowners the élite in the Lvov ambience, the Jews earned privileges from the elections in which they participated. In every city, cornerstones were put in immediately for a synagogue, to the extent that there was not a town without a Jewish synagogue. However, in considering the current situation, at the request of the élite and the vigorous effort of the Voievode, Prince Michael Radziwill, in the end, as a follow-on to the requests and pleading of the heads of Jewish Zolkiew, and their entire community, to ease it for them to perform their customs and to have possession of the synagogue that had been built before, 'we are prepared' to please them out of a feeling of Christian charity. However, the Jews have to know that they are exiled by the Christians and their servants; and it is their responsibility to respect the requirement of the Church. They are not permitted to possess Christian servants, especially not women under 50 years of age, especially not as wet nurses for Jewish babies. During Christian holidays, in which Church processions occur, they are to shutter their windows, lock the doors of their houses, and not to go out into the streets. They are forbidden to plan weddings to take place on Christian fast days. And also they may not move the property of their houses to the vicinity of the Catholic Church. In the instance that their synagogue is torn down, they are forbidden to build a new one without the permission of the Archbishop.

Regarding the *Bet HaMedrash* adjacent to the synagogue, Jewish youth learns 'errors and deception' and they must pay to the Church rector an annual fee, in accordance with prevailing custom.

During the reign of Radziwill, an incident occurred that shook up the Jews of the city. In 1746, during daylight hours, the family of Gershon Leibovitz was cruelly killed. The corpses of the family father and his wife were revealed by court authorities, and were in terrible condition, and his daughter were in a state of dying. The brother of Gershon, Aharon, demanded a trial for the miller from the village of Soposzyn beside Zolkiew, Dominick Dunayevski and his servant Andruszko Smicik, since it was discovered that they had sold jewelry that belonged to the murdered brother. Under investigation, Dominick admitted that he killed Gershon and his wife with an ax, and beat their daughters, came back after the fact to his mill, and hid the plundered possessions, money and jewelry. Dominick Dunayevski and Smicik were sentenced to death, Dominick by beheading and the quartering of his body, and Smicik – by blows from a sword. Before the sentence was carried out, Dunayevski admitted that Smicik did not participate in the murder and he is free of wrongdoing. On the basis of this advice, the sentence against Smicik was dropped, and he was sentenced to three years in jail on having benefitted from the monies of the murdered man. The sentence pronounced for Dunayevski as carried out completely under the authority of Radziwill. This sentence made a strong impression on the populace, and there were no more incidents of murder and plundering for a long time. Out of gratitude to the authorities and the palace, the Jews revealed the names of people that sought to sell them items that were stolen in the palace.

There were no lack of incidents of murder and plunder, heaped on the Jews of Zolkiew, also in the years that preceded the reign of Radziwill. There were also incidents in which Jews performed criminal deeds, however most of them were within the community itself.

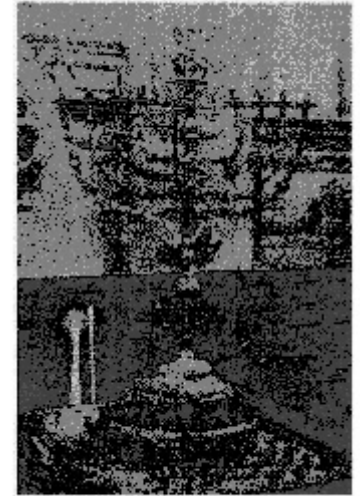
In Zolkiew, in 1736 there were two trials for deeds of plunder in the Churches that were carried out by Jews who were not from Zolkiew, and similarly at the synagogue in Kamionka-Strumilowa which was plundered by two farmers who hid part of these stolen goods in the Zolkiew Dominican monastery. Four of these Jews were sentenced to death, apart from a second sentence handed down in a Zolkiew court, that saw no justice in holding them imprisoned in Zolkiew, and it was decided to return them to Kamionka-Strumilowa to be punished there.

In connection to the story of the apostate Jan Filipowicz, who returned to Jewish law in 1728, and according to the testimony of the Christian shoemaker Itzko Meyaricow, he was arrested and under torture, he admitted that it became real at the hands of the Jew Moshe, causing the *Starosta* of Lvov to issue an order to imprison the Rabbis of Lvov, Drohovyzh and Stry.



הכניסה לבית־הכנסת הגדול בזולקייב

Page 52: The Entrance to the Great Synagogue of Zolkiew



המנורה בבית־הכנסת הגדול בזולקייב

Page 51: The Menorah in the Zolkiew Great Synagogue



26 **בית הכנסת הגדול בז'ולקייב (צויר)**
Page 52: The Great Synagogue in Zolkiew
(a drawing, artist not identified)

During those years, the Rabbi of Lvov was R' Chaim ben Lejzor, who succeeded in fleeing from Lvov to Zolkiew, but the court dispatched the official Zdaryuvski there. R' Chaim was warned, and succeeded yet another time to flee from Zolkiew to Turkey.

A noticeable change in the relationship between the Jews and Christians of Zolkiew, under the influence of incitement by the Catholic Church, in all of Poland there began, in the 18th century, and the hatred of the Jews by large segments of the Christian populace, became stronger. The eye of the [Catholic] clergy was a special trouble in the Jewish synagogue, and created difficulties got the Jews. By the effort of the community heads, they received from the Bishop Sofranan a friend to colleague priests the following: Cardinal Sofranan was subordinate to the Archbishop Samuel Glubiski in Lvov, and on September 27, 1756, a permit was granted to maintain the synagogue, accompanied by several conditions, such as a prohibition to work on Sundays and Festivals, A prohibition from appearing in the streets during Church processions and the obligation of paying the Church priest a holiday fee.

Like other cities in Poland, arguments broke out with local residents on the economic front, but not to the extent as the city close to Lvov. These arguments in matters the right to conduct commerce, and to implement works came before the rulers of the city, and they appointed special commissars to straighten them out. What is known is that the agreement of 1721, that was signed by Pavel Kroyzak representing the butcher's union, and the community heads Shimon ben Avraham Zelig, states that the community has to pay the union up to October 6, 1721, 50 Ducats for prior years, and 10 Gulden every year and to give the Christian 'drinkers' club a pitcher of whiskey.

A different dispute broke out between the community and the city in 1731 regarding taxes, which sits in the hands of the commissars Witkowski, a Castellan from Minsk and Szecic-Grabianka who was a general commissar of the house of Sobieski.

Year after year arguments break out between the city dwellers and the Jews, and they are like a permanent part in their way-of-life. Despite this, strong ties are formed between them on matters of economics and finance. The priests and local monasteries covey specific sums to the Jews and the community. The Jews take possession of homes in Christian neighborhoods, and live there, but arguments do break out from time-to-time, even coming to blows and are settled in court, but all of this doe not disturb the ties of commerce, and the implementation of mutual businesses. Despite the prohibition of the Church to employ Christian servants, Christians do work for Jews, and Jews for Christians. Despite the prohibitions of the government and the Church, Christians from all walks of life are in the need for Jewish physicians and nurses, and they buy their medicines at the pharmacy of the Jewish pharmacist Moshe Hymowitz.

2.

Along with the economic development of the city, the economic work of the Jews broadened, most of them taking up commerce, as was permitted for them to do by the authorization of the King Sobieski, especially in the commerce of food, woven goods, skins, furs, clothing, and hats as well, at a level that they paid the tailor's union for this permit; but during the fair days of 1742, Radziwill broadened the permit in the fur business to include expensive furs, including mink (*tzabel*) and prohibited the sale of cheap furs, which was a Christian monopoly. The Jews also has the grain and flour business, but it was asked of them not to buy grain before entering the city, and to pay attention to weights according to law. Jewish and Christian bakers were required to bake bread at a certain weight, according to directions. All the merchants, Christians and Jews had to give up their booths during fair days for the length of the fair days, and give them to merchants coming to Zolkiew.

By an order of the King August III the commerce of the Jews was limited in the city only for the time the King was present and when fairs took place. In 1742, Radziwill set new dates for the fairs – on June 24, December 28, and in January in honor of St. Nicholas, however the length of each fair, except the last one, was set for two weeks.

Part from commerce, the Jews also engaged in manufacturing, in the creation of drinks for consumption. In their hands then, they had the creation and sale of beer in kegs and the same with mead, whose quality was known throughout the land, and the same was true of wine and whiskey. Apart from the wholesale business in drinks they also owned saloons. By and large, the city leased to them the collection of national liquor taxes, as was set by the 1707 decision by the *Sejm* representative of Sondowa-Wisznia. The town provided servants to help them. The tax collectors also looked after eliminating secret (illegal) brewing of drinks. The number of Jews engaged in the manufacture of beverages grew specially at the end of the 18th century.

A small number of Jews engaged in selling wood from the forests of the vicinity, and their applications. From the end of the 18th century the number of Jewish craftsmen grew, especially tailors and furriers. Despite the improvements that were granted in an ordinance of Zolkiewski I, 1606 to Christian furriers, the Jews paid no mind to this amendment, and engaged in the fur business. There is no doubt that Jewish craftsmen – especially butchers, bakers, tailors, furriers and wreath-makers were organized in their own union, and paid according to the custom agreed to sums in connection with the demands of Christian craftsmen. There were also jewelers, brass casters, tinsmiths, and hat makers, and tent makers, that were known in Poland for the quality of their work.

Jews who dealt with currency would give loans bearing interest, mostly through pawning, in accordance to the value of the goods. Even the local Dominicans and the priests lent money at interest.

With the establishment of a printing house at the end of the 17th century – which will be addressed in a separate chapter – there were also printers, arrangers, bookmakers, and Jewish carvers. In the dyeing profession coloring the woven goods, and linens and in their printing, Jews also participated.

At the zenith of their economic development that Jews attained after the years of *Ta''Kh v'Ta''T*, on the heels of a stream of Jews from Lvov, and for the privilege of support of Sobieski and afterwards Radziwill, who was interested in the commercial and manufacturing development of the city.

In the second half of the 18th century, from 1750 on, one can see the signs of a decline. The wars, the passing through of various armies that imposed fines, expropriation payments, or plain payments, and the many fires – constrained the economic development and cause a deterioration in the already difficult time. As an example, the community paid a head tax according to their expense budget: 300 Gulden for the cavalry at the palace, 384 Gulden to the lessors in Zolkiew, 1,800 Gulden as a liquor tax, 800 Gulden as holiday money, 1,000 Gulden to the municipal Beller, 80 Gulden for candles for the '*kordegarda*⁵³' watch (Udwach) 72 Gulden for city services, 200 Gulden to the palace trustee and the community, 500 Gulden for the *Beller* of the palace, 200 of which was interest, the balance of debt came to 10,570 Gulden – for a total of 19,610 Gulden. In 1750, the debts of the community exceeded 100,000 Gulden. According to the records off the Austrian government, in 1784 the community owed 12,073 Gulden, and of these 7,675 Gulden to the

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A guardhouse or security booth.

Dominicans, 1,350 to the Church, and 2,750 Gulden to the Carmelites in Lvov, to the Canon Braszkowski in Zolkiew 75, to the Zolkiew clergy, 250 Gulden.

In the last census of Poland in 1765, 2,017 Jews were counted in Zolkiew, in the villages attached to it 98, together being 2,115 Jews, among them were 980 adults of which 431 were qualified to work. However there were only 263 men (61.1%) that were qualified craftsmen (168 had no permanent profession (38.9%, and there were 50 (13.8%) engaged in commerce, Lessors 24 (5.6%) 129 (30.2%) engaged in general work and people in services or assisting daily workers, porters, wagon drivers etc., 8 (1.8%), clergy 44 (10%).

After the death of Michael Casimir Radziwill, his sons, Karol and Hieronym inherited the city of Zolkiew and its properties, although both of them led dissolute lives. They fell deeply into debt and were forced to turn over the properties of Zolkiew to Prince Dominick Radziwill, but he also was not an experienced administrator, and in 1787 caused it to be dissolved. The assets were sold off publicly in parts. The palace and Vynnyky were taken over by Adam Jozepowicz who held the power of attorney for the Radziwill assets, and a second part was taken over by the Austrian government, who used it to establish a religious fund.

The last years in which Zolkiew was ruled by Poland are a sign of the invasion of the Russians in 1763. The conference of 1700 and the diseases that fell upon the populace – all of this contributed to a bleak and deteriorated state of the city and its residents.

IV. Internal Life

A. Community Organization

Until 1626 Zolkiew was a branch of the Lvov community (*Parszi-Kahalek*), at the head of which stood ‘The élite and community leaders of the sacred congregation of Lvov,’ and was bound to its orders. Matters of the branch were handled by a community committee composed of two empowered people from the Lvov community, and also empowered people from the Zolkiew community.

According to the amendments made on 11 Tammuz ט"ז (1621), no Jew was allowed to come and ‘live here (in Zolkiew) without the prized heads of our sacred congregation ז"ל composed of fifteen members of the important membership. And they must notify the heads of the sacred congregation of Lvov in accordance with the contents written out by the leaders of the sacred congregation of Lvov. The *Parnes*⁵⁴ of the month is responsible to see to this with a fine of five reds (Gulden) To forbid building a synagogue without prior authorization, without the approval of the heads, ‘no homeowner of ours is allowed to accept any alien to live in his house, on penalty of excommunication and a fine of three Red Gulden.’

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The plural is *Parnassim*. This Hebrew honorific is used to describe an individual of some wealth and importance in a Jewish community. It is derived from the same root as ‘*parnasah*’ which in Hebrew connotes income.

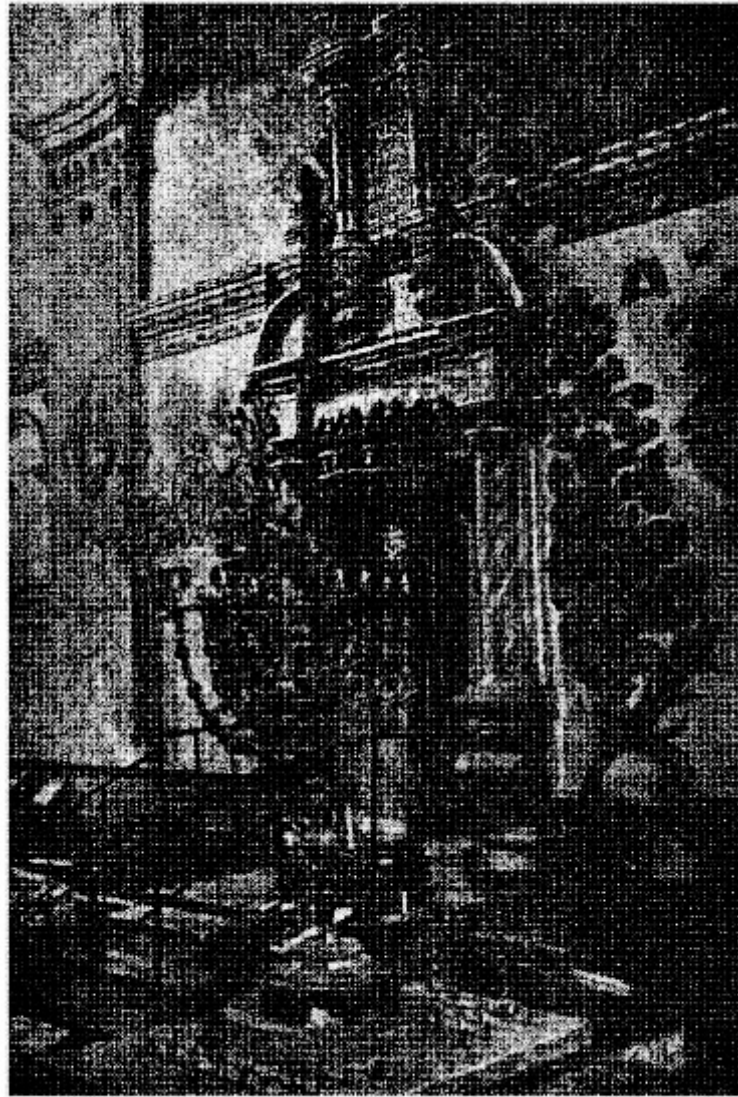
The oversight of the Lvov community became aspects of the life of the community. In 1624 (4 forbade the Zolkiew community from levying a because it does not have permission to levy new accounting from the first levy.'

In 1630, in response to the complaints and Lvov and Zolkiew the Lvov community set sale of whiskey, and what was permitted to the of Zolkiew were even compelled to buy their

Also in regard to the disputes on the sale of the places were designated, the Lvov community arbitrators from the men of Lvov to research and number of Jewish residents in Zolkiew would Yeshiva and take on a Rabbi.

The leaders and Rabbis of Lvov together with of Zolkiew, amended the process of selections. forsake the amendments, it was also interested taxes were paid to the leading community.

In 1626 Zolkiew was established as an amendments, in which the head of the selected every year, and consisting of 11 people, *Members*⁵⁵, the remaining 3 would be selected example of the quadrature principles of the modifications were made: 4 *Parnassim* number of ordinary community people was there were these committees: A Charity *Gabbaim*, and also 5 accountants. Contrary to 'Market Masters,' to look over weights and no



קיר-המזרח עם ארון הקודש המפואר בבית-הכנסת הגדול בוולקייב

Page 67: The Eastern Wall and Holy Ark in the Great Synagogue of Zolkiew

stricter and went on the encompass all Nissan 5384) the Lvov community cost for the expenses of the community, taxes until they make a 'just and honest

demands exchanged between the people of down an explicit amendment regarding the Jews of Zolkiew to buy and sell. The Jews *Etrogim* in Lvov.

places in the synagogue and the way the was the force, and it nominated three decide this matter. Lvov decided that if the reach 40, there is cause to establish a

R' Hillel ben Yitzhak, the *Bet-Din Senior* Just as the government was prepared to in preserving the affiliations, because all

independent city, and its heads drafted its community would be a community council 4 *Parnassim* or Heads, and 4 *Worthy* from the 'community' according to the towns. In the year 1740, these remained and 4 Worthy Members, but the increased from 3 to 4. Apart from them, Committee comprised of 5 'senior other communities, Zolkiew did not have *Gabbaim* for *Talmud Torah*.

⁵⁵

People of note and considered trustworthy who are *ex-officio*

One *Gabbai* was designated to manage the synagogue, and from 1740 five *Gabbaim*. The number of arbitrators was always five people. There were always five arbitrators.

The *Parnassim* would rotate the management of the community each month. Management of community issues was handled by the *Parnes* of the month, and he also served as its representative to the outside world. The heads of the sections and committees, each consisting of four members, were appointed from among the *Parnassim*.

The *Worthy Members* fulfilled the task of city elders (*Lawnici*⁵⁶) in the Jewish *Bet-Din* and there were four members.

The designated external representative and representative to the government was the *Shammes* (*Syndicus, Pata*), and according to the amendments, he was responsible to ‘present himself with effort whether for the community as a whole or for one individual. If needed, one of the heads was responsible to go with him.

Meetings of the heads was always ‘after the evening prayer service.’ In extreme situations, ‘as it appears to the *Parnes* of the month’ it is possible to have these meetings at a different time, and it is his responsibility to notify all of the heads and they are obligated to come to the meetings.

All members of the congregation are required to ‘abide according to law’ before the *Parnes* of the month. The *Parnes* of the month is supposed to oversee the *Bet-Din*. He is designated, on behalf of the community, to care for the funds and no person is permitted to pay or promise anything without his consent. The strongbox and the archives were to be found in the house of one of the *Parnassim*, but the key was in the hands of a different *Parnes*.

In the community council the following resident needs were taken care of: a) finances b) charity c) education d) public order e) the management of the community branches and the *Bet-Din*.

The *Shammes* was responsible for implementing the decisions made, which during the time when Zolkiew was a small community, he also served as a guard and servant at the synagogue, and called worshipers to prayer. He would collect taxes, donations and pledges made when going for an *aliyah*⁵⁷ to the Torah. But from the decades of the forties in the 17th century, he was already fulfilling the role of an expediter (*syndicus*) of the community. The heads of the community were diligent about their dignity and the dignity of their positions, and special pages were dedicated in connection with degrading the heads, *Worthy People* and *Dayanim* during their tenure even to saying derogatory things at their homes, the market of the synagogue, resulted in an immediate fine ‘in accordance with their view without recourse’. This prohibition also applied to the heads and *Worthy People* if recourse was made to derogatory remarks during meetings, with a dollar fine as the heads saw fit.’

The principal issues in the management of the community with regard to the laws was taken up by the issues of taxes and their collection, and similarly presentations of requests before the government and the palace.

⁵⁶ The singular of this is often used: *Lawnik*.

⁵⁷ In this context it refers to a worshiper during service, called to the *Bima* to recite a blessing, prior to and after, the reading of a portion of the week’s *Torah* reading. As many as seven people are ‘honored’ this way, for which they may choose to make a donation to the congregation.

We learn of the enveloping of the issues that remain in the folio of the *Pinkas* of the Zolkiew community regarding the decisions in all aspects of the interior life of the Jews of Zolkiew from the little that remained of the folio of Shlomo Buber in the 32 additions to his book, '*Kiryá Nisgava*⁵⁸' (pp. 81-120).

At the top of the concerns of the heads of the community was the education of the youth, and to this end they decided 'to obtain a Yeshiva for the young men and boys according to the laws of all the sacred congregations that were in their land.'

In the 1619 amendments, it is said that, during the slaughter of an animal by a non-Jew, there should be present a Jewish overseer, who should examine the animal that lies on the ground.; In other amendments it is said that anyone who is observing *yahrzeit*⁵⁹ on the Sabbath 'on behalf of' a new mother or a *Bar-Mitzvah*, must be called to the *Torah*.

In the case of a wedding arranged for the Sabbath then all the *mitzvot* of the groom and his family in connection with the prior Friday, the rolling of the Torah scroll and ark openings are in force. For this honor, he must pay a half Gulden from , the first hundred of the dowry, and a quarter of the dowry from each of the rest. If the wedding is arranged for a secular day, 'then the payment is 10 'large ones' from the first donation to the dowry, and the remainder 5 'large ones. (*Groschen*)' The levy against the groom and the donors to the dowry was set in accordance with the practice of the rest of the communities.'

In order not to arouse the envy and the impression of aggrandizement in the eyes of the Christians, the following special amendments were designated in 1704 (2 Iyyar 5464) in connection with wedding feasts, and circumcisions, that some money is dedicated to a drain, and because of this, we became aware to do this ordering justly. Whoever gave a large (One Groschen) to the sum is entitled to be invited to these aforementioned feasts for two *minyanim* and in each *minyan* there must be a third of the heads and a third from outside, and a third from among the poor. 'For more than 3 *groschen*, it is entitled to invite from four to six minyanim.

Special attention was given to the issue of women. It is forbidden for them to enter 'the houses of gentiles alone without a watchman, causing a fine of a liter of wax to charity.' Also, in the instance of a quarrel in the synagogue the women pay a half-dollar to charity.

From a social standpoint, in the set folio an issue is discussed regarding a maid servant that 'leaves her master and does so without announcing her departure, no man may retain her until after twelve weeks from the day she left her previous position. Whoever violates this provision will pay a fine of a dollar to charity, in addition to the fine he is required to pay to let her go immediately.

⁵⁸ It means 'the sublime city' in Hebrew and appears as a subtitle on the cover page.

⁵⁹ Hebrew for 'that time of the year,' used to describe the anniversary day of the passing of a loved one.

In special folios the arrangement of the synagogue is discussed, in that the heads to oversee to donation of special support funds not to speak during the time of prayer. The violators are to be fined. During Festivals and the days of prayer for *Dew and Rain*⁶⁰, nobody has no right to receive them, even if they ‘recite these prayers for several years.’

A separate amendment, the fee for performing the wedding under the canopy for the Rabbi was set – to the same one as in Lvov, to the Cantor one third less than that of the Rabbi and to the *Shammes*, one-third less than that for the Cantor.

The amendments that oversee the relationship of the Jews to the Gentiles, out of a sense that the general Jewish population may suffer harm or an assault. For this purpose, this folio designates: ‘immediately at the beginning of every year, the leader of services shall curse the seizure of a Torah Scroll with the excommunication of Joshua ben Nun, for any person that would commit this sin, and injure his friend against Gentiles whether singly or in many of them, and cause this damage with his words.’

There was not an area in Jewish life that was not addressed and given attention. In the end of the amendments, special attention was designated to managerial details – ordering arbitration (and elections), the results of the elections that pertain to the Heads, *Worthy Members*, *Gabbaim*, *Dayanim* Rabbis, and the new synagogue issues from the beginning of the sale of the seats, and the setting of protocol – and because of this, a quarrel even broke out in 1626 – and ended with the designation of the seats in the New Synagogue, the height of the *Sztender*, the time the fee for the seats must be paid, and the appointment of the *Gabbaim* to handle matters associated with selling of the seats. Economic issues were also covered in the amendments, such as in 1659, regarding the matter of taxes on ‘*the uncircumcised of the place*’ which were levied on the Jews for all need of the location, and the collection of the taxes was to be by the community itself, that it will pay by way of a compromise with the town, and an agreement with it for the global sum.

From an economic standpoint and joint issues, and paying attention to political matters, there is an issue in the amendment of 1679, that on punishment by excommunication, a Jew may not rent out houses and stores (*kremniczsz*), in the houses of the uncircumcised in the ‘*Rynek*,’ and to buy houses from them, after it became evident that ‘many pitfalls and great injuries took place, and it is its desire to maintain an oversight arising from instances of people who live in gentile houses, that there should not, God forbid, be an outbreak of a severe hunger.’ In fact, the community had less of an interest in the removal of this form of harm, but it desired to maintain oversight of tax payments to the community and not be late in their payments. There was a similar prohibition in Dubno. Understandably, there were exceptions among the residents who took on the obligation to pay in full, and received the requisite permission.

The community heads oversaw with severity the membership of the residents to the community and the franchise-permits that they had in the community, and the seizure of allocated places by strange Jews, both in matters of the economy and the community itself, In 1704 (6 Av 5465) during the tenure of the head R’ Nathan Gershon, it was decided ‘not to give any appointment to anyone who is not a member, and impose the excommunication of Joshua ben Nun – even if all the arbiters consent to their election. An even more severe was the amendment of the same year, said by our community, whether

⁶⁰ The Jewish calendar recognizes seasonal change. During the springtime, prayers are said for dew, while during the cold months (usually winter) prayers are said for ‘bringing down the rain.’

large or small to a member of our community יצ"ו, a forbidden share in a saloon and a store and the rest of its beverages set down in the donation of the remaining beverages which is seen to circumscribe the time set to make amendments in favor of the community.

‘The phobia of being fined’ this way, which the Jews had, was not manifested out of economic competition but was tied especially to the matter of taxes in the written ordinance. However, the heads of the community took these instances into account, with a Jewish innkeeper of Zolkiew living in the house of an outside resident .with the permission of his family, orphan or widow, that do not have a father or mother and no money from an inheritance from their father, and because of this impose the requirement to marry a man or a woman who shall be as one of us in all matters of franchise, and relieve of all requirements to give advance notice. But if one of these conditions is absent, out of all the above conditions, he will be considered a stranger in all matters mentioned.

In the founding ordinances of the community in 1690, general issues regarding economics were designated, such as the status of merchants coming with their goods to the city and also to wholesaler, and enumerated the type of goods they were permitted to buy or sell. A special folio emphasizes the prohibition against advocating or to become partners, and a partner in matters of whiskey and it is not allowed to be an advocate for another’s grain. It was also forbidden to bring in Whiskey from the villages without the consent of the manager of taxes. There was a special prohibition put on in 1684 regarding the sale of whiskey in the villages around Zolkiew. The community had a monopoly for the sale of mead. From an economic standpoint, it was necessary to contemplate the availability of taxation to butchers.

The ordinances pertinent to apply to merchants traveling to fairs in Breslau and Danzig were also covered. The sale of the imported goods from outside was tied to the payment that the merchant paid the community. In exchange for 100 Gulden, the merchant is permitted to sell up to 1,000 Gulden of merchandise. From 400 Gulden and up – he is permitted to sell all the goods that he brings in from the outside.

A special concern and attention was dedicated to the franchise of a Yeshiva and the support of its students. In the 1690 amendments (2 Shevat 5451) all of the *balebatim* (folio 8) to make their table available for 18 youths, of which 4 were from the houses of heads, and 4 from the houses of Worthy People.

The number of pupils for each teacher was set here. They were to take 11 students that ‘are learning *Halakhah* with ‘*Tosafot*⁶¹’ with other youths receiving such instruction,’ 15 studying the *Pentateuch* and *Gemara*, and elementary studies – 18 students.

In the assembly for elections, the management of the community was allowed to permit anyone who had paid at least 3 groschen in community tax. Also, in the assembly to select a *Rabbi*, *Cantor* and *Shammes*), only those paying a higher tax were permitted to vote, including teachers and those accorded the honorific ‘*Member*’ and ‘*Our Teacher*.’

⁶¹ These are literally ‘additional commentaries’ to be found throughout the *Talmud* and are usually taught to older and more advanced students.

The relations among the Jewish population became so sharpened that at the end of the 17th century, quarrels and fighting broke out against the community governance. This was especially the case between the representatives of *balebatim* who were designated, that thought they had special privileges among the *Parnassim* – the rulers of the community.

Because of the growth in antipathy in the friendly relationships between the community and the population, the Community ((Heads) prohibited – in a special amendment of 2 Iyyar 5451 – Meir Ka’Tz of Kalisz to live in Zolkiew because he instigated arguments and complaints in the community, and he was expelled from the community.

In 1690, a dispute broke out with which we shall end this chapter, and because of it, there was a need to create new amendments. In that same year, fundamental detailed amendments were set out in regards to the issue of arbiters (folios 5-9), appraisers (10-21) *Gabbaim* (22-37) Behavior of judges (43-50). (It is worth noting that this amendment prohibited the *Dayanim* from asking the disputants how much money they wish to pay for a settlement, and they are suppose to gracefully receive whatever amount the judges offer). This is similarly reflected in the matter of taxes (51-56), Rabbis (62-72), obtaining possession and economics, the method used to divide up honors (75-114) and the *Shammes* (113). To assure compliance with these amendments, they created a watchdog on top of the existing one, and created watchman positions for the amendments. Five leaders were appointed as watchdogs over the amendments for a one year term: Feivusz Ne’eman, Getz, Yekhezkiel י"ב, Yaakov Rohatyner, Yerakhmiel Mowoczacz. These overseers were to assure compliance with the amendments and they had the authority to punish anyone who violated an amendment even an iota.

However after a year, an old amendment was revived that during *Hol HaMoed*⁶² of Passover before the elections of those responsible for community positions, it is the Rabbi’s responsibility to annul all oaths of all those who were involved by ‘liaison’ and ‘rebellion’ engaged in to get their candidates into positions to lead the community.

In the year 1700, there were activists who broke through the constraints and arousing dissension, and the heads of the community were compelled to turn to Dr. Simcha da Jonah, that he should strengthen the amendments of the community heads using his authority.

But the dissensions did not stop. There were individuals that did not want to comply. In 1704, the demanded that the *Parnassim* ‘who have already served for three consecutive years, will not be leaders for the coming year, in other words, resign. In 2 Iyyar 5464, and agreement was signed that he must be in power for twelve years, as agreed, and you cannot hold onto a leadership position for more than three consecutive years.

At the head of the Charity Committee there were *Gabbaim* who would sell and rent the seats in the synagogue, an do the same for allocating *aliyot* and other honors. According to a later amendment of 1767, it was forbidden to ordain ‘*Our Teacher*’ until after three years of marriage. The *Gabbaim* oversee the Hevra Kadisha, Hospital, and distribute charitable contributions. They were also given oversight of ritual slaughterers and the specialists among them. They rotate every month. In the second half of the 18th century, the *Gabbaim* were saddled with collecting taxes, and they constituted a fountain and host

⁶² The Passover holiday lasts about a week, with ‘formal’ holidays at both ends. The ‘intermediate days’ or *Hol HaMoed* are still considered to be Passover, but certain holiday restrictions are relaxed. This also occurs for the holiday of *Sukkot*.

of money. And the faithful were asked to oversee the kashrut of wine, cleanliness of the streets, and matters of importance to the citizenry. Tax matters and valuations were in the hands of the appraisers – of which there were three.

The *Parnes* of the month oversaw all these mechanisms. As an outgrowth of quarrels and the demonstration of opposition against his firm rule, a compromise was reached, which said ‘the élite and leaders must gather with several Jews, at least three in the sum. Also there must be at least three individuals of common sense and the understanding of science, and they should clarify a knowledgeable man of trustworthy nature to oversee the guarding of all collections, and it would be he to give out information about expenses and community calculations and he will be the trustee that whenever a collection is founded, it is he to whom the collecting *Shamashim* and servants must listen to bring even a bundle of money to him and even securities are not to be touched by any leader and on no issue, even the *Parnes* of the month, rather all of this should be under the hand of the trustee, and he should have a notebook to explicitly write down all the collections, donations, and security items in detail.’ This notebook shall be pen to everyone who would like to look in it. All calculations of income and expense are to be turned over to this trustee, and it is up to the *Parnes* of the month to notify him on any expense in excess of 3 Gulden, and at the end of the year turn in an accounting before the ‘rulers’ including the Rabbi. The salary of the trustee should come from the community treasury and not questioned.

The trustee actually fulfills the role of representative of the council of the forty special appointees that were in the general town. ‘He was the opposition to His Majesty, and represented the interests of the general public, the ‘tribune’ of the common man.

The community building was near the synagogue, and from 1822 in the center of the city (No. 86) beside the Jewish hospital.

The community council was selected to serve for three years. The elections were arranged during *Hol HaMoed* Passover according to the amendments. Under pressure from the opposition in 1791 it was decided that *Parnassim* ‘that already had served for three consecutive years’ would not be elected anew.

The revenue budget came from the ‘*Korovka*’ (obligatory tax on necessity and assets), monies associated with the acquisition of franchises, and indirect taxes.

The general expense budget and the salaries of the Rabbi, *Dayanim*, the Liberals, the Trustee, the *Shamashim*, payment of government and municipal taxes, the support for the hospital, cemetery and support for the poor, and taxes to cover ‘bridal expenses’ for the poor.

From a record of the budget of 1750, we learn its breakdown and pages:

<u>The Income Budget:</u>	<u>Polish Gulden</u>
1. Taxes of the City Jews	8,800
2. Taxes of Village Jews	700
3. <i>Korovka</i> from slaughter	5,150
4. <i>Korovka</i> from merchandise	5,000
5. Slaughter fees from cattle and fowl	300

6. The Bath House	90
7. From Butcher Shops	200
8. From Counter Tops of Bakers	16
9. From Butchers	<u>100</u>
Total	20,356

<u>The Expense Budget:</u>	<u>Polish Gulden</u>
1. Small Head Tax	360
2. Officer of the Palace	384
3. Leasing Expenses	1,800
4. Beverage Tax	950
5. Holiday Liquor Expense	1,000
6a. For the Rabbi	500
6b. Improvements to the Synagogue	500
7. For the Municipal <i>Beller</i> (Community Addition)	1,000
8. Debt to the Church and Town	60
9. Candles	72
10. For Servants of the Town	200
11. The Palace and Community Trustee	500
12. For Reading the Torah	50
13. For the Poor	1,000
14. For the Tax Collectors	600
15. Synagogue Repairs	300
16. Major Head Tax	3,240
17. Interest and Loan Balances	<u>10,572</u>
Total	22,168

The details of the budget proves that in 1750 the budget had a shortfall of 1,812 Gulden.

About half the expenses are ti defray the cost of interest and unpaid debt. Almost every year, the budgets came up with a substantial shortfall. This burden, and all other sorts of expenses and payments forced the community to secure new loans.

The Zolkiew community also had ties to the Land of Israel, and donations were collected for the poor of *The Land*⁶³. In the years of 1683-1693 the well-known emissary from the Land of Israel (Hebron), R' Avraham Kunki visited us.

In 1746, an emissary from Sidon, R' Shlomo Ashkenazi was in Zolkiew, and was called by the name Kalman Kalonymos in Spanish, and he had the book of Raphael of Nazareth printed here, called 'A Measure of Flour.'

B. The Heads of the Community

We know the number of community heads that served in Zolkiew up to the Austrian conquest, and we will enumerate the important ones among them.

Ze'ev Wolk Kalusz from Lvov was one of the first *Parnassim*. It appears that this was the person who joined together with R' Yaakov Eliakim Gottschalk, and R' Joseph ben Yerukham, in preparing a communication that was sent to Lvov and was part of the designation of the amendments for the community of Zolkiew on 4 Sivan 5384.

Working together with him in the group of community heads were R' Avraham Kahn, and R' Aharon Zelig ben R' Moshe, who served as a tax collector with the approval of all the heads and *Worthy People*. He donated a *Torah* scroll to the synagogue, faithfully worked on the needs of the community, as is written in the style used on his headstone. The *Parnassim* that signed the amendments from the year 1619 (11 Tammuz 5380) were R' Aharon ben R' Yitzhak, R' Avraham ben R' Shmuel Margalioth, and R' Israel, son of the holy man Yehuda י"ג.⁶⁴

We know the following *Parnassim* from the period 1620-1650:

⁶³ An italicized '*Land*' refers specifically to the Land of Israel.

⁶⁴ The Hebrew acronym for *Kohen Tzedek*, meaning a just member of a priestly family.

1. R' Yaakov ben R' Israel Ashkenazi
2. R' Aharon Zelig and his son.
3. R' Naphtali Hirsch, whom the members of his generation called 'the one who raises the glory of Israel.' He died on 8 Adar 5398, and was the father of the well-known Rabbi in Zolkiew, R' Hillel who wrote the book, '*Beyt Hillel*.'
4. R' Aharon Zelig, the son of Rabbi Hillel, born in Altona and came with his father to Zolkiew. After a minimal number of years, he was selected as a *Parnes*, and was one of the most important leaders of his community; a great scholar, who died in, 1633.
5. R' Benjamin Moshe ben R' Aharon.
6. R' Chanoch ben R' Jekuthiel.
7. R' Yehuda ben R' Israel one of the most respected members of the community and those of his generation saw in him 'a *Tzaddik*⁶⁵ in all that he did and for his entire life he pleasantly would roar like the Lion of Judah, [quote from Jacob's blessing] son of the Holy R' Israel. He died in the year 5392 (1631).
8. R' Jonah ben R' Moshe from Lublin.
9. R' Joseph ben R' Yaakov Katz author of the book 'A Well of Living Water' on the Torah (Cracow , 5376).
10. R' Joseph ben R' Yerukham Segal.⁶⁶
11. R' Yaakov Jonah ben R' Eliakim.
12. R' Yaakov ben R' Aharon Segal
13. R' Yaakov Koppel ben R' David Segal.
14. R' Yitzhak Issachar ben Chanoch Avraham, a well-known scholar, died on 12 Nissan 5398 (1638).
- 15) R' Mordechai ben R' Moshe Margalioth.
- 16) R' Moshe ben R' Eliezer Zaltzberg
- 17) R' Shimon ben R' Yaakov Koppel Katz.

⁶⁵

A man respected for his honesty and charity.

⁶⁶

A name thought to be derived from the Hebrew '*Segan Leviyyah*,' a deputy to a Levite.

In the period of 1650-1700 the leadership of the community was as follows:

- 1) Eliakim Getz ben R' Israel.
- 2) R' Aryeh Yehuda Segal Horowitz.
- 3) R' Aryeh Leib Mardisz from Kamionka.
- 4) R' Aryeh Yehuda Leib ben R' Mordechai of Zolkiew.
- 5) Eliezer Lipman ben R' Zvi Hirsch, died in 1715.
- 6) R' Zvi Eliezer Lipman Zusman ben R' Aryeh Leib from Lublin.
- 7) R' Benjamin Ze'ev ben R' Issachar Ber.
- 8) R' Bezalel ben R' Nathan known by the name Bezalel *Mukhsan v' Tzoy'n* who was 'the champion of the generous officer, who ' for all his days would hold onto students of the Torah.' and died on 19 Tishrei 5457 (1696).
- 9) R' Baruch ben R' Israel.
- 10) R' Gershon Nathan son of Bezalel the Mukhsan, one of the leaders of the national commission.
- 11) R' David Ben R' Daniel.
- 12) R' David ben R' Yitzhak He was a writer, not only a head of the community, but for a number of years – 'the champion who elevates the head, and the officer, the distinguished officer who led the community,' the son-in-law of the ך"ט, who died on 5 Iyyar 5458 (1697). His daughter, Baylah, was married to R' Yitzhak Bab"Ad, the Rabbi of Brzezany. On page 45 of the Zolkiew Pinkas, it is told of his demands and complaints that he brought up to the heads of Zolkiew before the Bet-Din in Lvov. He signed the decision to expel Meir Katz of Kalisz on 2 Iyyar 5451, who

excessively incited quarrel and confrontations against the heads of Zolkiew in front of the *Bet-Din* in Lvov. He signed the decision on 2 Iyyar 5451 to expel Meir Katz of Kalisz, who excessively incited quarrel and confrontations in the midst of the community.

13) R' David ben Yitzhak Prager of Buczacz, who was a community head and leader of a country and lands, who participated in the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* in the years of 5537, 5543, 5547, and 5550. He died in the year of Ta"Kh (1648).

14) R' David ben R' Zvi Hirsch Ashkenazi, son-in-law of the *Parnes* R' Nathan Daniel ben R' Menachem of Zolkiew.

15) R' Chanoch Henykh of Zolkiew, son-in-law of R' Bezalel *Mukhsan*⁶⁷. He and his brother-in-law R' Nathan wanted to bring R' Yaakov Emden to Zolkiew so as to 'take up residence in Zolkiew and to study in their *Bet HaMedrash* and to arrive at a good satisfaction.'

16) R' YomTov Lipman ben R' Nathan.

17) R' Joseph Iaski the son of the Lvov *Dayan*, Naphtali Hertz.

18) R' Yaakov ben R' Aharon Segal.

19) R' Yaakov Rohatyner, one of the five champions that were selected in 1691 to be the guardians of the amendments that were set down in that year.

20) R' Yaakov Naphtali of the House of Levi.

⁶⁷ The adaptation of a profession as a name.
In this case, a tax collector.

21) R' Yaakov ben R' Shmuel Belikh Ashkenazi.

22) R' Yitzhak of Zolkiew.

23) R' Yerakhmiel of Buczacz, who also understood five of the amendment guardians.

24) R' Mordechai Gumprecht ben R' Yitzhak was a head and leader in Zolkiew. When R' Avli ben R' Mordechai was selected as the *Bet-Din Senior* of Zolkiew in the year 5459 (1698), his relatives swore to the fact that he was a champion and officer like *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Eliezer Lipman the outstanding high champion of Zion, like *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Mordechai Gumprecht, son of *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Yitzhak, that like a slice of the forbidden, they should stand among the seven Worthy of the city, so long as the previously mentioned R' Avraham will be the *Bet-Din Senior* and *Teacher of Justice* in Zolkeva⁶⁸.

25) R' Mordechai ben R' (Israel) Isser'l, on the name of his father-in-law, the officer R' Aryeh Leibusz *HaKohen*, also called Mordechai R' Leibusz's the son of the Rabbi of Lublin, brother of R' Avraham Avli, a *Parnes* of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* and the father of R' Avraham Avli, *Bet-din Senior* of Zolkiew. His daughter was married to the Rabbi, R' Alexander Sender Schur, the author of the books '*The Grains of Schur*,' and '*The New Dress*.' R' Mordechai who was the head of the community for 30 years, died on 10 Tevet 5565. The length of his tenure was noted on his headstone, 'for thirty years he carried out his duties in the heights.'

26) R' Meshullam Feivusz ben R' Eliezer.

27) R' Nachman ben R' Simcha Katz Rapaport, son of the Rabbi R' Simcha ben R' Nachman Ka'Tz Rapaport, son-in-law of the *Parnes* R' David the Writer from Zolkiew.

28) R' Nathan Gershon ben R' Bezalel, head of the community for many years, more will be said about him in the next chapter.

29) R' Nathan of Zolkiew.

30) R' Feivusz Ne'eman, one of the guardians of the amendments of the community from 5451.

31) R' Shlomo ben R' Juzpa Katz, grandson of the '*Baal Hasm"ta*' and R' Yoshea ben Alexander (called *Walek HaKohen*).

32) R' Shmuel ben Yaakov Blikh Ashkenazi, a *Parnes* in the years 5446-5465.

33) R' Shlomo ben R' Jonathan Katz a *Parnes* in the years 5446-5465.

34) R' Shmuel from Lvov who was a signer, along with other heads of the country and the Lvov Valley of the Zolkiew amendments, that were arranged at the Kulikovo settlement on 22 Shevat 5450.

35) R' Shmuel ben R' Hirsch R' Fishl's from Lvov. A *Parnes* during the years 5459-5465.

36) R' Shmuel Zeinvill ben Yitzhak (*Itzik Zolkover*), his father 'The wondrous Rabbi, sharp thinker and the noble R' Itzik of Zolkiew who was the father of the *Kabbalist* Rabbi Nachman of Horodenko.' Brother-in-law of R' Avraham Avli of Zolkiew whose father *Itzik Zolkover* was a very rich man, although it was his wife who took care of his businesses. He was a student of the *Torah*, and his wife managed his possessions in the region around Zolkiew and its vicinity. He also had partnerships in the surroundings of Zloczów, Zaborow, and Pomorzany. In Zolkiew proper he owned a very large store always full of merchandise. He also kept up friendly ties with the noble family Poniatowski who visited his house. One of his daughters was married to R' Avraham Avli of Zolkiew.

⁶⁸ One of several variants of Zolkiew.

37) R' Schneur Feivusz ben Avigdor, a *Parnes* in the years 5452-5464.

In the years 1700-1764 the following *Parnassim* are known to us:

1) R' Avraham ben R' Shmuel Margaliot, brother of R' Mordechai Margaliot of Cracow and author of the book 'The *Hasidim* of God.'

2) R' Asher Zelig from Zolkiew, who was a leader in the year 1715.

2a) R' Avraham ben R' Meir in the year 5491.

3) R' Davis ben R' Eliezer Lipman.

4) R' Hillel ben R' Shlomo of Zolkiew who, in the year 5511 signed the great excommunication in Zolkiew against the opponents of Rabbi Eibeschutz, and was selected as the head of the community in the years 1729, 1742, and 1760.

5) R' Ze'ev wolf ben R' Aryeh Yehuda Leib, the author of '*Liviat Kheyn*.'

6) R' Chaim ben R' Aharon.

7) R' Chaim Danziger 'the leader of the princes' and a great philanthropist. He was selected to be a Gabbai in 1751 and was one of the Worthy People of the city, in 1755, selected as head of the community and again during the days of Austria, in the year 1773. He died on 8 Shevat 5543 (1783).

8) R' Tuvia ben R' Yitzhak.

9) R' Yehuda Leib ben R' Yehuda Moshe one of the distinguished members of the community, who signed the excommunication of 5511.

10) R' Yehuda Leib ben R' Issachar Ber, the head of the community and a country-level leader, died in the year 1740.

11) R' Yehuda Zvi of Zolkiew.

12) R' Yehuda Moshe ben R' Shmuel, who signed the excommunication of 5511.

13) R' Yehuda Zvi of Zolkiew, *Parnes* in 1723.

14) R' Yehoshua Falk ben R' David.

15) R' Yehoshua ben R' Issachar Ber.

16) R' Joel ben Avraham of Zolkiew, brother of R' Yeshayahu the author of 'A good fountain of the old way of life.'

17) R' Joel ben R' Yaakov Segal Horowitz, son of his brother the של"ה.

18) R' Joseph ben R' Moshe, who signed the excommunication of 5511.

19) R' Yaakov ben David Nathan of Buczacz.

20) R' Yitzhak ben R' David Joseph *HaKohen* from Kalisz.

21) R' Yitzhak ben R' Nahum.

22) R' Yekhezkiel ben Yaakov.

23) R' Joseph ben David.

24) R' Yitzhak ben R Shlomo ז"ל of Zolkiew.

25) R' Yitzhak ben R' Shimon Wolf.

26) R' Jekuthiel Ziskind ben R' Yaakov.

27) R' Jekuthiel Zalman Landau.

28) R' Israel Isser'l ben R' Mordechai the son-in-law of R' Naphtali Hertz and the leader Pinchas Moshe. He participated in the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* into which he entered in Tyszowce on 8 Elul 5502. His activities regarding autonomous institutions will be discussed in the following chapter.

29) R' Yekhezkiel ben Meir פ"ק, a *Parnes* in the years 5451-5465.

30) R' Leib ben Moshe in the year 1711.

31) R' Meir ben R' Joseph Juzpa of Zolkiew.

32) R, Menachem Mendl ben R' Yehuda Leib Katz.

33) R' Mordechai ben R' Joseph.

34) R' Mordechai ben R' Nachman.

35) R' Moshe ben R' Peretz.

36) R' Moshe ben R' Azriel.

37) R' Moshe ben R' Schneur Feivusz.

38) R' Moshe ben R' Yitzhak.

39) R' Pinchas Moshe son of the *Parnes* of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* R' Chaimisz of Lublin. Pinchas was the son-in-law of Israel Isser'l of Zolkiew, and also a *Parnes* of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* . During his time, he was the *Bet-Din Senior* in Swirezh, and in the year 1743, was taken into being the *Bet-Din Senior* in Zolkiew. He took an active part in the council of the country of Ruthenia. His activities will be discussed in the following chapter.

40) R' Zvi Hirsch ben R' Uri.

41) R' Zvi Hirsch ben Mordechai of Zolkiew.

42) R' Zvi Hirsch ben R' Moshe leader in the government and community, and participated in the councils of the heads of the councils of the Lvov Valley on 8 Adar 5512 in Lvov together with Rabbi Naphtali Hertz Horowitz.

43) R' Raphael Segal from Zolkiew.

44) R' Raphael Segal of Zolkiew.

45) R' Shaul ben R' Pinchas of Lublin, who signed the excommunication of 5511.

46) R' Shlomo ben R' Eliyahu Tyszowce, *Parnes* during 5465-5474.

47) R' Shlomo Kahana from Zolkiew.

48) R' Shmuel Szmelki ben R' Joseph Katz.

49) R' Shmuel ben R' Menachem Mendl Katz.

50) R' Shimshon ben Abba Mari.

51) R' Shimshon ben R' Menachem Maness, died in the year 1723.

III. Rabbis, Dayanim, Maggidim, and Scholars

The pride of the Zolkiew community was in the large number of *Gaonim* that served as its Rabbi.

While being a branch of the Lvov community, it was inclined to accept the direction of the Lvov Rabbinat. But in 1626, on 27 Sivan (שפ"ז) the leaders of Zolkiew decided to appoint a Rabbi of their own.

A. Rabbis

i. The first Rabbi was R' Yekhezkiel Issachar ben Chanoch Avraham, who served in the rabbinat until the year שפ"ז (1637). We have no details on what he did in Zolkiew.

ii. After him, the seat of the Rabbinat, the positions of *Bet-Din Senior* and *Teacher of Justice* was occupied by R' Moshe ben R' Shakhna, as is said on his headstone: 'a man alive with activities.' He died on 23 Heshvan 5413 (1652). It is not known if a new Rabbi was selected immediately after his death.

It is known that the Rabbi selected in the year 5440 (1680) was the remarkable *Torah* scholar, a *Maskil*⁶⁹ in general sciences, and a specialist doctor, Dr. Yitzhak Meir Teomim -Frankel, the son of R' Jonah Teomim, author of the treatise '*A Summary of the Law*.' His father was the Rabbi in Grodno (1643-1654) and afterwards, the Headmaster of the Yeshiva in Pinsk and Vienna. From Vienna, he was invited to oversee the congregation in Metz. It was there that his son Yitzhak Meir received his education at his father's knee. When he became eighteen, they brought R' Moshe Mirelsz to Vienna as a *Dayan*, and in 1670, he was compelled to leave there because of the expulsion. From Vienna, he left by way of Trebič- Hamburg to Amsterdam, where he served as a censor for Hebrew books. He examined the translation of the *Tanakh* to Yiddish by Jekuthiel Blitz (Amsterdam 1676-1678), and put [a subtle but discreet] distance between those places offensive to the Catholic Church, and for this reason at the end of the book, he publicized the name 'Markus Frenkel Doktor and Rabbiner' in a signed declaration of his authorship. In the year 1684, he again visited Amsterdam and published '*Ein Yaakov*' with an explanatory supplement he called 'Gifts of Light.' Frenkel was thoroughly versed in secular sciences, taught medicine in Metz and was an expert doctor (*Doktor Medicina*).

In the years 1670-1681, he served as the Rabbi of Zolkiew, and afterwards in Slutsk, from there he was called to Pinsk. In 1685 he was chosen to be the Rabbi of Posen, but did not go there. He died in 1702. It appears that a dispute arose between him and the leaders of the Zolkiew community, and it is said in the amendments of 1696, page 65: 'In the matter of the brilliant Rabbi *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Meir Frenkel as to conducting himself with the

⁶⁹

A person who is considered to be an exponent of the *Haskalah*.

leaders as it is written in the compromise made between them at the past Jaroslaw Fair of , ת"ת (5403) which was accepted by the people on both sides as they wrote it, and so long as this will not come to trial then the ruling of Kulikovo, in its full force. Since community is not authorized to devise any other division of honors in another way.

iv.) R' Hillel ben Naphtali Hertz assumed the Rabbinical chair after him from (1615-1690), one of its most famous Rabbis of Zolkiew. Born in Zolkiew as a son to his father R' Naphtali Hertz, among one of the well known and pedigreed families among Polish Jewry, his father was the son of Rabbi R' Shmuel ben Moshe R' Hillel's of Lithuanian Brisk, and was a *Parnes* and leader of the *Va'a Arba HaAratzot* in Brisk, and the brother of one of the Polish *Gaonim* of the 17th century, R' Aharon Zelig, author of the book '*A Treatise for the Seven Columns.*' (Cracow 5393).

R' Hillel was born in the year ה'ט"ו (1615). He received his education in Lithuanian-Brisk where he studied with the orator R' Hirsch and with R' Moshe in Vilna who wrote the book '*The Portion of the Lawmaker.*' In Vilna, he was a *Dayan* in the *Bet-Din* of Rabbi R' Moshe. In the years 1663-1669 he was the Rabbi in a number of communities in Lithuania, from Kédainiai where he served as Rabbi, and in 1669 was invited to take the pulpit in Hamburg-Altona with Wandesveck (a lawyer to the community - 1675), and they parted because of a dispute during the time of R' Meir Ashkenazi (1668). His wife died in Altona, on the 19th of Menachem-Av 5435 (1676). In 1680 he was chosen to be the Rabbi of Zolkiew. According to what his son said. R' Moshe returned with the desire to be in a 'City that is a Mother in Israel, full of Sages and authors, Zolkiew the royal city, joyfully beautiful in appearance in all the land where its good name is known to the edges of the land.'

After he came to Poland, he was chosen to be a member of Rabbis on a committee, adjacent to the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* in Jaroslaw and was influential there. His son, R' Moshe writes in the foreword to his father's book, '*Beyt Hillel,*' about his work for the *Va'ad*: 'Until he was taken in to the City and Mother of Israel – the Zolkiew community – and accorded it time to get people together, these being élites, sages, officers and rulers to create the amendments, according to the rules of the body of these distinguished people, with the participation of the wondrous Rabbis, great and famous *Gaonim*, and the place of my late father and teacher who was a Gaon and A *Hasid* ח"ו hung between the great *Gaonim*, who was selected to create laws, judgements and amendments, and there, they heard from him legal innovations that no ear had ever previously heard. He did much work in the formulation of laws for the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot*. And also in his own community – Zolkiew – he formulated many amendments. It is specially worth recalling those amendments that he compiled along with the rabbis of Lvov regarding a synagogue, the designation of a Trustee, who will be paid from the community treasury, the amendments concerning arbitrators, and ballot counters, and the same with a prohibition against rabbi orators to be asked to lecture in the synagogue at the Sabbath morning *Shacharit* services. Rather they should be asked to speak at the time of the (afternoon) *Mincha* service not to overburden the worshipers, and they should not offer an *aliyah* honor to any guest in addition to the usual ones so called.

He finished his great book, '*Beyt Hillel*' in Zolkiew which dealt with '*Yoreh Deyah.*' For this occasion, he invited his oldest son, R' Moshe who was the Rabbi of Kępn⁷⁰, greater Poland, that he should organize his innovations on the four sections of ח"ט⁷¹, and he organized his innovation on '*Yoreh Deyah*'

⁷⁰ Kempen in German, which accounts for its use in Yiddish.

⁷¹ An acronym for *Shulkhan Arukh*, which is the book of Jewish Codes and Laws,

and *'Evven HaEzer'* and published them after his father died (Dietfurt 5451) with the approvals of the Rabbis of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* of Jaroslaw, 3 Tishri 5451.

(P. 75 top para)

He served as the Rabbi in Zolkiew from 1670-1681. Afterwards he went to Slutsk, and from there he was called [to serve] in Pinsk. In 1685 he was chosen to be the Rabbi in Poznań, but that did not materialize. He died in 1702. It appears that a dispute between him and the leaders of the community broke out. In the ordinances of the year 1696, Chapter 61 it is said: 'In connection with the distinguished Rabbi, Our Teacher Meir Frenkel he should treat the leadership as it is stated in the compromise they worked out between them at the past market fair in Yaroslav, in the year 5450, that they should argue their case before two mediators one from each side as written in the document they authored, and for as long as they don't seek a judgement or a ruling of Kulikovo⁷² in his period, the community does not have the right to give any portion of honor to another.'

iv) After him, R' Hillel ben Naphtali occupied the seat of the rabbinate (1615-1690) and was one of the most prominent of the Rabbis from the community of Zolkiew. He was born in Zolkiew. His father R' Naphtali Hertz, a son of one of the well-connected and well-known families in Polish Jewry. He was the son of Rabbi R' Shmuel ben Moshe R' Hillel's from Lithuanian Brisk. He was a *Parnes* and leader of the committee of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* in Brisk and his brother was one of the *Gaonim* of Poland during the 17th century, R' Aharon Zelig, the author of *'The Pledge of the Seven Pillars'* (Cracow 5393).

R' Hillel was born in the year 5375 (1615). He received his education in Lithuanian Brisk, where he studied with the *darshan*⁷³ the Rabbi R' Hirsch and with R' Moshe, the author of *'The Portion of the Chiseler'* from Vilna. In Vilna, he was a *Dayan* in the court of the Rabbi R' Moshe. In the years 1663-1669 he was the rabbi in a number of congregations in Lithuania. In Kėdainiai he served as a Rabbi in 1669, and was invited to take the seat of the rabbinate in Hamburg-Altona. During his time there, the communities of Hamburg united, from Altona to Wandsbek (relocated to a settlement – 1675), and were separated because of a disagreement during the days of R' Meir Ashkenazi (1668). His wife died in Altona, on 19 Menachem [Av] 5435 (1676). In the year 1680, he was chosen to be Rabbi of Zolkiew, and according to what his son, R' Moshe said he seriously and willingly returned to the 'city that was a Mother in Israel full of wise men and writers, Zolkiew a royal city, which was a beautiful ambiance covering all the land, whose good name was known to the ends of the country.'

After coming to Poland, he was also chosen to serve on the Rabbinical Committee that is beside the *'Va'ad Arba Aratzot'* in Jaroslaw and he was influential in this capacity. In writing the foreword to his father's book, *'Beyt Hillel,'* his son R' Moshe writes about the various undertakings of his father in the *'Va'ad,'*: 'Up to the time he was taken in to the City and Mother in Israel – The Holy Congregation of Zolkiew – and allowed for a time to gather

⁷² Possibly Kulikovo, pronounced as 'Kulikov' by the Jewish community.

⁷³ One skilled in interpretive reading of Holy Writ.

in of all who came, all of the leading lights, sages, officers and rulers, to create ordinances, in the style of the spirit of those who were aware of how these things were to be done, the wisdom of those who understood its purpose, and planting of spurs [as needed], in partnership with the wondrous Rabbis, highly honored and well-known *Gaonim*, who were selected to do this, and lo, a seat for my Father and Teacher the *Gaon* and *Hasid* 5"7 was placed among the highly respected [seats of the] *Gaonim* who were selected to synthesize laws, judgements and ordinances, and it was there that they heard expounded by him, a number of new laws that had not been heard for an eternity of time, by anyone's ear. Many participated in the work of dividing up the work of the 'Va'ad Arba Aratzot,'.And in his congregation also – Zolkiew – he devised many ordinances. It is especially worth recalling the ordinances that he put together with the Rabbis of Lvov regarding the issue of the synagogue. The designation of a loyal individual who will be paid from the community treasury, the ordinances of the mediators and the ballot box, and along with this, the ordinance that it was forbidden to ease up on the Rabbis, *Darshanim*, regardless of who they were, to expostulate in the synagogue during *Shacharit* ⁷⁴services on the Sabbath. However at the time of the *Mincha* service before the 'Tirkha D'Tzibura'⁷⁵ and they should not extend the honor of any guest to ascend to the Torah, in addition to the usual readers.

In Zolkiew, he completed his massive work 'Beyt Hillel' regarding 'Yoreh Deyah'. To this end, he invited his oldest son R' Moshe, who was the Rabbi of Kępno in Greater Poland, who organized all of his innovations into four sections. And he organized his innovations for 'Yoreh Deyah' and 'Evven HaEzer' and published them after his father's death (Diharnfurt⁷⁶ 5451) together with the approvals of the Rabbis of the 'Va'ad Arba HaAratzot, in Jaroslaw 2 Tishri 5451.

Rabbi Hillel had a persona that was of a highly traditional nature, which the rabbis, thanks to loftiness, and the assessment of their standing, belittled the position of the Polish Jews in the 17th century. He died in Zolkiew in the year 1690.

He left behind three sons: R' Moshe who was the Rabbi of Kępno, R' Avraham, and R' Aharon Zelig who were together in Altona. His son R' Aharon Zelig, who was born in 1650, came to Zolkiew after his father's death, and was given the community franchise. After a short while (1693) he was chosen as one of the heads of the community and its leaders. He served in this capacity for years, because as late as 1723 he signed a promissory note on behalf of the heads of the community. He died in the year 1733 at the age of eighty-three, and on his headstone it is written: 'The important head and leader, the venerable student of the *Torah*.'

v): Following him, from 1693-1697, the Rabbi R' Joseph Issachar Ber Ben Ovadiah the Holy, who before serving as the Rabbi of Zolkiew, was the Rabbi in Tziltz, Hatzenplatz and Galuga. He was invited to become the Rabbi in Krenzir, that is in Moravia, serving as Rabbi there until his death on 8 Sivan 5461 (1700).

⁷⁴ The early morning set of prayers recited in the synagogue. In the afternoon, *Mincha* is said, and in the evening, *Ma'ariv* is recited.

⁷⁵ The work of the congregation (presumably referring to the Torah reading itself).

⁷⁶ Possibly Dietfurt in the district of Harz, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany

vi) R' Avraham (Avli) ben R' Mordechai R' Leibusz's was received as the Rabbi on 16 Adar I 5459 (1699). His father R' Mordechai Ber (Israel) Isserl the brother of R' Avraham Avli, a *Parnes* of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* and a leader in Lublin, was a *Parnes* in Zolkiew, the son-in-law of the Rabbi R' Alexander Sender Schur, the author of 'The Grains of Schur' and 'The New Dress.'

R' Avraham Avli was the son-in-law of R' Yitzhak (Itzik) of Zolkiew, one of the rich men of the city. Before the rabbinate in Zolkiew, he was the Rabbi of Brzesko. After he was selected to be Rabbi in Zolkiew his relatives took on the responsibility, the Head R' Mordechai, the *Parnes* R' Eliezer Lipman, the brother-in-law of ' Avraham Avli, the *Dayan* Alexander Sender Schur and the venerable leader R' Mordechai Gumprecht, with a sworn oath that it was forbidden for them to be one of the seven good people of the city so long as he will be the Rabbi of Zolkiew.

According to the inscription on his headstone, 'he judged Israel for forty years.' The date of his death is unknown.

xvi) During that same period of time, R' Naphtali Hertz Hurwitz served as the *Bet-Din Senior* who 'judged Israel for forty years.' During the fifties of the 18th century, he stood at the head of the supporters of Rabbi Eibeschutz.

xvii)⁷⁷ During the years 1719-1729, R' Yitzhak Segal Landau ben R' Zvi Hirsh was the Rabbi of Opatow. By the year 5489 (1729) he was already occupying the rabbinic seat in Zolkiew. During the years 1735-1753, he was serving as the Rabbi of the Lvov valley, against the will of the Lvov community.

viii) R' Ze'ev Wolf ben R' Yehoshua Heschel (1738-1741).

ix) In the year 1743, R' Pinchas Moshe ben R' Avraham R' Chaim's was taken on as the Rabbi. His father was a *Parnes* of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot*. [He was] the son-in-law of the *Parnes* of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* R' Israel Isserl of Zolkiew, who was the Rabbi of Svirzh. On 2 Shevat 5504 (1743) ' the heads of the city went to the city of Svirzh with the consent of all the *balebatim* and placed the crown of the rabbinate on the head of the Rabbi Pinchas ben Rabbi, *Bet-Din Senior* of Svirzh, ז"ר.

However, he gave himself over more to the issues of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot*, and faithfully served as a *Parnes* of the *Va'ad* of the Lvov valley, until the *Va'ad* was dissolved in 1764. He and his father were among the supporters of R' Yehonatan Eibeschutz, and it was through his efforts that an embargo was announced against his opponents in 5511 (1750) in Zolkiew. He had two sons; A) R' Joseph, who was the Rabbi of Jaworow, Witkow, Skohl (Sokal?), and afterwards in Poznań, where he died in 5561. B) R' Shmuel who was the Rabbi in Bilgoraj from 1792, in Tarnopol, and after his brother died (1801) became the Rabbi of Poznań. In the year 1795 he received the name Falkenfeld. He died in the year 5567 (1806).

x) R' Shimshon ben R' Yaakov Meiseles who was the Rabbi in Cieszanow, and from there, he was taken on as the Rabbi in Zolkiew, in order to take the place of R' Pinchas who was occupied with the matters of *Va'ad Arba Aratzot*. He remained in Zolkiew for a scant seven years, until 1757 and then returned to Cieszanow. He seated his son to take his place.

⁷⁷ The numbering here slipped, and is being corrected – Trans.

He gave his approval to the book of *Maggid Maysharim*⁷⁸ in Brody, R' Peretz ben Moshe [titled] '*Beyt Peretz*' that was printed in Zolkiew in the year 5519. Concurrently, R' Avraham Mordechai Heilperin the *Bet-Din Senior*, and *Teacher of Justice* in Zolkiew.

xi) In the years 1763-1772, R' Avraham Mordechai ben Israel Heilperin served the community as Rabbi, who before this was the Rabbi in Warunki, and after 1772 he left the Rabbinate and settled in Brody, and he died there on 3 Tammuz 5541; on 5 Av 5520 (1766) he consented to a second printing of the book '*Shomer Emunim*,' for the Headmaster of Urgasse. On 26 Tishri 5538 he approved of the book '*Ateret Joseph*' (in Zolkiew 5538) and above his approval it is written: who is now resident with the holy congregation of Brody, and signed: by the youth Avraham Mordechai *Bet-Din Senior* of Zolkiew, on 28 Iyyar 5541 on the book '*Etz Chaim*' of Rabbi Vital, and signed: *Bet-Din Senior* and Head of the community of the holy congregation of Zolkiew, currently residing in the holy congregation of Brody.

xii) R' Moshe Zvi Hirsch Maiseles, who had previously served as Rabbi in Lancut, one of the great Rabbis, was selected to be the Rabbi of Copenhagen, but did not want to leave Zolkiew, and occupied the Rabbinical seat until he passed away on 18 Kislev 5561 (1801).

xiii) R' Yaakov Meshullam son of R' Mordechai Ze'ev Orenstein was selected despite his youth, to inherit his place. After the passing of R' Zvi Hirsch Rozanisz in the year 5561 he was chosen to be the Rabbi in Lvov, but despite this, he remained in Zolkiew until 5564 (1805).

xiv) After Rabbi Orenstein went over to Lvov, the duties of Rabbi were taken over by the *Dayan* R' Joseph Juzpa Segal Stern from 1805-1809, together with Elazar Gottlieb.

He served as the Yeshiva Headmaster and placed many students, among them including the Hebrew author Dr. Meir Latriss, the Enlightened publisher Shaul Meyerhoffer, Avraham Goldberg and Aharon Lerner. He was an outstanding teacher.

D. Dayanim, Torah Scholars, Orators

(P.78)

During the time that the community of Zolkiew existed there were *Bet-Din Seniors* and *Dayanim* who were known by prominent names. During the 17th century, the following *Bet-Din Seniors* were familiar to all.

1. R' Moshe ben Shakhna who passed away in 1652.

2. R' Yeshaya ben R' Yitzhak was the *Bet-Din Senior* in Zolkiew and the Headmaster of the Yeshiva of Lvov

2a.. R' Zelig, the *Bet-Din Senior* at the end of the 17th century.

⁷⁸

The Orator of Righteousness

3. R' Moshe ben Daniel born in Zolkiew, and the author of 'The Complexities of the Talmud,' which was published in the end of the 17th century.

4. R' Benjamin Ze'ev ben R' Joseph the Dayan at the end of the 17th century.

5. R' Menachem Manisz the *Bet-Din Senior*, who was also a prominent orator on behalf of justice. A comrade to the member of the *Bet-Din* of the *Gaon* R' Naphtali Hertz Hurwitz, in the second half of the 18th century.

5a) R' Abraham ben R' Moshe the *Bet-Din Senior*, recognized by all as one of the Great Ones of his generation, 'the Rabbi that shone the great light the *Hasid* steeped in the *Kabbalah*, and before he came to Zolkiew he was the *Maggid* in Dąbrowa. He died on 20 Nissan 5494 (1723).

6) R' Yehuda Moshe ben R' Baruch from Zolkiew, and the *Bet-Din Senior* and author of the book 'The good fountain' dealing with the *Shulkhan Arukh* and *Yoreh Deyah*.

7) R' Gedalia ben R' Benjamin Wolf who signed the embargo of 5511, along with R' Naphtali Hertz Segal Hurwitz. He died in 1776.

8) R' Naphtali Hertz *HaLevi* Hurwitz ben R' Mordechai, the *Bet-Din Senior* and Headmaster of the Yeshiva, who served for forty years as a *Dayan* in Zolkiew.

9) R' Israel Mordechai be R' Boruch. Head of the court, who took part in the meetings of the leaders of the Lvov Valley area, which were held in Lvov on 8 Adar 5512 (1751) together with R' Naphtali Hertz Hurwitz. R' Joseph ben R' Yitzhak *HaLevi* Landau, R' Naphtali Hertz ben R' Meir, R' Moshe Pinchas, a trustee of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*, R' Zvi Hirsch ben R' Moshe head of the government in Zolkiew, R' Israel Mordechai ben R' Baruch, a *Bet-Din Senior* from Zolkiew.

10) R' Alexander Sender ben R' Ephraim Zalman Schur, son-in-law of R' Mordechai Leibusz's, a *Parnes* of *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*. And brother-in-law of R' Avraham Avli Rabbi in Zolkiew.

11) R' Naphtali Hertz Hurwitz ben R' Moshe out of personal modesty did not want to assume the rabbinical seat, and dedicated himself to Torah study, and was the author of 'The Grains of Schur' and 'The New Dress.' In what he said he revealed a major fluency and conceived of new laws. He died in Zolkiew 27 Shevat (1736).

11a) R' Mordechai ben R' Chaim ש"ת a member of the court of R' Naphtali Hertz the Levite Hurwitz.

12) R' Naphtali Hertz ben R' Moshe son-in-law of the *Parnes* R' Israel Isserl of Zolkiew, and the brother-in-law of R' Moshe Pinchas, *Parnes* of R' Moshe Pinchas *Parnes* of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* and was a Head of the Court in the Court of R' Naphtali Hertz Hurwitz afterwards of the R' Shimshon Meizhles.

- 13) R' Zvi Hirsch ben R' Raphael *HaLevi* Head of the Court, a great-grandson and grandson of R' Yitzhak of the Holy Congregation of Zolochiv, who afterwards became a *Maggid* in Zolkiew. Author of the book '*Avodat Shir*' Torah innovations, and *Talmud Tractates*⁷⁹ (In Zolkiew 5533).
- 14) R' Yaakov from Lvov, a *Dayan* in the second half of the 18th century.
- 15) R' Moshe of Zolkiew who was a *Bet-Din Senior* in Buczacz, and afterwards a *Dayan* in Zolkiew.
- 16) Ephraim Sheinert, who was excellent at analysis, died in the year 1809.
- 17) R' Joseph Eliezer Gottleib a *Dayan* at the Court of Rabbi Orenstein.
- 18) R' Joseph Juzpa Segal Stern, a *Dayan* in the Court of Rabbi Orenstein, and afterwards took his seat in the chair of the rabbinate.
- 19) R' Eliezer Lipman was the *Bet-Din Senior* of Strelsk, and afterwards a *Dayan* in Zolkiew.
- 20) R' Shmarya Shmeryl ben Yehuda Leib Shapiro, he was the Rabbi of Wysoka and afterwards was received as the *Bet-Din Senior* in Zolkiew
- 21) R' Moshe Zvi Hirsch Ashkenazi (Zvi the Wise) was the *Bet-Din Senior* in Zolkiew and afterwards the Rabbi of Kamienka.
- 22) R' Issachar Ber *Dayan* (1693).



Many well-known Rabbis lived in Zolkiew during the 17th and 18th centuries, and of them that were Yeshiva Headmasters or temporarily filled the role as Rabbis and Torah scholars, we know of the following:

- 1) R' Aharon Zelig ben Moshe from Zolkiew, the brother of R' Shmuel, *Parnes* who sat in the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* in Brisk, and authored the book, '*The Seven Pillars*' in Cracow 5332 (1632) consisting of five sections of explanations and behaviors on the *Old Zohar*, and the New One, Sayings from the *Zohar* are presented elsewhere. He passed away on 10 Elul 5403.
- 2) R' Avraham ben R' Israel Heilperin. Was the Rabbi in Waroniki He then went over to Zolkiew, and at the end of his days in Brody. He died there on 7 Tammuz 5541.
- 3) R' Yitzhak ben R' Jonah, one of the great scholars of his generation. Died on 21 Heshvan 5541 (1646).

⁷⁹

The use of the descriptor '*Tractate*' will be limited to a supplementary identification of a significant portion of the *Talmud*.

4) R' Shimon ben Ephraim ben Ephraim Yehuda, author of the book 'Samson's Portion,' (Prague 5447). He composed of simple items, items requiring explanation, and deeply subtle ones, and organized them into thirty sections.

He reached Zolkiew after the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670. Together with the other who fled, he escaped from Vienna to Bohemia and from there to Poland, Born in Eisenstadt (צ"ס), he was one of the respected families there. In the foreword to his book he writes: ...and I was forced to scatter my legs, like a bird that sensed the eagle until I came to the land of Poland to the holy congregation of Zolkiew, a city and Mother in Israel, and at the end of the book it is written:'...

'... Of the precious folk in Vienna and from those driven from Eisenstadt, Our Rabbi R' Shimon of the Holy Congregation of Eisenstadt he also published the book '*Reincarnation of Souls*' to R' Menachem Azaryah of Panow on all of the souls that fled under the conditions mention as he received 70 'srug brought to the printing house by the author R' Shimon ben R' Ephraim Yehuda Eisenstadt who additionally added a bit in the name of others, Prague 5448. A second printing [dates from] Frankfurt 4 Adar 5562).

5) Rabbi R' Yehoshua ben R' Meir *HaLevi* Hurwitz, brother of R' Yekl the Rabbi in Brody.

6) At the end of the 17th century R' Shlomo ben R' Israel lived in Zolkiew, who was the author of the book '*The Glory of the Sanctified.*'

7) R' Eliezer ben R' Avraham owned a Yeshiva. He died in 2 Adar 5562.

8) R' Aryeh ben R' Avraham, was a great scholar, in whose hands 'both the obvious and hidden were revealed. matters of wisdom were revealed to him as if he were one of the men of renown.

9) R' Aryeh Yehuda Leib ben R' Shmuel Gershon was the Rabbi in Skala and afterwards lived in Zolkiew, the author of the book '*Escort to Grace*' (Zolkiew 5492) . He died on 23 Adar 5489.

10) R' Yehuda Leib ben R' Israel author of '*The Offering of Yehuda,*' containing simple matters, hints to others and teachings on the tradition of the *Torah* and the *Five Megillot*, (Zolkiew 5549) as well as the book '*The Soul of Yehuda* (simple texts) on explanatory lectures, and on the difficult sentences from the *Tanakh*, and a little about the innovations of ,''ps and on the connections between the orders of the *Mishna* (Lvov 5556) and additions to his book 'The Offering of Yehuda'. *Called 'Additions to Mincha'*(Lvov 5556). He died on 11 Elul 5552.

11) R' Yehoshua Fyvel ben R' Israel Teomim, brother of the Rabbi of Zolkiew, Yitzhak Meir Teomim, author of the book '*Ends of the Earth, an Explanation of the Borders of the Land of Israel.*' (Zolkiew 5551) Died on the First of the Month of Tammuz 5532.

12) R' Bezalel Zolkiewer ben R' Yehuda Leib The Levite, author of the book *'In the Name of Bezalel.'* An interpretation of the Tractate of *Avot* (Frankfurt, Adar, 5531). He also organized and published the book *'The Light of Value'* (Zolkiew 5492). He also published the *Jerusalem Talmud* (three volumes with the explanation of the MAHAR" A Fulda (Frankfurt 4 Adar 5502).

13) R' Meir Ber'l Levi, author of the book *'My Master is Gold,'* simple explanations in the order of the *Torah*, in the name of the *Great Ones of that Generation*, along with an addendum of his own (Nowy Dwor 5549), and the book, *'Scrolls of Gold'* (Zolkiew 5513).

14) R' Yitzhak Isaac ben R' Avraham the friend of R' Aleksander Schur, the author of (*The Grains of Schur*), died 16 Shevat 5496 (1735). The Rabbi, R' Yehuda (Father of the Rabbi R' Shlomo Klausner) nicknamed him 'The great Light, the *Tzaddik* of the foundation of the holy world.' R' Yitzhak Isaac was wont to say that the city of 'Zolkiew is full of Torah and Wisdom.'

15) R' Shlomo ben R' Israel, author of the book 'The Holy Glory' Piurda 5461)(1700), a dissertation on the [three Pentateuch] books, *Vayikra, Bamidbar, Devarim* (Prague 5473 - 1712).

16) The Rabbi R' Dov ben R' Nathan Neta, died in the year 1781.



It is worth remembering the Headmasters of those *Yeshivot* that placed numerous students are the following:

1) The Rabbi R' Asher Zelig ben R' Israel Shmuel who was known as a teacher and a scholar, died on 20 Adar 5428 (1668).

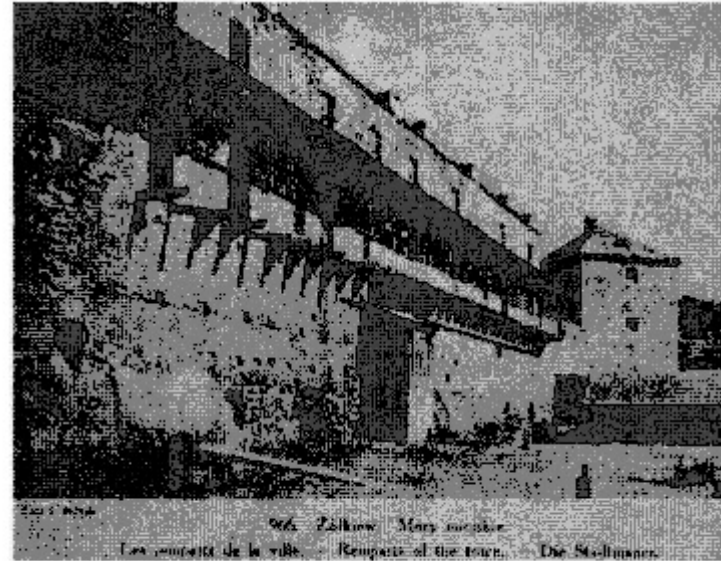
2) R' Naphtali Hertz Ber, son of the *Parnes* R' Hanoach Henykh, one of the prominent members of his generation., who excelled in his analytical skill and thoroughness of his knowledge, died as a young man on *Menachem Av* 5491 (1731).

3) The Rabbi R' Benjamin Ozer ben R' Meir, Rabbi of Klimantov and from there he was accepted as a Headmaster in Zolkiew. He wrote the book 'Even HaEzer' innovative interpretations regarding the [major *Talmud*] Tractates of *Berachot, Shabbat and Eruvin* etc. (Zolkiew 5530). Died on 25 Iyyar 5470 (1709);

4) R' Joseph Juzpa ben R' Shmuel *HaLevi*, was a Yeshiva Headmaster, wrote the book 'The Hand of Joseph' (Zolkiew 5589). Respected by all the members of his congregation, who saw in him a 'Miracle of the Generation' died Tevet 5587 (1826).

5) Rabbi R' Akiva a *Dayan* from the court of Yaakov Meshullam Orenstein. A teacher and a director. His only son R' Mordechai was a very sharp scholar and thoroughly grounded in all aspects of the Torah. A large number of outstanding students studied at his Yeshiva, [covering] *Talmud Poskim Rishonim*

and *Akharonim*.⁸⁰ At a young age he fell sick with a mental disease, and died in the hospital for the mentally ill in the palace of the mentally affected in Lvov.

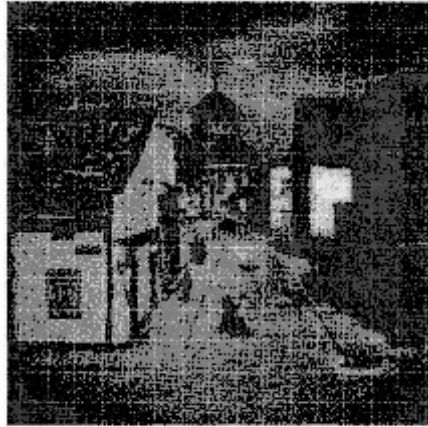


חומת העיר

Page 83/84: The Walls Which Form the Ramparts of the Town.

⁸⁰

A *Posek* in Hebrew describes a scholar deemed qualified and capable of designating a religious law. There were two separate generations of these *Poskim*: a first (original) one *Rishonim*, and a second final one *Akharonim*.



טומטח ברולקיב

Page 83/84 BL: A Street in Zolkiew



הכנסייה הקטולית 'פארא' שבה נמצא קבר
המשפחה של מייסד העיר חסמן סטאניסלאב
זולקיאחסקי

Page 83/84BR: The 'Farah' Catholic Church
in which the Grave of the City's Founder,
Hetman Stanislaw Zolkiewski is Located.

Zolkiew also was privileged to have many who functioned as a *Maggid* or a *Darshan*, all of whom were 'sons of the Torah.' During the First Period, the Darshan, Teacher-Director R' Yokhanan ben R' Avraham is known to us, who died on 17 Sivan 5399 (1639).

(P. 82)

In the years *Ta''Kh v'Ta''T* (1648-1749), along with the stream of refugees from Wolhyn came The Rabbi of Zlotów, R' Yitzhak, and was taken in by the heads of the congregation as a *Maggid*. His brother-in-law the well-known *Kabbalist* R' Shimshon ben R' Pesach from Ostropol (*Ostropoler*) came. Afterwards, his position as *Maggid* was filled by his son, R' Pesach. He published the book '*The Book Horns*' on behalf of R' Avraham from the City of Kardina. It contained *Kabbalah* with the explanations '*Dan Yadin*, of his uncle Shimshon of Ostropol. At the end, was a collection of letter that was distributed under the name '*A Collection of Roses*', Zolkiew, 5469 (1708). He dies on 15 Adar II, 5485 (1725).

R' Zalman Chaim Likver was a *Kabbalist Hasid*, a *Maggid* of the Zolkiew congregation, he was the father of the *Maggid* drawn from the wise men of the *Kloyz* in Brody, R' Menachem Mendl Zolkiewer.

A great *Darshan* who was a *Kabbalist* and known expert in this field was R' Yehuda Leib ben R' Nathan, who was called by the common folk 'R' Leib Polack, because according the telling of his contemporaries, because 'The truth of the Torah was in his mouth here, a little jewel,' and a tested force in the internal years of depression in the lives of the Polish Jews in the middle of the 18th century. In his orations, he would bring innovations in Torah study, many of which are recalled in the book his uncle R' Gedalia ben R' Yitzhak of Lunz)a student of the Examiner of Polno) '*Teshuot Khayn*' and '*Rolls of Gold*' (Zolkiew, 5513). He passed away on 16 Adar II 5554 (1764).

At the end of the 18th century at the time the city was under the supervision of R' Zvi Meizhels the *Maggid* R' Yitzhak Shimshon ben Pesach lived, formerly a Rabbi in Rawa, a wondrous scholar who also served on the Bet-Din of R' Yaakov Meshullam Orenstein.

During this period, in the year 1760, R' Yaakov ben R' Ze'ev Krantz was taken on as a *Kabbalist*. He was known as the *Maggid of Dubno*. He would give lectures in Mezritch, and he developed a reputation as an Enlightened *Maggid* throughout the area of Lithuania and Reisen. The heads of Zolkiew invited him to serve as a *Maggid* in their congregation. From here, he was called to Dubno and he was there for 18 years as a *Reciter of the Truth*, he was a friend and a neighbor to the GR" A⁸¹.

Thanks to a headstone that was strong, the community of Zolkiew had in its hands the means to preserve the lives of For significant members of the community and great Rabbis who were known to be advanced in their Torah knowledge, who spent most of their lives in Zolkiew studying *Torah* and performing service to God, and designed the shape of the community which was orderly and possessed a proper organization. Under their influence, the leaders of the community wanted to free Zolkiew from the control of Lvov. Their desire was to achieve a situation of autonomy in their own enclave. This widely held stand by their congregation and its prominence, and succeeded, to the extent that it told in the chapter about its standing in the autonomous Jewish institutions.

(P. 85)

D. Doctors and Pharmacists

Apart from *feldschers*, there were expert doctors that graduated from universities in medicine. Known to us, from the first of the doctors, Michael ben Israel was known to us. He was nicknamed the 'fat man' and according to the description given on his headstone was written 'A loyal, skilled and trusted [person], and his reputation was one of the best; he died on 14 Nissan 5374 (1614). During the reign of the King Jan Sobieski one of the better doctors who served the Jews, practiced in Zolkiew during this same period. Dr. Emanuel da Jonah. Apart from his practice of medicine in the courtyard of the King, he also served the Jewish Hospital (*Hekdesh*)⁸² that had existed already back in the 17th century – and in this – the 18th century he settled, according to the list in Austrian records – in the City proper neighboring the Jewish ritual bath, and the Community House.

Feldschers [only] worked in the Jewish Hospital. In the first quarter of the century Dr. Uziel Avraham who was native born to Zolkiew, a son of R' Joseph the emissary from Brod, who not been born in Zolkiew. He graduated in Medicine out of the country, was a doctor in Zolkiew for a number of years, and afterwards settled in Brody.

During the thirties of the 18th century there was an expert [i.e. with a degree] doctor Avraham ben Yitzhak. — Apart from this, we are cognizant of a doctor from the end of the 18th century, the physician Dr. Koppel Stein.

⁸¹ An acronym referring to the '*Vilna Gaon*,' a renown spiritual persona of his time.

⁸² Possibly being used in its derogatory sense of identified a messy, ruined place.

There were also Jewish pharmacists in Zolkiew. The pharmacist Moshe *Aptayker*⁸³ in the year 1748, and the pharmacist Avraham in 1765.

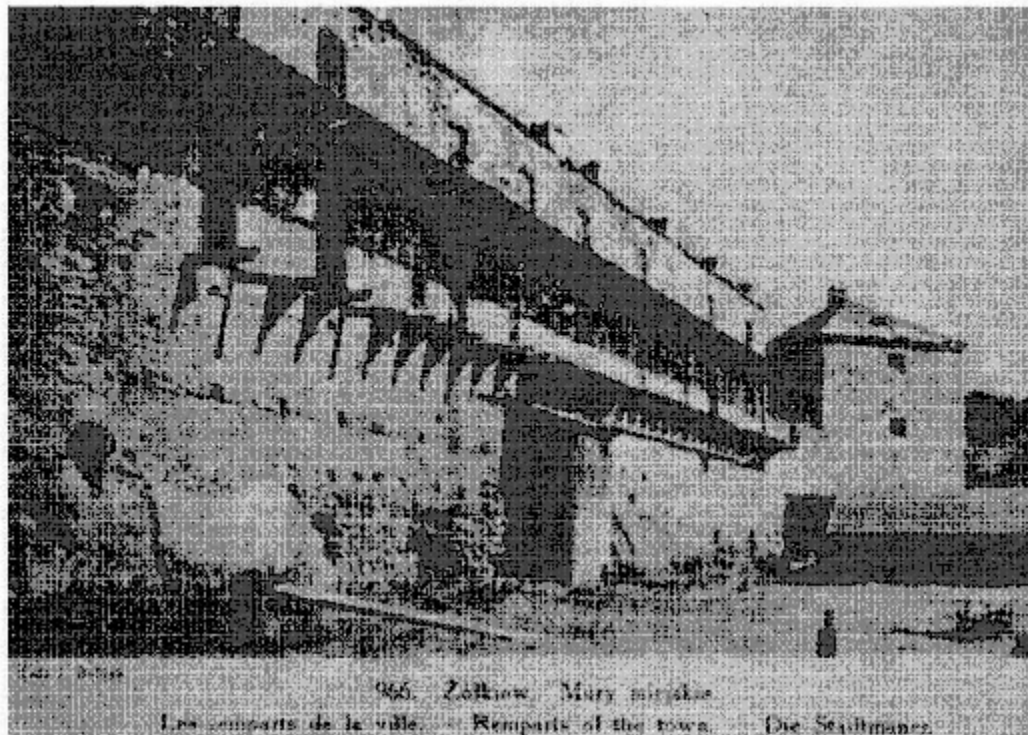
After personalities replete in this area, the Scribe of the congregation was Eliezer Pavir ben Yaakov Koppel from Tarnopol, He was one of the first to create Yiddish books. Pavir served as a proofreader in the printing establishment in Zolkiew.

He began his work in literature in translation. In the year 5557 he printed a didactic-romantic performance in Szklov writing in prose using the style of R' Chaim ben R' Avraham Yehuda Leib the Kohen of Mogilev called '*A War During Peacetime.*' [He told] the story of Joseph and his brothers, in parts, by using conversation and discussion, and acting as an intermediary. The substance of the travesty was the story about the sale of Joseph by his brothers to the Ishmaelites, and their arrival in Egypt to procure food. In the second part – the crux of the scroll, discussions between the sons of Jacob and the heads of the Egyptian embalmers, and the gatherings Joseph had for his brothers.

Pavir translated this scenario into Yiddish, which became endearing to the Enlightened and multiple editions were printed named '*The Greatness of Joseph,*' and came out in Zolkiew in the year 1801 in the printing house of Mordechai Stein. At the beginning of the book, the transcriber from the Holy Tongue to Yiddish added a foreword, detailing the translation of the contents from the Holy Tongue to German. In it there was a lesson to be learned, that many had pleaded with him to copy 'this beloved book into German,' because 'it is sealed off before people who have no facility with our language.' He did this so that the masses should understand, and garner a taste of the spread of honeyed words that are being said truthfully and justly, and should teach those who have strayed, an understanding of all they will absorb and allowed to wither by the gentiles on the stones of void, and to speak wrongly from people who mock such things. The story in this book is not like this. Because all of it is an example of intermediation, wisdom and tradition.' Pavir did not content himself only with translation, but worked the scenario in many places, in a manner that in his time was a renovation of the Yiddish language. Similarly in his translation of '*The Test of the World,*' to R' Yedia Badraszy he conveyed an inner understanding of the renovation that was fresh and rare, published in Zolkiew in the year 1805 together with the Hebrew source, in which he uncovered his literary talents.

83

A possessive declension of the noun for 'the pharmacist,' derived from Russian.



חומת-העיר



סימטה ברולקיב



הכנסייה הקטולית „מארא” שבה נמצא קבר המשפחה של מיסד-העיר חסמן סטאניסלאב זילקיאחוסקי

Pavir translated a part of the book *'The Storybook'* (1602 that was written in Yiddish-German from the middle ages into the Yiddish language understood by the Jews of Poland-Lithuania, and had it printed in 1807 under the name of *'Tales of Wondrous Acts'* (Zolkiew 5567), storied ans events from the life of the *Gaon* and *Hasid* R' Shmuel and his son R' Yehuda the *Hasid* and his like (Zolkiew, 5560). In the year 1807 he translated into Yiddish *'The Praises of the Baal Shem Tov'* He was one of the first of the Enlightenment in Zolkiew at the end of the 18th century, and one of its first 'Pioneers' of simple Yiddish that he tried to inject into the proletarian's literature, to insert the common peoples' language the spoken language of the masses without the intermediation and flowery constructions of the German language. He translated *'The Test of the World'* for R' Yediah the Pearl, son of R' Avraham the Badraszy called "*Clear Language*" in the style of the Hebrew language, with a short explanation (Zolkiew 5565) 1805.

As the writer of the congregation he was equally an influence on the congregation, and to the spiritual disappointment of its residents. Because of its proletarian sound, his books were accepted by the readers of his time who didn't know Hebrew, especially the women.

V. Zolkiew in the Institutions of Autonomy

As it happens ,Zolkiew was first that gave a sign in Reisen⁸⁴ after it had severed its ties from the Lvov congregation in the year 1626, to create the Lvov Valley Commission, which was [also] established in a manner similar to the other Commissions of the Valley, in accordance to the commands of the Reisen authorities each in their respective *Sejm* set up in Wisznia in the year 1658.

After the invasion of the Cossacks and Tatars those congregation linked to Lvov through branches, in – Brody, Zolkiew, Bubarka, Buczacz, Tysmenytsya, Horodeczny, Rohatyn, Zlotow, Leask and Rohatyn, began to free themselves from its [sic: Lvov] customs and required to take counsel from them in the matter of taxes, budgets and also in matters of general interest. On this foundation, the country of Reisen was created as the country of Reisen [formally] with Lvov at its center. After the peace was concluded with the Turks in Buczacz (1672), Podolia broke away after the peace of Karlowitz (1699), the Jews of Podolia did not want to be part of the country of Reisen, and to recognize the leadership Lvov and Rawa (Ruska?), and in 1713 they created their own 'country' with a Rabbi in Satanów as the Rabbi of the country.

84

The German name for Ruthenia

The community of Lvov was the center of Ruthenia within which they created nine congregations in accordance with the will of the people, and this was the launching of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* in Jaroslaw or Lublin, and among the 'mediators' serving as representatives of the entire country, there were those also dealt with the internal issues of the royal entity regarding taxes throughout. The thing that aroused the concern of the locations where there were branches, and created during the time of war, found it difficult to break away from the control of Lvov, at the end of the 18th century.

The country-wide *Va'ad* apart from being the controlling leadership among the *Sejm* Jews – *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* – and between their congregations, also directed the internal affairs of the country – and filled positions to control country-wide taxes from their own ranks.

For political reason, the hegemony over Poland was of interest to preservation of the country, and for this reason, it recognized special fundamental Privileges interested in the preservation of these Committees and of special committees, to which the King would allocate separately to each and every county, along with this they specified the territorial boundaries of each country-wide *Va'ad*.

In these, country-wide locations, the head of the forces of the rulers of the *Voievode* whose job consisted of '*Patronus Judaeorum*' (exemption of the Jews). Or the commissars that were responsible for that area, And it was they who were the ones who practically carried out the work in the settlement, and make it satisfying to the one directing the country-wide hegemony. On the Jewish side, on the Country-Committee, were the heads of the country and their leaders, and the Rabbi of the Lvov congregation, who also served as Chief Rabbi of the country, and its officials elected by the congregations. On average, the participation of those seated in the *Va'ad* of Ruthenia, 3 Heads of the Community, and 15 leaders of the communities: 4 from Lvov. 4 from Brody, 3 from Zolkiew, 1 from Tysmenytsya, 1 from Stary, 1 from Leask, 1 from Jaworow. 1. For the head of the country who sat at the head of the group and directed the issue judgement.

At sittings, the participants sat in accordance with an order specified by the Head. And so, for example, At the sitting in Berezhany in the year 1740, they were seated in the following order: The Leader for the country sat at the head, at his hand sat 2 officers from Lvov in the middle of the city, across from them 4 officers Brody. Across from them 4 officers from Zolkiew, (3 were elected officers and the fourth was the Head of the country) beside the officers from Brody and Zolkiew, sitting on one side, the officers of outer Lvov from outside the city. The last places were sat in by officers from Lisok, Stary, Tysmenytsya, and Jaworow. For those meetings in the country session the officers of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* were also seated.

The mechanism of appointment consistent of an emissary, a scribe, an accountant, 7 tax collectors, 2 appraisers and two *Shamashim*.

The *Va'ad* of the country of Ruthenia was set up limited to *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* 3 appraisers, in accordance with the following order together: 1 from Lvov and 2 from the provincial congregations, or 2 from Lvov and 1 from a province, and it was they who were tasked with presenting the issues of the country to be assessed by the country-wide *Va'ad*.

In the 18th century the influence of Lvov declined to the point that only the Rabbi of the country remained.

In the midst of Ruthenia, severe fighting broke out between Lvov and the remaining congregations who did not want to recognize its [e.g. Lvov's] superiority. And there was a boundary set up for the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* either in Jaroslaw or Lublin. At the head of the struggle there were Zolkiew, Brody and BucZacz, who led the opposition against the control of Lvov. In addition, in 1664, the seating of the country-wide *Va'ad* of Szwerz sharply attacked

the community of Lvov, whose desire was to remain in control of all the community issues. They took special objection to the amendments of the *Voievode* Mark Maczinski, who had declared that the *Parnassim* of the Lvov community are also officers for all of Ruthenia, despite this, they arrived at an agreement, and they entered a number of amendments in the set of Zolkiew.

In 1707 (11 Elul 5465) the *Va'ad* of the country entered Strelsk to judge a dispute that had broken out between the congregation of Lisok and Sanok. The dispute was passed up to a court made up the Chief Rabbi of the country, R' Naphtali Hertz Ashkenazi as the chairman, the Rabbi of Zolkiew, R' Avli ben R' Mordechai Avraham, Rabbi Hirsch Bliskov and the leader of the Brody community, R' Yaakov Avraham Zolkiewer ben Yitzhak Zolkiewer, who was a *Parnes* in the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot*.

To our disappointment very little of the *Va'ad* of the countries survive from their archives of the members and their writings.

It is known to us from the archive of the country *Va'ad*, that in 1714, Burstein entered there for purposes of allocating out the head tax, and in Kulikovo in 7/17/1720 (11 Tammuz 5486) in which 5 powerful men participated from Zolkiew and among them, the *Parnes* of the *Va'ad* R' Nathan ben Bezalel the tax collector, 3 powerful men from Brody, 1 from Buczacz, 1 from Zolkiew, and 1 from another city, together with the rabbi of the valley and from Lvov, 15 members participated.

In this gathering, the ruling of the conflict between Lisok and Sanok, and according to the court's ruling Leask came out on top over Sanok.

In this sitting, the dispute between Lvov and the other congregations of the valley, the position of the first Rabbi was filled by the Zolkiew contingent.

After the passing of the Rabbi, *Gaon* and Sage Zvi in 1718 R' Yehoshua Falk (1681-1756) was chosen to be the Rabbi of Lvov and the Valley, but a short time after his selection one of the rich men in Lvov, with the support of the *Voievode* of Ruthenia, Jablonski, to place, on this Rabbinic Seat his son-in-law, R' Chaim Lejzor'l. In the year 1720 when the term of the service of R' Falk was completed, the congregation would not accept his appointment, and chose R' Chaim ben Lejzor'l as the Rabbi of Lvov and the Valley, this choice was again supported by the *Voievode* Jablonski as well.

The Rabbi R' Yehoshua Falk author of '*The Face of Joshua*' was compelled to leave Lvov and go to Buczacz, the home of his *mekhutan*⁸⁵, R' Aryeh Leibusz. From there, he turned to the congregations of the Valley, who leaned towards him for his goodness, and did not recognize Rabbi Chaim ben Lejzor.

At a sitting of the *Va'ad* of the Valley, an announcement of an excommunication was made regarding R' Chaim. In this ruling, it was explicitly written that 'the people of the Valley have no claim to part or claim of inheritance from the holy congregation of Lvov, or accept the Rabbi's benediction, however all of us, as one, all the communities of the valley, from one end to the other, all of us are owed to be under the honor of the Rabbi and *Gaon*, *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Yehoshua, as previously mentioned., he will solely and by himself will be our Senior among us, and the selection of the place where he will live in one of the congregations of the valley there we will be attuned to listen to him in all matters pertaining to the rabbinate.' The officers of the Zolkiew

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A uniquely one-word Hebrew/Yiddish designation of the father-in-law of a married couple.

congregation supported this, especially the officer R' Nathan ben Bezalel stood out. Because of all these disputes the officers of Lvov did not participate in this meeting.

On June 10, 1723 the deputy treasurer Pszabendowski, moved the Valley Commission to Bóbrka, for purpose of the allocation of the head tax, and on January 15, 1724 the *Va'ad* returned again to the town of Zaluzhany. The authorities took an interest in the resolution of the disputes among the community heads in Lvov and the heads of all the communities in the outer parts of Ruthenia, which is what we learn from the letters of the deputy Treasurer J. Pszabendowski that was sent from Which was sent from Warsaw on November 13, 1725 to the *Parnes* of the Valley, R' Chaim Reitzes.

The conflicts between Lvov and the provincial congregations regarding the question of the power of the commission and its degree of control continued, because the heads of the provincial commissions did not agree to partner with the neighboring forces of Lvov in the country-wide commission. Also, the disputes intensified when it came to matter that were organizational and financial, This matter had an effect on the involvement of the rulers when they could not resolve the matter of the head tax.

In writing to the *Parnes* of the valley R' Chaim Reitzes, the deputy treasurer warned of the lack of concordance between the *Parnassim* of Lvov and the provinces, and he demanded to turn over the issue to the settlement of the country-wide commission in Bialikamon that was beside Brody, to order the division of the tax on the communities. After the time of this ordering and impact fell upon the commission on October 8, 1725. It appears that the warning of the deputy treasurer fell on deaf ears, because nothing happened, because the seating at Bialikamon did not happen, because the heads of the provincial [committees] did not want to participate with the leadership Lvov in this country-wide commission.

The dispute put forth by most of the Leaders in matters of organization and finances, continued until 1740. In its attempt to resolve this matter before the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* in Jaroslaw, they closed in on an ordering in the settlement of Berezhany, appearing under pressure from the rulers who were interested in the division and collection, the institutions of head-tax, a matter that was tied to stable relationships within the country-wide commission and its influence on the communities.

At this seating 18 officers participated among them officers from Lvov, the country Head R' Isser, from Brody R' Mordechai Babad, Leask, Stary, Tysmenytsya, Khodorov, Janowa from Lvov and others.

The issues that affected Ruthenia in this sitting took up 15 pages. In the end 1 was set in place, that at the time when taxed were evaluated and their division among the communities 2 of the *Shamashim* from Lvov and 5 from the entire nation opposed them. As to the election of country-wide *Parnassim*, one must count 2 leaders from Lvov and a number of the leaders of the country, this being in accordance with the decision of the sitting at Biaritzuv (Chapter 2).

As to setting the date of the formation of the country-wide committee, it was asked for a group of 6 from Lvov, and 12 from the valley (Chapter 3) At the sitting of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* there will be 2 leaders from Lvov participating and 2 heads from the provinces (Chapter 4). In the gathering of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* to set the level of taxes for the kingdom's treasury, 3 *Shamashim* will participate from all of Ruthenia, once two from Lvov and the next time 2 from the valley (Chapter 5). The head tax set for Lvov will be set for the same amount as for the largest city having no branches, This chapter is

different in the sitting of the *Va'ad* in Bóbrka on July 2, 1763 in favor of Lvov, because the economic setback that had hit the Lvov community it was decided that the sum of the taxes will begin on her [sic: Lvov] and will be set at the time of the collection itself.

In the seventh Chapter, the privilege of the officers from Lvov to select members of the *Va'ad* was revoked. This privilege was given over to the Head *Parnes* of the country, and the Rabbi of the valley. Chapter 8 dealt with the order in which signatures were to be affixed, the decisions of the *Va'ad*, the order of seating, and the *Va'ad* was shaped in the following manner: The Chief *Parnes* of the Country, 4 leaders from Lvov, 4 from Zolkiew, 4 from Brody and the order of their seating will be as follows:

The *Parnes* sits at the head of the table (*Marszalek*), which in the first half of the 18th century was always the Leader from Zolkiew. On his two sides were one from Lvov (from communities outside of the city). There would then be four leaders from Brody, and one from Lvov (outside the city). The *Va'ad* numbered 13 members.

In Chapters 9-12, the selection of the Rabbi of the country is discussed, that opposite them were those placed there by the *Parnes* of the *Va'ad* who was always from Zolkiew and by one leader from Brody. It was in this manner that Lvov ended its effort in matters pertaining to the Rabbi of the country. All this despite the fact that the Rabbi of the country had to serve also as the Rabbi of Lvov

In Chapter 15 it was set that the Lvov leaders who participate in the sitting of the *Va'ad* of the country will receive double '*Diatas*' (ד"א) apart from that given to the rest of the leaders from the valley. This matter also pertained to the *Shamashim* head taxes. It is from that time of the sitting of the country-committee in Berezhany that Lvov lost its influence over the valley area of Ruthenia.

In the first half of the 18th century the Rabbis and the Leaders of Zolkiew were prominently visible in the sittings that took place in Zolkiew, especially those sessions that were held in Kulikovo, Bóbrka, Brody and Burstein. By the first quarter of the 18th century, the first *Parnes* selected was R' Gershon Nathan, who, for many years stood in intense contact as the public face of the country-commission, the son of Bezalel the tax collector who has intimate contact with the King Sobieski courtyard and was respected and controlled the community he inherited and his father's roles in the community. R' Gershon was an aggressive man and steadfast, and knew how to expand the extent of his land holdings not only for his community but also the country-wide commission. He was a Head and Leader in Zolkiew for the year ה"נ, (26 Elul 1659), and was initiated together with the other *Parnassim* and the leaders of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* in Jaroslaw, together with his son-in-law Hanoch-Henykh the son of Bezalel the tax collector, and together with Hanoch-Henykh, his son-in-law controlled the county-commission country-side. Hanoch-Henykh, the son-in-law of Bezalel the tax collector, was one of the respected men of Zolkiew, and while as son-in-law he carried out burdensome tasks in the life of the community. And when in 1688, Bezalel was selected to be the head of the community, he put up only one condition, to his right 'to render honor to his son-in-law, the officer as *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Hanoch-Henykh and to take his seat instead of himself and act in his capacity in all matters, etc. He was a scholar and a quick decision-maker in leading all of the community matters. R' Gershon too, was a scholar and the novelties of his work were always open before him. When he argued before the local ruler, the Rabbi of Tarnopol R' Yehoshua Heschel son of R' Yitzhak of Cracow was put to the side, and R' Yehoshua Heschel, son of the Rabbi Yitzhak of Cracow, and his place was taken his father-in-law the Rabbi Aryeh Leib.

By marriages of his daughters, he was connected with the most highly pedigreed families among the Rabbis of Poland, to Rabbi Mordechai Heilperin, and the second – Leah ben R' Yitzhak Elchanan of Cracow, the *Bet-Din Senior* of Zolkiew and afterwards Bszarogorod. The third daughter was the wife of R' David son of the 'Sage Zvi', who was the Rabbi of Byaritzov in his older years, leaving the rabbinate and settled in the town of Leshniv that is beside Brody, and was the *Shammes* of the synagogue without revealing his identity. However before he died, he revealed that he was the son of the Rabbi and Wise Man Chaim Zvi. He is the progenitor of the Halberstam family, from whom Rabbis and community leaders are descended in Ruthenia..

At the time during which R' Gershon Peretz was the Head, the dispute between Lvov and the congregations of the Valley regarding who would be the Country Rabbi fell to the Committee, and they assented to his will.

The disputes regarding the issues of who should be the Country Rabbi continued up until the Austrian conquest. Until the end of the 17th century a Rabbi if the Valley served came from the region of Ruthenia, with no opposition, most of the population of Lvov being outside the city. As was the case before, the disputation began after the election of R' Yaakov Yehoshua (author of '*Pnei Yehoshua*').

After Rabbi Chaim ben Lejzor'l was forced to flee Lvov in connection with the sentence pronounced by the convert Jan Filipovic, R' Aryeh Leib ben Shaul was selected as the congregation (1755), the husband of the Wise Rabbi Zvi's daughter, Leah. The *Parnassim* of Lvov tried, without the consent of the Valley Commission, to get him the added advantage to preside over the whole country. With the influence of the Lvov commission, the King, August III conveyed in his letter that from 20/11 1735 the *Voievode* Adam Czartoriski, his control over the *Parnassim* of those communities outside of Lvov, and gave notice that they should consider this a directive to recognize Lvov.

But even the letter of the King did not help. At that same time, the *Parnassim* of the Valley chose the Rabbi of Zolkiew R' Yitzhak ben Zvi Landau (?) The son-in-law of Dr. Emmanuel da Jonah as the Rabbi to oversee the Valley. He transferred the location for the country office to Zolkiew. It is understood that Lvov did not agree with the appointment of this individual, And R' Aryeh ben Shmuel, the Rabbi of Lvov took exceptional disagreement. The quarrels among the two rabbis ended in the year 1749, when R' Aryeh Leib returned to Galzuna (?) His departure from Lvov aroused the officials of Zolkiew to capture the 'cup of the rabbinate' for R' Yitzhak Landau, however, the congregation of Lvov did not agree to this.

Then the seating of the Valley Commission held at Berezhany in 1740 demanded that the rabbinate of the Valley be divided, half in the hands of Rabbi Landau, and half to the Rabbi of Lvov who is to be chosen, in the instance that the Rabbi, R' Yitzhak will make *aliyah* to Jerusalem, or taken a position in another city – let the Rabbi of Lvov come to his place, and control in the capacity of the Valley, all of Ruthenia. In Lvov they chose as Rabbi, R' Chaim ben The Rabbi and *Gaon* R' Simcha *HaKohen* Rapaport, who was the Rabbi of Slutsk.

When Rabbi Landau was selected to be the Rabbi of Cracow in 1754, the quarreling erupted again. After R' Gershon Nathan had served as a *Parnes* of the Country commission for the position thirty years, the senior members of the *Va'ad* selected R' Israel Mordechai Isser's.

But even he, as one of the prominent ones from the city of Zolkiew, was opposed even though he came with family connections to the family of the *Bet Din Senior*, of the highly placed people in Brody.

In 1728, R' Israel Isser's was arrested in Zolkiew in connection with a plot against R' Yehoshua Reitz's in Lvov, and the Rabbi of Lvov R' Chaim, who fled to Zolkiew and did so thanks to being warned well in advance. All the assets of R' Israel were embargoed.

R' Israel married off his daughter Esther the R' Naphtali Hertz who was the Rabbi in Rawa. In 1742 (5453) R' Naphtali was accepted as a *Dayan* and a *Teacher of Justice* in the city where his father-in-law resided – Zolkiew. From that time on he was called R' Hertz R' Isser's. He married off his second daughter, Rivka to Moshe, the son of the Parnes of the Lublin community, Avraham R' Chaim's, who was the Rabbi in Svirzh, At the influence of his father-in-law R' Pinchas, he joined the community of Zolkiew with its heads and revered people at the time when the great dispute surrounding R' Yaakov Eibeschutz with the support of those to whom he appealed. With the considerable effort of R' Israel, a Great Embargo was pronounced in 1751 (5511) with the full force and strength to be put ' over those that speak on the *Tzaddik Our Teacher and Rabbi* Eibeschutz with derision. Even R' Isser signed this embargo.

After his death, in the summer of 1746, a seating of the *Va'ad of the Valley* took place in Zaluzhany on the 19th of Elul (5506) for purpose of selecting his successor, However after taking counsel on 19th Elul the decision was accepted that because of the large expenses of the Valley and seeing that the Parnassim of the Valley was like a heavy yoke and burden. And seeing that the expenses of the Parnes of the Valley went up every year one after the other, and seeing that these expenses ran into thousands of Gulden and there are no expenditures being made for ' the good of the Valley' – that we close the doors of privilege, and we take upon ourselves on this day, the large and awesome embargo, in order to lighten the burden of the expenses of our Valley, and we are agreed among us that from this day forward to the end of two years time, from day to day, one or many, who wish to take advantage of deception in doing certain deeds, because of our Valley *Va'ad* previously referred to, and for the coming two years the leadership from Brody saw n it an initiative against them, and they were not disturbed from the threat of embargoes and fines, and in 1750, they picked for themselves, with the consent of the country rulers, they nominated the Head of Brody Rabbi Khytin, R' Yitzhak Issachar Berisz as Bab"ad as the head for the entire country. The leaders of Zolkiew refused to agree to this, namely, that R' Berisz Bab"ad is to be selected as the country head, and they approached the reigning authorities with a charge against the leaders of Brody with the complaint, that this is a product of the same sort of thinking they plan to impose their own rule on them to have a *Parnes* of the Valley. Even the officials of Lvov and Tysmenytsya embargoed the deliberations of the seating of the county Commission that Bab"ad brought into Brody on July 19, 1750, as a solution to the paying off of a debt of 150,000 Gulden clarified by the indignation expressed by R' Berisz , because he would divide up the head tax without the participation of the officers that are embargoing the *Va'ad* – And he did as he said.

After launching this dispute, complaints in front of the Vice-Treasurer of the kingdom, the heads of other cities joined, such as : Khodorow (1752 Sanok (1754) Strelsk (1755) Drohowycz, Dulina, Rohatyn, Kulikovo, Pomorzany, Gorodok (156) and Bulikova (1760).

Zolkiew was removed from its position on the Country Commission. Its leadership succeeded in only one thing, that the father-in-law of R' Isser's, R' Pinchas Moshe ben Avraham R Chaimish was nominated to be the trusted secretary of the *Va'ad* and the *Bet Din Senior*.

As a country trustee of Reisen, he participated in judgements relating the division of head taxes. (Disportment).

They saw in him an upstanding character, and gave him the Polish nickname:

Originally, R' Pinchas Moshe was the Rabbi in Svirzh, and in the year 1745 under the influence of his son-in-law R' Israel Isser's, he was taken up to be the Rabbi of Zolkiew. He also served as the Parnes of the Country, and afterwards as a trustee of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*. He served in these capacities until 1764. He left sharply against R' Yaakov Emden in his struggle against R' Yonatan Eibeschutz. He organized the embargo against those who quarreled with him. But in the passage of time, he regretted his decision because he was a supporter of R' Eibeschutz. When belief in the leader of praying services became known, and the embargo was announced in Lvov, Lutsk, Brody and Dubno, R' Pinchas and his father regretted what they did, and the embargo was announced in Lvov, Lutsk, Brody and Dubno, R' Pinchas and his father fell silent the latter stood in the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* at the head of those supporting Eibeschutz, and the help they had extended to them because 'of the indignant manner, Yonatan the eldest who maligned Israel and Svirzh, Israel and was hasty, caused R' Pinchas Moshe) to announce the embargo in the Holy Assembly on his books and amulets.

His son, R' Shmuel wrote of him: 'he was a *Bet Din Senior of a Holy Congregation*, quick to act, *Parnes* of The Lvov Valley commission, a trustee of the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot*, and, in him you had *Torah* and greatness in one place.'

The standard of influence and general standing of Zolkiew declined during the period of leadership of R' Dov Ber Bab"ad in the Valley *Va'ad*. During the time of the disputation over the issue of who should be the Rabbi in the *Va'ad* of the Valley, during the years 1755-1771 it made an attempt to seize its former position, but it was in vain. The period of community autonomy in Poland had passed by, which led to its cancellation in the year 1764.

The officials of Zolkiew participated in the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*. In the year 1666, R' Moshe ben Aharon from Zolkiew signed the promissory note, along with other officers of the community of Jews in Poland. This was a promissory note that they turned over in January 3, to the secretary of the treasury Casimir Kowalski, as a payment obligation for the needs of the military.

In the years 5484-5491 R' Yitzhak bar Zvi Hirsch Landau participated in the sittings of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* (called Hirsch Mellisz) in his role as Rabbi of the country.

In the years 1676-1690 the Head of the country from Lvov, R' David ben Yitzhak Prager from Buczacz participated, who also participated in the *Va'ad* of the province which he joined in 11 Tevet 5424 (1663).

David ben R' Yitzhak the Scribe was one of the leaders in the *Va'ad HaAratzot*.

VI. Sabbateans in Zolkiew

Notwithstanding the difficult disappointments that descended upon the followers of Sabbatai Zvi after he converted to Islam, and the efforts of Rabbis and community Heads in Poland, to uproot every memory of his movement by burning pamphlets and even pages from the annals of the communities, that mentioned his name, there remained in Poland, especially in the eastern regions. Loyal adherents who saw in Sabbatai Zvi a redeeming Messiah that dressed in strange garments, disappear and his end needs to be revealed anew. Nevertheless, clusters of people like this worked in secret and underground

in order not to arouse pursuit and erroneous accusations. The emissaries Shabtai Rafael, Mordechai from Eisenstadt (also called by his nickname Mordechai the *Hasid* from Prague) they encouraged the believers in Sabbatai Zvi in Poland, and with the passage of a few years, organized themselves with Hesh'l Tzoreyf from Vilna (and afterwards in Cracow), and Chaim Malakh, who revealed their Sabbatean faith only to believers and people close to them, against the outside world.

Years before the *aliyah* of the group of Yehuda the *Hasid* and Chaim Malakh to the Land of Israel, in Zolkiew there was an active group of Sabbatai followers, Chaim Malakh, he is Chaim ben Shlomo 'the openly visible as R' Chaim Malakh who was a scholar, and knew the *Kabbalah* and he had students even from among the Rabbinate. Especially, the force of his speaking influenced his listeners, which also inflamed them. He had joined the ranks of the Sabbateans while still a youth.

In 1690 he traveled to Italy and learned the esoteric lore from the head of the *Kabbalists* in Italy Moshe (Chaim?) Zacut, and after that from his student R' Benjamin Cohen Marigin, who was an excellent Sabbatean in the opinion of Natan *the Daring*. In Italy, Chaim Malakh returned to Poland as an emissary of the given Sabbatean [faith] as related by the men in Italy. In the years 1690-1692 he resided in Zolkiew and spread the lore of the Italian people among the wise men of Poland, as well as the lore of Natan the Daring, which he did in the home of R' Benjamin Cohen, the name of his writings ('Genesis,' 'Secrets of Divinity'). In the *Bet-HaMedrash* of Zolkiew he taught the *Kabbala* in his style and he had many students.

In 1692 he left Poland and made for Turkey. He resided in Adrianople until 1694 and leaned from the sayings of Shmuel Primo, who had the books of Sabbatai Zvi, and the leader of the Sabbateans who were too there, he did not change his beliefs with the change in and was the *Bet-Din Senior* in Adrianople. In Salonika, he connected with the extremist branch of the converts (*Dunema*) in Ruckia (?) They taught a different view of the *Kabbala* of the Sabbateans, which caused, according to Gershom Sholom nihilism and idleness, to the creation of wild behavior and sinful deeds.

After he had absorbed these teachings, Chaim Malakh left the left the lore of the Sabbateans and their converts, and went over to the camp of the extremists, because he had found favor with their leadership in Turkey, and they saw him as an emissary of their lore in Poland. After he returned to Podolia in 1694, where he remained until 1699, when it was turned over to Turkish rule, he spread the lore of the extremist Sabbateans from 1694-1696 [- until Tishrei 5407 – he lived in Zolkiew and studied at the *Bet-Hamedrash* of the congregation, which beside him, eventually became one of the important centers of extremist Sabbatean faith in Ruthenia.

With the intermediation of Mordechai Ashkenazi, who had returned from Zolkiew to Italy, he wrote a letter to Avraham Ravieno and Benjamin Cohen. In this letter he elevated the foundations and interests of the Sabbatean faith on 'Secrets of Divinity' and the 'Truth' as he learned it from the very mouth of Shmuel Primo. AS to the 'Deep and Esoteric Matters' he will convey them 'when *God May He Be Blessed* will allow us to meet face-to-face and we will sweeten the secret, and it will perhaps soon be with God's help to do this, because we are traveling to the Holy Land and I head from those studying with me that you too have the idea to travel there. If so we will see each other there together, and I will serve you as a student serves his Rabbi.'

His oration made such an impression on his listeners that left them in awe. He knew this because among those who praised him was also R' Gershon Nathan ben Bezalel the tax collector, who also stood for many years as the head of the congregation, and was the head of the country of Ruthenia. He added a couple of lines [about this] in the previously mentioned letter. In them he made clear that 'it was already two years that the learned at the Bet HaMedrash

the scholar among the rabbis, the Kabbalist נר (candle of Israel, May his candle continue to give light), (ה"א the light of his generation, the Hammer of his Generation) As *Our Teacher and Rabbi, R' Chaim.*'

However, the efforts of Chaim Malakh in Zolkiew, that had influence beyond its boundaries, revived anew that because of his oration, he was prophesying, because in the year 5466, forty years after his demise, that Sabbatai Zvi would return to life and make himself visible again. And like Moses Our Teacher, who brought the Jewish people to the land of Canaan, after wandering in the desert for forty years, he will redeem Israel from its troubles and sins.

Despite the harassment from the Rabbis, a number of students joined his group, and in the year 1560 were added to the group of *Hasidim* that plans to go to Israel. It was until the year 1703, he revealed himself in the open as a Sabbatean and gave of his faith in Jerusalem. He made a statue of Sabbatai Zvi, and his followers carried it to their synagogue and proceeded to dance and sing with it.

From Jerusalem, he went out to Turkey and the Balkans, to Austria and Poland, as an emissary that collected money for Israel even though he had not received any authorization to go on such a mission from the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem. When this became known in Jerusalem, the Ashkenazic leaders in Jerusalem still went ahead and put out notice in the hands of special emissary, R' Yekhiel Mikhl to the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*. The Rabbis of *Kshota*⁸⁶ also put out a notice to the heads of communities warning them 'not to fall into the trap of uncertified people and not to give them money for the poor in the Land of Israel, because they are asking for its money to be used by themselves.' Despite such warnings, he also appeared in Poland as an emissary from the *Holy Land*.

In Kislev 5469 (1708) he was in Tiktin, also in the role of an emissary from Israel and he succeeded in getting his audience to take on the donation of 400 Gulden. And the one who tell of this, in the folio of the congregation (page 284) 'when this pure and holy man passed through us, a big man who was dear to us, the Wise Man who knew Torah well, was outstanding, His Honor, *Our Teacher and Rabbi R' Chaim ben Our Teacher and Rabbi Shlomo Hamurgal* in front of the people of those following R' Chaim Malakh, and he received a written message from the school of officials, rulers, officers, heads and leaders of our congregation נר to pay four hundred Gulden for the poor, and that the leaders of the congregation were obligated נר to pay all this money for the poor of Israel, as was previously mentioned. When the matter became clarified, that there was no connection between Our Teacher and Rabbi R' Chaim, and he has no control over this, and he should therefore return to the previously mentioned in the hands of the leaders, completely, or give the funds directly to the poor in Israel, or some official or *Gabbai* in Israel, telling that all of this is for the poor in Israel, and this should be some emissary from Jerusalem the holy city. I wrote and signed this in the presence of the Head Officer of the movement, 1 Kislev 5469. In Mandaism, *kshota* or *kšota* (Classical Mandaic: lit. 'truth') can have several meanings. Its original literal meaning is "truth" in the Mandaic language, and is thus typically used to refer to the Mandaean religious concept of truth. The same word is also used to refer to a sacred handclasp that is used during Mandaean rituals such as *masbuta*, *masiqta*, and priestly initiation ceremonies.

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In Zolkiew Chaim Malakh expanded on his secret, and spread it to cities and towns in Podolia and Reisen, and he rooted the teachings of the extremist Sabbatean in what he had to say. From Poland he went off to Germany and from there to Amsterdam. The man from Zolkiew who announced his Sabbatean belief in public was Moshe Widislav, who was one of the members of the sacred group of R' Yehuda the Hasid. It is not clear – if he made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel.

He took up residence in Zolkiew, and behaved like a pliant *Hasid*, eating no meat during the normal weekdays.

R' Yaakov Emden tells: 'He revealed himself openly and announced to everyone that Sabbatai Zvi was The Messiah, and no other... and he has no fear of standing on the city tower and call out this news in a loud voice, to let this be heard in the streets, and does not feel that they will kill him for this.'

The Sabbatean R' Mordechai ben Yehuda Leib Ashkenazi was a merchant who lived in Zolkiew. He, personally, was not born there, but rather his wife and her parents did. According to what he said, he girded himself and got into an argument with one of the higher ups, in front of the King Jan Sobieski, and won out. He would come out and go in through the King's courtyard, and from this we can gather that he was an important man of standing in Zolkiew. He would especially make a point of underscoring the fact that the King was amiable towards Jews. In 1695, Ashkenazi left Zolkiew, and went to Italy. In Modena, he was received by Avraham ben Michael Rowigov, a rich man knowledgeable in the *Kabbalah*. Ashkenazi was not well-acquainted with the *Torah*, and according to his own word, he "was exposed and known to all who understood science, from the time when I was ignorant and didn't know left from right. And why would I be proud of, or say such things, that are obvious from my head, and everyone who would listen to me, would mock me.'

Rowigov introduced him to the study of the *Kabbalah*, and did not give him leave to return to Poland until he finished his studies. In Sivan 5456 he traveled to Poland in order to retrieve his wife and son, and with them, he returned from Zolkiew on 3 Kislev 5457.

Under the influence of Rowigov, R' Mordechai Ashkenazi would write down his dreams in a notebook, as well as revelations of the '*Maggid*' whose voice he would hear in the dream. The '*Maggid*' would reveal to him things from his 'folio of dreams.' The '*Maggid*' would reveal to him in this folio, his sayings in his folio of dreams, secrets of the *Torah*, secrets and explanations to prepare for the coming of the *Zohar*, and issues standing at the top of the world.

In the book that collected the questions that Rowigov asked the '*Maggid*' and his responses. The '*Maggid*' also gave directions to Ashkenazi regarding his trip to Poland, and delayed his intent to buy goods in Italy to be sold in Poland in order to cover some of the costs from the revenue he earned, and quite the opposite, he demanded of him that he dedicate his time to study. Similarly, he instructed Rowigov to give him 50 Gulden, in order that he hire a rabbi in Zolkiew, day and night. After Ashkenazi returned from Poland with his wife and son David, the '*Maggid*' ordered him to concentrate on his studies. His revelations from the '*Maggid*' served as material for his book '*The Grape Cluster of Avraham*', about the *Zohar*. In order to get it printed rapidly, Rowigov traveled, together with Mordechai Ashkenazi, to Fürth (in Northeastern Bavaria) in the year 1700.

In his 'folio of dreams,' we are standing with the believers, with the help of Natan the Azati, Mordechai the *Hasid* from Einstadt, the names of his family members with their wives, and the friends and students of Avraham Rowigov.

On January 16, 1701 (January 16), Rowigov left Lepanto to go to the Land of Israel with 25 souls, including R' Mordechai Ashkenazi and his family, and he reached Jaffa on the 23rd of Tevet 5462. And when they arrived in Jerusalem, a cattle disease plague broke out, and Mordechai Ashkenazi died, along with his wife and daughter. He left behind two sons who were raised and educated in the group of *Hasidim* supported by Yehuda the *Hasid*. His son David left in 1745 as a Jerusalem emissary outside *The Land*.

After Chaim Malakh left for Germany, Yitzhak Kadainer stood as the head of the Sabbateans. According to the Rabbi R' Yaakov Emden, the Sabbatean faith spread all over Reisen to a great extent, and especially in Zolkiew, Pidhirtsi, Rohatyn, Gorodok, a little at a time, apart from the rest of the placed there was compliance and adoption in Zolkiew, the responsible head was Yitzhak Kadainer and the remaining men of the *Bet HaMedrash* there.

Kadainer was a wise man, and as to the words of Frank that were recorded in (*'Ksienga Slawa'*) he was forced under the pressure of an embargo placed on him, to confess in the *Bet-HaMedrash*.

'In the city of Zolkiew, an embargo was placed on Rabbi Yitzhak Kadainer, and he was forced to walk to the synagogue to give a lecture to specifically curse 'that First One' (Sabbatai). He opened his oration with the following words: Don't be happy, my enemies, even though he fell, he will come again. I heard of his fall, but not of his resuscitation.'

Among the most intelligent of the Sabbateans in Zolkiew was Fishl from Zlotczow, a formidable scholar, knowing the entire *Shas*⁸⁷ practically by heart. The Rabbi who authored '*The Lion' Roar*' told R' Yaakov Emden, that when he was in Zolkiew, he became aware that Fishl of Zlotczow was rich, spending all his time, sequestered in his room studying, and would pray doubly as the first *Hasidim* did, and strengthened himself as a *Hasid* and a formidable instructor. On one occasion, he came to him and confessed his sin, and revealed that he is, a member of the Sabbatean coterie and came to confess his sins to him, and admitted to eating leavened bread on Passover, etc. He put on the face of a returning sinner who has returned to seek forgiveness for his return. When they caught on that he was returning to his old ways, drinking corn liquor in the synagogue on Passover, and committed other serious sins, and when asked about it, he replied that to suffer such indignity for Sabbatai Zvi was a very large change.

Fishl was the son-in-law of Moshe Meir Kaminker of Zolkiew, one of the extreme Sabbateans. According to Rabbi Emden he was 'know among the gates as someone who would lead ti sin... And this was the accursed one that wanted to have relations with his wife during her period, in order to rectify his heart, and she refused to listen to him, and said she would ask her mother... and this question forgave her.'

When the deeds of the Sabbateans were publicized, especially on the right wing, the *Va'ad Arba Aratzot* an onus on the Rabbis of Lvov and all of the cities in the Reisen Valley, to burn out this evil from the land. On 17 Tammuz 5582 (1722) an announcement was made in the Great Synagogue of Lvov which was outside the city, in the presence of a large gathering, by the young Rabbi from the Valley R' Yaakov Yehoshua son of the '*Pnei Yehoshua*', pronounced an embargo on the offenders together with seven of his *Dayanim*. This embargo was announced in other cities and towns. Under his influence, the leaders of the Sabbateans did not attempt a stand in Poland, and went over to Moravia, Bohemia and Germany.

87

A Hebrew Acronym meaning *Six Orders*, these being the six major orders into which the contents of the *Talmud* is divided.

In 1725, Moshe Meir Kaminker was sent as an emissary to the Sabbateans in these countries for creating ties and connections, and the realization of 'their bad efforts' and the obtaining of money 'to incite Israel to pursue the unclean behavior by Sabbatai Zvi. According to Emden, Kaminker 'was a man of the fields who knew how to hunt,' and was made an emissary in connection with sin, and to instigate and delay Israel with various and odd letters that he had and led with. He went through Prague and for *Shavuot*⁸⁸ lodged for several weeks in the home of R' Jonathan Eibeschutz, and from him he received his pamphlet 'And I will come to you unseen., and an explanation letter on Isaiah, Son of R' Yehuda *Hasid* in Mannheim. In it, he notified him that 'the man Moshe (Kaminker) will tell him everything. Kaminker was also in the midst of the Sabbateans in Moravia and Prausnitz, a congregation of 328 Jewish families consisting of 1,700 souls. Here he met with Leib'eleh Prausnitz, also a well known Sabbatean. Unrecognized he reached Mannheim, and there was a group of Sabbateans there with R' Isaiah *Hasid* as noted above. Suspected of being a Sabbatean, he confessed in the synagogue, but secretly, he continued the esoteric Sabbatean teachings. Together with Kaminker he broadened the work under cover, in the community of Mannheim, which at that time was a large congregation and well-financed.

On certain day, Kaminker revealed, out of loyalty to an itinerant orator, and told the true purpose of his own movements presence in Mannheim. The orator immediately notified the *Parnes* and *Dayan* of Frankfurt-am-Main, that happened to have just been invited to Mannheim. He was successful in persuading Kaminker to go to Frankfurt. Kaminker was receptive to his advice and came to Frankfurt. And here, in the house of Rabbi R' Yaakov *HaKohen* Frafer they looked through his effects and found idolatrous writings and a list of Sabbatean holidays.

Between 20-21 July (10-11 in Tammuz) 1725 gave evidence in the Rabbinical court that solidified Kaminker as a Sabbatean.. After an investigation, a large Embargo was announced over him and his Sabbatean comrades, this was publicized outside in Yiddish under the title of '*Khavaya d'Rabbanan*'⁸⁹(Altona 1725). Added to this embargo were the communities of Altona, Hamburg and Amsterdam, and on 9/16/1725 Prague came out with an announcement, and even Rabbi Eibeschutz put and embargo on the Sabbateans, in order to roll away any suspicion of ties to Kaminker. It appears that after the heads of the Sabbateans left Zolkiew, a small number of their adherents went with them, despite the fact they did not have official documents in their hands. The work of the Frankists there were not so many adherents in Zolkiew and there was not much of a response to their call, lucky for those who remained behind.

However in the dispute between Eibeschutz and Emden , the leaders of Zolkiew stood with the former. In the year 5511 (1751) a great embargo was announced ' over the city and Mother in Israel in the Holy Congregation of Zolkiew at an assembly of the ruler and *Gaonim* of the generation, and the dignity fo 24 officials, and leaders of *Adat Jeshurun* and our congregation and the honorable specialist *Dayanim* of the Lvov Valley of the signature by R' Naphtali Hertz ben R' Mordechai sg'l Segal Hurwitz.' Apart from him, the following also signed.

- 1) R' Joseph Bar Yitzhak Segal Landau son of R' Yitzhak Landau of Opatow,
- 2) R' Shaul ben R' Pinchas of Lublin

⁸⁸ The third of the major Jewish Holidays, celebrating the giving of the *Torah* at Mt. Sinai. Curiously, unlike Passover and *Sukkot*, this holiday has no *Hol HaMoed* period.

⁸⁹ Experiences of the Rabbinat.

- 3) R' Moshe Pinchas Ben R' Avraham Chaim's from Lublin, father-in-law of R' Israel Isserl of Zolkiew, and brother-in-law of R' Naphtali Hertz Rabbi and *Bet-Din Senior* of the Holy Congregation of Zolkiew. (it was he who made the effort to announce the Embargo under the influence of his father and brother and Chaim, the *Bet-Din Senior* of Lublin who first announced the embargo as a favor to Eibeschutz).
- 4) R' Moshe ben R' Avraham, being the son of the Rabbi in Zolkiew R' Avraham ben R' Leibusz
- 5) R' Naphtali Hertz son of R' Moshe of Brody, son-in-law of the *Parnes* Israel Isserl and brother-in-law of Moshe Pinchas.
- 6) R' Yehuda Leib ben R' Yehuda Moshe
- 7) R' Aharon ben R' Joseph
- 8) R' Benjamin ben Yaakov Segal of Dubno
- 9) R' Hillel ben R' Shlomo, community Head
- 10) R' Joseph ben R' Moshe
- 11) R' Yehuda Moshe ben R' Shmuel
- 12) R' Gedalia ben R' Benjamin Wolf Rabad
- 13) R' Israel Mordechai ben R' Baruch.

The Frankist movement did not cause any reaction from Zolkiew. Rather the opposite, after a discussion in Kamenets-Podolski in June 1757, and the burning of the volumes of the *Talmud*, the community of Zolkiew, together with the congregations of Brody and Lvov, called days of fasting and prayer to remove the onus of the deleterious nature of the decree.

In the writings of the Frankists, who changed their faiths after the discussion in Lvov (1759) during the months of September-November 1759, where the number of people was 508, there were only two from Zolkiew. On September 23, 1759 –one person Paulus Zhultanowski aged 39, and one woman, the widow Mariana Piotrovska, accepted the Christian faith on August 6, 1760.

The discussion passed, and within the Ruthenia Jews, including Zolkiew, a storm appeared, amid the fear of the decisions that were likely to incite pogroms and harassment aimed at the Jews. This was especially the case that after the *Sejm* meeting in Ruthenia, into which there came Sudova Vyshnya at the end of 1760. In the minutes given to the *Sejm* in Warsaw, which dealt with the decisions of the dialogue in Lvov, 1) to gather up all of their books whether handwritten or printed in Hebrew and Yiddish, and to turn them over to the priests of the place, with the intention of burning them 2) that even among themselves, the Jews were not to make use of Hebrew either in speaking or writing 3) to shut down every printing house, but only using the Latin alphabet or Polish (these were stores that belonged to Jewish storekeepers). 4) they are to arrange prayers in synagogues on holidays, the Sabbath or weekdays to be recited in Latin or Polish, this to be in the presence of two priests or two emissaries of the rulers of the town. 5) Anyone who opposes the rules set down here will be sentenced to death.

Despite this, even this storm passed by, and the *Sejm* that ended in 1761 did not reach the implementation of these decisions.

VII. Printing Houses

Up to the second half of the 17th century, Zolkiew was the center for Hebrew printing in ancient Poland.

In the year 1594 Uri Fybusz ⁹⁰*HaLevi* came from Altona to Amsterdam, the first teacher in the new school in Amsterdam. His son Aharon was a *Hazzan*⁹¹, and his grandson Uri Fybusz erected a Hebrew printing house in Amsterdam, in which he doubly printed the *Tanakh*, in the years 1554-1626 once in Hebrew and once in Yiddish, the Yiddish being the work of Yekuthiel Blitz of Wittmund. To accomplish this work he hired two Christian partners; Wilhelm Blau, a member of the town and a judge Zoroncow, and his consent was obtained for the valley and to hire someone who could prepare a place to sell a Polish *Tanakh* in Poland. The partners tried to obtain a privilege from the King, Jan Sobieski III, that it will be forbidden to print another *Tanakh* in Yiddish for the next 20 years..

On October 17, 1677 the King, Jan Sobieski III granted a privilege, which said that all printers, storekeepers of text, and places that sold books in Poland and its territories beginning with this privilege, to refrain from printing the *Tanakh* for 20 years. In that same privilege, the King ordered Uri Favus to come to Poland and to build a printing house there.

Even before this Uri Weinbush (Fybusz) was promised a similar halt by the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* on the 8th of Nissan 5431 (1670) in which it was said: By virtue of having seen the massive amount of toil of men, women, minors and students of the writings the distinguished *Teacher and Rabbi* Yekuthiel ben Yitzhak זצ"ל from the sacred congregation of Amsterdam the capitol of the explanation of the *Torah*, Prophets, and *Ketubim* in an Ashkenazic language that people utilize. Permission is granted to bring this mentioned work based on the privilege granted by the King to Mr. Fybusz who sat in the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* and in a like manner to *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Aharon HaLevi, זצ"ל to bring this book to a printing house. And we say to the printers that you should take care and write of his sayings clearly in the vernacular with a steel pen, in a 'Kulmus' style and a 'Megilta' style, written on a slate and a book of the law. The power of our decree is on the decree of נה"ש and [Aramaic Phrase] that the writing cannot be able to extract or copy from any printer, no matter what, to print those referenced book until ten years from this day. Should someone, God forbid, violate this, a decree of decree of נש"ש previously mentioned, and it is upon him to buy one of the previously mentioned books and to assure that it is identical to the original printing, because it is most certain that this previously mentioned book that is being bought, printed by the previously mentioned Uri.'

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⁹⁰ Sometimes shown in Hebrew/Yiddish as *Fabus*. We are adopting *Fyvusz* as the standard throughout the book.

⁹¹ The Hebrew word for a 'Cantor,' who traditionally leads prayer services.

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However this warning did not help. Before the printing of the *Tanakh* was completed, the Portuguese printer in Amsterdam, Joseph Etyash began to printing a second edition after they ordered the text, by named Yoss'l Weitzenharenson, and since Etyash was a wealthy man of means, he managed to attain a universal privilege for all of Holland. Weitzenharenson was summoned to appear before a rabbinical court, the same one that certified the privileges of Uri Fybusz HaLevi. But this was in vain. The Sephardic Rabbinical Court remained silent, in opposition and contradiction to the agreement entered into by the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*, issued in the year5431 (1671), and so the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* gave one to Etyash on 24 Elul 5437, because of the effort of the Viceroy to the King of Poland in Holland, Shimon de Polonia, who lived in Amsterdam and was appointed by the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* regarding issues having to do with liberation of captives and was also remembered was a trustee of the Baron (?) This being the exact same agreement with all of the same caveats as was given in 1670 to Uri Fybusz *HaLevi*

On the 5th of Iyyar 5431 the *Va'ad* validated its agreement to have him the Yiddish translation by Joseph Etyash in Amsterdam. This placed a heavier burden on Uri Fybusz to compete with Etyash and in 1690, responding to the invitation of Jan III Sobieski, he relocated to Zolkiew after receiving permission on 1/11/1690 based on a privilege from the King to set up a printing house and distribute his products throughout Poland. The King permitted him to establish a printing house in his palace until a fitting location could be procured.

Apart from bringing all his printing equipment and the letters, he also brought the veteran printer and expert Yitzhak Zelig ben Yehuda from Budyń, and his son Chaim David to put the pages in proper order.

He began his work in 1691. In 1692 he printed the book *'Through the Sea of the Talmud'* (5452) and after that, a *Siddur* (Prayer Book) that contained prayers for the days throughout the year. Moshe ben Daniel From Rohatyn made use of it.

In Zolkiew, he supported the doctor, Simcha Menachem da Jonah and Bezalel son of R' Nathan the tax collector. Uri Fybusz, after strenuous effort, brought an end to his book printing, contrary to the printing houses in Cracow and Lublin.

On 18 Heshvan 5457 (1697) the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* set down a number of decisions in a special vote, in it, there were praiseworthy things said that if Uri Fybusz will indeed come, printing will be cancelled for 'Great is the uproar and the scandal where among them they are printing this material, and that in their hands the Torah of Israel was almost forgotten, and because they do not possess the letters in a form the thinking, and light up the eyes of the beloved young pupils.' When the printers saw the beauty of Uri Fybusz that was 'beautiful and attractive' they formed a group and arrived at a compromise with him that only made things worse. One was destructive while the other trampled the opposite; work, always one man against another. The outcome was that a prohibition was placed on everyone and there was nothing produced. The *Va'ad* made an effort to quiet the dispute, and set down a division of the work that, as it said, all the printing houses (Cracow, Lublin, Zolkiew) have permission to print only up to 700 volumes per year apart from pamphlets dealing with minor issues of printing. An inspector was assigned to each printing house including Zolkiew who was – Dr. Simcha Menachem Jonah.

Notwithstanding the decision of the *Va'ad*, other new disputes broke out between Uri Fybusz and the printers in Cracow and Lublin. At 5459, the *Va'ad* prohibited anew, (by its former proclamation) anew. In doing a complete evaluation of the 'Wisdom in the printed (or written) works of the Holy Congregation of Zolkiew which the aging *Rabbi and Teacher* R' Feivusz son of *Our Teacher and Rabbi* Aharon Segal was in the process of printing, and the work associated with this printing was substantial but caused praise for the former and in the beauty of the form of the letters created anew, and indeed the new letters and good paper,' in contrast with the former printings that were blurred– 'a total prohibition to any printer who brings in material printed outside the country, and to bring nothing of the books in the *Holy Writing* from outside the country and therefore those booksellers that were selling books currently operating, or if sellers of new books should arise, it is forbidden to them by all the prohibitions of the *Torah* to bring such work into our country. And the same was to hold true for books printed in a non-sacred language that were called '*Deutchewarg* up to ten pieces.' And this was the way all the printers of Cracow and Lublin could not print either small or large books outside of Poland and bring them here into Poland, and if any single person or a group of people violate this prohibition, permission is given to R' Fybusz to take such books out of their hands, with no one to provide any alternative.

The printing house in Zolkiew expanded to the point that 8 printers worked there. Because there was such a large number of things to print, they also printed in the printing house at Tartakow which was close to Zolkiew. When the leaders of the town, Michael Kazimiersz Radziwill established a printing in Tartakow, the ordering of the pages of the books was turned over to him.

After the death of Uri Fybusz, the printing house was inherited by his grandsons Aharon and Gershon, scions of his son Chaim, who had died at an early age. Both were still young, and therefore their guardian, Shlomo Wehl ran the printing house. He taught Gershon the work of ordering the pages. In the years 1725-1745 Aharon and Gershon ran the printing house in partnership, and afterwards divided it between themselves and everyone of them worked independently. But there were other printing houses run in partnership, and this was the patriarch of the well-known family of printers up to the beginning of the twentieth century, a printer, the brother-in-law of the Lvov Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Ruzanisz.

The second grandson from the second son of Chaim David. Gershon, the son of Ze'ev Wolf and Sarah Tczarnitz took on the name Latriss at the beginning of the Austrian rule. He was five years old when his father died, and his mother ran the printing house, renewing the lettering, broadened the printing house and raised its level.

R' Gershon was an Enlightened Scholar. He read and learned from the literature of the Jewish Sages and wise men of the secular world.

There printing house provided work for a number of page organizers, bookbinders, etchers, and in the year 1763 they were designated just in Zolkiew to occupy 8 page organizers, two bookbinders, and one etcher named Yitzhak Sztukhatur. Apart from this that were a number of other well know booksellers in the city itself, and also [itinerant] sellers who sold these books in other cities.

After the Austrian conquest, a third printing house was established in Zolkiew founded by Aharon's daughter, the sister of Chaim David the printer, who had married David ben Menachem Man (?) And after his death – to the Rabbi of Lvov R' Zvi Hirsch Ruzanisz, who had become a widower after the passing of his wife Rivka in 1765. Changes to the printing houses ceased in 1782 when the authorities in Vienna gave an order to inspect the deteriorating condition of the Zolkiew printing houses, seeing that all three of the printing houses relied on privileges granted by the Polish King Jan III Sobieski. The authorities investigated whether or not it was worthwhile to merge these printing houses into one, and to appoint a censor, which was the case for this existing trade in Austria, and a Professor of Hebrew [language] in the university of Lvov that was pending establishment. And the Kaiser Joseph II personally took an interest in this matter, and on May 20,1782, he turned to the leaders of the *Guberniya* in Lvov with a number of questions regarding this matter. On July 4,1783, the *Guberniya* leaders in Lvov sent all the statistical data to the royal courtyard office, and to the office of the '*Haufkammer* and *Haufbank-Deputatzion*' in Vienna, who proposed in accordance with their knowledge from April 1, 1784 on, to merge toe printing house of Chaim Aharon the printer with that of his sister Yehudis and Wolf Latriss, into one large printing house and to move it to Lvov, despite the fact that it was known that all three of them live in continuous competition and burdened with debt. In the end, the merger was not agreed to, but it was proposed to assign to them monopolies to limit the import of books from outside the country, to appoint a Hebrew language Professor to act as a censor in the Lvov University, and to give him support, in the instance that Christian printers will take on the responsibility to also print Hebrew books, it is necessary to grant them the same privileges that Jewish printers enjoy.

In the meantime, an order was promulgated that in accordance with the King's wish, the printers in Zolkiew were compelled to mover their businesses to Lvov. Latriss reacted immediately and moved to Lvov, in contrast to his brother Chaim David and sister Yehudis who moved to Lvov only after the authorities closed their printing houses in Zolkiew. In Lvov they fell victim in competition with the existing printing house there, owned by Shlomo ben Naphtali Hertz Rapaport.

In the meantime, Wolf Latriss died, and his widow Chara Latriss, on August 13, 1793, received permission to continue her printing house in Zolkiew. After she died, the printing house was managed by her son Gershon, the father of Dr. Meir Latriss. Yehudis, the widow of David Menachem Man(?), ran the printing operation together with her second husband, the Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Ruzanisz, and after her death, the printing-house was run as an inheritance of the Rabbi Naphtali Hertz Grossman.

In the year 1804 (2/12) the permission of Yehudis was transferred to the name of her son, B. R. Grossman. After he died, his widow ran the business.

In the meantime, two new printing-houses were erected in Lvov.

On May 20, 1791, the Head of the congregation Avraham ben Yehuda Leib Meyerhoffer, the brother-in-law of R' Pinchas Moshe, who had gone off to Svirzh as a Rabbi, and afterwards to Zolkiew, where he became the last trustee of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*, received a permit to erect a printing house in Zolkiew. He was wealthy and owned two houses in the city, and he put up the printing house in them. His partner was Mordechai Rubinstein. After the death of Avraham Yehuda Leib Meyerhoffer, the printing house went over into the hands of his son Meir, and after him, in 1840, to his son Shaul Meyerhoffer, the brother-in-law of R' Yaakov Balaban.

After Mordechai Rubinstein ended his partnership with Meyerhoffer, in 1796, he erected a printing house of his own without authority from the authorities. However in the year 1897 (?) His son Uri presented an application together with a certificate that he had studied the printing trade in Barzilai, but he really had not done so. However, when this became known to Aharon the printer and Hertz Grossman, they informed on him before the government, that Uri had never been in Barzilai and did not learn the printing trade. Despite this, Uri Rubinstein succeeded in obtaining a permit on February 7, 1808. His printing house developed and broadened in the hands of his heirs, Uri and Shlomo, known by the name: *K.K. Privilegirte Rubinszteinsze Druckerei*, e.g., a privileged Rubinstein printing establishment.' When the Austrian authorities compelled the Jews to vacate a number of streets in Lvov, during the days of the capture of Lvov by the Poles on May 27, 1809, he moved to Zolkiew. In the meantime, Mordechai Rubinstein passed away, and his widow Chaya received a permit to keep the printing house going only in Lvov.

In 1858, two printers from Lvov, Berisz Luria and Zalman Leib Fliker put up yet a second printing house, along with Shmuel Pinchas Sztiller.

In 1862, a third printing house was established by Joseph Zvi Balaban.

From the outset when the printing houses were established until 1841, in Zolkiew they printed, apart from prayer books, *makhzors*, books involving tradition, 18 folios of *Halakha* for students to study, 11 folios containing *Midrashic* material and *Kabbalah*, 6 books of *responsa*, 16 books whose content was historical, philosophical and medicinal, 24 books of grammar all in beautiful bindings.

VIII. During the Time of the Austrian Occupation

(P. 110)

A.

In 1763, Zolkiew suffered from a variety of military invasions. First it was the Russians that invaded, and after they left in 1770, the troops of the Conference seized the city, and remained there for an extended period of time until the Russians returned. On June 24, 1772 the Austrians entered Zolkiew.

These changes a difficult influence came over the city, on economic life, and especially the Jews. The financial condition of the community was distinctly lowered. The burden of the loans grew from year to year up to the point that they could not cover the interest on the loans that had taken from the churches and monasteries, where their debts just by themselves ran to 12,075 Gulden.

It should be understood that the annexation of Galicia to the Habsburg monarchy brought recognizable changes to the lives of the Jews. During the year of the annexation, the number of residents in Zolkiew came to 4,839 which includes in that number 2027 Jews. The Austrians arranged that only a small number of cities in Galicia – Brody, Lvov, Sambor, Drohowycz, Stary, Resza and Jaroslaw were there organized administrations. By contrast, in the remaining cities such as Halicz and Szniyatini there were illiterate people in charge, and only the secretary of the town was a Jewish man who could read and write. The condition in Zolkiew was not any better.

The relationship of the city nobility to the Jews was bad. Despite the difficult economic circumstances of the Jews, the Polish aristocrats argued that things were good, because the Austrian authorities were doing everything to improve and make their situation better.

Contrary to this stance, it is necessary to stress that the Austrian administration literally took drastic measures out of a desire to change the status of the Jews in one act, and to accustom them to new circumstances. It covered the land and the Jews with a wave of orders, reforms and decrees, that did nothing but create chaos. However when a few years passed, the Austrian bureaucratic apparatus in Vienna, in Lvov and in the provinces of Galicia began to grasp and understand that change of this sort could not be achieved by reforms in the lives of the Jews and by issuing decrees while ‘standing on one foot,’ and employing stabbing and fanatic methods.

The fate of Zolkiew was similar to the fate of all Jewish communities in Galicia.

On December 6, 1772, the first patent of the authorities was implemented that dealt with the issue of the Jews, to arrange for a census of the Jews. The Rabbis and community Heads were asked to turn in an exact description of the situation of the Jews in their communities, how they were managed, reforms, and the status of family assets, business activities, etc.

The Zolkiew community was unable to adjust to these new conditions, and as was done in the days of Polish rule, a request was submitted to Vienna in 1773, to permit it to enjoy its [existing] privileges that had been granted by the King Sobieski III, and various rulers of the city. The community did not receive an answer, but it did not give up on its demands. And the ‘Forbidden by God.’ This one builds, and the other one tears down, each man against his neighbor, that the *Rabbi Our Teacher* Rabbi Avraham, previously mentioned, desisted from printing work. Deliberately punitive taxes were levied on the Jews of Zolkiew in 1779, and residential requirements, in contrast to the privileges of the community. R’ Avraham Pesach stood against this, in the name of the community, and asked of the leaders of the *Guberniya* for the help of the government. The *Guberniya* leaders responded that before any obligation of this kind must first be submitted to lower level offices, and not directly to the *Guberniya* leaders.

On November 29 1782 Vienna let it be known through a special decree to the *Guberniya* leaders in connection with the community request to grant the [former] privileges because of the need for work, that those privileges touch on municipal issues and to agreements between city rulers and the Jews of the city, there is no reason to hold back and relax even in the future, the existing situation, and without permission, he does not stand in conflict with the orders of the government.

The economic condition of the Jewish community continued to deteriorate, in the face of limitations for creation of beverages, and their quality that they controlled. The Jews requested that the taxes of 1772-1773 be nullified in view of their increasingly difficult economic circumstances, and the economic destruction that touched them in the trail of the many invasions that preceded the division of Poland. Regardless, the authorities opposed these requests, and instead sought to raise taxes in the strictest manner allowed by law. After many efforts, in 1775, there was relief granted in taxes and payments to the municipality, that reversed the monies of the poor and stricken, and these lightening of burdens aroused the jealousy of the Christian citizenry, and caused no small rise in the tension in the local relationships.

During the Polish period, the Jews paid 30 Kreuzer as a head tax.

During the first period of taxation after the Austrian annexation – 1774 – the head tax was raised to one Florin and was also applied to children over the age of one year. In total, the Jews of Galicia paid 41,178 Florins.

In 1776, in place of the head tax, a ‘tolerance tax’⁹² (*Toleranzgebuehr*) was imposed to the tune of one Florin per capita, and added to this was an entry tax, and a merchandise tax at the same time – but on an individual basis, in line with whatever was brought in. The allocation of the taxes among the communities was proposed by the Jewish leadership (*Juden-Direktion*) and the amount of tax that had to be paid by itinerant vendors was levied by the communities themselves.

Apart from these payments, the Jews had to pay a wedding tax and a degree conferment tax. It is understood that all community taxes – the ‘*korovka*’ etc., remained in place. However, they were placed under the oversight of the government, which used them to defray the debts of the communities. According to the decree of August 10, 1792 of the office of the courtyard, the Jews had to pay a general tax and a tax for the army officers, property tax (*rustikal-schteier*). Also a house tax, a necessity tax, and an entry tax. The burden of taxation weighed heavily on the Jews of Galicia, and forced the government of Austria to propose reforms in 1784 on the entire tax structure of the Jews. It also cause embezzlement to arise, and payment of bribes in isolated communities, and the injustice in the allocation of taxes by the chief Jewish leadership that was the form of Jewish management. If one community lacked the force of implementation – such as was the case with Lvov in 1783 – to pay off taxes, this sum was then distributed among the remaining communities of the province.

⁹² Tolerance tax was a tax that was levied against Jews of Hungary, then part of the Austrian Empire, between 1747 and 1797. The tax was based on the German statute that a Jew was obliged to pay a certain tax to be "tolerated".

After the implementation of the reforms of 1789 the Jews would pay a tolerance tax of 4 Gulden for every head of a family, a house and property tax of 1 Gulden for each family, a kosher meat tax, depending on the type of meat, a wedding tax, a synagogue construction tax, and a new cemetery tax, altogether 100 Gulden per year, and a tax for prayer quorums of 50 Gulden a year.

In 1797, the 'tolerance tax' was canceled, as was the house and property tax, and in their place a candle tax⁹³ was created levied for every candle of the Sabbath and Festival Holidays, 2 Kreuzer, Yahrzeit – 6 Kreuzer, Hanukkah - a half Kreuzer, Yom Kippur - 10 Kreuzer.

Because of the burden of taxation, the communities were left owing the government large sums of money to defray taxes.

In 1780 the government ruled a foreclosure of the Jewish earnings because they could not pay the taxes, and the Zolkiew community turned to the government with a request to cancel the foreclosure order, and to take into account the condition of the Jews, because they do not have the means to pay high taxes. In 7/4 1787, Vienna ordered an analysis of the condition, and to defer the foreclosure of tax to the government. In the conduct of the analysis and the complaints of the community, that levied an increased the tolerance tax and the tax on and assets, which it could not pay, and there was a need to align the taxes with the ability to pay. The matter stretched out to August 1784, and in the end, the level of taxation was lowered.

In 1790, a tolerance tax was levied on the Jewish families of the Zolkiew area separately, in the amount of 12,260 Florin, administration (*rezhi-beitrag*) of 3, 065 Florin coming to a total of 15,325. These taxes were levied from 1788-1789 counting as a tolerance tax – 3,615 Florin, 45 Kreuzer, administrative costs of 903 Florin. In sum these taxes in 1790 came to 4,409 Florin, 44 Kreuzer, and in addition to residual [unpaid] taxes the Jews owed 8,334 Florin, 30 Kreuzer, in other words, they had paid almost half. It is important to stress that every figure in the payment of taxes caused the [typical] Jewish citizen to become a 'known pauper,' lacking the funds for sustenance and for making a living, and the likelihood of being expelled from Galicia.

It is therefore no surprise that the authorities in Lvov and Vienna were inundated endlessly with requests to defer payment of taxes, complaints about the size of the large sums, that were beyond the capacity of the communities in the area to liquidate.

This outlook persisted for many years, and it became clear especially in 1811, when the extent of the reforms were assessed on the weak reforms of the treasury office on the base of the classification of the populace – a thing that enlarged the burden of the taxes. This condition even aroused the reaction of the Galician *Guberyanim*⁹⁴ in Lvov that did not stint on emphasizing in its special report that it conveyed on July 12, 1811, that the taxes levied on the Jews were more exaggerated (*ubergespannt*) than needed.

⁹³ In 1797 the candle tax was officially imposed by the Austrian government on the Jews in Galicia, a measure suggested by a Jewish tax farmer, Solomon Kofler, and recommended by Naphtali Hertz Homberg, (1749-1841) as a substitute for the "tolerance tax" (*Toleranzgebuehr*). It was levied upon all candles used for Jewish ritual, including wedding and memorial candles. The tax was raised from time to time and was particularly burdensome to the Jewish poor.

The candle tax was abrogated in Galicia in 1848.

⁹⁴ Plural of *Guberniya*.

The central business of the Zolkiew Jews in the second half of the 18th century was running distilleries for beer and other beverages that were owned by the city, and the same was true of the distribution of beverages, and running saloon franchises. At the beginning of the Austrian Occupation many difficulties were caused them in this area, however in 1775, a change was made for the better, and the Jews of the city received leases for all their beverages, in the place of two years of pay.

During these years (1775-1780) known lessors were Joseph Khatuk and his partners Asher, Leib Jampolsky, Meir, Isaac, Mordechai and Joseph Dreizin. They especially leased the '*arenda*⁹⁵' of beer, mead, whiskey, mills and distilleries of the city, producing from 3,000 to 24,000 Gulden of income per year. The wine merchants made contracts on February 22, 1781 with the ruler of the city, Karol Radziwill, in which they assumed the obligation to pay the going price demanded by his businesses. Apart from the wine merchants who signed up for this, there were also signatures by Shmuel Markowitz, Jonah ben Eliyahu and David ben Avraham-Shmuel Markowitz, and in the name of the distributors – Moshe ben Leib, Baruch ben Eliyahu, Israel ben Yaakov, Moshe ben Nachman, and the following heads of the communities: Leib ben Moshe, Avraham ben Meir, Yaakov ben Nahum, Yekhezkiel ben Yaakov, Joseph be Leib, Yaakov ben Berisz and Joseph ben David.

These lessors especially kept watch over the continuation of their privileges, and assured that beverages would not come from outside of the city. To accomplish this, the officers of the distributors turned to ben Moshe, Baruch Mattis, Yaakov Barlim, Berisz Joseph Deizer, Joseph Meir and Yitzhak Jakobovitz, and Shmuel ben Moshe, and the saloon keepers, to the rulers of the city with a request, to permit them to bring whiskey from other cities, something that would certainly not cause any harm to the courtyard treasury. Opposing this group of distributors, were arrayed the owners of whiskey distilleries, Shmuel Baruch and Isaac Yaakov, in 10/2/1784 with the complaint that they had enjoyed their privilege for many years for the distribution of drink without limits. In this economic struggle, the Christian and Jewish distributors joined together. On March 3, 1784 they turned to the district authority in Zolkiew and begged for its intervention in order to protect their franchises. The central authority turned this entire issue over to the *Guberyanim*. The issue of the Jewish distilleries was presented by Israel Nathan and David Avraham, and that of the distributors, Avraham Meir and Joseph Leib.

The authorities forbade the owners of the whiskey and beer distilleries and lessors of the beer distilleries to distribute drink in their distilleries, but it was permitted for them to sell their products in liquor stores for this purpose.

This struggle was conducted not only in Zolkiew but almost in every city where there were distilleries that produced beverages. These arguments gave rise in 17/5/1789 to exclude the Jews from leasing distilleries and distribution in cities and towns, especially those who prepared beverages in their homes. As it was, this led to the cessation of Jews in distribution in all of Galicia, that further deteriorated their economic status.

The authorities saw in the beverage distribution process the principal cause for the delay in the improvement to the condition of the farmers. It is understood that such a national policy struck hard at the economic status of Zolkiew Jews. Despite this, the policy of the government was not pulled back. For example, when the provincial office was asked in 1789, if it was permissible for Jews to participate in the leasing of the city's resources, Vienna responded that 'it is permissible for Jews to lease the municipal propagation on condition that it be connected with a tavern.'

⁹⁵ The item that is being leased, usually a parcel of land.

This restriction closed down a recognizable number of Jewish distributors in Galicia, mostly in Zolkiew, nevertheless, in the course of the years, the Jews returned to Leasing and distribution. In 1827, 5 mead distributors, 4 malt merchants and 8 distributors of guarded beverages, and in the second half of the 18th century, in Zolkiew alone there were more than one hundred taverns.

Organizational change was enabled by the reforms of the Empress Maria-Theresa from the year 1776. The Jews of Galicia were organized in one separate body headed by the Chief Heads of Jewish Galicia (*general-direktion*) based on an hierarchical ladder, composed of from 6 to 12 *Parnassim* at the start. All communities in one province – in all of Galicia there were 6 provinces that had provincial officers at their head – stood under the leadership of the *Parnassim* of the province and on top of them 6 Country *Parnassim* (*landes-eltesteh*) were added.

The 6 Provincial *Parnassim* and 6 *Parnassim* of the country with the Chief Rabbi at their head, where the primary management body of the Jews in Galicia (*general Juden direktion*). An order was received from Vienna on August 14, 1775 an order was received from Vienna that, in the future, the Jews are responsible to get special permission for the selection of the heads of the communities from the provincial office, however this has to be preceded by payment of taxes.

On March 27, 1782 The administrative separation of 6 provinces was annulled, and 18 provinces were put in their place, Zolkiew and 15 of the surrounding cities was designated as an independent province.

In 1785, the organization of the communities was annulled in accordance with the order of 1776, and in its place, no national community organization was designated. According to this new reform, only the local *Parnassim* remained in place, excepting the *Parnassim* of Lvov and Brody, led by 7 *Parnassim*, and for the rest of the communities, including Zolkiew – 3 *Parnassim*. Of the responsibilities of these *Parnassim*, was presentation of their communities to the authorities, to be concerned with the welfare of the poor, and to elucidate with the Rabbi on matters of birth and inheritance, marriages and death, on the levying of taxes of the community and on the Jews, and to manage all of the affairs of the community. The *Parnassim* were dependent on the provincial authorities, that saw them as being submissive nonetheless.

Apart from the heads of the community, *Gabbaim* for the synagogue, charity collection, and hospital visitors were selected, along with assessors and bookkeepers, and the right of the community there was a full array of appointees consisting of the Rabbi, *Dayanim*, Ritual Slaughterers, *Shamashim* and grave diggers. Office matters were handled by the secretary of the community. The privilege of selection was given to the heads of families that prepaid one year's worth of taxes in the form of the cost for 7 candles. The privilege of voting was tied to the payment of a candle tax for 10 candles and knowledge of reading and writing in German.

The following *Parnassim* stood at the head of the community from 1781-1785: Leib ben Moshe, Avraham ben Meir, Yekl ben Nahum, Yekhezkiel be, Yaakov, Joseph ben Aryeh, Yaakov ben Dov and Joseph ben David.

Of the community heads from 1785-1800 the following are known to us: Avraham Yehuda Leib Meyerhoffer the owner of the printing house, Sh. Epstein, Mordechai Rubinstein, N. Eckstein, Sh. Haberman, Y. Kraus, M. Bandar, Y. Fessel (Pessel?), and Shmuel Nachtman.

Avraham Yehuda Leib Meyerhoffer was a member of the Jewish emissaries of Galicia, together with N. Bernstein, and Chaim Margalot, which approached the Royal Military Advisory Council (*hauf kriegs-rat*) in Vienna in 1788, with a request to release Jews from military service by paying a compensation, or at the least to assign them to military transportation. An answer came from Vienna that this matter had not come up. In September 1788, in connection with the decree to distance the Jewish beverage distributors, and to grant them permission to service the villages that possess fields, built houses, and manage an agricultural business – and permit them to remain in the villages. The authorities issued orders to cease the removal of the Jews to a distance, under the conditions that they will limit their merchandise to the houses and fields, and forbade them from dealing in leases.

As regards the emissaries request to release Jews from military service, Nachman Dessauer proposed that whoever had once been a teacher of Hertz Hamburg – in March 1790 to the government, to discipline the emissaries of the Jews in Galicia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, who are making the effort to represent to the government that they not draft first-time Jews for service.

During these years, the assets of Radziwill deteriorated, and parts of the city were sold off to common folk, and one part passed into the hands of the Austrian government. In the presence of these circumstances, in 1781, the Jews of Zolkiew notified Radziwill of their willingness to continue to pay the ‘*korovka*,’ leasing monies, and the monies due for drinks and beer, also to cover all of the debt that was put onto the millers, butchers, and the merchants of grits. This declaration was signed by the heads of the community R’ Leib ben Moshe, R’ Avraham ben Meir, R’ Yekl ben Nahum, R’ Joseph ben Aryeh, R’ Yaakov ben David, R’ Yekhezkiel ben Yaakov, and by the officers involved in the sale of wine and distribution of beverages, and the butchers.

A difficult period full of mistakes, arrests, and the burden of assuming financial burdens came on the Jews of Zolkiew.

In 1784, a dispute broke out between the community and the government over the basis for the ‘*korovka*.’ The community recorded the leasing income as ‘*kov uvaka*’ without obtaining permission from the provincial office. The authorities blamed the heads of the community that they are ‘abusing’ the funds of the *korovka* that were set aside to defray the debts of the community. When the matter was aired before the commissar Kalmans, it moved the *Parnes* R’ Shmuel ben Yaakov to say sharp words. The authorities punished him with a jail sentence of 8 days, two of which days he had to subsist on bread and water, and the cashier of the community R’ Shlomo Meir was pushed out of his position and given the order to appoint a different cashier. The community was ordered not to defray funds of the *korovka* to creditors of monasteries, and churches, rather to the government treasury that will raise a separate facility for the defraying of the debts of the communities.

The community nevertheless stood its ground and asked for a separate body to stand at its right side, and they expropriated all the *korovka* funds, but was not able, despite its efforts, to arrive at a positive conclusion, rather quite the opposite, the provincial office was authorized to conduct a thorough audit of all community issues, and especially regarding the leasing tax on kosher meat, the *korovka*, and in addition to this, to provide a detailed list of the ‘impoverished Jews,’ that are to be thrown out of the city.

In January 1785, Vienna deferred all the complaints of the community.

In the meantime, a new issue arose, this time from the Zolkiew Jews that viewed the power of R’ Leib’l Herschel Horodniker to submit a complaint on their behalf, that in 1780 the community turned over a small coverage, more that the head tax paid by the Heads of families, the number which was

significant, and secondly, that the *korovka* funds set aside for liquidation of community debt, the community at its own cognizance took out 2,685 Florin 45 Kreuzer to cover debt figures in taxes for other expenses of the community.

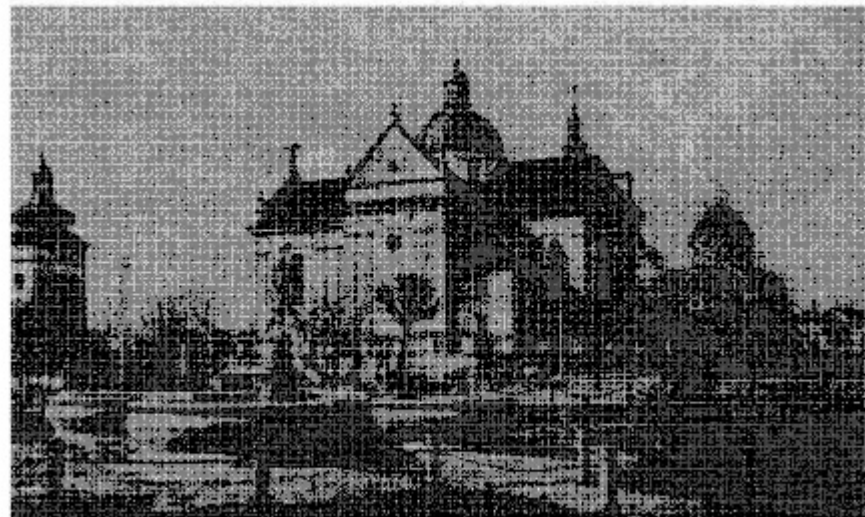
On September 12, 1785 the authorities gave an order to analyze the facts of the complaints, and to punish the guilty community heads with a fine of 50 Ducats. The community was completely angered by Leib'l, and turned to the provincial office with a request to drive him from the city, since he incites the members of the community to arguments and discussions.

The authorities opposed the fulfilment of the community's request, using the excuse that Leib'l Herschel was a 'known - individual' and quite the opposite, a very explicit order was given, that he is not to be given any punishment, and there is reason for him to keep his position in Zolkiew.

Apart from the heavy taxes levied, all manner of prohibitions were placed, the most onerous being the tax on marriage. The sponsors of the event had to pay from 3 to 30 Ducats for the marriage of their sons, and whoever married off a child without the permission of the authorities could anticipate the confiscation of all his assets. Even participation in a wedding not granted permission could bring on a heavy fine.



חמערס ע"י כיכר רינעק" עם הארקות



In accordance with the new reform implemented by [Kaiser] Joseph II on May 27, 1785, the remains of community autonomy were nullified and all its national and juridical permissions were canceled. The taxes were not levied on the community as a collective body, but rather on each Jewish person individually, and the assessments were turned over to national representatives. The indication of independence was taken away from the communities, and it turned solely into a religious body. The Rabbinical courts were nullified from 4/9/1794 and all of the communities, became equivalent and were seen in the eyes of the judges under the rule of national courts, and in police matters – under the authority of the municipality.

According to the decree of August 28, 1787 family ledgers were created, and from 1789 on, the Jews of Galicia were required to adopt German family names, this was seen as a pressure to cause ‘Germanization’ among the Jews, and because of this move, it was required of the communities and the rabbis to conduct their affairs, keep their books and list only in the German language.

As far back as 1776, merchants were required to keep books of merchandise with copies, financial books, and lists of the merchandise and storage facilities, but not everyone had the right to keep them in his own language. In accordance with the reform of 5/27/1785, Jewish merchants were required to keep their books in German or in the local language (Polish). Insofar as letter correspondence to the government or in general, they were forbidden to utilize either Hebrew or Yiddish, but only German.

A more difficult issue was the question of military draft. In March 18, 1788 the government proclaimed an order that made it a responsibility to draft Jewish people along with the rest of the populace. However, by 1790 there was an easement, in which Jews were freed from military registration and were given permission to defray their service contribution of 30 Florin per individual. This condition persisted until 1804.

In 1804, the responsibility of being drafted was placed upon the Jews of Galicia, similar to that of the Christian population, and this nullified the monetary payment that freed them from military

service. The limitation on service was also nullified which permitted the assignment of Jews to transport service. The responsibility of the draftees was placed upon the Jews in all the provinces. In special circumstances conditions were set up to free individuals from military service, such as the privilege of citizenship, permits to practice a craft, or a merchant possessing a permit.

One of the basic reforms that the Kaiser Joseph II demanded to be adopted by the Jews of Galicia was – assigning a number of them to agriculture. From 1771 onwards, the need was already discussed in the offices of the Viennese authorities to transfer a recognizable part of the Jews of Galicia to agricultural work. And the Kaiser, who showed a favorable outlook to physical activity sought to disperse the Jews that had lost their ability to make living before the prohibition against beverage distribution, and to get them involved in agriculture. And in order to attract them to agriculture, he decided to reduce the tolerance tax by fifty percent for Jewish agricultural workers, and afterwards, canceled them entirely.

In the year 1785, when thousands of Jewish families were left without income as a result of this reform against the Jews, in 16/8/1785 the Kaiser decreed an agricultural initiative for the Jews. In the text of the decree was a requirement to re-settle 1,400 Jewish families from all over Galicia, and the Zolkiew community was made responsible for accepting 11 families and the entire Zolkiew province, 75 families. The communities of Zolkiew, as was the case

for other communities in the province succeeded by 1792 to settle the burden put upon them, and in a special notice, the *Guberyanim* notified Vienna that the Jews of the province had satisfied the demands of the order.

In July 1792, Vienna gave an order to the *Guberyanim* to praise the authority of the Zolkiew province that satisfied the order in connection with resettling the Jews. The Viennese authorities conveyed their satisfaction to the filling of the quota, and gave an order to praise the Stary province offices as well as those of Sambor, Zalszcziki and Czernowitz.

From the Zolkiew province, 75 Jewish families settled in 63 parcels of land, 113 men and 120 women, along with 62 young men and 75 young women under the age of 18. The settlers received 75 homes, 75 stables and granaries, 75 agricultural tools, 144 horses, 162 oxen, 248 cows. From the Zolkiew community itself 11 families settled on 11 parcels of land. There were 16 men, 29 women, along with 4 young men and 9 young women under the age of 18. The settlers received 11 houses, 11 stables and granaries, 11 agricultural tools, 29 horses, 19 oxen and 49 cows.

After these arrangements, the implementer in the government advisory council in Vienna, the leader Furstenbusch, established at a meeting of the government council (stadt-rat) that the office in Zolkiew was singly outstanding.

The number of settlers from other provinces was: Kulikovo- 15 families, Magierow - 4, Rawa 8, Nemirov - 3, Mosty' - 2, Kristinopol - 5, Sokal - 8, Tartakov - 4, Varenz -4, Belz - 4, Ohniow - 3, Ulszica -5, Luvcow - 3, Ciesanow -3, Lidskow -3.

The required budget to cover the costs of settlement was levied against the communities in the areas of settlement, and done such that the outlays of settlement for each family were thought to be about 250 Gulden. All 25,30, 40 heads of families were required to settle one needy family.

In 1822, there were only 10 families remaining in the Zolkiew province that were settled at the expense of the communities – but not one at the cost of the province itself.

B.

In the year 1785, there were administrative changes made in Galicia, and the country divided the land up into 18 provinces and among them, Zolkiew was designated as the most wealthy such that apart from Zolkiew itself, and additional 15 towns and settlements were attached to it, in which a number of Jews resided. There were 6 settlements added, and to the rest of the 15 towns – 67 settlements, and especially, 73 Jewish settlements were attached to Zolkiew.

In accordance with the Jewish reform beginning in 7.5.1785, a rabbi of the valley was put into place (*Kreis Rabbiner*), and in the remaining places only religious directors (*religzezens-weiser*) or cantors (*schulzinger*) only. The rabbis were selected as community heads for three years, but not as community heads by the community that were *balebatim* on their own, but rather by all the Jews of the province. The first Rabbi of the province in Zolkiew was R' Moshe Zvi Maiseles.

Among the duties of the provincial Rabbi were to rule on matters of the faith, to manage the book of births, weddings, and deaths, in the German language, to oversee the clergy, cantors, shamashim, and to proclaim an embargo only in accordance with the direction of the authorities, to swear in people regarding political issues in the synagogue, and the proclamation of any added embargoes was strictly forbidden, and was severely punishable.

The Rabbi of the Zolkiew province who was also the Rabbi of the Zolkiew community received a stipend of 400 Florin with the addition of 150 Gulden. To assist him, there was a religious director at an annual wage of 208 Florin, and an extra stipend for each lecture given. Apart from this pay, the Rabbi received compensation for different services and also for registering births, weddings and deaths in the amount of 7 ½, 15 and 30 Kreuzer, and similar compensation for the *Hazzanim*. The Rabbi was exempt from community taxes, but in the instance where his wife or close relatives run a business, he had to pay the usual taxes associated with such businesses. According to the law, it was forbidden for the Rabbi to demand gifts of special payment for arranging either marriages or divorces.

The annual pay for a religious director in the remain communities of the Zolkiew province was: Belz – 170 Florin, and the pay in Cieszanow – 150 Florin, Kristianopol – 176, Kulikovo – 160 Florin, In Magierow – 195 Florin, 24 Kreuzer, In Mosty' Wielkowo – 148 Florin, In Nemirov – 104 Florin, In Uszlica - 148 Florin, In Rawa – in Tartakov – 40 Florin, and a residence in Sokal – 170 Florin, in Uhniv – 129 Florin, and in Varenzh – 57 Florin.

A census was taken in Galicia in 1788, but we have in hand only the number of Jews in full provinces. Without any details about the towns. In the Zolkiew province with 16 communities, 3,377 Jewish families were counted which had 16,157 souls, and from the Jews, taxes were paid as follows: Level A 1,662; Level B 124; Level C 65. There were 1,516 families that were designated as poor.

In 1792, there were 3,963 Jewish families with 14,144 as follows: Level A 1198 families, Level B: 275,

In the details of these census records mentioned missing. From a variety of government sources we beverage distribution, but also in sale of goods. Apart most were retailers, traders, intermediaries and the supply the military, such as Yitzhak Ehrlicher who in food for the entire province of Zolkiew.

There was a recognizable number of craftsmen, mostly etchers. And book binders, and a few ordering books was done in the outskirts of the city, involving

There were a limited number of wholesale merchants the weaving of flax that were exported to Danzig.



השמש בנאתו מביהמ"ד הגדול

Page 124: The Shammes on exiting the Great Synagogue

souls (6,785 Men; 73359 women), and they paid taxes Level C: 118, with 1,472 designated as poor.

above, the type of professions and work of the people is come to learn that the Jews of Zolkiew dealt not only in from a limited number of merchants and wholesalers, like. Fortunate Jews succeeded in getting a franchise to 1791 received a franchise from the authorities to supply

tailors, furriers, padding makes, woodcutters, binders, and having them printed in Zolkiew. Agricultural work vegetables, running stables and raising fowl.

in Zolkiew who had control over the sale of wood, and

In the year 1775, the conditions of the merchants and wholesalers in Zolkiew, which in these years was a center of commerce and flax production exported to Danzig, became more difficult, in the aftermath of the setting of the high tax levies in Poland and Prussia for merchandise coming from Galicia, which caused them to become more expensive. Efforts were made to take diplomatic steps, and on the basis of these appeals, the authorities in Poland and Prussia promised relief.

In the year 1798 -1794, efforts were made by the town and the community to remove the transfer tax – from Zolkiew justifying the reasoning with the argument that it was destroying the economic life of the city residents. The authorities did not move from their position, and it was then that R' Shmuel Nachtman was chosen to represent all of the citizenry before the Kaiser Franz [Joseph] I. On August 1, 1798 he turned to the Kaiser, but in vain. However the Kaiser passed on the request to the *Guberyanim* in Lvov – and it was here that the request was responded to negatively.

C.

Before the reforms of [Kaiser] Joseph II from 1789-1794 each community, even in a small town, was responsible to maintain an elementary school, and in larger communities, a normal school and in Lvov and Brody, senior level schools, following the example of the general school system. The language of instruction in all the schools was the German language. The official name of these schools was '*Deutsche-Judische Schulen*' or '*Yiddish-Deutsche Schulen*.' Up to 1792, schools were established only for boys. The trivial schools consisted of only one class. Normal [schools] had three classes with 2 teachers and a principal (*Uber-Lehrer*), general schools were complete in size, that is to say, 4 classes with a larger number of teachers.

This decree forbade every Jewish boy from beginning to study the *Gemara* before he finished studying at the elementary school. These schools were established at the expense of the Jews, but were not under the oversight of the communities, but that of the government. As the head overseer for all the Jewish schools in Galicia, the educator of the sons of Moshe Mendelson was appointed – Hertz Homburg. The first of the teachers that were invited in, most of them from among the Enlightened German speakers from Moravia and Bohemia. To prepare the Jewish teachers, a teachers' seminary was established in Lvov. The first school in Zolkiew was founded in 1785, and the teacher was Nachman Dessauer.

As you can understand, the *Haredim*⁹⁶ opposed the establishment of the school and refused to send their children there, and the teacher Dessauer, young, but imbued to be the '*kultur-treger*' to spread Enlightenment among the Jews of Zolkiew, did not understand the spirit of the *Haredim*, and the position of his behavior stood decidedly in opposition to the spirit of the Jewish populace. The authorities saw a need to move him from Zolkiew to Lvov, as it said in all reports, 'because of his behavior that merited discipline.' As to the details of his behavior that merited discipline, and the real reasons for his transfer, the record is silent, and in his place, the teacher Yitzhak Avraham Griderbaum was appointed. The salary of a teacher in zolkiew was 200 Florin annually. In the rest of the Zolkiew province, there were schools existent in Kulikovo, Rawa, Kristinopol and Belz.

⁹⁶ The plural of the Hebrew word, '*Haredi*,' used to define the ultra-religious members of the Jewish faith.

The annual salary of a teacher in Kulikovo and Belz was 150 Florin, in Rawa and Kristianopol – 200, and in the rest of the communities there were no schools due to the lack of teachers.

From the outset, the teacher Griderbaum showed greater patience with the Haredim. In 1787, members of the ‘Committee overseeing the Eastern Galician schools’ visited the school during the period of tests, and in their accounting they said that from the answers of the students, it became clear to them that the teacher Griderbaum fully exerted himself to see that the children would succeed in their studies. This led to his annual salary to rise to 150 Florin, by contrast to the salary of the teacher in Zolkiew that was set at 200 Florin. On February 4, 1788, he turned to the overseer of the Jewish schools, Hertz Homburg with a request to raise his salary indicating that thanks to his efforts and diligence the students were advancing well.

It appears that his request was responded to positively, because in the listing of pay to teachers in the year 1789 the salary of Griderbaum is shown as 200 Florin.

Griderbaum did not remain for many years in Zolkiew. The undermined his position, and he asked to be transferred

In 1790, Avraham Bitschoff served as a teacher at a salary Zolkiew, being one year, as a result of the struggle with the this school. It was especially the heads of the community teacher. Periodically, they turned to the provincial office disciplines the children and that this discourages them from the parents. According to Bitschoff the heads of the school.

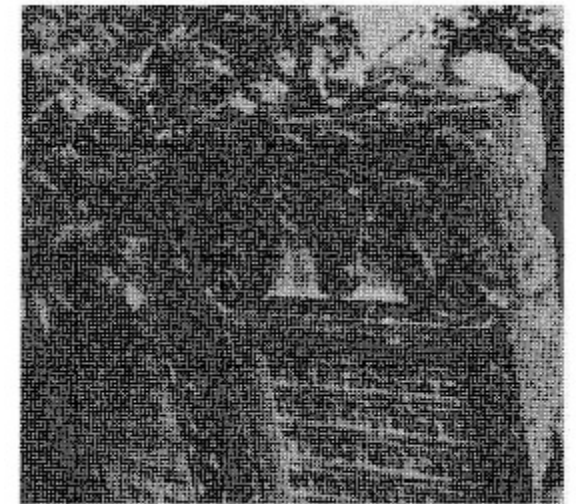
very pious and the secretary of the community, elsewhere.

of 200 Gulden. Even this teacher had a brief tenure in very pious, who refused to let their children attend that fought fanatically against the school and its with complaints and accusations, saying that he learning, this bitterness and anger was justified among community refused to let the children attend this



מצבה בבית-הקברות היהודי בז'ולקייב
(מן המאה ה-17)

Page 128B: A Headstone in the Zolkiew Jewish Cemetery (from the 17th Century).



מצבה על קברו של אלכסנדר שור
בעזמ"ס תרומת שור בבית הקברות
בזולקייב

Page 127TR: The Headstone on the Grave
of Alexander Schur, Author of 'Terumat
Schur' in the Zolkiew Cemetery.



פינה בבית הקברות היהודי בזולקייב

In 1793, the government levied a tax on the heads of the communities amounting to 50 Florin. An exchange of letters took place between the offices, until they achieved a decision to cancel the levy in January 1797.

After Bitschoff came the teacher Meizel, and the very observant heads of the communities presented all sorts of accusations in connection with his behavior towards the pupils.

Despite these complaints by the leaders of the community, which in the period was in the hands of those opposed to the school, Meizel retained his position, and quite the opposite, he expanded the school and received a second teacher for support, Avraham Rosenberg, who excelled in his method of direction that in the year 1797 he was given a raise of 6 ducats to his salary which rose to 150 Florin. This came from the funds of the Jewish school.

Meizel and Rosenberg remained in Zolkiew until 1806, at which point the network of Jewish schools in Galicia was nullified. From 1785-1806 serving as teachers in the Zolkiew province were Aharon Lehrer in Kulikovo, Lejzor Heller in Rawa, Lev Tur in Kristianopol, Eliezer Reiss in Belz, and Shimon Skucz in Sokal. – in 1805 he was transferred to Lvov. There were no schools in the remainder of the towns.

Apart from payment of the salaries of the teachers, Zolkiew was levied for the salary of the *Beller* (clerk) of the province for handling the matters of the Jews – 350 Florin per year, and his assistant who was appointed in accordance with the number of Jews in the Zolkiew province – 200 Florin. In the years 1782-1796 Avraham Kiarfowic served as the Beller as did his assistant – Hirshberg.

In the year the school was closed (1806), one hundred Jewish children attended the school which was the smallest number in the entire province of Eastern Galicia. By 1817, only 2 Jewish students in the entire province of Zolkiew studied at the secular school.

D.

The Jews of Zolkiew entered the 19th century in more than difficult economic conditions. From year to year, the government increased the tuition for the Jews, and they did not discipline the landowners that leased saloons to the Jews. And the burden of taxation grew to the point that in the year 1808-1811 the taxes had grown to the point that the taxes on meat and Sabbath-candles were combined in addition to the debt levied on the Jews by the authorities.

The authorities limited the number of Jewish beverage distributors, and canceled most of their entitlements. On the second side stood the Jewish saloon keepers in severe competition with the Christian saloon keepers – a struggle that continued until the end of the 40's of the 19th century.

In 1812, a census was taken in the city of Zolkiew consisting of 428 Jewish families, of which there were 874 men and 925 women, in total 1799 people. There were 2,714 Jewish families in the entire province, consisting of 11,069 people (5441 men, 5628 women), – a very noticeable decrease when compared to the years 1788-1792 (3,063 Jewish families).

In the year 1819, the census was taken of the entire province, which had 2,332 Jewish families, and 75 Jewish families engaged in farming, together with 2,407 families. In comparison to the census of 1819 it is noteworthy that the number of Jewish families decreased 207 during these years. In the year 1821 there were 10,740 Jews in the province compared with 197,058 Christians, a decrease of 3,321 people compared with 1812.

In 1826, 11,517 Jews were counted against 206,624 Christians, this being an increase of 769 people compared with the year 1821. From what is revealed in the numbers available to us even with the force of significant curtailment – regarding the business of the Jews in the decade of the twenties of the 19th Century.

9 wholesalers owning merchandising businesses with the right to sell throughout the Zolkiew province, all of whom were Jews. Of the 30 saloons (*hefene schenker*) in all of Galicia, there were 8 in Zolkiew. Of the 24 fruit sellers in all of Galicia - 4; from 18 Bookbinders – 4; from 16 mead sellers – 4; from 10 processors of grits – 5; from 16 book sellers – 4.

There were 7 specialist craftsmen in Zolkiew in the year 1820. From 22 confectionery bakers in all of Galicia 4. Makers of movie films 1 (the single one in Galicia).

The number of Jewish tailors, furriers, sheriffs and shoemakers in the Zolkiew province reached 236; of the 2,015 whiskey distillers in all of Galicia, there were 338 in the Zolkiew province.

Apart from these occupations, the Jews engaged in the grain trade, and in farming implements, food, cattle and horses.

The Jewish retailers, craftsmen, and jobbers fought severely for their existence.

In the years 1819-1820, the government raised the level of taxes significantly. The Galician communities, including the community of Zolkiew turned with requests, to lower the taxes that had been levied upon them, in the face of the economic decline that gives them no room for sustenance. They presented the fact that the collection of the meat tax and the candle tax makes the tax load too heavy for the populace. Even the *Guberyanim* recognized the justification for the requests, seeing that they knew the difficult economic circumstances and the struggle for existence that had been put on most of the Jews, which spoke to the need to lighten the tax load (*ergenzung-schteier*). The *Guberyanim* stressed in the knowledge that there would be no improvements in the taxes and their collection, and that the peculiar relationship between the demanded tax level and the income of those being taxed. At this opportunity, the *Guberyanim* argued that there is a need to alter the relationship between the tax collectors and the masses.

At this time, in July 1823, the body of the *Guberyanim* proposed cancellation of the candle tax, the payment tax, and the special tax (*extra-schteier*). However, in Vienna, the law stood, that it is necessary to leave the tax on the Jews until ‘the revision of the taxes’ that is standing for review, arguing that the Jewish tax collectors are at fault, and they therefore proposed that the collection be turned over to local authorities, and the officials of the provinces were ordered to convey their thoughts on this.

The officer of the Zolkiew province conveyed this negative conclusion. In opposition to the thoughts of the officers of the provinces of Stary, Tarnopol, Stanislaw, Przemysl, and the *Guberyanim* in Lvov, and therefore there was no change to the area of taxation.

There were also not any great changes in the life of the Zolkiew community until the year 1848. Those Rabbis who served as leaders from the beginning of the Austrian occupation were: 1) Rabbi R' Moshe Zvi Hirsch ben R' Shimon Meiseles, who had previously been the Rabbi in Lancut, and had been selected as Rabbi going back to 1757, after his father returned to his previous position, in Cieszanow. Rabbi Meiseles was one of the *Gaonim* of his generation. He was invited to take the pulpit in Metz, and afterwards in Copenhagen, but he did not want to leave Zolkiew, where he served until his death on 18 Kislev 5561 (1803). His son, Avigdor was the Rabbi in Bilgoraj, and his daughter Freida was married to the *Bet-Din Senior* in Kamionka, R' Avigdor. He was the first Rabbi of the Valley in the Zolkiew province. 2) The Rabbi, R' Meshullam ben R' Mordechai Ze'ev Orenstein.

Actually, the family name of the father of Rabbi Mordechai Ze'ev [was] Lvov, and Yaakov took on the family name Orenstein. His father's brother – the uncle of Meshullam Zalman, his family name and that of his descendants was – Ashkenazi. His father's family was from Zolkiew. The father of Rabbi Mordechai Ze'ev, the grandfather of R' Yaakov Meshullam, R' Moshe R' Yoss'keh's, was the son of R' Yoss'keh and the grandson of Hanoch Henykh (the son of Rabbi R' Joseph Yoss'keh the Rabbi of Szydlow. R' Yoss'keh was a formidable scholar, a leader and a *Parnes* of the Zolkiew community, a son-in-law of R' Bezalel the tax collector. R' Moshe was born in Zolkiew and was among the wealthy and respected of the influential people, and a member of the community council. His wife Nechama (*Ny'tcheh*) was the daughter of R' Aryeh Leib, the *Bet-Din Senior* of Amsterdam, son-in-law of the *Gaon* "Zvi the Wise" (Ashkenazi).

Rabbi Mordechai Ze'ev, the father of R' Yaakov Meshullam was one of the great *Torah* scholars of his generation. He served as the Rabbi in Satonow and Jampol (Podolia). His family remained in Zolkiew. In Podolia, he drew near to *Hasidism*, and as a result became known as 'The *Hasid* who knew *Kabbalah*.' When R' Aryeh Leib Bernstein of Brody was selected to be the country-level Rabbi of Galicia, in accordance with the orders of Maria Teresa (1776), he was appointed to take his place, and after the Rabbi of Lvov made *aliyah*, that is, R' Shlomo the author of the book '*Mirkevet Mishna*', he was selected as the *Bet-Din Senior* in Lvov and for the Valley.

The mother of R' Yaakov Meshullam was the daughter of R' Shaul the Acute, *Bet-Din Senior* in Olesko. He was born in 1773 in Jampol or in Satanow. While still a child, his mother died. And at the age of 12 he was married to the lady, Sarah the daughter of the *Nagid*⁹⁷ R' Zvi Hirsch Wohl of the Shaul Wohl family, and lived in his house in Jaroslaw. He attracted talented students, and associates who came to hear his Torah, among them R' Eliezer Hurwicz, the author of the book '*Noam Magidim*' the Rabbi in Tarnograd, R' Aharon Moshe Taubisch, author of the book '*Tosafot Re'Em*,' '*Karnei Re'Em*,' being the Rabbi in Szniatyn and afterwards in Jassy.

Rabbi R' Zechariah Mendl Frankel served in Jaroslaw, and he had two sons-in-law – R' Yehuda Leib Heller and R' Naphtali Hertz ben Shaul the Acute, *Bet-Din Senior* in Olesko who was the brother of his mother Freida. After his death, his son-in-law Rabbi Yehuda Leib Heller arrogated the right to the rabbinate to himself. When he left his leadership position in 1800, the heads of the community invited the younger R' Yaakov Meshullam Orenstein, without considering the second son-in-law of Rabbi Frankel, R' Naphtali Hertz. This aroused a dispute in the congregation. While R' Naphtali was

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The Hebrew name for a distinguished man, a ruler, etc.

selected, he refused to accept the position. As one, the members of the community leadership endorsed the appointment of R' Yaakov Meshullam Orenstein. His aunt, the mother of R' Naphtali conveyed her disapproval, intimating that Rabbi Orenstein arrogated the rabbinical chair of her son. When this became known to him, he immediately returned the rabbinical contract. He left Jaroslaw and in 1805 moved to Zolkiew and there he was selected to be the Rabbi of the city and the Valley, after the death of Rabbi Moshe Zvi Hirsch Meiseles, and served there until 1805. On January 2, 1805, he was selected to be the Rabbi in Lvov.

R' Yaakov Orenstein was not drawn to *Hasidism* like his father, which, as it happens, spread in Galicia and created new centers in Belz and Sandzh, but he did not oppose it publicly. In apposition to this, he developed a manifest aversion to the Enlightenment movement, which in his lifetime had created centers of substance in Lvov, Brody, Tarnopol, Zolkiew and Tysmenytsia. It is he who called the first embargo in Lvov (1816) on the *Enlightenment* there *ש"י"ר*, Pastur ???and Natkess. He stood at the head of the very pious in Galicia, and exchanged letters with the *Gaon 'Khatam Sofer,'* in Pressburg, and his son-in-law, the Gaon R' Akiva Eiger in Posen. He was an outstanding scholar, and compiled the book '*Yeshuot Yaakov.*' He died in Lvov on 25 Menachem-Av 5599 (1839).

3) After him, no Rabbi was selected, and the *Dayan* Yaakov Joseph Juzpa Segal Satran filled the position together with the *Dayan* R' Joseph Eliezer Gottleib.

4) In 1718 R' Yitzhak Shimshon Hurwicz Meiseles, the son of R' Avigdor Hurwicz the *Bet-Din Senior* of Kamionka was selected as Rabbi, who was the son-in-law of the Zolkiew Rabbi R' Moshe Zvi Meiseles. His mother Freida was the daughter of R' Moshe Zvi Meiseles. He was born in Kamionka in 1789, and studied with Aviv who was a noted teacher. In the years 1812-1816 he was the Rabbi in Monastyraska, and from 1816-1828 he was the Rabbi of Zolkiew. After this, he was selected to be the Rabbi in Czernowitz, and the country-Rabbi of Bukovina. In Czernowitz, he sat for the examinations of philosophy-pedagogy at the university, as it is dictated according to the rule of 1846 by the Rabbis of the province. He received a special permit from the King Ferdinand because he had not graduated from a gymnasium. In 1867 he left Czernowitz and returned to Zolkiew, and he occupied the Rabbinical seat for a second time – after the Rabbi Shmuel Walburg left Zolkiew – until he died on 25 Kislev 5639 (1879).

5) After Rabbi R' Yitzhak Shimshon Hurwicz-Meiseles went over to Czernowitz, Rabbi R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot became the Rabbi.

In 1821 the matter of Jewish dress came up on the agenda. In the Josef decree on page 47, the Jews of Galicia were asked to do away with their traditional garb from 1794, that differentiate them from the rest of the population, with only the Rabbis granted permission to dress so. However, in the face of the opposition of the Jews, this demand was annulled on May 28, 1790.

When the central government in Vienna undertook to prepare a new Jewish code in 1816-1820, this question came up again at this occasion. Was it wanted that the Jews be forbidden to wear their traditional dress. The head of the Galician Gubernium Baron Hauer advocated the introduction of a new prohibition explicitly aimed at proscribing Jewish dress. He benefitted from the support of many sectors of Enlightened Jews.

When the Jewish masses of the street learned of the efforts of the Gubernium to implement his proposal, a movement began within the ranks of the Jewish masses to form an opposition. The community of Zolkiew also expressed its opposition. The heads of the communities and its provinces turned to the

government with the request, that Jewish dress be left to reflect economic needs, because the change-over in dress would bring on new costs for the Jews, these being expenses that would have a notable impact on the tax revenues from meat. They argued that in the storage facilities of the wholesalers and the retail merchants, that there will be a surplus of garments that would go to waste, and the cost required to defray the 'German style of dress' will become increasingly more expensive. This was not the only recourse, because the remaining communities of Galicia submitted similar positions, and it looked like a concerted effort coming from one place, because all of the communities submitted their positions in the style that was included in the written request of Zolkiew.

The answer came from Vienna in April 1821, indicating that the positions taken by the Zolkiew community were not correct, since the change in Jewish clothing in Moravia proved that the costs for the new clothing did not diminish the income from the meat tax.

But the matter was not closed at that point. With the efforts of the Galician communities, the merchants and furriers and even the Christian owners of factories for textiles and silk within Austria itself, and petitions, in which they represented the severe damage that the change in dress will cause the designers and merchants, Jews and non-Jews alike. The end of the matter was that the proposal of the Galician *Gubernium* did not find an attentive ear in Vienna, which, for the time being, deferred this [alleged] solution to the problem.

During these years, *Hasidism* began to spread into most of the communities of Eastern Galicia. In Zolkiew proper, there were no signs of conflict between those religious *Mitnagdim* and the *Hasidim*, before *Hasidism* succeeded in putting down roots. Rabbi R' Moshe Zvi Hirsch Meiseles and his heir Yaakov Meshullam ben R' Mordechai Ze'ev Orenstein were the opposition to *Hasidism*, and under their influence it remained a community of the pious (*Haredim*). Also, the community leaders were in the camp of the *Mitnagdim*. However, in the small towns surrounding Zolkiew the hand of Hasidism was on top, and they even dared to go out with conflicts, excommunications especially against the young men who drew close to the yearnings of the Enlightenment, and they succeeded in limiting the extent of their spread. And already written in pen, the cities of Brody, Lvov, Zolkiew, Tarnopol, and Tysmenytsia one would encounter not only [religious] sages that were outstanding, but also Enlightened people who understood their movement well, and had an analytic approach to history. However, in Zolkiew there already existed a tendency toward the general Enlightenment, and all of its external revelations. And it was only in a short time, that it made every effort to resist the change in traditional Jewish garb and didn't send their children to the school, despite the fact that according to the law, there was every opportunity to provide a general [public] education to Jewish children.

In the war to spread general culture that was being managed in these years in the communities of Brody, Lvov and Tarnopol, the role of Zolkiew was very small.

Despite this, the limited number of the Enlightened, about whom a summary will be written in the coming chapter, they gave a generously large donation to encourage the spread of the Enlightenment in Galicia.

IX. The Enlightenment

After Brody, Lvov and Tarnopol, Zolkiew occupied a notable place in the movement of the Enlightenment in Galicia.

In contrast to Brody, Lvov and Tarnopol, its role as an Enlightened city it was the pioneers and leaders of the movement, and it came to it because of the personality of Joseph Pearl, and the school which had its establishment in Lvov, where a cadre of *Enlightened* emerged under the influence of the teachers Benjamin Zvi Natkisz and Yitzhak Arter – the Enlightenment movement in Zolkiew was launched quietly, as if in a neglected corner, without any pretensions to wage war against its resistance on the outside.

Zolkiew, before it came to fruition, in this period to the key words and aspirations of the Enlightenment, as the spokesman of his generation said, a scion of the city and one of the first of the Enlightened ones: ‘the alien flame has not yet been extinguished that were kindled and burned by the group of emboldened by Sabbatai Zvi and his followers, and those acolytes that came after them, that held on to their path, an unfinished path, with great force, and in many cities in That Land (Galicia) such as Brody, Lemberg, Zolkiew, and led them on, ever-increasing and multiplying, growing very, very strong.

Among the first who ‘raised a candle in Israel, a Candle of Wisdom, a Candle of Succor’ in Zolkiew, was Baruch Zvi Naya.

Baruch Zvi Naya, the son-in-law of the father of the scribe Shimshon Bloch, was a teacher at the public school in Zolkiew, before the cancellation of the network of schools in Galicia in 1806. He came to Zolkiew in the year 1795, and became friends with the printer Gershom Latriss – the father of Dr. Meir Latriss. He was a *Maskil*, and stressed the study of the sciences and languages, and was the owner of a library replete with books in many languages, most of these being Hebrew books, both old and new. According to שׂ"ר (Shlomo Yehuda Rapaport), he was a *Maskil* in Hebrew books and books in other languages, and a man like this was rare in those days in that land because knowledge had not sprouted.’ He also influenced Gershom Latriss, who according to his nephews was a pure soul, who had begun to manifest an interest in the books of the Enlightenment. Gershom Latriss was both a scholar and a *Maskil* and he composed a book of explanation of the *Selichot* prayers, which he published in his own printing shop in the year 1817 (1817) and also wrote the book ‘*Pshar Davar*’ which was an explanation of the questions posed by the *Rab*’A. He was one of the leaders of the community and was the head of that body for thirty years, and he developed contact with the authorities in Zolkiew and Lvov, and an Austrian General learned Jewish philosophy from him.

Together with the comrades of Naya and also Uri Zvi Rubinstein, and Shaul Meyerhoffer and his wife, the daughter of Yaakov Balaban, the owners of a printing business one of the eminent merchants of Lvov and afterward the *Bet-Din Senior* of Jaworow. She was a clever woman, understanding and speaking several languages, who understood the new spirit of the period, and the need for change in Jewish education. She revealed this issue in the education of Meir Latriss, teaching him the fundamentals of German and French, and encouraged him to stress his secular studies.

Her sister Mrs. Relah, a clever young woman joined this group.

Under the influence of this group, they penetrated into youth yearning to learn how to read books in secular books, [by contrast with] the youth of Zolkiew who were forced to read secular books in secret, outside their homes. Once, in the winter, Latriss went out to the hills beside the city, that were covered in snow, and even though he froze and caught a cold, he held a book in his hand on loan for a number of days. This was Dahm’s book ‘*Über die Burgliche Verbesserung der Juden,*’ that was loaned to him by Bitterlich, an army officer in Zolkiew.

In 1798 a young man aged 14 came to Zolkiew, whose parents were among the Enlightened people of Brody., and he married a woman from Zolkiew, this being Sarah the daughter of the wealthy man Shmeryl Haberman, who promised the groom that he will keep him, his wife, and family at his table.

This was Nachman Menachem Krochmal⁹⁸, a scion of Brody, who moved from his birthplace to Zolkiew and lived there for 37 years with nobody knowing that he was from the camp of the conceptual fundamentals of the Galician Enlightenment, and the builder of the new Jewish Historosophy.

He had been influenced by the concepts of the *Haskalah* while still in his home town, and was one of the students of Dov-Ber Ginzburg, who boarded Menachem Mendl Lapin and Yehuda Leib Ben-Ze'ev in his home.

He also received a letter of recommendation from Ginzburg written to the Head of the Enlightenment movement in Zolkiew, Baruch Zvi Naya, the father of Meir Latriss whom they met after he had come to Zolkiew for the Sukkot Holiday to visit his family and son-in-law, and from his description 'a beloved young man, soft and weak, fragile, and had no strength, may the wisdom in his heart bring grace to his lips, and the light of his soul appear in the apple of his eye.'

Thanks to Naya, *Rn''K* received a fundamental grounding in *Haskalah* in Zolkiew. He placed his large library at his disposal, and one can assume that is how he learned French, Latin, Arabic and Syriac.. He read and learned almost without rest, the secular history of the Jews, and did not neglect the science books from that beautiful library. Out of his spark for history, he read many newspapers, and made visible many global issues.

In the years 1799-1809, he dedicated himself solely to the study and deep reading in Jewish philosophy, and religion. He especially researched the history of the growth of civilization, and that of the Jewish people. His father-in-law did not take kindly to his son-in-law's involvement with secular books. Nevertheless, *Rn''K* carried on with his work, because it was not possible to argue that he was not faithful to the traditional (religious) way of life. He came to the *Bet Hamedrash* three times a day. He would kiss the *Mezuzah* upon entering, and study a chapter of the Gemara with the young men in the *Bet HaMedrash*, he would explain, expand on, and direct [further study]. There were occasions when he would go for a walk alone, or with a small group of young people from the city, in the fields near the city – this act seemed strange in the eyes of the Zolkiew Jews, and slightly suspect.

As a result of the amount of spiritual effort he invested, he fell sick in the summer of 1808 and was compelled to travel to Lvov for a cure.

In Lvov he connected with the *Maskilim* שי"ר, Yaakov Bodek, Shimshon Bloch, Yitzhak Arter, and he aroused a strong impression with his appearance and things he had to say. 'In talking to him, it impressed upon me – said שי"ר – spirit, understanding and knowledge to the point that I became a different person. In this manner, he knew how to substantially inspire his passion into the hearts of his listeners in all manner of science and language.' They saw a well-rounded man in him, who would be an appropriate choice to be a teacher, and light new paths to the perplexed generation, and he created his own following. The *Rn''K* left Lvov, but he did not recover his health to a desired degree, and from the time on from his sickness, he was weak and sickly for the rest of his life.

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He would become known as R' Nachman Krochmal and would be called by the acronym Rn''K or רנ"ק, in Hebrew.

The doctors forbade him to entertain spiritual work because of its burden, but despite this, he continued his spiritual work upon his return to Zolkiew. He devoted himself to historical research that demanded less than the study of philosophy.

His home in Zolkiew was open to all students of *Enlightenment* from far and near. He gathered about him a cadre of young people and served as their teacher, imitating the example of the Greek philosophers, in the conversations in his home, or walks in the fields, including philosophy, exceptional German literature, French and Hebrew, in *'The Guide to the Perplexed'* of Ibn Ezra. It was in this way that he created a *'Bet-HaMedrash.'*

With his students who visited him and accompanied him on his walks, he did not limit participation only to scions of Zolkiew, to hear his lore, but also to include the youth from outside places. And in general, his students ש״ר, Shimshon Bloch, Zvi Bodek, Yaakov Shmuel Byk, and Avraham Goldberg from Rawa (who aroused in him the publication of the rods of ancient times on the Northern Countries.' to Sholom Cohen), Apfel from Zolkiew, Zvi Harsh, Menachem Mendl Finlisz (ש״ל״ט) David Lukatzer, Hillel Lechner, Meir Latriss, Rib”L who spend a part of his time in Zolkiew. ‘I shall recall precious times, precious enough to travel to – writes the ש״ר – from one time to the other for a day or two, or a week, or he would come to me, and we went to converse in the fields.

How sweet these walks were more than all the pleasures of the world, my ears never tired of the wisdom of his words being able to add content to each word.’ For thirty consecutive years, the *Shy”R (Shlomo Yehuda Rapaport)* would travel at least once a month, from Lvov to Zolkiew to converse with Ran”K on matters of science. There were some times when רנ”ק would travel to ש״ר in Lvov, in order to explain some research issue.

Even Shimshon Bloch recalls such walks, that they were ‘they were the first and best days of all the years of his life.’

Latriss also did not forget those days in which ‘we walked like one body, happy and of a good heart, until evening to converse in the fields, and the parcels of land in the city of my birth or on the high mountains.

The youth of Zolkiew who were thirsty for *Enlightenment* used to come to his home to hear what he had to say about language, literature, explanations, and the early histories of Israel and their origins, and also studies of nature and mathematics.

They would come in secret out of fear that they would make an impression on the fanatically religious people in Zolkiew. Ne of his students, David Lukachor tells that he was afraid to come to him openly in the daytime, and in the day that he might be ‘deterred and argued with the so-called sanctified fanatics who might say, that he is a brother to a sinner and destroyer, and encourage atheism, so he was forced to sneak into him at day’s end, the middle of the night, or in the morning before the sun would shine.’

And here in the year 1816 – during the time of incitement against the *Maskilim* in Lvov, there was a change in the relations of the fanatics in Zolkiew towards רנ”ק.

The relations of the ranks of the fanatics during these years, to the *Maskilim*, was in many cases cruel, and there were those among them who denied them the ability to make a living – from rendering service and labor, out of a relaxation that they should cease and stop their reading of external literature, and the spread of the Enlightenment among the youth. An incident is known about Shlomo Yehuda Rapaport (ש״ר) in Brody, that was the director of

accounting in the group of meat and candle taxes. When the Rabbi of Lvov, R' Yaakov Orenstein, Mordechai Orenstein said: I do not hate the sin or misdeed of the שׂיר but I will not make it possible for him to make a living.'

This incident aroused the wealthy *Maskilim* in Brody led by Nirenstein and Kalir, to propose higher taxes, and because of this, the collection process was transferred to them, and they left the Shy'R in his position.

The fanatics of Zolkiew attacked the רנ"ק sharply, in their struggle with them. In him, they saw the agitation and attraction of the youth to the *Enlightenment*. But because he was the son-in-law of a wealthy man, and also an observer of mitzvot, it was not easy for them to attack him in the open. And when it became known that he visited with the Karaites, and corresponded with them, they accused him that he is a supporter of the Karaites.

As is known, in the Zolkiew vicinity, in the village of Czostków, there was a small community of Karaites. Rn"K grew close to their Sage, David. He wrote letters of praise to the שׂיר, to which the רנ"ק responded with similar praise, and called him 'a son of the World to Come.'

The *Hasidim* from Lvov intercepted a letter of this sort from the Karaite Sage, by deception, and they sent copies of it to a number of communities in Galicia and Poland, emphasizing that the רנ"ק 'has made an agreement with the Karaites, who were scattered among a number of cities of Galicia,' out of the expectation that this would soil his image in the eyes of the faithful of that generation, as someone who betrays the God of Israel, and joins with the Karaites.

Understandably that these accusation of the *Hasidim* raised a storm and caused the רנ"ק sorrow. On 13 Tammuz 5576, he wrote a letter of defense to his Leader, Ze'ev Dov Schiff.

Ze'ev Dov Schiff (1761-1842) was a person with many interests. He was born in Zamość and was the grandson of the Kabbalist R' Joel Heilperin, known by the name R' Joel *Baal-Shem* (author of the book '*Mif'alot Elo-him*,' published in Zolkiew 5484). Schiff focused especially on the *Talmud* and astronomical engineering, and used ideas from these in his book '*Minkhat Zikaron*' which is a commentary on the [Talmudic] tractate *Eruvin* (printed many years after his death in Cracow 5654).

After many wanderings, he settled in Vienna for a number of years. There, he was a proofreader at the well-known printing house of Anton Schmidt. From Vienna, he moved to Cracow and was the director of accounting in the bank of Rabbi Dov Ber Meiseles and Hurwicz. He corresponded with the *Maggid* of Brody, R' Shlomo Kluger. He was a very observant man, but this matter did not dissuade him from getting in correspondence with Rn"K and exchanged letters with him on matters of philosophy and general science.

And for this reason, the רנ"ק found it appropriate to write specifically to Schiff about the themes covered in his visits with the Sage of the Karaites.

רנ"ק wrote to him: 'I have a compulsion because I was bothered by the confusion, and my innards suggested to me that I should raise my eyes to you, so you may shield me in the shadow of your affection from the heat of the jealousy that I have been assaulted with by certain *Hasidim* in the Holy

Congregation of Lvov and yours was the only name that I saw correctly and qualified to pour out my conversation on the bosom of your affection, and to present before you my present rebuttal.’

Further on, he describes that the Karaite David, whom he knew for some time, in the past winter sent him a special ‘emissary’ regarding the issue of ‘the needs of our congregation here,’ and also presented him a letter, and on it, he responded that even though he had received several letters from him, to which he did not reply.

The content of this letter is not recalled by him. All that was remembered was that among the complaints of the *Hasidim*, he added, at the end of the letter to the Karaite Sage a number of words of praise in verse form: ‘And I said that his name was David and he is a *Maskil* in all his ways and like an uncle and all that they object to is the way they interpreted ‘a son of the world to come,’ and that he worked in *Torah* and fulfilled them through *mitzvot* as his forbears did which he carries in hand, and for this on the morrow day, he will receive his reward along with all the others who fear God.’

If Schiff and his coterie would say that he was mistaken, he was prepared to tell the truth.

There is no indication of a transgression in the dialogue with the Karaites, after all, Maimonides, the most outstanding of the *Gaonim* and many others of this category, permitted debate with the Karaites. Are they not of the seed of our patriarchs, students of Moses and the prophets? Saw an obligation to undertake a debate with the Karaites in order to open a path for them to repent.

At the end of his letter, רנ"ק goes after the *Hasidim*, who he calls self-aggrandizing, whose supply of strong drink that are mind-addling to addle their senses and darken their common sense. There is no excuse in the world for what they do.’

According to רנ"ק, this *Hasidic* coterie had not become strengthened in numbers since the time of the initiation of my activities. This was certainly true among the elite especially in the backwoods of the Ukranian desert and the villages on the Hungarian border, and all of these are new groups recently founded, who have fled the adjacent communities. It is only in a variety of areas and with the help of certain Rabbis, that they were able to establish themselves in some communities, and began to harass – and, God protect us, from the one who fled that returned too be a pursuer.

The רנ"ק writes – ‘it is not known to me that a person who despises all differences (of opinion) and sickened this way, managed to regain strength and emerge triumphant.’

This letter aroused a positive echo in Zolkiew and made an impression on the young people, who continued to come to him to learn the lore from his mouth..

However, the accusations and deceptive distortions of the *Hasidim* affected his health. And this was the reason, according to his son the doctor, Joseph Krochmal, ‘that his father turned his attention from then on to the task of contradicting and nullifying the program of the hate and jealousy of his enemies.

Also family incidents – the death of his son-in-law in 1816 and then his *mekhutan* in 1822 on whom he depended upon, and so the economic circumstances of his father compelled him to look after his earnings, and to accept the burden of leadership for the businesses of his son-in-law and *mekhutan*.

On May 31, 1824, after the bankruptcy of the ruling family in Zolkiew, the nobleman Radziwill signed on to the oversight of the province to the attention of the national office, in which he managed the industry in the village of Mukurtyn.

In accordance with this oversight, that was enabled on June 5, 1824, by the national office in Lvov for the management of properties, and during its period, from July 1, 1824 to July 31 1827, the Rn'K managed the collection of liquor taxes from those who created strong drink, both Jewish and Christian, in Zolkiew.

At the time of the incineration of 12 measures of grain, taxes were raised by 1 Florin 37 Kreuzer, and for ever hundred *lugim*⁹⁹ of whiskey so burnt in Zolkiew or the cities and towns adjacent to it, it indicated that the taxes for Jews that engaged in this profession should be 19 Crowns, and from Christians, 45 Kreuzer. It is understood that because of the severity of implemented punishment, it was forbidden to change the price, and for this reason, laws of punishment for tax evaders were implemented. As it happens, the ק"נ was a partner with his son-in-law going back to 1811.

In this period of time – it seems starting in 1821 – the Rn'K was the head of the community and in his role there, he engaged in helping free young [sic: Jewish] people from military service – and this also included Avraham Goldberg from Rawa and Shimshon Bloch. He exerted effort for the good of the Jews before the government, who had respect for him. For occasional individuals, he would write letter of request to the authorities in the German language, because according to Latriss ‘this made an impression on the officers of the city and the country.’ He looked after the interests of the members of his community.

There were individuals in Zolkiew who received newspapers and along with this, from the years 1811-1814, he would occasionally drop into the *Bet HaMedrash* ‘to listen to news about various wars’ (the Napoleonic wars). Related to this – ‘in the continuation of his talking, he added his words regarding other issues such as Haskalah and knowledge, thereby slowly, but surely sowing a seed of light, a seed of ‘truth and redemption on the substance of the hearts of those who listened to him, regarding those things that he had the power to ripen in the near future.’

He was always ready to help his people. In a letter from the beginning of the beginning of the month of Elul 5596 he turned to the ShD'L for him to attempt to help a relative leaving for Italy: ‘the man who stands before Your Honor, his brother was bequeathed an inheritance in Italy from his father who lived there and died in Prato (Tuscany Italy); since the deceased was related to me by blood, I could not turn a blind eye and not ignore helping his son who sent me the letter in hand, my Lord, and the acceptance of an individual from a distant and, and together is a request from Your Honor, a sympathizer of converts, prominent people and also ???, may it be with your help and your generous spirit and good advice, how he could reach the province that he seeks to enter.

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A liquid measure.

In the following addition, the רנ"ק wrote about his book and informed that it is his desire to send '2-3 handwritten pages, if I can find the way to copy the contents in the local language you use.'

In his reply (pp 67-69) the ShaD"l writes that 'he was enchanted and his soul expired to see the work of his fingers that go out to the members of his community, for the benefit and redemption of all people in our midst.'

As the head of the community, the רנ"ק tried to introduce changes into the lives of his community members, especially with regard to issues of education and study.

It was in Zolkiew specifically that the incitement of the fanatics first began against the *Maskilim*, whose number continued to grow under the influence of the רנ"ק, and there were incidents of physical conflict as well. As Latriss elaborates in his memoirs: 'In those days I would be seated and studying every day at the *Bet HaMedrash*, both *Talmud* and *Poskim* by myself without a teacher, and my friends would listen to my voice, and from time-to-time come to look into the Torah with me. Our *Bet HaMedrash* in those days was not only a gathering place for Torah studiers, because even [other] knowledge began to secretly come and stealthily enter, as if in a stealth war operation in God's House, to seek shelter in its shadow from the ire of the pursuers and warriors, and this sorrow.

In the *Bet-HaMedrash*, books of knowledge were read – '*Mikraot Gedolim*' 'The Guide to the Perplexed,' the book of 'Essentials' 'The book of battles,' to the Ravla"l and the explanations of Ibn-Ezra on the Torah. Among these books, there were new Hebrew books of research hidden, like '*Sefer HaBrit*,' and Weisel's '*Gan HaNaool*.'

And here, on one occasion, a man of temerity and head of the spreaders of wisdom in our city, whose name was R' Moshe Mordechai, the *Gabbai* in charge of provisioning the poor, and the overseer that all of the methods of the *Bet HaMedrash* were appropriate, sat on his seat of judgement in great anger, and from his seat, he oversaw both day and night all those who came through its portals, to know of all their comings and goings, and what is the root cause of the thinking in their hearts. He saw and knew where we encountered stumbling blocks because apart from studying the *Talmud*, the explanation of [secular] knowledge was the goal of our desires. On one day, we were silently discussing a difficult passage in a complex book that was opened in front of us, and he stood behind us to ambush us, to spy on us, and to cry out bitterly and loudly to be heard in the ears of all the people present, to say here have arisen empty and superficial people who with speed have strayed from the straight path, and polluted God's Sanctuary by reading books alien to us and our fathers, having nothing to do with the Laws of God, and our Torah. And the entire people were angered, in whose midst such a desecration took place, and wanted to stone us with stones, and there should be a great tumult, and very large crowds assembled together and became one body in the city, and all the markets and streets would become empty of people and would overwhelm us with their talk, and a language that spoke of great things and they spread a venom about us in the *Bet HaMedrash*. And it was the wish of our souls to turn to go away from God, because in books of an Apostate God (*treyfa, possul*), the entire day was given over to articulating the disgrace of His Honor without help.'

A mob of the incited people fell upon the boys, seeking to 'tear off their private parts, and the like.'

Rn"K came escorted by his retinue and gave a talk to the people, in which he denounced the shame of the dispute and proposed a compromise, that from this time forward, they will only read from the *Talmud* in the *Bet-HaMedrash*, and only 'occasionally, those invited will also look into the book of the *Tanakh*, and of the Ancient Scholars.

But what he had to say was not heard because of the noise that shouted 'leave here quickly, who put you as a harbinger of peace, and an officer of the law over us.' My proposal was not accepted. Rather on the opposite, the officials of the city were compelled to send troops to disperse the crowd.

However, רנ"ק did not relent in his war against fanatics and *Hasidim*.

During these years, *Hasidism* spread in the vicinity of Zolkiew, and increased its strength. By the informing that it had provided to the authorities through Chaim Harbst of Mosty. From 1822 on, there was a *Hasid* who wandered through the Zolkiew province named Yaakov Greens from Tomaszow and gathered a cadre of *Hasidim* about him. He collected money in the charity boxes of *R'Meir Baal HaNess*, from which he took a '*korovka*' for himself from each contribution, and he incited his *Hasidim* to leave the synagogue and to pray in their own special *minyan*. By illegal means, his son married the daughter of David Lieberman.

The youth tending towards *Haskalah* saw a protector for themselves in the רנ"ק, and for this reason, the young people turned to him, that were harassed in their cities by the *Hasidim*, who would periodically burn books of the *Haskalah* that they were made aware of.

When they created a threat in the city of Mosty' that is beside Zolkiew, aimed against the students of Avraham Goldberg and by excommunicating those found to have read the books of the *Haskalah*, demanding of him that he have these books burned, he wrote to the רנ"ק who was dismayed by this occurrence, because 'fear of them has fallen upon you and they have taxed your heart, up to the point that you responded by giving them some of your good and harmless books to be burned.'

רנ"ק saw the behavior of his students change, because of the softness of his heart, which was not like him, he made it easier for the fanatics to harass the young *Maskilim*. And contrary to his usual behavior he had a young man aged twenty 'harass' and not to be one who is harassed by one of the wild trouble makers in the village of Most in which we were repulsed by him regarding the admission of these youths among the pillars of our *Bet HaMedrash*.' It is not right that because the *Hasidim* are extensive in number, and they have a strong hand in ruling the people – 'By my life' – the רנ"ק wrote, we do not have this situation here. Because not only is there identity not known in the cities of Ashkenaz, Italy and other lands in both the east and west. God will guard those members of our group, for here in our country, their hand has not been strengthened against me in the cities such as Lesser Most', and Lubicz they raised their following and struck roots among the people living in the villages at the indulgence of Hungary. In the inner reaches of the elite of Wallachia, and the expanse of aridity in the Ukraine, all of these are new groups only recently established, having fled or been expelled from nearby countries. This has not happened in venerable congregations, famous for their *Torah* study, in their knowledge and wisdom and creating a *minyan* such as Cracow, Lvov, Lublin, Brody, Tarnopol, Vilna, Brisk, and their like. They have not raised their standard in those places because the lowness of their goal cause them to sit silently like mute dogs unable to bark.'

‘In our place they placed *Maskilim* of straight heart, and despite the lowness in their number, poverty and low standing, and being like insects in their eyes, and further that they did no think it was worth arousing conflict for the spread of their ideas regarding the faith of the heart, and God forbid, to enforce this with sticks and ropes, etc. But it said to these remnants of embers smoking from the fires of fanaticism and conflict. It was said to them, that if with a force and strong hand here, with the assistance of someone looking for the pursued, we have the means at hand to bring them no good, not knowing darkness, and could not get forgiveness. From this letter we learn about the opposition of the רנ"ק to the *Hasidim*, among whom there a people of violence, fanatics aroused and given to carry out their vicious intentions, while they ‘raise and praise their doings.’ They wander about from city to city in order to settle there and why should they not benefit from the money in their treasuries, and fill their sacks with the money of those who will be forced to flatter, to women, minors, and the people of the villages.’

He especially went after the *Rebbe* R' Zvi Hirsch of Ziditshov¹⁰⁰ and made a mockery of him and his behavior. --

‘He sits and relates in his congregation, that is surprised and wait in trembling like forts in the sky, today capturing in his prayers, and several worlds bent over together and giving excess praise to (Aramaic), and He who sits in heaven will amuse us to our peculiar pride. The words are still on his lips, and here comes a municipal policeman, his rod in hand, and the *Rebbe* is frightened and he blanches. And the policeman will wave his hand, and he gets up from his chair and goes after him in a state of major fright, and after he had inundated him with abuse and shame, he also added the threat to expel them from the city and these worlds were not shaken and did not forget the events, and the behavior that the world engages in.

And even if the רנ"ק has no inclination to argument, he asks ‘to take revenge upon them’, if the news is correct that these ‘hypocrites here threatened him with excommunication and embargo and demanded to turn over many of your books to be burned,’ And especially ‘from the head teacher of this village, to descend upon him with the axes of his controlling faith Yr"V in such a manner that you will be left with no alternative but to give me your signature and the force of permission and with it a general letter that designates the specific time and location and I will take responsibility for this matter. Because he will be tortured and punished in accordance with the transgressions he induced.’ He advises me to obtain the affection of the Rabbi of his community – Terezin, a *Gaon* and an unblemished *Tzaddik*, ‘and seek guidance from him to direct you I the search for wisdom as seen by him.’

Despite the fact that the Rn"K had a pliable and forgiving personality, the Rn"K carried out a war against the *Hasidim* and fanatics that was sharp and vigorous. He saw the wide gap between the old and the new, that had broken up the lives of the people, and looked for a new way to secure the survival

¹⁰⁰ Ziditshov is a *Hasidic* dynasty originating in town *Ziditshov* (as known in Yiddish; or *Zhydachiv* in Ukrainian), in Galicia (a province of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire). It was founded by Rebbe Tzvi Hirsh of *Ziditshov*. Today, the few who remain of the Ziditshov dynasty live in Brooklyn, Monticello, New York, Chicago, Baltimore, London, and Israel.

Among its prominent leadership, one finds:

The Grand Rabbi Baal Shem Tov (the BESHT) - founder of *Hasidism*
Grand *Rebbe* Dov Ber of Mezritch - *The Maggid (Preacher)* of Mezritch
Grand Rabbi Zvi Hirsch of *Ziditshov* - Author of *Ateres Zvi* and a disciple of the *Khozeh* (Seer) of Lublin.

of the Jews and Judaism. For this reason, he educated his students in his spirit, encouraged the young people to reveal their skills, and make visible their work and even supported them with money. For this reason, he wanted to print the pamphlet 'HaMazkir' of RyB"L who was a temporary guest in Zolkiew. He and the ש"ר participated in part of the printed products of 'Divrei ש"ר' the first book of Latriss (1822).

His students and supporters, Menachem Mendl Lafin, and ש"ר pressed him to publicize his words himself – however, he thought this was too early to do, before its time.

In Zolkiew, he did not get the possibility for grouping together and of writing. One can assume, that his ideas, and historiosophic writings he had revealed already in conversation with his students in Zolkiew, but according the writings and style in his book 'A Teacher to the Perplexed of His Time,' was not issued until after he had left his city and moved to Brody, and from there to Tarnopol to his house.

He stood at the head of his congregation until the year 5589. It was he who exerted the effort to have the Rabbi Zvi Hirsh accepted as the rabbi in Zolkiew, and his selection on the eve of *Rosh Khodesh* Adar II 5589 (1829) having recognized that he fits the needs of one to guide the city.

The attitude of the רנ"ק to the rabbis was negative, because in the rabbis of his generation he saw 'shepherds of the flock' responsible for the 'destruction of the customs.' According to him, 'the hands of the Rabbis were in this work of destruction of tradition and custom, until they touched on the substance of the Torah and thought to lighten them.' This was the reason he wanted to place R' Zvi Khayot on the Rabbinical Seat in Zolkiew, whom he knew along with his family in Brody, and knew they were masters of the Enlightenment, he also being a man of unblemished record.

The city of their birth – Brody, brought the two of them close to each other, and apart from this both had inclinations and hopes that were aligned, as to how to integrate the old and the new. And so, from the day of the arrival of Rabbi Khayot, both of them were like 'affectionate brothers, and pleasant. Each and every night, they would sit and talk about issues of wisdom, and exchange ideas between them.

Together with Rabbi Khayot and the father of Latriss, R' Gershon Latriss, the רנ"ק studies from two tractates of the Talmud.

In 1826 his wife died. He was left with his youngest son that was ten years old.

Despite his troubles, in these years he began writing the book 'The Hybrid Gates of Faith' before he left Zolkiew (1836), from which the frontispiece was printed in 1833 anonymously.

His economic circumstances deteriorated, and he grew poorer. In addition to this, he was disappointed in the community work done under him, and there was much dissension in the community regarding his work. There was conflict and strife among groups. These circumstances brought him to the conclusion, that there was nothing (for him) to search for in Zolkiew, and in 1836 he went back to his birthplace in Brody.

Thanks to the רנ"ק the *Enlightenment* movement prospered in Zolkiew, reaching a high spiritual level, and a coterie of his students guarded the observance of his teachings after he left.

Along with a group of his students and adherents, with whom he stood in faithful unison, you could count Shaul Meyerhoffër, his wife Sarah and her sister, the young lady knowing the enlightenment and was pretty, Rachel'eh (Rosa). Both of them knew the Enlightenment lore, and were also masters of secular studies – Rosa (1803-1857) was a friend of the daughter of Konigudna, who afterwards married the wholesaler Halperson in Odessa, and lived with her sister for a number of years. Because of her mastery of Haskalah and her lofty cultural position, she was nicknamed 'Madame Stael of Galicia'. She exerted powerful influence on the רנ"ק and the ש"ר. After Meyerhoffer moved to Romania, the Rn"K corresponded with his wife and her sister for many years.

One must also count Shimshon Bloch (1784-1854) among the *Maskilim* in Zolkiew, who was born in Kulikovo, a special type of individual in his manner, from an Enlightened family in Galicia. This author would wander about the cities of the country with 'his book, cane and overcoat, looking for signers of his book. True, R' Shimshon 'Considers the students of the wise men to be like cattle, and they consider R' Shimshon as a wise man, and a miracle of a creature). If he flatters every man of substance with status, Bloch was faithful to the concepts of the *Haskalah*, and did not let go and was not inveigled into any compromise in this area.

In the home of his father, R' Yitzhak, who was very observant and a scholar, as well as secular knowledge, he made friends with R' Israel from Zamość (author of '*Netzakh Israel*') and with the family of the ש"ר, and received his traditional education in the spirit of the times. However, under the influence of his uncle – his father's brother-in-law – the brother-in-law of his father, the teacher Baruch Nye, his father permitted Shimshon to learn '*Tanakh*' and the Rabbi of Lvov R' Zvi Rosaniss, who awakened him to the study of German. Nye taught him '*Tanakh*', German and secular subjects.

Bloch met the רנ"ק in the home of Nye. And from that time on, for the next three years, he as a faithful and ardent student of his. In him he saw 'a guardian of the *Torah*, an observer of faith, and having a precious spirit.'

In 1804, Bloch married the daughter of Zamość philanthropists. His brother Shlomo Ze'ev lived there, a master of *Haskalah*, and fluent in the studies of nature.

According to the effort of the רנ"ק , in 1808 he published his first work in Lvov, to provide cover for secular knowledge and the Haskalah, *'Iggeret HaRashb''a*¹⁰¹ against philosophy, in the addendum *'Iggeret HaHitnatzlut'* dealing with *Bedersi inner knowledge*¹⁰² in which he addressed philosophy.

After the death of Y. L. Ben-Ze'ev was invited to come to Vienna (1813) in accordance with the recommendation of R' Wolf Ben R' Schiff and serve as a proofreader and advisor at the printing house of Anton Schmidt. He published ancient books, and translated *'Vindizion Ideorum'* to Menashe Ben Israel, into Hebrew, following the translation [rules] of Dr. Marcus Hertz, named *'The Salvation of Israel,'* with a summary biography of Franco Mandes (Vienna 1813) and an introduction by Bloch in which e discusses the *'History of Education and the Enlightenment by Jews, and the need for acquiring knowledge about secular subjects.'*

At the urging of his father, who feared surrender in Vienna, he returned to Kulikovo (1814), and following the advice of Rn"K and Shy"R, devoted himself to writing popular books. Influenced by the book of the שי"ר. *'The Preparation of the City of Paris and the Island of Elba'* (Lvov, 5574) he wrote his central book *'The Threshold of the World'* Part I, Asia (Zolkiew 1822), Part II *'Africa'* (Zolkiew 5587) the first general geography in the Hebrew language. It was written in a simple, pleasant style.

He dedicated the first part to the רנ"ק that helped out with the printing expense, and in the foreword, he wrote praise to the *Maskilim* of Brody – something that aroused the anger of Joseph Perl and the *Maskilim* of Tarnopol.

He dedicated the second part to the שי"ר. The third part, *'The Gold in the Synagogue'* about Europe, he never finished, and was published after he died (Lvov 1855) out of his legacy, by the brother, of the יה"ש, Naphtali Hertz Schur. In the book, also from his legacy, were researched words, poems and many examples of translated original parables, and also letters of his to the שי"ר and Perl. Zvi Hirsch Khayot (known by the Hebrew acronym מוהר"צ [*Mahara''Tz*]), Israel Bodek, and an essay *'The Expelled Israelites'* (about the invaders).

He translated into Hebrew the research of L. Zuntz, *'The Lineage of Rashi'* with corrections of his own and commentary of his own.

¹⁰¹ Shlomo ben Avraham ibn Aderet (or Solomon son of Abraham son of Aderet) (1235 – 1310) was a medieval rabbi, halakhist, and Talmudist. He is widely known as the Rashba (רשב"א), the Hebrew acronym of his title and name: **Rabbi Shlomo ben Avraham**.

The Rashba was born in Barcelona, Crown of Aragon, in 1235. He became a successful banker and leader of Spanish Jewry of his time. As a rabbinical authority his fame was such that he was designated as El Rab d'España ("The Rabbi of Spain"). He served as rabbi of the Main Synagogue of Barcelona for 50 years. He died in 1310.

¹⁰² Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi ©. 1270 – c. 1340) was the author of *'Iggeret HaHitnatzlut'* among many works. He was a Jewish poet, physician and philosopher.

According to Latriss, he began to write a book on the origins of the *Kabalah* called '*The Fanaticism of the Lord of Hosts*', but out of a fear of the *Haredim*, he did not want to finish it, and as a result it was not publicized, in accordance with the advice of his friends, and in his pamphlet '*Dishonor*' he attacked the Shd"l who came out against Maimonides.

He spent the last of his years in Kulikovo, both bitter and lonely. He would come every week from there to Zolkiew, to visit Rabbi Khayot, who, at the request of Bloch, assumed responsibility for the guardianship of his only son, aged nine.

A day before he died (October 7, 1845) he was still carrying on a dialogue with Rabbi Khayot about matters of science/knowledge.

Meir Latriss (1800-1871) was an entirely different persona among the Zolkiew *Maskilim*. He was among the first of the *Maskilim* in Galicia, who acquired general *Haskalah*, not by being an autodidact, but in a systematic way in schools and the university.

His father, R' Gershon, was a master of *Haskalah*, but it is inappropriate to see him as a '*Maskil*,' in the sense of the Enlightenment movement. He did not permit his son to read *Haskalah* books in foreign languages, and denied him access to 'all books of knowledge and exposition, out of his wish to raise his son solely in the ways of the Talmud, the *Poskim* and to be one who shows the way in Israel.' It is therefore no surprise that he burned the book of Dahm and the book '*Nathan the Wise*,' by Lessing which he found in the possession of his son.

The education he received in his father's home was traditional. In *Heder*, he learned '*Tanakh*,' *Talmud* and *Poskim* directly from his father, and afterwards in the *Bet HaMedrash* of the sharp-minded R' Akiva *Dayan*, the only teacher of the only son of Rabbi Ze'ev Orenstein, R' Mordechai. When R' Akiva *Dayan* fell ill with encroaching insanity and died in the mental hospital of the Order of the Peers in Lvov, he studied in the Yeshiva of R' Joseph Juzpa Stern.

By this time, the 11-year-old Latriss read and reviewed *Haskalah* books secretly, and because of this the redemption according to Mendelssohn.

When the order of the country was publicized that all Jewish children that were not students in a general public school, were responsible to learn, in detail, the subjects of the public school from teachers with a diploma, and so Latriss studied with the teacher Ganzhausen 'who had a school in our city,' and who had previously lived in Berlin and was a visitor to Mendelssohn's home, acquiring German and useful ideas, 'and with the passage of time, Latin as well, and the issues that would be taught currently in a gymnasium.'

Ganzhausen was authorized to give his students a graduation diploma, and the clearance to study in the university.

The very observant in the city became angry with Latriss' father who had permitted his son to learn secular subjects. However, R' Gershon defended himself in saying 'it is the King's order which cannot be challenged.'

He first met the רב"ק in 1811 who taught him from the Hebrew Literature, and during his illness he read to Latriss from the books of *Levius*, *Virgil*, and *La Fontaine*.

He was aided in secular studies by the military physician Herman, and the senior officer Bitterlich. The wife of the printer Meyerhoffer and her sister taught him French and read selected French poetry to him.

During this period, he was already writing poetry and translated an essay by David Friedlander into Hebrew. In 1819 he traveled to Brody, and here he met and became friends with Artur, Ryb"l and Neta Hurwitz, and translated '*Kol Mevasser*' into Hebrew to found a Jewish school in Brody. In 1820, he was sent by his father to Vienna, in connection with the issue of the permit for the printing house. He stayed in Vienna for about two years, and studied at the 'Real Academia.' He met Sholom HaKohen, who published his 'The First of Times' which was a translation of the letters of Schiller, that made an impression on all Hebrew readers. When he returned to Zolkiew, with the financial help of Rn"K, Shy"R and Joseph Perl, and the Maskilim of Lvov, Odessa and Brody, a collection of his poems, 'Words of Poetry (Zolkiew 1823), and then published (1824) the collection '*HaTzefira*' in which the following participated: David Friedlander, Rn"K, Sholom Cohen, Yaakov Shmuel Bik, Avraham Goldberg, and Yehuda Leib Miezies. He personally made known his well-known poem '*The Dove of Heartache*,' this was an international poem that became transformed into a song of the people.

In 1826 He went from Zolkiew to Lvov and studied at the university, learning oriental languages, and modern languages. In Lvov he began to write poems and essays in the German language, which were released in the literary writings of the time, of Lvov's '*Manimusina*.'

In 1830, his father lost his money and possessions, and he was compelled to accept a teacher-trainee of Mrs. Halperson from Odessa, who had come to be cured in Lvov and afterwards traveled to medical treatment in Vienna. Latriss escorted her and her son to Vienna, and she died there while her son returned to Odessa. Latriss remained in Vienna, and continued his studies at the university. He entered the world of literature, and became acquainted with the great literary figures, and the science study of Vienna Dr. Frankel, Compert, Grilperzer, Hammar-Forgestahl and with their help found employment on newspaper and literary things.

From 1835-1839, he was a proofreader in the printing house of Anton Schmidt in Vienna, and for a short time in the printing house of Pressburg. In the years of 1840-1848 he was an editor and proofreader in Prague. There, he completed his studies, and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He was occupied here with the publication of ancient books. He wrote poems and publicized translations that made a formidable impression on readers of Hebrew.

In the years 1848-1871 he lived permanently in Vienna and for one year, served as the librarian in the Royal Library. From 1849-1861 he supported himself by his literary works, publicized in German his work on tales from the east, '*Sagen Aus Dem Orient*,' Vienna 1847, and published current news in the '*Wiener Bletter*' 1817. '*Wiener Mitteilungen fur Wissenschaft*.'

His difficult circumstances were deteriorated to the point that he had to ask for support from the Vienna community.

In 1865, the translation of the work of Faust for Goethe named '*Ben Abuya*' that aroused discussions for and against Hebrew literature.

In his last years, his health deteriorated, and he suffered economically as well.

Dr. Latriss, died in Vienna on 28 Iyyar 5531 (19.5.1871) – the poet and master of rhyme of the Galician *Enlightenment*.

There were no *Maskilim* in Zolkiew, scholars and people of the book as was the case in Brody and Lvov and there were no Enlightened teachers dedicated to the systems of the *Haskalah* as was the case in Tarnopol, and also no analogues of the type such as Alexander Ziskind Kalir, Brucziner, Trachtenberg, Inlander, Mordechai Auspitz, Sholom Krochmal, Hornstein or Nirenstein – in Brody, that Bloch had trained in the *Haskalah* school in Zolkiew, and was thereby called ‘the precious ones of the Brody *Haskalah*.’

As to the cohort of the Zolkiew *Maskilim* who absorbed the teachings of the Rn”K and saw themselves as his students, consigned to be a dried out apple to the people of Zolkiew, being a complete atheist in theory and practice, a *Maskil* that did not have an eagerness to be a [traditional] scholar, but rather fluent in Hebrew knowledge and secular subjects. The son of his brother Shmuel Avraham (Avli) Apple (1831-1892), was educated in his house, who later became renowned as a Hebrew scholar.

Avraham Goldberg was the type of person to be an extremist fighter for the ideals of the *Haskalah*, however he was located in Rawa, but was educated in the *Haskalah* of Zolkiew, being a student and an admirer of his teacher, the רנ”ק. In his youth, he lived in Zolkiew, and became friends with Meir Latriss, he learned and read clandestinely at home, or in the hills nearby.

Latriss relates that ‘except for those who hated us, and who lay in ambush, this one was always my friend (A. Goldberg) an old father but full of strength at heart, a firm soul, an undisciplined man, and a firebrand to engage in dispute with his neighbors all day, and he took a firm hand to his son with fierce anger, not to follow after those youths who were lovers of salvation and to study only Talmud and *Poskim* day and night.

רנ”ק, during the time he was the head of the community got them excused from the obligation of military service. With his advice H”L the second part of Sholom Cohen’s (1772-1845) book from ‘*The Orchards of Old Times on the Land of the North*’ (Zolkiew 1818) and added a few of the more beautiful poems of Sholom Cohen.

He was one of the participants in the ‘*Fruits of the time*’ ‘*The vineyard of affection*’ and ‘*The stars of Yitzhak*.’ In his few poems, he projects his love and longing for nature, in the spirit of Rousseau. He symbolizes the concepts of the *Haskalah*, which elevated his soul to adopt a simple life, and caused him to abandon sales, and the accumulation of money.

In 1848, he made public a satirical poem ‘*The Tale of the North with the Activity of a Rokeach*’ regarding the prohibition of Jewish dress in Russia and in the addendum ‘*A Pamphlet Regarding the Activity of a Rokeach*’ against the ADMo”R of Belz, R’ Sholom Rokeach.

Goldberg, who was a rich merchant, supported the *Maskilim* of his time that were in need of assistance, and a sponsor for their literary publications. He died in Rawa in 1850, and Dr. Avraham Natkisz, of the leadership of the *Maskilim* of Lvov put together the style of the headstone placed on his burial place.

One of the last of the *Maskilim* was Meir Yehuda Maimon called by the acronym מ"ר (born in Zolkiew on November 15, 1832) who became renown in Zolkiew as a genius. He was one of the students of the e"br, a friend of the Rabbi R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot, and became known outside of Zolkiew for the thoroughness of his knowledge and scholarship. He published essays in his name, and the name of Bodi 'Fountains of Water' and corresponded with Yekhiel Mikhl קש"ל. In the Wisdom of Israel. In the West. Also in Breslau, and became close with Dr. Zechariah Frankel and Dr. Zvi Graetz who 'respected him for the sizeable extent of his knowledge and for his acts of charity.' From there, he returned to Galicia, donned the attire of Jewish Poland, and lived according to the traditions of a simple Jew.

In 'The Stars of Yitzhak' he publicized translations from the poetry of Schiller, and extracts and directions and interpretations and essays in 'Megged Yerakhim,' 'The Treasury of the Eagle's Wisdom.' He left behind in a written book regarding the issues of the feelings and the workings of the soul.

His son, David, was also one of the knowledgeable *Maskilim*.

X. During the Period of Emancipation

(P. 155)

A.

Thanks to the רנ"ק, in the period before 1848, Zolkiew was one of the centers of Galician *Enlightenment*, and from the description of a scion of the city, Meir Latriss, it was as follows:

'This city of The Valley was a fortress from the outside and yet one could see breaks in its fortresses and the walls that surrounded it, opposite the auditorium and the gates of the city. There were one thousand eight hundred residents, and more than four hundred Jewish homes. Houses of worship for all beliefs and their tall and handsome towers at the top of their height, and the beauty of their buildings made out of plans, most of them were built in the reign of King Sobieski. The synagogue too was built proudly and with beauty obvious to any eye, near the northern side of the city gate. And this great King and his royal wife were each a pillar of support we could lean on not minimally as a result of his understanding, because they were just and generous royalty to the Children of Israel. When a tall wall was built that leaned into the courtyard of the synagogue, the heads and leaders of the community were assembled and informed, to 'sweeten' the joint secret regarding issues and needs of the city residents, and the giving of charity and all its sections, not far from the synagogue where there was built the old and venerable *Bet HaMedrash*, without any decoration and no grace, which leans, in the direction of falling, from the age shot through the building. Despite this, the elite of the city came to pray here, instead of the synagogue, where only the poor and a host of anonymous people came to pour out what they had to say before the Lord – the *Bet HaMedrash* is full both day and night by Torah students, especially in winter days. Many will come to obtain the essence of God's Torah and from the many admired books that have been there for countless generations, and all the years of the world. And those not familiar with a book, the poor, those who were financially ruined who cannot do any sort of work out of lethargy or for lack of knowledge or understanding, they will come into the shadows of the walls of this house to take some shelter there from the cold and ice, and from a nuisance leak, on a dull and overcast day. Those comforting themselves under the stove that they declare from a lack of respite,

and recite *Tehilim* and read the *Zohar* without understanding the interpretation of the words, believing totally that everyone that reads something of this nature, even if his heart is distant from the content, will say – this was the condition of my birthplace forty years ago (1828).

At the time that the *Maskilim* of Brody, Tarnopol, Lvov, and for a short time afterwards, also their comrades in Tyshmenitz and Bolekhiv would inject the ideals of the *Haskalah* and its expectations. This was not done by the students of Rn"K and Latriss after they left the city, and so it is no surprise that the Jews of the city were not enamored with the structure of the *Haskalah*.

In the period before 1848 no recognizable changes took place in the city. As was the case in the other towns of Galicia, life proceeded on its usual path.

After Rabbi Yitzhak Shimshon Hurwitz-Meiseles left the rabbinical seat in 1828, thanks to the effort of the head of the community Nachman Krochmal, the community of Zolkiew was privileged to get as Rabbi, R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot, a lofty personality who tried to impress upon it a new coloring, in keeping with the times, but also replete with tradition. He was the descendant of a pedigreed family, who were adherents of the *Haskalah* in Brody, he was educated in the traditional way but also absorbed a great deal of secular knowledge.

His family which had lived in Poland from the 17th century, and settled in Brody in the first half of the 18th century, could be counted among the most prominent families of stature in the life of the community.

His father, R' Meir was a wholesale merchant who had broad horizons and a European *Haskalah*, and for many years he served as a member of the Brody council.

His grandfather's grandfather, R' Meir was one of the active members of *Va'ad Arba Aratzot*, and his progeny followed in his path, they extracted learning from the work of the community, in the life of the community, and intermarried with well-known rabbinical families. The grandson of R' Meir, Menachem Maness, committed himself to commerce, and was one of the first merchants of coral in Poland and afterwards in Galicia. In partnership with his brothers, of which several took up residence in Italy, he erected a large merchandise house in Florence and Livorno. He was the son-in-law of R' Wolf, the son of the first Country Rabbi in Galicia, R' Aryeh Leib Bernstein, the son of R' Meir, who was also a coral merchant and a well-known *Maskil*. He married Esther, a granddaughter of R' Zvi Hirsch, brother to the Rabbi of the Country Aryeh Leib Bernstein, and they are the parents of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch that was selected to be the *Bet-Din Senior* of the holy congregation of Zolkiew. He was born on November 20, 1805 (*Rosh Khodesh Heshvan 5566*).

His father, R' Meir was a wholesaler with a broad perspective and European perspective on *Haskalah*.

While still a child, he exhibited outstanding intelligence, and was especially skilled with a good memory and the rapid grasp [of what he learned], and at the age of five had already mastered the *Tanakh*. His Talmud teachers were the Headmaster of the Brody Yeshiva, Rabbi R' Zvi Hirsch Heller and Rabbi R' Ze'ev Wolf, the *Bet-Din Senior* of Przeworsk, and even' R' Ephraim Zalman Margalioth had a high opinion of him in the way he handled many ideas. His father R' Yaakov'keh Landau, was the son of the *Gaon 'Noda B'Yehuda.'* They also made an effort to imbue him with the secular aspects of the *Haskalah*. He studied external wisdom, and the languages: German, Italian and French, and he was a member of the *Maskilim* group, and drew close to the ש"ר (Rapaport) who at that time held an office in Brody, and to Yaakov Shmuel Byk, and Zvi Bodek. He was especially friendly with ש"ר, who made

a marked influence on him, and awakened him to approach the research of Jewish sources about the development methods of systematic science, which facilitated his absorption of search in the Torah, and the obligation to do unfettered criticism, and to do so without damaging tradition.

רנ"ק proposed the nomination of Rabbi Khayot in Zolkiew, because he wanted to name someone in command of profound ideas in Judaism and with that was rooted in European *Haskalah*. In the commentary of the members of that generation 'The Jews in Zolkiew' were joyous, in receiving the true *Gaon* and the pride of the *Maskilim*, Zvi Hirsch Khayot ז"ל, as a teacher and the *Bet-Din Senior* of their community.

When he came to Zolkiew, all the *Parnassim* of the community with the head of the holy congregation, רנ"ק leading them, to went receive him. In his first sermon, he captured the heart of the congregation, and especially of those who studied *Torah*, 'who were smitten by the depth of his penetration, his casuistry and acuteness, because there were aligned and in order with ideas constructed by the rules of *Hekesh*¹⁰³, and his feel was miraculous. From the outset of his tenure, he brought a breath of life into the congregation, and his direction was different from that of other rabbis of his generation and of the previous one.

From the day of his arrival, he drew close to the רנ"ק in whom he saw as his teacher from whom he did learn, and engaged in dialogue over ideas, whose traces can be found in the book of Avraham Krochmal, the son of the רנ"ק, which was called '*The Basis of Permission*,' which is written in the style of philosophical dialogue. And here they are seated, discussing the tractate of Spinoza, and in this conversation the daughter of the רנ"ק both absorbs and contributes her own voice, as one who arouses discussion and controls the speakers so they do not wander off to side issues.

רנ"ק admired Rabbi Khayot, and saw both a comrade and friend in him. He accorded him respect, and made use of the descriptor 'The beauty of his *Torah*.'

Rabbi Khayot corresponded not only with the rabbis of his generation, but also with *Maskilim* and learned Jews in Italy and Germany. He gave guidance to the Jewish historian Y. M. Jast, also giving him historical data and information about *Hasidism*, and the internal state of affairs of Judaism in Galicia.

Immediately with his appointment, the government demanded to know about the following items.

- A) Which *Torah* scroll is in his possession for use in administering an oath? Is it permitted to use a *Torah* scroll for taking an oath that is not fit to be used in prayer rituals?
- B) Are the *Hasidim* a separate caste, or can they be identified along with other Jews:
- C) Can we expect the establishment of a Rabbinical Seminary in Galicia, following the example of Padua and Venice.

¹⁰³ One of the thirteen principles used in *Talmudic* reasoning. A *Hekesh* relies on the appearance of the same word in proximity to itself. If this form of duplication is sanctioned, one may try to infer an indirect meaning from it.

- D) Does the Rabbi hold a *Torah* scroll in his hands during the prayer for the well-being of the Kaiser?
- E) Is it necessary to include the Rabbis of the *Hasidim* when there is a renewal of the announcement of an embargo in the issue of taxes.
- F) In connection with the volume '*Khoshen Mishpat*' that contains, as it were, an enumeration of transgressions by Christians:
- G) How are births (among Jews) recorded in the villages.
- H) Is there a desire to see Jewish books burned, that have been embargoed by the censor.
- I) From a sanitary point of view, is there a demand to have a doctor present at the time of a circumcision.
- J) Under rabbinical oversight, is it permissible to swear in a Jewish person on a printed *Pentateuch*, if the hand does not cover all of the sentences of Chapter 26 in Leviticus.

From these questions we learn what sort of questions occupied the authorities...

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In Vienna, in the staff of the bureaucracy a new group working on new Jewish relations for Galicia sought to improve the condition of the Jews within the assumption that they will accommodate themselves to the general population – as an example as took place to the Jews in Bohemia and other monarchical lands – and should become a positive cause as the work of the kingdom. In this endeavor, the government was helped by Jews who were *Maskilim*, and in Galicia, especially by Joseph Perl of Tarnopol, who presented a number of proposals to reform the circumstances of the Jews especially in the fields of education, and the erection of a Rabbinical Seminary. We were disappointed not to be able to find the responses of Rabbi Khayot in the Viennese archives. It is reasonable to assume that they were in the spirit of [Jewish] tradition.

It is known that regarding the issue of the *Hasidim*, that at the beginning of his work in the rabbinate, he manifested the hands of a *Mitnaged*, but he did not perceive them to be a separate caste. It appears, from other testimony, that his reply to the question of the prospects of putting up a *Bet HaMedrash* for Rabbis, was definitely positive. As to the issue of the sins and transgressions of the Christians that were collected, as it were, in the book '*Khoshen Mishpat*,¹⁰⁴' The Rabbi clarified that these are intended for pagans and not Christians.

Beginning at the end of the 18th century, the ruling authorities pressured the Rabbis more than once, regarding the request of the collection of taxes for meat and candles. To announce an embargo on the members of the community, that out of protest against the tax collectors did not eat meat, even on the Sabbath or Festival Days. In the difficult instances of jackets, criminal transgressions, and as the movement of opposition to the authorities spread throughout many sectors, and the government would react by calling gatherings of the Valley Rabbis (19) and ten respected Rabbis from small communities.

¹⁰⁴ One of the four tractates written by Maimonides.

From 1810 on, there too place six gatherings of Rabbis, the last at the end of October 1830, where they announced an embargo on all those causing damage to the government treasury, by avoiding the payment of the meat tax and the candle tax. It was especially the intent of such gatherings when the Hasidim prohibited the meat from those who collected the meat tax.

In 1830, Rabbi Khayot participated in the Zolkiew Province assembly of rabbis whose intent it was to announce an embargo on all those who omitted payment of the meat and candle tax. To this meeting 19 members of the province were invited and 10 respected rabbis from small congregations. In the first years of being the Rabbi in Zolkiew – the period when the רנ"ק was the head of the community – nothing occurred to affect the reciprocal relationships between him and his community. The *Hasidim* did not have the temerity to come out against him, because of his friendship with the רנ"ק and visits to his home. There, he would meet with *Maskilim*, many of who were called ‘apostates.’

But the situation changed with the departure of the רנ"ק from Zolkiew. Also, the economic situation of his father in Brody, who stood by his right side, deteriorated, because in Zolkiew he received an income that did not cease to support his household.

When the rabbinical seat in Prague was vacated after the death of R' Shmuel Koydrasz, the שי"ר who was the Rabbi of Tarnopol, and suffered harassment from fanatics and *Hasidim*, managed to get the appointment of Rabbi Khayot.

Rabbi Khayot also attempted, with the help of his adherents, to be named as the *Bet-Din Senior* in Prague.

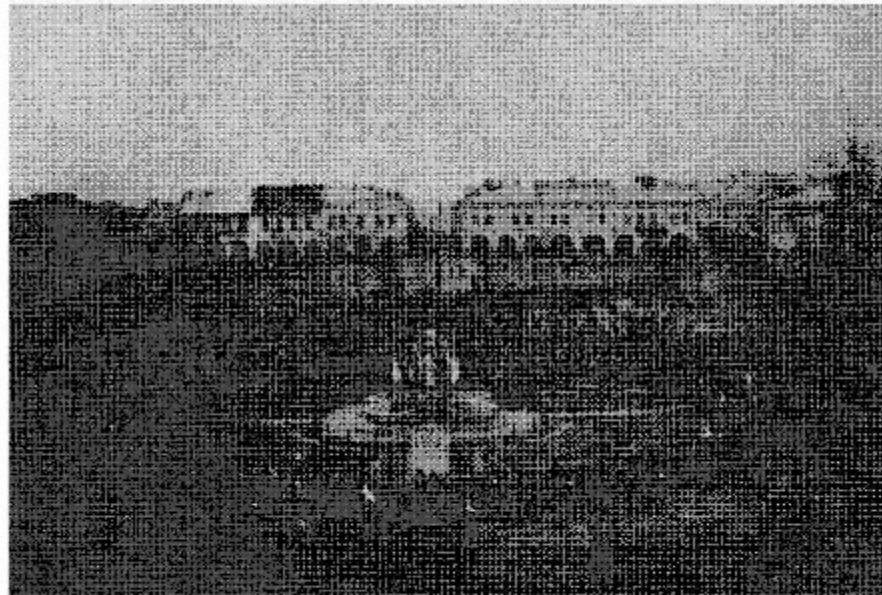
Apparent omission p162 – at least 168

One of the heads of the Prague community, Moshe Landau (grandson of *HaNoda b'Yahadut*) advised based on the content of ‘The Seers’ to place his name in nomination. At the beginning of Heshvan 5599, Yaakov Bodek wrote to Moshe Landau from the writers of ‘The Seers’ that ‘the Rabbi Khayot depends on you and trusts you, because you will be a help to him and a shield and protect him against all who oppose him, and you will add a lot to him many loyal and trusted friends, who will speak well of you, and will seek his proximity and will support him to get the Rabbinical crown upon his head.; But all of these efforts did not succeed – and the שי"ר was selected.



שער גלינסקי, כניסה לרחוב

Page 159/160T: The Glinski Gate and Entrance to the Street



זולקוב: מראה כללי של הכיכר (״רינעק״) עם הארקדות 118

Page 159/160B: Zolkiew: A General View of the Rynek with the 'Arcades.'

Opposing R' Tzvi Hirsch were Rabbi Orenstein of Lvov and the *Maggid* Shlomo Kluger of Brody that did not agree with his ideas, which in their eyes seemed too liberal, and despite the fact that Rabbi Khayot oversaw tradition strictly, he opposed all the amendments that sharply went against the reforms of Avraham Geiger, and Holdheim and for this reason he was attacked by Y. H. Scher. During this period, he also made strong efforts to compromise even with the Hasidim, and because of this, a dispute was uncovered between him and the *Maskilim* in Zolkiew, who attacked him in the '*Algemeine Zeitung dem Judentums*' and accused him of 'supporting an embarrassing position against *Hasidism*.'

Because of his effort, he was invited in March 1845 to Zolkiew, by the ADMo"R of Belz and many Jews from around the city, – even though Zolkiew itself was not leaning toward this sect – it was said in a letter from Zolkiew that they streamed with full hands to the city to obtain his blessing. The provincial Rabbi R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot) personally, and with all his dignity, went after him and flattered him in front of the aura of his sanctity, and was not missing anything, and brought it to the state that they would pray in the synagogue in accordance with Sephardic style, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the defiant Gabbai Mikhl Goldberg (the brother of Sh. L. Goldberg, author of '*Keren Khemed*') and the *Rebbe* himself recognized that it made better sense to avoid a dispute that could lead to injury. This connection of the Rabbi of the Valley, who had been appointed in his time with *Maskilim*, and was selected as a Rabbi thanks to the efforts of the רנ"ק, aroused such a bitterness, that young *Maskilim* from Lvov could not keep from coming out with an expression of their feelings in appropriate expressions. And this is the outcome of trying to engender popularity by means of flattery.

This matter led to a dispute between the Rabbi and the *Maskilim* of the city, especially when it was found out that Rabbi Khayot attempted to push aside the head of the community (Goldberg) who was not desired by him.

In the meantime, R' Khayot turned himself to immerse himself in the directives of the government, issued in 1836, which lengthened the period to 1846, indicating that ever Rabbi of the *Valley* is compelled to stand for university examinations.

In concert with this directive, Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Khayot was the first and only Rabbi that stood [for the examination] in 1846 at the university of Lvov, and he received that title of Magister of Philosophy. When the Galician officer, the ruler Agnor Golkhowsi arrived in the trail of the many complaints by Jewish congregations and communities, to straighten out the issue of *Rabbis*, their ordination and the responsibilities of the communities to them, he first turned to Rabbi Khayot to whom he posed a special assessment: who is qualified to be a Rabbi. In an encompassing memorandum, Rabbi Khayot designated that he held a strong disapproval of any such appointment that *Rabbis* and their positions shall depend on 'The Aristocracy of Money.' It is desired to appoint a Consistory of *Rabbis* who would designate a Rabbi, taking into account the consent of Talmudic scholars and representatives of the various sectors of the intelligentsia. This consistory will also deal with the matter of a Rabbi's salary, and will afterward establish a Rabbinical Seminary. It is this Consistory who will appoint your *Rabbis*, and will not receive financial compensation from the taxes of the community. It is clear that the time was not ripe to implement an agenda from this point of view.

In that same year, the Head of the Office of Commerce and Manufacturing in Brody, Meir Kalir, proposed to establish a 'Settlement Group, whose focus was on real property and the settlement of Jews on them. His proposal was well-received by the Austrian government that promised him help. Even the head Office of Galicia, Golkhowsi, related affably to the proposal and acted as a spokesman on its behalf before the government in Vienna. For recording, the secretary Ministerion, and for internal matters, Karl Wohlfhart. He asked to be advised of the degree to which *Haredim* agree with this agenda, and for this reason, he sent a letter on March 8, 1851 to the Rabbi, R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot who would exchange correspondence with him on Jewish issues,

and in the letter, he turned to focus on the subject that Kalir had proposed. Who proposed to set up special agricultural settlements for Jews, in which they will be promised unlimited freedom with regard to religious practice, setting up a synagogue, schools, and councils of their own.

In his opinion, he felt that it will not only be the ranks of the *Maskilim* who will be supportive, but also the Haredim will be supportive of this agenda, and for that reason, he turns to the Rabbi that is both learned and well-known, respected by the *Haredim*, and asked him to advise his position.

Rabbi R' Zvi Khayot advised him that he agreed with Meir Kalir and his position.

We learn from the letter of April 25 that R' Zvi Khayot wrote to Dr. Meir Latriss, that in his opinion the young people is very much at odds with *Hasidism*, and it appears to him, that the one cure for this, was to encourage and catalyze their direction towards agricultural work.

Even I – who wrote his letter – conveyed my own thoughts that went back to the Galician Rabbinate, that in other countries of the monarchy, the first steps are being taken to the Enlightenment of the Jews by the founding of a school, and after all, working the land in Galicia was the one thing demanded for the sustenance of the citizenry.'

As to the ADMo'Rim they are becoming ignorant, and end up believing outmoded things, and it is necessary to find a fundamental cure for this in terms of tangible initiatives. In a number of essays I have faithfully described what I see as the high and low points of *Hasidism*. No person has described these pitfalls in a way that I have come to recognize in these people. It is not only in secular subjects that these people are deficient. There are deficiencies also in *Tanakh* and *Rambam*, *Alfasi*, and other books dealing with science are forbidden to them, even the young are planning to be Rabbis and they have no conception on the true outlook of the Rabbinate. And they study 'Orakh Chaim' most of the volumes of 'The Traditions of Passover' only, and only this chapter, and not all of it, because the protocols of the holiday and the customs of the Seder Night, they know as a result of their customs and what they are taught) 'Yoreh Deyah,' 'the *Halakhah* of ritual slaughter', 'Unclean foods', etc. a person might know these subjects, but not know that King David succeeded King Saul, the ADMo'Rs will nevertheless pronounce him to be a prepared Rabbi for one of the important congregations. From doubts expressed, if the assembly of Rabbis, for example the assembly that occurred in Bohemia, can be of use here, because only two or three Rabbis would vote for the establishment of a German school, and the direction of the study of faith in an orderly fashion. One should not forget those Rabbis that also are not placed over a community of *Hasidim*, are given over to their influence, and accordingly would not have the nerve to support such a proposal. Except if they can be aroused to do agricultural work, to which many are attracted from the lower echelons, that *Hasidism* also approves of it, work to grow with good results to the ethical advancement of the Jews of Galicia.'

From this we recognize that Rabbi Khayot had not strayed from his previous outlooks. As the *Maskilim* understood in the aftermath of the incident of receiving the *Rebbe* of Belz, who had come to become friends with Rabbi Khayot in a manner that did not harm the feelings of the *Hasidim*.

From an analytical standpoint, the Rabbi R' Zvi Khayot did not leave the path laid out under the influence of his teacher the Ran"K. The important part of his lore, were spliced to limit and the setting up of areas of *Talmudic* discipline.

Out of the desire not to arouse the opposition of the *Haredim*, he contented himself with effort of introducing order to the immense content of the *Talmud*. Here, he did not stray from his aversive opinion of casuistry. He made an effort to open new horizons in Talmud study, with context and understanding, in a simple manner, that was clear and straight. This was the basis of his direction and thinking in this area of teaching this subject.

In his research called '*Iggeret Bikoret*' he publicized list of the chronology of translations and expositions from a critical point of view. Of the remainder of his writings that paved a new path, one must recall his book, '*Ateret Zvi*' (Zolkiew 1841) that includes six items of investigation. The same is true of '*Tiferet Moshe*' '*Darkhei Moshe*' on the Rambam and his legal approach. In this instance he went against the analysis of the ש"ד"ל and Rogiv.

In his book, '*An Introduction to the Talmud*' (Zolkiew 5608) which is his central writing, Rabbi Khayot explains the generalities that have been designated in the two branches of the *Talmud*, both in *Halakhah* and in *Agadah*, in the way they are to be studied and expounded upon, and *Torah* fundamentals that are oral in nature, and especially emendations to *Agadah* that serve as a basis for established customs that are rooted to them. This book served as an introduction to his outlooks and thinking about the Talmud.

In his book '*Darkhei HaHora'ah*' (1842) which is a continuation of his first work, '*Torat HaNevi'im*' (Zolkiew 5596) in which he designated the essentials and foundations of the *Written Law* and the *Oral Law* – He stands on the support of the *Sanhedrin* and its actions.

Special thought is expressed in his thinking on the Babylonian *Talmud* that appeared with the publication of the *Talmud* of Anton Schmidt, Vienna 1843, and were printed afterwards in the publication by the Widow and brothers Ramm in Vilna (1892)

Apart from this, he also published 'The Responsa of the *MaHaRa"TZ*¹⁰⁵, in three parts, The first part, 'An Essay about Sacred Worship,' contains 76 responses regarding the Halakhah, the second part, 'An Essay on Sayings of Wisdom,' which were critical analyses on the *Agadot*, The Jerusalem Talmud and Translations, and the third part '*Minkhat Kanaut*' which opposed the decisions and thinking of reform Rabbis at the beginning of the year 1844 in Braunschweig.

Apart from these writings, R' Zvi Khayot published handwritten essays both in Hebrew and German.

As indicated above, he did not feel himself to be in good graces in Zolkiew, and he decided to leave the Rabbinical seat.

In 1850, the Rabbi of Kalisz passed away, 'R' Eliyahu Rogaler, author of '*Cheated Eliyahu*' brother of the father of R' Zvi ז"ל Frumkin, one of the founders of Petakh Tikvah. The Rabbi, R' Zvi Hirsch tried to get the Rabbinate there. As far back as 1848, he visited Kalisz and gave a talk there on the Sabbath in the synagogue.

¹⁰⁵ This is Zvi Hirsch ben Meir Khayot (B. Brody, November 20, 1805 – D. Lemberg October 12, 1855). See the prior reference on Page xxx.

In 1852, the Kalisz community invited Rabbi R' Zvi Kalisz Khayot to serve as its Rabbi. He only served for three years in Kalisz, and suffered a great deal from his relationship to the Russian rulers, and also from the *Hasidim* who embittered his life. He fell sick out of great sorrow, and left Kalisz in 1855 on doctors' orders, who designated that the climate is injurious to him, and he returned to Galicia, but his but his illness became more serious, and he traveled to Lvov for treatment. After a short time, he died on 1 MarHeshvan 5616 (14.x.1855).

During his tenure in Zolkiew R' Israel ben R' Mordechai Kahana, a scion of Brody, was selected to be the Rabbi *Bet-Din Senior* (born I 1801), who had previously been the *Bet-Din Senior* Navriya, the author of among other things the responsa 'Beyt Israel' (Zolkiew 5532). He occupied the position in Zolkiew until his death on 14 Shevat 5641 (1881). After Rabbi Khayot left, he filled his place until 1857. Rabbi Shmuel Waldberg was selected to replace him.

B.

In the period before 1848, the heads of the community were David Barasz, Meir Wachtell and Mikhl Goldberg.

The influence of the *Hasidim* grew stronger in these years who began to move towards receiving the rudder for control of the community.

Regarding the pursuit of *Hasidim* by the government, who received reports violation, because they have clandestine printing facilities in which they print books that have been prohibited by the censors, the Galician officer, Prince Lowkowitz issued an order, to carry out a very thorough search and investigation of the printing house of Shaul Meyerhoffer in Zolkiew. Because of this, 49 Hebrew books were seized, but the censors saw no reason to embargo them, excepting one book, 'The Exposition of the Ten Commandments' that was printed in the Latriss facility in 1800 and was later returned with the other books, but with the instruction that only this one can be used with permission.

It appears from an obscure place that due to the influence of the *Hasidim* Zolkiew, and their heads, did not participate in government activities because of the Lvov community, where control was already in the hands of enlightened people, in regards to the issue of canceling the constraints of the decrees regarding the Jews of Galicia, and the nullification of the onerous taxes that had been placed upon them. In contrast with the large communities that stood to the right of the demands made by Lvov, Zolkiew was indifferent.

Her officers also did not participate in the assembly of community heads in 1847, that decided to submit a petition the government in 1847. It described the poor condition and rundown nature of the Jewish. In face of the prohibition to send a collective petition in the name of all of the communities, it was decided that each one of the large communities will send its own, special petition.

The Zolkiew community did not submit such a petition, by following the example of Lvov, Brody, Tarnopol, Stanislaw, Sambor and Stary, and there is no explanations to why it did not participate in this initiative.

However, even this indifference did not entirely stop the influence of the *Maskilim* during the thirties and forties of the 19th century. Quite the opposite, in an attachment close to the '*Algemeine Zeitung dem Judentums*' regarding the plight of the Jews in Galicia, it was especially emphasized that the Jews of Zolkiew, Tarnopol, Zluczow, Sambor, Przemysl, Lvov, Jaroslaw Tarnow, Halicz and Brody are favorably disposed to the Jewish-German *Haskalah*.

It appears that these hopes found no sympathy in the Christian community, who abused and were injurious to their dignity, mocking them cause sorrow among Jewish *Maskilim*. They hurl insults at pits and parcels onto respected Jews whom they deride, and denigrating the lower standing echelons, they laugh at wealthy Jews, and distance themselves from the sect of the Jews. It is understood that this condition was felt most acutely by the *Maskilim*, the more traditional Jew did not pay attention to the relationship, and considered himself above them. And the inner life of the community flowed in their usual way, without any required levies upon them.

In 1883 a fire broke out in Zolkiew that destroyed most of the Jewish homes, including the hospital that was made of plain wood.

The provincial officer Freiherr von Haufenstahl made a considerable effort to help the Jews. He and Rabbi (Zvi?) Hirsch Khayot started up a collection that attracted a significant amount of money, that permitted the construction of a new hospital from scratch. However, they did not succeed it establish a fund for its maintenance. The hospital stood without any resources, and was a danger that might result in its collapse. It was not possible to house the sick in it. There was no doctor. In the fulness of time, it became a house of refuge for wanderers, people fleeing another place and criminals.

The community did not concern itself with correcting the situation – and it is only thanks to provincial officer Freiherr Krieg von Hochfalden, who turned the attention of the community to their traditional obligation to take care of a hospital and demanded that they do everything in order to sustain the hospital in good order, and to establish a fund for its support, so he arranged for the management of a community collection and appointed its own manager. Dr. Zeidl was taken on as a permanent physician, And a fund was established out of a special payment of one-half a kreuzer from every liter of kosher meat and similarly from funds for burial and headstones. Apart from this, those who slaughter the cattle were obligated to pay three Gulden every week into the fund, that used to be paid to the With the help of the ruling authorities, the city itself was compelled to budget and fund a specific sum for the Jewish hospital. The building and parcel it was on broadened!

After Dr. Zeidl died in 1847, Dr. Joseph Kacz (1802-1872) managed the hospital who excelled with his knowledge, and was loved by all sectors of the population. He was a doctor in Zolkiew for a period of forty years. After him, the surgeon Ainer was named to be the hospital physician. Of the doctors that worked at the hospital at the middle of the 19th century we can recall Dr. David Rapaport, and the surgeon Moshe Radlmasser.

From an economic standpoint, the wholesale businesses expanded in eggs, flax and grain. In the fur business that spread to the extent of having an export factory outside of the country. There were no remarkable changes in other branches of the economy.

Documentation of the 1848 events in the lives of the Jews of Zolkiew were presented in a very prominent way.

In honor of the announcement of the constitution, a prayer service was organized in the Great Synagogue at which Rabbi R' Zvi Khayot delivered a holiday sermon. The revolution of 1848 that brought internal changes to the countries in the Habsburg monarchy, and nullified the rigid oversight of Metternich, aroused much hope even among the Jews, seeing a good future for themselves and more stability than the test (of the revolution).

This was especially true regarding the cancellation of impoverishing taxes and also political-economic freedom.

It is therefore no surprise that a letter from Zolkiew was feverishly elevated regarding what had transpired in Galicia and its cities. Contrary to what happened in Hungary, Bohemia, and even the free Republic of France from which news would reach us about the harassment of Jews – the writer says – there is an atmosphere of unity and peace between the Christian and Jewish populations. In Zolkiew, an effort was made in these days by citizens to exert with all their might and main, to accept the Jews as citizens of the city, and a significant number were sworn in this way. Three Jews were appointed as members of the municipal council, and they were very active in positions looking after the good of the city.

With the establishment of the 'National Guard' there was participation also from Jewish members of the municipal council. About 100 Jews joined in volunteering to be in its ranks at the head of which was a *Segen*, 1 Lieutenant, and 3 Corporals elected by Christians. It is however, important to take note of the fact that there was some suspicion that stole its way into the writing, and it is difficult to say, if in fact the friendship of the Christians was genuine, or that it is just monarchial popularity. There is nothing to be found in any of the records from them to form a judgement.

The *Enlightened* members formed a group to deal with cultural matters, and they exchanged correspondence regarding the works of the Poles Franczisek and Somolka, and they praised him for his speaking, showing an interest in the issues of the Jews, and for his stand on their right side. In a reply letter that he sent to the Jews of Zolkiew, by way of Rabbi Khayot, Somolka advises the Jews to enjoy their freedoms in a measured way, and not take advantage more than is necessary, in order to avoid disappointment.

Along with the remaining (Jewish) communities, the Jews of Zolkiew also signed a petition to the parliament, put together by the teacher Reitman from Tarnopol. Apart from this, a petition was sent by the Jews of Galicia to the Senior Parliament in Vienna, that was entered on July 4, up to September 7, 1848. In this petition, the circumstances of the Jews are portrayed, the constraints that are imposed upon them, and the burden of the special taxes (kosher meat, candles). And at the end, they all agree to their demands for equal rights. A copy of this petition was also sent to the Head of the parliament in their districts. From Zolkiew, the farmer, Kozar Panko was selected and who did not reveal anything concerning the condition of the Jews. A petition was also sent to the Jewish Representatives of Galicia, The Rabbi Dov Ber Meizesz, and the preacher Mannheimer, Avraham Halpern, and to Polish Representatives that were known to be supporters of equal rights for the Jews, and also the Jewish Representatives that were not from Galicia, Dr. Adolph Fiszhof and Dr. Goldmark.

With the effort of the 'Union for Advancement of the Literary-Political Status for the Sons of Israel,' in Stanislaw that drew into its center the people of the Jewish intelligentsia, with Avraham Halpern at their head, who had been selected as the Representative to the Viennese parliament, a brief was sent out to all the communities, to begin political action, seeing as there now exists a calm atmosphere to obtain equal rights for the Jews.

In the brief, the communities were told to provide data on the number of Jews, the taxes, and the economic condition, and such a petition was also sent to the Jewish Representatives in Parliament.

In the material that was sent by the effort of the Union in Stanislaw, the Representative Mannheimer included this in his work on the issue of nullifying the (special) taxes on the Jews. He gave his historical speeches in the Viennese parliament on September 26 and October 5, 1848, in support of the nullification of the 'Jewish' taxes.

Mannheimer's speeches had an influence on parliament, which by a vote of 243-20, on October 5, 1848 to cancel the special tax on the Jews, and this decision was implemented on November 20, 1848 by Kaiser Franz Joseph I, and was publicized as an existing law in full force.

Despite the expectations and hopes that the Jew tied to the events of 1848, and its spirit of freedom, most of the Jews of Zolkiew tilted in favor of tradition, and were not interested in reforms to their ways of life and the life of the community in conformance to the demands of the time, and that of the Enlightenment advocates. In this city, before the preparations began of establish the progressive institutions of the rulers, as was done in Brody, Tarnopol and Lvov, there, the Enlightened Ones, as well as the craftsmen of independent trades, succeeded in controlling and directing the issues of the community.

The Zolkiew community, that was not active in work at the country level, did not join in the work to set a political direction as in the community of Lvov in 1853, because of the cancellation on October 2, 1853 of the law that limited the degree of ownership by Jews, that had been granted to them in 1848.

With the cancellation of the taxes on the Jews, a short period of emancipation was opened that continued to 1951, after the patent of 21.12.1851 nullified the constitution of 1849, causing the question to arise, what will happen to the possessions and land parcels that the Jews took possession of between 1848-1851. In the patent of 3.10.1853, all the constraints in privilege of ownership reverted to those before 1848.

After it was permitted for Jews to own real estate in 1860, the Jews of Zolkiew and the province also submitted requests that would permit them to own parcels, houses, and tracts of land.

Here is a list of the Jews whose requests were granted:

Chaim Goldberg, the *Parnes* of the Zolkiew community, M. Bandel from Rawa, Hersh and Poyla Gabbl, Hersh Fristig from Mosty Wielka, Sh. And R. Hoffman of Rawa, Katz and Schweitzer from the city of Zolkiew, Kriss, the *Parnes* of the community of Blobaczow, Lederer and Flaster from Zolkiew, and Greenthal from Zolkiew.

The years after 1848 represent 'a new period of *Hasidic* influence.' There were thousands of pilgrims who came to Belz to the *Rebbe* Sholom Rokeach. Apart from Belz *Hasidim*, in Zolkiew the number of the *Hasidim* of R' Hirsch who served in Narimanov, grew in number, and they were nicknamed 'Leap *Hasidim*.'

The minority number of *Maskilim* were convinced that only strong words from the authorities had the power to influence and change the situation.

The group working to cultivate settlement on the foundation of Meir Kalir, about which the Rabbi R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot lectured, did not resonate with the community. The *Haredim* came out against those who worked towards the cancellation of Jewish dress, and demanded the establishment of a Jewish school following the example of Lvov, Tarnopol and Brody.

Two years after the death of Rabbi R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot, the question of selecting a new Rabbi appeared on the community agenda.

In April 1857 Rabbi R' Shmuel ben Joel Waldberg was selected (5 Kislew 5590 - 1.12.1830 to 16 Iyyar 5567- 11.5.1906) who was a scion of Lvov, a scholar, a *Maskil* who publicized the essays of the '*Maggid*', author of the books '*The Diadem of Roses*' (Lvov 5614), at its time in honor of the Kaiser (Zolkiew 5526), '*The Direction of the Alterations on the sayings of KhaZa*'L in their review of the languages of Torah (Lvov 5630)' '*The Sayings of Shmuel*' a general research of the *Shas* (Cracow 5649), '*Sayings of Knowledge*' (Cracow 5644), '*The Writings of Shmuel*' (Cracow 5667).

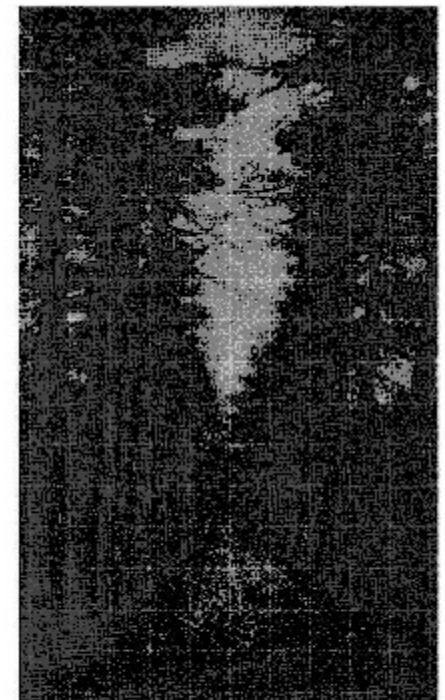
R' Shmuel occupied the Rabbinical Chair until 1867, and because of disputes with a number of the men in the congregation, he left Zolkiew and took the Rabbinical Seat in Jaroslaw until he died in 1906.

After him, the Rabbinical Seat was occupied by Rabbi Shimshon Hurwitz Meiseles, from 1867-1879. After the death of Rabbi Meiseles, the following tried to get his seat: 1) The son of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Khayot; 2) The son of the *Maggid* of Brody Avraham Benjamin Kluger who was a candidate put up by the Belz courtyard; 3) The grandson of the Rabbi of Staislawow R' Chaim Leib Hurwitz, who lived in Cracow.



חניטה הראשית לסירח הסלכותיות ביולקיב

Page 172 (Top): The Main Entrance to the Royal Gate in Zolkiew



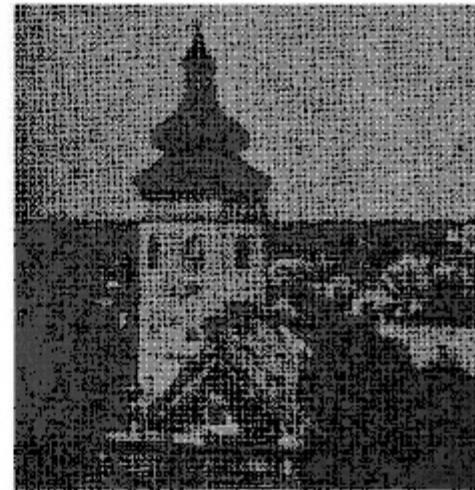
ZOLKIEW. Aleja modrzewiowa na HaraJun amkoma
przez króla Jana III.

שדרת עצים ביער חראי שנשתלה ע"י
חמלך יאן סובוסקי השלישי

Page 171 (Top): The row of trees in the Re'i Forest Donated by the King Jan Sobieski III



שער רחוב גלינסקי, לצד מגדל הצפית
מתקופת העיר הבצורה



זולקיב: מראה כללי עם מגדל הצפית
מתקופת העיר הבצורה

Pages 171/172 (B): Two General Views with the Observation Tower from the Period of the Fortified City.

The son of Rabbi Khayot dropped out after he found that he did not have many followers. Kluger came to Zolkiew in March 1880, gave a sermon in the synagogue, but was not deemed acceptable for the liability of being supported by the *Hasidim*. He also was forced to leave the city.

Hurwitz was supported by the gifted and enlightened, but under the influence of Belz, a dispute arose in the city, quarrels and even physical violence, especially a short time before the selection of the Rabbi. The *Hasidim* attempted to capture the support of the congregation in three Sabbaths, using physical violence that was organized by the *Gabbai* of the *Rebbe* of Belz in which *Hasidic* women also participated. The gendarmerie and the army were forced to get involved to disperse the gathering. Despite all the efforts, the *Hasidim* did not succeed and Hurwitz was selected as Rabbi. And his selection was approved by the authorities, and his first act was to dismiss the three *shokhatim* that were responsible for arousing only disputes and arguments in the midst of the Jewish settlement. He brought in a new *shokhet*¹⁰⁶ from the outside, despite warnings that appeared in the newspaper, '*Makhzikey HaDass*.'

Slowly but surely, tempers quieted down.

In this period, 1866 the Rabbi was R' Avraham Shmuel ben Joseph Lamm, author of '*Eyshel Avraham*,' and the *Bet-Din Senior*.

¹⁰⁶ A qualified slaughterer of animals that are defined as *Kosher*, to be slaughtered according to Jewish law.

Together with him was the Teacher of Righteousness R' Meshullam Zalman ben Mordechai Yehuda, the son of the *Gaon* R' Yaakov of Lissy, and author of the book '*Knowledge and Effort*.'

After his death, his son, R' Avraham Lurberbaum was taken in 1898 as a *Teacher of Righteousness*.

After the death of R' Chaim Leib Hurwitz, the Rabbinical seat was occupied by the Rabbi R' Pinchas Shimon Elimelech Rimmelt who served as the Rabbi in Khyriv, and was received as the Rabbi in Zolkiew in the year 1905.

R' Zusha of Dubno was the *Hazzan* in the Great Synagogue in those years, who sang in the Cantor's choir in Dubno as a youth.

They heard 'As our precious Cantor, who gratified those who heard him, and the loftiness of his throat.' He aroused the heads of Zolkiew to invite him in 1862 – as the *Hazzan* in the Synagogue and the *Bet HaMedrash*. He was also an excellent leader of prayer. Because of his difficult economic circumstances, and the refusal of the *Gabbaim* to give him a salary increase, he was compelled to leave Zolkiew, and accept the position of *Hazzan* in Berezhany, and he died there in the month of Tishri 5627 after a month.

In the elections for the community council in 1867 the *Hasidim* made many efforts to have their candidate selected, and from then on they were a deciding factor in the selections of the community. On the first day the community was called in June 1878 by the 'Shomer Israel' group to Lvov, Leo Khayot would represent them.

The Rabbi of Cracow, R' Shimon Schreiber, and the Rabbi of Belz organized themselves against having their adherents of '*Makhazikei HaDass*' chosen for the community council, and they called a meeting of rabbis for February 14, 1882, which decided on a modification for the communities, according to which they demanded the removal of the Enlightened from the agenda. As was the case in Hungary, they thought to engender a split and rift among Galician Jewry. The community of Zolkiew together with the other communities in Galicia protested against such a decision. The reform of the '*Makhazikei HaDass*' was sidelined by the government that opposed the splitting up of communities.

The Jewish settlement grew vigorously to the point that the Polish newspaper '*Gazeta Narodowa*' complained that the number of Jews in Zolkiew is larger than needed, and they constitute a majority of the population, something that eclipses its Polish character.

In 1877 there were 6,564 residents – 3,888 Jews. The matter of the growth of the Jewish settlement when compared to the rest of the population, was discussed in the first chapter.

In 1874 there were 30 members of the municipal council, of them 12 were Jewish, 3 Ruthenians, and 15 Poles.

From 1890, the percentage of the Jewish population in the villages of the Zolkiew province declined. From 1880-1900 there were 73 single villages in the Zolkiew province. In 1880, they contained 1,557 Jews (19.3%), in 1890 - 1900 Jews (20.1%), and in 1900 - 2,221 (22.1%). On average, in the solitary administrative villages (*Gmina Administracyjna*), in 1880 - 21 Jews, in 1890 – 26, and in 1900 – 31.

In 1889 (4,353 hectares) 9% of real estate was in the hands of Jewish owners, while 79.1% was owned by Christians, Community-held 0.14% – Miscellaneous – 4.5%

In 1887- 1889 in the Zolkiew province, Jewish ownership of real estate was 1,902 hectares (0.8%); Christians ownership in 1889 was 1,902 hectares (0.36%); Community property in 1889 -5, in 1902 - (0.7%)

In total there were 48 owners of real estate recorded in 1889, and in 1902 – 51.

Of the forest lands, in 1889, 79.1% were in Jewish hands, In community hands 11.6%, Miscellaneous – 0.3%).

On March 21, 1890, the Austrian parliament enabled a uniform law for all the Austrian countries, and in it the boundaries of communities was signified and attached the councils of community commissions, [it charged] the Rabbis with the management of the list of births, weddings, and deaths (*Matrikn*).

The Jews in the following 26 villages were appended to the record office of the community of Zolkiew according to the law:

According to the new law, in 1891 the heads of the community were: Shmuel Rapaport, Moshe Greidinger, Wolf Axelrod.

In 1906 the leadership of the community was selected according to the following list: Ignacy Cuker as Chairman, H. Tzipper as his deputy, and B. Katz as treasurer, and M. Maimon as community secretary.

The following groups were in the community in: *Hevra Kadisha* – Chairman H. Tzipper, *Talmud Torah* – Chairman B. Katz, The *Mishna* Group – H. Greidinger, Chairman, The Diligence Group – Chairman L. Apfel, *Poalei Tzedek* – Chairman H. Tzipper.

In 1910 a new leadership was selected with Markus Brudinger as its Chairman. The Rabbinical chair was occupied by Rabbi Pinchas Rimmelt, and after him, his son, Rabbi Zvi Rimmelt.

Among the community heads it is special to recall Ignacy Cuker (1843-1918). The Jews of Zolkiew helped him to flee from harassment by the Russians. Cuker who was one of the heads of the assimilated [people] in Zolkiew. The founders of 'Sokol', (The secular school group), and one of the activists in the ranks of the Poles, was born on February 22, 1845 in Zamość. His father, Pyotr and his mother Amalia, were Polish patriots and educated him in this spirit. When the Polish rebellion broke out in 1863, he enlisted and fought under the leadership of the Ukrainian Netza of Dovianka. He stood out in battle in Horowice, Rudka Wlodawa. After the division was ended, he worked in the international organization in Galicia, under the leadership of Dr. Psziwilowski. He fled to Zolkiew and married the daughter of the city doctor Dr. Rapaport. His home was a center for the National Polish movement in the city. He was also active in a Jewish group, and promoted Polish assimilation. He was a member of the community council, and in the years 1904-1911 he was its president. He died in Zolkiew on April 27, 1918.

In the 20th century, '*bikur kholim*' groups were established in Zolkiew as well as '*Yad Kharutzim*,' the fund for '*Gemilut Hesed*,' 'the Orphanage; of the 9 existing groups, 4 were Jewish.

From the end of the 18th century, the Goldberg family stood out in community life, as well as Buber, Hurwitz, Schur and Zimiles. The first of the *Maskilim* came from the Goldberg family, and a number of them served as a *Parnes* for the community.

The Hurwitz family comes from the rabbis and *Dayanim* of Zolkiew. Shlomo Hurwitz, born in Zolkiew to parents who were among the respected people. When his father went bankrupt he left his birthplace and moved to Odessa. There, together with people who left Brody, he established a merchandising group that became renowned among the centers of commerce in Europe. He was a great *Maskil* and philanthropist, and stood in strong contact with Jewish scholars in Germany, being Dr. Zunz and Dr. Jast with Dr. Gabriel Riesser. He was a community activist in Russia, and was a representative in deliberations regarding Jewish issues that had been raised by the authorities in St. Petersburg. He also composed a memorandum that encompassed the status of the Jews in Russia.

He kept up contact with his birthplace for all of his life, and the comrade of his youth Dr. Meir Latriss. He died in Odessa in May 1857.

The Buber family descended from R' Benjamin Aharon ben R' Avraham Ashkenazi (Solnik) – (1550-1619) the author of the responsa '*The Wishes of Benjamin*' (Cracow 1623).

The family of R' Joseph Zvi Buber settled down in Zolkiew at the end of the 18th century, and he had two sons, R' Yeshayahu Avraham and R' Meir. R' Meir owned a piece of property, Volytsya beside Zolkiew, and after he went bankrupt, he bought the only hotel in the city, beside the Lvov gate, and the Dominican monastery, known by the name : '*Hotel Pad Karetan*.' The hotel existed after the 1880 transfer from the Buber family until 1939.

In 1797 when the possessions of the palace of the king Jan Sobieski were sold at an open auction, Meir Buber bought some of them, and among them, the carriage in which the king would travel during the time he visited Zolkiew. He repaired and decorated parts of the carriage at the hotel, to restore its genuine appearance, and nicknamed it '*Pad Karetan*', and Polish nobility, who held the owner of the hotel in high regard, would visit and live in it, indicating that it preserved the memory of the great king, and the gentry of the city, in a fundamental way.'

The second son of R' Joseph Zvi, Yeshayahu Avraham, who settled down in Lvov, and was the son-in-law of the printer Rubinstein from Zolkiew, and father of the known researcher Shlomo Buber.

The Buber family was to be counted among the respected in the city, and filled important positions in the life of the Jewish community.

The Zimiles family came from Zolkiew but only on the side of Dvorah, the wife of R' Avraham Shmuel Zimiles, born in Brody, and who settled in Zolkiew after he got married.

Dvorah Zimiles (1872-1943) of the Szmelkisz family, a great-granddaughter and granddaughter of Alexander Sender Schur (who died in Zolkiew in the year 5494 (1737) and R' Eliezer Rokeach, who was the Rabbi in Brody and Amsterdam.

R' Avraham Shmuel Zimiles (1869-1933) who was one of the most respected leaders of the Brody community, was a leader of the Zionist movement in Zolkiew. As the first chairman of the Zionist organization '*Dorshei Shalom Tzion*,' (1803) and president of the independent commission in Zolkiew during the days of the Western Ukrainian Republic.

Many records of the Jewish chronology of the Jews in Zolkiew were conserved in the hands of the Zimiles family, such as the scroll of the writings of establishment that was given by the king Jan Sobieski and his sons in 1861 for the erection of a synagogue and there were also two such writings regarding the privileges of the Jews. One was by the Municipal ruler Michael Casimir Konstantin Radziwill, and the second the Archbishop Konstantin Lipsky from Lvov. These documents were turned over to the Jewish Museum in Lvov, after the death of R' Avraham Zimiles (1933).

Before the Zionist *Histadrut* that was founded by Herzl, there was a group of *Maskilim* in Zolkiew that supported the Zionist concept.

In the year 1891 Dr. Yitzhak Feld spoke to a gathering of the people in Zolkiew on behalf of the Zionist Committee in Lvov, and because of his influence the general assembly of the charity group '*Poalei Tzedek*' decided to join the Zionist movement, and to become an international group. From that time on, the Zionist Organization achieved a notable place in the life of the community.

Among those who came from Zolkiew that stood out in the Zionist movement it is worthy to recollect Dr. Benjamin Grill (1868-1937), who was a unique individual of his kind, having stood out in his youth for his remarkable memory and the strength of his grasp [of issues] and was nicknamed 'The Zolkiew Genius.' In his father's house, who was a tailor, he saw much poverty and suffering, but despite his poverty, looked after the traditional education of his sons.

However, the remnants of the *Maskilim* in the city – R' Yehuda Meir Maimon, and Moshe Maness imbued him with the spirit of the *Haskalah*. In Lvov, he drew close to the cadre of young people of the 'Zion' – David Neimark, Mordechai Ehrenfreis, Yehoshua Tohn, Mordechai Ze'ev Broyda, and they encourage him to pursue secular studies. He prepared himself for the final graduation exams and failed. When in 1893, the Rabbinical *Bet HaMedrash* developed a reputation, by the discourse of his Guardian, Szmelki da Hurwitz, he was taken in as a student without a diploma indicating passage of graduation exams. But he did not stay long in his studies. His companions, Shmuel Gutman, Y. L. Landau and Yehuda Bergman wanted to prepare him for the graduation examination, but this was in vain. Disputes with the rector, Dr. Schwartz caused him to leave the Rabbinical *Bet HaMedrash*.

After wandering about, he went to Bern [Switzerland], studied at the university, and on the strength of his dissertation '*The Lore of the Cosmos according to Maimonides and Gershuni*' which was published in Lvov 1901, he was awarded the title of Doctor of Philosophy. When he returned to Lvov, he was among the assistants of Reuben Asher Broydes in producing his weekly '*Der Vekker*' and '*Carmel*', and he published lists in them and feuilletons. But the urge to wander did not give him any rest. Having promised to write an essay, he failed to do so, and at the last minute one had to look for him in a variety of saloons, and there, beside a glass of whiskey, he would read his improvisation to them.

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Despite his abilities, he did not find his way, he stagnated and did not progress. He never found a steady source of income for his whole life, and was everyone's laughingstock. He had the image of a Yeshiva student 'a permanent student' unorganized, indolent that tried to take advantage of his knowledge and skills he tried to put his thoughts into writing, his coin was wit and cynicism.

When he came to Vienna in 1901, he spent a short time in Tonhalle on the chapter of the week, and his presentations drew a large audience, and were popularized among the many. In the summer of 1902 he left Vienna and settled in Lvov. From August 1902 he ran a *Talmud* session in a Tonhalle, in the Jewish science class on the *Tanakh* and the Babylonian exile. And so he would hold forth in the Zionist group '*Dorshei Shalom Zion*,' and speak at Zionist parties. His friends tried to get him placed as a principal in the school '*Khinukh LaNa'ar*' as a librarian in the community library, founded by Shlomo Buber, Szmelki Hurwitz paid him a monthly salary of 80 Gulden for a course to guide Talmud study beside the community library.

His work in Lvov lasted a short time. Hurwitz stopped paying him and Grill returned to a degraded way of life. He traveled to Germany, spent some time in Munich, and from there he returned to Vienna, supporting himself out of special donations until the outbreak of the First World War.

During the war, he enlisted in the Austrian army and served as a guard in a camp for prisoners in Gleichenberg. After the war, he returned to Zolkiew, and lived with his sister, spending his time with stories and witty talk about himself in the saloon of R' Simcha Ungar, in a house that at one time was owned by the Rn"K. His memory did not fade, and he continued with Torah study with the bitter feeling of one who 'might have been' but the chain of progress stopped, and the genius that had promised so much remained, as his biographer says, a lump of a bear – just 'a marginalized star that shone in the dark' he shone at night and at night his heart sank from a sense of having faded. He died on November 26, 1936.

A scion of Zolkiew, Moshe Frustig (1895-1928) was among the known activists in the Zionist movement in Zolkiew. While still a student at the gymnasium, he joined the Zionist movement and was one of the founders of the gymnastic youth '*Tze'irei Zion*', and organized courses to round out the preparation of students in the history of the Israel in the Hebrew language and the history of Zionism in the land of Israel. He was among the ones who laid a foundation for the domestic '*Tze'irei Zion*', the committees of the countries that were added from year to year, he formulated the rules of the organization that was in power until the outbreak of the First World War.

In the upper hectographs of the gymnasium, he published essays and explanatory writings in the spirit of international Zionism. From 1906-1908 he stood at the head of the '*Tze'irei Zion*' institution and broadened the scope of its activity. He traveled to all of the cities of Galicia in which there was a gymnasium, and high schools, founded secret organizations and communicated the Zionist concept among the educated youth. In 1905 he organized the Zionist academic committees, and was selected to put together a central committee.

In the years 1907-1909, together with Nathan Tzitzkes he put together the monthly Zionist publication in the Polish language, '*Moriah*', in which he published research about the basis for Zionism from an economic standpoint that made an impression on the Jewish intelligentsia. These items of research were published in a separate volume, the first Zionist publication in the Polish language (The Zionist-Jewish Economy).

With the establishment of the '*Poalei Tzion*' movement, he joined them and wrote the first composition of '*Poalei Tzion*' in Polish.

After 'Poalei Tzion' decided to leave the domestic Zionist *Histadrut*, he left with a meaningful number of academics, and people of the intelligentsia who were sympathetic to the active movement – the ranks of 'Poalei Tzion.'

From the year 1907 on, he was active in the domestic Zionist *Histadrut*, and participated in all of the domestic committees, where he expounded on economic issues. He asked for dedication and attention to productive work in the Land of Israel, fought for a united Zionist *Histadrut* in Galicia, and opposed the formation of an independent *Histadrut* to lead 'The Work of the Present,'

From 1909 to 1928, he edited the Yiddish publication of the Zionist *Histadrut*, 'Tageblatt', and after it ceased – the daily newspaper 'Der Morgen' in Lvov.

He was an accomplished editor and publisher, his essays and compositions had an influence on the conceptual and national intent of the Zionist movement in Galicia.

In the years of 1910-1912 he dedicated himself to the organization of Jewish merchants, and established economic institutions, and organized the national initiative against the discontinuation of Jewish distilleries.

During the war years, he traveled to America, but was stopped on his way by a British ship and was brought as an Austrian subject to an internment camp. After returning to Galicia in 1919 he committed himself to community newspaper work. 1922¹⁰⁷-1928 he was a member of the Polish Sejm, and occupied a number of important positions in the Jewish club, as an expert in matters of economics, and also participated in a number of Zionist Congresses, and from 1910 to his death, he was a member of the central Committee of the Zionist *Histadrut* in Galicia.

In the years between 1912-1914 the number of Jews in Zolkiew was 4,000. Marc Brudinger was at the head of the community, and the community secretary was M. Maimon. L. Waltukh was the Teacher of Faith. At the head of the *Hevra Kadisha* was M. Brudinger, and the head of the 'Poalei Tzedek' group was Sh. Feder, in 'Yad HaKharutzim' M. Fakhman was the head, and the Head of the *Talmud Torah* Sh. Feder, and Y. H. Greidinger was the head of 'Hevrat Mishnayot.'

The First World War, the invasion of the Russians in August 1914 and the events of the war left a deep mark on the Jewish community and populace, most of whom fled to the west.

The work of the community and its institutions stopped, but with the return of the Austrian army in May 1915, the life of the city was resumed, as was the life of the Jews in general, to their natural way.

The community and its institutions resumed their activity in the usual way until November 1918. During the period of Ukrainian rule, the community council was disbanded, and in its place, 'The International Jewish Committee' was placed, headed by Avraham Shmuel Zimiles.

¹⁰⁷ Incorrectly shown as 1822.

In June 1919 the Polish army seized the city and the renewed Polish government opened its offices there. The international Jewish community was disbanded, and the previous community was established anew.

Thus began the period of Polish governance in the lives of the Zolkiew community.

Zolkiew Families

A. The Buber Family

R' Joseph Zvi Buber, Grandson of the Author of the Responsa 'The Wishes of Benjamin'

2) R' Meir

1) R' Yeshayahu Avraham
Died 20 Nissan 5637

1) R' Joseph Zvi

R' Shlomo 1827-1906

2) R' Yitzhak Lvov Yeshiva Headmaster

Zigmund, Yahalom, Moshe

3) Zlata married to Falk in Belz

1) Chaim Ze'ev Falk

2) Joseph Falk (in Tel-Aviv)

1) Berisz 2) Mendl

Katriel Zalman Karl

3) Rivka 4) Yitzhak

5) Avraham 6) Jutla

1) Chaim

1) Mordechai Martin Professor in Jerusalem

2) Joseph Zvi (In Tel-Aviv)

2) Orna, married to Halpern

3) Elazar

3) Nellie married to Dr. Marcus Brauda

4) Bluma (Married to Simcha Mund)

B. The Printers' Family Rubinstein

Uri

Chaim

Israel

Mordechai Rubinstein

1) Uri Zvi (His Wife, Chaya) 2) Shlomo Rubinstein

1) David Zvi 2) Sarah Leah married to Yeshayahu Avraham Buber

C. The Family of Uri Fybusz Latriss

Uri Fybusz HaLevi, a Teacher in Amsterdam, 1544-1626

Uri Schraga Feivusz ben Aharon HaLevi, Died in Zolkiew in 1704

Aharon , Died in 1745

Gershon

1) Chadyim Don
Printer 1782

2) Yehudit married to David ben Menakhtzman
Afterwards the second wife of Rabbi Roganish

1) Ze'ev Wolf Died (1775)

His wife, Tcharni (1794)

Gershon Latriss (1770-1842)	Hertz Grusmi (1804) His wife Chana (1837)	Aharon the Printer His wife Chava Tauba (1829)
Avraham Joseph the Printer	Dr. Meir Latriss 187? - 1907	

D. The Zimiles Family

2.

R. Chaim Schur (a scion of R' Joseph Schur, a *Tosafot* master from Orleans, a student of *Rabbenu Tam*)

R' Moshe Ephraim Schur

R' Shmuel Schur

R' Avraham Leib Schur from Lvov

Dvora (?)

R' Yehuda Leib Schur from Lvov

R' Ephraim Zalman Schur from Lvov

R' Alexander Sender Schur from Zolkiew, the author of '*Tevuot Schur*,' '*Shleyma Khadasha*,' '*Bkhor Schur*.' Died in Zolkiew 5497 (1737)

1.

R' Shmuel Szmelke Rokeach Margalio

R' Elazar Rokeach 5425-5491 (1665-1731)
Author of '*Ma'aseh Rokeach*' *Bet-Din Senior* of Cracow, Brody and Amsterdam.
Died in Tzfat

R' Moshe Rokeach Died in 5413 (1753)
Bet-Din Senior of Zolkiew and Baraf

R' Shmuel Szmelke Rokeach
Rabbi to the Tailors in Brody

3.

R' Szmelke Szmeliks – Miriam Wohl

R' Yitzhak Yehuda Szmelkisz author of '*Beyt Yitzhak*'
Bet-din Senior of Przemysl and Lvov, died in 5667 (1906)

Daughter of R' Nathan Levin, *Bet-Din Senior* of Risza

Dr. Yekhezkiel Levin, Rabbi in Lvov

R' Aharon Levin *Bet-Din Senior* of and Risza Santor

The following pages have not been translated, since they represent information of interest to research scholars. The interested reader is referred to the original text.

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Addenda

Notes and corrections found in the folios of the Community of Zolkiew

Footnotes

Pages 196- 213

(P.215)

The Jewish Printing Houses in Zolkiew¹⁰⁸

By Prof. M. Balaban

Lvov was not fortunate enough to have a Hebrew printing house. At the time when Cracow was already publishing the first book in the Holy Tongue in 1534, and after a short time books also appeared in Lublin, there was no voice raised in Lvov or any attention shown. It is possible that the reason for this is because there was no individual who could be found ready to open a printing facility or because the two printing businesses in Cracow and Lublin satisfied the needs of the Jews in Poland – it is a fact that until the end of the 18th century there was no printing facility in Lvov. Nevertheless, there was a printing facility not far from Lvov – in nearby Zolkiew, whose founder was Uri Fybusz HaLevi, a man who came from Amsterdam. He was a patriarch of the Latriss printing family, and he is the founder of the Hebrew printing facility in Lvov.

This first printer in Zolkiew had miraculous luck, but more specifically that of his family. The destiny of the family was a small sample of the migration of Jews in general: Emden – Amsterdam – Zolkiew – Lvov – Vienna, these were the stations along the path of suffering. These were the road signs of the way that leads from west to east and its return, God forbid. To our pain, before this path was sealed off.

In the year 1559, a violent storm struck the sea near Emden in Friesland. Two ships that had left Spain were sacrificed to the shores. There were ten *Anusim* of the forced conversions¹⁰⁹, with their wives and four children. They also had valuable merchandise with them, woven goods, gold and silver. They had hired the ships in order to reach beautiful and wealthy Amsterdam, however the storm that broke out carried the ships on their wanderings like nutshells. They prayed to God that he should see their poverty and have mercy on them, because they had turned to Amsterdam in order to return to the people of

¹⁰⁸ A Chapter from ‘*Yiddishe Druckereien in Polin.*’

¹⁰⁹ To be one of the Jews (generally from Spain) who were forced to formally convert to Christianity.

Israel and not continue worshipping other Gods. *The Holy One, Blessed Be He* was filled with pity, and the waves subsided. When the sailors began to inspect the bottoms and tops of the ships, they found many cracks through which water had penetrated. They agreed to drop anchor in the port of Emden to inspect the ships.

The *Anusim* came to the city, and they rented a nice home in order to rest from the stress of the trip, and to rescue their goods. They rested a bit, and then went out into the City: a young man was invited by them, who showed them to nature of the good aspects of the city. In their walking, they noticed in one of the windows of a house, the fat of a slaughtered goose, and next to it was a note written in a language they did not know. When they returned to the hotel, they told the owner what they saw, and asked of him to prepare a goose for their midday meal. The owner immediately sent the boy and when he returned with a goose he said to them: ‘look and see, I bought this goose from the Jew Moshe Uri HaLevi – and here is the note in the Hebrew language!’ The guests from Spain called out in amazement: ‘did we hear this right. There are Jews in this place?’

The owner of the hotel, who was himself Jewish, answered and said: ‘ well – yes, in the year 1581 when seven provinces of Holland were torn away from the Spanish crown, the representatives in place, issued an announcement to say, that permission is given to all people, regardless of faith, to settle down on this land, and to practice their faith, except Catholics, because they are intent upon creating a tie to return under the hegemony of Spain!’... And the Spanish guests replied and said: ‘ It is our wish tomorrow to go to this man, because we have a secret to tell him.’

The following day, the owner went with two of the revered *Anusim* to R’ Moshe Uri, and when he saw these honorable guests, he went out to them, and led them into his house. When they started to speak Spanish, he called his son the translate for them. This is because he had not heard this language. The guests said in Spanish: ‘it is our desire to reveal a deep secret, please take us into your house, so that we can speak without any stranger hearing us.’ When he admitted them into a room, they opened up and said: ‘now we can reveal to you that we are not Catholics and not Spaniards, but Jews, and we pray as you do, to only whom we are fit to pray, like you, morning and evening, the Creator may He be Blessed, with complete faith and there is no one singly like him in any form. We fled for our lives from Castile in order that we be able to worship God in the open in Amsterdam: We had heard that there, it was possible to do so out in the open. We were tossed to this city because of the storm and here we wish to enter into the *Covenant of Abraham* and be circumcised: and we want to invite those knowledgeable in the Torah for ourselves and our children a teacher and Rabbi, who will teach us the essentials of the Torah of God, and pray with us daily. Whoever will assume this responsibility will not regret it, and will want for nothing, because God has blessed us with everything, in generous amount.’

Moshe Uri *HaLevi* answered and said: ‘Thanks to the God above who brought you to our house, take courage, and we will fulfil your wishes. However, it is not possible to do this here. Go out to Amsterdam, and we will come after you.’

After their ships were repaired, they left for Amsterdam. On April 22, 1593 they rented a residence on Jangerstraat Street and R’ Moshe Uri and his family got there three weeks later, who had sold his house and business in Emden.

On the following day, Moshe Uri began to work with them, and the first one to accept the yoke of [teaching] the Torah and Mitzvot was the very religious elderly man Don Yaakov Tirado.

*

Moshe Uri Fybusz *HaLevi* was the first teacher of the new Amsterdam congregation until he died (1544-1620), and his son Aharon and grandson of Moshe was our Uri-Fybusz *HaLevi*.

He was a renown printer, who already in the sixties of the 17th century had published many books. From 1676-1678 Uri-Fybusz committed himself to publish a *Tanakh* all in a Yiddish-German translation, implemented by Jekuthiel Blitz. In general, the printing was beyond his capacity and he took on two local Christian citizens as help: the council member Wilhelm Blau and the lawyer Vaverzhenitz (Lorenzo) Baka. In order to secure their property, the two partners attempted to obtain permission from Jan Sobieski, for the ownership of the *Tanakh* and the right to sell it in Poland and a prohibition against printing by any of their competitors for twenty years.

Previously, Uri-Fybusz had received a similar permission for ten years regarding Jewish books from *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* in Poland. However, the competitors paid no mind in all of these promises, and did not silence their oversight, and the book organizer Joseph Weizenhausen did a similar translation and published it by the wealthy printer and publisher of Amsterdam, Joseph Attias.

It is possible to conjecture that because of the competition, Uri-Fybusz could not maintain a position in Amsterdam, and in approximately in 1690, he moved his residence to Poland for proximity. He settled in Zolkiew, and it is possible he obtained a privilege from Jan III, before receiving this offering. There is also room to think this was a grant, because the great-grandchildren of Uri, in the year 1782 relied on it during an inspection, the first done of printing houses by Austria. This inspection produced no adverse consequences.

When R' Uri-Fybusz moved to live in Zolkiew, these were good times for the Jewish communities in the city, because that was where Jan III 'the ruler of Zolkiew' set up his residence, which included two influential Jews in his court: The Doctor of the Courtyard, Dr. Simcha Menachem, and Bezalel Ben-Nathan, in charge of the taxing in Ruthenia. It appears that the new printing operation stood under their aegis, and they supported it against the predations of competitors. And there was no lack of competition for printing in Poland. Uri-Fybusz printed in a clean and handsome way, at a time when the printing houses in Cracow and Lublin cut corners and used less-than-adequate paper. The *Parnassim* of *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* in Jaroslaw complained as early as 1680 about the inferior printing and smudging of the textbooks, and that it ruins the student's eyes. The *Va'ad* decided to put an end to this matter: 'to clean off the roads, to push the stones off the sides of the road, and to hold onto the Tree of Life' that is to say, he gave direction to print in a good manner without mistakes. R' Uri-Fybusz worked a great deal against the deterioration of trust in the printing, as is witnessed in the '*Takanot* of the *Va'ad*' that were set down in 1697:

'We have seen the substantial wreckage brought about by the jolt from the loss of faith in printing in our country; Because of these printers, the Torah of Israel has practically been forgotten, because the letters in their books cause damage to the eyes of the genial youth that take an interest in books. The elderly Sages, and leaders of Arba HaAratzot expressed their opinion about this, but to no avail, until we found solace in R' Uri Fybusz HaLevi to bring back light to the land and its residents.'

At one of the sittings of *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot*, a presentation was made regarding the printing house of Uri-Fybusz, indicating that two other printing houses wanted to subvert him, and brought material from outside the country and sold it in their printing houses to compete with books published by R' Uri Fybusz.

Va'ad Arba HaAratzot supported R' Uri-Fybusz and decided that each of the printing houses in the country (Cracow, Lublin, Zolkiew) is permitted to print up to seven hundred pages apart from small printed items, and only in their printing houses and not outside the country. Accordingly, they designated an inspector for each printing house. For the Zolkiew printing house, the Rabbi and the courtyard physician Dr. Simcha Menachem Ma'anah (Mann?), were appointed.



שער של מחזור שנדפס בז'ולקביב — שנת 1806
 Page 219/220: An Illustration of the Frontispiece of
 a Makhzor Printed in Zolkiew – In the Year 1806

In all, the decision of the *Va'ad Arba HaAratzot* did not have much utility, because after two years (1669) the *Va'ad* was back to using the same printing house and prohibited the booksellers and printing houses from bring in books from outside the country or to print anew in the country those books published in the printing house of R' Uri. It was in this fashion that the printing houses and booksellers were prohibited from importing Yiddish-German books containing less than ten printed pages.

After the death of Uri-Fybusz, the printing house passed by inheritance into the hands of his two grandsons (by his son Chaim David, who dies at early age): Aharon and Gershon, each of them printed books on their own and also the two of them together, something that proves, that they divided the printing

facility into two parts between them, and ran them. In 1732, Aharon and Gershon published '*Beyt Levi*' for R' Levi ben Shmuel of Brody 'with the permission of the heir Wakov', and in 1753, we are witnesses to other partnerships:

The book, '*Kol Yehuda*' was published by Gershon with the son-in-law of his brother Aharon: David ben Menachem Mann. In 1766, we again see these partners together on the frontispiece of Alexander Schur's book, '*Simla Khadasha*' that was printed during the reign of His Majesty the royal Karol Stanislaw-Radziwill.' Under the name of the book is written: 'Amsterdam, using the letters of Zolkiew.'

Aharon ben Chaim-David had a son and a daughter. The name of the son was Chaim-David, as was the name of his grandfather, and had the nickname of 'The Printer.' The daughter married David the son of Menachem, and after he died, she married R' Zvi-Hirsch Rozhans, the Rabbi of Lvov (died 1805). Chaim-David married Tauba and she had a son. Aharon the printer, and his son, Avraham Joseph was the owner of the print shop almost to the end of the 19th century. (Lvov, Kazmyerszuvska, vol. 21).

The second branch of the family comes from the progeny of R' Gershon, who took the name Latriss during the Austrian régime, and it produced the renown scholar Dr. Meir HaLevi Latriss (1800-1871).

After the capture of Galicia by Austria, the new régime began an inspection of printing houses, mostly the Jewish printing houses. First, they prepared a list of all the printing houses and found that printing houses were located only in Sambor and Zolkiew. The Sambor printing house (actually two small establishments) had a privilege from August III and printed only calendars, and small pamphlets, and which belonged to the grandsons of R' Uri-Fybusz, and depended on the privilege of Jan III. The office of the royal courtyard gave direction to inspect the privileges, and it raised the thought if it wouldn't be appropriate to transfer all three of these printing houses together to Lvov, and make them into one, large printing establishment. In May 20, 1782, Kaiser [Franz] Joseph II sent a series of questions to the courtyard office and on June 4, agreement was found among the management of the Galician *Guberniya*. For a full year (til July 4, 1783) the management of the *Guberniya* did not return a positive and reply for the transfer of the statistical data to Vienna, and even added some questions:

- 1) Is it worthwhile to merge all the printing houses?
- 2) Is it desired that such a united printing house be granted a monopoly for ten years?
- 3) Is there a need to limit the import of books coming from outside the country?
- 4) Is it appropriate to turn over the position of censor to the professor of Hebrew of the university that stands to be established in Lvov? Is it necessary to give him an assistant, etc.

The Office of the courtyard, and the Office of royal appointments and the courtyard bank together received the following decision on April 1, 1784:

There is a will to unite all the printing houses, since only three among them come into account: 1) Chaim Aharon (Printer); 2) His sister Yehudit – the widow of David Menachem Mann, who married Rabbi Rozhans from Lvov; 3) Wolf Gershon (Wolf is the son of Gershon Latriss). There is no point to take into account the rest of the interested, because they have no printing skills or they do not have assets and no inventory and no book collections or originals. As to those designated to the issue there is no trust among the three because of disputes among them, and Wolf Latriss is deeply in debt beyond his capacity. The Office of the Courtyard has not

given its consent to the merging of the printing houses, because this agrees to a monopoly for many years for precious books and in this manner increase imports from out of the country. As to the printers who have taken on the responsibility to print Hebrew books, it is appropriate to grant privileges analogous to those given to the Jews; censorship will be managed by the professor of the Lvov University, and there is a need to appoint a special assistance for him.

With this, the exchange of correspondence ended, that had gone on for many years, and things remained as they were, except for the decisions of June 4, 1782, according to which the printers from Zolkiew were compelled to move their printing operations to Lvov. Latriss agreed immediately, but the printer, his brother-in-law David ben Menachem Mann, moved to Lvov after they closed their printing operations in Zolkiew.

In the year 1791, the following Jewish printers were to be found in Lvov: 1) Chaim the Printer; 2) Yehudit Rozhans who became Mann; 3) Charna, the widow of Wolk Latriss, together with her son Gershon; Zalman Rapaport or Yehuda Zalman ben Naphtali Hertz, nicknamed Zalman Yarish Rapaport.

Charna Rapaport remained in Zolkiew only till the middle of the year 1793, because on August 3 of that year she received a privilege of the court to manage her work from Zolkiew. The printing house of Yehudit Mann changed hands several times. After the death of her husband [Mr.] Mann, Yehudit managed the printing house on her own, and after a while – together with her second husband, Rabbi Rozhans. After she died, the printing house went over into the hands of Rabbi Rozhans, and the manager was her son, or stepson of Yehudit, Naphtali Hertz Grossman. In 1804, Rozhans requested of the *Guberniya* management that the privilege he had, be transferred to Grossman's name, in light of the fact that without interruption, he managed this business now for twelve years. The response did not arrive until Rozhans died and Grossman submitted his own request, and received such a privilege from the Country

Council on December 11, 1804, vol. 22323-11477)¹¹⁰

When Grossman died, the management of the printing house went over to his widow, Chava Grossman.

¹¹⁰ Author's footnote: Th archive of the Interior Ministry in Vienna, IV b. vol 7 2627 by 119.

פרקי זכרונות

Chapters of Memories

Zolkiew in those Days

By Joseph Zvi Buber

With the trepidation of respect I approach to documentation of memories from earliest childhood in our city of Zolkiew (Zolkova) and to put down impressions from my childhood, from what I saw with my own eyes, what I heard with my ears from the mouths of the elders of the city and its environs – Sages, *Maskilim*, and *People of Action*. And within me there trembles a witness, vibrating with sacred hesitation, as I ask myself: Where are your sons, Zolkova, where are the wise men of the *Kloyz* and the *Bet HaMedrash*, the fathers and sons, the old and the young, the *Maskilim* and the intelligentsia of a heartfelt Judaism, all these, in this significant city?

About fifty years ago, Shlomo Buber described the chronology of the sages of Zolkova in his book '*Kiryá Nisgava*¹¹¹,' and who would have thought and after fifty years, this precious community would be destroyed, and there would remain no trace in writing except for this book. And now, to the scions of this city, the smoking embers saved from the fire, who live in Zion, when they approached the preparation of a *Yizkor Book* for their city, the book '*Kiryá Nisgava*' serves as a foundation at their feet. And among those working on the publication of such a book, there is also a sprig from the family of the author of '*Kiryá-Nisgava*.'

Rabbis and Teachers of Righteousness in Our City

At the beginning of the present century, Zolkiew was one of those renown cities in Galicia, from which great men of science and great men of *Torah* came. Rabbis with an international reputation led it, and therefore it was a great honor for anyone granted the privilege of occupying the rabbinical seat in this important city.

When the Chief Rabbi of Zolkiew died, *Rebbe* Yitzhak Shimshon Hurwitz Maiseles, who occupied the rabbinical seat twice in this congregation (2nd Day of Hanukkah 5639), his place was taken by Rabbi Wolestein, and when the latter was gone, the rabbinical seat stood vacant, because the sides – the *Hasidim* and *Mitnagdim*, the *Maskilim* and the Zionists – could not come to a general agreement on a rabbinical candidate that would be suitable for all outlooks and beliefs.

At the same time, Rabbi R' Avraham Shmuel Lamm, the author of '*Eyshel Avraham*,' (Innovations on the *Torah* in five volumes) served as the *Bet-Din Senior* in the city. The name of the book is based on the acronym of his name, אש"ל. He was a wondrous scholar, an intense student in learning, very strict in the direction he gave, averse to greed and comported himself without putting on airs. He studies and prays at the old *Bet HaMedrash*, and frequently during the middle of the week, he said the *Shacharit* prayers in the Belz *Kloyz*.

¹¹¹ A Sublime City. This is the principal sub-title of this book, in Hebrew.

And an incident took place where they came to him for a religious ruling, in a dispute among the *Gabbaim* and one of the worshipers in this very *Kloyz* – this worshiper had a home in the neighborhood of the *Kloyz*, and the members of the *Kloyz* committee bought their share of the partners of the previously mentioned house, sharing a border with the yard of the *Kloyz*, and they said they wanted to widen the extent of their yard into the area that belongs to the worshiper. Rabbi A. Sh. Lamm, who was stranded occasionally by the opinion of the *Parnassim* of the *Kloyz*, and despite the fact that here there was a demand for a religious court of one against the congregation, he did not want to overrule the position the single person, and he ruled in favor of the worshiper.

When the Rabbi A. Sh. Lamm died, who had been nicknamed ‘*Der Poylisher Rov*’ Avraham Shapiro eulogized him in the big synagogue and likened him to the Patriarch Abraham, and recited the words of the legend about him (*Baba Batra* 92, A) ‘On the same day that our Patriarch Abraham died, leaving this world, all the Great Ones of the world of nations stood in a line and said woe unto the world for it has lost its leader, and woe to the ship that has lost its captain. We have lost the captain of the *Halakhah*, Rabbi A. Sh. Lamm the brilliant lawgiver and great *Torah* scholar, and so now, who will lead us?’

In the year 1904/5 all the sects came to a general agreement regarding two candidates to serve as the Chief Rabbi of their congregation, and they were: Rabbi Pinchas Rimmelt, the Rabbi of Kirov, and Rabbi Eliezer Moshel, the Rabbi of Gologora. Both served in this capacity in small towns, whose Jews were few in number, and they had no *Torah* scholars there – entirely.

Rabbi P. Rimmelt, the son of the *Gaon* R’ Elimelech Shimon, ‘The *Tzaddik* of Kirov’ author of ‘*Duda'im*,’ on the *Song of Songs*, was a great scholar and a bright lawgiver, and since he was nominated to be a provincial rabbi, since he had to take examinations to receive ‘a diploma’ equivalent to a country-level high school, Rabbi Rimmelt took this examination. He was a good-looking man, dressed with taste and made an impression upon his arrival. He gave his sons and daughters a traditional *Torah* education, as was appropriate for a Rabbi like him, but together with this, he did not deny them from learning secular studies, and European knowledge and culture. His daughters dressed in keeping with the spirit of the times and all of his residence spoke of honor, and aristocratic taste. As you can understand, the *Hasidim* of Belz did not take this bowl of porridge from Kirov to their bosom, but despite this, did not give a definitive ‘no.’

His ‘competitor,’ R’ Eliezer Moshel had similar virtues and characteristics: he was a leading *Torah* scholar, fluent in the *Shas* and *Poskim*, and the author of ‘*Responsa of the Mishna of Eliezer Tanina*,’ God-fearing and fluent in the secular *Haskalah* as if it was a part of him. He was described as an authority in his time by R’ Shlomo Buber, whose words and descriptions weighed heavily in favor of him. And in the community of Zolkiew, for generations they were led by *Torah* Sages such as Rabbi Tzvi Hirsch Khayot, Rabbi Sh. M. Hurwitz-Maiseles, Rabbi Wolestein and others, and therefore they demanded, from a candidate for Chief Rabbi of their distinguished community, that he should be a Rabbi famed as a *Gaon* in the world.

The struggle over the selection proceeded full force, the candidate Rabbis came to deliver their sermons, and to show their capabilities in sharp thinking and fluency in the *Shas* and *Poskim*. Opinions were divided. Those who worshiped in the old *Bet HaMedrash*, the *Mitnagdim* and *Maskilim*, stood on the side of Rabbi Moshel from Gologora, and opposite them stood the worshipers at the Great Synagogue, and the *Kloyz* cohorts, were on the side of Rabbi Rimmelt of Kirov. At this time a hint came from Belz to the *Hasidim* of the *Kloyz*, that they are to support Rabbi Moshel. According to the first ballot,

the victory of Rabbi Moshel was practically certain, despite the fact that Yoss'leh Hochner the Head *Gabbai* of the Belz *Kloyz* was on the side of Rabbi Rimmelt.

On the Sabbath before the elections, the Rabbis came for an additional time to orate. In passing through the streets on their way to the synagogue, the populace of the city came out to look at who is destined to act as Chief Rabbi in their city.

Rabbi Rimmelt, tall, a man of radiant appearance, dressed finely and in good taste, with a substantial hat on his head, and his face adorned by a beautiful beard, made a pleasant impression while walking with an erect posture. Opposite him, Rabbi Moshel, despite being a *Torah* Great and as full of ideas as a pomegranate with seeds, was missing the external attributes of his opponent.

Among those watching, as understood, were curious women, which included the wives of the *Parnassim* of the committee of the community who worshiped in the Belz *Kloyz*, including: Feiga, wife of Avraham Zimmerman, the wife of Yehuda Hirsch Griedinger, and with them were also Malka'leh the wife of Wolf Axelrod. All three were of the same mind, that the Rabbi from Kirov pleases them, and they can influence their husbands, giving their voice to their husbands only for the Rabbi from Kirov, no matter what. The three *Parnassim* were in a quandary: woe unto then for those who created them, and woe unto them from their feelings... shall they reject the voice of Belz, of to enter into a quarrel with their wives (and here it is worth recollecting, the woman was not only the housekeeper, but partly she was a significant part in the management of their husband's business, and occasionally her opinion prevailed), because the women stood by their opinion and were unwilling to compromise.

They tell, that before the elections to the rabbinate, because the synagogue 'Yad Kharutzim' whose congregation was mostly made up of tailors, Rabbi Pinchas Rimmelt (who was there on the Sabbath before *Shavuot*) it is written in the *Megillah* of Ruth¹¹²: 'Boaz said to the reapers: God is with you, if you elect me as your Rabbi!'

When the election day arrived, the *Hasidim* were certain in their mission, that they will voice their opinion for Rabbi Moshel, and it was first thought that his candidacy was certain of victory. But when they review the count of the ballots, a surprise came! Most of the votes were for Rabbi Pinchas Rimmelt from Kirov, and he was selected even in the ballots of the *Parnassim* of the Belz *Kloyz*, to become the Chief Rabbi of the city and province of Zolkiew.

The confusion among the Belz *Hasidim* was substantial, and the anger against the *Parnassim* – had no bounds. In a letter of thanks he sent to his supporters afterwards, Rabbi A. Moshel expressed his sorrow, that it did not come to him to sit on the Rabbinical Seat of 'Kiry'a Nisgava' because a 'sword had fallen on his neck, and the wits of Zolkiew said: 'Because of righteous women, the people of the city were saved'¹¹³.

¹¹² Only the Yiddish is translated here.

¹¹³ From a play on word spelling, pointed out by the author.

(In a matter of days Y. H. Greidinger became disabled. And also Avraham Zimmerman go a stroke in one leg, and Malkeh'leh Axelrod was made a widow, losing her husband, and as understood, the Belz *Hasidim* inferred, that these were punished because they rejected the word of their *Rebbe* and his emissaries.)

Rabbi Rimmelt, upon coming to occupy the Rabbinical Chair in the city, he was received with much pomp and respect. He received beautiful accommodation in the house of Ze'ev Axelrod (in the center of the city) and that is where he also set up his *Bet-Din*. And around him sat the Dayanim: Rabbi A. A. Lamm as the *Bet-Din Senior*, Rabbi Shimshon (Kluger) the *Dayan*, and the Rabbi Avraham, a *Teacher of Righteousness*¹¹⁴. In due course, the people of Zolkiew became satisfied enough to recognize their Chief Rabbi as their spiritual leader.



Rabbi Rimmelt recognized the soul of his community, and he understood how to formulate his words in good taste and sensibility. Scholars and *Maskilim* were among those who came to his house, and also the Belz *Kloyz* youth came to hear Torah from his mouth, and almost all the residents of the city valued their Rabbi and admired him. In all, the attitude of the *Belz Hasidim* remained cold towards him.

At the time the AdMo'R, our teacher and Rabbi R' Aharon came to visit him from Belz, it was on the Sabbath of *Parshat Toldot*¹¹⁵ in the year 5692 – Rabbi Rimmelt invited him to *Kiddush* at his house (on the street of the tailors). Escorted by a host of *Hasidim*, the AdMo'R went to pay a visit to the Rabbi of the city. The Rabbi went out on the veranda on his house on the second floor, to provide an early blessing on the AdMo'R– upon his arrival. And he immediately came downstairs into the hallway of the house, towards the AdMo'R who was entering, and he greeted him with the blessing '*Shabbat Shalom*' yet again. But the AdMo'R apologized saying that he could not go up the stairs (as it happens, they were in disrepair) and he said to Rabbi Rimmelt: 'Please see in my coming to be in the shadow of your walls as if I had actually made *Kiddush* in your house on your table.'

It was Rabbi Rimmelt's custom to give a sermon I the Great Synagogue on '*Shabbat HaGadol*' and on '*Shabbat Shuva*' – on issues of the day¹¹⁶. Towards evening and on Sabbath of his sermons, he would send '*Mar'eh Mekomot*' to all the *Bet-Hamedrash* locations, and also to the Belz *Kloyz*, so that the people learning can look at the sources of his sermon.

¹¹⁴ This is Rabbi Avraham Lurberbaum

¹¹⁵ A *parsha* is the Hebrew word for a portion of Torah to be read. *Toldot* is the *parsha* that was on the calendar for the week in question. All these portions are scheduled in advance at one a week, except for Holidays.

¹¹⁶ Two Sabbaths are mentioned here because they involve special prayers, one set for Passover, and another for the Saturday before Yom Kippur.

In the summer he prayed at the Great Synagogue, and in the winter in the Old *Bet-HaMedrash*. He prayed at the Belz *Kloyz* only once during the year – on the night of ‘*Shemini Atzeret*’. They honored him with the recital of the first verse of the *Hakafot*¹¹⁷, and as you can see, also with leading– the first *Hakafah*.

During the reign of the Emperor Franz Joseph I it was the custom to celebrate the Emperor’s birthday, on August 18 annually, in the Great Synagogue, among a host led by their Rabbi. Senior Representatives of the government came to the celebration of the day, especially Jews, dressed in formal wear, frocks and Napoleon hats with scepters at their side of their trousers. The *Hazzan* chanted ‘*He Who Gives Salvation to Kings*,’ and also a ‘*Mi SheBerach*’ to the Emperor of the land and the city. Rabbi Rimmelt gave a sermon regarding issues of the day in classical German. At that time the Jews *en masse* were proud, knowing [the Rabbi] can stand before Representatives and rulers and even give a sermon in their language, and by doing this, he elevates the position of Israel in their eyes.

Rabbi Rimmelt persuaded his nephew David’l Rimmelt the wealthiest of the rich, to build a new brick factory in accordance with modern technology, in a suburb of the city, and this brought in a great deal of revenue into the city.

As to the fanatics – who would distance the youth of their *Kloyz*, who by their reckoning were going out to a bad culture – he said: don’t shut the door and window together in their face! Leave the window open, so they can come back by way of the window... this was how Rabbi Rimmelt understood how to draw near the youth that longed for and wanted to breathe a little of the outside air, in the city where the noble spirit of the *Gaon* R’ Zvi Hirsch Khayot hovers, and of R’ Nachman Krochmal and their students.

Rabbi Pinchas Rimmelt died on 13 Tammuz 5694.¹¹⁸

Torah and Prayer in the Belz Kloyz

In the *Hasidic* world, Belz *Hasidism*, their renown AdMo’Rs, are recalled with trepidation and fear of their presence. This *Hasidism* stamped its seal on its leadership and all branches of the life of ordinary people, the realists and the spiritual types, religious or secular, affecting also the way they dressed, how they conducted themselves in a group and especially – with regard to education of their sons.

¹¹⁷ The series of circling the inside of the synagogue, with each participant holding a Torah scroll. The plural is *Hakafot*, and there is a set number of times this ritual is performed in sequence. There is often singing and dancing between each *Hakafah*.

¹¹⁸ Author’s Footnote: The Rabbinical Chair was inherited by his son, Rabbi Zvi of Kirov.

When you would enter the ‘*Bekker-Gasse*’¹¹⁹ in our city, a tall building stood out and was quite wide, built exquisitely – The Belz *Kloyz*. From early morning until a late hour in the night the sound of Torah and prayer did not cease in this holy place. *Hasidim* and activists, outstanding wise scholars who were wonderful God-fearing people, [possessing] sharp minds, of noble spirit and of refined soul, they all had one shared line of endeavor: The learning of Torah, day and night – *Gemara* and *Tosafot*, *Yoreh Deyah*, *Orakh Chaim*, *Khoshen Mishpat*, books by *Hasidim* books about tradition, and most important of all – the inculcation of *Torah* and *Hasidim* for the masses¹²⁰.

Another side to the *Hasidism* in Belz is: Strict oversight of the external dress of the membership, for most that of the youths that are studying at the *Kloyz*, and even children. This is an appropriate place to recollect the strict prohibition to cut sidelocks, and to trim a beard, even a little bit. The general dress was a long, black ‘*kapote*’¹²¹ woven from cotton, that had no suspicion of containing *shaatnez*, boots and the hem of trousers inserted in them, or half-shoes, with black or white stockings, with a black silk hat worn on the head. On Saturdays – a silk ‘*kapote*’ and a *shtrymel*’¹²² (having thirteen tiers) all this was required of every married man. Ordinary dress was strictly forbidden.

In the folio of rules of the *Kloyz*, there is a special page dealing with the issue of dress:

- A. No one may lead services in front of the Ark dressed in ‘pantaloons’ (read as: modern dress)
- B. No one may approach the Ark to lead services on the Sabbath and Festivals unless he is dressed in silk clothing.
- C. The leader of services during the regular days of the week, is responsible to wear a ‘*Spodek*’¹²³ on his head for the *Mincha-Maariv* services.

It is appropriate to designate that wearing a ‘*Spodek*’ during weekdays was the custom of the especially religious *Hasidim*, and the elderly designated ‘*Khnyuks*’¹²⁴ or the sitting men of Belz, in our city: the *Dayanim*, the ritual slaughterers, and Jodala the Scribe. There was a time when even the *Dayanim*, and the ritual slaughterers, violated this rule, in the *Kloyz* the *Spodek* was considered community property, place in a drawer of the Ark, and anyone who approached to lead services would take off their hat and put the genuine community *Spodek* on his head. Young men, who were studying in the *Kloyz*

¹¹⁹ The street of the bakers.

¹²⁰ The latter three are also volumes of the Code of Law by Maimonides.

¹²¹ The term used to describe the long, black outer coat favored by the religious.

¹²² A specially elaborate hat, usually bordered by (beaver?) fur, mostly worn on special occasions.

¹²³ A formal hat, usually with some fur on it, used as a headdress for formal, or serious, or religious occasions. It communicates a sense of seriousness by the wearer.

¹²⁴ A derogatory way of referring to an overly observant Jew.

were against a peculiar custom like this. There were a number of young men, that the reason for sartorial rules and all manner of other restrictions was alien to their spirit, but they did not have the facility at hand to change the set of rules with which they were bound, and were set by the leaders, who led 'from above' (read: from Belz). Every deviation from the Belz line was thought to be breaking through a fence and its place was outside the walls of the *Kloyz*. The youths of the *Kloyz* said they would take revenge at least on this peculiar dress item, called '*Spodek*,' and they made it disappear by unknown means or where it had vanished to, and every horror of this sort that they purchased anew, was also made to disappear. When they saw that an invisible hand was involved in this, the spiriting away of *Spodeks*, they canceled the custom.

The extent to which this limitation in dress persisted, I will describe in one incident – one out many hundreds: Zaydeh sat and was studying in the *Kloyz*, and Ander, one of the blessed boys, the grandson of R' Eliezer Lukczer the prominent *Hasid* of the ADMo"Rs of Rozhin-Czortkow, and a known scholar. This Zaydeh got engaged to a girl from Lvov. When he said he would visit her, he was compelled to take a loan by a friend who had already left Zolkiew, in modern clothes no less, that should fit in better in a city like Lvov. He first undressed and then put on the [borrowed] clothing, made his trip and all wet without an incident, because he watched 'with seven eyes' that he should not be encountered in the clothing of a '*Deutsch*.' When he returned from his visit, he took off the modern clothing, and came to the *Kloyz* in his usual clothing, but he forgot to take off the stiff collar that was ironed. He sat down in his place to study, as usual, among other young people. Judlah the Scribe entered and stuck out a hand to greet and bless bim. But Judlah's eye darkened: Zaydeh in a ironed collar had the nerve to come to the *Kloyz*! In a second he grabbed him by the white collar and shouted out loud: 'Get out of here, a wicked man like you, who pieces fence boundaries, imparts the many with *Haskalah*, and restrains our salvation God Forbid, Go!'

Many incidents of this kind took place, that distanced the youth or they left the benches of the *Kloyz* because of the constraints placed on how they dressed.

Among the personalities that stood out in the *Kloyz* there was R' Zelig Lieberman, a personality that could be found even amongst the *Hasidim* who stood at the head of a group. A great man, speaks with respect outside, and when he conveyed what was on his mind, and with the power of his knowledge, he was blessed with Torah and greatness all in one place. His house was open to anyone in need, and for all good deeds. There were many who admired him, even outside the *Kloyz*, and his strong position in issues of the populace were compelling.

A fervent *Hasid* and a high up man of learning was R' David Moshe Berger, who was nicknamed '*Tzaddik*'^l. He spent most of the time of the year he did his work close to the ADMo"R in Belz, and was named as one of the known 'sitters' there. His wife was a *Woman of Valor*, baking rolls and all sorts of other baked goods the finance their house. '*Exotic*' placed a small closet bedside the entrance door, and placed a bottle whiskey in it, and some of the rolls that his wife had baked and especially as a form of 'Yahrzeit Observance. During the day, the youths that would study in the *Kloyz*, took these things, and from this, he earned money for his household. This David Moshe, a God-fearing man, and a wise man, monitored 'with seven eyes,' the behavior to see if they complied with the customs of Belz. Quietly and in a low voice, he spoke to the heart of the youth for goodness, until it was impossible not to pay attention to his criticism, and almost all of them cherished him. Because he would travel to Belz for several months of the year, this youth of the *Kloyz* named Hona¹²⁵, the son of the '*Moostar Melamed*' would bring every morning and evening the rolls and whiskey to the *Kloyz*. He would sell them in place of the '*Exotica*, of the *Tzaddik*'^l, and gave the earnings to his wife, which did not please the general populace.

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A common nickname for the Hebrew name 'Chanoch.'

The son of Zelig Lieberman, Hanoch – one of the pillars in the *Kloyz*, a Fervent *Hasid* was dedicated to the Belz way with his entire soul and strength, the lion of the group. Since he did not have any worry about income, because he received a monthly stipend from his parents' factory for his entire life, he dedicated all of his senses and powers to the issue of the membership-at large, he dedicated most of his time and energy to the matters of the membership. He dedicated most of his time to *Torah* study in the city, he brought in teachers, and looked out for their ability to make a living and a place to live. He even attempted to bring in men of the *Kloyz* into all community issues and political life, especially in matters that related to education. He worked with exceptional fervor so as not to stray from the Belz line. He organized a group of young men and bachelors, to travel to their *Rebbe* at least twice a year. As to youths who could not afford the costs of a train ticket, especially before the High Holy Days, and let them himself, going by foot to Belz. Those who walked were provisioned with little food, white shirts, and the dress of the Sabbath and Festivals, and went on their way. They went through Turynka, Most'-Wielki, Kristianopol, and other places and they reached the province they desired in several days. In Belz, the 'sitters' were already worried for the membership at-large.

Those who came to the *Rebbe* especially made an effort to get a 'Shalom' from him to hear his oral recitation of Torah, to stand during the serving at the 'Tisch,¹²⁶ to grab some 'shirayim¹²⁷, and the benefit of being God-fearing. And the crux of all this was – to listen to the prayers of the ADMo'R and to learn new tunes that famous writes of music score had come up with, the *Hasidim* of Belz. The *Hasidim* used to say a melody is more beautiful than learning, and undoubtedly more beautiful than prayer, because the melody warms the heart and elevates the soul. The spark of holiness, that the Belz people found in a melody, was raised by them like a flag, to the point that it would influence the sinner to recant and do good, and it goes without saying that it elevated the faithful *Hasid* to the correct level.

The spiritual position of the men of the *Kloyz*, gave of its fruit even outside its walls, to the point that it satisfied the clergy in almost all of the synagogues in the city, and even outside of them, such as leaders of services for the High Holy Days, *Torah* readers, those who showed direction, those who perform circumcision, and those who slaughter animals for food, those who orate a lesson, and those who study the *parsha* for the week, in all houses of worship and worship quorums, each to its own form (and even a large segment from Lvov was in need of Wise Men from Zolkiew).

R' Yaakov Grill (the brother of Dr. B. Grill), R' Mendl Buber and R' Moshe Kolber were among the renown *Maggidim* in Lvov. Benjamin Weidhorn was the Torah reader in the Great Synagogue of the city for his entire life, and even though he lived outside of the city in the village of Sakbrazhlea out of faith he would cut his feet every Sabbath to come and read the *parsha* of the week.¹²⁸ Yaakov Shapiro, the *Shokhet* and meat inspector, was the one

¹²⁶ A table in German or Yiddish, usually reserved for use in describing a *Rebbe's* main table for the serving of food, usually with a host of participants from near and far.

¹²⁷ Strictly speaking it means 'left-overs,' however it had become used to describe *all foods* served at the *Rebbe's Tisch*, after the *Rebbe* had taken the first sample of the offerings. Its significance lies in the belief by the *Rebbe's* followers, that eating from an offering that the *Rebbe* himself had sampled, would enhance the probability of good luck or good fortune.

¹²⁸ Even the son of R' Leibl'eh the *Shokhet* who lived in this village was a "starting" *Torah* reader on the High Holy Days, and came especially for that to the city.

who blew the *shofar*¹²⁹, and the one who led the *Musaf*¹³⁰ service on the High Holy Days, was Yoss'l 'eh Hochner , after him – Yekhezkiel'eh Katz, and in the final years before the Holocaust – Shaul Berger.

There was a boundless commitment to do a *mitzvah*. I remember that in the village of Mokrotyn, a son was born to Yudl Altman, and the ritual circumcision held at the appointed time – in 'Yeshivat Shira'. Sholom Lieberman in his capacity of *Mohel* was honored with this mitzvah, and as understood without monetary compensation. He could not travel to a village on Friday because of the '*Sholom Zokhor*¹³¹' that was on this eve of Sabbath for his brother-in-law, and so he decided as the *Master of the Circumcision* to send a gentile scout, on the Sabbath, at dawn, to show them the way. And the *Mohel*, accompanied by my father went in the cold of the month of Shevat to the circumcision, in order to fulfill the mitzvah.

In the *Rashi shtibl* Moshe Kubler studied the *Pentateuch* with *Rashi*, 'Eyn Yaakov' and the Summary *Shulkhan Arukh*. After the First World War, Moshe Kubler went over to live in Lvov. His place in the *Rashi shtibl* was taken by his brother-in-law R' Leibusz Cieszanower. After the death of the afformentioned, his son-in-law R' Moshe Ba"Bad took his place. In the '*Turynter Shulikh*' the spiritual leader was Mikhl ש"ח¹³², who taught the worshipers and preached about issues of the day. Abba'leh the son of Yeshayahu Redler the furrier was the Torah reader for the *shtibl* congregation and others of the young men from the *kloyz* went to various prayer quorums, to serve as the readers of the *Torah* on Sabbaths and the High Holy Days. – R' Asher Rubin, Wise Man of the *Hasidic* Greats, a self-effacing and honest man, was summoned to the city of Kishinev (Western Galicia) to take the seat of ADMo'R and he became endeared there to the *Hasidim* in short order. When he was gone, in no time at all, they made his son, the genius Henokh take his place. He was still young, but formidable in *Torah* and God-fearing. The oldest son of R' Asher, R' Yitzkhak'l, was the Rabbi in Sosnowiec. And his third son, Chaim Eli, a genius famous for the sharpness of his mind, was taken in as the Rabbi of Trostkovic¹³³, and was privileged to achieve recognition from its congregation. When R' Asher died, the ADMo'R of Belz, R' Issachar Dov eulogized him and said 'Asher is the most blessed of my sons' as it is written – as if to say, it is from the sons of Asher that we see and know – 'Who and what R' Asher was.'

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The family of the teaching Director R' Zalman Nachman's Lurberbaum occupied an honored place in the *Kloyz*, whose pedigree went back to the *Gaon* R' Yaakov of Lissy. R' Zalman died *on Rosh Khodesh* MarHeshvan 5692, leaving behind his book, '*Daat Umezima*' on four chapters of the *Shulkhan Arukh*, and excerpts of the *Shas*. His son, R' Avraham'eleh who sat on the Directing Seat after his death, had it published. Avraham'eleh Lurberbaum served as a *Dayan*, was in harmony with his environment and educated many students.

129 The traditional ram's horn used for producing musical notes.

130 That part of the morning service that come after *Shacharit*.

131 Welcoming a newborn male baby which takes place on the first Friday night service after the baby is born.

132 A Hebrew acronym for someone who both slaughtered and inspected the animal carcass.

133 In Czechoslovakia, northeast of Prague

A precious pearl in the ranks of the Lurberbaum family, was Dan Vlad born in 1648, a Wise Man, an outstanding sage, he was literally a Talmudic encyclopedia, fluent in the early and late *Poskim*. When his son-in-law did not succeed in leather goods – he was called upon to be the Headmaster of the Lvov yeshiva. After this, he served as a Headmaster of the yeshiva ‘*Keter Torah*’ founded by the ADMo”R of Radomsk, in Bandin.

R’ Zalman’s son-in-law, R’ Leibusz Cziechanower, a *Gaon*, possessing a sharp mind, and diligent in his studies, sat in his overflowing position in his corner in the Belz *Kloyz*, from sunrise to a late hour of the night, and stopped for nothing. For every difficult matter or difficult passages, whether in *Gemara* or *Poskim*, they turned to R’ Leibusz, and he, being fluent in both the Babylonian and Jerusalem *Shas*, explained and replied quietly, a little at a time, until the person asking, understood very well, he didn’t permit him to leave his side. In his old age, he was nominated to be the *Bet-Din Senior* – in the *Bet-Din* of R’ Pinchas Rimmelt.

Being a quiet man and unemployed all his life, his wife Esther Chaya ran a saloon. She would sit from morning until evening by the counter beside a large barrel of whiskey and a barrel of sour pickles, dipping out glass after glass, especially to farmers, and the workers of the city. She sustained her husband, the Wise Man, and for his sake she was able to get genius-caliber sons-in-law for her daughters. It became appropriately a pedigreed family. The first was Moshe Kubler whose memoirs are above, a silken young man – an Enlightened person, and could orate in a genial elevated manner. The second – Moshe Ba”BaD from the city of Varenzh, a small town near Belz. And it was actually the youngest man who came to add yet another jewel to this family of scholars, a sharp minded person, sensitive and well provisioned. They even whispered about him that he was fluent in *Tanakh* (in the *Kloyz*, *Tanakh* was not studied, except in the hour when it was neither day or night...) And he was also ignited by research books. He was in harmony with his surroundings, and very quickly became one of the speakers in the *Kloyz*.

Here is an incident involving two of the young men in the *Kloyz*, who founded a bank for farmers and fell victim to error in the issues surrounding interest. A complaint was brought before the courts, and a law committee of the country was involved. The matter was serious, and it was only through the ‘protection’ of the ‘high windows’ in Vienna would it be possible to save them. At the same time, it was recalled that the representative Dr. Steinhouse in the parliament was elected to the parliament as a result of the vote of the *Hasidim* of Belz, and also of Zolkiew. Immediately, the ADMo”R R’ Issachar Dov of Belz designated Moshe Ba”Bad as the emissary and he traveled to Vienna and met with Dr. Steinhouse and the matter was settled simply and completely. Moshe Ba”Bad, that we recalled, tried a great deal with his sharp mind and his quick grasp of issues, to quell the disputes between the *Kloyz* and the Zionist Bloc.

As is known, the Belz orientation opposed every group, and in all political issues,, the *Hasidim* tended towards the government, following the dictum: ‘be one to pray for the peace of the kingdom.’ Scrutiny of the observance of that orientation are found in the facts of the elections of 1908. The candidate of the Zionist bloc was Dr Bloch, and from the ranks of the government – Dr. Stazhinsky. The *Hasidim* gave their votes to Dr. Stazhinsky. The same thing happened in the election of 1912. In the elections to parliament, the representative of *Mizrahi* Dr. Shmuel Rapaport opposed the assimilationist Steinhouse, and in the vote of the *Hasidim*, the assimilationist Dr. Steinhouse won the seat in parliament. Also, in the elections for the community, the *Hasidim* preferred the assimilationist Ignacy Cuker, the owner of the single drugstore in the city. Nevertheless he was selected to be the head of the community. Above the entrance to his house hung a sign which proclaimed:

‘Israelitische Cultus-Gemeinde in Zolkiew’

N. Maimon from the familiar Maimon family, served as secretary of the community. After him came Mottl Brudinger, who had previously lived in the village of Glinski, who, in order to be successful in his businesses moved to live in the city [Zolkiew], and founded a bank in partnership with Herschel Acker. He was also selected to be Head of the community, despite the fact that there was no lack of intelligent and understanding people like him, but he was preferred over a Zionist or a just plain *Maskil*. When Mottl Brudinger died, they elected Berisz Schlusser, a businessman, and a leader of a bank, an *Enlightened* person, who gave a secular education to his daughters and his son. He knew the soul of his community, and he made an effort to be neutral, and because of this, he succeeded in quelling suspicions of all those circulating about him. It was during his term of office, that the First World War broke out, and there were no community elections until the end of the war, which led to the dissolution of the Hapsburg kingdom in the year 1918. The Ukrainian Republic, in which Zolkiew was found, came into being in the center of [Galician] territory, which promised autonomy and full equal rights to Jews. A lawyer, Dr. Koral in the Zolkiew province was nominated as the ruler of the province. Since he had many friends and admirers among the Jews of the city, he was advised to choose the independent council (*nacionalenrat*) comprised of twelve men, and as head of the council was Nathan Apfel, an ardent Zionist, from the venerable people of Dr. Karol, who had become the head of the speakers, and he began by organizing elections for all of the districts and smoothing out the lumps and bumps in the city. The memos of the period indicate there was a connection between the *Kloyz*, whose head spokesman was Moshe BaBa'D, and between Nathan Apfel who led the negotiations and transportation. For the first time in the history of political life in the community, the people of the *Kloyz* reached an agreement with the Zionists, thanks to the clear-headed thinking of Moshe BaBa'D and his moderation. According to the agreement, from among the Zionists were chosen: A. Shmuel Zimeles, Chairman, Nachman Apfelschmidt, Vice Chairman, Nathan Apfel and Pokerd; from the *Kloyz*: Moshe BaBa'D, Avraham Buber and Eli Hochner; from the *Kloyz*: Hirsch Acker; from the merchants of the Old Great Synagogue: Shmuel Zuvl, Sender Lifschitz, Meir Wolf ״ב, and Shia Motya Fleischer; Among them were the workers: Mane'leh Kaufer, Yitzhak Moshe Khary, and Joseph Tauba. After several months, Hirsch Acker died, and his place was taken by Mane'leh Kaufer. In the meantime a dispute broke out within the Zionist faction, and this led to the removal of B. Apfelschmidt and Hirsch Fokard. Deputies took their place.

The agreement of that time bore fruit and remained in place even afterwards in the elections for the Polish *Sejm* and also voting for the Municipal Council, and the community.

I will leave this picture flawed if I will not recall a few of the young members of the *Kloyz*, with whom I had many long years of study: the outstanding student, Elimelech Mendl Melamed's, the son was like his father, his being was full of *Shas* and *Poskim*. He was the *Talmudic* lexicon to the young students, because in addition to teaching these young people a daily lesson, he helped many young people who encountered difficulties with their studies. He was gifted with a quick grasp and an ability to explain clearly.

Hirsch the son of Laba Lichter, had an exceptional memory – he knew the names of the authors of all the thousands of books on the shelves of the *Kloyz* and remembered their contents by heart.

The benches of the *Kloyz* even attracted young people from the houses of parents that did not worship there, and they were educated between its walls: Netan'eleh Roysh, the son of the wagon driver Meir Berisz, who became a Sage and a *Hasid* – a respectable personality; Chaim the son of Isaac the shoemaker – his mother, the widow, despite supporting herself in a meager fashion, sent her son Chaim to learn with Avraham'eleh the teacher of

righteousness, and after that, he went over to the *Kloyz*. Moshe the Musician (he was called this because his father was a professional violinist), was one of the outstanding acolytes, and many more, who invested a great deal of effort, these who studied at the *Kloyz*, and were educated in its path.

It is worth noting that many of those educated in the *Kloyz* made a recognized impression afterwards on the Jewish street. Those young men, who filled their insides with *Shas* and *Poskim*, also secretly studied secular subjects, or the left the *Kloyz* and began to openly study intermediate level and academic *Haskalah* with the same dedication as in the *Bet HaMedrash*. There were many skills that were neglected, and fell into disuse because nobody touched them, and it was only the burden of living that awakened them. When the time of the '*kest*'¹³⁴ for the newly married young men was over, and their wives and children went hungry for bread, they began to think about what to make of their lives. There were those who tried their luck at commerce in all sorts of fields. Some of them succeeded, other lived lives of deprivation. When all of this support came to an end, they began to think that it might be worthwhile to learn a productive trade. To occupy a Rabbinical Chair or to serve as a *Dayan* even in a small town was a distant dream. And we can now remember one that even while he was still in *Heder*, formed a small lantern from tree wood, or built a *Sukkah* which was a marvelous structure, with his own hands, and as a result, he demonstrated a skill for carpentry. He tried it and they saw what a miracle it was! This same silken young man succeeded in his work and became a skilled carpenter. This was Shmuel Shlitin, a Jew who was a *Hasid*, was greatly God-fearing, and lived in the village of Turyinka and he did not begin his work until he immersed himself in the river, and even on winter days, when the river was frozen, he split the ice, went into the water, came out, dressed himself and sat down to study a page of the *Gemara*. Afterward, intentionally, he ritually washed his hands and ate a slice of *Shacharit* [bread] then recited the blessing after finishing a meal, and began his work. On the eve of the Sabbath or Festival Holidays he would stop work at twelve o'clock, noon.

A second young man had an ordination in his pocket, which he received from the Rabbi and *Gaon* R' Yitzhak Shmelkes, the Rabbi of Lvov, to be able to give [religious] direction, and is recollected because he was a talented artist, and he would draw in the *Kloyz*, providing much gratification. On the *Yahrzeit* anniversary of the ADMo"R of Belz ה"צ, and he drew a picture in honor of that *Yahrzeit*. All the adherents to the Belz system of belief, wondered at his skill – he decided he would get into the work of making signs, and actually succeeded at this craft.

The third one began to study the preparation of fur, and he succeed. He quickly taught this skill to his sons, who, as it happens, were intelligent, and had a sense for business, and they expanded their workplace until they reached the level of being great exporters in this branch [of work].

The fourth learned the trade of brush making, and using his intelligence, he was able to master this work, and he expanded his place of work in which he employed several tens of workers until there he became a major supplier to the military and non-manufacturing merchants of a smaller size.

And there were plenty like them. With all that, they did not stop learning. One might continue with '*Daf Yomi*,' some with a chapter of the *Mishna* or *Eyn Yaakov*, but their greatest concern was to educate their sons in *Torah*; Everyone emphasized the observance of the spiritual elements of his family: ethics, religion, learning, and *Hasidism*.

¹³⁴ This word was used to describe the process of total support, offered to a newly married couple, usually by the parents of the groom. This period ended when the groom was able to undertake to formal responsibilities of caring for his family and supporting them.

I hold preserved in my memory two that were young men in the *Kloyz*, a perfect match, who fell in the First World War; Hirsch Leib Ettinger, one of the sharp minds, a great genius, and the brother of Chaim Buber. The latter learned at Isaac M. Scuv, and afterwards with Elimelech Mendl Melamed's. He was diligent in his studies, had a quick grasp of things, and a wondrous memory and all of his personal presentation where with nobility and pleasant. He had friends in the midst of the academic youth, and studied secular literature.

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Kloyz Ziditshovichev in Zolkiew

It happens that the Ziditshov *Kloyz* went through a special transformation in our time. Up to the year 5633 it was the *Hasidim* of Ziditshov who worshiped in the *Kloyz*. After the passing of the Holy Rabbi R' Yitzhak Isaac of Ziditshov on 9 Sivan 5633, his *Hasidim* from Zolkiew began to travel to Komarna. After thirty and some years, when this *Bet HaMedrash* was burned down, they erected a attractive *Bet HaMedrash* anew, in the year 5664.

During the thirty years from 5633 to 5664, the *Hasidim* became accustomed to travel to Komarna. Only Benjamin Tzibulnik, was the sole *Hasid*, that remained faithful to the religious leadership in Komarna, and traveled there annually. Many of the older generation passed on, and the youth that replaced them decided to call the new *Bet-HaMedrash* 'Bet Medrash Komarna.'

In all, the *Rebbe* in Komarna, the Holy Rabbi R' Yaakov Moshe ordered that the name not be changed, and to call it 'Kloyz Ziditshov' – and that is what they did. Up till the Holocaust and the extermination of the community of Zolkiew, the *Bet HaMedrash* of the Komarna *Hasidim* was called 'Kloyz Ziditshov.'

The lofty *Hasidism* of the Holy *Tzaddik* Rabbi Zvi of Ziditshov found our city to be a fortress. In the year 5664 the *Hasidim* of Ziditshov even built themselves a new *Kloyz*. It was a very elaborate building, done through the efforts of the head *Gabbaim* Hirsch Acker and Meir Berger. Hirsch Acker was a *Maskil* and an aristocratic *Hasid*, the owner of a bank, and a man having many businesses and all of his actions were performed with nobility and were pleasant; together with them in overseeing the construction of the building were: Baruch Stein, Aharon Dagan, who was also the one who led the *Musaf* Service on the High Holy Days, Avraham Stern and other – Jews who were [God] fearing and complete, men of deeds.

From time-to-time, a precious treasure was 'hurled' into the *Kloyz* – the son-in-law of Yaakov Patrontacz, R' Avraham'tzi Eikhl, a wondrous sage both fluent and sharp, a man of strong skills, he was a *Maskil* who possessed a precious soul. Even though he did not learn it in a school, he was very knowledgeable in mathematics and astronomy. Among the worshipers there, an honest and ardent *Hasid* could be found – Yoss'leh Charn'eh's (Deutcher), a great idler who prayed ardently, and was constantly studying. He had no idea about the issues of negotiation or the burden of making a living; his wife, son and daughters all helped to support the house. It is told that on one occasion, as was the custom of *Hasidim*, they celebrated the *Bet HaShoeva*¹³⁵

¹³⁵ When the Temple in Jerusalem stood, a unique service was performed every morning throughout the *Sukkot* holiday: the *Nisukh HaMayim* (lit. "Pouring of the water") or Water Libation Ceremony. According to the *Talmud*, *Sukkot* is the time of year in which God judges the world for rainfall; therefore this ceremony, like the taking of the Four Species, invokes God's blessing for rain in its proper time. According to the *Mishnah* (Tractate Sukkot 4:9 [1] and 4:10 [2]) the water for the libation ceremony was drawn from the Pool of Siloam (בריכת השלוח) (*Breikhat HaShiloah*) in the City of David and carried up the Jerusalem pilgrim road to the Temple. The joy that accompanied this procedure was palpable.

Holiday, they drank and they danced, and achieved a raising of their souls, especially Nissan Stein and Yoss'leh who danced with great ardor. In the middle of a dance, Yoss'leh secretly whispered to Nissan: 'come let us run to the *mikva*, in music and song, we will immerse ourselves and not move until our righteous Messiah comes. This was how complete his faith was.

Among the worshipers at the *Kloyz* was the respected young husband Avraham Nathan Patrontacz stood out. He brought a *Torah* scroll into the *Kloyz*, which his father Yaakov Patrontacz had begun to write. His father owned most of the fields in the village of Smarakov, and he settled his brother-in-law Mordechai Hochberg there to manage his affairs, and his son-in-law Moshe'leh Witlon and Avraham'tzi Eikhl, both of them *Torah* sages. The latter left the village after the First World War to live in his house in the city. On the cover of the scroll, his wife Tzivia (the daughter of Avraham Shapiro) wove her name in golden letters, and she earned thereby a great privilege, since this was the only scroll that was saved during the days of the Holocaust by the Holy Joseph Lautrefacht-Melman and brought to *The Land* by his son Michael Melman.

A standout figure among the worshipers at the *Kloyz* was R' Shammai Rapaport. He came to our city from a nearby city, Mosty' Wielka, where he was among the important people of the city, and he was one of those who were close to, and a visitor to the home of the Rabbi *Gaon* of the same city.

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He took up residence in our city on the Glinski Street, and married one of the daughters of the Feier family, one of the oldest in the city. He was among the regular worshipers in the *Kloyz*, and even in his old age, despite the great distance, he would stress his legs on Sabbaths and Festival Holidays to come and pray amongst the *Hasidim* of Ziditshov, a place where the worshipers valued him and admired him. His great pride was the donation of a *Torah* scroll that he presented with great pomp and magnificence. Part of the scroll he had written in his own hand, after he had mastered the penmanship of a Scribe. He was in harmony with his environment in our city, and helped the needy with a generous hand. Everybody treasured him as a man with a delicate soul and a pleasant demeanor.

The 'Élite' of the *Hasidim* in the city worshiped and studied in the Ziditshov *Kloyz*. They also distinguished themselves in a special way, spurning the formal *Hasidic* dress and following the dress dictated by their own *Hasidism*. There was a young man in the Belz *Kloyz* whom they harassed and expelled because of his tendencies toward the *Haskalah* or because he chose to wear the forbidden collar and tie of the modernists – so this person got up and went over to the Ziditshov *Kloyz*. Here he was accepted courteously, but not only that – they drew him close in a special way to learn and pray with them. Among those who went over there was also this writer, after being expelled out of the Belz *Kloyz* because he was the worker trying to establish the *Histadrut* of 'Mizrahi' in the city, and he was supported by a number of his friends to get a taste of the secular *Haskalah*.

Close to the time of the Holocaust, R' Moshe BaBa'D went over to pray in the Ziditshov *Kloyz*. In the evenings he studied the *Mishna* with those who prayed, and he gave a sermon on the issues of the day before them on Sabbaths and Festival Holidays.

The Lubiler Kloyz

On the Baker's Street, opposite the Belz *Kloyz*, was the prayer house in the house of Avigdor Fogel, and it was called the Lubiler *Kloyz*. In it, Avigdor Fogel and his sons, Joseph Zibert, Ozer *Bodeyk* (the Inspector) – tall, patriarchal in his appearance, with a long white beard that went down to the edge of his hands. Many of the comrades of the Street worshiped in that *Kloyz*. Ozer *Boydek* was the head *Gabbai*, and even though he could not be found in

the city on weekdays, because of his work in the forests, he came to pray at the ‘*Kloyz’l*’ only on Sabbaths and Festival Holidays. He was called ‘the Master of Exaggeration’ because the exaggerations he told genially, and in the certainty that they really happened. And here was the count: my grandfather – he had a bucket of water for Passover made from a praiseworthy crystal, and all the people of the city came to see it and observe its elegance. On one occasion the bucket broke, and for the shards of glass that my grandfather sold he received good money, and he bought himself a large forest that gave fruit.

B) I remember a snow that fell one winter, for several consecutive days, and when we traveled to the ritual circumcision at [the home of] Leibusz Sapushiner in a winter wagon, the snow was higher than the lamp of the synagogue. As we passed in front of it, I took out a tobacco box from which I would sniff, and lo, the tobacco spilled onto the snow, and in the month of May of the same year I passed by the synagogue front, and I suddenly sneezed! I was reminded of the ride in the snow during winter at that same spot, and the tobacco that had been spread there.

C) When I was the baby of the house, they seized (viz: kidnaped) boys to serve in the army. One day, I looked out the window, and saw the kidnapers coming and I went away and entered the cart of my grandfather, the kidnapers searched all the corners and cracks and did not find me. To my bad luck one end of my ‘*tzitzit*¹³⁶’ garment remained outside, and the kidnapers pulled and pulled until they got me out and took me to do military service.

The HaLebakrim Kloyz’l

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The *Kloyz’l* of *HaLebakrim* is found. between the house of Moshe Maness on one side, and the arcades on the other side, on the way that opens up on the side of the *Rynek*. From the early hours of the morning, the prayer house hums with worshipers. The group here is: merchants, store keepers from the arcades nearby, plain watchmen the ADMo”R from the *Rynek* marketplace, craftsmen, wagon drivers, porters etc.

They come to pray, one to say ‘*Kedusha*¹³⁷’ another to recite ‘*Barchu*¹³⁸’ while others come to warm up beside the lit oven, and Mina-Biya to recite a chapter of Psalms, some to have a look at a page of *Gemara*, a chapter of *Mishna*, or ‘*Ayn Yaakov*.’ The *Gabbaim* were R’ Pinchas Schwartz, a scholar and *Maskil*, and as one, Shmuel Zuvl and Moshe Zuvl. R’ Pinchas. Every evening, R’ Pinchas Schwartz gave a *Talmud* lesson, and afterwards in *Mishna*. Many came to gain warmth from the Ark of the *Torah* and prayer.

¹³⁶ A special, but optional garment, with the ritual Jewish fringes at its four corners, for which there is a special mitzvah to wear them. If such fringes were present on another garment being worn, then this version of the ‘*tzitzit*’ was not a ritual requirement, though often worn as well.

¹³⁷ A community prayer recited upon the repeated reading of the ‘*Shmoneh Esrei*,’ and considered to be of relative importance relative to their other prayers.

¹³⁸ The word at the beginning of the phrase, ‘Bless the God who is Blessed,’ at the initiation of the formal part of prayer services.

The Rebbe of Zolkiew

As previously said, Zolkiew was one of the fortresses of the Belz *Hasidism*, but there were also *Hasidim* from Ziditshov, Magierow, and Potelycz. The ADMo”Rim of Magierow and Potelycz would come once a year to visit the *Hasidim*. Among those offering praise and allegiance there were a lot of women present, which caused them to get the nickname of (Rabbis for Women). And in the year 5666 the *Rebbe* R’ Avraham Rabinowitz settled in our city, him being the son-in-law of the ADMo”R of Minberia, R’ Naphtali Rokeach, the son of the ADMo”R of Belz [itself], R’ Yehoshua Rokeach.

The *Rebbe* in our city, רבי אברהם שמואל רבינוביץ (R’ Avraham Shmuel) Rabinowitz, whose family tree reaches back to the author of the ‘*Tanya*’ and to the lineage of Kurtz, Opatow and Berdichev was also a kinsman, being a Rabbi and a wondrous wise scholar, a man of weighty thought, sinking deeply into the Talmud by day, and swimming both its length and breadth, and in his sermons he would offer a cascade of jewels and precious stones from his depth. A possessor of a majestic face of nobility from birth, trained in a special way to do good, both in his speech and comportment with people, he did so with understanding, knowledge and gentleness. The influence he had on his *Hasidim* was powerful. A residence was arranged for him in a spacious house, containing a house of prayer (e.g. a chapel). And seeing that he possessed pleasant songs, many, many people came who lived nearby – the Lvov suburbs – and from all corners of the city to hear his prayers and sweet melodies. *Balebatim*, *Mitnagdim*, who in their life never set foot on the threshold of the house of an ADMo”R, were among those who came to his house, and were transformed into faithful *Hasidim*, so strong was the pull of his personal charisma, his *Torah*, his wisdom, and his wonderful attributes. People of different sectors – *Maskilim*, merchants and *Hasidim* all as one – among them Shmuel Yitzhak Bandel, Moshe Patrontacz, Zalman Britvitch, Shmuel Leib Shlitin, Moshe’l Lichter and, tens and hundreds of other like them, came to sit in the shade of his walls, and consulted with him about the education of sons, matters of marriages and commerce, and as a result they cocked an ear that listened, also in matters of faith and tradition. Belz *Hasidim*, youths and newly married men, who were studying in the *Kloyz*, mostly also came to his *Tisch*, to hear him expound on Torah. And after he was a leader of services with a heavenly grace, his *Bet HaMedrash* was filled from end-to-end, and on the High Holy Days, many came who lived in the villages to take pleasure in his praying.

And here, among those who were his regular worshipers, was also Yaakov Berger. When he sent his son Maness to study at the new gymnasium of the monarchy, where studies were carried on also on Sabbaths and Festival Holidays, this matter reached the *Rebbe’s* ears. He immediately called his *Hasid*, previously mentioned, and influenced him to take his son out of the gymnasium. This incident gave him wings among the city folk, and especially made an impression on the Belz *Hasidim*, and they began to value him and hold him in great esteem, in the extreme. The work of the Rebbe elicited followers for him among the intelligentsia, the assimilationists and Zionists who came in contact with him, and almost all of them held him in high regard. The merchants preferred to go to the Rebbe in connection with all the bargaining amongst them, instead of going to a religious court, or to say it separately, to courts of law, and the *Rebbe*, using his store of common sense and understanding, always found the right line of compromise to take out the contestants to the way of the King and to the satisfaction of all parties. He found a blend between Torah and courtesy, and educated many students.

One time, the ADMo”R of Belz, R’ Issachar Dov came from Belz to Zolkiew. *Hasidim* by the thousands came to visit with their distinguished and renown Rabbi who, at that time, spent two weeks, and the city was like a spice factory. Before he left the city, he arranged a substantial visit too the Rabbi of Zolkiew at his house. This was an outstanding event (the *Rebbetzin*, daughter of his uncle was there) and hundreds of *Hasidim* escorted the ADMo”R for this visit. They immediately saw in this a hint that it is a responsibility of theirs to honor and treasure the *Rebbe* in their city. Among those in the escort

were many important *balebatim* and some of the *Parnassim* of the city. The Belz ADMo'R hinted, right on the spot, that the time had arrived for the Rebbe of Zolkiew to participate in the court of the Leader of the City.

This inference did not please Rabbi Pinchas Rimmelt, and also not the *Dayanim*, who were of the same opinion. Accordingly, R' Rabbi Rimmelt reacted negatively to this idea, and used all of the power in his ability to wield influence. He called for a protest assembly in the Great Synagogue: As it is, the *Rebbe* Rabinowitz did not want a conflict with Rabbi Rimmelt and the agenda was disposed of. The Belz *Hasidim* from all quarters grew more furious with Rabbi Rimmelt from that time on. There was an important principle among the *Hasidim*: every word that is uttered from their *Rebbe's* mouth – is holy, and it is forbidden to contradict what the *Rebbe* has said. The *Hasidim*, for no good reason did not care much for Rabbi Rimmelt, and they began to distance themselves from him, in all matters of faith, and arguments emerging from bargaining, they went to the *Rebbe* רבינו רבינו Rabinowitz.

When the first World War broke out in 1914, even before the Russians entered the city, Rabbi Rimmelt succeeded in going to Vienna, and despite the fact that Austrian troops returned to the city in 1915, Rabbi Rimmelt state in an alien location. The head of the community at that time, Shimon Schlusser, demanded that he return, using the argument that he had left his host without a spiritual leader. When he received no response, the head of the community turned to the *Rebbe* רבינו רבינו Rabinowitz that he assume to position of *Bet-Din Senior* in the community, along with the *Righteous Teacher* R' Avraham'eleh Lurberbaum. But the Rabbi refused, and his reasons were as follows: Perhaps this is not the will of Rabbi Rimmelt, and he does not harbor the thought, God forbid to violate the dictum not to cross another's boundary even with the absence of Rabbi Rimmelt. After the war, Rabbi Rimmelt returned to his congregation, and the relationship between him and the *Rebbe* got better, and they even became friends. On one occasion before Passover, the two of them went out to collect *Maot Khittin*¹³⁹. R' Rabinowitz himself was the first to make a donation. This surprised Rabbi Rimmelt and he asked: 'Since when is the Rabbi among the first of the donors?' Rabbi Rabinowitz answered to him: I sign my name as *Rebbe* with a 'Yud' at the end, and as a Jew like all other Jews, I am happy to participate together with all of the *balebatim* in this *mitzvah* and whoever does not have the dignity to do so, does not sign like me'...

This was the way the *Rebbe* supported his issues with his *Hasidim*, students, and his friends that he knew.

The *Rebbe*, R' Avraham Shmuel Rabinowitz, was born in the city of Kontovzoba, Russia, his brother R' Yankl'eh Rabinowitz was the first ADMo'R of Tel-Aviv. His second brother, R' Aharon Rabinowitz, the husband of the daughter Sarah, is a Rabbi in a Tel-Aviv congregation. His brother R' Nahum Rabinowitz, took a position in *Haifa*.

Close to the time that the community of Zolkiew was wiped out by the Nazis in 1943, agents of the *Gestapo* found the Rabbi and members of his household in a bunker. They took them out and led them to be killed at the cemetery. The gravedigger at the time was Yossli Hochner. The *Rebbe* asked for a prayer shawl from him, in which he wrapped himself and placed himself in front of the Nazi murderers, so that they shoot him first, saying: maybe a miracle will happen, and which of us will remain alive – let the young ones remain.

¹³⁹ Literally 'funds for grain,' to designate the specific charity used to defray the cost of grain for the poor to enable them to bake Passover matzos, for example.

He promised Yossl'i Hochner that he will remain alive, and asked of him to notify Sarah'tzi, his daughter in the Land of Israel, of his tragic death. He performed his last blessing, and Yossl'i remained alive and fulfilled his behest.

Infants in the House of the Rebbe in the Kloyz of Belz

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As previously mentioned the Belz *Hasidism* was sunk deeply into *Hasidic* life, in general and the education of their sons in particular. Accordingly a young boy stayed with them from his earliest youth under the oversight and influence of a Belz education only. When a boy reached three years of age, his father brought him to the ADMo'R, to teach him the ways of *Hasidism*, and to hear what the ADMo'R had to say on specifically designated days, in which the curls on his head were cut off, leaving the sidelocks. On the same day, the boy is brought to an elementary school teacher, this was David Katzliss, to the fourth *Heder* on the fourth floor of his, in the home of Yankl Kodukh. The *Melamed* sits at a table adjacent to a low and narrow window: he opens the prayer book and with a paternal look he begins to drill the boy in the alphabet; his father distributes whiskey and rolls, all drink a '*l'Chaim*,' expressing the hope that the boy will learn much Torah, be God-fearing and a substantial *Hasid*. From this time on, the youngster is brought every day to the *Heder* until he will be able to read a chapter by himself.

When the boy became five years old, he is brought into an open and wide *Heder*, containing four rooms belonging to Joseph Elazar Schur, and he is turned over towards his son Zaydeh who is wearing thick glasses and stands at the head of several *Rishei-Dukhna* (Belfers¹⁴⁰) who teach *Torah* to infants. It is here that the young boy begins to learn the *Pentateuch*. The children of the *Hasidim* learn together with the rest of the children of the city. The rooms are clean and spacious, and their windows look over the ancient municipal garden, *Wala Krolwaskia*, and the tables are arranged along the walls in the form of a square open on one side. The teacher stands in the middle of the room, and is drilling the students on the meaning of the words in the *Pentateuch* in Yiddish. He explains things to the students with satisfaction, until they grasp the *Parsha* of the week. It was the custom that the Belfers would come one the sixth day, the eve of the Holy Sabbath, the parents at home, to polish the shoes of the members of the household, and to take the children to the synagogue for the prayer to usher in the Sabbath (occasionally, the Belfer would help out with the food service in honor of the Sabbath, such as the crushing the *Khazeret*¹⁴¹ in honor of the Sabbath).

R' Joseph Luzer Schur was a handsome man, his white beard went down to his middle, he had a belly, and had the added nickname – 'The Doctor' or 'Professor', since he excelled in medicine, and the like. A child that fell asleep immediately had a call go out for Joseph Luzer. Without a thermometer he assessed the height of the temperature and established the diagnosis: 'the child has caught a cold, and should not get out of bed for a few days.' He also prescribed the food for the patient. In time the delicate boy was 'partly' cured, or less, such that he was excused from going to the *Heder*. R' Joseph Luzer also know how to quell *The Evil Eye*. And here is the story of such a quelling: a handkerchief of the patient is brought to him and he recites Torah sentences in a whisper, until he elicits a yawn, the handkerchief is then placed on the head of the patient – and the cure is close to coming.

¹⁴⁰ An aide, or functionary (from the German *Bahelfer*) assisting clergy and teachers both in ritual and education. Generally considered to be a lower level occupation.

¹⁴¹ A green vegetable also seen on the Passover *Seder* plate.

When the young boy reaches the age of six, he goes over to a *Gemara Melamed* – and such a *Melamed* was Gad'l Kreuz and his Gershon as his assistant, and the two of them, the father and son, were both God-fearing and well-versed. Their speech was a quiet one, and delivered with geniality. They explain the *Mishna*. ‘*Two are Holding onto a Prayer Shawl*’ – and slowly they begin to teach the a page of the *Gemara*. Every Sabbath Gad'l would bring his students to be tested before the student's father or his guardian. His wife, Reizl'eh, a *Woman of Valor* – would receive the children from the [nearby] villages also for meals and lodging, win one room, half of which was for study, and half for the children of the home. R' Gad'l had another room in the yard, that was dedicated only to study, there the village children would sleep.

There were other *Melamdin* like them: R' Akiva Kreuz, R' Shmuel Yatnik and his son, who assisted his parent with the ‘*Talmud Torah*.’ The higher-up *Melamdin* who taught *Gemara* and *Tosafot* were Gedalia Stein and Berisz Katzkeh. There were also those who taught *Gemara* and *Poskim*: Chaim Klupka and Sholom Shtreller would get the nickname ‘Master *Melamed*.’ From here, children getting close to their *Bar-Mitzvah* go over to Mendel-Melamed (*Titlkuptzer*), a wondrous sage, unemployed and very modest, who explained and expounded [on the text]. They also learn ‘*Yoreh Deyah Part A*’ with him. The portion of the week together with *Rashi* commentary is only studied on Thursday night, while *Prophets* and *Holy Writings* are not studied at all, and the boy is responsible to review the portion of the week by himself on the evening before the Sabbath, twice in Hebrew and once in the Aramaic translation by *Onkelos*¹⁴². The expert teacher was Chaim Fitch known as a teacher of the *Tanakh* along with the ‘*HaBayur*’ commentaries.

A boy getting ready to put on phylacteries, learned the ritual of phylacteries, and the ‘*Pashtil*’ (the Oration) from his teacher R' Mendel *Melamed*, early in the morning at the *Kloyz*, in two ways: A) because in his house, he lived in one room, and it was not possible that he waken his family from their slumber; B) not to deprive the other students of an hour of their studies. It is appropriate to recollect that with the beginning of laying on the phylacteries, [the parents] travel with the boy to the Belz ADMo'R to receive his blessing, and the boy promises to pray fervently, etc. It is the custom in the city that on the day the boy begins to lay the phylacteries, his father distributes the *Tikkun* in the *Kloyz*. On the eve before the Bar-Mitzvah a mitzvah feast is laid out. On the Sabbath at the *Kloyz*, the *Bar-Mitzvah* ascends the *Bima*¹⁴³ to take the *Maftir*¹⁴⁴ *aliyah*, and after services, a *Kiddush* is laid out and the Bar-Mitzvah stands and gives an oration about the ‘*Pashtil*.’ On that same year, the boy is transformed into a youth, and enters the *Kloyz* to learn among the young men, and the mature men that are crowded against the celebratory table, those eating ‘*Kest*’ and boys that are in his age group, Group upon group sits there hunched over their open *Gemara* volumes, sunken deeply into study from the early hours of the morning until the late hours of the night.

Among the obligations of the young men and older youths was the task of helping the little ones from nearby to teach them, without compensation. They learned with focused attention and ardor. Nobody worried about the need to make a living. Everyone knew that before such an undertaking – it is necessary to learn... and the reward will come at the end. A rich man could come and select a youth who was wise, to marry his daughter, and may be fortunate enough to earn a the seat of a *Dayan* or a Rabbi. Alternatively, maybe he will enter a large business of his father-in-law to-be. There were instances when

¹⁴² A famous convert to Judaism in Tannaic times, who created the definitive translation of the Torah into Aramaic

¹⁴³ The central platform from which prayer services were led.

¹⁴⁴ After the *Torah* is read, there is a specified piece from the *Prophets* that is also read ritually. The themes of the Torah *parsha* and the *Maftir* relate to one another.

youths of the *Kloyz* ‘were bought’ by the rich that lived in the villages. The youth would then leave the learning table and marry the daughter in a village, and live there. There were those that succeeded and settled in the village but instead of earning a Rabbinical chair or great wealth as they had previously dreamt, they became permanent ‘sitters,’ and had to undertake hard labor in order to support a wife and children – but in spite of this, the young men praised their situation and did not leave the fortress of their quarry, and did not stop learning. There were those who tried their hand at practical work and became forest merchants, or opened stores of various kinds, or learned a craft: few lucky ones completed their secular studies and were able to enter the universities to study and earn the title of ‘Doctor.’ In any case, great learned and famous men came out of the *Bet-HaMedrash* and the *Kloyz*.

The Tashlikh¹⁴⁵ Ritual During Rosh Hashanah

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The prayers and rituals that took the prime place on *Rosh Hashanah* were the blowing of the *Shofar*, the *Hineni* prayer, *uNesaneh Tokef*, *v’Kol Ma’aminin* etc. – these were front and center. The walk to *Tashlikh* on the First Day was a volume unto itself, excelling in beauty and its origins at the same time. After the *Mincha* prayer service, the entire congregation of worshipers went, by way of the stairs beside the Russian Church, and descended to the edge of the Sviniya River, that flows between the Glinski suburb, and the Vinniki suburb on the other side. The worshipers stood at the edge of the river, all of the worshipers separated by their Rabbis and *Gabbaim*. A wondrous sight opens up in the distance; the Jews of the city, each cohort by its own standard, recite the ‘*Mi El Kamokha*’ prayer in the *Tashlikh* service as if the angels up above were hovering over this holy host...

Among the last of the arrivals was the Rabbi Shmuel Avraham Rabinowitz and his congregation. Seeing that the day was beginning to grow dark, their prayers are characterized by darkness and silence. Worshipers come and go. Even the Jews of the vicinity stand in awe of the *Divine Presence* and look at the beautiful custom of the Jews and their faith.

The military hospital stands on the second side of the river where there is the cavalry unit called *K. K. Uhlanen Regiment No. 4* named for the Emperor Franz Josef I.

The soldiers are stunned and stand amazed at this strange scene before them. On one occasion, one of the soldiers threw a stone into the river and the water spilled on the worshipers. However the citizens of the Emperor and the proud Jews of Zolkiew were not prepared to overlook the nerve of this insult to their dignity on that day. On the following day, the Jewish community sent a very specific memorandum regarding this incident to the officer in charge of the unit. He gave the complaint to his German doctor, Dr. Tumshk. The latter, who was sympathetic to the Jews, saw the gross insult in this to the faith of Israel and an affront to their feelings – after he looked into and researched the issue, he came, along with his assistant, the Jew Wilder (the father-in-law of Anshel Hai, the well-known *Maskil*) to the head of the community, and asked for his forgiveness, and promised to severely punish the transgressing soldier.

Sukkot Without an Etrog and Simchat Torah

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The symbolic annual ritual of casting of bread on the water as a metaphor for discarding all sins committed in the prior year.

The year is 1915. The First World War is in full swing. The Jews of Zolkiew, which had been captured by the Russians, were getting ready to celebrate the holiday of *Sukkot*, and they have no *Etrog*. The sources from which these *Etrogim* came, Greece and Italy were cut off from the city. An observant Jew, and especially a Belz Jew will not recite the *Shacharit* prayer, *Hallel* and the *Hoshanot* without blessing the ‘*Four Species*.’ – and it became known, that in the nearby city of Rawa-Ruska the Belz *Hasidim* received *Etrogim*. The Belz *Gabbai* there was Michal Wander (a scion of Zolkiew). They sent an emissary (a non-Jew) mounted on horseback, to Rawa Ruska. In the Belz *Kloyz* they were reciting *Shacharit*, and the stopped and waited for the *Etrog*. At 3 o’clock, the emissary arrived with the Four Species in hand, – and the waiting congregants sighed in relief, said the appropriate blessings, bless and prayed with the *Lulav*¹⁴⁶ and *Etrog*¹⁴⁷ and fulfilled the mitzvah of ‘*taking a handsome fruit of the tree*’, entered the *Sukkah*, and felt ‘*this time of our rejoicing*,’

During the days as was arranged, the supplier of *Etrogim* in the city, was Mordechai David Zimeles, a Belz *Hasid*. He provided the *Four Species* to the remaining *Houses of Worship*. For the *Kloyz*, he attempted to select the best of ‘the best.’ The *Gabbaim* also bought an extra *Etrog* for the women and children. Because the *Etrogim* were expensive, they bought only a small number in an ordinary way. It was the practice for the *Shammes* to bring the *Etrog* home so that the women and children could make the [proper] blessing. The women were ushered into the room where the *Shammes* also had fruit and rolls for the master of the house and paid him handsomely for his effort.

The building of the *Sukkah* in the days between *Yom Kippur* and *Sukkot* was a special joy. For the most part, the *Sukkah* was built by the members of the household in the yard of the house. A few built them on the porch of their houses, others, at the outset also build a storage facility for the *Sukkah*. The roof was hung with art drawings, decorated at the time it was required to sit in the *Sukkah*, (this roof was called: ‘*schlag*, or *schlam*), and such a *Sukkah* had an extra landing. When rain fell, the *Sukkahs*, tables and chairs inside got wet. It was possible also to have a folding roof on the *Sukkah*, and to open it up after the rain stopped.

¹⁴⁶ The Hebrew name for palm fronds.

¹⁴⁷ The Hebrew name for a citron, and considered the most prized of the Four Species brought together during worship on the Sukkot Holiday.

In the *Sukkah*, we would receive guests and parents of a couple to be married, and even the writing of the *Tena'im*¹⁴⁸, and parties were arranged in the *Sukkah*. And also *Melamdin* who came for a meal during '*Khol HaMoed*' along with their students, were received in the *Sukkah*. An last of all, on the eve of *Hoshana Rabba* the group would all get together to bind the willow branches for the following day in the *Sukkah*¹⁴⁹. The joy of having the *Sukkah* came to an end with finishing the meals of *Hoshana Rabba*. They began to prepare for *Shemini-Atzeret*. In the *Kloyz* Belz, they arranged to do the ritual of *Hakafot* on the eve of *Shemini-Atzeret* as well, which was not doe in the Great Synagogue in which the Head Rabbi R' P. Rimmelt prayed. The *Gabbaim*

¹⁴⁸ The formal 'conditions and/or obligations' committed to, before the marriage is to proceed.

¹⁴⁹ A ritual performed only on *Hoshanah Rabba*, in which forgiveness is sought from the Almighty along with a 'purgative' hitting of the floor with the bound willow branches.

of the Kloyz invited the Rabbi and honored him with the recitation of 'Atah Hor'Eta¹⁵⁰' and the *First Hakafah*. After this *Hakafah* the joy of a stormy



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dance begun. The *Bima* is circled in song and dance, while carrying a Torah scroll in their hands out of their adherence and commitment, shoulder to shoulder, among a riotous ardor, singing and carrying Torah scrolls in their hands, until all of the worshipers participate in the singing that splits the upper heavens open. The children, with flags in their hands, on which lit candles, stuck into the tops of all the flags shone, offering support with their sweet voices. On the following day, on the eve of *Simchat Torah Hakafot* are performed in all houses of worship in the city, and for a second time in the Belz *Kloyz*. On the *Shacharit* of *Simchat Torah*, the *Hakafot* are performed for a third time. This glorious scene of beauty, with all wrapped in their prayer shawls, holding the Torah scrolls in their arms, singing and dancing with commitment and ardor, because the mitzvah is very dear to them. After finishing the *Hakafot*, the ‘*Aliyah to the Torah*’ begins, from the smallest to the biggest. The reason is, because the part of the congregation so honored, with going up amounting to twenty *minyanim* could not be accommodated in the *Kloyz*, so groups of *minyanim* go out to the homes of worshipers that are close by with Torah scrolls, go up to the Torah, each and every one, recite the *Musaf* service, and the host of the donated house as was the custom, was given the *aliyah* of ‘*Hatan Torah*’ and with song, ‘I shall rejoice and be joyful in the happiness of *Simchat Torah*,’ they scatter to their respective homes, to make joy with their families, sometimes with guests, reveling in the holiday.

And this is the way it was done: All those who received the honor of ‘*Hatan Torah*’ are invited and pray to the *Kiddush* on *Simchat Torah*, and those who were honored with ‘*Hatan Bereshit*’ it is the custom to provide a *Kiddush* on the Sabbath when *Bereshit* is read. What is different about the *Kiddush* on *Simchat Torah* is drinks are served to those being honored as if they were royalty, and also sandwiches filled with meat.

After the noon hour groups upon groups of *Hasidim* gather, and after enjoying a second repast, they burst into song and dance, and vigorously go out to the Great Synagogue, into which all the celebrants enter, from all corners of the city. Towards evening, ranks come together hand-in-hand in a dance around the *Bima* and along the walls of the Synagogue, and exit in a giant chain in dance and song, through the streets that lead to the Belz *Kloyz*, singing the song ‘And you shall be joyous during your holidays and you should be entirely happy.’ and also ‘*v’Tahayr Libeynu LeOvdekha b’Emes.*’ The dancing and singing are finished. The group raises up R’ Yair Witlin, a *Hasid*, his eyes and a placid man on the table. When he loudly announces ‘The Holy Flock!’ the children respond by bleating: meh-meh-meh! He returns seven times and the children come after him – and afterwards he shouts out loud ‘Next Year in Jerusalem!’ And he repeats this seven times, and those gathered around him, sing these words after him in rhythm: ‘*L’-sha-na Ha-Ba-Ah Bi-Yeru-Sha-Lye- Im!*’¹⁵¹

Working People

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A respected place in all branches of the community and its issues was taken by the craftsmen and workers. Their impact was recognized by the host, in the economic life and ranks of education as one. Their sons studied in schools, in *Heders*, in *Talmud Torah* and even in the Belz *Kloyz*. They studied together with the children of *Hasidim* and *Maskilim*, and many of them with diligence and excellence in their knowledge of what they had learned. Many of them rose to high rank in the [national] government and in the town (as a Magistrate). There were those that attained academic *Haskalah*, and others who remained as students of the Torah and occupants of the benches of the *Kloyz*.

¹⁵⁰ The opening words of the verse for the first *Hakafah*, which is usually given to the Rabbi as an honor.

¹⁵¹ ‘Next year in Jerusalem!’

Among the active participants among them, in community life, the shoemaker Moshe Yatzkovisky stood out. He was elected to the professional union (ת"ש) That perforce included Jews, Poles and Ukrainians. He was part of the overseers of the decent relationship shown the workers who stood for the tests to earn the title 'Professional Worker' and afterwards, by taking [further] tests to earn the title of 'Professional' ('*Meister*') and he did not permit any Jewish worker to be subverted. Similar to him was Yehoshua Mordechai ('*Shia Mottl*') Fleischer. He was a vigorous tailor, who worked at every opportunity to help the public. He was elected to the committee of the community by the workers and stood for the fulfilment of their demands on various issues. He sat on the Municipal Council and did not pass any opportunity to speak on behalf of the working man, to protect their interests, and to raise their standard in general and specifically with the ranks of the citizenry.

There was an institution in the town that extended loans to working people in the city, without interest being charged, as you can surmise, guaranteed by two men of substance. An incident occurred where a working man came with a request for a loan of two hundred crowns (Austrian currency), with repayments during the year. The loan was granted and on the set day, one of the guarantors appeared, Naphtali Honig, who came and signed, but the second one did not appear. The legitimacy of the loan was called into question by many. And here, found in the town office by chance, was Shia Moti Fleischer. He did not hesitate and signed as a guarantor, and the loan was extended. This is because Shia Moti for all of his days was a helper and a supporter of workers, and craftsmen, for every need.

On the Tailor's Street stood an old synagogue, the synagogue of *Yad Kharutzim* in which working people prayed as well as residents of the area. As it happens, the tailor Shimshon Weingarten had a parcel of land opposite the old municipal garden, which was dedicated to a synagogue with the consent of the committed working Jews, and workers such as Shia Moti Fleischer and others. With the help of émigrés in New York, they build a large synagogue on this referenced parcel and proudly called it '*Beyt-Knesset Yad HaKharutzim*'

Jews in the Town

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There was not a citizen in the city that did not have a need to come to the town (Magistrate). But in that body, only two Jews were in place: the General Secretary Lichter – the son of Schirtz – and the architect Yaffa, having a warm and good Jewish heart, alert to all things that affect Jews, and proud that his family lineage harkens back to the *Gaon R'* Mordechai Yaffa, the author of '*HaLovshim*'. He was happy to assist any Jew that came in contact with him. At the height of his powers he planned and sketched out plans for the builders in the city and the citizenry. Regarding the new Belz Kloyz, his plan and sketch for the project that he will oversee the construction personally at no charge. In the announcements that came from the town, and its administration, it was assumed that in the Jewish announcements, they meant – merchants and craftsmen – without any suspicion as to what the gentile population would say. One time, a bill reached him from a Jewish carpenter for his work on a fence around the Electric Station. The work was BMM'R, but the carpenter calculated using an ordinary measurement. However, according to this, the carpenter stood to lose a significant amount of money. When Mr. Yaffa came to the error [made by the carpenter] he adjusted the calculation using a red pencil – so as not to cause an intervention by those who are involved in the matter – and added a significant sum in favor of the carpenter. On the high Holy Days, he would go with his wife to worship in the Great Synagogue despite the fact that he was assimilating, as it were. Neighboring his house, there was a cavalry unit – Uhlans. The Yaffa family had a beautiful daughter. A Polish officer from an ancient noble Polish family fell in love with their daughter. This was counter to the spirit of Yaffa, despite the fact that he was assimilating, and out of great anguish he fell sick and took to bed.

For the Sake of Wise Women

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The condition of the *Talmud Torah* in the city, in the opinion of the community in the city, was run down, the level was pedagogically and spiritually – low, and the curriculum foundation was unsettled, and sanitary conditions, as was the case in ordinary *Heders*, did not make sense, and were very bad. There was considerable neglect. The sanitation inspectors, considering the health in the town would come each Monday and Thursday to inspect the condition of cleanliness. This was not with the intent of fixing it, but here and there, they would close a *Heder* for a period of time and in this way caused a flaw in Torah study. It was only after efforts were made [to clean up] that they would open it again anew. In general, the government cast a stern eye on these *Heders*, because of the boycott of the government schools by the *Haredim* who refused to let their sons attend there.

No one even dreamed about sewers at the time. Waste water was poured out in public, in yards, and even on their houses. There was also a lack of ideal conditions in the provisioning of water. There were water carriers who brought water in wooden pails, or in wooden casks by wagon, to the home, but there were days, especially in the winter when they brought no water at all and there was a need for one member of the household to take a pail in hand and go to the well to bring water for the need of the family. The wells, by and large, were primitive, and the people stood in a line until everyone was able to fill their pail, and when the water froze in the winter in the opening of the well, the people in the city suffered greatly.

In time a new provincial Representative came to the district. He was a Polish nobleman possessed of an esthetic and aristocratic demeanor. He began to plan for order in the city in general, and especially with regard to the cleanliness of water [supply]. He invited a familiar engineer and built a pool in the center of the city (*Rynek*), a broad pool, and it had four taps emanating from four spouts to which four people could make use of it at the same time to draw water without disturbing one another. The water for the pool came from the dales around the mountain of '*HaRe'i*' near the city. The ruling office planted a pleasant garden around the pool which was pleasant and spectacular to the eye, and he even arranged for the city streets to be cleaned twice a week, and he implemented other repairs for life to make it easier on the citizens of the city, and the city felt it had been expanded.

An intelligent and educated woman came forward, girded up her courage, and wrote a letter of thanks in good taste and understanding to the officer in charge, doing so in a pleasant style, in a literate German. When the officer ran into Anshel Hai, the familiar *Maskil* living in the city, he told him about the 'thank you' letter he had received from the woman who signed her name as Hendl Buber. The letter made an impression on him both because of its content and beautiful style. Full of wonder, he asked Anshel Hai to present to him the woman who wrote the letter. So Anshel Hai related to the officer about the pedigree of this venerable family in the city which also had among them scholars, advanced *Enlightened* people, and writers, and the city, by the way, did not have only this single family with scholars and *Enlightened* people.

Anshel Hai conveyed the invitation of the provincial officer to Hendl Buber. At the specified time, Hendl Buber came escorted by Anshel Buber to the palace of the officer. The officer thanked her, and letter, which touched his heart. He asked her what she how she is educating her sons. At the end, the officer to her in fulfilling her requests.

This important lady waited for the auspicious time [to



עוֹבָב מֵיָם בְּסִמְטוֹת חֵיָר וְיֶלְקִיב

conveyed both his appreciation and praise for the had learned and where she had learned it, and asked her in what way could he be of assistance

reply]. She answered the first thing first, and the

last thing last: she did not study in a school at all, but studied at home in a simple way, and she acquired all of her knowledge by her own powers. With this, she hinted that it was not necessary to specifically learn at a government school. She then quoted several things from the *Tanakh* and from the folklore, and told of the studies that went on in the *Heders*, that those who leave it are well-educated, advanced *Enlightened* people, people of culture, and ended her reply with a request from the respected provincial officer to think about the following points as:

- 1) Not to have the sanitation inspectors of the city come to inspect our *Heders*: we ourselves are concerned for this, and will continue to do so in the future, for the benefit of our children and their health which should be on the better side,
- 2) To arrange for a sewer in the city, and the sewer has not yet been installed, there is no reason to punish the residents for pouring out their waste water in front of their houses and in their yards.
- 3) To assure that the sanitation workers do not clean the streets at the same hours in which the Jews go to the synagogue on the Sabbath, and then return from there.

The officer listened intense attention to her requests, that it is the case that this Jewish woman is standing before him for the first time in person, and speaks out of the recognition of her worth, and details justifiable requests of her community and doesn't ask for any specific personal favors. Her pleasant stand, and her Jewish pride pleased him, and he promised her that he will try to fulfill her requests.

The story of the letter and the meeting caused a sensation and great joy in the community.

Many told about what Hendl knew. When she was at the home of her father-in-law, Meir Buber, when, together with her husband Joseph Zvi, they managed their hotel ' *Pud Karitun*' a letter arrived once to her hand that was sent by a specific merchant who had lodged with them, and on the envelope was written: 'Do not open and do not read about the prices that we spoke of liberty from boycott.. In her first glance, Hendl grasped the meaning of the word 'prices' and she went over to her father-in-law Meir Buber with the letter in hand and said to him: I fear, my father-in-law how they relegated two Jews to be embargoed!' Understanding Hebrew writing and the sharpness of the language is causes the words to fall on the tongue for sure.

In her later years her eyes began to fail, and despite this she wrote letters in Hebrew and German and even request notes ('*kvitlach*') to ADMo'Rim. Her sons, and members of her family in general, supported her, and the day she received a sum of money, she immediately went to the Talmud Torah and asked the teachers to find out what child does not have shoes or warm clothing, so that she could by what is missing with her money.

There were many women in our city who managed the business by themselves while their husbands engaged in Torah [study]. Occasionally, when the children grew older, they helped their mother with the merchandise, especially, for example, the large manufacturing business of the Lieberman family, managed by Royza the wife of Chaim Eli, and even the 'firm' was in her name. When she died, the store went over to her son, Zelig, named on the sign as Z. L. Ben Royza.

The wife of Avner Wilman, Hassa, managed the business that sold oils and leavings as cattle feed by herself without any involvement or help from R' Avner, or his sons. R' Avner was the last of the Sages from the Old *Bet HaMedrash*, a man of good deeds and philanthropic, a '*Mitnaged*' and despite this was acceptable even to the *Hasidim*. He educated many pupils, and was a member of the community council for many years. His wife, Hassa, was related to the descendants of the author of '*Tvuot Schur*.' Avraham Yaakov also was known for his sharp opposition to the way of *Hasidism*, [he was] an exceptional scholar, the last of the *Mitnagdim* in the city, and their second son, Kalman a Sage, Torah reader, and leader of services in the old *Bet HaMedrash*. Two of his grandsons reached *The Land*.

The Jews of the Propination¹⁵²

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Up until 1910, a government sanctioned monopoly existed in the city over the distillation and sale of alcoholic beverages, called a Propination. This was possessed by *Haredi* Jews from another city. Most of the officials were drawn from city folk, *Maskilim* among the *Hasidim*: Manager, Fishl Gleich – a *Maskil* and a traditional observer of the faith; Pinchas Schwartz, a mathematician and expert in astronomy; Loba Lichter – a very aware person, and an exceptional intellect from the Old *Bet HaMedrash*; Yaakov Zinger – a Belz *Hasid*, and last but not least – David Maimon, a *Maskil* with a gift for poetry.

When Y. Kh. Brenner paused in Zolkiew, after his flight from Russia in 1908, he was told about David Maimon the poet: So Brenner went to the place where he worked, so he could meet him. He found him sitting beside his worktable, opposite a giant container of whiskey, with 96% written on it. Brenner asked him, among other things, what are his thoughts about the 'rising star,' Ch. N. Bialik, David'l pointed a finger at the ticket saying 96% as if to say, this is him!

The Propination stood to be voided in 1910, because the government said it wants to write a law to forbid the sale of strong drink in glasses. There was a suspicion that thousands of Jews would lose their way of making a living; into this initiative, they brought the Zionist activist Moshe Frustig, a scion of Zolkiew and the ADMo'R of Belz, R' Issachar Dov Rokeach. And since the political tendency in Belz was to always follow the government line, and in the elections to the Austrian parliament in 1908 Dr. Strazinsky was elected – who was favorable towards the government – thanks to the votes of the Belz *Hasidim*, he found himself to be obligated to raise his obligation. The ADMo'R turned to this officer and to the officials in Lvov to try and get an allowance for the Jews to sell strong drink and to renew their Propination. The action on the part of the ADMo'R and of the activist Moshe Frustig, was crowned with success.

Jews in Banking

Most of the banks in the city were in the hands of the Jews: Shimon Schlusser, Avraham Shapiro, the Harry brothers, Lutringer, Hammerling, Acker, Brudinger, Rittel, Fox, and others. Close to the extermination of the Zolkiew community at the hands of the Nazis, a new bank opened – Lichter and Gabel.

¹⁵² Propination is called *Propinacja* in Polish. Propination laws were a privilege granted to Polish *szlachta* that gave landowners a monopoly over profits from alcohol consumed by their peasants. Propination is an historical right to distill spirits.

The Activities of Assimilationists

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Most of the Jewish appointed officers in the offices of the government and the city, and also independent craftsmen, founded a union separate from the Jewish 'masses' named '*Goldmanovka*'.

This group of idealists were not assimilationist of this category to incite, but out of a comfort in being like their Polish neighbors. Mostly, they were from the ranks of the craftsmen, and their parents were religious Jews. During the High Holy Days, the assimilationists went to worship at the Great Synagogue. Before the First World War, when the Great Synagogue underwent renovation and upgrading, it was the first of the assimilationists who participated in funding the renovations. Among these, Ignacy Fartig especially excelled, who financially supported the drawing on the walls of the synagogue using oils, with figures drawn from the *Tanakh*. Those that looked after this, assured that the Polish eagle, white on a red background and also the historical symbol of the Polish kingdom would be drawn on a wall of the synagogue (After the Polish King Jan III Sobieski supported the building of the synagogue in the year 1687, as a sign of gratitude to the Jews for their allegiance and commitment to his rule).

Ignacy Zucker, and the Judge Fish, stood at the head of the assimilationist group. The influence of the assimilationists as a political force was recognized in the community, after the Belz *Hasidim* supported them against the influence of the Zionists, but it was a foregone conclusion with them, not to get involved more than was necessary, with the issues of the masses. Their central objective was to create a separate sect of assimilationists, composed of Poles of the Mosaic faith. The intelligentsia, as it were, belonged to this group. To their credit and legacy: The Jews that came in contact with them in their offices were helped a great deal by them. Year-in and year-out, on the celebration of May 3 – the day of independence of Poland – and especially the support of the *Tzofim* group '*Sokol*'

they would intermingle with those participating in the march through the streets of the city: Czaszyk Zucker and Kuba Aufshuar, march in step, dressed in festive clothing, and their pride was great to be standing among the ranks of the Poles.

The wives of the members of the assimilationist group founded a Ladies' Auxiliary of Action called '*Yoldot*' and was of support to many pregnant women without means, even after childbirth. There was productive help requiring much effort, for those with minimal need, in the community. After the First World War an Orphanage was founded by the American Joint [Committee]. For whatever reason, the management was given over to the assimilationists with Dr. Fish at its head. They bought the house of Zhimelik in the Lvov suburb and set up the institution there lavishly. In order to extract financial help from the well-to-do of the city, they added Leib Reiman, Shmuel Zubl and several others drawn from the wealthy people of the city– as Honorary Members in the management. At the outset they moved to educate the orphans according to their inclination in the Polish spirit but this matter did not come up to them, because they tripped up in the opposition of the cohort in general and the change in direction entirely.

The People of the Villages

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The Jews residing in the villages, surrounding the city, were not separated from the city community in all manner. In the large, they were mostly literate and even learned in Torah, and exceptional wisdom, and in the work world they were all people of diligence. There were productive farmers among them, forest merchants, and from them came forest owners and flour mills. There were also appointed officers among them. They sent their sons and daughters to school in the government schools in the city, and also to a gymnasium, to give their children a grounding in a modern education. They tried to take prospective husbands for their daughters from the city, who knew Torah and *Haskalah*, and these were ones who moved to the village after the marriage.

In general, their economic circumstances were strong. A change for the worse came after the First World War. Ukrainian rule became stronger from day-to-day, and anti-Semitism between farmers spread and grew stronger – the Ukrainian organizations formed cooperative stores and pushed the Jews out of every means of making a living in the village. They also pestered the Jews and pushed them out, so that they could not sustain themselves in the village. A severe depression came over the Jews in the villages, and many began to leave. They sold their assets at half their value and went to live in the city. They even uprooted those who still persisted in some form of staying, and all that was left were the old who did not have the capacity to start up something new from the beginning in the city. The youth, seeing that they had no prospects for the future in the village, fled to the city and mixed in with the city youth in all areas.

The Bishops Come

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The bishops came to Zolkiew annually, taking turns; one time it would be the Catholic Bishop and after him the Ukrainian Bishop (Russian). They always arrived on a Saturday afternoon. They put an honorary gate beside the old garden (*Wola Hetmanski*). On the right side under a canopy, Rabbi Rimmelt stood with a group of important people from the Jewish community, with Rabbi Rimmelt carrying a *Torah* Scroll, and in the hands of the head of the community was a tray of silver with bread and salt on it. Opposite, on the left side, priests stood with statues and crosses surrounding the community, the important Polish people, and the elder of the group, the Treasurer of the town, Kloop, dressed in the uniform of the Polish *Szlachta* (brown boots, a ‘Sobel’ hat, and a long caftan with a red shirt.)

At the appointed hour, the Bishop with his icon approaches – first to the group of Jews, bows to the *Torah* Scroll, greets the Rabbi and his community ‘in Peace,’ and receives the bread and salt from them with gratitude. After they departed from the Rabbi and his group, he turns to the rest who have come to welcome him.

A Penny to the Pauper

A day did not go by without the poor and ‘flower-guests’ returning to doorways and entrances of stores. The Kreuzers and Hallers were not always to be found in the pocket for most people. It was considered forbidden to refuse alms to the poor. The Parnassim of the city worked at this and found a solution: make a donation to a pauper of one-half a Haller (a quarter of a Kreuzer). With the town’s permission, they made a sign and put on it the words ‘**A Penny for the Paupers of the Holy congregation of Zolkiew**’. The value of a new penny was half of a Haller (a quarter of a Kreuzer). It was up to the pauper, once he reached the community, to buy pennies : 4 Pennies to 1 Kreuzer, to whom he gives change of one Haller (or half of a Kreuzer) one penny. The job of printing the sign on heavy paper and also the permission to do the sale, was given to a poor divorced woman named Hinde Reizl, the daughter of the old bookbinder. The revenue taken by the woman was as follows: when the pauper finished his rounds of the city, he was permitted to return those pennies that he had taken, and remained in his pocket, to redeem them with Hinde Reizl at the rate of 5 instead of the 4 with which he bought the Kreuzers. The profit was one penny to the seller, and she also profited from those pennies that were not returned to her, that had been torn or lost.



The Zolkiew of Yesteryear

By Yitzhak Tzimerman

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Whosoever comes to tell of the uniqueness of Zolkiew, among the communities of Poland, has the obligation to move at a distance, and reach the Zolkiew of yesteryear. [The time] when her streets were populated by Wise People and people of action and also filled the various Houses of Learning – loyal partners in the design of the image of the Galicia of *Torah*, and *Maskilim* of those times. I will put down here in writing, a few things about the end of the Zolkiew yesteryear, as they have remained in my memory since the days of my youth.

Zolkiew at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, you could still find clear traces of the teaching of ‘*Hidnagdut*.¹⁵³’ the spinal cord was still the Great Synagogue and the Old *Bet HaMedrash* beside it. There, the Ashkenazic tradition was guarded in its purity. The *Kloyz*, on the bakers’ street had not yet acquired the unique atmosphere in the special atmosphere of Zolkiew. The part that the *Kloyz* had, in the design of the city’s image, continued to grow. In a measurement of how they had vanished, one sees that , one-at-a-time, the Wise Sages of the *Bet HaMedrash* stopped using it as the only lodging place for Torah in the city.

The Old *Bet HaMedrash* – that a narrow side street separated it from the Great Synagogue, that was one of the most majestic in the land of Galicia – was a two-story building. Its walls were thick, and on its south side the large windows reached all the way to the steps on the street. The second floor was used entirely as an *Ezrat Nashim*. Four long tables made of very heavy boards, stood in the *Bet HaMedrash*, and beside them were eight long benches, made of the same kind of wood.

The tables stood on two sides of the *Bet HaMedrash*. Two alongside the southern wall from east to west, and two arranged in an acceptable manner beside the norther wall. Ordinary *balebatim* and Wise Sages, weighty in Torah and good deeds, sat at these heavy tables. On the eastern bench, on the two sides of the Holy Ark, the *balebatim* sat, not only because of the Torah, but also because of goods to be sold: *balebatim*, who succeeded in their business and reached the level of being ‘governors.’ Among those that initially qualified were A. Sh. Zimiles, who was counted among the first of the *Maskilim* in the city in those days. On the two sides of the Holy Ark: on the left was the permanent place of the Chief of the Religious Court – on the right side remained vacant for many years for the spiritual leader of the congregation until R’ Pinchas Rimmelt, the Rabbi of Kirov, who was selected to sit on the city’s rabbinical chair, after a difficult election struggle between his supporters and the supporters of Rabbi Mish’l of Gologora.

Among the figures that stood out among the controllers of the shutters that were in the *Bet HaMedrash*, the following are etched into my memory: R’ Yehoshua Lerkher, a grain merchant, who despite being occupied with practical work, did not cease to study for sure. R’ Yehoshua sat at the corner of the table on the southeast side. On the ceiling above his head a copper candelabra hung, in the form of the head of an ox. According to tradition, it was the author of ‘*T’vuat Schor*’ that sat there. When I was a boy, I hurried, as usual, on Friday nights to get to the *Bet HaMedrash* early, in order to hear recitals from ‘The Song of Songs’ as sung by R’ Yehoshua, who was a regular to recite this in a loud voice with sweet pleasantness.

¹⁵³ Opposition to the very observant *Haredim*, from the Hebrew word ‘to oppose.’

R' Israel Mallis, the leader of *Musaf* services on the High Holy Days also sat at the table. He was a tall Jewish man with a masterly visage and his beard reached down to his midriff. During the *Musaf* prayers of *Yom Kippur*, he stood as a figure in all white: his head covering, his beard, his *kittel* and socks. Opposite him sat R' Shmuel Mintzer, the leader of the *Shacharit* prayers on the High Holy Days. R' Shmuel had knowledge of grammar, and it was that which stood him in his role, in reading the *Torah* on Sabbaths, and the second *minyan*.

At the corner of the table, on the second side of the *Bet HaMedrash*, my grandfather sat, and my teacher R' Avner Wildman. [He was] a Wise Man, that educated a generation of Wise Sages in the city. R' Pinchas Schwartz was among his superior students, who was known to be a mathematician and possessed a sharp mind. And R' Avner was known by all not only as a great *Torah* Scholar but also as a man of good deeds and philanthropy. The style of his headstone – the product of the writing of the poet R' David'l the son of R' Meir Maimon – is arranged with an acrostic according to the name Avner: Avner ben Yaakov, which bears witness to the faithful respect that the members of his coterie accorded him. Here are the four lines:

ס: There is a heap of holiness here in this grave
ב: Whoever passes by this grave should do this in trepidation and fear
ג: A jewel and sapphire rests in this dust
ד: A Rabbi and a great Jewish man is buried here below

– etc.'

As one of the Sages of that generation, we also count R' Avraham'li Shapiro and younger than him, Loba Lichter. R' Eliyahu Halperin, – who was called *Eli Poni* – apparently, his parents were among those who left Russia – was known to be a researcher and involved himself in the literature of philosophy. It is told of R' Eli, that when he went out to pasture his cows (he lived outside the city, and he had a small stable), between both of his arms, he carried '*A Guide to the Perplexed*,' and the '*Kuzari*'¹⁵⁴.

The picture of the *Bet-HaMedrash* would not be complete if we skip both of the *Shamashim*: Herschel'i and Meir. R' Herschel'i, the First *Shammes*, was totally fluent in the *Tanakh*, was a grammarian, an outstanding *Torah* reader for the first *minyan* on Sabbaths. And he deserves credit for teaching '*Eyn Yaakov*' and '*Medrash Rabba*,' to the ordinary folk of the people in lessons, without pay.

In practice, the *Shammes* looked after the cleanliness of the *Bet HaMedrash*, water for the basin, etc.; Tall Meir (called *Meir der Langer*), was also a comic, who performed at weddings and other happy occasions. The *Holy One, Blessed Be He*, endowed R' Meir with a wondrous memory, that was a substitute for the written word, which he did not master. Thousands of '*Yahrzeits*' were recorded in his mind, and he knew the entire *Book of Psalms* by heart, which he was routinely in the habit of reciting each and every Sabbath. If you ran into R' Meir on one of the Sabbaths before noon while he was muttering through his mouth, you knew he was involved in the recitation of Psalms. All the days of the summer, Meir collected '*Yahrzeit*' candles and stored them in the cellar of our house, and took them out to light up the study of *Torah* in the long [sic: winter] nights. On one occasion I stood on the threshold of

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The *Kuzari* was studied by those wishing to master the essentials of the *Kabbalah*.

our house, and I was a listening witness between him and the wife of the pharmacist Zucker, at a time he was preparing to put a box of candles in the cellar, when she asked ‘what are you doing?’ and he replied to her in Polish:

I am giving you
These candles
For *Yahrzeits*
I’m am putting them in the basement¹⁵⁵,

The Great Synagogue, the smallest holy place in the city, was built as a fortress, and there was enough room inside to accommodate all the Jews of the city. It was also a fortress for prayer rendered in the Ashkenazic style, along with all the complexities that were folded into this style as well. No poem was skipped during Festivals and the High Holy Days, and not even on the Sabbaths that occur between Passover and *Shavuot*. An woe was unto a guest leader of services who was not familiar with the details here, and he did not skip the ‘*V’Yaztmakh Purkonei*’ prayer in the recitation of the Orphan’s *Kaddish*.

The writing over the entry gate of the Synagogue had in it the capacity to shake off the dust of the deeds of life, and bring on the feelings of repentance. The writing was drawn in large colored letters, over the office of the gate and contained the well-know proverb:

A Man worries about the loss of his money
But does not worry about the loss of his days,
His days do not return
And his money is of no help to him.¹⁵⁶

The Synagogue which was configured for prayer and not for Torah study, was not a place where the Wise Sages gathered. Among those who prayer at this Synagogue was the *Hazzan* David Mordechai Shlomo’s, whose sweet voice cascaded throughout the building on the eves of Sabbath, filled by hundreds of worshipers leaving no empty space. The notes of ‘*Then Six Hundred*’ still echo in my ears, that he would recite on *Shavuot*, when they brought in part of the branches of the ‘*Re’i*’ (a forest that was planted in the days of King Sobieski, that was a summer retreat near him). This was a spectacular sight to observe, when before the Festival of Shavuot the Synagogue was transformed from night to a field of grass. Whole trees were uprooted from the ‘*Re’i*’ and placed in a row from the entrance gate to the *Bima* of the Torah (the *Belemer*), and on the table, where the Torah was placed to be read, the arrangement was like a green mountain (a symbol of Mount Sinai) on top of four poles, surrounding it. The entire Synagogue, on its walls and pillars, was covered in green flowers. It seems that the prohibition of enjoying a beautiful tree and decorated paper was suspended for the *Shavuot* Holiday; when

¹⁵⁵ This was originally rendered in Polish. I am indebted to my cleaning lady, **Sophia Butas**, who is Polish, for the proper English translation.

¹⁵⁶ This poetry is rendered in Hebrew, translated by myself.

a host of yong men streamed to the 'Re'i' after 'Tikkun Shavuot' with the early light of dawn on the first day of the Holiday, to enjoy the handiwork of the *Creator* of Genesis, and a beautiful tree was stood in the Synagogue to enjoy.

Among the regular worshipers on the Sabbaths and Festivals, the *Maskilim* of the city who stood out were: Anshel Hai, who was fluent in German, and Herzl Ehrlich, a teacher of religion in the government schools. Their heads were adorned with forelocks tied back, in the place of the beard that adorned the faces of the rest of the worshipers.

A central figure in the Synagogue was R' Alter (R' Alter the son of the *Shammes*). He was the [sic: Torah] reader at the first *minyan*, was very precise and knew a great deal of the *Tanakh*. R' Alter's lifelong position was to oversee the Ashkenazic style of chanting the prayers, guarding it from any violation by the *Hasidim* in the *Kloyz*. The paralysis on the right side of his body was caused, as it was whispered in the *Kloyz*, by the provocation he started with the Belz *Rebbe*. The incident took place as follows: The ADMo'R, R' Yehoshua'leh of Belz was invited to Zolkiew and the *Hasidim* tried to persuade him to pray in the Great Synagogue on the Sabbath at the second *minyan*. When this became known to R' Alter, he gathered for the first *minyan*, a group of worshipers expert in the Ashkenazic style, and he led the service before the Ark, and stretched out the prayers until the people of the second *minyan* could not secure a place beside the *shtender*. And the police that were alerted to the Synagogue, by the *Rebbe's Hasidim*, returned almost as soon as they came, because according to the law, the police were unable to disturb R' Alter in the midst of his praying, and for this reason there was a disturbance in the worship of The Creator (*Gebetstörung*). And there is yet another story about R' Alter: in his old age, at a time when the *Hasidim* had the upper hand, when the Rebbe Issachar-Ber of Belz came to the city, and many of his *Hasidim* gathered from the entire region, they worshiped in the Great Synagogue. R' Alter, whose entourage of Ashkenazim had dwindled in the meantime, was without support for the idea of the desecration of the recital of 'V'Yatzmakh Purkonei' wrought on the prayer. He immediately ran to my uncle Avraham-Yaakov, a young man but Wise – the son of Avner Wildman – who was an uncompromising *Mitnaged*, and shouted in a loud voice in the room with the stairs: 'Avraham-Yaakov, Avraham-Yaakov, Ashkenazic [prayer] is dead!' On hearing this shouting and screaming, all the residents of the house went out in a panic.

R' Alter chose to disgorge his words especially before Avraham-Yaakov, who was twenty years younger than him, because he knew that the zealotness of this young man for *Ashkenaz* and *Mitnagdut* was not diminished from his perspective. In my childhood I heard the following story:

R' Issachar-Ber of Belz came to the evening worship in the Old *Bet HaMedrash*, and as it happened, he chose his table in which Avraham-Yaakov had a permanent seat for his studying. The following day, when the incident became known to Avraham-Yaakov, he called a carpenter to cut down the table.

Avraham-Yaakov was the 'last of the Mohicans' of the *Mitnaged* movement in the city. Those older than him had one-by-one passed away, and in this world of the law, he remained the single soldier in the ranks, fighting the battle of the *Mitnagdim*. During his time, the doors to the [Old] *Bet-HaMedrash* were closed for lack of Torah students from the 'young generation,' and it became a place for prayer only, and the crown of scholarship was taken to itself by the *Kloyz*.

The days of yesteryear in Zolkiew are done and gone, and the present has begun. The city that was once 'sublime' slowly but surely gave up its special character, and has chosen to be a city like all other cities in Galicia of those days. The history of the city in those years will certainly be related by the young people from our ranks. However, it is not possible not to recall the unique character, the 'Sidelined Star,' that generated light for those of the

colorless Zolkiew people in this period – Dr. Benjamin Grill. I had the privilege of being under his aegis during the times I randomly visited Zolkiew in the two decades before it was wiped out [in the Holocaust]. After seven wanderings and failures in the practical world, Dr. Grill returned from the Austrian capitol to his birthplace after the First World War. He strolled about the streets like a remnant, and symbol of what Zolkiew was like in the past. And the citizenry among which he was flung, only a very few had an interest in these remnants and symbols. Grill's outer shell – and his extreme poverty and the way he was going through life – they saw this, but insofar as his inner self – Grill the Wise man, possessing a sensitive soul, the Grill who told of fantasies, and the Grill who, deep in his soul, admired the holy things and the acts of the holy – was known [and understood] by very, very few.

So I turned him over to Dov Sadan, who spared no effort in order to dispel the clouds that covered the 'Sidelined Star' and raised up this wondrous figure from the depths of oblivion by a monograph published in [the newspaper] 'Davar,' and the revelation that in Yiddish, Grill wrote 'Mottl Tokheykha' that was printed in the calendar of Gershon Bader. The story was also translated by Sadan into Hebrew, and published in 'Davar.'

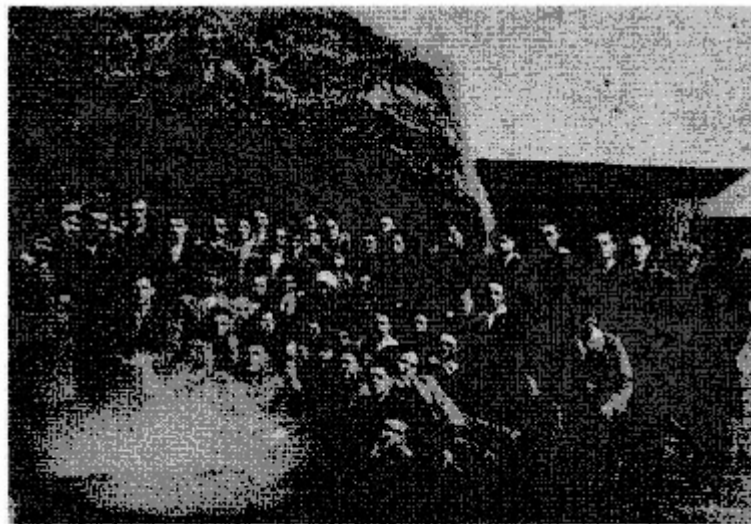
We knew the impact of Grill's stories from what he told us, that fascinated anyone with a soul who heard it, one is a description of Zolkiew when he was a child, or about his family, or on the *Maskilim* of Lvov and Vienna, or on his adventures during the days he served in the Austrian army, etc., etc. I recall one of our encounters at sundown in the city garden during one of the summer listened to Grill's story of his first attendance at the opera in Lvov. During the first days, after leaving the walls of the *Bet HaMedrash* in Zolkiew, doing so to obtain Haskalah in the larger world. The scene on the stage, and the sound of the singing and music could be heard emanating from his words, and like prisoners we walked after him up to the *Bet HaMedrash* for the *Maariv* service. continuing to relate to us the time of the first encounter of a 'trooper' from the *Bet HaMedrash* with the music of the opera. But his book 'Mottl Tokheykha' (the only book of his in print that reached us) it was more that he had it within him to surprise us with the scope of his literary skill, with which he was able to raise the question about general humanity on the firmament of the life of the city, there was enough in him to arouse wondrous uncertainty, when Grill who in our eyes looked like someone who mocks the world and himself. What was revealed to us with this story, that he treasures, deep in his soul, that which is holy and deeds of holiness. The identification of Grill with the hero of his book, R' Mottl, passes like a scarlet thread in all its parts. He with R' Mottl are placed against the congregation as a whole, at the hour that he says to fulfil a deed that he sees as just, let that be the task that is bound up with the Rabbi of that place, or an act which prevents insulting suffering, when they raise him up to the reading of the reproof. He understands R' Mottl as well when he justifies the law to himself. Because one cannot suspect holiness, blessed be he, who carries out a law without a law.' And when he shouts: No doubt I have sinned, I called to Zalman Tchipkineytl and he together with R' Zalman, when he leaves community business and returns to study the *Gemara*, the Maimonides and the *Maharsha*¹⁵⁷

And with a pleasant relation to all of the Mottls in every nook and cranny, it is their responsibility to risk their lives in opposing the *Shratzes* and the *Chipkinezlakh* that rise up against them, and he ends his book with:

'The *shtetl* still stands on the same place, Lipa Shratz is still alive, Zalman Chipkineytl fends for himself, the reproof yet again gets the foot of a porter, but R' Mottl is no longer here.'

¹⁵⁷ A Hebrew acronym for the phrase 'Our Teacher and Rabbi' followed by an acronym of the name of the person being described. In this case it refers to Our Teacher the Rabbi Shmuel Eidels.

It is not only Mottl that is no longer here, but also Zolkiew of yesteryear vanished before its annihilation of its residents by the *Wicked Hand*, and Dr. Grill used a gravestone that remained beloved ever since.



בישיבה בעיר "החלוץ" בזולקייב — סתיו 1931

Passover at the House of the Gaon of Zolkiew

By Mordechai ben Yekhezkiel

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(A tale told by [the author of] *Afikei Yehuda* from the traveling days of the GR" A ה"י)

When the *Gaon*, ה"י was in the Diaspora, on the eve of Passover in his travel, he reached the city of Zolkiew. He came to the *Bet-Din Senior* who was in the city at that time, this being the Rabbi and *Gaon* R' Mordechai Ze'ev Ettinger, and asked to be received as a guest for all the days of the Festival. The Rabbi asked him: 'what is it and what do you want from me, my son, more than other s?' He answered: 'I chose you, my Lord, because I said in my heart that the matzoh and all the fixings for Passover are cherished by him, unquestionably with a *kashrut* stamp, as would befit a great man like him.' So the Rabbi of the city responded to his request, and invited him as a guest for all the days of the holiday. In the evening, when the table was being prepared for the *Seder*, the Rabbi asked him whether or not he wanted to make a *Seder* for himself, or will he be satisfied with this. The *Gaon* answered, and said: 'If this arrangement is proper for my respected Lord the Rabbi, our Sages of yore have already said: everything that the master of the house will say to you, do so accordingly, etc.,' (Tractate *Pesachim* 86, verso side). The *Gaon* took a seat and prepared a plate according to his understanding, two matzohs as was done by the פ"ג, and a few other modifications. When the Rabbi and *Gaon* R' Mordechai Ze'ev saw the modifications that he was applying to well received customs, the matter was wondrous to his eyes. And he could not understand how, a young man like him, would raise his hand to do this to customs that were established in ancient times, to change them according to his will, and do with them what he might choose to do for his own, but since he was a guest he looked, saw and was silent, asking no questions. However when it came time to recite the *Shacharit* prayers in the *Bet HaMedrash*, he related what he had seen with his own eyes to the educated ones of the city, and got a reply. The learned ones heard what the Rabbi said, and they were astonished. It was taken as axiomatic that one who alters accepted practice from what it is supposed to be, that the Rabbi of the city should test him for his learning. And should they find that he is indeed a great Torah scholar, they should let him be, but if not, they will know what to do to him. They will punish him for the arrogance he showed in changing an original custom.

At the midday repast, the Rabbi began to discuss *Torah* matters with him, and pressed upon him to say something about an innovation of his, and he did not respond, so the Rabbi of the city said to him: 'if it is your wish not to speak of some innovation, I am prepared to tell you of an innovation of mine, if you have the ability to grasp these things.' He said nothing, but he nodded with his head as if to say: 'let my Lord speak, because I will hear it.' So the Rabbi began to speak of his innovations, and sharply articulated a casuistry, as was the custom of the Rabbis in that area to do in those days. And the Rabbi of the city thought that certainly he will immediately engage him in the matter at hand, and the guest will try to respond with something, either positively or negatively. Rather, he sat and paid very close attention, and when the Rabbi finished what he was saying, he was silent and said nothing.

When the Rabbi saw that he was not going to open his mouth and not say even a single thing, he got very angry. Out of anger he said to him: 'maybe these things are difficult for you, and you do not understand them yet, accordingly, I will make the effort to repeat them, and to review them for you to hear.' He answered and said: 'why does my Lord choose to exert himself so? Here, I am going to repeat what he said, and I will review his words just as he said them.' And so, as though in the middle of a conversation, he began to recite the things, and to alter them by way of summarizing them, as was his way. And even though he did not add anything new, the Rabbi nevertheless understood from what he said, that his speaking had been absorbed with a clear filter, making use of few words the essence of his sharp casuistry, and that he was a great man. Then his feelings relaxed, and from that hour on, he was treated with respect.

And he spent all the days of Passover at his house, and at the end of Passover, he still lodged there, and early in the morning he arose and went on his way. And when he entered his bedroom in the morning, on the table they found a list of the foods that he had eaten at the Rabbi's house during Passover, together with money to pay for all [his consumption] during the Festival.

Childhood Experiences

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By Ze'ev Reitzes

The method of educating the Jewish children in the city where I was born was strictly traditional. When I was about 4-5 years old, the head of the education to ask me, along with other children, to the *Heder*. Sholom the *Melamed* taught us the alphabet, how to read the *Shema*, and recite blessings. When days passed, I went over to my *Melamed* Joseph Elazar who taught me the *Pentateuch*: This *Heder* was beside the 'Old Garden.' My father was secular, and the Rabbi came to visit him while he was ill, and occasionally would propose a 'medicine.' Two years later, I transferred to learn with the *Melamed* Getzl. There the *Pentateuch* was studied, but with *Rashi* commentary, and also *Gemara*. They began, as is understood, with the portions of '*HaMaftik*' and '*Eylu Metziot*' also studying the tractate of *Kiddushin*¹⁵⁸, and chapters of both the *Psalms* and *Proverbs*. Periodically, an inspector would be sent by the government, who found some shortcoming in the *Heder*, and decreed it should be shut down. When this happened, the *Rebbe* would gather his students to the house of one set of parents and continue teaching. When I was seven years-old, it was an obligation placed on the children to also attend the government school, according to the law of compulsory education in force at that time: This matter put a heavy burden on Jewish education. Every boy, from when he got up before dawn to go to school, was compelled to attend the Polish school in the morning, and in the afternoon, study at the *Heder* until evening. When I was ten years-old, I studied at the *Heder* of Shmuel of Brody, that was opposite the *Bet HaMedrash*. The following sections of the *Talmud* were studied, such as '*Meytav Sadeyhu*' in *Baba Kama*. An exceptional student would be brought by the *Rebbe* on the Sabbath before the Wise Jewish men of the city, and the student would review the *Mishna* he was studying and was treated to the fruits [available on] the Sabbath. A year later, I ceased my studying both at the *Heder* and the government school, because my parents did not have the means to pay the tuition and having no other option I circulated among the students at the *Bet HaMedrash*. Slowly but surely, I became accustomed to study a page of the *Gemara* by myself. As for the rest of the subject matter, I got help from older boys who were going to take tests. During this time, I became friends with my classmate Yitzhak Tzimerman, and his big brother Reuben, who inculcated us with Torah in the course of two years. From him we learned '*Yoreh Deyah*' and '*Khoshen Mishpat*' and we read through a number of tractates [of the Talmud] in a theoretical sense.

Apart from the *Talmud* and its commentaries in the evening at sunset in the '*Bekarim Synagogue*' we studied the Book of Job with deep interest along with the *Malbim* commentary, and the *Mishna* of '*Tiferet Israel*.'

Life went on without any great problems, and life-threatening crises did not assault us. I recall a gathering of the youth of 'the *Bet-HaMedrash* beside the Great synagogue' that was active in the establishment of the '*HaShakhar*' movement. In the expression of the '*HaShakhar*' the comrade Moshe Glinsker participated, and others, and the founder of the movement was Mr. Frankel from Zhuszow. This was the last spark before the flame of learning *Gemara* was extinguished.

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The reader will see a number of references here to chapters in the Talmud, or to related books of Holy Writ.

In the year 5667 I left Zolkiew and came to Lvov. Miraculously, I was able to settle myself in the city, until the idea matured within me to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel. I came to Dr. Hosman to obtain information on how to arrange for the travel through Vienna, and he asked me, and I thinking, God Forbid, of using this to avoid service in the Austrian army? He was a faithful deputy-officer to his homeland. On my way to *The Land*, I visited Dr. Yehoshua Tohun in Krakow, who addressed me in front of his brother Dr. Yaakov Tohun, the manager of the Israeli office in Jaffa, and I was sent to experience the KK"ל¹⁵⁹ at *Bet-Shemen*. However I was not accepted for this work. And as was the way with all the workers, they were concerned to send me to work in the orchards of *Petakh Tikvah*.

For reasons of the situations at that time, in the year 5673, I was compelled to return to Poland to Zolkiew. Inside, when Jewish youth were supposed to enlist for military service. They they would walk around as if they were ascetics of a sort, unfit to serve, and then gather in the *Bet-HaMedrash*, and lift up heavy benches, and would tire themselves out and walk around at night as though they were '*Lusniki*' setting up in the late hours of nighttime, dancing walks to the courtyard of the *Rebbe* of Belz etc., despite all this, I was taken into the army as a private to serve ten weeks in the Legion of Peace in a fortress (Citadel) of Lvov.

In the winter of 5674 peace and tranquility still reigned in the world, and specifically so in Zolkiew; the thinking of the people was firm, and their thoughts were not about turmoil or conflict, and their hearts did not augur that bad things would happen. On one occasion, as I was taking one of my walks in the municipal garden of Zolkiew, my friends Yitzhak Tzimerman and Zimeles ran into me, and they told me the news that the Archduke Franz-Ferdinand was assassinated by a student in Sarajevo. It was clear to me that a war was beginning to draw close. I left the city on my way [back to] Lvov. I ran into Tuvia David, standing on the threshold of his house in the 'suburb' of the city '*the Lemberger Vorstadt*', and he told me that it was possible to cross the border, but I was caught as a result of being informed on, and I was drafted into the Austrian army at the outbreak of the war with Italy, and I was sent to the front. When I had been in the Army about two years and after I had been wounded beside the Pava River in Italy in January 1918, I went through a variety of hospitals in Innsbruck, Prague, Kharkov and came to the city of Zamość, and there I was temporarily discharged. I stopped coming to Zolkiew about two months before the end of the war.

I recall the tour, arranged by the Zionists in Lvov, through the streets of that city. At a rather large public assembly, a Ukrainian spoke, and promised independent autonomy to the Jews of Galicia. But immediately a war broke out between the Poles and the Ukrainians and they inflicted pogroms on the Jews of Lvov. A corps of Polish soldiers reached us, and for several weeks stillness reigned, but it seems that no sufficient strength was left in the city, and on one clear day the Ukrainians attacked. I was in the '*LaB'karim* Synagogue' and the campaign was abandoned in carnage of the stores facing the court building. The Poles retreated and the Ukrainians seized the rulers. Terrifying days came upon us; they seized men from their houses to work on fortifications. And the soldiers went wild. In one gathering that took place in the *Bet HaMedrash* all streams of the city participated, from *Haredim* to *Zionists*. When asked the question of 'orientation' whether to lean towards the Poles or the Ukrainians, a conversation took place among the Judge Fish, Mr. Apfel from the Zionists, and Hanoah Lieberman from the *Haredim*. The situation was still uncertain, but it looked like we were destined for a Jewish Ukrainian fate, unless a pronounced reversal in the struggle between the Poles and Ukrainians developed, and the Polish army overran Eastern Galicia and established a Polish government. At the outset, there were incidents of pogroms by the soldiers of General Haller ז"ל who would tear elderly Jews from the streets, but very, very slowly, life returned to its usual way and was put back in its place.

¹⁵⁹ The Anglicized acronym for *Keren Kayemet L'Israel*, known more commonly as the Jewish National Fund.

Zolkiew In Prior Years

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By Moshe Stern

I left Zolkiew in 1929, and I will recall only a few things that took place years ago:

The city was privileged in the year 1908 to be graced with the presence of the writers Brenner and Schufman, who gave a lot to it. They had to learn the principles of the *Haskalah* in secret, out of sight you understand, because they were the sons of good people and Hasidim, but we found the way.

On one Sabbath occasion at the time of the reading of the Torah, ‘the reading was delayed,’ and R’ Leib Deutscher – the First *Gabbai*, and R’ Ze’ev Lichter – the Second *Gabbai* spoke, and lectured with criticism against the danger that the youth is going toward. And here is what they said: ‘dear friends, the fires of *Gehenna* have been lit around us; and our children, beloved youth, read the sort of books that are ‘*treyf-possul*,’ go to the Zionist Society and listen to the speeches of Dr. Tzipper (from Lemberg Lvov), and it is for us to create suggestions as to how we can get ahead of this evil.’

Therefore in looking over those years, we have to be thankful that there were precious Jews: R’ Berisz Orlander, of the Zhidiczow *Kloyz*, a wondrous scholar; his uncle R’ Baruch Stein, one of the prominent *balebatim* of *Kloyz* of Zhidiczow, a wealthy man and a *Maskil* among his people even prior to a jubilee of years; his brother R’ Nissan Stern, who led services in the *Kloyz* for many years.

And here is a fact, [Aramaic] my father took me to the ‘*Simchat Beyt HaShoeva*’ for the daughter of R’ Nissan Stern, to which the worshipers at the *Kloyz* of Zhidiczow came, and they drank honey mead, in order to bless the cup and to fulfil the mitzvah of pouring water, and then separated themselves with song and dance almost to the time of reciting the morning *Shema* of the *Shacharit* service. And there was a young man there, R’ Joseph Deutscher, a righteous and honest man. R’ Joseph Deutscher drew near to R’ Nissan Stein, and put his hand on his shoulder, kissed him, and said: ‘R’ Nisse’leh let us go to the *mikva*, and we will make an ablution in its waters, and we will weep bitterly until the Messiah comes...’

Zolkiew and its Streets

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By Zutra Rapaport

From within, Zolkiew was a fortified city. Thick and high walls surrounded the city from all points of ingress, and each of them had a watchtower with steeples. The entrance and egress from the city took place through several gates. With the expansion of the city from having only one street and ending the period with these fortifications, the walls were abandoned together with their gates and steeples. Only a sliver of the fortified wall encompassing two gates and a number of their towers, remained until our period and these are historical remnants of the city. The slice of the wall that was left, forms a stone gate for the garden of the castle in the city. There is the gate of *Zvishnicki* (*Zwierzniecka Brama*) Remains in a different section of the wall that is on the southeast side, where according to legend, Czar Szuisky was jailed, who had surrendered to the King of Poland.

A different section of the wall stretches from the east and surrounds the Church and the Dominican monastery. In the northeast corner of the wall, a tower remains on its hill. There are many closed windows in the tower, and an iron flag inside. There are many different legends, the product of the imagination of generations, they avoided this tower, which elicited a terror from the residents, who silently went by it in the night. From the north, the wall stretches according to its original plan during the time of the builders and surrounds the Dominican monastery. From the side of the Royal Castle (*Zamek Królewski*) There was a wall that stretched along a western line and included the Glinski gate, a gate entirely guarded and opened onto the Glinski Street, that led to a village of the same name. There used to be a coal mine there and a factory for fine weaving. These two enterprises sufficed as a branch to the Zolkiew Jews during the Austrian reign.

The royal castle was nevertheless damaged during the generations, but almost in its completed state to this day. On the windows of the castle, Latin were clearly etched in a clear manner. In the last years, a variety of settled there, such as: the Municipal Court, municipal offices, the gymnasium, and the prison that was to be found in one of the towers on side of the castle. The windows of the jail looked out on a municipal and in the middle of everything the voices of the prisoners burst through infiltrated the fresh air, and the base of enchanted garden and vanished rustling of the leaves and chirping of the birds.

The place in the city with the most character and was most popular was name *Rynek Królewski*. It was a wide space, its appearance was almost



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was attended to the writings in institutions municipal the northwest garden, the park, the bars, that among the

known by the four-sided,

surrounded by many different kinds of buildings on all sides, and from it, roads went out in eight directions, to eight streets, those being the most important and well-known in the city. The principal entrance to the royal castle could be found there. This square appears to have functioned during the reign of the King Sobieski, for demonstrations and military marches during public celebrations. In our day, the 'Rynek' served mostly as a center of commerce, surrounded by two-storey buildings, that were supported in their middle section by columns, 'Arcadia' – the remnants of the architecture of earlier periods. These arcades were known by the name of 'potchineh' as they were called by the Jewish residents of the city, and in Polish this was called *podcienie*.¹⁶⁰

Under the arcades, for the full length of the buildings, stores could be found, almost all of them were owned by Jews, and opposite the entrances of the stores and beside them, stood the stalls of the Jewish vendors, who announced their wares in loud voices, and by calling out their virtues. A few times during the week, Christian farmers from the surrounding villages would come, and present the products of their agricultural endeavor for sale in the middle of the square, and at the same time, they would arrange for purchases in the Jewish stores. A number of times during the year, at set dates, a 'Bazaar' was held in the square this being the annual 'Yarid'¹⁶¹. On the same day, the *Rynek* filled up with wagons hitched to horses, leaving no space. During the winter, one saw winter wagons (*senki*) also hitched to horses. Most of the farmers came from the surrounding area, but some also came from a distance, to present the results of their agricultural endeavor for sale, except for cattle who were bought and sold in a different place, outside of the city center. Also the Jewish merchants who were residents of the city, and those that came from outside the city, especially from Lemberg (Lvov) and towns that from an administrative standpoint belonged to the Zolkiew province, such as Kulikovo and Mosty-Wielki, set up their stalls in every free corner that was in the square, and presented their merchandise this way; mostly this consisted of textiles, decorated, for work, gilded, and silvered, as well as various forms of drink. The 'Bazaar' Day contributed a great deal to the economy of the city. It enlarged the income of the city residents, and substantially so for the Jewish merchants. This 'Bazaar' went on from the early morning hours until late at night.

There were a number of times when the management of the city, which was mostly Christian, were preparing to cancel this commerce in this royal square and transform it into a place for pleasure gardens and areas for growing vegetables. But thanks to the involvement of the Jewish officials in the city council, this decree was deferred each time, and it was in this way that the earnings of the Jews of the city was rescued from being dispossessed. After the annexation of the city to Soviet Russia, after the Second World War, the plan to implement the planting of a public garden in the square was apparently realized, seeing that there was no longer any need to be concerned about the income of the Jews...

The Jews of the city got their water supply from wells that were found in many yards, but at the end of the 19th century, a well-known fountain pool was created by the city in one part of the *Rynek* to supply water. The water flowed to this fountain from the familiar fountain called 'belink,' that was located in the mountains of the well-known forest of the city called the 'Re'i,' The fountain also provided water to a number of pools in the corners of the city, and water carriers would divide up the water each morning and deliver it to the residents. The fountain of water that was in the center of the city, more accurately stated, in the front of the castle, was created out of a pool that was surrounded by a railing. In the middle of the pool stood a large statue of the 'Holy Mother' with a splendid tiara, and during holidays, the statue was lit up. At the feet of the statue there were four pipes connected to the four sides

¹⁶⁰ An Italianate architectural feature of a structure. For more details see 'The Zamość Memorial Book.'

¹⁶¹ A fair.

of the pool, and the water streamed ceaselessly day and night. This water was called '*schloss wasser*' (the water of the castle) and was the freshest and coldest water of all, and the most savory in the city.

As previously noted, the space was surrounded on two sides by buildings, in which there were stores, and the other two sides were filled with historical buildings which were, the royal castle and the 'Fahrah' Catholic Church. This was a gigantic church built in the form of a cross, all of whose interior walls were covered in marble, a rare thing in those times. Large oil paintings looked down from the interior of these walls, painted by artists of note. These pictures portrayed the battles fought by the founder of the city, Hetman Stanislaw Zolkiewski, and the descendants of the King Jan III Sobieski, and especially a portrait of the Poles fighting against the [Ottoman] Turks in 1620, in which the founder of the city, Stanislaw Zolkiewski, died a hero's death in battle. The coffins of the founder of the city and that of his wife, his daughter and the family of her husband Danielewicz, were interred in the church. Beside the church altar there are statues of the founder of the city, his wife, his son and daughter. Following the request of the mother a Latin sentence was carved into the statues in gold: 'We hope that from our bones an avenger of our death will rise up.' This prayer became a reality in the year 1683 when the King, Jan III Sobieski [of Poland], the great-grandson of Zolkiewski, the founder of the city, defeated the [Ottoman] Turks at the gates of Vienna, the capitol of Austria¹⁶². Opposite the entrance to the church the giant Turkish flag stood straight, in the color red, and in the middle a crescent moon with a star in the color yellow. King Jan III Sobieski seized the flag in a battle with the Ottoman Turks during the Turkish siege of Vienna. Beside the flag, a small table stood with a marble cover, and on it was a copper coffee urn that, in its day, was the personal property of the Turkish Vizier, and was brought (here) by King Sobieski. The graves of the Zolkiewski family are to be found in the church cellar. The ashes of the Hetman Zolkiewski were in a marble casket and on the entry door to the grave, the following words are carved: 'How good and pleasant it is to die for the mother country.' In a different location, the following words were carved: 'At a place where the flock fell, let the shepherd also fall.' These writings served as an educational challenge for generations of school students, who periodically would visit the church. In the wide space in front of the church, there was a statue of the King Jan III Sobieski with the following words carved on it: 'to the King Sobieski, protector of the nation and Christianity.'

A part of the castle that is outside the walls appears to have served as wing of a barracks for the king's guard. It was destroyed hundreds of years ago, restored anew, and a tall watchtower was built on it, in which there were some offices of the city. The building was called '*Ratusz*.' From the previously mentioned tower, there was one of the city fire-fighters, every day at 12 o'clock in the afternoon, trumpets were blown towards the four roads of the city. The castle in its entirety took up a very large area, surrounded by thick and high walls, having watchtowers at all of its corners. The tall (est) tower was to be found over the primary gate of entry. The castle had a square shape, and the inner buildings abutted the wall, and because of this a large yard was created inside: these structures stood neglected for generations, and became historical artifacts for visitors to see – in our time, the buildings were refurbished and improved in appearance, and served the use of a variety of municipal institutions.

¹⁶² The victory at Vienna set the stage for the re-conquest of Hungary and (temporarily) some of the Balkan lands in the following years by Louis of Baden, Maximilian Emmanuel of Bavaria and Prince Eugene of Savoy. The Ottomans fought on for another 16 years, losing control of Hungary and Transylvania in the process before finally desisting. The Holy Roman Empire signed the Treaty of Karlowitz with the Ottoman Empire in 1699. The battle marked the historic end of Ottoman imperial expansion into Europe.

As we have recalled, eight streets emanated from the central *Rynek*, and these were: *ul. Bazyliańska*, a short and narrow street, in which there were a number of Jewish and Christian run stores. At the beginning of the street, stood the Ukrainian store known as ‘*Soyuz*,’ a supply store that the Ukrainians established to compete with the Jewish stores. The Ukrainians also managed an initiative against making purchases from Jewish stores. This store was managed by the people of ‘*undu*’ (A.N.D.), an independent Ukrainian organization, which worked against Polish rule. At the edge of this street was the Greek-Orthodox Church of the *Bazyliańi* arranger. In a number of houses at the end of the street there was a Ukrainian printing shop. From the street, steps led up to the hill, in which the children of the city would sleigh on small winter sleds. North of the stairs lay the suburb of Vynnyky, that was on a boundary with the fields outside the city.

The second street: *ul. Piekarska* (the bakers’ street), was a long street that was inhabited entirely by Jews on one side. There were one-storey buildings on the street; after the street was at the descent of the hill the entrance to houses from the street was by stairs. There were three synagogues on this street, one of them was counted among the large and new buildings of the city, and was called: ‘The *Belz Kloyz*,’ the *Yeshiva* of Belz. The voices of young men emanated from the *Kloyz-Yeshiva* day and night, along with the melodies that accompanied their study of Torah and *Gemara*, and a light shone in this synagogue for the entire night. The dress of these Yeshiva students was unique: Long black *kapotes*, hats of skull caps on their heads, and long sidelocks adorned their faces. Another synagogue was ‘*Die Lubeler Kloyz*’. It was a long, narrow corridor that during the week served as a ‘*Heder*’ for the study of Torah from the melamed called ‘*Mitch’eh Melamed*.’ There was almost not a single Jewish youth that didn’t attend at least a ‘semester’ with ‘*Mitch’eh Melamed*.’ He would inculcate Torah to the Jewish children with a ‘*kanchik*’ (a discipline rod) that never left his hand. This synagogue had an amazing part to it, that the Fogel family lived in it. At the edge of the street, there was an alley in which the *Zhidiczow Kloyz* could be found. This was a unique structure, not large, but it had many worshipers, that were prominent in the city. During the thirties, this bakers’ street was called the I. L. Peretz Street, following the proposal of the Jewish *Parnassim* of the city on the municipal council, in honor of the highly regarded author.

The synagogue street, *ul. Bożnica* would lead to the bakers’ street and continued close to it. The houses on this street had two-storeys and comprised the commercial center of the city. There you would find textile stores, building supplies, leather goods, decoration items, and several stalls for the sale of vegetables and fruits. In a number of these houses, their owners and families were engaged in a retail business, such as making brushes, ropes, hats, etc. At the end of *ul. Bożnica* was the place of the Great Synagogue known for having been erected during the time of the reign of King Jan III Sobieski, with his permission, in the year 1687, a synagogue famous throughout Poland, built like a fortified barbican. Near the Great Synagogue was a different house of prayer, having two storeys, called the ‘*Bet-HaMedrash*.’ This place also served as a lodging place for all the poor of the city, including water-carriers. The location was lit up all night and closed up. It was here that those who worshiped at the Great Synagogue would invite ‘guests’ on the Sabbath for lunch. Behind the Great Synagogue, you could find the bathhouse, which included a ritually pure *mikva*. Despite the primitive trappings of the bathhouse, it accommodated an important community segment, and it was there that the Rabbi and most of the residents of the city would flock to on Friday, to enjoy the famous ‘*shvitz*,’ which cured all ills.

The Great Synagogue, as we have preciously mentioned, was built in the form of a fortified square that is supported by internal and external pillars. It was a gigantic building that could be seen from all points in the city, a building full of grace and majesty, showing the pride of Zolkiew Jews on it. The Synagogue served as a defensive fortress, built to withstand and defend against an enemy that had penetrated the gates of the city. A high railing was built on the rook with low points and openings to accommodate cannons and point them at the enemy. In addition watchtowers were built at each of its four corners. In the center, the building was very tall, build on two sides with two-storey buildings, and this was at the behest of the King Sobieski, in

order to shield the synagogue from the street. These buildings had entry gates that led to the center of the synagogues and to the higher floors and the upper floors [also] served as a prayer place for the women – *Ezrat Nashim*. The ground floor had a cellar which served as a *geniza* for discarded sacred writings (*'shamot'*). In the dividing wall that separated the women's area and the large prayer hall, there were closed windows through which the praying of the congregation [below] could be heard.

Whoever entered the synagogue had a beautiful and spectacular view revealed before his eyes, all of which spoke of reverence and holiness. During the term of Yehuda Harbester as the *Gabbai* of the Synagogue, the front of the Synagogue, which underwent a thorough inspection, was renovated. The frescoes were renovated, that were up at beautiful heads of the columns that supported the ceiling of the Synagogue, the walls were covered with images that were faithful to themes drawn from the sayings in the *Tanakh* and the *Talmud*. The eastern wall was especially beautiful. There, by the stairs leading up to the Holy Ark, there was a menorah made of copper. On the top of the Ark, around this window picture, there was a picture of the Leviathan, in the color of oil, holding his tail in his mouth and would be liberated, according to legend, only at the time when the *Messiah* will come. The ceiling of the Synagogue was supported by four pillars, in the center of the hall, and it was in this way that the hall was divided into nine equal sections. In the center of four columns, stood the *Bima* (*Belemer*) and two sets of stairs from two sides let up to it. A reading table stood at the center of the *Bima*, for reading of the portion of the week. On the table a section of leather was spread, such that when it was struck, the sound could be heard throughout the synagogue. This striking the leather was meant to orient the attention and focus of the worshipers, to center themselves on prayer or to be prepared to listen to the reading of the Torah. The *Bima* was surrounded by an iron gate etched in a religious fashion. Benches were set in place in the hall, with stands for prayer. A white eagle was drawn on the eastern wall with a crown on its head, a symbol of the country of Poland. In the ceiling were copper chandeliers hung from copper chains in honor of the lighting of the candles. One chandelier beside the eastern wall served at the place for an eternal light. It was only during Sabbaths and Festival Holidays that this Synagogue was used. During the regular days of the week, the synagogue hall was halfway closed. A small *minyán* would pray in one of the side rooms called the '*Rashi Shtibl*.' The Synagogue would occasionally also be used at times for gatherings that had memorial services, for example as the memorial service on 20 Tammuz, the *Yahrzeit* of Theodore Herzl. It also served for a Zionist assembly at the occasion of the opening of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, when the international Zionist flag fluttered from the walls of the Synagogue, and this without the permission of the government. During the decade of the twenties, the synagogue street was called *ul. Sobieski*.

The *Turyniecki Place* (*pl. Turyniecki*) spread out north of the synagogue. During the time of the fairs, this was the place where the farmers from the surrounding area would congregate. Various entertainment groups would pitch their tents there, among them were the first motion picture that reached the city, the circus, carousels, and all manner of entertainment. A different square bordered on the [fortified] wall, which surrounded the Dominican monastery. In this square, a wooden flag of the fire-fighters fluttered, which also served for carrying out a variety of fire drills. As to the children of the city, this tower served as a place for play, for climbing to heights. In yet another square was the center of 'carriages' of the extensively-branched Wolf family. These carriages served the populace in all manner of transportation around the city. Jews lived at the beginning of *ul. Turyniecka*, but there were only Christians at the end. In the nearby village of Turynka, that was populated entirely by Christians, a few Jewish families lived there. *Pl. Turyniecki* served as part of the ghetto created by the Nazis, for Zolkiew Jewry.

The principal street in the city was the Lvov Street (*ul. Lwowska*). It was on this street that the youth of Zolkiew would stroll to take pleasure, especially in the evenings. On Sabbaths, adults also would take walks, the walks on this street were both going and coming, and they used to say: 'we are measuring the street.' Jewish youth confined its contact with other Jews, because Christian youth walked this street as well. This street served as the 'Course' of

the city. There were both Jewish and Christian stores on this street, but mostly there were institutional buildings on the street. At the beginning of the street, in a two-storey building, were the municipal offices and the city police. During the decade of the thirties, the city offices transferred to its new building, the 'Ratusz,' that was located in the historical 'Kazamtim' building. After the municipal offices left the Lvov Street, the Jews succeeded in obtaining permission to use the former offices, and a Jewish cultural meeting place was opened there called 'Kultur Verein.' This was a meeting place of youth and adults where they discussed the issues of the day, to read newspapers, to loaning a book, to be read from the library of the organization, to hear talks regarding possible get-togethers of comrades. On this street, in a two-storey building called 'pudsienies' were the offices of the council of the Jews of Zolkiew, and sittings of the council took place in one of the halls, and were occasionally open to the public at large. Beside the building in which the 'Kultur Verein' was, a narrow street opened. This was *ul. Krawiecka*, the Tailors' Street. This street, populated by Jews, various craftsmen lived, such as: tailors, tinsmiths, locksmiths, shoemakers, and makers of fur umbrellas, etc. Past the arcade buildings on the Lvovska Street was a church on *ul. Turyniecka*, this being the large and magnificent Church of the Dominicans where the townsfolk would receive honored guests who would visit such as: the Catholic Archbishop. The residents of the city received him as was their custom, with bread and water. And the Jews held a Torah scroll. After the Archbishop heard the various blessings, he kissed the Torah scroll. This was a very important occasion, and much talking was done and contributed to the worth of the Jews in the city, which echoed and spread in the vicinity and served as personal encouragement to the Jews for a long time.

Close to the Dominican church on the Lvovska Street, was a three-storey building facing two centers. One was to *ul. Berko Joselowicza*. This building served as an elementary school in the city, in which Jewish and Christians learned together but had gender separation. Most of the pupils were Jewish, and the teachers were all Christians, except for the religion teacher, Mr. Waltuch, an assimilated Jew. Next to this school we referred to was a church on *ul. Niezabitowska* populated by Jews and Christians together, a long and narrow street, parallel to the Lvovska Street, having wooden sidewalks. The houses were small, but the house of the family of Shmuel Katz stood out. Opposite the elementary school, on the way down, was a street called *ul. Berko Joselowicza*. Named for a Jewish hero who fought in the Polish war of independence in the 19th century. This was a street in which there were many empty parcels. On that same street, the office of the well-known dentist, Dr. Tirk could be found, he was an unmarried Jewish man, old and infirm, but a good-hearted man who did good deeds. Continuing along the street, there was a building that housed the Union of Christian Craftsmen, 'Gwiazda' (Star). In this building there was a large hall that was made available to the Jews to put on plays, but especially for bands that came from outside the city. A variety of celebratory events were held in this hall such as balls, festivals and weddings. Opposite the *Gwiazda* building was the saloon of Mr. Brod, where the city youth would gather occasionally to arrange balls with rapid dances. This street ended at a corner of *ul. Lanikiewica*.

The condition of the *Talmud Torah* in the city, in the opinion of the community in the city, was run down, the level was pedagogically and spiritually – low, and the curriculum foundation was unsettled, and sanitary conditions, as was the case in ordinary *Heders*, did not make sense, and were very bad. There was considerable neglect. The sanitation inspectors, considering the health in the town would come each Monday and Thursday to inspect the condition of cleanliness. This was not with the intent of fixing it, but here and there, they would close a *Heder* for a period of time and in this way caused a flaw in Torah study. It was only after efforts were made [to clean up] that they would open it again anew. In general, the government cast a stern eye on these *Heders*, because of the boycott of the government schools by the *Haredim* who refused to let their sons attend there.

From *ul. Berko Joselowicza*, we entered *ul. Szpitalna*. Its name apparently came from the fact that the hospital was found at the edge of this street. This was a narrow street, parallel to *ul. Lwowska*,

with wooden sidewalks, held up by two wide boards like on *ul. Niezabitowska*. Only Jews lived on this street, and there were a number of shops, carpentry, shoemaking, and especially shops for working with fur. During the decade of the thirties, the street was named after the familiar city doctor, Dr. Muszket. Following on to *ul. Lwowska*, after the elementary school, there were one-storey houses, who, in their center had ornamental gardens, and orchards of trees. For the length of the street, there were two rows of growing chestnut trees. The family of the Rabbi Rabinowitz lived in one of the houses, a recognized persona in the city. Near to his house was a simple prayer house, a place where his *Hasidim* could worship. Even the progressive youth was in the habit of coming to the house of the Rabbi on the evening of the *Seder* to hear his recitation of the Passover *Hagadah*. On the second side of the street was the Christian Order of the '*Women of Plicianki*.' A small church and residential houses comprised the monastery, and most of the nuns were involved in teaching in the school of the monastery itself. This was a school for the daughters of exclusive families, and even strictly observant Jews preferred to send their daughters to this school. At the edge of *ul. Lwowska*, was a large suburb which was called '*Die Lemberger Verstadt*', and from here the principal road began, leading to the city of Lvov. There were tens of Jewish families that lived here. There were factories for production of oil belonging to the families of the Melmans, Patrontacz and Reitzfeld, a large inn belonging to the Indyk family, and the wood warehouses of the Mendl family, Britwitz and Tauba (one of his sons David Tuviahu, was the first leader of the city of Beersheba).

An orphanage was erected on the same street, for the orphans of the surrounding area, at whose head stood the '*Radsa*¹⁶³' Ignacy Fish and a number of the city dignitaries, having the goal of keeping the orphans occupied and also to train them in a professional education. In that same house, a trade school was founded for sewing, and weaving, as a branch to the trade schools for girls, founded by Mrs. Klafin from Lvov. Girl orphans, along with daughters from various sections of the city learned there. In this previously mentioned orphanage, there was a large hall and it contained a stage with a red curtain. The hall was used to present theatrical plays by the Zolkiew dramatic group, founded by Meir Melman. Bands from outside the city also performed in this hall, as were the bands of the workers' union, and craftsmen of the city. Assemblies were organized for this previously mentioned hall. As a focal point for culture, annually they would put on balls for Purim and Hanukkah, 'The Purim Ball' and the 'Hanukkah Ball,' whose revenues were dedicated to the *Keren Kayemet*. Even the Zolkiew academics would arrange balls there. Occasionally, weddings were arranged there. Not far from the orphanage, and after '*Die Lemberger Verstadt*' the built up portion of the street ended, including two Christian cemeteries, an old one which was closed, and the second allocated to two of the communities of Christians together. The soldiers that fell in battle during the first World War, were interred there.

Beyond the cemeteries, an open area can be found, and a grove named '*Boork*', to where the last of the Jews of Zolkiew were exiled, and exterminated by the Nazi and Ukrainian murderers. When the war ended, the Soviet city erected a memorial monument on the mass grave of the last of the Jews of Zolkiew.

The street, *ul. Zwirzyniecka*, began from the *Zwirzyniecki* gate, one of the two gates that remains from the ancient wall that fortified the city. On this side street, the part where a part of the old wall was preserved, there are small but pleasant houses of the families of Jonah Shapiro, Fishl Hammerling and Nathan Apfel. The



רחוב לניקעוויצא עם שער זװירזניעקא

Page 291: The Lanikiewicza Street with the Zwirzyniecki gate

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Landau family also erected a large, new building. On one side of the referenced street, the passage leads to the *Rynek*, '*Faszh Zuvl*' named for the Zuvl family.

The entrance to *ul. Lanikiewicza* was through the *Zwierzywiecki* gate, or the road near the gate. On this street, the tallest building and largest in the city stood out, '*the Finance Directorate*,' which managed the finances. Along the length of the street there was a barracks, a row of houses two storeys high, that served the Austrian army and afterwards the Polish (army). Between these houses was an expansive building the '*Reitschule*' a school for the cavalry branch of the army. At the edge of these houses a giant house stood out, and at one time the Count Kinski lived here, a close family relative of the Austrian Kaiser Franz Joseph (I). Opposite the directorate was a small squad of the Countess Kalinowska (a famous family in Polish history). In the middle of the squad was the building of the city newspaper. Nearby long streets fanned out and the municipal garden '*Wali-Królewskie*' where batteries of the king left since the days of Zolkiewski and Sobieski, were there, it seems, to bolster the wall and its columns. In this garden, garden parties were held, bazaars, '*festiny*'¹⁶⁴ and revenues were dedicated th *Keren Kayemet*, *Keren HaYesod* and sometimes to help out the pioneers (*halutzim*) that made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel. Old men and women rested in this garden after work, enjoying the fresh air and from conversation with friends. A beautiful building stood at the south entrance of the garden that served as a place of sports for the Polish school, the '*Sokol*' (*The Hawk*). The building had been constructed in the ancient Greek style, with impressive columns in its center. There were presentations by Christian and Jewish bands in the hall of the '*Sokol*.' Several times a week, the only movie picture presentations in the city were shown here. Inside the building there was a variety of sporting equipment. Before the principal entrance to the building, among the flowers and bushes, a memorial had been erected to the Unknown Soldier from the day of the First World War.

If you continued on *ul. Lanikiewicza* , after passing '*Targowica*,' in which occasionally the fairs were day, the square and the adjacent parcels filled up with commerce went on from early in the morning until late at night. On days when there was no market, the land parcel served to pasture cattle.

On the area of the '*Targowica*' there was also a three soccer teams in Zolkiew, one a mix of enough to compete in games with the surrounding more popular players on the team was the guard well-known. The second team named Jewish players. This team had been organized '*Nordia*' was organized by the BETAR youth. The known Yekhiel Rapaport, who occasionally



בנין ה'סוקול' מועדון הספורט הוצרי שכלל אולם לבידור
Page 292: The '*Sokol*' Building, the Christian Sports Center, that also Included an Entertainment Hall.

the '*Sokol*' you reached the gigantic parcel of the held, for the sale and purchase of livestock. On a market with cows, wagons, foals, horses and oxen, and late at night. On days when there was no market, the land

sports field for the soccer teams of the city. There were Christians and Jews called '*Lubicz*.' This team was strong towns, among them the Capitol city of Lvov. One of the Hank Wachs, son of the doctor, Dr. Wachs, who was '*Khashmonaeh*' (Hasmoneans) was composed of only especially by the academic youth. The third team, player that was the spirit of this team, was the well-appeared as a guest player in the '*Maccabi*' team of Lvov.

¹⁶⁴ Festivals

The soccer players of Zolkiew were very popular, and attracted hundreds of spectators, Jews and Christians alike, to the sports field during competitions.

The railroad street *ul. Kolejowa*, was one of the gathering place and relaxation to the citizenry of the both sides of the street, wooden sidewalks and paths were constructed only on one side of the street, almost and well-tended gardens. Most of these residences intelligentsia, lawyers, doctors, judges, government occupied by the family of the engineer Lichtenberg, street led to the train station whose run went on day direction of Lvov, Warsaw, that went by way of station served as an 'attraction' to the city residents, to know who had left the city. Ten of people walked from it, and practically, this street was an extension side of the street, was the municipal park. This was ornamental gardens. This park spread out and various corners of the park. Paths and overpasses -



חולצת משפחת המהנדס ליכטנברג ברחוב הרכבת

the garden, and in one corner stood a statue of the founder of the city. The municipal park was a meeting place for Jewish youth and a place for children to play. On Sabbaths and Festival Holidays, even the adults found themselves a place for rest and conversation. A wooden bridge was built over the river in the center of the garden, that split the garden in half. There was no light in the garden at night.

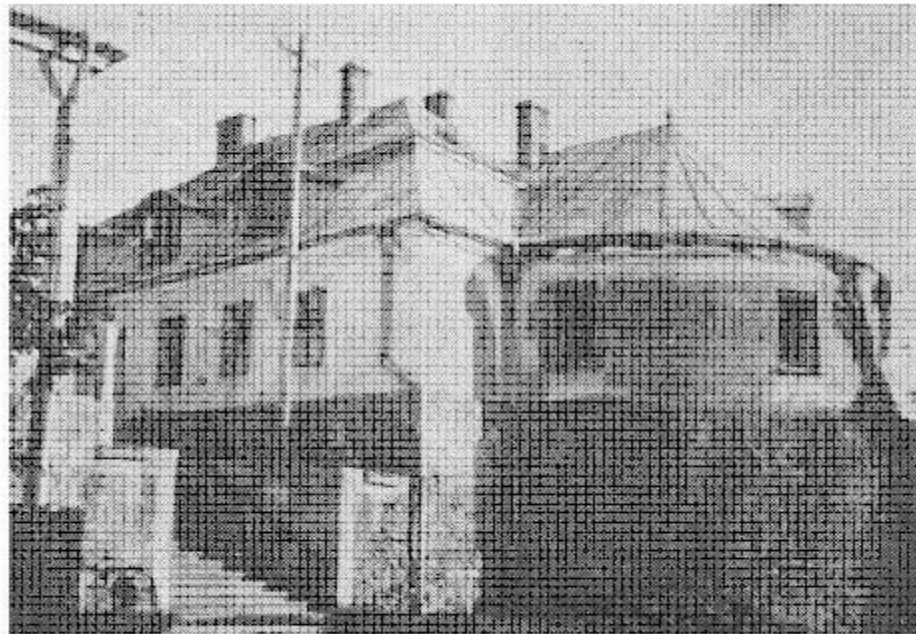
nicest and cleanest streets in the city, and served as a city who came to rest in the shadow of the redolent trees. On were built that ran for the full length of the street. Buildings all of them new, as a sort of squad??, surrounded by pretty were inhabited by Christian families, most from the local appointees and military officers. One of these houses was one of the activists in the Zionist movement in the city. This and night with a number of cars, carrying freight in the Zolkiew, and therefore via Rawa-Ruska, Belz, etc.; The train and they would go there to receive those coming by train, or the street, especially the youth in the direction of the train, or of the 'Corso' from *ul. Lvovska*. On the second and unbuilt a large and well-tended garden, full of trees, bushes and surrounded the royal castle. Tens of benches were put up in took people in various directions through the broad area of

The street, *ul. Glinski* was the last street of the eight streets that led to the *Rynek* square. A road emanated from this street that led to the nearby village of Glinski (from which the name of the street is derived). One entered the street by way of the gate nicknamed *Brama Glinska*, one of two gates, whose remnants go back to the fortified wall that protected the city. This was a wide gate, with three statues on its top, images of heads, and beneath the statues there is an insignia of the royal Sobieski family. At the side of the gate, a strong steel chain was pitched into the ground, apparently part of the chains that were used at one time to raise or lower the bridge over the river that flowed close to the wall. This river, called the 'Swinia' (a 'pig') divided the city of Zolkiew in half. This was a small river and not particularly deep, but during the season of the thawing of the snow, there were days where one could cross along its sides. The bridge over the river, close to the Glinski gate was the largest and strongest bridge among the five bridges across the river in the middle of the city. *Brama Glinski* was the longest street in the city. On one side there was only a sidewalk for pedestrians, and high trees lined it. At the beginning of the street, was a barracks for the Polish army, and the sixth cavalry unit. Most of the residents on this road, up to the crossroad that led to the village of *Wola Wysocka* were Christians, mostly Ukrainians. There was a barrier ('*Rugtka*') that was raised only after the payment of a tax fee to the city, used to fortify the ways from all vehicular traffic that came to the city. The tax was paid during decades and was in the hands of a Jewish family named Schlusser, that lived close to the barrier. From the barrier in the direction of the village tens of Jewish families lived. An independent Jewish suburb was developed there that had stores, workshops and also its own synagogue. Thus suburb was known by the name: '*Die Glinsker Verstadt*'. There was a glass factory to be found further along the length of the street. During the decade of the thirties, a training group of '*HeHalutz Dror*' was close to the glass factory, whose members found work in this factory. After a time, the name of the street was changed from *ul. Glinski* to *ul. Pilsudski*.

The Cemetery

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The cemetery was located at the edge of Vynnyky. The cemetery was spread out and was surrounded by a tall wall. entrance to the inside of the cemetery. 'This is the gate to the Lord, (only) the entry gate, the watchman of the the midst of the cemetery, a room of This cemetery had been in existence in the time that a Jewish community has to find headstones from the 17th and



בית עתיק ברחוב זיליאנסקה

Page 295/6: *An Ancient House on the Zilianska Street*

of the city, close to a village called all over a very large area of land, Only one gate was there to permit Above the gate, a sign proclaimed: righteous can enter it.' Next to the cemetery lived in a small room. In purification could be found in a hut. Zolkiew for hundreds of years from been founded there. It was possible 18th centuries. These headstones

were bent over, and sunk deeply over the course of generations, and one would lean against the other, and it was very difficult to get near any of them. The place was untended, and access to the graves was made possible only by way of very narrow paths. Upon entry into the cemetery, black marble gravestones stood out, which were the headstones of the Cuker family. This cemetery was available to Jews of the vicinity as well, who brought their dead in wagons harnessed to horses, to be buried in Zolkiew. When this cemetery became full, there was a need to enlarge it. And for this purpose, a parcel of land was added to it, acquired from the farmers of Vynnyky, which was close to the cemetery wall, the parcel grew larger and the gate had to be moved. They would say, in the city, in those days that in the World to Come it is possible to delineate justice, and the proof was – those who at one time were buried near the wall (we have lost knowledge of those that died an unnatural death) suddenly found themselves in the middle of the cemetery..

Ha'Re'i ¹⁶⁵

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One of the surroundings that was most beautiful in by the city of Zolkiew was called the 'Re'i' This mountain was entirely taken up (with greenery) and at its base were natural fields of grass, stands of trees, and groves. The green color was dominant during the summer. In the winter a white snow covered the trees and bestowed upon the surroundings a grace and beauty. According to legend, the Polish King Jan Sobieski visited this place and he was so impressed by its beauty, that he called out: 'Ho! Re'i'¹⁶⁶! From that time on, the area was called 'HaRe'i', inferring that it was the Garden of Eden. Roads and paths led to it from all parts of the city. On Sabbaths and Festival Holidays, Jewish people were drawn to this natural park notwithstanding its distance from the city. Jewish youth would hold their weekly Sabbath gatherings in this bosom of nature, groups upon groups of pioneering young people would conduct their conversations among the groves. One of the pleasures of 'HaRe'i' and its forest, was to pick strawberries, others competed in the collection of 'konbalyot', flowers that had a strong, pleasant fragrance.

At the foot of the mountain a fountain opened, and around it, a circular structure was put up and it was a semi-circle called the 'Blinik'. This fountain served as a source of water, that was transported to the city by pipes and from there, the water carriers would draw the water and bring it to the homes of the residents. The 'Blinik' served as a meeting place that were set as a place to meet by those who scheduled such a meeting. They came to the *Blinik* to drink the fresh water from the fountain, and to fortify themselves for a stroll through the forest. In the middle of the forest, several kilometers from 'HaRe'i' on the top of the mountain, there was a double row of tall pine trees that had been planted centuries ago. It is said that these trees were planted by King Jan Sobieski himself, and therefore, in Polish, this was called 'Sobieski's Avenue.' To the Jews it was known as the 'The Two Rows of Trees.' This was a meeting place for the Jewish youth of the city.

¹⁶⁵ Translator's note: The original text shows this as 'HARAJ.' We choose the more pronounceable English version

¹⁶⁶ Look! See!

Group upon group would come here to eat and spend time. There was [also] a fountain here, and a number of houses in which Christian families lived. In 1908 the author Y. Kh. Brenner lived here. The forest of 'HaRe'i' stretched out for a long, long distance, and at its end there were field of vegetables and a magnificent view.



This is what Zolkiew looked like according to my memory, a place I left over thirty years ago. There were other small and narrow streets, alleys and overpasses, for no purpose. That was the way my city was, there I was born and grew up, and there my parents' home stood. Bright figures of that time rise in my vision, tranquil residents that earned their living by commerce and labor, Jewish youth organized into movements, full of life and vibrant, planning to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, to fulfil the goals of their lives, to build and to be rebuilt.

Their lives came to an end in the middle, only few succeeded to flee the inferno. The city of Zolkiew, the sublime city, no longer exists and had been erased from the map, even its name has been erased and the Soviet Russian régime gave it a new name.

With this, let us erect a memorial monument to underscore the memory of the precious martyrs, our parents, brothers and friends. Their memory will never leave our hearts for all eternity.

Zolkiew in the Eyes of a Writer

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By Sh(olom) An-ski

(From His Book: The Destruction of the Jews of Poland, Galicia and Bukovina)

While in Lvov, I became aware that Dr. Lander was in Zolkiew, and I traveled there. I arrived in Zolkiew during a fierce snowstorm, that almost hid the place from my view. Despite this, I obtained the impression, from my first glance, that this was a town that was wondrous of its kind. Its appearance was like that of an museum containing ancient relics. There were wrecked places, old castles, ancient fortified walls, large gates, historical buildings and memorial headstones. There is an ancient synagogue there, and as was made known to me, it is tied to historical legends about wars in Russia, going back to [Czar] Peter the Great. In this synagogue there are paintings done by the famous artist Rubens. In the city square there is a memorial monument to the King, Jan Sobieski, I believe. I especially paid attention to the fact that the lettering on the monument had been erased. I was told



ה'בלניק', מארבע עינים המים על "הראי" שהוזרם לעיר
(בזמנו: אידה פייער)

Page 297/298: The 'Blink, a stock of the waters on the *Re'i* that flowed into the city. (In the Picture: Ida Feier)

afterwards, that the Russian commandant of the city, who had received an order to destroy all the signs in the Polish language, ordered the erasure of this Polish sign as well.

The war over the Polish language in Zolkiew caused an unexpected impact on the Jewish language (sic: Yiddish), but the commandant forbade the use of the Polish language in the various diaries, and on its currency. The heads of the community were dismayed, and did not know what to do. 'We hear the Russian language spoken – they argued before him – and if not in the Polish language, which language shall we use to arrange our diaries and letters?' But are you not Jews, and you have the ability to do these documents in Yiddish' – the commandant replied.

It was, in this way, that Yiddish became used as a real language in the community.

I was saddled with a difficult effort to find Dr. Lander, since it was not comfortable for me to visit him in the hospital in which he worked, and so we decided to meet in the city by pharmaceutical salesman who was the head of the local Jewish first-aid society.

Lander made a very positive impression on me. Even though he was quite occupied, with his work as a doctor, he did not take his mind off issues that affected the Jewish residents for one minute. Twice a week, he would travel to Lvov in connection with issues connected to the local council, and also visited the remaining Jewish settlements in the area. He worked out a complete schedule of assistance for the Jewish populace in Galicia, he came with currency exchange with an assistance committee in Petersburg and Kiev, and demonstrated in his work judicious commitment and dedication. In great detail, he explained to me the details of the dispute he had with Diamant regarding the establishment of a genuine aid committee.

'We must maintain, with all our might, adherence to the fundamental principle that we have the force to found a real first aid committee, that will find itself under the supervision of the committees in Petersburg and Kiev – he said to me – we will then be able to grow and enlarge its work and to receive substantial amounts of money. It is necessary to convince Diamant that he should agree to be the Chairman of the committee. This is sorely needed.'

The members of the 'Uncivilized Division' who played a musical instrument and is called '*Dirina*' – Dr. Lander explained to me – came here yesterday as a large part of the 'Uncivilized Division,' to rest here for a number of days. Their arrival deferred the rest of the citizenry of the city.

I went outside and saw this scene: Riding on about small, but strong horses, were about fifty or sixty soldiers, being Asian in appearance, and their eyes were slanted. They were dressed in Caucasian jackets, and on their backs red borders moved. In front of them, was one carrying the '*Dirina*' insignia, and behind him two were dancing to the melody of the music. The faces of all of them were framed in rest, and inner depth, as if these were military ceremonial dances. Jewish storekeepers looked at them from all directions, with their faces ignited by fear. Some hurried to close their stores.

The 'Uncivilized Division' fulfilled a very important role in this war. This division contained residents of the Caucasus, Georgians, Chechens, and others. The Commanding Officer of this Division was the Czar's brother, Mikhail Alexandrovich. The soldiers, only half-civilized, did not obey any order and

did not take any lip from anyone. With heart and soul, they were committed to their Senior Commander, and excelled in a really savage spirit of strength. Along with this, they also excelled at their semi-civilized cruelty, when they confronted an enemy and local residents who disturb the peace, but especially towards Jews. I had the opportunity to hear many stories about their conduct in battle. At the beginning, they completely did not understand why they are not killing the local citizenry.

– ‘Why do we not slaughter the lot of them? For what reason do we let them live?’ – they would ask.

One officer told, that on one occasion he went with twenty Georgians from this Division, on a spying patrol. Silently, they reached the place where the enemy stood, and revealed that there were two or three military units present. The officer gave a silent order to the Georgians that came with him, to re-trace their steps. But the soldiers demanded an opportunity to fall upon the enemy.

– To assault three units with (only) twenty men? – the officer asked in astonishment, and it was only by exerting a lot of effort that he got them to turn back.

They were really enraged, and thundered at the officer because of his fear, and demanded that he be taken away from them.

A second officer told that in his unit were a father and his two sons, Chechens. On one occasion, they brought one of the sons back dead. The following day, the second son left his father and went to seek revenge on behalf of his brother. Two days later, that brought him back dead as well, and he was cut in pieces. The father did not shed so much as one tear, and uttered nothing about the death of his son, rather, he knelt on his lining all day and prayed. On the following day, he took a spear between his teeth and two revolvers in his hands. He came out of the foxhole and quietly went over the field to the enemy’s foxhole. Upon seeing the result, everyone was shaken up. When they saw the elderly Georgian from the Austrian foxholes, walking slowly on the field exposed, they were apparently dismayed, even then. Afterwards they began to shoot at the old man, but the bullets didn’t hit him, and he continued to walk quietly as before, until he reached the foxholes of the enemy, and he leaped in their midst. What he did there, and if he satisfied himself for having exacted revenge for his sons who were killed – it is hard to say. However, at night, the Austrians took out his cut up body, and placed it on the field and his spear by his side. In this way, the Austrians conveyed their sense of respect for the heroic spirit of the elderly combatant.

In their conduct, there were many instances of heroism besides the inner savagery that beat in their hearts.

One time a group of them penetrated into an enemy foxhole. The Austrians threw down their arms, and raised their hands as a sign that they were giving up and turning themselves over into their hands. But the ‘wild men’ did not accept their intent, nor did they accept their proposal.

– ‘Why are you throwing your arms away? Why do you want to give up? Shame on you!’ They called out loudly. They returned the arms to the soldiers, and compelled them to engage in battle. Of course the savages prevailed, and killed everyone of the enemy soldiers to the last one. But a couple of them were killed as well.

During the capture of an enemy city, the savages thought that whatever they found in the city belongs to them, they plunder from the residents everything that they have from the thread on their backs to the laces of their shoes.

From Zolkiew, I returned to Lvov together with Lander.

Sightseeing Through Zolkiew

By Shimon Samet

Come, my brethren, scions of Zolkiew on a sightseeing tour with the eyes of our spirit, and on the wings of our memory of the city where we were born. Let us traverse its streets, let us take a short cut through her side-streets and take a brief glimpse into the corners of its loveliness.

Will my memory still serve me after I permanently left Zolkiew 37 years ago when I made *aliyah* to Israel? Because of this, I would periodically visit that city which was so dear to me, and the last time I was in Zolkiew was for only two weeks before the outbreak of the Second World War, the war in which there was the terrifying annihilation of the Jews of our city.

Where shall we start? I choose the Train [Station] Street (*ulitsa Kolyuba*). This street influenced me with a refreshing impact, it was tranquil, with the spectacular of the new park on the right, when you come to the train station the street bends in an architecturally attractive view and houses in which there are two special signs: The entry gate, which is ancient, on the left, this was the gate to which all of the streets converged from four directions: the Train Street, the *Rynek*, the Mail Street (*Lanikiewicza*) and the *Zoyzhinitska* Street, where Nathan Apfel and Jonah Shapiro lived. There is no gate configured in Israel like this one, not in Tel-Aviv which is 56 years old, and not in Jerusalem which is millennia old. It is possible that you can see something like in the ruins of Caesarea. Occasionally, I would stop and look at the figures in this gate, enjoying and being proud of my Zolkiew, saying: not in Rawa Ruska, not in Sokal and not in Mosty'-Veliko and if I am not mistaken, not in Lvov as well, were there ancient remains as there were in our city of Zolkiew. Opposite that gate was a transit to the barracks and the new park, where a kiosk run by an infirm Pole stood, at which we would slake out thirst during hot summer days, and those young ones among us would surreptitiously enjoy a cigarette which they found there at their behest.

The residents of the Train Street were by-and-large the intelligentsia of Zolkiew, people that had academic professions or senior officials and high school teachers, among them, a small number of Jews. This street was noisy because of the extensive amount of movement, especially in the evening hours and on the Sabbath days – the promenade was split by the Zolkiew river which was called ‘*Szvina*’ (a Pig) – there were a thousand things for the strollers to do, who stood on the threshold of its guarding gate, and looked out over this river and into its still waters, with tranquil waves going by. Who ever wanted to integrate and enjoy the natural splendor of Zolkiew in the depths of his heart, went into the park, and walk past its bridge, on the circular recreation

stalls, which had written on its walls, sentiments that aroused memories from the feeling in the heart, or to tease the public. There was a quiet silence pervaded this park. Filled with emotion, the sons of our city would walk there, the young and the adults. Here, I would occasionally run into my father, who frequently was moved to walk for his pleasure in the park, all alone, sunken in his thoughts.

Standing by the path leading to the bridge, on the open area, let us look at the pearl of the beauty and magnificence of our city: 'HaRe'i'. How many cities in Galicia have such a place of recreation. That justifiably is called 'HaRe'i' (The Garden of Eden). The roads and paths through 'HaRe'i' began at the tracks of the train that ran from Zolkiew to Glinski, and led to the way far, far into this lovely forest, up and up until a wrinkled dune where many years ago there were much relaxation and rest were to be found by the praiseworthy writer and feeler for Hebrew knowledge Joseph Chaim Brenner. When I sank into the depths of loneliness I would flee the city and go to 'HaRe'i' and always find the pleasure of relaxation and rest there, that comes to the man who is alone. 'HaRe'i' can be called the crown jewel of Zolkiew, and that is the way they referred to it in newspapers.



קבוצת החלוץ "המדורה" בז'וקיב - שנת 1924
 יושבים משמאל לימין: שמוען סאמט ונחן רייס
 עומדים משמאל לימין: ישראל מנדל, יוסף שליתין, פינחס הלפרין, אריה אקר, מרדכי אפפל

For many of the residents of Zolkiew and its environs, the city station was a meeting place. Tales of love were woven there, for living and/or fleeing from the city into the larger world (for the land of Israel). The manager of the train station was an Polish man, Stanislaw Miskowski, who knew of my plans to *aliyah* to the *Land*, and he encouraged me, explaining that in Jewish youth will only deteriorate. We were in the habit of the train station to greet the train from Lvov and which left for Ruska, in order to meet friends that came and went, and no

Page 305/306: The 'Medurah' Halutz Group in Zolkiew – 1924
 Sitting (LtoR): Shimon Samet, Nathan Reiss
 Standing (LtoR): Israel Mandel, Joseph Shlitin, Pinchas Halperin, Aryeh Acker, Mordechai Apfel

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amount of envy towards those who lived in Lvov permanently, and were coming to Zolkiew for a visit. This was not my situation. When I moved to Lvov to live there for a few years, prior to my voyaging to Israel, strong longing seized me for Zolkiew, and I would count the days and nights of the week, until Friday came, when I girded my effects, and wet out with a pleasant feeling to the home of my parents and to the city of Zolkiew. I spent Saturday nights at the ‘*Kultur Verein*,’ and these were pleasant hours with my Zolkiew friends who resided there permanently.

The *Rynek* was the center of the city, a broad piece of land, in whose center was plenty of fresh water, from which the water carriers (*Wasser Tregers*), or the ladies who ran the household would come on their own behalf, never causing the water to run out. Surrounding the well – the populace in full. On one side was the ancient fortress, in whose yard the municipal gymnasium was located, named for King Sobieski and the government courthouse, and on the second side, was a station for the wagon of the farmers, who brought their wares for sale from the surrounding villages. It was here that the merchandising part of Zolkiew gathered., doing its transactions, in a mix of Polish and Ukrainian languages. The path leading to the arcade of houses (*podcienes*) spread out into a network of stores and houses. This open square, was the center and heart of the town – many different roads emanated from there to all parts of the city. The square looked over the ‘*Fahrah*’ church, in which (as was told to us) there were valuable paintings and religious articles in gold and diamonds. Here, it was possible to cross through the gate to the Glinski Street, beside the bridge over the river that quietly coursed into the middle of the park. From here, it was possible to turn to the Bakers’ Street (*Piekarska*) where the Belz *Kloyz* was located, which was the focal point for the *Hasidim* of Belz. At the edge of the street was a bread bakery whose scents of various baked goods penetrated from there to a far distance. On *ul. Piekarska* we would celebrate Simchat Torah, with the performances and joy of the holiday, where the echoes of the singing of the *Hasidim* burst out with vigor from the Belz *Kloyz*. The family of Shmuel Shtiller lived here. In this house, on the nights of the Sabbath, there was a friendly group experience in Zolkiew. On exiting this street, one encountered an architectural giant: the Great Synagogue, which both in its external and internal design was the product of the thoughts and product of an architectural plan. It was unique and one-of-a-kind in the entire surrounding area, a huge building that sated the eyes with its beauty. Worshipers came to this synagogue not because they were drawn to unite with the Creator of the World, but also because of the admirers of its beauty and the sanctity of the place. Through the windows into the cellar, one could see spread out and discarded pages of prayer books (*shamot*). But as you entered through the central gate into the hall of the Synagogue, you would immediately be seized by a holiday sanctity; you left your feeling of an ordinary day, and from the realization and elevated emotion, your soul was captured. There was a beautiful *Bima* in the center of the Synagogue, a Holy Ark, drawing that were a pleasure to the eyes and covered all the walls, the stained-glass windows, and the stark silence in the hall.

The *Bet-HaMedrash* stood across from the Great Synagogue, which in my memory is linked to the deaf *Shammes Meir*’l, who would collect donations for the preservation of this *Bet-HaMedrash*. The kiosk of the Lichter family was (also) opposite this synagogue, a poor and meager kiosk of merchandise. There was soda water, cigarettes and candy, but it was replete with the meeting of friends of the Jewish youth. It was the place where plans were created for the preservation of the Zionist movement of Jewish youth in Zolkiew in general, and specifically of ‘*HaShomer Ha ‘Tza’ir*’ in particular. The Tzimerman house stood by the kiosk which was a committee location for Torah Sages and *Maskilim* together. The Tzimerman brothers grew up in this house (Yitzhak is found in Israel). Above the Tzimerman house, along a narrow and unpaved road, there was another house in which the Herman brothers (Hirsch) and Isaac Spiegel grew up. They were practically assimilated, and the call of a return to Zion did not reach their hearts. There was a large yard next to them, and we played there, and mostly enjoyed diversions. Further up, on the *Tuviecki* Street, a house stood with five steps leading up to its door,

and to their side, there was a viewing window with a watch an jewelry, because he was the father of Yaakov Samet. I was born in this house. I spent several years in it. From there, we moved to the Hospital Street which stood beside the ‘*Einvahrhaus*’ with an inn for guests, especially for *Hasidim* that sought lodging and kosher food. His Honor, the *Rebbe* of Belz himself would stay there, when he came to visit Zolkiew. *Tuviecki* Street brings us from the station of wagons, and the tavern at the edge of this place for parking carriages, from the side of the pool (Pumpli) of the drinking water, to the length of the way up to the Rynek, and on both its sides facing the kitchen, and the river, to *ul. Turyniecka*, which was the same *Turyniecka* Street that started from Hochner’s wood storage facility and reached the village of Turynka and Mosty’-Velikii, and from there it was possible to cross over to a square of very beautiful tiny houses surrounded by decorated gardens, in the middle of a narrow street. There the large and tall church stood leading to *ul. Turyniecka*, and as we turned to the right there, we went for a long way and reached one of the principal and noisiest streets – this being ‘*ulitsa Lvovska*,’ and the two side streets that were beside it, one street leading in the direction of the Great Synagogue of the Magistrate (a municipal building) and in that location stood the prayer house known as ‘*Kadeten Schule*’ in which the ‘progressive people’ prayed, people with pedigrees, people of secular culture, but observant of the Jewish tradition. This prayer-house was the ‘headquarters’ of the Zionists and during prayer, not a little was said about world issues, issues of the Land of Israel, and ‘political Zionism.’ These people were *Mitnagdim*, and protagonists of the *Hasidim* of Belz. Even my father prayed there steadily, and discussed Zionist issues. It was in this prayer house that plans for the election contest were formulated for the community of Zolkiew, for the city, and even the Zionist Congresses. The *Kadeten Schule* had a yard, and there was a bakery beside it, and from it, our friend Zelig Shatz would give us produce from the bakery of his relative.

At the end of street the bath and *mikva* stood, in the direction of *Turynicka*. *Ulitsa Lvovska* splits into two directions, one to the *Rynek*, and the second to the road from Zolkiew to Lvov. The *Rynek* was the center of the street. The store of the Acker brothers was not only a store for paper and writing materials, but also served as a meeting place for Jewish youth. This store also would frequently serve as a meeting place for educated youth. A more central meeting place was the nearby coffee house of the Wilder sisters, where we would meet for something to eat and drink.

In the municipal building (*the Magistrate*) there was a ‘*Kultur Verein*’ headed by: Dr. Shlusser, Dr. Moshe Sobel, Dr. Reuben Tzimerman, Dr. Satran, and others. It was here that the young people who wanted to learn and know would congregate, they would play chess or cards, arrange a Purim celebration, and Shimshom Lifschitz was a sort of ‘administrator’ of the institution. Saturday nights were dedicated largely to meetings and appearances at the ‘*Kultur Verein*.’

Further up the ‘Zolkiew-Lvov’ road was the old garden (‘*Der Alter Wahl*’) with a symbolic kiosk on its right side. Our mothers would stroll for pleasure in this garden on Sabbaths, and discuss things about the world in its entirety. [They would talk- about sons, the cost of necessities, about Kashrut and Rabbis, on the sorrow of parting with sons and daughters who has the ‘insanity of Zionism and pioneering’ penetrate their minds, and they want to leave Zolkiew and the country in general, and to go to some nameless dark mountains. In this garden, our mothers would discuss their daughters and the daughters of the city, they would discuss wedding and good fortune, and there they would tell who os traveling, and who is planning to travel to the *Rebbe* in Belz, in order to request a blessing of ‘good luck’ and who sent their son to Lvov to look for a way to make a living.

The descent from the parcel of the old garden leads us to the saloon on the way down, opposite the garden. Here, Poles, Ukrainians and Jews would guzzle beer, hidden in a dark cloud of cigarette smoke, there being a mix of conversation and cursing. Occasionally, anti-Semitism would burst forth.

Frequently, one could encounter Dr. Benjamin Grill in the old garden – the assimilated *Gaon*, who was wondrously insightful, when he would pour out stories of wisdom and laughable humor. It was from him that I heard the famous anti-Semitic slur from the head of the city of Vienna: ‘Who is a Jew, I determine alone.’ This slur, which gave him wings, and became a gem in all of Europe, was said by the educated anti-Semite as an answer to his challengers: why does he distance himself in a hostile fashion for a Polish Jew, but draws an anonymous Jew to him with affection, without him at all revealing that he is also Jewish.

The street near the old garden, *Berko Joselevica* stood the large house called ‘*Gwiazdna*’ and in a corner – the corner of the hospital – the pleasant house of the dentist Dr. Tirk. The municipal hospital was also located on this same street. Dr. Wachs was the director of the hospital, and Dr. Muszkat, a Christian, was the head surgeon there. It was possible to enter the yard of the Zolkiew *Rebbe* from this street. This was not an ordinary house of a local Rabbi, rather it was a total ‘Empire,’ that drew most of the Jewish residents of the city to it, who came to seek advice and wisdom from the mouth of the Rabbi. He succeeded in drawing those far from him to be near, with his power of persuasion, and it is no wonder that even non-Jews sought his advice. An incident occurred once, when a Polish judge found it difficult to rule on a dispute between a Jew and a non-Jew and he came to ask the advice of the *Rebbe* of Zolkiew. During *Rosh Hashana*, *Yom Kippur*, *Sukkot*, *Simchat Torah*, *Shavuot* and *Tisha B’Av*, the house of the Rabbi was full and crowded with worshipers, because it was not only a residence, but also a synagogue for worship. It was the house of a Rabbi and a *Dayan*, a buyer of someone who dispenses advice, a remarkably sensitive man, when it came to understanding a man’s soul, and to analyze the state of the one suffering. My father would exit and enter the Rabbi’s house, and my mother saw in him an ‘Officer in Israel.’

Opposite the Rabbi of Zolkiew’s house, was the ‘*Einfuhrhaus*’ of Filfeld, a noisy and loud inn, with guests that came from near and far, with their effects or in wagons loaded down with merchandise, both officials and ordinary travelers. From there, one reached an unpaved square, but full of wagons and cars, coming and going. In recalling the ‘*Hausenhaus*’ we have to recall with trembling honor, the advisor () Fisz, who worked nights like they were days to develop this wonderful institution. Many orphans found both domicile and protection in this house, and many sons and daughters of the Zolkiew populace and nearby towns, studied here a variety of subjects.

Two houses stood at the end of the street. One was the home of the Tauba family (this is the family of David Tuvia, that built up Beersheba from nothing, one of the first of the *Halutzim* of Zolkiew that made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel). The large wood storage facility that was in the yard of the Tauba family and was practically the boundary to the city of Lvov, that could be reached by the main road.

The circle of my memories goes round-and-round, with me unable to completely circumscribe it. My heart is with you, my precious birthplace, Zolkiew, that has been torn from us for ever and ever, even you name being erased from you and today you are called ‘Nastorov.’



Since Zolkiew had its fortresses as its possessions, by a like manner, the Jews of Zolkiew had fortresses from a community point of view, both fraternal and religious. The Belz Kloyz was an impenetrable fortress of the religious and fanatic Jew. The ‘*Kultur-Verein*’ was the fortress of the youth, that burst through the walls of the homes of their fathers in search also, of a cultural and Enlightened life, the ‘*Weisen Verein*’ (the orphanage) of ‘*Radza Fisz*’ a widely branched work was undertaken in the fields of culture, the drama stage, and learning.

I still remember some outstanding figures of these fortresses. Who can forget R’ Henschel Lieberman? His unbounded ardor and uncompromising dedication to the *Torah* of Moses and Israel, a fanaticism that I knew to admire even though we were at a distance from it. And see a miracle, specifically in the family of Henschel Lieberman (a *Hasid* of the type of the *Haredim* of *Mea Shearim* and *the Neturei Karta*) in the house of his brother, Sholom Lieberman, an ardent *Hasid* himself – secretly a great ‘Zionist and pioneering plant.’ Once, the Zionist activist of Zolkiew, Nathan Apfel, came to R’ Sholom Lieberman to seek advice about a community matter, and in the midst of the discussion, R’ Sholom thundered at his guest saying that he is poisoning the soul of Jewish youth in the city with his Zionist work. Mr. Apfel replied: ‘You have nothing to worry about, your son is already infected with this poison in a very thorough fashion, and from it, it seems, he will not be cured.’ This day, to R’ Sholom Lieberman was a sort of ‘*Tisha B’Av*.’ However, the son was not cured... Will we be able to forget the distribution of culture and loyalty of the theater in our city, Dr. Reuben Tzimerman who inculcated Torah and wisdom into the midst of Zolkiew youth, and those that suffused us with an affection for Yiddish theater, like the famous actor Meir Melman. Will we erase from our hearts the memory of the community head Jonah Shapiro, who did not excel particularly in much scholarship, but his heart and hand were always open to all the needy, seeking succor and nourishment, in the sorrow of their distress. The gentiles called him ‘*Panie Jonah*’ (My lord, Jonah) and mocked his Polish which was fractured at best. But everyone knew that whoever was in need of dire help, or financial succor – they would turn to him, and he would extend to them, a charitable hand. The social-community activity of Shimshon Lifschitz is recalled the same way.

Zolkiew was very Zionist, this became generally known especially during the election days for the community, the town, and even the *Sejm* (the Parliament). But especially, it was the young generation that bore the burden, but many of them never realized the Zionist concept of making *aliyah* to Israel. The ‘older generation’ primarily did its part for Zionism by making donations to Zionist institutions, arranging Zionist gatherings, and reading such Zionist newspapers as ‘*Khoyla*’ and ‘*Tageblatt*.’ Zolkiew was considered an outstanding Zionist city by the other cities in Galicia, and the familiar Zionist Galitzianer, Dr. Reich, once said that it is possible to depend on Zolkiew from a Zionist standpoint. But in our city, there was a very wide gap between the atmosphere and actual Zionist effort to achieve the Zionist goal; few made *aliyah* to Israel, and there were those who returned to our city from Israel, ‘there (I the city) it was easier to live.’ The ‘Shomer Ha ‘Tzair movement which differed in all its essence from what it is today in Israel – donated an important contribution in arousing the youth, but it was not the only one in the array. In the young generation which vigorously strode strong steps toward the Zolkiew Zionism that was being realized, there were a number of levels along the way; there were leaders for the training of pioneers and the practical implementation of Zionism, in the full sense of the word, who themselves served as a model and outstanding example. In our midst we had a pioneering Zionist leader of much inspiration and influence: David Tauba, today called David Tuviahu – the Halutz who brought the Negev back to life, the builder of the Negev city of Beersheba, and was the head of the town. I got to know him among the boards of wood in the storage facilities of his father on *ul*.

Lvovska. I came to seek his advice regarding personal training in his father's storage facilities. He proposed that I go over to agricultural training, to condition my body for the future as a working man in Israel. With complete honesty, I asked him at that time: how will I be able to make aliyah to Israel? His answer was curt: there is a book written by the prophet of our generation, Theodore Herzl, in which a message is written: 'If you will it, it is no longer just a tale (with no substance)' I then joined a training group of pioneers for agriculture that was adjacent to Zolkiew which was headed by the admired lady poet Anda Finkerfeld, (today) she is Anda Amir who lives in Tel-Aviv. David Tauba directed many young people in Zolkiew to realize their role as pioneers, and along with this, he trained himself to life as a pioneer in the Land of Israel.

In one of the cold winter nights, an unknown man entered my father's house, wearing Polish military clothes, and asked to see him privately. My father consented to his request, and the two of them conversed in whispers. My mother, brothers, my sister Yehudit and I were in a state of fear, suspecting that my father had been informed upon, and he was being arrested by the army. Our father



חברי "החלוץ" בז'לצקיב — שנת 1926

מ ש מ א ל ל י מ ין
 יושבים : בורר גרשון, הרבסטר שושנה, סאמט שמעון, בורר סבה, ליפשיץ שמעון.
 עומדים בשורה ראשונה : אפפל מרדכי, ברגר משה, קייפר משה, רייט נתן, אקר אריה,
 מנדל ישראל, שליטן יוסף.
 עומדים שורה שניה : רייצפלד גיזלה, פרידמן יצחק, סאמט יהודית.
 יושבים למטה : ליכטר אברהם, סמסגרטן גיטעל, גלר אייזיק.

Page 313/314: The Members of 'HeHalutz' in Zolkiew – In the year 1926

From Left to Right:

Sitting: Gershon Borer, Shoshana Harbster, Shimon Samet, Saba Borer, Shimon Lifschitz

Standing in the first row: Mordechai Apfel, Moshe Berger, Moshe Keifer, Nathan Reiss, Aryeh Acker, Israel Mandel, Joseph Shlitin

Standing in the second row: Git'cheh Reitzenfeld, Yitzhak Friedman, Yehudit Samet.

Sitting at the Bottom: Avraham Lichter, Giss'l Sametgarten, Isaac Glazer

sensed our concern and he calmed us when he said of the soldier to us: 'Are you all able to keep a secret and not to reveal it to anyone, not even your closest friends?' When we promised to keep the secret, our father revealed to us that this man was a Pole in dress only, and a Zionist Jew at heart. Our father had met him before he left his home in the city of Łódź, and told us he was going on foot to the Land of Israel, in which he sees his future and the goal of his life. His name was Michael Osovsky. In our house, the soldier shed his military clothing and put on ordinary clothes. He stayed in our house until my father along with a group of other Zionists, made it possible for him to continue along his way to the Land of Israel, which he finally reached after many tribulations. Today he is the Israeli expert in questions about the Arabs, and Arabic influence: He is the chairman of the newspapers in Tel-Aviv, a member of the 'Davar' editing staff, and the editor of the Arabic newspaper 'El Yom,' Michael Assaf.

Among the assimilating Jewish intelligentsia in Zolkiew were several people that the Diaspora was nevertheless in their blood, Polish community their support, and Polish language was their language, but in the depths of their inner souls, in the secret places of their hearts, they held with affection those that saw in leaving Poland, and by making *aliyah* to The *Land*, achieve the longing of their life. And they helped out to help those achieve this. For example, Mrs. Wilder of a noble soul who expressed herself this way: 'We however, do not see the light in the Land of Israel nor the light of our lives, and our future lies in the new Poland which is ours; but if you have revealed that your salvation is in the faraway places, in the Land of our Fathers, let us be partners in the realization of your dream.'

I close my eyes, and separate my memories of Zolkiew, in the distant past, and lo, I see my town, as if I walked its streets before its destruction, before the year it was cleaned out of its Jews.

Simchat-Torah in Our City

By Henya Graubart (Singer)

I remember the report about Zolkiew in the Yiddish newspaper 'Heint' under the headline 'Das Romantische Shtetl Zolkiew', the output of the pen of the writer Joel Mastbaum. He had spent time in our city before the invitation of the 'Leftist Poalei Tzion' for a day or two only, in order to give a talk and to meet with the young people and other activists. During this short time, the people of Zolkiew demonstrated what their town and lives were like, and

the report was an honorable one for the scions of our town. And if the city made a good and affectionate impression on the visiting guest, how more so the case was the city beloved and treated affectionately by its Jewish residents.

The holiday of *Simchat Torah*, a holiday suffused with sanctity and happiness that was unbounded, made a strong impression on all Jews. Even those who did not participate in the festival directly could feel it in all corners on the outside, whether knowledgeable or not, they enjoyed the happiness that others bestowed on it with ardor, and its overflow literally out of the city itself. I remember the celebrations at the Belz Kloyz, how the Hasidim, boys and old people danced in a circle, carrying Torah scrolls in their hands during the Hakafot, with ardor, and the singing did not stop for a minute. This celebration continued from *Shemini Atzeret* to the late hours after the holiday had ended, and it was total and vigorous and the drinking accordingly. Nobody got home under his own ability, because he got a bit drunk, but there was no shame in this. Because in honor of *Simchat Torah* – it was permitted to do so. Opposite the Belz Kloyz, in the Zibert house there was a prayer hall called ‘*Lubiler Kloyz*’ and even here, the *Hasidim* came together to spend the holiday in prayer and dance. In the Great and ancient Synagogue and in the *Bet-HaMedrash*, the holiday was celebrated by the *balebatim* and dignitaries, with much ardor.

There was a small synagogue called ‘*Talmud Torah*’ or ‘*Kadaten Schule*,’ Studying went on in this place during all the days of the week, and there was a place for praying for the adults on the Sabbath. Most of the worshipers were Maskilim, and my father Hanoach Zinger prayed there as well. Here, as well, the holiday was celebrated with much beauty and generously. Many members of the family of the worshipers also took part in the holiday feast, especially the children, and the same was true of the ‘*Yad HaKharutzim*’ Synagogue, that had been built by the efforts of the working people and craftsmen in the city.

In the synagogue of the *Rebbe* Rabinovich, his *Hasidim* and admirers gathered, along with residents of the vicinity, and together, they all celebrated the holiday with joy and ardor.. The Rebbetzin was in the habit of inviting the women of the area to her house on Simchat Torah for a holiday feast. The sounds of song and dance burst from the little ‘*Schilkh’l*’ on *ul. Turynicka* which could be heard at a far distance.

In the *Rynek*, there was a house similar to a passage, in which Jewish families lived. In this same house, there was a synagogue called ‘*LaB’karim Kloyz*’ in which the residents of the area prayed. Even though the number of worshipers was not great, the joy reflected the season. Even in many ordinary houses in all corners of the city, the atmosphere of the Festival could be felt, and the joy spread into the whole city, from end-to-end.

Movements and Institutions

תנועות ומוסדות



חגיגה עממית של הנוער היהודי בז'ולקייב—שנת 1918

Page 321/2: *A National Celebration by Jewish Youth in Zolkiew – In the Year 1918*

The ‘Seekers of Peace for Zion’

by Meir Zimeles

From the dawn of my childhood, an important, gratifying event, of minor importance, is a marked path in the chronology of the Jews of our city before the Holocaust: it is the matter of the founding of the first Zionist organization.

The movements and concepts of the ‘Love of Zion,’ penetrated our city through many means, even before the appearance of Herzl. The generation or two generations before us knew of the longing for rebirth, but the ‘dreams of the ghetto’ grew skin and sinew only from the time of the first congresses.

And essentially, in the days of ‘Uganda’ a group was formed in Zolkiew by the name of ‘Greeters of Peace for Zion,’ with the help of the heads of the movement in Lvov. I remember the event well, even though I was a child who did not grasp its significance, but did collect its symbols – after studies in *Heder*. My father Avraham Shmuel ז"ל (who was elected the first president of the group

tried to explain the Zionist program to me, and the content of pure Zionism, ‘The anti-Ugandan Zionism’ and this matter lives within me to this day.

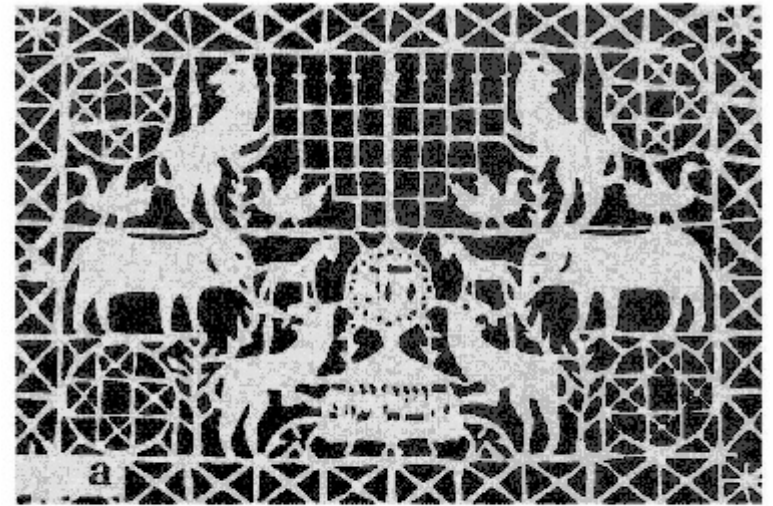
The 'Zion Verein' as this group was called, was based in a small room in the house of Frustig. It was a sort of club. Both adult and young Jews paid a visit to it in the evenings, most of them from the cadre of *balebatim*, and the ends were drawn from the craftsmen and workers. They read the papers, listened to speeches, and conversed about a variety of issues that stood mostly in the area of the Jewish world. From time-to-time, gatherings took place as well as parties with many people.

Two important events stood out in those times: the Russian pogroms after the Russo-Japanese War, and the failure of the revolution, and then the elections to the Austrian parliament, the first after a general election was had, including all persons over the age of 24, could vote or be voted for.

The tragedy of Russian Jewry (and who thought that such tragedies had no bounds...) Resonated with us as well, and apart from gatherings of support, monies were collected for the martyrs and refugees. With the stream of emigration from Russia, the first teachers of the new Hebrew reached Zolkiew.

The parliamentary elections created a storm on the Jewish street. For the first time, Jewish candidates appeared manifesting a Zionist or Nationalist credo, and presented themselves publicly as Jews in the full glare of the sun, instead of keeping it secret and hiding it. Dr. Joseph-Shmuel Bloch, the Rabbi of a Vienna suburb, a brave protagonist, and having nerve during the blood libel of Rohling during the eighties. The Jews of Zolkiew, in measure with the fact that they were card-carrying nationalists made a substantial effort on behalf of Dr. Bloch, but in the main, the assimilationists and the *Hasidim* could not attach themselves jointly to a coalition of the government,.

From that time on, many changes began to take place in the Zionist movement around the world. The movement in our city also split into parties, depending on their desires and variety. There were ups and downs, but the burden on the soul to express nationalism and Zionist realization did not weaken, even during the darkness of the First World War, and the Ukrainian War. In 1918 an international committee was created (in place of the 'community' of assimilationists, who nevertheless worked under my father's supervision who was an ardent Zionist), but his work came to a halt with the capture of our city by the Poles. Days of economic want came upon us, and harassments by the government and the Polish nation – but the wheel did not turn backwards. Jewish life was simple and their dress was simple but went up to a high and lively level. The new generations held onto the flag – until it was stricken from its hands...



Wycinanki na Zielone Świąta. a) Stare „szewoust” z Zółkwi ze zbiorów dr. G. Fraenklowej.

מטות ניר שקראו 'רײזאלאך' או 'שׁוואוּטלאך' לקישוט אגרות

323/324: Paper cutouts called 'Reizalakh' or 'Shavuotlach' for decorating glazings.

The Heads of the Zionist Movement

By Y. Tz. Buber

In their attitudes, the *Maskilim* of Zolkiew were *Mitnagdim*, who derived their *Haskalah* and wisdom from the great men of their city, the patriarchs of *Haskalah* in Jewish Galicia: The Rabbi *Gaon* R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot and the last of the comprehensive wise men, R' Nachman Krochmal. And it was none other than the latter who laid down the foundations and tenets for the lore of international Judaism, and contributed so much to the basis of the concept of Love of Zion – even before the Zionism of Herzl.

The *Maskilim* of Zolkiew founded a group named '*Seekers of the Peace of Zion*,' pioneers of the Zionist movement in the city that created waves among the youth, the intelligentsia and the working class. Its activities earned it the heart of the adherents of the *Bet HaMedrash*, and succeeded in penetrating the *Belz Kloyz*. Distinguished people stood at the head of this movement: Avraham Shmuel zimeles, a wondrous man from the élite of the Jewish leadership, who integrated both Torah and wisdom as one, and nobility emanated from the look of his eyes and from his manner of speech, all speaking of dignity in his undertakings; his deputy, Nathan Apfel, of great skill, a speaker of Divine grace, and a wondrous organizer: the secretary Nachman Apfelschnitt, aware, a Maskil – 'a master of the Tanakh and his leadership – tranquil with everyone, and an intense sensitivity; the Fokard brothers, the brothers Fyvel and Moshe Ungar – they who organized the movement with commitment and ardor until it grew and became a section that spread a lot of influence in the life of the community and in the curricula of education and culture in the city and surrounding villages. Among those who stood out as activists in the organization were M. Lamm, the *Kloyz* young men Elazar and Shlomo Tanzer, Avraham Basikis, Israel'chi Shtreller and others.

The Zionist and pioneering activity found a broad plain for their activity. The Zionists sent their representatives to the community, to its towns, and during the times of elections, to the Austrian parliament, and their work was recognized to be for the good of the Zionist candidate Dr. Bloch. The stood aligned against the *Belz Hasidim*, who behaved as supporters of the government. The *Hasidim* saw in the Zionist movement, a dangerous breach in the standards of education, subversion beneath the foundation of the *Kloyz* and the educational curricula in it, and they fought it in all ways. But a Satan arose in regards to educational direction that they did not anticipate entirely – from the government. Internally, if a resident of the city wanted to give his sons an intermediate education, he was compelled to send them to Lvov, to Czernowitz, etc. – a matter that was tied up with much expense and great difficulties, and only some fortunate Jews could indulge themselves to do this. And the time that the government opened a gymnasium in the city, in the building of the Dominicans, and the entrance was through the gate to the church. From this time on, the number of parents that had decided to give their sons an intermediate education, after it was located in the city itself, and as you know, many of the students came from Zionist homes. From this time forwards, the abyss between the *Hasidim* and the Zionists deepened. The *Hasidim* did not even send their children to the government elementary school, in accordance with the responsibility entailed by law. And even in the time when it was proposed to the community to found a Jewish school from funds supplied by Baron Hirsch, the *Belz Hasidim* opposed this proposal, and it was never implemented. A clear line divided

Belz – opposition to ‘schools’ in general, regardless of its form. It was the *Heder*, the Yeshiva and the *Kloyz* that were the strong institutions of Jewish education. Everything else – was considered off limits, without consideration of compromise.

The Zionist movement put down roots in the city, they founded courses in Hebrew and opened a widely-branched pioneering movement, and already by 1912 Ze’ev Reitzes made *aliyah* to *The Land*. In 1813, the movement sent two representatives to the Zionist Congress in Vienna, those being Nachman Apfelschnitt and Nathan Apfel. Nachman Apfelschnitt was ardent about the Zionist concept, and worked a great deal for the Zionist cause, and did not forego any opportunity to collect funds for *Keren Kayemet*. As the owner of a store that sold newspapers, tobacco for cigarettes (Traffic) in the center of the city, in the house of the ‘Hotel Pinsky’, he once asked the hotel owner M. Weissbrod to make a donation to the *KK”L*. This was sidestepped with the excuse not based on being cheap. They engaged in constructive work – and the hotel owner said – a fact that was accomplished by personal effort. Without thinking much, he called to Nachman L’Alter, the water carrier, paid him two *agorot*, and took the yoke from him while saying to Weissbrod: donate a crown (an Austrian Crown) to *KK”L* and I will bring two servings of water to the kitchen from the pool that is in the *Rynek*. The owner of the hotel agreed, because he did not believe that Nachman would do this, having said it jokingly. But as Nachman said, so did he do, and he placed the yoke on his shoulders, and in front of everyone, filled the pails at the pool, brought them to the hotel and poured them directly into the kitchen container. It was in this way that a fine contribution was made to *KK”L* by the sweat of his brow.

In 1925, Nachman was among those who traveled to Jerusalem for the opening of the Hebrew University.

The movement in our city also spread amidst the youth in the nearby villages. It is worth recalling Mr. Moshe Oliphant from the village of Glinski among the organizers. In the year 5664, he had already composed songs of Zion saturated with heartfelt sentiments about the homeland. One of the verses remains in my memory:

‘ I strolled along the mountains of Zion
A place where a soft stream flows
And to my ears, ancient secrets
It whispers to me thus.’

And in one poem, he prophesied and didn’t realize about what he prophesied:

How, my friend, did you recognize this in the spring of your days
And to the jaws of death you gave,
The cruel murderer took no pity on you:
I will weep to you now, my Lord, it is bitter now:
O woe, an eternal beautiful flower, how did you die?
It is for this that I ache, oh, my heart groans...

The Heads of 'Mizrahi'

With the Balfour Declaration, and the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, many of the scions of the city returned home from the war. Among those who returned, were also young men from the Belz *Kloyz*. This youth saw, during their service with their unity during the war, a wide world and new attitudes. The old form of education from their father's home, to the odd religious dress had become alien to them. The Polish Republic arose in Galicia, and a fateful period in the history of our people ensued, and changes began in the Jewish world. The youth and students of the *Kloyz* absorbed the new orientation of life that they saw, and began to distance themselves from the *Kloyz* or simply did not return to it altogether.

I understood that, without changes in direction, the *Kloyz* was destined to lose many of its students and adherents. I consulted with Moshe Kubler, a Sage and a Maskil and in conference with us was Isaac Greidinger, an advanced thinker, and a gentle man, who leans a bit towards Haskalah, to formulate a suggestion on how to change the direction of the youth, so it not distance itself from its roots entirely. We came to the conclusion that we need to bridge the *Kloyz* to the outside world, to found a 'Mizrahi' institution in the city. The concept began to take root, the youth was attracted to the essence of the idea, leading to the golden threshold. In the meantime, this became known to the fanatics of the *Kloyz*, with Henech Lieberman at their head and they persuaded M. Kubler and I. Greidinger to withdraw from the issue.

The Zionist movement in the city, at whose head stood Nachman Apfelschnitt, Nathan Apfel, the Fokard brothers, Israel Shapiro, the Ungar brothers, and others from the academic youth and also single members from the Belz *Kloyz*, from the standpoint of seeing but not being seen – were a recognized political and educational force, until the outbreak of the First World War. During the four years of the war there was no activity. It is worth taking note that also after the return of the host from the war, prior to the renewal of activities in the Zionist movement, even a new hall was not opened. The work was limited to academics, and on 20 Tammuz on the commemoration day for Herzl, at the time of the election of the national council (during the short time that the Ukrainians ruled), the academy, following the memorial in San Francisco, and the work in collecting donations by the Chairman of the KK'L committee, Moshe Acker and his comrades.

The field of endeavor was free. We decided to take advantage of the hiatus, and take on the work of organizing a Mizrahi institution together with Yehoshua Shapiro, Moshe Altin and Eli Lichter. We decided to invite people from the midst of the Mizrahi movement, that would come and want to concepts and anticipations of this movement. This task was assigned to me. I traveled to Lvov and reached to working committee. On that same day, a sitting of the center took place, headed by the Chairman Dr. Dov Hausner. I conveyed the substance of my request, and Dr. Hausner rose and said: I volunteer to travel to that 'sublime city,' Zolkiew. It will be a great honor for me to speak in front of their educated and Enlightened people.

We made all the preparations in anticipation of his arrival in the Old *Bet HaMedrash*, that was filled from end-to-end, and Dr. Hausner spoke as he unveiled the core concept of 'Mizrahi' before his listeners. His speech made a powerful impression on his listeners. More than one hundred people signed up on the spot, of the cream of the city, to *Mizrahi*. We rented a hall in the home of Tz. Acker to serve as the *Mizrahi* Institute headquarters. Dr. Shimon

Federbush came from Lvov to organize the movement. Like the one before him, he gave a speech in the *Bet HaMedrash* peppered with sayings of our *Ancient Sages*, and philosophy as one. With this, he showed us the way to go.

In the elections that were arranged, the following were elected to the institutional committee of Mizrahi: R' Avraham Shapiro, Chairman, A. Sh. Zimeles, Director, Meir V. Katz, Deputy, and the members of the committee: Moshe M. Rad, David Gottesman, Yaakov Y. Samet. The following were elected to the committee of 'Tze 'irei Mizrahi:' Yehoshua Shapiro, Moshe Altin, Eli Lister, Hirsh Deutcher, and this writer. As deputies: Fishl Hammerling, Yaakov Dagan, Hirsh Reiser, and as Honorary Secretary, Jonah Shapiro, and this writer as the general secretary.

The Mizrahi Institution spread its wings and encompassed all walks of life, in organization, in education, and in matters of religion and politics. Courses were organized for the study of the *Tanakh*, Tales, secular subjects and Hebrew. Lectures were arranged for Sabbaths and Festival Holidays. David Gottesman lectured at a *Talmud* lesson, M. M. Rad taught *Rambam* and *Pirkei Avot*, general members of the Zionists participated in courses and lectures, headed by Nathan Apfel.

The movement was very well recognized and respected in the city. In the town and on the community committee, *Mizrahi* was represented by the member Moshe Altin and Eli Lichter, who fulfilled their objectives loyally and honorably. Even in the working committee of *Mizrahi* , and in the council of the division – we sent representatives to their various meetings. A. A. Cooperstein, a member and supporter from Lvov came to participate. The *Mizrahi* movement was the pioneering center for the Land of Israel, and was the division's spokesperson for matters both religious and international matters in the city during that period.

The 'Agudah' and the 'Mizrahi'

The '*Agudat Israel*' did not exist at all in our city. There were only sporadic adherents, among them the son of Isaac Mikhl the ritual slaughterer and meat inspector, and his friends Israel'chi Rittel. Approximately in the decade of the twenties, a preacher was sent to our city from the central '*Agudah*' named Schud. His acolytes consisted of the previously mentioned young men, and a group of heated minds who took an interest in the establishment of this new organization, because it is important to know that there was a full understanding in Zolkiew of the daily life of the *Hasidim*, the *Mitnagdim*, *Maskilim*, secular folk, and the assimilated. Ideological conflict only became evident infrequently, during election season to the city, Parliament and afterwards to the Polish *Sejm*. Even the Belz *Hasidim* were not interested in the establishment of this group, the '*Agudah*' since they were loyal to their motto. 'Belz is above all factions.'

Notwithstanding this, the acolytes of Mr. Schur concerned themselves with seeing that he lecture in the Great Synagogue, and were sufficiently concerned to see that all the young men and young adults of the *Kloyz* should come to hear the lecture. In retrospect, we who came from the *Kloyz* were satisfied that the youth of the *Kloyz* would also organize and spread outside, but the speaker, Mr. Schur, previously mentioned, instead of stressing the objectives and hopes and directions of education of the '*Agudah*,' began to defame, criticize and insult the ways of Zionism and the '*Mizrahi*' together, in the

objective of his view to sow division and fraternal enmity. The situation that was created was one of surprise, and those that sided with me said: is it worth reacting to the words of the speaker or in general, not worth having a discussion with him, because he hasn't come to organize *Haredi* youth, but rather to mock and poke at Zionism. However because he enveloped his speech in citations from the *HaZa''L*, it became incumbent upon myself to publicly oppose him and to reveal his true face.

I was opposed. First, I was of the mind that it was not worth causing a flare-up of passions. Secondly, up to that time, I was numbered among the attendees at the *Kloyz*, and it was not pleasant that they should spread my words, as if I was against the conspiracy. In the meantime, on *Shabbat Hazon*, notices were pasted up that on *Shabbat Hazon* the preacher Schur would speak on the direction of education in the '*Agudah*,' in the Great Synagogue. We decided then, not to give him a chance to speak no matter what.

In consultation with those who caused this matter, a variety of proposals were made regarding how we should react, there were those of the opinion that he should be forcibly removed from the Bima, but the majority, including myself, opposed this. We looked for more pleasing alternatives, that would be favorably received by an idealistically educated youth. And since I was the general secretary of the Head Gabbai at the time, in the Great Synagogue, R' David Mordechai Sholom's, I recognized the amendments to the chronology made generations ago, and among these amendments was an amendment for *Shabbat Hazon* (which was signed by our great-grandfather Meir Buber, when he was the Head Gabbai in the Great Synagogue) and ש"ת:

A) No worshiper should enter the Great Synagogue wearing a *shtrymel*.

B) On *Shabbat Hazon* it is the requirement of the leader of services to chant the '*Lekha Dodi*' prayer using the tune of '*Eylai Zion V'Arehah*, etc.'

I read these amendments to R' David and warned him not to permit an error, should they, God forbid, violate the previously mentioned amendments, because I knew, that the *Hasidim* of the Belz *Kloyz* would come, most of them wearing *shtrymels*, to hear the lecture. R' David was taken aback, because even Rabbi Rimmelt who routinely worshiped at this [Great] Synagogue, did not come here on *Shabbat Hazon* to pray, but went over to the old *Bet HaMedrash* in order that he not transgress on the custom of the place, laid out in the amendment.

We decided to write a notice in the form of a decided caution dictated by the amendment previously mentioned, and to paste it on the entrance to the Great Synagogue and when Schur and his escorts arrived on Friday evening to pray, we warned them that they should not enter wearing *shtrymels* in the Synagogue, and not desecrate its sanctity. Having no choice, they left the Synagogue, and went to the old *Bet HaMedrash* and also for the following Sabbath morning, they went to the *Bet HaMedrash*. Before the reading of the *Torah*, Schur attempted to speak, but the Head *Gabbai* Meir Wolf Ka'Tz, being a *Mizrahi* man, closed the *Bet HaMedrash* after services, and took the keys with him with the intention that no one could enter without him, but the Second *Gabbai* of the *Bet HaMedrash* R' Berisz Waldman, an adherent to the *Hasidim*, opened it, and he agreed that the locksmith Noviszwicki will remove the locks in order that Schur and his escort could enter. The matter became swiftly known to the Zionists and members of *Mizrahi*, and by the time that Schur and his brethren got to the *Bet HaMedrash*, it was filled to capacity by Zionist youth. Schur and his escorts were pushed inside with

difficulty and at that very instant they began to recite the *Mincha* service. Having no recourse, the brethren took him to the Belz Kloyz, an perhaps from here he could excoriate the Zionists. And here, R' Avraham Lurberbaum, a teacher of justice arose and forbade him to speak, because in the Belz *Kloyz* it was not customary to permit an orator to speak, even if it was from the Legends of Israel, and this custom could not be violated.

It was then announced that, with God's help, tomorrow on Sunday at ten o'clock, he would speak in the Great Synagogue. The custom was, that when a speaker visited the city, the youth and young adults of the *Kloyz* wanted to hear him, especially if the speaker was 'one of us' (this time it was whispered from mouth to ear, that it would be a great *mitzvah* to pay attention to everything he said, for is he not speaking against the Zionists).

The *Mizrahi* youth thought otherwise. According to their dictates, they were forbidden to speak badly and sow the seeds of enmity and strife in the city.

On Sunday morning, they organized the youth, mostly students (students of the intermediate municipal schools) who on that day were free from classes and all began to stream to the Great Synagogue, took all the seats (every seat was connected to a large bench in a way that it was possible to lift it). Slowly but surely, the Synagogue was filled by *Kloyz* worshipers and ordinary Jews. On Sundays, stores are closed, and the speech was not to raise funds, so many came to listen. The speaker, Mr. Schur went up to the Bima, with his Hasidim at his sides, to protect him during the time of need. Suddenly knocking was heard, voices and noise rose from all of the benches at once, that were like a strong explosion. The banging and unrest did not abate, until the preacher and his escorts left the place. But, with a covered head, the speaker left the city without founding and organizing a chapter of '*Agudat Israel*.'

After a period of ten years from this failed attempt, because of the effort of Rabbi Meir Shapiro, the Headmaster of the Yeshiva *Khakhmei Lublin* and the *Agudah*, they founded an '*Agudah*' [chapter].

My brother Elazar was among them. The '*Agudah Verein*' did not find favor in the eyes of the Belz fanatics. Largely, there were not many opponents. Despite being members of the *Agudah*, they did not leave the *Kloyz*. At a rabbinical assembly in Lvov, in which the ADMo"R Rokeach זצ"ל of Belz, also took part, he poured his heart out to Henech Lieberman and the bitterness of what he said made an impression on me, to wit: ' At the time you founded the *Mizrahi* you left the *Kloyz* and kept your word – not to coax the youth of the *Kloyz* to join the *Mizrahi*; your brother Elazar was the opposite of this, he remained in the *Kloyz* and between the walls of the *Kloyz* he was active on the part of the '*Agudah Verein*.'

Henech was a loyal Belz [*Hasid*], committed with all the feelings in his soul and with no compromise to his own ideals, he believed in God and the *Rebbe שליט"א* and the direction of the Belz educational system.

Despite our different outlooks, and our separate ways, we remained good and loyal friends. This was true of his criticism and support, because he knew what he was fighting for and understood the heart of his opposition.

The 'Poalei Zion' Organization in Zolkiew

By Zvi Fish

I was born in 1892 into a family of furriers. My brother Shimon שׂוֹן, founded a firm to make jackets and hats, and I also worked there, and we were the first to bring machines into the city, because up to that time, the furriers worked manually. The profession expanded in the city, and tens of craftsmen arose, and there were laborers by the hundreds. In 1819, a friend and I decided to organize our youth, and with the help of Mr. Tzeltner, who was an official under the local notary, established '*Poalei Zion.*' An important branch in this initiative was raising money for KK"ל, and together with the friends of Yaakov Maimon we performed many charitable projects. In this group, our friends, Leon Apfel and Nachman Apfelschmidt, Sobol and others [also worked].

The Beginnings of 'HaShomer HaTza 'ir' in Zolkiew

By Penina Netzer (Katz)

As was the case in all the towns of Galicia, alongside the Zionist Institution, there was also a youth group called '*Tze 'irei Zion.*' The organization operated clandestinely, and young people joined it from the middle class, and the upper classes of the gymnasium. Its purpose was to deepen the international recognition among the assimilating Jewish youth, and to complete the Jewish education that the Polish school did not provide to them, for example: the Hebrew language, parts of Jewish history, and chapters of knowledge about the Land of Israel.

In alignment to '*Tze 'irei Zion*' they worked at the same time, especially in the big cities, the 'scout' groups ('*tzofim*') under the direction of Heinrich Sterner, who set himself the goal of education a new Jewish generation, standing tall, that had the capacity to build a robust group in the Land of the Fathers, and that it becomes suffused with a sense of self-worth and international at the same time.

In 1913, the Jewish scout movement received the name 'HaShomer', as a symbol and expression of its affinity to the 'HaShomer' group in the Land of Israel. During the days of the First World War, the élite of '*Tze 'irei Zion*' – which fled the Russian invasion – along with the members of '*HaShomer*' in Vienna, the capitol of Austria, and integrated themselves into one movement called '*HaShomer Ha Tza 'ir.*'

The '*HaShomer Ha Tza 'ir*' movement arose out of opposition to the degenerate life of the Diaspora and out of a longing for a new life, better and more wholesome. To this international moment, the movement added the realization of the individual's personality and cultivation values of tradition and fellowship. It paid attention to the salvation of man and the Jew together, and it was an international educational movement.

The '*HaShomer Ha Tza 'ir*' movement was influenced by the free youth in Germany, that inscribed its mark on nature and called for its members to distance themselves from the sinking bourgeoisie. Also, the Russian Revolution and its communal concepts also left their impression on '*HaShomer Ha Tza 'ir*' at its outset. Accordingly, at the beginning, '*HaShomer Ha Tza 'ir*' was apolitical, and this was the romantic period at its beginning.

News of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* came to Zolkiew after the meeting that was held in Tarnowa in 1918. The members of *Tze'irei Zion* were invited as well, and the representative from Zolkiew was Avraham Samet. After he returned from this conference, a *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* group was organized in Zolkiew, from the graduates of the eighth grade of the gymnasium, headed by Meir Melman (today – a member of the government Yiddish Theater in Warsaw), and in a short time, an additional group was added of the daughters of the city, called '*Zechariah*,' and other groups arose, mostly from the ranks of the student youth.

The work of these groups was very intensive. It operated clandestinely, because most of its members were students of the gymnasium, and such activity was forbidden by the school. Added to this was the opposition of parents, from a religious standpoint of the squandering of study time among them. The members of the group learned Hebrew, the chronology of Judaism, a familiarity with *The Land* (called '*Palestinographia*' in the nomenclature of the times), and they saw this as a drawing near to the realization of their dreams, to make *aliyah* to *The Land*. The members of the movement worked in all of the Zionist undertakings in the city, especially in donations to *Keren-HaKayemet* to which they dedicated the better part of their energy. They did not overlook any celebratory community gathering, a wedding, or other opportunities in which it was possible to collect donations for international institutions. The membership of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* did not have a permanent gathering place. For lack of means, they were unable to rent a hall, and work was directed out of a community garden or specific houses of members.

The members of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* set up discussions regarding issues of the group. A great deal of time was dedicated to reading books about the methods of organization, socialism, and especially books about Jewish subjects. German newspapers were also received: '*Junge Menschen*' (young men), '*Junge Gemeinde*' (a youth organization) and conversations were also carried out along with reading these books. The movement raised the standard of the Zionist-socialist concept, with the goal of building labor socialism in Israel, but the faces of the group were turned towards *aliyah* to *The Land*, and not to engage in conflict in the Diaspora.

Anti-Semitism ran rampant at that time, but this atmosphere did not retard the spirit of the members of the group, rather it only served to strengthen to spark for the movement, and the Land of Israel, and the concept of *aliyah* injected a sense of confidence in them. Instead of a life in the Diaspora, a new subject was now to be found in the lives of Jewish youth, that proudly proclaimed its hope to make *aliyah* to *The Land*. Many also left their studies in order to prepare for *aliyah*.



בנות קבוצת "זכריה" של "השומר הצעיר", שנת 1920
 מ ש מ א ל ל י מ ין
 יושבות: שושנה חרבסטר, דבורה גולדברקר, תמר אורלנדר.
 עומדות: פרידקה פיש, בתיה כהן, רבקה ליכטר.

Page 336: Young Women of 'Zechariah' a branch of HaShomer Ha Tza'ir, in the year 1920

(From Left to Right):

Seated: Shoshana Harbster, Dvora Goldbarker, Tamar Orlander

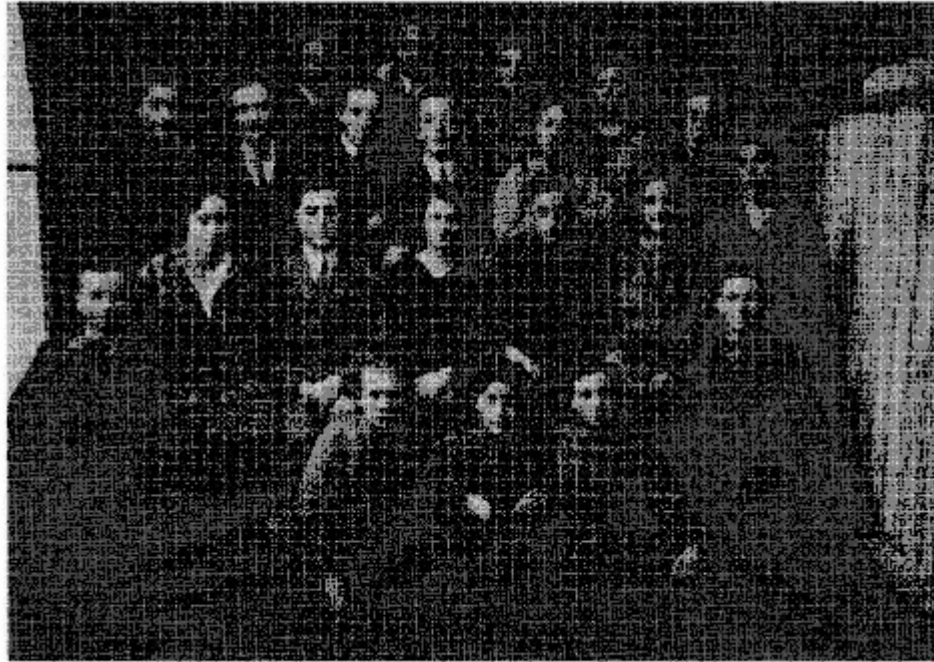
Standing: Fried'ka Fish, Batya Cohen, Rivka Lichter

Only a small number of the original group realized their desire, and made *aliyah* to *The Land*. The first group of the seniors of the gymnasium, fell apart, and most of them continued their studies in the university. The head of this group, Meir Melman left the movement, and he was replaced by Avraham Samet (Today a member of *Kibbutz Ramat-Yokhanan*). People of a young age joined the movement, from all ranks of Jewish youth in Zolkiew; from workers, among students, and even from the religious ranks. They began to go out to the training units of the movement, but they could not integrate this with actual *aliyah* because of the conditions in *The Land*, and the opposition of parents, who demanded that their sons continue with their studies, despite the slim chances of getting set up in a job.

The Branch of 'HaShomer Ha Tza'ir'

By Shoshana Selakh (Harbster)

The *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* movement in Zolkiew was founded in 1918, at the end of the First World War, during which time, the dreams of small and nations pressured for an independent country became a reality. It was then that the Jewish nation in the Diaspora became attached to the task, believing that its Zionist dream had to be realized. The concept of organizing Jewish youth to achieve redemption and a Zionist concept was not disappointed. The beginning of the work to organize youth came from Vienna, where Mr. Rieger founded the institution of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*, in the 'Blue-White' place that existed in Austria and Czechoslovakia, and to it, one must relate the organization of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* throughout the breadth of Poland and Galicia.



חברי חסתרות "החלוץ" בז'לוקיב — שנת 1925

Page 337/8: *Members of the 'HeHalutz' Organization in Zolkiew – 1925
(Left to Right)*

Middle Row Seated: Shoshana Acker, Reuben Keifer, Yehudis Samet, Michael Lichter, Saba Borer.

First Row Standing: Joseph Shlitin, Mordechai Apfel, Aryeh Acker, Shmuel Honig, Pinchas Halpern, Nathan Reiss, Shoshana Harbster

Kneeling on the Side: Shimon Fishler, Moshe Leiner

Top Row: Yitzhak Friedman, Yehoshua Berger, Avraham Lichter, Gi'tcha Reitzfeld

Sitting Below: Pinchas Halpern, Sholom Lida, Sholom Deutscher

It was one of the members of the first (now–Farhi) that founded *HaShomer*

head group from Lvov, Eliezer Wilder *Ha Tza'ir* in Zolkiew. The ideology

of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* was: the realization of Zionism by means of *aliyah* to *The Land* and to work the land there. It involved the protection of the settlement, and the rise of a new Jewish entity in body and soul. The concept was founded on the common principle, founded on the global vision established by Baden-Paul. Initially, there was a tendency to the goals of familiar movements whose objective was to return to nature. The members of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* especially admired the 'Yizkor Book' of the *Shomrim*, that fell under the auspices of the first settlements in their protection against murdering Arabs.

There are two periods of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* in our city: theoretical, and one that involved pioneering and actualization. The founding assembly of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* as attended by Meir Melman, David Tauba (today - Tuviahu) and Ronek Wachs. There was a very festive moment on one of the Sabbaths – in the winter of 1918, when most of the student youth of the city came together, and ardently listened to the talks of these three academics, who announced the responsibility of the youth to partake an active role in the realization of the Zionist ideal. This assembly took place in the home of Mr. Bandel, who allocated two rooms for assembly, and the work of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*. This was a substantive event, during which the youth gathered together and decided on its organization. On one side, the wall of tradition fell on the young person that the strictly observant parents forced on them, and on the second side, the youth from assimilated homes found a path of return to their people, a way opened up for them to engage in active, and progressive Zionism, and in this, youth found its destiny and way.

Before making *aliyah* to *The Land*, it was the objective of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* to educate a new and healthy Jew, prepared to withstand all of the disruptions and dangers in the Land of Israel, and be prepared to sacrifice his life for his nation and its land. The movement took in most of the youth in our city, from age 12 and up, and put them together. The essence of the organization of the branch, with regard to the groups, units and the complexion of the work, and the team discussions that were organized several times a week, provided the youth with satisfaction and much pleasure. For the first time, the youth of the city came together in a united and solid organization, having a set agenda of work, and distant to traverse. And this was a new change for the city of Zolkiew, that was completely suffused with *Hasidism* and the spirit of the *Kloyz*, because the Zionist movement existed, but it had no initiatives in it, and supported itself with an annual speech, the sale of several tickets to the Zionist Congress, and the conduct of two large celebrations on Purim and Hanukkah for *Keren HaKayemet*. Other than that the *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* movement was in the city and showed the way to realize the redemption of *The Land*, in body and soul. The youth shed the yoke of *Hasidism* and assimilation, and began a life of the young that was wholesome and independent.

Zolkiew did not lack for and intelligent and educated youth that knew how to organize a group effort with ardor: courses were founded for Hebrew, knowledge of *The Land*, history and science. They were engaged in projects, sports games, and singing. On Sabbaths there were joint presentations for everyone in the branch, and games, and *Halutz*-style dances. A library was founded using a collection of books from the members of the branch. [there were] courses for group leaders, and the heads of group were even sent to courses in Lvov or to summer camps. There were group discussions once a week for 3-4 groups together. When the weather was good, distant walks were arranged to that beautiful city forest the 'Re'i' that provided for a special experience; the excursion seemed like going through a hall of pictures, and not only a place for recreation, but also scented air and freshness. In this

wondrous ancient forest, we would weave our dreams, knit our agendas for *aliyah* to The Land, and to obtain the means to achieve them, because our parents resisted us and were not inclined to take steps that conflicted with their spirit.

Apart from the ‘*Re’i*’ forest, we had a municipal park that was magnificent, very spread around the ancient castle, and served as a place for assemblies and discussions. For almost the entire summer. And even during the rainy season, we would gather in the hut inside the park and lead the courses in the garden. Even in the winter, we would not abandon the garden and leave it alone. Our singing could be heard for a distance, while we were playing with the snow, and engaging in sports exercises. Even on the abandoned hill in the middle of the city, we would slide on hand-made sleighs. Monthly, the branch ‘newspaper’ would appear, organized in the spirit of *HaShomer Ha Tza’ir* and its expectations. In the fullness of time, even the opposition of our parents to our work came to an end.

In preparation for the *aliyah*, we had to pass through agricultural training, to align ourselves to what could be found in the Land of Israel. The first time we went out to get agricultural training, was in the field of the known Zionist Mr. Apfelschnitt of Zolkiew, on *ul. Snitzraska*, where he had a parcel that was sown with wheat or rye. The intention was aligned with the spirit and outlook of Mr. Apfelschnitt, and he was very happy to turn over the reaping of grain in his field. On one clear day, a group of students went out to the field. For us this was a strong walk, but to the *Hasidic* parents they saw in it some betrayal of Torah seeing young boys and girls going out to work together. They put the scythes in our hands, and then, after a short bit of instruction, we began to enthusiastically reap with extra diligence. The stalks covered our hands immediately, and sweat poured down our faces onto our clothing. We were not used to this kind of work, but we paid no attention to this, we were happy for every stalk that fell down into our hands and every bundle that we succeeded to tie up, and we were very proud of this first harvest of ours. This was not only physical training, but also a sundering from our parental tradition, *Haredim* and progressive people together. On one occasion, I was compelled to leave the harvesting because my father was walking towards me, and I understood that he had not come to the field in my favor. He was a highly observant *Hasid* and all my association with the *Histadrut* of *HaShomer Ha Tza’ir* was against all his creeds and beliefs. Quickly, I had to get out of his sight.

We traveled to a second training site during the summer. Avraham Samet was the head of the branch, and he also went as the head of the training group of ‘*HeHalutz*.’ We traveled to the village of Turyнка – a distance of 190 kilometers from Zolkiew, to the land parcels of Lawrence and Schreiber (Lawrence owned many parcels of land in Galicia). In the training groups were: Avraham Samet, Fried’ka fish, Ida Fukard, Bel’kah Cohen, Boszko Zimeles, Stakh Bindel, Borko Lebenstein, and me, who came after them on foot, and I did not ride together with them out of fear that my father would come in our trail, and cause me to return home. The training in Turyнка was a heavy and hard experience because we did work in all aspects of agriculture that were strange to us. Harvesting, threshing in a wash, building a sheaf, moving and carrying the product. We worked willingly and with much focus. The pitchfork, hoe, scythe and sickle, and also with machines that were strange to our hands and eyes. Large stalks came up in our hands, but we did not complain, we carried out all the work that was allocated to us, with song and laughter, and there was praise for our work and admiration in every land parcel, and from the Christian workers.

When vacation was over, we returned home, and we received news of the halt to *aliyah*, but to the members of 'HeHalutz' did not stop from seeking out places for training, in the hopes that the *aliyah* would be started up again. Avraham Samet traveled for training to Holwowa – a village beside Bobryk, in the Lvov province, with an enchanting natural ambience, that elicited much envy from the *Halutzim*, who were all young *Maskilim*, among them people with talent for poetry and literature, such as: Anda Finkerfeld, her sister and brothers, Krempfner (today – Amir), Tzil'keh Klar (Finkerfeld), the Mintzer brothers, Carla Reich, the Mizess brothers, etc.

Batya Cohen and me prepared ourselves to travel for training at an agricultural farm in Stanislawow. To our great pain, our parents decided to detain us and didn't refrain from using the police that returned us from the train to our house. This was in 1922/23 on the eve of the Third Global Assembly of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* in the village of Stchilki-Jagolnica, in the Carpathian mountains in the south of Galicia. After the Assembly, I completed my training at the agricultural farm in Stanislawow, that was not only an area for Shomrim and Halutzim, but also an institution for orphans that was led by a strict internal guard, that did not share the ideals of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*.

The oversight committee was an entity that was closed to the Jewish youth. There was a large gathering of youth in the Diaspora, that was held in a place of enchanting natural beauty. At the foot of a high mountain, in a forest of thick pine trees, on a redolent field of grass, a festive celebration was opened up with the singing of the *Shomer* hymn 'We Are Going Up [to the Land].' That moment left a strong impression in the hearts of the participants, that will remain etched in their memories all the days of their lives. The meeting began with speeches of M. Ya'ari and M. Orenstein that came from *The Land*, Tillman, and others. The leaders leaned towards an alien ideological stream, and wanted to burden the movement with new obligations that did not align with the reality and the expectations of the diaspora. The *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* movement was, from the beginning of its founding, a right-wing Zionist organization, and had organized most of the educated youth under its wings, the outstanding members of the Jewish Diaspora, who had the ability to bring lofty cultural values to *The Land*. With the acceptance of these new lines, youth movements began to organize along different streams, and there was competition amongst them.

After the meeting in Stchilki, Avraham Samet made revisions in the branch of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* in Zolkiew, and left in it only those active people that thought to make *aliyah* to *The Land* and he gave a living example with his own *aliyah*. The *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* branch weakened considerably, many left because of the termination of *aliyah* in general, and also in the face of a staunch opposition from their parents. The boys and girls returned to their studies, and satisfied themselves with sympathy for the movement only. A handful of people who thought of the movement as the entire content of their lives and did not want to realize their lives any other way, without making *aliyah* to the Land of Israel did not give up, and continued to keep the branch alive. Among them were: Saba Borer,



בנות תנועת "ההולצ'י" — שנת 1933
משמאל לימין: צפורה פוקאר, שושנה הירשקורן, ברונה כהן.

Page 342: Young Women of the 'HeHalutz'
movement – 1933
(LtoR): Tzipora Fokard, Shoshana
Hirschhorn, Brunya Cohen

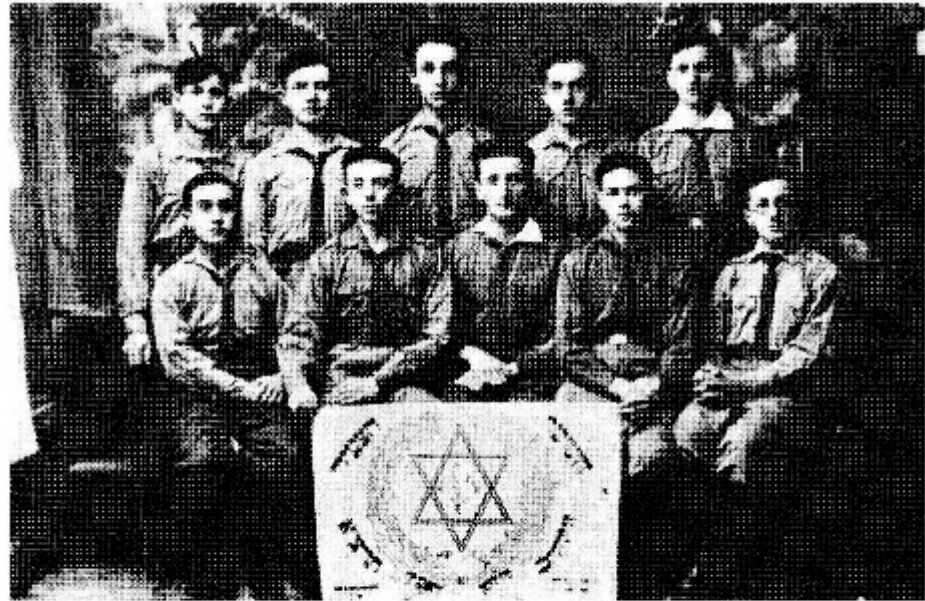
Michael Lichter, Yehudi Samet and myself. We joined activities with *HeHalutz*, and from the beginning renewed the groups and the work in the branch, until such time that we were privileged to realize our desires – and we made *aliyah*.

Israel, the Land of Labor

By Michael Lichter

The Zionist movement in our city found its expression and organic expression in the ‘Verein’ called ‘*Dorshei Shalom Zion*’. All the young adult men would enter there, glancing at but not being repulsed by Zionist culture, and were repelled by people who became rather behaving in accordance with the saying of dancers to ‘what a beautiful thing,’ the assimilationists or ‘Poles of the Mosaic Faith’, rather behaving in accordance with the saying ‘take hold of this, and also from that, and do not let your hands rest.’ Very quickly, the sons of *balebatim* could be found in the *Verein*, and also a part of the daughters. The intelligent men or young adults became the leaders of the *Verein*. And if in prior generations they were compelled to learn secular material in secret, in the Yeshivas or Houses of Study, now they could do so out in the open, under the guardianship of their fathers. A sample of the type of brilliant type among them, was the son of Avraham’li Shapiro. Avraham’li, an Enlightened person with a sharp mind, who educated his sons, Israel and Yehoshua, not only to the wedding canopy and the doing of good deeds, but he bequeathed to them his way of life, and from his charitable orientation, and the essence was that he influenced them not to use the Torah as an ‘axe to grind with.’ He made it possible for his son Yehoshua to become the spiritual leader of the *Verein*. Yehoshua was also a speaker of elevated generosity, and he can be crowned with the crown of: the father of the spread of Zionism in our city. Together they took an active part in sacred work such as Waldman, Guliger, and Dr. Tzimerman, and from the second side, David Tauba (David Tuviahu, the head of the town of Beersheba of the past).

There were upsets in the life of the movement. The spoken language at home was Yiddish (*mameloshn*). But even with Tuviahu, who was my teacher and guide, I was compelled to speak Polish. During the short time when our city was under Ukrainian rule, we also learned the Ukrainian language in the gymnasium. But the period after the war was the ‘golden gate’ of the international rebirth in our city. Immediately after the Ukrainians took control, Tuviahu drove a revolution in the ‘*Kultursrat*’ and changed it into a ‘*Nationalsrat*.’ You can understand that this was not achieved easily, and it was necessary, in several stormy assemblies, accompanied by fisticuffs, to have the assimilationists removed from their positions. This was the period of the flowering of the Zionist movement of the youth, that concentrated itself almost entirely in the youth organization, *HaShomer*



"השומר הצעיר" – קבוצת "התיקוח" – שנת 1931
 יושבים משמאל לימין: (1) קראוס דב, (2) לאנר געזיל, (3) ליכטר מיכאל, (4) ליכטר יצחק, (5) ראט מנחם.
 עומדים משמאל לימין: (1) שולץ, (2) גנטוואר, (3) שומן מיכאל, (4) לאוסרפאנט צבי, (5) קאנצוקר יעקב.

Page 343/4 'HaShomer Ha Tza'ir – The 'Hatikvah Group – 1931

Ha Tza'ir. Almost all of the gymnasium students in our city
 ged to this *Histadrut*, even the sons of the ardent assimilationists, in
 homes there was not even a trace of Judaism.

I will recall two appearances of the *Histadrut 'HaShomer Ha Tza'ir'*.
 celebratory memorial gathering that was organized in conjunction
 all of the Zionist institutions in our city on 20 Tammuz in the Great
 ogue. The essence of the memorial service in the Great Synagogue
 witness to the breaking of the tradition of the assimilationists, when during their reign in the community council they would organize only secular
 celebrations in the Great Synagogue only on the birthday of Kaiser Franz-Josef I – the Austrian monarch. This time 'the wall was pierced, and a service
 of mourning' was held in memory of the revered Zionist leader in the Synagogue. On the same midday week, towards evening, all the stores were closed,
 and all the residents of the city streamed to the synagogue. Keeping order, and the oversight of dignity was in the hands of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*, who

(Left to Right):

- (Seated): Dov Karuss, Getz'l Langer, Michael Lichter, Yitzhak
 Lichter, Menachem Rat
 (Standing): Schultz, Genauer, Michael Shomen, Zvi Leutrafach,
 Yaakov Kanczucker

belon
whose

First a
with
Synag
was

demonstrated their power from their role means of a band on their sleeve. In every public,



חברי "החלוץ" בז'ולקייב בפגישת פרידה עם יפה בורר העולה ארצה — שנת 1934

Page 345/6: *Members of 'HeHalutz' in Zolkiew at the Departure of Yaffa Borer Making Aliyah to The Land – 1934*

as guards, to their lack of uniforms, by respect, we came out, this first time in

with a firm step and a demonstration, and this not only bolstered our own pride, but also the parents and elders took pride in our satisfaction.

The second appearance was especially for students. We had returned as a team from a promenade in the 'Re'i' and this was on the Sabbath towards evening, before the conclusion of the Sabbath, and we were camped out in the fields of grass – between the park and the railroad tracks. We began to sing all the Hebrew songs that we had been taught during the last period, in unison. Our singing was apparently very successful, because it aroused a significant echo and elicited a trembling from the traces off longing for *The Homeland* that had fallen asleep inside of every Jew. The Jews of the city gathered around us, and not only listened, but by the look in their eyes, and their movements, one could sense the rustle that pervaded the singers and the listeners.

The country created by the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia fell in 1919, and in their place there arose the 'Hallerists' of the Polish Army, and the first to suffer were the Jews. Many were forced to flee the city, and those that remained were very frightened, only a small handful continued with Zionist work in secret, to keep watch over the ember, so that it not be extinguished.



קבוצת 'החלוצים' בז'וקוב — שנת 1935.



סניף 'העובדי' בז'וקוב — שנת 1935
 שורה ראשונה ממשמאל לימין: אויסטר עקיבת (ה'), מרום שלמה, קסנדרק מנדל, ליכטר אברהם, שילי סגול, עזרוביץ שרה, שמונה (ה'), פלוצקין יעקב, רייס מנח, שלמה יוסף, ברגר משה, כץ נחמן, פוגל ולייב, שפיטל פייבל.
 השנייה: ברש ישעיהו, דורנשולד מלכה, בורר טונקו, דולמן אפרים, שטיבל חנה, ברוסר מינה, אפרת יוכי, רשף חנני.
 השלישית למטה: ליכטר אברהם, כץ שלמה, זיגרט זוהר.

Pages 347/8

Top: The HeHalutz Group in Zolkiew – 1935
 Bottom: The 'HaOvayd' Branch in Zolkiew – 1935

From Left to Right:

First Row: Akiva Oster, (unknown), Shlomo Frum, Mendl Kandzucker, Avraham Lichter, Mendl Schultz
Standing (2nd Row): (unknown), Yaakov Fundik, Nathan Reiss, Yitzhak Schlusser, Moshe Berger, Meir Katz, Chaim Fogel, Fyvel Spindel.
Seated: Shimon Brenner, Malka Dornfeld, Tunka Borer, Ephraim Waldman, Chana Spiegel, Minna Gurman, Wife of Water
Seated Bottom: Avraham Lichter, Shlomo Katz, David Ziebert

The period of the Depression began, and the parents, even the Zionists among them began to oppose their sons that remained in the movement. We were compelled to take down our flag, and to close ourselves up in a branch office outside the city and to make modest all the external signs and symbols of the movement. The ‘*Tzofim*’ movement changed and moved over to become a pioneering movement and one for realization. We received only weak echoes of what was going on in the world, there were literally very little of those who went up to *The Land* in the *Third Aliyah*.

The first to make *aliyah* were David Tauba and Simcha Klinger, of the first sellers in Beer-Tuvia. In a like manner, Anshel Sobol and Ze’ev Reitzes made *aliyah*.

Training groups were organized in the nearby surroundings. There were even ‘wood cutters’, and of central importance was the study of Hebrew and with this a seed of Hebrew speakers was planted. Hebrew teachers came from outside the city, until we reached a foundation of courses for the Hebrew language, and literally at the end of the Hebrew School [year] itself. A point of a permanent training facility was established, based on the work that the glass factory underwrote, and a spot of training for ‘*Dror*.’ A branch of the ‘*Hitakhdut*’ organization arose in our city as well, which centralized all the Zionist work in our city. The main concern of this institution was to secure the economic standing of its members. There was a multi-branched cultural initiative created, and the beginning of political work, that is to say: the organization of the political and autonomous life of the Jews in our city, especially during elections, whether to the country-level institutions, municipal and Zionist institutions.

The character of our city, that in reality was a small town, despite the economic and cultural Depression, which grew in strength along with the anti-Semitism and manifestations of it, remained dormant in routines life. Here or there, especially among the maturing youth, if someone had the nerve to

jump out into the wide world, but because of the change of the status regarding *aliyah* to the Land of Israel in a substantive and organized way, did not happen.

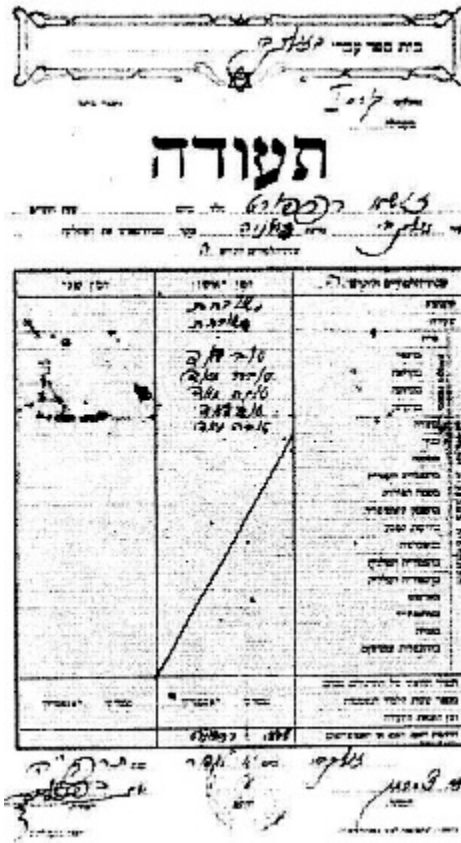
Solitary fortunate people that belonged to the Youth Movement of the Land of Israel for Laborers, their influence was recognized on the youth in our city.

Regarding the Student Youth

By Meir Lifschitz

The year 1917 was a year of change for the Jews of schools, This period also heralded the end of the democratic states. In that year, many of the Jews in class of the gymnasium – and there were two parallel There were the sons of merchants, retail storekeepers, knowledgeable in torah from the well-to-do, and also u r a' (The diploma of graduation) on the academic concern of their fathers; their desire was to secure the among their peers, as the living say, in an ambience

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תעודת ביה"ס העברי בז'ולקין - שנת 1925
 Page 350: A Report Card from the Hebrew School in Zolkiew - 1925

in Our City

our city regarding the study in intermediate and high-level Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the genesis of the first new, our city turned to the government gymnasium. In the first classes – the Jews made up fifty percent of all the students. and laborers. There were sons who were Maskilim and some from ordinary families. All aimed towards the 'M a t level. Truthfully, the enlightenment of their sons was not a economic position of their sons, and to raise their standard of dignity and economic means together.

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There were many repercussions to this transformation. As if there was an unwritten law, that the intermediate level of learning was especially created for the sons of the appointed populace, who spoke Polish, or to the sons of doctors and lawyers. The language they spoke and their position separated them from the general Jewish populace of the city; Justifiably or not, they were seen as assimilationists, who mimicked the gentiles in their manner. The Polish government gymnasium looked like the transfer of the intermediate level Enlightenment into the Jewish ambience. Jewish children spent most of their time in a 'Heder' growing long or short sidelocks, and held up the customs of the Jewish religion of Jewish tradition. When the change came along, many of them turned to the gymnasium – and they had to cut their sidelocks, to change their clothing, and to study in school six days a week, including Sabbaths. Becoming accustomed to this new way of life was difficult. These students were not fluent in Polish, and their pronunciation was very distorted. This matter made them the laughingstock of the teachers and students that were not Jewish. The Polish pronunciation was difficult for many of them, like the splitting of the Red Sea. The letter 's' came out of their mouths as 'sh' – the 'tz' as 'tch' or the reverse, It was possible to learn Polish grammar easily, but not the pronunciation. On a Sabbath, many rushed to the Great Synagogue to pray at the first minyan, and after services, they ran home, took their learning material, hiding them underneath their jackets and hurried off to the gymnasium. And here, another chapter began: to write on the Sabbath or not? The older students wrote on the Sabbath; the new students, who came from a traditional household, were fearful and they became undecided about this issue, and even saw an international quandary in it. Those that decided not to write on the Sabbath but rather to learn the material by heart, gave a sign to their friends and teachers, that they are fighting for one of their privileges, privileges of international concern, that were promised to them by the Constitution, and therefore, the professors do not have the force them to act otherwise. There rebellion caused them to Because not all the teachers – among whom there were also were prepared to consider explicit writing in the and they denigrated the lives of the Jewish students, and not a little, to force their leaving the gates of the In any event, the number of students shrunk over the years very few Jews who succeeded in reaching the eighth grade; remained out of the two parallel classes, and the number of small, but with all this, the percentage of Jewish students students in the class grew without measure, in comparison grads of prior years. And it was in this way, that the number of youth in Zolkiew was noticeable for its number, in its composition and origins.

permission to 'spill blood.' anti-Semites– Constitution, pressed them enlightenment. – there were only one class students grew out of all the to the eighth academic that was varied

ישיבים משמאל לימין:
 זאנר אביגדור
 מימלע מיירה
 ליכטנבערג רוזליה
 שטריך טונגה
 אפפל קלרה
 בנדל קלרה
 עומדיים:
 לחקת ביזור פלמב
 הסבקות ביילקייב
 (השלישי מצד שמאל;
 זיבל שמיא).



יער אנודת חסער חלומד ביילקייב — שנת 1937

Page 353/4: The student Group in Zolkiew – 1937

(From Left to Right)

Sitting: Avigdor Zager, Mira Zimeles, Rosalia Lichtenberg, Tunka Shtraich, Clara Apfel, Clara Bandel

Standing: An entertainment Group from Lvov (third from the left: Shammai Zuvi)

Most of the graduates of the gymnasium turned to the university. Very few succeeded in infiltrating the faculty of medicine. Many studied in two other faculties: law and philosophy. The number studying in the polytechnic school was not large. With the passage of time, during the decade of the thirties, tens of young students wandered the streets of Zolkiew, proud of their standing, respected and very acceptable... the female graduates of the Seminary were 'almost' equivalent to them in status.

The young academics in Zolkiew divided themselves into two different categories, according to their social origin, and according to their ideological

tendency, or partisan identity. By jealousy, a number were attracted to the Christians and ran to join them, but they did not particularly succeed in their

undertaking: Polish youth was not inclined to accept youth, with personal pride, and a sense of comrades and worked within the confines of his is to say: financial assistance through loans to either the university or polytechnic, support to the Jewish students of all Eastern Galicia (including eat at the 'manse' at a low cost. To raise the funds for collected new donations from the working Praiseworthy was the fact that many of them did not had assumed years before, even when their own of them were compelled to fight over every client, for members of their household, and to strengthen their with the youth and the grown ups as one. This is in despite the fact that there was a great difference the First World War. The youth of the city knocked But those very students who grew up on the Jewish houses, a traditional one and an international one, between work within the academic such as: 'Hitakhdut' HaShomer Ha committee, and the groups for the (called the *Kultur Verein* in local Zionist students on their comrades assimilation, such as the families of: Whitman, who knowingly or their people, and to whom a modicum attached. It is worth recollecting the Yaakov Gelber, Izia Zayger, Many youthful ardor and put in a great deal

TOWARZYSTWO KSZTAŁCĄCEJ SIĘ MŁODZ. ŻYD.
W ŻÓŁKWI

REWJA

KRYZYS I SPÓŁKA

Wielka plajta w 16 protestach

Początek punktualnie o godzinie 20.

PO PRZEDSTAWIENIU DANCING

PROGRAM



חברי "התאחדות" בז'ולקביב — שנת 1935
משמאל לימין, צומדים: מיכאל מלמן, יוסף גילס, יוסף פטרונטאש
יושבים: יהושע אינדק, שמשון ליפשיץ, עקיבא כהן

them into their group. Because of this every Jewish international Jewishness, saw his place among his group, whose practical objective was: mutual help, that comrades, who did not have the means to pay tuition at house of the 'Rigurisentim' in Lvov, where all of the scions of our city) and providing for the possibility to this aid, the students organized dance parties, and intelligentsia, and the well-to-do of the city. withdraw their hands from the 'responsibility' that they economic situation worsened, and in their need, many the minimal income they needed to sustain the office. The young academics enjoyed their friendship relation to expressing a recognition in *Haskalah*, between the new lawyers from their colleagues before in vain, and the contact with them was very superficial. street, in which a Jewish air breathes through their

knew how to divide their energies *Agudah* and other Zionist organs, *Tza'ir*, The *Keren HaKayemet* adherents to the culture and faith language). The influence of the was recognized, who were sunk into Miller, Czyckes, Kaczka, and unknowingly, began to draw nearer to of Zionist ideology had been brothers Moshe and Chaim Katz, Apfel. That gave generously of their of work into the '*Kultur Verein*.'

Page 357/8: Members of 'Hitakhdut' in Zolkiew – 1935

(From Left to Right):

Standing: Michael Melman, Joseph Giles, Joseph Patrontacz

Sitting: Yehoshua Indyk, Shimshon Lifschitz, Akiva Cohen

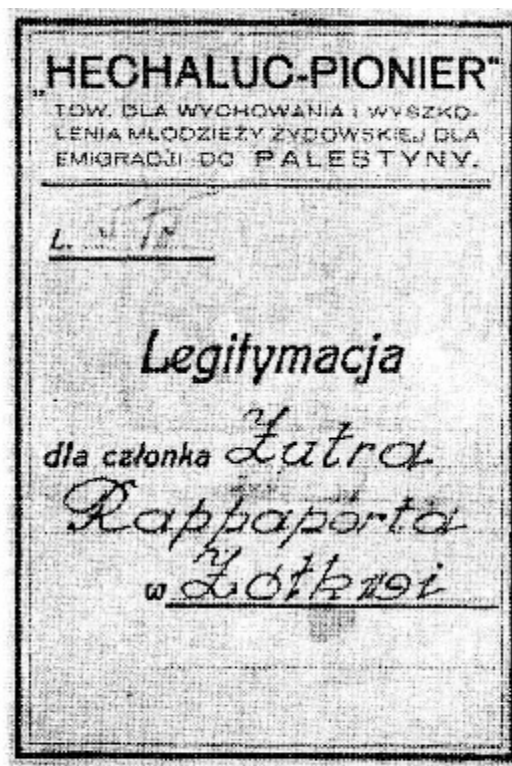
It is understood that the core of the struggle of the youth was forsaken at a place in the intermediate and higher schools. There just struggle for a place is laudable in the economic life and comradeship of the young Polish country, that returned to life after many years of subjugation, this was not the case with the arrival of the economic conditions of Polish Jewry in the days of the eve of the Second World War.

The Organization of 'Stam HeHalutz' in Zolkiew

By Zutra Rapaport

The *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* movement existed in our city before the decade of the twenties of this [sic: Twentieth] century. The concept of Zionism, at an hour that attracted the souls among the midst of the youth of the City, motivated the young people to begin preparing themselves to make the preparations for *aliyah* to *The Land*. They began to learn the Hebrew language, and even turned to doing tangible work, such as the studies of crafts and will be of use to them, when they will have the privilege to make *aliyah* to *The Land*. Among these crafts, they numbered agriculture, carpentry and others. The youth

that was taken with the idea of the actualization, in particular were 'the educated youth, that had decided to shed the yoke of their current life in the Diaspora, a Jewish youth of a generation that had begun to see the one born, who could see with the eyes of his spirit what his future was in the global world, whose origins began in the *Land of the Patriarchs*, in the Land of Israel.



תעודת חבר של ארגון 'סתם החלוצי' בז'לזקוב

Page 359/60: The identification card of a member of the tam HeHalutz' organization in Zolkiew

'S

In the strong ardor of the growth in awareness, came that reality, and it could be seen on the face of those desiring to make *aliyah*, who had been thwarted by the limitation of the Mandate Government that had been foisted upon them. In those days, before the illegal *aliyah* began, and only with the help of a 'certificate' was it possible to reach *The Land*, and the number of certificates that offered permission to the Zionist movement was very limited. Accordingly, it should not cause any wonder that only a few, solitary individuals succeeded to attain their heart's desire. During the years, when there was no possibility to make *aliyah*, the ardor of the youth became a little cold, they began to concentrate themselves in local businesses, it sundered its connection with the organized pioneering movement, established families, and joined various Zionist bodies in the city, such as: 'The Zionist *Histadrut*' ' *Hitakhdut Poalei Zion*,' or the division of ' *Poalei Zion on the Left*,' and ' *Mizrahi*,' being actively working within the limitations of the committees of the independent institutions for the Land of Israel, or that they engaged in initiatives in the life of the Jewish community in the city.



קבוצת החלוץ "הבוגרים" — שנת 1931
יושבים משמאל לימין: ג. שטאהל, יואל היינטיין, זוטרא רפפורט, חיים סרבר.
עומדים: ישראל דויטער, מאנעק רייצפלד, אברהם ליכטר, יונה לץ.

Page 361/2 (Top): A Group of 'Mature' members of Hehalutz – 1931
Sitting (LtoR): Y. Stahl, Joel Hystein, Zutra Rapaport, Chaim Serber
Standing (LtoR): Israel Deutcher, Manyk Reitzfeld, Avraham Lichter, Jonah Katz.

During the decade of the thirties, with the increase in anti-Semitism, and the oppression of the minority of Jews in Poland, when the economic situation continued to worsen, when the '*Numerus Clausus*' decrees constrained the educated [Jewish] youth from joining the universities in Poland, the assault on young Jews succeeded in deferring the cadre of students, became a day-to-day matter, and caused a new wave to rise among Jewish youth. Its objective was to abandon the old homeland. It became visible with the arousal of an international move to make *aliyah* to *The Land*, notwithstanding the difficulties it was enveloped in. Hundreds and thousands of the young people in Poland conveyed their will to join the ranks of '*HeHalutz*'. However since only those who have gone through previous training in a training unit, was qualified to receive such a certificate, which created a strengthened impulse to get trained, and the '*HeHalutz*' central offices in Warsaw and Lvov began to increase their training activities by creating additional training units for those

members that wished to try themselves in a life of work. Work units sprouted in villages and also in cities and towns, in accordance with the needs of the location. In the villages, training was given in agricultural work, and in the more urban areas the training was based on work in factories, and manufacturing initiatives. These training units had a double objective: to make the youth get used to manual labor, that was distant to many (this is said primarily for urban domiciled youth), that was meant to introduce them to cooperative life, and life in a Kibbutz, within whose boundaries he would have to live when he reached *The Land*.



נער חלוצי מלבוב וזלקיב בחצר הסירה המלוכנית בזלקיב — שנת 1931

There were different youth movements organized in the *Histadrut* of 'HeHalutz' in Poland., in accordance with the active units in the Zionist *Histadrut*. There were two central streams of effort here, one of 'Labor in the Land of Israel,' and that of the 'General Zionists. In that first stream, you could count the youth movement of 'Gordonia,' 'Dror,' 'Borokhovia,' *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* and others. The second stream contained 'Akiva' and others. In general, upon reaching *The Land*, the *Halutzim* joined existing *Kibbutzim*. Members of 'Gordonia' joined 'Ikhud HaKevutzot', the 'Dror' people and *Borokhovia* – to the 'Kibbutz HaMeukhad, and the people of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* – to the 'Kibbutz HaArtzi.' The *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* movement was in the habit of taking in and centralizing *Halutzim* making *aliyah* from Polish training unity, as a seed for the creation of a new *Kibbutz* in *The Land*, and this was because the number of members of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* in *The Land* was circumscribed.



חברי ארגון "סתם הוואלוצ'י" בזולקוב – שנת 1933
עומדים משמאל לימין: ח. שרבר, ז. רפפורט, ב. כהן, ש. גלס, ח. כהן, מ. שפירא
יושבים משמאל לימין: אצל כהן, מ. שווייצר, י. קלב, ש. חירשצוואר, י. היינטיין.

Page 365/366 (Top): Members of the 'Stam HeHalutz' Organization in Zolkiew –1933

Standing (LtoR): Kh. Serber, Z. Rapaport, B. Cohen, Sh. Glass, H. Cohen, M. Shapiro



חברי "סתם-החלוץ" ביולקייב — שנת 1933

יושבים משמאל לימין: אטרא רפפורטי, צפורה פוקרד, ברוך סידור, בתומה כהן, מלכה שוייצר.
 עומדים: בלמה ברוזינגר, אהרן שטיין, שושנה היינשורן, חיים סרבר, פרידקה טאטנבר, יונה קי.

369/37



Sitting
 Schwe
 Standi
 Freid'k

חסתדרות "החלוץ" ביולקייב — 1931

משמאל לימין: יושבים: רייצפלד מאנק, רובין ששומה, חיישטיין יואל, פרגל אדה, רפפורט זוטרא, כץ
 בתיה, דייטער ישראל, לאופר חנה, כץ יונה.
 עומדים שורה ראשונה: ליכטר יצחק, הלפרן לייב, שוץ הערש, ליכטר אברהם, פטרונטאש קובה,
 שלמיני אברהם, בטנר נפתלי, שומן מיכאל, ויטליץ שלום.
 עומדים שורה שנייה: חלר שמואל, ריסר משה, העלר אלי, שטהל יואל, שפרלינג שרגא, סרבר חיים,
 כץ יעקב.
 יושבים למטה: גנאור יצחק, לגר מנדל.

Page 365/366 (L to R, Sitting): Many Reitzfeld, Shoshana Rubin, Joel Hystein, Zelda Fogel, Zutra Rapaport, Batya Katz, Israel Deitcher, Chana Laufer, Jonah Katz
 First Row (Standing): Yitzhak Lichter, Leib Halpern, Hersh Schwartz, Avraham Lichter, Kuba Patrontacz, Avraham Shiltiner, Naphtali Banter, Michael Schuman, Sholom Witlin.
 Second Row (Standing): Shmuel Heller, Moshe Ritter, Eli Heller, Joel Stahl, Schraga Shiferling, Chaim Serber, Yaakov Katz.
 Sitting (Below): Yitzhak Genauer, Getzl Langer.



נוער חלוצי מדולקיב נמש עם נוער חלוצי בעיר קמיונקה-סטרוםילובה
שנת 1933

Page 369/370 (Bottom): The Young *Halutz* Group of Zolkiew Meets with
The Young *Halutz* Group in the City of Kamionka- Strumilova

This was different from the status in the *Kibbutzim* in 'Kibbutz HaMeukhad' which was prepared to take in *Halutzim* without any numerical constraint, a trend that was realized in our time, because the *Kibbutzim* in 'Kibbutz HaMeukhad' were counted among the largest *Kibbutzim* in the country.

In Poland, there were two centers of the 'HeHalutz' *Histadrut*, one in Warsaw, the capitol of 'Greater Poland' and the second in Lvov – including the areas of what in the past was Galicia. Youth that did not belong to a youth movement could also join the 'HeHalutz' branches in the cities of 'Greater Poland.' This was different in Galicia, where most of the 'HeHalutz' members were in the *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* movement. And those aged twenty-eight and up that wanted to join the ranks of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* could not enter this circumscribed group. In time, the chief leadership of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* that their movement has to increase its ranks, by taking in the unaffiliated from the age of twenty-eight and up, into a separate unit with a unified core, that was connected as a branch to the head leadership of the movement. This was how the *Histadrut* of 'Stam HeHalutz' of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* was created in Galicia. Also those *Kibbutzim* that were destined to be created in the Land of Israel, were designated to be separate *Kibbutzim* of the *Histadrut* of 'Stam HeHalutz',

so that they have the affinity to the *Kibbutzim* of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*, and should be called by the inclusive name of 'Brit HaKibbutzim in Israel.'

The matter occurred in 1930. Several members of the Zolkiew branch of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir* gathered in the presence of the representative of the head of the Lvov *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*, and after they had explained the new movement to us, it was decided, on the spot, to create a branch of '*Stam HeHalutz*' in Zolkiew, and an organized committee was elected, of which I also was a member. In a short period of time, tens of the youth in the city joined us, who came from all ranks of the people: educated youth, the youth of '*B'Nai Tovim*,' and even from simple households, most of who worked in the fur trade, one of the common trades in our city. At first, we rented a separate hall in the 'Zubl Tower', in order to enable the members to get together, afterwards, we moved over to a bigger hall on *ul. Niovitowska*, in the neighborhood of the elementary school in the city, and after a year, we rented a house with two rooms, in partnership with the branch of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*, in the familiar Acker family house on *ul. Lvovska*. The membership divided itself up by age group, and broad organic and cultural activity was taken up by them, in partnership with the members of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*. Frequently, representatives of the central '*Stam-HeHalutz*' from Lvov would visit us, who went, based and bestowed its teachings on the city branches, and we were reached also by lecturers that were sent by the leadership of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*.

One of the important initiatives was the creation of a Hebrew library and the opening of evening classes for learning the Hebrew language. Tours of different *Kibbutzim* were arranged or in partnership with all of the members of the movement. The members were in the habit of attending general assemblies on Sabbaths and Festival Holidays, and within the ambit of these meetings, that were often done outdoors under open skies, discussions took place with respectful discussions on matters in the Land of Israel, and what was being done there. It is understood that there were also pleasant events with singing and the dancing of the 'Hora.' The members of the '*Stam HeHalutz*' branch in Zolkiew applied themselves to all of the Zionist activities that took place in the city, and participated in an active manner in the committee for *Keren HaKayemet*, and even participated in the collection of donations made to the 'blue boxes' of the *KK"l* that had been distributed throughout the city and also assisted with collecting donations for the '*Ezra*' institution that had set itself the goal to financially support the *Halutzim* of Zolkiew, who could not pay for the expenses of making *aliyah* to *The Land*; to distribute the Zionist money to the Congress, our contribution was more than respectable, and as understood, we took an active part in the elections to the Zionist Congress.

And here, we had found a new activity in our lives, a purpose that had been invisible to us previously, that didn't reach us until we sensed our absence until it appeared, and it was only then that we saw and recognized how much our absence meant. We felt that in the end, we had gone out on a new path, that even it was filled with traps and bumps, it nevertheless was the thing that would eventually bring us to the fulfilment of those things that were deeply cherished by us, and to give them substance. Life became more interesting, it aroused ardor. With interest, we followed what was being done in the *Land of our Dreams*, and every item of news from *The Land* was received with joy and a lifting of spirits. The dream of everyone of our members was to accelerate the end of our old way of life, life in the Diaspora, and to open a new page, a new life, and to be counted among the committed builders of *The Land*.

At the same time, the central *Histadrut* of 'Stam-HeHalutz' in Lvov established three groups to make aliyah from the branches of the movement in Galicia,, and created special training groups for them. The three groups were: 'Avodah,' *HaMefaleys*' and 'Amal,' that were divided up by age group. Whoever wanted to join any one of these groups was compelled to enter training work, in one of the units of these *Kibbutzim*. The training units of these *Kibbutzim* were set up in Lvov proper, in Nadvirna beside Kharkov, and in Bruzhniow beside Stanislaw and in various villages, in which most of the work that was done, was agricultural. The center of the training work was in Bruzhniow, which was surrounded by forests on all sides, and the *Halutzim* worked there at all hours of the day, in cutting down trees, and sawing them in the large sawmill. In Bruzhniow there were three units of training in existence, of 'Stam HeHalutz,' of *HaShomer Ha Tza'ir*, and 'HeHalutz Akademi' (H. A. Z.). From one period of time to the next, there were meetings arranged of the *Kibbutzim* of 'Avodah,' and *HaMefaleys*' to which the older members were assigned, and a substantive training for status to make *aliyah*, and they were the only ones that had expectations of receiving certificates from the tiny allocation that was received by the central 'HeHalutz' office.

Brushniow, where there were already two units of two groups from 'Avodah,' *HaMefaleys*' and 'Amal.' The stay at the training locations was extended, in general from a half year to a year. With People began to also come out to the training units from 'HeHalutz' in Zolkiew, in order to be qualified for aliyah. Other people of Zolkiew went out to Nadvirna, Lvov, and especially to the conclusion of the training period, the members attempted to secure their place in the list of those ready for *aliyah*, a matter of a considerable achievement on its own. Only a few lucky people were privileged enough to receive this highly desired certificate. The first to make *aliyah* to The Land from the *Kibbutzim* of 'Avodah,' and *HaMefaleys*' planted a seed for the settlements in Karkur, beside *Pardes-Chana* across from a separate *Kibbutz* of the 'Stam HeHalutz' movement in the Land of Israel.

After their success in this endeavor, hard times came to the movement. The number of the certificates continued to decline, and the members began to leave the training units and return to the branches. At the same time gain crops in the Land of Israel deteriorated, and the danger of discharge hovered over it because of exit of members. In the end, this discharge finally arrived, because the seed did not receive an added manpower from the Diaspora, and the few that remained joined the *Kibbutz* of 'Eyn-HaMifratz' of 'HaShomer Ha Tza'ir' that was established beside 'Kiryat-Chaim,' and today it is one of the largest *Kibbutzim* beside Acre.

In the Zionist movement and in the 'HeHalutz' movement there began the process of systems of deception, whose objective was to find ways to overcome the traps that the government of the Mandate had piled up in the way of those seeking to make *aliyah* to The Land. The number of certificates that gave permission to the Jewish agencies was nowhere in proportion to the strong demand of the youth movement that had prepared itself for *aliyah*. Also for the pressure that was put on the settlement in The Land, that longed for working hands to assure its existence and continuation. Those were also the days of the first illegal *aliyah*, but initially were so small in number, that only very few were able to realize their dreams within its borders, and even with the

methods of deceit such as: entry into *The Land* under the guise of being tourists, or as participants in the ‘*Maccabiah*’ that was prepared to be held in *The Land*.

In 1934, the ranks of the Jewish agencies, in coordination with the ‘*Haganah*’ in *The Land* came to the conclusion that this was not the way to grow the settlement, and only a stream of a broad-based *aliyah* will create the impetus to build up the settlement. It was then that the Jewish agencies removed their objection to illegal *aliyah* in order to broaden and sustain itself, despite the dangers hidden there. This was the first of the efforts known as ‘*Aliyah Bet*’. Already in that first year, the first ship departed, a Greek ship named ‘Walus’, and it contained about 400 *Halutzim* from Europe. The ship sailed for a week until the passengers reached the shores of *The Land*, and succeeded in debarking in the middle of the night and spread out without the English sensing their presence. This success encouraged the backers of this concept and their energies to arrange for an additional voyage. Again, a living transport was crammed onto the same ship, the ‘Walus’, this time with 422 *Halutzim* from various pioneering movements in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Danzig, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and Vienna. But this time success did not light up the faces of those making *aliyah*, and the British shore patrol detained the ship as it drew near to the shores of *The Land*, and with gunfire, cause it to retreat away from the boundaries of the Land of Israel. The ship attempted several tries in order to discharge its living cargo, but in the end, it was forced to retreat and sail to mid-sea. The ‘Walus’ wiled away three months on the waves until it returned to Europe, and the *Halutzim* were debarked at the Polish-Rumanian border. It was the hand of fate that brought together different young men from different lands to one place, who were united in one common concept only, the will to realize the dream of their own *aliyah*. That same fate that brought them literally to the fulfilment of their dream, that showed them the ground for which they yearned, and motivated them to see *The Land* in which they had such an interest, this is what distanced them with a strong hand into the heart of the sea, took them around until their strength gave out, and returned them to whence they started out. The *Halutzim* of the same ‘Ship of Doctors,’ did not give up, because they were privileged to get closer to the realization of their dreams more than their brethren, who did not attain their goal. To sit for three months in a transit camp, until in the end, they received certification and reached *The Land*. Among the hundreds of pioneers on the ‘Doctors’ Ship, ‘Walus’ there were two *Halutzim* from the ‘*Stam-HeHalutz*’ branch in Zolkiew, one of them being the writer of these lines.

With ‘Dror’ in Zolkiew

(Excerpts from a Diary)

By Yaakov Ne’eman (Neumark)

The single ‘*Dror*’ training unit in Miktaiczyn in the Carpathian mountains in the face of certain lack of work, after the closing of the sawmill. More than once, the non-Jews that worked in the sawmill fell upon the members of the unit and beat them. The police and the Jewish owners of the business were neutral.

On one night, at the changing of the guard, two rows of workers waited, armed with staves and they struck our members, who were leaving work. This highlighted the issue, and what we saw in this was the manual laborers trying to get rid of us by whatever means. In the '*Befreiung-Arbeiter Stimme*' I publicized reading by all of the adherents of the movement, to help us find a new place to do our training.

September 1931

We received responsiveness from Zolkiew. Shimshon Lifschitz, one of the owners and managers of the glass factory, proposed places for work in the factory, which at the time, received many orders from outside the country. This was relayed to us by Aryeh Acker, who informed us.

Shabbat, October 17, 1931

On a cold autumn day, at a late night hour, The train of the *Kibbutz 'HeHalutz*, had seventeen members both men and women. We sat on our bundles and no one came to receive us. Like guests without invitations we barged into a town with no means at our disposal. Everyone was trembling from the cold. The dog, 'Luke' who also came with us to find work, at ease, on the bundles and suitcases.

With the arrival of dawn, we became aware at what place we had stopped to rest, we are winding around, and we are going up the mountain of the '*Re'i*.'

January 1932

Additional members were added. There was business in the city itself, in an oil factory, sewing, household goods. The group numbered thirty-six already. The '*Halutz*' center in Lvov had not yet accepted the sustenance of our unit in Zolkiew, and attempted to send its own units for training.

After this, the work in the glass factory was limited, because of the difficult state of the winter on the mountain and we are in a summer residence alone, with no road transportation, and the financial situation was getting worse. We were saddled with hunger. I recall one morning, when a few members got close to 'Luke's' lair, our loyal dog, and gathered up a few pieces of bread, that had been thrown on the previous day to the dog, as being undesirable...

February 1932

The distress, and the absence of any imminent possibility to make *aliyah* to the Land, created unrest among the members, that led to stormy conversations, and also to the result of abandonment of training of several from the heads of the speakers.

April 1932

Our training unit again is no longer the 'solitary one' of our movement in Galicia. In the meantime, a training unit was started in Mosty-Wielki, in Lvov, Kharkov, Novo-Suncz, Misziniec, Wieliczka, Milic and Khazhnow.

Activists came out of Zolkiew and went out to the full expanse of Galicia in order to establish training units, to found units of '*Freiheit*,' and '*HeHalutz Ha Tza 'ir*'.

In Zolkiew, at a number of rulings and many meetings (among them the areas of all Eastern Galicia), the direction of the '*HeHalutz*' movement in Galicia was crystallized.

April 16, 1933

It was evening, and a troublesome downpour of rain that seemed endless came down on us. We tread and go up on roads and no roads to the meeting place of the unit, through the neighborhood of the workers in the glass factory, between houses looking like they are ready to topple. In the distance, we saw hints of the lights from the unit hall.

With us, the people of the training unit from Lvov reached us, and most of those eligible to make *aliyah* to *The Land* from the other training units.

We sat around the table of the judges to have a frank discussion and the late night overtook us, and we wanted to speak of our chances to make *aliyah*, the seed in *The Land*, and the deepening of the training and our penetration into new subject matter, deepening our partnership, the establishment of savings account for all the training units, a more intensive study of the Hebrew language, and above all, our commitment to '*HeHalutz*' in Galicia.

And this way, the birth pangs of this new movement in Galicia passed by, and the worries about growth and broadening began, without the leadership of our movement.

A Ship on a Mountain

A. Sh. Juris¹⁶⁷

A Visit to Zolkiew

Go to the Land of Israel not in order to demonstrate heroism, not to bring sacrifices – only to work

(Y. Kh. Brenner)

I think these are the words of Berger. But there is no doubt that this sentence is etched like the order of the hour on the walls of the house of the training point of 'Dror.' Because the rain messed up the road, and the darkness of the night, our visit to the unit took place at a really inauspicious time – at the dawn of the day. The road to get there was winding and going upwards, very narrow paths in a forest of thick trees, and it is understood to be the legend that was created in Zolkiew, because the King Sobieski, when he reached the top of the mountain, after a severe battle, he called out: 'Ho! Re'i!' (A Garden of Eden). Because, in an ancient place such as this, in the thickness of the forest, rich with plant growth and pools, one could find much in the way of satisfaction and repose – and be even a place fit for a king.

Among the trees – a village yard. The organization occupies two rooms. Adjacent is – the kitchen.

A permanent group with browned faces and black sidelocks, received me initially in a childish manner. There is training going on in the kitchen those who got up did so to prepare the modest meal: a mug of coffee and a slice of bread. The boys slept in one room, and – the girls in the second. The girls were the first to hear the sound of my footsteps, and opened their eyes, which were still tied up in a dream. Chaste Jewish girls, put their dresses on to reach above their throats. For a minute, I had forgotten that my business here with 'Halutzot' who are training themselves for a life of work. In the eyes of these Jewish princesses, the leader of the girls was delicate, pale-faced and with pretty eyes, for Gittl had changed into a nymph of the forest, so, and so... and these were awed: how is it that a 'man of the organization' would look at them in that way, speak that way, use romantic language that was so backsliding.

Beds of wood – assigned bed. In the homes of the nobility you can find beds of gold fit for kings and rulers. Here the only ones sleeping are Rachel'lakh, Leah'lakh, Gittl'lakh and Chana'lakh together with a treasure store of the dreams of good fortune, decorative and a new life. And the same was true in the second room – where the boys slept, almost children. I was not able, without becoming emotional, to look at these two groups who were my sisters and brothers, of my own flesh and blood, two to a bed, 'Rubenesque', like a fierce snake stretching out their delicate limbs, tired from work. One by one, they open their eyes, the eyes of innocent children. Until they all wake up, I scan the walls. One member drew their pictures like Brenner, Marx, LaSalle. There was also a pale picture of the violin of the Land of Israel – Rachel – the handiwork of the same artist. And here is the message: 'We are for the work,

¹⁶⁷ From 'Dos Freieh Vort', March 1933

peace and protection.’ It seemed to me that without martyrs, these issues will not be settled, because in our wretched land, it is the power of Satan that hold sway, whose souls are not oriented towards peace. And out of necessity, it will be necessary to reveal reinforcements like the Hasmoneans, and not only for the sake of protection alone. Here is a picture of the dreaming *Halutz*: Rise up! Is this not the dream of thousands and tens of thousands of Jews, to begging for, and enamored of, *The Homeland*.

An above everything else – a peculiar drawing: the sky and the earth – with a ship at the shoreline. There is a dry space, and the ship in it. Here is the dream, is this real, some sort of backsliding or a fantasy – and maybe it is a symbol and a mystery? And why not? Is this some sort of magical ship that lost its way, and got stuck in the heart of a mountain range. Perhaps a small group of two dozen tender and Jewish souls, burst out of the world and its entirety, and hid here to be alone and to unite with nature and its Creator, with the sky and the earth; a faction of people from Robinson Crusoe stuck a stake in the ground in order to start in the life of Genesis. Out of a strong will and by the sweat of their brow, and heart palpitations, they finished building here and creating a new image of liberated and sincere Jewish-human life. These thoughts disconnected abruptly on their own, at the time when . In the distance, I saw the boys and girls, as they washed their hands in the foothills of the mountain. It looked to me – the Diaspora, the bitterness and the wrongs they were casting off themselves during this time of washing. And like young eagles, they swooped down into the valley – to the ‘boiling’ work in the glass factory. And how odd was this thing: Brenner once lived in these rooms! The elderly gentile woman still remembers him, and raises his memory in a good way, a time when it was eager, after plowing , and work it with strength and success. Now young Jewish people arrive, and even they are eager to use the plow. But their path in using the plow is not easy for them, and neither is the ground – a ground that is alien to them. So what did they do? They constructed for themselves a workhouse for ‘tapestries.’ And delicate soft hands of girls and boys, almost children, weave colorful proletarian ‘stretches [of material].’

How can I separate them without the gift of Gobelin¹⁶⁸ There was a small ‘*Kilim*,¹⁶⁹’ which was a precious amulet for me, a precious jewel of the oasis in my birthplace, like a song that was sung by delicate strings of the soul. Were there truly few of the songs and dreams that were called and soaked and woven among those lovely and precious threads worth more than gold.

That is how we skip, leap and descend from that sanctified mountain and reach the muddy valley. The ‘Tension’ – one of the largest glass factories in the land. And glasses and cups, lanterns and candelabras and other glass goods are exported from here as reach even as far as Iraq, Egypt, and the Land

¹⁶⁸ Possibly a tapestry.

¹⁶⁹ *Kilim*, a word of Turkish origin, denotes a pileless rug of many uses produced by one of several flat weaving techniques that have a common or closely related heritage and are practiced in the geographical area that includes parts of Turkey (Anatolia and Thrace), North Africa, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia and China.

of Israel. Young boys and girls, tender and delicate, my brothers and sisters, scions of my people, stand beside the fire and are exhaling, blowing and polishing various items of glassware. Glass is hard, but easily cracks and breaks, and it is a requirement to treat it carefully. I could not contain my feelings, and I turn and say to one of the overseers of the work: it is worth remembering and to understand that these workers also have bodies made of delicate glass, and one should oversee them with a doubled and redoubled care, and what delicate souls that each dreams softly and delicately with longing. These tapestry makers and those who melted glass are nothing more than a corridor to a long and hard journey, times filled with much suffering and agony.

It is time for me to raise the candelabra of light that I have, in the dusk of a Tel-Aviv evening. I will look at the marble of the lit candelabra, and I will see the inflamed faces of young men and women beside the glass furnaces, and the boys and girls that were in Robinson Crusoe's ship in the heart of the mountain called 'HaRe'i.' A prayer will then pour out of my heart: Make *aliyah*! Oy, how I will enjoy seeing you soon and hurriedly washing and purifying at the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, at the edge of the Kinneret Sea.

Oy, Make Aliyah!

The Revisionist Movement in Zolkiew

By Pinchas Gils

In the year 1929 when the unrest took place in the Land of Israel, Zionist-Revisionist organizations were founded in Zolkiew: A) BETA'R, B) Brit Tzaha'R, C) Nordia. Among the founders were: Mendl Metzger, Moshe Leiner, and Avraham Kanchuger, and these are the ones who stood at the actions taken by the movement.

BETA'R was an important youth institution in the city, carrying out widely-branched cultural activities, and giving help to the young orthodox members of the *Belz Kloyz*. A severe depression spread through the *Kloyz* youth at that time. Several of them came to recognize that the time had come to leave the cocoon of the *kloyz*, and to choose a new direction for themselves. [they saw the need to] renew their lives in a Jewish state in the Land of Israel following the concepts of Ze'ev Jabotinsky. A part of them began to secretly work with the revisionist institution, in order that their parents remain unaware of this activity. There were some members who bravely made public their membership in BETA'R.



קן בית"ר בזולקייב — שנת 1932

Page 379/380: The Zolkiew BETA'R Branch – 1932

The BETA'R members participated in courses to learn how to use arms because they understood the requirement for self-defense when they would make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel. There, attacks against the Jewish settlement took place by the Arabs. To our great sorrow, only very few were privileged to make *aliyah* to *The Land* because of the dearth of permissions to make *aliyah* that were given to BETA'R.

'Nordia' was a group for variety of sporting activities soccer with other sport the cities and towns in the The Second World War, the and everything went up in the Germans,



sports, and organized a especially competitions in groups in the city, and also in vicinity. With the outbreak of pleasant dreams vanished, flames of the murdering

קבוצת בית"ר בז'ולקייב — שנת 1935

עומדים משמאל לימין: רפפורט יחיאל, גושס שלום, אופשוער שמעון, טרייבר יעקב, קורצר יעקב, וגנר יואל, שטייגר חיים, קנצ'וקר אברהם, רייכמן יואל, פוקרד פנחס, קסלר אשר, ציגלר שמואל, פיש שמואל.

Page 380/381: The BETA'R Group in Zolkiew – 1935
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Standing (LtoR): Yekhiel Rapaport, Sholom Guszes, Shimon Aufszauer, Yaakov Kurtzer, Joel Wagner, Chaim Steiger, Joel Reichman, Pinchas Fukard, Asher Kessler, Shmuel Ziegler, Shmuel Fisz.

The BETA”R Branch in Zolkiew

By Batya Felsenstein (Zimeles)

A *BETA”R* branch was founded in Zolkiew in 1929. The beginning was very modest, and very few members came to the branch. Periodically, an emissary from the head leadership would come and stimulate the membership to undertake activities and to broaden the branch.

Over time, the branch grew and broadened itself. My friend, Sabina Greidinger and me joined as members because of the explanations given to us by Adela Schultz. We first visited the branch which was housed in the home of Flafler (*Dom Zajezdny*). Among the leaders were the members Metzger, Szpritzer, Feder, students in the middle school. The rest of the members were: Gils, Babad, Kanczucker, Shlomo Lieberman, all young men from religiously observant homes, who were drawn to BETA'R as a Zionist youth movement, that had a positive relationship with the faith, consisting of Sabbath observance, and the Holy periods of the people. The branch was divided into sections, each such section had a male or female director drawn from the membership of the branch leadership. The agenda of the branch was to lead discussions once or twice a week on a variety of subjects.

There was a strange occurrence once, in a discussion of the leader Mendl Metzger, he explained to us the agrarian issues of the Polish farmers. This subject did not align with the ideology of BETA'R and we began to investigate the man and what he did, and in the library, we found books that were alien to our spirit, communist books. In days, Metzger was arrested by the police as a communist. In his place came Kanczucker. The branch continued to develop and we spent many a pleasant hour there. The core of our discussions was knowledge of *The Land*, and ethnic songs and dances of the people. The officers tried to instill in us a love for *The Homeland* and all our dreams were to make *aliyah* to *The Land*.

From time to time we were visited by members of the '*HaGalil*' center in Lvov to direct the branch: Dr. Uks, Yehuda Orenstein, Dr. Duner, Fishl Sztendig, Dr. Von-Wiesel. With them, we would visit the small 'branches' in the area.

Dr. Duner dedicated much time and effort to the Zolkiew vicinity. On behalf of BETA'R, I traveled to Tartakov for pre-military training. The training was organized by the Center, and every branch was permitted to send a number of representatives, and I too went there. The commander of the camp was Magister Boyko. I went to the division in Kolomiya and from there I was privileged to make *aliyah* to *The Land*. I received news of the permanent development of the Zolkiew branch. It is known to me that during the period of the Holocaust, our members stood heroically to fulfil the objectives that were allocated to them.



קבוצת נוער בית־ר בז'ולקייב

משמאל לימין:

אגנר יואל, פוקרד ישראל, טרייבר יעקב, רייכמן יואל,

רפפורט יחיאלי.

*Page 383/384: A Group of the Youth in
BETA"R in Zolkiew*

*(LtoR): Joel Wagner, Israel Fokard, Yaakov
Treiber, Joel Teichman, Yekhiel Rapaport*

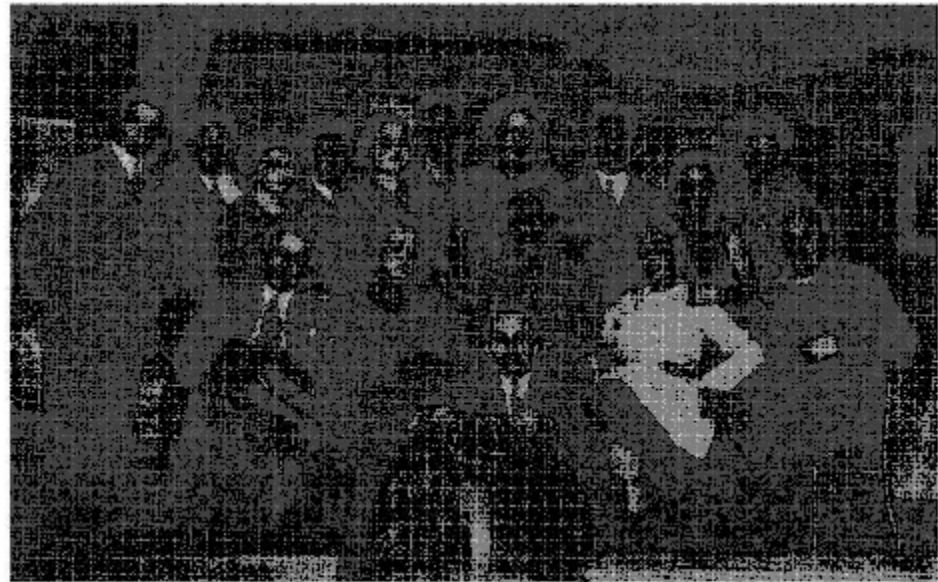
The Drama Club in Zolkiew

Zolkiew, the city to which I am addicted, was where I spent my youth, enveloped by emotions and memories, forever etched into my heart. And I will not return there, because I will find no person there. All was eradication from the face of the earth, everything that was the body and spirit of those times, of times that have changed. Even the name has been changed: the city is no longer called Zolkiew, but Nastorov.

Zolkiew, the city of some of the Great men of Jewry, whose light was followed by many, the city in which the first printing houses of Poland were founded, that was outstanding in its natural beauty, in its architecture of the Renaissance, a city of strife Poles and Ukrainians, *Hasidim* and *Mitnagdim*, this city had a unique expression to describe it, 'it's own face.'

during my last trip to Poland in 1945, I found destruction. Even the y had been destroyed and its headstones smashed up. Our city drunk the cup of Hemlock until its end, among all the other cities of during the Holocaust.

And this undertaking is worthwhile, in order that our children what their fathers did, to accord recognition to one corner of our lives in Zolkiew:



cemeter
f o r m
Poland,

k n o w
cultural

חברי הלחקה הדרמתית בהנהלתו של מאיר מלמן — שנת 1935
יושבים משמאל לימין: לייביק פרוטנשיץ, פרוצקה פלשוני, מאיר מלמן, אולנה ליבט, שמואל חני-
שמידים משמאל לימין: ברוך סיוור, יחזק ליכט, מלכה שוייצר, בני מאוסערבאט, גרנה רייפער,
מאומה, יוחא לאמא, העשיל טובי, רבקה לידה, מאמעק רייפער-
למטה: הלחשן (Buller) יק מאיר-

Page 385/386: *Members of the Drama Club Under the Direction of Meir Melman – 1935*

Sitting (LtoR): Leibik Patrontacz, Fried'ka Felschuss, Meir Melman, Olga Lichter, Shmuel Honig.

Standing(LtoR): Baruch Siddur, Yitzhak Lichter, Malka Schweitzer, Zvi Lauterfacht, Git'cheh Reitzfeld

Bottom: The Prompter (Sufler) Meir Katz

The Drama Club, that was founded at the end of the period 1918-1919, the influence of the Drama was considerable, and it stood out in the lives of culture and friendship in our city, in the period between the two world wars, and in this same period a movement of this sort started up in all of Galicia, there was not a city that did not have such a club of this nature. However, it is possible to establish without modesty for the sake of truth, that the Drama Club in our city was one of the best and productive in this part of the land. And I, whose entire life is dedicated to the theater, selected this area, in which I saw a mission and destiny, and I worked a great deal for this reason.

While I was still attending the gymnasium, I was dawn ti presentations and acting in drama. After the completion of studies and final graduation tests, we gathered in the Engelsburg pub (*Weinschtock*) and decided to put on plays. I was privileged to be made the leader. In this gathering the following participated: the Altman brothers, the Tencer brothers, Basekhess, M. Ungar and even a few adults, among them Sender Lifschitz and Leib Hirschhorn, and we began to work.

The first play we put on was 'The Jewish King Lear' by Yaakov Gordin. According to what I remember, the following participated: Gisela Bendel, Hella Apfelschnitt, Mashka Bindel, Avraham Schwartz, Avraham Basekhess, Sim'ka Tirk, Mendl Altman, and so assumed, myself. The impression made by the first presentation is etched into my memory, the first of the plays in Zolkiew. In the dance hall of the Bendl family, in the market, a unique hand-made stage was created. There was a great reaction in the city, it was an arousing experience, and we were compelled to present it twice, and men, women and children ran to see the play and the actors. I was 19 years old then, and I played the part of a very old man. The appointments on stage were very modest.

The makeup was in the hands of Freiman the barber, and this was his the first time to perform this kind of work. All of the accessories were missing, and the experience and the conditions for the play were good, and despite this, the play aroused an excitement among the members of the city.

The ardor of the young actors, the happiness of the city folk. Created an atmosphere of admiration for our club, and immediately after our presentation of 'the Jewish King Lear,' we prepared a second play: 'The Father' by Strindberg, which was translated especially for us by Reuben Tzimerman. The following took part in the presentation of the play, in addition to all the previously mentioned people including Bran'ka Schlosser, a delicate figure possessing deep understanding of the theater and plays. She was also one of the supporting pillars of our Club. Her talent became manifest in the role of 'Leah' in '*The Dybbuk*.'

The Drama Club was a direct cause for laying the foundation of the '*Kultur-Verein*' (The Culture Club) in our city. They attempted to develop the Club, and they succeeded in drawing interested people from all parts of the city: The Club: Dr. Reuben Tzimerman (one of the important people in the *Bet HaMedrash*, who moved over to European culture), Moshe Michal Ratt and others. At the time when the 'Hasidim' attacked the actors in neighboring towns, they were nicknamed 'Teutons' ('*kamedinatschkeit*'), our city showed patience and understanding of the Club to a great extent. In the neighboring towns, the religiously committed, nicknamed the actors as '*apikorsim*' that were leading the city off the 'straight and true path,' yet in our city the *Haredim* and those that prayed in a '*shtibl*' stayed silent. In the fulness of time, a separate hall was constructed in the orphanage, as a result of the efforts of the engineer Lichtenberg, and Shimshon Lifschitz, and it was reserved for the Club and its activities.

The Drama Club went from success to success after the first presentations, and this success lit up the faces, and they presented other plays as: 'the Miser,' 'The Slaughter,' 'Motkeh Ganev,' 'The Village Youth (*Der Dorfsjung*), 'The Baleboss from Vilna' 'The Fields and the Vegetables,' 'Days and Nights,' 'Absorbing a Slap in the Face,' 'The Revisor,' 'The Flood,' 'The Mute,' and others. Apart from those I have already mentioned, participants in the plays were: Yehoshua Indyk, Git'chah Reitzfeld, Olga Lichter, Fried'ka Fish, Giza Landau, and Herman Armon who specialized in decorating for the Club.

To the credit of the Club, let it be said, that in the selection of the Rapporteur, the literary content of the play was always included, and its cultural character. Accordingly, much credit goes to the Club in the creation of the '*Kultur-Verein*.' It was an organization that transcended party affiliation. It was an institution for the dissemination of general culture and Hebrew in our city.

I do not record here the names of everyone who participated in the Club as ardent supporters, who left the country, however most of them were exterminated by the murderers, during the rule of Hitler, ימ"ש.

(Here) are some memories of a few of them: – Avraham Baskhess, from the enlightened youth of the *Hasidim*, who even before the First World War unyoked himself from the burden of *mitzvot*, and emigrated to Argentina in the decade of the twenties. Mendl Altman, a very capable commoner, who after he got married moved to Lvov and cut his ties to the Club.

From the intelligentsia, the following participated: Dr. Hertz Gleich, Runek Wachs, Mish'keh Bindel, and Dr. Schlusser who saw in the Club an affection-creating activity.

Among those who especially excelled in the Club and became endeared to the audience, was my brother Michal Melman, who lived in Israel, he had much energy and knew how to imitate different types of characters.

Gusta¹⁷⁰ Dampf added an enlargement of her own to the stage with her pleasant appearance. Simka Tirk, Ida Feier, and Ethel Orlander, who were impossible to leave them out in plays that they had memorized the lines of the parts.

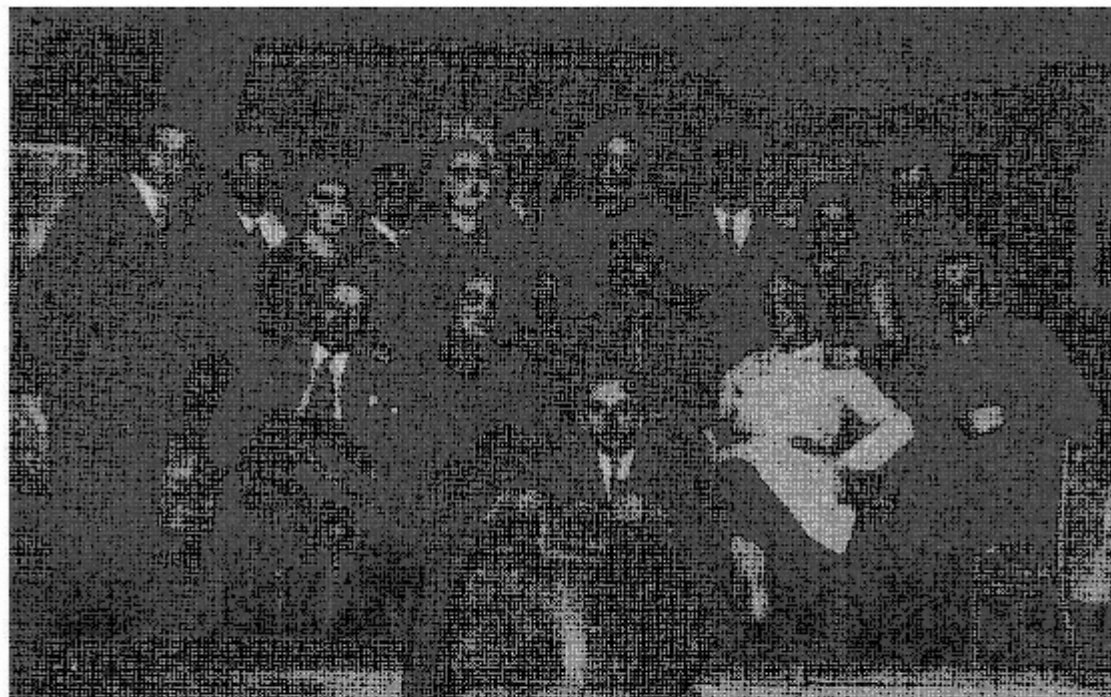
Leibik Patrontacz earned to affection of the audience in his straightforward approach in the play. There were many that were as good or better than them, as they say in the theater: they 'poisoned' the air of the theater, and the 'poison' penetrated not only the hearts of the actors, but also the hearts of the helpers. It is necessary especially to recollect Shimshon Lifschitz who demonstrated a great deal of energy and the generous community activist, the engineer Wolf Lichtenberg, and Anshel Sobol, Moshe Acker, who concerned themselves to assure that their friends will be rewarded with fame as actors, and they were satisfied that Zolkiew rose to grandeur.

In the last years, before the war broke out, there were more participants drawn from the youth of Zolkiew, and among them were: Malka Schweitzer, Rivka Lida, Fried'ka Fish, Olga Lichter, Baruch Siddur, and others, to my chagrin, whose names I do not remember.

The Club itself would not have succeeded in fulfilling its goals, were it not for the people who were concerned about the technical resources and the air of comradeship of cooperative endeavor. The engineer Lichtenberg, Shimshon Lifschitz, and Yehoshua Czaczkes, who exerted themselves in order that we receive a hall at the orphanage that was built. Lifschitz and Lichtenberg did a great deal to expand the Club that eventually was transformed into the '*Kultur-Verein*.' (The Association for Jewish Culture), an organization that transcended partisanship and was affectionately seen by all the Jews in the city, even after I left, and went to study, and committed myself to the theater as a profession, the Club developed and remained until the Second World War. It is possible that the activities of the Group shrunk, but its cultural work and support for the city remained in its view. Dr. Reuben Tzimerman,

¹⁷⁰ A possible shortening of the name Augusta.

especially at the start, contributed a great deal to the cultural activity, and was perhaps the last one of those on the benches of the *Bet HaMedrash* that went over to the activity of European culture.



חברי הלהקה הדרמתית בהנהלתו של מאיר מלמן — שנת 1935
ישיבים משמאל לימין: ליביק פטרונטאצ, פרידקה פלשוט, מאיר מלמן, אלונה ליכטר, שמואל הוניג.
עומדים משמאל לימין: ברוך סידור, יצחק ליכטר, מלכה שוויצר, זבי לאוטערמכט, ניצה רייזפלד,
צאוזר, ניחא אבנאוו, העשיל סוצר, רבקה לידה, מאנעק רייזפלד.
למטה: הלחן (Sutler) כך מאיר.

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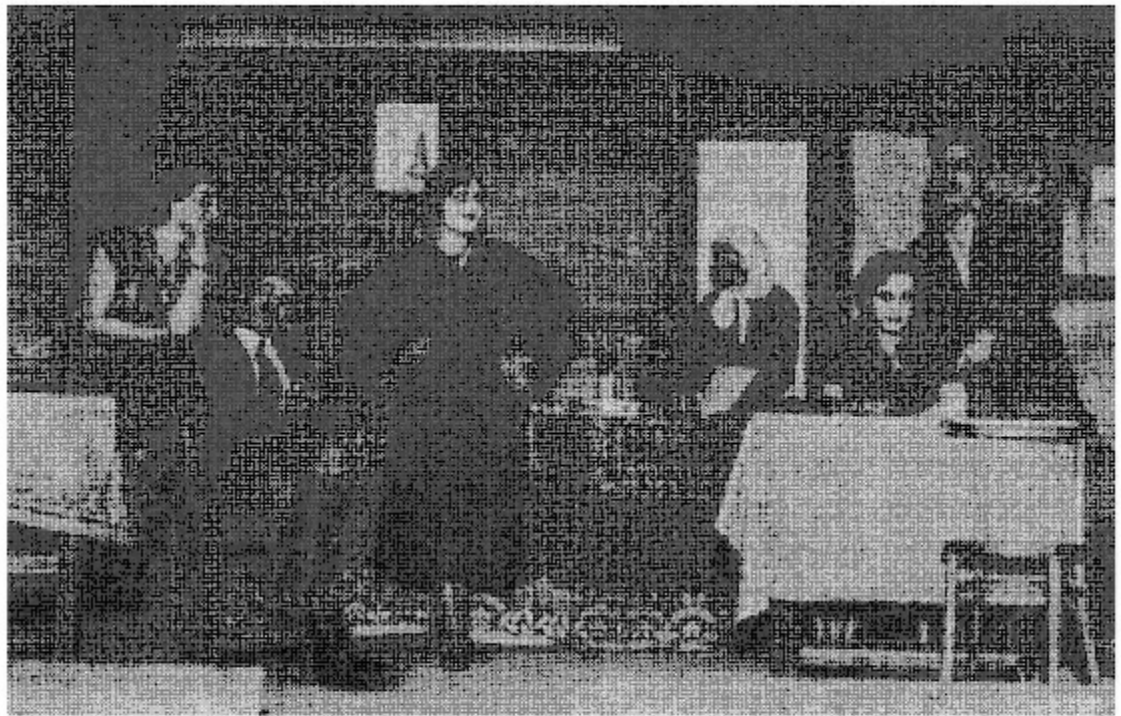
Page 385/386: Members of the Zolkiew Drama Club Directed by Meir Melman.

Sitting (LtoR): Leibik Patrontacz, Freid'keh Falszut, Meir Melman, Alona Lichter, Shmuel Honig.
Standing (LtoR); Baruch Siddur, Yitzhak Lichter, Malka Schweitzer, Zvi Lautenprecht, Nicz'eh Reizfeld.
On the bottom: The Prompter Meir Katz

The influence of the Drama Club that was founded in 1919 was considerable, and it energized the labor units (*Poalei Zion* on the left and right) to create their own clubs, but their clubs were weak, but active no less, they took in both young people and mature ones, to appear in their cultural presentations, one of them being Moshe Rucker of 'Leftist Poalei Zion' who committed himself to this work for many years, and it is possible that he drew his future work nearer to community undertakings.

I have recollected, briefly, part of the cultural work in Zolkiew during the decade of the twenties between the two world wars, this was the epilogue of three hundred years of Jewish Zolkiew, that was erminated '*In Sanctification of the People.*' and let our ldren, being educated in other subjects and political as, the cultures, and the variety of friendship, that the ars of our youth was full of substantial content. Our ldren are to feel that they are a continuation of what it s that came before them.

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**הצגת 'מוטקה גנב' של שלום אש ע"י חלהקה חדרמטית בז'ולקוב
שנת 1935**

משמאל: לידה רגינה, פטרונטאצ ליביק, רייצפלד גיצ'ה, שוויצר מלכה, לאנדאו גיזה, מלמן מאיר-

Page 389/390: ²⁶⁴ *The Play 'Motk'eh Ganev' by Sholom Asch put on br the Zolkiew Drama Group in the Year 1935.*

From the Left: Regina Lieder, Leibik Patrontacz, Gicz'eh Reitzfeld, Malka Schweitzer, Giza Landau, Meir Melman.

The 'Ladies Auxiliary' in Zolkiew

By Henya Graubart (Zinger)

Much undoubtedly will be written about prominent people, and *Torah* Sages and Great Men of culture in our city, and about their various initiatives, but a need in my soul makes me feel that I must record the activities of a group of modest ladies, in their positioning, and the greatness of their good deeds for the poor and the needy in our city.

A group of women organized themselves and founded a society that was called '*Bikur Kholim v'Hakhnosas Orkhim.*' The activity of this group was based on the core principle of '*Matan BaSeysar,*' in their oversight and support of the needy in our city. The ladies of this society did not wait for the need to come and ask for support, but went and found these people, that were in need of concrete and spiritual support, who were too embarrassed to reveal themselves and reveal their poverty for everyone to see, and this help was provided secretly, and on every day, they fulfilled the noble and traditional *mitzvah* of '*all who sustain [even] one Jewish life...*'

It was Mrs. Leitza Jules who headed this group, and was known as '*Leitza bat Petakhya.*' She was a short woman, with a large head covered by a large wig larger than the size of her head, which only reinforced the impression of a large head relative to the sizes on the rest of her small body. And truly, she had a big head relative to the size of her shoes, that rose up on her like a forceful fountain. She was blessed with much organizational skill, and an

unusual amount of energy. And based on these attributes, she miraculously and successfully implement lofty deeds, that our community could be bleed by them. She was the living spirit of this group, founding this philanthropic-voluntary group and she made use of a staff of women that formed a nucleus for these undertakings. Here are the names of those workers: Tuvi'chah Sobol, Sarah Orlander, Feiga Bodek-Sobol, Esther Rachel Mansz, Sarah Rachel Rad, Sarah Lifschitz, ladies of the Khari family, and my mother Miriam Zinger, all of whom were exterminated in the Holocaust.

These active women frequently met at our house, And I was present among them, and consequently was familiar with their work. Leitza Jules always had a list of the needy pregnant women in her hand, and for each of them, she had prepared a gift bundle of that consisted of: two bed sheets, diapers, infant clothing, baked goods, candies, and a sum of money for the invited ones, The help did not end wit this, but it was a scheduled follow-up after the mother gave birth. And if she needed additional help, whether substantive or spiritual. For they did not pull back their hands and gave additional help. Apart from this activity, they also organized visits to the chronically ill, and worried about learning in the nights, something that added encouragement to the patient, and greatly eased the burden of the exhausted family. In this manner, she also provided financial help to those in need, for the purchase of medicines, and other help, as needed.

A special undertaking of its kind was help for Jewish patients in the hospital under government control. There was a government hospital that was partnered with the cities of Rawa-Ruska, our city, Kulikovo, Mosty' Wielki and the entire surrounding of villages of which there were tens of such large villages. Most of the patients were Christians, the staff of physicians, the nurses and all the employees were also Christian. You can imagine the emotional state of a Jewish patient (usually with a beard and sidelocks) who had been tossed into this place and had to be in an unfamiliar place in bed, from a mental and also hostility. Also during training in the institution, there was a quandary from the outset for Jewish patients. None of the previously mention quandaries were a burning issue for patients from Zolkiew. Since the families of the patients could bring kosher food for their sick, and also relieve their loneliness, but for sick patients whose families lived 40 km. away from Zolkiew, the issue of the loneliness of the patients and the kashrut of their food was a matter of life. At that point, the lady, Leitza bat Petakhya rose up and created a kosher kitchen. She received permission from the management of the hospital, and they served three meals a day which was kosher and savory, to every sick Jewish person that lay in this hospital, previously mentioned. To this end, they got a hired cook, and volunteer women helped according to the regimen, to divide up the food on a daily basis among the sick, and those who were spread out among the various sections of the hospital. I would go together with Dora Orlander, on Mondays and Thursdays to divide up the food in place of our mothers.

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Not far from the hospital, was a restored house of three to four rooms of which three served as bedrooms for poor visiting guests (the fourth room served as a kitchen for the hospital patients), who previously were compelled to sleep on a bench or the floor in the synagogues or yards. It was permitted for

a poor person to lodge for two nights at no cost. It is easy to ask what is the meaning of lodging for two nights at no cost, even this elicited thanks for the effort of this same blessed woman.

Leitza, previously mentioned did not forget that there were also people in need of loans for a variety of purposes, and she established a small charity box, and distributed loans to the needy, with low repayments and no interest.

It is understood that all the activities were tied to recognized monetary outlays. But no woman like Leitza bat Petakhya would get upset over financial difficulties and for this purpose the special . She found her own ways to access financial resources by collecting set donations, which on a monthly basis paid fixed amounts to the 'box,' under the eyes of the special *Shammes* who acted as the collector, apart from the donations made during weddings, parties and joyous occasions. She organized a sort of 'Purim Carnival' for the purpose of collecting money. She put up likenesses like Ahasuerus, Mordechai and Haman, mounted in the outside of the city on beautiful decorated horses, and all manner of masks, and the '*Purim Spiel*' for the enjoyment of the children and adults together.

All of this work was managed until the outbreak of the last [i.e. Second] World War but even during the rule of the Soviets from 1939-1941, the activities of this group did not stop, and they began to work in an additional sphere as a result of the war, since there were refugees that fled in fright from the area conquered by the Nazis in their tens of thousands, and as a result several hundred Jewish refugees found rescue in our city. By-and-large, the refugees were without resources, and it proved necessary to provide them with roof over their heads and other first-aid needs. Kitchens were organized, clothing was divided up, and they looked after providing lodging in the home ordinary people, because when the first period started, there were [still] synagogues and Houses of Study. These refugees were not forgotten even after they were exiled to Siberia. Packages of food and clothing were sent to them as well as *matzo* for the Passover holiday. And all of these undertakings were done in under the guidance and vitality of the previously mentioned Leitza. I was possible to see, almost to the last minute of her life, during he capture of the city by the Germans, she did not stop her work in order to provide sustenance to the needy. With dedication, she gathered food in the ghetto storing it with those that had food and divided it among the downtrodden, until together, with all the martyrs that were exterminated in the Holocaust the bitter fate overtook her.

The Management of the School by Nuns

By Tova Altschuler (Eikhl)

There was an elementary school our city run by nuns. This institution is etched deeply into my memory to the extent that I can still portray for myself everything that took place in the midst of the walls of the institution, of each room, and each corner as if I had just visited it the day before yesterday.



גן-הילדים היהודי הראשון בעיר ז'ולקייב בהנהלתה של ברוניה כהן
(עומדת מצד שמאל)

Page 395/6: The Jewish Kindergarten in the City of Zolkiew under the supervision of Brunya Cohen, (Standing on the Left)

There were two elementary schools in Zolkiew, one managed by the town and the second, in which I studied, it was a girls' school run by nuns. It was a white building, two floors up, and inside there were spacious rooms, surrounding the house was a well-tended garden and a marvelous cleanliness prevailed around the entire institution and its surroundings.

A special air of attention, diligence, order and cleanliness prevailed. This was a result of the special appearance of the nuns, of the wondrous and distinct aroma that accosted you from off the walls of the institution that covered you with a measured amount of fear, and respect for dignity.

I spent my first day in school underneath the bench, because my entirety was seized with awe of the nuns in their long brown dresses and their light-brown aprons, with the white-starched head coverings, and every outfit had a large crucifix, covering their middle. In time, I got used to them. They were good teachers who kept order in the class from discipline to... anti-Semitism.

It was not just once that we heard the expression for a Nun of 'Dirty Jewess,' but when it came to subject matter, they were objective and not once did they detract from a Jewish student. If she [the student] excelled in her studies, their report card was a truthful report without putting on a false face. When the Christian girls were reciting their morning prayers, and it came turn for them to pass by the stature of the Holy Mother, their heads were down, and they interlaced the fingers of their hands. We, the Jewish students were ordered to rise, and stand in silence, for the entire time of the prayer. WE were eight Jewish girls among 30 Christian girls, and we felt a little separated. During recesses, it was our custom to eat our meal in a grove [of trees] that was adjacent to the school, and the Christian girls sat apart from us at a distance, and being alone without companionship. We did not take part in the Drama Plays of the class. It was enough for us to be written up with a small mark, and we immediately earned the rubric of 'Žhid.'

Studies at this school were also held on the Sabbath. But the Jewish girls didn't come on Sabbath days. On the first day, there was a general holiday and it was in this manner that we enjoyed two days a week off. At every turn, anti-Semitism grew more and more stronger. In 1918 with the freeing of Poland, our international pride was lifted, and we organized in 'HaShomer HaTza'ir. Everyone of us was proud of belonging to this organization. This was our first stage for the awakening of an international- Jewish Zionism, that, in the end, brought us to the Land of Israel.

The Orphanage in Zolkiew

By Tzilina Koninsky (Lisfeller)

The Jewish Orphanage in Zolkiew, on *ul. Lvovska* was one of the most important community institutions in the city. The institution was created in 1920 and was dedicated to the gathering of orphaned children, or half-orphaned, whose parents died or were killed during the war years. In the committee that founded the orphanage, the following participated as active members: Ignatz Fish, Isidore Czaczkes, Bernard Kesler, Fundik Yelman, and Hecht at the head of the committee stood the advisor Fish, and the institution was named 'The Orphanage for Ignatz and Rosa Fish.' a pleasant villa which was bought and then customized to the needs of the institution: broad and wide bedrooms, a dining room, a gathering hall, rooms for the teachers, a kitchen, etc. In the grass-covered and green yard, there were the management offices, and the home of the Director.

Sixty candidates were taken in (boys and girls), most of them orphans of both father and mother – and very few orphaned in one parent the children were mostly neglected, undernourished and feeling frightened, and accommodated themselves to their new surroundings with difficulty and to the discipline of the institution, sanitation, etc. Nevertheless, after a short time in the institution, they became its residents. They were happy, and became one large family.

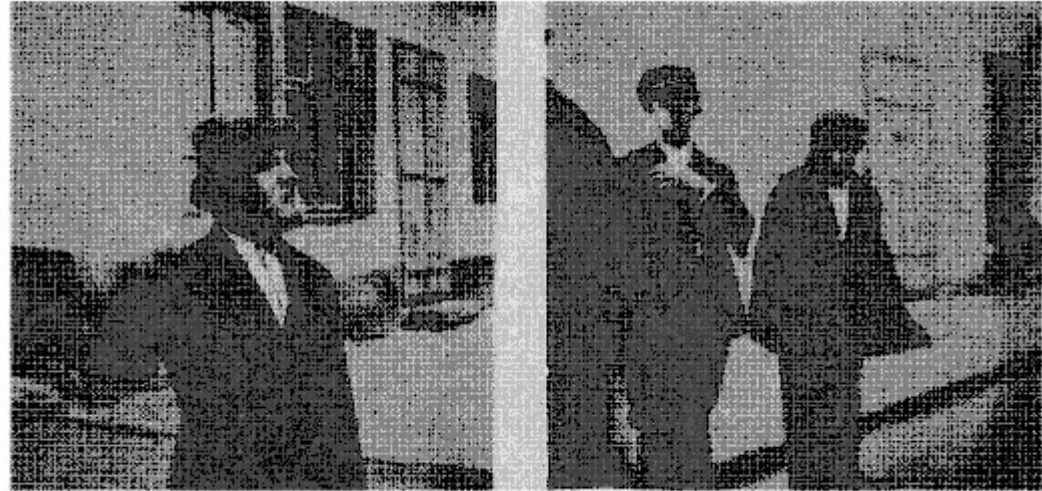
The first governess was Mrs. Rein from Lvov, an experienced person, knowledgeable in pedagogy. The educator (i.e. teacher) was Stefania Maimon, and the supervisor of the farm area – Rivka Deutscher, and the Janowsky family took care of support requirements. The children too, helped out in the farm, in the repair of the garden, and watching over small children of their age, and the repair of bricks, etc.

All of the children attended an elementary school, and after they finished studying there, the girls went to a crafts school (a branch of the school of Mrs. Klaffin of Lvov) in which they learned the crafts of weaving, the sewing of white goods, etc. The boys learned trades from working men, as apprentices and those that were skilled among them went to study at the gymnasium. The good economic conditions, and the correct attention to education and health, the oversight of the committee and its members, created an atmosphere favorable to the arousal of happiness among the young people in the facility, and the children found it a place to develop their skills and to form friendships and forget the bitter fate of being an orphan in this group.

The children were educated in the spirit of Jewish tradition, and observed every holiday and occasion of solemnity, and especially, they remembered how to organize a *Seder* for *Passover*, to which the members of the committee and guests were invited. They would arrange for walking expeditions, and plays that became cultural events in the city. In these events, the young people of the city participated: Zibert taught dances, Mrs. Apfel – readings. B.) Apfel and Fundik took on the role in (play) appearances and the revenue were dedicated to the help of the children in the institution and their education.

After some years, the management was changed, and Stefania Maimon was appointed as the Governess. She was a single woman, that worked for her whole life with commitment to the institution. In 1936 the support of the budget from outside of the country stopped, and the institution went completely over into the control of the Jewish community, and found it necessary to rely on donations gathered by the lady friends of the institutions. The economic status of the institution deteriorated significantly: accordingly, many of those being educated at the institution, grew up and studied a profession and found it possible to leave the orphanage, but its severe condition did not improve, and the budget could not sustain holding on to it. To make matters worse, work was added, the committee that had worked for so many years with commitment during the initial years of the institution, disbanded because of disputes among its members. Only a few of the members of the committee remained on their job to the end, those being Keller, Mrs. Hecht and others.

The entire load of difficult concerns fell onto the Governess, Ms. Stefania Maimon, who girded herself to make a stand, with much energy and commitment. Because of the difficult financial times, she was forced to let the entire rank of employees go, and singly handled all of the farm work, and only the children helped her in this task.



טימוסים בסימטאות זילקיב

Page 399/400: *Typical People on the Streets of
ew*

Zolki

In the end, no possibility remained for her to cover her own expenses, but she did not leave her watch post, and in order to secure the sustenance off the children under straitened circumstances, she sold her jewelry and her piano (these constituted all of her assets). Under such difficult circumstances, she helped many of the students finish their course of study, and to leave the institution as people of some standing and worth, that were able to stand as independent people in life, raise families, and became tied with bonds of loyalty to this Mother-Governess.

A modest and quiet figure, of this educational heroine, a mother to orphans, attached eternally in the memory of those few that remained alive after the terrifying war, they will not forget her good-heartedness, and wondrous level of commitment —

Let these few lines be a memorial to Stefania Maimon with admiration.

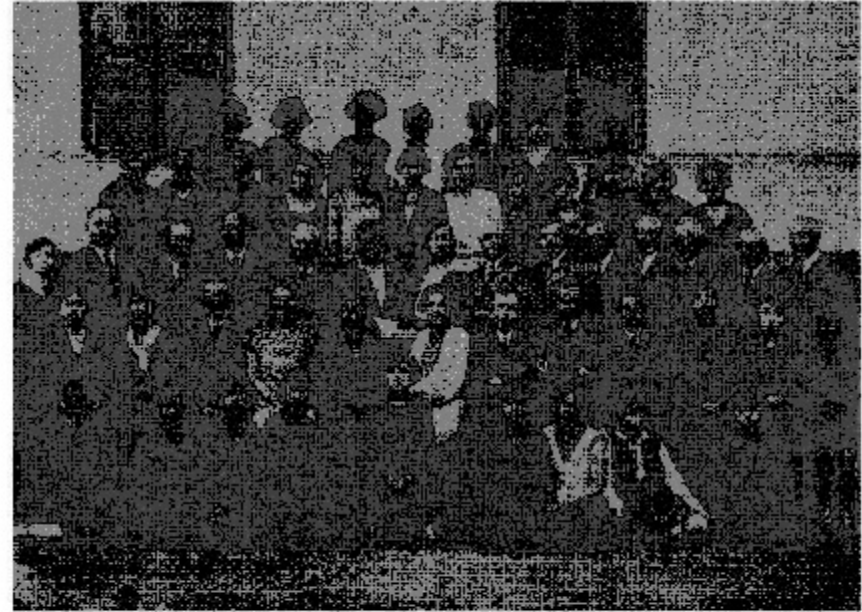
A Trade School for Girls

By Batya Felsenstein (Zimeles)

After the First World War, there were many children in Zolkiew who were orphaned by loss of both parents, and were left with no means of sustenance. With the help of the American '*Joint*' an institution was created for the ingathering of the war orphans – The 'Orphanage.' The house served not only as a place of refuge for the orphans, but also a place for general culture. Speeches were given by various different personalities, that were invited by a variety of youth organizations. As there was a large auditorium there, the building also served s a place for theater productions with admired and enchanting actors that came from outside the city, who were directed by, among others, the talented actor Meir Melman.

The living spirit of the orphanage (apart from the management) were the two Maimon sisters, the oldest of them was the pedagogical teacher of the institution, and the second took care of the needs of the household.

After some years passed by, when the children of the institute finished their studies at the elementary schools, the question arose. What now? How is it possible to set out youth without a craft to the world of the street?



בייש מקצועי לבנות בזולקוב ע"ש ד"ר בנימין קלפטין —
(מופיעה בשורה השלישית, הששית מצד שמאל)
שנת 1932

Page 401/402: *The Trade School of the Girls of Zolkiew named for Dr. Klastin* —

(She appears in the third row, sixth from the left)

By whatever means, the boys found themselves a workable option, not so the girls.

Cecilia

After doubts and much rule setting, and with the advice of that remarkable woman Ms. Klafin (the Principal of the trade school for girls in Lvov) it was decided to create a trade school in Zolkiew. Ms. Klafin understood the extent of skill required by a person, especially for young girls, and especially in the case of those who remained alone in life, and came to rescue us with her help, and raised up the trade school in our city, the only one in our vicinity after Lvov.

The day that the school opened left a powerful impression on me. The school leadership and all the girls from the orphanage gathered together in the large auditorium of the school. Graduate young women, from the elementary schools also came, who thought about making *aliyah* to Israel and saw that it was the right and proper thing to do, to learn a trade, in order to earn a living from their own manual labor.

After the actual opening of the school on the following day, the organized study began in the large auditorium, which contained a number of sewing machines (a gift of American Jewry), and beside each machine sat Jewish girls that were being directed by Jewish teachers. In the institution, there were teachers for weaving, cutting and sewing, who were trained at the trade school in Lvov, that had been founded by Ms. Klafin.

In the afternoon, they studied theory. The subject matter covered here was the Hebrew Language, Mathematics, Jewish History, Literature, and the Lore of secular materials. The work became more difficult. The teachers of this material in the institution were very elaborate, The teachers in the school were students at the University of Lvov, and in the fulness of time, the coterie of teachers became broadened.

The morning hours at the school were unforgettable, tens of girls learned together, in the Jewish school, in a free atmosphere. This was something that engendered a wonderful feeling. The humming of the machines reminded us that there was already a new life in *The Land* (we did not even think about the Holocaust that was drawing closer).

The time of study at the school was three years. At the end of the third year, there were final examinations. In the final exams, the first part had a Polish introduction taken in part from the government education process, and the results set down the fate of the school. We emerged from these tests with great success, and the overseer permitted the institution to receive full privileges.



קבוצת תלמידות עם חבר מורים של ביה"ס המקצועי לבנות
 יושבים משמאל לימין : צימרמן אברהם, נייחויז סבינה, קצ'קה לאנורה, מנקס זופיה,
 אקסלרוד רבקה.
 עומדות : צימר נינה, אפרוימוביץ', אליפנט גניה, ויטלין מינה, ברש חנה

Page (403/404): 275 *A Group of Students with the Teaching Faculty of the Trade School for Girls*

Sitting (from LtoR): Avraham Tzimerman, Sabina Neuhaus, Leonora Kacz'eh, Zofia Manks, Rivka Axelrod.

Standing: Nina Tzeimer, Ephraimovitz, Genya Oliphant, Mina Witlin, Chana Berisz

Personalities

אישים

R' Nachman Krochmal^{171 172}

By F. Lakhover

Rebbe Nachman Krochmal (רנ"ק), 'A Teacher for the Present Time,' was born during the beginning days of the 'Jewish Enlightenment,' on 7 Adar 5545 in the city of Brody, which is in Eastern Galicia. His father, Avraham Krochmalnik was one of the wealthy men of that city, a merchant that goes to manage his affairs in Berlin and Leipzig. In Berlin, he saw Moshe ben Menachem (Mendelssohn) and David Friedlander his pupil, yet Nachman educated his son in the way all boys were educated at that time in Galicia: He taught him the *Talmud* and the *Poskim*, and the youth excelled in that study because of the excess acuity of his mind. Because of his nature, Nachman would be drawn to sublime and lofty things, and when he drew close to Dov Ginsberg, the first author of the *Haskalah* in Galicia, who lived in Brody, he too, was attracted to the *Haskalah*. When Nachman reached fourteen years of age, his parents married him off to a woman from the city of Zolkiew, close to Lvov, and he moved to that city, to live in the house of his father-in-law. There, he confessed to the teacher Baruch Zvi Neu, in the school for Jews, erected with the permission of the Austrian government, and he found many books that he read with great diligent focus. Afterwards, he immersed himself in many books of philosophy and books of '*Kabalah*.' The people of his city did not tune into his spirit, and he hid his thoughts and feelings in his innermost soul. He deepened his research, and his face fell out of excess thinking, and his body weakened. He was known to be sickly, and weak, and the people of his city said that the '*Klipah*' had seized him, and there is a bad spirit within him, and that is why he reads such books from the outside world. Nevertheless, many of the young men of the city respected him, and saw in him a rising person.

In Lvov, he went out to study pharmacy, found young people, whose souls were predisposed to knowledge. Among these young people, he found adherents, and attentive friends, who became renown afterwards and wrote important books, among them was Shlomo Yehuda Rapaport (שי"ר), one of the founders of the new wisdom of Israel, but with fundamental wisdom, with which he engaged, in philosophy, and also did not find listeners among them, and so he returned to his city and his place, as opposed to coming just so, and went through his thoughts in his heart, and strolled the park of wisdom, enjoying the crispness of the air or torture himself and feel sorry about the hidden light.

When Krochmal was 31 years-old, an embargo was issued against new *Maskilim*, members of his people. The extremists attempted to find a way, because they had the power to besmirch the Krochmal name as well among the residents. They unjustly accused him that he had given a hand to the Karaites, in copying a letter that he had written to a Karaite sage, who lived in a village close to Zolkiew. At that time, Krochmal feared for his life, because he could

¹⁷¹ Author's Footnote: From the folio of F. Lakhover regarding 'A Teacher for the Present Time.'

¹⁷² Translator's Footnote: In both the prior and forward text, this name is often abbreviated by the Hebrew acronym, רנ"ק

not sit restfully in the shade of the wisdom, and he wrote a defensive letter to one of his close friends. This letter was published in ‘*Shulamit*’, in which there were also printed inappropriate things, and Krochmal heard, and his sagacity became known to many, even though he did not explicitly sign the letter that was printed.

During that time, Krochmal emerged from the camouflage of his room and began to deal in merchandise, and in the course of years, he also became one of the Parnassim of the community, as well as one of the heads of the community in Zolkiew, but with it all, he did find time to set aside time for Torah and the study of knowledge. He became aware of Hegel’s new philosophy, and plumbed its many depths and dark corners, he learned a great deal, but also taught. In the course of days, young people would gather at his home and ask of him to share his wisdom, and he would teach and explain to them everything that they asked of him. This includes exceptional wise people from among his followers and students, who, in the meantime, became known and famous in the [larger] world, who came to him in Lvov from the remaining cities and would sit in his house for days and weeks. They ate from the pieces of bread, and drank his water, and engaged him in the study of Torah and wisdom. His method was to teach his students, and to speak of *Torah* with his admirers and friends, while walking in the fields towards evening. The city of Zolkiew had mountains that surrounded it, and also hills, and from one of these hills you could see swords in the hunting hall of the Polish king, Jan Sobieski, who selected this city as a summer place to live. Legend has it, that Sobieski, in standing on this hill, and looking out over the surrounding land, called out: ‘*Ho Re’i!* (This is a Garden of Eden!). It was in this place of the fierce king, that the Jewish philosopher stood, and carried from his words to the passing world, and the existing world, about this, namely that everything that we see in front of us, all of it can be flipped over and pass, and there is no eternal existence. Only the spirit is eternal, as is thought. The sages who related the tales of these walks, did not stint in praising and elevating this wondrous pleasure.

Krochmal did not publicize anything further from the results of his deep research, and apparently did not even write it down in a book. Apart from being occupied with his business affairs, leading the community, and his physical frailty which restrained him so much, he also refrained from doing this for inner reasons. He had oriented himself doing formidable research work for all his life that was comprehensive, and it appeared to him always that he is not yet ready, because he is still missing additional knowledge, as well as fundamental and systematic training. His students and friends attempted to persuade him to write down his thoughts on paper, but to no avail. Even after the first of the Jewish *Maskilim*, who came from the *Bet HaMedrash* of Ben-Menachem, the Sage, Mendel Lapin, who was seventy years old at that time turned to him, and in way of a traditional criticism said: ‘What good does it do us, if the sun in its splendor does not spread its rays? What have the prophets of God and his holy men added, in whom the spirit of God is evident. Would it not be better for them to circulate to those of small spirit, what if they circulated in the marketplace and streets, and called out unceasingly: come close my sons, return, hear the words of the ever-living God! How did those righteous strive and all this wisdom trying to open the unhearing ear – and you, for whom it was made easy to enlighten your people from your bedroom, if you would only seize the writer’s pen, and you will not gather in your hands? – Lift up your eyes and see: there, tall mountains will split open, in order that fountains of what will revive the soul will pour out their contents: Here, the ground will open a countless number of orifices to produce bread for satiation; there fruit trees will give of their fruit, and they will be savory

to humankind; here a rose will flourish and will be strong enough to emerge in its complete beauty, to please the eye of the passerby and they will inhale the pleasant aroma – and is man to do this only for the sake of his own soul?’

All these words of encouragement did not help, and only when Krochmal neared the age of fifty, and saw that the days of old age continue to draw near, at that time, he approached the task of putting his thoughts down in writing. He decided then to produce a comprehensive and complete book, in which he will show the way to the perplexed of his time. As an example to aid him, he had the *Rambam's* book ‘*A Guide to the Perplexed.*’ Like him. He also wished to show the way for one confused about faith to a position of an adherent to faith, as the title of his book shows.

Krochmal saw in the perplexed of the time that the proper form of faith had left them. People see the true faith those items that they are used to seeing since childhood, and therefore, whoever begins to deny childhood faith, by this act, denies faith itself, and those who adhere to the faith want to find support and a base for all childhood faiths, and they work at this for no good purpose and no use. The means by which to save people from this perplexity is through pure faith, a faith that also contains a form of reason.

In the opening chapters (i.e. ‘*portals*’) in his book, that faith and reason are close to one another in their roots, and there is no faith without reason. Man is Enlightened in his nature and even if he doesn’t sense it, he deals with intellectual quandaries and results all day, and this is how he grasps things, and this is also true of the believer, who does not want to question anything at all, to delve into and explain, ask, delve into and explain, because this is what human nature is all about. There is no difference between the simple believer, and a knowledgeable person except for this. Namely, that the believer does things without understanding and without recognition, and therefore doesn’t do it completely, by contrast, the knowledgeable man years for completion, yearns to know the things with a clear knowledge, and to recognize them with a clear recognition. The believer must also be a *Maskil*, and he is able to enlighten his beliefs and reach pure faith.

Understanding and research are the natural province of mankind, and for this reason, all the books of faith, and laws are full of them. The Early Sages, set up generalities and means to be used in explaining what is written, and the ways in which laws were promulgated, and because of this, they devised general rules regarding what is forbidden and what is permitted. All these things demonstrate the extent to which they engaged in research of issues and the thin separation between them, the speculations and things they thought about. And it was not only the Sages and the educated who engaged in this, but also the entire mass of believers. In the *Mishna*, *Gemara* and *Medrash* we find several sayings, in whose signs one can recognize that these are ordinary things in the mouths of many, and a myriad of sayings, and they show how by means of search and seeking answers to intelligent you should not shy away from this task of seeking answers to intelligent questions or metaphysical ones. Man is after all a *Maskil* by nature, and full of inner perplexities, that continues on and grows with time. And what then shall a man do and where shall he flee to escape this perplexity, that resides permanently in his heart?

There is no advice for handling this, other than deep delving, to grasp the issues by their inner advanced selves, and to clarify them in this way. There is only one truth, the believers feel it, and the researchers continue their research for where to find it, and there is no remedy other than to find it.

Krochmal demonstrates in the sixth chapter of his book, that all religious faith is spiritual, it is a thing that is not material, and there is nothing to realize physically in it as a tangible entity, but rather to conceptualize it. It is found that every religious person believes in intellect. The Jewish faith accept this, in that it is forbidden to invoke any [tangible] symbol of the Deity and every idol and every picture. Because the divinity of them includes all the spirituality of the world and there is nothing in the world that can act as a symbol of it. The basis for this faith is that it is the spirit who created all physical reality, and these physical objects have no meaning without it. All those [physical] entities are lost and cease to exist over time, and only [the spirit] remains forever and ever. This faith stands entirely on a lofty idea, completely spiritual, on the concept of the understanding from above, and that many generations overlooked the obvious principle that reached him: the foundation of this faith is the faith in a heavenly force of understanding and every believing Jew believes in the lofty principle of understanding.

It is in this aspect that this faith stands apart from all other faiths, and its permanence is in this – a matter that Krochmal deals with in the chapter ‘*The Nations and Their Gods*,’ the seventh in his book. Krochmal bases the fact that Israel is eternal on this foundation. Israel is eternal, because of its spirituality, that it believes in it, that the spirituality is its own, and Israel believes in it. It is eternal and ‘definitively spiritual’ without any support by an embodiment and physical form, having no boundary and no fencing. The purpose of its preservation and the foundation of the ongoing existence, and it is the purpose of each nation to clarify some side of the spiritual world, and this, the Greeks for example, the spirit of splendor, and if this facet is already uncovered and revealed, then there is no further purpose to the sustenance of this reality of the people. And it has no foundation, and the realization dissipated to its foundations, and goes on to vanish in the bosom of the cosmos. But this does not apply to the Israel people. It is it to scan for and illuminate all the spirituality that is entirely in the world, the ‘decided spirituality’ that it believes in. It is found that it is eternal just as its Creator is eternal, it is endless, just like there is no end to its God,

And this fact is revealed by Krochmal in the remaining three chapters of his history book. There are three eras, or periods, that Krochmal sees for each and every nation. The first period is the period of flowering and growing of the nation. The second period is the period of strength and action, and the third is the period of paralysis and destruction. The order of these periods is the nature of all peoples. Because he is natural to all, he is natural to us as well. But, when we reach the final period, the period of paralysis and destruction, we always go back to the beginning. We return to a new growth, and once again these three eras renew themselves, and so it goes on, endlessly. Krochmal sees the first growth and expansion for the Jewish people, beginning with Abraham to Moses, at the end of which time, the people attain the awareness of Divinity (the standing at Mount Sinai.). When Israel entered The Land, the second period began: the period of strength and implementation. It continued up to the end of the reign of Solomon. During this time Israel attained unification to become one: the Children of Israel were bound by the monarchy and by work into one staff. After the death of Solomon, the paralysis set

it: the kingdom was divided in two groups of tribes. This schism brought them to the worship of alien Gods. There was conflict in the nation, and the murder of the leadership, especially the kingdom of Ephraim. This deterioration continued until the destruction of the first temple, and the murder of Gedalyahu ben Akhikam. To the eye, it appeared that there was anything to hope for. Because after the terrifying dispersion of that time, another union would come together and there will be a resuscitation after the bones of the people were scattered in the valley. But a spirit came into the hearts of the scattered ones, and those who were marginalized, and one bone drew near to another. This was a growth for the second time, that differed from the first growth in that it had a spiritual foundation. The lives of the people were no longer dependent on the land in the same way they were depended in the days of the First Temple. The tie was from now on, made mostly of spirit: *'Not by an army and not with force, but with my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts'*, for the second time, the period of flowering and growth came to a conclusion with the conquest of the lands by Alexander the Great. Then the period of strength and implementation begins for the second time, because there was a rising, and maturation of our people, its roots were in The Land, and its branches spread out across all the kingdoms, and cities around that had been captured by Alexander. In those days, there were men in the Great Knesset that completed the great spiritual work of Ezra the Scribe. It was during this period that the Hasmoneans arose, whose national victory was also a spiritual victory. This period continued up to the time of the death of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannaeus the son of Hyrcanus. From that time on, for the second time, the period of paralysis and destruction began. It began with the dispute between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and continued until the capture of BETHLEHEM and the killing of Rabbi Akiva. After this came yet another repetition of the three periods. The period of flowering and growth began again during the time of Rabbi Yehuda *Nasi*¹⁷³. The period of strength and implementation began again with the Arab Enlightenment that spread throughout the world. At that time great *Gaonim* stood up in Israel, writers, sages and poets, and this time continued to the time of the death of the *Ramba"m* and *Ramba"n*. From that time on, the deterioration set in again, and continued to the year 400 of the sixth century.

In all of these remaining chapters, Krochmal gives the philosophical foundation historical critique. Then he begins here, after this place in his book, a critique of the pure and religious tradition. We can only give a little bit of this historical critique. There are only a few chapters, but the little that he gives comprises a great deal. Specifically, the final chapter comprehensively covers the founding of the *Halakhah*, the Oral Torah, which is the core of the religious tradition. Even after the founding of the fables and an explanation of the torah that is read, in is in the Oral Torah that Krochmal continues his research. He does the same after the *Kabbalah*, and the esoteric pathways through Judaism. Krochmal dedicates a large chapter in his final book to one of the great sages of the middle ages, Avraham Ibn-Ezra, whose writing style utilized inference and esoterica. He called this book, *'Poor Knowledge.'*

Krochmal's style is sharp and together with this, his is sublime and lofty: full of locked in symbols and thought-provoking poetry. In it one can find many entries from the foundations of the Hebrew philosophical style of the Middle Ages. But it also contains many expressions and sayings of Hebrew esoterica,

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A Hebrew word used to title a senior individual. It would be used to enlarge on the definition of a President.

of the 'Kabbalah,' and just like the 'Kabbalah,' it contains much in the way of inference and esoteric content. Using all of his sharp intelligence, Krochmal suckles out a deeply concealed substance from the world of faith and belief, and faith was close to them.

The influence of Krochmal was very great on all the researchers and thinkers in Hebrew literature from his time to the present. During the international romantic period, the ideas and thoughts of Krochmal were taken into our literature regarding the eternal character of Israel, and were planted into a different soil, broader, it would seem to the eye of the beholder. The concept of a 'world nation,' and 'a nation of spirit' were the products of the seeds of thought that Krochmal planted. His outlook on Jewish history, entered the foundation of the outlook of the great Jewish historians, and the chapter that he wrote about the foundation of the *Halakhah* was the foundation of many great books that were written afterwards regarding the evolution of the *Halakhah* and the Oral Torah. And it was in this fashion that this esoteric sage became a great teacher like 'Moreh Nevukhim'¹⁷⁴ in its hour.



קן 'חשומר הצעיר' — 1927

¹⁷⁴ The Hebrew name for "A Guide to the Perplexed" written by Maimonides.

Page 415/416: The 'HaShomer HaTza 'ir' branch – 1927.

A Letter from the Year of Independence¹⁷⁵

By A. Ya'ari

(Taken from a Hand-written Work)

The writer of the letter is R' Zvi Hirsch Khayot (Born 1805 and died in 1855), was one of the few that were privileged to have two bases, the base of the *Torah* and the base of wisdom. He was a famous Rabbi and wrote responses to the Rabbis of Israel in matters of *Halakhah* and the Law, and was privileged to have his new thoughts in matters of *Halakhah* would be published many years after his death, in the pages of the *Vilna Shas*, and with this he was among those who laid the foundation to the wisdom of Israel, and to a scientific analysis of the origins of our literature and was a know comrade of R' Nachman Krochmal. When, in the aftermath of the events of 1848, the dispute between the strictly religious and the *Maskilim* in Galicia, he went for the gold, and distanced himself from the extremists on both sides and drew himself nearer to the moderate *Maskilim*. The recipient of the letter, R' Chaim Nathan Dembitzer (born in 1821 and died in 1893), also came from the same root, a *Dayan* in the crown city of Cracow, and because of this, was one of the first historians of the Polish Diaspora. His book, '*General Beauty*' was a cornerstone of the chronology of the Jews in Poland. The letter is also a witness of affection between two Jewish Sages in a generation, not-so-far removed from our own.

With God's Help, Thursday, the *Parsha* of *Shemini* 5608 as counted here in Zolkiew:

¹⁷⁵ Published in '*Davar*' Page 3927, 20 Nissan 5598, 22.4.1938

With respect to my friend and a surfeit of the affection of my selected one, my soul wanted the sharp-minded and fluent Rabbi, the complete wise man, famous for such books as his '*Responsa*' Our Teacher Chaim Nathan Dembitzer, may his candle burn brightly, in the holy congregation of Cracow י"ע.

His worth in the clarity of his valuable reply to me in connection with the second discussion with R' Yehoshua ben Hananiah, reached me when I was in my bosom, when I saw that I was in the capitol city of Vienna, having spend eight days of the Sabbath here, and when I saw and understood that they are all loved, all clear and all worthy of publication to the larger world. And just now, I am very busy, and as a result I do not have the means to put down in writing what is worth discussing here, and should I have free time, I will hope they will become visible in print, as I notified him of this several times. And now, here in the capitol city of Vienna I saw the Rabbi and Complete Sage Our Teacher and Rabbi Yitzhak Meziesz the *Kohen*, may his candle shed light from his city, because he had visited with he several times, and I was happy, because here was a wise and understanding man and he is one of the adherents of the ר"מ, and in his hand, I sent greetings to the ר"מ, and a wish for grace regarding the book '*Responsa*' our Rabbi Yehuda ben הר"ש that was printed anew in Berlin that the ר"מ sent to me as a gift. And so, on my way, I ran into the leader R' Pinchas Leipzig from his city, and I asked him as to the well-being of the ר"מ, and he told me much good about him, and I asked of him that he convey peacefully and completely, his *Torah*, and this he indeed told me that he was taking along a book to Jerusalem ה"ג as a gift from our friend the Sage Our Teacher and Rabbi Yaakov Bodek may his candle burn brightly, of Lvov. –

And I have now come to the details in this letter, to give the ר"מ a thanks and an aspiration for grace regarding an account that he sent me about the events that took place in his city, because I had heard different stories, and yesterday, I was called before the Great Lord the Kreis Hauptman to appear before him, and I copied down in front of him the story from the event in the Hebrew language, to German, and it found favor in his eyes. –

Today, I gave a talk at an assembly of the people and its elders, in the Great Synagogue located here, to honor the new decree, a constitution that gave permission to the Kaiser to appoint, and I spoke as it came to my mind at first glance without any prior look, as was always my custom to speak of an issue while it was current – regarding the lecture from '*The Song of Songs*' ending with the thought, 'let us celebrate and be happy with you, to which R' Avun said that we do not know what to be happy about, is it the day, or is it the *Holy One blessed be He*, so Solomon came and explained 'let us celebrate and be happy with you,' with you signifies your *Torah*, you signifies in awe of you. The meaning here, is that the intent is so because we truly have to give thanks because many issues of this generation improved over what they were before, and every day, wisdom steps upward, and especially as it touches upon the wisdom of the country and the behavior of the people, the wisdom has progressed a lot going upwards, and has finally reached the level that all the nations who are enemies to our well-being are asking the Kaiser, may his glory rise, to improve our situation, to shed the yoke of exile from around our throats, and to prepare us for all of the rights granted to the rest of the nations, and let there no more be heard and difference or separation as to what affects the condition of the country regarding ourselves and other nations. Even if you wanted to, you could not deny that time wrought its own, on the 27th only the Hand of God did this, and were his oversight missing, may His name be blessed, it would not be believed that strange and

wondrous changes like these would occur, without much bloodshed. And it is now, fifty years ago that the French began to tear down their kingdom, and removed the Bourbons from their seats of power, and we saw that they filled the city of Paris and the entire country of France with innocent blood from one end to the other, and Robespierre, Danton, Marat, killed more than 400 thousand people, but not so now, only a small number were killed, and because of this every man will come to his place in peace. And two men of ??? were placed to rule there. And ??? in Germany as in Bayern, Saxony, and also in the countries of the Kaiser, there was not a croak of a bird call to be heard, and the Kaiser, may his glory be elevated, personally gave his people a gift that twenty years ago that the Kaiser would be willing to do this, no – it is none other than the Hand of God that did this. that they should take to officers ??? as a part of the rule. And waves of water and a king's heart are in God's hands and will punish whoever He wants. It is only the *Holy One Blessed be He* that we have to thank because he calls out the generations from the outset, and he is the one who can twirl around the will of kings, and would whisper in their hearts to improve their situation, and this is the locator of the explanation, and we don't know in what to rejoice if by day, because we have taken a big step upwards, and define the reason for the issues that dismay us now in our time, or shall we turn to a simple oversight, and that is why Solomon came and explained 'let us rejoice and be happy in you, meaning the *Holy One Blessed be He*,' and if it is necessary that we offer thanks and praise for everything good, and he aroused the heart of the Kaiser, may his glory be elevated, to oversee his peoples, because up till now, he was surrounded by bad advisors who did not permit him to be driven by the needs of his people at a time when they put their trust in him to improve their fate, and when the advisors sidelined them, the advisors from their view ??? to rule in the justice of his throne, and this is the key to the written word, thought slag rather than silver, and proceeded to create nothing, and it was after the purification the entire issue emerged complete, finished in its magnificence, similarly, if they saw evil before the king, that if they removed a man like this from the throne, it will return justice to his seat. And I have extended my comments regarding the remaining issues touching on this, and the leaders of the community want to make it permanent by printing it in German, and if God willing, it will be asked to be written in German – so there is no point in making it any longer. I am sending an orally created summary to the רמ"מ by way of the diligence, two examples in the introduction to the Talmud with guidance material to decipher it. And let his heart rest easy that in coming other days, God willing, I will look into the issues of his affectionate words, and because of the obligations of the diligence, and my own business with work, because there is much to shorten, I need his friends to exercise of patience, with intense affection,

Zvi Hirsch Khayot דוב"ק Zolkiew and the Valley

Here is the pamphlet written out of opposition to the reformer, that I compiled three years ago, and sent to the רמ"מ in the midst of our wondrous friendship, he being sharp-minded and well-versed, *Our Teacher and Rabbi Meir Leib Laubwohl*, may his candle burn brightly, from his city. There is no doubt that this has already arrived in his hands, and I the word that I said there is that the רומב"ת

the very sharp wondrous Sage R' Yitzhak *HaKohen Meizesz* of Cracow, may his candle shine brightly, this pamphlet will convey what is needed instead of a detailed analysis, and after the analysis of the conclusion, I will know whether to publish it externally or to confine it to my bosom, and you did see anything in the summary, and you have not seen it completely because with casuistry about laws for Halakhah, and in fact, they continue to be hidden under my hand, and despite all this the awe of the Sage and רומב"ת, how can I know the conclusion without the beginning, because immediately after

the synod at Frankfurt am Main I felt as if I was prophesying in this pamphlet, because it might be possibly that the synod in Breslau will come to my hands complete, and after this there will truly there will truly no longer be any support for transgressors to call for another synod, because it was the case that these sins were dissipated at their core, and there is no need to gather them in one place. With this, I look forward to your early return, my eternal friend.

Tzvi Hirsch Khayot

The Hand of Joseph ¹⁷⁶

By Sh"ai Agnon¹⁷⁷

Here I will relate an excerpt of the Elder *Gaon* R' Joseph Juzpa, the father-in-law of our grandfather the Great Rabbi R' Moshe, the son of our Elder, the *Gaon* R' Mordechai Mardusz ז"ל.

Our Elder ,the formidable *Gaon* R' Joseph Juzpa, son of Rabbi Shmuel *HaLevi* was not only sharp, he was profound. There was none like him in the country in his entire generation. He would plumb the depths of the Halakha, and knew how to clarify and make visible all the sayings of the ז"ה¹⁷⁸, as if it were a pure sheaf, and to expound upon everything esoteric I, clear language. For this reason, they came from far and wide to ask for *Torah* from his lips, until he developed a large following. Almost all of the Sages of his generation were his students.

¹⁷⁶ *Writer's footnote: From the Author's Book 'It is My View,' published by Shukan, Jerusalem, 5712.*

¹⁷⁷ *Translator's footnote: Shai Agnon, an abbreviation for Shmuel Joseph Agnon, is one of the most prominent Israeli writers of the 20th century.*

¹⁷⁸ The Hebrew acronym for 'Our Sages, of Blessed Memory.'

Two books have come to our hands that were authored by this same *Gaon*, one is a book of new thinking in ??? on the three first chapters in the Tractate *BaBa Metzia*¹⁷⁹ and one book on ‘*Yoreh Deyah*’ Part I. These books represent the remnants of the very many of his innovative interpretations on the entire *Shas*, which were manhandled over time, and were lost to the world or alien hands controlled them when my father left his home in Zolkiew and went to the Holy Congregation in Brod.

In Brod, he prepared a substantial volume about the tractate ‘*Yevamot*¹⁸⁰’ and called it ‘The Commentary on *Yevama*.’ And the sages of Brod offered their praise to him for this book. They did not omit any word of praise nor leave any out. And even he, lost a book given to his son, our uncle the *Gaon* R’ Nathan Zvi HaLevi that was the *Bet-Din Senior* of the Holy Congregation of Torczyn, and afterwards the *Bet-Din Senior* of Ravi, which suddenly caught fire and the entire city burned down, taking this very book along with it, with the writings of this very same *Gaon*.

From this time forward, our Elder ceased to commit his innovations to writing on paper, because it seemed to him that his effort are, God forbid, not wanted. In general, his precious students are recalled for the good, and who in their dreams of him and his Lore, they wrote down in a book, and in its midst was a complete compilation on the Tractate of *Niddah*¹⁸¹. And even with this, we did not know where he was.

For all the years that our Elder was domiciled at the Holy Congregation in Brod, the people of Zolkiew longed for him and they would recall those days that their Rabbi dwelt amongst them and sat in the Yeshiva wrapped in a prayer shawl and wearing phylacteries, and be studying an interesting lesson in the *Talmud*, and the *Poskim Rishonim* and *Akharonim*, with the young men he held in affection who came from far and near to request *Torah* from his mouth after they had already made a name for themselves with sharp minds and fluency (See the Memorial in the Book of R’ Meir *HaLevi* Latriss). When the élite of the city would gather to seek counsel regarding the issues of their city, they would try to persuade their Rabbi the *Gaon*, to get him to return to their city, and to restore the diadem to their heads. Finally, all the leaders of the city, Rabbis, leasers, *Parnassim*, and directors, came to a meeting in the large transfer hall near the courtyard of the synagogue and it was agreed by a unanimous vote along with a number of *Torah*-literate *balebatim* to travel to him at the Holy Congregation of Brod and to engage him in a dialogue. Of them they chose three prominent men that took on this task. They traveled

¹⁷⁹ A center subsection of the *Talmud* dealing with the Law of Torts.

¹⁸⁰ A subsection of the *Talmud* dealing with aspects of marriage and remarriage.

¹⁸¹ A *Talmud* tractate dealing with ritual purity and impurity during menstruation.

to him, and they engaged him until he conceded to of the affection he had for his birthplace. They made began coming from all of the country to seek *Torah* withhold the fruits of his thinking to sharpen the head were two precious students, each as good as minded and fluent, God-fearing and complete, the *the Rabbi* the son of the Rabbi of Uhniv. It was leave them some remnant from the novelties that he forgotten, God Forbid, in This World, and that his World to Come, as R' Yokhanan said in the chapter 97 side 1) for every sage from whose mouth is heard in the grave. And indeed, it was these very two yoke of search and collected the innovations he had *BaBa Metzia*, as well as his innovations in dispersed parts of the *Shas*, and compiled them in in the style of the alphabet, keys upon keys. And is all true faithful to the truth of the *Torah*.

And out of his joy for putting together this book, our of thanks, to my creator I will prostrate myself and finish the chapter of *HaMakid*, and so may he be for good, for I should be diligent in his *Torah*, and bound, let us be privileged to see the coming of The

And our Elder the *Gaon* R' Joseph Juzpa lived to a the congregation of his people, the congregation of honor.



Page 423/424: The Frontispiece of the Book, 'Yad Joseph'
Printed in August 26, 1838

And this is the Style of His

them and returned to Zolkiew because him a large Yeshiva and again, they from his mouth, and he did not hearts of his students. And at their the other, The wondrous Rabbis, sharp-Rabbi ר"ש of Lvov and *Our Teacher* they who strengthened his hand to created, so that his name not be lips would continue to speak in the of '*Halsha Rabba*' (Tractate *Yevamot* something in this World, his lips speak precious students that assumed the made on the three first chapters of *Halakhah* to *Tosafot* among the one volume. And our Elder made signs whoever looks in this book sees that it

Elder the *Gaon* זצ"ל composed a poem bow my head, that he helped me to remembered and remembered eternally for the sake of the binder and the Shepherd and the Bound One.

ripe old age, and passed away among Zolkiew, and he lies resting there in

Headstone

On Sunday, 22 Tevet 5587, the instruments of the war were lost, the fountains of wisdom were stopped up, Joseph he is the breaker for everyone of God's people conducting the war of *Torah*, and his name went out to the entire land, the world's great people like children on his knees, Joseph, old and sitting in the Yeshiva, a *Tzaddik* and a modest man, who can be a teacher like him, here a pinpoint of jewelry sits and expounds and unites in the Torah, it is to him that the unknowing of the land turn. The spirit of God, very awesome, the ADMo"R the Rabbi the distinguished *Gaon*, the Rabbi of the children of the Diaspora, the wonder of his generation, a lit candle of Israel, the right-hand pillar the stout hammer how famous is he, our Teacher Rabbi Joseph Juzpa זצ"ל. His soul left the depths of the Halakhah in holiness and purity.

May His Soul Be Bound Up in the Bond of Life



I will append to this a story that was told to me by the excellent Rabbi R' Shimon Efrati that was the *Bet-Din Senior* of the Holy Congregation of Bandar and today he spreads Torah in Jerusalem, that he heard from the mouth of the Rabbi R' Joseph Kluger, a *Teacher of Justice* from Boiberik, a distinctive student of the *Gaon* R' Joseph Shaul Nathan Zuhn זצ"ל. On one occasion this same *Gaon* sat and studied the laws of unclean meat in *Yoreh Deyah* with his students. When he reached a sign of a small letter 'aleph' he wanted to look there for the words of the זצ"ל¹⁸² that were difficult to interpret. A student said to him, 'I saw in the book *The Hand of Joseph*' by the *Gaon* R' Joseph Juzpa of Zolkiew, a correct explanation without the need for a proofreading. And R' Joseph Shaul did not want to look there, since he did not look into the books of the *Gaonim* of his generation and not into the books of the *Gaonim* of the generation before them. For most of the books that were printed during his time have a concurrence from him, and even observations and explanations of his own, but when they would bring a book to him for his concurrence he would open it in place of it being open, and started to discover what innovation the author adds to his book of the *Gaon*, in order to improve on the author's piece. The student replied to him, and asked of his Rabbi to look there. The picked up the book, read in it, and he would read and go on. Finally, he stood up and said, with your permission, I wish to make up a *Bet-Din* before you and I beg for mercy from this very *Gaon*. Additionally, R' Shimon Efrati told me, in the name of R' Joseph Kluger who asked R' Joseph Shaul to compile a book on *BaBa Metzia*, as an example of a the 'river' of the *Talmud* regarding *BaBa Kama* to his uncle, the *Gaon* R' Heschel Orenstein. After this occurrence, R' Joseph Shaul did not move until he read the rest of the innovations of R' Joseph Juzpa. After he had finished the entire book, *The Hand of Joseph*, concerning *BaBa Metzia*, he said that I cannot create a book on *BaBa Metzia* more satisfying than this.

¹⁸²

David ha-Levi Segal ©. 1586 – 20 February 1667), also known as the Turei Zahav (abbreviated Taz זצ"ל) after the title of his significant halakhic commentary on the *Shulkhan Arukh*, was one of the greatest Polish rabbinical authorities.

R' Itzik'l Zolkiewer¹⁸³

By Ze'ev Zahar

(In the Kloyz of Breslau *Chabad* in Lvov)

On the street Poltovna 4, in the Jewish quarter in Lvov behind the '*Khadashim*¹⁸⁴' synagogue, the sound of singing and dancing of *Hasidim* was heard in the middle of the day, who were dancing and singing with intense fervor from the Psalms, songs of praise. This was the *Bet HaMedrash* of R' Itzik'l Zolkiewer, called the *Kloyz* of *Chabad-Breslau*.

Jews who crossed the boundary between Russia and Galicia, and went to prostrate themselves on the grave of R' Nachman of Breslau in Uman,¹⁸⁵ made their first stop in Lvov, and they lodged at the home of R' Itzik'l Zolkiewer, at his house they prepared to travel to Uman and then return. There practically were no Lubavitch *Hasidim* or *Hasidim* from Breslau, apart from a solitary few, therefore, their entrance into the *Bet HaMedrash* of R' Itzik'l Zolkiewer was a special and unique event.

R' Yitzhak, called R' Itzik'l Zolkiewer was a wondrous man, an activist and someone brimming with thoughts, he was fluent in the revealed and esoteric lore. He was born in 1840 in the city of Zolkiew, into a family of sages who claim a relationship to the family of the *Baal Shem Tov*. His trajectory of study is not known, and in his youth, he crossed the Russian border, and traveled to Kopys, and in the course of three years he learned Torah and *Hasidism* by the author of '*Tzemakh Tzedek*' the ADMo"R R' Mendl of Lubavitch, excelled in Torah and was one of his most beloved of students. R' Itzik'l returned home and as a sign of affection, the *Tzemakh Tzedek* gave him a present of several handwritten copies of his books, and many other books. R' Itzik'l took the written manuscripts and books over the Russian border, an act that involved difficulty and literally a danger to his life.

R' Itzik'l was committed to studying Torah and doing religious work, and he refined for himself and those who drew near to him the saying: This world is nothing more than a corridor to the *World to Come*, therefore, each individual is responsible to think about his deeds, and to rectify himself in order to enter that corridor.

¹⁸³ Z. Zahar's list in inside the volume '*Lvov*' published by the '*Encyclopedia of the Diaspora*' 5117, 1956.

¹⁸⁴ Hebrew for 'the newcomers.'

¹⁸⁵ This custom continues to this very day.

He would deliver a sermon each Sabbath, on Festivals, and other occasions to celebrate a *mitzvah* in his *Bet HaMedrash*. On the *Yahrzeits* of ADMo'Rim and of *Chabad*, he would expound and speak from the '*Tanya*,¹⁸⁶ *Hasidism*, and *Chabad*, and focused on the relationship of one person to another, he helped every person, whether a Haredi or freethinking, a gentile or a Jew, the rich or the poor, and he never looking into the face of a woman, even the faces of his granddaughters, but he also did help out women. Once he was walking in the street, and suddenly from the crowd, a woman loaded down with baskets fell on the ice, so he immediately went to her, and gave her assistance.

During his youth, when he was in Zolkiew, he made the acquaintance of R' Nathan the student of R' Nachman, and one who disseminates his Torah, who had come to Zolkiew to print '*Likutei Halakhot*' and *Yoreh Deyah* with the commentary of the *MaHaR''aN*, and there he made the acquaintance of the Breslau *Hasid* R' Israel Halpern of Tarnopol, resided in Lvov for a long time, and printed the books of R' Nachman of Breslau. He was one of those who came to R' Itzik's house, befriended him, and became transformed into an ardent admirer of *Chabad* lore. He died in Lvov on 8 Adar 5686. With his passing, the dignity of the *Kloyz* disappeared, and the voices and song of those who were traveling to Uman was silenced.

In his will, R' Itzik'l wrote that his books and handwritten manuscripts were to be given over to the central library of the Lubavitch Yeshiva in Warsaw, and to take counsel with the Élite of the *Hasidim*, as to whether his writings were worthy of being printed... if they concur, let them print his writings, and in this way they turned over the handwritten work of the *Tzemakh Tzedek* ל"ו to the Lubavitch Rabbi, because he was the heir to them, and the man himself did not have to privilege to see these books printed. It appears that there was nobody to engage in this work. Because of this, his books were lost together with the library of the Yeshiva in the Second World War.

His intent to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel was strong. For his entire life, he was sorry that he did not have the means to travel to the Holy Land. In 1918, he made preparations to travel to the Land of Israel, but did not succeed in doing so.

R' Yitzhak Isaac of Zolkiew¹⁸⁷

By D. Kh.

¹⁸⁶ The *Tanya* is an early work of *Hasidic* philosophy, by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi, the founder of *Chabad Hasidism*, first published in 1796.

¹⁸⁷ Author's footnote: Printed in "*Shearim*" 16 Tevet 5718 9.2.1958

Rebbe Yitzhak Isaac of Zolkiew passed away in the year 5497 . He was both a *Gaon* and versed in the *Kabbalah*, , and both a friend and comrade th the *Gaon Baal Tevuot Schur*. Even though *Rebbe Yitzhak* was younger than him by a few years, his hand did not move from under his, and his soul was bound up to the soul of '*Tevuot Schur*.' The two *Gaonim* worked together on giving religious direction, and they were united by a strong affection for each other.

Rebbe Avraham Benjamin Kluger of Brody, the grandson of *Rebbe Yitzhak Isaac* tells of the greatness of their affection and bonds of friendship that united them: On one occasion, the '*Tevuot Schur*' became ill, and his doctors advised him to go to a tranquil place for rest, and to breathe in some pure and clean air. *Rebbe Yitzhak Isaac* fell sick at this time also., and one did not know of the illness of the other. *Rebbe Yitzhak's* health deteriorated, and as an outgrowth of a variety of factors, he died while still a young man, a half year before the passing of the author of '*Tevuot Schur*.'

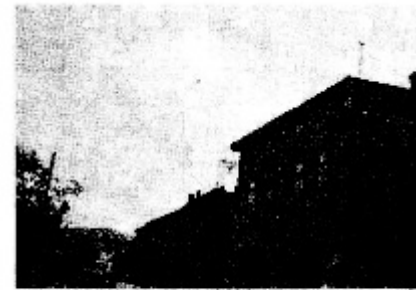
His sudden demise aroused a heavy burden of mourning in all Jewish cities, since he was among the Great Ones of his generation, and his reputation preceded him as a teacher of religious direction in Jewry. It is understood that they concealed the death from the '*Tevuot Schur*,' and to his frequently asked questions about his friend's condition, he always received an avoiding answer, so that he should not feel anything. A number of days before his passing, the heads of the city came to visit him. When they arrived he suddenly asked: 'Is *Rebbe Yitzhak* still alive? They answered him: yes.

He heard their answer and the '*Tevuot Schur*' grew angry, and he said: this time I know you are lying to me, here *Rebbe Yitzhak* stands beside me, and asks of me that I be buried beside him... the community heads were astonished, and each man wondered to his neighbor, but they did not reply.

After his death, the members of the *Hevra Kadisha* went to seek a grave site for their grave of *Rebbe Yitzhak Isaac*, but because of the crowding of the place they did not see implement the order of their Rabbi. But the leader of the *Hevra* did not give up, and hand, and approached the grave of *Rebbe Yitzhak Isaac* to dig a grave near his, and look shovel of earth that he dug out more deeply, with his own eyes, he sensed that the broaden until the digging of the grave was completed. Then they saw and presence that these friends in life were holy, and did not get separated even in death.

Up until the Holocaust they designated the grave of the author of *Tevuot Schur* beside *Yitzhak Isaac*.

The son of a Great One of the generation, the *Gaon Rebbe Yehuda Aharon Kluger* the Komariv, father of the *Gaon Rebbe Shlomo Kluger* of Brody.



בית הארקדות בסגנון הרנסאנס האנגלי
בכיכר הריינעק' (המאה ה־17)

Page 430: *The Arcade House in English Renaissance Style, on the Rynek square (17th century).*

great Rabbi beside the any possibility to took the shovel in his – it is a miracle! Every location continues to acknowledged the

the grave of *Rebbe*

Bet-Din Senior of

The author of ‘*New Names of the Great Ones*’ writes about him: the great light, the righteous foundation of the holy world would say to him, my father, the Rabbi the great light, the *Tzaddik*, just and at rest, the *Kabbalist*, *Our Teacher and Rabbi* the Rabbi and great *Gaon*, who distinctively was the light of the Diaspora, *Our Teacher* and Rabbi Shlomo Kluger ש”ו of Brody.

R’ Alexander Schur¹⁸⁸

By D. H.

Rebbe Alexander Schur son of *Rebbe* Ephraim Zalman Schur of Zolkiew, the author of ‘*The New Dress*,’ passed away in 5497.

On of the great *Directors of the Faith* in Jewry, a *Gaon* and sharp-minded, a scion of Our Rabbi Joseph *Bkhor Schor*, one of the contributors to the *Tosafot*. He did not occupy a rabbinate in his lifetime, even though his reputation was global in his role as a pillar of religious direction, and many congregations that were large and eminent, sought him as a *Teacher* and a Rabbi. He firmly refused to accept any request to be a Rabbi of a congregation. He resided in the city of Zolkiew, and earned a living from his own manual labor, and studied the *Torah* out of a great interest.

His books ‘A New Dress’ on the rules of slaughter, inspection and impurity and ‘*Tevuot Schur*’, that explains the sources of these laws, and he deals with them, and the book ‘*K’Vod Schur*’ on the Talmudic Tractate ‘*Khulin*.’ became renown in the world of the Rabbinic *Gaonim*.

Rebbe Joseph Teomin, the author of ‘*Pri Magidim*’ write this about him in his compilation: Because I see that our Rabbi is a beacon in Israel, the distinctive *Gaon* and author of ‘*Tevuot Schur*’, which he leans to these issues of *Halakhah*, and all of his words are relevant and clear to the issues in this *Halakhah*, and he researched somewhat in this, in the rule of unkosher meat, and he follows in the footsteps and reasons in his words as if they are the words of one of the *Rishonim*.

The ש”ו writes of him: he compiled ‘*The New Dress*’ and ‘*Tevuot Schur*’, which were printed in Zolkiew in the year 5493, and it is a marvelous book on the matters of ritual slaughter and unkosher meat, as well as issue in the *Shas* and *Poskim*. And he was a frequent reader of these, because he delved

¹⁸⁸

Printed in “*Shearim*” 27 Tevet 5718 .17.2.58

deeply in a straightforward manner and thorough fluency, and was able to innovate a number of new thoughts of the law. And the book, '*Tevuot Schur*' is an explanation on a broad basis of '*The New Dress*' with a thorough line of reasoning, and the author of '*Tevuot Schur*' accordingly. And he published anew the book '*Pri Magidim*' on that part of the '*Shulkhan Arukh*,' '*Yoreh Deyah*,' and there he praises and lauds the referenced *Gaon* with a bit of his praise.

After him, two famous *Gaonim* came forward, *Rebbe* Avraham David the *Bet-Din Senior* of Buczacz, the author of '*Da'at Kedoshim*,' and the *Rebbe* David Shlomo the *Bet-Din Senior* of Soroka, author of '*The Dress of the Survivors*' and the further explanation of his words.

The mother of *Rebbe* Alexander was the daughter of the *Gaon Rebbe* Sender the son of the *Gaon Rebbe* Yaakov Tamarlisch, the grandson of the *Rebbe* Sholom Shachna of Lublin.

In one of the first editions of the book '*Tevuot Schur*' he drew two pictures on the frontispiece of the book. Above, he drew the image of an elderly Jew sitting and studying Torah. Below, a large ox with two large horns, and under them is written: '*Bkhor Schuro Hadar Lo*¹⁸⁹.'

R' Alexander Sender passed away in Zolkiew. He was a ray of the deep Torah, author of the book, '*The New Dress*' which is a law itself and also its explanation, the book '*HaTevuot Schur*' and '*Bkhor Schor*,' and on the page of the book is written: Be a dress as a nobleman on our behalf, and the author of *HaTevuot* with the strength of an Ox.

'Bkhor Schuro Hadar Lo.'

His descendants were renown *Gaonim*, among them are counted the familiar *Gaon Rebbe* Ephraim Zalman Margaliof of Brod, and *Rebbe* Alexander Sender Margaliof of Stanow.

The Zolkiew Genius¹⁹⁰

By Dov Sadan

¹⁸⁹ A variant of a biblical metaphor praising the glory of a firstborn bull.

¹⁹⁰ Author's Footnote: With the kind permission of the author, we are conveying an excerpt from the book of Dr. Dov Sadan '*The Sidestepped Star*' published by the *Poalim* Library, containing those chapters in the life and existence of Dr. R' Grill when bring these excerpts unabbreviated.

While still in childhood, before his reputation became widely known, his capabilities became widely known. – The nickname – The Genius from Zolkiew. His city, was a ‘*City and Mother in Israel*’ and its memory rises much in esteem in the chronology of our community – it has been generations that the spirit of Torah fills its spaces. It is sufficient for us to look a little bit in the book of ‘*The Sublime City*, it is sufficient for us to recollect briefly, the names of the Torah scholars in it – such as the author pf ‘*Tevuot Schur*’ the parent and teacher to the perplexed of our time, with the author of ‘*Ateret Zvi*.’ It is a city that became sublime and survived with a living tradition of learning and scholars. It was necessary to be filled with an overflowing sharp-mind and fluency, to earn the nickname ‘*genius*.’ In truth, the little Benjamin was possessed of all virtues – his sharp mind created a quandary: his memory brought on a wonder; his ability to compare things brought on astonishment, and it is appropriate to say of him in passing: he is a riddle and will continue to be a riddle.

He was born on the Tailor’s Street, which contained a multitude of blessings – according to the *Kabbalah*, this was to be thought of as the blessing of a *Tzaddik* – to raise up geniuses. His father, the impoverished tailor R’ Yehuda Hirsch worked here in a small and rundown house. About him, his son would say: A patch worker, wanted to say: not a tailor but rather one who patches things. The core of the father’s income was from the Dominican monks in the city – he would sew their garments

were brought in, and they would pay, mostly in the equivalent of money, since they would send him firewood from the monasteries, and the like. He worked speedily, and when sewing machines became more commonly available, he could not compete with these developments, and he ceased his manual work, which was not particularly strong, and out of simplicity there are and were books in the jargon of the simple. Thus, it is told, that one of his daughters did not earn a living from tailoring, and therefore he and his wife would raise geese. And it happened that they lost the little money that they earned in this way, and the father assumed the obligation that several occupations had become a matter of jest: [Biblical quote], and the homegrown residents of the house will divide the spoils, that is to say, my wife and me worked at a difficult business, day and night, and the fee for our efforts is divided by the homegrown residents of my household between the butchers and the women *balebatim* in the city. And it was therefore said of his father, that he did not refrain from forbidden work among the farmers of the surrounding villages, that he would return to them in order to repair and patch their clothing. But, within him, he had an intense love of Torah and its trappings, and going back even to his childhood, if he had a spare hour, he put down his needle, and sat in the Rabbi’s house, that being the well-known Sage R’ Zvi Hirsch Khayot.

From the heights of a fallen house, filled with want, Benjamin would walk about in worn out and torn clothing. This was because his father the tailor didn’t have the time, to sew on a few patches on the clothing of his little son, who was renown for his sharp mind and scholarship. He was a youth among the youths of the street, always hungry and thirsty, seizing a slice of bread from a friend’s hand, return on the run – and that is how to describe his childhood. At the age of five, his father took him by the hand and led him to Heder. The next day they came in front of the *Melamed* and asked:

is there any purpose to paying his tuition for teaching of his ‘jewel,’ and the *Melamed* answered: what I dreamt last night and the night before will fall on your head – here you have barely come into my rooms, and already you expect that he will know the entire Torah ‘*on one foot*.¹⁹¹’ And two weeks did not pass when the *Melamed* came running to the tailor to say: take your son out of my class, because he has already upended my vessel and squeezed it to emptiness. It was not that the boy had any special speed, but he had a gift, because even though he didn’t work and grow tired, he taught himself. [He is] A ruffian who climbs on trees and fences through most of the hours of the day, has had enough in two weeks, so that he could learn what it takes the remaining students several periods to learn. And the boy – felt confined in the *Heder* of the *Melamed*, confined in his house, and confined in his city, and his heart was drawn with the enchantments of the large world.

His mother, Chana Mir’l who comes from the family of one of the first musical bands in the city, and who use to play at more than just weddings, and also played at army celebrations, their name was: ‘*Die Tzymleress*.’ She was the one who strongly and wholeheartedly believed in her son, which was not the case with his father, and she was overly committed to him. It was not only once, during winter days, the residents of the side streets would see her, when she was carrying her son on her back, in the morning and in the evening, to the *Heder* of the *Melamed* teaching her son, whose legs were wrapped and bound with worn rags, since she did not have the wherewithal to buy him shoes. When her son grew up, even she understood, that the walls of the city were too confining for him, and again, she did not refuse to let him go and attend a Yeshiva. And he attended (many) Yeshivas, whether in Lvov, in Prszemsyl and even reached Hungary. A story about this mother touches the heart, when the enchantment strengthened in her for wanting to see her Benjamin, she walked for many days until she reached the city where he was studying, and when she came into the Yeshiva courtyard, she called to her son, gave him a pear and said: Benjamin my son, eat, eat.

Every year before the *High Holy Days*, my mother would attempt to send me to Belz. But there was a large barrier: even though my father was a tailor, I did not have proper clothing. One year, when I had the good fortune to succeed and got my father to make me a pair of good-looking, I had no luck. trousers from leftover pieces of fabric , because the trousers did not end at my feet. And this is what happened: *Hasidim* traveled to Belz for the *High Holy Days*, and took me along. I asked to be presented to the , R’ Yehoshua’leh, and give him a greeting of peace. However all my stratagems to pull this off this did not present themselves to me. I said to the youths, who were pushed off like me, and did not succeed like me: *Chevre*¹⁹², this is a waste of time, let us go bathe in the river. But as we took off our clothes and we let the end of our toes go into the river water, and suddenly a youth appeared as an arrow

¹⁹¹ Taken from the legend of the non-Jew who challenged the great Rabbi Hillel to teach him the entirety of Jewish law while ‘standing on one foot.’ Hillel’s reply is the basis of the Golden Rule.

¹⁹² A Yiddish variation of the Hebrew ‘*Chaver*’ indicating in this case, a group of friends.

shot from a bow, whose sidelocks spread out from hither and thither, and yet with all his soul, he shouted: *Er Nemt*¹⁹³! He wanted to say that the *Rebbe* is accepting greetings. So all the swimmers in the river came out to put on their clothing, myself included, but since I was anxious to come first, I jumped with both my legs into one trouser leg, and began to run, but it was only in the middle of my running did I feel that both my legs were in where they were, and the trouser leg splits and continues, but I did not stop my pace, until I reached the *Rebbe* and gave him a greeting of peace and received one in return.

And it is important to remember it was not easy to earn the designation of a ‘genius’ in Zolkiew, and not only because of the geniuses of the past, and not because some genius that came in those days. R’ Yehuda Maimon, but also because there were found several groups of young men that manifested formidable learning skills, three of whom were exceptionally praised. One of them, R’ Itzik’l Rubin from the relatives of the *Rebbe* of Belz, who later on became a *Dayan* in Sosnowiec and that is where he died; the other, the Holy One R’ Moshe Mintzer, a wondrously wise Sage, who didn’t want all of the pictures, rather spending all of his days over Torah study, was a merchant in Vienna, and in the end the Brown shirts got him, old and weak he was sent to the Buchenwald camp and there, they tortured him until his pure soul gave out; and the last one of them, R’ Aharon Brumer, who resided in the town of Kamionka. This Aharon exhibited a sharpness of mind from childhood on, and put his hand to the research books, and neither he nor his father were favorably disposed to the *Hasidim*.

The influence of this Aharon on our Benjamin was the greatest: Both of them possessed a love for casuistry and innovation, that aroused Benjamin to his first writing – in the *Bet HaMedrash* of Zolkiew his innovations can be found in the margins of the book of his innovations, in the laws governing *Khalitza* and *Yibum*¹⁹⁴ – and then specially possessed a scholarship that was literally legendary. The chapters of learning continued and were not deficient except for two or three hours to achieve completion within a day or two. A minor recess – Benjamin to Id – it was in the few minutes when my mother came and brought me some pears to revive my soul. Once – he continued his story – I was sitting in the *Bet HaMedrash* studying, when suddenly I felt a contraction in my heart, and I very much wanted to taste something. I know what awaited me at home – some porridge, prepared in tepid water, but when every body extremity is shouting for food, even a porridge of this sort is a desirable meal. I put down my *Gemara* and went home. It was two o’clock in the morning, after midnight, and while walking I heard a sweet voice, the voice of my dear friend Aharon, who was studying with intense fervor. I stood still, and my heart reached out to me to that which was spoken: hey, Benjamin, Benjamin, you are going home to eat, and here, Aharon sits and studies. I returned to the *Bet HaMedrash* and began to study like a burning flame. However, after two hours, my hunger returned. And again, I put down the *Gemara* and walked home. And here, Aharon is knocking on my window: Benjamin. Get up, it is necessary to get up and go to learn...

¹⁹³ Yiddish for ‘He is Taking!’

¹⁹⁴ Having to do with certain marriage protocols when a woman is widowed.

Probably close because his way to abandonment and *Halakhah* came to him in its essence from the ambience of the air in his home town.. Nevertheless, the center of the glorious *Haskalah* that came burdened from the past, yet from his springtime days, *Hasidism* had spread out over him with the ferocity of conquest, and the city ultimately was captured by Belz and its courtyard. It was not only the *Maskilim* but also the *Mitnagdim* stumbled, and were like depleted extremities. The final point of deterioration perhaps came from that very Sabbath day, when the *Rebbe* of Belz came to the city, and his *Hasidim* asked to lower him in front of the Holy Ark in the Great *Bet-HaMedrash*, and it did the *Mitnagdim* no good, not in closing up the premises and not by hanging a lock on its gate. Because there is a beloved sentence: ‘It is time to worship God’ – prevailed, and the *Hasidim* stood and broke off the lock and the latch. Prayer in the Sephardic style was heard – an the sounding of musicians was heard, and when the groups of *Mitnagdim* became frightened, to rescue themselves, the deed was already done, and the cry of disappointment was heard in the market: *Gevalt!* Ashkenaz has died. Along with this, there was another worthy group of *Mitnagdim*, and it served as a support for the remnants of the *Maskilim*. The pact that had been consummated between the *Mitnagdim* and the *Haskalah* at the beginning, out of a joint fear of *Hasidism* that had been displaced by the rise of the *Haskalah* on and upwards, returned, and was re-affirmed by the signatories of those responsible for such a pact on both sides. The tradition from the days of the רנ"ק and R’ Zvi Hirsch Khayot glittered in their final shining, and the groups that drew nourishment from its fountains dissipated and went off, like the last of them, wandering from close and far – among them R’ Hillel Lechner, from the Jews of the רנ"ק who resided in Lvov and the likes of him. This cohort of influence grabbed only a small part of the city’s youth, of them Moshe Mansch, whom the *Hasidim* called Moshe the Dog for his jokes in the gardens of *Hasidim*, as an example, when he said: So-and-so who had a pair of boots taken from his shoe merchandise and hung them in the gateway to his store; or so-and-so who deals in woven goods, a piece of weaving was taken and hung in the doorway of his store, a *Rebbe* who deals in *Hasidim* is obligated to hang a *Hasid* in the entry to his yard. However, if all of these lines of influence were put together, it is our greater responsibility to make more prominent the personality of R’ Yehuda Meir Maimon, whose fate is similar in a number of ways to the fate of Grill.

His appearance and direction are worth dedicating a special chapter to them, but for our purposes we will be satisfied with a few marks. He was a wondrous genius, and the élite of his generation saw in him someone above them in fluency and sharp-mindedness, but he produced little, in the Hebrew newspapers, especially in the furnaces of butterflies, as was designated by the letters רש"י. It is possible to find his sayings, mostly small and sealed with his real name along with his pseudonyms, especially the lines of his sayings: Fountains of water. He was a close friend to R’ Zvi Hirsch Khayot – and there is in his sayings that he had written in the other cities where he resided, whether Lvov, whether Zhurbano – he recalls what he had heard from him orally, and found a way to the Jewish scholars in the west, in writing as well – in the exchange of correspondence with them, he got some notoriety, as for example in his letter to R’ Yekhiel Mikhl Zakasz to him; also orally and unwritten – as he stood on his own and traveled westward, and became friends with Zechariah Frakel and Zvi Gertz, who lavished him with a surfeit of respect, the wonder aroused in him by the form of Judaism, that stopped being a matter of life, and became a matter of Diaspora matters, the wisdom of Jewry, and his return to the east. His response was not uttered loudly, but rather in a whisper – as if no one saw that he had returned home, he returned to the life in his house – to traditions and customs, to clothing. He continued to write his

observations – most of his material were explanations of the *Tanakh* and *Talmud*, but occasionally he would write on other subjects – as for example on the chronology of the Crusades – but he did not speak because he had an impediment and ended his days in poverty. It became known that he who had become a ‘*Maggid*’ of R’ Shlomo Buber and lavished his hidden energy in the researches of the *Medrash* of that same Sage. The things written about him by R’ Shimon Bernfeld were beautiful – he cites him in quotation marks only, and it was recognized that this was the will of the returned prodigal – and he publicized them in ‘*Reshumot*.’

It appears that R’ Yehuda Meir Maimon was the only one in the city that saw himself as worthy of taking over the wonder of the attributes of Grill, One time, he and Grill and R’ Moshe Prizmont called Moshe’leh Huvnover, the greatest comic in all Galicia, who was also a wondrous Sage, and they were engaged in a casuistic discussion of *Torah*, and Grill would be impressed by his lightning flashes of fluency. (ר״מ)¹⁹⁵ Maimon saw that the opinion of the youth is vulnerable to seeming arrogant, and said in a controlled fashion: Benjamin, you are talking yourself into thinking you are able to learn.

His friends were in wonder about his spirit, that would flip from one side to the other. His manner was not one who was conditioned and smiling for the gold – or a surfeit of joy and learned humor that sparkles in the midst of jokes, banter and the stories of events, especially about his parents, and the events of his city and her personalities, or a black terror for its oppression of the soul.

His friends loved him to a fault, especially Zvi Peretz Khayot, who respected one another, who each knew the other’s mettle, even Grill, though he loved his friends, didn’t particularly respect them, and additionally, after many years he would say in grammatically proper frankness, after all, the Rabbinical Seminary in Vienna where I studied, was full of boors, except for the grandson of our Rabbi (meaning R’ Hirsch Khayot), who remembers almost the entire *Shas*, but this limitation did not keep him from seeing the youthful camaraderie that had come together for the first time in that seminary, as a truly interesting arrangement, since most of them were made in each others’ image, each person and his complex visage, each person and his twisted fate. There was someone who said: we are first-year students, everyone whose son was original, like a drama to himself, even in a tragedy to himself, as if Grill limited him in a precise fashion.

... after he lived in Lvov for a short while and studied at the Rabbinical Seminary in Vienna, after he moved around several times, he went to Bern in Switzerland and received the title of doctor. In that same period he began to write analyses and compilations.

One seeking to follow the path of Grill in a written form of his tales that were oral, when he was young, should go to his novella: *R’ Mottl Analyzer*, which he published his sayings and stories: the end of time. Even this novella is first a story in novella form of his oral exposition on the means to achieve

¹⁹⁵ The writer has chosen to devise an acronym for R’ Yehuda Meir Maimon.

improvisation. It was his custom to speak to his listening comrades, and afterwards they would encourage him that he should take pen in hand and put his talks into writing. Dr. Meir Geier. Who was known as an activist and speaker even though he was personally a simple man, told that one time Grill responded to the request of his friends and said: my comrades, now the known feuilleton has arrived at a publishable form. His friends sat with him, and he produced a chain of items, and began to read things that were light and revealing. Also, from the side of issues, also from the side of their form, and in the end he grew disinterested in them, and jested about them: read a part of what is on paper, perhaps as the destiny of this paper was the same as the destiny of *R' Mottl Analyzer*, but his friend the Sage Michal Berkowitz saw his intent and said: that part of the writer's fee for this novella had already been paid, and he is paying the fee for recording this on paper, which he nevertheless paid – out of his own pocket.

The frame of the novella – a slice of life in the town, especially in its Synagogue: The spirits of the story – R' Mottl, strong in the measure of the truth, the teller, and he appeared to be a pillar of light, and opposite him Zalman Czipkineytil, the pot-stirrers in the town, who did all the despised work in the town, such as the incident of bribery in the selection of a Rabbi: three of the synagogue *Gabbaim*, especially Lipa Sheretz, a licentious and hypocritical man. It is certain that many lines are taken from the life of his birthplace. And it is appropriate to recall that it was Grill who guarded a remark in his mouth (and it is an example of a saying of the sort that would have been spoken by the רנ"ק): I know three heads of the community in Zolkiew, one weakened, one a fool, and one a prevaricator, and he ends with: our community stands on these three pillars – on the power of the first, on the wisdom of the second, and on the tradition of the third – but the way they mark their path makes them examples. The subject of the novella is the custom of calling to criticism the poor and the porter, and he fought it in a manner that he calls himself to task and in the end, his protagonists declare him to be insane and that is the way he is held in the city. But the path of the story raises the essence of the issue above the episode, and it is discovered if according to its intent is to limit the framework of the town, according to an inference, he grafts on a path to it, and he is not only a brother to the one carrying this in the general literature of that time, but also by coming to the grasp of the world of the author – the tragic struggle of the lone person, loyal to the truth, and the tradition in the surrounding area, that its rulers and those who set the tone are untrue to the truth and the tradition, and step on them in their coarseness. If we are to delve, we will see that R' Mottl is not only a brother of doctor Shtuckman in 'The Enemy of the Folk' to their loss – and truthfully what is the difference if the field of battle is in the same village of Novorg which possesses fountains of a medicine whose basis is untrue. Or in that same Jewish town, which possesses a synagogue whose behavior is to deceive. It is especially so that the opposition in the story before us is between the champion and those around him, and he is sharp and stands out.

...Its members and friends have selected a Rabbi to lead us from the leadership in the cities of Austria. But there way was not the way chosen by Grill, even though there were variances from the foundation of the schism, he fled the perspective that was opened before his eyes, but he did not have the loyalty to return, because he did not have the strength to try new experiences. The path of Gedalia Shmelkes looked to be close enough for his purposes, and the path of R' Zvi Peretz Khayot seemed too tragic for him, and the core of the issue did not appear significant enough, to tax Sophocles or Aristophanes. And I see in this what I heard from his mouth and appeared to me as an inferred explanation – in a conversation on a bench in the garden

of his birthplace, and I reminded him of the sorrow of his friend, my *Teacher* Yehoshua Ozer Proust, who said, and repeatedly said: the young and the old who built on it, the greatness they build was not realized. Grill spoke a theme, and then jested, that the Rabbinical leadership depends on it, and they preach about what is considered for it. He said: I understand what you say, the remnants of Proust creates on me the feeling that my sustenance is not according to its order, since I sustain myself with a plain hand, but to forgive them, from my small and grown friends, are they not all extending their hand, of the *schnorrer*? For who is a *schnorrer* if not someone that takes without giving, without an exchange (of value)? And the Temple community is unwitting, because their Rabbis are their friends, giving them a handsome salary, in large amounts, and all of them, do they not give them their salaries as charity? Who is gullible and say to me that the élite that pray at the temples, feel some sort of gift of exchange. What sort of gift are they getting from the hands of the Rabbis? Certainly there is a difference – they are my friends, they take their pay cynically, on the eve of every new month, with a check from the bank or by mail, and I receive it ‘retail’ and with a look, there is no oversight, but rather it is an attribute of mine – and it pleases me to know what I eat and from whom I get my food.

The role of the woman is not missing from the book of his life, quite the opposite, the love of a woman who has been deceived was like a deciding foundation, that was attached to other foundations in his soul, and set his way and destiny according to that way. There were those who worked to marry into it, and especially Yaakov Shmuel Fuchs, the author of ‘*HaMaggid*’ in Cracow, who asked to marry his step-daughter, Sarah-Leah Shudmack the daughter of a well-known family that produced *Maskilim* and the first of the Zionists in the city. And yet in his newspaper the engagement of the couple also was publicized, and Grill began in this period of his life, but it was shortened, these were the first years of the beginning of the century in which the attempt was made to follow the set path of life and work, and it is possible to add, that this most important trajectory in his experience was his desire to have a family.

But no man like this will build a family, and the package quickly unraveled. The editor worked as is understood, to draw his genius son-in-law to his newspaper, but there are also records to that effect – his sayings in issues of fables, and the chronology and development of the language. On days that he would recollect his writing he would say: Don’t keep still, because I wanted to write, and never wanted to write, and what ever I wrote I did so by forcing myself. His inner opposition to writing stands out mostly in an event with his friend, Felix Farlash, the known researcher on Holy Writ (He was a Rabbi and a Professor in Koenigsberg, and a short while at the University of Jerusalem), who sent him a compilation from his works for purposes of reading and assessment, Grill returned his assessment with great acuity, but his letter trampled on it in the aftermath of the writing, and even the container that Benjamin put in an Ale’ph, as a sort of punishment for an accident. But the essence of his work during that short period of time – the talk, the presentation, what it showed. In the year he engaged in the work that the Zionists were doing to spread the *Haskalah*, especially in the way of the Toynbee style, we see Grill in Vienna among the lecturers and more set in their ways, and the issue of his talk was equally set in its ways – an explanation of the portion of the week. These expositions drew a large audience in assessing the first Jewish Toynbee presentation in Vienna that was publicized to many, where it is said: From the lectures of the last several days, it is worth noting especially the brilliant explanation of Dr. Grill.

Between June and July of 1902, Grill left Vienna and came to settle in Lvov.

From his acquaintances and those that appreciated his work in Lvov, they worked over several of drafts to enter him on the path of doing things to help himself and the many. Firstly, his friends, the young Zionists, who sought to assist him as well in the work on the Toynbee style that they had founded in their city, and he, nevertheless responded to them with a lecture on the worth of the *Talmud* to the past and present, and also in the ranks of the Jews of science, he responded to them with a lecture on the *Tanakh* and insights about all innovations, this being an issue that aroused a lot of polemics in that time – the confusion -of Babylon. Regarding the matter of the connection of Grill to the criticism of the *Holy Writ*, Dr. Chaim Tartakower tells that he sat with him in one room, because Grill was the one who was alerted first to the spirit of enmity to Judaism and Jews that protruded out of the research into the gospels of the Protestants. And it is necessary to remember that Grill behaved like a cultist in Germany and towards Germans – their strength being in the organization of things and a move to action in the content and implementation they found an excessively belligerent *Hasid* in him. But this relation – and also perhaps his affection for the German language, he stayed with it, even though this was a found affection in the members of his generation and country – he did not conceal his brilliant view in the issue of Jew-Hatred, which he saw as a tendency submerged in the soul of the primitive German.

Those who appreciated him, worked hard to draw him near to ‘*Seekers of Peace for Zion*,’ that was founded by R’ Yom-Tov Lipa Schiff (the father of R’ Eliezer Meir Lifschitz) who was one of the Zionist leaders. He went to the Congress and was even a member of the active Zionist committee and in the dispute between Herzl and the Galician Zionists, he was on Herzl’s side and one of the first speakers. This group – afterwards changed its name to ‘*The Hope of Zion*’ – had interesting types of people, of them Y. Perlberger full of ideas, and a bit of a scribe – did not understand all that was being done to the new Hebrew literature – and who prepared a list of the terms of Hebrew commerce that they were used in letter exchanges of merchants in Brody (a few of them were accepted by the Language Committee in Jerusalem). Grill would expound in this group, but there is no room to say, that he had a special issue in the group itself, its direction and its people.

His old and new friends worked hard to make him into a teacher, and they made him the Principal of the ‘*Khinukh LaNa’ar*’ school. It was an institution that was one-of-a-kind – it was the only Hebrew school not only in Lvov, but in all Galicia. It had its ups and downs, and the base for teaching Hebrew grew stronger because of the effort made by its leaders Dr. Meir Munk, and especially Yitzhak Eeven, a man from Rosvodov. He was a Hebrew writer that became known afterwards as a refuge for *Hasidic* stories, and he published them in Jewish newspapers in America. This school fought a difficult battle to survive in a double front of its opponents – the assimilationists from one side, and the strictly religious on the other. The young Zionists in Lvov saw the struggle for this school to be one of its general concerns.

And here, it seems, that according to his direction and ideas, Grill was found to be suitable for this school, and the leadership was turned over to him, and there even are a few echoes of his work here in journalism.

Those that appreciated him also worked on his behalf in the Jewish community, especially his supporting sponsor. A time of developing capacity for this was played by the founding of a library beside the congregation – it was founded especially by the force of R' Shlomo Buber, who gave it a vast treasure of books, but its opening was delayed and delayed yet again, until the young Zionists roused themselves and publicized week-by-week questions and explanations in their newspaper in regards to this issue, and did not stop their agitation until the real opening led to a substantial opening. And once the house was opened, directed by Gershom Bader, their books, and valuable handwritten manuscripts was a blessing, and many hoped that Grill, who was given an opportunity to give a lesson, and was revealed as a magnificent teacher, let us fix the point that his supporter and sponsor set up for him a sort of simple chair to do research in the *Talmud*. The opening lecture was given at the beginning of 1903. A compendium of these lectures was called: A Course for the Study of the Talmud, and took place twice a week – on Monday and Thursday in the hall on *ul. Stanislawow 5*. Its lectures attracted many listeners, and the inclination of these lectures, even on matters of grammatical research, was an improvisation of song, and it will be no surprise that they continued not only for the enrolled but for their simplicity. But the days of the lessons did not last a long time: even the large salary that its supporter paid for it – eighty gulden a month – and it was up to it to provide for expensive wines and cigarettes, it was unable to a condition of permanence.

The short period of creating order and permanence was nothing more than a hiatus between what was in front of it, and what was behind – the misuse and taking of provisions without pay, the groups that stood by it as benefactors, especially among his friends, and more precisely from among the mothers of the membership.

Vienna, understandably, was most favored as a point of concentration for these peripatetic people. His friends, who were less well-informed than him in facts and understanding and poetry, had their reputations spread in the world as informed people, preachers and activists, and this was the flour that made Galicia stand apart, and he, the blessed genius was swayed by, sitting in its coffee houses *Leopoldstadt* and telling jokes. There was no embarrassment to his simple approach that became his art, and he even took pride in a form of agility, that he had developed for himself: in the coffee house his table became a focal point for those who were drawn to the art of the tale, and humor. And those who were his adherents who would congregate to ingest his stories and trials, beside paying for the chain of his humor with their presence, and did so with a few coins.

In old age, when he returned to his birthplace, he would take pride in being a *schnorrer*. And to this he would say: I do not envy any person except one, and who is he? The Tall R' Meir who goes to the cemetery, and hires himself out to recite the *Kaddish* and the like. Go out and see how extensive is his skill – a wealthy man destined to come to a city and there is not a single person that knows of this, that this very rich man left by train from Lvov with the central purpose to travel to Belz, and because he passes Zolkiew, it is worthwhile to make a stop there – and here, Tall R' Meir waits for him at the hotel, and at one time I thought and suggested to myself that he came to this same hotel even before the wealthy man left Lvov, and it was no accident that he raised the thought in his heart to make a stop in the city, and waits with an assured patience to make a stop in the city. It is analogous to the gathering of *Hasidim*, that he spent many long hours, and suddenly makes a stop and waits patiently for the arrival of the locusts, and never was his

assuredness incorrect. With a prophecy that in its substance is like that of the *Hasidim*, an augury that is in the senses of Tall R' Meir, and because of this augury is found within him, and is not found in me, I envy him.

During the World War, he did see himself to be obligated to serve in the reckoning of the Kaiser, and he did not respond to any call to the military. He would hide himself, and his choice of hideout was in a public place, such as sitting in the Viennese restaurant of Rapaport, a place of assembly of his countrymen, refugees from Galicia, and his *balebatim* and guests were assisted by him as if he were a youthful emissary, who performed his mission for the cost of a meager meal. That was so, until he was seized and subjected to severe torture.

The time of his military service were kept in his memory as a form of a shameful experience. Certainly, as a soldier he was not made to engender any spiritual contentment to his superiors. They were a sort of 'torturers' of his behavior. It was not from the warmth of loyalty, but from the cynicism of idleness. They did not attach any significance to what he said, because he was like a shelter of pacifism and Zionism. He sought several legal means to be spared military service, but could not find any, and at most, was accepted by the Rabbi Aharon (Adolph) Schwartz, who had the ability to discharge him – with a gift of a certificate as a candidate for the rabbinate – and he refused it, whether he did not want to give the certificate to an abandoned and sloppy person, or because he hated him. Grill was in the habit of saying: hey, military service – I evaluated the traps in this world and of my bad deeds and I erred in both as one.

He served his military service in the city of Gleichenburg, and the large degree of his diligence and focus was recognized regardless, of the fact that he never took his bayonet out of its sheath, and on those days when he was compelled to take it out, he couldn't, not him or others that were of greater strength than him, because his bayonet had gotten stuck as if it was glued in its sheath and could not be separated from its sheath.

And the conclusion of his wandering – a return to the city where he was born. He sat there, and did not go out except infrequently for a few hours. His comrades who were the heads of the congregation, attempted to get him to reform, but it was in vain. The man resides in his city, in which the *balebatim* support him with excess affection, and yet his capacity was it was before – in fluency and sharp-mindedness, and in particular in the art of storytelling. What he tells, regarding an incident of a fellow scion of his city, who avoided the duty of military service, and was seized and captured, his fellow townsfolk came and hired four reckless people, and two of them went into the saloon opposite the prison and removed the prisoner: he also told the story of a loaf of bread that he had bought an hour ago – his story was a wondrous form of art. His friends from the days that he taught tell that in his talk before teachers and student – asked to be shown the details of the deep seizure and his excessive pleasure in the creation of the world and about man, and about its fables, in the art, and of nations, not to stray on a side path and the analysis of ideas, rather tell the story as is – every image that his story drew with outstanding appearance, on all of its aspects before the listener.

The heights found in the force of his storytelling continued even in the period of his decline – and in this way, he responded to a request that he talk about Herzl in the synagogue of his city. He did not say anything regarding an assessment of the individual of the man and his work, he told about the funeral. In further detail: he told of the funeral, and it passed like a tangible experience in the hearts of the listeners, whose souls were impacted to their foundation by it. The power of guarding the fresh life of its experience was revealed again, when he came to tell about events, which were large chapters of his experience. As an example, the first opera that he heard in his life. And he inform the listeners: that he didn't hear a story, but heard an opera itself, and from his words there vibrated rhythms and the clear voices of the song and music, even the substance lost in the thickness of faraway places was heard, and it is certainly an issue, that the opera, in its story was great and profound from that which was heard from the *Bima*.

In the fortress of the city and the breadth of idleness he mad himself the subject of the practiced criticism and his wanderings. At times it seems he was overly detailed in the matter of forbidding to leave the head uncovered. He said: you certainly think that I behave this way out of respect for the Torah, but in truth, I behave this way out of respect for the innards, I am forewarned against exposing my head, not because my brother Yaakov who is a *Dayan*, and supports me with the accompaniment of *The World to Come*, but rather because of my sister Chana Gittl'eh who sells (produce) in the marketplace, and supports me with the produce of the *Present World*. He would stand in the doorway of the saloon in his city and mock himself, This saloon had a reputation, not because of its atmosphere in those days, R' Simcha Ungar, but on the atmosphere within – that of R' Nachman Krochmal. Grill was a rare guest in this house, and Simcha Ungar would fill his cup with the best of his stock of bottles. He would point to the house and say: in this location, Krochmal, may his memory be praised, taught us Latin, Greek, Syrian and Arabic: Here in this very same house Grill, may his memory be in Eden, taught us Latin and Greek and Syrian and Arabic, and many other things.

In mocking himself, especially to his audience, one could see an aura of affection and compassion. Essentially he loved all men, especially the simple people.

The hunger for learning from his childhood on, became stronger and was additive, and he would say: In my current learning, I go down very, very deeply into the body of the *Halakhah*, and I now understand more about what I learned than I had previously understood. He would be moved if it appeared to him that he did not exactly remember an issue that he had learned in complete detail, and an incident that took place in the marketplace, at a time when he wore half a beard and was half clean-shaven. They wondered about him, and he said the barber is working on me and is shaving me and I need that moment to look into the issue of the study of Torah, the memory of which rose before me, I will wait until the barber finishes his work, even though it is certain to me that I will, in the meantime forget the issue, or I will go to research (it) and because I certainly that I will not forget the old man?

In the final two years of his life, his ability to speak was taken from him, and he would tend to be more inclined to listen. On the state of his spirit in these years, it is possible to infer from a small letter of his, which is given in his language. From its content, it can be recognized that from time-to-time he saw himself as a sidelined star that shone in the dark, between nights he shone, and between nights he set, and his heard was besieged and ached, and here are the words of the letter written with difficulty and negligence:

It is difficult for me to use a pen and ink

ב"ה

Tuesday, 13.8

Your friend Benjamin Grill.

(Translation: Many heartfelt thanks for your affectionate lines and also on conveying the greetings of peace from the Chief Rabbi Ehrenpreis. In the decade of the nineties, he was the first to teach me Latin, doing it as a mitzvah. I have no special news, except that I grow older each day, and fumble around more. Many blessings to all of you).

During these years, the tendency to study grew stronger, and occasionally he would go into the *Bet HaMedrash* and learn with great diligence as if his childhood years had returned. They derided his abandonment of his decisions, even though now he continues to wander the streets of the city, and was accustomed through politeness with nature around him to mock them in his heart. It may have been sweet for him to recognize that he can see the entire city as a coterie of fools, that are dear to him despite their gullibility.

During these months before he died, he sat in the hall of the Jewish casino in his city, and he felt his heart rebelling against him. He was brought to his house, sat beside the stove and said: my heart, my heart, why do you torture me thus, I will not stand like a Czar and fight for what you want, I proclaim my complete capitulation. And a number of days close to his passing, his friends and neighbors sensed his mind was not normal. They asked him: Mr. Doctor, why do you not sleep at night? He answered: where does sleep come from, and why is it decided that one sleeps at night? A detailed letter by a neighbor and who is favorable to him, that was written two hours after his funeral – which was on November 26, 1936 – describes his death. The night before this, Grill became ill and entered his neighbor's place, the watchmaker Mr. Zwerin, at four o'clock, and woke him up, to save him. The watchmaker began to deal with him, but his malady did not leave him. In the morning at nine o'clock another neighbor came in, R' Moshe, and found him sitting beside the stove, half-dressed and his breathing more belabored than usual, and he said the following to his neighbor: My good friend Moshe, this past Sabbath, I drank my last cup of coffee at your house, and I will not be your guest ever again, today I die. R' Moshe began to coax him with words, and the sick one joked and said: Moshe, ahah, I have been drinking coffee at your house for eight years, I did not miss a single Sabbath, you are the best of my friends and carry a blessing, that you came here immediately in the morning. R' Moshe left him and said: I will return in the evening. He replied with terrifying irony: Yes. Yes. At noon, the son of the Rabbi came to him and requested to take him with the Red Cross train to Lvov. He agreed to this, and began to get dressed, sitting by the stove, and he deteriorated, and in a minute his soul departed his body, and the prayer he prayed for his entire life came to pass, that he not be immersed in illness.

The writer adds that the humor of Grill in his last days were like a pile of hundreds and hundreds of sharp thoughts. On the last Sabbath, he came to the *Bet HaMedrash* to hear the eulogy for Yehoshua Tohn and said to the one giving the eulogy: Listen to the silent tongue: The day before his death when he felt bad, came by himself to the Rabbi and said, that if I die, I am leaving four hundred gulden – one hundred for the servant in the Rabbi's house who cooked for him; one hundred for whoever will recite the Kaddish on his behalf; thirty gulden for the one who creates the style of his headstone, and the remainder for burying implements and a headstone. The writer concludes: to say, at the end he did not die in someone else's burial shrouds – that is the end of an insightful man.

R' Avraham Yaakov Wildman, one of the elders of the remaining *Mitnagdim* in the city, was asked in the will to compose the wording of the headstone, and he sat down and did his work. And here is the style regarding the Rabbi and Sage R' Benjamin ben Yehuda Zvi ז"ר called Dr. Grill, and here is his text:

Page 450: The Innocent Style of a Headstone – The End of a Song.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶

The lines here are penned in a Hebrew acrostic of the deceased's name.

Among Humankind	ב
Understanding and Torah-Knowledgeable in Great Fluency	נ
All Who Know Him Will Praise Him	י
He Was Among the Outstanding People in His City	מ
His Name Remains as a Memorial for the People Where He Lived	נ
Among Thousands of People His Like Cannot Be Found	ב
It Is Pleasant and Precious to Hear His Discussions and Words	נ
He Enjoys a Glowing Reputation Even in Faraway Places	י
He Enjoyed a Reputation as a Sage in Cities and in Books	ה
And There Are No Words to Convey His Praise	ו
You Will Always Hear Wise Words Come From His Mouth	ד
He Went to His Rest With the Wisdom of His Torah	ה
He Was Like a Deer and Handsome in the Eyes of His Generation	צ
Let His Soul Be Bound Up in the Bond of Life	ב
Let His Soul Rise to the Highest Point in the Flame	י

בנימין בן יהודה צבי
Benjamin ben Yehuda Zvi

The Scribe Joseph Chaim Brenner in Zolkiew

By Yaakov Ne'eman (Neumark)

On the top of a hill across from the ancient fortress-surrounding area on top where the residents of the fables.

Many generations wrapped the grove itself in to Zolkiew, and the locked fountain behind the iron the trees.

Close to this line of trees Joseph Chaim Brenner 1908, as an 'undesirable man' because he was born Czarist régime as a rebel against the monarchy. the grasses of an alien land, I lay down and consulted it exists' – it is with these lines that Brenner opens Hebrew literature ('*Revivim*' Volume I).

When I came to the house in the same grove in lived, I found an elderly lady of about seventy years about 'the Jew that lived with us many years ago.'

She told me that it was through the Jews of Zolkiew Brenner by Arabs.

'He was a precious man,' she said, and her voice



1908 בשנת ברנר חיים יוסף חסונו יוסף חיים ברנר בשנת 1908
Page 451/452): The Factory in 'HaRe'i' where the scribe Joseph Chaim Brenner lived in 1908.

city Zolkiew , a grove spreads out the surroundings would tell a myriad of

mystery, the caves that stretch from it gate and the wondrous alignment of

lived during the months of June-July in Russia and was pursued by the 'With the sunlight on me, and with our literature and the world in which up his excerpts from the world of

1931, in which a family of farmers and up, that I her from her mouth

she became aware of the murder of

quavered with emotion. 'There are

many things, but my memory fails me, I think about twenty-five years ago, this Holy Man lived in our hut. He would play with our children, put them to sleep' ... 'the man loved nature very much, and the resonance of the grove. He would vanish during the day, and would return to his room towards nightfall. He had burning eyes, and we saw that he was a Man of God, On the Sabbaths, the Jewish youth of the town would come to visit him, and they conversed a great deal and despite this, he was a lonely person, he was always alone, and looked into many books.'

The Portrait of a Man from Zolkiew

By Rachel Kaldor (Eikhl)

The images that stand out in the town – a modest man practiced to help himself and those close to him following the saying of ל"ח [Aramaic Saying] was R' Avraham Dov Eikhl. His black, perceptive eyes that convey sorrow and sadness from this, joy and mischief from this, heavy eyebrows that stick out over the nose convey a sort of external sign as to a sharp scholarly mind that Avraham had, a scion of Zolkiew.

He was the oldest son of a rural Jewish *Maskil*, from the Eikhl family and if Avraham's mother was an emotional woman, sensitive and good-hearted, she was tied with all of the attributes of her heart to everything alive and blooming in water.

As a youth, Avraham already stood out by his quick grasp and profound thoughts and the skill to express it in writing. An ardent *Enlightened* person, a religious Jew, succeeded in persuading Avraham's father that his son was destined to become one of the élite of Israel, and it would be a sacrilege to let him indulge in secular studies. Because of this, the boy was guarded from every direction, that he should not burden his hands with a secular book. In Magierow, a town near his village, he studied in a *Heder* and the *Bet HaMedrash* and resided at the time at the home of the Rabbi of the city. The boy only experienced fortunate days. Occasionally he would even provide a release to the teacher of his spirit in the form of various antics. The youth, thirsty for knowledge was trapped randomly by the secular teacher that had been flung into Magierow and in place of Talmud lessons, he got lessons in German; he spent all of the money he had in his pocket on buying books. One time he was seized in his spoiling, and his books were confiscated by his parents; but he stood fast with his rebellion, and with an unusual dedication and strong will, doubled down on his studies in a number of the books that he brought to 'slik' in the attic.

When he became seventeen years old, he became engaged to the daughter of a wealthy man from Zolkiew, the daughter of R' Yaakov Patrontacz. The character of the spirit in which he grew up, and the leanings of his heart was to seek the peace was the greeting he sent to his bride in his letter to his father-in-law, and this is how he said it: 'I seek the acceptance of the eagle and that you will enrich the eagle and reverse the course of the decade.' If you will divide the eagle into ten letters, you will get '*halakh*' and if you will reverse the order of the letters lo, before you, you have the word '*kalah*' (the bride) to whom the young man wanted to send his best wishes.

After his return from the army during the First World War, Avraham settled in Zolkiew, and it was here that he acquired many friends among the Maskilim of the town. His perceptive comrades were Dudl Maimon, a knowledgeable person, that drew with his speeches and pen, adherents, and R' Pinchas Schwartz a mathematician with a broad grasp of many outlooks and ideas.

Avraham Eikhl knew Hebrew fluently and was among the ardent supporters of the language until the use of the spoken language was spoken (routinely) in his home. In 1923, at the mere age of 38

he fell severely ill, and has not risen from his bed of ink until his death in 1930; it was a severe pulmonary



מצבה על קברו בבית הקברות בז'ולקבי

Page 456: *The Headstone on His Grave
in the Cemetery in Zolkiew*

inflammation¹⁹⁷ that allowed the development of typhus in its wake. The robust young man struggled with his illness for years but could not overcome it. During his long years of illness, his saturation cause him suffering, he did not cease his studies and research especially in the field of statistics, in which he compiled many views. With all his ardent attachment to the precise sciences, he was possessed of a poetic soul and excelled at writing (in Hebrew and German). The man was religious, and hesitated to address religious issues from a scientific basis. His take on the world was to see himself as a critical agent of the ‘truth.’ He attempted to attain it, ‘distance yourself from lies.’ From his dedication to truth and justice, he saw the construction of a idealist socialist organization as essential, as a given goal, in which it is the right of every man to be free and to go to work.

At the premature age of 45, he surrendered his pure soul to his Maker, On the headstone of his grave, the following is engraved:

A Torah hero in deeds and understanding, crowned in his youth for a long life, he died. The pain was great and profound when this Tzaddik went to his grave. His wife and daughter were surfeit with a great weeping because the impact of is terrible disease during his life, and cause them silent suffering of seven troubles which he took with affection and did not succumb to complaint even when his suffering intensified, Avraham passed away but not aged in years because of the greatness of his honesty and the purity of his soul and for his boundless patience, may God reward his patience.

The sentence, ‘Avraham came into his years but not old in years,’ was etched according to the refrain of Dr. Benjamin Grill. Old in age, his explanations physically matured with the passing years but their rose above this realization by virtue of good deeds and understanding together.

The Rebbetzin Rabinovich of the Rokeach Family

By Shoshana Selakh (Herbster)

It would be difficult to record the chronology and memories of our city Zolkiew, without recalling the shining personality who sent the rays of her loving and warm soul to all corners of the sorrow and pain of the needy of the city in which she was transformed into a figure and symbol of a God-fearing woman in our city, for is she not from a rabbinical family, whose secular name I do not know to this day, because not once was she called by her secular name, and this is out of great respect and profound admiration, that was whispered by all scions of the city on her behalf, and by every family.

¹⁹⁷

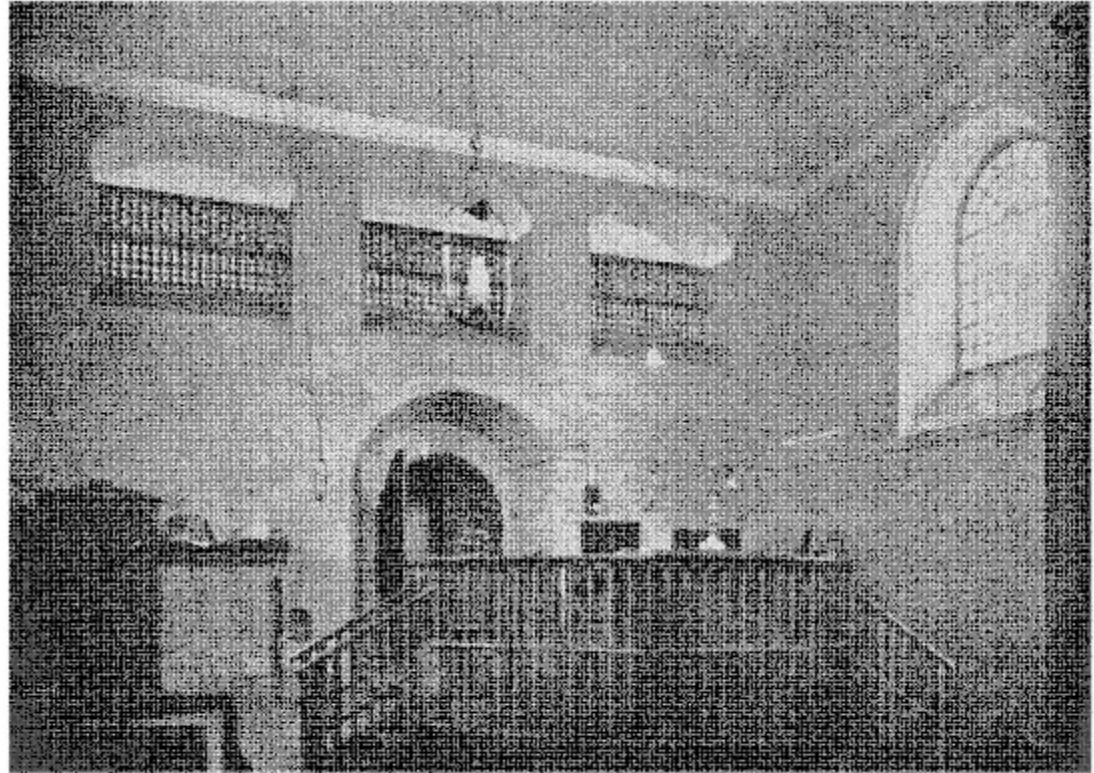
A common descriptor for pneumonia.

The *Rebbetzin* Rabinovich stems from the Rokeach Family, the daughter of the *Great Rebbe* and *Gaon* of Navria זצ"ל – and she was a fountain of good deeds, suffused with *Torah-Mitzvot*, from which the women drew their God-fearing nature and initiative. Everyone loved her. It is however not within my capacity to enumerate the hundreds of good deeds, the undertakings of giving charitably, and her social initiatives, and support given clandestinely, that she would deliver to the door of the people. Her opaque transparency of all corners of those poor, and those suffering deprivation, and poverty to the focus of her cognizance of suffering of all people needing the discretion of her help, these were concealed from the eyes of the world and vanished completely with her. It is impossible to count all the good deeds that she did. However, etched in my mind, here, I remember her beauty, her appearance of her erect posture. When I was still in my city, I thought this to be the appearance of all the *Rebbetzins* in the world, but when I went out from my city, and I saw tens of them, I faced the fact that the appearance of our *Rebbetzin* and her whole figure testified to the aura and legacy of Rabbis from many generations past. The glow of the Torah and her inner commitment could be seen from all sides of the *Rebbetzin's* face. On her hair she wore a silk brooch (*szterntikh*), decorated with valuable jewelry and with rare and precious stones, with which she decorated her white forehead, that was smooth as marble. Her black and understanding eyes, poured out good-heartedness on the public. A small smile on her refined mouth, in which she weighed each word that comes out from the depth of her heart: a lean figure, tall and wrapped in beautiful clothing, that bestows on her the appearance of a regal Israel in the days of the legendary past. The refined figure of the *Rebbetzin* of Zolkiew, and her erect posture – when she came out onto the city streets, always escorted by two women or at least one – attracted the attention of all passers by both coming and going. Everyone looked at her with admiration and respect, and heartily blessed her.

When she was young, when I saw the *Rebbetzin* in the street, I ran to kiss her hand, and feeling fortunate, I told my mother of this. And my mother was also feeling fortunate, because my mother ז"ל loved the *Rebbetzin* with a great unbounded love. The *Rebbetzin* and her appearance all spoke of an aura. A boundless good heart, nobility, and Torah learning could all be seen in her face, and a sublime restraint spread across her small closed mouth. She did not speak much and not with speed, but every sentence that she uttered was weighed, bounded and measured. She always was going for a purpose. I never saw her once get angry (my mother was a consistent guest of the *Rebbetzin*). She never shouted at, nor got angry with, her children. She knew how to control her temper when needed. Any sentence she said was complete, clear, educated and directing. Some time it was comforting and encouraging.

My mother saw it as a sacred obligation to visit the *Rebbetzin* and receive her blessing. Frequently, she came to her on Sabbaths, Festivals, and some time during the middle of the week, to tell her of her troubles and joys. This was no ordinary visit. It was a sacred hour, an hour for prayer, an hour of admiration and respect.

From my earliest childhood, my sister and I were attached to my mother for this visit. I stood beside my mother and did not move from my spot. I listened to the conversation between my mother and the *Rebbetzin*, almost speechlessly, My mother would converse with other women who also came here to visit the *Rebbetzin*, they, as well with control and in silence, as if not to disturb the sacred spirit pervading this house. Occasionally, the voice of the *Rebbe*, calling the *Rebbetzin*, would cause the discussion to stop – then all the women would get up trembling in sacredness and emotionally looked through the cracks of the tall door: ‘*Der Rebbe, Der Rebbe*’ and they no doubt blessed him silently in their hearts. When I was seven years old, the *Rebbetzin* gave birth to her first daughter, Sarah, with whom I occasionally played.



סנים 'עזרת נשים' בבית־הכנסת הגדול בז'ולקייב

Page 459/460: *The Appearance of the 'Women's Section' in the Great Synagogue of Zolkiew*

During the Festival of *Sukkot*, the *Rebbe's Sukkah* was a place for joy and holiday celebration. The *Sukkah* was comprised of several rooms and was beautifully built. It was a joy to sit in it, and to inhale the scent of the fresh green *Skhakh*¹⁹⁸, that opened the nostrils wide and to this day, the pleasant scent of the *Skhakh* rises in my nose. In the *Rebbe's Sukkah*, a bed stood in the corner, and a library of his sacred books stood there. The *Rebbetzin* also had her own room for her and her nearest. In the *Sukkah* itself they prayed for the entire holiday of *Sukkot*. Even the special decorations of the *Sukkah*, that I have not seen the likes of them here in *The Land*, have not left my memory. And the procession of *Rosh Hashanah* was magnificent, and was arranged

¹⁹⁸

A form of a green grass-like plant used like thatch, to take the place of a roof on a *Sukkah*.

by the *Rebbe* and his *Hasidim* through the streets of the city, to the river, for the recitation of ‘*Tashlikh*.’ The procession passed by our house and my mother was joyful and happy from the appearance of the procession and from hearing the voices of the singing *Hasidim*.

The Portrait of a Family

By Aryeh Acker

In the latter years of the 19th century, one family took up residence in our city: Yehoshua- Zvi son of R’ Israel Acker, a silken young man full of deep religious emotions, from the *Hasidim* of Husiatyn. He, and his wife, Breindl-Rivka, a daughter of the Tzishniver family, made their living from a concession where they sold tobacco and cigarettes. At first, R’ Yehoshua-Zvi would pray in the Belz *Kloyz*, but his modern dress and his behavior, which was not like that of the Belz *Hasidim*, did not find favor in the eyes of these *Hasidim*, and he decided that there was a need for a *House of Prayer*, that was willing to accept worshipers like him. He was surrounded by fiends of the same mind, such as: R’ Aharon Dagan and his sons, R’ Nissim Stern, R’ Avraham Stern, R’ Baruch Stein and his son-in-law R’ Eliezer Litman, R’ Israel Mellis, R’ Pinchas Schwartz, R’ Emanuel Kaufer, ‘ Moshe Baruch Katz and his son-in-law, the Fleshner brothers, R’ Shammai Rapaport, R’ Joseph Deutscher, R’ Moshe Cohen and others. Using their own capacities, they erected a synagogue in the name of the *Tzaddik* of Ziditshov. R’ Yehoshua-Zvi put in a great deal of time and work to raise this building. After the building was erected, the Ziditshov *Kloyz* attained a period of flowering. Many *balebatim* were added that were seeking the closeness and warmth that pervaded the Synagogue from the side of the *Gabbaim*, and especially from the Head *Gabbai* that was called by the affectionate nickname of R’ Hershel’eh. They continued the study of Torah on the Sabbath and weekdays. Also, many youths and *balebatim* used to come from the Belz *Kloyz* to the Ziditshov *Kloyz* in order to study there. Recalled are, the Cantor R’ Israel Mallis, R’ Aharon Dagan, R’ Nissim Stern, and R’ Avraham Stern who led services and inspired elevation of spirit in the worshipers. The songs sung during *Shaleshudes* on the Sabbath became famous. The Rabbi, R’ Pinchas Rimmelt, was a permanent guest at *Shaleshudes*, and the principal subjects for discussion were the tales of the ADMoR’im, and the Great *Torah* Sages that were told between songs.

During the week, in managing his usual businesses, R’ Yehoshua-Zvi erected a Cooperative Bank for extension of credit, together with the Brudinger household, to the followers and populations of all faiths. The farmers in the vicinity especially came to obtain credit at a good country rate of interest. In addition to this, he was in the practice of extending interest-free credit to all the merchants and storekeepers in the local market, this being a concession until the end of the trip to Lvov for the purchase of goods.

In 1908 a small crisis developed in the life of the family, when a Jewish man, one of the citizenry took the business out of the hands of Yehoshua-Zvi but the family recovered quickly. The excellent relationships that they had with the local residents helped them to recover from the blow of transgressing this boundary and they continued to manage their new commercial business successfully. The children grew, helped in the business, but tended towards *Haskalah*. Even though R’ Yehoshua-Zvi was a traditional merchant, and observant, he did not disturb his daughter and son when they joined Zionist groups that were founded by the Zionist movement in the city.

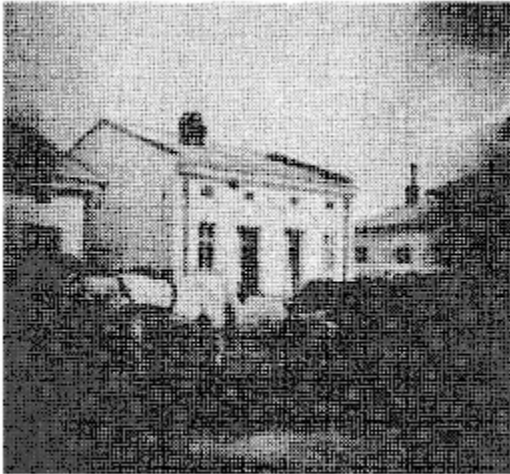
During the First World War, the Russians reached our city and they demanded of the Jews that they establish a national commission, and R' Yehoshua-Zvi was elected as a member of the committee. Many refugees from the towns of Mosty'-Wielkie and other places, reached Zolkiew and they suffered greatly from the momentum of the Russians. The Russians remained in our city for two years and the Jewish populace suffered attacks from the conquering army. The national commission was constantly alert and worked for the good of the Jewish populace, and excelled in providing aid swiftly to the needy. After the liberation of the city from the Russian conquest, the Austrian government drafted R' Yehoshua-Zvi and his son Moshe into the army. R' Yehoshua-Zvi served as an officer of the mail in Vienna, and Moshe in Hungary. Very slowly, the family began to restore their things that had been torn down. The oldest daughter Shaynd'eleh especially excelled in the management of the store business, and there were earnings to be had. After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire very strong clashes took place between the Ukrainians and the Poles, During that time, R' Yehoshua applied himself to community matters.

In this time period, the Zionist movement began to prosper, as did the spread of the Hebrew Language in our city. The Acker family members were very active in this, and they hung up an announcement that there are notifications in their store, and it is possible to sign up to learn the Hebrew language in this place, and they also sold raffle tickets. The announcement in the visible window – drew lots of young people and the interest in the work of the Zionists grew stronger, up until it drew a sharp reaction from the fanatic Belz *Hasidim* and a large delegation from the Synagogue in Belz appeared on the Sabbath in the synagogue of the Ziditshov *Hasidim* and delayed the taking out of the *Torah* scroll and initiate the reading from it. They did not have the nerve to confront R' Yehoshua-Zvi directly, and they raised sharp remarks, that they are leading the youth to convert. Some of the synagogue worshipers explained to R' Yehoshua-Zvi they are inferring it is he, because the sign-up for the courses takes place in his store. He replied stoutly that he will not disturb his son or daughter that work in the store and are creating the sign up for the courses. He also added that he would send his daughter Reizl'eh to a Hebrew course, so that she will be able to understand the blessings said after a meal, that she recites every day. But he will not send his son Aryeh, because he can be found with you and studies in the Belz *Kloyz*, and with that, the chapter ended.

During those same years, a plague of typhus broke out in the city – and some of the members of the Ziditshov *Kloyz* became bedridden. A group for delivering aid was organized among the worshipers to deliver aid to the sick and R' Yehoshua-Zvi was among the volunteers. Despite warnings from the doctors, that volunteering will lead to a spread of the plague, and warned them to close up the store because of his visits to the hospital, he continued to work with the volunteers in delivering assistance. Well, the doctors were right, and R' Yehoshua-Zvi was infected with the disease and died on 18 Adar II 5669. The national committee and the congregational committee called for the sitting of mourners, and decided to donate a place of honor in the cemetery of the congregation for his burial, because of his good deeds and involvement in community affairs for the general good for no reward, both day and night. All the residents of the city participated in the funeral, stores were closed as an indication of mourning, and he was eulogized by several personalities, among them Rabbi Rabinovich. During the days of morning all parts of the populace came to pray and visit the house. Even Christians, Poles and Ukrainians came to express participation in the loss incurred by the family.

During all the years, members of the family were engaged in commerce, but the also found time to attend to community needs, especially his son Moshe, who committed himself to the collection of funds for KK"l, and was active in the '*Kultur Verein*.' Together with a number of activists he founded a

Hebrew language kindergarten, and a 'Tarbut' school and was sympathetic and respected in the central institutions of the movement. He also conducted transactions with the 'Geulah' group regarding the acquisition of a parcel of land in the Land of Israel, but the matter did not materialize.



סימטא ב'זולקײב

In 1930, a training group was organized in the glass factory of our city. This division was part of Kibbutz 'Dror' that was established in Galicia, it was a group of young pioneers from the 'Freiheit' organization, which was an offshoot of the 'Poalei-Zion-Right' and was tied to a united kibbutz in *The Land*. The conditions for survival were difficult because of the lowered price that was paid in the factory. It was a deferred need to give them help, and the help arrived from the hands of Moshe son of R' Yehoshua-Zvi ז"ר who, together with a number of activists organized hundreds of packages of food for the members of the division.

Page 464: A Side Street in Zolkiew

Two Families

By Y. D. Zahar (Zubl)

Here I will relate a story about two families in our city, who were united by the bonds of marriage and became as one: It is my father's family, the Zubl family and my mother's family, the Bandel family. Both of them were rooted in the city of Zolkiew.

My father had two family names: Zubl or 'Ratkeh' Brenner. 'Ratkeh' (equivalent to 'alternatively') from his hearing that the couples of parents were married only in accordance with Mosaic Law, and not in accordance with Austrian Law, and because of this the children used their Mother's family name. With the establishment of the nation of Poland, he received permission to change his name and was called only by Zubl.

My father was half-orphaned, and as was customary, the attitude towards him was chilly from his childhood. This relationship was also passed on to the grandchildren. To do justice of the grandfather and grandmother, one must tell that in general, they were not people of feeling, and warmth was missing in their home even between themselves.

The only ones that tied and bridged people in the family was my brother Shammai (Dzhunik) and myself. During the First World War, in the years of 1915-1918 when we were 6-8 years old my father was a soldier in the army, and we and my mother lived with the Bandel grandfather. On Sabbaths and for Festivals we would go to the Great Synagogue of our grandfather Shmuel in the morning and prayed in the Ashkenaz style. Our grandfather watched over

us, to make sure we prayed diligently, and after the service was finished, we would go with him to his house. We would bless the wine and bring ‘cholent’ from the bakery. In exchange for the food that we received, we were asked to sing. We had a meager set of Yiddish songs, and we would sing as a duet, sometimes from under the table out of shame and modesty. After we finished singing, we returned to grandfather Bandel, who was a *Hasid* and prayed with *Rebbe* Rabinovich. Prayers ended late there. Until they were ready for a repast, my brother and I were ready to eat a second lunch. There was a non-Jewish servant in the home of grandfather Bandel and they would warm up meals, despite the fact that this was not so *Hasidic*. Here we were liberated from singing. Year in and year out, we, the grandchildren would get new outfits for Passover from grandfather Zubl.

Grandfather Zubl had a store that engaged in manufacturing ‘*podsyny*’. Grandmother runs the business. She would travel to buy materials in Vienna, Budapest or nearby Lvov, and grandfather was pleased with his demeanor. He had a long white beard, and was a refined man, taciturn and he took whatever his wife Ruth provided without reacting to all her actions.

My grandfather’s family was wealthy and the wealth grew even more after the First World War. They bought the big house in the marketplace, ‘*Dom Pinski*’ and it had a passage. They opened a second store for manufacturing upon leaving the first one to their son Moshe, who had gotten married in the meantime.

The Bandel family was one branch of the well-branched Israel-Ber Katz family. Grandfather Bandel was a short man, confident, strong and ill-tempered, who sought to lead. He had an ‘inn’ (*Dom Zayazdny*) where the farmers would leave their wagons hitched to horses, in which they reached the town on market days and for fairs. Thieves that came to steal from the wagons were afraid of the firm hand of Israel-Ber, even in his old age. There was a strict tone in his house and the Elder of the family was accorded him the respect normally shown to a Rabbi. His grandchildren were frightened in front of him even when they grew up, and his only granddaughter, Malka Szpitzer writes as follows about him: – He was a great man with a heart of gold. He had a strong character and was very religious. He was honest without being egocentric. He participated in Jewish community life in the city. He garnered respect from everyone, was an advisor in the town and was active in the community committee. He organized a *Talmud Torah* for poor children, and looked after their sustenance, and once a year he provided a gift of new shoes to each child. In order to avoid having the sick Jewish people that were lodged in the municipal hospital eat unkosher food, he hired a woman who prepared food for these sick people in her home. He loved the truth, and demanded it from those around him. His grandchildren loved him, and were awed in his presence, because forgetting morning prayers or to return home late at night, was considered a sin. He loved his family and held on to the four of his children even after they got married.’

He oldest son David-Joseph studied a great deal of *Torah* and was qualified for rabbinic ordination. When he was seventeen years old, he married a young lady, and in time, she gave him nineteen children. They lived in a house with two rooms and 3-4 children slept in one bed. The children grew up in wretched economic circumstances, and twelve of them died at a young age. The seven survivors grew up and married, but out of only one, Malka Szpitzer survived, who worked at the ‘*Starostvo*’. After the First World War, she married Mr. Szpitzer and they emigrated to the United States.

David-Joseph had a tobacco store (*'trafika'*) opposite the Dominican church. The permission for the store (also for the sale of coins and newspapers) his father Israel-Ber had received back from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, as the reward for excellent guardianship. We were told of this excellent guardianship in great secret, because during the time of one rebellion by Poland against Austrian rule (apparently in January 1863), Israel-Ber went for a stroll outside of the city by way of the Glinski Gate, and he saw Poles getting ready to come closer. In his return to the city, he told this to the Austrians. The Austrians remembered this good deed by Israel-Ber and after the rebellion was put down, he received two permissions, one for the tobacco store and to make change (that he turned over to David-Joseph), and one for the sale of salt in Eastern Galicia, (which he turned over to his daughter Hoda the wife of the purchaser Kurtz in Lvov). The two permits remained with them and to their children even in the country of Poland. The government did not take the permits away from them because they did not know the reason that they were granted in the first place.

His daughter Hoda (Kurtz) married in Lvov, and she had seven children Here situation was very good. The youngest son, though even he was called Israel-Ber was murdered while taking a stroll through the mountains in Poland. Her son Herman (a Doctor of Laws) and his family were murdered in the Holocaust. Her daughter survived when she came out of the ghetto , and her son who saw this was saved, and lives in Poland, and his name is Macek Morgan. Her son Joseph (A Doctor of Medicine) lives with his family in Netanya. Of the remaining children – the daughter Fried'ka married a rich man in Trombobl. Hanoch – the black sheep of the family, remained a bachelor, and didn't marry at all. The daughter Chaya (Klara) was married to a family *landsmen* and of all, the only one to survive, was Gusta Kluger, in Tel-Aviv, and the daughter Hella (Hoda) lives in Warsaw. The youngest son was Shmuel Kurtz, who lived in Holland and made *aliyah* to *The Land*. He and his wife died a number of years ago. They are survived by two daughters and a son in *The Land*, who are engaged in agriculture.

Israel-Ber's second son was Meir-Wolf Katz. He had a store for machines used for cutting wheat (*sickarnia*). Meir-Wold was a short Jewish man, and his circular hat went down over his ears and almost covered his face. He loved to speak. Everyone of his speeches began with Maria Theresa (the Queen of Austria in the 19th century), for whom he had a special soft spot. There were always children circulating in his house, farmers and fowl, and there was no place to stand there. The second daughter of Israel-Ber, Tzir'l, the wife of Shmuel-Yitzhak Bandel are my grandparents.

I want to say more about my Bandel grandparents, that were of different character that could not change. My grandfather was of a good disposition, and a lover of music, and honest. He had a permit for selling salt (a countrywide monopoly in the time of the Austrians). It was difficult for him to support his large family. Every time he would get into a different business, they would easily raise him, and he continued to have faith in his partners. Finally, he opened a plant for making concrete , and his son-in-law Reuben Tzimerman (who was a graduate scientist from East Vienna) helped him in managing the business. My grandfather was a *Hasid* of the *Rebbe* R' Rabinovich, even though he dressed 'German.' He read newspapers and also spoke Polish and German. At every opportunity he would visit us in Lvov and go to see films at the theater, and opera. In the house, he loved to sing, or hum 'arias' from different operas. My grandmother was irritable, and like all the descendants of Israel-Ber who were leaders. My grandmother would sit for most of her days in the kitchen, cooking and baking, knitting or reading a newspaper. She loved her children and grandchildren very much. My grandfather would get emotional at every opportunity and cry with the same ease that he laughed.

I do not know how old my grandfather was, when he was shot by the Nazis at the end of 1943, but he certainly was well past eighty.

My mother married my father Alexander in 1908.

My brother Shammai and me were born in Zolkiew and lived on *ul. Lvovska*. My father tried his luck at making a living in Lvov, and worked for a Holland ship line. Afterwards, he worked for the ship company 'Cunard-Line'. During the First World War, he served in the army, and after the war, the entire family returned to Zolkiew, where we spent our childhood and studied in school and in *Heder*.

In 1921 we moved to live in Lvov, and my father again received his position at the 'Cunard-Line' upon his return. His situation was excellent, because he received his pay in [U.S.] dollars, and in Poland there was an inflation of Polish currency. We, the children, attended the government gymnasium.

Our ties to Lvov remained strong. We would visit my grandfather a few times a year, and we came to spend time on the mountain of '*HaRe'i*'. At the beginning, we lived in the house of Germans at the top of the mountain, and after a few years, we bought the villa on the slope of the mountain. There, we spent the best years of our otherwise dreary lives. In general, on Sabbaths, our grandparents would visit us and occasionally we would go down to the city to them. Every day, a Ukrainian house maid would come to us with baskets full of food, and we spent our time pleasantly.

In 1934 I made *aliyah* to *The Land* despite the pleading of my parents who opposed this. In 1936, my brother Shammai made *aliyah* and married here. In 1938, my brother Zvi also made *aliyah*. He came as a student at the agricultural school in Mikve-Israel where he studied for one year. In the spring of 1939, when I became aware of the difficult circumstances my mother was in, I traveled to Lvov, but I got there on the last day of mourning for my mother. My father felt that he would have need for support from his sons, and because of this did not want to make *aliyah* to *The Land*. I still had the chance to see Zolkiew and my family for the last time on the threshold of the Holocaust. Nobody understood the extent of the danger that was closing in. They thought the war would be no different than the last one, that was still fresh in everyone's memory.

From Father's House

By Mordechai Astman

Ours was a well-branched family, both from my father's side and mother's side. My father's family was engaged in commerce and agriculture. It is a practically unknown fact that a large number of Galician Jewry also were engaged in agriculture. They were tied to the land and knew chapter and verse the methods of working the land. Despite the fact that all of them lived in the city, many of them had a parcel of land in the nearby fields. One part of our family would purchase agricultural matter in the nearby villages, with the intent of selling them in the city. However, from all of these types of work, one could not find anything but a meager way of earning a living. 'Much work, few blessings,' as the familiar proverb says. For this reason, many of the residents of Zolkiew were forced to wander to faraway places – to North or South America. Even my father, who was born and raised in Zolkiew, was among those who were destined for exile because of the difficult economic circumstances in which they found themselves, and he went to seek his fortune

overseas. At the end of the decade of the twenties, he emigrated to Montevideo [Uruguay], and it was only after several years that he succeeded to bring his family to him, and this is how part of our family was saved.

My mother's father, R' Yeshaya Redler, was a furrier. He was a man of good deeds and he had considerable influence on me. He treated every person like a human being, and related with patience to the younger generation in matters of religion. He also earned himself a good reputation in public affairs, as the Chairman of the Furriers Union. He sedulously avoided instigating arguments, and the opposite was true, he always sought ways to smooth out the conflicts.

I will recall here an episode of personality, a characteristic of my grandfather's patience. On one of the Sabbaths of August 1939 I was supposed to be in Lvov, in order to continue on my way to South America and to join my family. In order not to desecrate the Sabbath, it was decided for me to leave Zolkiew on Friday. Briefly, the 'evil inclination' in me persuaded me, that I should not pass up on the last Friday Night repast at my grandfather's home. I asked if I could take some food with me for the trip, with the warmth of the Sabbath in it as the Sabbath custom requires. I had the temerity to ask my grandfather to agree to this, that the matter was tied to the desecration of the Sabbath tomorrow. My grandfather gave his consent, despite the opposition of my grandmother. Many, many Jews like him were exterminated in the Holocaust.

Zolkiew made a strong and deep impression in our hearts for all of our lives. The small amount of warmth that we carry in our hearts has its roots there from those days, and would encourage us in life, and new places where we came to live. It was from there that we drew the strength for our day-to-day struggles.

Our days of being in Uruguay went by us and covered us with longing for our city. And when the staggering news began to reach us regarding the extermination of the Jews, we were assaulted by terror and fear about the fate of our dear ones.

In the last years, the decision crystallized in my heart to make a trip to Israel and to reunite with the residents of our city from the past. When I made the trip with my family in 1964, I created a center for furriers in order to revive the profession that was so widespread in Zolkiew.

'Tall' Meir and Zisha 'Klezmer'¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ A musical group ranging from a band to an orchestra.

One of the well-known figures in the city was 'Tall Meir.' He was a tall man, and had long limbs, wore a black *kapote* has long curly sidelocks and a short beard. He was not considered much of a *Maskil*, but despite this he was known as a person adept in a variety of fields, especially if it has something to do with memory. From time to time, it was possible to run into him frequently at the occurrence of a joyous occasion or, if it was the case, a situation of sorrow and mourning.

If there was a wedding in the city, 'Tall Meir' was among the first people to reach the scene of where the celebration had been set up. Dressed in his black glistening *kapote*, he would stand himself at the main entrance to a large hall, beside him the *kapelye* (the orchestra) of Zisha '*Klezmer*' stood ready, yet another prominent sight that was known in the city. At the moment when the invited guests began to enter, 'Tall' Meir would, in a loud voice, announce the arrival of a guest by his insignia, or first name, family name, and adding all manner of descriptors to the invited guest. During these announcements, Zisha *Klezmer* would strike up the band to play a short walking song. This scene went on until the last of the invited guests came into the hall. Understandably, everyone would dispense a few coins into a plate that stood beside the orchestra.

When this scene of receiving guests was over, and together with the families of the bride and groom, 'Tall' Meir would announce the way to the wedding canopy. He would then enter the bride's room, where she sat alone, in a side room, with the women surrounding her, and here 'Tall' Meir proved his skill as an orator. In a sentimental talk, in the special language of poetry, with music and song, led by the orchestra of Zisha *Klezmer*, he reminded the bride of the important event in her life about to take place, her departure from the ambit of her parents and entry into family life, and he wished her a glorious future.

Should it happen that the bride was orphaned without a mother or father or both together, 'Tall' Meir would remind the bride of those who have passed away, telling of the great virtues of the deceased, and of the great sorrow that they were not privileged to be present for this celebration, and see *Nachas* from their daughter. Tears rolled from the eyes of the bride, and the eyes of the women surrounding her, as they are accompanied by the orchestra with sad music.

Afterwards, 'Tall' Meir gave a signal to cover the face of the bride, and lead her to the wedding canopy. In the meantime, he went over to the groom's room, and gave the 'signal' to escort the groom to the wedding canopy. When the bride arrived, the groom was already standing there, with his 'escorts' standing at his side ready for the wedding ceremony.

When the wedding ceremony was over, the guests circled around the tables that were set up, and food was begun to be served, starting usually with fish and *challah*. The meal was prepared by the known cook from the city '*Tova di Kekherin*' (Tova the Cook). The groom split open the large *challah*, and then the grabbing of *challah* slices commenced. This was done especially by young girls, since a slice of this sort was considered an omen for a wedding

to take place soon. For the young couple, that was obligated to fast the entire day, a ‘gold soup’ was presented. When the meal was finished, the tables were cleaned off in order to prepare the hall for dancing.

Before the meal was concluded, ‘Tall’ Meir stood himself beside the young couple, and announce a ‘*Drasha Geshank*’ (collection of presents) in a loud voice. First of all he announced a ‘*Drasha Geshank*’ from the groom’s side. Members of the groom’s family drew close to the table and everyone presented a gift that was examined by ‘Tall’ Meir. He announced both the characteristics of the gift and its value, and this was not always appropriate to the occasion... When an envelope with money was presented that also got examined by him, he would announce the amount that frequently were doubled, undoubtedly in error... with the end of the assembly of gifts from the groom’s side, he announced the ‘*Drasha Geshank*’ from the side of the bride.

After the conclusion of the assembly of gifted and cleaning off the tables, the dancing started. At that point Zisha *Klezmer* activated his orchestra to play at its full strength. And the mothers of the couple who came from a very observant family, danced a ‘*mitzvah tentzel*’ with the members of the couple each holding on to the edge of a handkerchief. Another dance was the ‘*braygess*’ when the dancing couple are separated and by hand movements one asks of the other to be reconciled, which actually took place at the end of the dance. ‘Salon’ dances at weddings of this type were performed boys with boys, and girls with girls. At weddings of more progressive families, the young people danced as couples. Zisha *Klezmer* had to be paid separately at the end of each dance. In general this was a sum of money that was gathered by the young people that participated in the wedding. The orchestra of Zisha *Klezmer* was hired for a number of hours and then they danced group dances of that period such as ‘*Les Lanciers*’ and the ‘*Quadrille*.’²⁰⁰



And when an accident occurred in a family, and one of the members of the household died, the news was immediately relayed to ‘Tall’ Meir who immediately began preparations for the burial. He, who knew the cemetery in all its detail, advised the family in regard to a desired place for the burial. Generally, he personally did not take part in the funeral of the deceased, but when the funeral procession reached the cemetery, ‘Tall’ Meir was already standing beside the open grave, and after the burial ceremony was completed, including the ‘*keriah*’²⁰¹ for the mourning members of the family, he consoled them and expressed his hope that they would not know anymore sorrow.

He made no observation regarding the burial spot or the date of death, but amazingly, he knew how to identify every place in the cemetery and remembered every date of death and acted to notify the family members about the *Yahrzeit* date. When the family reached the cemetery, ‘Tall’ Meir was already standing there.

²⁰⁰ *Les Lanciers* is a variant of the *Quadrille*. These were popular dances in Europe during the 18th and 19th century.

²⁰¹ The Hebrew word for ‘tearing,’ which refers to the tearing of an item of clothing worn by close relatives of the deceased, a sign of their bereavement.

When he was in faraway places he did not forget the few of the Zolkiew people that made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, and he would annually notify David Tuviahu in *The Land* of the day of decease of his father. The latter, by way of a reply, would send him an Israeli Lira as a thank-you for his attention to detail.



מצבה בבית הקברות בז'ולקייב עם סמל
תנועת "ההחלוצים"

Page 476: A headstone in the Zolkiew cemetery with the insignia of the 'HeHalutz' movement.

Various and odd stories would circulate in the city regarding the figure of 'Tall' Meir. They used to tell that he would visit the homes of the assimilated in order to remind them of the *Yahrzeit* days of those members of their family who had passed away. And it was not once that he would remind them a second time about the same deceased individual, and he received a special payment for recitation of the *Kaddish*. It is told that in one instance when he was visiting Dr. Tirk, the known dentist in the city, he notified him twice about the *Yahrzeit* of his mother, and this angered the latter, and he complained – that for his father, he is prepared to pay him twice, but regarding his mother he said doubtless that he only had one mother...

With the capture of the city of Zolkiew by the Germans, and when they began to tear down the headstones with the help of Ukrainian anti-Semites, to be used to pave roads, the *Parnassim* of the congregation gathered to assess the situation that had been created, and it was decided to make a chart of the cemetery with a mark of the names of the deceased and the places where they were buried, in order that it may become possible, with the end of the war, to put up headstones anew.

'Tall' Meir was called upon to attach himself to this task, and with the help of sketchers, began to prepare lists that 'Tall' Meir could designate from his memory every place, and mark all the deceased.

Fate decreed otherwise. The war went on for years. The Jews of Zolkiew were exterminated, and with them, the congregation disappeared. The Jews were exterminated, and with them, 'Tall' Meir and Zisha *Klezmer*.

May their memory be for a blessing.

The 'Credit Union Cooperative' in Zolkiew

By Rachel Kaldor (Eikhl)

The change in values amid the youth in the city of Zolkiew continued and deepened. The 'golden youth' that saw no value in detailed study. Because being able to engage in open businesses was more or less constrained for Jews, accordingly they turned to the occupation of being a furrier that had put down



סינטה באיזקייב

Page 477: An Alley in Zolkiew

roots in the city, and embraced workers from all ranks of the Jewish populace. Among the furriers one could find university graduates, Yeshiva students, and the ordinary folk of the masses. To develop this branch, it was necessary to find a source of inexpensive capital. Community activists exerted effort about at the beginning of 1930 to create a Credit Union Cooperative, whose central goal was to help out the retail furriers with the extension of credit cheaply, and low repayment terms. The central branch was founded by the Central Cooperative in Lvov, and also by members who owned taxis. In Polish, this group was called (*Przedsiębiorstwo Autobusów Żółkiewskie*), abbreviated as P. A. Z. The union of the autobuses was Jewish, and the anti-Semites mocked the abbreviation by calling it: *Parszywy Autobusy Żydowskie*.²⁰²

The management of the 'Credit Union' worked as volunteers, and her two officers received a meager salary. In addition to the economic objective, the Credit Union Cooperative also fulfilled a specific cooperative role. The management of the Union spoke a good Hebrew, and were even employed by the 'Davar' newspaper. More than one of the youth entered employment because they wanted to enjoy 'The Atmosphere of the Land of Israel' by reading a Hebrew newspaper. Among the steady visitors was Dr. B. Grill. He would come each Friday to receive a modest gift from one of the management: a pack of cigarettes. Every visit made by Dr. Grill was a profound experience for those present, who enjoyed his visits, which he would conduct in the German language. The Credit Union Cooperative stood out every time there were serious difficulties, but its activity was not silenced until the bitter end of the entire city.

The Furrier Trade in Zolkiew

By Zutra Rapaport

Many varied factors set the tone of the city of Zolkiew, and because of them it earned a reputation. One of those causes was the furrier trade which put its stamp on the experiences of the city, and brought it recognition, which breathed life into it, and took the place of the principal business in the city, after retail sales.



Page 478: The Sign of the Jewish Credit Bank in Zolkiew.

The beginning of the development of the furrier trade fell at the beginning of the 20th century, and its popularity grew after the decade of the twenties, to the point that it was difficult to find a home in the city that the furrier business had not penetrated it and did not employ one of its residents.

There were two reasons for the substantial move into the furrier trade, the time of training that was asked for, in order to attain minimal knowledge of the trade, was relatively short (a half year, approximately). Secondly, if the training if the trainee displayed a well and was able to grasp thing well, he cold draw a living from this respectably, since this was an accepting profession, and whoever was involved in it could expect the limb the ladder of earnings handsomely. In reality, the trainee began to draw a salary after several weeks of training.

The furrier trade was a purely Jewish trade, and it attracted respectable parts from all segments of the Jewish populace. At first, the profession was learned by young people that did not succeed in integrating themselves into their parents' business, or for social reasons, he was unable to complete the elementary school, and after only four years of study, they were counted among those who had a franchise in the profession. In he third decade of the 20th century may young people from the student population joined this profession, since thy did not have the means o continue with study at Polish universities, because of the severe restrictions that stood in their way. Because of this, the furrier trade was, without exaggeration, the trade of all segments of the Jewish populace were attracted to it, because of its age and status. Despite the fact that the profession was thought to be the business of adult men, both women and girls were gathered into its ranks, and was overly common to find the entire family discovering as source of earnings in it.

The expertise of those who entered this profession in Zolkiew did not do so in the entirety of the furrier work, something that required special knowledge, and was the only legacy of the masters of this profession in the large cities of Lvov, Cracow and Warsaw. This expertise manifested itself especially in the work on the fur remnants that had fallen during the cutting of the full fur piece. The remnants were packaged and sold by weight to the workers in Zolkiew, whose expertise had become well known. There was a steady stream of arrivals for the fur remnants even from outside of the boundaries of Poland. These pieces were known by the name '*Frizianer Shticklakh*'²⁰³ and they received a close and careful sorting, and were sorted into different categories, which according to their state would set the price.

A special experience was developed around the trade of working with the remnants of a completed fur piece. There were no factories in Zolkiew for fur processing. The work was largely done in one of the rooms of the worker's residence. Beside a long table, on chairs and benches, the workers sat and engaged in connecting one piece to the next and sew them by hand, stretching them on their knees and at a table edge, and they would accompany their work with song. The skill of this aspect of the trade became evident in their knowledge, the product of understanding and experience, to join pieces sometime did not reach 2-3 centimeters, and did so in a way, that someone looking at a garment from the outside, did not sense the presence of the sewing connections that had been made. In time, the first sewing machines began to reach the city, but they didn't have the capability to change the starter's trajectory of learning, which was manual only.

²⁰³ A '*Frizierer*' in Yiddish was what they called barbers and/or hairdressers. This expression denotes this merchandise as 'Pieces that Were Cut Professionally.'

In Zolkiew they made complete jackets out of the fur cuttings, which were sold in the big cities, and were even shipped outside the country. The jacket was sewn from six set pieces, those being: the back, two pieces for the chest, two sleeves and a collar. The 'experts' of this trade were considered to be the ones who knew how to make the back and the two pieces for the chest. Workers at the second or third tier worked on creating the sleeves, and the preparation of the collars was done by the trainees, and the salary paid was in line with the work done. After all the parts were finished, according to illustrative charts that had been laid on the table, the inside was wet, smoothed, and

stretched on wooden boards with nails, where the top the pieces were taken down straighten them, and join sewing, but to a temporary one that was given to a fit to the size of the body of the buyer, and the lining

By and large the furriers received a daily salary for depending on the different parts of the jacket, and their homes, when they received the fur pieces, approach was adopted for working with the pieces, 0.9x0.4 meters, from which they would create the be set aside for outside delivery.

The Zolkiew furriers were organized into two unions: (*Master Verein*) or there were workers who belonged compulsory to join a union, but there were instances achieved fame. They succeeded in bringing a number homes. Because of this they became distributors of members of '*Fur Workers' Union*.'

There was also the appearance of 'pirating' an return for the promise of a higher salary that he was could not work as much, but there were times when was in connection with the number of hours worked, organizational background, and the *Fur Workers'* youth who worked in this profession and was under '*Union of Poalei-Zion Left*' and the communist youth two unions of craftsmen and workers carried on joint



חברי תנועת "החלוץ" בז'לזקוב — שנת 1933
 עומדים : משמאל לימין : הלל כהן, פרידקה מנבר, זוטרא רפפורט.
 יושבות : רבקה לידה, ברנזיה כהן

Page 482: Members of the '*HeHalutz*'
Movement in Zolkiew – 1933
 Standing (LtoR): Hella Cohen, Fried'ka
 Mamber, and Zutra Rapaport.
 Sitting (LtoR); Rivka Lida, Brunya Cohen.

part, of the material, was attached to the board. After it dried, them together in a complete jacket, but not with the final firm, because when the jacket reached to large cities, it was was put into the jacket.

their work, but there some who worked by contract, they did this work in a shop dedicated to this work, or at paying for them by weight. During the thirties, a new and the creation of the jacket '*balamim*' (plates) that were finished jackets. You could order such '*balamim*' and could

the work distributors were allocated to the '*Workers' Union*, to the *Fur Workers' Union (Kirzhner Verein)*. It was not that workers were members of the *Fur Workers' Union* and of kilograms of fur pieces, and hire several workers in their work. But despite this they were not denied to continue to be

exceptional worker from his workplace to another one, in currently receiving. Under those conditions, the two unions the *Workers' Union* announced a general strike, and this and the related salary. The unions did not lack for *Union*, who had been given a portion of the pioneering the influence of the leftist unions in the city, such as the (which was illegally organized in Poland in those days). The organizational and cultural activities, and in arranging

parties, and presentations when various drama groups performed. A negative thing happened when the financial prosperity of the craftsmen, as a result of their fur work, these sought to obtain the better of the buildings in the city from Christian hands, this intensified the enmity of the Christian residents towards the Jews.

In the years between 1930-1935 a part of the Jewish youth who were members of the furriers began to leave the city, and move to the neighboring large city of Lvov, and a work on cuttings began to develop. And there were those who went over to Lvov in order to qualify in the profession of making complete fur garments, and especially in the cutting of skins. In 1837, when the global meeting was held in Paris, tens of people from Zolkiew went off to attend this meeting, and a number of them stayed behind there, and institute themselves in the permanent fur trade, and they contributed a lot to the development of work on fur in Paris itself. A few went to Argentina and the United States, especially those who fled during the Holocaust. Those who fled are to be found there to this day, because they are living from the businesses in the fur trade that wandered with them from their birthplace.

Kulikovo, a Small Town Beside Zolkiew

By Dr. Noah Griss

A. The 'Just Sentence' of Kulikovo

Zolkiew was a county seat (*Powiat*) and consisted of two towns, much smaller than it, the following towns belonged to it from an administrative standpoint, the towns were Kulikovo and Mosty'-Wielki, the town of Kulikovo lying to the south of Zolkiew about 12 kilometers away, and on the principal road between Zolkiew and the large provincial city of Lvov. Before the Holocaust, a small community of Jews lived of only several hundred families.

Those that recollect the name of Kulikovo immediately used to add: – 'The Kulikovo Sentence.'

This was the event that occurred there: There were two blacksmiths who resided in Kulikovo, and one barrel-maker. In the fulness of time, the barrel-maker was found guilty and liable to a death sentence by the government. How will the town remain there without a barrel-maker? The important people gathered for an assembly and after an extensive give-and-take they made decision and finished: seeing that there is only one barrel-maker as opposed to two blacksmiths, let one of the blacksmiths hang. For this reason, whenever the name of Kulikovo comes up, they immediately add: 'The Kulikovo Sentence.'

Essentially, it was not on account of the measure of justice only that Kulikovo grew renown, the residents of Lvov and the surroundings used to eat the bread brought to them from Kulikovo, with satisfaction. A baking secret was revealed to the bakers of Kulikovo that imbued their bread with unique taste and aroma.

With the break of dawn, the bakers of Kulikovo loaded up their wagons and left for Lvov, and they didn't manage to get there until a specified part of the bread was sold to consumers along the way. Even the family members of the bakers would tag along on the way to Lvov. Until she got married, my mother would join my father for the ride, that being the baker Yekhezkiel Stein, however once she married my father, she did not continue to do this – out of respect for his family, that had a significant pedigree.

In the bibliographic lexicon of Loufa, I found the following written, regarding Joseph Grass: 'a friend of Hebrew literature in Kulikovo.'

My grandfather, Zechariah knew German and he was a clerk. Even though my grandfather went to live in Lvov, my father remained in Kulikovo, where I was born. After thirty years, when I returned to the city of my childhood, and I had tasted the taste of war, my childhood days, the days of my childhood rose in my memory, as did the aroma of the Sabbath foods of those days.

B. Moshe from Rawa-Ruska

The name of my *Melamed* was Moshe Rawer, because of the name of the city he came from, Rawa-Ruska. He was a Jewish man with a white beard, tight-lipped and a sharp appearance. His living did not endow him with profit, and accordingly he served as the shammas in the synagogue, to the glee of his students, because during the afternoon and evening prayers he was required to be in the *Bet-HaMedrash*, and we became released from our studies.

We feared the *Melamed*, especially because of the 'troublemaker.' Whoever was judged to be a 'troublemaker', would have his trousers gently removed, and they would put a small pillow or rags – making a sort of hump – and the children would spit in his face and the *Melamed* would apply the cane to him.

Occasionally, the *Rebbe* would arrange for 'examinations' on Saturday afternoons in my grandfather's house, since he was the recipient of this honor. In the presence of all the members of the family, I had to explain the portion of the week. On one occasion I was given a gold watch with a large gold chain.

When I had completed eight years, my father took me from the *Rebbe* and sent me to the Hebrew teacher.

C. The Hebrew Teacher

Almost every person in our city had a nickname, except for women who were tied by a relation to their parents: Gitt'l Moshe's, *Rivka Sarah Baylah's*... in the latter case it is difficult to know if the name of the daughter was *Rivka-Sarah* or the name of the mother was *Sarah-Baylah*. It is also possible that *Baylah* was the name of a grandmother.

There was a couple in the town that both had nicknames: He was Israel *Sztaszar* (*The Rat*) and she was called Chana *Spodek* (*Hat*), he was slim and squat, and was in the business of buying fowl in the villages, and she was the boss who wore a hat. She succeeded in marrying off her daughter, a simple girl, to a Hebrew teacher.

The teacher – Braninsky – who was a modest man, came to our city from Russia. He was the first one who began to teach his students modern Hebrew. Apart from this, he gave lessons in the geography of the Land of Israel, *Tanakh* and *Gemara*. We were enthused by his explanations of the stories of the *Tanakh*, and from a tangible standpoint he described the various events that contained in it. He accustomed us to memorize complete chapters from the books of the *Prophets*, and recite them from memory.

He was a member of the Union of ‘*Ahavat Zion*,’ in which my father was the Chairman.

With the outbreak of the First World War, Braninsky feared that they might imprison him because of his Russian citizenship, and for this reason, he volunteered for the Austrian army. From what we found out later, he fell in the battles adjacent to Przemysl.

D. My Family Members

My family was quite branched, and of the younger generation those that remained in Kulikovo from being there before the First World war were Moshe Grass, and my father Shmuel-Hirsch Grass. The relations between them were tense because of their outlooks, their political membership, and their behavior.

Moshe owned a saloon even though his father was a clerk for a lawyer. In order to tease my father, Moshe brought a different lawyer to the town – Dr. Adolph Pohorilah. So my father went and got a permit to sell drinks and revealed how many wagons of smuggled whiskey that were brought to the saloon. My father created a ‘strategic’ plan and put guards on all of the roads until he exposed their ‘goods’ on a side road. Things got to the point of exchanging blows and my father, like all the men involved in this activity, lost a tooth and an eye.

Moshe Grass ran an authorized business, and lived in a number of the rooms, and would talk Polish with his wife and members of his family. When he was the Community-Head he had good relations with the Rabbi and also with the ruling authorities. Our way of life was considerably modest, and we lived in one room and spoke Yiddish in the house.

My father was one of the supporters of the Hebrew teacher, and founded the ‘*Ahavat Zion*’ Union that had a tangible influence on the youth. The Union was changed into a kind of club for the youth, in which they could find a newspaper, play chess, and listen to a lecture, The Union also distanced the youth from saloons.

In 1913, my father traveled as a guest to the Zionist Congress that would be assembled in Vienna.

In the spring of 1914, my father arranged for a visit to the Land of Israel. In telling about his visit, he recalled the fact that on the night of the [Passover] *Seder* he met with Sholom Asch and Chaim Nachman Bialik, and according to what he said Sholom Asch was not particularly supportive of the fact that the Hebrew Language had been introduced into the day-to-day life in the Land of Israel. A picture hung in our house, of a group of tourists mounted on camels at the base of the pyramids., and my father was among them. One among them, Zusman from Stanislaw, who planned to settle in the land of Israel.

The two men were also different people when they related to children: Moshe's children were indulged, traveling to camps and being afraid of their father. In our house one did not hear of any boon that they had earned, but besides that my father behaved with great seriousness before us, without imposing his thinking on us – but he did not tolerate wrongdoing.

An incident that took place in the winter of 1915-1916 is deeply etched into my heart: At that time I was a student in the Zolkiew gymnasium, at the time that my father continued to work during the months of the capture (September 1814 - June 1915) of Zolkiew by the Russians.

One time, I came to visit my father in Kulikovo, but the truth is that I wanted to be near my father and be able to leave school, and I formulated the words in order to be 'compelled' to lodge at my father's house.

My father asked me if there was no school on the following day. I did not have the nerve to lie, and to begin with I was embarrassed to tell the truth. My father caught on to this, but he did not want to give up on the core issue, because a student's first priority is learning. That same evening, he ordered me to pack my belongings and return to Kulikovo on foot, a distance of 11 kilometers.

This hurt me and I was also afraid of what if I could not alter what he had said, and so, I set out on my way, The fields were snowed over, and as a negative there was much wet mud. A vehicle coming towards me blinded me, and in my attempt to go to the side, I fell into the sewer on the side of the road. Wet and freezing, I reached Zolkiew in the dead of the night – after the painful beating that I got.

In 1914 When the First World War broke out, the family of Moshe Grass moved to Vienna. We met there in 1920, on my way to the Land of Israel as a *Halutz*. My father stayed in his place until the end [of the War] and only when the Cossacks drew near, did he take us over to Lvov. After a time, I became aware that he had remained in order to be able to move the books where the mortgage debts were listed to a secure place, which had a great value to the populace.

E. It is Hard to be a Student

In 1913, I was planning to attend a gymnasium, my comrades traveled to Zolkiew, succeeded in their examinations and returned home, with a silver medallion on the collar of their clothing. My father sent me to Lvov for the exams. The city made a powerful impression on me, and I stopped for a minute thinking that here I will have to luck of acquiring a silver medallion.

However, for the first time in my life I failed, since I did not exhibit a proper command of the Polish language. I was awed by this strange surrounding, a fear of the teachers came over me. I thought of the school guard with the copper buttons on his jacket as the leader of this important institution, until my father corrected my mistake.

When the shame of failure has subsided, and I returned home and began to prepare myself for the coming test. This time my father did not want to depend on a miracle, and he traveled with me to Zolkiew and there he hired one of the gymnasium teachers to prepare me for the exams, and this will be a sort of influence on my acceptance.

In Zolkiew I recognized students as well, I accustomed myself to the atmosphere of the gymnasium, and I was able to call the teachers by their names and their weaknesses, and I knew what subjects they would use to compensate for them. I was close to and confident that I will succeed in the exams this time.

The gunshots fired in Sarajevo²⁰⁴ which was in Yugoslavia put all my hopes to God. During the first days of August 1914 caused panic to be felt in Zolkiew, wagons went by that contained families that had evacuated the area around the boundary. Even the people of Zolkiew began to pack their belongings. Word was spread about Cossacks that had appeared in villages and towns. I did not want to be severed from my family, and I too, packed my belongings and went out on foot to Kulikovo. This is what happened at that time. On the same day, my father sent a wagon to bring me home, and the family got ready to leave for Lvov.

In June 1915, Lvov was again captured by the Austrians. Because all schools were closed for the entire 1914-1915 [school] year, the administration of education gave notice that students could stand for the exams given for two classes of the coming year. I traveled to Zolkiew and successfully passed the test, and I became a gymnasium student for all subjects.

During childhood we heard many stories about Zolkiew that fired our imaginations, we had head of R' Nachman *Krochmal*, the philosopher from Zolkiew, about the progressive Rabbi *Khayot*, and other personalities tied to Zolkiew which was the center of my culture. There was a large group of young people that made a strong impression on Jewish and General *Haskalah* simultaneously. The following names percolate up from my memory: Tzimerman, Zimeles,

²⁰⁴

The assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, which ultimately precipitated the First World War.

Moshe Guliger – Waldman, David Tauba whom I befriended on our way to the Land of Israel, he was the head of a small group of *Halutzim* from Lvov and we reached the Land of Israel together.

I met Moshe Waldman and his wife Sabina in Sokola²⁰⁵ in 1939. I invited them to come to Rovno if the Germans will capture Warsaw. Hitler did capture Warsaw, but I did not meet up with Moshe until 1941 in Lvov, he was a lecturer on orientalism at the Lvov University, but I never heard anything from him since.

Few people from Zolkiew are still alive, almost all of them were exterminated in the Holocaust, honor and treasure their memory.

From Hebrew Poetry

By Moshe Oliphant

(That I recited during my youth 5664 - 1904)

On the Mountains of Zion

I strolled on the mountains of Zion
A place there where a pure stream drips
And whisper ancient secrets
That is the way it whispers to me

And ancient cedars
Full of glory and a still whisper
Stand together like dreamers
(Telling) Tales of yore from then

And I stand as if in a dream
And listen to each thought and secret;
'Til when O God will you give up
Your legacy to robbery and plunder

And my heart will melt from weeping,
Ans I wonder and I ask
When will we be liberated?

To Him they knew...

If the flowers only knew
How unfortunate it is for my daughter,
Because then perhaps they might weep,
Weep bitterly over my troubles...

If the nightingale only knew
My sorrow and my pain,
Then perhaps in its song
He would bring me solace

And if my beaten spirit

²⁰⁵

Possibly the *shtetl* of Sokal. There were several variant English transliterations of the name.

Were known to the stars
Then maybe they would lean toward me
To my exhaustion in the evenings

But they did not know
Did not know the wounds in my heart,
And they will not sense
What I say on my bed...

But there is one who knows
Knows my discourse and travails,
She is but one who is torn
Torn. O' woe is my heart.

Page 490: The Frontispiece of the Book of Poetry



שירי ספר השירים

The Holocaust and Destruction

השואה והחורבן

verso

Eli, Eli 206 207

(A Threnody in the Style of 'Eli Zion')

**Eli, Eli, My Soul is in tears
An my outcry for the daughter of Israel, Take my
eulogy and weep,
For the fire has consumed Israel.**

Buried alive in pits

Eli, Eli..

**At the slaughter of a nation that was preplanned,
Th tortures of bereavement, cascades of blood,
No mercy for old and young,
On the alter of a permanent martyrdom.**

Eli, Eli...

**On the cars crammed with people
Filled with sulfur and lime,
Totally thirsty when their life ended
They shouted for water, but there was nobody to
provide it.**

Eli, Eli...

**For those frozen in fields of snow,
Tender infants in their mother's bosom
On roaring martyrs**

²⁰⁶ The Hebrew equivalent of 'My God, My God.' To be read from left to right.

²⁰⁷ Author's footnote: From 'The Day of the Kaddish', published by *Yad Vashem*, Jerusalem 5717

**For those weaned of milk
For those shredded by flint
And for their dripping blood
At the head of streets in front of their parents,**

Eli, Eli...

**For the devastated communities
And the destruction of those who sanctify God,
Bound to the elements of the flame
The skin of the glory of Israel.**

Eli, Eli...

The Oath of the Covenant of the Hearts ²⁰⁸

By Uri Zvi Greenberg

**Let the Gentiles not see us weeping, let them not hear our mourning and groaning
[Coming] From the bodies that have been flogged with desperation, and groan and they are on their fallen knees;
After their outcry at the blood, let the bleeding not be sweet to them.
And not even the comfort of those who are adherents of subjugation, we will not take solace.**

Just like a hidden treasure, in our affection there is an accounting, and an awareness of the potent fire.

**Better to allow enemies to see us as fully mouthed, and strong as rocks,
And in our eyes we see the darkness of the abyss, and the refuse from battlefield
From the day of Rome to the Day of to the day of the German and eventually to his day of being an Edomite and Arab.**

And the sound of our bodies in the street: Each body alone: Like the bodies of malign avengers, Coming out of Bar Yohai's cave and come with full force in silence.

Every body of this kind – is a cannon for the future in uniform, on the fields of martyrs who plowed it by the sweat of their brow, and where they are imprisoned by the blood of their early patriarchs.

And should this type of body be approached by a scourge and conqueror, who has put all his riding gear and fighting instruments deliberately against us – it will go down his throat with a fiery judgement.

And even should the enemy grow in numbers in order to inflict a significant carnage among us – we will not surrender, and we will not turn away.

In Memory of the Martyrs

By Zutra Rapaport

(Excerpted from the Opening Remarks of the First Assembly of the Émigrés of Zolkiew in Israel, Tel-Aviv - 23.3.1956)

With a trembling in the face for respect meant to bestow honor and with a deep weariness I open this first assembly of the Émigrés of Zolkiew in Israel in which we will be able to unite with the memories of martyred brothers and sisters whose ashes have been scattered on every wind, along with our memory of the magnificent congregation that was erased off the face of the earth. The image of Zolkiew lives on in our memories; this was a niche of affection in the heart of a body that was magnificent, its surroundings were beautiful, and Zolkiew itself was beautiful, its surroundings were beautiful, and Zolkiew was beautiful, over its streets and buildings, and at their head was The Great Synagogue, which symbolized Zolkiew of those days. The spirit

²⁰⁸

From the book 'The Streets of the River,' with the permission of the poet who visited Zolkiew,

of life and action percolated in its midst, it produced great Torah Sages, and even young people that preserved the international vision in their souls, which up to that time appeared circumscribed by the fence of a dream, and they proved that they were ready to bring it into being.

Zolkiew survived for three-hundred years with about five thousand Jews living there. Its ancient traditions and even its rich spiritual world could not act as a bulwark at the time the murderous Nazis wielded their axe against Polish Jewry. Our town also drank from the poisonous hemlock up to its end. Her sons were pure and honest, they did not conceive, not did they even imagine in their own minds how deep the abyss of hatred and wickedness, and the cruel pollution that these murderers inflicted on them. It was only when they were seized in the streets and exposed, did they understand that the count of the number of years in their town had come to an end, and that they were the last generation to see it in its glory and destruction at the same time.

The Nazis killed the people of the town by perverse means, among them were those who were led to the slaughter while still holding on to the faith in their hearts, and the prayer of '*Shema Israel*' on the thinness of their lips, for those that attempted to flee for their lives, when they saw that the evil had settled upon them, these too, yes, these too, returned their souls, to *The Creator* whether in their homes,, or an attachment to it, anonymous in the extermination camps and the very, very last in the grove of the '*Boork*,' The destruction of her people was accompanied by a tearing down of all cultural assets, and the spiritual treasures, the synagogue, the houses of learning, all went up in flames and their ashes were co-mingled of the murdered ones, as if the *Scourge* sensed that perhaps the spirit will return to the flesh, if he left the buildings on their hillocks. And a time came when most of the scions of the city stopped to apprehend whose fate might be better than another's the one who was dead, or the one in whom there still was life, before the last traces of hope from the hearts of the few of her people whose fate melted away in the maw of the earth, and it was as if they were allowed to survive, so they may become emissaries of the killed, to tell the world about the Holocaust.

A small number of them are with us now, and it is a miracle how they wrestled with death and overcame it. The community of Zolkiew was eradicated from the world map, and no longer exists, but the memory of our martyrs will never leave our hearts.

Let us all rise today and unite with the memory of the martyrs of the community of Zolkiew – may their memories be for a blessing!

The First News²⁰⁹

By Joseph Rosenberg

'... from the contents of a letter of Herman Lichter, I became aware that Hanoch is living in Moscow and here I am, rushing to provide him with some details regarding our plight: first I am notifying you that the following members of your family remained alive: Michael, his wife and children, and also

²⁰⁹

Author's Footnote: The first letter from Zolkiew about the destruction of the city, to Meir Melman in Moscow. (Translated from Polish).

your younger brother. Certainly, you can describe to yourself this tragic fate that has overcome us. Dante's descriptions of *Gehenna* are like the covering on a piece of garlic in comparison to what has befallen us. I give you my solemn promise that everything I will say and write is credible, and what I will write will be like a nothing and a zero compared to reality. The few Jews that were rescued from the surges of enmity and willful sins of man, and remained alive (about 50 in number) are broken people, fragments of life, who will die if they are not given help... Therefore, after the events and efforts of the underground in the depths of pits and cellars during 16-20 months a man can emerge into the light of the sun, in order to see the bitterness of his fate. However, we are forbidden not to lose hope, and we have emerged to begin life anew. Certainly you want to know details and relayed messages, and therefore I will give them to you in whatever measure is possible.

Here are the names of the survivors:

The Patrontacz family without their parents; Leib Lichter and his wife; Schwartz (son-in-law of Reitzfeld), his wife and daughter; the wife and daughter of Ephraim Landau; the driver Lerner; Blumenfeld (the son-in-law of Hochner); the two daughters of Reiman, The Witlin family (he, his wife and daughter); a family from the village; Adek Lichtenberg (fled the Lvov camp ten days before the entry of the Red Army). He hid himself all the time with his father Izhu Zager in the forests, seized in Zolkiew by the Germans on 13.6.44 and brought to the camp in Lvov, from where he succeeded in escaping. His father and Zager fell in June 1944.

Among the others that remained alive were: a girl from a village whose name is Zinger; two sisters whose name is Watsner, the daughters of a Jew from a village; Dora Watsner, wife of Astman; Me, my wife and our daughter; friends of the owner of the pharmacy Shatkel and his wife (originally from Lvov) and a few other Jews who are not from our town; Mrs. Shtraich, her daughter Basha and Henik Wachs appear to be located in the vicinity of Warsaw. Of the intelligentsia in town, apart from Milo Rukhfleisch, who is living anonymously in the Ural Mountains, not one man remained alive. They fell like flies under a hail of bullets. The elderly Dr. Wachs went insane. Feliks Czaczkes fell in the forest near Mosty. His wife Iga and Kuba Czaczkes who were caught in November 1943 in Zolkiew, were killed in the Lvov camp. We were subjected to four *aktionen* of extermination.

1) In April 1942 they took out approximately 700 Jews incapable of doing work, due to illness or old age, and sent them to Belzec and were killed by shock from a high electric current;

2) In October 1942 about 700 Jews were taken to Belzec that had been seized either in the streets or in their homes. In this *aktion* the Nazis killed Otek Schlusser and his wife, and Lula Fertig (in her house), and plundered their assets. About 300 people were killed at that time.

3) On March 25, 1943, the dismemberment of the ghetto began, everyone who had not been killed in the ghetto between October 1942 and March 25, 1943 died from spotted typhus and anyone taken to the labor camp, as it were, or did not hide with Christians, was put to death on that day in the 'Boork' was terrible for us, at every minute we saw death staring us in the face. Our limbs held us up with difficulty, and it was a miracle that we got to October

25, 1944– the day we were liberated thanks to the Red Army. I will never forget the day we were liberated – to my last day I will give thanks to the Soviet Army that saved the lives of the remnants of our brethren who miraculously remained alive.

A month has gone by from the time I came out into daylight and I still cannot find myself a place. All of us feel like orphans. I manage a local pharmacy, and force myself not to think a great deal. I want to know what lies ahead, and how various matters will develop. I hope that the light of dawn will shine on us, but stay steady when you see our shaken and maimed appearance. Life in Zolkiew is sad. There is no one...

I offer you my sincere good wishes, and give a sign that you know about our lives and the calamity that has befallen our city.

Perhaps you might know the address of Iziya Fish – in New York or Brooklyn, he is the son of Mrs. Fish who used to live opposite the pharmacy of Drelitz, whose husband left her, and took their daughter with him to America. To our great sorrow, both Mrs. Fish and her daughter Rosa were exterminated in April 1943, and two days later the visas arrived from America, that contained permission to enter America according to the exchange program, but they were too late for the party....

Yours,

Joseph Rosenberg

Aid for Refugees in Zolkiew

By Moshe Herman

I am one of the few survivors of the Holocaust from Zolkiew, and I see a personal responsibility to recall what the martyrs of our city did close to the outbreak of the war:

As is known, Zolkiew collected about two hundred families of Jewish refugees from the invasion of Western Poland, that had fled before the Nazis. The people of Zolkiew helped these refugees to get settled in the city. When the Soviet rulers arrived they seized all of the refugees in one effort, and concentrated them together to send them to areas of distant Russia. All the Jews of Zolkiew immediately set out to arrange a help effort for the refugees, and they brought resources of food, clothing and a large amount of money to the departure point, as provision for the distant trip they were destined to make.

There was a committee immediately formed whose purpose was – sending food packages to the refugees in the places of exile in Russia. Three months before Passover, they koshered a flour mill for Passover flour, from which to bake *matzohs*. Every one of the refugees received a package of *matzohs* and

food weighing eight kilograms. There was no delay in the response of these refugees who were fortunate enough to receive these packages, and it reached us even before the Festival Holiday, and the sense of unity and concern for them was very encouraging.

During two years in 1939 and 1940, individuals in addition to the Help Committee sent many packages of food to the refugees.

After the War, I met some of these refugees, who could not forget what the Jews of Zolkiew had done on their behalf. The Jews of Zolkiew did this support work with feelings of warm responsibility, as if they felt that the *Hangman* was standing over them to implement the extermination of the Jews in the city.

The Extermination of Zolkiew Jewry²¹⁰

By Gershon Taft

1. The First Assaults

Zolkiew is approximately forty kilometers from the Soviet Russia-German border of 1939.

It is therefore no wonder that the activity in the city increased a great deal even in the first day that war broke out between Germany and the Soviets – on June 22, 1941.

Freight trains and other vehicles, tanks and designated artillery hitched to horses of all kind best the city from the front all the way to it.

The residents of the city hesitated in great fear after the opening of these first incursions of the war, and it was the worry of the Jews that was the greatest. Because of the closeness of the front, the Soviet régime did not manage to implement their draft in its entirety.

In the wake of unending airborne attacks by the *Luftwaffe*, many of the Jews of Zolkiew gave up on the idea of ‘fleeing to the East.’ The few who tried to leave were tripped up on their way, by Ukrainian loyalists that struck terror with acts of murder, and arrested the flight.

²¹⁰

A translation from Polish [to Hebrew] of the folio ‘*The Extermination of Zolkiew Jewry*’ that appeared in Łodz in 1941 – published by the Central Jewish Historical Committee beside the Center of Polish Jewry.

During the first days of the war two residents of Zolkiew, Leib Weichert and his son, were murdered on their way to Lvov (the incident occurred in Zawoysko beside Lvov). The news from the front grew worse from day-to-day. By the fourth day after the outbreak of the war, all the government institutions were forced to evacuate the city, out of the sense that they would certainly be extracted from the centers of the government. The impression was created that very soon Zolkiew will be captured by the enemy. However, on the following day, a favorable change took place at the front, and the Soviet authorities returned to the city, but to the ache in our hearts, this lasted only two days.

The fear of the Jews especially grew stronger, that were penetrated by the essential thought that '*The Germans Are Coming!*'

As the Germans drew closer to the city, each of the Jews went their separate ways – before concealing themselves in cellars and camouflaged places, because of the airborne assaults and cannon shell fire – recognizing that their end was drawing near, and they would no longer get to see the people from whom they were parting. They felt they were standing opposite a pogrom and extermination.

On the seventh day of the war – this was on a Sabbath, June 28, 1941, after a battle that lasted a whole day, the Germans broke into the city.

The first victim of the cruelty of the Germans was the fortified Synagogue that had been built back in the days of the King Sobieski, after whom it was named.

The Germans set fire to it immediately upon their entry into Zolkiew, but because of the solid way it was built, and its thick walls, that were all built from stone, and rested on stone foundations, the fire could not take hold completely and only a few wooden items and furniture inside it were consumed.

In their fiery anger at having failed to do what they had out to do, they brought cans of benzene, into the synagogue and lit them on fire. Notwithstanding the strong explosion, they did not succeed in tearing down the walls. Because of this [the Germans] decided to exact vengeance from the Jews, and at the time that the Synagogue went up in flames, they seized ten Jews with the intent of throwing them into the Synagogue and have them consumed by fire.

Luck played in favor of these hapless Jews, because suddenly a German officer appeared who let them [the Jews] go, and saved them from this cruel death.

Smoke continued to come out of the ancient Synagogue for a few days, that had been desecrated by the *Scourge*.

In the meantime, even more cruel and frightening dangers came upon the Jews of the city.

The local jail – in which a variety of types were imprisoned by the Soviet rulers – after the Nazi capture, they found several corpses of found of Ukrainians. The ranks of the Ukrainian nationalists took advantage of this fact to incite the mobs against the Jews for purposes of arranging a '*pogrom*.'

A central desire of the exacerbation caused by the fire, it was supposed to serve as the real funeral of the *'heroes'* that were murdered in jail.

In the cemetery inciteful speech was heard against the *'Żydokomuna'²¹¹* and against Jews in general.

According to the malevolent plan that had been prepared in advance, the incited mob was to fall upon the houses and dwellings of the Jews. Preparations were made with extra care. The speeches were full of poisonous hate, and this host was led off to 'do its work.'

This time as well, a peripheral event saved the Jews. This was on Sunday June 29, 1941 in the afternoon. The new German officer in charge issued an order, which said that the hours of moving about that were available to the citizenry were from six o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening. Because of this, the disappointed mob had to disperse immediately after the ceremony of the funeral, and return to their homes.

The extent to which the Ukrainian Nationalists hatred for the Jews is shown by the following fact:

Already, at the first sitting of the renewed municipal council in Zolkiew, the new head of the city the baker Tziuropilovitz, an unscrupulous type of a person who might be a genuine plunderer, and a participant in Petliura's army, proposed to distance all the Jews from the boundaries of the city and to re-settle them in the nearby village of Wola-Wysocka. When his proposal did not get accepted by the Germans (because they had already hidden in their bosom a much more radical agenda to the solution of the Jewish question that was being worked on by them), so the bloodthirsty head of the city proposed that at least the Jewish should be prohibited to come to the local market and arrange for their purchases. This proposal was accepted by the Germans in time, but in a slightly different way.

The first days of the Nazi occupation of Zolkiew were days of the seizure of Jews to do various forms of labor, that were accompanied by beatings, abuse and denigration, that were designed in a way that was unique to themselves. The Jews hid in their houses, in attics and cellars.

Seeing that the number of people taken to do work continued to grow from day-to-day, one could see a danger, because the Germans will begin their searching for Jews in hiding – something that is bound to cause the loss of life – came into being in the month of July, out of the effort of Jews, an unofficial committee consisting of : Dr. Otto Schlusser, Dr. Moshe Sobol, and Dr. Avraham Shtraich, hat set itself the objective – to regulate the issue of providing people needed to do the work of the Germans.

The recollected members of the committee visited the houses of the Jews and oriented the tendency in their hearts to the danger confronting the Jewish community all because they did not appear for work.

²¹¹ Ukrainian for 'the Jewish Community.'

In measured steps the number of adult men who presented themselves for work grew, out of the feeling of responsibility of everyone in general.

When a number of days passed, the previously mentioned committee was invited to the German Senior Officer, and he let them know that the Jews are responsible to create a permanent body of representatives of their own, called the *Judenrat* that will intermediate between the Jews and the German authorities. The central objective of this advisory council will be: to provide the required number of workers demanded of them, and also carrying out the remaining directives and demands made by the authorities of the Jews. This is how the *Judenrat* was created in Zolkiew. It was composed from the more important people in the resident citizenry and the intelligentsia, and activists of the community: Dr. Fyvusz Rubinfeld – Chairman, Dr. Avraham Shtraich and Dr. Philip Czaczkes – Vice Chairmen, Nathan Apfel, Sender Lifschitz, Yehoshua Czaczkes, and Israel Shapiro – the members of the council.

A short time after the entry of the Germans to Zolkiew, the Jews were driven out of their homes that were on the streets of the train (Kolyuba) and *ul. Lanikivitz*, these being the central streets of the city, in which the most beautiful houses and residences that were outstanding for their unique comfort. It was forbidden for Jews to even cross over these streets.

When a little time went by, the Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks and they were ordered to walk only in the center of the streets, in those places set aside for coach transport. Only a few days went by, and an order came out that they had to wear a badge of shame visibly, to manifest their Jewishness. Very male and female Jew from the age of 12 and up, were ordered to tie a white strip on their right arm, 8-10 cm. wide that the sign of the Magen-David was woven into it. It was in this manner that the hours spent by the Jews in the environs of the city were reduced, and they were forbidden to leave their houses after 5:00PM. In accordance with the directives of the Nazi authorities, the Jews were permitted to buy agricultural produce from the farmers in the surrounding area only between 10AM-12 Noon (after the non-Jewish residents had completed their shopping before, that had been brought to be sold).

The oversight on conforming to these orders during those first days were given over to a militia of Ukrainians, and they took advantage of every opportunity to sadistically annoy the Jews by methods unique to them.

Page 511/512: Young women of Zolkiew bound with the band of shame according to *Gestapo* orders.

בנות זולקייב פונדיות "סליט-קלון" על פי מקורה הניססמו



משמאל לימין: חולף שנקח. סטמלסמן אנויה,
שטרין בשקה, שפיריה לושקה



משמאל לימין: לצמר קלרה, צ'אציקס לובה
אסטמן גניה, אדלהרס מושיה, סוחצ'בסקה אטצ'ה

Page 511: From (LtoR): Klara Letzter, Luba Czaczkes. Genya Astman, Mushya Edelhart, Asich'eh Sokhashchivaska

Page 512: (LtoR): Shayn'keh Wolf, Anzha Templesman, Bashk'eh Shtraich, Lushka Shapiro

Excelling in his cruelty, was the Ukrainian militia man Duszenchuk, the son of an officer of one of the banks and a teacher in the public school of Zolkiew.

Jews who were suspected to be sympathetic to communism were imprisoned and executed without a trial. It was in this fashion that during the first days, the Hamerman sisters were arrested, and transferred to Rawa-Ruska and there taken out and executed without a trial.

The entire Libohl family was imprisoned in this way and taken to be executed, the father, mother, and several children, and this was because two of her daughters that belonged to the communist party, managed to flee while there was still time!

During those first days after the conquest of the city, an army officer was in control in the capacity of the local commandant, but after the activities of the war moved away from the city in the eastward direction, a German named Rokendorf came for an extended period to serve as a local officer (*Lands*

Kommissar) (and according to what he said, up until that point, he was the local officer of Pyotrykov-Trubunalski). His first act in Zolkiew was: levying a tax on the Jews of the city in the amount of 250,000 rubles, five kilograms of gold, and 100 kilograms of silver, that was to be paid within three days.

Prior to levying the tax, the following took place:

On one of the days, the Ukrainian police consecutively arrested the following important and rich people: Dr. Wachs aged seventy, Israel Patrontacz, Mrs. Tzirl Kharry (after they couldn't find her husband), the brothers Eliyahu and Markus Kharry, Yoss'eh Post, Leib Patrontacz, Yehuda Schlayan, Sender Lifschitz, Simcha Tirk and the head of the *Judenrat* Dr. Fyvusz Rubinfeld – together this came to eleven people.

On that day, the Ukrainian police took advantage of every opportunity to beat the Jews, to abuse them and denigrate them. Some of them were beaten to the point that they bled, among them was Aharon Astman and others. After all the prisoners were brought to the jail, they were notified that the previously mentioned levy was placed on all the Jews of Zolkiew, because if the levy was not paid on time, the prisoners that were taken as 'hostages' from the community will be shot to death, and as for the rest of the Jews of the place, they could look forward to severe assaults.

In order to clarify the matter of the levy to the local Jews (*kontribucia*) and to organize the collection of the monies, Dr. P. Rubinfeld, the president of the *Judenrat* was released in a timely fashion; the remaining hostages remained in prison.

A great terror fell upon the Jews of Zolkiew. The Jewish committee that was appointed for the purpose of allocating the burden of the levy among its citizens, worked day and night without ceasing. The imminent calamity pending for all of them, brought matters to the point that all of the Jews, mostly the poor among them, participated in a symbolic fashion with the amount of 18 (י"ח) rubles to redeem their lives. The wealthy turned over all the silver vessels and the gold that they had, among which were mementos that had been passed down by inheritance from one generation to the next. Despite the many difficulties, the levy was turned over in its entirety to the conquerors at the demanded time, and the hostages were released.

At this opportunity, it is necessary to stress that there were instances of philanthropy from the heart on the part of the non-Jewish community, in their extension of help to the Jews.

As an example, a certain Catholic priest turned over a substantial sum of money to the committee as a way of participating in the levy. This step of this revered priest of faith, raised the spirit of the Jews, and he earned recognition and gratitude from them.

Having no connection to the enormous tax levy paid by the Jews, they began to empty out the homes of the Jews of furniture, rugs, window shades and all their possessions deemed to have value. These possessions were taken to the homes of the conquering Germans and those sympathetic to them.

In the outdoors of the city, at the end of December 1941 notices were made public by the *Judenrat* that in accordance with the orders of the German authorities, on pain of a death sentence, they are obligated to turn over all the fur items of the people, men, women and children, by noon of January 1, 1942 to the army of the authorities, including fur scarves, leather gloves, fur hand coverings, slippers and shoe accessories.

This time as well, the Jews fulfilled the demand and the number of furs of just the men and women came to more than five thousand.

The Germans also did not spare the dead, and poured out their savage anger on the Jewish cemetery in Zolkiew as well (that was started in the 17th century – with the arrival of the Jews to settle in Zolkiew). They uprooted the ancient headstones and used these sacred stones to pave roads and repair them. This destructive work was called by the euphemistic name ‘*Strasse-Bau.*’ (Street-Building). They used the Jews for this work of desecration as well, who were forced to uproot and wreck the headstones of their dear ones with their own hands.

In order not to completely lose the signs of the graves in which their ancestors were interred, the Jews created signs, as it were, that orally they intended to restore – when the time arrived – new headstones of the members of their families that were desecrated.

The following excelled in working out the restoration plan for the future: Moshe Babad, Emanuel Ha’i and the engineer Lichtenberg. To my great pain, with the death of these men, all the markers and plans that they had prepared also were lost.

The cemetery disappeared entirely, after its ground was plowed, and nevertheless, for a long time it stood as a silent witness to the extermination of solitary Jews, and entire groups of people, for their various ‘sins’, such as leaping from the death-trains on the way to the Belzec death camp, that was for the ‘outside the ghetto’ Jews, the destruction of the ‘Magen-David’ that the Jews were obligated to wear at all times, and the gravest sin – that a Jew had the ‘temerity’ to remain alive after the Germans announced that Zolkiew was already *Judenrein*...

At all times, the Germans ‘invented’ new tasks to torture the Jews and to violate their faith. This was why the Jews were ordered to shave their beards and sidelocks, and many of them, who observed mitzvot, were embarrassed to go outside when their beards had been shaven, and would wrap their faces in handkerchiefs.

In a similar fashion, they forbade the Jews to pray as a group, and to celebrate their holidays in public.

In the remainder of the walks of life the Jews were also caused suffering in both spiritual and physical ways.

When the *Judenrat* was established – in accordance with the orders of the German authorities – the local commanding officer ordered, as the personal responsibility of the members of the *Judenrat* – that all the Jews, men and women, are obligated to present themselves every day in the morning beside the *Judenrat* building. There the Germans appeared armed with their whips, and selected workers from the gathered folk for their needs. This selection

process was accompanied by rounds, beatings and abuse that considerably oppressed the Jews who came to that place. After efforts made by the *Judenrat*, the order was modified and the responsibility to appear was limited to only a portion of the Jewish residents, in accordance with a set procedure. Nursing mothers, children and sick people were released from this obligation. There was also a time, when permission was granted to those obligated to appear, to send other people in their place (as understood, with payment of their salary from their own pocket), or by payment of a fixed amount to pay other workers. The *Judenrat* used these monies for the needs of social assistance, and to add to the funds for bread for the workers.

As to the attitude of the Germans towards the Jews in this period, can also be gathered from the following fact:

One of the oppressors that guarded the Jews that worked at the train station and the carrying of containers of oil of 5,000 liter capacity, beat them cruelly with a heavy stave while saying: ‘The nation of fools, you want to do battle with us!’

On the authority of the *Landes-Kommissar*, a Jewish militia was organized beside the *Judenrat* and was called ‘*Ordnungs Dienst*’ Dr. Philip Czaczkes, a member of the *Judenrat* was designated as its head, and he was given eighteen men, that comprised the ‘*Jewish Militia*.’ At the beginning, its mission was to provide the exact number of working Jews at the specified time, and to oversee order in the Jewish ghetto. However, in time, the demands increased both for the number of workers and also for other services.

The Jews worked with the loading and unloading of merchandise in the train station, mechanical repair of the trains, and to clean the streets used by tanks, cannons, freight trucks, and other gear that had been broken, and the paving and repair of roads – the latter work called by the conquerors Street-Building (*Strassen Bau*) (A picture showing this form of their work, was published in a picture album, published by this writer, under the name ‘*The Extermination of Polish Jewry*’ on pages xv– 104–xviii). While they were working, the Jews were tortured mercilessly by the German ‘guards’ ‘appointed’ Ukrainians, and even members of different nations.

The first martyr of the assaults and torture of the workers was: Mendl Harschtrit, a man over the age of thirty, whose place of work was a few kilometers from the city, and he was beaten to death. He left behind a wife, and a daughter 6 years old.

In comparison to the pogroms and spilling of blood that took place in the first days of the entry of the German conquerors into the city, matters were settled somehow, and because of that the arousal of murder for no reason of a young man like him, are terrors that are difficult to absorb. Almost all the people in town participated in the funeral for this martyr to a cruel murder.

In calling for withholding tears in the streets of the city, Dr. Shtraich, a member of the *Judenrat* said: ‘This is a great loss, but despite our enormous pain, we need to exercise self-control and in a decisive order, because we have to be ready for everything’....

The fact presented below bears witness in a clear fashion on the legal status of the Jews under German rule.

After the murder of Harschtrit, the Ukrainian inspector of the town wanted to be in order ‘from a formal point of view,’ that is to say, ‘with an inspection.’ To do this, he turned to the German officer of the workers’ camp for non-Jews (even though it was known that the deceased was murdered in this group) and asked permission to document this incident. The German officer took him – with a Satanic Mockery on his lips – to the wall, drew a large insect there and said: ‘this is what a Jew is worth in the eyes of the Germans... and seeing that there is no punishment for killing an insect, the same applies in connection with the murdered Jew,’ The officer present said that there is no place for him to mix into this thing, since it is also unwanted...

The martyrs that came after this recalled incident were Jews that were seized in the second *Aktion* that took place in the middle of March 1942.

This took place on Friday in the afternoon, when suddenly by surprise S. S. Men came from the work camp at Lacki-Wialki beside Zolkiew, and began to vigorously seize Jews. More than sixty Jews were seized and brought in the S. S. Vehicles to the mentioned work camp, and they died there from hunger, beatings, and other inhuman tortures.

When a number of days passed, after the seizure, and transfer to Lacki-Wialki, one of them, Elazar Stein – succeeded in escaping and return to Zolkiew. He fled from there on Friday, and by the following Sunday a special emissary came from the S. S. to the *Judenrat* in Zolkiew, and demanded, in a harsh manner, to return Elazar Stein to him immediately and without delay, so that he will receive the punishment befitting him.

The *Judenrat* tried in every way to convince the S. S. Man that Stein has not returned to Zolkiew, because the *Judenrat* knew nothing about him. But the S. S. Man was not persuaded. The doctor from the work camp, Belitzky – a Jew that came together with the S. S. Man – let it be known that the S. S. Men were preparing to murder thirty Jews among those who were seized and brought to Lacki if the fugitive will not return. The *Judenrat* sensed the seriousness of the danger that looked down on the Jewish people in the camp, Belitzky – decided to turn over Stein to the S. S. Man, who brought him to the camp where he was hanged.

The *Judenrat* attempted to ease the fate of the ones who were seized, and with joint effort together with their family members that remained in Zolkiew, they turned over packages of food to them once a week. The *Judenrat* even looked after those who did not have relatives in Zolkiew, and sent them personal packages.

Ephraim Landau, a member of the *Judenrat*, who transferred the packages, visited the previously mentioned labor camp, and also gave valuable gifts to the S. S. Men, and the Ukrainian Militia, with the intent that in this way, they would improve the relationship with the Jews in the camp, and refrain from causing them suffering and assaults. One time, when members of the *Judenrat* arrived, the already mentioned Ephraim Landau, together with a second member Shimon Wolf, they saw the following terrifying scene:

They saw David Astman, of Zolkiew and in the camp, whose physical condition was very deteriorated, standing and digging a grave for himself. They proposed to the S. S. Men a significant amount of money to spare his life, and this is how the man was saved from death.

Seeing that David Astman was no longer fit for work, and close to death, the S. S. Men ‘facilitated’ his release. It was from the mouth of David Astman that we became aware of the terrifying living conditions of the Jews in this work camp. He related that every day, with the coming of dawn, they were forced to go on foot to the workplace which was 12 kilometers distant. They worked all day without any recess, and under the watch of Ukrainian Militiamen who did not spare them beatings and assaults. After completing work, they returned on foot, They were given 100 grams of bread to eat, one liter of soup which was mostly water, and a portion of black coffee. There is no basis on which to wonder about the large number of martyrs in this camp (that was built even before the Janow work camp in Lvov).

2. The Judenrat and Its Activities

The central mission of the *Judenrat* was – providing the number of workers demanded by the Germans, satisfying the needs of the *Gestapo*, and the *Landes-Kommissar*, The Police Chief, and the *Schutzpolizei* (German Security Police), the Ukrainian officers and the militiamen, and that of the rest of the people whose fate of the Jews was left in their hands.

In the interest of ‘anticipating trouble’ gifts streamed about, ‘mementos’ and much money that was earned by much work, valuable goods, furs, furniture and the like, and they were sold into the hands of the Germans who assaulted them, and their adherents.

As I have already recalled, the Jewish residents in Zolkiew up to the outbreak of the war were generally well off, and the *Judenrat*, knowing this, used threats in order to extract as much more possible of money, and valuable items in the belief that out of extra care, they hoped to succeed to rescue the Jewish residents from the hands of the German ‘*Moloch*’²¹² who proved difficult to satisfy.

It is worth noting that despite giving credit to this, the *Judenrat* succeeded, in satisfying the German authorities using bribery and gifts of ‘mementos’ that it distributed generously as for example, the local *Kommissar* Rokendorf, the head of the S. S. In Zolkiew Paapa, and the head of the German gendarmerie Kotahr, the German police, the Ukrainian militia, and others (among them, it is useful to note, to the shame of the entire world, the names of the German gendarmes and Ukrainian militiamen that murdered thousands of Jews who were innocent of any wrongdoing from the ranks of the Jews of Zolkiew, and they are: the German gendarmes Kotahr, Heisler, Krupp and Sandor; the Ukrainian militiamen: Romanczuk, Fidhoricki and Popowitz). This behavior of the *Judenrat* caused even the leadership of the *Gestapo* in Lvov to reduced by a significant amount the assaults on the Jews of Zolkiew, and did not accelerate their extermination, in order to continue reaping income for themselves.

²¹² A pagan idol of antiquity to whom it was a common practice to offer human sacrifice.

This provides a sort of an explanation regarding the fact , that the first *Aktion* for extermination in November 1942, and even the final cessation *Aktion* (at the end of March 1943), came much later upon the Zolkiew Jews, in comparison to the eradication of the remaining cities in the Lvov Valley.

The ‘gifts’ that the *Gestapo* people in Lvov got from the *Judenrat* in Zolkiew so pleased them, to the point that they found it proper to always advise them of what they are preparing to do to them..

Matters reached the point that a group of the *Gestapo* would reach Zolkiew on every Sunday to hunt in the forests around Zolkiew, and the *Judenrat* was made responsible to provide them with ‘runners’ from among the Jews, for their needs to hunt.

It is important to note that the *Gestapo* people were more interested in the gifts they received from the *Judenrat* than in the quarry from their hunt...

The committee that worked beside the *Judenrat* in preparing the gifts was called by the melodic name” *Zach-Leistung’s- Kommission*’ (The committee for the requirements of service), and the Jews that worked there called it by a more appropriate name: *Raub Kommission* (The plundering Commission), because in many cases, this commission needed to employ threats in order to extract the ‘gifts’ from their owners. Yaakov Altin was the head of this ‘commission.’

3. The First Aktion

At the beginning of 1942 an order was promulgated by the German authorities, which said that every Jew must present himself to a medical committee, that was supposed to establish his fitness to do physical work. Three categories were set up:

- 1) Category A – Completely healthy and able to do difficult physical labor;
- 2) Category B – Healthy and able to do physical work that is less demanding;
- 3) Category C – Not suitable to do physical work.

As a result of this medical examination, a separate index card was created for all the Jews. There were some Jews who thought that by being allocated to category C (Not suitable to do physical work) would release them from work, especially connected to accessibility, and tried with all their strength to be included in this category.

The regional doctor in Zolkiew demanded specific fees – in silver and precious stones, in order to admit examined people to this formerly mentioned category, and there was a set number of healthy people who ‘succeeded’ in being included in this group.

Those who were examined did not have to wait a long time for the results of these medical exams; On March 15, 1942 close to Passover, Gestapo people came to the Zolkiew castle. All members of the Judenrat were asked to present themselves immediately, and when they reached there, they were arrested, and in escort by two of the *Schutz Polizei*, one of the members of the *Judenrat* to the office of the *Judenrat* to bring the list of those Jews who were unable to work and had been registered in category C in order to have them taken to other places where they could work...

When they had a full list of people in this category, they wrote down their names and the *Gestapo* officer notified the *Judenrat* that no harm would befall all of these people, and that they were being sent to dry out swamps in the vicinity of Pinsk, and they will live and work there. To prove that this was true, those being sent off were permitted to take their necessities with them.

The city was divided into sectors and each of these sectors had a *Gestapo* man, and to help him, he was given one of the men in the Jewish Militia, and when he had in hand a detailed list of the people in his sector, they were selected to be taken away.

This is how the First *Aktion* was carried out, that impacted approximately 700 Jews. If a person on the list was not found in his house, they took one of the men in the house in his place. This was how they took the sister of Moshe Yaakov Shtiller – in his place. Since the *aktion* was to take place close to Passover, several observant Jews took along matzos for Passover (out of a suspicion that they would not be able to get them at the new place). As was later clarified, those to be sent away no longer used these ‘matzos’ because they were exterminated in Belzec even before the start of Passover.

At the end of this ‘project,’ in order to complete the ‘cover’ they seized other Jews that they encountered along the way, even those these people were not to be found at all in the list of ‘unfit to do work’ – therefore, in front of the emissary, the matter was examined and those that had ‘work cards’ in hand were saved, by an hour, from the death that was waiting for them.

In order to mislead the Jews, and to conceal their end goal, the *Gestapo* staff utilized a satanic approach – that they had worked up by their own hands previously – they released all those who were driven out if they could prove that they have a ‘work card’. The Jews began to believe that the work really represents crowns opposite the travails of being driven away, and a strong return movement arose for ‘work cards.’ People began to acquire such cards at any price and to do this, they sold off their clothing, and made use of the last of their cupidity, and this – to save their lives. There was a special interest in acquiring a ‘work-card’ of the firm ‘alt-under the-schtopfen-farfassung’ (to create old and new crude material) out of the belief that its ‘work-card’ provides some security of the worker from being harmed...

In the meantime, the families of those driven out in the first *aktion* know no rest, and tried by all means to find out something about the fate of their relatives.

After they heard a rumor that they had been sent to Belzec – despite the fact that they did not know that there was a death camp there, several ‘Aryans’ were sent, including one Gestapo man, to investigate the matter and to get any understanding, but all their efforts were in vain – the traces of those driven away vanished. The secret was revealed after some time...

After wanderings of several days, two women came back, that were seized during the aktion, Minna Astman and Malka Taufenfeld – and after they shook off a bit of the terror they experienced, they told to their relatives among those driven out, in great secret about their tribulations:

They were all transported in locked freight trains to the death camp at Belzec. Here they were ordered to strip naked as the day they were born. This matter aroused a great fright among all of them. One of the more forward ones, Yaakov Segal asked the Gestapo man standing beside him: Why are we being asked to undress? And this was his sadistic reply offered joyfully: ‘you are going to die’...

Segal hugged his wife and amidst crying he said to her: ‘Let us part, because these are the last minutes of our lives’...

Upon hearing his words, the rest of the Jews burst into tears and began to embrace one another. In that same minute, the Germans ordered the men to stand on one side of the hut, and for the women and children to gather on its second side. Afterwards, they showed the women how to enter the hut, and as if they knew what awaited them, they did not hurry to fulfill the order. The first to enter was the wife of Marcus Gutman, and together with her, her daughter Sofia. After them, all the women entered.

In the midst of the crying and disorder and lack of experience of the Germans (these were from the first sent to the death camp at Belzec) Minna Astman and Malka Taufenfeld took advantage of the situation and jumped into a drainage channel that was beside the hut, and they remained there until the night, with no one sensing they were there, and in the darkness of the night they stealthily got out of the camp and returned to their houses.

This tale was seen by many as not credible. Now that we know the chronology of the death camp at Belzec according to the eye-witness report of Joseph Radder the only living witness that remained alive in this camp, we understand that a flight of this sort, that was told by Astman and Taufenfeld was possible only at the beginning before the Germans carried out their precautionary measures (against escape). The matter of the escape of these two women and their telling of it were guarded as a deep secret and only to those privileged to be relied upon.

In a similar manner, a Christian named Kulikovich returned to Zolkiew, that had been sent to the surroundings of Belzec by Hernand Tamfalsman – and he told the following version of their story:

‘A side rail was prepared at the Belzec train station, that was bounded by barbed wire that reaches the nearby forest, and even the forest was surrounded by closely placed barbed wire.

The minute that the train bearing Jews reached the station, it was left in the hands of a Polish mechanic, and a German mechanic came to take his place, who brought it to its designated spot in the city. For a while one could hear the groans of hopelessness and frightful screams, and they grew weaker in steps until the stopped entirely, and the train would return, without its people, but just with their clothing only. A column of smoke rose from the area of the camp!...'

Details of this kind were conveyed in the letters written by the women that reached, according to the writing of the Zolkiew resident Moshe Zilber:

'We are going through terrifying times, in our ears, we can hear the cries of our brethren were exterminated in the area of the camp. In order to drown out the voices of those doomed to die, they use a siren before the train will reach the extermination point, whose loudness grows from minute to minute, and drowns out the groans of the unfortunate ones.

We are writing all this to you, in order to advise you of the bitter truth about Belzec.' (The contents of this letter were conveyed by Michael Melman and Meir Berisz Schwartz, who read it with their own eyes).

4. The Social and Cultural Supervision

Together with the establishment of the *Judenrat* in Zolkiew, there arose a committee for social supervision, whose mission was to look after the poor of the city, orphans and the elderly, and after property and the like.

The source of the income of this committee were the payments that were received from the Jews of the city for the *Judenrat* (a form of community tax) and from the payments of the Jews released from the obligations of work (for example, craftsmen that conducted illegal shops in their homes), from payments for food-cards, and finally – from the time of the erection of the ghetto – also from payments to the post office.

The support given by the committee as social assistance initially manifested itself with the giving of small amounts of money, and monies for scanty food, and ration cards at no cost, a medical examination, and medicines at no cost, money for soup during the afternoon, and from time-to-time additional money for bread for those who were sent to work on a permanent basis.

In addition to this, there was a grain committee, whose mission was to supervise the sanitary conditions in the homes of Jews in their neighborhood, a strict inspection to prevent the spread of infectious diseases and to provide immediate medical help.

Over time, the circumstances that prevailed to a decided atmosphere of these two appointed groups that were previously mentioned.

As is known, Zolkiew is located on the road between Lvov and Rawa-Ruska, that leads to Belzec. Because of this, terrifying news continued to come from the death camp at Belzec, because they are cremating the Jews while they are still alive, kill them with an electric current, and poisoning them in gas chambers, and since many of these Jews – when they found themselves in these death trains, strove to escape from them during the train ride, by all means, and even by jumping out of these trains through the narrow windows, or by breaking off boards from the sides or the floors of the locked train cars, an undertaking that was fraught with a real risk to life. And as a result, many of them were killed by falling under the train cars or from their wounds they received when they jumped out, mainly at the hands of the *Gestapo* guards, and the men of the *German Security Police (S.P.)*, who shot at them from the railway train carriers in which they sat.

And here are those who jumped that remained alive, and needed special help: first of all, it was necessary to hide them in the midst of the city from the German Police, and the Ukrainian Militiamen, who used to fire without hesitation, at any Jew that could not prove that he was one of the residents of the city. Similarly, it was necessary to convey the wounded to other cities in which it might be possible to receive medical help, clothing and food, and only after they healed was it possible – and this of course illegally – to return them to their prior homes. Of that which is worth noting is that the Jews of Zolkiew showed a heartfelt bond and did very much in providing help to the ‘jumpers.’ Day- after-day one could hear the continuous firing of machine guns from the vicinity of the railroad tracks, which for us was like a vision of nightmares, since we knew that a train full of hapless Jews was passing by on the way to Belzec. Emotions of pity and fear surrounded all of us as one. We began to think and guess from whence the passing ‘messenger’ was coming now. A short time after the train passed by, we received the news that ‘jumpers’ were lying beside the railroad tracks who were wounded... after receiving a false ‘permission’ from the Police Chief, that was ‘extracted’ by a well-known method, a group of sanitary workers went out, provisioned with stretchers and wagons, and moved the wounded to a Jewish area, and they were given immediate medical attention, consistent with their condition. The lightly wounded were hidden in simple houses and the heavily wounded were taken in at the hospital.

There was no separate hospital for Jews in Zolkiew during the German conquest, but thanks to the good relations between the Judenrat and the German Police in the beginning ‘for the bountiful gifts’ that were given at every incident separately – the local German authorities did not react during the first period on the taking in of wounded ‘jumpers’ into the municipal hospital, even though there was a strict and explicit prohibition against this. The non-Jewish doctors that worked in the local municipal hospital, accepted the Jews willingly, and extended their full medical assistance, because the *Judenrat* paid them for the handling and operations that they personally did.

In the second half of 1942, the German authorities forbade the acceptance of the Jewish sick in the hospital, and from then on, the help for these martyrs who had many serious difficulties, was terminated, especially from the minute that the German gendarmerie forbade in a strict way, to extend help to those among these unfortunates. The gendarmes would go out to the train, look for the wounded ‘jumpers’ and murder them on the spot...

At this point, it is appropriate to convey an excerpt from the testimony of Hieronym Meiseles (born in Lvov in 1934, and is today in an orphanage), who, on November 1942, jumped from a train beside Zolkiew, that was on its way to Belzec.

Several of the men had tools with which they cut the barbed wire on the windows of the train cars., and a number of them escaped. During the time of the train trip, my mother jumped as well, and was wounded in her legs. After my mother, I also jumped and fell hard on my head. My grandmother – who was very observant – did not want to save herself, saying, if her fate is sealed to die, it is her will to die together with the remaining Jews. My mother escaped to the ghetto in Lvov, and I lay unseen among the men that had been murdered at the time they jumped from the train.

‘The appointed orderly’ (*Ordnungsman*) who happened by chance to be a Jewish militiaman – who took care of cleaning up the dead from the railroad tracks, took me to Zolkiew where I remained for two weeks. I don’t know what happened to me, because during these two weeks my consciousness returned to me only twice. My mother found out that I was in Zolkiew, and succeeded in getting me into the ghetto in Lvov.’

(This testimony is recorded in the central archive of the Jewish Historical Committee, because it had been received by the Jewish Historical Committee of the Valley in Cracow, under number 814).

Despite the difficult circumstances that reached a risk to life for them, the members of the Sanitation Committee carried out their mission with great commitment. This committee consisted of: Dr. Henryk Wachs, Nurse Papka Fish, a professional sanitation worker, and helping them were Dr. Israel Kikan, the overseer of school in the past, and an outstanding pedagogue, who, before the war, served as the author of various educational subjects of the time; Zvi Ungar, the principal of the *Tarbut* School; the lawyer Idek Bendel, as an officer; Yaakov Strom, a teacher; Dr. Yaakov Rittle, a teacher; Moshe Altin, a researcher; Fishl Sukhaczewski, a teacher; and Gershon Taft, a teacher.

And for special note – for giving help to the sick and wounded – we must take note of Mrs. Papka Fish פ"קא פיש, who excelled in the goodness of her heart for her commitment to this work, voluntarily.

In a similar fashion the young Jewish girls who participated in the work of the committee, especially with Papka Fish were: Klara Latzter, Mundzh'eh Dagan, and Klara Schwartz, and of those we have memorialized, only the last one remained alive and in her diary concerning her work in the committee she writes: The sanitation worker Papka Fish has a heart of gold. Several young women assist her in her work (including me), and I am now going with her to make bandages, collect clothing and food – we get a bit of money from the Judenrat – scions of our city (the Jews) help out as best they can. For the greater part of every day, I am out of the house– in the hospital or in the city. (A writeup on Papka Fish can be found in the material about the Holocaust).

Jews that were seized in a variety of *Aktionen* always jumped from the train cars that were taking them to Belzec, and then fled. Thanks to the work of the Sanitation Committee, many of the sick were cured of their sicknesses and disabilities and regained their strength. Regrettably, many of these saved people met death in ‘other *Aktionen*’ or other work camps.



הנחות פּאָפּקא פּיש – בעת טפּול רפּואי

Page 525: *The Nurse Papka Fish – During a Medical Procedure.*

The work of the Sanitation Committee was especially increased after the 'Aktion' of November 1942, when a spotted-typhus epidemic broke out. As already mentioned before, there was no Jewish hospital in Zolkiew at that time. Only as the plague intensified was a temporary hospital opened on *ul. Turynka*, whose purpose was to fight the typhus epidemic that was spreading among the Jewish residents. In two houses, the hospital set up six or seven rooms (one was outside the ghetto), practically with no beds, pillows and their cases, in the most primitive manner possible.

Because the typhus epidemic spread to huge dimensions, there was no possibility to transfer all the sick to the hospital, and the battle against the plague did not produce the desired results.

5. The Activities of Education and Culture

The Jews carry the sobriquet of being '*The People of the Book.*' Even in the most difficult of times they did not forget the education of the young, and at all costs made an effort to teach their children.

As you can understand, that attending a municipal schools was strictly forbidden, and there was no possibility to create schools for the Jewish children by the *Judenrat*, but the youth was thirsty to learn. There were many instances where students turned to their past teachers with a question: when will school start again. A proposal was raised that they should organize the classes in small groups of 6-8 students. In the years 1940/41, the number of teachers with qualifications to teach a given subject was 30. Since it turned out that the will of the parents was that in addition to the standard subjects, that were set down for the general schools, that the language used to teach be Polish, and they will teach their sons Judaic subjects. It was necessary to work up a syllabus like this, that would include both secular and Jewish religious subjects.

Two groups of teachers were organized, who selected groups of students who were of a uniform level, and each group of teachers led 506 groups of students.

The teachers in the first group were: Dr. Israel Kikan, Zvi Ungar, and Gershon Taft, and the second group consisted of Prof. Yaakov Strom, Pola Strom, and Fishl Sukhaczewski. Subject content was developed in according with the style of the school (lessons). The teachers changed places in accordance with the subjects they taught. The outlook for these conditions was enveloped by many difficulties. The biggest of these was that classes will take place in separate buildings, largely – simple houses, that were distant from one another and it was not always possible to walk in the streets of the ghetto in a free manner because of the many dangers that lay in ambush on all sides, such as being 'grabbed' to do work, inspection of work cards, *aktionen* and the like.

It is worth noting that the populace and the *Judenrat* related to each other with a thorough understanding and assessment of the capacity of the teachers, and attempted to help them and get them released from other work.

Apart from these groups, for more mature children, where there was the possibility, as it were, to plan studies for them systematically, there were other groups of children who received their Enlightenment from a variety of teachers. The following women teachers were active on this front” Professor Berta Friedman, Sabina Knopf, Chana Shalem, Janka Shapiro-Mandel, Lucia Kikan (who managed preparation for school) and others.

To the credit of Jewish youth, let it be said that they were serious, infused with the desire for study, and full of understanding of the difficulties and barriers which cause the failure of the teaching initiative. The youth knew how to assess the efforts of their parents and teachers in order to enable their studies, and girded themselves to take advantage of the time to their benefit, knowing that it was possible the very next day, there again would be no free movement to achieve this goal.

The deep understanding of this condition caused amusement to disappear from the faces of even the very young... the hunger, the cold, the poverty and simultaneous suffering of both spiritual and physical, the daily concerns, the news of the enemy that reached them, and the fear for the lives of their dear ones, stamped their seal on their mood, the way they thought, and the conduct of the Jewish youth. In order to ease things for them, and to cause them to forget, as it were, their spiritual mood, several teachers tried – and especially the teachers of the groups of the very young – to organize public appearances, that involved readings, songs, circle dances, games and plays, and in this manner were able at least for a short time to extract them from the influence of the bitter reality, and not for a fleeting moment, to the world of the imagination, to the world that was all good. As a result, these appearances had a strong influence on the Jewish youth, it bolstered their spirits and faith in its future. The lady teachers Friedman, Knopf and Shalem were outstanding in this respect.

Despite the assaults and torture by the Germans, not to mention the incineration of houses of worship and prayer, and their desecration, the Jews who were faithful to their religion, managed to assemble in simple houses and prayed together as an ‘assembly.’ The number of such *minyanim* was great, and they especially attracted people for the Sabbath and Festival Holidays. On those days, the time for prayer was set earlier, in order not to be late for going to work...

There were instances, on the Sabbath and Festival Holidays of force applied to stop the worship in the middle.. They said the morning prayers in the early morning, and the added prayers (*Musaf*) towards the evening, after they had returned from work...

After the Jews were driven into their locked ghetto, from December 1942 it was the only place that the Jews could receive news about what was happening in the city and also in the world of the *Judenrat*. Every evening, the newspaper readers would gather there, as well as the writings of the time, who willingly and seriously explained what they read in them, and after them came people that had some contact with the outside world. Yehoshua Templeman would come there, who had access to a radio to which he listened (notwithstanding the severe prohibition to do so) and also listened to the ‘news’ broadcast over the airwaves, from London and Moscow, and he related all the news that he had heard. Every news item and every detail, were expanded on. In every bit of news, the Jews saw a sort of shadow of hope that they would be rescued, and dreamt of the freedom that was drawing closer,

at the downfall of Fascism, and the return to permanent order, and they believed, that also the Jews who survived the Holocaust will get their *Land* and begin their lives anew.

Upon return to their homes, they told the news to the members of their household and neighbors and this was the way words of solace and encouragement reached all parts of the locked ghetto.

6. Economic Life

Consistent with their plans for the general extermination of the Jews, the Germans yanked away a special form of making a living, and forbade them to engage in the mercantile businesses, shops, and work in free trades.

In order to survive somehow, the Jews were compelled to sustain themselves from their savings. When these were assembled (and this took place very quickly, because of the devaluation of the currency) they were forced to sell or trade everything they still had in their homes – clothing, pillows and pillow cases, valuable possessions, and everything that they possessed, in order to find sustenance for their lives and the lives of their children.

The pace of emptying houses of all that they had grew faster among the ranks of the Jewish intelligentsia, in order to satisfy their daily needs. The trade in household items for food broadened very much. The people in the villages were very pleased about this occurrence, because this way they obtained various items of clothing and valuable household goods.

A villager that brought a piece of butter, a bit of flour and other agricultural produce, went from house-to-house and demanded the most valuable items for his produce – clothing, white goods, and other things, and he got whatever he wanted. Luck favored these villagers in another way: in accordance with the ruling of the German authorities, the time allowed for Jews to go to the markets to buy the essentials they needed, was severely curtailed, and this circumstance permitted the Ukrainian militiamen to harass the Jews while they shopped, hitting them, and even seizing them to do work. Because of this, many of the Jews survived on very little, in order not to be found in the market, or the paid excessive prices to have the produce brought to their homes.

Jewish people who had a connection with farmers or the alert or poor among them, a field of work opened up. An illegal trade sprung up (smuggling). There were Jews that risked their lives and brought all sorts of agricultural produce into the city, and afterwards also the Jewish ghetto. They sold these items at high prices, arguing that they have to not only earn a living from this but also cover the cost of the gifts of bribery that they had to give to the German Police, Ukrainian militiamen and also ‘*Volksdeutsche*²¹³,’ this latter group ambush the people fleeing, and squeeze them for a great deal of ‘funds’ in order to be allowed to go their way. The well-known Kriegel stood out in activities of this sort; he extracted enormous amounts of money from them.

²¹³

Ethnic Germans whose forbears, or they themselves, emigrated into Eastern Europe in search of better prospects.

In general, the ones who fled profited handsomely, but the Jewish needy, who were forced to pay high prices, quickly ran out of money and valuables.

The nightmares of poverty and hunger quickly penetrated the houses of the Jews. Worst was the period from spring to autumn of 1942. Episodes of fainting and also incidents of death from hunger occurred frequently in the streets of the Jewish ghetto. The poor in the city ate potato peels that they collected, and drank the water in which they were cooked...

In the kitchen opened by the *Judenrat*, the number of people grew who came in to eat daily. One frequently saw people whose faces were swollen from hunger, especially under their eyes, and who dragged their swollen feet around with difficulty.

The number of people who died from hunger increased. Almost every day several people died, sometimes even tens of them, from lack of nourishment. The expense became more serious from day-to-day. A kilogram of potatoes went up 8 Gulden (Zlotys), and while a Jew still worked for the Germans, he received in pay, one Gulden and several groschen for a days work.

7. The Second 'Aktion' in November 1942

In the summer of 1942 almost daily, Jews that were 'sent' that were being taken for extermination in the death camp of Belzec. These 'transports' came as a result of the *aktionen* that were carried out in various communities, and especially the *aktion* carried out in Lvov during the month of August of that same year, and went on for a long time, and swallowed up tens of thousands of martyrs.

In general, the Germans began their terrifying *Aktionen* during the middle of the week or on Sunday. Accordingly when (Sunday) arrived, among the Jews spirits quieted down, believing that this day their end was coming, despite not seeing any danger.

Since the Germans wanted to carry out the acts of extermination without expending many resources, they also were in the habit of springing 'surprises.' Our Zolkiew was surprised in this way, when specifically On November 22, 1942 the activity began.

The great *Aktion* began at five o'clock in the morning. The *Gestapo* men and the German police together with the Ukrainian militia, surrounded the streets which were populated by Jews. They were all armed, with steel helmets on their heads, and armed with guns and hand grenades along with axes in hand if they needed to break open gates, door and refuges.

Having placed no faith in the Jewish Militia (*ordnungsdiens*t) they brought along such keepers of the peace from Lvov, who were appointed to keep order during the *Aktion*.

In the course of two days – the first day being November 22, and the second day immediately after it on November 23 about two thousand five hundred men and women were seized, and kept in the castle courtyard of Zolkiew, under the open sky, in hunger and cold. The Germans forbade them to move from that place, and anyone that tried to do so, was taken out of line and shot on the spot. (This writer was among these prisoners).

On the second day, November 23, 1942, in the afternoon, freight trains reached the station. The Jews who were driven out were stood four to a line accompanied by a heavy guard of S. S. Men who were ‘peacekeepers’ Germans and the Ukrainian militia. Who showed the walking people no mercy, in being pushed into a death-march of theirs. They were forced to run quickly to the train cars, in order to avoid murderous beating that were rained down upon them by their cruel guards at the time they entered the train cars. After they filled the freight cars the doors were closed and the windows covered with barbed wire.

In the castle courtyard in which the Jews were located until they were sent to the train, there were several tens of corpses of those who were shot or strangled at the time they spent there...

At midnight, the train moved in the direction of Belzec. Now the vigorous job of creating holes on the doors, windows and floors of the train cars began, that permitted the people who were driven out to flee – the work was done with tools and devices to pierce obstacles, that had been prepared beforehand.

It needs to be mentioned, that among the ones driven out, there were those that did not part with the various tools with which to work, and they were watch by every guard detail, in order it not be taken from them, if the *Aktion* should occur without warning. Even if they were to enter hiding places or bunkers, they took these tools with them.... (the Jews built hideouts and ‘bunkers’ under their homes in secret locations, or something in their attics. It was in this fashion that the dug underneath their houses to create bunkers.)

There tools included small saws to cut wood and even metal, scissors to cut barbed wire, and a key to open up pipes, and other things.

These tools were needed to cut holes and saw the boards of the walls, the floors and the doors to the train cars, and also to pull out the metal wires with which they closed up the doors and windows of the train cars.

There were those who made use of even more primitive tools such as: knives, axes, metal rods, and in general all manner of break-in devices that they could get.

From time-to-time several groups worked in one train car. Some worked on making holes in the floor, and others – in the walls of the train car, and so forth. There were instances, that some of the escapees jumped out of windows, and others - there a door that had been broken through.

In the train car where this writer was, there were no tools for breaking through. But people did not give up, and their spirit did not leave them, and they decided, anyway, to try and free themselves...

At the time that a Polish worker was winding barbed wire on the doors and windows of the train car, a sum of 1,000 zlotys was collected and presented to him that out of 'forgetfulness' he will leave the metal rod on the window alone, that was used to tighten the barbed wire. The worker agreed to this, and at a moment when the Germans weren't looking, he threw the bar into the train car.

Using this rod, we first took off the barbed wire from the windows, and people began to jump from the train cars. But it became clear that one such breakthrough was insufficient, because of the large number of people that were in the train car that were prepared to jump. Therefore, we ripped out a board from the door to the train car and by crawling on our bellies we reached the stairs on the train car and from there we jumped out (this is of course, if in the meantime, we weren't hit by a *Gestapo* bullet from guard stationed at the rear of the train car).

We heard gunfire during all of this time, that were shot by the guards at the Jews attempting to flee for their lives. For the length of the railroad tracks there lay hundreds of dead and severely wounded. In the area of the city of Zolkiew, about eight hundred Jews were killed (includes those who jumped from the trains). These corpses were taken to Zolkiew and were buried in the Jewish cemetery.

By the railroad tracks that was taking the Jew to extermination, local citizenry wandered about (really, these were animals that looked like humans), that rushed the dead and the wounded and pillaged anything and everything they found on them, even the rags that covered the corpses that had not yet frozen... the severely wounded ended life amidst terrifying suffering from their wounds, loss of blood, and from hunger and cold, and those who held on until the next day, were shot by the militiamen, who found the as they guarded the railroad tracks.

Even those fortunate enough to have jumped without hurting themselves – not all of them got to where they wanted to be, because they were seized along the way by Germans or Ukrainians and killed by them. Few people managed to reach the places they wanted to, after the scum of humanity, patrolling the surroundings, robbed them of everything they had (even the writer of these columns, after jumping from a train heading in the direction of his home, all his money and clothing were, and managed to return home wrecked both spiritually and physically).

After being driven out – in addition to the thieving and robbery by the mob – the Germans diligently engaged, with the help of the *Volksdeutsche* , to take for themselves everything that the ones driven out had of their own. Standing out for their disgraceful behavior among the *volksdeutsche* were the youths: Tilzer, Kargel, Ptasznik, Schlichtling, Daks, Simszkowitz, and Zarzitski. They took the Jews out of their hiding places – from the bunkers and other hideouts and turned them over to the German authorities. Ptasznik was particularly effective in robbing those Jews that were sent to their doom.

To discriminate between the disgraceful behavior and evil deeds of these types, it is important to recollect that there was no lack among the non-Jewish residents, people of noble spirit who dedicated themselves to doing good things and help out the Jews being pursued. My intent here is to single out those who hid Jews in their homes, literally in the face of endangering their own lives.

Among these, it is necessary to recollect, in the first rank, Mrs. St. P. (Polnia), who held on to her house, and with an extraordinary commitment, and no pay, rescued five Jews and by doing this, saved their lives, and similarly the pair Bak Julia Valentin and their daughter Alexandra (Aleh) that rescued eighteen Jews by virtue of their commitment and hiding them in their house.



רחוב ביחיהבנסת (סוביאסקה), הרחוב הראשי של הגיטו

Page 533/534: ul. Sobieska, the Synagogue Street and Principal Ghetto Street.

After expelling most of the Jews in the month of November 1942, a 'Closed Ghetto' was created at the beginning of December in Zolkiew, which included the streets: Sobieski, Peretz, Reich, Sznicarska, the Dominican square (on its left side), and the entire street of Turyniecka (on the left side).

In addition to the Jews of Zolkiew, they pushed in the Jews from surrounding towns, such as Kulikovo, and Mosty'-Wielki. The Jews were put into the 'Ghetto' escorted by the German gendarmerie. During the transfer of the Jews of Mosty'-Wielki to Zolkiew, a number of them were shot with the excuse 'they were trying to escape.'...

Because there was a dearth of places where to settle them, these Jews seized hold of the houses of worship that had been previously destroyed, called the *Kloyz* of Belz, and the *Kloyz* of Ziditshov. In three rooms, then people were crammed in, men, women and children, taking up every centimeter that was free on the floor. A barbed wire fence was put up around the ghetto. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without special permission. A guard station for the Jewish militia was erected at the gate of the ghetto. Any Jew caught outside the ghetto was shot on the spot. The following outline will attest to the 'rules' that they rendered:

At a set time in on Sunday afternoon, when churchgoers – Catholic and Russian Orthodox – come out of their churches, a young Jewish boy in the middle of the ghetto saw a woman holding a basket in which she had something for sale, and he got a bit far away from the ghetto boundary in order to buy whatever it was she had in her basket, and here, to his great misfortune, the German *Volksdeutsche* policeman Heisler (a German who hid his ethnicity) and came from upper Silesia that had previously belonged to Poland, appeared at the same moment, grabbed the boy and dragged him to the gate of the ghetto, and there he took out his revolver to shoot the 'transgressor'... the boy cried bitter tears, and begged the policeman for his life, kissing his hand, but the cruel policeman took no pity, even though his revolver didn't work as it happened, so he made an extra effort to fix it until it was able to discharge a bullet that put an end to the boy's life...

Because of the terrible crowding (eight people to a room) and the lack of minimal hygienic conditions, a plague of spotted Typhus broke out in the ghetto that shortened the death-harvest of 1015 victims a day and sometimes 20!

This plague caused a disaster especially among the young. There was practically no house that didn't have a victim. The Jewish cemetery workers were out of ideas because they could not dig enough graves for the dead, especially during the winter when the ground was frozen from the cold. It was not only once that graves were dug at night, at the light of the moon, because there were many dead, and they did not manage to bury them during the day.. It is not easy to forget the bleak look in the house of the teacher Chana Shallas. Her mother and husband died on the same day. Before they died, the hapless woman ran from bed to bed and in kissing her dear ones, she begged that they both be taken away.. Or at the least, let her get infected by the disease and she too will die after them...but she did not have the privilege to die like them, 'a death of the chosen' – as they then called 'the dead from illness.' She went through many tribulations until death finally claimed her in the hands of the German executioners.

The S. S. '*Sturmführer*' Papa – who had his office in Zolkiew – when he saw the death toll that came as a consequence of the spotted typhus, expressed himself with satisfaction: '*Die Juden krepieren jetzt selbst*' (the Jews are dying off by themselves).

In the month of February 1943, the plague weakened a bit, but in its place, news began to reach us informing us of the bad things happening regarding the activities of the extermination, whose purpose was to 'liberate' the nations of the Jews. The news told of the killing among the Jews and their transport to the death camps of those who still remained alive 'in the crowded ghettos.'

Among the cities that were emptied of their Jews already was also Rawa-Ruska (about 30 kilometers from Zolkiew), there, the ghetto had been liquidated already by the second half of December 1942. The ‘liquidator’ was the S. S. man Grzimek²¹⁴ who later became the controller and ruler of the ‘Julag²¹⁵’ in Lvov that at the beginning of June 1943 also ran the ‘liquidation process; of the ghetto of Lvov.

Many Jews began to think of ways to save themselves. Many of them saw the construction of secure hideaways as the anchor-point of their salvation, others made the extra effort to establish contact with their non-Jewish friends outside the Ghetto, who could and were willing to offer help in this way or another, whether in giving cover in their cellars or attics of their homes, or other hiding places over which they had control, or by help on their part in obtaining ‘Christian papers’ for those of the Jews, who by their external appearance could pass for ‘Pure Aryans.’

A number of Jews suddenly vanished and put their chances on their Christian acquaintances in order to find a hideout with them. Others – who were successful in getting Christian papers, went out and put their fate in the destiny that awaits them.

However in each and every place the decided danger of extermination awaited them, and to our sorrow, many of them lacked all hope to be saved. The God-fearing among them held out for the hope of ‘a miracle from the Heavens’, but no miracles materialized...

Further on, I quote excerpts from the diary of Isidore Hacht, who concealed himself in the Zolkiew area. These excerpts permit one to see how, and under what conditions, the hideouts were built underground, and how they were ‘inhabited.’

In these excerpts there is a considerable amount of lighthearted comments that are spoken by one waiting prior to execution, since he had not yet lost hope and continued to believe in the victory of truth over lies. Here is the excerpt that includes the special ‘foundation’ of the refuge in the Palace’:

‘First of all – the Germans began to relieve us Jews of our possessions (by imposing heavy taxes in the form of ‘contributions’) and afterwards by searching our movement (the Ghettoes) and finally – by taking our lives (extermination).

For all this ‘generosity’ that they showed us, we were grateful, but all of these things have one failing, and it is: that they come one after another, in deliberate speed, I for example, I expected to depart this life in another 40-50 years. I am, in general, in no hurry, but if they want to carry this out before the end of this war...

²¹⁴ Prominently documented in the *Ruska Memorial Book*. See that book, P. 483 for details such as: Josef Grzimek (b. 10 November 1905 , d. 18 February 1950) - criminal Nazi,

²¹⁵ Seemingly abbreviation used for *Jüden Lager* (The Camp of the Jews)

Because there were a number of our faith who were important, like myself, we came to an agreement with Blumenfeld and the agreement was how many good people will we put up in our refuge.'

And here is the count of the refuge:

'March 25, 1943. We are sitting in the hideout. We are four here, and we are waiting for better days, and for Philip M. Who is the fifth tenant of our little 'Palace.' This little 'Palace' is part of the residential structure of many builders. We – people – not quite – Jews – living in the room of the cellar which is underground. On the lowest level there are two pigs, that cost 700 zlotys. There was also a rooster there. The top level was taken by four rabbits. Above us are a toilet and an attic, and in addition to this was are also 'hosting' one cow, and this, approximately is how our 'Palace' looked, whose area was just two meters on each side. That is to say: with Jews, chickens, pigs and rabbits, we were the 'Aryan people.'

In the meantime, the German authorities that wanted to lower the alertness of the Jews for spreading news that Zolkiew was to be transformed into a 'work city' because all of the Jews capable of work will be sent to work at their crafts for the army, and will get special 'indicators' "W" (*Wehrmacht*) and "R" (*Rüstung*), and in this way they will not have to anticipate any danger. In order to change over the city into a 'Center for Work' the German authorities demanded an increase, from March 15, 1943 in the number of Jewish policemen from 18 to 50 to strengthen the oversight on the implementation of the organization of the work

According to the notification by the Germans, on March 15, we would have to facilitate the inspection of the skilled, mature workers.

The extent of deceitfulness of the local German authorities reached is exemplified by the following:

Several Days before the assembly that was created for it, an arrangement was made – at the behest of the German authorities – for a test assembly of all the Jews, in order to inspect the extent of capability, and the proper appearance of the Jews. For this test assembly, the head of the gendarmerie, Kotahr himself appeared. For the appointed officers who are standing to divide up the work, of the Zionists, "W" & "R" a separate contingent from Lvov was present, made up of S. S. Men.

The *Judenrat* – out of excess care – girded itself and concerned itself that all the workers should appear in a form that is most pleasant.

Those 'designated to keep order' (the Jewish Militia) who saw this now as an act of strengthening, for the first time, helped out to bring order to the central gathering place.

At approximately 10 o'clock, Kotahr, the head of the gendarmerie arrived, and let it be known that the commission had already arrived, and communicated its desire, that the examination should take place on the sports field of 'Sokol.'

All those who were gathered went over to this field in silence, feeling that ‘someone’ is standing to act. Especially the women felt that there was impending danger, and at the time that the men walked to the designated place they burst out crying...

All the men were stood in a large square on the Sokol field. From different corners, and very slowly, they began to place people of the German gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian militia. They surrounded the field on all sides and closed it up as if with a chain. All those assembled understood that this was a pre-planned deception from the outset by the Germans, and that the last hour of their lives had arrived. Those who were surrounded thought only of the means by which they will be liquidated, and how much time will their agony continue before they are put to death...

At approximately 11 o’clock, a good-looking car reached the field, and the executioners of the ‘Janowa Camp’ in Lvov debarked from it: Willhaus, Kalanka, Heinische, Sillor, Braumbauer and the S. S. General Katzman at their head.

The officer of the ‘Janowa Camp’ Willhaus when he saw the victims that had prepared for his death activities standing in an exemplary order, he ordered everyone to march to the exit gate of the field. There, already waiting, were vehicles, freight trucks and on their side was ‘Askarim’ (this was the name in the German colonies of Africa for its auxiliary police, made up of ‘children – this time they were Russians – members of the ‘*White Guards*’ and (*Volksdeutsche*) and S. S. Men, and the ones exiting were beaten cruelly by the ‘guards’ and these in order to hasten their entry into the freight trucks.

After the Jews were loaded, a few were left on the ‘Sokol’ field – members of the Judenrat, craftsmen who were the leaders of the work they were led to do, and who also opposed taking them out to be killed, and the same for the Jewish Militia. An order was given for them to fall into two rows. The head of the Gendarmerie Kotahr in front, and it seems that there were more that needed Jewish men, and so he let Willhaus know that most of the Jewish militiamen were new, and were to be counted separately for this task – because their mission was accomplished.

Willhaus then went up to the two rows of Jews that were standing in front of him, and ordered: *Alle neue Ordner heraustreten:* (All the new militiamen – are to get out of the line!). And after they did this, they were called to: *Sie fahren mit!* (You are traveling with me!). And these also were pushed into the freight trucks.

By the cost of money, watches, and other valuables, they revealed to the Jews that they are being taken to the Janowa Camp in Lvov.

The ‘*Askarim*’ that ran to extract as much additional money as was possible and valuables as possible from the Jews, promised them a good relationship in the ‘work-camp’, extra bread and other food every day, and they let it be known that when they reached the camp, they would have to surrender everything they had in any event. They took advantage of the sympathetic relations between the Jews and the Russians who argued before them: ‘better that you give us whatever you have rather than giving all this to the German murderers.’

On 6th the same day, they transferred 618 adult men to the Janow Camp in Lvov (this includes the author of this writing).

The row of freight trucks that brought us to the camp was guarded by ‘*Askarim*’ and S. S. Men, who traveled behind us since they were armed with machine guns and were ready to shoot any Jew who attempted to flee.

At approximately 3 o’clock in the afternoon we reached the ‘Janowa Camp’ in Lvov. We were ordered to debark in a yard, and to gather close together in one corner. Before nightfall, they stood us beside the administrative building of the camp, and everyone of us was ordered to turn over everything that they had along with their papers. During this ‘exhibition’ S. S. Men stood beside us, and they beat us cruelly. Of special cruelty was the S. S. Man who had lost a leg and a hand. He shocked all those who came to his table, and screamed: ‘*Jetzt werden sie sich bekennen mit unseren Erholeungshaus! Dumestes Volk der Welt!*’ (Now you will come to know our healing facility, you stupidest among the nations of the world!).

After a basic examination, done for each and everyone of us, we were moved over to Hut # 1, and we remained there for the first night after arrival. Before we even had a chance to enter the hut, Pinchas Lieberman was shot, by the known sadist Heinische because one of the group lost a hat, and they picked Lieberman as the victim, in order to demonstrate to us clearly what sort of punishments await us in the camp.

The ‘transport’ from Zolkiew was divided into a number of different ‘brigades.’ A significant number of the Zolkiew Jews was sent to Gorodok-Jagiellonski, where a branch was assembled for the ‘Janowa Camp’ called ‘the house of the prisoners (*Strassenbau*). This branch was turned over to the command of the S. S. Man Kalanko, who came from Maratzibarz (in Silesia). Another group of Zolkiew Jews were absorbed into brigades of the camp, who worked in the yard of the camp and its surroundings. The fate of these people was very hard to bear, because they always worked under the eyes of the S. S. Occasionally, the officer of the camp, Willhaus, would visit the place either on foot or riding his horse. The people in this camp had absolutely no connection to the outside world, and as a result they could not buy themselves bread, and for this they were condemned to death by starvation.

For the first period that the Zolkiew Jews were in the camp, an incident also occurred that an S. S. Man was shot by a Jew in ‘Czwartok’ (a small forest about 2-3 kilometers from the city of Lvov on the way to Kamionka Strumilova). Full of anger and outrage, and under the influence of the venomous propaganda against the Jews that was bruited about during the funeral of the murdered man, the S. S. People burst into the Janowa Camp and began murdering people left and right. Among the 200 Jews killed on that day, there was a recognizable number of Jews from Zolkiew.

‘The Janowa Camp’ also swallowed up Zolkiew Jews that were sent to work in the camp at ‘Mosty’-Wielki’ which was close to Zolkiew. This camp was called ‘*Beute und Sammelstelle*²¹⁶’ under the leadership of ‘*Überhermacht*²¹⁷’, headed by the ‘*Oberleutenant*’ Krupf, an Austrian by birth.

²¹⁶ A Beautiful Collection Point

²¹⁷ The Superior Armed Forces

This Krupf related to the Jews with a bit of humanity, and because of this, many of the Jews of Zolkiew wanted to join this camp, in order to avoid the fate of those ejected, or sent to the 'Janow Camp' in Lvov. But in time, conditions in this camp became worse as well. After the control of the camp passed into the hands of the S. S., a number of *Aktionen* took place in which part of the of the workers in the camp met their end. On May 10, 1943 the camp was liquidated, and those of its workers who were still alive (and first and foremost– the women) were murdered on the spot. A small group of adult men that miraculously saved themselves, among them a young lady named Amelia Freund – were moved to the Janow Camp in Lvov, but even these died after a short time from hunger and exhaustion, or they were killed in the *Aktionen* conducted in the Camp.

9. Liquidation of the Ghetto

During the period of the liquidation of the Ghetto which ran from March 15,1943 to after the 25th of the same month, a condition of fear and helplessness ruled in the Zolkiew Ghetto. From day-to-day, they waited for the Holocaust that continues to get closer.

No man committed his soul to the destiny of the ghetto, especially after they had removed most of the adults capable of work, and had moved them over to the work camp at Janow, and in the city all that remained were mostly women and children. All the order in life had been wrecked. Only a few solitary Jews presented themselves for work.

The calamity that took them aback came on march 25, 1943. On that same day, at the break of dawn, the S. S. Men surrounded the Ghetto the '*Shupvtzim*' and the Ukrainian Militia all of them armed with deadly weapons – rifles, axes, with steel helmets on their heads. The axes were allocated to the task of tearing down the gates, the hideouts, and all places that Jews could hide.

At the time of the implementation of the 'extermination initiative (the *Aktion*) it was the S. S. Man from the Janow Camp, Heinische who stood out; he was the one who killed children with his axe, along with the sick and elderly. Most of the Jewish citizenry, especially women and children, were seized and dragged to the Dominican square, and from there, they were taken by freight trucks to the hear by forest, known by the name of '*Boork*' and they were shot there and buried in graves, that had been prepared for them in advance.

These 'relatives' were prepared in advance by Jewish workers under thee conditions: one of the S. S. Men came once to the central gathering point and asked: who among the Jews knows how to work with the earth? And when several tens answered positively, he took them in freight vehicles to the forest, and there they were ordered to dig their graves and the graves of their parents and members of their families...

In order to conserve the wandering and spare extra work, the Germans murdered the sick using axes in their house and hideouts., and they killed the Jewish children by smashing their heads against the walls of the house...

Non-Jews who saw this act of extermination testified afterwards that the streets of the Ghetto and the houses in it, were red and wet with the blood of the Jews that were murdered...

And this is how the Jews were murdered after being brought to the killing-forest: They were ordered to take off their clothing and after performing a basic search (especially the women) they stood them by their graves and everyone was responsible to walk separately onto the boards that were put down on the top of the graves, and after they were shot – they fell by themselves into their graves... there were also instances that the lightly wounded, or people that collapsed out of a surfeit of fear, fell into their graves while still alive, and they died after the graves were covered with earth...

The Christian residents also told that as well, during the several days afterwards, it looked like the earth over the graves were moving...

Only a very small number – 100 men and 70 women – were transferred to the ‘Janow Camp’ in Lvov.

It is important to note that the Jewish women in Zolkiew served as a foundation for the Women’s Camp, that was put up at the ‘Janow Camp.’ These women worked in the ‘Dav’ (*Deutsche tusristungs*) in the ‘Triko’ branch, and in comparison to other groups of women that were brought to the camp much later – they kept their positions until the final liquidation of that very camp – in the month of November 1943.

It is also worthwhile to make note of their work:

The Germans proposed separating some of the women from their children and in this way remain alive, and would be sent to work in the ‘Janow Camp’, but they did not agree to this and immediately replied that they wish to die with their children...

As an example of such a decision, it is possible to remember the teacher M a n d e l (of the Shapiro family).

In a similar manner let the wonderful example of one of the important men of our city, S i m c h a T i r k be remembered – to whom the Germans proposed, as an important craftsman important to keep alive, if he is willing to be separated from his family. In response to this ‘proposal’ Tirk took his wife on his right side, and one of his sons on his left side, and with his head held high, walked to the place of extermination.

It is also worth noting that the courageous act of the Head of the *Judenrat*, Dr. Fyvusz Rubinfeld. When it was proposed to him that after the liquidation of the Ghetto he should move over to the ‘Jovany Camp’ he replied: – ‘I go to the place that my brethren went!’ – and he was murdered on the spot...

The *Aktion* ended at 7 o’clock in the evening, and in the city, there physically remained the members of the *Judenrat* and the Jewish Militia who did not discharge their duties as required...(Sharman, Glozar, Durnfald, and others).

After 7 o'clock an assembly command was issued to the remaining members of the *Judenrat* and the Jewish Militia. These were loaded onto freight trucks and were told deceitfully that they are being taken to the 'Janow Camp, where in fact they were brought to the killing-forest and all of them were killed by shooting. The hats, pictures, and other mementos were thrown away by them on their way to the forest, proving that they understood that they were being taken for extermination...

Being experienced and expert in the art of self-protection, the Jews built hideouts and places of refuge in secret places, that even among the S. S. Men in the 'Janow Camp' who did the seizing could not succeed in revealing where all were, and in this way, the end goal of being *Judenfrei* (free of all Jews) did not completely succeed. The boundaries of the Ghetto shrank and were confined to only the two streets named for Peretz and Sobieski.

The Jews who remained alive, hungry and dispirited – became indifferent to their surroundings. They wandered about like shadows, and looked with their eyes frozen shut to the past... In order to confuse the Jews and eliminate the possibility of guarding their lives, the Germans spread the word that those surviving Jews there again is no need to expect danger because the German authorities had decided to look after them, and as evidence, wagons full of bread and jam arrived at the shrunken Ghetto.

On the morning of April 6 was designated as the time to distribute the food that had reached there. The Jews gathered from the break of dawn beside the distribution place, and it was here that the final *aktion* took place... Most of the Jews that were seized died in the familiarly known for its insensitivity, and prepared for violence, and they were buried in a mass grave, and only very few were taken to the Janow Camp in Lvov, and at this time, Zolkiew was truly made '*Judenfrei*'!

Only about seventy people remained alive, all of them expert craftsmen, that the Germans could not, according to the hour, let them survive. These Jews concentrated themselves in one of the 'Blocks' on *ul. Sobieska*. The 'officer' of the Block' was a refugee from Czechia and his name was Atingar. The Germans attempted to explain to the remaining Jews in the block, because there were no others like them, all of them will remain alive.

The Jews who were already full of the 'level of truth' in the words of the Germans did not believe them, and a number of them tried to save themselves by fleeing the camp. And a number of individuals managed to save themselves from death. Among those who were saved were: Emile Lifschitz, Nachman Schuman, Golda Kyfaruba, David Shakenhammer, Joseph Hochner, and Philip Mandel. The latter fell sick during the time of his concealment from a lung disease and died several days later after the victory over the Germans.

This Block of work remained until July 10, 1943. Regarding the liquidation of this Block, Isidore Hacht writes as follows in his diary:

'In the morning when we stood as usual to be counted, those same Germans led us to work beside the train station. When they reached the workplace, the Germans and the Ukrainian militia surrounded them, and transported them by freight truck to the place they were to be exterminated – the forest, where life ended for most of the Zolkiew Jews, in their mass graves...'

It was only here and there — in the depths of the earth and in attics — very few Jews were able to continue hiding. That their Christian friends — sometimes for no financial compensation, and putting their own lives in danger — helped them to save their lives. However because of the despicable deeds and oppression that the transgressors placed upon them from birth and stomachs they pried open, and unceasingly sought to uncover the hidden, they made a mess of the small group of those rescued to this point.

Occasionally, they would hear a tragic tale of a Jew who was alone, or of several Jews together that were seized in these areas or others, and exterminated.

It should be recorded that in such terrifying instances there was also no lack of heroism, and the brave heart of Jews. An example is the deeds of Moshe Zafit who fell upon a German gendarme on watch, and a Ukrainian militiaman, and wounded them with a steel rod that he held, when they tried to take him out of his hideout in which he was concealed. Or the deed of Spiegel who was seized by a Ukrainian militiaman and managed to commit suicide knowing, before the murderers could succeed in carrying out their death-decree.

There were also incidents of inhuman behavior on the part of the group of Christians, who supported the Germans in the extermination of the residual Jews that were hiding (the details of these events are presented in the diary of Klara Schwartz). There were also incidents that a number of Jews that hid away, lost their minds in the aftermath of their suffering and there were also those that reached a state of indifference in that they stopped fearing death and saw it as a 'salvation from their troubles'. (Details are in the diary of Klara Schwartz).

The End

Nevertheless despite all the inhuman pursuits and terrifying tortures that confronted this small group — the remnant of the Jews that remained alive after Zolkiew had been 'liberated from its Jews' — they did not lose their faith in the historic justice that is to come, and the rapid fall of '*Hitlerism*'.

This anticipated redemption — bought with the blood of their dearest — came on July 23, 1944.

Thanks to the commitment of its citizenry, the city was cleansed of its wreckage, and they liquidated all the most serious instances of tearing down structures. The human wound that pierced the city, in the wake of the extermination of most of its citizenry, especially its Jews, was not amenable to being healed... of the 5,000 Jews that lived in Zolkiew at the outbreak of the war, after liberty was restored, a small group of about 70 people remained...

Among these saved were those people who hid in refuges below the earth, and had not seen the sun in many months. There were also those that didn't take into account the difficult climate conditions, and for many months hid themselves in the forests surrounding them among groups of partisans that fought for their freedom. There were also people who hid themselves with the gentiles of mad use of forged 'Aryan' documents and the like...

Thanks to the kindness of part of the non-Jewish community, people on their own succeeded to get through this most terrifying of experiences, with the chronology of humanity in general, and of European Jewry in particular.

Finally, I feel that I bear a sacred responsibility, personally, to underscore for eternal memory, the humane and wonderful relationship of all the Polish residents, with no exceptions, that in the village of Bar (Beside Gorodok-Janislowksi) put their lives in danger for the purpose of rescuing a group of Jews (over twenty people – including me). These Jews hid in the forests surrounding the village just mentioned, and were helped by its residents.

Zolkiew During the Days of The Soviet Occupation²¹⁸

By Benzion Benshalom

‘...I will not remain in Tarnopol. My face is oriented towards Lvov. It is my hope that there, I will be able to obtain news about my family and meet with friends. But how does one get to Lvov? They say that in a few hours a train will leave Tarnopol for Lvov. I am planning to go to the map museum, and here I encounter a comrade from my home city. He told me that he had saved a freight truck and that he is going to Zolkiew which is beside Lvov. However, the truck is brimming full, but it should be possible to find one ‘place.’ If that is the case, we are traveling to Zolkiew. The trip took two days. The engine would fail frequently, and a couple of times we were forced to go as far as being able to get gasoline. The torn down houses bore witness that something terrifying took place in this country a while back, And the deep pits on all sides, that we fell into on all sides with each step, and the fields beside the map museum, next to the railroad tracks and telegraph poles – these deep pits with the appearance of the flooding around them, told how terrifying the power of the explosion of the bombs were, that had been dropped. The enemy certainly did not cheat in bombing...

The autumn rains began to fall and all of us are shivering from the cold. The clothes of all the travelers are certainly wet through. In Zolkiew the hour favored us, and we were able to get a specific amount of gasoline. From this point on, we have to pray for only two things: that the engine will not break down, and it will not be confiscated. It appears that our prayers were heard. We were able to travel without stops or interruptions. [We saw] fields, villages both big and small, and towns. The rain is falling and the road is turning to mud, and the auto is running. We got very wet, and our clothes dripped water, the driver comforts us, because in a bit of time we will be in Zolkiew. And suddenly – stop! The engine failed again. So we go into a farmer’s house, and we wait until the auto is repaired. The farmer tells me that the Germans had control of the town for a few days. ‘How did they behave?’ I ask. ‘In complete order’ – he replies – ‘I am very sorry that the Bolsheviks are coming in their place.’ ‘What do you mean when you say, ‘in complete order?’’ ‘Did they behave this way everywhere they went?’ They acted differently in the towns. The Jews suffered, because the Germans abused them. They did nothing bad to us.’ ‘Are you a Ukrainian?’ ‘No, I am Polish.’ In the meantime the auto was repaired. We travel for somewhat longer and reach Zolkiew.

²¹⁸

Taken from the book, *‘A Storm on a Day of Downpour’*

Within four days, Zolkiew gave us a taste of Nazi rule. And even though the Zolkiew Jews only suffered in a minor way, when compared with what they suffered in other places, they are considerably shaken, and the chill when they pass by, is more than enough to tell the story of these four days. Plunder, abuse, heavy work. The important thing: it was the same sadistic ‘war of nerves,’ the same terror, whose purpose is to oppress the soul to dust, to denigrate, to conceal, to drive crazy! ‘Tomorrow we will pass serious judgements on you! This evening we will hold a decision-making session!’ The day after tomorrow – you will hear your sentences! In another couple of hours, we will teach you ‘manners,’ ‘pigs!’ The time that was set by the threatener arrived, and nothing happened, but the limbs were completely shaken.

In the home of the friendly innkeeper who took us in, I see an empty frame ‘decorating’ one of the walls. There is a frame – but no picture. I ask: What is this? The woman of the house tells as follows: ‘Austrian officers lived in my house. Their behavior was overly pleasant, and overly courteous. That is to say, Austrians and not Prussians. There were those who brought me butter or other comestibles. On one of the days, they were attracted to the picture of Jeremiah the Prophet, that had been set in this frame. With great speed they took out the staples, and raised the cardboard, took the picture and tore it to tiny pieces. Afterwards, they placed the cardboard back in its place, put back all the staples previously removed, and hung the frame on the wall. They took vengeance upon the Jewish’ faith, but did no harm to the frame,’

There is an ancient and beautiful synagogue and is a synagogue in which the Jews of Zolkiew take pride. I enter though the sacred room which wraps around me and is full of works, and I will look at the strong walls and at the fundamental chandeliers that are beautiful. I see small holes in the deck of the Synagogue and ask: ‘Who bored holes in the building ceiling?’ They explain to me: The Germans broke into the Synagogue, took out their revolvers and shot into the deck. One chandelier also was damaged. The Synagogue was saved by a miracle, because the Germans had already intended to burn it. If they had stayed in the town for and had not yet finished their work. When the town citizens asked why they are leaving in such disorganized haste, they answered: ‘*Jetzt kommen die Russische schweine*’ (Now the Russian pigs are coming).

The town was very pleasant as were its surroundings. The trees were starting to put out leaves, but most of the sky was blue, and the sun lights up the days – warm and beautiful. We go for extended walks and try to calm the heart which is full of bitterness and sorrow from seeing beloved ambience in the splendor of autumn. The past days and its expectation and a bad vacuum bores into the mind the thought: what will be the end of this thing? What will you do when you spend the few zlotys in your pocket? A new stream of refugees began to flow to the area conquered by the Russians. They come in droves, and this time – all are Jews. After the bargaining between the Russians and Germans ended in regard to the question of the division of Poland, and after they had finally settled on the borders, the Red Army drew back and left many places, that they had previously conquered. To begin with, the Russian newspapers wrote, that the border will be set for the length of the San (River) in Galicia, and for the length of the Vistula (River) in Congress Poland, but in the end, the Russians gave in: Instead of the length of the Vistula, they put the Bug (River) and the Red Army was ordered to reverse course. Now there is fleeing taking place from the places that had been cleaned of Jews who belonged to the militia, by the Russians, and all the Jews that revealed a preference for Soviet rule, and also plain ordinary Jews.

The Poles informed them that they will slaughter them once the Russians have gone. Them, their women and children. The town continues to fill with refugees, who come hungry, half-naked and exhausted, and it is the dearth of housing that is felt most keenly. There are instances where ten souls are living in one room. The militia confiscated the monastery, a large and splendid building, and hundreds of Jewish refugees are living in it. Because of the awful sanitary conditions in the monastery, it quickly became a nest for infectious diseases, and the Poles began to declare that a day will come and they will exact revenge from the Jews, who have 'desecrated' their monastery.

Terrible news comes in every day from the German area of conquest that freeze one's blood and caused to heart to race. There was the incident of the schools that were burned, and Jews who were shot at the time they attempted to rescue Torah Scrolls, and an incident involving Jews, who were forced to ford a deep river, and drowned, because they did not know how to swim. There was an incident of an elderly Jew who was forced to dig a deep grave to bury all of his books, the *Tanakh*, the *Shas* and *Poskim*, and the like; and when this work was done, they placed a crucifix on the grave and ordered the Jew to guard the grave day and night, and they threatened his life if the crucifix were to disappear from the grave, and then there was the incident involving children, blundering through the forests and looking for their parents. You hear and your heart bleeds, and your hand suddenly spasms and forms a fist. They surround a Jewish officer and tell him how much the Jews are suffering in the area captured by the Germans, and they ask, why does Russia remain silent and why does it make friends with these murderers. He listens, and listens – it can be seen that these things surprised him and in the end he said: 'Terrible! Terrible! We did not know a thing. I advise you: Write to Comrade Stalin! Write to Comrade Stalin! And he will help. He will offer aid. Write to Comrade Stalin!

There is no good news even in the city of the רנ"ק and there is no joy. People are walking around in the streets, as their faces convey worry and fear, walking about with no purpose and no prospect. Every day brings its fears, every day brings its troubles. And here today, it became known that the agenda for 'cleansing' will happen in any case. The pleading and efforts were of no help, A part of Zolkiew will be emptied of its residents and will become available to the families of officers. People will be uprooted from their homes and residences, and the army officers and their families will live in the most beautiful quarter of all. And where will the 'dislocated' go? They propose to the refugees that they move to the monastery, which is already full from end-to-end, to the monastery which is a nest of disease, and the ordered residents if they should find new homes on streets that the order for vacating doesn't apply.

There is no joy nor rest. Each day brings its worries, and each night its fears. There are those that occupy themselves by simply thinking of the future, and in a few places they began to grab the workers of the various *Histadrut* organizations. The Hebrew Schools continue to be closed down. The Jewish communists cheer the honor of Stalin, and demonstrate in their ardor. But the mass of Jews are not aroused, all of the essentials and worries about the next day gnaw away at them. From mouth to ear, fantasies about the Land of Israel are passed along: A Jewish country has been created in *The Land*, the authorities are Jewish, and the army – Jewish. Who is spreading such news? I do not know. They go from city to city, from town to town. Jews swear that they heard broadcasts from Radio Jerusalem, which tell you. Who has been nominated as the head of the Jewish government, and who – to the Ministry of Defense. Lies? No! Hallucinations! Hallucinations! Jews hear and believe. If during that time you had said to them that there is a possibility

to make aliyah to The Land, but the road is long and hard, all would get up as one man. Take their walking sticks and bags, and head for you. Zion, Zion, inform yourself how much you are loved?

Zolkiew in its Decline²¹⁹

By Joseph Rosenberg

Zolkiew – this is a small city in the horizon of ‘Ha’Re’i that everyone who at one time or another came in contact with it – loved it. And me – who was not born in Zolkiew but rather bound to it for almost 25 years at the peak of my professional work, I lived the life of Zolkiew I lived the life of Zolkiew with all my essence and being: I took part in all of the celebrations and festivals of this city of affection. And as I raised at this time, what happened to Zolkiew, the ornamental generation and the tradition, about her personalities and virtues, about the vibrant lives that streamed through her gates during the decline and terrible cessation, it is as if the wound that had healed opened up anew, as it would seem, in the passing of days after the *Holocaust*.

These lists come to describe – and I hope with a light flutter, what happened to me, when chapters of memorials are written that are not to be forgotten ever. In posting lists and these memorials to the people of the city, to its associates and admirers in all that they are there – I asked for only one thing: communicate the news of the rise and fall of Zolkiew to your children and grandchildren; etched in your memory forever is the great commandment of fate, that in the Zolkiew cemetery and in the environs of the ‘Boork’ where we have left our relatives forever and ever, those near to us, and our dear ones whose blood was spilled for no transgression on their part – only because they were Jews, and lived their lives as Jews, in creating a memorial of honor for our city, and in the hearts of all who knew it and loved it.

Katowice (Poland) March 1946

August 1939

A terrifying war is looming over Poland. The optimists, as is their nature, believe that Hitler will not implement his madness, and will not dare to open a war with the entire free world, and since the pessimists already see that the war is actually brewing and is on its way. Zolkiew is split – on this issue – into two camps. In the ‘*Kultur Verein*’ in the hall of the old magistrate’s building, we come together each evening and have a discussion about the question above all questions: will war break out or not. Even Dr. Leib Fish, the quiet one who is reserved, is seized with fear and weariness. Even the bridge-player who generally follows after him eagerly at all opportunities, is not yet interested. Everyone is listening with attention to the broadcast of the news from radio Warsaw, Berlin and London. On the night of August 31st, we are returning home at a late hour from the ‘*Kultur Verein*’ – the optimists and the pessimists were again engaged in controversy – and awake already with...the war. In an act of vengeful hate, Hitler has attacked Poland!

What will this mean for us? What will happen to the Jews? – this silent question is on everyone’s lips.

²¹⁹

A Translation from Polish in the Hands of Shimon Samet

September 1, 1939

Lvov is being bombed by the Germans from the air already since the morning hours. There are victims, one of them: a Jew from Zolkiew, the owner of a bus service between Zolkiew and Lvov – the young Fish who was hit in the leg by shrapnel from a bomb, and needed an amputation. The Jews of Zolkiew are very disappointed, but still hope that the enemy will not reach here: the Polish army will not enable Hitler's army to penetrate into the country. 'The Vistula and the San are stumbling blocks on Hitler's path' – as people try to comfort themselves, and meanwhile Hitler's troops are breaking through at lightning speed and from different directions into the middle of Poland without being halted by any serious defense.

September 18

The Polish army retreated even from our locations, and the Germans are entering Zolkiew. At that time, the panic was restricted to the Jews; The Poles were seized by a passing fear, and the Ukrainians are joyous and happy. Already at the first hours of the entry of the Germans into Zolkiew, the Jews feel what awaits them: they are beaten and seized to do a variety of heavy labor: to sweep the streets, to peel potatoes, and to clean up the lodgings of the Germans. In seeing signs of the first pursuit against the Jews, the non-Jews assume strength and nerve. They mock the wounded and are happy about their misfortune. Because of this, afterwards we had to accustom ourselves to much broader dimensions, that were more serious and dangerous.

And here a change happened as if a miracle from Heaven: By surprise we learned that the Hitler army is leaving eastern Galicia and are moving back across the San (River) to the benefit of the Soviet Union, based on the Hitler-Stalin Pact. On September 23 they are leaving Zolkiew because by the following day the Soviet army arrived in it. As to what happened after the short period of Nazi occupation, which was conducted 'compassionately,' this only became obvious years later. There were no human victims among the Jewish populace. There were those who explained this that the first German army to reach Zolkiew were Austrians.

August 24, 1939 – June 28 1941

The Jews of Zolkiew received the Soviet army courteously believing, with justification, that the change in control an end will be put to the ethnic harassment imposed on them. In general, the Jewish populace were not disappointed after the Soviets were considerably helped by Jewish elements in organizing places of work and services at a distance, you understand, from themselves and the bourgeoisie element. Every 'bourgeois' was recorded in their list as liable for arrest, and exile to Russia – which they accomplished during the entire year of 1940, and almost up to the last minute of the stay of the Russians in Zolkiew. These lists were formed according to intelligence service and inquiry, to our sorrow, depending especially on the testimony and knowledge of the experience of the Jews who were members of the communist party. Here, I have to underscore that an abundance of youth, that had previously belonged to Zionist organizations, now joined the work of the communist party. The non-Jewish local populace did not look at this kindly, and there were even 'threats' heard of 'we will remember what is due to you when the time comes – that which came true afterwards. The victims of the

arrested and exiled by the Soviets were: Joseph Gabbl and his life (he died in a foreign country, and his wife was embarrassed to return); the Reitzfeld family (he died, but his wife and family remained alive) and two to three other families. In addition to this, the Russians moved several Jewish families from Zolkiew to other cities in Galicia itself, among them: The family of Ephraim Landau, the family of Moshe Sobl, the family of Anshel Sobl, and the Tirk family.

The Jewish population of Zolkiew grew continuously with the incoming flow of Jewish refugees – pursued by the Nazi police in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Western Galicia. The number grew to 7,000 people, this not counting those who feared exile to Russia (which was thought to be a great calamity) and engaged everyone alive in the hope that ‘things will get back in order’, and the war will end ‘ and everything will be as it once was.’ No person suspected and did not think that this would be followed by Hitler’s attack on the Soviet Union. And also, the people we knew did not believe that Hitler would have the nerve to get involved in a total war with the large countries: the United States, Soviet Russia, and England. In the months of May and June 1941, there was nevertheless a feeling of unusual movement of the movement of the Soviet army from place to place, but most of these appeared to be signs of military maneuvers.

And then the great calamity arrived: We arise on the morning of June 22, 1941 finding that the war of Nazi conquest is back in our city. There is a war of liquidation of us all and all that is ours. At a much later date, the question was frequently asked, especially on the part of the Aryans in the city, why did we not flee for our lives when the Soviets were still in the city, from Zolkiew , or at least together with their retreating troops. But who could believe that the ‘Nation of Culture’ such as the German nation, the nation of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Hauptman and others and others, could implement to transgression of generations, the extermination that had no peer in human history. Therefore, we were mostly tied to the German culture, and could not believe that what happened could happen. Only a few were saved, from those who were exiled to the East by the Soviets – and they saw a calamity in this – and among them were those willing to move East with the Russians in their retreat.

June 30 – December 31, 1941

The seven days of readying defenses by the army of the Soviet Union ended on June 29 in the morning hours with the entrance into Zolkiew of Hitler’s armies. This was a Sunday, when the sun was shining as if at first it did not feel the denouement of our city. Most of the residents of the city, by virtue of being tired and being pursued, by the impact of the seven days of war, because of which most hid in the cellars, initially began, as individuals, when our people began to show themselves, And though the non-Jewish residents were joyous and happy that the ‘Red Plague’ had vanished, and announce if it is all right to liquidate the Jews – those Bolsheviks. The Germans had a ready ear for this. They began to organize a hunt for Jews, as it were, for this ‘work,’ when they received voluntary help from the Ukrainians and also the Poles. The Ukrainians did not take much time to set themselves up as pro-German and pro-Nazi. Overnight they changed their ‘skin’ from adherents of the ‘Red International Proletariat’ to adherents of the Nazi army. Fear and terror descended on the Jews of the city, especially since a Nazi unit will be armed, having just reached the city, and had intended to burn the beautiful Zolkiew Synagogue. At first they poured large cans of benzene on this sacred hall, when they forced a number of Jews into the synagogue, and set fire to it, without making it possible for the arrested Jews to get out and save their lives. The same thing was done to the nearby *Bet-HaMedrash*. It was only

because of the involvement of an elderly German general, that he ordered the soldiers to immediately free the detained (cuffed & chained) Jews – and they were saved. One of these detainees told me a few days later, Moni Feder (the son of Shmuel Feder, who was also among those detained), how their sudden rescue took place: ‘With my own eyes, I saw death drawing near and coming, because our group was literally engulfed by tongues of fire. The smoke was asphyxiating, and breathing became more difficult as the fire continued. I was not so concerned about my own life, because I wanted to rescue my 14 year-old son, who had not even tasted of a grownup’s life. I prayed to the *One Sitting on High* to save his life, and my voice was heard – because surprisingly two of the gated to the Synagogue opened and our ears detected evil shouting: ‘Come out you accursed Jews’! Everyone of us who had run for their lives received punishing blows. Here and there, they shot guns over our heads but – Thank God – we were rescued.’

On the same day, June 29, 1941 our Synagogue was entirely consumed by fire, one of the architectural wonders of houses of worship our precious treasures – – – was torn down to the foundation of the Sacred Hall, that for generations had been the pride of the residents of Zolkiew and Poland in general. From now on, only the remnants of wreckage will bear silent witness that Zolkiew had a magnificent Synagogue, and it is no longer.

In our city, the extermination against its Jews began. The Nazi authorities of the city put up ‘The Commission of the Jewish Community’ that begins with the word ‘*Aeltestenrat*’ and changed the sense of it to ‘*Judenrat*.’ Dr. Moshe Sobl, to whom the Hitlerists turned with the order to erect this notice, gave into the order, and pursued volunteers who were prepared to assume this ‘burden’ of ‘The Jewish Authority.’ There are those who explained later that while first objecting, gave in afterwards, since the captors threatened a collective financial fine to be levied for disobeying the implementation of the order.

And it was here that the *Judenrat* of Zolkiew was created:

Dr. Fyvusz Rubinfeld – Chairman; Dr. Avraham Shtraich – Vice chairman; The Engineer Wilhelm Lichtenberg; Dr. Philip Czyckes; Dr. Moshe Sobl; Osias Czyckes, Nathan Apfel; Shimon Wolf; Moshe Ruttle; Ephraim Landau and a number of other residents. This composition, except for Dr. Rubinfeld and the engineer Lichtenberg, who in the fullness of time left the Committee (*Judenrat*), did not change up to the bitter end but slightly.

After the authorities validated the composition of the *Judenrat*, the Jews of Zolkiew were saddled with a community-wide fine of one half-million Rubles, 50 kilograms of silver, and 5 kilograms of gold. The time for delivery of the *Tanya* is an early work of *Hasidic* philosophy, by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi, the founder of Chabad *Hasidism*, first published in 1796. The fines for silver and gold: 48 hours. Dr. M. Wachs who was immediately detained, was taken as security (against the fine). And a Jewish community-wide group began with much energy, to satisfy the demands of the Nazis, and turned to the Jews of Zolkiew with an emotional plea that they should assess themselves according to their means, and the pressured needs of life. As is usually the case in such matters, there were not only complaints, but also appeals from a number of Jews using the rationale that they had been saddled with a burden they could not carry, but at the end of the matter, they reached their goals for the silver and gold at 100 percent, and because of that, the sense of solidarity among the Jews of the city became stronger, and the recognition that one cannot flee a decree.

The Nazi in command, Rokendorf obtained a summary that the advice that all was carried out as ordered, and he ordered the man held as security, Dr. Wachs, be released. In reality, this was only the start, a sort of first squad in the chain of harassments, denigration, pressure and wounds to the body and soul, and to the dignity of the general people and specific individual Zolkiew Jews. An order was issued that everyone was liable for putting on a band around their right hand sleeve with the sign of the *Magen-David* in white. The clarifications to the order made clear that 'all who disobey will be liable to be sentenced to death.' Dr. M. Wachs and Dr. M. Spatz (a refugee from Jaroslaw) were distanced from the hospital, and they were strictly forbidden to treat Aryan patients. The Jews were forbidden entry to the local park and the 'Valley' (a second garden) which on 'good days' meeting places and walks taken by a host of Jews in the city. Similarly, Jews were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks that lead to the train station, and *ul. Lanikvicza* – but only on the road itself. Jews had the privilege of using the direct mail service of the head office revoked, where they were forbidden entry. A sort of branch for Jewish mail was opened. After seven o'clock in the evening, it was forbidden for a Jew to be found in the City's streets, they were not permitted to travel accompanied by a group of friends, and in general, were forbidden to leave the city without a supporting permission from the authorities. Work was carried out in the following way: Hard labor, craftsmen worked at their crafts, 'plain' workers' without craft training – in all manner of simple tasks. Jewish women and girls worked in public gardens or broom-swept the streets. A small number of Jews adults and young men, were occupied in the hard labor of repairing road on the way Zolkiew to Lvov. And here I have to stress that the stones that were needed to repair the roads, were uprooted headstones from the Jewish cemetery, which the Jews themselves were ordered to destroy the headstones – to the point that there was almost no memory of the ancient Jewish cemetery on the right in Zolkiew. Elderly people and the sick attempted to obtain – by bribery – sickness documentation of advanced age, from the Dr. E. Kaplinsky.

We assumed these decrees with all our might out of the hope that the *Creator of the World* will bestow his generosity on us and get us through, one way or another, through this road of suffering until the end of the war. The *Judenrat* exerted itself to ease as much as was possible (using gifts and bribes) these wicked decrees, and occasionally it helped. We tried to delude ourselves that by this means the Jewry of Zolkiew will be saved, until, with cruel terror, the true visage of the Nazis became apparent. Until the same time, with the passing of 1941, there were those among us who believe that the *God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* will guard his people ... the year 1941 ended without any sacrifice of life.

On its wings, the beginning of the year 1942 brought a change for the worse. The winter was difficult. The Germans communicate bad news on the condition of their soldiers beside Moscow and Leningrad. After all, The Führer promised them to celebrate at the county's anniversary with victory on all fronts that their soldiers will move at the same time, on all their fronts, to their homes, families, as victors enfolded in praise. But this is not the only reason they are falling by the tens of thousands in an alien land – but from the arms of their enemy and from the cold. The heads of the Nazi authorities in Zolkiew could not promise victory, but they certainly knew how to plunder the Jews of the city. An order went out: The *Judenrat* had to find and turn over all the furs of the Jews within 48 hours and if not – the punishment was death. There was no choice. The Jews take off all such clothes and turn them over as ordered. Were this truly the last decree...

The entry of America into the war made our condition worse because in two weeks time, because the Germans were applying pressure to the Jews, the matter was taken care of. By this the Germans exacted their first vengeance on the Jews. The optimists among us again believed that the influence of

American military strength, the Russians will switch over without urging to a rapid offensive because of the recapture of what they lost, and to the Germans to Berlin as beaten and vanquished., and it was this way that the Jews would be saved from the talons of the Germans. More on this: Radio London that was listened to in secret, actually promised that an end to the Nazi Scourge is preparing to come. Our fate however, deemed otherwise. If the Germans could not conquer the Russians or to interdict the part of America in the war, then they had a free hand, and an outstretched arm to kill and exterminate. In March 1942, the *Landeskommissar* Rokenford demanded a list of all the elderly and exhausted Jews that had been released from work because of medical reasons, This list was provided by Dr. Kolpinsky, consisting of 600 souls, mostly adults. In several days, these were taken to the courtyard of the Zolkiew palace, they were counted there, and were taken to a train pointing in the direction of Rawa-Ruska. Not one of us had any idea where they were taking us. Only when a couple of days ent by, we learned that they were first of the martyrs of the familiar death-camp: Belzec, and there they were exterminated by gas. A great mourning descended upon our heads.

After this incident, the Nazi *Scourge* called the Chairman of the *Judenrat*, Dr. Rubinfeld and promised that this *Aktion* was one of ‘forced without grief’ because there would be no ‘further bad incidents’ visited on the Jews of Zolkiew. Go out and look: There were those among us who actually believed this insidious promise of the Nazi ruler – the *Scourge of the Jews*. Their faith was short-lived. In a few days, several busses of the S. S. Appeared outside the city, and with the help of Jewish police beside the *Judenrat*, they seized 60 Jews for the ‘Labor Camp’ that was in Lacki (beside Zolocow). Among those seized were: the Astman brothers (the family of the appointed officer to the Starostvo, that managed the books of the populace) of them one was shot to death within a week, but the second managed to return (in exchange for a bribe) and succeeded in fleeing this camp, but returned to Zolkiew with his fingers and toes frozen. It was necessary to take him to the hospital. But not many days went by before a Nazi emissary came to Zolkiew in order to return him forcibly to the camp at Lacki, and there he was shot to death because he tried to escape. More about this: In place of the ‘deceased’ it was the responsibility of the *Judenrat* to send a ‘living Jew from Zolkiew.’ Not even one of these 60 people returned alive.

A couple of months went by more-or-less ‘quietly.’ In the summer of 1942, in Lvov and other cities and towns in Eastern Galicia they began a ‘*Malopolska*’ these being ‘*aktionen*’ for extermination, with the first one in Lvov, and arranged for in July of that year, and approximately 30,000 Jews were brought to extermination camps through Zolkiew. They were transported like cattle to a slaughter in closed-up freight trains, naked as the day they were born, in the direction of Belzec. This was the beginning of an organized initiative that Satan himself could not have organized any better. From there, and under guard, they passed through the Zolkiew train station, death-trains that moved from all parts of Galicia.

There were instances where even those who had given up bolstered themselves with courage (what, after all, did they have to lose...?) And jumped from the train through pogroms that broke out (that were helped by Ukrainian farmers) and arrived at Zolkiew with their remaining energy. There were many instances of this sort, however most of them, like all the others were exterminated and shot to death.

November 22, 1942²²⁰

We awaken to the sound of an exchange of gunfire. What is the meaning of these shots and what do they augur? It required little time in order to have a discussion that these are not shots of rescue from the outside, but of extermination from within: There was a new '*aktion*' from which it was not possible to flee, after the Nazis had completely surrounded all the gates of the city and other entry points of the like, again being helped by the Ukrainian Militia. Having no choice, The Jews of Zolkiew try to hide themselves in cellars and a variety of hideouts or to plead for mercy from their Aryan neighbors. Gestapo men entered Jewish homes and fired shot without discerning targets. Whomever they did not murder, they gathered, and again, took them to the Zolkiew palace, where they ordered all of them to sit on their knees for 36 hours (whoever could not survive this test was shot on the spot). Afterwards, they took all of them also on a train to the death-camp at Belzec. About 300 people were killed in this *Aktion*, and about 1,200 were forced to go to Belzec.

Then this incident occurred: Along those condemned to this bitter fate were children of an early age (less than 5), whose mothers did not want to admit their family sacrifice in the hope that as solitary children they may be thought of favorably by the Nazi and their good will. The head of the local S. S. the *Aufsturmführer* Papa (about 70 years old) who came from Bielfeld beside Hannover in Germany, drew near the group of children and asked about their parents. No one answered. The Nazi becomes full of anger, and threatens that if the parents do not appear, and there will not be found any Jew to disclose where they are, he will count to three, and immediately afterwards he murdered all six children. And that is the way it was, using his revolver, he killed them one-at-at-time in front of their parents.

Of the Zolkiew Jews murdered in those days of the *Aktion*, I remember the tailor S. Fleischer, Dr. Otto Schlusser and his wife, Karolina Fertig (from the Dadlitz pharmacy), Dr. Meir Wachs (who committed suicide) the lady Tauba (that was shot to death during an attempted escape), Y. Bendel, his wife, daughter, son-in-law who were discovered in the aftermath of a malevolent disclosure made by a non-Jewish neighbor, and sent off to Belzec.

²²⁰ The Wannsee Conference, described below, was the ignition point for the eventual extermination of a large part of European Jewry. Here is a summary:

The Wannsee Conference was a meeting of senior government officials of Nazi Germany and S.S. leaders, held in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee on 20 January 1942. The purpose of the conference, called by the director of the Reich Security Main Office *SS-Obergruppenführer* Reinhard Heydrich, was to ensure the co-operation of administrative leaders of various government departments in the implementation of the Final Solution to the Jewish question, whereby most of the Jews of German-occupied Europe would be deported to occupied Poland and murdered. Conference participants included representatives from several government ministries, including state secretaries from the Foreign Office, the justice, interior, and state ministries, and representatives from the SS. In the course of the meeting, Heydrich outlined how European Jews would be rounded up and sent to extermination camps in the General Government (the occupied part of Poland), where they would be killed.

A sense of helplessness struck us all. We did not know to whom it would happen tomorrow, and at what near hour. For whom did the bells of a cruel death chime...

Nechama Purta was on the radio news from London, because here..here... victory is getting closer, because the bitter end of Hitler is certain – but the initiatives taken to exterminate Jews did not stop, but rather became stronger and continued.

December 1, 1942

On that day, the Ghetto of Zolkiew was created into which the Jews of the city were confined. The reasoning was due to the spread of Typhus among the Jews, and the need to isolate them and distance them from the Aryans. The area of the Ghetto included the streets of: Turinycka from the Dalatz pharmacy to the square of the Dominicans (the left side was derived from the road leading to Mosty'; Ginzso, Sznicraska (Up to the corner of the house of Letzter the carpenter), further on and up in the direction of *ul. Bazilanska* through *ul. Piekarska*, beside the house of Shimshon Sobl up to the house of Manusz, including the street: Sobieski and Dr. Reich. This narrow boundary was supposed to absorb the local Jews, and with them, the Jews of Kulikovo and a part of – the Jews of Mosty' and nearby settlements. According to the estimate, it was accepted that the number of people put into the Zolkiew Ghetto was about 4,500 people. In Mosty'-Wielki a labor camp was created and the Jews of Zolkiew turned to it, especially the young, in the hope that salvation will come through work. As a matter of fact they were not saved, because all they got was a sort of delay of a month or two. In the narrow Ghetto, under threat of death, it was forbidden to leave except for the president of the *Judenrat*, his members, and also the people of the militia, and meanwhile illusions that Satan created circulated about, and death – was their final destination. The Jews of the Ghetto lived as many as ten to a room which was narrow, in unhygienic conditions and no services for living – in s filth and remains as a 'natural' consequence of hunger. Diseases spread and worsen the situation, the number of the dead reaches 20 souls a day. The two Jewish doctors, Dr. Wachs and Dr. Margalit are literally bent under the weight of the medical work to be done. I must note here especially, the boundless commitment of Dr. Margalit who remained as the only doctor in the arena with the diseases (specially Typhus) with the decease of Dr. Wachs. He died with our other brethren on March 25, 1943.

The Year 1943

January, February, March – were the sunset months for us, and the anticipation of the end to our existence. Life lost its taste. And the good ones who die with the will 'to be rid of all this,' and there are those who envy them in having preceded the liberation from all suffering. Despite this, there are, among the remaining one, who struggle with the last of their energy and with a brave effort and lofty heart, in order to be privileged to be saved, to be liberated and set free. Once again we depend on Radio London that transmits encouraging news that tells of a quick resumption. The Red Army is resolutely pursuing Hitler's army, which is retreating and confused. Here they have reached the Dnieper (River). With a feeling of a sweet illusion, we follow the indications on a map since in every hour and minute, death lurks in ambush. Then there were the 'estimators' who in thinking, they found that if it remains

possible for us to hold our ground and live another 17 to 20 months, we will again be free men. Once again the *Gestapo* men spread malevolent news that before April 15, 1943 'it is absolutely certain' that there will not be any *aktion*. They had already fooled us once, twice, and three times with this kind of talk, and despite this are seduced by the illusion that maybe this time it is true, perhaps the Nazis 'are retreating' from the total extermination of the Jews in the face of their impending defeat, and the judgement day that awaits them. Opposite them are a few who are making a strong effort, by different ways, to flee for their lives and to get over to the Aryan side of the city. Most are caught, but individuals succeed in attaining this magic goal thanks to the number of non-Jews that hid Jews among them up to the last minute. Among those individuals of worth that endangered their lives for the live of the whole, that even if they were 'Aryans' saw the Jews as equals among the equal, worthy of being rescued as human beings, in human form, and it is my desire to remember, at least those whose names are known to me and their human deeds: : Emil Luzhinski, a railroad employee who had retired, he rescued me my wife and daughter; the sergeant of the Polish Army who went over to Bak (Who came to Zolkiew from Wolhyn) and saved the families of Michael Melman, and Mundek Patrontacz, Berisz Schwartz and his wife and children, and the owner of the pharmacy. E. Sztekl and his wife – altogether 18 lives; the lady, Sokolova that saved Hecht and his sister Charlotta Wolf, the dentist Mandel, and Blumenfeld – from the environs of Rawa-Ruska.

It would not be believed because it is told: among those who rescued Jews was also a German (*Volksdeutsche*) the secretary of the head of the *Gestapo* in Zolkiew, whose name I did not know. I have to also recall a stranger of a man (not from Zolkiew) that saved the daughter of Zisha Waldman. These people deserve to have their names recorded in the glory of honor and be remembered.

March 15, 1943

On this day, the *Judenrat* (most of whose members died, especially from Typhus, and remained to do work for Dr. Rubinfeld – and even he was weakened after having fallen sick with Typhus; Nathan Apfel; Dr. Leib Fish, and perhaps another two or three) received a delayed advice to gather all the adult men, both working and non-working, up to the age of 50, on the 'Sokol' soccer field, in order to organize them into a new work and ordering camp, and that 'all those occupied in it would not be liable to be seized during an *aktion*.' Dr. Rubinfeld believed the *Gestapo* (for the last time!) and directed the Jewish militia to assemble all those required – and if there be a resister, even to take them out of their houses – 'to shave and clean them' in order that they appear on the 'Sokol' field in the desired manner at the behest of the *Gestapo*. About 600 men appeared who were waiting impatiently to be organized into a work camp without knowing that what was being described was an extermination camp. They were not given much time to wait. To a surprise, the German gendarmerie entered the field, armed, since it was going to be escorted by the Ukrainian militiamen who did pogroms, and like a chain, surrounded all those gathered. It was not necessary to explain to the hundreds of surrounded Jews what awaits them, especially when the *Auftstrumbanführer* Wilhaus arrived at the place, the officer in charge of the 'Janowska' camp in Lvov, remembered in disgrace and dishonor, leading a group of murderers. When the expression of the objective in which the murderers succeeded again this time, Wilhaus ordered all of the 600 Jews into Freight trucks and to take them to an 'anonymous place.' The Jewish militia was compelled to take part in this 'expulsion.' It was only with a great effort was it possible for Dr. Rubinfeld to save several exhausted and weak people from the field. The '*Aktion*' was named: 'the dry pogrom.'"

When, on the following day, I had an opportunity to meet the Head of the *Judenrat* and I categorized with difficulty for him to hear about the quick and complete movement to implement the '*Aktion*,' the broken man, worn out from his own weakness, the man admitted that he attempted to justify this by saying that had Wilhaus not assemble hundreds of Jews on the field of 'Sokol', Wilhaus would have assembled them one at a time from their houses, and in addition to this, he would take other hundreds of Jews of other ages, for extermination. It is necessary to admit that there was something of the bitter truth in this.

After this '*Aktion*' about 3,500 people remained in the Zolkiew Ghetto, most of them perforce the elderly, women and children, who did not know when their time would come...

I spoke to those same Ghetto people and all of them uttered the same words of desperation and agreed on one question: when is our end coming? There is no salvation – entirely; only a sense of desperation in recognizing all of it.

March 25, 1943

It is the fifth day: It is 5:30AM. It is the sound of gunshots that wake us up. Having been educated by past bitter experience, it is clear to us what the sound of these shots mean. The end has come! And it was only the day before yesterday that the *Auftstrumbanführer* of the S. S. Papa and his secretary that in 'all cases' there will not be a renewal of an '*aktion*' until April 15. Folks like us: we continue to place faith in lying promises such as these: we still believe the promise of the Nazis was a real promise... it is very cold outside as it would be in the month of March. The wind was blowing, and the sun conceals itself. We hurry to the windows, and once again we see the Jews assembling, most of them exhausted, without warm clothing, being cruelly pushed along the length of *ul. Lvovska*. Among those running to their fate we are able to discern, in the first line, an elderly man wrapped in the hair of old age, and from Mr. Fertig and his wife, and the Glassgalls (the In-laws of Dr. Wachs of Lvov) as they face forward in silence without screaming, as if they were pleading for their rapidly-approaching end. After some time passed, I learned that Fertig had been shot along the way before they reached the '*Boork*', only because his pace of the steps were to slow. We quickly get away from the window, in order that the *Gestapo* men not sense our presence, because we are living in the first non-Jewish house outside the Ghetto, whose owner is Ukrainian. We ran for our lives and hid ourselves in an attic as the sound of the shooting got stronger and go on and are coming from the house that is close to that of Orla Zubl. This is not because they are looking for her family there, and perhaps they have already been found. Suddenly I hear in the courtyard of our house a strong question in German: Who lives here? The answer: Me! An additional question: Who are you? The additional answer: this is an Aryan pharmacy! The steps recede and we breathe with greater ease. Until when? We are stunned and struck dumb – one man standing beside the other, From over the house, we hear upsetting cries of pain of pursued people at their throats, like cattle going to the slaughter. We plug our ears and cry. How are we to stand all this? How can we maintain our sanity and not lose our minds? The sun is setting slowly, and the redeeming darkness descends on the city. In the darkness of night, we descend the staircase from the attic and the house owner greets us with the ones of an enemy: 'you must flee from here immediately, because the head of the Ukrainian militia discovered that you are hidden here and who is to know if he will not come for you and take you'. It is eight o'clock at night. We, my wife and daughter surrender our fate to fate, and leave to the street in an attempt on side streets to reach the house of the Aryan Emil Luzhinski who lives near the Jewish cemetery. We

suspect that perhaps they will sense our presence as a group, and so we walk separately, as if we do not know one another, in the direction of the *Rynek* to the length of *ul. Bazilanska* – and we arrive safely at our desired destination. We knock on the door softly in order that the neighbors not hear, but nobody responds. Having no other recourse, we hide ourselves in the open synagogue out of hope that in the night they will not investigate its interior. Close to this place Ukrainians are shooting Jews who have been revealed to be in various hiding places. Despite the fact that a long time has passed since we last ate we do not feel hunger, because our digestive system has stopped from its work. Only the cold oppresses us very much. And the yearned for hour arrived, and the man who saved us returned – in the night – to his home.

We explained our situation to him. He agreed to lodge us for a time, but fate toyed with us, and we remained there, hidden primarily in the cellar, until the end, when we were liberated by the Red Army, after 16 months. The name ‘Luzhinski’ was carried on our lips with sacred glory, as the name of one of the *Righteous Gentiles of the World*. Not only did he hide us, by sacrificing his own personal safety, but also suffered a great deal on our behalf.

The liquidation of the Zolkiew Jews at the ‘*Boork*’ across from the Catholic Church was carried out like this: The martyrs were brought there in freight trucks, and they forced us to spread out and kneel by order, at the edge of dug holes (prepared in advance) while the Ukrainian militia, largely intoxicated, were shooting at them with machine guns.

The (slain) martyrs fell into the pits, and without the murderers examining if among those being buried in this fashion, there are wounded, or only those actually killed, they covered the pits with dense earth and liquidated them. In these five large mass graves 3,000 Jews of Zolkiew found their eternal rest. On that day – March 25, 1943 – the men of the *Judenrat* and the Jewish militia were also liquidated. Dr. Rubinfeld and his assistants were brought to the ‘*Boork*’ and there they were told they would be taken to the Janowski camp in Lvov (a number of them were taken away there). The ‘Chairman’ Dr. Rubinfeld strongly stood on his conviction that his place was ‘here’ and he had no intent of being liquidated in any other place. The *Gestapo* men fulfilled his wish, and took him out to be killed on the spot, along with the other members of the *Judenrat*. Among those sent to Lvov were Mira Zimeles, Klara Apfel, and the militia man Wolf, their fate was just like the fate of the rest of the Zolkiew Jews – extermination. After this ‘aktion’ the pursuits and murders of individuals continued. Those few, who by a miracle, remained alive, created a sort of assembly of the remnants called ‘*Bloc Yehudi*’ in the home of Mr. Match). Here, about 60 women and men were spared to do a variety of work: cleaning the streets, organizing the effects that remained behind the murdered, etc. With fine detail, the *Gestapo* people and Ukrainian Militia combed the cellars of the houses they had burned, thinking that perhaps some Jews are still hidden there. Whoever was so found, was shot on the spot. In a like manner they looked for ‘treasures’. In one of these investigations they uncovered the hiding place of the Zaft family and as was later related, he cracked the skull of the father of the family with an iron bar. According to this telling, he had killed his two grandsons with his own hands, in order that they not fall into the hands of the sadistic Germans, but it was hard to clarify the truth of this news. Among the remainder of the revealed ones being pursued, were several additional Jews that hid in the Zvozhinski Gate. The young Leiner (the son of the glazier Leiner) they uncovered in the wreckage of the destroyed synagogue. He was brought to the Janowski Camp in Lvov and from there he succeeded in fleeing to reach the ranks of the Russian partisans, in the Carpathian Mountains. He returned to Zolkiew, sound of body and in good health after the liberation,

The head of the 'Bloch Yehudi' was Dr. Leib Fisz, who afterwards succeeded to flee (with his brother Yuzhu) to hide with a farmer familiar to them. Of the people in the 'Bloch Yehudi' I remember Joseph Pust, Bina Rauchfleisch (the wife of Henryk Tzippor) and the limping watchmaker Berner. They too succeeded in escaping, but were not saved after a few of them were seized immediately, and like the others were murdered by Ukrainian farmers. These alternating escapes diminished by a step those members of the 'Bloch Yehudi.' On July 10, 1943, the 'Bloch' was permanently liquidated from which they took out about 40 last occupants. They were taken to the 'Boork' and shot to death. They were also buried in that place. The names of those seized by the *Gestapo* during various periods of time, are etched into my memory: Manek Apfel the son of Nathan Apfel, who was seized on April 20 and shot in the Jewish cemetery; Bina Reichfleisch, worked in the pharmacy, the sister of Ephraim Landau's wife. She was turned over into the hands of the murderers by farmers from Soposzyn, and shot of July 15, in the cemetery; Young Yegor (the son of the shoemaker). His end also came in the cemetery; Dr. Leib Fisz and his brother Yuzhu, that initially succeeded in finding – after their escape – a hiding place with a farmer, but after some time were forced to return to the city and that is how they were seized and shot on October 5, 1943; Dr. Yaakov Czaczkes and the wife of Dr. Philip Czaczkes who were seized in the city at the end of November – upon their return from the forests of Mosty'. Both were exiled to Lvov, there Dr. Czaczkes worked for a long enough time in the 'Death Brigade' but they shot him too. Segal the wood merchant, who was turned over to the murderers by the woman Kana Golgowska, on Christmas Eve, on the night of December 24 when he came to her house and asked for a bit of food. The following day he was shot to death.

Until the end of 1943, the murders were carried out in the Jewish cemetery. In the process of burying the Jewish martyrs, non-Jews sometimes appeared, among them Polish 'People of the Group,' and among them the pick of the 'intelligentsia' who came to see how the Sons of the Mosaic Faith were being liquidated. For the sake of truth, I must note that these were Aryans of an entirely different type, very human, and participate with good intentions in the sorrow and suffering and calamity of the exterminated Jews who had done no wrong, but their number was small, single individuals only. Here are two figures like these: the Polish priest Zamura and a man of the priesthood and even he: Risz. In the measure that comes to expressing an honest emotion of participation in the sorrow of the unfortunate Jews this thing split open from the ranks of the Polish citizenry. Opposite them were uncivilized people, 'Aryans,' that broadcast in a loud voice in the presence of many: 'We are Polish that reacted to Hitler but we owe an assessment and gratitude for the liquidation of Polish Jewry forever, because by ourselves we would have been unable to succeed in resolving the Jewish question.' And there were instances where Poles, allegedly friends of the Jews who received for protection 'until the great anger passes' the belongings of the Jews and even with the return of the Soviets to Zolkiew (after the downfall of Hitler and the retreat of his army from Zolkiew) they lied by saying that at no time did they receive all the belongings from the Jews for safekeeping. In a number of instances, there was a compulsion for the Soviets to get involved in order to force them to return the plunder, but by that time there was practically no one to whom to return anything. Thousands of our brethren 'in the mean time' went onto the altar. Cursed be the Poles and Ukrainians and may their memory be cursed. But along with this, we have to recall with admiration those who were normal and humane people to the end, in those few who risked their integrity and their lives to save Jews from extermination. It is my desire to remember here, an incident that took place in April 1943, during the Christian holidays. For an unclear reason, a fire broke out on *ul. Lvovska*. The strong wind strengthened the flames that caught onto the houses for the length of the left side of the street, from the school of the *Palintziakas*. Here, a school is being consumed by fire, and the buildings of the oil manufacture of Patrontacz and Melman, and the conflagration spreads and takes a hold of the residence of Melman, where 18 Jewish souls (as I remember) were hidden away, the families of Melman, Patrontacz Schwartz and Sztekl (the latter being the owner of the Lvov pharmacy). The danger was great, but thanks to the sublime action of the *Volksdeutsche* Bak, and a number of neighbors, the fire was put out

and living people were rescued as well as a torah scroll that was being guarded there. Only the daughter of Berisz Schwartz could not stand the test of being exposed to the nearby asphyxiating smoke, so she quickly went outside and was seized. Notwithstanding the tortures, she did not reveal the facts that could lead to finding the Jews hidden in the building but she herself was taken out to be executed. A miracle of all miracles: this was a German that saved Jews and in a great danger.

The Year 1944

Days, weeks and months pass by and overtake one another. We stay hidden for a prolonged time in the depths of pits without a ray of light and practically no air. A weak hope envelopes us: the Germans are being beaten on all fronts, but who can prophesy and know if we will reach the moment of rescue, because in the trail of their downfalls, and under the influence of their military defeat, the Germans exact vengeance on the remnants of the liquidated Jews. And if their accomplices, the Ukrainians expand upon their acts of extermination and wreckage, even on the Poles, and these are beginning to get the taste of what it means to be pursued. They also flee as a mob toward the west, in the vehicles of the retreating Germans.

On April 12th, we heard the news that on the *ul. Zhiluna* beside the Catholic Church, members of the family of the Watchmaker (The limping one) Brenner, was uncovered in the house of a Ukrainian woman either because of a lack of carefulness, or perhaps because of an informing that may have taken place. The Brenners (excepting their daughter – one of two daughters – who was turned over before the *Aktion* to the hands of the daughter of a policeman of the past, Goldzweig Szypvakuwa) and were sent away to Lvov together with the Ukrainian woman, who returned after two weeks to Zolkiew, but without the Brenner family, whose traces vanished.

The Russians are approaching at lightning speed and capture Tarnopol, Zabarzh, Brody, Czortkow, Stanislawow and other cities. On May 1, 1944: Lvov is angrily bombed by Soviet aircraft. Our house is seized with shaking, from the end of the air bombs, which are dropped all over the city, and there is no guarantee that the building can withstand the powerful, and we are full of joy and hope. The Germans are seized by hysteria and chaos. The front is only 70 kilometers away from us. Another day, two days, the front is close, but rescue is still distant.

We then receive a frightening notice: In the ambience of the *Batjaruvka* that is a passage to the Catholic cemetery, on June 13, the Germans uncovered the location of Adek Lichtenberg and his friend. Both argued that they had come from the forests, were deported to Lvov and from there, they fled and remained alive. On July 6 the young Orlander and his wife were brought to Zolkiew after being captured in Vinzuwa. From here they were taken to Lvov, and there they were liquidated among the last of the Jewish martyrs of Zolkiew.

A frightening item of news descends upon us: In the area of the '*Batjaruvka*' which is a passage to the Catholic cemetery, on June 13, the Germans uncovered Adek Lichtenberg and his friend. Both argued that they had come from the forests, and were sent to Lvov, from where they escaped and

remained alive. On July 6, they brought the younger Orlander and his wife to Zolkiew who had been apprehended in Vinzuwa. From here, they were taken to Lvov and there they liquidated the last of the Jewish martyrs of Zolkiew.

Time increased the pressure on the frightened Germans, and they counsel with their comrades to flee westward, /because the Bolsheviks will exterminate you all.' There is no functioning anti-aircraft defenses, which permitted the Soviet Air Force was able to provide incessant bombing of Lvov and its surrounding residents. The Nazi authorities and the Ukrainian militia leave the city of Zolkiew speedily, as the Russians conquer city after city and get closer to us. They tell us that the rail line from Lvov-Zolkiew-Rawa Ruska has been disabled by the Soviets. In place of the fear of death, the hope steals into our hearts that if it is fated that we be killed in the aftermath of the war – better this way that suffering a cruel death at the hands of the Germans. And despite this, we so much want to live, and remain alive to get the benefit of the liberty after such a long period of the torture of body and soul.

On July 22 Zolkiew also enters the circle of the front. The Germans retreat very rapidly. The nearing gunfire hits a variety of places in the city and our house is leaning toward destruction. A very shrapnel falls beside our hiding place in large quantities. Pictures fall off the wall; the closet crumbles, the Basilian printing house is hit. The sounds of light gunfire already reaches our ears. Fire breaks out near us, and spreads on the left side of *ul. Zolkowska*, from *ul. Reich* to the pharmacy engulfed in flames.

We get the news on Saturday that the Soviet Army has already reached the outskirts of the city, but to our wonder, the fighting stops to the next day, this being the Sunday of the week. To our good luck, this was the silence of liberation. Our dear Mr. Luzhinski saves us, and in the afternoon hours, brings us news that the Soviets, that we had not anticipated for a long time: you are liberated, free. The Soviets are already located in a nearby building, and the Soviet officer advises not yet to come outside from the houses, for fear of getting wounded. All of us burst out crying, kiss and hug one another, wondering whether this thing is real, or just a dream? – we come out into the street in the evening hours, without fright and fear after 16 months that was all dark. Nobody assaults us. There is understanding and smiles in place of enmity and liquidation. We raise memories until a late hours, and then fall asleep – liberated. On the next day we exit 'to see our city.' Our feet are heavy from walking, and there are no more ruled for this, they hurt... we tour the city that is so well-known to us. Here are the streets of Piekarska, Reich, Sobieska, Lvovska – destruction is everywhere. It is one great wreckage, and we do not see even one Jew along our way, are we then the only ones left alive by ourselves?

Here and there we encounter non-Jewish city residents who look at us in astonishment and curiosity, as if they were asking: did you remain alive? I come to the pharmacy from which I fled to our final hideout. Plunder and destruction of everything! It no longer concerns me. The core thing: where shall we go and search for the remaining ones of our Jewish brethren? And lo, a miracle: we encounter Sztekl and his wife, and from him we learn the success of the ones who were hidden with the group in the house of the *Volksdeutsche* Beck (18 souls!). After this we met Prof. Fundik and we heard from him about 5 saved in the secret place on Sokolov (Street) and about the daughter of Edelman who was rescued. Together we are 26 rescued Jews, and Thank God, we have a prayer quorum... we quickly return to our rescuer Mr. Luzhinski and along the way we encounter familiar 'Aryans' who express their great joy

on the outside that we have been saved, and there are those who kiss us. There was much truth and much falsehood in this. Still on that same day, we depart (close to tears) and go over from the start to... our old house in order to *renew our days as of old*.

The next day, more saved people from our people in Zolkiew appear: Hochner's son and the two Reimann sisters (who hid in the village with farmers), Adek Lichtenberg (who escaped from the camp), Misko Ehrenwert and his sister, Mrs. Astman (Wassner) with the daughter of her brother, the driver Lerner, and the younger Lerner. Similarly some Jews not from Zolkiew also appeared. Two Jewish women from Zolkiew that hid the entire time with Ukrainian farmers, the Wassner girl and Mrs. Regina Orlander, who immediately converted back to Judaism from the Greek- Orthodox faith, that of the Ukrainians. Mrs. Orlander had for some time, fallen out of the hands of the illegal fascist Ukrainians (whom she called *Banderovtsii*). The oldest daughter of Hszau Brenner who hid herself with Mrs. Spivak (the daughter of Goldenzweig) also changed back her faith and remained in Zolkiew. In the spring, the widow of Dr. Wachs and her daughter Mrs. Antonina Shtraich, and her daughter Bash'eh came to Zolkiew, and similarly Dr. Hanoch Wachs and his wife returned as well.

The two Meister brothers returned from the Soviet Union, Avraham Falafer, Prubler, the younger Ingber, Dr. P. Rauchfleisch, Sztriker (the husband of the guardian of the gate area), the Griss family, Hamerling, the elderly Mrs. Reitzfeld and her son, Berger the wagon driver (nicknames Mazur) and a number of added people from Zolkiew.

According to the final count, 600 residents of Zolkiew were saved, among them are those who fled to the Soviet Union. That is the remnant. How terrifying and frightening is an end like this!

Letters from the Ghetto²²¹

1. A Letter from Milek and Lunek Wolf – 4.6.1943 From the 'Janowski Camp' (in Lvov)

My dear ones,

After terrifying events, we remained alive at this hour. I will not describe the details. Mrs. Krisia was also here on Thursday, and certainly everything is known to you. I ask that through the MuKa"Z you send us a bit of money and food. The MuKa"Z sees Lunek ever day and it is possible to send things through her. I tried to stay with Mrs. Griznau and tell her everything. Lunek and I are hungry for ten days, and there is no help. We do not know how much

²²¹

Translated from Polish

time will be given to us here, hunger. We are living in a Dante's. It looks like I do not are begging you to extend

Regards to those at Home
Milek, Lunek.

P.S. Give regards to Jassa something for us.

2.10.1942
 prosba do szpitala
 prosba, bym skontaktowa
 recepty mojej srodki
 potrzebujacej, a ze na
 13.10.1942
 prosba do szpitala 85 ul. Spod
 prosba, bym skontaktowa
 w polsce, do szpitala, a ze na
 w. Sali za mnie. Spora ja w
 roku o 10. 9. 1942. Mnie tak do
 wa ic. nawet w nowy spasi me
 mago, wiec znowy wroci do szpitala
 do szpitala, a ze 10 dni miesiac
 dla zycia. Proszę mi dać mi zgi
 ny i zjedzenia i proszę mi coś
 do zjedzenia, bo w nowy nasale
 dostaje codziennie pomoc, tylko
 ja nie spodziewam się, że tyle dobrej
 robocie dla mnie do tyłu, a że
 nadal o mnie nie zapomniał
 Bóg i w magrocie. Pozdrawiam
 Was i ciebie i Louisa
 Dariusz

please don't allow us to die of Purgatory that is worse that have to add and write more. We assistance to us immediately.

Schinner and ask of her to send

מכתב במרלגית (מס' 2) מ'שמואל יאנובסקי" בלוב

Page 571/572: A Handwritten Letter in Polish(?? 2) from the 'Janowski Camp' in Lvov

(Words of his younger brother Lunek)

2. A Letter from Benzion Wolf, from Zolkiew To the Pader-Uradner Ghetto in the 'Janowski Camp' (Lvov) 4th Copy

The *Aktion* took place on Tuesday at 10 o'clock in the morning. Hunger oppresses me very much, to the point that I cannot sleep even at night. I do not praise the enemy to take me to the hospital, because in the course of 14 days, there was death from hunger.

Please do not let me die of hunger, and send me some food. All those located in the hall obtain food every day, and I am the only one who gets nothing.

I hope, that you will not forget me in the future, because you have done so much good on my behalf.

May God reward you.

I send regards and kisses to you, Milek and Lunek,
Benzion

3. A Letter from Milek Wolf of Zolkiew Sent from the 'Janowski Camp' (Lvov)

Your first and second letters, and the packages gave us great joy. Imagine what has happened to us, because I do not want to extend this writing about things you already know. (Ad rem!) Most importantly we are alive, as is known to you with our father, who can be seen to have undergone a bad change, with Benzion who is in the hospital after an operation on his hand, and the rest of the family. Lunek and I – we have places that are not too bad, we work in the institution, and I earn 100, 200 and even 400 zlotys a day. Thanks to God that we will not know life in the camp. God supports our way.

At 3:30AM we have to get up, and at 4:30AM – to line up at the ordering place, and at 5:45AM – we have to leave the camp to do heavy labor all day on bad food, and at 7:00PM we return, up until 9:00PM we wash, etc., and then sleep. We can buy additional items. 300 zlotys of the 1000 zlotys of our holdings we received from you and are with us. We need s o c k s , oil, and sugar in whatever amount is possible.

Don't worry about us, think only for yourself. Unfortunately I do not have anymore time to write, and I so wanted to add more. I have to go to the doctor, because of sores in my throat, and a nail of mine has fallen out. Bolster yourself and take courage. Lunek will write to you in detail, and he is preparing a full letter.

As you already know, I work at the train workshops, as a craftsman, and I leave the Gehenna all of the day, and return at night. The oil was wonderful, and I enjoyed it.

We lived in the camp here for no purpose, and were it not for the food our lives would end; however, as you say, our family needs to seek vengeance, and that task falls to us.

I myself feel well, hunger has not yet affected me. At this time, I am not in need of anything, except what the young lady promises us every week. How are you? How is Moshe Mittelman? How come you do not send me a sign of life from you? Regards to Dorek, Rozha and everyone.

Kisses, and Regards to You
Lunek

4. A Letter from Zolkiew by Milek Wolf From the 'Janowski Camp' (Lvov)

To my only sister Michal beloved of all,

We cried over your letter, Lunek and me. The thought gladdens us, that the master of the house looks after you and that you should remain alive.

Our calamity is great, but we are not alone.

Shayn'chek dear, my heart bursts from the pain of the idea that I will not be able to see my only sister that I have left.

Oy, these martyrs: Our mother, Bruzya, Janek and the child, and the rest.

As to us – Lunek has written to you. I have gotten worse in the past two days, I got sores in my throat. Don't send things for all of us, leave all these things for you. Because I cannot look after you, it is difficult for me to bear the fact that you are looking after us. 'Food for escape' I make every day, but I wait for things to get easier for you.

I met with Luska Wagner and I have communicated with her. I am hoping for appropriate help, and I will not write out all of the details, because my hands hurt. I am hoping we will see each other.

My address is:

Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, ul. Korkow 23a

Regards and kisses with all my heart

Milek

Think only of yourself.

5. A Letter from Lunek Wolf of Zolkiew Sent From the 'Janowski Camp' (Lvov)

Sunday, May 11, 1943

My dear,

I received your letter and the money today. You will not be able to describe our joy, since up until today we have not received any news from you. Sadly, the fate of all the Jews has not passed over us. In the evenings we sit and mourn our fate. But we take courage in one thing, that at least you remain. Milek works in the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* on *ul. Listofa*, and it is very good for him there, and I work in a train-workshop, in the heat of the hall machinery and it is good for me here. The wife of Sztikhenberg is to be added here, since he works with Milek, and three days ago she brought us 1000 zlotys from Mrs. Griznau, a shirt, a towel, underwear and soap. Apart from this, we don't need anything, don't send us money, since you have a need for it, and when we will need some, we will write to you.

As to 'escape' we can try every day, but to whom? Is this even possible – to you?

The *Gehenna* is not so terrible, when you picture for yourself that we eat and drink many types of food (chocolate). Milek looks very good. Benzion – is in the hospital. Or father has left him. Here every person lives for himself. I have the task of meeting every morning on *ul. Idzhikowski* at the corner of Janowski, from 6:20 - 6:40 AM, on the bridge and the same hour in the evening. Fridek is in the Ghetto. I make an effort to get word from Mrs. Rudnik Wohlikh to you. Milek's square watch is in the oven above, covered in ash, you take it. Let me know the address do I will be able to write to you. Is Moshe Mittelman in Zolkiew? Aleko and Shmuel are with us. I sold the moccasins and my shirt, but this is not important. I am writing this letter in the shop, and that is why it is soiled. Don't sell anything to Mrs. Griznau anything yet. I was in the Ghetto last week, and I ran into Salko Borer. He gave me 100 Zlotys for myself and another 100 for Benzion. Benzion does not have a cent, but we are helping him out. There are about 70 women here from Zolkiew, among them – Tolda and her mother, Savka Schuman and others. I am writing randomly when it comes to my mind. Milek has a very nice place to work.

P. S. The men of the *Gestapo* searched our house from 6:00AM until 12 noon. They turned over everything, and the men of the Jewish Militia from Lvov revealed us and together with us, Hinde Dagan fell into the trap along with us.

Lunek

I
Młoga Księżyno

Niedziela
13.11.1943

dot. Twoj wrosz z powiem ^{krótkim} listem. Nie może
pójść jak on mię nieczyt. Głęboko dotychczas ma
miałem od Ciebie radniej wiadomości. Chciały
dos. ubiegłych Tytułów nie omiadać was także.
Siedziemy wieczorami i opłakujemy nasz los, ale
jakoś nas kępsie ze przynajmniej ty zostasz
chleb pracy na "Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle"
na ul. Antopada jest mi tam l. dobrze,
a ja praca; jakoż także w warunkach
kolonijach. w opalonych klatki marynowej
jest mi tu dobrze. Steinhilbera i inni przyjeżdżają
niezły gdyż on praca z chłopami i przywodzi
nam przedwzrosty granicy nam 1000 zł
krowie, owce, kaczki, indy, i mydło. Co ratym
ma mię potrzebujemy forte nie proszą
głęboko sama potrzebujemy, a jak nam krowie
to li napisany. Opłacie możemy się postarać
coś dla siebie ale do kogo? Był jest możliwe
u Ciebie. Niektóre ma jest tam straszne
jak ty sobie wyobraź. My jemy i pijemy
najdroższe rzeczy (ochłodził) (dobre wyżył)
Benjion jest w szpitalu. Chyż odchodzi się od nas
tu kiedyś życie dla siebie

אנחנו צריכים (אם תוכלו) "פוסט" בלבוב

6. A Letter from Milek Wolf of Zolkiew From the Camp – ‘Janowski’ (Lvov)

Saturday

My dear ones,

I have received everything in perfect order, and I thank you. It arrived at the right time. I ask your pardon for causing unpleasantness of this sort to you, and I will not send this anymore to anyone.

The camp is liquidating, and every day they cremate from 200 to 300 people. The hours we have left to live are numbered. I will attempt to orient myself according to your guidance, and that will be today or tomorrow.

Lunek is going to remain, as it seems, in a barracks and will be relatively safe, but even this is temporary. I was already along the way, but I was turned back, and I happened to get away, to my good fortune, from a certain death.

The father of Philip Alko, Shmuel and Meir, Miszak Astman and 600 other people from Zolkiew no longer exist.

I received bread and fat from Rodska, and yesterday 3 kilograms of rye, and 3 kilograms of corn. Mrs. Griznau has to bring me money today, and I don't know how much. I will not be able to speak to Janek, there are things to tell. She is very nervy and strong-willed, and has already established connections with Oskar. I am writing while standing at work, which is why this is so bad.

When I get a chance to cross over, I will leave a letter with rs. Griznau, also for you. What is going on with you, and how do you feel?

Be strong and gird yourself with all your might, in order that you remain alive and take revenge for all the insults heaped on us. Do not continue to send money, except perhaps for Lunek. He will enter the barracks in January, and it may be possible to obtain through one of the workers on the train, Mazurek. He is a trustworthy man, and it may be possible to send everything through him.

With a part of the money that I received, I bought shoes for Lunek, and trousers for myself.

Be strong –

Milek

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7. A Letter from Genya Leiner to Her Brother Mundek

(This letter was sent during the last days before the extermination of the Zolkiew Jews. It appears to be during April 1943, to her brother Mundek Leiner, who was taken into the Red Army. Once she was sure that he was still alive, she left her letter in the hands of a the teacher Teichman's assistant. In the past, she had also worked as an assistant for the Leiner family and after the liberation she turned over the letter to the Mundek brothers and Ziggy Leiner, who had returned and were in Zolkiew).

Dear Mundek,

It was not my intent to leave this letter for you, but our mother is giving me no rest, and demands that I write several lines. I know that this will awaken excess pain in you, because our situation is so terrifying, and when you hear this do not shed even one tear for us. Back then, in the hour that we parted, I never thought a thing like this could happen to us, and instead of receiving you with a blessing, let us say goodbye forever to you. The situation is not one that can be found elsewhere, all of us are sentenced to death (the Jews, you understand) except that we do not know when the death sentence will be imposed, and is anticipated in every hour and every minute. The harassment continues ceaselessly, and with force and momentum we are pushed towards the grave, and there are those who are still alive, is simply as we heard it. Do you have any idea of how terrible this thing is, to live and know that at any minute I and my relatives are destined to this? And we so much do want to continue living – and to see you. We have not received regards from you for some time, and we were so happy when that happened! It will certainly be difficult for you to picture for yourself, that we were unable to find guidance, by whatever means, and perhaps to our sorrow, we could not find a way out! Only friends were able to give help, non-Jews, and as you know, we left everything behind at a time of distress, and everything remained apathetic. Well, if God has abandoned us at this time of distress, what will we say and what shall we tell friends, who endangered themselves by giving us help. That is the thing, we cannot delude ourselves, and to wait for relief to come to us, the death that will release us from this torture and suffering, to be an eye-witness to a huge tragedy, to see children pulled out of the grasp of their parents, who are running around in the streets with no roof over their heads; naked and exhausted, and starving, who saw their mothers and fathers murdered before their own eyes, or parents who do not know where their children have disappeared to, depressed and driven nearly crazy with worry; the trains that take thousands of Jews to a place of permanent rest, and the few that jump from the train cars in order to save their lives, and are shot to death on the spot – all of this engenders a loss of sanity and we begin to wonder if our minds are working correctly and if our understanding is clear at all, and even the sturdy among us have their spirit collapse.

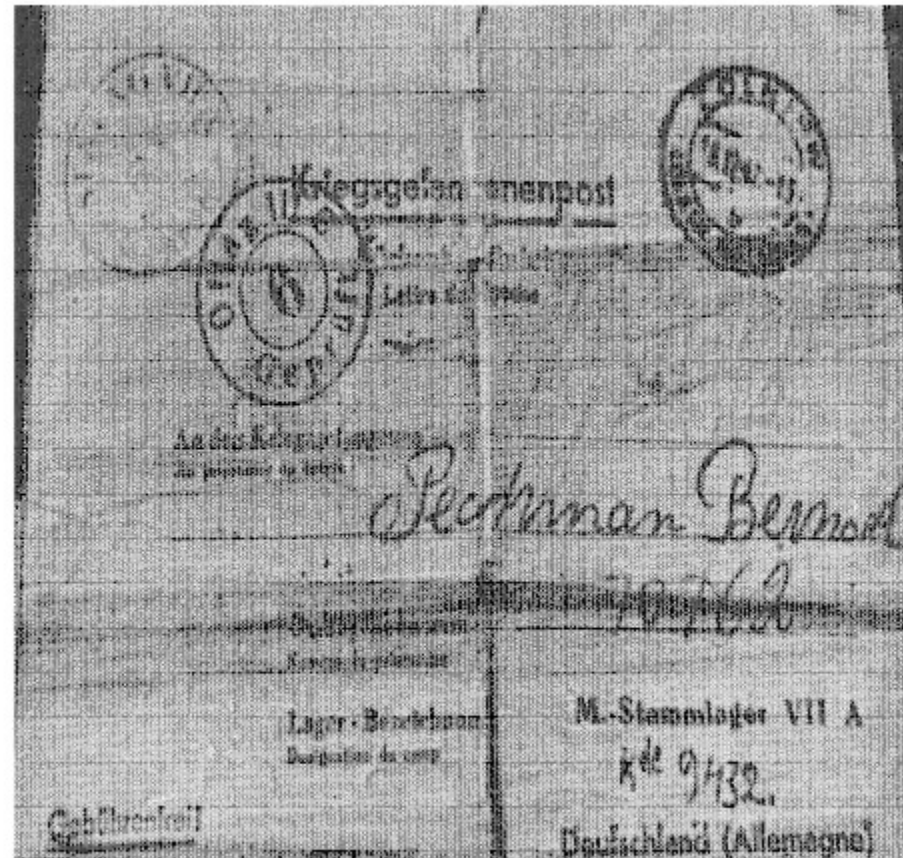
As you know, our father as a man of vigor and capability, an optimist who saw the world through rose-colored glasses, and as of now, nothing is left from all of these intentions, he has become so sloppy and so backward in his will, and he has lost all will to live, and he is taking his soul to death: however, this poor man needs to work hard, because the costs are rising, and there are times when we do not eat for a week. And there are no exceptions, the cup had passed over all of us. And our mother – complains to God that he does not make a miracle, and she always implores him, that because he is so wondrous in making us suffer, cries over you if she thinks she will not be able to ever see you again, and she cries over Zunya, and wants to know what will happen to him? And all of this repeats itself. And Zunya also suffers terribly, he is much enraged but he is as dumb as a rock, t proud to complain

for no purpose, and from his nature he is wrapped up in himself. He is so handsome and good; if you could only see how he works, and every cent that he earns he gives to his mother, and my heart is torn and broken out of sorrow when I look at him, so young, talented and of a good heart, and all of this is supposed to go to nothing, until I wonder to myself, that my heart doesn't burst out of sheer sorrow. And as for me, whose limbs are very weak, as of now, I am more restrained than everyone, is sturdy in the face of suffering, after having suffered so much in my life, and death no longer frightens me. It is as if every stone could shout and every blade of grass could speak, but enough of this. More important than anything else that I say to you – that if we should die, and one cannot wish for you to take everything many years, and make sure it is signed documents and our may be of some use to you, and am safeguarding with people I that you will certainly need. And him, I will let you know the task.

Apart from this, I don't have leave of you with great sorrow wish for you that fate will tilt suffered will redeem you from all you will not find us, do not say of yourself and bolster yourself you to sell everything and to go accursed place.

Be at peace and do not continue wounds to the heart, and your passage of the years.

With Blessings Upon My
Genya



discount such an event – I would for which we have worked so not lost, and I leave to you all the parents' marriage certificate, that also a list of various items that I know, and also all your clothing if God helps, as I plead before details on whom to bestow this

anything else to add; I take my and an ache in my heart, and I goodness and that what we have things bad, and if, God forbid, you have given up, take control so you can live in peace. I advise out to distant places far from this

to worry, because time heals all pain will also diminish with the

Family

מעטפת מכתב מזולקייב, נשלח באשורה של הגיסטפו (1942)

Page 581: A Family Letter from Zolkiew sent with Gestapo approval (1942)

(See Below)

Page 583/584: The Mass Grave of the Last of the Jews of Zolkiew at the 'Boork' Grove.

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**A Letter to Bernard Fachman, in a POW Camp in Germany
From His Brother in Zolkiew**

Date: 19.12.42, Zolkiew, Galicia
(Censor's Stamp of Stalag 80 III C)

Censored by Aufslag 6, A, VII
To the War Prisoner Bernard Fachman, Prisoner No, 70762
Signed – Camp Commander – 9432 VII A Germany

17.12.42

To my precious and beloved brother,

I am writing to you by myself, as you will see, and I will not be able to hide the great calamity that has passed over us from you, in that our older Sister has been taken from us, and I will write to you and describe how this happened.

Four weeks ago, we were hit by a terrible windstorm that uprooted thousands of people, and only a few remained to flee. By a miracle, I remained alive, but what is in it for me? My dear brother, our pain is very great, and the tears flowed from my eyes, and my heart is broken from having gotten to this point, I remained alone without any other member of my family surviving. And so, my brother, be very careful, and don't be swayed into believing things in vain, so that you may be able to wait for the coming of better times, because I will not attain this. Every day, we wait for the onset of yet another calamity, and at that point, it will not depart from us, because the circulating news is that not one of us will survive this time. And I will be added to our dear mother, to Golda and Anshel, and we will be together... My dear brother, please respond to me immediately, and perhaps I will receive yet another letter from you, and I will be able to see that you have received this letter from me. To this day, mail service does not work for us, for only today did I receive your letter dated 8,xii.1942.



קבר האחים של אחוזני יחסי זולקוב בתורשת היידיש

Aktion 'Judenfrei'

Page 63/84: The Mass Grave of the Last of the Jews of Zolkiew at the 'Boork' Grove.

By Miriam Heller

On the following day, the final 'Aktion' in which the *Judenrat* and Jewish Police were liquidated, took place, and was the 'Judenfrei Initiative.' At that point, the Ghetto was spread over a number of streets and my family and me were living in a corner house of the Ghetto, the Taft house, where they had stripped a number of the walls of their bricks, and it was through this narrow passage, with hands flush against the body, we climbed up to the attic. After the *Aktion* began, it only took a few minutes for our hiding place to be uncovered.

A terrible moment arrived when our hideout was discovered, and it was necessary to slither back the same way we came, where armed Germans stood with weapons aimed at the heads of those emerging from the hideout. When they took us out of the hideout, we were stood in a line, and other people were added from the remaining houses and we were chased along the way to the assembly point, in the middle of the Synagogue.

The assembly yard was surrounded by Germans, and people were brought unendingly, gunfire was heard. The also brought the wounded, among them Astman (of *ul. Lvovska*) who was wounded in the Aktion immediately preceding this one, and was shot on the spot.

Everyone stood in the yard in silence, there were no screams or crying voices to be heard, even those being beaten did not scream, it was the silence that screamed...

I remember going over to my aunt Wolf, who refused to recite the 'Vidui'²²² before death. My group and me spoke silently. An observation was heard: 'the idea is terrible that soon there will be nothing left of us; who will exact vengeance, who?', the ones seized were then ordered to place their valuables such as money, jewelry in boxes that stood at the edge of the yard. Whoever was able to –threw the money up above, or trampled it on the ground. Those who were suspects underwent an a personal examination.

At a set moment, the Germans began to call out the young girls from the mass. After some hesitation (without knowing what their intent was), we exited since we had nothing left to lose.

I was among those who were called out to leave, and we were stood in a corner by ourselves, we ere organized in sixes and ordered to sit on the ground.

The Germans who had been appointed to keep guard over us let us know that we were not going to be killed immediately (in laughter they stressed: 'immediately') and transferred us to the Janowski Camp. We watched how they loaded the people onto the freight trucks, and I saw how the freight truck with my family disappeared who had come from this place; I knew I would never see them again.

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The Hebrew word for a final deathbed confession.

After they removed all the people that were sentenced to an immediate death, they neared to load the people that were designated to be sent to the ‘Janowski Camp,’ and they parked the freight truck at a bit of a distance. A sign was given and six men stood from the ground and ordered to run after the truck. Along the way, Germans stood with staves in their hands, and anyone that weakened in transit was beaten mercilessly.

The row of the young women was reached, and we were 89 in number. We were taken in the direction of *ul. Lvovska*, at the edge of the city, and where the road split, the truck suddenly stopped. The Gestapo men began to discuss what they were to do with us. Some said to send us also to where the previous lot were taken, and others said – to the ‘Janowski Camp.’ In the end, they decided to return to the city to get the opinions of the officer-in-charge.

We awaited the results, and after an hour they returned and approached the truck, and indicated the way to Lvov. We proceeded for several hundred meters, and another truck joined us that was loaded with clothing and goods. I remember, when I thought of my dear ones that had gone their way, I begged that death would put an end to their suffering.

In the evening, when we were already in the camp, we said: ‘what good is it to them, because whoever gets buried alive is not living anymore...’ we came to a camp, the 89 young women. I can only remember very few of the names, and here they are: the Krantz sisters, Manusz, the Mandel sisters, Klara Schiff, Tolda Astman and her mother, Zimeles, and others.

Of them all – I am the only one who remained alive...

The Beginning of the Rule of the German Conquerors

By Chaya Graubart

1. The First Encounters

Many times when I turn my thoughts to those terrible days of the Holocaust, I ask myself: how is it that I, specifically me, a simple, unassuming human being, me, who was one of many, was saved from the murderers, from the jaws of death. It is hard to believe, and even I still wonder and find it hard to believe how many times I stood eye-to-eye with death and was saved literally by a miracle, and I remained the only one of my family, along with very few of the people of our city. There are many images and memories that rob me of my sleep, and embitter my moments of happiness, as they remind me of my beloved ones, and my dear ones that are no longer here, that suffered from terrifying tortures at the hands of the murderers. It is hard to describe the strong will to live prevailing in those days, the will to go on, to withstand and overcome the anger and ferocity of the despicable foe. To transcend the goal of the *Scourge* to denigrate the Jew through oppression. The Jews reacted with an enormous will that they could bear a ‘dog’s life’ with whatever strength they had, without a house, hungry and tortured, and in their hearts, the spark flies and the flame burns, of hope to survive and to be able to see

with their own eyes the end of those who are our *Scourge* and the Exterminators of our people. Our innocent and honest brethren that were taken to their death, did not know that it was futile to fortify one's self in order to live. The entire world, and even the Jewish people, did not learn how to evaluate the enormous suffering that had so marked the lives of all those who remained alive, who passed through all of the furnaces of *Gehenna*, for the sake of the living where hordes fought so much on their behalf.

The images, that are etched of those days, were etched in my mind with an ineradicable stylus, and left deep scars in my mind and pain in my heart. All this chronology of life was accompanied by suffering and terror, but from all of these simultaneous events, there are a few images that stand out that always appear in my memory like a living nightmare. The eye and the ear absorbed the impression of events that were inhuman, even though the ones who perpetrated them were human beings themselves, and the mind is not set up to forget them. Among those bolts of lightning and sparks of memory, there echoes the screams that I heard from the Tailor's Street on one of the pogrom days that has been organized against the Jews already at the beginning of this travesty. For certain, this was not the most terrifying event that I lived through. Terror and suffering were the bread of my existence for many days afterwards, but the soul does not seriously ask which event was the most terrifying. The soul is wounded, the heart feels, and the mind does not forget. And yet, to this day, the screams that echo in my ears, and fill my head, are the screams that I heard from the Tailors' Street.

The incident took place in the first week after the invasion of the Nazis into our city, in 1941. The Ukrainian Nationalists were drunk with joy and lusted for revenge after the departure of the Russians. The Germans influenced the Ukrainians to come over to their side. A dark spirit of regressiveness, and impending fear pervaded the homes of the Jews. The first signs of what was to come were orders of the new authorities, who were brought over during the course of a few days by the Ukrainians and the *Volksdeutsche*, to prohibit Jews from leaving their homes. On this day, which was a Sunday, all the gentiles of the city, nearby villages and surroundings, assembled to celebrate the Nazi victory.

At nine o'clock in the morning the activities and demonstrations began, with the participation of the populace, especially the Ukrainian youth from the nearby villages of 'Wala Wysocka', 'Turyнка' and others. The speeches were finished by noon, and at that point, the church bells began to ring in a rather frightening volume (in days, it would become known to us that this was a signal to start the activity). At the sound of the ringing, the horde of young men, armed with canes and axes, began to run from the center of the 'Rynek,' the assembly point, over to the Jewish streets, Sobieska, Lvovska, Piekarska and the rest of the streets. We lived in the *Rynek* and we saw everything from the windows of our house.

When we saw the pandemonium we closed all our doors and put up barriers behind them that had previously been prepared, but after a few minutes, the wild animals broke into our house, broke the doors with axes, and overcame all of the barriers we had prepared.

The motto that they assumed was 'Cursed Jews, servants of communism, go to work!' And it was with these sorts of shouts that they took out my mother ל"י, my sister Chaya ל"י and myself to the street. My father ל"י succeeded to hide himself in the cellar and the house remained exposed to the abuse by the wild mob. The mob surrounded the Jews from all streets of the city from the 'Schloss' to the palace called the 'Zamek' in which there was a provincial jail. They ordered the Jews to clean up the jail cells that was full of bodies of people that had slept there for several days, and it was full of blood and

secretions that the Soviets left behind them when they left the city. The denigration of the Jews was terrible, they heaped murderous blows upon us for the entire way to the 'Schloss.' One of the Ukrainians wanted to kick my dear mother מ"י and I succeeded in covering her, and I absorbed the kick and also a slap in the face. I saw all our neighbors, near and far, and relatives around us who were also treated this way. Among the pandemonium, I saw the officers of the 'Herrenvolk' with cameras as they were taking pictures of the scene.

Consumed by fear, pain and shame, we reached the 'Schloss' above which hovered an icon of the Holy Mother. This was the assembly point. Pails of water stood here for the cleaning of the jail and the palace. The gentile women stood and laughed at us to which the thugs heaped cruelty upon us. Screams reached up to the heavens; I remember how my mother, sister and me, succeeded in getting away from the horde that had removed all restraints, enable us to sneak away down an alley beside the Fishinsky-Rosenberg pharmacy, in order to reach my sister's residence house where she lived in the Leiner family house, the owners of the candle factory., on *ul. Niezwytowska*. We wanted to go by way of the 'old garden' to the non-Jewish street, in order to find refuge there. During our flight, seized with fear and terror, we heard the groaning and wailing, the residue of the cries from the Tailors' Streets, *Szpitalna, Lvovska* and even from streets that were further away. Among the voices, I was able to discern the voices of the Fukrad family, Salka and Rozhka, the family of Shimon Apfel and his daughters, the Lampeltz family, the Rabinovich family, the Kalkhman family, the Schneider family, and also many other voices of families known to me. These screams of fear came along with us to the stairs into the old garden, the proper expression for the human feelings, of suffering, fright, the proper expression of human emotions of suffering, fright and fear of death, and these penetrated my innards and etched deep wounds into my heart.

On the downward stairs from the garden, we encountered a Ukrainian priest named Balasz, who went with his daughter to see what was transpiring in the *Rynek*. Because I personally knew them, I was emboldened to ask what their youths were doing. They answered 'yes' gratified and calmly, 'they are only beating, not killing, it is nothing and it will pass.' Afterwards we discovered that they knew what was happening from the start and were going to view the scene.

This was how we reached my sister's house, we were trembling out of fear and we cried over the bitterness of our fate, we worried about our father who remained in the hideout, and also, we were not certain that the hooligans would not reach us here. At five o'clock we again heard the ringing of the church bells and the anger of their sound. We learned that the hours given to the thugs and the youth to remove restraints and to allow for the wickedness that was in them, had finished, and full of terror and fear, we returned home. There we found a complete upset, everything that had value had disappeared, but we were fortunate to encounter our father מ"י who up till now was in the hideout.

The storms of that day continued until they were over. On that night, a fire broke out in the pig sty of Mocowski who lived in our neighborhood, and once again pandemonium and mass confusion, but they were able to extinguish the fire quickly. It was night already, and we sat in the house dressed with our coats on, and we were afraid to sleep. Suddenly we heard knocking, and after them three thugs from 'Wala Wysocka' burst into our room, and shouted, as if in German: '*Jüden, warum nicht Schlafen Ach?*' (Jews, why are you not asleep?) They robbed us of several things of value, and continued to add

their abuse and pain and left the house. We put out the light, and sat as we did in previously days for that whole night. For that entire night, we heard knocking and screams coming from the nearby houses.

This is how our chapter under Nazi rule began. Further days of this kind were heaped upon us under the rule of Ukrainians and *Volksdeutsche* during the two years of the Nazi rule. But the screaming that I heard when Nazi rule was first imposed did not leave me for the entire time, and it was those that gave me the strength to tolerate everything, to flee and conceal myself under even more difficult circumstances, between boulders, between scrap, underground in narrow holes, in hidden places, everything, in order not to encounter those human beasts, looking for prey.

2. The Appearance of the City After the Retreat of the Germans

In July 1944, the Soviets drove out the Germans from the cities of Galicia, including the city of Zolkiew. I remained alive at a distance from Zolkiew, and I was overwhelmed during the first days, and I cursed the liberation day, because it was an unusually distressed time. I was ashamed for having remained alive and to lift my eyes to the light of day, but what is done, is done. I had no regrets, I know that my entire family had been exterminated, and initially, I deferred the idea of traveling back to the city of my past, and also for a short time, because how could I go to a place that had caused me so much that was bad. That every stone in it was stained with the blood of our dear ones. How could I lift my head in front of the eyes of the gentiles, who showed not a single sign of remorse for the shameful attitude they took towards us even after the Holocaust, quite the opposite, they felt that they were fortunate in what had happened to us. They literally enjoyed and also derived much pleasure from the fact that they pillaged and even inherited, and also enjoyed what they did to the Jew.

But life restrains everything, and despite my efforts, I am alive. I also began to think about the possibility of encountering Jewish scions of the city that survived by fleeing, and this thought grew stronger, and gave me courage to visit Zolkiew and to meet Jews that had remained alive, in the hopes that I might find a cure for my soul among them. It is hard to describe how I felt when I entered the city where I was born, where my parents were born, and where I grew up. It seemed to me that I had entered a forest that stood witness, and I was tossed to a place where there was a feast of beasts of prey who slaughtered living people, and ate the limbs from that living person. In my imagination, I saw these beasts of prey tearing the living people to pieces, and I could see the stains of the spilled blood before my eyes. It was a calamity to me that this was not a dream but the bitter and terrible reality! Therefore bloodstains could still be seen on the stones of the city everywhere I put down my foot. The attitude of the gentiles added a further insult. I saw in each Jew someone demanding a return of plundered goods, the Jews were like icicles in their eyes. I felt bad in Zolkiew, I imagined myself that I am among the beasts of prey, lying in ambush waiting to attack me. And unfortunately, many of the remnants were slaughtered by the local murderers (not Germans). It is not possible to describe emotions, but I will attempt to briefly describe the reality: the city made a bleak impression upon my entry to it. The destruction of the community and the Jewish culture stood out for the eye to see, and it was not only the living that they killed, but they even gave no rest to the dead. Uncivilized things were done in the cemetery, they took out the headstones, broke them up to make gravel and to pave roads, and the field left as pasture for cattle. The smaller synagogues had disappeared entirely, and the Great Synagogue was torn down, its walls stood straight and shouted to the heavens about the evil and abuse that had been visited upon them. This was an historic Synagogue, centuries old, recalled for its splendor in our

literature. Houses that were occupied by Jews could be found on the streets of: *Rynek, Kolomyja, Lvovska*, and also there were gentiles living in our house, most of whom participated in its destruction, and we lacked the capacity to take vengeance. Jewish homes that had stood vacant in the past, and from which all the furniture was taken out, and left behind wreckage. Jewish homes inside the Ghetto, on the streets of, *Sobieska Piekarska, Turyniecka, Sznicraska* and others, were practically entirely destroyed. Because we knew that ‘*our good neighbors*’ looked for hidden things, and they bored into these houses that belonged to Jews like jackals, tore up the floors, tore down the walls, bathrooms, cellars, etc.

Only individuals remained from the large community, and they are wounded in the heart and soul forever. I found these who were still alive: Melman, the Patrontacz family, Reitzfeld and others that had gathered in their houses.

After several days, I left the city of my past, that I loved so much, with a broken heart, and a soul wounded forever. I could not find a city in Europe that had a place for me, and I found my home only on our Land, in the Nation of Israel, and I live in it, fearlessly, and standing tall.

Zolkiew, My Alienated City

By Rachel Kaldor (Eikhl)

My city in a strange land, you are dear to me, my city
You have the glint of the morning dew, you have the beginning of my
spring,
You are a source of the History, Gaonim came from you,
You have the splendor of a Synagogue, vibrant Jewish life.

And an active youth in you, torn from the Diaspora
Its eyes look toward Zion, to redemption and freedom,
Seeking a change to life and language, to work,
Went out for training, the training of body and soul.

My city in a strange land, what is your hostility to a city of exile
How you have become transformed in a short day – hostile, alien,

How did you slake yourself with the blood of the martyred and tortured
And denied refuge to your killed Jews

My city, a city of horror, what do you seek the city of betrayal?
Why has your light been snuffed out, why has your sun not set
At the time that hordes of the sacred flock were taken to the slaughter
The old, women, children, babies, innocent and honest?

And therefore Zolkiew, my city, wrecked and you no longer exist...
Until you again see the light of the sun, until your name is again recalled.
Only an awful, huge mass grave,
Will shake up the paths of the heart, frighten, and stun .

Testimony²²³

²²³

From the testimony of the Jewish History Foundation in Warsaw, translated from Polish.

1. Witness Collection No. 1213²²⁴

By Giza Ptarniker

Born in 1924 in Nadworna

... After we fled the emissary for Belzec, a small girl and me came to Zolkiew (ten kilometers), barefoot and half naked. There an ‘*Aktion*’ was already underway. Together, we were a large group of refugees that were seized and brought to the square, and there were other Jews there already.

It is February 22, and it is cold outside. We sat on the square with the Zolkiew Jews for days and nights. The Jews gave us bread, and this was the first time we had eaten in four days. On the following day, they ran us to the trains, and one woman, her name was Cyckes, the wife of a teacher in Zolkiew, who was born in Tarnow, gathered the precious stones and money from all of the detainees and then redistributed equal shares to everyone, in order that they could pay for saving their lives, at a time it might be required during an escape. We came straight to the issue inside the train car. We did not have the time for much rumination, because the distance from Zolkiew to Belzec was not great.

When we had gotten five kilometers from Zolkiew, I jumped from the train, together with the little girl. I went to the village to one farmer. He received us very heartily and fed us and gave us drink, and held onto us for the whole day, and at night, he showed us the way. I walked back to Zolkiew. The ‘*Aktion*’ was complete. I remained in the Ghetto for six weeks. There was no hunger there, but the overcrowding was terrifying. From here – a Typhus plague. The Polish populace got along well with the Jews. There were many jumpers ‘parachutists’ as they called the Jews saved this way, by the Jews in Zolkiew. The Jews of Zolkiew willingly helped them. Jews like the ones I encountered in Zolkiew I have not so encountered to this day. A Polish woman, the wife of the engineer who wanted to rescue me, took me to her house as a childcare giver. The ‘*Banderovtzes*²²⁵’ tortured us and pursued us in a terrifying manner.

The Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute
(Signature)

(Signature)
T. Bernstein

Consistent with the source. Signed: T. Bernstein

²²⁴ This witness account was written in 1946 in The Central Jewish History Committee in Cracow

²²⁵ A Ukrainian militia under the command of Stepan Bandera, which fought any (German, Russian, Partisan) group with the objective of forming an independent Ukrainian nation. Ukrainian groups of this sort were viciously anti-Semitic.

The process of obtaining witness accounts:

In the 'Bunker'

Provider of the Testimony
By Rachel Zimmer of the Hecht Family
Father's Name: Joseph
Mother's Name: Sabina of the Hibner Family
Profession: Teacher
Domicile: Bytum, Prus Street 22.

In March of 1943 I no longer had parents, and I lived with my husband in the ghetto. After the last *Aktion* of the camp occurred, all that were left were a few women, old people and invalids. We sensed that the days of the Ghetto were numbered. During the Soviet rule, my son made the acquaintance of a Polish woman with whom he fell in love. This woman wanted to save our entire family. She lived not far from the Ghetto with a woman named Sokolova, who lived under very difficult conditions.

Her brother-in-law advised her that she should take Jews into her house and hide them, and this will improve the situation. Sokolova agreed, and my brother built a 'bunker' in her stable. She lived on *ul. Turyniecki* in Zolkiew. There was a horse and a cow in the stable, and a sty for pigs. There were rabbit cages stuck on the walls. Having all these animals, caused our sense of security to strengthen. The 'bunker' was underneath the pig sty, and the entrance to it was through a shelf in the floor, that was covered with feces. Five people slept in the bunker, all – on one side. When one of them wanted to turn over onto the other side, it was necessary for everyone to turn over, as if ordered to do so. One could only sit bent over. But we had electric light, that my brother had repaired. The highlight event at the time we fled from the Ghetto was the arrival of a German Committee from the city of Lvov, who looked for an appropriate place for murdering Jews by gunfire. We began our life in the bunker on March 22, 1943.

Many people in the town know of the connection between my brother and the sister-in-law, and they guessed that she hid him. I and others did not know. Someone informed the Germans, and they looked for my brother several times. We had to create a false-front story. My brother wrote letters, and Sokolova's daughter traveled to Zhitov with the letters, in order to mail them from there, and to create the impression that he really was in the camp.

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7 swiateln z listem Sz. P. z 21.VI.br. w celu przesłania przesyłki
ze strony Józefa Hochberg (ur. 1892) i Racheli Zimrod (ur. 2542)
przez wyjazd w samolocie przy Pałacu (nr. 1913), dotyczące losu
Żydów w Łódź w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej.

Kierownik Archiwum
(ul. S. Bergensztajn).

ארכיון היסטורי של יהודים
מוסד היסטורי של יהודים
מוסד היסטורי של יהודים

Page 595/596: An Accompanying Polish Letter from the
Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw Regarding the Transfer
of the Witness Accounts.

After a while, the sister-in-law put on a face in front of the neighbors, as if she had received notification that my brother had died, and for several days, she walked around crying and with tears. Despite this, many details of the truth came out about her. The neighbors followed her around and paid attention to the fact that she bought food in large quantities, more than for only one person.

Once the Ukrainian policemen encountered her while she was preparing food pockets, and they saw that the large number was more than needed by one person. They 'jumped' on the hayloft and called out: 'Come out, Jews, come out!' They walked about, knocked, searched, but they did not find the floor covering that masked the entrance to the pig sty. The floor covering was always closed from the center side, and open on the second side. There was always a guard there, who saw everyone that came and entered the yard. We, Sokolova and the sister-in-law had agreed-on passwords and also 'bells.' We were – silent rabbits. When the sister-in-law called out: '*Trusz-Trusz*' this was a signal that the danger had passed. We also had melodies we agreed upon: one tune had the meaning to conceal, and another tune indicated that it was now possible to come out. Apart from this, the barking of the dog warned us, whenever a stranger was coming near. Despite all this, there were instances when there was a lapse among us, and a mishap. One of us, his name was Blumenfeld – was sick with Typhus and he was constantly coughing. One time, a strange farmer came who wanted to see the cow, and Blumenfeld could not contain himself, and was forced to cough. My brother had a friend, Timofiyev, and he had talked with him about going over to the partisans. After a while, Timofiyev received an order to go to the S. S., which the sister-in-law revealed to him previously. Without foreknowledge that she was the one hiding my brother, he told the sister-in-law about it, who on one day drank too much and came together with a *Volksdeutsche* to look for Jews inside our premises. We were convinced that we were lost. For the first time, Blumenfeld had a hemorrhage, and from then on he spit up blood continuously.

We knew, only too well, that he was the source of contagion by a terrifying sickness, and all of us were sentenced to breathe the confined air that he also was breathing. All of us armed ourselves with poison and grenades, in order that in a fateful hour, we will be able to exact revenge and die. One time Blumenfeld was standing by the entry and did not pay attention to the people coming near to us. This was the lady of the house, and the Ukrainian informer named Bacz. When Blumenfeld saw them, he lost his mind and jumped onto us through the floor entry, and in this way, he revealed our hiding place. But a miracle happened. Bacz did not betray us, he said to the sister-in-law that she should not worry, because from the vantage of 'watch out for me and I'll watch out for you' – he will help her now, and it could be that a day will come that she will be able to help him. People at that time were already thinking of the possibility that the Soviets would arrive, and they wanted to leave themselves a way out.

Incidents like this, and others like them, happened all the time: Someone would see a head appear, another might cough, or sneeze in front of a stranger non-resident. Blumenfeld's illness became more severe with each passing day. The sister-in-law turned to the Ukrainian doctor Kupistianski and told him everything. He was taken aback and became frightened to his heart, because in the entire surrounding area there were rumors of Poles being imprisoned for hiding Jews. Despite this, he did not withhold his help from her, and gave injections and medicine to the patient, all with no charge. The sister-in-law cooked for us, and brought food into the stable in a pail covered with a rag. Many, many people inferred that there is something clandestine going on here, but to our good fortune, none of them informed on us. We had many difficult moments. Not far from our hideout, was a Jewish cemetery, and from there the sounds of gunfire reached our ears, and the screams of Jews who had been extracted from their hiding places and bunkers, and were murdered there.

One woman asked that she should have her neck broken in order that she will not have to look death straight on. Another woman asked to be shot all over her body, just not in her head, because she did not want them to damage her face with gunfire. On one occasion, a mother was brought with her two children. She asked to be killed first because she does not want to see her children die.

We had contact with Jews in the forest, who sent necessities to the sister-in-law, so she could exchange them for food. One time they were grabbed, and the sister-in-law saw how they were taking them, all of them, to the torture place. We were very frightened that they would turn us over, because the Germans tortured the ones they seized, in order that they disclose the hiding places of others, but they did not reveal where we were.

The Soviets entered in July 1944. The first of the shrapnel set fire to a doorway entrance close to ours. Our condition bordered on giving up. To go out? – but the Germans are still in the city, to stay – that meant being buried alive. The sister-in-law stood on the roof and by herself started to put out the fire, paying no attention to the hail of bullets of the spreading battle. Others helped and succeeded to contain the flames.

Witness signature: Rachel Zimand

Protocol written by: Ida Glickstein

The Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute

Aligned properly with the source (Signature).

Signed by: The Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw

Number 794/1 1892

By Joseph Hochner

His parents were well-to-do lumber merchants. He finished seven classes of the elementary school and a course in commerce. He was an expert in the technology of trees (from Main) and up until the war, he worked at this profession. At the beginning of the conquest, he continued at first to work at his field under German supervision, and afterwards in concert with the direction of the authorities, was released as a Jew from this type of work. He lived in Wroclaw, as a storekeeper. He has no one. He lost all of his family, both near and far in the conquest. During the time of the 'Aktion' in Zolkiew he was seen to be Enlightened. His experiences and the tales of the Ghetto in Zolkiew, he relates in an artistic manner, even though he tires quickly. In his story, he makes use of lists. There, the events are given in a chronological order.

1. The City of Zolkiew

The town of Zolkiew, like all of the towns of the book of the East that was past, has a Jewish character. Approximately 7,000 Jews that lived in Zolkiew most were craftsmen and retail merchants. This was a backward element, very religious and fanatic, that believed in miracle-working *Rebbes (Tzadikim)*. The well-to-do aristocracy was a large group of working intelligentsia, and there were wealthy merchants, part of which can be counted as *Hasidim*.

At the onset of the conquest, the population grew by one thousand Jews, refugees from Warsaw, and the provinces of western Poland, that in those days, had already engaged with the Germans, and from their tales they saw the denigrated life that awaits them in the country of Hitler. Accordingly, they did not know that a tortured death awaits them, a death that was quite fast in coming. They also did not want to believe any of it, and if someone with insight who stood on their hearing of the issues, explaining to them, and proving the facts to them. Immediately after the onset of the conquest, and the liquidation of the small Jewish settlements in the area, a stream of 4,000 Jews reached them from Mosty'-Wielki and Kulikovo.

When the conditions in the Zolkiew Ghetto worsened, a part of the Jews there, approximately 600 fled to Mosty' since at that time there was a more tolerable labor camp there, and the food was better.

There were no illegal escapes to the Soviet Union at all. It was very difficult to get out of there supported by Aryan papers, because in the surroundings of the little town, in which everyone knew everyone else, there were no lack of informers. The Germans did not impose any prohibitions on the populace, but only the condition of sanitation, that were made very difficult, and also the access to food, constrained the number of births, and a swift death came here easily.

During the Typhus epidemic close to 1,500 people died. A day did not go by in which there weren't 20–40 funerals.

At different times, about 10 Jews from Austria and Czechoslovakia came to Zolkiew. They largely came alone, and at the beginning their condition was much better than that of the local Jews. The Germans did not mark them at the beginning, and the Germans gave them a variety of tasks. A number of them were exterminated during the time of the *Aktion* in the Ghetto. The remainder – 'to the Janow Camp.' Not one of them was ever rescued, even if one of them, Max Schlusser from Vienna enjoyed special privileges from the Gestapo men... in being able to see the future, even the Gestapo people regardless of their status, themselves, and even their wives and beloved ones took advantage of his forecasts and advice.

2. The Relationship to the Jewish Populace During the Conquest

The relationship of the Germans to the zolkiew Jews did not differ from the relationship to the Jews in the entire area of conquest.

Beatings, plunder, abuse and murder did not cease for the entire time. The local authorities exerted themselves to exceed what they were given to do. And the local authorities were the ones, the ones that sent messengers to the Germans and requested that they erect a Ghetto, and afterwards, to speed up the '*Aktionen*' to exterminate the Jews. They requested that Zolkiew should be a purely Aryan place of residence. The local populace (Ukrainians and the *Volksdeutsche*) organized militia divisions, that were facilitators for carrying out the orders of the German leadership. They followed after, and seized those who fled the Ghetto and of their emissaries that went through the city, and turned the Jews over to the *Gestapo*, but in general, they murdered them on the spot.

3. The First Methods of Oppression

The first appearance of the western ‘carriers of the culture’ was the act of burning down the ancient Synagogue. The Germans burst into the Synagogue, which was established, as legend has it, by Sobieski, and plundered all the assets that had any value. They opened the Torah scrolls and threw them on the floor and trod on them with their feet, and afterwards when they were drunk with victory, they poured benzene into the Synagogue and set it on fire. The Synagogue stood on fire for two days, and the fire consumed the Jewish houses in the area also, and they too were burned down.

On the following day, the head of the city of Czerfolowiec was taken into the hands of the commandant. His first act— giving permission to conduct a pogrom. He encouraged Ukrainian thugs of the ‘Black Hundred’ who wore yellow-blue armbands – entered the church after they had received the blessing of the local priest, went out in order to run amok. The pogrom lasted for three hours. The sound of smashed glass was heard on the Jewish street, wild shouts of the Haidamaks and the wailing of desperation of the beaten Jews. At five o’clock the pogroms ceased with the ringing of the church bells by the priest.

On the following day, the creation of the *Judenrat* was announced, and they were given quotas of work, and the orders appeared for the donning of armbands, and prohibition to be out of doors after seven o’clock, a prohibition against forming a group, prohibition against entering the park and ul. Mickiewicz, a prohibition to walk on the sidewalks and an order to turn over bicycles and radio sets. After this, a Commission of Jewish doctors was established. The Jews were divided into three categories. The third category was for those who were most sick, and these did not go out to work because of weakness. You can appreciate that the wealthy Jews by using bribery, attempted to be assigned to this third category, which protected them from going to work, and abuse. On June 30, 1942 a community-wide fine was levied against the Jews, in the amount of five kilograms of gold, 150 kilograms of silver, and one half-million Zlotys. In order to assure that this payment will be made on time, the Germans detained ten hostages, among whom were Pust, Sobl and others. After receiving the contribution, the hostages were released. On July 1, they arrested the members of the ‘*Komsomol*’ M. Hamerman, H. Hamerman, and L. Kraus. These that were arrested never returned.

From that time on, the Germans would frequently enter the *Judenrat* in order to receive gifts, and they deluded the Jews into believing that in this way they will save their lives.

Apart from these ‘taxes’ the Jews were compelled to turn over all their fur coats. The *Judenrat* set a daily quota of Jews, in the first and second category, for heavy labor. Part of them were sent to work on the roads. Every German that passed through their path thought that part of his obligation was to beat or curse the workers.

The second category was assigned to work in the barracks. Here, they cleaned horses, cattle, vehicles and tanks, and they also cleaned up yards and toilets. Part of them were sent, under the Commandant’s orders from a part of the Stoykewiec building, that he was especially fond of, and assaulted the Jews physically and with mockery. All these groups would return to the Ghetto. Apart from them, there were an additional two groups, that lived in a set location

in Wiezenberg (ten kilometers from Zolkiew) and in its sheds, comprised of a thousand men, approximately, who worked steadily in the fields. The Jews were compelled to turn over all of the cattle to the Volksdeutsche. There were approximately 10,000 Jews in the Zolkiew Ghetto.



I. Personalia świadka.

Hochner Józef urodził się w Żółkwi 12 grudnia 1913 roku. Rodzime były zawodami kupcami drzewnymi. Ukończył 7 kl. szkoły powszechnej i kurs handlowy. Z zawodu jest drzewiarzem (brakiem i do wojny pracował w tym zawodzie. Podczas okupacji początkowo kontynuował swą pracę pod kierownictwem Niemca, a potem zgodnie z rozporządzeniem władz niemieckich pracował jako Żyd. W chwili obecnej zamieszkuje we Wrocławiu i jest właścicielem sklepu. Jest samotny. Rodzina bliźnia i daleka stracił podczas okupacji w czasie "akcji" w Żółkwi. Wygląd inteligentny. Swoje przesycia i dzieje getta Żółkiewskiego opowiada barwnie, ale omija co się należy. W czasie opowiadania korzysta z notatek, gdzie ma odnotowaną chronologię wypadków.

II. Dane demograficzne.

Miasteczko Żółkiew, jak zazwyczaj wreszta miasteczka b. krajów wschodnich, nosiło charakter żydowski. Około 7.000 Żydów zamieszkujących Żółkiew stanowiło w swej masie element drobno-rzemieślniczy i drobnokupiecki, racofany, głęboko fanatyczny religijny, wierzący w swoich rabinów i w cuda twórców (cadyków). Bogactwem patrycjat to była nieliczna inteligencja pracująca i bogaci kupcy-chałazyści. Na początku okupacji ludność miasteczka powiększyła się o tysiąc Żydów - uciekinierów z Warszawy i Zachodnich Województw Polski, którzy już wtedy mieli styczność z Niemcami i przeznaczeń tego wygotowania które ich czekało w Hitlerlandzie. O tym, że oczekuje ich tak szybko i tak niesczerna śmierć nie wiedzieli i nie chcieli wierzyc jeśli nawet ktoś bardziej świadomy tłumaczył i paradował. Wkrótce po rozpoczęciu okupacji i wraz z likwidacją okolicznych małych skupisk żydowskich, napłynęli Żydzi z Mostów W. i Kulikowa w ilości około 4.000 osób. W miarę pogorszenia się stosunków w getcie w Żółkwi, coraz więcej Żydów w ilości około 600 osób uciekło do Mostów, gdzie w tym czasie był ośrodek pracy o łagodniejszym charakterze i lepszym odżywianiu. Nielegalnych ucieczek do S.S.K.M. nie było. Na aryjskie papierozy było bardzo trudno się wydostać gdyż w miasteczku brakowało stoczni, gdzie wazyłoby się zająć nie brakło donosicieli. Niemcy nie stosowali żadnych nakazów populacyjnych, ale same warunki środowiska, niezmiernie ciężkie, oraz sytuacja administracyjna hamowały ilonę normalnych narodzin. Natomiast śmierć zabierała tu obfite ilości. W okresie epidemii tyfusom zmarło około 1500 osób, nie była to liczba bez 20-40 pogrzebów. W różnych okresach przybyło do Żółkwi z Austrii i Czech około 10 Żydów. Przybywali oni przeważnie pojedynczo i po-

כתובת חשודה (במילגרת) של חוד תמוז תש"ד

4. The Ghetto

On October 25, 1942 the Ghetto was organized in accordance with the order of the German authorities in Zolkiew. The ghetto was surrounded by the streets of: Turyniecka, Snicarska, Bazilanska, Sobieski, Dr. Reich, Gansza, Piekarska, and a few more small streets.

The Ghetto was surrounded by a barbed wire fence. The windows and doors of the houses on the border that looked out onto the Aryan side were closed and covered with barbed wire. In a short period, the non-Jewish residents were removed from these streets, and in this area, a horde of Jews were placed, about ten thousand people. Apart from the Volksdeutsche, to Aryan populace was forbidden to enter the Ghetto, and the Jewish residents – were forbidden to leave it. After which Aktion, the Ghetto shrunk, and on March 25, 1943 the boundaries of the Ghetto were compressed with only *ul. Piekarska* serving as a boundary. There were five men in the *Judenrat*. Dr. Rubinfeld was appointed as the chairman. Apart from him, service people were designated, organizers, who wore hats with a blue band and also yellow armbands.

Among the cadre of organizers, it is necessary to identify Yegor Hamiur, who excelled especially in thoroughness, He dealt with the plunder of Jews that was hidden in the bunkers, and afterwards turned them over to the Germans.

The practical language used by the Jewish leader was Polish. The Jews had no use for courts, and within the Ghetto, it was the cellar that served as a place to store things, and was also the place where everyone met who had been given an assignment.

5. Economic Life

First, they set a weekly food quota in this amount: a quarter of a loaf of bread, ten portions of sugar, and grits with gravy. The Jews received special cards, and the cards were used to obtain necessities in the Jewish stores. This quota did not suffice, and therefore everyone tried to get additional food by other means, especially doing this through the barbed wire fence: they would barter a variety of valuables for food requirements, that were brought by the Ukrainian populace.

The *Judenrat* ran a kitchen, where midday meals were given to the poorest of the people. Within the ghetto boundaries, the Germans created a fur processing factory. From the standpoint of the authorities the Germans dealt with issues of the Jews through – a '*Landeskommissar*' (a Regional commissar), Jantz, but in a direct way consistent with life in the Ghetto as set by the *Aufsturmführer* from von Papa. As I have already recalled, the advisory council of the Ghetto and the organizations created, had the characteristics of a charity-institution, and mutual help. Because of the difficulties

in acquiring adequate amounts of food, the Jewish populace became impoverished and there was a spread of disease. Apart from the kitchen for the poor, they also ran a hospital, and old-age home, and an orphanage. The manifested a special concern for the 'jumpers' because they knew the Jews who jumped from the trains that were going to Belzec. When the Jews reached the conclusion that the trip to Belzec meant extermination, and not the way the Germans had previously argued, that this was a trip to a work camp – and so everyone tried to jump from the train car during the trip, and each Jew held either a knife or a chisel and cut an opening through the ceiling or wall, in order to jump during the train trip. Despite the fact that the train cars were guarded by the *Gestapo*, people jumped in droves, because they preferred death under the wheels, or by a guard's bullet instead of a certain death by (poison) gas. In this jump was hidden a trace of hope of a chance to be rescued. Those jumpers that succeeded to escape were saved in the Zolkiew Ghetto, because all of the detainees that were sent passed through there.

There were no schools in the Zolkiew Ghetto. The wealthy taught their children at home. The pressure that pervaded the Ghetto and also the difficult struggle to stay alive, did not offer any opportunity to gain satisfaction from cultural life. There also was no independent underground movement, and therefore there was no connection with underground movements in other Ghettoes, or with the underground movement on the Aryan side. There were two Rabbis in the Ghetto, 'A Real Rabbi' Rimmelt, who came in from the United States, and also a local Rabbi, Abba Rabinovich. For a period of time there was a secret house of worship. But the religious Jews would enter by and large in small groups into ordinary houses, in order to pray together. The single convert, Bass, lived for a long time outside of the Ghetto, but when he began to run a merchandise business with the Ghetto in substantive amounts, he was informed on by his Aryan competitors. He was settled in the ghetto and he was killed in one of the *Aktionen*. There were no prominent personalities in the zolkiew Ghetto, and therefore there were no trained organizers, that could arouse the distressed masses and be their leaders.

6. Liquidation of the Ghetto

The liquidation of the Zolkiew Ghetto took place in stages. All of it was directed at the unquestioned extermination of the Jews.

On February 2, 1942, the seizure of Jews was implemented. At the same time, sixty Jews were taken out and transported to Lacki. On March 1, 1942 they selected about one thousand Jews that belonged to the third category, that is, those not fit to do work, gathered them together in the school building, loaded them onto train cars, and transported them to Belzec. After this, a silence reigned for several months.

Typical of these operations, was that the Germans promised those that remained alive that this would be the last *Aktion*. On November 22, 1942, the Ghetto was surrounded, and a mass murder took place within it. They picked out 2,500 Jews that were sent to Belzec.

On March 15, 1943 an order was issued, that all men from age 14 to age 50 are required to assemble on the field in front of the *Judenrat*, when they are shaved and dressed in clean clothing. It was promised to them that this was not an Aktion at all, but it is necessary to arrange anew a contingent for work.

At the designated tie, a crowd of about 750 people assembled in the field. A German Gendarme gave a speech to the gathered crowd, and announced that they all have to arranged themselves in rows, four to a row, and to go directly to the municipal building, and there they will be allocated to work. They walked this way in rows, four-by-four to each row, until they came to the sports field, and there, they were immediately surrounded by the Ukrainian police. Every one keeled according to an order given, and they remained knelt for hours, until a vehicle with Gestapo men arrived from Lvov, escorted by ten freight trucks and trailers. An order was heard immediately to divide up everyone into groups and load them onto the freight trucks. They went up into the trucks, looking wretched, beaten and pushed around. They were surrounded by S. S. Men and as was later clarified, they were taken to the 'Janow Camp.' From the total number of Jews so grouped, von-Papa chose seven men, among them this writer, and ordered that they be brought to the Ghetto.

After several days, on March 23, 1943, they unleashed the largest *Aktion* in the Ghetto ever. During that day, they transported 3,500 men to the 'Boork' grove, a distance of three kilometers from Zolkiew, and murdered them all. From that time on, the demands and requests of the Ukrainian populace to free Zolkiew of its Jews entirely. And so, on April 6, 1943 the ghetto was surrounded, and that night the final decisive extermination began. 1,700 Jews were murdered, and this was the final Aktion that totally liquidated the Jewish settlement in Zolkiew.

A small group of only 50 souls remained alive, these von-Papa selected the following day, and announced that this group of people will be lodged together, and they will work. If it happens that any member of this group should escape, they will liquidate the entire group, and if a stranger is found among them, or if one of the members of this group will give aid to concealed Jews, the entire group will be shot to death.

Twenty-five people worked with sorting belongings that remained after the Jews left. Ten men were designated to carry the corpses to the cemetery, and ten other ones to drive the dead, and five men were given the task of looking after order in the block. This writer remained with the last of the Ghetto residents, and worked in the burial detail. Daily work began, and at night discussions were held on how it might be possible to be rescued, because it was clear that after this task was completed, all of them will be murdered.

The work of cleaning up the area, accounting for the assets and the bringing of additional victims to be buried, went on for several months. Day-by-day, the Germans and Ukrainians searched for Jews hidden in bunkers, and they shot them in the cemetery. On one night, a group of 28 men decided to escape, including this writer. On July 10, 1943 this escape was activated. Those that remained in the block were liquidated. And from this, one can conclude that on the date of July 10, 1943 all the Jews in the city of Zolkiew were liquidated. This writer, along with two women, hid themselves with a farmer they knew, that permitted them to arrange a hideout for themselves, in exchange for a payment.

At night, they dug a pit in the stable 1.8 meters by 1.5 meters in size, and put in boards and these three should hide in that pit. Every day, the farmer brought them food and told them what was going on in the world. These three people spent 18½ months in this hideout, up until the liberation by the Red Army.

Apart from those mentioned above, approximately fifty people hid themselves in bunkers on the Aryan side. Most of them were saved, and were privileged to see Liberation Day by the Red Army. The wealthy merchant Zaft made himself a bunker in his store, and he hid there with his family. The store was run by a former servant and he would bring them food. One day, there was a gendarme in the store, who detected the entry to the bunker and was drawn to it. As soon as the elder Zaft saw the German, he grabbed a steel rod and struck him but he did not kill him. The German fled and aroused the police. When he saw that the situation had no way out – the father took a shaving razor and murdered the brides and their children, and afterwards committed suicide.

Signatures of the attesting Witnesses: Joseph Hochner, Yitzhak Lerner.

Transcriber of the protocol: Barszininska.

Proof of Transcription Integrity: (Signature)

Signed by: The Archive of The Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw

Our House is Transformed into a ‘Bunker’

By Michael Melman

At the beginning of 1942, no one in Zolkiew had yet sensed the terror of the German *Scourge*, whose actions to exterminate the Jews of Poland were already in full swing. But news had arrived from the telling by eye witnesses who saw and heard about the hordes of Jews taken out of nearby towns and transported to extermination camps. Even in Zolkiew, the first *Aktion* had already been implemented that was symbolic of the *Aktionen* to come after it, in which about 60 of the Zolkiew Jews were taken to Lacki, beside Zolkiew, but in general there was not an atmosphere of desperation; the people of the town still hoped for a good outcome with all their hearts, and even paid significant amounts of money in the form of bribes to the *Gestapo* men in Zolkiew and to the officials in Lvov. It was thought that the money and items of gold that were collected for them did their job, because the enemy turned away from confronting the town without assaulting it, however, after a number of months, it became clear that this respite was only a calm before the storm. By March 1942, an order had come from the *Gestapo* authorities in Lvov to gather up all of the Jews who were listed as ‘limited’, and they were beginning to be transported and detained at the Belzec Camp. But this action was concealed, and was publicized as if the people were being taken to a labor camp, but one of the citizens of the town, not Jewish, who was sent to Belzec in order to trace the detainees, related the things about the terror imposed on them, namely, that this labor camp was nothing but an extermination camp.

In the aftermath of this German deception, the Jews of Zolkiew realized that the payments and valuable gifts only deferred the end but did not eliminate it, and the feeling of peace was only temporary. The Jewish of Zolkiew were confronted with the knowledge that hidden in the future were danger and tribulations, that had already befallen their brethren in neighboring towns, and now, their turn had come.

At that time I was working in a grain-oil factory. Before the German conquest, the factory belonged to us, and it was transferred to the economic organization of Ukrainians called 'Syuwisz..' In the factory, I worked together with Meir Berisz Schwartz, and we were skilled craftsmen, being the only Jews employed to do this. Accordingly, it was within our ability to help out the needy in the city, and especially to provide necessities secretly to the community kitchen that had been created in the town by the *Judenrat*. We would sneak these necessities into them by a side door or if we found them with us at then end of a work day, but we could not depend on this, because these things became known to the authorities.

One day, three Ukrainian police appeared at our workplace at the behest of the *Gestapo*, and demanded that we follow them; they took us to where we lived, and there they carried out a very detailed search, but they did not find anything that would case their suspicion to fall upon us. From there, we were taken to the police station, where we were accused with taking necessities from our workplace. Thanks only to the involvement of the Ukrainian Chief of Police, who knew us, and was a friend to the *Judenrat* of Dr. Shtraich, were we let go.

The atmosphere continued to worsen, train cars loaded with Jews from the towns of Poland, sped through Zolkiew occasionally, and the goal of their path was Belzec. There was no longer any doubt in our hearts regarding the fate of the people on the train. Relief came to us when we discovered the fact that there were brave-hearted souls and had the luck to jump from the death-trains before they reached their destination. From them we heard tell of the systematic liquidation of the Jews in the towns from which they were taken. The atmosphere of distrust that surrounded us got stronger, both oppression and hope beat in our hearts together, when the desperate ones saw the beginning of the end in the two *Aktionen* that were conducted in Zolkiew. And if there were still hopeful people who found some prospect that perhaps some miracle will occur, within the constrained limits of the *Aktionen* and Zolkiew will be spared, it was this idea that the people of the *Judenrat* supported.

Despite the difficult situation, and perhaps, actually because of it, there was a feeling aroused amidst the Jews with the fact that the High Holy Days were drawing near; the question arose regarding a place to conduct services, and the assembly of the Jews for a *minyan*, in the aftermath of the limits placed by the Germans on the Jews of the city.

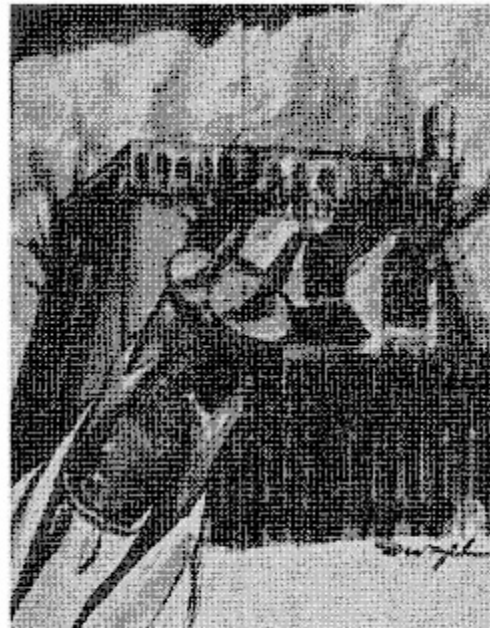
My deceased father, known in the city as Joseph Lauterfacht, and his neighbor Zalman Britwitz decided that the safest place to conduct prayer was our house. The question then arose from where would we get Torah scrolls for the service, since the synagogues in the city, and mostly the Great Synagogue, had been destroyed, for some time already, and all of the Torah scrolls kept there had been sacrificed on 'the altar.' My father helped us out who told of a solitary Torah scroll that he had saved before the entry of the Nazis into the city, and the situation was as follows: as a God-fearing Jew, my father was fearful at the thought that the legacy of many generations will go down into oblivion, only because this is what the German *Scourge* had decreed, he decided to risk his life, and bolstered his courage from the story of the liquidation of the Torah scrolls and took them to the Ziditshov *Kloyz*, and there he seized a *Torah* scroll that in its time was donated by the Patrontacz family to the synagogue, and hid it at the house of Yoss'leh the wagon driver, who lived nearby. Before the action of my father was completed, on one of the days before *Rosh Hashanah*, he stealthily put the *Torah* scroll into the house of Yoss'leh the wagon driver, and wrapped the *Torah* scroll in his prayer shawl in order to transport it to our house. This matter was not accomplished easily, a German guard that happened to cross his path, almost nullified the success of his heroic deed. It appears that his faith stood very much for my

father since birth, and it is possible that he donated this rescued Torah scroll which he donated in honor of his success, and he reached his home without trouble, reaching his home with the *Torah* scroll in his hands. This *Torah* scroll was destined, once again to practically fall into consumption by fire that had broken out, much later, in the square of our house, and it was terrible to try and save our house, in which we had already hidden in the 'bunker.' Again, a miracle from heaven came over us, and by the presence of a miracle, the fire stopped before it reached the hiding place of the *Torah* scroll. Where we assembled for prayer on *Rosh Hashanah*, this was the Torah scroll that my father had saved, and we made use of it during the High Holy Days.

News that began to reach us during the month of October of the same year concerning the cruel deeds that the Nazis perpetrated in the nearby city Rawa-Ruska and the town of Magierow, caused an atmosphere of trembling in our town; Everyone began to fear for his family and himself. People began to rehearse ideas in order to be ahead of the evil and nervousness felt by all. On one of these days, Yehoshua Indyk, who was my friend, appeared at our house and was a member of the Jewish militia designated by the *Gestapo*, but he was always prepared to provide advice and help to those who needed it. From his words we gathered that conditions were very bad, even more than we had thought. He posed his thought to us: to create a hideout for a time of distress in one of the cellars. I brought this who lived as neighbors to us. We decided to alter the Patrontacz family and turn it into a hideout. going to the work at the factory, working appeared to me that we would be able to use the thorn in our side.

In contrast to the method of the '*Aktionen*' of the vain because they would suddenly close off the seize if anyone that happened their way. Because created because all the paths to reach it, that who were doing the search.

We resorted to pushing, to find a way, and after Patrontacz family consisting of three souls had our home. We had created an urgent need for a floor of the room, and which we could descend to of hiring a Christian carpenter in case he would carpenter in our town named Shlitin, an honest, took on the task of doing the implementation



ספרית'רה וצול מבית-הכנסת הגדול הסלה בלהבות (ציור)

Page 610: A Torah Scroll Saved from the Great Synagogue Going Up in Flames (a drawing).

issue in secret to the families of Schwartz and Patrontacz one of the storage areas of the oil factory belonging to We began the work, not losing any time, instead of stressfully day and night, and after a few days it pit that we had dug for our purpose, but there was a

Germans, it became clear to us, that our work was in streets in which they had planned their '*Aktionen*,' to of this, we could not make use of the bunker that we surround it, passed by the eyes of the German guards

the Schwartz family consisting of four people, and the moved into our house, we decided to form a 'Bunker' in skilled carpenter, to open up an entry in the wooden the house cellar at the hour of need. We were suspicious turn us over to the *Gestapo*, and I then recalled a Jewish God-fearing man, and he himself without any bargaining. He worked that whole

night, and we were beside him to help, and with the coming of dawn, the entry into the cellar had been completed. We kept the carpenter Shlitin as a guest in our house until morning, because we did not want him to endanger in traversing the streets during the hours of limitation on going out into the street: afterwards, he returned home unharmed. This is how the 'Bunker' was erected in our house; we added improvements and repairs, in order that we be able to weather a storm when we need to. We kept silent for a while and hoped with all our hearts that our effort will not have been in vain, and it be in the capacity of this hideout to provide us with a secure refuge, and this added to the feeling of security that finally began to nest inside of us upon seeing it.

On 22.11.42 We tried to occupy the Bunker for the first time. This took place after Mundek Patrontacz, who had left his house to go to work as he did regularly, returned on the run and let us know about an 'Aktion' that was about to happen in the city. We had enough time to warn the neighbors and as we entered the house, we immediately discerned the *Gestapo* men getting close to our house. We ran to the bunker, the children with us, and it didn't take a long time until we could hear with our ears and sense with our bodies the steps of the *Gestapo* and their accomplices, walking around upstairs in our house. At the same time we were ten souls in the Bunker, and we spent forty-eight hours which seemed like forever to us. The task of this being the first time that we tested the 'Bunker' for real, put its stamp[on us after several hours, and only the clear knowledge that without this, we would certainly fall into the hands of the *Gestapo*, encouraged us to continue further, and suffer until the was called off. Luck was with us, and we were not seized. When we came out of the 'Bunker' the Germans had already vanished but their trail did not disappear with them, and could be well recognized; valuables were robbed, those things that the Germans were thought to be of lesser value were wiped out or spread all over the house. We only appreciated the extent of the miracle afterwards, when it was made clear to us that in the same *Aktion* hundreds of Jews were taken out of Zolkiew in a direction that was not known to us before...



בית משפחת מלמן בו היה ה"בונקר"

Page 611/612 The Melman House in which there was a Bunker

Our town of Zolkiew that for a long time had emerged from tranquility, was like a pharmacy. Tens of families in the town ran in hysteria in order to find their kin, and even I was taken into the searchers. And it became known to us that among the people who were struck by the bullets of the murderers, was my father, who breathed his last in the Palace courtyard – to where the seized people were brought during the *Aktion*.

When I returned to my house, I was shaken up a second time, when I heard from my wife what happened to her when I was gone; a *Gestapo* man entered our house, in which my wife was and our son who was eight years-old. The German was surprised that there was still a person in the house. He asked my wife where she was during the *Aktion*, and she told him that she was outside the house. Without thinking much, he pulled out his revolver, aimed it at my wife, and was prepared on the spot to complete the work not done by those who came before him. But my wife grabbed my little son, and clutched him to her heart, told the German if she is to die, let her son die also, and begged him to put an end to his young life... and here, the German, in whom

positive feelings of compassion were aroused, suddenly overpowered his feelings of cruelty, and he thought a bit, then returned the revolver to its holster and left the house.

At this time, the pace of construction of the Ghetto in Zolkiew had reached its peak: an assembly of the Jews of the city in a number of streets. Having no recourse, the Jews, in their hordes went into the Ghetto. We also were compelled to decide if we wanted to go over to the Ghetto or find another solution. My wife stood fast on not changing where we lived for any other place, and perhaps for the sake of this double miracle that had already taken place in our house, we stayed there, and we were of the impression that they would not take us out from there.

One day, one of the Christians of the town appeared, a *Volksdeutsche* whose name was Valenty Beck. The latter was in wonder for having found us in the house, in view of the fact that the rest of the Jews had already been transferred to the Ghetto. He explained his wonder in that he was supposed to get our house as his. My wife stood steadfastly on her idea, that no man was going to take us out of our house, and she went so far as to say she would prefer to be buried with her family beside the tree in the yard in front of the house, and to support her words, she even pointed to the tree through the window. It appears that her words penetrated the Christian's heart... after some rumination, he let us know that because she was so determined that we had decided to remain, he will not stand on his demand and even went beyond this by saying that he was prepared to act on our behalf in order to assure our security in the place. We no longer feared him. His offer to help us aroused faith in him. In response to his question as to whether there was a secret hideout in the house, because he had heard that other Jews had such who did not go over to the Ghetto, we then revealed to him the truth about the location of the 'Bunker' in our house. We continue to talk with him, and we consulted together on what to do, in order to assure that the thing would succeed. He raised a concern that the Christian workers that were hired by our factory are liable to suffer the entire matter and it was therefore decided to spread a rumor that we had abandoned the house and went to the Ghetto. In the end, we also explained to Mr. Beck that we will require entry for our family of 3 souls, and also the Schwartz family numbering 4 souls. He agreed to this, and he was even willing much later to add the members of the Patrontacz family, and together we numbered ten people.

Mr. Beck, his wife Yulia and their daughter Aleh, aged 18 came over to live in our house. They took possession of the whole house and its belongings. From that time on, we did not ever leave the house, until it looked like we had left the place. It was agreed with the Beck family that we will cover all the expenses for our sustenance. With the consent of the Beck family, later on, the widow Klara joined us – she being the sister of Mundek Patrontacz who left the ghetto. We continued to live in the 'bunker' this way for several weeks, and our numbers grew from then on. The sister-in-law of Salka Schwartz joined us – she is Rahla Reitzfeld, whose husband was a policeman in the Ghetto, but after a few weeks, she decided to return to the Ghetto to her husband after she found out that he was sick. A young lady came to us in the 'Bunker' Lula Elifant, who was a friend of our family, and also two brothers of Mundek Patrontacz, Artik and Kuba, who fled the labor camp at Mosty'-Wielki. When several months went by, Mr. Beck personally brought the Sztekl couple to the 'Bunker, who owned a pharmacy in the city, and they were counted in our number.

On one day in the afternoon, two of the children of Salka Schwartz reached us. After their parents were taken by the Gestapo, the 9 year-old, Zigu Orlander decided to take his sister Zusha, 4 years-old, to look for his family in our house, his mother and that is how they reached the Beck Family. Their arrival

created a quandary and worry by the Beck family, because this matter was liable to reveal the hideout. The boy begged for mercy to be shown his little sister and not drive her out, because he would leave as well. This time as well, the Beck family showed its good heart and brought both of the children into the 'Bunker.' In total there were 18 souls in the bunker, both adults and children.

There were consecutive tribulations in the bunker; the place was divided into 3 sections. The Melman, Schwartz and Patrontacz family with his brother were to be found in the first section, the rest were divided among the remaining two sections. Previously, straw mats had been prepared, but the straw cause noise, that was also heard in the upstairs residence, a matter that was liable to revealing us, and accordingly, the straw was discarded and they slept on the bunk beds. At firsts we had light only from the electric line we strung from the upstairs residence, and because of the inspections by the Germans of the Beck residence, we did not want to endanger ourselves by using it, and periodically disconnected the wires. The air in the bunker was asphyxiating, this air which e got in small amounts through holes in the walls. Because of the danger, we declined to leave the 'Bunker;'; it was done periodically by the daughter who went up to help out the Woman of the House periodically, Mrs. Beck, when the situation permitted this, especially when it was necessary to empty the pails of the bathroom because of the absence of a facility like the one we had at our house in the 'Bunker.' It was in this manner that we lived in a monotonous state, and because we knew that this 'bunker' was the only refuge from death, and there was no doubt that it was difficult for us to tolerate these inhuman conditions during this part of our lives, when the physical suffering was accompanied by spiritual pain, that was caused us at those times when were heard of the bitter fate of the Jews that were discovered in hiding, or were not able to hide at all.

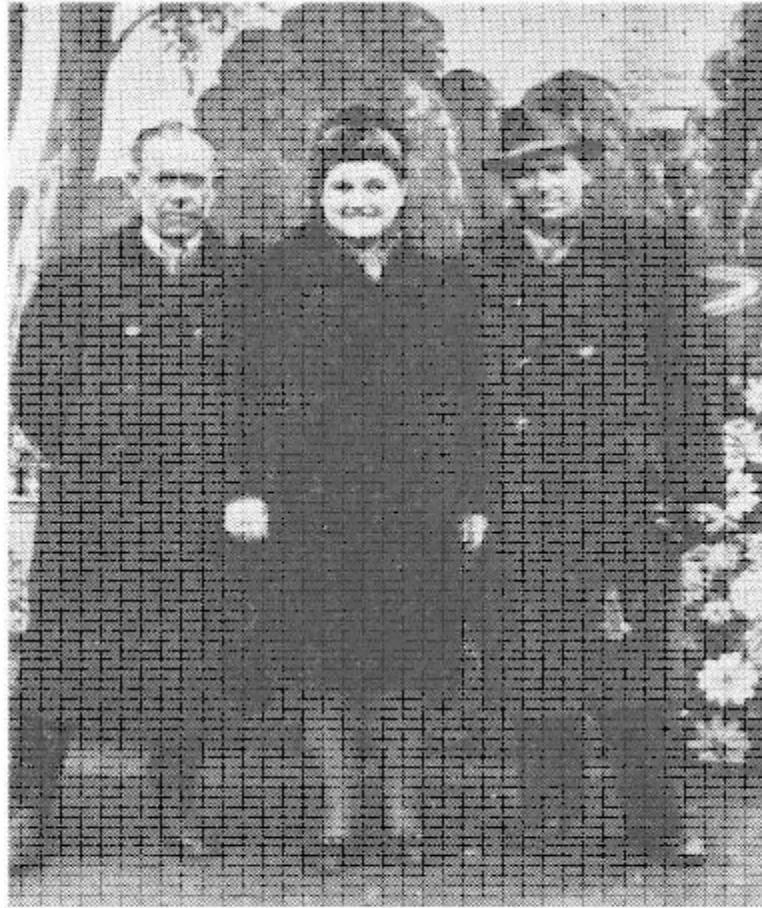
After 20 month of staying in the 'Bunker', Zolkiew was liberated by the Red Army and it was the first time we came out of hiding. The appearance of our city was terrifying and awful, its streets were empty of their Jewish residents, and everywhere there was devastation and fear... the zolkiew community was completely destroyed, the Synagogue and houses of study in Jewish Zolkiew had ceased to exist. We wandered about the streets like orphans, here and there, we found a few Jews who also emerged from hiding, and together we were like the *smoking embers rescued from a great fire*.

I left the city together with my wife and son and went to the refugee camps, and after wandering, we reached Australia, but we did not find ourselves a place there, and in a matter of time we made *aliyah* to Israel. We settled in Ramat-Gan and the same Torah Scroll that my father ל"ג saved and was protected by me through all our wanderings, I turned over to the synagogue of the *Chabad Hasidim* of that place, and that is where I continue to worship/ The remaining families who were with us in the 'Bunker' left Zolkiew and scattered along their several ways, a few came ti Israel and a few I their wanderings got to the United States and Canada.

From the Depths²²⁶

By Klara Kramer (Schwartz)

(A Diary from the Time of the Nazi



conquest in Zolkiew)

משמאל לימין: וולנטי באק, קלרה שווארץ, מיכאל מלמן אחרי
צאתם מן „הבונקר“

Page 615/616(LtoR):

*Valenty Beck, Klara Schwartz,
Michael Melman after emerging
from the 'Bunker.'*

It is the summer of 1942. There is fear and panic in the city.. What is surprising?

Day by day, trains with transports of Jews go through our city in the direction of Belzec, carrying thousands of expelled people in locked train cars. Tens of train cars pass through every day, and there are between 100-150 people in each car. There are thick forests in the ambit of Belzec, and there they are taking this large group to be killed... How do they do the killing? No one knows. There are those who say that they are poisoned with gas, and here we have a rumor that they are all killed by electrocution, and they are burned alive, that they are shot – one thing is for sure certain, from there – nobody returns...

From time-to-time, ‘jumpers’ appear in our city, that is the name we give to those who were able to escape by leaping from the death-trains. What can he lose? Very little... it is better to die on the spot if the jump is not successful, from the clear recognition boring into everyone that they are on the road to extermination.

There are times when people jump half naked, and it is necessary to clothe them, and first of all to bandage their wounds, it is only rarely does a man succeed to jump without wounding himself under such terrifying conditions.

Papcza Fisz a compassionate nurse in that profession – she is the first to speed help to them. This young lady has a heart of gold, and other young women help her, and even I help her. I go with her to all the places that it is necessary to bandage the wounded. We also collect clothing and food. The entire city, the entire Jewish population gives help to the degree they can. The *Judenrat* gives a little bit of money. I spend most of the hours of the day out of the house, in the hospital or in the city, I tremble with fear, that I will not be surprised by any *Aktion* and will also have to become one of the ‘jumpers,’

Almost all of the ‘jumpers’ assemble beside Papcza. We hear from them about the terrifying scenes that pervade the ‘death-trains’, before one decides to jump through the small locked window or the legacy will improve.



קלרה שווארץ, ערב כניסתה, ל'בונקר'

Page 617: Klara Schwartz, on the evening of entering the 'Bunker.'

It is not possible to describe the feeling, the tragedy that covers all of them. Parents – leave their children in the train car. The jumping children – are separated from old parents, husbands leave their wives, brothers cast a parting glance to sisters. Everyone leaves their nearest relative behind – and jumps! He jumps in order to save his life, in order to flee from the talons of death. And what death awaits him – nobody knows. This is the sign of a major question!

At the start, the *Judenrat* began to take an interest in the ‘jumpers’ by providing the necessary help became more and more difficult. The German police forbids all help, and threatens death punishment to anyone who has the temerity to try this. They shoot whoever they seize, with no differentiation as to age or standing: an old man or a youth, a healthy person, or a sick or wounded person...

The Jewish population in Zolkiew is seized with fear and terror, these sit and wring their hands on the loss of their family members and relatives, and others are looking to find a way to save their lives. They begin to dig refuges, ‘Bunkers,’ underground where they could hide. They seek refuge and hiding places with Aryans that they know, and carry on conversations and bargaining.

We have no place in our house suitable for a hideout. My father, Messrs. Melman and Patrontacz somehow begin to prepare two refuges that are separate. One – in the Oil Storage building, and the other beside the home of Mr. Melman. We go out to sleep at Mr. Melman’s house, because the ‘jumpers’ tell us that in the *Aktion* they start early in the morning. Were we at home, there would not be an opportunity for us to reach the hideout in the oil-storage building and in the Melman house we find ourselves much relaxed.

The come the day we will not forget, 22.11.1942.

Yesterday a panic arose among the Jews of Zolkiew. This was on the Sabbath, and they said that the entire city is surrounded by the *Gestapo*. On Sunday, at 5 o’clock in the morning, Mr. Patrontacz went outside to the city to get information. In a minute – he already returned. He ordered to immediately get out of bed and to be in a ‘ready state’. He saw two vehicles with *Gestapo* men and municipal Jewish police, troops from Lvov, that were traveling speedily to the marketplace....

He (Patrontacz) left the house again, and returned immediately because the *Aktion* was going full force. People are being brought over from the gate which is the entrance to the city. Outside, we hear gunshots. The *Gestapo* men are running around the windows. There no longer is time to reach the oil-storage facility. Mr. Melman runs through the yard in order to warn the neighbors, the Britwitz family. He paid no attention to the danger, and entered in a state of panic into their house, and here they are quietly sitting at the table eating breakfast. They did not sense what was going on outside, and before they managed to open the hideout, and one can hear the *Gestapo* men already knocking next door. Melman flees through the back door, Britwitz leaned against and guarded the entry door, standing and waiting, until all the members of his family go down to the hideout, and then he moved away from the door. He began to flee in order to distract the *Gestapo* men and turn their attention and focus past this. He began to run – and them after him. He was seized and added to the transport, but he succeeded to jump from the train car and returned to his house after the *Aktion* ended.

All of us are descending to the refuge (meaning: my parents, my sister Manya and myself, Melman and his wife and their son Igo, and the Patrontacz and their daughter Karolina). The refuge was located beneath the floor of Melman's house. We sat in the dark. A day goes by. Then another day. The candle is not lit since there is no air. People take care of their needs in their places.

Towards evening on the second day – Messrs. Patrontacz and Melman risk their lives and go outside. They return in a few minutes, and in our eyes, that time was – a victory. The *Aktion* was still going on. They saw how his neighbor Luchman was shot to death as while fleeing. We sat for another night in the hideout, and Patrontacz stood watch at the window. Before dawn, he discerned his brother Leib'keh, who was looking for him, because he did know the location of our refuge. Patrontacz called to him. Leib'keh (who was an orderly) came to notify us that the *Aktion* was over, and a messenger from the Jews was emerged from the train station in Zolkiew. We continued to sit in the refuge for another hour to be sure, and then we exited.

In the house, we found aunt Utch'keh with the children and the first of the 'jumpers' – Kahn and Trachtenberg, and Utch'keh's niece.

Aunt Utch'keh during the *Aktion* was at the location by one, a Skivicki. They hid there with her friends and children. Utch'keh looked after her friends that she did not want to go outside, and called for her to enter. The boy suddenly began to cry. He immediately received a sleep sedative, that she had readied for his younger sister Zusha the daughter of the aunt. But the young girl sat entirely in silence and acted like an adult...

In the city after the *Aktion* – there was crying and wailing that was frightening. They were transporting the bodies of Jews that were shot, in wagons, failing to have fled, or they got up after the Gestapo men ordered them to kneel on their knees in the marketplace. They were also transporting those Jews shot when they jumped from the death-trains – these were the corpses of people that the farmers of the area turned over to the Nazis, and they were bodies that froze from the cold, or expired because of hunger. This all in that bitter house, with crying over the loss of relatives that were exterminated in this *Aktion*. The Nazis seized Rela's mother, her brother, and sister-in-law. Her sister-in-law by a miracle, managed to return, but the mother and brother were taken far away.

Pap'keh, Patrontacz's sister – met a cruel misfortune: during the *Aktion* she ran with her daughter to a place in the forest, to the home of a customer of hers, and she did not let them enter her house.

Mr. Tauba told us that he saw Pap'keh lying and hemorrhaging blood. She asked for him to pick her up, and she fell again... the boy was not yet born. Tomorrow, one of the farmers from Wola Wysocka came with the news about Pap'keh. They immediately traveled there, but they did not find Pap'keh, and they could find no trace of her.

In this *Aktion*, they took my friend of the Latzter family along with her parents. She and her mother jumped from the train-car, but her father did not return.

A week after this *Aktion*, the Germans decreed that all Jews must enter the Ghetto.

My father decides: We are not going to go to the Ghetto. We are going to have hide ourselves with an Aryan family. The political situation – was good. We were hopeful that only a few months remained till the end of the war, and up till then we will have to suffer a bit. The Melman and Patrontacz families – were of the same mind. We will stay together.

Mr. Melman reached an agreement with one of the *Volksdeutsche* named Beck who agreed to ‘rent’ the Melman’s house and to give us a hiding place in his house. Klara, the sister of Patrontacz joined our group of ten. Mrs. Klara was a ‘strong sister’ of Beck’s wife, whose mother was a nurse to her. We broadened the hideout, that was located underneath one of the rooms. Because the secret cover that hid the entrance. We installed electric light there, and we found places for electric sockets, and also put up bunk boards, and steps to the bottom. We wanted information in the city, that mark, Melman’s brother and an ‘influential’ person in the Janow Camp, brought us to his house in Lvov, and this is how we disappeared from view.

We lived in the hideout, which was overly monotonous. Midday day meals also were cooked in partnership ‘upstairs.’ but the breakfasts and dinner were prepared below. Everyone bathed according to need, once a week in the kitchen, upstairs, because it was very cold in the hideout. The Beck family was very kind to us. And this together with the relationship of Lal’eh their daughter who worked in the post office. Mrs. Beck had a lovely sister, Mrs. Manya, who came to live in their house. On Christmas Eve were invited by our hosts to an evening meal. It was very happy there, and we participated in singing Christmas songs, we sang, held discussions, and forgot our worries. However, once during the entire night, we were compelled to flee into the hideout, because we heard a ring at the door. But little by little we began to get used to ‘alarms’ of this kind.

On the morrow, Christmas day, the brother of Mr. Beck came to visit us, his sister-in-law and brother Wladek. Being full of wine, Mr. Beck revealed to them that he was hiding Jews in his house... There is no course, because what are we to do? If Mr. Beck accords them trust, we have no choice by to also trust them.

Several difficult days went by. On February 12, the brother of Mr. Melman, Herman, managed to infiltrate to us, and he told us that an individual named Lucki knew where we were hidden. We decided to flee to the Ghetto even though we knew that a Typhus epidemic was rampant there. In the meantime, the task was given to my father and Mr. Melman to find another hiding place for us. My mother went out with Mr. Patrontacz on that same night, and the remainder were brought over by uncle Yossek on the following day, in his role as a policeman, as it were, to a place for work.

On an extremely cold day, my father and Mr. Melman went to a new hideout in the yard that was the past oil-storage facility. The stood ready to return us to the Ghetto, in order to take us there to the new location. The Ghetto made a terrifying impression on me. I imagined myself to be in Lvov, surrounded by barbed wire and despite this, life did hum around me, people circulate in the streets, and all of the detention houses were filled to leaving no empty space. It seems that everyone wanted to eat until full, to forget whatever was possible, and not to think about the terrible and terrifying ‘tomorrow,’ in which was concealed the bitter end... Day-by-day we anticipated an *Aktion*, and why not enjoy life so long as they are living?

The elderly called this ‘the dance of the devils.’ Living conditions were terrifying, with several families living together crowded into one room. In each room, there was someone sick with spotted Typhus. People are dying, and there is no mourning them. It changed so that those who died a natural death were envied. As it became clear, I was lucky, because it was possible to return to Mr. Beck. Meanwhile my mother remained in the Ghetto, in order to sell some of our belongings, but her sister Utch’keh suddenly fell sick with Typhus, and my mother did not want to leave her without oversight and care. In despair, I came to the Ghetto with Aleh Beck, in order to get my mother out of there, but we did not succeed in convincing her to leave, she returned only after three days. This three days, in my eyes were – a victory. I suspected that my mother would become infected with Typhus, and who knows if she will be able to hold on. And then all of us were compelled to leave out hiding place. On the following day, when my mother arrived, our uncle Yossek brought his wife Relah, because a panic was aroused in the Ghetto again, and there was talk of another *Aktion*. To our good fortune, no *Aktion* took place, at the time it was expected, but aunt Relah stayed with us. Uncle Yossek left his son with a working customer. He personally stayed in the Ghetto.

Mrs. Karola also remained in the Ghetto, in order to take care of her family members, most of whom fell sick with Typhus. Sadly, the mother of Mrs. Karola, died, and she returned to us alone.

February 11, 1943

Oh, what a terrifying bit of news! There was an *Aktion* in the town of Mosty’-Wielki. They shot the Jews at the place of assembly, among them they executed aunt Git’cheh and her husband Meir. Omnipotent Gods! How they were envied that they had no children, and they can quietly travel to the same camp, that they thought to be a more secure place. And it turned out they had every opportunity to conceal themselves. They had money, and they had people who knew them, that wanted to take them into their houses. They chose the camp – and it was here that a fate of strong bitterness fell upon them. But there was no time to sink into desperation, because desperation cannot save them. The only consolation was that aunt Utch’keh recovered from Typhus: she had two small children, and she was compelled to remain because of them.

End of February 1943

It is not for nothing that the common saying was that calamities always come in pairs. Two days ago, on the run, a guest nurse came to us, Mrs. Manya, living in the former Beck house. She was seized with fear, because she had found out from the telling of her neighbors that in the time that they vacated the house, the German gendarmes attempted to penetrate her house, being sure that Mr. Beck was still living there. After getting his new address from neighbors, they went. When this became known to her, she ran with all her might to Mr. Beck, in order to warn him. And here, we had just shut the floor entry way when we heard strong knocking. Mrs. Beck opened the door, and we heard heavy footsteps in the room, and the loud voices of the gendarmes. ‘We are looking for Jews.’ We froze on the spot motionless. I felt a cold sweat covers my entire body, out of sheer terror. Suddenly we heard Aleh’s voice, a gay sound, as if from a joke in the mind:– ‘Jews! We have no Jews at all! But perhaps you would like to take me?’... The gendarmes burst out laughing.

It appears that the young lady found favor in their eyes. We avoiding danger completely. After a few seconds, we went upstairs, we heartily blessed our hostess.

In the evening, one of the gendarmes returned for a 'real' visit with the Beck family, but really to visit Aleh. He sat for ore than four hours in the room above us, and we were silent, and it was deathly silence. Even the children sat like two statues, from this time on – this scene was repeated night after night. We sat for whole hours without moving in a terrifying tension, an hour spent with Aleh occupied the gendarme, and he returns to her, until late at night. But we are forbidden to complain. There is one good thing about this, that they are not looking for us. When Aleh was of cold spirit, these being the apex of the danger – we were like lost. It is good that the neighbors see the gendarme came to visit our hostess, This was like putting oil to those who helped us, and this matter adds one that a little to their good name.

The group grew larger now up to 13 people after a new 'resident' joined us, Gedalia Melman.

It was only now that we learned added details on the results of the German gendarme search and of an additional miracle: Jews also hid at Mrs. Manya's, two o the Melman brothers (Herman and Gedalyahu) Lula Elefant and her brother. The gendarmes did not find Mrs. Manya at her home. The neighbors frightened her when she was not in the house, and there were gendarmes carrying out a search there. At evening, her 'residents' fled all over: three of them to the Ghetto, except Gedalyau who came to us.

March 1943

In the Ghetto – the situation had become much more difficult. There is nobody going, and nobody coming, and no one is allowed to leave. Even the orderlies were given special passes. No doubt this matter is 'talked about' there, and that is what happened: Om March 15 in the early morning at the time of the 'assembly' (all the men had to gather for this headcount) and the *Gestapo* vehicles arrived and took them all the Janow Camp in Lvov. The orderlies lined up in a row, and part of them were also taken and transported to the camp. Lula Elefant let us know about this, who had entered to us clandestinely that same nigh. Her husband Herman Melman and her dear brother were also taken to the camp. The endangered young woman remained entirely alone. They took her mother and sister during the *Aktion* in November 1942, both jumped from the train car. To our sorrow, the sister was killed on the spot. Only the mother remained alive. She let Lula know about this via a messenger, and asked her to send a wagon. Lula sent the wagon immediately, and to add to the sorrow, they brought the frozen body of her mother to her...

After a short time, her father died of Typhus, and her fate touched me deeply in my heart. To my great pin, we simply lack the patience to deal with the troubles of the general community. We have more than enough and an excess of our own. Uncle Yossek fell ill with Typhus, Relah is desperate and want to return to the Ghetto, and we don't let her do this. The conditions in the Ghetto are so severe that anyone who attempts to get out by way of the gate, is shot on the spot. Despite our pleading with her, Relah is not prepared to changer her mind. She gave Mr. Beck, as a gift, a ring decorated with diamonds,

and with his help she came in contact with the orderly Leib'keh Patrontacz, and he put his life at risk and came (without the permit visa) and brought her to the Ghetto. Relah left us at the most difficult time, and after a number of days, an *Aktion* was engendered in the Ghetto.

March 25, (1943)

With the coming of dawn, we are lying beside the open window I order to let some fresh air into the asphyxiating hideout. It is about five o'clock. Suddenly, Mrs. Patrontacz starts up in bed and said: – Listen! And we really do hear quite clearly, the rushed footsteps of a horde of panicked people and wild screaming: 'Forward! Forward!' In a second Mr. Beck is knocking on the floor covering to the hideout. Quietly he lets everyone know: The *Aktion* has begun, and the Jews are being led to the grove beside the city, and they are shot there...'

The electric light is put out. We listen in the dark, we pray and fast all day. All of us have relatives in the Ghetto. Towards evening, Mrs. Beck saw the elder Patrontacz among the victims, that are being taken to death. He moved in the vehicle and turned to look over the house, where his children were, and they could not help him...

Mr. Sztekl and his wife, owners of the pharmacy, reached our hiding place in the evening. They learned of our hideout from our uncle Yossek. The pharmacy was outside of the boundary of the Ghetto, and because of that, they were able to elude the *Aktion* — and they say — it is over, but the Ghetto is still being guarded.

On Sunday Mr. Beck brought news from the Ghetto. He saw aunt Utch'keh, our relatives were alive, they bring Yossek since he lapsed into unconsciousness in the refuge inside the Ghetto, and he lay there for three days. My grandmother's sister was killed, and the sister-in-law of Relah and her baby were shot to death an hour after she went into labor. As to my father's brothers, we have no news of uncle David. The entire Patrontacz family was murdered.

In the end – they shot the *Judenrat* people to death, and it was done in a barbaric style. They ordered each of the *Judenrat* men to search for a number of people who were hidden in hideouts and to bring them as substitutes, and have their own lives spared, and then they shot the members of the *Judenrat* as well.

Mrs. Beck told that the appearance of the city after the *Aktion*, was terrifying. Step by step, along the entire road from the city to the grove, one sees corpses in puddles of blood, there are also bodies hung from the barbed wire that encircles the city. And even in the removal of the hapless victims from the place their blood froze in their arteries. The vehicles stopped under the windows of the houses, and bodies were thrown by the Germans in sacks, straight from the upper floors downward. There were sadists that hacked the Jews apart with axes. As for Nuszak, the 12 year-old Patrontacz child, a Gestapo man cut him down with an axe. After the *Aktion* ended, they closed up those surviving remnants in a narrow area on one street. Utch'keh with Yossek and Rila went to live in the house that had previously been used by the *Judenrat*.

Mr. Beck brought news from the Janow camp, he had seen Marc Melman. From his telling, he found out that they had brought adults they had identified during the time of the *Aktion*, and among them they brought Yossek Patrontacz and Lichter and his brother-in-law. Yossek Patrontacz and Herman Melman (who was in the camp for a long time) – told Beck – they are working in the oil factory and their condition was not bad. They sent us oil as a gift. Lichter, who had fallen sick with Typhus a while back, died because of exhaustion and loss of strength, a number of days after he was brought to the camp. The husband of Papka Patrontacz was shot during the tallying period, that was the hour in which they shot every tenth Jew, and regrettably, he was one of those unfortunate ones.

April 1943

On April 6, the final *Aktion* was implemented. This time they ‘cleaned out’ the entire Ghetto. The left 50 men and women alive. It was their task to cover the crumbling graves with dirt. They were compelled to go out to do this work while singing, and whoever refused, and did not sing – a gendarme gives him a whack with his stave on the head. What a horror! This is the product of the sadists! How can you accompany murder with singing?... how can they sing a song beside the graves of thousands of tortured people?!

Among those surviving was the uncle, a brother to aunt Relah. He saw Mrs. Beck, who had sneaked into the Ghetto and brought us bleak news. The Germans killed uncle Yossek by gunfire, and Relah, Utch’keh and Utch’keh’s children remained in the attic of the *Judenrat*. It happened this way: Yossek, Relah and Utch’keh were among the workers left alive after the liquidation of the Ghetto, so that they could work. Utch’keh’s children hid themselves in the attic. When it got darker, and evening arrived, Utch’keh wanted to bring them a bit of food. Yossek went with his beloved sister and was shot to death along with her. The next day they shot Relah... My sister Manya and me began to pray and fast twice a week – for the sake of saving the children.

On that fateful day, April 6th Artik Patrontacz came to us from the camp, and gave us details about the *Aktion* in Mosty’- Wielka, where aunt Git’cheh and Meir were exterminated. At the morning headcount, the ‘Great’ *Gestapo* chief Fieldbrand, came personally in all his glory. He first ordered that a count be taken of all the women, and at the same hour, the *Gestapo* men entered the male camp and immediately surrounded them. Everyone immediately sensed that this was an *Aktion*. A few began to flee. Meir was among the first, but he only made it over the barbed wire gate, and was immediately killed. They brought over the women and stood them in front of a line of the men, not one of them saw that they had brought his wife, but there was no help for this, because a *Gestapo* man stood behind him. They brought Git’cheh, and Artik recognized her and bowed, he hoped she would not look at him, but she did look and called out to him. Having no choice, Artik stepped out of line, and the women passed by him. *Gestapo* men remained in the middle of the field, Artik and Git’cheh. Git’cheh began to hug and kiss Artik and then part from him, asking that he convey regards to all the relatives, and she sobbed bitterly not because she was going to her death, but when she saw Meir had been killed. She pleaded with Artik, that he exact vengeance for their blood, if he should succeed in remaining alive. They stood like this for a few minutes, until the *Gestapo* man shouted: ‘Halt!’ Me ordered Git’cheh to take off her overcoat which he found to his liking and urged her to run and join the lines of women.

In a little while they were taken far out of the city. Along the way, the women sang the '*Hatikvah*.' What sort of 'hope' can one guard in one's heart when going to confront death? Perhaps in the *World to Come*, they will meet their relatives, who are already there, or reach them soon..

The Germans took along twenty grown men to dig graves, and after that they were shot as well. All were compelled to undress, and their belongings were taken to storage.

On April 11th th children of Utch'keh, Zigusz age 9 and Zuszya age 4, came and knocked on the door and said to Mr. Beck, that their uncle sent them, because their aunt Salz'eh and mother are found here. Mr. Beck allowed them to enter his house and brought them to the attic, and he came down to us. I will remember one day until my own last day, everything in the hideout was on the edge of desperation, how can we admit a child of 4 into the hideout? Everyone began to thunder against his uncle. How can you send children on a clear day to send the children into the city, and also tell them where and with whom they have to search for their relatives? In doing so, they endangered the lives of 15 people! The children were not seized, but all of us were lost, A miracle happened, a great miracle, that things did not come to pass like this. It is hard to imagine, that here, two children are walking on a Sunday morning at 10 o'clock in the morning in the street, in which they lived since they were born, everyone knew who they were, and they encountered no one and not one person approached them, not one... had they been able to ask them – they would reveal everything immediately. Fate was for them, and they traversed a length of road that was long as this without interruption. Maybe they were born under a good sign,

This was Mr. Beck's thinking, he advised that he will not send the children outside, that a place has to be given to them in the hideout – 'and what will be will be!' In his deed, he earned his world, it is certain that God will reward him in accordance with his compassion, a hundred times over. Everything was done simply and suddenly, I went up the stairs, I washed the children, cut their hair because their head was covered in lice. I changed their clothes and brought them down to the hideout. I told them that their mother was in Lvov and after the war would certainly return to them, As they entered the hideout, the wife of the pharmacist came immediately to Zusha. The girl hugged her and said: 'I am aware that my aunt Git'cheh was here!.. and it was only then that we saw the resemblance between Mrs. Sztekl and the referenced aunty. Everyone burst out crying.



ויגו וזושיה אורלנדר (בני הרשלייב ואוציקה) אחרי צאתם מן ה"בונקר"

Page 629/630: Zigu and Zuszya Orlander (children of Hirsh-Leib and Utch'keh) upon exiting the Bunker.

On Sunday, April 18th – when I slept beside the open window, I suddenly detected the odor of smoke. Even before I was able to think and determine from where the smoke was coming towards us, we were notified that a fire had broken out on our street. The wind was strong, and the fire spread very quickly. In a minute the house of our neighbor was taken (by fire) and the factory which was three meters from us, which was already engulfed in flames. A number of our group, ran and went upstairs, they pour water on the floor, and here the door began to burn. A terrifying panic seized us all, and we begin to get dressed. A number of us understood that we had to flee, others wanted to remain in the hideout; they thought it better to be asphyxiated in the smoke of the fire rather than fall from a *Gestapo* man's bullet: Outside was death – for sure, this is what was avoided by the seventeen Jewish people who left the house and no one's eye would discern them, because there were a hordes out there. I belonged to the group that wanted to stay in place. I take the children, and together with their mother, we go down into the hideout. We stuff the entry closed in the face of the smoke penetrating inward, and we are sitting surrounded by fire. We are so envious of the pharmacist, when we see the immense crown wandering around. It appeared that it was the fire and smoke

that enabled this panic, and it continues to circle past the burning door, and screamed to her father that stood in front of her: – ‘Father, I am going!’ and she ran to the street.

She was seized beside the Felician convent²²⁷. Two *Volksdeutsche* seized her: Schichtling the engineer and Kinzler. Schichtling brought her to the gendarme station. Manya, who sensed what awaited her disappeared into her refuge and turned to Kinzler with a request, that he tell her parents what happened, ‘when they return after the war from Russia.’ An endangered young girl! And she was (only) 15. I imagine what she must be feeling, unbounded desperation from her innards, and the father, simple in his way, lost his mind. As it happened the day of my fate ended, this being the bitter, most titter day in the year of the death of his mother, who was also seized by the tongues of fire. Manya called out his mother’s name.

I do not know what kind of miracle was done for us, but our daughter was saved and not harmed by this fire. The fire consumed 20 houses on our street. But in what can we take solace that the hand of God had struck us so hard. We could not even give in to our desperation, he walked to the gendarme station where he had those who knew him, and he conveyed his suspicion that this was Stapnik whom he brought from Russia and who lived beside our house, that belonged to a Jew (this house was consumed, and was very receptive to the idea, because he had hidden Jews together with the gendarmes.) They immediately conducted a search. The angered Stapnik threatened Beck in the presence of the gendarmes, that he will bring eye witnesses who will testify that they saw Manya flee on the run particularly from Beck’s house. In the evening our host ordered all of us to leave the house. He suspected a search. The night was terrifying, and the wind blew and wailed in a terrifying, manner and we had no where to go. Who would take us into their house, and two additional children with us? Mrs. Melman decided to go up and to beg Mr. Beck that he grant us a favor. We waited for her tensely, and she finally came down with Mr. Beck. We recognized her face, that perhaps the man had changed his mind for the good. – ‘go to sleep!’ – he sais with a goo heart. – .what will be will be!’ – we breathed more easily, is there even a reward for nobility of the soul such as this?



מניח שווארץ,
ישאה נן 'הבנקר' ונתמסה ע'י חמיטטפו

Page 631: Manya Schwartz..
Left the 'Bunker' and Seized by the Gestapo

We had barely closed the cellar entry when we heard ‘movement’ above. We did not know what happened there, we

²²⁷

The Felician Sisters are an international community of more than 1,000 vowed women religious across four continents. We minister to God’s people in the United States, Canada, Haiti, Brazil, Poland, Italy, England, France, Kenya, Estonia, Russia, Ukraine, and the Amazon.

Founded in Poland in 1855, the first Felician Sisters arrived in North America in 1874. With the blessing of our Foundress Blessed Mary Angela, five pioneering Sisters left their homeland to minister to the children of Polish Immigrants in Polonia, Wisconsin. By the early 20th century, Felician Sisters were a significant presence across much of the United States, and they soon had established a presence in Canada as well. Recently, we once again extended the reach of our ministries with the establishment of a mission in Haiti.

were certain that they had finally come to take us, and the end had come for us all. To our good fortune this was a fear in vain. When a minute went by, that we saw as a victory, we heard knocks by our host on the floor entry. He even revealed to us the purpose of the suspected movement and panic in the house. They paid attention to the fact that the fire was seen on the roof, and they were compelled to put out the fire quickly, Upon going up, they were tripped up by the surprise of the Torah scroll, that fell between the boards, that were hidden on the roof. This was the Torah Scroll of the father of Mr. Melman taken out of the Synagogue and hidden in his house in this place, and by chance it fell into the hands of Mrs. Beck. In keeping with Mr. Melman's wishes she agreed to wrap it well and hide it in a secure place. She believed that this Torah Scroll will also bring to her and all of us, good luck in this very difficult period for all of us.

On the following day, after the fire, Mrs. Beck was panicked to come to the station of police arrest.

In the interrogation, it was told to her about the testimony of Manya who had worked for her as an assistant. She lied about everything, and pointed out the two witnesses, gendarmes that had investigated the insides of her house. Despite this they conducted an inspection of Mr. Beck's house. They only peeked into the house which was in a state of disarray after the fire and found our temporary hideout in the oil factory, that belonged to Mr. Melman, and therefore 'at no harm, you need not enter' and they were satisfied with this.

We were bothered by the thought that Manya was perhaps still under arrest and they are torturing her. It was hard for us to believe that she was still alive, because she had not met with Mrs. Beck. Therefore one would conclude she is no longer alive. After a fortnight, we a letter from his uncles through Mrs. Beck, there he enumerated all of the events of a *Yahrzeit* day, so they would know they were still alive. Her uncle wrote that the *Yahrzeit* of Manya fell on April 18th, because he personally saw them shoot her to death.

After several days, they conducted a search at a farmer's, where they had found a hideout for the son of Yossek, and found the entire family of Bienstock there, and several other Jews. They shot them all to death, including the boy, a dear child innocent of wrongdoing! I cannot grasp how the executioners could raise a hand to a baby one-year old and not have it arrest their hand, is it possible to still believe that the world will be judged in righteousness?

End of May 1943

We were advised of the implementation of a terrifying *Aktion* in the Janow Camp, where they shot many people to death. Among the murdered was Joseph Patrontacz, Herman Melman the father-in-law of Lula and her brothers. Lula knows nothing of the death of her brothers, we are keeping this secret. Even without this, she is burdened with troubles. She remains all alone in the world.

My other went out of the house to the *Droznaka* across from the house, after a quarter of an hour she returned. To us it seemed like a song. She brought some of our belongings to sell, because the money is being all spent. Mrs. Beck already recognized my mother's dress, my father's shirts and some sort of tablecloth, and this will serve to pay off a number of debts. It is hard for me to believe that a refuge of this sort still exists in the world, Jews live there

and are able to hide there by paying money, earned in the sale of their things. If, in fact, there were other people in the place of this Beck family, they would be ready to throw out dangerous tenants such as these, for whom it was also difficult to obtain the necessities of life.

Wednesday, August 31, 1943

I have neglected my diary for some time now. The hideout had become very hot, and it is hard to lie down – and the entire body is bent. The heat raised a growth on my body as it did for all of us. Today, I got up at twelve-thirty in the ‘afternoon.’ I wanted for my portion of bread to be very small, even though I was hungry until lunch time. An hour later, we ate potatoes, and the soup – at nightfall.

We also received potatoes for supper. Supper this evening was very late, because there was an ‘alarm’ and we were compelled to sit without moving and without air for four consecutive hours. Upstairs, the radio stopped working and the technician worked for a long time until he fixed it. Today, I am going to sleep on a ‘full stomach’ feeling pleasantly full and not only in want (of food).

My father made a monthly calculation, and he consented to 2,830 Zlotys. Compared with others, this was not a great deal, however, we are living in conditions that require close attention.

Mrs. Klara made a calculation, that for the month, she had spent 2,360 Zlotys, because she had unique expenses, not immediately evident off the top of the head. In a while, her brother Kuba came to us in the night, having come to the hideout from the Potelycz camp. Previously, he had been in Mosty’, and from there he was taken to Potelycz. The last time there was a very tense time there, day-by-day they anticipated an *Aktion* to ‘purify’ the camp. Kuba endangered his life (what did he have to lose?) And fled to Zolkiew. To our sorrow, luck was not with him: he was seized by Ukrainian police and was compelled to pay a sum to save his life. He gave them whatever he had with him, if they would only leave him alive, and fortunately they did not follow him, to see where he was going, otherwise – we would be lost.

Wednesday September 1, 1943

A new trouble besieged us every time. It appeared we would not be able to rest in peace, even in a cellar, under the ground. Mr. Beck was let go from the place he worked. Because of a dispute, he left immediately on the spot. He works in a military office, and in such circumstances he was also liable to be sent to a concentration camp. Desperation seized us, because were it not for Mr. Beck, we cannot survive in our hideout. Mundek Patrontacz, who was a person that had no end to the number of difficult situations he was in, took it upon himself to persuade Mr. Beck, our benefactor, that he should attempt to quiet down the spirits at his workplace, and after lengthy trials he succeeded in doing so. After the conversation, Mr. Beck and Mundek left the house and returned at a late hour, seeing that he was ‘tired’ a bit... we had to sit in complete silence, because he had brought a guest with him, Professor Lang. They played cards until midnight; they waited until the radio broadcast the latest news from England.

Sabbath, September 4, 1943

The day was overabundant with diversity, spending all the time before noon with Lula, in the Beck Family house, where we spoke consecutively. We vanished as usual. We rented and cleaned for an additional three hours. This was very well for us (because sitting in one place all of us suffer from crowding). I paid attention to the fact that Lula and me looked better than others in the hideout, because we help out Mrs. Beck, and get to breathe some slightly fresh air, and we also are pleased to move around.

I caught a bit of a cold when I went out of the 'choking place' to fresh air, but despite this, I will bath and take advantage of the rain water, in order to clear my head. Drinking water is divided by three liters per family.

Tuesday, September 6, 1943

Mr. Lang returned on this day, to play cards. They played until 10 o'clock at night, and this does not please us at all. For by the end of Mr Lang is obliged to borrow, and from where does Mr. Beck get the money to play, at such frequent intervals. Perhaps he knows, and it is possible that this also is to the good.

Wednesday, September 7, 1943

The day went by quietly until Mr. Beck returned from his work. Issues began to arise when he told that he heard a *Volksdeutsche* tell that they had found belongings of Jews that they had confiscated on the spot, and because of this they had taken away the identity cards of all members of that family. Mr. Beck then gave notice that because of this, he does not want to hold onto our belongings in his house, and we are to take everything – down to the bottom. This was a disturbing task for us, because possessions rot in our hideout. We need to throw out my coat and my mother's coat, and if the remainder of our belongings would rot, and we will not have any means to make change and pay debts. And that is not all, Mrs. Beck conveyed yet another piece of news: From Wladek we learned that the nephew of Mr. Beck (his brother having died 3 month ago), that his mother is ready to marry a certain Ukrainian. It is possible to show her pleasantly – that she has to give up on the marriage, because she knows everything about us, and she is at risk of revealing us, and drop us into a trap.

Mighty Gods! This is all that was missing, that some Ukrainian will know about our existence. And even with this, it was not all finished. Mr. Beck got into a dispute again with a corporal at work, and this time they fired him for sure. And there was no appeal.

We are literally desperate, because with people from the ranks of the army this is not a joke. Mr. Beck is a man with a golden heart – but quick to act. He was liable to argue on whatever, but does not think at all about the consequences. And as of now, they can hold him liable and accuse him of a crime. It looks like he gets emotional from all of this less than we do, and he bolsters us and says all will be well.

Wednesday, September 8, 1943

The day before yesterday, Mr. Beck gave permission to Patrontacz to come and hear the news broadcast in English, and the news is very good. Roosevelt notified everyone about big changes that will take place within two days. To my disappointment, the news that affects our situation are not pleasant. Mrs. Beck's sister-in-law visited us today, and she related that a policeman of the Podhoretz militia, with whom uncle Yossek had concealed his fur coat, and promised that before the final *Aktion*, he would take him and Relah from the Ghetto to a 'safe place' (we do not know if he meant our place?!) Told everyone that there are hidden Jews at Beck's... We recalled that when Utch'keh's children Zigusz and Zusha came to us, they told about Podhorecki, who was with them in the hideout in the attic of the *Judenrat*, and was preparing to take them over to his house. But because there was no money to save the children – the matter ended with nothing. We began to judge if his uncle who was an orderly (*Uradner*) in his time, do not ask of Podhorecki, that he should take over the children from the Ghetto to our hideout, and perhaps it was from this that the Ukrainian became aware of our hideout!

My mother got very emotional to hear this, and fainted. Immediately Mrs. Beck knocked on the floor entry and asked that we sit in silence, because German gendarmes are coming, but they are men of 'good will.' My mother did not hear what she said to the end, she thought that the *Gestapo* men are coming back again to search for us. She fainted again, and it was necessary to wake her up from her faint. I, with a prayer that the Lord will redeem us soon and quickly. Mother was so nervous and lacking in strength, that she faints frequently, had never been this emotional before. The gendarmes sat until 11 o'clock at night. During the 'alarm' Mrs. Klara and me were in need of small 'physiological necessities'. In the end, we were compelled to extinguish the light and do this in a box (we were afraid to go out into the hall, where the pails stood, fearing they would hear us upstairs.) When the gendarmes left, we found out that it was not Podhorecki but someone named Dumrytski who spread the rumor about the Jews that were hiding in Beck's house. We breathed more easily. This is a big difference. Dumrytski was a *Volksdeutsche*, and apparently knows nothing of us, because he is not known to us.

September 9, 1943

In the middle of being drowsy, I heard my mother say that Italy had surrendered. Since I was still asleep, it seemed to me that I was dreaming a pleasant dream and I did not want to wake up. Later on, I found out that this was not a dream, but a fact. Mr. Beck heard this at one o'clock at night. At seven o'clock in the morning, he called to Mondek Patrontacz, so he could personally hear the news. I nearly choked from being emotional, when I could discern the change in the faces of the men – in the hideout. Everyone began to assess this event as if they were ignited politicians. We were enveloped in a feeling of encouragement, a ray of hope infiltrated the hearts of those under judgement. Everyone was hoping that the surrender of Italy will have an influence

on the conduct of the war. Perhaps, from now on, everything will end very quickly. Our difficult life had become revolting to us, and our feet were on the threshold of collapse. This was after all, the tenth month for us to be sequestered in the hideout.

Friday, September 10, 1943

Mr. Beck grew stubborn suddenly, and did not want to permit any one of us to go up and listen to the radio. He demanded 500 Zlotys for this. We could not meet this request, and we were ready to give him 5 Zlotys for each communication, but he refused it. Let us hope that his mood will shortly improve, because Mr. Beck – we know this – could not continue being angry.

Sabbath, September 11, 1943

In the evening, to our surprise, Mr. Beck invited Mr. Melman to hear the radio. The news was very good. Our hope grows stronger that the Lord will help us. To my pain, Mr. Beck brought back today, when he returned from the city, the news that nullified our happiness. The gendarmes had uncovered 3 nameless Jews in hiding and shot them to death. Oh, how tragic such a death it was to occur now, when the political situation is improving and our redemption is near.

I was upstairs with Lula today, in the Beck house. We cleaned the floor and got two pancakes. I divided my pancake into three pieces, for myself and the children, because they deserved something savory.

Sunday, September 12, 1943

Mr. Beck returned today very pressured. He had met his steady partner for card-playing, Mr. Eisenbart, and invited him home, but he encountered a refusal. He told him openly that he is suspicious of visiting at his house. Why? Because there is a plague in his house – and it appears to be following him. Instead of reacting to him on the spot, he returned from our host to his own home, shaken up and frightened. Mundeck Patrontacz advised him to go to Eisenbart and to request some explanation. And truthfully, it became clear that Mr. Beck had an argument with a certain German, his name being Mayer, who notified Sturmführer Papa and added that Beck doesn't work, but still lives well, a sign that he is 'engaged in some business.' Eisenbart and Lang sense that they are going to lose the good graces of Papa, and decided to stop meeting with Beck. It became clear later, that this had not even occurred to Eisenbart, who spoke for an hour about the 'plague' because he deals with Jews. Our host decided that, in this case, he would turn to Papa to request that he be given other more demanding work.

Monday, September 13, 1943

Happiness and joy! Mr. Beck was with Papa and received an appointment as a night-guard in the ‘Soyuz,’ in the whiskey store. He was to come at eight o’clock in the evening to the gendarme station to get a rifle, and at six in the morning he was to return the rifle. It is understood that this was good for us, because our host will have a direct contact with the gendarmes, and no suspicion will fall on him, or what he does.

We paid to listen to the news on the radio that day, and Patrontacz would go upstairs to listen. Yesterday the news was good. But we were saddened to learn that Mussolini was freed by the Germans. They will use this to their advantage in connection with their dangerous undertakings.

Wednesday, September 15, 1943

Mundek went upstairs at night to listen to the radio. At the minute that they let know that in Yugoslavia brigades of partisans were fighting – there was suddenly a ringing. Who is ringing at night. At 1:30AM? Mundek thought, and fled quickly below. It became clear that this was none other than Mr. Beck himself. And this night-guard was going home, to hear the news on the radio and quietly returned to his office. How simple-minded! But Beck was in the habit of grumbling: ‘As to all the spirits, I fear nothing!’ In the meantime, we are sitting in a pit, among insects and mice, and impatiently wait for good news! And what was the fear that night? What hour of the day is more secure for us?

A few weeks ago, Mazalszyczki, Beck’s sister arrived, and our host said that he is compelled to reveal to her that he is hiding Jews, because from his avoidance, she will not sense it for the 4 days she will be in his house. She also brought along a son, aged 12, who ran around all the corners of the house. We did succeed in convincing him not to do this. It is enough that Wladek and his mother and brother Mazalszyczki know of our existence. He can depend on us, already hidden, we ate less, cooked less and passed the test until the guests left. It appears that Jews hide themselves under all conditions, even the worst.

Aleh who works at the post office received a telegram from Switzerland meant for her Jews (?) From Zolkiew. She is notified that she should prepare to travel abroad, because the necessary papers are on their way. A big laugh: Can the senders of this telegram not conceive of the fact that this woman is no longer here. Or was sent to Belzec, or was left in the grove... under the best of circumstances she is sitting in some hideout, and cannot see the world, otherwise – she will be exterminated. I have doubts that if outside this country they know about the murder of millions of people. Even if she gets out of the country, and idea so terrifying, no one will believe her.

Thursday, September 16, 1943

Mrs. Beck was in Lvov today, and she got in touch with Marc Melman, residing in the ‘Janow’ Camp, and brought a letter from him. He writes that at the latest in a few weeks, liberation might come. To our sorrow, conditions in the Janow Camp are very bad, and only 1,500 adults are left there. Just today,

they took a group of 40 women out to be killed! Every day they take out 40 Jews from there to the ‘*Gora Pieskowa*,’ and shoot them to death. A separate unit, consisting of 40 men from the camp prisoners, burn their corpses. And in the end, they kill them as well, as they did to the members of the *Judenrat* in the cities. Mrs. Beck would travel to the surroundings of Belzec. She told that she always smelled to odor of smoke. Now we understand everything. The German murderers burned the bodies of the Jewish martyrs, in order not to leave any ‘*corpus delicti*’ and evidence of their deeds. The question remains, what will they say when they are examined and what did they do to the millions of humans who have vanished without a trace?

One ray of light sparkles by itself in this sea of troubles and calamities: Mrs. Patrontacz found out that her brother and sister were alive. For a time already, had lost all hope that there was any surviving remnant of life in her family.

Friday, September 17, 1943

I do not know – what happened to our host – he has become light-minded. Either before or later, a calamity befalls us. Today he went out to the city at ten o’clock in the morning, and only returned at four o’clock in the afternoon. He came home disoriented .. Lang took him to be rather drunk, and he personally did not remain with us, he, himself was liquored up as usual.

We heard that Mrs. Beck begged him to rest, but to no avail. He did not assent to these requests. Suddenly – there was a ring at the door. Mrs. Beck ran to the floor entry and shouted: ‘gendarmes!’ And that was enough for us. We were convinced that Mr. Beck had said something about us in the tavern, and now the gendarmes had come to take us out. As usual, my mother fainted. The children cried silently, and the rest prayed for a miracle. But the gendarmes left after a short amount of time, and Mr. Beck continued to argue with the women. He shouted, and demanded that he be given the bicycle that was locked in the bathroom. Apparently, he wanted to travel somewhere. Two of the women who could not hide with him, left the house. Mr. Beck acted in a frightful manner: he threw around furniture and heavy items, and in the end, he broke through the door of the bathroom, took something out of there, and fled the house. We remained alone. We were certain that the end had come for us, but after a few minutes Mrs. Beck returned. This gold-hearted woman knocked on the floor entry, in order to explain everything to us. From her we learned that Mr. Beck had insulted the head of the gendarmes, and he personally called for an inspection. But he got drunk and completely forgot his order and its fulfilment. The gendarmes came to call on him, but when they saw what condition he was in, they said to Mrs. Beck that she should tell him they did not find him at home. Nevertheless Beck persisted stubbornly, but the gendarmes left, and he decided to take out the bicycle and to travel to the police station.

Mr. Beck returned late to the house. We asked him how he resolved this matter with the chief officer, but he was silent. Our feeling was that we were sitting on a volcano. Nothing was known, if the gendarmes would appear here tomorrow and take Beck to a punishment camp. Today, again, he did not go to work, and he doesn’t speak with anyone. Also, Mrs. Beck knows nothing. In a word: it was bad for us, and we had no exit from this tragic circumstance.

Sunday, September 19, 1943

Mrs. Beck went to Lvov yesterday. Everyone else remained in the house, she having left for commercial purposes and this calmed her a bit. Mr. Beck went to his guard duty, but when night came he returned to listen to the news on the radio. How simple-minded! Now, that the earth is burning under his feet, he leaves the post at night because he is curious to listen to the radio. When he returned early in the morning in order to feed the pig, and also brought breakfast to the pharmacist, who has a lot of money and spares nothing for himself and his wife. We concluded that we would have to fast until Mrs. Beck returns home. But at noon, Mr. Beck knocked on the floor entry and provided us with bread and potatoes. Me told Mondek that during the past night there were investigations that took place three times. They investigated and searched to determine if he was really on guard. But when he told the gendarme on which street he was, a gendarme known to him promised to give hi permission to keep a rifle also in his house. How good it was to see them act leniently with him, and it also lightened our hearts.

After the noon hour, Mr. Lang came to visit, and we were compelled to close the fool trap door. It became unbearable hot in the hideout, and the pail was not taken out, and I needed to go, and I suffered great pain, and in the end Lula found some sort of box and our urination was made easier.

Monday, September 20, 1943

Mrs. Beck returned from Lvov in the morning, and the whole house got up immediately. This was how we related to our hostess, that it difficult to describe to ourselves, that she calmed us many times when we were without them. It seemed to us that we would always be together, even after the liberation. In the evening we swept the floor upstairs together with Lula. We freshened up a bit, because it was difficult for us to bear the heat. I sit in the corridor and write in my diary, because I cannot lie down, my back is very stiff, and I am waiting for Mundek, who went upstairs, and I hope he will bring back good news.

Tuesday, September 21, 1943

The end of September has arrived, and the heat is unbearable. We walk around half-naked in the hideout, and the sweat pours from our faces. Everyone has a rag, with which we towel off the sweat, and a section of cardboard carton which we use for a fan. The women are wearing dresses that are exposed, and that is all. The men wear all their clothing – underwear, and they look terrifying as a result. All of us are suffering from growth because of the sweat. This irritates us a great deal. And when we turn out the light, we sleep naked, and even this doe not help a great deal. We wish that cooler days would come, so it will be easier on us.

Wednesday, September 22, 1943

Yesterday's news was not good. On the radio, Churchill announced that the allies are preparing for 1944. This is terrifying to us. Our condition deprives us of all hope to continue to hold on, from a spiritual and material point of view. We sold mother's coat today and the rising coat of our father. The money will be enough for a month.

Sabbath, September 25, 1943

I did not write yesterday, it became clear to us that it was the Eve of *Yom Kippur*. We prayed, and blessed one another and all of us had but one question, will our dream of the past 10 months be realized. We were to be privileged to be set free, to be redeemed. The holiday in the hideout appears to be overly tragic. We choked on suppressed tears. Above us there were gusts, and we were required to sit in silence. We prayed again today. When we reached the prayer for 'Remembering Souls,' – myself, Karolina, Patrontacz and the little Igo, the son of Mr. Melman went out into the corridor of the gate and stayed there. Zigusz suddenly understood why he was told to remain. He understood that he was an orphan, and began to murmur in silent prayer: 'El Maleh, El Maleh'...

I wanted to comfort him, but I myself burst into tears, and everyone in the hideout cried. It appears that the orphan's threnody reached up to the gates of the heavens... After several minutes Mrs. Beck came with a mouth full of connected news: Dnepopetrovsk and Smolensk were captured by storm.' After the 'Nei'lah' prayer Mr. Beck came down to us and he had a bottle of whiskey and rolls in hand. They drank with us in honor of *Rosh Hashana*. Mrs. Beck paid money to everyone whose belongings she sold, 'a good sign.'

Will a time come for us to be able to repay these noble people for the goodness of their heart? But this is our Rosh Hashana, and they are the ones who are worried, and make sure that we begin the New Year with a good omen. Mrs. Beck slaughtered two roosters, so that we could have chicken soup. For us this was extra, because our money had been gone and left, but her intent was certainly good.

I am sitting now in the corridor waiting for radio news. This is the first time in several months that I feel sated. Unfortunately, it had to last all week, in order to cover the deficit that this soup caused.

Sunday September 26, 1943

The collection of news on the radio yesterday, was threatening, and we practically did not hear the English report. Only at the end, did we manage to catch the American report. Nothing was said about the capture of Dnepopetrovsk, but they did broadcast the capture of Smolensk and Jarostaw. And of great pleasure to us, that battles are being conducted in the outskirts of Kiev.

A German paper brought an interesting news item: Jews from Russia are being transported to the Land of Israel. If this is true, maybe our family, that the Russians transported to Kazakhstan also managed to reach the Land of Israel. Might Gods! What will happen when our grandmother becomes aware that Utch'keh is no more, and also Yossek, Relah and their children, and her two sisters and our grandfather's brother, and two of his sisters, and I am not counting nieces and nephews at all... who knows even if we will remain alive?

Monday, September 27, 1943

I made some 'order' in the hideout and in fright, I established that belongings rotted here. I was compelled to put my father's trousers on a rope and my dress also, so they would dry.

Everything, everything here had rotted. My winter coat had completely disintegrated. The same thing happened to my mother's coat and dress. It did not bother me that we would have nothing to wear. It is also possible to leave the hideout in freedom wearing only one shirt. But all of these items had been designated to be sold! And this hope is cut off. And because of this, I am in sorrow.

Tuesday, September 28, 1943

The news from the eastern front is very good. The news on the English radio improved, and despite the capture of Dnepopetrovsk, we are hoping the Russians will cross the Dnieper (River) and 'the matter will move.' Nevertheless, the distance from there to here is – quite far. But for all that, it is closer than the line from Stalingrad to us. By the time we left down to the hideout, the radio let us know that the Germans had been repelled and driven out of Stalingrad.

Thursday September 30, 1943

The days are already getting cooler. We do not sweat anymore, and our skin is not so wrinkled. However, it is still not possible to take the sinks from the corridor inside. They stand beside the emptying pail, and even in the setbacks of the hideout, this arouses horror and heart stoppage...

Friday, October 1, 1943

Mr. Beck decided to slaughter the pig. The butcher came at seven in the morning, slaughtered the pig, and he is still dealing with it in the cellar. It is eleven o'clock at night and he had barely finished his work. We went up being careful not to show ourselves, so he will not sense our presence. The worst thing, however, is we could not relieve ourselves because the cellar was on the other side of the wall.

Sabbath, October 2, 1943

Today, Mr. Beck heard a broadcast of a speech that some Rabbi made in London, he was in the Łodz Ghetto for two years and escaped to England. The Rabbi spoke about the pursuit of the Jews in Germany. His speech made a strong impression on our host.

Tuesday October 5, 1943

Today, the brick wall we had erected before we entered the hideout collapsed. To our good fortune, there was nobody upstairs except the sister-in-law of Mrs. Beck who knows the details of our situation anyway. That we are alive at all, is a miracle.

Wednesday October 6, 1943

By happenstance, while she was in Lvov, Mrs. Beck saw Marc Melman. He returned her notice, because the ground is crawling with divisions of secret police, who are experts at uncovering Jewish hideouts, and it is necessary to be very careful. He relates that in the Janow Camp, they are shooting people every day, and soon there will be no one. If liberation comes, it will save veery, very few.

Thursday October 7, 1943

At the end, the radio news is not particularly good. The Soviet Armies have been halted, and are not moving forward, it appears that the other side of the Dnieper is overly difficult. We hope, that the war will end at the end of December, or January. I do not know how we will be able to hold on til then, under increasingly difficult circumstances. We have already sold all of our good possessions, and only small things remain.

Friday, October 8, 1943

Mr. Patrontacz did not goo upstairs yesterday to listen to the radio. Outside, a dog barked and we sensed that because of the one going around the windows, it would be better to stay in the hideout. But Mr. Beck brought us encouraging news: the Soviets have resumed their attack, and have crossed the Dnieper in three places.

Maybe everything will end soon.

Sunday, October 10, 1943

Had a writer written and described our lives here, it would be doubtless a story both tense and sensational at the same time.

I dream of a refined life, boring without leaving an impression and without experiences. Without getting emotional, and ordinary life that each day is like the other. In fact, we have no rest, and there is something new every minute. On the last night, Mr. Beck left his place on guard duty and came home. We sensed he was very angry, because he walked around and around the room. And we were not mistaken. He immediately knocked on the door and related that he had dozed off a bit while at work, and someone came and stole his rifle. We could not convince him that he should go to the military police and advise them of this.

A terror fell upon us, and not one of us could sleep that night. It was only at 3:00AM when he heard the news from the American radio, that was the hour at which Mundek Patrontacz burst through the door and went to the military police. Here he discovered that his rifle was stolen by a Ukrainian policeman. Mr. Beck went at that time to notify the Ukrainian police. But they denied everything and even laughed at him. Full of anger, Beck returned to the military police and complained that the Ukrainians stole his rifle, in order to give it to partisans in exchange for whiskey, because they have a connection to them. The military police accepted his proof loudly, and promised him they would try to get a new rifle for him, and they sent him home in a friendly manner.

Thank God that this matter ended well. The matter was liable to end differently and cause outcomes full of calamity for us.

Monday, October 11, 1943

How complicated life is! Yesterday I was engaged in ordering the Beck family house. I was suddenly frightened when I peeked between the cracks in the window, and saw the world of the *Holy One Blessed Be He*. I suddenly discerned Mrs. Orenstein, who was strolling freely down the street, sunk in a conversation with a woman that was with her. I immediately remembered who she was. Everything was pictured clearly before my eyes.

Last year, in the summer, when trains were going through Zolkiew with Jews being sent to Belzec, she jumped from a train car with her daughter, who were from Kolomyya. She entered the house of our neighbor, the Astman family. The daughter had a deep wound in her knee, the mother had a cut lip and because of it, her teeth were broken during the jump. They brought Pap'keh Fisz to them, who handled 'jumpers.' I helped her, as usual, to bind up the wounds and I went along with her. But Mr. Astman was afraid to let his house be used as a hideout for Mrs. Orenstein, because hiding jumpers was punishable by death. Because of that Pap'keh invited both of the women into her house. Hella Orenstein was my age, and we befriended each other immediately. Together with Gina Astman, Klara Latzter and other young women we went out and found familiar faces from Kolomyya among the jumpers. The number of 'jumpers' was not large, other transports having passed through Kolomyya to Belzec. Hella's father and oldest sister had already been taken to die in a *previous Aktion*. Her son, who was an orderly – the one who put his father and sister into the train car, and at a time of a different Aktion – his mother and second sister... and he personally remained alive in Kolomyya. Mrs. Orenstein who jumped from the train with her daughter decided to 'save' herself, because she had a 'good appearance.' Mr. Astman prepared forged papers for her. She traveled to

Kolomyia with a group of Aryan workers, sent her belongings from there and prepared to return to Zolkiew. In the meantime, an *Aktion* broke out among us in November. Hella hid herself in the hideout with the Astman family. After the *Aktion*, Mrs. Orenstein and her son arrived. The Astman family was compelled to enter the Ghetto. But Mrs. Orenstein, who was a stranger here, remained in the Astman house, as a possessor of Aryan papers, and began to work as a cook for a '*Volksdeutsche*' engineer. The Astman family was exterminated in the *Aktion* of the month of March, and it appears that Mrs. Orenstein continued to live in their house, because I saw her today, and she was healthy and well. She appeared to take well to her new duties. But I do not know how Hella takes care of herself; it appears that it is no easy for her to appear in the street, because she has a pronounced Semitic appearance. I think to myself: we are so near to one another – and yet quite far away...

October 12, 1943

Finally rumors were spread that the Germans were getting ready to clean out *ul. Lvovska*, where we live. If this comes true – it will be the end of our lives. In the case if Mr. Beck will decide to take us to the new location – in what way did 18 Jews succeed to traverse the city streets without looking after them? Perhaps – it won't happen at all. And if so, they would certainly not want to disturb Mr. Beck, but rather leave him in peace, known to everyone as a '*Volksdeutsche*.'

October 13, 1943

The radio news today was outstanding: Kiev was consumed in flames!... The Badoglio government declared war on Hitler... Portugal gave up the islands of the Azores in favor of England, and if possible it will be given over to the United States. Good! And when Kiev is captured – it will be even better.

Thursday, October 14, 1943

Mrs. Beck was in Lvov today, but she did not see Marc Melman. He was in Czortkow. Why is he still residing in the Janow Camp? He travels often and could easily escape. Let us hope he doesn't forfeit the chance!

Sunday, October 17, 1943

Again we had a day of 'diversity.' May God protect us from impressions and experiences of these in the future! Mr. Beck went out to the city to bring us back a newspaper. Several hours went by, and he did not return home. When it started to get dark, and he still hadn't returned, Mrs. Beck and her sister-in-law went out to look for him. They had just gone outside and we hear shouts and singing in the street. Mr. Beck had returned home very drunk. Because he could not get inside because the door was closed, he began to he began to shout and curse very loudly and to bang on the back door. Finally, he got

in through the kitchen door and entered the house noisily, He opened all of the doors and windows wide , turned on all of the lights, and began to sing. Komoritzky came in with him (whom we recognized by his voice). He was also liquored up, as usual, but in all he still had his senses. He began to request of Mr. Beck that he turn out the lights, but first – to close and cover the windows, because he could be accused of a crime... But Mr. Beck paid no attention to him at all. We feared that Mr. Beck might suddenly knock on the floor entry and blurt out our existence, and in order to anger him, he received his guest in the room directly above us. Finally Komoritzky went home. An hour later, Mrs. Beck returned with her sister-in-law and they both put Beck to bed. He immediately fell asleep, as if dead. We were fortunate that he said nothing about us while he was drunk. We paid attention to this, every time (and this was not the first time) when he was inebriated, he forgets about us... and perhaps that is the reason he gets drunk so frequently...

Monday, October 18, 1943

Mrs. Beck traveled regarding business. This is the way she behaves after all of the commotion in the house, and possibly because of this she wanted to forget and blur her impressions. It was certainly not easy for her to live in tension continuously. And we – our condition was different: we were born as Jews, and because of this, the Germans promulgated a decree of death upon us.

The Beck family belongs to the group who are called *Volksdeutsche*. They could live peacefully and not endanger themselves for a handful of Jews. And even though we did not have much money, incidentally – were there just a few wealthy Jews that were eliminated only for their considerable wealth? Many of the farmers who gave them cover, pillaged their money, and afterwards murdered them, or turned them in to be killed.

Thursday October 21, 1943

My stomach bothered me so much, that it was difficult to eat anything, apart from potatoes. Today, Mrs. Beck favored me with an apple, and I am sitting on the pail all day, and it seems to me, that after liberation, I will have to fast for a whole week, in order to cure my stomach.

Friday, October 22, 1943

The new diary entries today were outstanding: Everyone is saying that the war will be over in December. Will we be able to hold out till then?

Sabbath, October 23, 1943

In the evening, at the time the floor had to be swept in the Beck household, Lula and me heard a bit of music on the radio. I had already forgotten that there was such a thing, music in the world... and I began to cry. Perhaps the music affected me this way, and perhaps what happened is that I recollected

that there was another world., in which we have no part, in which people conduct a normal way of life, listening to music, go to the movies, the theater, and essentially – are able to walk around in a free manner and don't get emotional anymore on the thousands of Jews taken out to be killed.

Sunday, October 24, 1943

My shoes had gotten completely torn. I have no shoes to wear. I will have to ask Mrs. Beck if she has a pair of used shoes for me?

I do not understand why shoes spoil here more than walking in the street, since the soles are not worn out, because we sit in one place. But the shoes simply fall apart from becoming rotten.

Monday, October 25, 1943

Mr. Beck gave us a letter that touched on all of us. He is demanding money. The war goes on for a long time – and he is forced to buy necessities for the winter. We have to pay him 1,500 Zlotys. He is asking for a payment of 2,000 Zlotys from the Melman family and the Patrontacz family will have to pay 1,500 (Zlotys). Klara has to pay 1,000 Zlotys. And the pharmacist has to pay – 2,000 Zlotys. I don't know what we will do. Nobody, except the pharmacist – has any money. Perhaps Mr. Beck will agree to taking possessions. We hold no grudge against him for asking us to give him money. Why should he have to sustain us for free? Rather – who among us thought that the war would continue for this amount of time? We went down to the hideout for a month, and we are sitting here for almost a full year.

Tuesday October 26, 1943

I frequently think about the personality of Mr. Beck. I think that I am obligated to permanently record my impressions of him on paper. Regardless, he is entirely too primitive a man, but he is an honest man, a seeker of justice, and especially that he is prepared to stand beside anyone who is oppressed. But always, he was an anti-Semite and wanted to see a Poland without Jews, and the Jews – in the Land of Israel. As it was, when the Germans began to pursue the Jews, and afterwards murdering them, his conscience was aroused and he decided to stand against this travesty in his own special way – to rescue a handful of Jews. This was the reason he took us into his house, and I wish to enumerate a number of other things about Mr. Beck: he abhorred lies, having never lied even once himself, and he never brings any gossip into his house, and does not even have an inclination to hear any of it himself. When he was frequently asked: what's going on in the city? He would usually reply with forgiveness, 'People tell whatever comes up on their tongue.' He is stubborn, and does not tolerate opposition. If he does something, that in his own eyes is correct, he does not tolerate people mixing into his affairs.

We came to know that a number of his actions that seemed foolish to us, turned out to be surely correct for a long range. The most essential characteristic of Mr. Beck was that this man will never fear and never break down. Another man in his place would not withstand to trial of such tense events as these,

that is related to hiding Jews, but he does not collapse, he is strong in spirit, and encourages his spirit as such. Therefore, if he gets drunk occasionally, or creates a disturbance – we forgive him from the depths of our hearts.

Wednesday, October 27, 1943

Professor Kuba Czaczkes, my history teacher, was brought to our city today. They are about to admit it. They brought him by wagon together with his sister-in-law, the wife of the lawyer Philip Czaczkes, we don't know from where – by way of *ul. Turyniecka*. In the end, he was together with Kuba and Artik Patrontacz in the camp at Mosty'-Wielki. But the Mosty' camp is now already empty of Jews for a while. It would appear that he was hidden in some hideout. It appears that they took him out of his hiding place. Oh, God how terrifying and awful was this thing: A man who had hidden himself for many months, was caught and being taken to be executed!

We are still in a state of sorrow over this terrifying news. And here, fate had invited this item that affects us directly. At nine o'clock at night, the doorbell suddenly rang. We were frightened, because at this hour no one comes to see us. Mr. Beck was in the house and he went to open the door. Immediately we heard a barefoot man in the room, and he covers the floor entry with a small rug. In the corridor, one can hear the sound of German being spoken. Only this is missing since the upset of the morning! Perhaps Czaczkes knew about us and our hideout? (After all, he was in the camp with Patrontacz). Perhaps he informed on our existence? Maybe they had finally come to look for us? We sat as if frozen in our places, until we heard a knock on the entry door. To our good fortune, everything ended well. It became clear that the military guard came to Mr. Beck after he was not found to be at his workplace. God only knows, how much blood and health this matter cost us. For how much time can one be tortured this way? There is no answer to our question.

Thursday, October 25, 1943

Czaczkes had papers that raised suspicion of him. There are those who say they were letters about Turknitz and Smevkowsky, in which he admits returning belongings that they had. According to another opinion, the papers had some connection to a secret organization. It is a fact that Turknitz and Smevkowsky were imprisoned, and also a farmer from the village. It is probably close to true that they hid Professor Czaczkes and he was compelled to admit this, when the Germans tortured him. This made a frightening impression on Mr. Beck. He was shaken, and tongue-tied knowing that Czaczkes had hidden these people.

This entire issue about Czaczkes seemed to be strange and more secret than everything else. As is usual, the Germans shot the seized Jews immediately, and this time they took all of them to Lvov, but there was no other fate awaiting them there.

Friday, October 29, 1943

I have to stop writing in my diary for a number of days, until Aleh will bring me another notebook; I am out of paper.

Friday, November 5, 1943

This is our 12th month that we are in the hideout, and the end of the war does not yet appear on the horizon. Soldiers are fighting on fronts and in Moscow there are litigations proceeding – everything is proceeding at a turtle’s pace. However there are almost no more Jews, except for the small group in the camps – but every day, this means a certain death for hundreds of people that have miraculously survived. Hitler kept his promise to exterminate the Jews. He even used converts. On Wednesday they seized Bass and his mother, and today, the elderly Mrs. Twerowicz was seized, a woman who had converted to Christianity 50 years ago! Folkowa was also taken. It is said they were taken to Auschwitz, and everyone knew, that nobody returned from there. All that reaches us is factual information about death because of ‘heat attacks.’ For this ever person that was ‘not yet born’ was taken out before he was born.

Sabbath, November 6, 1943

Kiev has been captured! Oh God, how happy we were!

In the last days the radio delivers standard news, and our hopes were nearly dashed. But now, it seems, that everything is going to go and proceed quickly, since Kiev opens the door to the Ukraine.

My mother engaged in an excellent exchange with Mr. Beck. He exchange his hat for my father’s, and his payment was a liter of oil. I literally swallow mucus thinking about potatoes fried in oil! We have a pile of potatoes approximately 5 meters high, which we got in exchange for the ‘*bekesza*’ (coat) of my grandfather, cheap bread, a loaf of bread costs 30 Zlotys, but it is two week-old military bread, bit the bread is dry and it is possible to cut it into thin pieces that are not as tasty as fresh bread, and it is difficult to ‘refuse’ it.

Sunday, November 7, 1943

It was clarified that the story about the converts was a plain lie. Nevertheless, they did seize Bass and his mother and send them to Auschwitz, for one fault: crossing the gates. This news about Mrs. Twerdowicz and Mrs. Falk was a false rumor. Mr. Beck acts wisely, and he does not pay attention to such lies and saves himself much health. The Soviet army moves ahead, and is today 40 kilometers past Kiev, as we just heard on the radio, having gone 65 kilometers past Kiev and getting close to Zhitomir.

Monday, November 6, 1943

The news from the front – excellent. The Soviet Army is already 70 miles from Kiev, and is moving at a fast pace. Even the German news concedes that the front at Kiev has been burst open.

Our sleeping bunks have been made even more narrow and it is not comfortable for me to lie on them. But, a person is not prepared to move a little, in order to do a favor for someone near him.

Tuesday, November 9, 1943

Finally the ‘group’ in the hideout came to the conclusion that our family is deserving of more space on the benches. And this was because of the two orphan girls that we brought here. Mr. Melman made a measurement and ruled since each person deserved 35 centimeters, and because of that, our family is entitled to an extra board.

We reached this conclusion after a quarrel. I placed myself in the category of the not-needed, and I began to approach the adults. For this, I was in danger of getting slapped by my father. My father had never lifted his hand to me, and if he did so today, it is because his nerves were not made of steel... And I did not feel insulted by him.

Wednesday, November 10, 1943

Once again we got aggravation. Mr. Beck gave us a Jewish handwritten item to read, and asked for an explanation of what it meant.

He took the page out of its envelope, in which the writing appeared. A person in the city had turned it over to him, and he refused to answer who that person was. It was hard to read the paper, the written letters were erased. It appears that someone liked mirth and sought to make a joke of it. He stood at the Komarczewska store, and she gave him an envelope with the writing (in the stores, there is an oversupply of handwritten and printed Jewish books, in which the sellers use them to package merchandise) Mr. Beck initially did not grasp that these were Hebrew letters. He was certain that this was ‘reverse’ handwriting. When he came home, he attempted to read the writing by looking in a mirror. When he did not succeed to decipher what was written on it, he thought to give us the paper to read, since it was possible that the letters were in Hebrew. Mr. Beck reached the conclusion that he had been set up ago he was angry with himself, that he gave it his attention. We are greatly sorry that there are people who allow themselves to amuse themselves with mirth at Mr. Beck’s expense. It is not possible to dismiss the fact that they suspect him of being favorably disposed to Jews (or maybe they suspect a more distant attachment of this kind...

The day passed with us having discussed this issue. We sat until 4 o’clock in the afternoon in the dark, because the light had become insufficient, but we were very disappointed in this. We got angrier at the speech given by Mr. Churchill on the radio. He said that England was readying itself for a difficult

struggle in 1944. Pleasant prospects! Who of us will be able to survive to that point? Let us hope that the Soviet Army will reach us this year. If it does not arrive – it is a pity then that we have had to suffer for such a long period of time.

Thursday, November 11, 1943

The day starts for us at 10 o'clock. It is cold, but there is a desire to sleep some more. But there is a negative side to this. In the wintertime you have to have underwear, and it is necessary to wash them. And even the washing raises an issue: first – we have no soap, only dust, and we must conserve water. Today, I soaked the wash I had attended to three days before, and I washed myself in them. Water is divided in measures amounts. We also conserved the water for the potatoes.

Friday, November 12, 1943

Mr. Beck got home drunk. He drank with the Kriegel group at the 'secret police.' He had found a good friend! We had no idea why he wanted to befriend such a person! To begin with, it is bitter that we can know. What is good and just – and what isn't... Mr. Beck argues. Yet it is because of such connection that he able to access 'rehabilitation' with the Germans or neighbors. Apart from this, he is convinced that nothing bad will happen to us, because he has faith in his luck and his good 'star.' Let God forgive him for these words of solace. He encourages us with these words of his.

Aleh received a new *Mahzor*. [She got it from] a German pilot that was in Dnepopetrovsk for two years and he completely detests Hitler. He comes every day, and today, together with Mr. Beck he listened to the radio news in English. The news was very good, since the Soviet Army was moving forward rapidly, and is 4 kilometers from Zhitomir.

Sabbath, November 13, 1943

Aleh's pilot – his name was Adolf, sits beside her for whole hours, and sit motionless. We are told he is very shrewd and is involved with commercial business in partnership with Mr. Beck. Nevertheless, we are waiting for the day he gets out of here. When he left the house in the evening, Lula and me cleaned the upstairs floor very well. Aleh treated us to things dipped in cumin, and even ate with us – just like that. In order to have company. We were encouraged by the relationship she gave us, to the point of finding it necessary to sit and eat together. We are certain she was no hungry at all.

Sunday, November 14, 1943

I arranged the room that had the radio today, and I heard news from London. The city of Zhitomir was taken by a storm! The Soviets are now 100 kilometers from the Polish border! They covered 130 kilometers during one week. From Kiev to Zhitomir.

By contrast to our internal front, things were not happy at all. Mrs. Beck heard that the German gendarmerie is searching and trying to sniff out Jews on *ul. Lvovska*, that is to say: our street. We take comfort in the fact that this is just idle and untrue rumors. They did not suspect the Beck family, for they used to implement searches in their house. Powerful Gods! Who will permit this war to end sooner and there will be no more time left for the Germans to search for Jews... They say that in 'Wlokano' they saw a few Jews, and Mr. Beck heard that German Gendarmes are searching for them. If this is true, I pray that their luck hold out and guard them from evil, perhaps they will not reveal their hiding place, and not fall into German hands, enough Jewish blood has been spilled thus far! Enough!!

Monday, November 15, 1943

Today, they brought a woman neighbor to the Beck house. This is frightening. And she is a *Volksdeutsche*, taken out from Russia, she came to Zolkiew for a meeting. We are suffused with sorrow and great fear, the Germans came from Russia' they are very terrifying types most of them – looked like spies. The meeting will likely last for a whole week. And how will it be possible to sit for a whole week without moving? How can we hide ourselves without revealing our existence? How the number of tribulations we have undergone in this hideout have grown: Fire! Searching! Worries and concern about Mr. Beck's working situation, all these inundate the house. Alarms without end, when above us guests are visiting. And not just ordinary guests: *Volksdeutsche*, like Eisenbart, Shenar and Lang ... German gendarmes, military people, etc. Mostly not just ordinary fish, but Leviathans, real Germans!

Up to this day, God has watched over us, would that this heavenly guardianship protect us also in the future.

Thursday, November 18, 1943

This is our second day without light in the hideout. Candles are expensive and we only put on a light if it is a necessity. For the remaining hours of the day, we sit in the dark, accordingly I could not write, but I had an overabundance of subjects, To my sorrow, more that needed. Mr. Beck returned after noon and immediately a big scandal broke out. During this event, Mr. Beck hit his wife, and she had a heart attack. Mundeck Patrontacz came upstairs in order to rescue her, and he put her to bed, and Mr. Beck left the house.

It became clear that he went to his sister-in-law and she – instead of convincing him to return home, she made a party for him and invited guests, among them Kriegel from the secret police. In the evening, the son of Mrs. Beck's sister-in-law, Wladek, and told about the party. They spoke about a certain fur coat that Mr. Beck was going to buy, and indicated that he had no money, and he decided to exchange dollars. The worst thing about this was that this matter became known to Mr. Kriegel of the secret police. Mrs. Beck decided, after a conversation with Mundeck, to persuade her husband not to buy this fur coat. When he returned in the afternoon with the fur coat in his hand, it became clear that it was punctured by bullets.

There was no doubt in this matter, because this coat belongs to a Jewish woman, who was shot while she was still wearing it, and for this reason, Mrs. Beck was able to persuade her husband not to buy this suspicious fur coat, because after the war, he will be liable to go to court, He decided to return the coat quickly.

In spite of all this, he still left the house and did not even stay for supper, and it was in this way he demonstrated his 'anger' which he had not yet soothed. Before he left, he gave over a letter to us in the hideout, in which he separates himself from us and advises that he has no intention to return to his house anymore. Our situation was tragic. The house looked like a dead man, no one came, the belongings of Mr. Beck were packed and waiting for him to take them, Mrs. Beck walked around as if she was poisoned. She is full of envy towards her sister-in-law, because Mr. Beck had moved over to live with her. Messrs. Lang and Eisenbart promised Mrs. Beck that they will bring her husband back to her house, but when they went to the sister-in-law, in order to take him home – they too remained there. In short – very bad. And worst of all, since Mr. Beck leads his life outside the house in this manner, there is no expectation that any good will come out of it. We see no way out of such a complicated situation, and we were compelled to sit in our place, and to wait for heaven's mercy. Perhaps these matters will be straightened out.

Friday, November 19, 1943

The German who knew Aleh came today and told that he had worked hard during four days, work without a break... he had no time to shave or wash himself.. he had murdered all of the Jewish surviving remnants in the Janow Camp in Lvov.

The Janow Camp was made completely *Judenrein*, and not a single Jew remained. The German told this with deliberate silence, drank a bit of whiskey and joked around. He laughed – because on his conscience there were so many victims! But could this German not have a conscience? This sadist has to spend the night in a room, where the radio would be discovered, that means us ... We will sit all night, somehow and we will remain alert. We are afraid to fall asleep, in order that – God forbid – no sound would reach his ears. A murderer like this has well practiced hearing. We hoped that he would leave early in the morning, in order to lead Russian volunteers to the police academy in Mosty' that he brought with him from Lvov, they will certainly be 'educated' according to the rules, to be executioners and sadists.

We are very worried about Marc Melman. We do not know his fate during the slaughter at the Janow Camp. And maybe, who knows? – maybe he was warned by the *Obersturmbanführer* who had affection for him, as it were, as if he wanted to help him. If that is the case, how is it possible to believe a German?

Monday November 22, 1943

The gendarme left early in the morning, but returned after the midday meal in the company of one officer and he asked that he be invited to lodge [at the house]. What a terrifying prospect?! It is not possible to describe the tension that we were enveloped in. And for this, once again, the light was extinguished.

We lit three *yahrzeit* candles on the anniversary day of the November Aktion that took place on exactly this day. Could we be given a chance to think that a year had already gone by for this bitter day, that day of mass murder? When we prayed to God to save us from death in the hideout. That we did not spend a whole year and have to suffer such torture. I know where this will to live comes from in a person. A man may be bereaved of all his nearest relatives and despite this wants to live. In recollecting specific olim and initiatives that took place during the November *Aktion* that we heard about afterwards, we were notified that one lessee, Hecht, boarded his parents personally on the death train to Belzec. He discovered that one doctor had drugged his son with a sleep medicine, because this way, he could not reveal the hideout of twenty people in the hideout, where they were all hidden together. And what was the final fate of these people? They managed to continue living for several more months and were exterminated in the March *Aktion*. They shot all the members of the *Judenrat* to death at that time. All the people in our hideout lost at least one very close relative, but despite this, everyone wanted to live. And what sort of life was this? It is 11PM at night, and the gendarmes are not here yet. We are afraid to fall asleep. To sit here tensed for whole days – is a terrible burden, but at night, when the eyes are shut, tired from lack of sleep – the matter irritates more than hard labor.

Tuesday, November 23, 1943

The night before, the gendarmes did not come to sleep. Nevertheless we had a difficult alarm all day from noon until nighttime. Units of police arrived in Zolkiew from ‘Mosty’-Wielki,’ and one of the police recognized them and brought all of them to the Beck family. At first Mrs. Beck was very panicked, because today was the day of the inspection by the *Gestapo* in Zolkiew, and they searched in the ghetto: She was certain that the police were there in order to conduct a search at their house. And she calmed down only she saw the familiar gendarme, who entered the house last. I don’t grasp why they are still oriented to deal with Jews, and why this has not become unpalatable to the *Gestapo* men to murder human beings?!

Wednesday, November 24, 1943²²⁸

Every day there is bad news broadcast. Each day is worse than the last, the Soviets retreated from the Kiev vicinity and that the lines of the front are not moving from their places. In any event, everything is organized for a long range stay, and it is hard for us to hold out any further. First – we were left without a cent, we were required to pay off the debt, because the first of the month is drawing closer, and we have to pay Mr. Beck 600 Zlotys for the month, and we no longer have anything of our belongings to sell. In addition, to our detriment, literally to oppress us, was the news. We lost out hope to live to the end of the war, and despite this not one of us has the nerve to commit suicide. Worst of all us that the Beck family also is showing a lot of

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A typo which shows 1933

nervousness, and it was no wonder since their spirit was affected for their son. We are sitting her already for a complete year, and there is no end to it evident.

Thursday, November 25, 1943

A Jew was seized in the city again. They say that this is a Szpringer or Szpindl. Regardless of his name, what is important is a pity for all people. Here and there, a small remainder will remain, if any Jews are rescued at all. This time the Germans did not succeed to carry out their intended murder and slaughter him at the end, because the hapless man got ahead of them, he hung himself from the municipal building by his shoulders, before they were able to kill him by shooting. Regardless, death is death in all forms, but it is preferable for a person that a person killing himself know that he killed himself rather than put to death by the forces of Hitler.

Friday, November 26, 1943

The diary of yesterday's diary was better. In one fell swoop, we regained our hope. That no matter how we are rescued, even though we are tried by tests that become continuously more demanding. Beck slept in the house this night again, along with Aleh's pilot Adolf. The trouble was that he came without any prior notice. He came in the evening and decided to sleep over. We had not finished eating, we had not used the bathroom. One thing worked in our favor: there was a strong wind outside, and the wind of a storm drowns out all other sounds – both on the ground and under it.

I found an old hat and repaired it and turned it into a muffler hat. It might be possible to sell it and settle our debt.

Sabbath, November 27, 1943

Adolf the pilot went out early in the morning. Everything went on peacefully, almost without light, because the wind had cause the electric wire supports to fall, and we were compelled to sit by candle light... Mr. Lang then came, and he brought news that saddened us, that in the night four Jews were seized, they fled, and in fleeing, they were shot at. All of them were killed. The endangered ones were pursued like dogs – certainly it was hunger that drove them out of their secure hiding. Or maybe they thought that while there was a storm and wind, they will succeed in getting away, and because of this they fell to the talons of the torturers! What a fate!

Sunday, November 28, 1943

Adolf stayed until a later hour, and we could not move, and it was only at eleven o'clock approximately that we ate our potatoes. To his good fortune, he received a pass for six days, and he is traveling to Dresden. We will rest a bit. Meanwhile, by residing here for ore than a few days, he caused tension.

At times, during an ‘alarm,’ like this, I have a strong will to groan. It seemed to me that this augured the appearance of footfalls. This was hardly a matter for surprise, would our senses be corrupted for events of this nature.

Monday, November 29, 1943

There was a new sign hanging on the police building. A prize of 20 liters of whiskey, 5,000 Zlotys was promised to anyone catching a Jew. What a terrifying revelation! It is possible to infer from the words of Mrs. Beck that the farmer ‘from Zamoczok’ already had brought ‘detained’ Jew to the police, and the glaziers, and farmers were searching for hidden refuges in the city. They pursue them like running after animals being hunted in the forest. If one of them should, god forbid, suspect Mr. Beck, he will certainly start to trail after him. Our host is very nervous, and he nervously paces the house, and does not smoke as usual. The fact that complicates our situation is the fact that Mrs. Beck is angry with her sister-in-law from the time of the dispute that aroused her husband. And the sister-in-law knows, to my pain, about our existence. She is still able to reveal where we are, and we have no money with which to ‘bribe’ her.

Tuesday, November 30, 1943

Mrs. Beck decided today to constrain her feelings of her dignity being betrayed, and to make peace with her sister-in-law, who had already come to visit in there house today. The sister-in-law brought the ‘Latest News’ from the city: three more Jews were found, two of them had hidden in the attic of the incinerated Synagogue (one was named– Lutringer). The third Jew was seized in the pharmacy. This sounded like a fable really, that in the city, that th Germans had declared for some time now that it is ‘*Judenrein*,’ a Jew could still be found, who openly would suddenly enter a pharmacy. It became clear that he was wounded and bleeding. He risked his life, in asking the pharmacist for a bandage, and were he possibly able to be rescued, because the pharmacist gave him what he wanted without saying a word, so he could bandage his wounds. But at that instant, a ‘*Romanczicka*’ who sold goods in the marketplace came into the pharmacy, and known as an informer to the Germans by many Jews, who subsequently were put to death because of her. She stormed against the pharmacist with screams, because he was giving a bandage to a Jew, instead of turning him over to the police. She began to telephone the police station, and even shut the door so that the Jew would not have a means to escape. Meanwhile this hapless man fainted out of fear. The pharmacist got a heart-attack, and after a time was taken to the hospital, the Jew was shot to death.

Wednesday, December 1, 1943

Mrs. Beck arrived from Lvov. –she told that the Janow Camp – is open, and there are not any Jews inside any longer. One familiar face, an engineer, gave her detailed information: he told that the fate of Marc Melman was like the fate of all the others, and even more tragic. Literally before the liquidation of the camp, he was sent to bring something or another back from Czortkow. Meanwhile, the *Aktion* was initiated in the camp, that lasted for four days. Marc got back there on the fourth day, and because he did not know anything about what was happening – got into his auto to go to the camp. The

Obersturmbanführer recognized him, and had promised he would always rescue him – was standing at the gate, but instead of warning him about the danger, he turned him over to the *Gestapo* people. Marc saw what was going on, and began to plead in front of him to let him live, but it didn't help. He obtained death at the hands of the man, who faithfully promised to save him, believing in the completeness of the man's conscience, and the 'human emotions' of a German.

Friday, December 3, 1943

The monotonous nature of a way of life causes the weeks to go by quickly, but every day is like a year to us. The radio news has no subject matter, and Mundeck had stopped listening to them, as he usually did. Even Zuszya four years old did not go to sleep at night before asking us, if the news on the radio was good. And she can discern that from the reaction we give her. Maybe in December the attack will begin, and why should we be 'exceptions to the rule?' For it is not the winter that will bring us the liberation we yearn for. It is hard to believe that we will make it to the liberation day – so many Jews have been exterminated. We are better than others.

Sabbath, December 4, 1943

Today I put the upstairs house in order, and for this I received a small bowl of rainwater. I washed myself and washed my underwear, that had black ten days ago. The washing was no easy task, but it is forbidden to complain about little things.

Tuesday, December 7, 1943

My mother fell sick, she has terrible headaches, possibly that this comes about because of aggravation. In the last few days she seems to be literally broken. She is suffused with sorrow because we have no money.

Wednesday, December 8, 1943

Today there was an uproar in the house, upstairs. They did not even quarrel, just that Mrs. Beck packed her things and traveled off, and Aleh's belongings were also packed. We don't know what happened, Would that this matter be resolved well.

Thursday, December 9, 1943

In the morning Aleh traveled to Lvov with Adolf.. we could not cook, because we had no electricity. Mrs. Beck had vanished from the house, who used to cook potatoes for us. We slept until four in the afternoon until the electricity came back on. Aleh returned. Afterwards, the sister-in-law came and sat there, until Mr. Beck went out on night guard duty. Mrs. Beck returned, but rather late in the evening, she opened the floor entrance and gave us bread and potatoes.

Mrs. Beck explained the basis for the uproar in the house. Her sister-in-law arouses envy in her, and she decided to leave the house for a few whole days and to cook nothing, until it made an impression on Mr. Beck's mind. She said that only because of our welfare did she come home, because she understands that Mr. Beck is not able to care and to feed eighteen people.

Adolf came immediately and decided to spend the night here. We had the idea of cooking something in the evening, because we have no light during the day, no matter, we will sleep tomorrow til four in the afternoon.

Sabbath, December 11, 1943

Mrs. Beck traveled to Luszcziki to the sister of her husband. Suddenly the house became empty. Adolf came in the afternoon, Mr. Beck was left alone with Aleh and he said to him that he is leaving the house, but before this he came down to us. He was in a good mood, and bolstered our spirits. And our hearts grew lighter. Apart from this, he sold our father's underwear for 120 Zlotys, even though my mother only asked no more that 100 Zlotys. We are fortunate that we have something with which to cover our debt.

Sunday, December 12, 1943

The children caught a cold, and are suffering from a runny nose and cough, this I a serious concern, because in the case of an 'alarm' it will be necessary to worry that they will choke on the cough in the pillow. We can't even dream of warm bread and butter, much less medication, these are the luxuries.

Monday, December 13, 1943

After ne noon hour, Mr. Beck heard news from London. A Jew who had escaped from the Warsaw Ghetto spoke and indicated there were also Poles there, who are hiding Jews and they will get their reward after the war for their noble deeds. Mr. Beck was suffused with a good mood, and even we were gratified, because the last time our host suffered from fits of anger at frequent intervals.

Wednesday, December 15, 1943

Mrs. Beck returned from Zluszcziki. She told us that an awesome hunger is rampant there. In the vicinity, partisans run about, and the German shoot at everyone, or they hang anyone who in their eyes is suspicious.

Thursday, December 16, 1943

Radio news is getting better and better... the Soviets have begun a sharp attack... finally, something is being bruited about.

Friday, December 17, 1943

I assist Aleh in decorating the fir tree. We stay up until one in the morning, and prepare the toys. O, God! Would that a miracle would happen and we were able to go out before Christmas to be free!

Sunday, December 19, 1943

We uncovered yet another item yesterday, that is worth noting, my father's pipe. It may be possible to clean it, and sell it. Apart from this, Lula is sewing my mother's jacket anew, and she is forced to sew it from scratch, in order to cover the holes, that pieced it because of rotting. What good fortune that Lula knows how to sew!

Monday, December 20, 1943

Christmas Eve is getting closer. The right thing to do would be to give some sort of present to the Beck family in honor of the holiday, and we have nothing. The best belongings have already been sold, and all that was left was my mother's purse, perhaps we can add something to this, and this will be the present. Ho! If we only had money! We would buy the most beautiful presents for our hosts, because truly they deserve it.

Wednesday, December 22, 1943

Mrs. Beck sold my dress today. She got 200 Zlotys and five kilograms of flour. But this was my last dress, but it wasn't a necessity for me. If it has been decreed that I should live, I will hopefully be provided with other dresses. In case all my future holds is a grave, then I don't need anything.

Friday, December 24, 1943

This day, it seems, will be etched into each of us forever. We were confronted once again with the spiritual nobility of our hosts. I prepared the upstairs of the house from the morning on, together with Lula. We went over everything as usual, and attempted to be as helpful as possible, miraculously, none of the neighbors was watching us. At the last minute, we fled through Aleh's room. Before nightfall, we turned over the presents to Mr. Beck and congratulated him with 'Happy Holiday!' afterwards, Mr. Beck came down to us and in his hand he had a tray with baked goods and whiskey. I cannot describe this picture: they called to Mrs. Beck to join us, and our hosts exchanged kisses with us, and each person offered good wishes to one another, in the hope that this year there will be an end to the event that we are hoping for salvation for more than twelve months. Everyone of us wept out of sheer emotion. Everyone was suffused with the feeling of rendering thanks to those who have been good to us.

Later, Mrs. Beck brought us a platter of dumplings and the traditional '*kutya*' (a boiled grain dipped in [not legible] and honey) . And now all of us a lying down on our wooden boards, sated since the first time in many months. Upstairs, the guests are meeting with each other: the sister-in-law, Wladek and Adolf, everyone singing Christmas songs. In the meantime, a quiet death pervades us. In my heart only one question nests: who will make it possible for us to reward the Beck family for their justice. And even if we should not remain alive, at least let them be saved, and at least let them be lucky because they deserve it.

Our good spiritual mood was ended by the news that yet another Jew had been seized in the city. Apparently this as Misko Segal. It was told that he was very hungry, and came to Kama Gologowska. To our sorrow, Germans visited her, and she, instead of telling Segal to flee, called to the Germans to take him to the police.

Sabbath. December 25, 1943

There were many guests upstairs today. They played, sang Christmas songs, and we lay there without moving. The heart broke for all of us when we heard the song and merriment, and we recalled that thousands of our people were exterminated and their bodies are rotting in Belzec. Or in some orchard. But this is not everything yet. The day before yesterday, at midnight, groups came who sang Christmas songs, and they began to mimic Jews. Mr. Beck, who wanted to 'control himself' at all costs, that they should go to the orchard.. They began to joke at this suggestion, and began to shout and wail and groan similar to those that were sacrifices to so tragic a death. Were are their consciences?

But when the guests really left the house, our hosts revealed their true selves: Aleh invited all of our children, and asked that they should come upstairs. She showed the fir tree to Zigusz and Igo aged nine, and Karolina aged seven, and Zuszya four years old, the fir tree. She gave a small bag of sweets to each child, and the children were enchanted, because they didn't expect such a pleasant surprise.

Monday, December 27, 1943

The news from the front get better from time to time. The Soviets uprooted the front beside Zhitomir, an important warship, the *Scharnhorst* was sunk, they began to jail hordes of Ukrainians, but I don't partake in their sorrow. They wanted for the Germans to come – it is good that they should feel them on their flesh. These are despicable souls, betrayers, turning to all sides, depending on which way the wind is blowing. They sensed the downfall of the Germans, and that is why they turned their backs on them.

Tuesday, December 28, 1943

Today they brought four Jews to Zolkiew, in order to have them shot. Among them was Manusz, the owner of the leather factory. It appears he had hidden himself with another Jew at the home of a farmer in the village of Dzhilbuski. The Jew that was with him had no money, and therefore the farmer threw him out. The Jew knew of the existence of a hiding place in Zamoczok (In the home of a villager, Rik whose masters had been sent by the Soviets to Siberia). He also knew that two Jews were hiding themselves in this place – whom he knew. He therefore went out along his way to reach them. To our regret, he was seized by farmers from Zamoczok who tortured him for a long time, until he revealed the hiding place of Manusz and also of the two Jews there... something like this would not happen by us, even if all of us didn't have a cent. Our hosts were not doing this because of money, and it was not only once that we stood because of their attitude on this. But not all of them are honest like the Beck family. Even today we are proven right in this regard.

Mrs. Klara had turned over many of her possessions to be guarded by one named Zhapitzki, whose reputation went before him as one of the most honest people in Zolkiew. Today, Klara sent Mrs. Manya to him, this being the sister of Mrs. Beck (they don't know her at all in Zolkiew) with a letter, in which she asks him to return her belongings to her, but this person refused to return anything. What a disappointment! Mrs. Klara had put so much hope on these possessions.

Wednesday, December 29, 1943

Lula finished sewing my mother's coat, and it looks beautiful and looks like it is new. We hope to sell it at a good price. From my side, I showed a good relationship to Mr. Melman, and made him a sweater. He sold it in exchange for 20 kilograms of flour. I am proud of this. In general, I am gratified when one of us is successful in selling something of their possessions. The important thing, is that the people in the hideout should have money, to the extent possible, in order that we be able to continue our existence.

Mrs. Beck told us today that Adolf babbled today, and told that very soon a revolution will break out and reveal a schism in Germany, even before the arrival of the Soviets. Would that this prediction comes true. Apart from this, it is heartening that this is the opinion of a German pilot.

Friday, December 31, 1943

Today, they nearly seized Lula and me when we were upstairs. We ordered the room in which the radio was found, close to the kitchen and it was Mr. Beck who gave us a sign that there is a stranger in the kitchen. We went out into the corridor in order to go over to the room in which the floor entry was leading to the hideout. To our surprise, we saw that the door to the kitchen was open. We had to withdraw and go through Aleh's room, since an entry to the cellar was also located there. It was open, and happened to be just opposite the kitchen. In cases of this sort, it was an obstacle to go by without them seeing us. We felt like we were in a trap. But we had nothing to lose, because at any moment, the man was liable to enter the room. Lula and me began to retreat backwards, with our backs to the wall, and with the help of the sound of our knitting, closed the door half way. We opened the floor entry door in a blink of an eye, and went down to the hideout. We were frightened by such an event, because we could not utter a sound, we altered this bumping into each other. Finally, I whispered a couple of words, in order to calm the people in the hideout, who were even more panicked than we were. There were thoughts in the hideout that they had detected us. I thank God that every thing worked out well. We will attribute this terrifying experience on account of the change in year. Let us hope that the new year will be better.

Sabbath, January 1, 1944

The new year began with a good omen for us. In the morning, Mr. Beck gave us a letter with blessings, and we immediately went downstairs in order to convey the contents of the new news, which this time were outstanding. Yes, the 'offensive' stretched across the entire length of the front. Zhitomir was now again in Soviet hands. Mr. Beck brought rolls and whiskey with him, and we each wished one another the best in the new year, And this was not all: when we turned over our monthly rent to Mr. Beck for the new month – he returned 200 Zlotys of the 600 Zlotys we paid him, and similarly he gave Lula change of 50 Zlotys from the sum of 150 zlotys that she gave him. He clarified that he knew that we had no money, and it was his desire to ease the burden of money on us until the end of the new year. What refinement! We were very moved, to the extent that we could not utter a sound.

Sunday, January 2, 1944

The gendarmes came to the Beck family at night, their spokesperson, to bless us with a 'Good Year,' He sat until three o'clock on the morning. We did not panic, because he had let us know of his arrival, but we were compelled to stay awake all night. Nobody got any sleep, and we also were very hungry. Last time, everyone tightened their belts, even though pretty soon there will be nothing to tighten. We limited the portions of food we had, and we need a half liter of milk for five people, and we similarly stinted on the portion of potatoes to a sum of 7 kilograms a day. To our good luck, the cheap bread (10 Zlotys per kilogram) and we allow ourselves to eat one loaf of bread over three days, and not four days as we were doing now.

Monday January 3, 1944

Just now I was upstairs together with Mundek beside the Radio. The news is exceptional. The Soviets are already fifteen kilometers from the Polish border, and they are getting close to Vynnitsia and Berdichev, God! It is hard to believe that a good event is getting closer. We had gotten used to the idea that we will never get out of this hole alive.

Tuesday, January 4, 1944

Mr. Beck who believes all the daily news, is so fortunate. Because every time, he comes to the floor entry and tells about them: '*Bela Tserkva*' was captured in a storm! The Soviets have crossed the Polish border... part of the city of Berdichev is already in their hands... Our host requested that Mr. Melman should come upstairs, in order to repair the electricity. This was just a pretense. In fact, he was actually interested in him hearing the news from London. This did not disturb him, because his sister-in-law visited her ? For an hour in their house.

The Germans shut down a German gymnasium in Lvov. Lang's daughter was a student there, as a *Volksdeutsche*. She was forced to return home.

Thursday, January 6, 1944

The Polish government [in exile] in London decided to help the Soviets on Polish soil. The Poles are not able to help a lot, but it is important to us, because Mr. Beck is very supportive.

Mrs. Beck sold the hat that I had sewn a while ago from an old hat. She got, thank God, 130 Zlotys for it, would that she could also sell my mother's coat, we would have a lot of finance.

Friday, January 7, 1944

This morning, Dr. Luczynski is with Mr. Beck, for an unknown reason. He brought news that the Soviets are pitilessly murdering people on captured land, and this news had a staggering effect. Immediately after Dr. Luczynski left, he said that it is desire to run away from Zolkiew, because he was seized with fear, but he will stay with us until the end, even if he will pay for this with his life. With difficulty we attempted to prove to him that a great reward awaits him for what he has done for us. He seemed to believe this, because in his satisfaction he sang upstairs, that this was a stark sign of his very good mood.

Mr. Beck requested that we prepare lists regarding our possessions (we promised him 25% of all our property holdings if he will be able to save our lives up to liberation). He wanted us to pass these reports to his hands. We did this willingly. There is no payment on goods for his good deeds, for it is over a year that this man endangered his life and the life of his family. He said to us, 'what waits for us are still difficulties,' and his prediction was correct.

They ordered him to ‘liberate’ another room in the house. They are certain to put some German officer in it, and the circumstances will once again get complicated. How will they bring us water? When will we be able to clean out to pail?

Sabbath, January 8, 1944

The most heartening news today was that the Soviets are getting close to Szywtowka, that is to say, on the road towards us. We no longer needed anything, because the news from the front was a cure from all pain.

Sunday, January 9, 1944

Kirovgrad and Vynitsia were captured by the Soviet army. Who knows whether we are not going to expect the days of surrender. It is possible we will no longer have to sit in the hideout for reasons of security. We are getting ready to dig a crossing-tunnel to the cellar.

Tuesday January 11, 1944

Today was not one of the easy ones. From the morning on, a commotion began upstairs. Apparently something happened in connection with the sister-in-law. In the afternoon, our host heard a news item from Russia, that western Ukraine and Belorussia will be added to Soviet Russia. He heard this and became very angry, because he is a staunch Polish patriot, and wanted Poland to remain whole. This doesn’t affect us, but we wanted to see Mr. Beck in good spirits.

Wednesday, January 12, 1944

People that lived for a hundred years certainly did not experience the things we were subjected to in one hour, no tale of tension can describe the likes of the adventures we underwent, that occur in our every day life, as it were, among the routine desires. We slept until four o’clock in the afternoon because there was no electricity. We didn’t cook, we didn’t eat, because Mrs. Beck had disappeared from the house. Everything looked in place, but suddenly in one minute we were seized by so great a fear, that I cannot calm it down: in the evening Adolf came to Aleh and invited himself to sleep with them. Our pails were full, because we had not had the time to empty them. A dangerous entity was in the next door room. without paying attention to it, that such a dangerous guest is in the next room. Mundek went upstairs in bare feet but he made loud noises, and the door to the room was closed and Mr. Beck stood guard, but despite this, the danger was great. We trembled out of fear, should the pilot open the door suddenly and be able to see Mundek. Fortunately there was no end when he returned to the hideout, pale and shook up after this experience, and he closed the floor entry after him.

Friday, January 14, 1944

The news is very good, Sarny – is in the hands of the Soviet army. An attack began to reach Vilna... Despite this, the days seem very long to us, we sit and hope for something new and lose patience, that perhaps we will speculate on the reason for this, because we were sitting for such a long time with nothing to do. Essentially – we became disgusted with everything. It seemed to me there was nothing worse than having to sit like this. A human is made to be similar to an animal, they get up in the morning, eat a piece of bread with coffee and potato soup. Potatoes, and then again go back to sleep on a dirty platform, and night comes again...

Sabbath, January 15, 1944

The news today is again good. Mr. Beck heard the Declaration of the Polish Country, and he is eager about it. Accordingly we are also pleased. We have already prepared our lists which are in the straw, would that we will be able to realize what has been written, and permit us to reward these noble people as is coming to them.

Monday, January 17, 1944

The Soviet Agency ‘*Tass*’ informs us that the Soviet government does not want to recognize the Polish government in London, and demands that it be changed. This news cause Mr. Beck sorrow and the matter had an influence, as is understood, on his mood. Worse still, is that the Germans are liable to take advantage of this matter to aid their undertakings.

To our good luck, the news reaching us from the front are very good. The Soviet Army is about 30 kilometers from Rovno. The Germans are still fighting in the surroundings of Vynnytsia, but they are compelled to retreat.

Adolf spent the night again upstairs, but this is no novelty to us, today we managed to empty the pails before he came.

Tuesday, January 18, 1944

We turned over the lists to Mr. Beck today, regarding our belongings and he treated us to whiskey, that he will earn ‘good health’ in his time (A bottle of ‘Bing’ of a quarter liter). Our host, while standing in the train station today, saw a train full of refugees, that fled from Dubno. Their condition was very bad, and they looked like paupers hungry for bread, and they are not permitted to get off into the city to buy anything. The refugees that lived from being sent to the ‘*Landsrat*’ but were released with nothing. They also turned to the head of the city and there they also came out as they went in, and seeing this condition, Mr. Beck lost all will to flee from the place.

Stagnation pervaded the city. Nobody buys anything, and Mrs. Beck does not succeed in selling anything. We thought we would be able to sell my mother's coat without difficulty, but this was in vain. I don't know what will be, because we have been left without even a cent.

Wednesday, January 19, 1944

Mrs. Beck was talking with one of the refugees from Dubno. She found out that this morning they had shelled the city. She asked if they were murdering people in the area, and the refugee answered that there is no basis for believing these stories, because it is all propaganda only.

Friday, January 21, 1944

Five hundred refugees reached Zolkiew. We feared that they would allocate some of them to the Beck residence. Nevertheless we are glad that this happened, that the Germans are leaving Rovno and Dubno, so this is not done without a reason. Mr. Beck is supposed to arrive at night, in order to listen to the news – perhaps he will hear something good.

Sabbath, January 22, 1944

A great deal of movement is stretched out along the road, vehicles are traveling without stop... And what is this to us? According to yesterday's news, the Soviets had a great victory at Leningrad (as early as Thursday, they had captured Novgorod) but what about Leningrad, and what about us?

Sunday, January 23, 1944

Mundek listened to the news at eight o'clock in the morning. The English and American armies have unloaded military forces in Italy, a landing party in the vicinity of Rome, and they are moving without interference and are entering what is literally an empty area, and there is no trace of Germans there.

The Soviets are advancing and putting on pressure at 'full steam ahead,' on the other side of Leningrad, between the Pripet and Berezna rivers. There is movement everywhere, but in our decree, stagnation continues to pervade everything. To our sorrow, there is no news about Rovno. General Eisenhower the Commander-in- Chief of the American Forces predicts that in the near future there will be an attack on Europe, that will cause a final defeat to the Germans. The question is: when?

Monday, January 24, 1944

It is quiet today, no news. At night, the gendarmes came and sat until a late hour and finally they went together with Mr. Beck, all of them completely drunk.

There is no daily news on the radio that would indicate any change for us.

Tuesday, January 25, 1944

Last time, Mr. Beck was in a gloomy mood. I have the impression that this was caused because of Lang, who stopped visiting him. His wife forbade it. In the end, Lang's wife refused to admit him into her house, because he had lodged here, and she is suspicious of him, that he is carrying on with Mr. Beck's sister-in-law. Schmidt is now the visiting guest here, on a daily basis. We are very worried, because Schmidt is very dangerous and even casts malignancy on Mr. Beck.

We liked Lang a great deal, despite the fact that we never saw his face, but we once heard that he had expressed visibly and warmly about the tragedy of the Jews. I cannot forget his words – ‘When I am reminded of an *Aktion* against the Jews,’ – he said – ‘I feel certain that an hour of vengeance will come. And if I have made a mistake in my heart – I will stop believing on God’... it is clear that his statements raised the spirits of our host, and he saw that there still exists people that think like him. But people of Mr. Lang's class, do not have the strength to hide Jews.

Wednesday, January 26, 1944

It is a week now that it has started to snow. When spring comes, rain falls, and one gets a muddy swamp, and there is no memory of the snow. It is therefore no wonder, that the matter also puts its stamp on a battlefield front, that is only left in the gates of Leningrad. The Soviets captured Krasnov-Gvardysk and therefore – shall we go up and celebrate? But this thing is happening so far from us – – – the news on the political situation is not bad, and as for the Polish-Soviet dispute – a good solution emerged. Mr. Kohl from the United States admitted to Russia that it had a right to open a discussion with Polish government. It is not known what they will discuss, but Mr. Beck is still favorably inclined, and we too, are satisfied and happy. We also found out from a radio broadcast, that the neutral countries have terminated all their relationships with Germans. Spain, Sweden, Portugal and Turkey stopped sending goods to Germany. The hour has finally arrived for them to do this, and it is good that they have decided to do this now, because it should have been done a long time ago.

Friday, January 28, 1944

Because Mr. Beck's house is beside the road, we thought that he was liable to surprises. Uninvited guests, etc. Accordingly, we did not complain. Today a unit of soldiers went by on this road, one vehicle broke down, and stopped in front of the house, and three soldiers immediately came into the house and invited themselves to lodge here. Their officer – they said – had traveled to Lvov in order to get spare parts and he ordered them to wait for him here.

God knows, if they are not ‘artists,’ that will attempt to lengthen their stay in this place, and we need to suffer in the meantime. I also do not know in which room they will lodge. I hope it is not the room directly above us. Our room is very cold, unfinished – not taking into account that it often serves as a room of beds. Mr. Beck and his wife sleep in this room in which the radio is located.

Sabbath, January 29, 1944

This morning, when the soldiers traveled on their way, we paid attention that Mr. Beck’s lighter had disappeared. Before leaving, they sold a garment to Mr. Beck, a garment that belonged to a Jew. To his good fortune, our host showed us the garment, and we saw it was entirely consumed with moth holes. Mr. Beck managed to get all his money back, providing yet further proof that the Germans knew how to pay off the taking in of guests. It is good that they have already left this place.

Mr. Beck was very eager this day, because he had heard on the radio that the ‘Union of Polish Émigrés in the United States had decided to assist the Polish government in London, and they were ready to send a telegram to the Polish government about their decision.

Sunday, January 30, 1944

From the sources of rumors on incidents of murder: the victims were mostly from Polish families, or people of Polish origin, living in a village, in forest huts, or on the periphery of the city. Today, the funeral of the residents of a forest hut passed by before us, the murdered being a 17 year-old youth, and his sister, aged 14. Mr. Beck is walking around as if frozen by a demon, and he is afraid that they may attack his house, because, as everyone knows, he goes out at night for guard duty, and the women are left by themselves. He asked us to leave the front entry to the hideout unlocked and open, and take alternate turns in standing on the watch. In order to enable Mr. Beck and Aleh in case of danger – hide themselves with us.

It is interesting to note that the German gendarmes does not deal at all with the investigation of these incidents of murder. If a person kills a bully of this kind out of self-defense, the German police pass over the body without doing anything. Mr. Beck is of the opinion that all the murders are the work of the Germans, and it is them, and them alone who camouflage themselves as Ukrainians, they are interested to encourage a hostile dispute between the Poles and the Ukrainians. Perhaps he is right, since it is possible to attribute just about anything to them, and they always stand ready to commit murder.

Monday, January 31, 1944

Mr. Beck returned from work at one o'clock at night. He found Mundek, who was standing guard beside the floor entry, and called to him, to come and hear the news. The news, as it turns out, was good, but there is no movement with regard to our position. The Russians are nearing Estonia, the American army is 35 kilometers from Rome, and there is talk of a European invasion, but what of Estonia — Rome — where are we? There is so much talk of this invasion — when will it happen— that is unknown.

I have to make a light repair: Mr. Beck did not understand last week what the news meant. It became clear that England and the United States have stopped sending merchandise to Spain, but not as told, that Spain stopped sending its goods to Germany, and it is better this way, because all the goods that came to Spain all reached Germany.

Tuesday, February 1, 1944

Today, Mundek heard because of a change in the news, items were spoken in the German language. I came to the general conclusion, that the daily news broadcast in this language is more detailed than the one in English. First, one hears news there about the Eastern front, which is of greater interest to us, and that the English radio is centered more on news from the northern front. The Germans no longer mention the victories that took place, and nothing of the state of the Russian assaults.

Mr. Beck came down today, and told us the news according to the English radio. He said that a commission was meeting in London to stimulate the end of the war (before the middle of March) in order to rescue the remnants of Polish Jewry. The 'Joint' in America donated 25,000 Liro Sterling, and the Polish government donated 15,000 Liro Sterling for the Jews that remained alive. To our sorrow we were called overly late, because only a small group was left to flee — line marble is to a gate. I am not of the opinion that there are many people like Mr. Beck, that will protect hr lives of eighteen Jews.

Today — the first of the month, and we have to pay rent for the month. Mr. Patrontacz gave only half the sum, and my father turned over my mother's wedding ring. We felt that our host would not be pleased, but he received the ring without a sound, or saying anything. May God reward him for his great heart.



וולנטי בק (Beck)
חולני (פולקסדויטשע), שהחביא והציל ב'בונקר' שבביתו
שמונת עשר יחודים

Page 676: Valenti Beck,
*The Volksdeutsche Pole that saved
18 Jews in the bunker in his house.*

Wednesday, February 2, 1944

Barely an hour later, the pharmacist listened to the London news. The news is more than good, but I am preferring the news in German. The Germans are surrendering everything precisely. They also admit to their retreat and even if the English radio is reporting only the great victories, and not the lesser ones. They report that the victory beside Leningrad is more important than the one beside Stalingrad, would that the outcomes be the same! Mrs. Beck gave us 2 kilograms of the fat of a pig. I know what it is that she sold in exchange for these products.

Thursday, February 3, 1944

Rovno and Lutsk have been captured! The German radio provided us with this encouraging news. It appears that the Soviet army drove a deep wedge into their lines, even as the German radio hurried to tell us about the loss of these two cities. It is simply hard to believe that this is the honest truth: because Lutsk is very close to us... and in the end we heard a little about the city of Rovno, to the point that we put no hope on reaching this city, and the same for Lutsk. The Russians are also attacking beside Sheptovka with access to the sea, in the arc of the Dnieper river. On the Italian front, the lines have been uprooted, and we are hoping for a European invasion by the Allies very soon.

However, imprisoned here, a sentence of death hangs over our heads, but each ray of hope gives us strength to maintain our position...

Friday, February 4, 1944

News from the front is very good. However, no large cities have been captured, but there is fighting in the streets of Nikopol, and this is no less important. The Soviets have surrounded ten German divisions beside the Dnieper river. They are getting ammunition by airplane, but it does not look like they will be able to hold on for long.

In Mosty'-Wielki they cleaned out a school for the police, and the city is full of refugees from Sokal, and chaos reigns. Every resident wants to sell his belongings and flee. Their prices carried a loss for them, after they took pleasure from the robbery of Jewish goods. And the Jews worked for years in order to obtain their goods, and in one day, they became the property of alien goods. Mrs. Beck recognized my grandfather's fur coat that Salutska dressed up in.

Sabbath, February 5, 1944

Today Mr. Beck brought a piece of sad news: two Jewish women were seized. Since they had Aryan papers they lost a whole year in the palace, and now, someone came and informed on them and the Germans transported them to Lvov.

God, what a tragedy. They suffered and were tortured for a whole year, and now they are doomed to die literally close to the liberation! Look at these murderers! Even now they have the time to pursue and search for Jews!

It is interesting to know who the informer was... who is the one who could not accept the idea that two Jewish women had the nerve to remain alive... and it becomes clear, that these are the same Germans from the police school that were in the city for one night and then returned to Mosty', The atmosphere still supports them, rain is falling, there is mu everywhere, if the winter ad only gotten cold, perhaps we might already be liberated.

Sunday, February 6, 1944

Fate began to help us. Perhaps we will be privileged to be among those who got through this war intact. The weather changed in an unexpected fashion, at night an intense cold came in, an today it snowed all day. The cold is also getting more intense, and we are even cold. The daily news – very good. Approximately 210 nearby locations have been captured, and they have control beside Sheptovka, and from there, the road leads to Lvov, that is to say: on the road to us. And another piece of good news: Mrs. Beck told that the workers in the glass factory are fleeing. Others have already left today, and even Domretzky is getting ready to travel. Travel this way! After all, you are *Volksdeutsche*, the worst of all sectors. You creeps! It was them, really them, who trailed after the Jew and informed on them, searched for hideouts, went around dishonestly, and brought the ‘jumpers’ from the train to escape one trap to be trapped in the next, plundering their money, and turning them over to the military police.

But all of these deeds will no t pass without retribution and vengeance! If I will succeed and remain alive, I will not rest until I find Schitling who took out Manya to be killed. There is no punishment severe enough for these murderers, such as von Papa for example, who used to gram children by their legs and smash their heads with force on the walls of the palace.

Among the sixty Jews who were the remnants after the April *Aktion* to clean out the ghetto, was a shoemaker named Szarut. Von Papa himself took him out of the crowd during the Aktion, because he needed him. To his bad luck, Szarut cut his finger while sawing wood. Von Papa sent him to the hospital to have the wound bandaged, and after almost an hour, they took him to the cemetery and shot him to death, like a dog. It was in this manner that a human life was transformed into literal abandonment. It is possible to think that von Papa was a young man, a member of the '*Hitler Jugend*': but it was the opposite, at that time he was 69 years old, and my mind cannot grasp such a thing..

Monday, February 7, 1944

For the first time, the city of Zolkiew was mentioned in the daily news! *Master of the Universe!* This is a major event! Lviv, but this is not Kharkov, this is Lvov, our city! The Russian troops move to the southeast to Rovno – directly on the road to Lvov! The even broke through the line in a bit bedside Nikopol. This makes the fate of the 10 German divisions beside the Dnieper river, bad and bitter, because they have no food. In truth: the daily news is glorious! Even the weather is helping, a bitter cold pervades the outdoors. Pray that it continue in this way until the end of the week...

Tuesday, February 8, 1944

Mr. Beck called Mundek to listen to the daily news. And here is a jolt to the soul! The doorbell rang, and Mundek was compelled to flee. Only afterwards did we learn tat Nikopol had been captured. This raised our spirits, because the Dnieper in this location is still in German hands, and here come the gendarmes came to inspect at eleven o'clock at night. We hope that they will soon leave because Mr. Beck is not in the house.

Wednesday, February 8, 1944

A fleet of German freight trucks went by our house today, many wagons, harnessed to pairs of horses. The wagons were loaded with wheat and machines. Mr. Beck called to Mundek to come to the window, so that he can se with his own eyes, how the '*Napoleons*' are fleeing...it was a sight worth remembering. We no longer have the strength to sit and wait for a minute, when the Great 'Retreat' will begin... As it is said...

Thursday, February 10, 1944

Mr. Beck was very nervous today. As of now, one murder pursues another murder, and one plunder after another. He requested that at night we stand guard, and keep the floor entry door open regardless of what happens. He had heard that in Lvov they murdered the sitting leader, and in Stanislawka they compromised a German vehicle and killed three officers.

In another location they assaulted a letter-carrier and robbed him of his money. The identity of these attackers is unknown. This could be the work of the Germans themselves. These murderers are capable of any form of misdeeds. Gendarmes left for Stanislawka in two tank, but they found nobody and returned just as they left.

Today, Mrs. Beck sold a number of items belonging to each of us, and this is how we got 900 Zlotys, which for us was a lot. The cold outside [is intense], and the cold is the dangerous enemy of the Germans.

Friday, February 11, 1944

Szpetovka has been captured! Joy and happiness! Now the road to Lvov is open! The second news item – they landed a force on the shore of Stanislawka. At first we did not believe this report was real, but by noon we heard that they had bombed a train in Dobroczyn. Outside, soldiers wearing white armbands are circulating – with machine guns in their hands. What does this mean? We didn't find out exactly, but it was clear that the day of our liberation was drawing close.

Sabbath, February 12, 1944

Today, two things occurred that are evidence that, in the surroundings, there already are landing corps: in the province of '*Lubitz-Krolewski*' (a place with large forests), there was fighting going on between divisions of partisans and Germans, and the Germans were forced to retreat.

The second item was literally 'miraculous.' In the palace, they hit and brought down a German airplane. It appears that the pilot was flying the plane very low. I don't want to dwell on this a lot. The important thing is they are starting to hit the Germans from the rear. For us this is very important. It is good that the gendarmes have to contend with the partisans now, and therefore forget about us, and maybe stop searching for Jews.

In the daily news of the radio today there was an important item: Russia sent a warning letter through diplomatic circles to Hungary, and threatened to bomb Budapest if they do not pull back their troops from the eastern front.

To my disappointment, because of this, a serious deterioration was initiated in our 'domestic' front. The reason for this was that the sister-in-law of Mr. Beck sent him flowers today for his birthday. But the flowers got there 'anonymously.' but the son of the sister-in-law Wladek came with the delivery man, and he brought a similar bouquet of flowers, bound up literally in the same manner. This caused a commotion in the house. In this instance we could not help out. Our situation remains: on the one side we are interested in a friendly relationship between Beck, his sister-in-law and her son, Wladek, who know of our existence and they are liable to turn us over to the Germans at any time. By contrast – we are saddened that Mrs. Beck is suffering so much.

Sunday, February 13, 1944

The days are like an eternity to us. We live with a constant expectation... anticipating the day, in which we will be able to emerge from the hideout and be free. The news is good, the Russians have captured Dubno, the landing corps are at Wala and Lipin (villages around us). I am of the opinion that many Jews have joined this army. I heard from Kuba that the Jews have also fled to the forests. He said that the Jews of the camp at 'Mosty'-Wielki' joined groups of partisans in the forests. Already, he held a revolver in his hands, but at the last minute decided to come to us, instead of going out into the forests.

In less than an hour, a gendarme officer came to the Beck house from 'Mosty', who had returned from his furlough. He told that he feared endangering his life at this hour, and made his way to 'Mosty', because the partisans are attacking the Germans. What to do? It looks like he will sleep here tonight.

We could not clean out the pails before this, because during this time, there were guests circulating here. Finally, Mrs. Beck called Mundek and said to him, that he should meanwhile take out the pails, and she meanwhile raised the volume on the radio. I don't want to think what took place if a gendarme wanted to go to the bathroom.

Monday, February 14, 1944

Today is Mr. Beck's birthday. We are happy that Mrs. Beck has baked a roll for her husband and they reached a festive compromise with each other. For the entire day we were constrained by an 'alarm' condition, because Mr. Beck and his spouse were receiving guests. Dr. Luczynski is now sitting with them. We wish they would go. Maybe the radio will bring us good news. But, here again, we hear the ring of the doorbell, a harbinger of the arrival of new guests. I am able to discern the voices of two German gendarmes and a Ukrainian militia policeman. They must have known by the calendar that today is Mr. Beck's birthday, and they have come to drink whiskey. These are the people he knows and they visit him regularly at his place of work.

It is a peculiar situation: German gendarmes come nearly every day to sleep with people, and their tenants under the floor, consist of eighteen Jews... is there another place like this anywhere in the entire world?

Tuesday, February 15, 1944

At one o'clock in the night, after the guests had left, Mr. Beck came down to us with a bottle of whiskey, so we can drink '*L'Chaim*' in honor of his birthday. His mood was not that great, and his guests had made a bad influence on him. It was especially Dr. Luczynski who did this, by announcing that he has certain knowledge that on ul. Zolkiewska they are hiding Jews under the floor, among them the convert Fundik, whose wife (a Christian) lives together with Luczynski at his house. Dr. Luczynski told that he fears his retribution. And he also told that in Magierow they took away the guns and ammunition of the German gendarmes, and shot them to death on the spot. Among them was a Pole whom they were going to release, but there was a Jew among the partisans who ordered to shoot that very Polish man, saying that this Pole is no better than the Germans. As you can understand this was ordinary slander, but the story made a deep impression on Mr. Beck.

Wednesday, February 16, 1944

In the last days – again stagnation. And they were nice days, and we thought that the liberation was so close to coming! And again they accost us with futile news. The cold is now at its most intense, but nothing is happening in the meantime. Radio London is reporting only on the northern front, even though the Germans are surrendering, that the Soviets are attacking for the entire length of the front. I have no idea what this all means: Is radio London not telling us everything?

Thursday, February 17, 1944

Adolf came today after a furlough of three weeks that he spent in Germany. It is understood that he immediately appeared at Aleh's side, and sat with her all afternoon. For us, this changes nothing, because during his absence, other guests came to plat cards almost every day, and we, in any event, are limited by the state of 'alarm.'

Adolf brought a news item that was very cheerful (the lat news broadcast indicated a bad omen), that in Gorodok, the train of a landing force was bombed. This is what Aleh told who saw telegrams in the post office from *Kamenets-Podolsk* to Germany, that reported on the cleaning out of *Kamenets*. It would appear that the Germans feel that their situation there is not particularly secure.

Friday, February 18, 1944

A breath of life entered the daily news. Finally! Ten German divisions that had surrounded the Dnieper in an arc, were completely wiped out. The Soviets sent an ultimatum to Germany three times, and even proposed light conditions enough, but Hitler ordered the soldiers to fight until the end. He promised to send support troops, and they never arrived at all. They report 9,200 killed, which was a large number of captives and ammunition. I do not understand why the soldiers did not surrender on their own knowledge, for surely they must have understood what sort of end awaited them..

We now have a simple form of aggravation. A man named Schultz began to visit Mr. Beck in order to play cards. And to Mrs. Beck's knowledge— he is a very dangerous guest. Every time he hears a whisper-like sound, or a knock, he gets up from his place and begins to listen, being all ears. It is not known— does he suspect Mr. Beck who is concealing Jews, or is he really afraid of partisans. Today, for example, a cat came in and jumped in the kitchen. Mr. Schultz left his place suddenly and asked:— who is that coughing? Mrs. Beck opened the door to the kitchen and showed him the cat, who began to sneeze at that time. We don't know what to think, but in any case it is clear that we have to be very careful and be mindful of such events.

Monday, February 21, 1944

We had more than the usual difficulties in the hideout for some days, but an event that occurred today had not yet been to us. There was a commotion upstairs on the Sabbath, Mrs. Beck broke the vase that her husband had received from her sister-in-law for his birthday. Mr. Beck lost it completely, became stormy, and began to hit her, and then left the house, and appears to he went to his sister-in-law. He only returned the next day in the morning in order to listen to the news. He remained in the house for all the morning hours, but despite the pleading and requests by his wife and daughter Aleh he refused to eat his lunch. And went out again. Mrs. Beck went out of the house in the afternoon as well, and nobody was let inside, and they always rang the doorbell. Sometimes they rang loudly and without stopping until they finally left. During the morning hours when they ignored the knocking on the window opposite the floor entry, we thought this was Mrs. Beck who forgot to take her key with her and that is why she is knocking now, because who was going to knock on the window of this room where

the floor entry was? A stranger would not do this! Despite this, we did not dare to open the door. Finally, the knocking stopped, but our tranquility did not. Two hours later, they began to knock again, but this time we heard Mrs. Beck's voice, and put on the appearance as if her sister was in the house, and is slow in opening the door. 'Manya, Manya! – she called out – open up – — – this is me, Yulia with Aleh. Mundeck went upstairs and let them into the house, It was clarified that even though it was Mrs. Beck who had knocked previously, she thought her husband had returned home. Seeing he was not here, she went to the movies with Aleh... it was all so simple the way it was seen, and yet it was all so complicated...

Tuesday, February 22, 1944

It is several days now that the electricity has gone out every day steadily for an hour, and we were then compelled to sit in the dark. It appears that the management of the electric plant does this for avoiding danger. But despite this, the need for electricity for one day only costs us a great deal relative to a month of days, which the Germans permit the civilian population. But each resident organizes himself with his allocation of electricity in his own way... with all this– the matter is not of concern to us, because if they seize us, God forbid, and take us out for execution, they will not do it for the need of electricity, but because we are Jews.

Wednesday, February 23, 1944

Mundeck listened to the radio news at night. As regards the eastern front, they only report that the Soviets have captured *Krivoy-Rug*. Apart from this Mundeck heard extracts from Churchill's speech. To my sorrow, the conclusion one can extract from his words, that our expectations for the future are worse. Churchill predicts that the bombing of German cities will continue to the summer, and that this bombing will provide the entry way for the invasion of the Allies into Europe. If so, what we learned from his speech was that the invasion will not happen before summer... my mother suffered convulsion out of sorrow because of this speech. But I stopped getting emotional... what will be, will be, and despite all this, a hope flickers in my heart that we will yet get through these difficult days in peace.

Thursday, February 24, 1944

The news we heard today was better, but the reports deal specifically with the conduct of the war on the northern front. I take stock of myself, that even there, in that sector, many people are expecting a liberation. Look, most of Europe is under the heel of the Germans, but in such awesome days, everyone worries about their own skin. Everybody wants to live – but so long as there are Germans in Zolkiew, the decree for us is a decree of death.

Friday, February 25, 1944

For the entire week, there was no change in the radio news that was favorable to us. Yesterday, they reported the capture of some city (Chelm). Certainly this is not an important news item, if the Germans themselves admit this, but all of this has no name at a considerable distance from us, on the northern front, and meanwhile our situation gets very more complicated. This morning, together with Lula, I created some more order in the house of our host. Mr. Beck ordered us to turn off the oven in Aleh's room in order that the flower pots that he received as a gift from his sister-in-law will not wilt because of the cold. Mrs. Beck objected strongly to this, and said in opposite to him not to waste electricity because of flower pots. A storm started in the house. Lula and me were put in an unpleasant position. We could not ignore Mr. Beck's words, and similarly we could not arouse displeasure with our hostess, who grew pale and burst out into hysterical tears that could move a stone. We suddenly heard a ring at the door. Both of us, Lula and me were forced to go down quickly to the hideout. It is understood that we were very satisfied. To our sorrow, our pleasure did not last long. But, our hosts made up a bit of time after the outburst, but the circumstances forced this to happen. The authorities designated a set residence for two of the German workers on the train in the Beck family house. Our hosts moved over to Aleh's room and gave the German workers a room as far as possible away from us. The skeptics in our hideout were of the opinion that we were all lost. But I comforted them, that so long as they are alive, they are forbidden to lose hope. We will try to get along in complete silence, so they will not hear us at all. After all, all our lives depended on it. It was good that I had been able to bathe before they came. Who knows when I will be able to succeed sch events again.

Sunday, February 27, 1944

Our situation now is very difficult, and I don't know if e will be able to withstand it. Today we already were tried by a difficult test: Our guests spent almost the whole day in Aleh's room, meaning the room that was directly above our hideout, because the radio was in that room – and the train workers entered. At night they returned home, Mr. Beck went to work, and Aleh also left the house, because she worked as a night guard at the post office. Mrs. Beck remained alone in the whole house. Suddenly, little Zuszya burst out crying in the hideout. In the blink of an eye, the little girl was covered with a pillow, in order to muffle her crying. And we deceived ourselves believing nobody heard her... and here, Mrs. Beck knocked on the floor entry with a voice trembling with a plea that for God's sake we should observe silence. The train workers had not yet gone to sleep. They were reading newspapers – she said in a whisper. And who knows if they did not hear anything. If they heard something this is bad business... I calmed myself, since their room was more than far away from our hiding place, and maybe the crying sound of the little girl didn't reach them. In any event, we were very angry and after the incident, there was not a person in the hideout that believed we will still stay alive. Even me, ever the optimist, lost this hope.

And so what shall we do? Outside – certain death. Not one of us has a place to which we can go, and no person among us has a friend in the world prepared to hide us, to provide for a hideout.

Monday, February 28, 1944

Thank God the day went by peacefully. The rain workers left during the noon hours, we emptied the pails, received our ration of food and closed the floor entry door behind us. By seven at night, the pails were full again, and we were forced to hold it in and not take care of our needs. Who got emotional about this? Not one person. We had gotten used to such conditions. For all of the hours before noon there was movement upstairs, guests came, but did not sit in the room above us, but rather in the room of the train workers, there was where the radio set was. The train workers had turned on the oven, and it was warm and pleasant in their room, and everyone went in there, and we could breathe a little easier, we limited our careful walking.. we passed over the pails from the corridor of the hideout into the hideout itself, because the corridor was longer, and the acoustics were stronger and clearer in this place.

However, the odor from the pails were awful, reaching our nostrils. What to do? We were force to do this work, for we were sitting in a hideout and not in our homes. These hapless people that were transported to Belzec even they took care of their bodily functions in the train cars... these went on their way last, to death, and we – were still alive...

Mr. Beck came with a message today: an acquaintance of his, one Kasparski came from Volodymyr-Volynski and told him, that the police station there has no one in charge. There are no Germans, and there is no Soviet army, indicating that they vanished and are no longer there. Oh. God! When will we earn such a state in Zolkiew?

Tuesday, February 29, 1944

Today e took out the pails while the train workers were still here. But we will not repeat this experience, the danger involved was too great. We thought that these train workers will be occupied with a given task, but to my sorrow, they have no work yet. They are waiting for instructions. They have no contact with their group, and they sit for whole days in the house. They go out only for lunch to the ‘*Casino*.’ We have no rest, not by day and not by night. We performed a day watch and a night watch, a guard was grabbed by the strong point of a ‘scarf’ because one can hear better what is being said upstairs. He lets us know if someone arrives, or leaves the house, and even if they go to the toilet. Then one needs to guard the ‘silence’ for absence of movement. At night, the guard makes sure nobody snores, because we are not allowed to make noise during sleep, and as understood, the children were not permitted to cry.

We heard that there was a conflict with partisans in Dobroczyń. The battle went on all night and even during the next day. Good and nice, but when will we feel the results? – – – up till now we have seen nothing!...

Wednesday, March 1, 1944

The moth of March has arrived already, the winter has passed and brought nothing new. A driving rain fell all day to the ground. Outside, the snow is melting. Again – stagnation at the front. The situation we are in does not encourage us at all, we are healthy and our hopes are dashed because of the

unceasing ‘alarms’. Every slight movement, that causes noise in the hideout has an influence on us, as if the blow of a hammer had hit us on the head. With strongly beating hearts, we go to eat, and tremble at every sound of the clank of a spoon in the plate. We eat potatoes with our hands, in order to eliminate sound. Ad even this: our difficult situation is debilitating. A heavy cloud of hunger threatens us, and the last of our money is gone from our pockets, and will not suffice to keep us till the end of the month of March. Were our financial situation better, we could eat bread, instead of boiling potatoes. By contrast, I was pleased when the electricity went out today before noon. No one could do anything, total silence reigned, and our limbs became entirely relaxed.

An unexpected guest arrived today at the Beck family. It was the same German gendarme, Hans who conducted a search of our house last year, came here today for a drink of small glass of whiskey. His visit aroused all of the memories of the nightmare of the past several days...

Thursday, March 2, 1944

This morning, Mr. Beck came with the news that Finland and Russia had signed a cease-fire agreement. We were elated, as you understand, but to our disappointment Mr. Beck came down at night and announced that Finland had not agreed to the terms of the agreement and it was not concluded.

A misunderstanding broke out between England and America – maybe these things will be settled, and essentially, will we be able to know what will happen? Meanwhile we are in the hideout, and our limbs continue to deteriorate. Today, we again emptied the pails in fear, and great trembling, and a literal danger to our lives. At that hour, the train workers were sitting in Mr. Beck’s house, and Mr. Beck attempted to engage them in conversation in his room, and his wife stood guar in the corridor. Everything was going on well, but in about fine minutes one of the train workers entered the room above us, and to our good fortune, the floor entry was already closed. I do not want to t think about what would have happened f he had entered the room several minutes earlier... I imagine to myself what the feelings of Mr. Beck and his wife were, even though they do not reveal even a crumb of what it is that occupies them, it being clear, that their own lives are hanging before them..

The time has arrived when we will be liberated, and we will taste freedom, and if we conclude and say that no great boon is due to us, then certainly our hosts are certainly due to a cessation of tension, and relaxation after the difficult experiences that they underwent.

Friday, March 3, 1944

Mrs. Beck resumed selling our belongings. There is no longer any panic in the city, and the farmers have resumed buying their necessities. Today, two of the pillows sold for 400 Zlotys, and a few other minor items. This will hold us to about the middle of the month. It is getting warmer outside, and we will be ale to sell the remainder of the bedding, and maybe God will have mercy, and we will not be forced to ask for money from others. I am referring to Ruka, who sits with us, and he is the only one that still has some money.

Sunday, March 5, 1944

Mrs. Beck called me today, and I went upstairs, in order to weigh potatoes. The train workers still slept, but despite this, I was compelled to go by their door on the way from the kitchen to the cellar. Thank God – everything went peacefully. Tomorrow we will breathe more easily, because the train workers are preparing to travel to Lvov.

Monday, March 6, 1944

The week began for us with a good omen. First of all, the train workers left and there also were no other guests, and as a result the tension eased somewhat. We even heard news from England – and the essence was – the news was good, better than we had estimated. The Soviet army had set up the front in the middle of Szwetovka, and pierced through the German lines to a depth of 30-40 kilometers. They are now only 4 kilometers from Wluczysak, 25 kilometers from Tarnopol, and 120 kilometers from the border of Romania. There is panic again in the city, the Janikowsky and Hammerling families have traveled off. We are anticipating feeling happy, because there already was a panic in the city, but nothing happened. Who knows? Maybe there is some basis for this panic?

Tuesday, March 7, 1944

And now – a new surprise! Six S. S. Troops invited themselves to lodge with us. Mr. Beck and his wife could not refuse them. They gave them the room of the train workers, before they would return from Lvov. It is good that they are not sleeping in the room above us. In any event, they are making an excessive amount of noise, and because they are part of a large group, they make us seem silent.

The daily news – today it is very good. The Soviet army is already 25 kilometers from Zabazh, and attacked the train station in Tarnopol. The train line from Lvov to Odessa was uprooted.

God in heaven, please let them press forward in this manner, and that they will not be stopped until we are released from our troubles!

Wednesday, March 8, 1944

Five farmers were murdered in the grove of Zolkiew, it was argued that they were struck and wounded, and the murder done by Zolkiew Jews who were: Hecht, Hochner, Klein, and Dr. Peren. This is an outright lie, because Hecht and Hochner were hidden by Aryans, and Dr. Peren – is in the Soviet army. One thing for sure, if the initiators were really Jews, I would at least know that other Jews beside us were still alive. And if Jews were killing a number of farmers, it is not possible to judge them as guilty, since they want to avenge the blood of their brethren that are buried in hordes in this orchard.

Before the S. S. Men traveled off, they were waiting, as it were, for spare parts for their vehicles. Until now, they hung some sort of tablet on the edge of the house and began to disport themselves as guests, and to act as if they were in their own houses.

Adolf directs Mrs. Beck that she should demand from these soldiers a suitable payment, because it is nearly certain that they are ‘artists’ – who put on a face, and who knows how long they will remain here.

Circumstances are not good for us. The previous tenants, the train workers, would at least go out for lunch, and then we could empty out the pails. Now, the soldiers do not move at all out of the house. We can today tell of ‘miracles’. At two o’clock in the afternoon, Mrs. Beck ordered the pails to be emptied, and Mundek did this with lightning speed. And here, literally in that instant, when he closed the floor entry – one of the soldiers opened the door and went into the corridor. What luck, that he did not do this a few minutes earlier! We decided not to endanger ourselves in this way again, and to take care of our bodily needs in the sand, until things could change for the better.

Thursday, March 9, 1944

Contrary to expectations, the S. S. Soldiers traveled off from here early in the morning. Thank God, we will now be able to return to our ‘normal’ routine life. If they would only send the train workers to the front, then we could really breathe more easily. The fierce battles at the gates of Tarnopol are over, and the Soviet soldiers are moving forward on three sides, to get over this city...

Friday, March 10, 1944

In the morning, Mundek went upstairs as usual, in order to empty the pails. The train workers were still sleeping. In the meantime, something broke in the toilet. Mundek thought that a pipe had been clogged there. He put his hand in the refuse until the elbow, and was prepared to take away the trap. But it was in vain. He asked Melman to come and help him and this did not lead to a solution and only caused dirtying by the refuse. We trembled in fear for the day. We sensed that one of the train workers would wake up, come out of his room, and seize us in this position. It was then clarified that the pit in the yard had become full. We decided, thus, to dig a hole in the hideout, to pour out the pails and to cover it with sand. But in the evening, Mrs. Beck knocked softly on the floor entry door, and requested that we turn over the pails to her. Quietly, she took the pails, and poured them out in the toilet in the yard. Not only that the pails were very heavy, but they also spread a bad odor throughout the house. Mrs. Beck had previously complained that one can sense the awful smell all over the house, when we take out the pails and empty them. But today, when a pressing need was revealed, she personally provided her help. Will it be possible for us, one day, to reward these people for such nobility?

The daily radio news was very good. The Russians capture Tarnopol and Uman. Sadly our good condition was fleeting. Dr. Luczynski came over to the house in the evening, who lately has been coming over frequently. I do not know the reason for this, apparently the conscience of Dr. Luczynski is not

clear, because he is very much afraid of the arrival of the Soviet army. Every time, he returns to the statement that many Jews still remain, that were hidden in a variety of places, and they will certainly seek revenge, when they are set free. After every visit by Dr. Luczynski, Mr. Beck walks about eaten with sorrow and nervous. Slowly but surely, a sense forms inside of him that, 'perhaps he is growing a snake under the eaves of the roof'... it is hard to explain this. But for whatever reason, perhaps for mysterious reasons, and today, Dr. Luczynski met with Hans, the German gendarme, the same man who arranged for a search, an investigation and audit, to assure there were no Jews here, and afterwards became friends with Mr. Beck. It is understood that they opened their conversation about Jews. Luczynski told that in a specific house on our street, Jews are hiding under the floor, during the day they go out to partisan units, and return to the house in the evening hours, and he had already seen them twice. Hans listened very carefully and said: 'when one searches – one finds – – – before leaving the house he again asked Dr. Luczynski about that house, and left. Mighty Gods, perhaps you will come to the aid of these Jews! I am certain that this miracle will find them. I portray to myself what sort of anger and nervousness this discussion aroused in our host.

Worst of all, was the fact that the train workers were also present during this discussion, one of them even entering into and participating in it. It is now possible that the idea may arise among them that such a thing exists in their location, because there are Jews hidden under the floor. What bad luck! We, however, have gotten used to the train workers, that spent most of their time in their room, and didn't wander about anywhere. They did us a favor that night (unintentionally) because at two in the morning, unknown soldiers knocked at the door, and asked permission to sleep, and our train workers simply did not let them enter.

This was a rescue for us, literally a miracle, because the soldiers did not take the one free room in our house, namely, the room directly above us, where the floor entry was, and the implication of the matter – a sentence of death for us. We will now have to resort to more strict measures of warning. Nevertheless, the train workers do not suspect anyone like the Beck family thinking they are hiding Jews, but it is clear that after the discussion that we listened to, any form of noise would be enough to arouse their attention.

Sabbath, March 11, 1944

It was again proved to us today, how noble our hosts were. At nightfall, our host [Mr. Beck] came down to us and requested that we not get emotional, and not be 'women of the heart' regarding whatever his guests may be talking about (the entire conversation between Dr. Luczynski and Hans whom those present in the (upper) room our people could hear in the second level that is beneath Aleh's room, they surely heard every single word clearly). He explained that various kinds of people come to visit him, all of them afraid of the Soviets and the strong fear of the possible vengeance of the Jews (I personally heard when Dr. Luczynski said 'they will take vengeance for their wives, their mothers... and their children'...) Everyone of them had something to tell, what to establish. As understood, not one of them suspected that Jews are residing at Mr. Beck's under the floor, and are listening to what they say. That was the root of the fear our host had, that we may be liable to take vengeance on these people, and he personally did not want to be the cause of their annihilation. Mr. Beck some consideration for Dr. Luczynski, who according to his thinking does not lean toward being an enemy of Jewish people. He was plainly seized by fear, it is the fear of death at the hands of the convert, Fundak, whose wife was Aryan. He was very fond of him (I personally do not know the tendencies of Dr. Luczynski, I remember him yet from the days of the 'jumpers' from the train, when I handled them, and helped them.

At that time Dr. Luczynski would give them many medicines. He also healed Hans. And he refused to take a penny even from those who visited him at his home). We calmed Mr. Beck down, and we told him that we will keep his request in mind, and we told him that should we survive and be liberated – it will not be because of us that their might be troubles and pitfalls,

It is necessary to emphasize another important event: The upstairs bathroom was clean and repaired. How happy we were to hear this, because today Mrs. Beck was forced to take the pails outside to the yard, at a time when the train workers were sitting in their room.

Sunday, March 12, 1944

The Soviet army has penetrated to a depth of 130 kilometers alongside Uman, but pushed back from the city of Tarnopol. I am convinced that they will come back and conquer the city. However, meanwhile the front is not getting any closer to us. We find it difficult to condition ourselves with patience, and to wait for the day that the train workers will need to flee. Their presence weighs more and more heavily on us and covers us more and more. We suspect that the removal of the pails from the hideout, when they are in the house, is liable to result in ending with bitter discoveries.

Monday, March 13, 1944

What an accident! One of the train workers spotted Mundek, who was on his way to the bathroom, and he saw him standing in the room (Mundek was standing at that time and waiting for them to hand him the pail). After a short time, the train worker told this to Mrs. Beck because at six o'clock in the morning, approximately, one of the important people of the gate, who suddenly disappeared under the bed. He was sorry not to have had arms in hand, because if he did, he would have shot at him on the spot. Mrs. Beck was very confused, but immediately recovered and said, it looks like it might have been a thief. Two of the train workers began carrying their pistols. They began to arrange for a search of the complete house. They searched in the attic, the cellar, and in the end came up to the room. From one of those with us, who saw Mundek, we heard what the person looked like, and he gave a faithful description of the appearance of Patrontacz. He ended by saying: 'And afterwards he vanished under the bed.'... We heard how the man had suddenly laid down on the floor because his knocking could be heard under the floor entry. Fortunately, he covered the entry way with his body, and began to search under the bed (part of this entry way was outside of the bed space). If he had picked up or moved the little rug beside the bed, we would have been lost. Afterwards, both of them [e.g. train workers] went to the city, because they were not regularly used to leaving the house at this hour. We were convinced that they were going to inform the gendarmerie. They returned with two rifles in hand, apparently they feared that the man who saw them might be one of the partisans, and they are as much afraid of them as they are of fire.

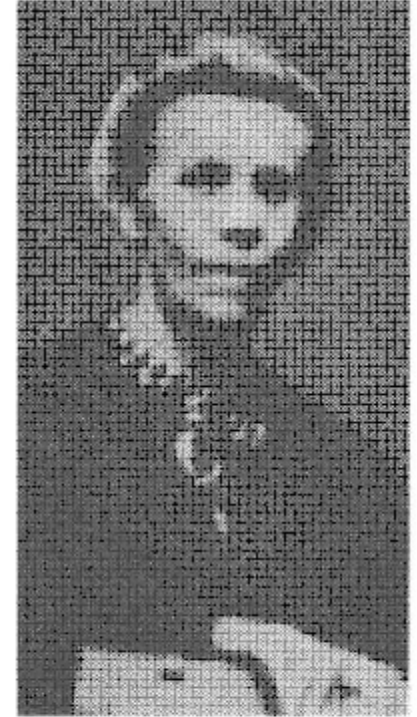
It was better this way than having them suspect that he has a cache for the Jews. We are sitting making almost no movement at all. We sit and not one of us has an appetite to eat. Now, when the front got near Tarnopol, and the liberation is so near, Is it still fated for us – to die? God, once again we hear some sort of new movement upstairs. A gendarme arrives... we recognize his origins from his voice – ohh, we so wanted to die right now! And yet we still hold on to the weak hope that nothing will happen... We hear Aleh's laugh, who is amused by the appearance of a thief in their house so early in the morning. It appears that Hans had come to visit her.

Tuesday, March 14, 1944

Two days ago, after the gendarmes left the house, Mr. Beck came down to us for a conversation. Someone else in his place would have said, after what happened to us – get out of here immediately, but Mr. Beck began to comfort us. He said to us, that the train workers are straightforward people, they did not even raise a bit of a fuss, and mentioned nothing in front of the gendarmes. And when Mr. Beck touched their faces firmly, regarding this matter, a train worker stopped him, who had previously said that he would shoot a thief that had penetrated the house, and offered this assessment. He said that he was not fit to kill a human being 'even a Jew' (these days, the murder of a Jew is spoken about like killing a fly). Mr. Beck tried to prove to us, that we should continue to place our trust in him, because all of his behavior in this charade were the correct ones – he succeeds in everything – he said –that he was born under a good sign, and his star would not lie, And nothing bad is going to happen to us, because we are located under his aegis.

We sat in the hideout in the dark, because accidentally yesterday we ripped out the electric wiring and we did not have a chance to repair the lights. Mr. Beck woke us up at six in the morning standing in the corridor, and he watched to see , if one of the train workers is not ready yet to leave his room. Mundek worked and meanwhile repaired the electricity, and once again we had light – 'Thank God, that you have electric light once more!' – Mr. Beck said with gladness. 'You are suffering enough without this [problem], and you have to sit in the dark too?'

Mrs. Beck also proved she could be trusted, and conveyed her participation in our sorrow regarding all the events that took place yesterday. She admitted to us, that she nearly fainted, when the train worker told her whom he saw, and even knelt on his knees and stretched himself out exactly over the floor entry to the hideout. She revealed another exceptional occurrence, because she pointed to the open window, through which the thief could have sneaked out and fled. And after all of this, she knocked on the floor entry to the hideout, and in a voice not like she used for a couple of days, asked if there was anything we needed? And she continued to comfort us by saying: 'it's no matter, everything will end well. Let us hope that they will travel away from here soon!'



יוליה בק
(אשתו של ולנטי בק)

Page 694: Yulia Beck
(Wife of Valenty Beck)

We are also beholden to Aleh, she called from the post office to Hans, and invited him to come over one evening to her house. She described the incident to him, and presented everything in an acceptable way, as if the intent was to tell him about the thief, who became panicked at the sight of the train worker, who lives in their house, and subsequently fled through the window. Even last year, when they conducted a search in our place, she saved the situation. Who knows? It is possible that by only thanking her we succeeded to be saved and remain alive.

The ambience in the hideout had become very sharp, and we are pouring out the pails only once a day, and this is during the hour that the train workers go out to eat lunch. Mr. Beck promised us to get us another, third pail. We curtailed our cooking, and to our sadness, we got used to eating food not because of their quality, but according to their quantity. Because of eating potatoes, our intestines became swollen, such that we could not satisfy our hunger with bread alone. In general bread had become very cheap. We are able to allow ourselves a full kilogram per day, in portions divided among five of us. But Mrs. Beck was compelled to take much care. Not to arouse a suspicion that her purchases were in an excessive quantity.

Wednesday, March 15, 1944

The entire Skoban family has left. I do not understand why they fled, what happened to them? They are respectable people, not to mention the fact that they are *Volksdeutsche*. They sense that all Germans in the future, will have to give an accounting on the spilling of so much blood, and additionally the blood of those who were not guilty of anything! Mrs. Beck told that before they left they sold ten sewing machines, this is very consistent with my thinking, because there were many Jews of Zolkiew who gave over their things to them for protection.

Kherson was captured yesterday [by the Soviets]. The daily news informs us on the battles in the environs of Horodenko. It is disappointing that his line leads to the Romanian border, and not a line leading to us.

The train workers are already at work, they are working in shifts from three o'clock to six o'clock in the afternoon, for us this is a lot, but our nights are also very difficult.

Thursday, March 16, 1944

As of now, we have a steady guest each evening, Hans has begun to come to us to play cards. They play in Mr. Beck's room, and we are afraid to literally breathe. It is good that now that the train workers are at work, we can now empty our pails without difficulty. At night at one o'clock, when the train workers are deep in sleep, Mr. Beck invites Mundek to come upstairs and listen to the day's news. He worked on persuading him so much that he was compelled to go upstairs. By contrast Mundek 'heard' the news since he sleeps under the table, but he was so nervous that he heard nothing but the beating of his heart...

Friday, March 17, 1944

One of the train workers traveled to Lvov early in the morning. There was no issue in this for us, because he stayed in a friend's house, and happens to be the one interested in the news. But when he went outside to go to work, we succeeded in listening to the day's news broadcast.

Adjacent to Dubno, Koval and Uman, the Soviet army had glorious victories, but they are still standing at Tarnopol. Meanwhile every minute is liable to tip the scales for us – to life or death.

Sabbath, March 18, 1944

Mrs. Beck was forced to touch up her home today by herself, because the train workers remained in the house. I am sorry that we were unable to help her with cleaning the floor. I help her willingly, and apart from this, I enjoy a bit of fresh air. I took note of the fact that my face and Lula's face looked better in comparison to others because from time-to-time we enjoy moving around while we are working upstairs.

Sunday, March 19, 1944

The train workers went to the movies and Mundeck succeeded in listening to the daily news. The news from the front are very good. The Russian army is only about 80 kilometers from Lvov, with battles being fought in Vynnitsia and Nikolaev. Just yesterday, we heard from Mr. Beck that Jampol and Zhmerinka were captured. Today we found out that Kamenets was also captured, and there are sounds that say Romania is facing surrender. England sent Romania a diplomatic warning.

The pilots traveled from here and took their cadre of workers with them. Adolf was among the ones who left, who was sweet on Aleh. Oh, if we could only get rid of the train workers! Their surrender would make our lives easier under these conditions.

Monday, March 20, 1944

Today we had troubles with emptying the pails. One of the train workers set up a bath in the house, and he did not leave the house all day. The pails were full, despite the fact that we had gotten a third pail the day before last, in order to empty the pails only once in a 24-hour period.

We did our minor needs in the sand, but ... apart from this we had to hold back the motion in our bellies, even if our bellies almost burst for all of us.

It was only at six o'clock, when the train workers were busy arranging things in their room, did Mrs. Beck give permission to take out one pail and empty it, and it got filled up in the blink of an eye (because what help is it to provide one pail for eighteen people?! I don't know if people will be inclined to understand this in the future, that there were minutes in our lives, that the strongest impulse in our lives was – simple. To take care of our bodily needs.

Mr. Beck came down to us with a very unpleasant piece of news. Aleh who was an official at the post office, received an order to leave the city and her mother wants to travel with her. Masses of people have already left the city out of a sense that the Ukrainians are going to start killing Polish people, and we tried to explain to Mr. Beck, that there is nothing to suspect, because regardless of whatever trouble occurs, there is the hideout, in which we can hide ourselves. But our host revealed to us that the women in the house were very frightened, and his son sides with them. His report caused us consternation and pain, because all of us, without hesitation were ready to unconditionally give up our lives in order to satisfy our hosts, but how will we be able to convince Mr. Beck of the validity of our feelings?!

The radio news gave notice that the city of Vynnytsia was captured. The Germans themselves admitted that the battles are raising desertions between Dubno and Brody.

Apart from this, we heard of a despicable deed done by the Germans. They invaded Hungary who was one of their allies! There are many Jews there, now endangered and now possibly liquidated by the Germans. The Germans are also likely to commence doing this very quickly, because they cannot hold the area under their control for long, and despite the fact that their end is near, they do not forget the Jews.

Tuesday, March 21, 1944

Today we got a good idea, as the parable says, 'for every trouble, the Jew finds a cure). At night, we dug a deep pit in the middle of the hideout, under the table, made from the boards leaning on two bunk beds. We poured one pail into the pit and immediately covered it completely with sand. But some of us were opposed to this. They conveyed a sense that this choice is liable to endanger our health and bring on a cholera plague or some other disease. But the rest of us convinced them, especially since we told them the smell was not so bad (and perhaps we had already gotten used to the bad smell which was not so bad, or that the ground underneath provided a good shield against it). Today is the day of the beginning of spring. Soon we will be able to discard the straw that is on our bedspreads that we had brought it because of the winter, in order to get rid of the fleas. Meanwhile, we cannot even dream about this, so long as the train workers are found among us. Let us hope they will leave shortly, because the fighting is abating in the surroundings of Brody.

In the city – there is panic. All the people are running away from here. Everyone of them comes to Mr. Beck to seek his advice as to what they should do.

We are not at all favorably disposed to such visits, because Mr, Beck is plunged into distress after each such visit. Everyone was overcome with the fear of being killed by the Ukrainians, and that is the central reason for this, and the impulse to begin thinking of running away. It is a fact that the Ukrainians are murdering people at every opportunity. We only got satisfying news from one visit: Professor Lang came to us, who had vanished for a long time, and he imbued a good mood into everyone. He told us that he is not traveling anywhere, because there is no cause and need to leave at all, and all of us wanted to see him every day, because his influence was like receiving a calming injection containing a blessing.

Wednesday, March 22, 1944

The daily news was again without content, and there was stagnation along the fronts. We thought that now, the Soviets will turn their military ire towards Lvov, despite the notification from the Germans that the Soviets had been repulsed from Koval. It was clear everywhere, that the end is drawing near. *Obersturmbanführer* Von Papa was burning the evidence. In the city there was panic and much unending movement. One of the train workers traveled to Lvov, and the second – spent most of the daylight hours outside of the house. Accordingly we had a longer respite than usual, and also a harbinger of the spring season: In the second level of the hideout that was flatter, a frog appeared on the supporting board of Lula's bed, but we did not succeed in catching it, because it vanished immediately. The frog will certainly return, because it will be attracted by the fleas in the straw.

Friday, March 24, 1944

The Panic is intensifying, and most of the populace is preparing to leave the city, and many have already done so. The pharmacy is closed, because the lady manager (who was guarding our pharmacist's belongings) had left the city. Most of the stores were closed. The Dominicans had already dug pits, in which they hid cannons. On *ul. Turynyski* tunnels were dug. Dr. Luczynski had already traveled to Lvov and telephoned from there that he was not coming back. In short – there was panic all along the line., despite the fact that there were no signs to be afraid on the news. The air had been penetrated by anger, fear and an influencing nervousness that was bad for the Beck family. They returned today from the city enveloped and angered very much. The following Monday a compulsory order had been set for the evacuation of *Volksdeutsche*, and Mrs. Beck and her daughter wanted to travel, and they are scared. The mood in the house was overly nerve-wracking. To my great consternation, the train workers were not moving from the house. They say they will stay to the end and deal with the last of the trains. Oh, God! Would that all of this will end very, very quickly, but there is no sign that this is the case.

March 22, 1944

It is the first anniversary of the day the March *Aktion* was launched in our city. A year has passed since the 'cultured' Germans unleashed their massive cruel and murderously terrifying extermination on the city of Zolkiew.

Even though a full year has passed, the nightmarish and terrifying memories continue to haunt me: the Ghetto and main street, *ul. Lvovska* that leads to the grove seeded with the bodies of the dead... the city trembles and shakes from the bitter cry of the victims, and the wailing and screaming of those innocent of any wrongdoing. Is there anything in our world more frightening than this! From the second floor of a building in the corner of the street, sacks full of dead bodies were thrown outside to freight trucks standing beneath the window... frail newborn babies were hacked apart on the walls, and their heads split until the contents of their heads spilled outside. They shot people who lay sick in bed... The *Gestapo* men used only the throat... among the rest he split open the head of a nursing child, son of the brother of Karola. The farmers came in from the villages to observe this 'scene', in order to gain favor in the eyes of the *Gestapo*, and they penetrated into the houses that had Jewish residents and stabbed the bodies of those present with ordinary kitchen knives. My grandfather's sister was one of the 'lucky ones' because she was shot while asleep in bed. This was immediately at the outset of the *Aktion*, at two o'clock in the morning. In the same room, a *post partum* young woman lay in bed after delivery, and the Germans shot her and the freshly newborn child.

Only a small remnant of Jews were rescued from this *Aktion*, because at the same time, they began to attack those who were running away from them. They threw explosives into any of the hideouts that looked suspicious to them. Most of the Jews who remained alive after the March *Aktion* – were liquidated within the following two weeks in a '*Second Aktion*,' after which the city of Zolkiew was left '*Judenrein*.' But the picture of this nightmare was etched into our memory, and will remain eternally in our hearts...

Sunday, March 26, 1944

Today there was a great deal of stirring in our hideout, as if the Russian army was already standing at least at Kulikovo. Mrs. Beck and Aleh and others who need to know, that because of all the promises told to them, that will also, as it were, be told to the citizenry that want to leave the city in comfortable train cars – that this was a lie from the start. For this reason, the two of them remained in the house – and should trouble occur – to hide with us in the hideout. Mrs. Beck decided to prepare for this eventuality. She brought downstairs to us – bread, salt and potatoes. They also dismantled all of the extra sewing machines in the house. It was possible to get all of this done quietly and peacefully without the onset of nerves, because the train workers had disappeared all day and were out of the house.

Masses of troop units gathered together in the city. The gendarme Hans, who had come today to collect underwear he had give to Manya to wash – that today the gendarmerie is leaving the city, because the Russians have already reached Busk. Despite this, it was difficult for him to specify why they were traveling from here, because there is nothing else left for them to travel in, yet they received horses, but without harnesses, and they were forced to 'confiscate' harnessing gear. And there are no trains in the city for the gendarmerie serving there. The gendarmerie from the city of Mosty' left today in wagons.

All are traveling, all are leaving – only the train workers still remain with us in the house. They have become not very nice to have around, and have become a burden to us. It appeared to us, that one of them listened for a light movement in our hideout, and he quietly opened the door to the room above us. Mr. Beck, who happened to be sleeping in that room that night, explained that we were mistaken, because he didn't hear and didn't see anything – and he is a light sleeper and he would get up in such an instance. Mundek heard the beginning of the day's news (before he was compelled to flee and come down to us), the city of Proskorov was captured, and apart from that – airplanes are threatening Germany. Nine thousand bombs of the Allies in the end hit the cities of Germany.

In this state of chaos and in a state of continuous movement in the city – the generosity of Mr. Beck was boundless. We are continuing to meet two months worth of loans alone, and with all this, our host continues to supply us with food. It was not easy for him to obtain eighteen loaves of bread and sacks of potatoes. He had to spend a great deal of money in order to provide us with necessities.

Monday, March 27, 1944

Today we had a '*Sanacja*' in the hideout. Mr. Beck brought the son of his brother, Wladek to the floor entry point. Only Patrontacz, Melman and the Pharmacist saw his face and conversed with him. As for me – I am able to say that I so avoided seeing the faces of strangers, that on purpose at the beginning I tried not to get close to the floor entry, because I did not want to see him. And I am of the opinion that most of our people think like I do – and we are of one mind. Mr. Beck brought Wladek to the floor entry with the intention of doing a specific task, because in only a few more days, Wladek is going to join ... the people in the hideout! He had received an order to present himself for military service (as a *Volksdeutsche*) and he is planning to hide himself with us. He made a good impression on all the people who spoke with him, this way or that – it appears that he is a very worthy person, he has known of our existence here for fifteen months and did not expose us. He also knew where his uncle was hidden (who fled the 'sixty' of the remaining Jews that were left in the Ghetto) and he did not disclose his location to anyone. Do we need any extra proof?

Today's news was very good. There is heavy fighting and desertion in Tarnopol; Horodenko and Kamenets-Podolski had been captured, and in Mosty' a battle had broken out between the Germans and partisans, who set the city on fire, and units of the army were sent to help, and to our consternation, Hans had made an error when he said that Busk had already been captured, this city is still in German hands, because thee had conversed by telephone today with the post office in Busk.

Mr. Beck and his wife spent the night in the room that was above us. They turned over their room to soldiers that demanded lodging from them. I think there were three of them, but we do not know this for sure, but from conversation we succeeded in finding out. In any event – there is no big difference here. After all, the train workers are also residing in the house and maybe in this respect it is better, that there should be a lot of movement upstairs. It is possible that this too was in our favor.

Tuesday, March 28, 1944

Today was full of anxiety starting from the morning already. First, a very sharp quarrel broke out between the Beck couple. As usual, this was caused by the sister-in-law of our host, expressing her desire to hide in our house during a time of danger. Mrs. Beck who is keenly jealous of her, did not agree to this. Mr. Beck was of the opinion that there was no need to deny her, because he 'puts everything in her hands.' As usual, it was Mundek who took on the difficult task of convincing and proving to Mrs. Beck that this matter is compulsory. Because of him, she agreed in the end, to admit her nuisance into her house. We did not have a chance to breathe easy, after this matter had been settled, when a new trouble came upon us which was very serious. In the afternoon, we received a notice that all *Volksdeutsche* are being forced to leave the city. We literally panicked then, what will happen? What will we do if Mr. Beck leaves the city? Who will provide us with bread and water?... We heard how our host was walking nervously in circles in his room, and our desperation was boundless. We were somewhat calmed when we heard that in the train station they threw off an entire group of *Volksdeutsche* from the train cars, and the military had seized the train and filled it completely... Let us be content with the hope that until other cars will arrive, something might happen to rescue us. We did not know exactly what was going on, because Mr. Beck was unable to go near the floor entry all day.

Wednesday, March 29, 1944

Today, many soldiers came to our house. But they went out and the train workers arrived immediately, and we had no opportunity to empty the pails. We managed to clean out one pail with difficulty, but we settled ourselves. Mr. Beck cut wood in the cellar, and in the meantime we succeeded in digging a pit in the foyer, and we emptied the pails there.

In the day's news there was not anything special to cheer us. The Soviet army is moving forward, but at a rapid pace, but they are oriented towards Romania. They are not heading in the direction of Lvov. In the last two days they have captured Horodenko, Kolomyya, Gavudzhin and Tarnobla. To our consternation, we heard nothing about Tarnopol or Brody.

To our good fortune, the 'evacuation' had not received much attention – as we had thought and which had frightened us so much. About 300 people are sitting in the train station for two days, and they are waiting to be given train cars, but the Germans are in no hurry, it appears. Maybe the first 'transport' will move tomorrow. The people have already entered the train cars once, but the Germans chased them out.

Wladek is sleeping upstairs near the Beck family. He was forced to flee his home and disappear, because on March 31 he was supposed to present himself for military service.

He was not yet in the hideout, because the train workers who are found in the house stand as a pitfall in his way. When will they travel away from here?

Thursday, March 30, 1944

The city of Czernowitz was captured. As understood, we are taking stock of our situation, because what is to happen is important. Regrettably, the captured places are still quite far from us! Let us hope that if they push the Germans, maybe they will push them to the San River.

There is no alternative, we are forced to fortify a conclusion at some border, and will end soon. Four *Volksdeutsche* have already put their belongings in out again together with their effects. They are waiting. Very Good! They deserve that and let them be compelled to flee from here.

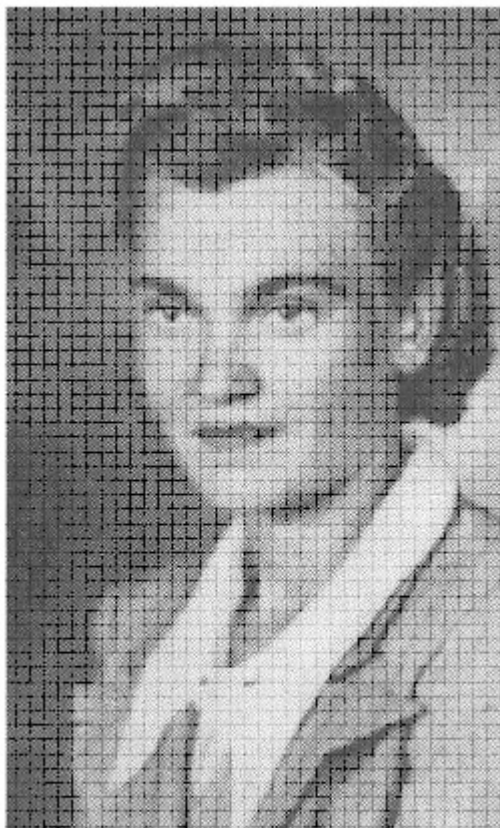
Yesterday, Mrs. Beck treated us to some veal and approximately a kilogram of meat, and unless I tell it meat cooked this way. The gut had become different kinds of food like this. Against our will we

Aleh came home today and was crying. She is promised her, in the name of all the people in the even if the price we have to pay is with our lives.

The Ukrainian police fled this night into the forest. rehabilitated, but they will not succeed. They are simply shot at Jews, voluntarily... during the *Aktion!*

Sabbath, April 1, 1944

We spent all of our money. We had no more money Patrontacz decided to request a loan from the He gave everyone of us a loan of 1200 Zlotys per pay Mr. Beck today up to what we owed.



אלה בק
(בתו של וולנטו בק)

Page 706: Aleh Beck,
Daughter of Valenty Beck

ourselves with patience, for all of these issues will reach train cars came to the train station today. The them, and a German officer came along and threw them somehow standing in the train station, standing and be abused! If they had a clear conscience they would not

there was no proper way to refuse her. Everyone took no one will believe that I ruined my stomach by eating accustomed only to potatoes and cannot stand other had been transformed into vegetarians.

consumed with far and wants to travel away. Mundek hideout, that we will protect her (during a time of need)

Perhaps they are now looking for some way to be justifiably deserving of punishment. After all, they

to pay Mr. Beck for the month. My father, Melman and pharmacist, who initially refused, but afterwards gave in. family. But this is very little, but at least we were able to

Sunday, April 2, 1944

Aleh received a notice that it is up to her to go out and get a position in Lvov, and it is her responsibility to be at the post office opposite the train station. We were very sad about this, because the train station was ultimately to be bombed.

Wladek was with us today, down below. He was forced to hide, because in the upstairs part of the house there was a host of soldiers from the 'Waffen S. S.' traveling to the front. What a peculiar situation! S. S. Soldiers and Jews under a single roof!...

Monday, April 3, 1944

The tension eased a bit today. One of the train workers traveled with Mrs. Beck and Aleh to the city of Lvov, the second was at his work. Both received work they were to do in tandem, After a length of work for a continuous twelve hours, they will get a furlough of twenty-four hours. The matter looks like one will work, and one will remain in the home. Fortunately it is the younger worker who will stay home and work on distant locations. It seems that one will work, while the other will stay in the house. Fortunately the younger of the train workers stays in the house rarely. It will be easier to 'breathe' three times a week.

Today we formally met Mr. Beck's sister-in-law, after all, she knows 'everything' as to where we were upstairs during the year, since she knows 'everything' about our time upstairs during the year, during which time she never saw us, and as understood, we did not see her. Today, she descended below to visit her son Wladek and used this opportunity to meet us.

Zuszya, in her role as the 'officer' of the hideout, came out to receive her. Mr. Beck requested of her that she tell his sister-in-law how we came to be here. This five-year old girl remembers every detail...how she spent time in the attic of the Judenrat building, and afterward in a classroom after her mother left them, and also how she brought her little brother Zigo here, to the aunt...

This morning, the radio transmitted a notice that the Soviet army had entered Tarnopol and Stanislawow, and the English news related the capture of the cities of Kossow and Kutu.

Tuesday, April 4, 1944

For the first time since the previous summer, today we opened a small window in the hideout. We did not reckon how much the breathable air was missing, despite the fact that the side of the window was a ten centimeter square, and by option (and to prevent any trouble from reaching us, we cover it with a

stone in the middle) – we were like drunkards for the air. I stood guard that no one should snore while sleeping, the eyes closed themselves out of exhaustion.

Today, we were fortunate regarding the train workers, early in the morning both left and returned only at night. Everyone of us felt a lapse in tension and apart from that it was very pleasant for us, Wladek. And the time for us from the point of view of a contact with the freshness of the external world. Stayed with us for frequent intervals when a stranger appeared upstairs.

The news today was good. The cities of Berestechko and Horokiv were captured. This was more important to us than the major victories in Romania, these were simply closer to us. The front – almost 60 kilometers from Lvov. Oh, would that they only proceeded forward like this!

With all my heart, I would like to light a *yahrzeit* candle on the anniversary of the martyr's death of my sister Manya, in order to sacredly recall the shining of her soul. How I wished to do this after the liberation! Perhaps one of the group of 'sixty' is still alive and could show us the place where she is buried...

Aleh returned today from Lvov. She is not working now, and in general has no idea what her future fate will be.

Both train workers traveled today to the city of Lvov. We took this chance to fireproof the house. We took up some sand to the upstairs attic, since there is plenty in the hideout, and we lowered some necessities there, that will be easy to divide up. However, I do not see a need to be hasty with this work. Because on the radio news, they prove that the 'times of danger' that we long for out of so much yearning, are still far away... the Germans give up because they had captured additional land tracts. This, despite the fact that the English radio does not mention our front at all. True, we hear of battles in the suburbs of Odessa, but that is Odessa, where are we?

Today is the anniversary of the martyrdom of my aunt Utch'keh (the mother of Zigo and Zuszya) and also of our uncle Yossek and his wife Rilla. Who knows, maybe they are still alive, if they left on the same night I did, in order to restrain the children, who were hidden in the attic... To the God of remedy... they were sure that we will live through these days to the end? Periodically, during the time that Germans are present – a death decree hangs over us, despite this we are counted among the fortunate, if it is even possibly to be considered 'lucky' after the loss of such a large number of relatives in a time so terrifying...

Friday, April 7, 1944

There is a very pressured mood in our hideout today. The Germans are attacking near Tarnopol, where they have set up a 'surrounding ring' around the Soviets, and the places near Koval. They predicted that the Allied invasion will come in the spring, but we hear nothing about it, and the bombing of Germany continues haltingly. In short – we do not see the end. The train workers that reside here continue to do so, and Hans visits, etc. The day before yesterday there were at least three gendarmes upstairs.

Panic continues in the city, and the Bolsheviks are still far away, but the sellers of food were told in a panicked fashion, that there is no more bread. If the liberation does not come in the desired speed, there is no protection from being lost, and it is a shame that we suffered for so long.

Sabbath, April 8, 1944

Today is Passover, and there are aggravating memories tied to this holiday. This holiday fell last year on the day after the conflagration, and Manya was no longer alive. I cannot get closure with this terrifying thought, that she is really not alive! I always see her in front of me, and it seems to me that if I would only get out free – I will go back to seeing her alive and well... how tragic is this thing, such a young person who was seized by life, to have the wick of her life pulled out, and she has left this life in such a distressing way. How large is the number of such children who now lie in the grove! Despite this, the world has not come to a standstill, but goes on, and even we continue to live and exist.

The holiday has arrived, and each of us looked for something to give to the Beck's as a present. The gifts were modest, but when God will help us and help us stay alive, we will certainly give them gifts with a generous hand.

Today the news was better. But there is nothing to report on anything substantive, but aside from this the entire city of Odessa is surrounded, and fifteen German divisions were wiped out beside Salka. What was more interesting to us was that the Germans had surrounded at Tarnopol.

The train workers left and were not here during afternoon hours, and accordingly Lula and me assist Mrs. Beck to order the house and clean it for the holiday. We drank in, and enjoyed the fresh air very much. How is it that a human being doesn't evaluate the conditions in which he is fortunate to be given the opportunity to inhale fresh and clean air into his body

Sunday, April 9, 1944

The light suddenly went out today... at first we heard the noise of the shutdown (the noise of the shutdown is strong, and it seems like they have bombed Lvov, were this only true – it would cause us much happiness. Because of the darkness about us, I cannot continue to write and also by the light of the candle I cannot see anything.

Monday, April 10, 1944

It is only now that we have a sense of the truth, that we are living underground. The Lvov electric plant was disabled, and therefore we have no light. We are sitting in the dark, because it is hard to obtain candles, and there is a need to conserve them Our window is open, but very little light reaches us from

the outside. The darkness has a bad influence on us. If we at least had a radio, then we would raise our spirits by hearing the daily news, but we don't have that either, because we cannot obtain a battery.

Tuesday, April 11, 1944

Only two days have passed after the loss of electricity, and it seems to us, that the darkness has lasted for a whole year already. We are suffering a great deal, and because of this, Mrs. Beck is also suffering. All the pots to boil potatoes ate upstairs (and we are compelled to boil, because we have no bread) and this affects her health and nerves, because the train workers are walking around the kitchen.

Now we have aggravation again, of a different kind: Mr. Beck wants to join the partisans. This would literally be a death sentence for all of us; to our consternation, we cannot get this idea out of his mind, because we are not seeing his face. We do not know what is new at the front, because we don't have a radio. But maybe something is going on out there. A Jewish saying says: 'it is out of darkness that God will create the light'... but our mood darkened very much, as did the absence of light that is not above us...

Wednesday, April 12, 1944

Today we heard the news (Leizenbard has a hideout and he 'latched on' to the news). Sadly, there was nothing to cheer us up. The Soviets retreated in all locations – even beside Brody, Tarnopol and Koval. But they did capture Odessa. But what did we get out of all this? Mr. Beck was in a frightened state of mind, and we were like him. Our financial situation is terrible, we don't even have a cent and Mr. Beck also has no money. Only the pharmacist has money, but to him, the money is worth more than life. We had no other alternative but to steal his money sooner or later, if he personally does not understand that in difficult moments like these, he has a responsibility to share with all of us.

Thursday, April 13, 1944

We will have electricity tomorrow, thank God. Mrs. Beck was in Lvov today and she brought us newspapers. But there is nothing to validate the German claims to victories at the front. But the state of the city has improved. Von Papa who left Zolkiew a short time ago has returned, to our consternation. Aleh is again working at the post office. It will be good to have the light because we do not have enough candles, and we are forced to collect the leftovers of wax that drip from the candles , and stick them together to make a new candle. I do not know if sometime [in the future] they will believe us that our lives were in question, this will no doubt be heard as an imagined story. But the appearance of our faces will prove the great amount of suffering that is cast upon our faces. I am still holding on, but the appearance of both the adults and the children – is terrifying.

Friday, April 14, 1944

Something new was heard: An order came out of Lvov, as it were, which said that all *Volksdeutsche* will be forced to leave the city. This does make sense. Spring has arrived, and there is a need for a lot of workers (since there are no Jews at all), so they are forced to take the *Volksdeutsche*. You can understand that this is liable to level a winning blow to our heads. What will we do if Mr. Beck has to travel?... Meanwhile Eisenbart said that the Soviet army has again retreated. They only have victories in the Crimea. I don't know what happened and how to explain this.

Sabbath, April 15, 1944

Our spirits certainly did fall, and we got an encouraging 'injection' and a new hope penetrated our hearts. First – there is light again, and the daily news was also very good, and Mundek personally heard the news. And so, the city of Tarnopol was captured, and an additional forty settlements were captured in the vicinity of the city. The Soviets earned outstanding victories in the Crimea. The port of Feodosiya was captured, and the city of Sevastopol is surrounded on three sides. The Germans tell that there are severe battles north of Brody.

The daily news so calmed us to the point that even Beck's notification that he is leaving to join the partisans did not influence even one of us, and we didn't take what he said seriously! We are hoping that even this will end well. We had many and peculiar things happen, but Mr. Beck did not lie, and I am hoping that he will not leave this time. An officer from the 'Waffen S. S.' spent the night here upstairs. It had no effect on us. It didn't matter if they were train workers or an S. S. Officer – we didn't care.

Monday, April 17, 1944

Wladek quarreled with Mr. Beck and ran away. What happened between them – is unknown, because Mr. Beck did not come close to the floor entry. The fact that they quarreled was unpleasant enough for us already. Wladek is a deserter, and if he is caught, it is liable to bring vengeance upon us. To our consternation, we are unable to find a solution to this, and what ran out of our hands brings us to the point of desperation.

Tuesday, April 18, 1944

Today was a full year from the start of the fire and the death of Manya, it seems that the pain will never go away...

Once again, we are going through hard times. Nevertheless Mr. Beck wants to travel; the city is caught up in a terrifying panic, the Ukrainians are murdering and burning Polish villages. Our city is full of refugees who come from the village, and even the city residents are traveling away from here in hordes. A friend of Mr. Beck, the *Volksdeutsche* Eisenbart got a place on the train and came to take leave and say goodbye, to our host (It appears the Germans are allocating one train car to three families). After he left, Mr. Beck came down to us being extremely distressed, and told us that he too will travel, and leave us with the sister of his wife Manya, What to do?... this is the situation... the man is broken... he is only human. And if there were another one in his place, he would have already left. We have no right to persuade him that he should abandon what he does, despite that it is clear to us, that his

travel implies a death sentence for us. The circumstance puts the responsibility on Manya, who cannot do this by her own strength. Apart from this, the Germans have not allocated a house so big and beautiful to her to use. Sooner or later – they will find us – Perhaps if Mr. Beck were not so afraid, if these train workers did not live here... in the worst possible case, when the Ukrainians would attack the house, he could hide with us downstairs in the hideout, but how could he suddenly disappear underground, when they find him in his house – we are trapped by so difficult a condition, literally without hope, that one can envy Manya, who was seized a year ago, and all of this is already distant from her.

Wednesday, April 19, 1944

The pharmacist agreed to our persuasion, and gave us each an English pound. To our consternation, Mr. Beck refused to take the money, because he did not know what it was worth, and there is no possibility of handling foreign exchange all those who deal in foreign exchange have already left. It is possible to get food but only in exchange for gold, but we have no gold, and Mr. Beck also has none, and a farmer would not take a foreign specie. We begged Mr. Beck not to be concerned for us, and that he would not leave. Mr. Beck gave us no reply, he went into the city, and we remained in place, under an indescribable oppression.

When he returned he was overly happy. It became clear that he tried to obtain a second rifle in addition to the one he had. Even the train workers were armed – the situation is therefore not bad, as it appears. He also had decided to arrange for a bunker (hideout) in the wreckage of the oil factory. He sought out those of his friends who helped him with this work, and he stopped being afraid. In one stroke, it eased our hearts. Along with this the electricity return that had gone out two days ago during the bombing of Lvov. With the ending of the day, we received a good notice: the same train worker (who one saw Mundeck) was given furlough. The second train worker (much younger than the first) spends most of his daytime hours outside of the house. This fact is very encouraging.

It appeared to us that the attacks on the Polish people – was the work of the Germans. It seems that they want all the Poles to flee to the area of Congress Poland, and from there, they will take them to labor camps. But this did not happen as it was told, that the authorities would stand ordinary attacks by Ukrainians and abandon the city to anarchy.

Thursday, April 20, 1944

A mood of calm prevailed on this day. Mr. Lang did this special favor for us. He is not traveling to anywhere and remains in Zolkiew. We are desirous of his visits, because in front of us, he raises the encouragement of our state mind. It seems like Mr. Beck has changed, and we cannot recognize him, despite the fact that he has of yet not been able to exchange the food he wanted to buy, for money. He gave each family 25 grams of lard, and asked that

they put it on the rent, and not the daily payment, in order to make this invisible to the pharmacist. What a manifestation of noble spirit in a man! We do not pay him for the lard, they charged this necessity – not at the price of bread, or potatoes, this is an extra necessity, not ordinary food. But he told us that he does not want to remove in the pending liberation, ‘Typhus’ patients, but rather healthy people.

The news today was also very good. Apart from the reports from the front, that a prayer of mourning had taken place in New York for the loss of the lives of the rebels in the Warsaw Ghetto, those heroic Jews that rose up and demonstrated opposition to their *Scourge*. We are proud of this, that the Jews of Warsaw protected themselves, and did not want to face being killed without a struggle. Mr. Beck bought an additional rifle today, and no longer talks about making a trip. It appears that he is planning to secure the house from all possible assaults.

Sabbath, April 22, 1944

Those of us in the hideout have an overflow of impressions, that even a person sick with ‘Saffin’

(a black fear) would engender the sick among us. Every day was a gift of our fate. Today, again we had a ‘surprise,’ Mr. Beck was compelled to lodge four soldiers, despite the fact that in one room of his house he was boarding train workers. Now they had only one room to use apart from the kitchen. The soldiers entered the room over the hideout on the second level, and Mr. Beck and his wife went into a room directly above us.

I do not know how we will survive under these conditions. Four soldiers in a neighboring room, directly above us– this is not a simple matter! When will they give us water? When will we take out and empty the pails? Let us assume that the train workers go out of the house, certainly one of the soldiers will remain in the house, and if the soldiers went outside, the train workers will return and we will be unable to take even a step. In the meantime our luck is holding out in the sea of troubles, and this is what happened: The soldiers were initially stubborn and agreed to take only the room that was located above us, and Mrs. Beck was compelled to tell them in an extended conversation, that they should stay and take the room that she proposed to them. If they didn’t change their minds and actually went into that room, then access to the floor entry would be stopped. Apart from this, there are fourteen people in the hideout, of which four are children, at the same time there are only fourteen adults below.

Towards evening, a certain gendarme came to deliver an order to present himself for military service from the head of the gendarmerie. We were very frightened and panicked, we felt that perhaps this matter had something to do with plans to go after the partisans, it was very easy to find an informer... it is hard to describe the trembling in our hearts, the feelings of fear that stormed through our imagination. In the end, Mr. Beck returned home, singing and happy, in order to calm us down. And in doing so, he gave us a sign that nothing serious, God forbid, happened there (he did not get a chance to approach the floor entry because of the train workers). Only late in the evening we found out that they told him at the gendarmerie, that he has to stand guard at the rear of the train.

Sunday, April 23, 1944

The soldiers are living in our house from this day on, and we are not to be envied. Contrary to their promise, that they will only sleep at Mr. Beck's house, they spent all the hours of the day. And also: Everyone who comes to visit our host sits in the room that is directly above us.

For this interval of time, we sat without moving. We went to the pails with great fear, we held ourselves back and took care of our needs only then. When the train workers went to sleep, the soldiers went outside. In the hour that the train workers were leaving the house, the soldiers returned... I do not know for how long we can put up with this condition.

The people located in the second hideout were compelled to invert their days and nights, because they simply have no possibility to sleep at night, at the time when the soldiers are in the room above them. Since a man is not responsible for what happens to him while asleep, and the hideout being very low, and when someone wants to sit on his bunk boards, he immediately is struck in the head by the ceiling. And maybe we will not have to suffer so much? There is stagnation at the front that comes as usual before a major attack. The Germans communicate about the substantial sins of the Soviet army. We are hoping that a strong storm will befall Lvov. Would that this would come quickly, if they will be chaotic in their efforts – we will not be able to hold out. It would not be believed if not told, that it was possible to live with six Germans over our heads, and not one of them senses our presence!! If we had any money, we would buy bread, and we would manage with dry bread as we sat all day in the hideout on bunk boards. But to our consternation, we are compelled to boil potatoes and this involved difficulties. The most worrisome thing is – emptying the pails. Having no other way, by force we dug a pit in the hideout and pour out the pails there. But how much room do we have in the hideout entirely? We could not do this on a daily basis, Well, we had to concede to the demands of fate. What will be will be. We have suffered a lot in any case, and maybe we will be able to withstand in the future as well.

Monday, April 24, 1944

Today I go over to the second hideout, because I have to switch with Kuba. He is coughing a lot, because the smelly air is suffocating him. He is sitting on his bunker boards for whole nights, and Lula also sits and does not dare to fall asleep, because she snores. To my good fortune when I slept she was quiet, and for that reason they permit me to sleep. This night – the air in the hideout is overly stuffy, because Mr. Beck and Aleh are at work, and Mrs. Beck – is home alone in the house. We succeeded in emptying the pails today, because all the Germans went out to lunch together. In this way, we 'stole' another day... The Germans are hurrying to return. They capture the city of Kutuy... when is all of this going to end?

Tuesday, April 25, 1944

At night, Mrs. Beck knocked on the floor entry and asked if one of us is snoring. As understood, she only thought this was the case, and perhaps one of the soldiers up there was snoring. But what the crux of this shows, this woman who endangers herself does not know any rest even at night and she is tortured by dreams of panic that hound us.

The soldiers – this is a plague not documented in the Torah. But we prefer them to others. No empty room can be found in the entire city. Farmers of Polish origin are fleeing the villages into the cities, because the Ukrainians are murdering them. What would we do if they put into the Beck house some strange family with children on their hands? And the Germans go out from time-to-time to the casino, and they also have a hidden radio, and they raise the volume that literally deafens all other sound – and despite this, it is very hard for us to save strength to put up with this condition...

Wednesday, April 26, 1944

Mr. Beck is again talking about leaving. He is afraid that the Ukrainians threaten all the Poles endlessly, telling them they will murder them all, even Professor Lang, who always encouraged Mr. Beck, is now starting to think that it is worth traveling away from this place. Despite everything, his conscience does not permit Mr. Beck to leave us. He is so nervous, we think that even some minor incident is liable to influence him, and he will get up and go. There is one other thing that exists to cause a crisis in Mr. Beck's soul: the question of providing food for us. There are no more potatoes, and there is no money. And there are no buyers willing to take foreign specie. I am certain that the money would help us in this situation, but where are we going to get money? My faith was that if Mr. Beck could get us food, this would remove an obstacle from his heart. I know that he cannot bear the thought that we would have to suffer the shame of hunger! One thing can save us, and that is an accelerated liberation. And I, for this want to hope that they will resume the war sooner, because the battles are causing desertions on the inclines of the Dniester River, and the Germans themselves admit it.

We have a new surprise: Wladek has arrived. He slept the night outside. In the afternoon he returned home, acting a bit light-headed because he could be seized, and then our lives would be in danger, but we are unable to show him how to act.

Thursday, April 27, 1944

The electricity went off today again. First we heard the noise of the engines of the planes, because it seems like they are really bombing Lvov. I hope they skip over the electric plant and not bomb it. Without electricity, our already delicate situation will become worse. Mr. Beck again said to us that he has no other alternative, and was compelled to leave. We heard that terrifying things were being done in the city: The Ukrainians gave the Pole an ultimatum that they leave the city by the first of May, otherwise they will murder them all. This had the essence of something purely German. They wanted the Poles to gather in a plot called 'Guber-Gastvistov' and from there be sent to forced labor in camps, to which a horde of people had already been taken, and Mr. Beck does not want to stay here alone. In all we are without Beck – we have no hope of survival, even if Mrs. Beck Manya ? Would remain behind with us. Were it not for the Germans residing here, we could out for a limited number of days. But seeing as we are here with them, under one roof, it is completely clear that we will fall into the talons of the Nazis immediately after Mr. Beck departs. There is one thing that is still keeping our spirits up: we have complete faith in the nobility of spirit of the one sheltering us: we hope that he will not bring us any danger, and he will not decree the calamity of a certain death for eighteen people.

Friday, April 28, 1944

After a tense night in which nobody shut an eye – the day came, which brought us little easement. But we sat the whole time in the dark, and the light ‘came on’ only towards evening. But the offset to this was that the soldiers left the house early in the morning, and Mrs. Beck and us boiled potatoes, which today we had to eat cold. (Yesterday, Mrs. Beck bought seventy kilograms of potatoes for 8us, and three loaves of bread) but this is not particularly important, the important thing was that we had succeeded in demonstrating to Mr. Beck that he should pass up the idea of traveling away. He promised that he would not abandon us, and he remained with us. Our assessment was that this was really a sacrifice for him to make. It was clear that this condition could not persist for a length of time, but in this month, or the next two months – there are likely to come difficult times than in the seventeen months we just went through. An hour ago, Mr. Beck could still remain here because he was under the guard of the Germans, he serves at the train station. Aleh works at the post office. Apart from this, in Zolkiew Beck is considered a Pole through and through, but to be honest, word got out that he was a German patriot. An English pound sold for 3,000 Zlotys. This, however, was rather a little sum, but it was good that Mr. Beck was able to get a little bit of food.

One of the train workers was in Lvov today, and he said that the market had been bombed: it is good that the electric plant was not hit, at least we still have electricity.

Sabbath, April 29, 1944

We had a terrifying night, it was especially difficult for the residents of the second hideout. We ‘slept’(if it is possible to refer to ‘sleep’ as the state of four drowsy people in full light, and those who are asleep while on watch).When Gedalia suddenly arose from his place and unintentionally hit the ceiling with his hand, at that moment we heard, that one of the Germans got up from his bed: this might have been a coincidence, but this was enough to cause a panic among us, We trembled and said to one another: did they, or did they not hear?... regardless, we were already afraid to remain in the same section of the hideout and we let that place. I sat in the small corridor until the sun rose in the morning, and it was only after that I laid down, because Kuba got up and gave me his place. Today we decided we would never again sleep in the second hideout. We will have to sleep while being on guard, in tandem with each other, but rather in the principal hideout. And if we do not get enough sleep during the night, were will make up the difference with sleep during the day. In any event, we have nothing to do, we will have to suffer a bit more, until the Germans that are here, will travel away. They are working in the telegraph office, and when the front comes closer they will, in any event, have to travel away from the city.

Would that this would only come quickly, because it is difficult to bear the situation while they remain present. They spend most of their time in the house, and when they go outside, a short loss of electricity occurred, and we were able to empty the pails only with great difficulty. By contrast to the train workers, who watch very carefully over the silence in the house – these [Germans] get up noisily, and wander around everywhere, and Mrs. Beck is compelled to discern carefully and take care not to be found in the soldiers corridor, when she has to give us something by way of the floor entry.

Mr. Beck again said that he is forced to travel away from here, Rumors spread about that they might actually arrest all of the *Volksdeutsche* who will not travel away by May 1st.

This time we did not try to prove to him that he should remain with us. We only asked him, that he should take a rifle and kill us, all of us, by shooting. It appears that this touched his heart, because after a few minutes have gone by, he let us know that he will maintain his position and stay with us to the end. Would that they would only start the attack that would cause the [German] soldiers to finally get out of here, the use then, the circumstances for our survival will improve to enable us to survive. It is clear that if the situation does not change quickly, Mr. Beck will no longer want to stay with us.

Sunday, April 30, 1944

Here was a factual new thing, Mr. Beck oversaw the rationing of food in the hideout. What this means is that all the foods would be divided equally among all of us. At a given hour, each person would receive one kilogram of potatoes, thirty portions of bread, and a bit of milk, to the extent possible. I am skeptical If Mr. Beck will really be able to provide us with all this food. But, at the very least, we are not going to die of hunger. I pray that Mr. Br. Does not travel away from here. Indeed, when it comes to conversation, he no longer brings up the subject of such travel. He brought Wladek back into his house, who does not conceal himself by the hour, because they do not search for deserters. He does not want to – simply sit this way – in the hideout, but regardless of what trouble may befall us, he resides in the Beck house.

Monday, May 1, 1944

We again heard the sound of airplanes and the electricity went out. They are certainly bombing Lvov. I sense that because of this repeat bombings, that are also different, they will finally hit the electric plant and we will be left in the dark. It seems that the alarms coming out of Lvov are very frequent, because yesterday and today, we lost electricity for several hours.

Essentially, the light is very dangerous for us, because at th4e time that the soldiers are in their room, and the radio is not functioning because of an absence of electricity, approaching the floor entry entail a great danger, because it is very easy to listen and to apprehend or discern every new movement.

Tuesday, May 2, 1944

It appears that our electricity is not running, because the city of Lvov is being heavily bombed from the air, and even leaflets are being dropped in which they advised that they will bomb the city three days I a row, day after day. We decided to align our way of life to these new conditions. Mrs. Beck comes to the floor entry only in the afternoon, and she brings us water, bread and milk – if it is available. Today there was no bread at all, but each of us had set

aside a slice from yesterday's portion. In place of the potatoes that have caused us a lot of trouble, Mrs. Beck cooked 'Fanczak' for us (rye grits), and she divided it among us for lunch and supper.

In less than a hour, they bombed Lvov again, and since the soldiers were not in the house, Mr. Beck asked Mundek to go upstairs and personally see the rockets through the window.

Who knows? Maybe this bombing will bring on the desired assault...

Thursday, May 4, 1944

After two days of suffering, which was accompanied by two days of sitting in darkness, the electricity suddenly 'reappeared,' which occurred in the afternoon. Mr. Mr. Stood with us downstairs, and notified us that we did not have a penny amongst us. He cannot obtain more than 800 Zlotys for the two and a half dollars of gold gotten from the pharmacist, despite the fact that they used to give two thousand Zlotys for this in the past. It turned out that even in the holdings of the pharmacists there was not sufficient. To our bad luck, all that remained in our possession was foreign exchange and not Polish Zlotys. We can no longer scrimp on the portions of food – al alarm! In another moment, the electricity will go out. I will finish this writing tomorrow.

Friday, May 5, 1944

Mr. Beck again begins to plan a departure! Someone told him that the Soviet troops are sending everyone from the captured territories to Siberia and kill them there, and he became vert panicked, I do not understand why Mr. Beck causes us so much anxiety. If he has decided to travel, let him get up and do it, and what will be will be. We have no strength to bear this anxiety day-by-day, and we are almost crazy. There are times when all I want to do is scream and scream, just like that, and if a person is going to reside upstairs for an extended period of time – it is necessary to start pounding on the ceiling with fists. I am certain this would make it easier n me. It is clear that everyone of us is infected with the insanity of being pursued, that came upon us for the time we were in the hideout. Most of our people are very busy preparing food for pogroms, myself among them. Gedalia sits and writes all day, Mundek Patrontacz does an accounting of how much time we were confined to the hideout. He then converts his calculation of days, weeks and months into minutes and seconds. If this continues in this way – there will be many candidates among us for an insane asylum.

Six Jews were seized today, among them the convert Fundik. Four of this group were killed immediately, and Fundik and one woman who appeared to have Aryan papers, were taken off to Lvov... But what awaits them in Lvov? What pain: to have to die minutes before the final hour...

Sabbath, May 6, 1944

All the Poles are leaving this place. Even the elderly Zarska, a woman who is very attached to her house, her garden, and even her cow – she too is leaving. Everyone is traveling: even the priests. As understood, Mr. Beck does not want to be left here alone, and he is constantly torn over this, he weighs his options and updates them, because his conscience does not allow him to abandon 18 lives to a certain death. Today, the secretary of von Pape visited us. She came from the ‘refugee house’ and said that it is very good there. I would have preferred hearing the opposite of this, perhaps this was to negate Mr. Beck from satisfying their ‘appetite’ to leave. She advised that Tuesday, von Pape, the decrepit one himself, will come and take along the remaining *Volksdeutsche* away from the city.

What shall we do? We could no longer continue to fight for our existence! We have no further ability to persuade Mr. Beck not to leave. We will have to coalesce and rely on his conscience, and his good will. We are now in a state similar to where we were during the familiar fire. But even then at least one of us had a friend or a relative who could find us camouflage or a place to hide – we could not do this now, because we could not come out of the hideout. When the fire broke out – hordes of people gathered together, as if it was a time that the army was swarming over us; and the square – surrounded by military men, the factory buildings – full of army staff, in the cemetery – the army stands there, soldier guards are circulating all about, and our house is in the middle alone and extra. If only one of us had the nerve to show himself outside in the evening, they would shoot us immediately, and apart from this – two where and to whom are we to turn? All the Poles traveled away from the city, and only a few Ukrainians remained who tore the Jews apart into pieces. The hour favors the Ukrainians more. As usual. they plunder, robbing jewelry from Polish houses, that are Jewish property in any case. The Ukrainian ‘Militia’ has returned to the city, and they arrest people based on their own opinion. They collect a huge amount of arms. The German gendarmerie does not react to what they are doing, and this is puzzling, and things are going on behind the back. Perhaps the Germans are planning to leave units of Ukrainian partisans behind, and it is possible they are planning to turn over this territory as a neutral Ukraine that will be independent, in exchange for their help... it looks like a new political ‘cabal of thieves’ is being woven. Who knows what idea will come up in Hitler’s mind at the last minute? What else is going to happen?

Sunday, May 7, 1944

Today the Germans seized someone who knew us well, who was also our neighbor, Mrs. Bernstein with her three children. They found her at the Malczynski residence. The owners of the house had already disappeared. They were getting to leave Zolkiew at that hour, and they were already at the train station and were arrested there, but a little later, they were released, because Mrs. Bernstein told them things in their favor. She informed that they had hidden themselves in a Polish village (*szlachta*), but because the entire population there had traveled away, and the houses all set on fire, she was compelled to flee and hid with Malczynski in a stack of hay, without him knowing it. We are of the opinion that he hid her there (and her daughter) the *Volksdeutsche* Eisenbart (she had hidden herself there in the ghetto during the November *Aktion*). And when he traveled away from here, and left her to the good graces of fate – she fled to the house of Zarski. She did not stay there for a long time, because Zarski too had left the city. Along with her daughters, she fled to the house of Malczynski, and there she was revealed to the gendarmes. This sort of fate threatened us as well... Aleh decided to travel, but Mr. Beck would not permit his daughter to travel by herself, so he planned to go as well. It is possible he wanted to do this without telling us. Upstairs, Mundek saw belongings inside of a suitcase. Mr. Beck changed his plan, he no longer discusses travel with us, he does not want us to plead

with him to stay. He has a soft heart and could not stand the crying. But one day he will travel, and we will have to face that fact. The one thing that can save us is a speedy liberation. Sadly, the daily news lack the desired content. The Soviet army is being successful only in engagements near Sevastopol, and this gives us no comfort at all, because Sevastopol is 'there' and we – are here.

Monday, May 8, 1944

Today, Mr. Beck promised us that he would stay with us but he will only travel in the instance of the worst occurrence, but even then he will be among the last, the very last one. If only the front will speed up... to my consternation, there is quiet all along all lengths of the front. One of the train workers left for a two week furlough, but left all his belongings in the house. It appears that he feels certain that he will return. The soldiers stay here all the time, and they are like a choke hold around our throats. One of them goes out every evening to work at the post office, but in contrast, he sleeps all the hours of the day in the house, and his presence oppresses us because it is only with difficulty that we find an opportunity in order to pour out the pails. Apart from this, we have an added trouble: Professor Kolodzhyski is now a visitor to the Beck house. He sits in their room, that is to say, above our heads, for many hours, and not one of us has the nerve to move. In addition to all of these troubles, he is a bad influence on Mr. Beck, our host gets very nervous after every one of his visits, and he begins to talk about the compulsion to travel. From our side, we felt we had reached to end of our rope, and we are losing the rest of our hope. We are at the edge of desperation. Seventeen months of torture – they are more than enough.

Tuesday, May 9, 1944

The time has come for us to concede and get used to the thought that we should anticipate death. Meanwhile every hour, the terror draws nearer – of which we get increasingly afraid, and the will to live grows stronger within us. No day goes by in which we do not stare death in the face. Every day, and its events we could not know with certainty that we are not suffering in vain, that we have only so much more time to suffer and no more, because in doing so, it lightens the bearing of our ongoing condition. But in fact, we sit, and torture ourselves, and we know nothing, what will be our end!

Today was one of the 'good' days, as it were. After noon, Mr. Beck discusses the trip with Mundek. He said to him (and tried to prove to him) that he has no desire to leave this place, but he senses that they will force him to do so. Today, the gendarme Hans came and explained to Mrs. Beck and his wife, that the transfer of the population from place to place is taking place, and they are being organized by national origin, the Ukrainians will remain here, and the Poles will be taken to the '*Gubernaturstvo*.' As a Volksdeutsche, Mr. Beck will have to travel away from here without taking into account what the nature of his work is. Because it has no significance whatsoever, if a man is working or not. On the other hand, if von Pape comes he will take all of them (rumors spread about the city that all of them will be sent to punishment camps). Regardless of what trouble may befall us, Mr. Beck wants to stay with us and Manya, but it is necessary to provide her with money, so that she have the wherewithal to buy food for us, because she does not know how to exchange a Lira or a Dollar to Zlotys.

But we feel we will not be able to arrange our affairs with Manya, regardless of whether we have money or don't even have a cent. Even in the best case that it should happen that she would be willing to deal with us (she has an invalid brother and may be able to come to us for a half day only) , regardless, the Germans will not leave a house of this size in her possession, if Mr. Beck is to move from here, and then we are lost. Is he not taking this situation into account?

After Mr. Beck went out— we heard a ring at the door. His wife hurried to admit the guest, one who spoke to her in German, This was neither the voice of a soldier nor the voice of a train worker; It appears this was a strange gendarme to faced her. It appeared that Mrs. Beck was confused and answered with an uncertain voice. They came into the room above us. One gendarme went tot he radio and stood almost on the floor entry.

We heard segments of what was said:... 'Jews... Eisenbart' and we were persuaded that this was a search. The pharmacist prepared a glass of poison and a glass of water, and we just wrung our hands...

Suddenly Aleh appeared and she opened with a stream of lively conversation, such that we didn't hear a word, and we felt that no danger lay in ambush for us. Thank God, it all ended well and the fear was a fear in vain. Tomorrow we will find out who this German was, and what was he looking for. We had to wait until tomorrow, because there would be no chance to approach the floor entry and let us know anything, because of the soldiers sitting in the house today.

Wednesday, May 10, 1944

Our position is undermined and gets worse from day to day. Professor Lang who was always able to bolster Mr. Beck, is traveling from here. Professor Kolodzyski sent his wife and their belongings out of the city, but personally remained behind for about an hour. Mr. Beck promises that e will not travel anywhere, and only do what they compel him to do, but we are not certain, that he will not confront us with the fact, one day, that he is traveling away, full stop.

Von Pape is supposed to arrive any day, and what will happen when Beck will be notified that he is invited to him and give him an order to evacuate?

The presence of Death terrifies us, and is becoming even more intense. In Lvov, Professor Lang met with Mrs. Bergstein and her children in Lvov that were brought there by gendarmes. We know what this means: they will not shoot her immediately, they will torture her at the *Gestapo*. It seems that death by a bullet is to easy for the Jews. All of me is trembling, when I think what is the fate of these hapless souls... Until today, I am not ready to forget the stories of the torture of my aunt Git'cheh who lived in Lvov during the period of the first German conquest. She saw the state of the Jews who were 'lucky enough' to get out alive from the clutches of the Gestapo, on *ul. Lunski* . They comported themselves as bent over bodies... if some limbs had been cut off. Without noses... without ears...without hands... without breasts... drenched in blood... they would fall in the middle of the road...

We received a decision: if we should be revealed, we will not go on the road to torture. In a pit under the ground, we are guarding five liters of benzene, and at the last minute, we will set the house on fire, and be consumed alive.

As to yesterday's visit, that gave rise to such a difficult emotional reaction among us, it became clear that the very gendarme, the so-secretive man was Hans, whose voice we did not recognize. It goes without saying that the word 'Jews' was used in the course of his discussion. But this was the Hans who pretended not to know if there were Jews under Polish rule that had radios in their homes.

Thursday, May 11, 1944

The city of Sevastopol was captured. Perhaps they will get closer to us. For has not the time for this already arrived! Von Pape had not yet gotten here, and Mr. Beck was in a better than usual mood. Today, he did not bring up the matter of traveling at all, and even gave us his rifle, that he had bought so we could hide it among ourselves below. This was a sign that he still wanted to stay in the place where he was.

Friday, May 12, 1944

The matter of Beck's traveling away grew silent. Even Professor Lang did not travel, and von Pape, who in the city of Zolkiew was the nightmare of all who were afraid, even he did not appear here. A new hope penetrated our hearts, although we are all surrounded, and practically say nothing. Every guest in the Beck house, and there were many, even though many knew they had left the city) sits straight in the room directly above our hideout, and we are compelled to make do with extreme care about ourselves.

Melman and his wife were forced to eat their potatoes while they were cold, because exactly at the time they would have boiled them, Hans entered an apartment from him there was an added affable guest: Professor Kolodzhyski. He came twice a day, in order to listen the daily news on the radio. This is a nuisance until death. He sits for whole days at the Beck family. More than this, we would like more visits from the sister-in-law of our host. She talks a lot and in a loud voice, and this calms us. Today, for example, Gedalia unintentionally touched a supporting board, and a light thump could be heard. A fear of death fell upon us, because at the same time Kolodzhyski made his visit upstairs. To our luck, this incident occurred during the afternoon, and there was a lot of noise in the house, and no one detected the noise. We did not know this, and it was only in the evening that Mr. Beck calmed us down, and relaxed our mood.

Sabbath, May 13, 1944

A very serious concern arose, that could not be dismissed easily. This, even though it looked like no change took place to our situation, and that we just have to be more careful. Here is the matter: Hans visited yesterday, and Mrs. Beck requested that they add one of the soldiers to the group. The conversation was flowing, and as usual, they touched on their 'beloved' subject, the Jews – and the Jewish question.

Hans said that presently he would like to be in Hungary, because they are implementing *Aktionen* to wipe out Jews, as had been the case in Poland (it appears that he cannot live without spilling the blood of innocents, since Nerkuman cannot live without poisons...) the soldier further enlightened his comments, who did not want to murder Jews, because they are defenseless: if they only were battling, and appearing with arms in hand, he would take a stand against them.

And that is how the conversation ended. After Hans left, the soldier suddenly asked Mrs. Beck, how long has she been living in this house? He explained that one time when he was lying on the couch, he clearly heard some sort of rustling of straw under the floor: and in this matter, he discerned that there was a 'cup within a cup.' This very much aroused his curiosity, he knew a story about a house where Jews were hiding that were supplied with plenty of food. And the homeowners knew nothing of them. Mrs. Beck quietly answered him that she had been living in the house for two years already. It appears that this matter served to convince him that he had simply made a mistake. We were the fortunate once, because as it happens this was the discussion with the 'good' soldier. We knew that there was a sadist among them, who argued that death coming from a bullet was too easy for Jews, because he personally used to hack them up into pieces. Were this suspicion aroused with him, he would certainly have informed the gendarme, and together they would laugh an inspection. I imagined what Mrs. Beck and Aleh felt at that moment. I do not know if I personally could have remained cool-headed at a moment like this.

Sunday, May 14, 1944

We had a terrifying and fearful day. All day, were followed the state of the 'alarm.' The doors of the Beck house were not closed. Guests streamed in at frequent intervals without stopping: gendarmes, soldiers, stifka (??) And others. During breaks, it was possible to collect some potatoes, but it was difficult to cook them. The potatoes with the Melman family blackened and turned hard as stone, because they stopped their cooking in the middle. We succeeded in cooking our potatoes, but we ate them when they were cold, because a man returned again upstairs. Because of this we stinted on today's food when we ate the evening meal; first the electricity went out, and after this there was an alarm because of airplanes flying by. And so, we had our afternoon meal at nine o'clock at night, and that also served as our evening meal. We also had no opportunity to empty the pails. With all this, there was no tragedy, my request was only that Mr. Beck not leave this place... Lang, to my consternation did travel away, The Szofarski family also left, and even Horiczko, a worker at the flour mill went off, because he was Polish.

Monday, May 15, 1944

It had been a long time that Mr. Beck had not gotten himself drunk, but today he got as drunk as Lot. I do not look at him disapprovingly for this. Do we not cause him worries and frayed nerves? He, apparently, is seeking forgetfulness. He goes out early in the morning, hours went by, and he did not return home, we understood that he had gone to drink and we sensed that perhaps he had gone to drink with his friend Hans. Towards evening, his sister-in-law came running, to tell Mrs. Beck that her husband was in his cups, and came to sleep at her house. He only returned in the evening, at a later hour. We heard Mrs. Beck giving him a lecture that he should not drink, in order not to arouse suspicions, and that they should not ask him from whence he got the money to drink whiskey, because there is a total stagnation of business. We learned from what Mr. Beck had to say, that our suspicions were correct, and it was true that he was drinking in the company of Hans.

Today, not a single guest came and we could breathe a little easier. But during the midday hours, there was darkness because of alarms of airplanes, but at about two o'clock the electricity returned. This time they did not bomb Lvov, but rather Stary, Khodoriv, and Mosty'-Wielko. There is not yet any news on the radio. But we are hoping that the attack will begin quickly, after they had frequently bombed in our surroundings. There were also significant victories by the Allies, but for now they are very far from us, and it is very difficult for us to anticipate help from that side.

Tuesday, May 16, 1944

We have passed the middle of the month of May, and we do not hear of any attack in our place. Outside – May, spring at its apex, but none of this gladdens us even a bit. Quite the opposite – when it is hot outside, it is more difficult to bear the heat in the hideout. The heat weakens us, because we have become more exhausted, and the body shows less resistance.

In addition, we are cooking less, since there is nothing to cook, and a stifling heat pervades the hideout, because we are compelled mostly to keep the floor entry closed as a security precaution, and fear of the soldiers. Occasionally, when I hear movement upstairs, a laugh, the conversation of guests, the sound of the radio, I am happy, so that at least Mr. Beck and his wife should have a little happiness. However, I feel that my heart is broken out of sorrow on the injustice of the upsets of fate.

Is the worth of these people greater than mine? What allows the terrifying murderer like Hans to earn the privilege of additional life, but it is denied to me? What do I get all of this, and I am forced to hide like a lowly sinner, who in her whole life never cause anyone any harm? A sense of terrifying rebellion rises and grows stronger within me... is there no one listening to the cry of my heart... Is the entire world both deaf and dumb in the face of our suffering? ...

Mrs. Beck is going to Lvov today, and we wait for her return impatiently. We are neither silent or frightened if something bad should befall her. The electricity has gone out again, maybe they are bombing Lvov?

Wednesday, May 17, 1944

They are cleaning out the entire city of Lvov. At this opportunity that will certainly capture the remaining hidden Jews, but we are doomed to the same end. These soldiers will eliminate us. Yesterday, Hans visited here, and spoke with the soldiers, and during the conversation, he advised them, that because the Poles and the *Volksdeutsche* are leaving this place, they are succeeding in seizing the remnant-survivors of the Jews, because that is where the Jews were being hidden.

In return, the soldiers told Mr. Beck, that when they billeted in the city of Brody, there was an incident in which they found ten Jews that hid themselves under the floor. A story like this, and some other signs that we discerned among them, proved how lucky our senses were, that they suspect that Mr. Beck and his wife are concealing Jews. Perhaps this morbid comparison felt exaggerated, more of a picture. But it is a fact that we will not be able to continue in the ambience of these soldiers. In addition to all of the troubles, they walk around the house in house-shoes. And they are unable to hear if there is walking in the room or not. Previously, we had been able to readily discern their footfalls, because they were wearing ironclad military shoes, which was a warning signal to us, letting us know (they are there) and that we should be careful and watch ourselves.

We still do not have electricity, and the mice run around here, and we are seized with fear, that if they will create even a light sound, the suspicion will fall on us and not the mice.

Thursday, May 18, 1944

At this moment the lights came on. A shout of joy was frozen on our lips – because the soldiers are upstairs. It is ten o'clock at night, and we no longer believed that we will have light, especially at such a late hour, especially after a rumor circulated that the Institute for Liaison was bombed from the air. Two days of darkness seemed like an eternity to us. This is worse than a prison, because there one is allowed to speak, it is also possible to sing, to look at the fabric of the world of *The Holy One Blessed Be He*. There is secure access to food, and most importantly, we could await a set sentencing that is known, And here, frail children sit in the dark, with a sentence of death hovering over their heads.

We succeeded to listen and gathered a little of the daily news, that the soldiers had captured the city of Monte Cassino. However, Monte Cassino is not Brody, or Tarnopol, but perhaps there is good news in this for us as well. For about an hour we benefitted from the electricity, since it eased our life, a life of degeneration. The question of food for all of us depended in large measure on the availability of electricity, and depended on it. It was difficult for Mrs. Beck to cook for all of us at her house. Firstly, it was not possible to leave a large pot on the fire every day when strangers were circulating in the house, because this eventually will lead to an arousal of suspicion. We lived on only bread, despite the fact that it had become expensive, and since we were dependent on the generosity of the pharmacist, we were unable to exceed to allotment of seven Zlotys. the worst thing was taking care of bodily needs. Sadly, we had not much room in the hideout, and twice already one of the soldiers came to the toilet immediately after we emptied the pails, and

he detected the bad odor. Sadly, we do not have much room in the hideout, in order to empty pails and secondly – the odor from here penetrated above, upstairs. We also had to think about the awful sanitary conditions and that we were exposed to contracting an infectious disease. We had no other choice but to empty the pails upstairs, and to trust to our luck that none of the soldiers will seize us by surprise in the future.

Friday, May 19, 1944

The nightmare of Zolkiew, von Pape reached the city today, by Mr. Beck showed no emotion, because a lieutenant of the gendarmerie promised Mr. Beck that he would notify Pape that he will travel together with the gendarmerie only at the last minute, and in the meantime, he will stay in place.

As a result we had to be careful about our good relationship with the gendarmerie. Mut only God in Heaven knows, how much health and anxiety this cause us and also the Beck family. Today, two German gendarmes came to us in a carriage, with two of the Ukrainian police. Mrs. Beck did not recognize them at a distance, and as usual, became fearful. It turned out that these were indeed familiar to us, and had stopped for a minute in order to taste a bit of whiskey.

Sunday May 21, 1944

I do not have the capability to describe what happened to us at night and today before the afternoon. I cannot believe that we succeeded in avoiding extermination.

At night, Zuszya screamed loudly in a dream.. the Ukrainian militia arrived at nine in the morning at the Beck family house, in order to do a search, to see if there were no Jews here...

We connected these two incidents, and we were certain that the soldiers had informed on us. No person is talented enough to describe what passed over us, when Artik saw through the window, that a policeman of the militia was standing, with a rifle in his hand, we no longer had any illusions. We were certain that the end had arrived for all of us. And look at this miracle! I had more sorrow for Mr. Beck and his family, than I had for us. Because a sentence of death hovered over our heads – this was part of our fate. But them? There are people having the full privilege of life, and why do they deserve such a travesty?

But with the good conclusion – everything was good. Here I bless fate that gave us the possibility to describe quietly all that we saw.

Even though Zuszya let out a loud scream in her sleep, the soldier was so deeply asleep that he did not hear the scream. Without any reason, the men of the Ukrainian militia began to knock on the door at nine o'clock in the morning on the Beck house door. It became clear that someone in the city had

informed on them, that they are hiding Jews with them. But instead of Jews, the police encountered an angry German soldier in the house, who loudly and bitterly complained that these ‘pigs’ which is what he called the Ukrainians, should conduct a search and capture of Jews in a house where German soldiers are being billeted...!

It became clear that we were not right, when we complained about the soldiers, because the truth was that their presence in the house was what kept them from revealing our presence to the police, When the officer of the gendarmes heard this, he admitted that this was not possible for Jews to hide themselves here at all, and he canceled the search of the house.

Despite this, they glanced into the bathroom, and the cellar, they searched every factory yard thoroughly, and also in the pantry of our host, which they did not skip. At this opportunity they revealed the presence of the hideout that was in the yard of a factory, and this sufficed for them, because in the written informing the fact was made clear that Melman had dug a tunnel that leads from the house to the factory, This was partly true, because at the outset they intended to make such a tunnel, but to our good fortune they gave up on this plan.

In short, There were only miracles that happened that day. Mr. Beck and his wife again withstood this very test well. And not only this, they did not come to lecture us, and not only because they had no complaints against us; quite the opposite, they took advantage of this current opportunity, to approach the floor entry and calm us down... and they even gave us some bread! This is a testimony to their nobility of spirit. And it is difficult at this moment after a difficult experience like this to raise the recollection of their daily responsibility... We cannot even give them a little bit. That was how much we as a burden to them, that with each such ‘burden’ they were liable to pay with their lives, but despite this, it did not break their spirit. I admit and confess, that not one of us could bear such a situation. Let the liberation come at least for them, if not for us. But one does not see or hear of such on the horizon.

On the battlefield – no news. But on the battlefield against the Jews – they did not halt their pursuits.

Yesterday they found six Jews. Gendarmes and street thugs pursued and ran after Jews like stray dogs. And what did they get for this? What was the purpose in doing this? Why should it matter to them if some people are saved after this terrifying catastrophe? I do not know if as many as fifty Jews remain in the entire city of Zolkiew that could flee, because one cannot find such people like Mr. Beck that assumed the task of rescuing eighteen Jews. In our time, there are no such people in the entire world. And so, yesterday, they found six Jews. Some street thug detected them through some window and informed on them to the gendarmerie. They arranged a search, and after a detailed search, they were trapped in the cellar. They looked and looked, until they found the hideout, that was completely concealed from people’s visibility. The Jews did not run to leave their hideout, and it was then that the Germans poured benzene into it, and ignited it... then they forced these hapless people to leave their hideout.

Tuesday May 23, 1944

Despite the fact that the search in our house ended well, it brought on very aggravating results. Mr. Beck became very famous in the city, and as was the case then, after the fire – his name went before him. Rumors spread before him, that he, together with the militia police (in fact, after the end of the search, Mr. Beck invited the Ukrainian murderers to a party, in order to prove that he had no serious connection, and it was a harm done to his dignity).

Others spread the rumor that there is no question that Mr. Beck hid Jews in his home but he hid them very well, so they will never be found, but rather that they will be sent away and driven out of here.

We were very afraid that such untrue talk should reach the ears of people that could endanger them, and not to say anything bad, but decide to send Mr. Beck and his wife from here!

Saturday, May 27, 1944

I haven't written for a few days because I had no paper. It was just today that Mrs. Beck brought me a notebook. I was very surprised that she remembered this, not to mention the serious troubles that oppress and bother her (and all of us) from the time of that search. These false rumors about our house did not stop, and not only do they echo through the city, these rumors reached the headquarters of the gendarmerie. Yesterday Hans visited because just yesterday they found the Jew Karp dressed as a farmer – and so the conversation turned to one subject – to Jews. Hans revealed that a woman came to him, and revealed that thirteen Jews are hidden in the Beck family house. Naturally – Hans added, I immediately reprimanded her and said to her, that I visited the Beck House since March of last year, and every time, I was certain to be able to discern everything.

This calmed him down a bit, and especially, this entered the soldier's discussion and they were able to continue, seeing that the gendarme is completely confident in r. Beck, and certainly does not suspect him at all.

With this, I can describe to myself how much our health rose based on our discussion with our host, and how the people sitting at the table felt... I saw Mr. Beck today, and he had aged terribly during the few days. And all this for us. Today they conducted a search of the house of Mrs. Manya, and did not want to say what or whom they were looking for, but it is clear they were looking for us. Tomorrow – the holiday of *Shavuot* for the Christians. Sadly – this is not a holiday for our host. They have to guard us all day, because the soldier barely go out of the house. Despite being suffused with fear, Mrs. Beck is cooking soup for us, to give us something cooked (electricity is available only from ten at night until six in the morning). We asked her several times to skip the cooking, but she argues that she is unable to swallow anything when she raises the thought that we had not yet received any warm food.

And we simply have no appetite for eating, because we know what kind of effort has gone into its preparation! Why is it for her to stand and cook, when her heart is racing with fear, and afterwards to run to the floor entry with the giant pot in her hands, in order to provide us with soup?

At frequent intervals, exactly when the soldiers are sitting in the house, and in her desire to get rid of the pot from the kitchen, she has to seize upon many machinations, in order to distract the Germans so that they do not move out of their room. Yesterday, for example she sent her sister-in-law into them, to engender some conversation, or that Mr. Beck might entertain them, since he plays an accordion. For how much more time can one torture one's self? We empty the pails below, and cover that place with sand. All day we are here sitting in the dark, and only at night does the electricity come on until three in the morning, because sitting in the dark for consecutive days leaves its mark on us in a terrible and terrifying way.

Sunday, May 28, 1944

Today, the Beck couple celebrated their 22nd wedding anniversary. The house upstairs was full of guests, and they behaved very well. Mr. Beck sang, and seemingly was in a good mood, because it seemed like a good ambience was all over the place, Despite this, we came to know that Mr. Beck's 'humor' was contrived, as if he were being forced to be happy. Afterwards, he came down to us, in order to have us share his concerns.

He feared that those Jews that were seized possibly know of our hideout (we know that Mr. Beck bargained with one of them, and the other, Brenner, is known very well), We are concerned that the *Gestapo* people in Lvov can come one day for us here, in order to conduct a search in our house. We tried to persuade him otherwise, that no one knows of us or our hideout, but in vain. It is partly true, apart from the fact that every Jew that entered knows what awaits him and would he be willing to place on his own head the same calamity! We were hoping that the matter would die down and that Mr. Beck and his wife would return to an even balance, because their oppression begins to have an affect on us. Until now, they encouraged us and bolstered our spirits, and now they are searching for a bit of encouragement and comfort from us, the Jews, 'The Living Dead'...

We had electricity all day today, Mrs. Beck had no difficulties with us. She took a moment to offer us some water and potatoes, and after that, the floor entry was kept closed all day.

In the evening, the soldiers went out for a stroll with Aleh, and as a result were able to take in some fresh air into the hideout. On the daily news, they are beginning to mention our battlefield here and there. Would that the front get closer to us more quickly. Perhaps then the soldiers will finally leave this place. We survived literally by a miracle by having in the same quarters as they were for five consecutive weeks, but I don't imagine that this can go on in the future.

Monday, May 29, 1944

It would not be believed even if it were told – they are searching for Jews, but where? – At Kriegel's! It is clear that they found no person there, because why would Jews go to Kriegel? Kriegel is a nightmare in the form of a human being, a source of fear to the Jews, A dangerous silent member of the police, who participated in the *Aktionen* to exterminate Jews, and h would seize and capture Jews who were 'jumpers' from the trains. So – why would you find

Jews with this scum? It appears that they suspect all the *Volksdeutsche*, that have not uprooted themselves from here yet, believing that they are hiding Jews with them. It is possible that Hans smears us in order to expose Jews, because he visits here frequently. Yesterday, he was here until late at night, today he came after noon, and now he is sitting in the room above us. Who knows, maybe he came to track and detect (Jews).

We had electricity all day, because the quality of the fresh air encouraged the soldiers to go out and stroll in the fields, we could do something, whose purpose we had previously conceived, we dug a deep pit in the hideout, and we will take care of our bodily functions there, because we concluded that emptying the pails upstairs again was totally impossible. But even this has an addendum, because the soldiers are going out to stroll in the fields, and very few of them are staying in the house.

Tuesday, May 30, 1944

Today Hans warned Mr. Beck not to go to work and not leave the house at all, because the Ukrainians are ‘cooking something up’. A large inventory of Soviet arms was found with them, and in connection with this, they are expecting ‘action.’ Me personally do not believe this, that the Ukrainians are liable to have the nerve to do work. But, it seems something is going to happen, because Wladek and Mr. Beck’s sister-in-law are afraid to sleep in the house and came here to the Beck family.

It appears that the attack can break out any day now, because the German radio advises that they discerned a strong movement of Soviet army units at all points along the front. Despite it all, we are not certain that we will be able to protect our lives and all the time we are harassed and pressured by the thought that the soldiers can expose us in the hideout. In any event, we bolstered ourselves from a death by torture. We succeeded, (after much pleading) to obtain the bullets for the rifles from Mr. Beck that he had given to us for protection at the right time. We will make use of this regardless of the trouble that may befall us – at the right time. We prefer to die in this place, rather than being taken through the city for the amusement of the farmers, and be taken to Lvov to die there in torture at the hands of the *Gestapo*... And with all that – we are so desirous of continuing to live! Ho, why do we want to continue to hold on to this life...

Thursday, June 1, 1944

Two days and nights went by and nothing special happened; we have a different aggravation: the pharmacist had given the homeowner twenty crowns of gold to be sold, and Mr. Beck found a man who was ready to buy them. But who is this buyer? Not more and not less than the officer of the Ukrainian militia, the same man who not long ago arranged for the search. This is a terrifying and terrible danger! Mr. Beck made a quick step, because in doing this, he might arouse suspicion that he may be hiding Jews, because otherwise, where did he get the golden crowns? This coin was the property of Jews only, and apart from that, everyone who gets involved in transacting with gold, his sentence – death, and Mr. Beck knows this very well. If so, why is

he endangering himself at this time, when the ground is literally burning under his feet? The officer argued that he wants to own the gold for himself, because he wants to make a ring out of it. But who knows, what lies hidden beneath this pretext? And if this is the way he got 'gifts' such as beautiful rings in this fashion from the Jews, is it his intent to be saved this way from death?... Had he not pillaged the property of every Jew, before he murdered them by his own hand? Sadly, we could not convince Mr. Beck because he has his own mind and thoughts. He is convinced that this is the right thing to do. And in truth, I am compelled to admit that after every one of his moves, that initially seemed in our eyes to be a very hasty step – we were forced to see that he was certainly right in his assessments, and worked in the right direction. And so, we hope that this matter will be settled in a good way. In an hour, the officer of the Ukrainian militia will become one of the regular visitors to our house. He had already begun to visit here from time to time, and came to drink whiskey, like Hans. This was a sort of 'alibi' and a good proof of Mr. Beck's cleverness, among his contacts were German gendarmes, and Ukrainian police among his steady guests, among which German train workers live now for the fifth month, and German soldiers have been here for six weeks – it is clear that there is nothing to suspect regarding him – that within his ambit, he is hiding Jews...

Friday, June 2, 1944

We are waiting for the same attack, and waiting for it, and it is late in coming. They are moving along quickly in Italy, but from the land of Italy to Poland – is a bit too far. And the time is too long for us! Intense battles, stubborn ones that are abandoned beside Jassy, but the campaign – its purpose, is to destroy the oil fields in Ploiesti and not to liberate us... Again I am skeptical whether we will reach the days of freedom and be the desired exception. Experience has proven that when one does battle in Italy, there will be quiet on the eastern front, and the opposite. Oh, who will assure that we don't return to the same condition we were in! If the front does not get nearer to here, our fate will be a bad and bitter one.

If the soldiers will not depart from here, then we suffered up until now in vain, and I am even further concerned about the Beck family, who sacrificed so much for our well being. Why do such noble people have death hovering over the heads of such noble people? Is it because they saved the lives of eighteen people? These days I don't remain silent, and I cling to life as strongly as ever – an apathy attacks me, and a feeling of resignation slips over me more and more. Simply – I am missing the strength to struggle for life. I just wanted to be privileged to attain the liberation, and to see how these noble people will be rewarded for their deeds. And perhaps we will have the opportunity to reward them at least a bit, for saving our lives.

Sabbath, June 3, 1944

Fate chases us, and does not shine its face upon us. There is no encouraging news from the eastern front, and ill winds are blowing through the 'local' front. Norbert, one of the soldiers, the same villain, went off on furlough, and his place was taken by another, worse than him. At least Norbert sang while he was in the house, and created noise, and slept deeply at night, such that his snoring was heard in our second hideout. And here, this new one, acts arrogantly as we heard, towards Mr. Beck and his wife, and he is 'rough' in his behavior. He explained to them that he had to sleep during the day, because at night he suffers from insomnia. This is a terrifying trouble for us, because if he does not sleep at night, then he must listen. And if he sleeps during the

day, he is not leaving the house. We counted ourselves lucky when we found out that Norbert was going on furlough! We were of the opinion that his companion Richard will be in the house by himself, and he is young, cheerful, and likes Aleh, and because of this, he will be very much easier for us. Aleh pulls on him to go out frequently for a stroll, or she opens the radio. When he is sitting in the house. The result of this is that she does everything possible and succeeds in lowering his alertness – what to do? We don't have an idea for everything, perhaps it will finally occur that the soldiers will be forced to go to the front. After all, they are soldiers.

Sunday, June 4, 1944

We had a night laden with experiences and occurrences. Mr. Beck arrived after midnight at home from his service, in the company of Hans. There was nothing special in this, and it was possible that the gendarme will stay here for an hour or two, and then go home. But this time, Mr. Beck had a different agenda: he wanted to show the new resident, that soldier, that he is a close friend to the officer running the German gendarmerie , and in this way to draw nearer to that very 'silent type' (which is what our host calls a silent and grumbling person) and they invited him to a whiskey party. They were of the opinion that on a small glass of whiskey it would be much easier and quicker to form bonds with people. Mr. Beck in general likes living together with people. When the train workers came into the house, and started to live there, he put whiskey on the table, and invited them to have a drink, and he did the same thing regarding the soldiers that came to us. And the truth is that the relations between our host and the soldiers in the house were excellent. Because of this – and for the sake of the truth – we would hope that even Norbert, the evil one, would stay here because there already was an 'approach' to him. But let us return to our matter. The drinking according to protocol continued until dawn, to three o'clock, and how these people disported themselves is impossible to describe.

August, the friend of the soldiers, a very jolly man (attested to by his frequent visits) tried to teach those present how to dance the new 'step.' The stamping of the feet, the laughter and shouting could reach the heavens, and one could think that the house was moving on its foundation. After three and before dawn, the noise died down a bit, and Hans entered the room that was over our heads. We heard the creak of the bed; it appears that he laid down on the bed of our host, that stand straight above our hideout. Mr. Beck tried to get him out of the room, and invited him for a glass of wine, but to no avail, nothing helped. In addition to this, Mr. Beck was not sure if we are gearing ourselves up for this, who is this in the room above us, and in order to warn us, he began to joke in a loud voice and shout, as if he were drunk – 'Hans, a policeman like you! ... what sort of a policeman are you if you are afraid to go out at night in the streets!' It was in this way that Mr. Beck informed us that Hans does not have the nerve to go out during night hours, and to walk the streets of the city, and that he desires to lodge with the Beck family.

We turned on a light and sat on the platforms, in order that we not fall asleep. While in sleep, a person is not responsible for his movements, and he is likely to groan , cough or snore, and here we have an issue with a German gendarme who is sleeping in a bed right above us, and this gendarme is known for his cruelty and his skill in snaring Jews, and he has sharp hearing and is oriented to listen for any suspicious noise or whisper. In short, we recall that the entire relationship of this Hans and Mr. Beck began at the time he arranged the first search in his house, where he searched hoping to find Jews in his house... But now he is completely drunk, and lies like a hunk of wood spread out on the bed, but who knows if he is not alert to his surroundings!

I had another special concern, because Zuszya slept by my side and I sensed I should wake her, so that she doesn't, God forbid, burst out crying, and somehow I was able to focus my eyes on her, and to guard, that she should not make any movement in her sleep. To our good fortune, Hans slept the whole night, and he got up and left the house at seven o'clock.

Apparently the *Divine Presence* was watching over us, because after the incident of the fire, the searches, the visits of a variety of dignitaries (the police, the militia, *Volksdeutsche*, etc.) and the neighboring soldiers and train workers that stay with us under the beams of one roof – have not yet revealed us. Oh, how all of these writings and experiences abused us! We have had enough of this! How we yearn for a bit of spiritual peace...

This is the fourth day of June, and on our front, quiet reigns. The Allied victories are in Italy only. They now stand only ten kilometers from Rome.

Monday, June 5, 1944

With all this we erred – in regard to Hans. – We always had the impression that he wanted Mr. Beck to leave this place. Despite this, we were of the opinion that he suspected Mr. Beck was hiding Jews, and was of the opinion that if Mr. Beck would only leave Zolkiew, he could capture these Jews. But today we were shown that the assumptions were defective in their bases. Here is what happened: Aleh receive an exit-order to go to Warsaw. When Hans found out about this, he came early in the morning to us in a carriage, and indicated in front of Mr. Beck and his wife, that it is within his power to try and stop the order in the gendarmerie, and cancel it. Mrs. Beck thanked him for his good will to help them, and she added that she would prefer it if Aleh would travel and live in the '*Gubernaturstvo*' because in the event of any sort of trouble they too would be able to travel there, and they would have a place of refuge during the time of need.

We were very happy that Hans proved his good will regarding our hosts in a large measure such as this, because we were certain that after Aleh's traveling away, Hans would try to expel Mr. Beck and his wife from the house.

It is understood that we were very sorry that Aleh was going away, we will miss her a great deal, and it was not only once that she saved our lives. If we will survive and live, we will never forget this, but if it is decreed for us not to encounter her again in This World, we hope that God will watch over her, keeping all evil away, and reward her for all the good that she did on our behalf.

Rome was captured. This was a significant victory, but I would have been more pleased to hear news of an onslaught on our front.

Tuesday, June 6, 1944

Finally, at last, we received the details of the long-awaited onslaught – the invasion came! When the soldiers left the house, Mr. Beck took advantage of the first opportunity to personally let us know of this gladdening news! The Allied armies landed that night on a northern-France beach. They landed an enormous number of troops and bombed the beach, and the ocean using six thousand planes. Eleven thousand planes stood ready for the war, a fleet of 4,000 ships participated in the landing initiative. In short, this is an invasion on an insane level, with an army equipped with arms, and countless instruments of war. This landing was, it seems, a warning victory, because on the German radio news, they did not record that they succeeded in disrupting the invasion. ‘Our’ soldiers are very pressured, there is no joking and one does not hear any singing, seemingly, they are afraid, that they will be sent to the front. Let us hope this will happen as soon as possible, then it will become easier for us to sustain ourselves until ‘the end’. We wanted for the floor entry to remain slightly open, because the heat in the hideout was literally unbearable. During daylight hours until evening, the heat was not so terrible, because our window was open. But at night, when every stirring and whisper is heard outside, we were compelled to close the window hermetically, and we literally could not breathe. Even now, as I write, the sweat is pouring off my face. I cannot stop for even a minute to wipe my soaked face with a piece of linen, or fan myself. The night was especially warm, because we were compelled to boil potatoes for supper in the hideout. Mr. Beck is unable to buy bread, out of a sense that he will be suspected, and as a result, we have no option: we have to make do with potatoes in place of bread, but it seems like all of this is not going to go on for a long time.

Today, Hans came to visit the Beck house. Even he is greatly pressured. He says that the end of the war is getting closer. So, let him be the prophet, if only the ‘end’ would arrive as fast as possible.

Wednesday, June 7, 1944

There is a going-away party in progress upstairs. Aleh is traveling tomorrow from here tomorrow morning, and it is too bad she is going. My opinion is that she does not have to do this now. Warsaw is big, there is a variety of many dangerous traps hidden there for a young girl like her to go there. Yet, who knows if they will not pull her into some camp. This seems very logical, because there are five hundred young girls traveling at one time. I was certain that the time of her departure will be delayed, and in the meantime serious events are likely to occur. To the pain in my heart, despite hearing of great victories by the Allies in France and Italy, they have no effect on the moving of our front, even the soldiers are sitting around without moving. Only an attack by the Soviets is liable to uproot them from here, but in the meantime, the Soviet army is in no hurry, and its hour is not pressing.

Despite the fact that it is past midnight in time – we do not put out the light. Hans is sitting upstairs. It is possible he will stay there until five o’clock in the morning, in order to escort Aleh to the train station. We have to be watchful and do everything in order not to fall asleep. Apart from this, in the dark, the noise of the mice rises, and this is liable to arouse a suspicion that something is going on with us. Well, we have to bear the responsibility for the scurrying around of the mice in the hideout.

Thursday, June 8, 1944

The day before last, Hans advised at the going-away party for Aleh not to travel away from here when he sees from the top of his head that she will return home bare and exhausted and barely get out with tooth and eye, but she was stubborn and sought to leave, and she said that she was in Lvov today, and submitted a request to defer the trip to a later date, but this was denied, and she has to travel tomorrow. Along with this, the soldiers are not moving from the house, and they were a trap in our lives.

If they were not located here, we could open the floor entry widely, and we would not have to wallow in the terrifying asphyxiating heat... the fear of death assaults us, when we think of the new soldier upstairs. He is a stubborn acolyte of Hitler, and even had previously served with the S. S. I have to conclude, because we have to turn out the light to open the window.

For the first time we had the nerve to open the window at a very late hour (11:00PM at night) because it was impossible to tolerate the heat. Mr. Beck was with us below, and personally said to open it.

Friday, June 9, 1944

We breathed a little easier... towards evening, we lay down beside the open window. Outside a storm is raging, and the air greatly pervaded into the hideout and we are also getting the odor of the flowers that Mr. Beck brought us. How I loved these flowers! And to see these flowers now, my heart broke inside of me. The flowers remind me that there is a full world on the outside! The sun is shining! There is air! There is vegetation! Everything exists, but not for me.

Because I – for what reason and why? – have to sit in a pit and choke... and lastly we emptied the pails into the pit, that we dug, and covered it, but the bad odor inside began to spread, and the ground upstairs steam, and feels damp. Er fear that no disease break out among us, this would fill up the vessel of our suffering to the full. Only one thing offsets the bitterness of our suffering, as a fortuitous consolation, and that is the noble behavior of Mr. Beck and his wife towards us, which raises our spirits, that intertwined web of dark thoughts that bedevils us, as the only beacon of light of hope that brings news and says, that it is not possible that all can be bad I the world, that I it there are good people such as these, our rescuers and redeemers. Aleh has still not gone away, and we are glad about this, not only for personal reasons, we are happy for her and her goodness, more that for the good that is likely to grow from this. When the Soviet storm is literally ‘hanging in the air,’ we hope for her every hour, every minute, because a reverse movement is discerned on the roads – truthfully this is not the time to leave the house. Despite this something is liable to happen suddenly, and she will remain sundered from the house. However, this is a compulsory travel, one that was heaped on her, but let us hope that she will be able to escape it.

I forgot to stress a very pleasant occurrence: Mr. Beck sent me a beautiful notebook to write in. I don't know the reason why, and it seems that he just wanted to cause me to feel better, and I owe him fervent thanks for his deed.

Sabbath, June 10, 1944

Today we opened a new pit, that would serve as a sort of toilet, since we were forced to cover the prior one with dust, because it was almost full, leaving no place. The new pit is wider and will be sufficient for two months. But, it appears that we will not be able to hold out for this length of time. Another meter above us – from the time we were relieved of esthetic matters and Lula finished her work easily, so that her post of boards would not be more than a half-meter from the toilet. We widened the bench in the ‘throat’ (corridor), and there, in tandem Lula sleeps there once, and once Artick sleeps there, they change places in order not to sleep in a place directly below the beds of the soldiers. But this is no longer important to us, being a secondary concern, as opposed to the central issue to which we give our attention every minute, that all day and all night, vehicles and tanks are on the move.

Despite the fact that the radio supplies no news – we sense in the air, that something is going on with all of this. It is possible that the Soviet assault has already begun, and perhaps the Germans wish to open up and make one last stand. But I do not want to admit political issues into my mind. At a time when thousands of people are falling at the front, who would want to think of the fate of eighteen Jews, who await liberation?!

Sunday, June 11, 1944

Again today, during all hours of the night, military vehicles and tanks went by. There is no doubt: something is going to happen. But when will it arrive? The matter literally hangs in the air, but also are lives hang by a hair’s breadth. We feel worn out from a physical point of view, but worse than that – also from a spiritual standpoint. All of our nerves are tense like a pot of leftovers in which only one leftover exists. It seems to me that one day, one of us will be liable to go crazy, and begin to scream. Until now, we have had a lot of good luck, that not one of us fell sick. But now, all sorts of diseases begin to infect us. Mr. Melman got a skin inflammation; the skin peels off and rolls up entirely in the palm. My mother fell ill to some ‘malady’ of the demons: my father is suffering from toothaches. All due to the absence of spices and vitamins. We are frightened that a itching disease will infect us. What will we do in such a case? Truthfully, there is no place to bathe here, change underwear, and arrange a place to wash clothing?

In France, the Allied forces are moving forward, and as for the eastern front – were are told about the vigorous progress of the Russian forces beside Vitebsk and Jassy. But this is not part of our front, but in any case it is closer to us than France.

Monday, June 12, 1944

Aleh traveled away from here. Sadly, she was compelled to go. This happened just today, and here, we already are feeling her absence... one of the train workers went to the house, and the second – went on furlough. If Aleh had only stayed in place, she could have seized her room in which the soldiers are presently billeted and along with the train workers that have vanished, it would have been possible to give the soldier the room that was further away from us. Sadly, all situations existed that it was now possible to give this room to other unknown soldiers...

Upstairs, a mood of nervousness and aggravation pervades. No one laughs. No one sings, even the radio set is not broadcasting any music. Aleh is missing here. It's as simple as that...

Hans visited her late in the evening; he sat in the room of the soldiers, and our pharmacist eavesdropped and got information that the latter personally 'transferred' thirty two thousand Jews, apparently he wanted to brag a little in front of the new soldier, the former S. S. Man (whom we feared to kill us)... these today are the faces of 'cultured' Germany on the inside, and their men are not ashamed of telling about the murder of thirty-two thousand people, presenting it as an act of heroism!

Tuesday, June 13, 1944

The Bolsheviks opened an attack, but it is only the storming of Finland. – And so, what did we gain from this? – – – one can anticipate that they will also storm Vitebsk, then perhaps 'our' soldiers here will have to travel and we will be able to keep the floor entry open. This day was the first time that the sister-in-law of Mr. Beck came down to us, and Mrs. Beck was with us today, and both of them wondered how one could stand such heat. This terrifying heat extracts and nullifies the remainder of our strength. We leave the window open all night, and only a very little bit of air comes inside to the hideout. The size of the window is only – ten centimeters square, and of this the sill takes up five square centimeters. In addition to this, the flowers began to grow under the window, and they can be sensed upstairs, and upset the air from streaming inside. Not one of us is capable of falling asleep any earlier. The adults beside us is better, because they walk around only in their underwear, and for us, our dresses stick to our bodies, and when I put on a dress, over two days, she becomes soured with sweat; Also my hair is literally wet from sweat...

Wednesday, June 14, 1944

Today we got a good idea. We carved a hole in the window that was across from our window, and in this way we got a sort of flower breeze, a stream of fresh air going along its path. But we can only open the closed one at night, when there is no fire burning upstairs – otherwise the smoke would cover the whole kitchen.

We still have no word from Aleh, and I am very worried about this. Could she not telegraph. Richard is also nervous about this, and he is trying to convince Mr. Beck to travel to her. He cannot even slightly conceive how much he yearns to do this. There is no doubt that Mr. Beck would willingly travel away from here, except that his hands and feet were tied because we are here.

I feel Aleh's absence, especially at such a time, because she always succeeded to turn the attention of the residents (below) to present things, when they had to provide us things by way of the floor entry. Also, she did this at the time they tried anyway, to ease things for us, as they were able to.

They know how hot it is down here, and how much we yearn for a drop of air, and they use every opportunity in order to open the floor entry.

Today, I sat in the small corridor, and I heard that the soldiers upstairs left the house, and Mrs. Beck immediately left the kitchen in order to see if the second soldier didn't remain in the house. When it was established that he too left, she quickly ran to the floor entry and opened it. We know how much energy and nerve it takes to do this! Despite this, her heart is open, and ready to help make it easier for us. Therefore I pray, that even if ill tidings await us, at least let no harm befall them.

Thursday, June 15, 1944

Wladek brought a news item, that some sort of organization exists that is taking people over to Russia, in exchange for one thousand Zlotys for each person. It is nearly certain that this is nothing more than blackmail; after all, no Jew can come in contact with such an organization, because he is prohibited from endangering himself and show his face outside.

We received a telegram from Aleh, and her place was specified as Czestokhow. We are happy about this, because it is safer there than in a big city like Warsaw. In the end, the soldiers are leaving frequently from the house, giving us the opportunity to breathe and revive ourselves somewhat. Today I went upstairs with Lula, this is the first time after an extended period, and we helped Mrs. Beck a little bit with the ordering and cleaning of the house. I was very pleased that I was able to help her a bit, and in addition to this, that the pleasant odor of the fresh air in the house revived us

Friday, June 16, 1944

Guests came to the Beck family yesterday. When he returned from work, to his house, Mr. Beck brought along Hans and also the gendarme and officer in charge of the Ukrainian militia. What a 'perfectly matched group!' They do their work exactly as Mr. Beck who comes to his workplace only to show his face. He leaves behind a substitute and comes home. Generally speaking, he comports himself well, and with wisdom, because as of now, it is dangerous to be out in the streets at night; by contrast, we feel differently, when we know Mr. Beck is in the house. The guests stayed in the soldiers' room until two in the morning, and after they left, Richard entered the room of Mr. Beck and his wife, that is, the room immediately above us, and we heard parts of their discussion. Mr. Beck said, that God said in the Ten commandments: 'Thou Shalt Not Kill,' and to this Richard replied that during wartime 'Murdering' is permissible. Mr. Beck has no need to enter into a discussion of this sort, with this young German patriot, who still believes in the victory of Germany, especially since his opinion is entirely different and he does not 'hide his face' at all.

Nevertheless, Richard nicknames our hosts 'my parents,' but who would believe the words of a German?

The daily news is once again without any subject, who knows if we will not have to survive until autumn for the liberation to come? And at a time when they set the price for a single Jewish life at one thousand Zlotys – it is hard to reach that time!...

Sabbath, June 17, 1944

An here is a new complication! The new soldier, Robert, for whom we have the fear of death, moved the sofa he was on to our wall, so that he is literally right on top of us. He does not sleep at night, and keeps busy catching bedbugs... Mrs. Beck offered him the room in which the train workers reside, a clean room, but it is not worth it for the soldiers to move the telephone to another room, because in any case – they argue – they won't be here for a long time. Let us hope so! They had already packed their belongings, and were ready and able to go. But at the last minute the situation at the front improved, and they remained about an hour in the house. The Germans had invented some new kind of guided missile bomb, and they are throwing them at the southern part of England and London. Mr. Beck says, that this issue gives the Germans encouragement, and raises their spirits greatly. Soldiers, who had been walking around since the invasion as if poisoned, again raised their heads. The single thing that is made to save us is an attack from the side of the Soviets, but for whatever reason, one sees nothing and hears nothing.

Sunday, June 18, 1944

The soldiers left the house and vanished for almost the whole day. Accordingly, we were able to listen to the English daily news. The Allies are moving ahead in Normandy and Italy, their troops landed in Finland, and also on the island of Elba. Despite all this, nothing is moving where we are. It appears that they have no chance to draw closer to where we are, and they are not finished in Finland, and who knows how much time that will take? I have reached a state of desperation and I am not interested to continue living. I am only interested in the fate of the Beck family. I do not want to reach the point that they would take them out to be killed for the fact that they wanted to save us. Mr. Beck had become very somber in the last few days. It is hard for him to put on a face, and to joke in front of the soldiers and simultaneously to think, how to provide us with food, without arousing their attention. Apart from this, he has to add from his own pocket in order to feed us, because it is not within the capacity of the pharmacist, because of straitened circumstances, to cover all the expenses to support seventeen people (only Mrs. Klara pays for herself), accordingly, he gives Mr. Beck seven Zlotys a day for one person, and the rest, our host is compelled to add from his own money. We try to limit our expenses to a minimum, but the expenses for fifteen people together comes to a large sum.

Go out and see the condition we have reached: we are living because of the generosity of a strange man and at his expense: I never imagined that I could live this way. Conversely, I never imagined I could survive such a long time, in such a pit without air... I read in the paper that during the time of the last German attacks from the air, the English in their country spent thirty hours in cellars: And during the lull hours, I did a calculation that we are confined thus far in our hideout more than thirteen thousand hours and not one of us thinks of this as the peak...

Tuesday, June 20, 1944

A complete week had gone by since Aleh left, and apart from one telegram, we have no news from her. I am pervaded by a great deal of worry because of this, she took some dollars with her, and for possessing foreign currency she is liable to be punished. I hope that no one will arrange for a search by this young girl, traveling somewhere in order to get employment.

The daily news was not especially good, and there is no news yet about our front. The Germans are continuing to Bomb England with their new bombs. Perhaps when the English will get a taste of the suffering on their own bodies, they will hurry to end the war. I had an opportunity to see our host by way of the floor entry, they are terribly pressured. Maybe the reason is – no news from Aleh, and it is possible this was because of us – and perhaps because the end of the war is not yet in sight. They wanted to transfer the soldiers over to the room previously occupied by the train workers, but the latter had ordered themselves much better by themselves. With the leaving of Mr. Beck and his wife, they threw out the sofa that was full of bedbugs, and moved the bed from the train workers' room to their room, without asking the permission of the homeowner. In short – they continue to reside directly above us and this is nerve wracking not only for us, but also those who look after our well-being.

Wednesday, June 21, 1944

The city of Weitberg was captured! Even though this did not take place on our front, but in Finland, but it is a bit better than nothing. Perhaps they will end the battles there in July, and will move to fight in our front. What to do? We are compelled to comfort ourselves, because otherwise we would literally go crazy. Richard complained to Mr. Beck that things are very bad at the front. This cheers up very much, but we no longer have the strength to anticipate the hour of the departure of the soldiers from here. They took a rest for themselves here, and fill the whole house with possessions from everywhere: in the attic, in the cellar, and they even go into 'our' room (the bedroom of the Beck couple) without knocking on the door, in order to see the time on the clock. To our good fortune, we were able to detect their footsteps (they were wearing military boots with iron soles) and when they enter their room, we are already sitting as if frozen in place. It is good that they are taking advantage of the pleasant ambience of the air outside, and minimally sit in the house, and this gives us a slight freedom to move around.

We got a telegram from Aleh, and she asks for the '*Anmeldnugs-Karte*' (the identity card) to be sent to her. I do not know what happened to her letter that she sent to her parents: it appears to have been lost in transit, because Hans received a letter from her without an address, and in it, she clearly writes to him that he should take her letter away from her parents. From this we know she wrote a letter, and it was lost, and did not reach its destination.

Thursday, June 22, 1944

Finally, and at last, we feel vigorous work being done on our front! Perhaps this is also the beginning of an assault! They haven't even begun the attack, but at least there is hope that the soldiers will travel away from the house and the matter is liable to increase our anticipation to go peacefully to the end of the war. We did not hear the daily news in English because we didn't have a chance to do so, but in contrast, we were able to hear the news in German on the radio very well. We only need to stand under the soldiers' room in order to feel that we were standing next to the radio itself. The Germans notify that beside Tarnopol and Koval there is strong artillery fire, and they will perhaps know more in detail – tomorrow.

Friday, June 23, 1944

A third telegram arrived from Aleh, and she advises that she received her letters returned to her. It appears that in Zolkiew a military mail system (*feldpost*) has been enacted, and regular mail does not get delivered and does not work for the citizenry.

Richard immediately tried to establish telephone contact with Aleh (this was not difficult for him, because he personally works at the post office). At that hour, I sat on the 'porch', that is to say in the corridor, because it is a bit cooler there, and when I heard how he shouted from the street to Mr. Beck: 'All'ka is on the telephone'... my heart started to beat faster, like a hammer and I was very moved. I have established that everything that touches upon the Beck family touches upon me as well, as if they were my family. I am lucky that they conversed with Aleh a little bit, and calmed down. I imagine to myself what happened to her until this Polish discussion, because not all the news of the family reached her...the letters are returned... Hans does not write, because he does not know her address, and in her parents' home, German soldiers are sitting upstairs, and below, under the floor – Jews...

We got a disappointment from the daily news. On our front there are only local battles, and the Russians have opened an attack – on Romania. And once again our hopes were dashed. An attack of this sort is certain to last a number of weeks, and only after that our turn will come, and for us every minute is more precious than Gold...

Sabbath, June 24, 1944

Another attack began, but again, not on our front, but in the surroundings of Vitebsk. By the reports, everything is proceeding according to plan, the lines of the Germans have been penetrated, heavy battles are underway, and the Germans themselves admit this in the daily news. In Italy, the Allies have broken through the front-line, and in France they have reached Cherbourg and entered the city. It is only in our surroundings that they are not in a hurry. Even if they only took out one soldier from the house and sent him to a front, even this would be good. But there is no intention to do this. They sit here as if they were in the Garden of Eden, and I have the impression they are doing nothing. From time-to-time they go out for maneuvers during the day or night, but not more than this. We do not know how many of them are dead, because they are soldiers that belong to the general forces. From the trains, the soldiers returning from furlough are taken out and they are sent straight to the front. Norbert is supposed to return from furlough on Sunday, and Richard warned him by telephone, and gave advice as to which direction to follow, so he does not fall into a trap. This was of no matter to us, if they seized him that would

suffice for us, Because there are two soldiers in the house, and also a third soldier will burden us with his presence – we did not even have one minute free of worry.

Sunday, June 25, 1944

We learned that we were well off! The attacks around Vitebsk succeeded, and the Germans themselves admit that it was necessary to retreat from there, but only if that had occurred on our front, we would already be liberated. Painfully, the circumstances were weakened, and who knows if we will have to suffer until September. A section of our front stands out more than it should. First they have to quickly move to the middle front. Afterwards in Romania and finally really finally – they should start in our environs. As understood, they did not take into account the lives of lone people, because they are trying hard to move quickly to reach us, because they are permitting the Romanian Jews to live. But what is a person's life worth in this war? And who would care that eighteen people are suffering the tortures of *Gehenna*?

Monday, June 26, 1944

Norbert returned today – to our great consternation – to our house. We heard how he was received, with shouts of joy, so nothing happened to him! I toyed with the hope that they would take him off the train car anyway, but in vain! In order to aggravate us, he returned to us here, and now the whole trio will reside here> One was occupied with evening maneuvers and he slept during the day. The second – he works during daylight hours, and sleeps during the day, and the third one, a Gestapo man, suffers from insomnia, and he is up at night, and because he senses in his guts, he spends every free minute in the house. Norbert brings us one 'support,' since he snores at night, and loves to sing during the day until he drowns out the whispered sounds with his singing.

In the printed paper today, there is a wonderful song, as if it was written first and foremost for us. It appears that the author wrote this song in prison. (His name: Leon Kokol):

Just to Continue and To Survive...

Time stands on the pillars of a clock,
It is made silent: it doesn't rush, doesn't run – it just runs down...
Something unnamed pollute my thoughts, and circle about
My insides forget death:
These hours are tiring,
Days without the breath of life...
And life wails within us –
I would like to break out to the outside –
And from there, to the wide world,

And with a light heart listen to a resonating laugh
And to bestow humor on everything.
How intense, intense would I like to,
But the imperative is – to continue and to survive

Perhaps we too will continue and will survive, if they would only permit us to continue and to survive...

The daily news is good today, and Mr. Beck is very much satisfied with it. If so – we too are satisfied by the good news and also by the rise in Mr. Beck's spirits.

Tuesday, June 27, 1944

'There is no trouble that has no good at the end'! We were told that Norbert had returned, and he is of great help to us. First – he takes a genial attitude toward Mr. Beck and his wife. But he heard that Mr. Beck is interested in having the soldiers move to the large room and he immediately began to move his belonging there. The most important thing of all, especially to those residing in the second hideout (that's what we called the place) in that the soldiers would be moved for some distance further away from us. And here is another important reason: Mrs. Beck is planning to travel for several days to visit Aleh, and then – we will remain alone with Mr. Beck. The house will be abandoned and dead without her, accordingly, it would be better for us to be at a slightly farther distance from the soldiers, and not literally in their neighborhood. And perhaps, they too will have to travel away from here soon? The daily news is very good. Vitebsk and Izavelin has been captured, and another 105 residents were taken in this decree. This was a typical Soviet attack. When the move – they move quickly.

Wednesday, June 28, 1944

I saw Hella Orenstein today. I spruced up the house upstairs, and I often looked out the window, in order to see if the soldiers are not returning to the house. Suddenly, I saw two girls walking in the street and I recognized one of them as Hella. I wondered when I saw this, how she moves about in such a free manner. Apparently she had endeared herself heart and soul to the officer of an 'Aryan' girl, but it was also clear that in her inner heart, she was very hapless, because she had lost her father and mother in a tragically terrifying manner. Outside the air is wonderful, the month of June. My heart is bursting from the pain of seeing people walking about freely in the street, breathing in fresh air, and fearing no one, at the same time that we here are 'dying' of fear, and in every terrifying minute the danger of death hovers above us.

In general, the daily news is bringing us good news, but on our front – there is no activity. They are getting close to Florence – but this is Italy: they are getting close to Le Havre – and that is France... they are fighting in the streets of Mohilev – and this is 300 kilometers from Zolkiew. An Mr. Beck tortures

himself because of us. Nevertheless, the pharmacist now pays for all of us, but it definitely is not enough, because apart from the one kilogram of potatoes and twenty five pieces of thin bread, we need five pats of butter, or some grits for the soup. Mr. Beck covers the 'deficit' in all these outlays. But daily, he is finding it difficult to meet the budget.

Thursday, June 29, 1944

Mrs. Beck has traveled off to Aleh and it is bad to be without her. Quiet, and no sound, reigns upstairs, and no movement is detected upstairs. Mrs. Manya came, but in order for her to cook, she has to remain in the house until three o'clock, and in all, there is no way to compare her to Mrs. Beck... we want her to return as speedily as possible, but the trip alone takes three days. Mr. Beck is very pressured and for a reason, because if someone goes out to travel somewhere, it is possible you will not see him come back. Apart from this, Mr. Beck is not able to move from the house because he senses [the problem of] leaving us face-to-face with the Germans: he also needs to attend to us, to bring us everything, and this is more than one person can handle. Fortunately, the soldiers are already in the second room, and the danger diminished of them hearing and grasping something.

The daily news reports the capture of Mogilev, Resz, and Bobruisk. There is no even part news about Tarnopol and Koval.

Friday, June 30, 1944

'Our' soldiers today dismantled their telephone instrument, packed up their belongings, and all this proves that they are preparing to leave. Apparently, they were expecting to leave in the evening, but the authorities delayed their departure to morning. Oh! Would that we not be disappointed again: We so wanted to see them make 'the second transfer' of the door... Since the month of February, we had days of constant tension. Day-by-day, hour-by-hour we were in a state of 'alarm' because it was transmitted by mouth to ear: 'the soldier just entered the kitchen,' or 'the soldier is already seated in his room,' or 'the soldier is laying on the couch, or 'the soldier shut off the radio and is in the middle of the room'... 'is he by chance listening and detecting movement? This permanent state of fear, was that the soldiers would detect or sense something that was liable to arouse suspicion among them, or that Mr. Beck might err in talking to Richard, because he liked to converse with him about politics – all this made a shambles of us, and collapse our nerves...

Sadly, our gladness was premature. Mr. Beck knocked on the floor entry, and let us know that as of now, the soldiers are staying here. The order to move had been delayed for an hour.

I feel a strange and peculiar pressure in my heart...

Saturday, July 1, 1944

I had the opportunity today to hear the daily news report in English, very good news. The city of Slutsk was captured and fighting is going on in Borisov. The Soviet soldiers are only 35 kilometers away from Minsk, and 50 kilometers from Pinsk. They are moving at a dizzying pace, and there is no doubt that they would have reach us in better time, and liberate us, if they were following a path to us, but in any event, we are hoping that perhaps the final end of our travail and we will be freed.

The soldiers are always given 'the current situation'; they did not hook up their telephone anew; they do not even sit for a minute in the house, they circulate, going out and coming in endlessly, and do not utter a sound. Mr. Beck is of the opinion that they certainly have secret news, but when he tries to ask, they stop talking among themselves, and leave.

What are they likely to know today? They are prepared to leave the house today, or tomorrow, or to stay seated in for two more whole weeks! Hans is sitting upstairs, we thought he had come to visit Mr. Beck (because Mr. Beck no longer leaves the house and go to the office, because he is leery of leaving us alone). We detect in the environment the arrangement of a drunken celebration. Hans has not come to us for some time. This takes into account the departure of Aleh, when he stopped visiting here, and it looks like he came out of longing [for her]... Mrs. Beck telegraphed that she arrived safely. We have become used to her as if she was literally a member of our family, and in her disappearance we felt that she was missing, and feel a terrifying emptiness in our hearts, and this is very natural.

The time arrived for us to have an accounting with the pharmacist (one hears everything clearly from the place where he sits). We became aware, after the event – that we are alone for a few minutes in the house with Hans and the soldiers, because Mr. Beck had gone out to purchase whiskey. This thing is slightly dangerous, but it seems that Mr. Beck had no choice, he was compelled to leave the house.

Sunday, July 2, 1944

The soldiers are ready to leave the house no later than Tuesday, or so they say. But who knows for sure what will be, this is a military secret. Maybe they will receive an order to move, or not. It is not important who will enter the house, the important thing is that these [soldiers] should go away from the here. It is not possible to pressure ourselves any more about this matter... in the end, Richard came into the room above us more frequently than is needed. He enters, stands in the middle of the room and listens as if he is trying to overhear something. Today, for example, when Mr. Beck went to eat lunch at his sister-in-law's, Richard attempted to get into the room, but he found it locked on both sides. What was he looking for there? It appears that in all of this he is suspicious of something.

Mrs. Beck telephoned today, that in the evening she is returning to MAleh's house. We are very pleased that she is coming back, because she is like a redeeming angel to us. I no longer am able to describe my life without these precious people: even when I am permitted to go free, I will stay by their side. It is now a year and a half that they are our complete world, and I cannot imagine a different world without them.

Monday, July 3, 1944

There is no grandmother in this world who will be able to tell her grandchildren about her life's experiences in this level of detail, as we are able to tell about this hideout. Even the night was overflowing with observations, and our souls came close to bursting into bloom out of an excess of fear. Matters initially proceeded quietly, the soldiers went to the theater, after that, one of them came back to the house for a minute and then left again. We went to sleep, while the window was open in the hideout, and the floor entry was closed. Mr. Beck was upstairs, and the radio was on. In the middle of the night we heard a ringing, but the door was not opened. The ringing stubbornly went on, and immediately there was knocking heard on the door and we picked up on footfall in the garden, and by their voices, we recognized the soldiers, who had forgotten their keys and couldn't come inside. They began to pound on the windows – but there was no response. We were sunken onto a deep despair – what could have happened to Mr. Beck? – we asked ourselves, did he fall asleep so soundly? For the knocking and the noise from the outside could arouse a person even from the deepest sleep?... May be Mr. Beck suddenly came down with a severe illness, maybe he fainted, because he complained today of having a strong headache. We so wanted to help him, but here we were, unable to move from our place and not even whisper, because the soldiers are walking around in the yard, and the window was open, and they are likely to listen and grasp its meaning. If there is no light, it is not possible to open the floor entry: quite to the contrary, because every ray of light can easily be seen through the window. We are stuck in an uncomfortable position, and we do not have the capacity to help Mr. Beck.

In the end, when it seemed to us that they will break through the door, or break the windows, Mr. Beck let them come inside. It became clear that he had simply fallen asleep, and the radio played so loudly that it overwhelmed the sound of the knocking and the voices outside, and he had no sense of what transpired – so we slept easily.

Today, after the noon hour, I was literally astonished! After the things heard the pharmacist say, I can no longer recover... when we became aware that the soldiers will be traveling off this night for sure. The pharmacist told a story about a conversation that he heard and grasped word for word. The discussion took place between Mr. Beck and Norbert – during the first days that the soldiers were billeted in our house.

And here is the story: one of the visitors to the Beck family, Hans bragged, who with his own hands had killed seventy two Jews... the following day, Hans entered Norbert's office, uttered a peace blessing, and stuck out his hand. After he had returned home – Norbert sand and whistled to him, as usual. But when Mr. Beck and his wife came into the room, the pharmacist heard what Norbert had to say, aimed at his hosts: Mr. Beck apparently did not grasp the meaning or did not understand what was said, and sadly he did not react to them.

I am exactly repeating what Norbert said as I heard it from the pharmacist, who replied to them: Hans is from the police covered in blood, who murdered seventy two Jews, and he was with e, and he stuck his hand out to me, that was part of a trail of blood. I have already washed my hands ten times after this '... and when a minute went by, and he turned to Mr. Beck personally and said: 'Merciful father, it is good for me to be with you, and for this reason I do not want to know anything in the house, or to hear any talk of this kind... Father, all is well. I do not pursue races... I also did not turn over the Jews in Brody to the authorities... and these were the things that Norbert said that we had always taken for an acolyte of Hitler! How is it possible to be this

mistaken? – Richard was present during this conversation, and if so, it is close to true that he too knew of our existence, but he did not want to dig deeply into it, and reach any conclusions. Now I understand his reaction, when the Ukrainian militia people were searching for Jews in our house, and he angrily inquired of Mr. Beck: ‘What do these pigs want here?’ We had good luck that we had stumbled on normal people, for in their hands our lives fluttered, as if on a scale... it seems that Mr. Beck did not enter deeply into what Norbert said. For an hour, we could not explain or clarify this to him, and if the soldiers had not recollected the incident, even with one word at the time we parted, they traveled away from here... and left their addresses... who knows? Perhaps we will yet have an opportunity to reward them for this, giving us our lives as leavings. May the Heavenly Oversight light their way.

We spent the whole day in the dark, because the current of electricity stopped. But because the soldiers had traveled off, we were able to turn the night into day. And now, at two o’clock in the morning we are cooking, because we are very hungry. It is virtually assured that tomorrow there will be no electricity, and so we have to prepare soup for ourselves. Mrs. Beck delayed her departure from Cześćochowa for an extra day. We wanted to see her back in the house already, because these are uncertain times, and something may suddenly happen along the way that would cut her off from us.

Aleh would have acted wisely if she had reached here together with her mother. To my great sadness – this was no simple matter, because she was busy there with office work.

Tuesday, July 4, 1944

Again, we are sitting in the dark, After noon airplanes flew and we heard shooting, and the lights went out. But we are not complaining, because it has gotten much easier on us since the Germans that sat above our heads disappeared – The floor entry is open and light passes over us a bit, and manages to penetrate somewhat through the window. We light candles out of necessity.

After the departure of the soldiers, we recovered a little. And so, we were able to survive and we continued with our survival as a miracle; we had train workers here, and they left; we had soldiers... who, it appears knew of our existence, and they too left and did not cause anything bad to happen.

But the apex of the miracles and wonders is the Beck family. They knew that with their good-hearted nature, simplicity and an understanding of how to win over the hearts of without them knowing it, we were not their rescuers to reach that level.

Mrs. Beck related to the soldiers as if she was their birth mother. When she saw that it was hard for them to get by on the portions they were budgeted for, she would provide them with tasty things, and items of the house, and Mr. Beck from his side, would invite them for a drink of whisky, and as a result they could not repay bread with stones. And since we have overcome so much, we hope that we will succeed going forward.

We did not hear the daily news today. But even to travel of the soldiers away from the city, has limited things to tell us. Today they bombed Lvov again. And this too demonstrates a change. Perhaps these are the signs that are harbingers of the attack?

Wednesday, July 5, 1944

Mrs. Beck arrived in the afternoon. She was supposed to come back the day before last, but there was an air raid on Lvov, and she was compelled to hide in a refuge, and after that the train. The whole house was lifted by her arrival. Once more, there is movement upstairs, even if there are no strangers visiting there. Almost all the acquaintances of Mr. Beck traveled away from the city. Aleh feels well in Częstochowa. She is working, and she has a pleasant residence with a balcony, a radio and a telephone. The city is pretty, and in short – Aleh is satisfied. She also has help in the event of trouble that has been promised to her, because Richard's sister lives not far from Częstochowa, and he had asked her to take an interest in Aleh. In his letter to our hosts Richard promised that for each slice of bread he ate at their house, his sister will take care of Aleh generously. From this, as well, one can see he was a normal young man.

The daily news was very good. The Soviet armies are moving past Baranovich, Vilna and Minsk. And most importantly: they captured the city of Koval. So this raises the question: where should they turn after Koval – forward? Will they speed in the direction to Lvov – or will they turn to Lithuanian-Brisk? This matter will get clarified in a few days more.

Today, they bombed Lvov again, and it was only at twelve o'clock that the lights came on. At night they were again put out, and it was dark for about three hours.

Thursday, July 6, 1944

We were again receiving a wave of heat. Despite the fact that the floor entry was open, the heat inside the hideout reached 27 Deg. Celsius. I can only hold a pencil in my hand with difficulty, because I have been weakened by the heat. I am entirely covered in sweat. I am fanning myself with a piece of box that I am holding in my hand. Without this 'fan' it would be even harder, but even this doesn't help much. I sense that I may be affected by the skin growth that I got during the time of the great sweating a year ago. And maybe, with all this, maybe all of this will end soon? The daily news added more encouragement, because we learned that the Soviet are attacking the front between Koval and the bridge across the Dniester. And this is a part of our front. From this, perhaps there is proof that they will launch an attack here, and not anywhere else.

This is the twentieth month that we are occupying the hideout; this is the twentieth month that we burden the Beck family. Several months have gone by, and we are unable to pay them what they have put out for our food, but rather record the amount in a notebook, and these people endanger their lives, not to get a financial reward. Mr. Beck and his wife arouse action in me, It is not only that they are ready to bear it all, they continue to relate to us in a friendly manner, and concern themselves to assure we get a bit of air to breathe. They moved their bedroom to a different room so that two of our people will be able to sit all night upstairs beside the small windows. I swear to myself, that if I will succeed in getting out free – I will first try to generously reward

these people. But it is clearly evident to me that I will not be able to compensate them for my 'debt' to them, because one has to pay a 'life for a life', and I do not wish this sort of life like ours on Mr. Beck and his wife.

Regrettably, I have no possessions, and I will go free missing everything. But I do have an asset, and that is my youth, and I will try to do all that I can – and maybe more – with my own personal work and my own effort on their behalf.

Sabbath, July 8, 1944

The soldiers have returned again to us. A military vehicle stopped along the way, and these soldiers requested lodging for only one night, because we no longer have space for new 'residents.' The heat here is unbearable, and the span of the window doesn't help at all, because it is also hot outside, that is debilitating and asphyxiating.

Our 'alarm device' broke, because our hosts' dog, Dzik ('wild) who would give us a warning with his bark at every stranger that drew near to the house, got sick, and no longer barks, it appears that they tried to poison him.

The daily news disappointed us a bit today. Despite the fact that the city of Baranovich was captured, and the rail line from Vilna to Dinburg was cut, the battles in our section of the front have a local character only. Despite it all, I do not lose hope that the attack against the central front is finally going to break out with a storm on the city of Lvov.

Sunday, July 9, 1944

Two Jews were found; they apparently were hidden by a farmer in a village. They had possessions that they turned over for custody with an Aryan salesman in the city (as many Jews did in their time), so they sent their host with a note, that he should take these possessions back. There locators told the farmer that he should come tomorrow in order to get them, and in the meantime the people left the place. The farmer, who was also dull-witted and had his own eyes to take possession of these things, went to the gendarmerie and informed on them, indicating that they fled with the possessions of Jews. At the gendarmerie station they began to investigate him and put him into a sealed location, until they extracted all the details from him. What sort of terrifying carelessness was this on the part of these Jews! It appears that they had no other way, and they were forced to send the farmer, to bring them back their belongings, because the money had run out, and should the farmer refuse, apparently he would keep them in his house at no cost.

There was a time when we also wanted to leave, and bring our possessions that we had hidden with acquaintances., but Mr. Beck did not permit us to move from the place, and said that we should arrange ourselves without them. But matters reached a point that his entire income was put on him. Yes, there are not many noble-spirited people in the world like our Mr. Beck...

Monday, July 10, 1944

Again, we are sitting in the dark... and we are forced to burden Mrs. Beck with cooking for eighteen people, even if one does not start a fire for cooking, and also not using electric lighting – the heat is unbearable...

We are suffering greatly from the lack of daily news because they silenced the hideout radio. These news items – were our entire life. But – if a rumor was circulating in our front, we would hear about it without the radio.

Wednesday, July 11, 1944

We received today's paper. It was written there that the Soviet attacks in the surroundings of Koval, Lutsk and Tarnopol are beyond scouting forays that are 'local.' However the bulletin was not bad, but we are not satisfied by it, because if the plan was to really start an attack on the road to us, they would be moving at full speed, full of steam... but looking at the way they chose, they want to liberate only a part of the central front, and we no longer have the strength to suffer more.

Today was the sixteenth birthday of our hapless Manya. This is the second year, the second birthday after her tragic death...why was there no place for her in this big world?.. I cannot yet come to grips with this thought, that she is no longer here. She is in front of my eyes all the time, full of life and energy, and she would stand by the window for the whole day, as if she was stuck to the blinds and looked outside, and I felt that she continues to live, to attain freedom... in the end, she could not contain herself and went out of the house. She went out towards death. And yet I thought that when I will go out free, I will see her healthy and whole... painfully, the dream was in vain. When I get up, I secretly cry, because I do not want to anger my mother even though she willingly speaks of her, but I cannot discuss Manya with my mother, as if I was ashamed that I was alive... and that ... she is no longer alive.

Thursday, July 13, 1944

Today, July 13, was almost a day of fateful reckoning. It looked like there was a step between us and the trap into which we could fall. A 'supporting' reason was without electricity darkness pervaded the house, and the bells did not ring. And here is what happened: Kuba and Artik were cutting wood in the cellar, and at the same time, someone knocked on the entrance door. Mr. Beck without warning them – went to open it. I sat in the corridor and heard how Mr. Beck was speaking to a man on the threshold of the house, and those in the cellar continued their work as if nothing had happened. It appears that it did not occur to them that a stranger was located upstairs, because the bell was not working, and did not ring, or warn them. Suddenly as if my heart stopped inside of me: I clearly heard footsteps on the stairs. The door opened from the pantry to the kitchen, and I heard the footsteps of people, turning to the corridor. Kuba stepped right into the ashes... I froze out of an unknown expectation. There is no doubt that if he went from the kitchen into the room – the stranger will see his face! And I am sitting here helplessly, and I don't even have a chance to warn him... But this is what happened. Kuba entered

the room, sensing nothing, and quietly went downstairs... but we had a stroke of luck, literally like in a legend! The strange man was standing on the outside of the door threshold, beside the entrance door, with Mr. Beck at his side, and the corridor is overly narrow: But it is possible to see a human form, but it is difficult to see and clarify who it is: beside this, Mr. Beck who heard Kuba's footsteps did not lose his mood, and did not turn his head backwards. He proceeded with his discussion with the strange man in complete silence! And had Kuba known what was happening there above him, just as he was returning to the hideout, by some miracle he became aware of it, avoiding an accident, and how we were saved together with him.

Richard and Norbert wrote a heartfelt letter of departure to Mr. Beck and his wife. This was very nice that they had not forgotten to do this, because in general, soldiers are not concerned with such niceties.

Friday, July 14, 1944

Late two days ago, we had another visit from gendarmes. Three of them had come to drink whiskey, and there was a *Meister* among them personally, in all his dignity. But this time we had to suppress yet another aggravation; The house of the Beck family appealed to him so much, that he communicated that he would like to live here. Apparently he didn't think about this seriously, because he lives in a pretty house on *ul. Kolyuba*? But who is to know what sort of machinations lie in the heart of such people!

And maybe he wanted simply to test Mrs. Beck? And she said, in an overly clear way, that she can only allocate one room to him. But what will happen if he wants to be satisfied with one room, and move to us? It would then be impossible to live under one roof with a gendarme and sustain ourselves! Sadly, this was the order of the world: when an illness continues for an overly long time, the patient, as is usual – dies.

Clouds are gathering from every side. Our difficult situation is very dangerous, and even beyond that, Mr. Beck does not have a penny in his pocket, and there is no possibility of selling possessions, and after all, we must eat. We ran out of potatoes. We sustain our lives with soup only, with the addition of twenty-five pieces of bread per individual, but even for this, it is necessary to have money.

The pharmacist gives three thousand Zlotys, but this is not enough. Even Mr. Beck and his wife are compelled to sustain themselves, and they are also forced to support us; if a gendarme comes to visit, to honor him, there is whiskey, and if he comes frequently, whiskey is expensive! A package is sent to the soldiers, and one needs to help them as well. Mr. Beck and his wife are exceptionally nervous, they are looking for advice as to where to get money, but no solution enters their minds.

Sabbath, July 15, 1944

Mr. Beck sent a letter to us in the hideout. He writes that all the store of food has been used up. He also does not have wood, and in general nothing, except water. Every slice of bread remains stuck in his throat – that is how he writes, when he eats alone – and we are hungry, ‘because– I am a Beck’... and I believe with my whole heart that they share our sorrow, that it is tight for them, that they do not have enough to sustain us. Mr. Beck needs five thousand Zlotys to buy new inventory. Only the pharmacist has the wherewithal to give him such a sum of money, and he is in no hurry to do this. We pleaded for him to give the money, because he under stress in the future, and already now, it is on account of tomorrow. He answered that he has to mull this over. We decided to force him to give, if he refuses. We will take a bit of the food provisions that Mrs. Beck has for the children, and after that, we will close up the floor entry, and begin to fast. For us, there is no other option anyway, but the pharmacist will want to eat using his money, and in the end, he will be forced to pay for us as well.

Mr. Beck and his wife were forced to provide lodging in their house to four S. S. men, these are ‘important birds’ – having black collars... we had already become accustomed to a variety of uninvited and unexpected guests of this kind. It is good that they are traveling away tomorrow morning.

Sunday, July 16, 1944

It appears that movement along the entire front already is taking place. The papers relate that the German armies retreated as far as Lutsk in the west; also near Kolomyya heavy fighting is going on. An insane amount of movement is felt on the road. The Germans that traveled on the way to Sokal returned and oriented themselves to pass Kamionka. Rumors abounded, that the Soviets landed an army on the beach, and the Germans were forced to return to where they came from. It appears that something happened beside Kamionka, and the Germans got an order to return midway. And we do not sense anything certain about the situation. We have no radio, and therefore we are not listening to the daily news at all. Until we hear real shooting – we will not know anything. We are listening and gathering bits and pieces of every sound at night; for an hour, we hear nothing. We are living in a state of insane tension. When the front stopped beside Kharkov, hope was boundless. But now – now that we know that the Soviet armies are 80 kilometers from us – every minute is seen by us as — victory!

In the center front, there is heavy fighting, but for whatever reason, I am not moved by this, because if the Russians penetrate Prussia, this no longer will bring us liberation.

Monday, July 17, 1944

Something has happened – – – but there is chaos in which we perceive nothing!

In the morning it appeared that we have a ‘come here, come here’... from Mr. Beck’s sister-in-law who came to us on the run, and brought news from Hans, that everyone prepare to travel, because the Bolsheviks are already in Sokal, and the ‘*Ort-Kommando*’ (officer of the city) advised Mr. Beck via messenger,

that he should immediately pack his belongings. On the area of the cemetery they are setting up barriers and digging pits. Vehicles are going back and forth. It seemed that in a short while we will hear gunshots, and we will have been privileged to see the end of all our suffering. But close to noon, everything quieted down. It became evident that before the city of Sokal was captured, the gendarmerie of the city came to Zolkiew.

It was hard to find foodstuffs in the city. Despite the fact that the pharmacist finally, in the end, provided the money, and we were prevented from preparing all manner of foodstuffs.

Before nightfall, movement began again. In the street, a ruined shipping carriage went by... a fleet of forty planes appeared in the sky, and flew over us... automobiles sped along... one after another...

The two soldiers who had pleaded with Mr. Beck to lodge, and did sleep overnight at his house, complained that the 'cursed Ivan' had burst through the German columns, and therefore, they were forced to leave Busk this morning. This was the retaliation for the disappointment we had to bear with regard to Sokal. Busk, apparently more important to us because it was clear that they are opening the offensive from this side – and therefore can attack Zolkiew within two or three days! In short, I was literally frightened to discuss and even think about this, lest I be disappointed, that was the case when the front was beside Tarnopol and it looked to me. That they are ready to confront Lvov, and surprisingly, they stopped there.

It seemed like in a short minute that Mr. Beck would collapse. Everyone is fleeing from here... the '*ort-kommando*' gives him a directive to pack his belongings, and he does this out of friendship, but he is unable to move because of us, despite the fact that his daughter is on the 'second side'... but his steel will prevailed and he returned to his normal state.

He began to 'direct' the preparations under the new conditions that had been created. He approached the storage facilities of belongings. To obtain foodstuffs, and circled around in the whole house, in spite and cursing, in order to encourage himself. In short – he received his prior rank, and changed into being 'our dear leader', beloved by us like a father, whose imprecations which were of no harm. Were a pleasure to our ears, more than someone else's more suitable words, which remain as suitable words only.

Tuesday, July 18, 1944

Electricity came on, but only for one hour, and then went out again. Despite this, we were able to hear the daily news from England. They notified us on the capture of Grodno, and even if every piece of news didn't touch on our front, we no longer need news delivered by bulletin because we can see what is going on with our own eyes.

The gendarmerie traveled away from here with such speed, that Hans did not even come to take leave. All he did was make a hand movement passing Mr. Beck, when the vehicle in which he was fleeing past our house. The Ukrainian militia also traveled away, and also the '*lands-kommissar*.' We are

very lucky finally, in the end, to be rid of those that assault us. Rows of transports are traveling back and forth, vehicles of the sanitation workers are rushing at a dizzying pace, on the road cannons are deployed. The city of Zolkiew is surrounded by a cannon brigade. Indications indicate that any day, and even within the near hours to come, battles are going to break out here... would that they not disappoint us this time...now, when it is so close – I have no more patience to sit in my place in the hideout...

Wednesday, July 19, 1944

At night we could finally hear shooting in the distance. Now we can hear the shots more clearly than necessary. It seems, that the front has come nearer to us. A support military convoy is on the move all day: – tanks, armored vehicles, cannons, and vehicles full of soldiers, everything is moving in the direction of Lvov. Perhaps they have burst out there like a forcible storm? Perhaps they have attacked?

Four tank soldiers will lodge with us tonight, but because the shooting we are hearing in the distance are becoming more and more frequent –perhaps they will have left in the middle of the night.

Each of us prepares a small package for themselves, containing clothes. To put over us when needed (inside the hideout, we circulate bare and unclothed and half-naked), even if we cannot go very far, at least we will be able to go down into the cellar – because even the field gendarmerie will not ‘slacken’ in its attempt to capture Jews...

The ceiling of the cellar is made of cement, and this is liable to save us from penetration by bomb fragments. We would have wanted to hide in the cellar of a factory because there is a refuge built there of iron and concrete. But we are likely to run into soldiers there.

Aleh endangers herself! She is undoubtedly terribly aggravated! Who knows for what length of time she will be disconnected from her parents. It has been some time that the mail is not working. And it is not only the mail but rather there is no administrative function in Zolkiew at all. If everything will proceed as planned – our liberation will come in very few days.

Thursday, July 20, 1944

The tank soldiers that are here with us said, and essentially the senior officer said to Mr. Beck, that no one should take off their clothing tonight, because the situation is dire, and because the Bolsheviks are only 9 kilometers from Zolkiew. It is possible to believe them, because the shots can be heard from a very close area.

Once again, we have any military personnel in our house. One officer entered the room that was above the small hideout, and the second room is full of soldiers; to our good fortune, they did not commandeer the room right over us, and it was possible to get to the floor entry. And here, Mrs. Beck came and brought with her the latest news, that the Soviets are shooting from the 'white orchard.' And since the army is facing *ul. Seruka*, I know that in *ul. Seruka* there are Jews hiding with one farmer, and I hope they stayed in their hideout. If all of this will not last two days, they will all hold out. But if this condition stretches out for a long time – they are liable to be lost. What a big tragedy this would be... to die literally at the last minute, the eve of liberation!

Friday, July 21, 1944

We did not give ourselves the assessment – what sort of 'Leviathans' we were accommodating in our house~ The officer belongs – no less and no more – to the unit that protects the city. They brought him assessments all night. Above – a German military unit, and below us the floor – Jews! A big laugh!

Mr. Beck, his wife and Wladek (who was with them after being sent to hear the gunshots) – for us, it was a night in the cellar, and the soldiers took their bedroom! A joke!

The entire time – almost without stop – soldiers came to the officer who brought new information, and we of course listened to each one of them. Close to eleven o'clock, we became aware that the Bolsheviks had surrounded Lvov, and only the road to Janow was still open, and it was on this road that the army was ordered to retreat. In about a minute, the officer left Mrs. Beck and traveled off, he was able to tell her just this, if she had a will to flee she is compelled to decide right now, because by evening – and the latest in the morning – the Soviets will be here – Oh, God! We waited such a long time for this moment! No, No, I could not simply believe that I am going to get out of this pit alive and in one piece!

Now only the gunfire threatens us, and we must certainly be secure in the face of this danger. Mr. Beck and his wife hid in the cellar that was completely covered in cement. Let us be lucky enough to break through the wall in order that we be able to hide there at the time of need.

In any event, we needed to create such an opening, because the floor entry is covered in sand, and Mr. Beck and his wife get in there by way of a small window, that goes out of the pantry. They come in contact with us by means of a small opening on the wall only. For an hour, we are afraid to go down to the cellar, because some German is likely to enter there by happenstance.

Wednesday, July 26, 1944

Only now did I regain my composure after all that had happened – and I can write. But a chaos pervades my head, such that it hard to collect and arrange my thoughts. So many feelings compete and run around within me: on one side I am happy, very happy, that I am alive, that I stayed alive. But there are moments that I pose the following question to myself: 'why am I alive when millions of our brethren have been exterminated?!..

For of an assemblage of odd reasons and confusion – a German cannon stood beside our house, Two grenades pieced our house, one mad a hole in the wall, and the second burst through the roof. Mr. Beck and his wife hid in the yard, that the soldiers had prepared, and had we had stayed in the cellar, afraid to move from the place: After all, the Germans were still in the city. Except the Beck family were all felt bad, as if we were abandoned like refuse.

We began to doubt whether the city would be captured before the third day, and suddenly, by surprise, Mr. Beck came running towards us with some news, that the Soviets have already arrived...



שרידי ה-בונקר החיים בישראל

(משמאל לימין) עומדים: זיגו אורלנדר, מיכאל מלמן, זושיה קורנברג (אורלנדר) איגו מלמן.
 יושבים: קובה פטרונטאץ (חי בגרמניה), סבינה פטרונטאץ, פניה מלמן, מונדק פטרונטאץ.

Page 771/772: The Survivors of the 'Bunker' Living in Israel
 Standing (LtoR): Zigo Orlander, Michael Melman, Zuszya Kornberg (Orlander) Igo Melman
 Sitting: Kuba Patrontacz (Living in Germany), Sabina Patrontacz, Fanya Melman, Mundek Patrontacz,

I do not have the capacity to describe what happened to us during this hour... everyone hugged one another, we kissed each other and returned such gestures. Each of us cried!... Mr. Beck shone as if lucky. In his desire to cause our mood to improve, he began to bring Jews to us that succeeded in staying alive,,, among them were the Bernstein brothers, two brothers that escaped from the Janow camp and hid with Mr. Orenstein.

However, in no location were eighteen people saved at one time, therefore our house became a center, to which all the rescued people came. But there are isolated groups of people saved, nobody, nobody, showed enough courage anywhere as demonstrated by our Mr. Beck. In every place where the soldiers came to lodge at that house, the Jews were compelled to leave that place, because there was not another person in Zolkiew that agreed to hold onto Jews and Germans under one roof together. – Except for this one, our hideout was a relaxed place in comparison to other places. People in the grain fields went into the forests – both in summer and in winter – and were compelled to seek food from the village farmers, that frequently run them over to be killed. A daughter of one woman was lost in this way, and she was just fifteen years-old – the matter happened only a week before liberation. Out of six thousand Jews that comprised Zolkiew, no more than fifty lucky people remained alive. How did that look in general! I was saved along with my parents. Other families remained as refugees but wandering alone. And all of them had absolutely nothing: no clothes to wear, no place to sleep, to a penny in their pocket to buy anything.

Our feet were very painful, because of the constant sitting in one place, we were deprived of feet that could walk. Today it was still necessary to sleep in the hideout, even though it seemed to us, that every extra hour we are spending in the pit, we are injuring our health.

I spoke with people who saw how they brought our Manya to the police station. First she begged them fervently to release her. Afterwards, she walked silently out of protecting her own dignity, which aroused everyone's dismay.

We heard that she gave testimony at the police station, that she had fled from Lvov to Zolkiew to get away from danger! She did not want to cause us to fall into a trap, and showed such courage as this!... We do not even know where they buried her, because her uncle who made it possible for her to know this – even he, to my disappointment, is no longer alive; He was seized after having joined a group of partisans.

And why should Manya be alive with us now?... why can she not be happy and enjoy the freshness of the sun and the blue of the sky? Why should she not enjoy contact with redolent flowers? And why is the aunt Ut'ckeh not alive so that she could be a mother to her young infant children ? ? ?

Why is this, why is this – Oh, *Master of the Universe* – why ? ? ?

My heart is filled with bitterness – to the end...

To the Memories of Those No Longer Here

By Zvi Oster

Portraits

The ADMo”R Shmuel Rabinovich ז”ל

The ADMo”R of Zolkiew R’ Shmuel Abba Rabinovich ז”ל הי”ד was one of the great exponents of *Hasidism*. He was born in 1884 in Russia. His father, the ADMo”R R’ Pinchas Rabinovich ז”ל was one of the three most famous Rabbis of Czernowitz. In 1904 he married Chana Rachel the daughter of the Rabbi-Tzaddik AB”D and ADMo”R of Navriya (a suburb of Lvov) a brother of the AB”D and ADMo”R of Belz R’ Issachar Dov ז”ל, and in the year 5766 set down his residence in our city of Zolkiew.

The young Rabbi (aged 22) delved into studies day and night, and also revealed matters of community concern, and in a short time, his residence became a committee meeting place for sages from all walks of the city.



הדמו”ר ר’ שמואל רבינוביץ

Page 775: The ADMo”R Shmuel Rabinovich

The number of visitors continue to grow, and rabbis came to discuss matters of the Torah, and many – from all over or to take counsel in matters of marriage, etc. A steady contingent for a prayer quorum was established in his house, for morning and evening. On the Sabbath and Festivals worshipers streamed to the *Rebbe’s* house to enjoy his sayings and prayers from all parts of the city. In general, prayers for Rosh Hashana ended in the afternoon, but his admirers did not refuse to stay on, and filled the prayer house till there was no more room, and they would not be refused the opportunity to hear regal sayings, memories, and *Shofar* from the *Rebbe*. His blessed influence was recognized in all parts of the population in the city and its surroundings, in the congregation of Hasidim, among the intelligentsia, ordinary citizens, up to the assimilated officials of the authorities, all of them related to the *Rebbe* with respect and admiration.

With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, when Rabbi Rimmelt, the Rabbi of the city, left Zolkiew, some delayed questions remained in the eyes of the community, and so the *Rebbe* went beyond the conventional limits of the *Halakhah*, and took on the leadership of the city, dealt diligently with

the community needs, and every embittered person in the city, and also war refugees from other cities who found a sympathetic ear and a supporting hand from him. The home of the *Rebbe* was open widely during all hours of the day, and was used by most people.

The First World War inflicted difficulties on the order of education in the city, many parents were drafted into the Austrian army, and of these, those that were sent to the front and fell in battle, left orphans behind. To them, one has to add the children of refugees of the war who had no education or study. The situation demanded that a rapid resolution be implemented, and to direct this, it was brought to R' Shmuel Rabinovich, and with the help of the city dignitaries, he revived the education at the '*Talmud Torah*,' in which a place was found for all the children of the city who were in need of study and education.

One of his undertakings that is worth stressing was the initiative of '*Kemkha D' Paskha*.' He personally committed himself to this initiative, and together with other dignitaries from the citizenry. To prevent any indignation, he did not let anyone avoid from the filling of their responsibility regarding the needy and poor of his city, and put the pressure of tradition on those who tried to avoid it, by saying: 'You belong either to the givers or the takers' and in a specific instance when someone was not quick to donate, he put two lists in front of him, one of donors, and one of receivers, and he is to choose which list he wishes to add his name...

The community knew how to evaluate the many activities that the Rabbi undertook, and supported him in every possible way. He was formally accepted by the community council in Zolkiew, and they accorded him much honor. Almost every Jew in the city visited him several times a year. Because of his sweet voice, all of the synagogues attempted to invite him to conduct services at least once a year.

His attachment and affection for the Land of Israel was great, and in his house he had a special box for collecting donations for The Land of Israel, and it seems that to no small degree, the work of his three brothers had an influence on him. Before the *Sukkot* holiday, he was in the habit of ordering *Etrogim* from the Land of Israel, and he would distribute them to the synagogues of the city, and he would pass over all of the donations he had received on behalf of the Land of Israel.

The tread would run short to describe the greatness of the ADMo"R Rabinovich זצ"ל, his nobility and the largeness of his heart. His many students will never forget him. The ADMo"R R' Shmuel Rabinovich was taken out to be executed, together with the members of his family, by the *Gestapo* in the year 1943, after they found him hiding in a bunker.

Dr. Meir Wachs ז"ל

By Antonina Shtraich (Wachs)

He was born in 1868 in Wazhidow (a section of Tarnopol). He lost his father as a child, and his mother looked after his education. The teachers in his school established that he was very talented, and his mother entered him into the gymnasium in Brody. When he finished his studies, he went over to Vienna, and as a financially poor student he supported himself by giving lessons, until he was graduated as a physician. In 1898 he was offered the position of Vice-Manager at the hospital in Zolkiew, and he maintained this position until he passed away, that is, more than forty years. During his time, he worked as the community guardian as a physician (he founded the hospital even before the First World War) and also as the physician for the train workers.

As a doctor and a person he was not only highly regarded only in the Zolkiew vicinity, but also in the remaining vicinities and in Lvov. He earned a great deal of honor because of the large extent of his medical knowledge, his good temperament, and his relationship to human well-being. He was also skilled in humor and jokes of knowledge.

During the hours that he was free from his professional work, he busied himself with art work and was indeed a talented artist. All of his pictures, that were hung in his house, were pillaged by the Nazis and sent to Germany. He also was fond of gardening, and he worked each day in his garden, with flowers. He did not belong to any partisan group, and did not lean in their direction, but he took a great interest in the living of the nation, and helped and supported all Zionist initiatives. He never refused to provide assistance to those who needed it.

On October 21, 1942 during the Aktion in Zolkiew, my father committed suicide. Before he died, he returned and said that while he was still alive no Nazi murderer would touch him.

Pap'keh Fish ז"ל



ד"ר משה וואך

Page 778: *Dr. Meir Wachs*

By Klara Kramer (Schwartz)

For the entire summer of 1942 until the Aktion of October, Jews were sent through our city that were taken from Eastern Galicia (Kolomyya, Kutu, Tarnopol, Stanislawow) to the extermination camp at Belzec. The people already knew that they were being taken to their death, and having no hope they used to jump from the trains along the way. The Gestapo people would shoot these escapees, and there were those who were also wounded just from the jump. They would reach as far as Zolkiew and there was a need to gather up the severely wounded, who were lying in the path of the railroad tracks and couldn't move from that place. They needed medical attention, and it was necessary to place them in ordinary homes and feed them.

The first one that began to organize help for these people (called ‘jumpers’) was Pap’keh Fish. All the people in Zolkiew knew her, since she was the only Jewish nurse in the city, and apart from that she was hunch-backed, and everyone in our town knew her. She lived with her mother in a small room, in which there were two beds, one for her and her mother, and the second – was allocated to a severely injured person from among the ‘jumpers’ who needed special attention. These two women supported themselves by selling their possessions, but they always gave help even to the general community.

Pap’keh put young girls to work. I was in a group together with my friends Genya Astman, Klara Letzter, and Monida Dagan.

The wounded were housed in simple homes, those that needed surgery were brought to the hospital, flanked by infectious diseases, which the Germans were afraid to enter. But there was an issue of how to support these people, because the residents of Zolkiew were unable to give food to the wounded that were lodged in these houses, and it was only in very rare instances that a family could spare thin bread for the wounded person, and even the hospital was unable to give food to the sick.

My mother, Mrs. Melman, and Mrs. Patrontacz cooked soup all day in a row, and we carried and brought the soup to the houses that had the wounded, in the Lvov square, the market and alleys in the area, up to the edge of *ul. Gliniski*, to every place where a Jewish family volunteered to house a wounded person. There was a requirement to also collect clothing, because the ‘jumpers’ arrived naked and without anything, and also to make bandages for the hurt ones who could not reach the ‘pharmacy’ (the house of Pap’keh Fish).

Therefore, the truth of the matter is that they only assessed the lives of those people that were taken along with the people of Zolkiew to be exterminated in the *Aktion* of October, or died of Typhus in the ghetto.

Mrs. Orenstein and her daughter Hella (who currently live in Petakh-Tikva) were among the remnants who jumped from the train cars and reached Zolkiew, received help and then passed through the events of the war with no harm. Zolkiew had the tradition of being a city that was suffused with culture, and there were Jews there that were always at the ready to come to the aid of their brethren in trouble.

(A) Sender Lifschitz שׂר

By Meir Lifschitz

There were very few people in the city who did not know my father Sender Lifschitz, who spent most of his time outside of the city because of the way he made his living. He was an energetic man with an extraordinary ability to work, and he did not know what it meant to rest in his concern for supporting his house, and passed through many villages in the course of a month, in the surroundings of the city, he developed ties with ‘nobility’ (people who owned property), rich and poor farmers; he purchased their excess crops and brought the grain to the city and sold them to affluent merchants.

Those who were not of our people and dealt with him trusted him, relying on his honesty and knowledge, they open their hearts to him, listened with care to his advice and many had affection for him.

Sender Lifschitz was a tradition-observant Jew and worshiped his God with all his heart. He was not fanatic in matters of religion or party, he had many friends to whom his commitment was without bounds. Frequently his friends would turn to him as well as the ordinary Jews of the city, and requested that he serve as a single arbitrator or one of the arbitrators of various disputes they had. The Ukrainian judge Singlewic also would invite him into the courtroom occasionally, to be an arbitrator between the people presenting a case to him, in order to eliminate the required expenses of a trial, and from him – the handling of the disputes. The fluency that Sender had in manners of this sort, was wondrous, not to mention his general understanding that was limited to a few classes in the elementary school.

Occasionally Sender would encounter trouble with people in difficult disputes, because of his involvement in community affairs and his temperament. But he never favored an individual whether Jewish or non-Jewish, even if he was not fond of him.

During the terrifying fate of our people in Zolkiew, Sender Lifschitz survived and lived in a bunker until 1943 together with his wife and son. He was captured and killed on 1 Nissan 5703, only ten days after his wife had died before him, and he also saw no purpose in living without her.

Wolf Lichtenberg ז"ל

This was his name, but may just called him ‘The Engineer’, because he was one of the first Jewish engineers in the city and because of affection for him. He was of middle height, had curly hair, and a small but alert face, having a warm heart, and a man of energy and getting things done. He brought the brother of his wife into his home, Iziu Zager, who had lost his parents, sustenance and who sent him to the gymnasium and polytechnic institute in Lvov. When Iziu got to meet a girl and decided to marry her, he allocated living space in his house and took them both in. The teachers at the gymnasium understood the greatness of heart of his supporter, and occasionally canceled fees for the student that were levied on the students.

Lichtenberg was a Zionist, completely committed with all of his heart to the concept of a renaissance and a reconstruction of *The Land*. It was not the *Bet HaMedrash* or the *Heder*, nor the writing of Peretz, Smolenskin, and not the education he got in his father’s home that brought him into the Zionist camp, but rather it was ‘*Khoyla*’ the international newspaper distributed to the Jews of Eastern Galicia, in the period between the world wars, the general atmosphere of the city and the country, and the deep spiritual need that he had to donate from his energy and his spirit to the group. He did not appear even once to hear the fiery speeches at the gathering of people before elections. He asked for and found satisfaction in the Drama Circle from the time it was founded by Meir Melman in a ‘Jewish group for culture and faith.’ In the Circle, he was not selected to act, but rather to be a worker ‘behind the scenes’ who worked on preparing the stage and decorations. He was very interested in the ‘*Agudah*’, because he saw in it an entity to fill the idle time of young men and women, and pleasant group leisure, and the reading of a newspaper and book.

In 1934, his oldest son Romek studied at the Polytechnion in Prague. His father was concerned for his future, and decided to stop his studies and send him to The Land of Israel, to Haifa. And so the son continued and finished his studies at the Technion which was in Haifa, and he serves as an engineer for the 'Solel-Boneh' group.

Berisz Ettinger ב"ר

He was called 'Der krumer Berisz' (*Berisz the Cripple*). He was one of the *Hasidim* of the *Rebbe* of Belz, he and all the members of his household, but he did not have the fervor of *Hasidism* in him. He found spare time to read stories and legends, and he did not stay away from secular books as well.

The incident occurred during the time of the First World War. Battles occurred in the center of the city between Russians and Austrians and the Germans. The members of the household entered the house of Moshe-Michael Rad. The adults talked about the events of the war, while the little ones gathered around Berisz Ettinger, who told them stories and legends that they had never heard before. I remember an incident that took place when Berisz Ettinger saw a book by Shimon Branfeld in my hand, who was involved with analysis of Scripture. It is self-evident that the book contained many items that were heretical and serious, in Jewish tradition, that a believing Jew would not want to hear, in order not to forfeit his place in *The World to Come*. But 'Berisz the Cripple' the simple and repulsive person to look at, was not dissuaded from reading the book, and to significant wonder, he did not grunt, and did not get angry at the author and his book.

Berisz Ettinger was a 'saloon guy,' taverns in which on market days and fairs, farmers from the villages gathered and lit up cigarettes and pipes, there was the odor of (strong) drink and vomit and the voices of drunkards abounding. Berisz the Cripple was supposed to be looking after bread for his wife, his sons, daughters and grandchildren all of whom were crammed into two rooms, one of which also served as a kitchen. The house was full of furniture and bedding, and bedbugs that killed without interruption, and got into every place, the cracks in the wall and even the homes of neighbors. However, when Passover drew close, before the evening of the *Seder*, a great deal of activity began in R' Berisz's house. The women took out everything: beds, closets, tables and books, they aired everything out and cleaned everything, and the furniture and floors were washed in warm water, and the walls also were patched, and when the night of the *Seder* arrived, his family had the feeling of a good holiday just like most of the rich and wealthy families in the city, and like kings and princes, they surrounded the table and sang out their songs with a happy heart, literally fervent *Hasidism*.

Moshe Michael Rad ב"ר

He was the son of Gudl Rad. He studied Torah to an excess, and when he became eighteen years old, he married the daughter of his aunt Sarah Rachel, she is the daughter of Meir Apfelschnitt from the Vynnyky neighborhood. He had a store in the 'marketplace' and partnership in the 'Traffic' (Tobacco Sales). He became wealthy during the time of the First World War, because the kingdom of the Emperor Franz Josef II sold the cigarette tobacco to the merchants at a pre-war price, and they sold part of it at a regular price, and the rest was spirited away to the black market which blossomed vigorously.

During market days and fair days, his store was put out of business by the many farmers and...thieves that came in groups from the nearby city of Rawruska. On more normal days, and during the days of Polish rule, Mr. Melman did not have a reason to complain about the lack of buyers and absence of income. As a respected homeowner, he knew what he was worth, both from the standpoint of his connections, and also his wealth and Torah study. Accordingly, he demanded honors for himself in the Great Synagogue, when he would lead services and called to the Torah, and also honors at the time of the elections to the community council and the Municipal Council. He was a Zionist, a banner in the 'Mizrachi' Party, but was also a faithful Polish citizen, he said good things about the government, and demanded things for his own good and tranquility, in a measure that was not any reason to oppose him among his fellow Jews. He also had plenty of opponents, in the *Bet-HaMedrash*, that did not forego any opportunity to block or steal honors from him, which he claimed were his 'franchise.' Or during elections, they looked for shortcomings in him, and raised the level of anger in his spirit, it is possible that his pursuit of honors and also his wealth created the development of his opponents.

Moshe Michael loved to play chess. He spent many hours bent over the chess board in his home and in his store, occasionally customers would stand over him, and wait for him to raise his head and turn to them, and he – the player directed his spirit more than his concern for a customer.

Moshe Katz ז"ל

He was short in height as were most of his family. His father, Shmuel'tzi Katz was a Kohen in the synagogue and he was known as a short-tempered person. But Moshe'leh was quiet and very modest, he was intellectually gifted and diligent, a good son to his parents, and readily received and loved by his friends, he gave elementary lessons, and the money he earned he turned over to his parents. At the end of the school year, after work he would occasionally bring the tuition, and also any gift that was given to him by the parents of the students, but he did not go to study to prepare himself for a direction, but was entered into the law faculty, What is the surprise? After all, his brother Chaim finished his studies in history and was without work, and also no chance to get work in his field, as was the case with many of his friends.

Moshe'leh Katz became a lawyer, opened an office and the income was sufficient for him to pay rent and the excessive fees of the authorities, and he was left with only pocket money... He was not among the fiery and stormy ones (of his profession) but appointments that he took for himself – in *Keren Kayemet*, in *Hitakhdut*, in an academic group – he served seriously and with commitment. His friends loved him, not only for his modesty but also because of his honesty and love of the truth.

Moshe Sobol ז"ל

Moshe'li Sobol was a man of the book, youngest son of Shammai Sobol, a well-to-do egg merchant. Moshe'li used his father's money, especially for studies. As one of the regulars of the *Bet-HaMedrash* of the past, he was not a man of deeds. Effort and nerve were his hallmark, and he took the certain path to reach the goal. When he was young, he traveled to Vienna to study Hebrew Pedagogy from the base of Rabbi Tz. P. Khayot, and at the high school

for commerce. He traveled to Italy where he resumed studies in economics, and after receiving the degree of Doctor, he returned to our city, where there were not many opportunities for a person of his kind to get established. Here he revealed a talent for organizing group work, such as the Zionist Organizations, and the Academic Group, assisted his father in the management of his businesses, and took many strolls through the streets of the city – accompanied by male and female friends, engaging in discussions laced with humor and joking. He lived in a darkened anticipation for a better future, more purpose-oriented, and honed his skills. He was fluent in the following languages: Hebrew and German, and as usual spoke a good English and Italian, and even learned Arabic, but he did not make *aliyah* to Israel, because he lacked the nerve to do so. Also, he took no encouragement from the *aliyah* of his brother Avraham, who was older than him, who did not succeed in putting down roots in *The Land*, and returned home after a year. Close to the outbreak of the [First World] War, he tried his luck in France, but in those days, the surroundings in France was not particularly comfortable to immigrants from Eastern Europe, especially Jews, and Moshe'leh returned to Zolkiew.

His fate was like that of the entire family of Shammai Sobol and all the Jews of the city.

Mendl Metzger, מנדל

He was in the habit of signing his name as M. M. M. (Mendl Metzger, Mathematician), and his friends made fun of him by adding a fourth 'M' for (*Meshugginer*) and there were things on his back.

He only finished four years in the public school and entered a gymnasium, and his personality changed almost immediately: he became a poet, a thinker of ideas, a man of science, and he read many books, especially books of science and even delved a lot into the area of hypnosis. He tried to invent a telephone, etc. He did not stand out especially in the gymnasium, and it is certain that it was not for the lack of ability, but his interest in different areas of work, and there were many. Sometimes he would stay in class. This made no impression on him. Mickiewicz, the leading Polish poet 'left [behind] in a class, and as if Einstein had heard this and was left back in the sixth. And if it was pleasant for him, who is he to complain about his fate? In the higher classes of the gymnasium, the teacher was Professor Wohlman. Mendl grated on the teacher with his questions and observations that were aimed to prove the mistakes of the elderly teacher, and the paucity of his knowledge... His end was being forced to leave the gymnasium in Zolkiew and to go over to the Jewish gymnasium in Lvov. His mouth was full of praise about the studies there, and of the teachers, especially teachers of Hebrew subjects. During his free time, he taught mathematics to his classmates, and plain lessons to those younger than him. He earned a great deal of money, which took him out of poverty. He did not abandon mathematics, and after he completed his studies at the higher school, he signed up for the university, for mathematics. It was said of him that he failed in many tests. Is this possible? It appears that he learned and knew a lot, but not what was required for the test.

He excelled in his many works on behalf of the Revisionist Party in the city, praised Jabotinsky, and created spirits for him and his ideology, and he was entirely for the movement. But occasionally, and we do not know how or why, his fiery spirit for Zionism began to cool. After a while, it became known

in the city that Mendl Metzger was an ardent communist, and very active too. The end of this was when he got into a disagreement with the Polish police, found guilty and sent to prison for five years.

After serving out his time, he decided to return to studying. Or so he said....

(B) **The Young Ladies in our City**

The pressure of being near Lvov caused that they didn't behave like designers in their clothing, in the Polish language and in their attitudes. There were those among them who studied at the government gymnasium for boys and even reached the test for graduation. When a secular seminary for female teachers was established in the city, the young ladies studied there, but when they graduated from there, they were not able to engage in teaching, because the gates of the government schools were closed in the face of Jewish teachers, and to Jewish schools, who belonged to the network of 'culture' and a knowledge of Hebrew was required: Knowing the language, the *Tanakh*, the history of the Jews, etc., in order to work there. They spent their time sitting at the home of their parents or taking evening strolls on the principal streets of the city, especially the street that leads to the train station, in order to welcome those coming from Lvov. From time-to-time they visited 'Ravya' that the academic youth would arrange, to theater play presentations of the drama group founded by Meir Melman, to the movies, and to dance parties that were organized for Purim, Hanukkah or the night of Sylvester.

Few married at an early age, many got close to the age of thirty and up, and did not marry, part of them remained 'old maid spinsters' this may be because the men of their age were still bent over on their father's table and could not raise a family, or make a living. For marriage, a dowry was required. I will mention a few of them.

Klara Apfel ל"א

She was the only daughter of Nathan Apfel. Before noon, she studied at the gymnasium, and in the evening she developed her skill as a pianist. Apparently, she had good results with music, and participated in musical presentations, after she was fed up with sitting idly in her father's house and yearned for a young man to come and free her. She was pleasant, with blonde hair and a heavy and long braid went down her back, the daughter of a respected family, a Zionist, but she had no dowry. For a long time she went with a young Jewish judge, an 'unusual' graduate working in the government officialdom, the newest one in those years, who was invited to her city and would visit their home frequently, but it never got to the stage of a marriage. It is possible to hazard a guess that the parents had sleepless nights. Young men of her age and position, made no effort to approach her.

Fried'ka Shtiller ל"א

Who in Zolkiew did not know Fried'ka Shtiller? Many spoke of her, few took an interest in her, but there were solitary ones that were among those who came to her house. Her parents came from a village while she was a little girl. She finished her studies at the elementary school only, but she had many virtues, virtues of body and spirit, she was tall and pretty, clever and possessing charm, and a skill for heartfelt conversation. Young men from the Boys' Academy in the city, were attracted to her and paid attention to her, the limits on her knowledge did not disturb them at all. She was also ignored at dance parties, but her friends were like radishes in the eyes of boys her age, equivalent to her in knowledge. They were not ready to forgive her the betrayal of the 'elite' and took revenge on her, laughed at her, reminded her of her village roots, counted her years. They added to them, and she minimized her contact with them, and very few knew the truth. They said that when the hour came for those of age in 1905, who stood to be examined for service in the Polish army, and spent long nights running around the streets of the city, as was usual, in order to punish their bodies so they would not be fit for military service, they would remember her, and knock on her window, and invited her to come out with them, because, she also was born in 1905...

Chaya Zinger, ח'י

By Henya Graubart (Zinger)

My sister Chay'tcheleh, was so beautiful and cherished, quiet and dedicated with her whole soul to her home and parents. We wanted for her to be on the 'Christian side' so she can be rescued, but inside her, a fear so strong of the S. S., and the Ukrainians within her, to the point that she trembled out of terror, enmity and revulsion, even if she saw them from a distance.

As the youngest daughter, in our house she was bound to a good and precious faith and remained with her parents in the Zolkiew ghetto, at the time when I and my groom went to the camp at Mosty'. It was our intent to bring our family over there, but while we were busy making an effort to get permissions for them, I received a letter from Chay'tcheleh. With an aching heart I read her letter in which it was clear that she had written it with a trembling hand. She said that she was sick with Typhus and her temperature was 41.6 Deg C, but despite this, she was taking care of her beloved parents who had also contracted the same dangerous disease. Before we had a chance to connect with them, the third *Aktion* fell upon us like a thunderclap on a clear day. My groom and I succeeded in saving ourselves when an *Aktion* was carried out in mosty. But what was the point of remaining alive. I was so repulsed by them, when the deadly news reached us that in the *Aktion* that was carried out in Zolkiew, my sister Chay'tcheleh and my dear parents were taken out of their hideout, and with them all the precious martyrs that were in the ghetto. They were transported to 'Boork' and killed there.

From that time on, a picture of my three precious ones did not leave my eyes. When I wake up from a night dream, I think that I saw them, all of them, my mother, father, and sister, holding hands and kissing each other at the threshold of the pit beside the 'Boork of Zolkiew,' when a transgressing and a forever accursed hand is holding a rifle and shoots them with the bullets of death. I am agitated and frightened that I always see them in my dream, I cry, I am angry with myself that I was not with them, I feel personally guilty, my heart tells me that instead of living, I should have been together with them. But despite it all, what could I do? I continue to live and I am not fit to do anything, just to cry for them, and to write down these few modest and pale words dedicated to their memory!

Regina Orlander ז"ל

She was my aunt's daughter. She lost her father while still young, and with the help of her uncles, brothers of her father, and with help from us, we added her to our family, and she succeeded in completing the Teachers Seminary I, our city during a few years, until the invasion of the Nazis, and she was a religious teacher of Jewish History in the government school in our city, in Mosty' and Zolkiew. She was cherished and beautiful, beloved by friends and family, it is possible to say she was a complete person, but how bitter was her part in this cruel war.

Even after the second *Aktion* we met from time-to-time and suddenly all traces of her vanished. I also left the city, and we no longer met during those terrible days. After liberation, when after all the tribulations and troubles that I withstood, I returned to my city, I was surprised and gladdened to find out that Regina was still alive, and can be found with a farmer named Zakus, who lived in Vynnyky (The Christian neighborhood in Zolkiew).

I went to see her, and found a woman with a broken heart and soul, In the small village hut of the farmer Zakus (who used to deliver milk to their house) she shoed me her hideout, under the floor, beside the oven in the kitchen, and she spent almost two years there. She told how the Ukrainian endangered his life and the lives of his children, and how he helped her flee the hands of the murderers. I proposed that she now join us, because we are leaving this City of Death and we will build a life anew. In exhaustion and full of worry she then sais: 'now it is exactly before the harvest, when there is so much work for the farmers, both in the fields and at home, how can I leave him and his children? At this time, she felt a need, after liberation, to thank him and reward him that at a time of fear, worry and the danger of death, that he suffered all the time she was in the hideout. She said that after the harvest, she will come to us.

But to our sorrow, even after the harvest of the grain, she didn't manage to reach us, because a malignant hand shortened her young life. A few weeks after the liberation, on one night, armed *Banderovists* (a band of Ukrainian nationalists, named for their leader Stepan Bandera) attacked the house of Zakus, and killed Regina with shots, severely wounded Zakus and his children. These contemptible murderers wanted to punish and take revenge against a Ukrainian that had the nerve to rescue a Jewish woman. That is how she paid for the will to live with the one who saved her. The gentiles buried her in the Christian cemetery, because there already was no more room for dead Jews, just as there was no more room for living Jews.

May her soul be bound up among all the martyrs of our city, she too, fell as a victim of the Holocaust and to the evil deeds of the Nazi murderers.

Itta Vitlin, ז"ל

Itta was one of my friends at the school of the 'HaShomer Ha'Tzair' movement. I loved her. I remember her, gay and happy and there was always a song in her mouth. During the time of the Holocaust, I met her twice. At our last meeting, she was already living in a slaughterhouse on *ul. Sokorna* opposite

the home of the Kayitz family. The song had already left her mouth, and in its place there was tension. At that time, we spoke a great deal about our wretched and poor circumstances. Even her holy soul was taken in one of the *Aktionen*

Sarah Orlander, ש"י

This took place at the time that the Ukrainian militia, with the help of the Jewish police, detained the Jews designated with a 'D.' I went over to the window in our house, and looked at the square of the *Rynek* and saw a scene that was shocking and even today, is stuck deeply in my heart: A policeman led the Orlander family, which lived beside the church, and they walked in one line, the mother Sarah Orlander, a good-hearted woman, her daughter Dvora (Duzh'eh), her husband who also was marked with the sign 'D, at a time when no person saw that this was a death sign, and their two children Itzl'li eight years old, and Ruthie who was three. All of them carried large bundles, because then, at the first *Aktion*, they still deceived them, as it is said, to the selected ones, and advised them to get ready for life in a camp. They didn't think, and nobody believed that they were brought here because they are being taken straight to the furnace – to Belzec. And a Jewish man entirely did not believe that the German nation was capable of killing old people, women and children; even after rumors began to spread about this, they still could not believe them.

I closed the shutters. All the families that lived in our house gathered in one room, and with a broken heart we prayed for them and for us, and all of this event was eye-witnessed until this terrible day passed, and new days arrived with new troubles.

Feiga Baumwohl ש"י

She was my closest and most beloved friend, being loved and adored by everyone who knew her and recognized her both at school and in the youth movement. Everyone adored her, because she was trained, intelligent and performed good deeds. She was the only daughter of poor parents, two or three daughters died even before the war, and accordingly they loved her and guarded her like the pupil of an eye.

After the second *Aktion*, at the time the streets were cleaned around the ghetto specified by the Gestapo, Feiga contracted Typhus and was sent to the municipal hospital on *ul. Szpitalna*. My sorrow was great at that time, and I felt even more sorrow for the hapless parents since this was their only daughter, hanging between life and death. Using bribery and several efforts, I was able to obtain ten bottles of glucose from the pharmacist Friedman, and I brought them to the hospital. This was the last time I saw the face of my precious friend, and I cannot pull myself away from that scene: She was lying in bed, white as snow, her body burned with a fever of 41 Deg. C. Her face was red, and her eyes burned. A nurse, who was a nun, would not permit me to get close to her bed. Despite the high fever, she recognized me suddenly, picked up her hand and called to me, she asked that her mother be told that it is good where she is. I stayed there for a little under an hour, and then walked to my house. I turned over the glucose to the hospital office, in accordance with management orders. She was unable to get the benefit of it. The following morning she returned her soul to her Maker.

Many blessed her memory, and many even envied her because she died an easy death from the disease – and was shielded from the suffering of this whole world, needed for life. I am certain that all her friends, male and female, from Zolkiew, who are today still with us, remember her name in a good, positive way. May her memory be for a blessing.

Brunya Cohen ז"ר

Brunya Cohen was one of the most beloved and accepted in our group. She was full of energy, fervor, and an amazing organizational skill. Even under the most difficult conditions, she attained her objectives, and no pitfall stopped her. Brunya Cohen succeeded in organizing the first kindergarten for Jewish children in our city, she nurtured it, and worked for it with great commitment. During the Soviet conquest, she worked as a manager of one of the ‘*Soyuz*’ units. We worked there, also myself, her brothers Akiva and Avraham Schwartz. She married a Hebrew teacher and moved to live in Gorodok-Jagilunski.

Brunya and her husband were seized by the Nazis in the second *Aktion*. On her last path in a train to Belzec, her proud heart caused her to write a letter and succeeded in handing it over to our hands as the train went by Zolkiew. Here is the contents of the letter:

We are tired of this dog's life, we are going towards death in the hope that our brethren in The Land will take vengeance on our behalf.

Goodbye from Brunya

We spoke a great deal about this letter, about her last words, of our murdered friend, and we cried bitterly about her fate. May her memory be for a blessing.

Ephraim Waldman (son of Borsz and Rivka) ז"ר

Waldman was a Jewish policeman of the *Judenrat*. His objective was to help the Ukrainian militia and the *Gestapo* in carrying out the horrors as a betrayal of his brethren. He did not refrain from all of the deeds that he was forced to do. It is not my intention to judge our brethren for their deeds which they carried out in those days. This was a great victory for Nazism that it succeeded to force people to behave like animals. However, we will be mistaken if according to human nature we will be tempted to completely darken the image of those who exceeded and betrayed. In all conditions a man cannot be entirely humane. But yet, we confronted the pure Jewish soul of the policeman Ephraim Waldman, whose conduct that was forced upon him because of the situation at that time, and pushed it to an extreme, but did not sabotage it.

The matter took place during the First *Aktion* on Friday in the morning of 3/15/1942. Ukrainian militiamen together with Jewish policemen (at that time S. S. Men did not take part in the activity), went out with a list labeled from the *Judenrat*, to gather up the families of the men who received the label ‘D’ during the physical examination, that is: they are not fit for work. Among those included in Ephraim Waldman's list was the family of the Rabbi Herzl

Back, the son-in-law of Joseph Anglesberg, who lived in one house with us. Herzl Back was the Rabbi of Blowicza-Krolewska. He married Miriam Anglesberg, and they had ten children ranging from age 3 to age 15, who, during the time of the soviet conquest, received the Stalin Prize for 'increasing the population.' All ten of the children were loved a lot and pleasant. I can even still remember their names, and even their inscription in the list of martyrs at *Yad VaShem*. With the entry of the Nazis to Lubicza, the Rabbi underwent a night of horrible torture in the gateway of the synagogue that was put Blowicza-Krolewska, st the hands of the wild animals at the gates to the synagogue (among the rest, they were forced to go through two rows of soldiers who beat them for the entire way), but despite this, he succeeded by a miracle, to reach his family alive with his large family, to Zolkiew and the home of his father-in-law. However since his house had been seized (the family of Itta'leh Honig and Sima Katz and her sons lived there) we took them into our house with the help of good people and the *Judenrat* who bestowed their pity on this hapless Jewish family, and matters somehow got settled.

On that same terrible Friday, Suddenly Ephraim Waldman ש"י entered our house with a Ukrainian militiaman, and they were told to pack up bundles (in this *Aktion* it was still necessary to carry bundles by those taken, because it was before they knew they were going to be exterminated at Belzec). The Rabbi, his wife and ten small children were ready to go, suddenly something occurred that no man anticipated: Ephraim Waldman burst into tears, and pushed the Ukrainian militiaman who came with him, aside, and held a discussion with him for a few seconds silently and mumbled 'I cannot take them, I cannot take them' and left our room with the Ukrainian militiaman, without the Rabbi's family. The Rabbi who had just been saved just now from a mortal danger whispered 'Bless God each and every day,' sat down beside the table in front of an open volume of Gemara and unified himself with The Holy One Blessed Be He, through Torah study. The Rabbi and his family saved their lives for several months, but they were all exterminated n the Second *Aktion*. May their memory be for a blessing.

The memory of the emotional reaction by Ephraim Waldman in this instance has not parted with me, and I cannot pass over him and not remember him as one of the martyrs of our City.

Shammai Rapaport ש"י

By Zutra Rapaport

My father was born in Rawa-Ruska, and reached Zolkiew at the beginning of the twentieth century from the town of Mosty'-Wielki, and was counted there among the *Hasidim* of the town ADMo'R.

In Zolkiew, he married a daughter of Michael Feier who owned a known inn on *ul. Glinski*. When his firstborn son was born ,he was then already over fifty, and my father donated a Torah Scroll to the synagogue in Ziditshov, parts of which were written by his own hand, and from that time on, he was one of the regular worshipers at that synagogue, even though he lived far away from there. He would even lead services there. He derived great pleasure from dancing while holding the Torah scroll during the *Hakafot* on *Simchat Torah*. He dressed the Torah scroll in a red velvet covering, covered with decorations and letters woven from pure gold, which he had ordered especially from Vienna, the capitol of Austria. Because of the Rabbi's effort they arranged to keep the Torah cover in a special hiding place during the First World War.

The people adored my father because of his refined soul and good mood, his modesty and simplicity; Because of this he was known as a lover of his fellow man, and possessing a generous heart, and he regularly provided the poor in his town with food that he personally collected from those who knew him, a task in which his sons would periodically join him. He spent most of his time out of his house, at a location where he was appointed as an inspector of wood cut in the forest, which were designated to be sent out of the county.

Despite his very strict religious behavior, my father showed a lot of patience with two of his sons that belonged to two groups of competing *Halutzim*, And I recall how he would donate to two collection boxes that he permitted to be hung in our house, the box of ‘*Keren Kayemet L’Israel*,’ and the box of ‘*Keren Tel Chai*’ in order not to offend the sensibilities of his two sons. Even though he was closely tied to the cadre of *Haredim*, my father did not force his *aliyah* to the Holy Land when the Messiah came, and even if he wished for him to come, he did dream of making *aliyah* to the Land of Israel.

After I made *aliyah* to *The Land*, my father took care of the connection with letters between us. In his letters, which stresses the purity of the Hebrew language, a language in which he was fluent, he shows an interest in what was being done in *The Land* in general. I still remember the fear that he conveyed in his letters during the events of 1936-1939 when I was already serving in the police of the Mandate Government.

My father died in the year 1940 when Zolkiew was under the Russian conquest, and he refused all the means of sustaining himself and remaining alive, and in this fashion he was saved from the talons of the Nazis, a fate that fell upon my mother, sister, and the rest of the members of my family.

R' Zalman Shapiro, ז"ל

By Shoshana Selakh (Harbster)

Oh, I had a precious uncle,
God-fearing, a *Hasid* and honest;
My uncle was designated as the city *Shokhet*
And he did his work faithfully.

“Give me the money that you got today as pay,”
And if not – I will stab you to death!

He returned once from a nearby village,
There he had slaughtered a cow of a village Jew,
He traveled in the wagon of a gentile,
He made his way at night through the forest.

Suddenly the gentile unsheathed a knife
Waved it towards my uncle and rasped:

But my holy and pure uncle,
Was of a brave heart and a strong man,
He seized the gentile by the throat
And took the knife out of his hand.

The gentile was amazed at the man's strength
And the murderous anger quickly subsided in him;
He sat silently in the wagon
And regretted the conspiracy that he tried...

My uncle took the reins in his hands, and urged
The horse to go quickly into the city;
There, they put the gentile in a dungeon
To await his punishment as the law says.

What Zolkiew Looks Like Today

By Shimon Samet

(Notes of a tour of the city, May 1965)

What happened to the city where I was born, that city of Zolkiew that in 'those days' I recognized every street and alley, every house and store, and every road and path – whether by the light of day or the darkness of night? My people were exterminated in my city, and the city itself – what happened to it? Here, I am again within its gates, treading its streets, centers and corners, and my city has become an alien city to me, strange and odd, and I wander in it seeing no relative or friend, and no one I recognize or know. Everything is foreign, that its silent appearance pressures to the core everyone of its faithful scions who so loved his city who was so bonded to it. Even its name is different: instead of Zolkiew its name today is 'Nastorov.' I came here twice to see it, one through a special permit of the Soviet authorities in Lvov, that I received after strenuous efforts for my visit to 'our' Galicia (in the month of May 1965(and another time (after a few days) without permission, as a 'wanderer' – without a real escort.

The first time, I entered Zolkiew on a gloomy day and by way of the road to Lvov-Zolkiew, riding in an actual taxi of the Soviet 'Intourist,' armed with a pass that if I was without it, entry into the cities and villages of Galicia was strictly forbidden. Two cities are permissible to visit today in a visit to Eastern Galicia of the past, that today are part of greater Ukraine, whose capitol city is Kiev and one of its larger cities: Lvov. Not long ago, Eastern Galicia was part of Soviet Eastern Galicia (to differentiate from past Western Galicia – that is today Polish (called 'Western Ukraine' (*Zapadnaya Ukraina*)), but even the 'memory' of this has been erased from the language of the Soviet Union. Also, 'our' Zolkiew is a Ukrainian city (more correctly to say: a Ukrainian town) and she is completely that in every sense of the word, since very few Poles remain in it, and only three Jews (one man and two women).

The two cities that one is permitted to visit (if the entity is specially noted in the Soviet visa), and they are: Lvov and Tarnopol (Tarnopol of the past), because it is only in these two cities does *'Intourist'* have a permit to enter, and here also there are hotels in which tourists are able to stay. Our Zolkiew is 'off limits' for strangers, but somehow I managed to obtain the required permit, because of which I am now able to travel to the city on a proper road, as on both sides of the road there were pretty fields of the beginning of summer. We pass Kulikovo, the city of 'Kulikovo bread' well known (again, 'in those days'), a town in which Jews actually lived and some made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel. The turrets of the two large churches can be seen from a distance, and when I ask the driver, my escort, if they are still used for prayer, he replied, 'perhaps these are depleted old people, who still believe that their God is able to vanquish the law of Lenin.'

In brooding contemplation I enter Zolkiew, where on the right side of the road is the joint cemetery of the Jews who were killed – who were citizens of the city: a mass grave of the martyrs of murder and asphyxiation, stoning and burning that fell into the hands of the exterminating Nazi, and on the left: a broad tract of land of the house of Tauba which in the past (the family of David Tauba) and the large storage for wood that he had. Today, there is no remains of the wood business, in its place are residential buildings and storage facilities. On the road to enter Zolkiew from the Lvov road, the right side is covered in small houses, without being groomed and frail in their external appearance, and some have well groomed property. One sees here a number of cabins that hadn't changed since then. My guide explains to me, that *Nastorov* is a provincial city in every sense of the word. It does not have its own surroundings – no factories and no factory workers. It survives on its citizenry, and those who come from surrounding villages, the largest of which is Glinski. Most of the Polish citizenry that remained in it, left when the war ended, some as craftsmen to Poland, and some to houses in Lvov, and only very few Poles remained. 'This is a typical Ukrainian village of no artistic importance' – the guide told me.

There, the street takes us to the inside of the city that remained as before: Lvovska (*Lvovska ulitsa* – written on the sign in Ukrainian, since all the signs are written in Ukrainian only). I turn and cast my glance to the right side of the road, in order to see three buildings which I knew well, in which I spent my childhood years at very close intervals. I observed the housing style, and the oil factory of Patrontacz and Melman and also the inn building of Indyk. Of the three, only two remained standing and these were of Patrontacz and Melman, each containing a factory, whose condition I could not determine for lack of time. Both are surrounded by yards, with many kegs inside them. Indyk's house no longer exists, the parcel is empty. I turn my glance to the left, and look for the house of the Radatza Fish, and the orphanage (*Das Wohnhaus*) but there is no trace of any of this. A building stands there appearing to me a building of government offices. My glance turns to the entry to the 'Three Martyrs'. The building is standing, but very neglected, and on the entry gate – a lock. Wave of nose go around me, and my thoughts are running through the spaces of my head, when I pass by the house of our *Rebbe*, that you could reach was once *ul. Szpitalna*, and afterward *ul. Dr. Moszkat* in which my family lived for a number of years, and in it was also the municipal hospital, and on the left side I 'search' for the large inn of the past, which belonged to the Falafler family.

I ask the driver to stop beside the large elementary school opposite the Falafler house and across from the old municipal garden (*Der Alter Wahl*) in order to visit the school where I was taught. At least here, there was not much substantive change: the building continues to serve as a school, but not a public elementary school, but rather an intermediate level school, named for Mickiewicz (incidentally: the highly praised Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz is well

received today, just as he was during the days of past Galicia, with the observation that he was a strong fighter for the freedom of nations, lover of the common man, and would use his pen to glorify working people.’ And his standard was in the center of the city of Lvov, and remains there as always, cared for very much by the government of Soviet Ukraine). The school is called ‘*Serednaya Szkola*,’ and two sessions are taught there, one day and one night. I visited the interior of the building, and I even went into a classroom in which I once studied, but the teachers – were new, and as usual, they knew nothing about the city of Zolkiew of the past. 95% of the students are Ukrainian and the children of Russian officials, and only about 5% are of Polish extraction. There is not a single Jewish child in the school. The large church beside the school (near the entrance to *ul. Turinycka*) had no change to its external appearance. I could not clarify what went on in this church, because the gate was closed and when I asked the building watchman if I could visit inside the church, he answered curtly: only on Sundays. I turn to the *ul. Turinycka* of the past, and throw a glance at the street sign, and read: *Ulitsa Khmelnitskaya* (In Ukrainian the street of Chmielnicki). I remember the way to this street very well, it leads to Mosty’-Wielki. My grandfather’s bakery once stood here, and a broad expanse spread out and the storage facility for wood belonging to Hochner, and in one of the side streets (on the left) in his time, my good friend Zelig Ka’Tz lived there, who studied with his grandmother, in the baking of *konditorei*. Two-to-three houses further from the house of the grandmother of Zelig Ka’Tz (who today is a successful doctor in the United States) there stood a prayer house of my father that was called ‘*Kadetnschule*’. I turn there in order to reach the Great Synagogue, and here in front of an empty expanse, it is open to anyone. The houses are not there, the path over to the Great Synagogue is open that was once the pride and glory of our city, a museum-like building (Emmanuel Chai in his day wrote a poem of praise about it) that people from near and far were impressed by the external beauty, and inner glory.

Woe unto the eyes that now see this Hall of God in its neglect, wreckage, with burnt and scorched holes – instead of windows, the entry gate is sealed off with boards, there is practically no trace of the plaster on the walls, decorative ornaments as if they never were that, and graceful stones broken and smashed. There is no way in, and no stairs, piles of sand and mud are all around, they are sad and appear like death. I stand across from the Great Synagogue – I am completely stunned, sorrowful and pressed down. Master of Worlds – what did he have in store for this glorious Synagogue of ours. A light rain is falling; it looks like tears of the building stones, of the cellars of the sacred ‘*shamot*,’ that were burned and slaughtered; am I dreaming, or is this a summer illusion? It is as if I am hearing a loud voice coming out of the locked Synagogue: ‘Let R’ Shimon ben-Yaakov rise! Let him come up to the Torah and bless the minimal remnants remaining from this sacred fortress.’ I shut my eyes to tears, and with the eyes of my soul I see the *Priestly Blessing* and prayer that surrounds the Synagogue, around which the scions of the city recline, its Parnassim and Gabbaim its elders and its young people wrapped in prayer shawls reciting prayers. Are these prayer shawls or burial shrouds?



בית הכנסת הגדול בחורבנו (מראה המזרח)

Page 813: *The Great Synagogue in Ruin (Central View)*

A passer-by from the city sees me sunk in thought and asks in Ukrainian what happened to me, why are there tears in my eyes, and whom am I looking for? I tell him the truth, that I am a scion of this city who left its gates more than ten years ago, and have now returned to see it again, and I see it in ruins, emptied of everything. He shakes his head to indicate pity, and mumbles quietly: 'nothing remains here of you, there is nothing to search for, I am sorry for your expressions of sorrow.' The man himself is not from Zolkiew, but was brought here from a distant place, from Greater Ukraine, to work on a farm to raise cattle, but he had heard 'something' about this city as it was like once.

With his help, I draw near to the Synagogue and succeed in glancing inside: desolate and empty, abandoned, frightening, it is as if the reverberations of howling burst forth from the depths... and around us there is not a trace of our past. The nearby *Bet HaMedrash* vanished entirely. What happened to the 'Tall Meir' the *shammes*? I recollected that opposite the entry gate to the Synagogue, a cut platform stood belonging to the family of Michael Lichter – there is no trace of it. In its place stands a poor hut of a repairer of shoes. The house of the Zimmerman family remains standing as a memorial to the destruction. Close to the front of the Great-Broad Synagogue I saw a pile of tiles. Passers-by and returnees did not know how to answer my question as to whether or not they plan to restore the building.

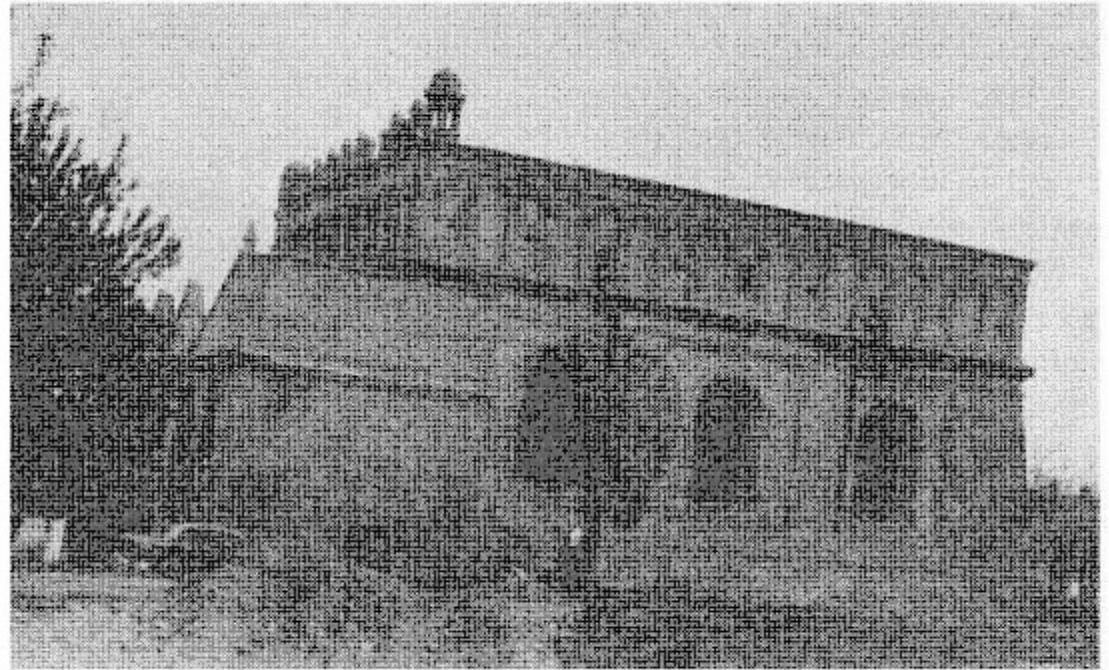
I was reminded that beside the Zimmerman house there was an alley crossover to the baker's street. I walk through this alley, reaching the bakers' street, and find that only the left side of this street is sparsely populated. And see a wonder: the Belz *Kloyz* that was in the middle of this street was not destroyed like the houses. Even the house of Shammai Sobol stands and was only lightly damaged, but in other houses on the right side of the street (including the house of my aunt Malka Bloch) disappeared from sight. I peer into the Belz *Kloyz* and see that it has been transformed into a store for salted fish. The stink of the salted fish fills the air space around. My head is dizzy. My glance wanders from left to right: all alien. On the way over to Shammai Sobol's house stand the church with the sparkling copper rooftop. I cross myself even though I have no permission to do this. A Ukrainian boy follows my footsteps, and asks rapidly: Tourist? American? Give me some cigarettes! I was reminded that in the neighborhood of this place, downstairs, stood the house of my aunt Fried'ka Shtiller, and here I am walking past that house (according to my memory, opposite the *Ziditshov Kloyz*) and the house is not there. In its place stands an elementary school. I reached the place exactly when there was a break in classes. The children were joyous and happy. I said in my heart: what do I have to do with this happiness, and I fled the place to over the 'Magistrate' beside which as in the past, there still stands (with almost no injury) the home of my parents, on the Tailors' Street. Today the street is called '*ulitsa Czekhova*.'

Along my way I pass beside the store of Moshe Acker (today: a commercial edifice for writing supplies and to books about the heroic battle of the Red Army), beside the Café of the three Wilder sisters (today: a commercial building for proletarian linens); beside the pharmacy of Dadlitz (today: a pharmacy for veterinary medicines).

I cross the road beside the saloon of Shammai Ungar and by way of the house yard, I reach *ul. Krawycka*, this is the house of my father (at the right edge of the street) and the old garden (on its left edge). There are very few houses standing for the entire length of the street, and the rest of the empty land parcel is gated off. I approach my family's home, trembling, I grew up there and was educated there over a period of years. The House – 'the very same house' despite being identified, it had not been maintained and cleaned for some time. They have not yet sealed off the openings to the cellar in which we would

store coal for heating in winter, and we used to play hide-and-peek with our parents. This house remained practically by itself for the length of this side of the street.

As I stood in front of the house that appeared to me as a memory parcel, suddenly I hear the voice of a woman in Ukrainian: Whom are you looking for? In front of me, stood a woman in typical Ukrainian clothing, and looked me over in amazement. 'I am seeking my yesterday here, my youth' – I said to her. I detected that she had not gotten to the bottom of my thought.



בית־הכנסת הגדול בחזרובנו

Page 815/816: The Great Synagogue in its state of ruin

Is your house here? She gaped and pointed to the house. It was here – I replied while adding a question: where is your house? Here, on the second floor, she pointed apathetically over to our house of yore. That is to say, she lived with us – I mumbled. The woman became frightened, and nervously asked: have you returned here to take back your house? I calmed her down, by telling her that was not my intent, and I told her that I came to see the home of my youth, perhaps for the last time in my life. The woman's eyes cleared. 'Ahah' – she called out with a Russian broad heart, and invited me into her house that at one time was the house of my parents. We entered into the room with the gloomy staircase, and standing there on the entry stairs stood a large primus stove, and on it was a pail with laundry, and two children were amusing themselves by jumping from the uncle and around him. And here I am standing in the middle of the house that once had two rooms and a wide room for entry, and heard that at this time, two families are living here with shared conveniences. The fat furniture, the tight space, and there is the odor of onions in the room, cabbage, and other vegetables. The walls were bare, at one time a picture of the Kaiser Franz Josef hung on them (over my father's bed). The women of the two families and their children (the husbands were at work at the time) gathered around me and quietly followed after our discussion. 'He once lived here', the Ukrainian woman whispered to her friend with and added an inaudible phrase, 'but he is not one of us.'

I told the lady owner of the house, that I had come from the Land of Israel and she asked me if 'that is far from the city'. I explained to her that this was a Holy-Land and she then knelt, crossed herself three times and mumbled: 'This is after all the land of the Lord and his Messiah Jesus, the land of Bethlehem and Nazareth.' Afterwards she asked me if I am a 'man of the Holy Church' and asked me to leave her a coin from the Holy Land. We parted as if we were old friends, and the Ukrainian woman asked me that if I return to the Holy Land, I should say a prayer for her and all the members of her family.

From here, my legs took me to the surroundings of the *Rynek*, as I am walking along the length of the street where there once used to be my father's watchmaker's store, the store of the Borer family, the butcher store that sold pork, the home of Hai-Wilder, the pharmacy underneath the overpass with columns, the store for the sale of tobacco essentials, and newspapers, belonging to Nathan Apfel, and a row of other stores whose owners I have since forgotten.

The 'principal' road is still operating almost as if unharmed, but the cooperative stores along its length – are very poor. My father's store was converted to a consumer store. On the plot opposite the network of stores 'in our day' there were solid structures (for residential and business use), on top of columns with wide thruways. As of today, the eastern side of the buildings has been torn down, but the buildings of the second side are still standing as in the past, the block of the houses in which the Lifschitz family used to live.

The widened parcel that used to serve as a place for the entrance of the area farmers with their wagons to sell their

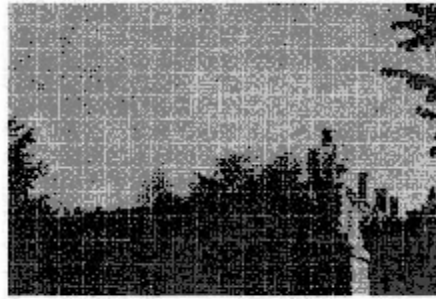


בית משפחת סאמט

Page 817: The House of the Samet Family

produce, was turned into a pleasure garden, in the middle of which Lenin's flag flaps in the breeze, and beside it, is a list of names on boards that record 'heroes of labor' on their pictures. Beside each one of them, the details of their excellence are recorded, according to the branch of work, and the size of the annual production.

The *kazamatim*²²⁹ are still *kazamatim* but without the past. Today, the local government offices and the you barely sense that it is there. The road to the train mostly inhabited by high officials in the government mention that I visited the 'Magistrate' building where services now occupy these places to a room with certainly for something else. In the area of the (opposite the magistrate building) leads today to a expression: 'Univarmark'. I stroll a bit tin the new cast my glance at the heights of the magnificent *Ha'* related person with me.



פסל לנין בכיכר הרינקובסקי

Page 818: A Statue of Lenin in the Rynek Square

What else should I look for here? What else can I place I was born and spent my youth. I left the town in a somber mood like the one when I entered its gates. I was saddened by seven times when I exited its gates, in that I knew that will never return here again, literally like those days will never return to it again...

classes of the intermediate school that had been there in the court are there. The water fountain has decreased its size and is attractive like today, because of its small houses, and are echelons, and the professional union. In passing, I must we would spend lovely evenings in the 'Kultur Union'. City closed windows having their windows closed – used today buildings whose supports burned were standing solidly large expanse, and its center 'having everything' is a Soviet garden (do you remember the park?) Enjoying the fresh air, *Ari* – but in each and every place, I am alone having no

find here? – I ponder. The past has been erased from the

place I was born and spent my youth. I left the town in a somber mood like the one when I entered its gates. I was saddened by seven times when I exited its gates, in that I knew that will never return here again, literally like those days will never return to it again...

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Window casements.

The Émigrés of Zolkiew in The Land and Diaspora

יציאת זולקייב בארץ ובתפוצות

'The Organization of Zolkiew Émigrés' in Israel

By Zutra Rapaport

(1956 - 1966)

A. In the Land

In the early twenties of the 20th century, when the reverberation of 'The Balfour Declaration' began to reach the extensive Diaspora, and tens of Jewish youth oriented their faces to a place to come in the future where one could build a house, and an independent nation of Jews, it did not miss the Jewish youth of Zolkiew, wh were among those who came. They left their city and both directly and indirectly attempted to make *aliyah* to the Land of Israel, and take part in its reconstruction. Their abilities did not align to the difficult conditions of *The Land*, which they had not carried as a burden on their shoulders in the past, and there was no other alternative but to return to the world from which they came. After ten years, an overly large group of *Halutzim* made *aliyah* to *The Land*, and succeeded more than their predecessors, and many of its people settled down in *The Land*, and only very few returned home. The ranks of the *HeHalutzim* movement in Zolkiew began to grow, and the movement of the youth arose one after another, most because of their membership in the movement, but there were single people who were moved by the sense in their hearts; to make *aliyah* and to live in the Land of Israel.

The spiritual arousing of the Jewish youth began principally because of the difficulties of being in exile, which only increased, and they went on and got stronger. The anti-Semitism of the Polish government, the Polish 'Endekist' movement and the nationalist movement of the Ukrainians who took on the goal to dispossess the Jews in the south of Poland for their position in the area of commerce, strongly aroused the economic bases and planted, in the hearts of Jewish youth the feeling that their place in the Diaspora will not be recognized any longer, and out of the need to clarify a solution that would permit them a normal live without a collapse, and there was only one solution: to the east, to The Land of Israel. But even in making *aliyah* after the difficulty of suffering in their lives in alien surroundings, and by their rapping on the gates of *The Land*, they were forced to struggle to enter there, in the face of the limits that the Mandate government placed on them. But if the power of the limitation was to damage the *aliyah*, it couldn't do it, and it accomplished nothing and did not affect the anger of the British. In the period of this *aliyah*, especially in the years of 1934-1939 until the outbreak of the war, there were tens of arrivals that came from the ranks of the Zolkiew *Halutzim*. Mat of them came in *aliyah* 'Bet' that began in those years, some as students that came to enrich their knowledge in the higher institutions of learning in the Land of Israel, or at the 'request' of their relatives who had become citizens in the *Land*, and there were those that established themselves as people of means whose *aliyah* was more easy, All of these who came by certificates of the Jewish *Sokhnut* that they received from the 'HeHalutz Center.'



סנישת חלוצים מ'זולקייב בתל-אביב — 1936
מטמאל ליטין: ב. קירשנר מ. ליפשיץ, ח. סרבר ז. ליכטר
י. כץ, י. שליטין, פ. כץ, ז. רפפורט, י. הייטלין, ר. ליכטנברג

Page 824: A Meeting of Zolkiew Halutzim in
Tel-Aviv – 1936

(From LtoR): B. Kirschner, M. Lifschitz, Kh. Serber,
N. Lichter, Y. Katz, Y. Shlitin, P. Katz, Z. Rapaport,
Y. Hystein, R. Lichtnberg

The motto of ‘Conquest of the Jewish Labor’ in the settlements found a ready ear among those coming to The *Land*. These were people that were taken into agricultural work, especially in the parks, but after a short tenure in the settlements, they mostly left to the big cities, Tel-Aviv and Haifa where they engaged in the building trades, this sector had a surplus of places to work, and the salary was even higher than that of the agricultural work, and encouraged the young workers to go over to the city. The vibrant life of the city also created wandering from the settlements, there, group work was very limited. Tel-Aviv at that time was ‘Little Tel-Aviv’, that served the arrivals with a domain and the international air that was so severely missing for the Jews of the Diaspora, which they looked for from the minute of their arrival, and you will not wonder that they were so happy to live in it from the minute they found it. Only a small group of the *Halutzim* from Zolkiew went off to the *Kibbutzim*, even though their aliyah did not obligate them to do this at all.

This joint group of the youth from Zolkiew settled in Tel-Aviv and its surroundings encouraged them to continue their group identity as asked by their father and from their town, and they would meet frequently in the streets of the city, at the beach, or at the house of friends. The happiness increased when members entered the home of the Samet family on Prague Street in Tel-Aviv. Most of the émigrés Most of the arrivals from Zolkiew knew her while still in their town in Poland, and in making *aliyah* to the Land, they were anxious to visit her, and they were privileged to enjoy a warm reception of guests. There, on Prague Street, we documented memories of days past, each told one another whose *aliyah* was imminent, who has already arrived, and where he plans to settle. The sense of fraternity and the willingness to help the people at large was an important basis for scions of Zolkiew in the Land, and many of those who arrived were helped with a full embrace. This fraternal bond continued for a long time, until all most all of the *olim* from Zolkiew established families and were privileged to permanently settle down in various places of the *Land* and the bond between them began to weaken.

A large wave of *olim* from Zolkiew got to Israel only after the nation was established. The remnants of the destroyed town arrived , survivors of the camps in Europe, after the rule of the Russians moved them at the time the city was captured. Even of those who wandered after the war to cross the sea, in the end, shortened their wandering, packed up their belongings and oriented themselves toward the *Land*. Many of them were exhausted as if to seven tribulations from their wanderings, but after a number of years of living in the Land went by, they became acclimated to life in the Land. Today, there are about 170 families that come from Zolkiew and they take a large part in the work of the nation: in commerce, manufacture, being an official, giving direction, agriculture, journalism, in the Israeli Army and police of Israel. People from Zolkiew live in all parts of the Land, and they are spread out as follows:

In Cities and Settlements:

Tel-Aviv	54	Yarkona	2
Haifa	36	Ramleh	1
Ramat-Gan	9	Ness-Ziona	1
Bet-Yam	8	Rishon LeZion	1
Holon	7	Ashkelon	1

Jerusalem	6	Hadera	1
Be'er Sheva	6	Atlit	1
Netanya	5	Tvaon	1
Givatayim	4	Gav-Yam	1
Herzlia	3	Kfar Hasidim	1
Rehovot	3	Kfar Atta	1
Petakh Tikva	2	Acre	1
Ra'anana	2	Hatzor	1
Bnei Brak	2	Nazareth	1
Masimya	2		

In the *Kibbutzim*:

Nir-David	2	Hama'afil	1
Kvutzat Geva	1	Mishmar HaSharon	1
		Ramat-Yokhanan	1

In the year 1945, with the end of the Second World War. When the first news started to come about the fate of the Jews of Zolkiew, about their remnants that were left in the city (in the meantime annexed by Russia) and also about those who came back from Russia, and settled in the cities of western Poland, the quandary of providing help to the survivors arose. The first news from Zolkiew reached the Land by way of Moscow, and immediately several of the Zolkiew people gathered together and they formed a temporary committee that began to raise money, and clothing from among the émigrés of Zolkiew in Israel in order to send them to the refugees of their town in Poland. The committee sent an announcement to most of the Zolkiew residents in the Land, and attempted to tie them to any sort of work in the area of help, but it failed in the apathy from their side. The minimal responses that the circular wanted because of the good will of the committee, that had nothing to do by stop its functioning in a short time. With this, refugees of the city that came to the Land found an attentive ear for their issues, in everything in which they turned to the people of their city in Israel.

With the dissolution of the temporary active committee, there was no other draw for the work of the people of Zolkiew in Israel and every organizational attempt did not materialize for them. It was only after the passage of ten years, in the year 1955, that David Tuviahu, one of the émigrés from Zolkiew, and the mayor of Beersheba (of the past) who had returned from a visit to the United States, invited a number of Zolkiew people, and related to them what happened in his encounters with Zolkiew scions in the United States, and their intent to arrange a levy among themselves, whose revenues will be turned over to their city scions in Israel, in order that they implement to erection of a memorial of remembrance for the destroyed community of Zolkiew. At that same meeting, several proposals were made, that were oriented towards and even raised a symbolic donation to continue the work. However, also

at this time, the fervor of the group was extinguished and all the substantive initiatives were not done. David Tuviahu brought the town of Beersheba with him to create an enabling agenda for the erection of a central synagogue for the city, in according with the plan of the Great Synagogue in Zolkiew, in accordance with the plans found in the 'Bezalel' home for the invalids, and he also began to build it.

Page 827/828:(Top) The Halutzim from Zolkiew at a Visit with the Samet family – 1937

(From LtoR): Ephraim Waldman, ז"ל, Chaim Serber, Zippora Kirschner, Jonah Katz, Zutra Rapaport, Batya Cohen, Yehudit Samet, Shevach Lieberman, Mrs. Leah Samet ז"ל, Mr. Yaakov Samet, Joseph Shlitin



הלוצים מזולקוב, בבקור אצל משפחת סאמט – 1937
 משמאל לימין: אפרים הורמן ז"ל, חיים סרבר, ציפורה קירשנר, יונה כץ,
 זוטרא רפפורט, בתיה כהן, יהודית סאמט, שבח ליברמן, גבי לאה סאמט ז"ל
 מר יעקב סאמט, יוסף שליטין

Page 827/828: (Bottom): The

(From LtoR): Reuben Lichtenberg, Zutra

Page 829 (Top): A Meeting of Speaking



ישיבת 'אורנו' יבנה (לליכ"ב בישראל) – 1966
 משמאל לימין: רחוב ליכטנברג, שש"א רפפורט, מלכה רזיאל (שוויצער), זבי בובר, אריזת קץ

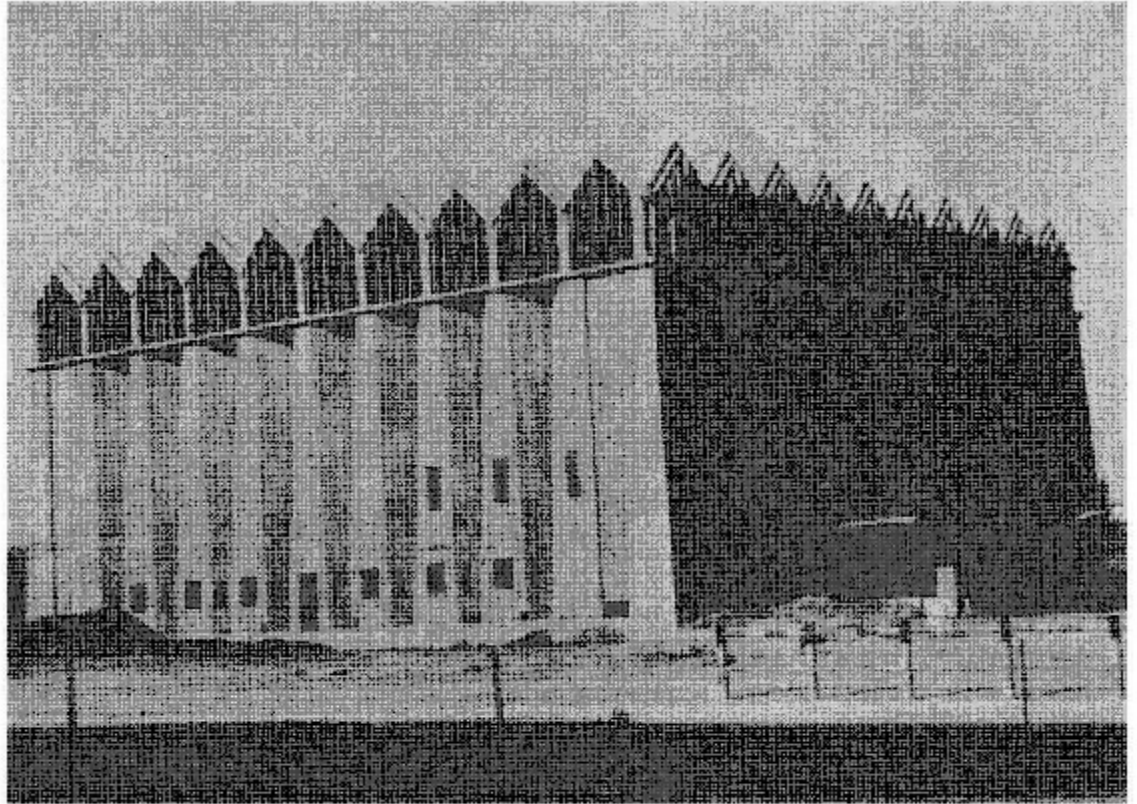
Committee of Zolkiew Émigrés in Israel – 1966

Rapaport, Malka Reziali (Schweitzer), Zvi Buber, Aryeh Acker

Zolkiew Émigrés in Tel-Aviv, Israel, 1965, Z. Rapaport

Remaining three pictures:

Page 829-832 : A Meeting of Zolkiew Émigrés in Tel-Aviv, Israel, 1965,



בית הכנסת המרכזי באר-שבע בבניו, לפי תבנית בית הכנסת הגדול של ז'ולקיה

Page 833: The Central Synagogue of Beersheba during construction, following the plan of The Great Synagogue of Zolkiew.

After a year, in 1966, two of the people of the Zolkiew people in Israel assumed the effort to bring together all the scions of their city, to a general meeting to create a permanent organizational group. Two of these even announced themselves as 'The Temporary Effort Committee' and turned to all of the people of Zolkiew in Israel through notices, newspapers and radio, and those invited to the first gathering. On 3/28/1956 the first meeting of the Zolkiew Émigrés in Israel, took place in Tel-Aviv. In this gathering a large part of the scions of Zolkiew took part and there was great interest from the rest. A committee was elected for the organization, and it was decided to collect donations and the essence of my call in the *Land* and in the Diaspora in order to make possible a monographic book about the community of Zolkiew. The idea went from an idea to implementation only 10 years after this assembly.

Every year, all of the Émigrés from Zolkiew in Israel are invited to a gathering to an annual gathering in one of the auditoriums in Tel-Aviv. This event takes place on 18 Adar, the day that was set by 'Yad Vashem' as the day in which the Nazis carried out the liquidation of the Jewish community in Zolkiew. The gathering is dedicated in essence, to a memorial for the martyrs of the city, after lighting the traditional candles, the Cantor arranges the religious presentation and those present recite the *Kaddish* in unison.

At the same occasion, an annual presentation is made on the future work planned by the committee, and those that are attending are afforded an opportunity to have a group conversation, and to recollect memories from their youth. Sometimes tourists from out of the country who are Émigrés from Zolkiew participate, and actually plan the timing of their trip to the Land, to attend this gathering. The meeting is important from the standpoint of confronting the past, and meeting with one another, so that at the time that the memory of our brethren who were lost, is effective for the majority of the remnant refugees together, and it is an eternal proof of this memory, that the community of Zolkiew that was brought low has not been broken in spirit. The scenes of this meeting raise the hearts of those who meet, and call upon their memories a chapter of tumultuous chaos in their lives.

B. In the Diaspora

Similar to the Jewish migration from all the cities and towns in Poland to the United States after the First World War, many Jews from Zolkiew also migrated to America, that placed practically no limitations on those coming to its shores. The will to leave destroyed Europe, which in itself encourages those immigrating because of this, was to put their thoughts into action. Already in the years of 1920-1930 a small community of the Jews of Zolkiew came into being in the United States.

Despite the limitations that came later, more Jews joined them that came from Zolkiew due to the grace of their relatives who got permissions to bring them together. Most of these immigrants did well in commerce, and retail businesses and there were those that achieved stability with difficulty before they could allow themselves to support their relatives that remained in Zolkiew.

There was also emigration from Zolkiew to France, especially in the year 1937, especially by people in the fur trade, at the time that the World's Fair took place in Paris, to which tens of Zolkiew scions streamed. Mostly really went out of interest to see the exhibitions, but in reality, many used to opportunity to consider permanent residence in Paris, and they continued to engage in their business that began to develop there. Their residence in France was illegal, and very few were even apprehended and returned to the land from which they came, but most of them got themselves in order with the government and continued to do their business.

The Émigrés of the small Zolkiew community in Paris also paid the war tax for its sons the martyrs that fell in the Second World War. Many who sensed that they might be apprehended by the Gestapo felt it was better to flee over the ocean and they continue to be in business today; some went to the United States, some to South America. Those that reached (Paris) as refugees after the war, earn a living from the trade of their youth to this day.

After the Second World War, the Zolkiew communities grew in the United States and France with the addition of those rescued from the war who came from refugee camps, and those returning to them from Russia. A small group of them got to Canada, South America, and farther away countries in northern Europe. There are others that certainly live in countries and cities that are not known to the Zolkiew Émigrés in Israel. The Organization of Zolkiew Émigrés in Israel, tried in the course of the years to identify the Émigrés from Zolkiew in the Diaspora and make contact with them, but many difficulties piled up in these attempts, and only tourists who came in groups to visit Israel bring news and hearsay about the fate of these stranded Zolkiew scions.

Efforts were made by the Zolkiew scions in the United States and Paris to create a permanent organization for the Émigrés from their city, as did other cities in Europe, there were organizations known as '*landsmanschaftn*,' In Paris they even arranged annual get-togethers for the Zolkiew Émigrés in France, but they did not have the power to create such an organization that would unite them. There was a similar situation in the United States; even in New York they tried to create a permanent organization but the distances between the places where people lived made it difficult to create such an organization.

When the idea of writing a '*Sefer Zolkiew*' began to take form, announcements were sent out in the Yiddish language to all Zolkiew Émigrés in the world, all their locations numbered 137 of them, that they should attempt both with money and with material bearing witness for the creation of the book, but their interest was minimal since a strong apathy pervaded most of them. With this, it is nevertheless important to underscore the few of our people in New York, Paris and Canada that proved to have a great deal of interest and commitment in providing help and in the collection of donations, and eye-witness accounts to get the book published.

In short: the dry statistics of the survivors of the Émigrés from Zolkiew in the world speak for themselves; Out of a community that numbered about 5,000 Jews at the outbreak of the Second World War, whose number even increased to 6,000 during the Nazi conquest because of the concentration of the Jews of the surrounding area and the refugees remaining from the rest of the cities of Poland, only 400 people remained all over the world. This meager handful of a community that numbered in the thousands twenty-five years ago, a remnant whose beginning marks the final chapter of the chronology of the community of Zolkiew, and they undertook to continue a new chapter in the lives of the Zolkiew survivors.



תוויות הנענדות בערב האזכרה



Page 836: The Label to be Worn on the Evening of the Memorial Service



(1956 — 7

Page 837/838: The Reception of Émigrés from Zolkiew in Paris to the Actress Ida Kaminska and her husband Meir Melman, a scion of w (1956)



Honor Zolkie

כנס יוזמי ז'ולקייב בישראל — תל-אביב, 9.3.1966

583

Page 839/840:

A Gathering of Zolkiew Émigrés in Israel – Tel-Aviv 9.3.1966

Ephraim Waldman (son of Zysza By Z R.

Ephraim Waldman was a friend of mine since Poland, and the last in the Land of Israel, after that – del with him in our city, together we would visit his concession) that was managed by my mother ז"ל and membership in the 'Hitakhdut' did not prevent him

In 1936 Ephraim made *aliyah* to the Land of Israel Feinberg Street in Tel-Aviv. Those were the days of front of the world, unemployed people sought to find luck with David Tuviahu, a Zolkiew scion, who had engineer in the 'Solel-Boneh' group, with the on paving the roads, a job that was highly sought brother, the oldest who remained in Zolkiew, from school together, Ephraim came to Yarkona. And he



מזבנת זיסין לזכר חסידות בדרך לסדום
Page 842: A Memorial Headstone to the
Martyrs Slain on the Road to Sodom

emory of Those Who Died in Israel

and Feiga) ז"ל

childhood. Our first friendship was in Zolkiew that is in Ephraim Waldman is no longer with us. I socialized a great father's store, which had the permit of an inn (the was listed under the name of his father. Even his active form getting together with us, the people of 'HeHalutz,'

and spent the first days after his arrival in the rooms on the economic depression, and many difficulties piled up in a place of work to make a living. I advised Ephraim to try his settled in the Yarkona settlement, and was already then an discount obtained by his help, he might be able to get work after at that time. Armed with an explanatory letter from his friends of David Tuviahu yet from they days they went to was able to obtain the work that he was expecting. This was

the first step Ephraim made in '*Solel-Boneh*'. Even then, Ephraim's connections to his friends was not broken, and we would frequently meet at the home of the Samet family, on the street by the shoreline.

When I moved to Jerusalem in 1938, our friendship thinned a bit. Ephraim married a woman, a scion of the city of Gorlice, and settled in Hadera. When I visited them, I was received with great warmth and I lengthened my stay with them by several days. Even after the war, when Ephraim's sister came to us from France to visit in Israel, the two of them surprised me by appearing at my house in Jerusalem, and we both enjoyed a pleasant get-together.

Ephraim excelled at his work, and after a few years, he was named a work supervisor. I ran into him on the roads of the *Valley*, the *Galil*, the *Shfeylah*, and even outside the boundaries of the Land of Israel, in every remote and distant place, there was work in road-making. After the State was established, he was in charge of the work on the work of opening (roads?) in Sodom.

Ephraim worked for twenty years on Israeli soil, until he stopped work on 10/4/1956, and not because of his age, but he was 49 years old, but Rather it was the bullets of murderers who monitored when he traveled to his home from his place of work, together with his workplace friends.

Ephraim Waldman; the committed father, the faithful husband and beloved friend, fell ambushed. Only a silent headstone on the road through the *Arava* on the way to Sodom, remains as a memorial to him and his four friends who fell with him, and sorrowful memories are etched on it, and fill the hearts of those who know him.

At the end of a decade after our comrade fell, his name was memorialized in '*Sefer Zolkiew*'. May his memory be for a blessing.

Malka Razieli (Schweitzer) ז"ל

By Z. R.

It is hard to write about a precious person who was close, but is no more, but '*Sefer Zolkiew*' is like a suitable place to record a memory of her. I remember her since our childhood, we spent many years together both in and outside the *Land*. Before my eyes I see all those years we worked together in the '*HeHalutz*' movement in our city and the years after we made *aliyah* to the *Land*.

While still in the movement in the Diaspora, she was among the first who went out with training units, and was among the few that successfully achieved their heart's desire and made *aliyah* to the *Land*.

Even in the *Land*, she did not sunder the bonds to the *Émigrés* from our city. I go without saying that Malka was among those who were called to volunteer and donate from her means to the publication of a Memorial Book about our city; but to our sorrow, she did not live to see its appearance.

The privilege of memorializing Malka has fallen to me, out of joint work with her in the Committee that we organized and to stand close to her accomplishments, and taciturn personality. When she was taken from us, we began to feel how much the pillars of support she provided in our work, and we feel how much he is missed in our work and among her friends. She knew how to plant the feeling of loyalty in everyone she met, regarding highly those satisfactory relationships and honesty in all her connections to the public. She is replete with the attributes of a good person, and did not withhold her effort in helping that public. In the case of disagreements, that happened more than once in joint efforts, she would try to convincingly persuade and refinement what she thought.

That is how we knew Malka, a picture of an outpouring of much love, in which the joy of life was in her. Here form will always stand before us, and the memory of her will not disappear from our hearts.

Zolkiew Scions Who Passed Away in the Land

Shayndl Eikhl

Sabina Gabel

Joseph Dagan

Shlomo Dagan

Yehoshua Halbkrum

Ephraim Waldman

Avraham Khayot

Chaim Eli Lieberman

Aryeh Myess

Leah Samet

Israel Zimmerman

Yitzhak Zimmerman

Moshe Keifer

Zvi Redler

Malka Razieli (Schweitzer)

Sabina Reichman

Leah Reitzfeld

Yehoshua Schweitzer

Meir Berisz Schwartz

Leib Sztékhenberg

Moshe Schlein

Israel Szprutzer

תנצב"ה

The List of Martyrs

These are the names of our precious ones, parents and children, brothers and sisters and relatives that gave their lives in Sanctification of the Name at the hand of the Nazis during the years of the Holocaust in Zolkiew.



Our Sanctified Ones and Martyrs

Translator's Note:

The order in which these names appear has been made to conform to English alphabetization, and therefore does not follow the same order as they appear in the original Yiddish text. To assist the interested reader, each entry has been given a serial number that corresponds to its place in the original Necrology in Yiddish, found on pp. 794-806.

This Necrology contains many instances of names that appear to be duplicates. However, without the intimate knowledge of this community, it would be presumptuous for an uninformed third party to suggest that such duplications constitute errors (see also the Author's Note before the Necrology begins on the next page). Accordingly, special care has been taken to assure that all of the entries in the original document were carried over into the translated version. Additionally, special care was taken to preserve 'nicknames' or 'names of endearment,' that were used to help better identify individuals in that community. While such nomenclature may not serve future generations quite in the same way, it is undoubtedly a sacred obligation to assure that they are brought forward for posterity, as they were used during their lifetimes.

Author's Note:

*The list (below) is organized **in the order that the names were received** from scions of Zolkiew both in Israel and the Diaspora **and is not complete**. The list was organized by the following Committee members: Malka Razieli (Schweitzer) and Aryeh Acker.*

Necrology

Page	Col	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	Page	Col	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor
			A			796	3	8	Asner	Shoshana	Daughter of Moshe & Rasheh
795	2	1	Acker	Breindl		795	1	9	Astman	Benjamin	
795	2	2	Acker	Hella	Wife of Moshe Acker	795	1	10	Astman	Chana	Daughter of David & Roza
795	2	3	Acker	Hilda	Daughter of Moshe Acker	795	2	11	Astman	Clara	Daughter of Yaakov & Itta
795	2	4	Acker	Moshe		795	1	12	Astman	David	
795	2	5	Acker	Yaakov	Shmuel Son of Breindl Acker	796	3	13	Astman	Eliyahu	
795	2	6	Altman	Chay'chey	Daughter of Yudl & Yakhtzeh	795	2	14	Astman	Itta	Wife of Yaakov Astman
795	2	7	Altman	Joseph	Son of Yudl & Yakhtzeh	795	1	15	Astman	Jonah	
795	2	8	Altman	Mendl	Son of Yudl & Yakhtzeh	795	1	16	Astman	Leora	Wife of Jonah
795	2	9	Altman	Yakhtz'eh	Wife of Yudl Altman	795	1	17	Astman	Lunek	Son of Jonah & Leora
795	2	10	Altman	Yudl		795	2	18	Astman	Meir	Son of Yaakov & Itta
796	3	11	Altschuler	Aharon	Son of Chaim Wolf & Itta	795	1	19	Astman	Michael	Son of Jonah & Leora
796	3	12	Altschuler	Chaim	Wolf	795	1	20	Astman	Milik	Son of Jonah & Leora
796	3	13	Altschuler	Dora	Daughter of Chaim Wolf & Itta	795	1	21	Astman	Mundek	Son of David & Rosa
795	2	14	Altschuler	Feiga	Wife of Lipa Altschuler	795	1	22	Astman	Roza	His Wife
796	3	15	Altschuler	Genya	Daughter of Chaim Wolf & Itta	795	1	23	Astman	Sima	Wife of Benjamin
795	2	16	Altschuler	Henrya	Daughter of Lipa & Feiga	795	2	24	Astman	Yaakov	
796	3	17	Altschuler	Itta	Wife of Chaim Wolf Altschuler	796	3	25	Atman	Israel	
795	2	18	Altschuler	Lipa							
795	2	19	Altschuler	Rachel	Daughter of Lipa & Feiga				B		
795	1	20	Apfel	Avraham	Son	797	1	26	Babad	Freida	Daughter of Moshe & Malka Babad
795	1	21	Apfel	Batya	Daughter of Shimon & Malka	797	1	27	Babad	Malka	Wife of Moshe Babad
795	1	22	Apfel	Chana	Daughter of Shimon & Malka	797	1	28	Babad	Moshe	
795	1	23	Apfel	Genya	Daughter of Shimon & Malka	797	1	29	Babad	Reiz'li	Daughter of Moshe & Malka Babad
795	1	24	Apfel	Karla	Daughter	797	1	30	Babad Sarah Rivkah	Daughter of Moshe & Malka Babad	
795	1	25	Apfel	Malka	Wife of Shimon Apfel	797	1	31	Babad Shimon Nathan	Son of Moshe & Malka Babad	
795	1	26	Apfel	Manek	Son	797	1	32	Batner	Zipporah	
795	1	27	Apfel	Mordechai	Son of Shimon & Malka	796	3	33	Bauman	Chana	
795	1	28	Apfel	Nathan		796	3	34	Bauman	Rachel	
795	1	1	Apfel	Shimon		796	3	35	Bendl	Clara	Daughter of Shmuel Bendl
795	2	2	Arbteila	David		796	3	36	Bendl	Judah	Son of Shmuel Bendl
795	2	3	Arbteila	Sarah	Wife of David Arbteila	797	1	1	Bendl	Mir'eleh	Daughter of Shmuel Bendl
796	3	4	Asner	Gittl	Daughter of Moshe & Rasheh	796	3	2	Bendl	Pap'keh	Daughter of Shmuel Bendl
796	3	5	Asner	Moshe		796	3	3	Bendl	Shmuel	
796	3	6	Asner	Rasheh	Wife of Moshe Asner	797	1	4	Ber	Rachel	Wife of Yehoshua Nathan Ber
796	3	7	Asner	Shmuel	Son of Moshe & Rasheh	797	1	5	Ber	Yehoshua Nathan	

Page	Col	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor	Page	Col	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor
797	1	6	Berger	Benjamin					Ⓒ		
797	1	7	Berger	Bracha	Wife of Benjamin Berger	800	3	42	Cohen	Akiva	Son of Moshe & Frumeh'chek Cohen
797	1	8	Berger	Chana	Wife of Shaul Berger	800	3	43	Cohen	Brunya	Daughter of Moshe & Frumeh'chek Cohen
797	1	9	Berger	Esther	Daughter of Shaul & Chana Berger	800	3	44	Cohen	Frumeh'chek	Wife of Moshe Cohen
797	1	10	Berger	Mordechai	Son of Shaul & Chana Berger	800	3	45	Cohen	Moshe	
797	1	11	Berger	Shaul		804	3	1	Constantine	Boleslaw	
797	1	12	Binczuk	***							
797	1	13	Binczuk	Tun'keh	Wife of *** Binczuk				Ⓓ		
797	1	14	Binder	Chana	Daughter of Salek & Riva Binder	798	3	2	Dagan	Israel Chaim	Son of Yaakov & Shoshana Dagan
797	1	15	Binder	Riva	Wife of Salek Binder	798	3	3	Dagan	Minna	Daughter of Yaakov & Shoshana Dagan
797	1	16	Binder	Salek		798	3	4	Dagan	Shoshana	Wife of Yaakov Dagan
797	1	17	Bindl	Lula		798	3	5	Dagan	Yaakov	
797	2	18	Bindl	Stakh		798	3	6	Deutscher	Joseph	
797	1	19	Boirer	Gershon		798	3	7	Deutscher	Rivka	Wife of Joseph Deutscher
797	1	20	Boirer	Yulia	Wife of Gershon Boirer	797	2	8	Dornfeld	Eliezer	
797	1	21	Britwitz	Freida	Daughter of Zalman & Rachel Britwitz	798	3	1	Dornfeld	Gitt'l	Daughter of Eliezer & Itta
797	1	22	Britwitz	Rachel	Wife of Zalman Britwitz	Dornfeld					
797	1	23	Britwitz	Yehoshua	Son of Zalman & Rachel Britwitz	797	2	2	Dornfeld	Itta	Wife of Eliezer Dornfeld
797	1	24	Britwitz	Zalman		798	3	3	Dornfeld	Malka	Daughter of Eliezer & Itta
797	1	25	Brudinger	Leib	Son of Meir Brudinger	Dornfeld					
797	1	26	Brudinger	Meir		798	3	4	Dornfeld	Sarah	Wife of Wolf Dornfeld
797	1	27	Brudinger	Rak'eh	Daughter of Meir Brudinger	798	3	5	Dornfeld	Wolf	
797	1	28	Buber	Avraham							
797	1	29	Buber	Bluma	Daughter of Avraham & Mir'l Buber				Ⓔ		
797	1	30	Buber	Eliezer	Son of Avraham & Mir'l Buber	796	3	6	Eisen	Esther	Wife of Mottl Eisen
797	1	31	Buber	Mir'l	Wife of Avraham Buber	796	3	7	Eisen	Mottl	
797	1	32	Buk	Baylah	Daughter of Hertz & Miriam Buk	796	3	8	Eisen	Pinchas	Son of Mottl & Esther Eisen
797	1	33	Buk	Brunya	Daughter of Hertz & Miriam Buk	796	3	9	Eisen	Yaakov	Son of Mottl & Esther Eisen
797	1	34	Buk	Chaya	Daughter of Hertz & Miriam Buk	795	2	10	Elfant	Genya	Daughter of Moshe & Liba
797	1	35	Buk	David	Son of Hertz & Miriam Buk	795	2	11	Elfant	Liba	Wife of Moshe Elfant
797	1	36	Buk	Hersh	Son of Hertz & Miriam Buk	795	2	12	Elfant	Moshe	
797	1	37	Buk	Hertz		795	2	13	Elfant	Yitzhak	Son of Moshe & Liba
797	1	38	Buk	Joseph	Son of Hertz & Miriam Buk	795	1	14	Ettinger	Baylah Mikhli	Daughter
797	1	39	Buk	Miriam	Wife of Hertz Buk	795	1	15	Ettinger	Chana	Wife of Eliezer
797	1	40	Buk	Tauba	Daughter of Hertz & Miriam Buk	795	1	16	Ettinger	Chaya	Hadassah Daughter of Mendl & Shayndl
797	1	41	Buk	Yitzhak	Son of Hertz & Miriam Buk	795	1	17	Ettinger	Eliezer	

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795	1	18	Ettinger	Leah	Daughter	803	1	51	Flashner	Yente	Daughter of Leib & Chaya Flashner
795	1	19	Ettinger	Mendl		803	1	52	Flashner	Zalman	
795	1	20	Ettinger	Moshe	Son of Mendl & Shayndl	802	3	53	Francois	Helena	
795	1	21	Ettinger	Nathan	Son of Mendl & Shayndl	803	1	1	Francois	Lutka	Daughter of Helena Francois
795	1	22	Ettinger	Sarah	Daughter of Mendl & Shayndl	803	2	2	Francois	Malka	
795	1	23	Ettinger	Shayndl	Wife of Mendl	803	2	3	Francois	Minna	Daughter of Malka Francois
						802	3	4	Francois	Yehuda	Son of Helena Francois
			פ			802	3	5	Freiman	David	Hersch
803	1	24	Falk	Julek	Daughter of Raphael Falk	802	3	6	Freiman	Feiga	Daughter of David Hersch & Sarah Freiman
803	1	25	Falk	Mindl	Daughter of Raphael Falk	802	3	7	Freiman	Sarah	Wife of David Hersch Freiman
803	1	26	Falk	Paptzia	Daughter of Raphael Falk	803	1	8	Fremed	Adela	Wife of David Fremed
803	1	27	Falk	Raphael		803	1	9	Fremed	Adela	Wife of Aharon Fremed
803	1	28	Fandrikh	Chana	Daughter of Reuven & Ida Fandrikh	803	1	10	Fremed	Aharon	
803	1	29	Fandrikh	Dvorah	Wife of Uri Fandrikh	803	1	11	Fremed	Chana	Daughter of David and Adela Fremed
803	1	30	Fandrikh	Ida (Feier)	Wife of Reuven Fandrikh	803	1	12	Fremed	Chana	Daughter of Feiga Rivka Fremed
803	1	31	Fandrikh	Reuven		803	1	13	Fremed	Chava	Daughter of David and Adela Fremed
803	1	32	Fandrik	Rivka	Daughter of Uri & Dvorah Fandrikh	803	1	14	Fremed	Chaya	Wife of Isaac Fremed
803	1	33	Fandrikh	Uri		803	1	15	Fremed	David	
803	2	34	Fant	Chana		803	1	16	Fremed	Feiga Rivka	
803	2	35	Fant	Malka		803	1	17	Fremed	Isaac	
803	2	36	Fant	Minna		803	1	18	Fremed	Israel	Son of Isaac & Chaya Fremed
803	2	37	Farber	Moshe Leib		803	1	19	Fremed	Luba	Daughter of Feiga Rivka Fremed
802	3	38	Faster	Abusz		803	1	20	Fremed	Minna	
802	3	39	Faster	Fraydl	Wife of Abusz Faster	803	1	21	Fremed	Moshe	Son of David and Adela Fremed
803	1	40	Feier	Hinda	Daughter of Pinchas Feier	803	1	22	Fremed	Moshe	Son of Isaac & Chaya Fremed
803	1	41	Feier	Pinchas		803	1	23	Fremed	Moshe	Son of aharon & Adela Fremed
803	1	42	Fisher	Beltzia	Daughter of Esther Fisher	803	1	24	Fremed	Sholom	Son of David and Adela Fremed
803	1	43	Fisher	Esther		803	1	25	Friedman	Chaim	
803	1	44	Fisher	Shayndl	Daughter of Esther Fisher	803	1	26	Friedman	Kayla	Daughter of Chaim Friedman
803	1	45	Flashner	Chaya	Wife of Leib Flashner	803	1	27	Friedman	Nesza	Daughter of Chaim Friedman
803	1	46	Flashner	Dreizl	Daughter of Leib & Chaya Flashner	803	1	28	Friedman	Pearl	Daughter of Chaim Friedman
803	1	47	Flashner	Feiga	Daughter of Leib & Chaya Flashner	803	2	29	Fukard	Avraham	
803	1	48	Flashner	Leib		803	2	30	Fukard	Frieda	Wife of Avraham Fukard
803	1	49	Flashner	Meir	Son of Leib & Chaya Flashner	803	2	31	Fukard	Malleh	Wife of Yitzhak Fukard
803	1	50	Flashner	Roz'keh	Wife of Zalman Flashner	803	2	32	Fukard	Manya	Daughter of Shmuel & Zelda Fukard

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803	2	33	Fukar	Ruzh'keh	Daughter of Yitzhak & Malleh Fukard	797	2	30	Goldhaber	Brunya	Daughter of Hersch Goldhaber
803	2	34	Fukard	Sarah	Daughter of Shmuel & Zelda Fukard	797	2	31	Goldhaber	Hersch	
803	2	35	Fukard	Shmuel		797	2	32	Goldhaber	Tova	Daughter of Hersch Goldhaber
803	2	36	Fukard	Yitzhak		797	2	33	Goldhaber	Yitzhak	Son of Hersch Goldhaber
803	2	37	Fukard	Zelda	Wife of Shmuel Fukard	797	4	34	Greenwald	Pearl	Wife of Shmuel Greenwald
						797	3	35	Greenwald	Shmuel	
			Ⓔ			797	5	36	Greenwald	Zvi	Son of Shmuel & Pearl Greenwald
797	2	1	Gabel	Joseph		797	2	37	Greidinger	Dvo'rusz Esther Malka's	Greidinger's Daughter
797	6	2	Gabel	Yaakov		797	2	38	Greidinger	Esther Malka	
797	7	3	Gabel	Zofia		797	2	39	Greidinger	Isaac	
797	2	4	Gelber	Golda	Wife of Simcha Gelber	797	2	40	Greif	Aryeh	
797	2	5	Gelber	Israel	Son of Simcha & Golda Gelber	797	2	41	Greif	Sarah	Wife of Aryeh Greif
797	2	6	Gelber	Rachel	Daughter of Simcha & Golda Gelber	797	2	42	Griss	Avigdor	Son of Yitzhak & Mikh'eleh Griss
797	2	7	Gelber	Simcha		797	2	43	Griss	Mendl	Son of Yitzhak & Mikh'eleh Griss
797	2	8	Gelber	Yitzhak Isaac	Son of Simcha & Golda Gelber	797	2	44	Griss	Mikh'eleh	Wife of Yitzhak Griss
797	2	9	Gerstenfeld	Chaya		797	2	45	Griss	Yitzhak	
797	2	10	Gerstenfeld	Chaya	Daughter of Zisz'eh Gerstenfeld	797	2	46	Gruman	Chaya	Daughter of Pesach & Ravtzia Gruman
797	2	11	Gerstenfeld	El'keh	Daughter of Zisz'eh Gerstenfeld	797	2	47	Gruman	Dvorah	
797	2	12	Gerstenfeld	Freida	Daughter of Chaya Gerstenfeld	797	2	48	Gruman	Gitt'l	Daughter of Dvorah Gruman
797	2	13	Gerstenfeld	Mir'li	Daughter of Zisz'eh Gerstenfeld	797	2	49	Gruman	Min'tziya	Daughter of Pesach & Ravtzia Gruman
797	2	14	Gerstenfeld	Tauba	Daughter of Zisz'eh Gerstenfeld	797	2	50	Gruman	Mitt'eh	Daughter of Dvorah Gruman
797	2	15	Gerstenfeld	Zelda	Daughter of Chaya Gerstenfeld	797	2	51	Gruman	Pesach	
797	2	16	Gerstenfeld	Zisz'eh		797	2	52	Gruman	Ravtzia	Wife of Pesach Gruman
797	10	17	Gills	Chaim	Son of Leib & Yat'leh Gills	797	2	53	Gruss	Chaya	
797	2	18	Gills	Chana	Daughter of Wolf Gillis	797	2	54	Gutman	Chaya	Wife of Naphtali Hertz Gutman
797	11	19	Gills	David	Son of Leib & Yat'leh Gills	797	2	55	Gutman	Feiga	Daughter of Naphtali Hertz & Chaya Gutman
797	2	20	Gills	Galli	Daughter of Joseph & Yul'keh Gills	797	2	56	Gutman	Mordechai	Son of Naphtali Hertz & Chaya Gutman
797	2	21	Gills	Joseph		797	2	57	Gutman	Naphtali Hertz	
797	8	22	Gills	Leib		797	2	58	Gutman	Rivka	Daughter of Naphtali Hertz & Chaya Gutman
797	2	23	Gills	Mendl	Son of Wolf Gills	797	2	59	Gutman	Roza	Daughter of Naphtali Hertz & Chaya Gutman
797	2	24	Gills	Ruthie	Daughter of Joseph & Yul'keh Gills	797	2	60	Gutman	Sarah	Daughter of Naphtali Hertz & Chaya Gutman
797	2	25	Gills	Wolf		797	2	61	Gutman	Yaakov	Son of Naphtali Hertz & Chaya Gutman
797	9	26	Gills	Yat'leh	Wife of Leib Gills						
797	2	27	Gills	Yul'keh	Wife of Joseph Gills						
797	2	28	Gluck	Sarah	Gittl						
797	2	29	Goldberg	Kuba	(Yaakov)						

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798	3	62	Habenstreit	Baylah Malka	Wife of Noah Habenstreit	798	3	97	Hikhl	Shmuel	Son of Reuben & Mira Hikhl
798	3	63	Habenstreit	Hadassah	Daughter of Noah & Baylah Malka Habenstreit	798	3	98	Hochner	Chaya	Wife of Eli Hochner
798	3	64	Habenstreit	Noah		798	3	99	Hochner	Eli	
798	3	65	Habenstreit	Rivka	Daughter of Noah & Baylah Malka Habenstreit	798	3	100	Hochner	Henya	Daughter of Eli & Chaya Hochner
798	3	66	Hakhal	Chana	Wife of Herman Hakhal	798	3	101	Hochner	Taub'icheh	Daughter of Eli & Chaya
798	3	67	Hakhal	Herman					Hochner		
798	3	68	Hakhal	Pessia	Daughter of Herman & Chana Hakhal	798	3	102	Holtzman	Mordechai	Son of Nathan & Rachel
798	3	69	Halpern	Baylah	Wife of Sholom Halpern				Holtzman		
798	3	70	Halpern	Dvorah	Daughter of Sholom & Baylah Halpern	798	3	103	Holtzman	Nathan	
798	3	71	Halpern	Malka	Wife of Pinchas Halpern	798	3	104	Holtzman	Rachel	Wife of Nathan Holtzman
798	3	72	Halpern	Minna	Daughter of Sholom & Baylah Halpern	798	3	105	Hystein	Eliezer	Brother of Rukhama
798	3	73	Halpern	Pinchas					Hystein		
798	3	74	Halpern	Shmuel	Gershon	798	3	106	Hystein	Rukhama	
798	3	75	Halpern	Sholom							
798	3	76	Hamerling	Fishl							
798	3	77	Hamerling	Frieda	Daughter of Fishl & Rachel Hamerling	804	3	107	Kanczucker	Avraham	Son of Shmuel & Tzivi Kanczucker
798	3	78	Hamerling	Rachel	Wife of Fishl Hamerling	804	3	108	Kanczucker	Bayl'keh	Wife of Mendl Kanczucker
798	3	79	Hamerling	Yaakov	Son of Fishl & Rachel Hamerling	804	3	109	Kanczucker	Brunya	Daughter of Mendl & Bayl'keh Kanczucker
798	3	80	Hammerman	Avraham		804	3	110	Kanczucker	Mendl	
798	3	81	Hammerman	Feiga	Daughter of Avraham Hammerman	804	3	111	Kanczucker	Shmuel	
798	3	82	Hammerman	Hersch	Son of Avraham Hammerman	804	3	112	Kanczucker	Tzivi	Wife of Samuel Kanczucker
798	3	83	Hammerman	Yaakov	Son of Avraham Hammerman	804	3	113	Kanczucker	Yaakov	Son of Shmuel & Tzivi Kanczucker
798	3	84	Hammerman	Yitzhak	Son of Avraham Hammerman	800	3	114	Katz	Avigdor	Son of Pessia Katz
798	3	85	Harstreit	Aharon	Son of Blima Harstreit	800	3	115	Katz	Benjamin	Son of Meir-Wolf Katz
798	3	86	Harstreit	Blima		800	3	116	Katz	Chaim	Son of Pessia Katz
798	3	87	Harstreit	Chana	Daughter of Blima Hartstreit	800	3	117	Katz	Clara	Daughter of Pessia Katz
798	3	88	Harstreit	Dora	Daughter of Blima Hartstreit	800	3	118	Katz	David	
798	3	89	Harstreit	Leah	Daughter of Blima Hartstreit	800	3	119	Katz	Frieda	Daughter of Pessia Katz
798	3	90	Hecht	Joseph		800	3	120	Katz	Gitt'l	Daughter of Meir-Wolf Katz
798	3	91	Hecht	Sarah	Wife of Joseph Hecht	800	3	1	Katz	Joseph	Son of Pessia Katz
798	3	92	Herbster	Hinda Rachel	Wife of Yaakov Herbster	800	3	2	Katz	Meir-Wolf	
798	3	93	Herbster	Yaakov		800	3	3	Katz	Mir'l	Wife of Yekhezkiel Katz
798	3	94	Herman	Yehoshua		800	3	4	Katz	Moshe (Lawyer)	
798	3	95	Hikhl	Mira	Wife of Reuben Hikhl	799	2	5	Katz	Pessia	
798	3	96	Hikhl	Reuben		800	3	6	Katz	Regina	Wife of Moshe Katz (Lawyer)

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800	3	8	Katz	Yekhezkiel		804	3	44	Kirschner	Yehuda	
800	3	9	Katz	Zaft	Daughter of Meir-Wolf Katz	803	2	45	Klapper	Shimon	
804	3	10	Keifer	Chaya		803	2	46	Klapper	Yente	Wife of Shimon Klapper
804	3	11	Keifer	Emanuel		804	3	47	Klar	Moshe	
804	3	12	Keifer	Juta	Wife of Emanuel Keifer	804	3	48	Klar	Yaakov	Son of Yerachmiel Klar
804	3	13	Keifer	Lemmel	Son of Chaya Keifer	804	3	49	Klar	Yerachmiel	
804	3	14	Keifer	Sholom		804	3	50	Klar	Zechariah	Son of Yerachmiel Klar
804	3	15	Keifer	Wolf	Son of Chaya Keifer	804	3	51	Klein	Avraham	Son of Yehoshua Heschel & Sarah Klein
804	3	16	Keifer	Yehudit	Daughter of Chaya Keifer	804	3	52	Klein	Michael	Son of Yehoshua Heschel & Sarah Klein
804	3	17	Keifer	Zvi	Son of Sholom Keifer	804	3	53	Klein	Sarah	Wife of Yehoshua Heschel Klein
799	2	18	Khari	Bertha	Wife of Mordechai Khari	804	3	54	Klein	Shmuel	Son of Yehoshua Heschel & Sarah Klein
799	2	19	Khari	Bluma	Daughter of Mordechai & Bertha Khari	804	3	55	Klein	Szafra	Daughter of Yehoshua Heschel & Sarah Klein
799	2	20	Khari	Bumek	Son of Hertz & Pap'keh Khari	804	3	56	Klein	Yehoshua	Heschel
799	2	21	Khari	Bumek	Son of Shmuel & Friedka Khari	804	3	57	Klein	Zelig	Son of Yehoshua Heschel & Sarah Klein
799	2	22	Khari	Clara	Daughter of Eli & Golda Kari	804	3	58	Klichman	Avraham	
799	2	23	Khari	Eli		804	3	59	Klichman	Sarah	Wife of Avraham Klichman
799	2	24	Khari	Fried'keh	Wife of Shmuel Khari	803	2	60	Korman	Lula	
799	2	25	Khari	Golda	Wife of Eli Hkhari	803	2	61	Krauss	Avraham	Son of Gershon & Yetta Krauss
799	2	26	Khari	Herman		803	2	62	Krauss	Bal'tzi	Daughter of Gershon & Yetta Krauss
799	2	27	Khari	Hertz		803	2	63	Krauss	Eliezer	
799	2	28	Khari	Lucia	Wife of Herman Khari	803	2	64	Krauss	Feiga	Daughter of Gershon & Yetta Krauss
799	2	29	Khari	Lunek	Son of Hertz & Pap'keh Khari	803	2	65	Krauss	Gershon	
799	2	30	Khari	Mordechai		803	2	66	Krauss	Khalli	Daughter of Gershon & Yetta Krauss
799	2	31	Khari	Munyu	Son of Mordechai & Bertha Khari	803	2	67	Krauss	Meir	Son of Gershon & Yetta Krauss
799	2	32	Khari	Nina	Daughter of Shmuel & Friedka Khari	803	2	68	Krauss	Sarah	Wife of Eliezer Krauss
799	2	33	Khari	Pap'keh	Wife of Hertz Khari	803	2	69	Krauss	Shmel'ki	Son of Gershon & Yetta Krauss
799	2	34	Khari	Rinya	Daughter of Hernam & Lucia Khari	803	2	70	Krauss	Yetta	Wife of Gershon Krauss
799	2	35	Khari	Rosa	Daughter of Eli & Golda Kari	804	3	71	Krieger	Benjamin	Son of Isaac Mekhl & Feiga'li Krieger
799	2	36	Khari	Shmuel		804	3	72	Krieger	Boruch	Son of Isaac Mekhl & Feiga'li Krieger
799	2	37	Khari	Tzir'l	Wife of Yizhal Moshe Khari	804	3	73	Krieger	Feiga'li	Wife of Isaac Mekhl Krieger
799	2	38	Khari	Yitzhak	Moshe	804	3	74	Krieger	Isaac	Mekhl
804	3	39	Kirschner	Chana	Wife of Yehuda Kirschner	804	3	75	Krieger	Rivka	Daughter of Isaac Mekhl & Feiga'li Krieger
804	3	40	Kirschner	Clara		804	3	76	Krieger	Yente	Daughter of Isaac Mekhl & Feiga'li Krieger
804	3	41	Kirschner	Ethel		804	3	77	Kurtzer	Adela	Daughter of Chana Leah Kurtzer
804	3	42	Kirschner	Izu	Son of Clara Kirschner	804	3	78	Kurtzer	Chana Leah	

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804	3	80	Kurtzer	Esther	Daughter of Chana Leah Kurtzer	800	3	113	Lerner	Hersh	Son of Pesach & Szifra Lerner
804	3	81	Kurtzer	Rachel		800	3	114	Lerner	Leah	Daughter of Pesach & Szifra Lerner
804	3	82	Kurtzer	Yitzhak	Brother of Rachel Kurtzer	800	3	115	Lerner	Pesach	
804	3	83	Kurtzer	Ziss'l	Sister of Rachel Kurtzer	800	3	116	Lerner	Szifra	Wife of Pesach Lerner
						800	3	117	Lerner	Yitzhak	Son of Pesach & Szifra Lerner
						800	3	118	Lerner	Zish'eh	Son of Pesach & Szifra Lerner
801	1	84	Labwohl	Grin'eh		801	1	119	Lichtenberg	Rosalia	Wife of Wilhelm Lichtenberg
801	1	85	Labwohl	Vitt'l		801	1	120	Lichtenberg	Wilhelm	
801	1	86	Lampel	Rivka		800	3	121	Lichter	David	
801	1	87	Landau	Berisz		800	3	122	Lichter	Dvo'sheh	Daughter of Sarah Lichter
801	1	88	Landau	Bryn'tziah	Daughter of Berisz & Miriam Landau	800	3	123	Lichter	Henya	Wife of David Lichter
801	1	89	Landau	Chana	Daughter of Berisz & Miriam Landau	800	3	124	Lichter	Hersh	Son of Sarah Lichter
801	1	90	Landau	David	Son of Berisz & Miriam Landau	801	2	125	Lichter	Jonah	Son of Shimon Lichter
801	1	91	Landau	Miriam	Wife of Berisz Landau	801	1	126	Lichter	Lay'tzeh	
801	1	92	Landau	Pessia	Daughter of Berisz & Miriam Landau	801	1	127	Lichter	Lipa	
801	1	93	Landau	Sarah	Daughter of Berisz & Miriam Landau	800	3	128	Lichter	Malka	Daughter of Sarah Lichter
801	1	94	Landau	Shayndl	Wife of Shimon Landau	801	1	129	Lichter	Malka	Wife of Simcha Lichter
801	1	95	Landau	Shimon		800	3	130	Lichter	Mindl	Daughter of Sarah Lichter
801	1	96	Landau	Shlomo	Son of Shimon & Shayndl Landau	801	1	131	Lichter	Moshe	Son of Simcha & Malka Lichter
801	1	97	Landau	Zvi	Son of Shimon & Shayndl Landau	800	3	132	Lichter	Naphtali	Son of Sarah Lichter
801	1	98	Langer	Chaim	Son of Chaya Langer	801	1	133	Lichter	Nathan	Son of Simcha & Malka Lichter
801	1	99	Langer	Chaya		801	1	134	Lichter	Pap'keh	Wife of Lipa Lichter
801	2	100	Lauterfacht	Hersch	Son of Joseph Lauterfacht	800	3	135	Lichter	Sarah	
801	2	101	Lauterfacht	Joseph		800	3	136	Lichter	Shayndl	Daughter of Sarah Lichter
800	3	102	Laybkind	Chaim		800	3	137	Lichter	Shayn'keh	Daughter of David & Henya Lichter
800	3	103	Laybkind	Miriam	Wife of chaim Laybkind	801	2	1	Lichter	Shimon	
800	3	104	Laybkind	Sarah	Daughter of Chaim & Miriam Laybkind	801	1	2	Lichter	Simcha	
801	2	105	Leiner	Genya	Daughter of Shimon & Roza Leiner	801	1	3	Lichter	Sonia	Daughter of Lipa & Pap'keh
801	2	106	Leiner	Roza	Wife of Shimon Leiner	801	2	4	Lichter	Yitzhak	Son of Shimon Lichter
801	2	107	Leiner	Shimon		800	3	5	Lida	Chan'keh	Wife of Yehoshua Lida
801	1	108	Lemflatz	Frimet	Wife of Moshe Lemflatz	800	3	6	Lida	Itta	Wife of Moshe Leib Lida
801	1	109	Lemflatz	Israel	Son of Moshe & Frimet Lemflatz	800	3	7	Lida	Moshe Leib	
801	1	110	Lemflatz	Moshe		800	3	8	Lida	Shabtai	
801	1	111	Lemflatz	Ser'keh	Daughter of Moshe & Frimet Lemflatz	800	3	9	Lida	Sholom	Son of Moshe Leib & Itta Lida
						800	3	10	Lida	Yehoshua	

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800	3	12	Lida	Zuzya	Daughter of Yehoshua & Chan'keh Lida	801	1	1	Lustig	Yitzhak	Son of Leah Lustig
800	3	13	Lieberman	Chana	Daughter of Yehoshua & Margalit Lieberman	801	1	2	Lutringer	Berisz	Son of David & Ida Lutringer
801	1	14	Lieberman	Elisheva	Wife of Shlomo Lieberman	801	1	3	Lutringer	Bluma	Wife of Yitzhak Lutringer
800	3	15	Lieberman	Margalit	Wife of Yehoshua Lieberman	801	1	4	Lutringer	David	
800	3	16	Lieberman	Nathan	Son of Yehoshua & Margalit Lieberman	801	1	5	Lutringer	Freida	Daughter of David & Ida Lutringer
800	3	17	Lieberman	Pinchas	Son of Yehoshua & Margalit Lieberman	801	1	6	Lutringer	Gitt'l	Daughter of David & Ida Lutringer
801	1	18	Lieberman	Shlomo		801	1	7	Lutringer	Ida	Wife of David Lutringer
800	3	19	Lieberman	Yehoshua		801	1	8	Lutringer	Mendl	Son of Yitzhak & Bluma
801	1	20	Lifschitz	Sarah	Wife of Sender Lifschitz	801	1	9	Lutringer	Moshe	Son of David & Ida Lutringer
801	1	21	Lifschitz	Sender		801	1	10	Lutringer	Moshe	Son of Yitzhak & Bluma
801	1	22	Loew	Clara		801	1	11	Lutringer	Rivka	Daughter of Yitzhak & Bluma
801	1	23	Luckman	Joseph		801	1	12	Lutringer	Sarah	Daughter of Yitzhak & Bluma
801	1	24	Luckman	Szprinza	Wife of Joseph Luckman	801	1	13	Lutringer	Yitzhak	
801	1	25	Luckman	Yaakov	Son of Simcha & Szprinza Luckman						
800	3	26	Lunstein	Berko	Son of David and Mattil Lunstein						
800	3	27	Lunstein	David		801	2	14	Mahl	Hersch	
800	3	28	Lunstein	Henrya	Daughter of David and Mattil Lunstein	802	3	15	Mandel	Avraham	Son of Henrya Mandel
800	3	29	Lunstein	Mattil	Wife of David Lunstein	802	3	16	Mandel	Henrya	
801	2	30	Lunter	Avraham	Son of Fyvel & Sarah Lunter	802	3	17	Mandel	Leah	Daughter of Shmuel & Shayndl Mandel
801	2	31	Lunter	Dov	Son of Fyvel & Sarah Lunter	802	3	18	Mandel	Roza	Daughter of Shmuel & Shayndl Mandel
801	2	32	Lunter	Fyvel		802	3	1	Mandel	Shayndl	Wife of Shmuel Mandel
801	2	33	Lunter	Leah	Daughter of Fyvel & Sarah Lunter	801	2	2	Mandel	Shmuel	
801	2	34	Lunter	Mandel		802	3	3	Mandel	Zelig	Son of Shmuel & Shayndl Mandel
801	2	35	Lunter	Sabina	Daughter of Fyvel & Sarah Lunter	802	3	4	Manesz	Adela	Daughter of Shmuel & Esther Rachel Manesz
801	2	36	Lunter	Sarah	Wife of Fyvel Lunter	802	3	5	Manesz	Esther Rachel	Wife of Shmuel Manesz
801	2	37	Lunter	Yaakov	Son of Fyvel & Sarah Lunter	802	3	6	Manesz	Munyu	Son of Shmuel & Esther Rachel Manesz
801	2	38	Lurberbaum	Ephraim		802	3	7	Manesz	Shmuel	
801	2	39	Lurberbaum	Feiga	Daughter of Ephraim & Hilda Lurberbaum	802	3	8	Manesz	Yaakov	Son of Shmuel & Esther Rachel Manesz
801	2	40	Lurberbaum	Hilda	Wife of Ephraim Lurberbaum	801	2	9	Mankess	Blima	Daughter of Shmuel Mankess
801	2	41	Lustig	Baylah	Daughter of Meir & Leah Lustig	801	2	10	Mankess	Chana	Daughter of Yaakov Mankess
800	3	42	Lustig	Berl	Son of Leah Lustig	801	2	11	Mankess	David	Son of Shmuel Mankess
800	3	43	Lustig	Jonah	Son of Leah Lustig	801	2	12	Mankess	Esther	Daughter of Shmuel Mankess
800	3	44	Lustig	Leah		801	2	13	Mankess	Feiga	Daughter of Shmuel Mankess
801	2	45	Lustig	Leah	Wife of Meir Lustig	801	2	14	Mankess	Freida	Daughter of Shmuel Mankess
801	2	46	Lustig	Meir		801	2	15	Mankess	Ida	Daughter of Shmuel Mankess

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801	2	18	Mankess	Moshe		802	3	53	Neuhaus	Kaz'h'e'h	
801	2	19	Mankess	Rachel	Daughter of Moshe Mankess	802	3	54	Neutaler	David	
801	2	20	Mankess	Shmuel		802	3	55	Neutaler	Feiga	
801	2	21	Mankess	Yaakov		802	3	56	Neutaler	Joseph	Son of Feiga Neutaler
801	2	22	Margal	Israel		802	3	57	Neutaler	Pearl	Wife of David Neutaler
801	2	23	Margal	Rivka	Wife of Israel Margal	802	3	58	Neutaler	Tauba	Daughter of Feiga Neutaler
801	2	24	Meister	Hersch							
801	2	25	Meister	Sarah'l	Wife of Hersch Meister				Ⓚ		
801	2	26	Melman	Batya	Wife of Mark Melman	795	2	59	Orlander	Akiva	Son of Sarah Orlander
801	2	27	Melman	Mark		795	2	60	Orlander	Alexander	Son of Avraham & Fanya
801	2	28	Mermelstein	Regina		796	3	61	Orlander	Anshel	
802	3	29	Messaia's	Dvorah	Daughter of Tova Messaias	795	2	62	Orlander	Avraham	
802	3	30	Messaia's	Feiga Dina		795	2	63	Orlander	Avraham Yitzhak	
802	3	31	Messaia's	Isaac	Son of Tova Messaias	796	3	64	Orlander	Belitsa	
802	3	32	Messaia's	Joseph	Son of Tova Messaias	795	2	1	Orlander	Chana	Daughter of Wolf & Ethel
802	3	33	Messaia's	Tova		796	3	2	Orlander	Chanah	Wife of Herman Orlander
802	3	34	Messaia's	Zlata	Son (??) of Tova Messias	796	3	3	Orlander	Chan'cheh	Daughter of Belitsa Orlander
801	2	35	Miller	Henryk		796	3	4	Orlander	Dov	Son of Herman & Chana Orlander
801	2	36	Miller	Roza	Wife of Henryk Miller	796	3	5	Orlander	Dvorah	Daughter of Sarah Orlander
801	2	37	Miller	Avraham	Son of Moshe Miller	796	3	6	Orlander	Esther	Daughter of Anshel & Yehudit
801	2	38	Miller	Esther	Daughter of Moshe Miller	795	1	7	Orlander	Ethel	His Wife
801	2	39	Miller	Hersch	Son of Moshe Miller	795	2	8	Orlander	Fanya	Wife of Avraham
801	2	40	Miller	Leah	Daughter of Moshe Miller	796	3	9	Orlander	Herman	
801	2	41	Miller	Moshe		795	2	10	Orlander	Hirsch Leib	
801	2	42	Miller	Shoshana	Daughter of Moshe Miller	796	3	1	Orlander	Itkeh	Daughter of Sarah Orlander
801	2	43	Miller	Yitzhak	Son of Moshe Miller	796	3	2	Orlander	Joseph	Son of Herman & Chana Orlander
801	2	44	Mittelman	Bertha	Daughter of Shmuel & Tova Mittelman	796	3	3	Orlander	Leora	Wife of Oscar Orlander
801	2	45	Mittelman	Eli	Son of Shmuel & Tova Mittelman	795	2	4	Orlander	Malka	Wife of Avraham Yitzhak
801	2	46	Mittelman	Moshe	Son of Shmuel & Tova Mittelman	795	2	5	Orlander	Miriam	Daughter of Avraham Yitzhak & Malka
801	2	47	Mittelman	Shmuel		796	3	6	Orlander	Oscar	
801	2	48	Mittelman	Tova	Wife of Shmuel Mittelman	795	2	7	Orlander	Rachel (Utch'keh)	Wife of Hirsch Leib Orlander
802	3	49	Mundsztuk	Adela	Wife of Nathan Mundsztuk	795	1	8	Orlander	Regina	Daughter of Wolf & Ethel
802	3	50	Mundsztuk	Mordechai	Son of Nathan & Adela Mundsztuk	795	1	9	Orlander	Sabina	Daughter of Wolf & Ethel
802	3	51	Mundsztuk	Nathan		795	1	10	Orlander	Sarah	Daughter of Wolf & Ethel

Page	Col	Row	Last Name	First Name	Descriptor					
						805	1	20	Rabinowitz	Rivka Miriam Wife of Naphtali Rabinowitz
						805	1	21	Rabinowitz Sima	Daughter of R' Avraham & Chana Rachel Rabinowitz
795	2	11	Orlander	Sarah		805	1	1	Rad	Chaim
795	1	12	Orlander	Wolf		804	3	2	Rad	Chaya Wife of Mendl Rad
795	2	13	Orlander	Yaakov		804	3	3	Rad	Chaya Wife of Mendl Rad
796	3	14	Orlander	Yehudit	Wife of Anshel Orlander	804	3	4	Rad	Hirsch Son of Mendl & Chaya Rad
796	3	15	Orlander	Yitzhak	Son of Anshel & Yehudit	804	3	5	Rad	Hirsch Son of Mendl & Chaya Rad
						804	3	6	Rad	Matiya
			⚭			804	3	7	Rad	Mendl
803	2	16	Patrontacz	Adela		804	3	8	Rad	Mendl
803	1	17	Patrontacz	Avraham Nathan		804	3	9	Rad	Moshe Son of Mendl & Chaya Rad
803	1	18	Patrontacz	Freida	Wife of Israel Patrontacz	804	3	10	Rad	Moshe Son of Mendl & Chaya Rad
803	1	19	Patrontacz	Israel		804	3	11	Rad	Moshe Mikhl
803	1	20	Patrontacz	Joseph	Son of Israel & Freida Patrontacz	804	3	12	Rad	Sarah Rachel Wife of Moshe Mikhl Rad
803	1	21	Patrontacz	Leib	Son of Israel & Freida Patrontacz	804	3	13	Rad Uri	Son of Moshe Mikhl & Sarah Rachel Rad
803	1	22	Patrontacz	Mona	Daughter of Avraham Nathan & Tzivia Patrontacz	805	1	14	Rammel	Eli Son of Eliezer & Sabina Rammel
						805	1	15	Rammel	Eliezer
803	2	1	Patrontacz	Rachel		805	1	16	Rammel	Sabina Wife of Eliezer Rammel
803	1	2	Patrontacz	Sanek	Son of Israel & Freida Patrontacz	805	1	17	Rapaport	Sarah Wife of Shammai Rapaport
803	1	3	Patrontacz	Tzippora	Daughter of Avraham Nathan & Tzivia Patrontacz	805	1	18	Rapaport	Shammai
803	1	4	Patrontacz	Tzivia	Wife of Avraham Nathan Patrontacz	805	1	19	Reichman	Esther Wife of Leibusz Reichman
803	2	5	Pearlstein	Esther	Daughter of Joseph & Golda Pearlstein	805	1	20	Reichman	Joel Son of Leibusz & Esther Reichman
803	2	6	Pearlstein	Golda	Wife of Joseph Pearlstein	805	1	21	Reichman	Joseph Hersh
803	2	7	Pearlstein	Joseph		805	1	22	Reichman	Leibusz
803	2	8	Pearlstein	Minna	Daughter of Joseph & Golda Pearlstein	805	1	23	Reichman	Mendl Son of Leibusz & Esther Reichman
803	2	9	Pearlstein	Moshe	Son of Joseph & Golda Pearlstein	805	1	24	Reichman	Shoshana Wife of Joseph Hersh Reichman
803	2	10	Pearlstein	Sala	Daughter of Joseph & Golda Pearlstein	805	1	25	Reichman	Wolf Son of Joseph & Shoshana Reichman
803	2	11	Pearlstein	Yente	Daughter of Joseph & Golda Pearlstein	805	1	26	Reichman	Yitzhak Son of Leibusz & Esther Reichman
803	1	12	Probler	Joseph		805	1	27	Reiss	Benjamin Son of Sholom Rosenfeld
803	1	13	Probler	Karolina	Daughter of Joseph & Ziss'l Probler	805	1	28	Reiss	Latzeh Wife of Sholom Rosenfeld
803	1	14	Probler	Sarah	Daughter of Joseph & Ziss'l Probler	805	1	29	Reiss	Nathan
803	1	15	Probler	Ziss'l	Wife of Joseph Probler	805	1	30	Reiss	Zvi Son of Sholom Rosenfeld
						805	1	31	Reitzes	Sheva
			⚭			805	1	32	Reitzfeld	Gitt'l Daughter of Shimon Reitzfeld
805	1	16	Rabinowitz	Chana Rachel	Wife of Rabbi Avraham Rabinowitz	805	1	33	Reitzfeld	Joseph Son of Shimon Reitzfeld
805	1	17	Rabinowitz	Gitt'l	Daughter of R' Avraham & Chana Rachel Rabinowitz	805	1	34	Reitzfeld	Shimon
805	1	18	Rabinowitz	Naphtali		805	1	35	Root	Chaim
805	1	19	Rabinowitz	Rabbi Avraham		805	1	36	Root	Chana Daughter of Shlomo & Reizl Root

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805	1	37	Root	Reizl	Wife of Shlomo Root	805	2	71	Schtiller	Baylah	Daughter of Yaakov & Szifra
805	1	38	Root	Sarah	Wife of Chaim Root	805	2	72	Schtiller	Fried'keh	Daughter of Shmuel & Adel Schiller
805	1	39	Root	Shlomo		805	2	73	Schtiller	Hella	Daughter of Shmuel & Adel Schiller
805	1	40	Root	Zvi	Son of Shlomo & Reizl Root	805	2	74	Schtiller	Miriam	Daughter of Yaakov & Szifra
805	1	41	Rosenfeld	Bina	Daughter of Sholom Rosenfeld	805	2	75	Schtiller	Moshe	Son of Yaakov & Szifra
805	1	42	Rosenfeld	Sholom		805	2	76	Schtiller	Shmuel	
805	1	43	Rucker	Henrya	Wife of Leib Rucker	805	2	77	Schtiller	Szifra	Wife of Yaakov Schtiller
805	1	44	Rucker	Leib		805	2	78	Schtiller	Yaakov	
805	1	45	Rucker	Moshe		805	2	79	Schtiller	Yetta	Daughter of Yaakov & Szifra
805	1	46	Rucker	Rachel		806	3	80	Schultz	Adela	Daughter of Shlomo Schultz
805	1	47	Rucker	Rivka		806	3	81	Schultz	Avraham	Son of Moshe Schultz
						806	3	82	Schultz	Gitt'l	Daughter of Shlomo Schultz
			§			806	3	83	Schultz	Hinde	
805	2	48	Schein	Henrya		806	3	84	Schultz	Mendl	
805	2	49	Schein	Sarah	Daughter of Henrya Schein	806	3	85	Schultz	Moshe	
806	3	50	Schlein	Durka (Dvorka?)	Daughter of Yehuda & Rosa Schlein	806	3	86	Schultz	Shlomo	Son of Moshe Schultz
806	3	51	Schlein	Lucia	Daughter of Yehuda & Rosa Schlein	806	3	87	Schultz	Shlomo	
806	3	52	Schlein	Rosa	Wife of Yehuda Schlein	805	2	88	Schuman	Dora	Wife of Joseph Schuman
806	3	53	Schlein	Rosa	Daughter of Yehuda & Rosa Schlein	805	2	89	Schuman	Esther	Daughter of Joseph & Dora Schuman
806	3	54	Schlein	Yehuda		805	2	90	Schuman	Joseph	
805	2	55	Schlittin	Fradl	Daughter of Shmuel Leib & Malka	805	2	91	Schuman	Michael	Son of Joseph & Dora Schuman
805	2	56	Schlittin	Malka	Wife of Shmuel Leib Schlittin	805	2	91	Schuman	Sabina	Daughter of Joseph & Dora Schuman
805	2	57	Schlittin	Shmuel Leib		805	2	92	Schurtz	Avraham	
805	1	58	Schmider	Bernard	Son of Isaac & Chaya Schmider	805	2	93	Schurtz	Hella	Wife of Avraham Szurtz
805	1	59	Schmider	Chaya	Wife of Isaac Schmider	806	3	94	Schwartz	David	
805	1	60	Schmider	Dora	Daughter of Isaac & Chaya Schmider	806	3	95	Schwartz	Henrya	No Designation
805	1	61	Schmider	Isaac		806	3	96	Schwartz	Hersh	No Designation
805	1	62	Schmider	Israel	Son of Isaac & Chaya Schmider	806	3	97	Schwartz	Hersh Leib	No Designation
806	3	63	Schreiber	Baylah		806	3	98	Schwartz	Manya	No Designation
806	3	64	Schreiber	Esther	Daughter of Shlomo & Sima Schreiber	806	3	99	Schwartz	Shayndl	No Designation
806	3	65	Schreiber	Etti'keh	Daughter of Shlomo & Sima Schreiber	805	2	100	Schweitzer	Chaim	
806	3	66	Schreiber	Henrya	Daughter of Shlomo & Sima Schreiber	805	2	101	Schweitzer	Dora	Wife of Chaim Schweitzer
806	3	67	Schreiber	Minna	Daughter of Shlomo & Sima Schreiber	805	2	102	Schweitzer	Ethel	Daughter of Shmuel & Rivka Schweitzer
806	3	68	Schreiber	Shlomo		805	2	103	Schweitzer	Fredek	Son of Chaim & Dora Schweitzer
806	3	69	Schreiber	Sima	Wife of Shlomo Schreiber	805	2	104	Schweitzer	Gitt'l	Wife of Joel Schweitzer
805	2	70	Schtiller	Adela	Wife of Shmuel Schtiller	805	2	105	Schweitzer	Henryk	Son of Chaim & Dora Schweitzer

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805	2	106	Schweitzer	Joel		805	1	142	Steinbach	Dina	Wife of Moshe Steinbach
805	2	107	Schweitzer	Rivka	Wife Shmuel Schweitzer	805	1	142	Steinbach	Leib	
805	2	108	Schweitzer	Shmuel		805	1	143	Steinbach	Moshe	
805	2	109	Schweitzer	Zisza	Son of Shmuel & Rivka Schweitzer	805	2	144	Steinbuch	Esther	Daughter of Ze'ev & Rachel Steinbuch
802	3	110	Segal	Chaim		805	2	145	Steinbuch	Miriam	Daughter of Ze'ev & Rachel Steinbuch
802	3	111	Segal	Feiga	Wife of Joseph Hersch Segal	805	2	146	Steinbuch	Rachel	Wife of Ze'ev Steinbuch
802	3	112	Segal	Frieda	Daughter of Chaim & Sima Segal	805	2	147	Steinbuch	Ze'ev	
802	3	113	Segal	Isaac	Son of Chaim & Sima Segal	806	3	148	Strassner	Jekuthiel	No Designation
802	3	114	Segal	Joseph	Hersch	806	3	149	Strassner	Leah	No Designation
802	3	115	Segal	Sima	Wife of Chaim Segal	806	3	150	Strassner	Mott'l	No Designation
802	3	116	Serber	Avraham	Son of Leib & Bracha Serber	806	3	151	Strassner	Shmuel	
802	3	117	Serber	Bracha	Wife of Leib Serber	806	3	152	Strom	Eli Wolf	Son of Yehuda & Rivka Strom
802	3	118	Serber	Leib		806	3	153	Strom	Rivka	Wife of Yehuda Strom
802	3	119	Serber	Shmuel	Son of Leib & Bracha Serber	806	3	154	Strom	Szifra	Daughter of Yehuda & Rivka Strom
802	3	120	Serber	Tamar	Daughter of Leib & Bracha Serber					Strom	
802	3	121	Sklar	Clara	No Description	806	3	155	Strom	Yehuda	
802	3	122	Sklar	Juta		805	2	156	Szapiro	Avraham	Son of Yaakov & Yetta-Rachel Szapiro
802	3	123	Sklar	Leib	No Description	806	3	157	Szapiro	Blima	Wife of Jonah Szapiro
802	3	124	Sklar	Max	No Description	806	3	158	Szapiro	Jaffa	
802	3	125	Sklar	Moshe	No Description	806	3	159	Szapiro	Jonah	
802	3	126	Sklar	Rachel	No Description	805	2	160	Szapiro	Joseph	Son of Yaakov & Yetta-Rachel Szapiro
802	3	127	Sobol	Avraham	Son of Shammai & Taub'tzia Sobol	805	2	161	Szapiro	Malka	
802	3	128	Sobol	David	Son of Shammai & Taub'tzia Sobol	805	2	162	Szapiro	Malleh	Daughter of Yaakov & Yetta-Rachel Szapiro
802	3	129	Sobol	Dr. Moshe	Son of Shammai & Taub'tzia Sobol	805	2	163	Szapiro	Moshe	Son of Yaakov & Yetta-Rachel Szapiro
802	3	130	Sobol	Shammai		805	2	164	Szapiro	Penina	Daughter of Malka Szapiro
802	3	131	Sobol	Shlomo	Son of Shammai & Taub'tzia Sobol	806	3	165	Szapiro	Sarah	Daughter of Jonah & Blima Szapiro
802	3	132	Sobol	Shmuel		805	2	166	Szapiro	Yaakov	
802	3	133	Sobol	Taub'tzia	Wife of Shammai Sobol	806	3	167	Szapiro	Yente	Daughter of Jonah & Blima Szapiro
805	2	134	Spiegel	Dov		805	2	168	Szapiro	Yetta-Rachel	Wife of Yaakov Szapiro
805	2	135	Spiegel	Miriam	Daughter of Dov & Sabina Spiegel	806	3	169	Szpindl	Bina	Daughter of Moshe & Reizl Szpindl
805	2	136	Spiegel	Nathan	Son of Dov & Sabina Spiegel	805	2	170	Szpindl	Chaim	
805	2	137	Spiegel	Sabina	Wife of Dov Spiegel	806	3	171	Szpindl	Golda	Daughter of Chaim & Tzir'l Szpindl
805	2	138	Spiegel	Shmelki	Son of Dov & Sabina Spiegel	806	3	172	Szpindl	Israel	Son of Moshe & Reizl Szpindl
805	2	139	Stahl	Baruch		806	3	173	Szpindl	Leah	Daughter of Moshe & Reizl Szpindl
805	2	140	Stahl	Sarah Dvorah	Wife of Baruch Stahl	806	3	174	Szpindl	Moshe	
805	1	141	Steinbach	Chaya	Wife of Leib Steinbach	806	3	175	Szpindl	Reizl	Wife of Moshe Szpindl

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806	3	177	Szpindl	Shayndl-Yetta	Daughter of Moshe & Reizl Szpindl	799	1	28	Vitlin	Avraham	Son of Moshe Vitlin
806	3	178	Szpindl	Tzila	Daughter of Chaim & Tzir'l Szpindl	799	1	29	Vitlin	Jamima	Daughter of Moshe Vitlin
806	3	1	Szpindl	Tzir'l	Wife of Chaim Szpindl	799	1	30	Vitlin	Mona	Daughter of Moshe Vitlin
806	3	2	Szpindl	Wolf	Son of Moshe & Reizl Szpindl	799	1	31	Vitlin	Moshe	
805	1	3	Szprutzer	Chaya	Wife of Yaakov Szprutzer	799	1	32	Vitlin	Pinchas	Son of Moshe Vitlin
805	2	1	Szprutzer	Chaya Sarah	Daughter of Yaakov & Yente Szprutzer	799	1	33	Vitlin	Sholom	Son of Moshe Vitlin
805	1	2	Szprutzer	Rivka	Daughter of Yaakov & Yente Szprutzer						
805	2	3	Szprutzer	Shimon	Son of Yaakov & Yente Szprutzer				III		
805	1	4	Szprutzer	Yaakov		799	1	34	Waller	Ber'l	Son of Yekhiel & Feiga Waller
805	1	5	Szprutzer	Yente	Daughter of Yaakov & Yente Szprutzer	799	1	35	Waller	Feiga	Wife of Yekhiel Waller
806	3	6	Szteger	Bertha	Wife of Hirsch Szteger	799	1	36	Waller	Lejzor	Son of Yekhiel & Feiga Waller
806	3	7	Szteger	Hirsch		799	1	37	Waller	Yekhiel	
806	3	8	Szteger	Shmuel	Son of Hirsch & Bertha Szteger	799	1	38	Waller	Yitzhak	Son of Yekhiel & Feiga Waller
806	3	9	Szyfer	Tauba		799	1	39	Weber	Joseph	
						799	1	40	Weber	Resha	Wife of Joseph Weber
			IV			799	1	41	Wolf	Anshel	
799	2	10	Tirk	Ancel	Son of Simcha & Leah Tirk	799	1	42	Wolf	Ben Zion	
799	2	11	Tirk	Leah	Wife of Simcha Tirk	799	1	43	Wolf	Brunya	Daughter of Yaakov & Ida Wolf
799	2	12	Tirk	Simcha		799	1	44	Wolf	Brunya	Daughter of Ben Zion & Genya Wolf
799	2	13	Tirk	Wolf (Ze'ev)	Son of Simcha & Leah Tirk	799	1	45	Wolf	David	Son of Mordechai & Sarah Wolf
803	2	14	Tsipper	David		799	1	46	Wolf	Eli	Son of Mordechai & Sarah Wolf
803	2	15	Tsipper	Idis	Wife of David Tsipper	799	1	47	Wolf	Esther	Daughter of Mordechai & Sarah Wolf
803	2	16	Tzimmend	David		799	1	48	Wolf	Genya	Wife of Ben Zion Wolf
803	2	17	Tzymer	Hermina	Daughter of Julius & Paulina Tzymer	798	3	49	Wolf	Ida	Wife of Yaakov Wolf
803	2	18	Tzymer	Julius		799	1	50	Wolf	Janina	Daughter of Yaakov & Ida Wolf
803	2	19	Tzymer	Minna	Daughter of Julius & Paulina Tzymer	799	1	51	Wolf	Leopold	Son of Yaakov & Ida Wolf
803	2	20	Tzymer	Paulina	Wife of Julius Tzymer	799	1	52	Wolf	Margola	Daughter of Anshel & Mikhla Wolf
803	2	21	Tzymer	Ruth	Daughter of Julius & Paulina Tzymer	798	3	53	Wolf	Michael	Son of Yaakov & Ida Wolf
						799	1	54	Wolf	Mikhla	Wife of Anshel Wolf
			V			799	1	55	Wolf	Mordechai	
799	1	22	Vatter	Chaya	Daughter of Moshe & Mir'l Vatter	799	1	56	Wolf	Moshe	Son of Mordechai & Sarah Wolf
799	1	23	Vatter	Dora	Daughter of Moshe & Mir'l Vatter	799	1	57	Wolf	Roza	Wife of Shimon Wolf
799	1	24	Vatter	Mir'l	Wife of Moshe Vatter	799	1	58	Wolf	Sarah	Wife of Modechai Wolf
799	1	25	Vatter	Moshe		799	1	59	Wolf	Shimon	
799	1	26	Vatter	Wolf	Son of Moshe & Mir'l Vatter	799	1	1	Wolf	Shmuel	Son of Yaakov & Ida Wolf

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799	1	2	Wolf	Sima	Daughter of Anshel & Mikhla Wolf	803	2	35	Zimeles	Fradl Lifsheh	Daughter of Mordechai David Zimeles
798	3	3	Wolf	Yaakov		803	2	36	Zimeles	Mordechai David	
			ז			803	2	37	Zimeles	Pinchas	Son of Mordechai David Zimeles
			ז			803	2	38	Zimeles	Shmuel Nathan	Son of Mordechai David Zimeles
799	2	4	Zagar	Isidore		803	2	39	Zimmerman	Bayltzia	Wife of Yitzhak Zimmerman
799	2	5	Zagar	Lucia	Wife of Isidore Zagar	803	2	40	Zimmerman	Dr. Reuben	
799	2	6	Zauerleig	Chana		803	2	41	Zimmerman	Gila	Wife of Dr. Reuben Zimmerman
799	2	7	Zauerleig	Miriam	Daughter of Chana Zauerleig	803	2	42	Zimmerman	Max	Son of Yitzhak & Bayltzia Zimmerman
799	2	8	Zauerleig	Yaakov	Son of Chana Zauerleig	803	2	43	Zimmerman	Mush'keh	Daughter of Dr. Reuben & Gila Zimmerman
799	2	9	Zeif	Feiga	Wife of Maness Zeif	803	2	44	Zimmerman	Tush'keh	Daughter of Dr. Reuben & Gila Zimmerman
799	2	10	Zeif	Maness		803	2	45	Zimmerman	Yitzhak	
799	2	11	Ziebert	Adela	Wife of Israel Ziebert	799	2	46	Zinger	Hanoch	
799	2	12	Ziebert	Chana	Wife of Joseph Ziebert	799	2	47	Zinger	Chaya	Daughter of Hanoch & Miriam Zinger
799	2	13	Ziebert	David		799	2	1	Zinger	Leib	
799	2	14	Ziebert	David	Son of Yitzhak & Miriam Ziebert	799	2	2	Zinger	Miriam	Wife of Hanoch Zinger
799	2	15	Ziebert	Frieda	Daughter of David & Tauba	799	2	3	Zinger	Rachel	Wife of Leib Zinger
799	2	16	Ziebert	Ida		799	1	4	Zubl	Alexander	Son of Shmuel & Rivka Zubl
799	2	17	Ziebert	Israel		799	1	5	Zubl	Anshel	
799	2	18	Ziebert	Joseph		799	1	6	Zubl	Chana	Wife of Moshe Zubl
799	2	19	Ziebert	Joseph	Son of Ida Ziebert	799	1	7	Zubl	Czarneh	Daughter of Hersch & Perla Zubl
799	2	20	Ziebert	Lejzor (Eliezer)	Son of Yitzhak & Miriam Ziebert	799	1	8	Zubl	Fyvel	Son of Hersch & Perla Zubl
799	2	21	Ziebert	Mendl	Son of David & Tauba	799	1	9	Zubl	Hersch	Son of Shmuel & Sima Rubl
799	2	22	Zieber	Minna	Daughter of Yitzhak & Miriam Ziebert	799	1	10	Zubl	Hersch	
799	2	23	Ziebert	Miriam	Wife of Yitzhak Ziebert	799	1	11	Zubl	Moshe	
799	2	24	Ziebert	Moshe	Son of Yitzhak & Miriam Ziebert	799	2	12	Zubl	Nissan	
799	2	25	Ziebert	Pepi	Daughter of Israel & Adela	799	1	13	Zubl	Perla	Wife of Hersch Zubl
799	2	26	Ziebert	Tauba	Wife of David Ziebert	799	1	14	Zubl	Rivka	Wife of Shmuel Zubl
799	2	27	Ziebert	Yitzhak		799	1	15	Zubl	Shmuel	
799	2	28	Ziebert	Yitzhak	Son of Ida Ziebert	799	1	16	Zubl	Sima	Wife of Anshel Zubl
799	2	29	Ziebert	Yitzhak	Son of Ida Ziebert	799	1	17	Zubl	Wolf	Son of Hersch & Perla Zubl
799	1	30	Zilber	Jocheved	Daughter of Moshe & Jocheved Zilber	799	2	18	Zubl	Yehoshua	
799	1	31	Zilber	Miriam	Daughter of Moshe & Jocheved Zilber						END
799	1	32	Zilber	Moshe							
799	1	33	Zilber	Shayn'eh	Wife of Moshe Zilber						
803	2	34	Zimiles	Chana-Reitz'eh	Daughter of Mordechai David Zimeles						
803	2	35	Zimeles	Dvorah							

**The Inscription on the Headstone Reads:
The Remains of the Martyrs Of the Community of**

**ZOLKIEW
Masty' Wielki
And Surroundings
Who Were Exterminated
In The Holocaust
In the Years 5701 - 5703**



*Page 845: The Remains Have Been
Cemetery, Tel-Aviv, on the 16th Day of Iyyar
Placed Above These Remains Was Designed by
Nissan 5728 (April 28, 1968).*

*Incarcerated in the Nakhalat-Yitzhak
5727 (May 25, 1967), and the Headstone
the Artist Zvi Arman, a Zolkiew Scion, 27*

האפר נטמן בבית העלמין שבנחלת יצחק, תל-אביב ביום ט"ז באייר
תשכ"ז (25.5.67) והמצבה עליו, שתוכננה בידי הצייר צבי ארמן איש
זולקיה, הוקמה ביום השואה, כ"ז בניסן תשכ"ח (25.4.68)

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