**Chapter 2: The Husbands - why did they leave and where did they go?**

 Almost all information regarding deserters comes from the deserted side. Deserting men's voice is hardly heard. This is an unusual phenomenon. The common claim is that until modern times, women's voice is hardly heard, and that most information regarding women comes from male authored material. Thus, creating a distorted picture of actual female behavior.[[1]](#footnote-1)

 In the Agunot case the voice the men, is usually the missing one. In some of the categories of Agunot, males' position is very prominent. In cases of Get, Halitza and in *Heter Meah Rabbanin* applications men's voice was in high volume. However, in cases of desertion, the female voice is the dominant. Only in cases in which the husband was caught, or he agreed to free the wife, we can understand why they abandoned their wives. In this chapter we will discuss the question why a husband decided to make his wife Agunah, according to the main categories we identified earlier. We ignore here those who died and were not found or identified. These wives became Agunot, but not because these husbands were at fault.

 The deserters’ voice was hardly heard in the sources, but this is not the only methodological issue investigating Agunot. In most cases we do not have information regarding age difference between husband wife; was it the couple’s first marriage, number of children. In many cases we lack knowledge on the financial status of the family. It is accepted among researchers that Aginut[[2]](#footnote-2) was poor people solution to dissolving the marriage, but we do not have the figures to support this. We hear of men deciding to leave for a while to find work in other places. They kept in touch with family but later disappeared. We do not know if it was their choice. It is possible that some of them died or were imprisoned, and the wife did not know it.

 In this chapter we will discuss known cases in which the husband gave reasons for his desertion. Immigration as a major contribution factor will be discussed later this chapter.

1. **Issues of Get, Halitza and severe illness**

 Get Issues

Here we can identify two groups:

1. Men who gave a Get and then left, with no knowledge the Get was improper or incorrect.[[3]](#footnote-3) Since they were not aware that the issue existed, we are not regarding them here.

Yosef ben Benyamin from Slonim, Belarus deserted wife in 1868. In 1870 he was traced in Istanbul, and agree to provide a Get, if he will receive the sum of 80 silver Rubles and additional 8 silver Rubles to cover expenses. The wife's father could not afford it. Only when Yosef returned from Istanbul and intended to marry another wife, he granted a Get.[[4]](#footnote-4)

1. Men who refused to give or correct a Get, that were conscious that there was a problem. These deserters provided a range of reasons for not granting a Get. The following cases provide examples for reasons supplied by these husbands.
* Henia's husband left her ten years before she found out that he converted. When found she realized that he converted and was asked to give her a Get. he provided her with a defaulted Get. Pesach Baruch converted and deserted wife. When she found him, he was asked to grant a Get. He refused and tried to convince his wife to convert too.[[5]](#footnote-5)
* In some cases, a Get given by a convert was not accepted by rabbis because the Get was incorrect. Such was the case of Gershon and his wife Haya of Daugavpils, Latvia, 1899.[[6]](#footnote-6)
* Vojislav Optashinski’s wife of Łańcut looked for him to send her a Get.[[7]](#footnote-7) Mordechai also converted, and his wife found him aided by the police. She asked for a Get, but husband refused.[[8]](#footnote-8) A Hungarian physician M.K. converted and refused to give wife a Get.[[9]](#footnote-9)
* Shimon K. was forced to marry Elana because she was pregnant. After the wedding Shimon converted and when his wife Elana discovered him, she reported to the local authorities that her husband is a bigamist. She claimed that because the marriage was registered by the state rabbi, he must grant her a Jewish divorce (Get). Shimon refused and the local authorities decided that he need not to divorce his wife.[[10]](#footnote-10)
* Hayyim Salomanki of Kiev converted and became Fedor Ivanov. Wife Ester asked for a Jewish divorce, which he refused to provide. In 1886 he was permitted to remarry a Russian Orthodox woman without divorcing Ester. When seeking the aid of the Russian ministry of Internal affairs, she was informed that as far as they were concerned, the Jewish marriage is no longer considered legitimate.[[11]](#footnote-11)
* Sometimes a converted man was willing to give a Get, but insisted that the wife will come, from a faraway town to take the Get by her own hands, seeking to humiliate her.[[12]](#footnote-12) In other cases converted men demanded money for granting a Get.[[13]](#footnote-13) Another man provided a defaulted get and requested money for correcting it. [[14]](#footnote-14)
* Tzirl found her converted husband Ivan Gregorowicz, who denied that the were ever married. She turned to the Beit din and asked for *Heter Agunah* (permitting the wife to remarry).[[15]](#footnote-15)

 Purposely defaulting a Get was a common practice among non-converts as well. Men refusing to grant a Get and providing a defaulted one in purpose or granting a Get, and afterwards changing their mind.

* Moshe ben Nissan from Telenești, Moldova, gave a Get, then withheld it and demanded money before regranting it.[[16]](#footnote-16) Moshe ben Benyamin, originally from Krakow who lived in Istanbul demanded silverware before sending Yashe the Get he already signed to Galicia, where she lived.[[17]](#footnote-17)
* Moshe Harlip of Minsk gave a defaulted Get and disappeared.[[18]](#footnote-18)
* Yaacov Hazlish also defaulted his Get, and soon after disappeared.[[19]](#footnote-19)
* Feivel gave two different versions of the Get to default it.[[20]](#footnote-20)
* Moshe Br"A was in prison and refused to grant a Get. When he finally agreed he added that wife can marry only if he will remain in prison for more than four years, so she will not be able to marry for a long time.[[21]](#footnote-21)
* Itzhak Kirshenboim of Vysokaje, Belarus, tried to force his wife to accept the Get, and when she took it, the Beit Din found the Get to be incorrect. Itzhak disappeared and made her an Agunah.[[22]](#footnote-22) Leibusch Hirschman of Kamianka-Buzka also tried to force Keile to accept a Get he threw at her. He disappeared shortly after throwing the Get at her. Rabbis also found fundamental inaccuracies in the Get itself.[[23]](#footnote-23)

Men preferred sometimes to ask for *Heter Meah Rabbanim* (asking permission from one hundred rabbis to remarry without divorcing their wives). Most requests[[24]](#footnote-24) were denied by the rabbinical authorities.[[25]](#footnote-25) The requests are divided into some groups.

 1. Men asking to marry another without divorcing because wife cannot give birth.

 - A man applied for the permission to get permission to marry without divorcing because his wife could give birth only to daughters[[26]](#footnote-26)

- Menahem Mendel's forty-five years old wife Sheindl had no children during their eighteen years marriage, and he asked to marry another wife, since she refused to receive a Get.[[27]](#footnote-27) In two cases of unnamed couples the husband requested permission to remarry not only because the wife did not give birth yet.[[28]](#footnote-28) Sarah, whose husband received from rabbis in Russia permission to wed another wife because she had no children, asked rabbi Israel Neiman to revoke this permission, claiming that since she did not live in Russia, the Russian rabbis could not give such a permission. Rabbi Neiman validated their permission but asked the husband to reembrace her.[[29]](#footnote-29)

- Tzvi Hirsch’s wife did not give birth for ten years. He provided a paper she signed, that if she will not give birth within five years, she will accept his get. She claimed that she did not understand what she was signing. She was sent to Vienna for medical inspection and the husband request was denied.[[30]](#footnote-30)

 - Tzvi Shtern's wife of Mád, Hungary was ordered by the physicians not to give birth, because it may put her life in danger, and Shtern ask to marry a second wife, who can give birth.[[31]](#footnote-31)

 2. Wife deserting and men seeking solution.[[32]](#footnote-32)

 Not in all cases of deserting wives did husbands request divorce or permission to remarry. Indeed, in many cases husbands were reluctant to admit that they were abandoned.

* Hirsch Perla from Warsaw requested assistance in locating Rivka Bernshtein who went to London. Rivka lover's name is not mentioned. [[33]](#footnote-33)
* Itzhak tried to locate his wife and his four years old daughter who disappeared in 1868. Rivka of Ruzhin deserted husband Tzvi.[[34]](#footnote-34)
* Meir Weisselberger implored his deserting wife Haya to return, three years after she left.[[35]](#footnote-35)
* In two cases, when requested to go back to their husbands the young women decided escape and disappeared.[[36]](#footnote-36)

 In most cases no reasons for the wife's desertion were given.

* David's wife deserted him in 1859.[[37]](#footnote-37)
* Gnesia deserted Schneor in Mogilev in 1860.[[38]](#footnote-38)
* Tzvi's wife run away from home in Hungary.[[39]](#footnote-39)
* Dvora deserted Avraham Itzhak in Odessa.[[40]](#footnote-40)
* Rachel deserted her unnamed husband and three children in Galicia. Her husband tried to find her to provide her with a Get.[[41]](#footnote-41)
* Moshe Berman of Vidin, Bulgaria, a widower with two children married a young wife who deserted him after two weeks.[[42]](#footnote-42)
* Frieda deserted Efraim Fischel of Chust, Ukraine, after four years of marriage and went to live with her mother. Both women left for New York. Efraim asked Frieda to return or to accept a Get. She refused to return and refused to accept the Get he offered.[[43]](#footnote-43)
* Dvora left Naftali Yehuda Lazovski one year after he was recruited to the Russian army.[[44]](#footnote-44)
* Beile Rachel left Aaron and took with her four thousand silver Rubles.[[45]](#footnote-45)
* Moshe Aaron’s wife of Grodno, Mina had suicidal tendencies and was suspected to have drowned.[[46]](#footnote-46)
* Tova Bloom deserted David Kessler of Dolyna, Ukraine, seven weeks after the wedding and disappeared.[[47]](#footnote-47)
* Moshe Leib Urban's wife of Hranice, Moravia, Leah, deserted him and her three children.[[48]](#footnote-48) Hena Rachel of Kaunas deserted Avraham Varsavtchik and left him with three children.[[49]](#footnote-49) Beile of Józefów, Biłgoraj County deserted Yehiel, leaving him with two young boys.[[50]](#footnote-50) Haya left Hayyim Gitler of Vilnius with four young children.[[51]](#footnote-51)
* Hayyim Muller’s wife of Odessa, was missing for eight years before asking for permission to remarry.[[52]](#footnote-52)
* Forty-two-year-old Sheine Richel of Vilnius left unnamed husband.[[53]](#footnote-53) Anna Heyman-Kempner of Warsaw left her husband, who published advertisement four years after her desertion.[[54]](#footnote-54)
* Mila deserted husband Mechel, a butcher, taking with her their four-year-old daughter.[[55]](#footnote-55)
* Rochel left Moshe Gotfeter of Selets, Ukraine, and he published it sixteen months after the desertion.[[56]](#footnote-56)
* Hannah Guta left Shlomo a few days after they married and had a forged document stating she was a single woman.[[57]](#footnote-57)
* Yakel’s wife runaway but his request to permission to remarry was denied because rabbis couldn’t understand the reason for her disappearance.[[58]](#footnote-58)
* Doctor Fievel Haren’s wife, Itaka, left home in Poland and went to Prussia.[[59]](#footnote-59)
* Fifty-year-old Rivka, deserted husband Yeshai'a Katznelson three sons and a daughter.[[60]](#footnote-60)

A common reason for wife desertion was infidelity.

* Hunda (Hinda?) left Benyamin four days after their marriage, was living with another man and had his child.[[61]](#footnote-61)
* Shlomo Bitkovski of Smarhonʹ, Belarus was deserted by his wife who stole the family belongings and two hundred Rubles and left with her lover to New York.[[62]](#footnote-62) In another case, the wife left for America, accompanied by her lover. In third case the wife left for America with a lover and was not willing to receive a get unless she was awarded with money.[[63]](#footnote-63) Malka Berman deserted unnamed husband in Galicia and left for New York with her lover Hirsch Goldhaber and found work in the garment industry. The Local Rabbi asked landsmanshaft[[64]](#footnote-64) people in New York to locate her.[[65]](#footnote-65)
* Sarah Zilbersher left husband Itzhak in Warsaw, and went with her daughter to London, where she was living with her lover. Itzhak speculated that Sarah intends to take their daughter to Buenos Aires and sell her to a brothel.[[66]](#footnote-66)
* Zecharia Berkowitz's wife Sarah of Warsaw had love affairs with neighbors, Jews, and non-Jews alike, and refused to leave the family house or to receive a Get.[[67]](#footnote-67)

 Haya Greenberg of Fălticeni, Romania left husband Velvil and took with her their two daughters. She fled town with her lover Fischel Yaacovssohn. Fischel deserted his own wife, who just gave birth to twins. Vlevil became an Agun and Fischel’s wife an Agunah.[[68]](#footnote-68) Moshe Yoravski left for New York expecting his wife Feige to join him. However, she took their two children and, accompanied by another man, emigrated to Prussia, thus making Moshe an Agun.[[69]](#footnote-69)

 Mina Zaltzman left husband Itzhak in Russia. She was found by a correspondent of Ha-Magid in Paris, who informed the husband that she was willing to meet him there.[[70]](#footnote-70)

 Sarah and Abba Refael come from Kaunas to England. A few weeks after they arrived at Liverpool she deserted him, and he still tried to find her ten years after the incident occurred.[[71]](#footnote-71)

 In 1885 a young woman escaped her husband with a Christian lover shouting in Russian at him.[[72]](#footnote-72)

 Rezie Gele left her husband and when found, a year later she was declared mentally ill (doubted by the rabbis), and husband could not divorce her. He asked for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*.[[73]](#footnote-73)

 Five cases of runaway wives who converted and refused to accept a Get were found, including a female prisoner who converted and refused a Get.[[74]](#footnote-74)

 An unnamed wife left her husband in Hungary 1867 and lived with a non-Jew. She converted and was not willing to receive a Get. The Husband asked for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*. The Hungarian rabbi Shlomo Shick decided:

"Such a man is free to marry another wife, even without getting *Heter Meah Rabbanim* and without handing her a *Get*. This is under a condition that he will swear before ten men that is case the wife will arrive and ask for the *Get*, he will have to hand her the Get, and pay all the expenses of the Get."

 Rabbi Shick gave s similar decisions to Yaacov ben Avraham of Arad, Romania in 1893 and Yehuda Klein from Budapest in 1899.[[75]](#footnote-75)

3. Men asking for *Heter Meah Rabbanim* because of wife disobedience (Isha Moredet[[76]](#footnote-76) in Hebrew).

-Yaacov Katz’s wife Briendl from Szentgál, Hungary did not want to live with him, neither to receive his Get. She was declared a disobedient wife and Yaacov received *Heter Meah Rabbanim*. [[77]](#footnote-77)

- Hayyim Davidov Osel’ka of Zhytomyr decided to remarry in 1904, After his wife Malka deserted him and went to America in 1891. Davidov asked for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*. State rabbi Berger refused and stating that Malka was in New York and that Davidov requested permission to remarry without trying to reunite with his wife. When denied Davidov asked the intervention of an orthodox rabbinical court (Beit Din). Davidov was received permission to remarry “according to our law”. The Beit Din concluded that if a wife refuses to cohabit with her husband, he is allowed to remarry without her consent. Davidov was allowed to remarry on the condition that he send a new Get to Malka.[[78]](#footnote-78)

- Gershon's wife refused to live with her husband.[[79]](#footnote-79) This was not unique case of a wife refusing to live with her husband, without explaining it.[[80]](#footnote-80)

- Gedil's deaf wife refused to live with him and was not willing to receive a Get.[[81]](#footnote-81) So did Rachel, Avraham Berefeld’s wife.[[82]](#footnote-82) In both cases permission to remarry was denied.

- Yosef Horowitz's wife refused to have sexual relations with him and refused to receive a Get. Hava also did the same to her unnamed husband.[[83]](#footnote-83)

- Shmuel's wife Malka was not keeping the halachic instructions concerning sexual relations. She also did not act on Shabbat according to the Jewish law. When Shmuel tried to divorce her, she refused. He requested the rabbis to declare that she was a disobedient wife (Moredet in Hebrew) and requested, unsuccessfully, *Heter Meah Rabbanim*. [[84]](#footnote-84)

- Efraim ben Mordechai of Dej, Hungary, an ex-soldier, married Serina. Efraim reported that Serina behaved in an indecent manner and refused to accept the Get he offered. Efraim was denied *Heter Meah Rabbainim* since he couldn't provide supporting evidence to his story.[[85]](#footnote-85)

- Another woman refused to live in her husband's town, because she was not ready to live at her mother-in-law's house. The husband asked for *Heter Meah Rabbinim* since the wife was not willing to divorce.[[86]](#footnote-86)

- Rivka Adzhiashvili of Vilnius, refused to live in her husband hometown and was declared a disobedient wife.[[87]](#footnote-87)

 A unique (and unsuccessful) case of *Heter Meah Rabbanim* was that of Moshe Twerski, the grandson of a very famous Hasidic leader - the Admor (a common title of Hasidic leaders) of Rotmistrivka, Yohanan Twerski in 1893. The couple married in 1892, but in early 1893 Twerski asked permission to marry another wife, claiming that his wife Feige Yente was unwell.

 Members of the Twerski family, including the grandfather Yohanan attempted to secure for Moshe a permission to remarry with divorcing Feige Yente. Rabbi Moshe Hayyim Nahum Yerushlimski, the rabbi of the neighbor town of Kamianka-Buzka was asked to organize a committee of hundred rabbis to sign the permission.

 Though large sum of money was involved and negotiations to secure the permission lasted five years, the attempt failed, mainly because rabbi Yerushlimski did not support the project. By 1898, Moshe left Rotmistrivka to London, where he lived with another women[[88]](#footnote-88).

 Twerski was not the only son of a religious leader to desert. Forty-five year old Nahum, the son of the head of the rabbinical court (R”abad) in Rimanov deserted his wife and four children.[[89]](#footnote-89) Sixty year old Nachman Rabinowitz, a rabbi, (unclear if a spiritual rabbi or a state rabbi[[90]](#footnote-90)) deserted wife and sons.[[91]](#footnote-91) Hoshea was a famous cantor who married three wives simultaneously in Brody and Vilnius.[[92]](#footnote-92) Another cantor Arie Ritman of Babruysk deserted wife and four children.[[93]](#footnote-93) Yaacov Kahan of Kaunas was a preacher at the local synagogue (Magid Meisharim).[[94]](#footnote-94)

1. Men asking for *Heter Meah Rabbanim* because of wife's (usually mental) illness.[[95]](#footnote-95)

 Motil's wife from Stary Dzików got mentally ill and after not finding a cure, he requested permission to marry another wife without divorcing.[[96]](#footnote-96) Motil's case resembles the case of Walershtein and Landsburg cited in chapter 1, in this book. Etel, Zeev's wife from Galați, Moldova got severely ill. [[97]](#footnote-97) In another two cases the wife was hospitalized on some occasions but stayed most of time at home.[[98]](#footnote-98)

 Accusing a wife as being mentally ill was a common practice of husband unable to convince wives to agree accepting the divorce.[[99]](#footnote-99) Kalman Kalonimus from Łódź requested permission to remarry in 1893, a case very similar to Motil's.[[100]](#footnote-100) Yosef Wichfert’s case is similar, and he received permission to remarry.[[101]](#footnote-101) Yosef Yehuda from Budapest also received a permission to remarry.[[102]](#footnote-102) Yehoshua Brill from r Rădăuți, Romania eceived his permission after arriving to an agreement with his mentally ill wife’s mother.[[103]](#footnote-103)

 A wife got mentally ill and after not finding her a cure, the husband requested permission to marry another wife without divorcing. In another case the wife was ill before the marriage. After the marriage she got better, but a few years later she became ill again.[[104]](#footnote-104)

 Feivish's wife was hospitalized in 1861, and he requested to remarry.[[105]](#footnote-105) Dober's wife was put in jail since in their town there was no mentally ill hospital. [[106]](#footnote-106) Moshe's wife Dvora was in Hospital for three years before he applied for permission to remarry.[[107]](#footnote-107) So was the wife of Itzhak, Ester. Asher Zelig Bernshtein’s wife from Bucharest was mentally ill, as was Feige from Suceava, Romania. Nathan’s wife. Petahia Tzvi's wife from Vișeu de Sus, Hungary, was in hospital for eight years before he received his permission.[[108]](#footnote-108)

 Another wife stayed four years at the hospital before her husband Yeshai'a asked for permission to remarry.[[109]](#footnote-109) Hena, Avraham Dov's wife was hospitalized in Vienna and later in Lvov.[[110]](#footnote-110) Eliezer Hekler asked permission to remarry after his wife Heine got mentally ill and could not receive a Get. A similar incident happened with Axelrod from Przemyśl, Poland again in 1861 and with David Lifshitz in 1881.[[111]](#footnote-111)

 Moshe Teitelboim's wife Miriam from Velyki Mezhyrichi, Ukraine, got mentally ill after giving birth to four sons. She was in hospital for four years, and Moshe asked for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*. He was denied because Miriam already gave birth.[[112]](#footnote-112) Moshe ben Tevel from Pidhaitsi, Ukraine, request for the *Heter* was denied because the rabbis were convinced that she was well enough to receive a Get.[[113]](#footnote-113)

 Tzvi Hirsch Friedman from Jerusalem send his wife to an asylum in Odessa, accompanied by two people, since her had to stay with two young children in Jerusalem. On the way to Odessa, she disappeared.[[114]](#footnote-114)

 N”Sh B”Ra’s wife Hendil from Będzin got mentally ill and was hospitalized in 1891. Husband got permission to remarry and was ordered to pay her hospital bills. Here rabbis debated not awarding the *Heter Meah Rabbanim*, but if he was obliged to pay her medical bills.[[115]](#footnote-115)

 Avraham David from Sered, Hungary received permission to remarry, on the condition that he will supply his mentally ill wife a home to stay in.[[116]](#footnote-116) Zalman Neselov from Poltava received *Heter Meah Rabbanim* to marry because his wife was in hospital for nine years. He appealed to the Austrian court for a permission to marry another wife without being regarded as a bigamist before appealing for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*.[[117]](#footnote-117)

 In another case the wife was mentally ill part of the time (usually bipolar). This was reported on many occasions.[[118]](#footnote-118) In one case a bipolar disordered wife stayed in an asylum in Radom, Poland. When she was released from the asylum in 1861, she pretended to go and visit a relative in Warsaw but disappeared with a lover. She was not found for nine years, when the husband applied for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*, and received it.[[119]](#footnote-119) Hannah Dvora, Tzvi’s wife was suffering from melancholy for two years before he received permission to remarry.[[120]](#footnote-120)

 Natan and Tzvi were husbands of mentally ill wives. They asked, and received, permission to remarry without divorcing because they had no children.[[121]](#footnote-121)

 Shlomo the son of Rabbi Asher's wife got mentally ill after several years of marriage and the couple had children.[[122]](#footnote-122)

 Hannah bat Itzik (Eliakim Getzl's wife) who turned mentally ill after marriage, got well, but after every birth of a child got ill again. Here again the husband asked for permission to marry another wife without divorcing the first one. At least two similar cases are known.[[123]](#footnote-123)

 A very common reason for requesting *Hetar Meah Rabbanim* was depression.[[124]](#footnote-124)

 Meir and his wife were married for ten years. During the first five years she was well, and the couple had two children. After the birth of the second child, she became depressed and run naked while shouting on the street.[[125]](#footnote-125)

 Ziskind’s wife was mentally ill for five years, and the couple had children. Ziskind requested permission to remarry because he could not take care of the children by himself.[[126]](#footnote-126)

 Hinda, Yehoshua Arie's wife from Lvov, became ill seven years after they married.[[127]](#footnote-127)

 Petha'ia Tzvi from Vișeu de Sus, Hungary claimed that only did his wife become mentally ill, but also that she runed un the street, shutting loudly and embarrassed him.[[128]](#footnote-128)

 Mendil claimed that wife Yuta acted the same way.[[129]](#footnote-129) Yaacov Dorfshtein's wife from Kremenchug got mentally ill and used to run naked in the streets.[[130]](#footnote-130) Avraham Moshe of Bendin's wife got mentally ill, and he was granted *Heter Meah Rabbanim*.[[131]](#footnote-131) In another case from 1869 the husband was given permission to remarry because his wife was mentally ill.[[132]](#footnote-132) In another incident a man claimed that he married a young woman, that was mentally ill and married before, without knowing those facts. He claimed that the marriage took place because the bride's family took advantage of him.[[133]](#footnote-133)

 The rabbi of Kotov was also given permission to remarry because his wife did not accept his get and claimed he received erroneous information before he got married.[[134]](#footnote-134)

 Baruch claimed that he knew that his bride was a simple-minded woman (D'ata Klusha), but not she was mentally ill. In this case and many other, husbands were ordered to pay alimony as if they were divorced.[[135]](#footnote-135) A rabbinical student received *Heter Meah Rabbanim* but was asked to pay his wife all her expanses but refused. Thus, the *Heter* was revoked.[[136]](#footnote-136)

 Zeev ben Avraham from Galați encountered with his wife Etel epilepsy. Another case of epilepsy was reported in 1892.[[137]](#footnote-137) Tzvi Hirsch encountered a similar situation in 1857.[[138]](#footnote-138)

 Mordechai Benyamin from Kolomyia encountered with his paralyzed wife Breine. Even a stuttering wife, refusing to receive a Get could make a husband ask permission to remarry without divorcing. Infectious disease was also reason for requesting permission to remarry without divorce (such requests were usually denied).[[139]](#footnote-139)

 Ovadia Shapira from Kamianets-Podilskyi asked for permission to marry another wife because she used to urinate in bed and refused a Get.[[140]](#footnote-140) Hayyim Klein's wife from [Székelykeresztúr](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sz%C3%A9kelykereszt%C3%BAr&redirect=no), Hungary was hospitalized having an infectious disease, and he was granted an *Heter Meah Rabbanim*.[[141]](#footnote-141)

1. Men asking for permission to remarry because of wife's adultery.

 In all these cases, the wife refused a Get offered to her.[[142]](#footnote-142) Sheindl, Eli' Shwartz's wife admitted behaving promiscuous, but refused divorce. She was willing to receive a divorce if she was to be paid for it. Eli refused, claiming he was unable to pay the large sum she requested. When the rabbis tried to persuade her to receive the Get, she turned to the municipal authorities to prevent this. The couple were separated for two years, during which Sheindl got pregnant. Only then was Eli' provided with *Heter Meah Rabbanom*. [[143]](#footnote-143)

1. Men asking for permission to remarry because wives refused to accept a Get.

 Yaacov Itzhak applied for *Heter Meah Rabbanim* because his wife, Henia, refused the Get he offered.[[144]](#footnote-144) In some cases, men requested permission to remarry, claimed that he was beaten by his wife, who also refused to get a divorce.[[145]](#footnote-145)

 An unnamed woman dealing with forged currency was imprisoned for life. Husband offered her a get, but she declined. He asked *Heter Meah Rabbanim*, and after a long debate among he received the permission.[[146]](#footnote-146)

 Some of the wives tried to avoid the husband to receive *Heter Meah Rabbanim*, by advertising the story, thus putting pressure on rabbis not to give the *Heter*.

* Moshe Postolski from Radzymin, near Warsaw, left Zosil, taking five hundred silver Rubles and family belongings and went to New York. When found he sent Zosil a Get. She refused and alimony. She published the advertisement to prevent him asking for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*. [[147]](#footnote-147)
* Fruma Haya Nachmanson from Dąbrówno, Pomeranian Voivodeship, published an advertisement entitled “A plea to the Rabbis” (Bakasha shetuha lifnei Ha-Rabbbanim), begging them not to grant her husband, Y”E, permission to marry another wife. She described his attempts to persuade her to receive a Get without paying her (Hiname in kessef). After failing to receive a Get without compensating Fruma, Y”E asked for *Heter Meah Rabbanim*, claiming that he couldn’t pay and spreading rumors on her. Fruma insisted that he could pay. He had capital and a big house, worth more than two thousand silver Rubbles.[[148]](#footnote-148)
* Naftali ben Yaacov of Safed, asked for *Heter Meah Rabbanim* for rabbis in Russia and Galicia permitting to marry without divorcing Rivka. Rivka's father published an advertisement in attempt to prevent this.[[149]](#footnote-149)
1. **Reasons for desertion**
2. **Preferring career and studies over family**
* Beril Broder from the town of Brody became a famous musical performer and deserted his wife and children. Shalom Zletshover was another famous performer who also deserted wife and children following his career.[[150]](#footnote-150) Yerhamiel ben Dov, a music conductor left his family in Minsk, Belarus, and work in Vienna under the name Richard Hirschenzohn.[[151]](#footnote-151)
* Dov Berl Hersching, a musician from Kalisz, tried to cross the border between Poland and Prussia, apprehended, and pretend to be mentally ill. After a short while escaped from asylum and deserted his family. [[152]](#footnote-152)
* Israel Baruch Akerman, a cantor from Kamianyi Brid, Ukraine, left wife Rivka while seeking work in Germany.[[153]](#footnote-153) Avraham left wife Hava and two children aged five and three, seeking work as cantor. There was no contact with him since he left.[[154]](#footnote-154)
* David Rozenberg from Puławy, near Lublin, left Libe a few months after the wedding seeking employment as cantor and butcher (Shohet). He was found six years later using the name David Hazenfartz. [[155]](#footnote-155)
* Twenty-seven-year-old Itzhak Meir Kneller from Dubna was a Yiddish theater actor who deserted Beile and a young daughter.[[156]](#footnote-156)
* Yaacov Weber, a teacher who called himself Hanoch Zondel (his brother's name) left Rachel a few days after the marriage ceremony (Hupa). He used his brother's name on the wedding document (Ketuba), indicating that he intended to leave shortly after the wedding day. He took with him the sum of forty silver rubles.[[157]](#footnote-157)
* Shmuel Meir was a wondering teacher who left not only his deserted wife but also his children from his first wife.[[158]](#footnote-158) Yosef Baruch was also a wondering teacher leaving wife Tsherne, using the name Yosef Est[[159]](#footnote-159). Fischel Haran was a wondering teacher and left wife Sarah Sima.[[160]](#footnote-160) Another teacher was Marcus Weiss from Nowy Wiśnicz, who died before he was finally found.[[161]](#footnote-161)
* Leib Wolk found employment as teacher in Odessa before wife Sarah Haya stopped receiving letters.[[162]](#footnote-162) Shlomo Nakdimon was a teacher who found employment in Oran, Algiers, Istanbul, Turkey and Alexandria, Egypt. After arriving to Istanbul, he stopped writing to his wife in Grodno, Belarus.[[163]](#footnote-163)
* Mordechai Markowitz from Kiev left Dina. Eight years after they married Mordechai began working as a teacher in various Jewish communities. He kept in touch sending letters and photos to his wife. In early she saw in *Ha-Melitz* that Mordechai left his position in Yelisavetgrad and intended to commit suicide because he hated his wife. Dina was convinced that her mother-in-law published false information and enable her husband to give her a Get with no expanse.[[164]](#footnote-164)
* Meshulam Garfunkel left his wife Feige in Zamość, Poland, to study engineering in Vienna in 1852. After studying for three years, he disappeared. In 1855 he went to Prague and in 1857 he was living in Istanbul, where he used another name. From Istanbul he left for London. In Istanbul he worked in the fishing industry.[[165]](#footnote-165)
* Thirty years old Avraham Moshe Aaronof from Kremenchug was married to Sarah for seven years before deserting her. The couple had two children. He was a salesman, frequently visited distant places, while working with his father and brothers. He decided to become a teacher and worked in a few Jewish communities in the Ukraine. For two years correspondent regularly with his wife, but he sent her no money. He stopped writing around April 1861, and she was informed that he was seeking to study medicine. Realizing that he does not intend to return home, Sarah asked for a Get.[[166]](#footnote-166) Gitel’s husband, David was another deserting salesman.[[167]](#footnote-167)
* David Hirsch Shapira from Minsk left Raizl three weeks after the wedding.[[168]](#footnote-168) Hayyim Rosenzweig, a twenty-four-year-old shoemaker deserted wife Rivka three weeks after the wedding in Tokay, Hungary, taking her money with him. People from Tokay spotted him by a train station in Ungvár and he was brought to the local rabbi in order to write a Get. He refused went back to Tokay and left again after a few days.[[169]](#footnote-169)
* Fifty-five years old Yoel ben Hayyim from Antopol, Gmina Podedwórze left wife Miriam to study in a high religious school (Yeshiva). Miriam lost his trail.[[170]](#footnote-170) Nahum also left his wife to study at a Yeshiva and disappeared.[[171]](#footnote-171)
* Simon Yaacovssohn from Königsberg was professional photographer who left Russia to seek work in Poland and disappeared.[[172]](#footnote-172)
1. **Criminal activities and financial problems.**
* Avraham Orenshtein, a clockmaker from Mariampol, Lithuania, stole money from his employer, and while escaping deserted his family.[[173]](#footnote-173)
* Shalom Litvak from Krakow, a scoundrel salesman who held a Turkish traveling license under the name Leib Ostral, left his wife after three months of marriage. He left a trail of victims of fraud.[[174]](#footnote-174)
* Zalman Finkel from Levoča, Slovakia deserted wife Rivka, ten weeks after marriage, taking with him money and Jewelry,[[175]](#footnote-175) as did Yosef Albert from Großwardein (Oradea).[[176]](#footnote-176) Yaacov Gross left Feige after five weeks of marriage, sending her to her hometown Brody and leaving for Lvov.[[177]](#footnote-177)
* Leib Israelite deserted wife Haya Sose, and took money both from her and his sister, pretending to go to Łódź, Poland, for business.[[178]](#footnote-178)
* Moshe Fischer from Debrecen, Hungary, was arrested and escaped from jail. He did not return home for nine years.[[179]](#footnote-179) Hayyim Kohanovski left Dvora Libe while trying to avoid arrest.[[180]](#footnote-180)
* Avraham Hersch deserted Beile in 1839 and was incarcerated sixteen years. Beila was informed about this only in 1864. All the time she was an Agunah.[[181]](#footnote-181)
* NIB”G a criminal refused to grant a Get in 1879.[[182]](#footnote-182) Izik Rubinshtein was in jail awaiting his trial when he escaped. Afraid to return to his hometown and getting caught, he left his wife an Agunah.[[183]](#footnote-183) Eliahu Goldenberg was a criminal who married two women and swindle an old man who paid his bail.[[184]](#footnote-184)
* Tuvia Itzhak, a professional beggar, deserted his pregnant wife because she refused to join him working.[[185]](#footnote-185) So did Hayyim Wolf Hayyimowitz, deserting wife Bracha in the town of Łuck.[[186]](#footnote-186). Anschel Robaneck from Odessa, another professional beggar deserted Mosia. She claimed that he might have converted, but still made a living as a beggar.[[187]](#footnote-187) Israel Arons from Kamianets-Podilskyi wanted his wife Rachel to join him begging in Warsaw, but she refused, and he deserted her.[[188]](#footnote-188) Pinchas Tzuker from Łomża, a professional beggar left Sarah Mindl, who haven’t heard from hem since 1880.[[189]](#footnote-189)
* Israel Hermetz, on at least three occasions, convinced wives to leave their husband and run away with him, taking vast amounts of money. He left Haya, his wife in Galicia, went to Romania where he took money from two women, on his way to Turkey.[[190]](#footnote-190) Asher the son of Zussman married two women in 1865-66 and a short time after the marriage, deserted and took their money.[[191]](#footnote-191)
1. **Family[[192]](#footnote-192) issues as a trigger for desertion.**
* Avraham Abba Brook from Teltz (Telšiai), wrote a letter to *Ha-Magid*, explaining why he deserted. This letter is one of a kind. According to the letter, written by a local rabbi, Avraham deserted wife Bluma because he hated her father. He went to Sundsvall, Sweden. He regretted deserting and tried to convince his wife to join him in Sweden, but his letters were unanswered.[[193]](#footnote-193)
* Tzadok Zlatkovski from Slonim, left wife Elta. After eighteen months of corresponding, he asked Elta to send him their twelve-year-old son Gedalia, and a few months later he requested her to send money to cover Gedalia’s expanses. Tzadok wrote that he aims to move to Kiev but disappeared. Elta became an Agunah.[[194]](#footnote-194)
* Shlomo Hirsch Marcus from Wyszniwka left Sarah, two months after their wedding, because, according to Sarah, they had a little “dispute” (meriva ktana).[[195]](#footnote-195)
* Baruch Portzwenick from Odessa deserted wife the day after the wedding.[[196]](#footnote-196) Twenty-four years old Nissan Ostrowski from Stawiski left wife Miriam a few days after the wedding.[[197]](#footnote-197) Arie Simenovski from Zhytomyr deserted wife Rachel a week after the wedding taking one thousand silver Rubbles.[[198]](#footnote-198) Shmuel Shtruckman left Haya in Warsaw eight days after the wedding.[[199]](#footnote-199) Ber Zerahowitz from Rokiškis, Lithuania deserted Leah Dvora two weeks after the wedding, as did Itzhak Katz from Janów, Poland and Shlomo Rubinski.[[200]](#footnote-200)
* Nahum Zilbershtein (AKA Moshe Yosef Shulman) from a small town near Kiev left wife two days after the wedding.[[201]](#footnote-201) Moshe Kopermintz left wife in Warsaw two days after the wedding. The Advertisement was published by his father Gedalia Kopermintz.[[202]](#footnote-202)
* David Itzhak from Odessa left wife Minne three days after the wedding taking with him hundred and fifty silver Rubles.[[203]](#footnote-203) Nahum Leibowitz from Kaunas deserted wife six days after the wedding, after taking her money.[[204]](#footnote-204)
* Twenty-five-year-old Hayyim Itzhak Zaltifoler deserted wife Batia in Safed, Palestine after a quarrel with her parents and went to Hungary, where he disappeared.[[205]](#footnote-205)
* Nineteen years old Zecharia from Vilnius left wife Haya, one month after they got married.[[206]](#footnote-206) Petahia ben Zeev (Max Dohan) left wife a month after the wedding.[[207]](#footnote-207) Itzhak from Ruzhany left Hannah Mirl three weeks after they married.[[208]](#footnote-208) Izik Zoskowitz from Vilnius deserted wife Sarah Yente a short time after the marriage, living her in early pregnancy.[[209]](#footnote-209) Eliezer Zeidman from Brest left Rivka Leah six weeks after their wedding when she was in early pregnancy.[[210]](#footnote-210)
* Avraham Meir Epshtein got married in Terespol in 1875. In 1886 he went to New York and sent money to his wife and children. He returned to his family around Passover 1891. Avraham sold his home and went to Warsaw leaving in Terespol a pregnant wife and three children. He left the family claiming that he was going to Grodno to obtain a passport for the family to go to New York. He went to Warsaw where he married another woman and left with her to New York.[[211]](#footnote-211)
* Eliakim Kolman married Rivka, but less than a year after the wedding he runaway with his wife’s younger sister.[[212]](#footnote-212) Alter Grozak deserted wife and eloped with her sister in Brest, Lithuania. When found he gave his wife a Get, and the younger sister was forbidden to marry a Cohen[[213]](#footnote-213).
* Nahum Moshe Fleck from Vilnius left Frieda and run away with a Christian lover.[[214]](#footnote-214)
* Yosef left wife and two children at his widow mother and disappeared.[[215]](#footnote-215)
* Shlomo Zalman Meizner from Warsaw left wife and eight children and went away with a young lover.[[216]](#footnote-216)
* Yehezkel Segal from Odessa deserted Hode and took with him their young daughter.[[217]](#footnote-217)
* Yeruham Leib Katzman from a small town near Minsk deserted wife Gnesia and left with lover Leah.[[218]](#footnote-218)
* Michael the shoemaker from Piotrków Trybunalski was melancholic and disappeared from the clinic.[[219]](#footnote-219)

 Most Russian Jews were not allowed to live outside of the “pale of settlement”. Only Jews of the “first order” – who were considered valuable, usually for economic reasons, were permitted to live in was known as “old Russia”. Jews that were important for the Jewish community (Rabbis, Butchers, Teachers, etc.) were given temporary permission to live there.[[220]](#footnote-220) Leah Gitel from St. Petersburg had to leave husband Zelig Berman because she did not receive a license to reside in the capital. Zelig was permitted to live in St. Petersburg since he was a teacher. A short time after Leah Gitel left town, Zelig began a love affair with a local girl, and when his permission to stay in the Russian capital ended, he disappeared. Leah Gitel began searching for him, but he was not found, and she became an Agunah.[[221]](#footnote-221)

* Tzvi Hirsch was recruited to the Russian army and after a few years asked his wife Frieda to join him in Smolensk. They had a son, and he left. After waiting seven years for his returned, she and her son returned to her hometown. A few years later his was spotted in Ekaterinoslav. He declared that he didn't want to stay with her, and she asked for a Get.[[222]](#footnote-222) Avraham Beitz was also recruited to the army and deserted Miriam.[[223]](#footnote-223) Yehuda Leib Tcherniak, also an ex-soldier deserted Feige.[[224]](#footnote-224)
* Nathan Neta (AKA Zalman Hershkowitz) also left wife Scheine, and when he was released from service he went to Caucus.[[225]](#footnote-225) Menahem Mendel Arian, who deserted three wives in Radaškovičy, Belarus, and Vilnius was also an army recruit.[[226]](#footnote-226) Wolf David Davidov from Smalyavichy, also an ex recruited soldier, deserted Mirl.[[227]](#footnote-227)
* Moshe Kotin, a married man from Jurbarkas, Lithuania, was recruited to the Russian army. He promised to return but disappeared.[[228]](#footnote-228) Hirsch Ber Sherman left wife Peril, after ending army service.[[229]](#footnote-229) Another soldier, Leib Schneiderman from Chernihiv deserted his wife in 1886 and tried to marry another.[[230]](#footnote-230) Yermiyahu Rabinstchuk from Odessa deserted Breine when recruited to the army.[[231]](#footnote-231)

 These are just a few examples of men using army service as an excuse to desert their wives. [[232]](#footnote-232)

* Moshe Mendil & Sarah Yehudit married in Kaunas. He went to Paris. She joined him and returned pregnant to her parents’ home. After giving birth she received one letter from him, and he disappeared.[[233]](#footnote-233)
* Yehiel, Sheindl’s husband went from Safed to Moldova and kept in touch with his father in Safed. The father refused to pass information from Yehiel to Sheindl, who remained chained to the marriage.[[234]](#footnote-234)
* Yekutiel Lechkov from Odessa left Raizl and two daughters but kept in touch with then for six years via letter. Raizl published the advertisement since she did not have any contact with him for two years and asked for a Get. [[235]](#footnote-235)
* Yaacov Wolf son of a butcher (Schohet) from Middlesbrough married Haya in Poland. After eight years he returned to hometown, asking financial assistance from his father. When his father refused, he requested money from his father-in-law. When refused again he disappeared, leaving Haya an Agunah.[[236]](#footnote-236)
* Shmuel Koifman deserted five months pregnant Frieda in Kaunas and went to England, where he disappeared.[[237]](#footnote-237)
* Moshe Reichman from Zboriv, Ukraine left three days after his first child was born.[[238]](#footnote-238) Shlomo Rapoport of Międzyrzec Podlaski deserted Rivka one month after the wedding.[[239]](#footnote-239) Itzhak Grozman left pregnant wife Leah a few months after the wedding. A child was born five months after he left.[[240]](#footnote-240) Yosil Nisenboim of Odessa deserted his wife six months after the marriage and took with him all her money. She was five months pregnant.[[241]](#footnote-241) Mendl Shtegetchik left pregnant Peril during their first year of marriage.[[242]](#footnote-242)
* Twenty-five-year-old Menahem Levin married the divorced Idel in Lithuania. Idel joined him in Kaunas, and a few days later he stated that he intended to divorce her. Idel went back to her parents and Menahem left for Paris where he worked sporadically. Four years later he decided to marry a young Parisian woman. He asked Idel to join him in Paris and they lived of the money she brought with her from Lithuania. When her funds exhausted, Menahem informed her that he will divorce her and made her work as a servant. Then her landlord threw her out and told her that Menahem put the Get in the clothing. Menahem disappeared and the Get she received was incorrect. Thus, she could not marry again. If she were to marry her children will be Mamzerim and could not marry.[[243]](#footnote-243)
* Hananiah ben David deserted Yocheved four weeks after the wedding, taking one hundred silver Rubles and left for New York. A friend of the family met him in New York, and he promised to bring his wife to America. She wrote to Hananiah but received no response. Hananiah went from New York to Cleveland and disappeared there.[[244]](#footnote-244)
* Leibl from Brest, Lithuania deserted Gitel one week after the wedding.[[245]](#footnote-245) Twenty-three-year-old Hayyim Loifer from Krakow left seventeen-year-old wife Golda less than a month after the wedding.[[246]](#footnote-246) Itzhak Levin left after two months marriage.[[247]](#footnote-247) Shlomo Poverski also deserted his wife two months after the wedding.[[248]](#footnote-248)
* Yehezkel Goldfarb of Warsaw deserted his wife six months after the wedding taking eight hundred silver Rubbles - all her dowry.[[249]](#footnote-249) Yudil Beckerman from Łęczyca deserted wife nine months after their wedding.[[250]](#footnote-250)
* Avraham Sagat from Łomża married a widow and a mother of two, Yuta, and after three months left, with her money.[[251]](#footnote-251) Yaacov Tchernovsky from Babruysk, Belarus married Haya Tova in Jerusalem. She was a widow with two children. They headed to his hometown, but he deserted her inBrăila, Romania and took all her money with him.[[252]](#footnote-252)
* Nathan Discount from Warsaw left his second wife Frieda with two children from his first wife six weeks after they got married.[[253]](#footnote-253)
* Tzvi Asher Greenblatt of Nagybajom, Hungary told his new wife Netho Beile, before marrying her, that he was twice married before, one wife died, and he divorced the second. After he deserted her, she found out that he was not divorced before they married, as he claimed.[[254]](#footnote-254)
* Yehoshua Wallershtein left Bessi, his wife and six children, heading to Odessa. In Białystok he married another wife and disappeared.[[255]](#footnote-255)
* David Marcus from Stawiski left his wife Libe in 1858 and returned to live with her. He left again in 1860 and ended up in Paris, opting not to give her a Get.[[256]](#footnote-256) David Levy came with Miriam from Kaunas to Paris two months after their wedding and deserted her in what she described as “a foreign country” (“Eretz Zara”).[[257]](#footnote-257)
* Benyamin Blin from Cherkasy, Ukraine deserted Pessi. She looked him up for five years and when she discovered him, he was convinced to return. After three months he disappeared again. The advertisement was published eight years after the second desertion.[[258]](#footnote-258)
* Moshe Katz from Dusetos, Lithuania, left Sarah and three boys and went to New York, where he stole money and belongings. He escaped from American law authorities and returned to Sarah and children in Russia. After a few years, he took all Sarah’s money and lest again. He went to Galveston, Texas. In the advertisement Sarah begged him for a Get. [[259]](#footnote-259)
* Avraham Moshe left Leah. She went looking for him. When he returned home, Leah was not to be found. Her brother, who published the advertisement feared that Avraham will disappear again and asked the readers of *Ha-Lebanon* to locate Leah.[[260]](#footnote-260)
* Yosef Dubinski left wife Tova. Dubinski wrote a letter to his uncle that he is in Brody[[261]](#footnote-261) and will return if his father in-law will give him two hundred silver Rubles. However, before transaction took place, Dubinski disappeared.[[262]](#footnote-262)
* Yaacov Brav'a married Leah Malka in Kikol, Poland. He was a widower with two boys, whom he left at Azarkov, Poland. Five days after the marriage he disappeared with her money. He went to Hull, and wrote a letter to the Azarkov rabbi, requesting him to notify England's Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler his first wife died, since he intended to marry another wife in Hull. Leah Malka asked rabbi Adler to persuade Yaacov to send her a Get, but Yaacov disappeared again.[[263]](#footnote-263)
* Beril Parnas agreed to give Rochel a Get and even appeared before the rabbinical court in Warsaw. But he left in a hurry to Hull.[[264]](#footnote-264) Berl Epshtein from Königsberg left Teresia Kopelewitz three times within one year. He returned twice but during Passover 1883 he left for good.[[265]](#footnote-265)
* Frieda, a daughter of a Christian converted to Judaism,[[266]](#footnote-266) married Itzhak Waher from Wallachia, who left her five days after the marriage took place. She speculated that he was also a convert to Judaism[[267]](#footnote-267) and that he left more women a short time after the marriage occurred.[[268]](#footnote-268)
* Herman Balbinski left his wife and regrated it. He sent a letter to his family asking to inform the wife, but they refuse to give Herman’s address. Here the wife became an Agunah because the husband’s relatives.[[269]](#footnote-269)
* Avraham Goldshtein, an Ashkenazi Jew from Pressburg, deserted Mazal Tov from Corfu, his Sephardi wife in Istanbul and went back to his homeland Hungary.[[270]](#footnote-270) Meir Cohen from Poland also deserted a Sephardi wife in Alexandria, Egypt.[[271]](#footnote-271)
* Seventy years old Yehuda Meir Golda went to visit his son in Jerusalem. He was last heard from when he embarked a ship in Trieste.[[272]](#footnote-272)
* Yehezkel from Zhytomyr left wife Feige and five children and married Ester in a nearby town. The wedding was executed by the local state rabbi. Feige found out and shouted it out in the town square. Yehezkel refused to grant Feige a Get and preferred to live with Ester. Hershke, Sarah’s husband found out and a street fight began. Eventually Ester and Yehezkel remained together while Feige didn’t receive a Get.[[273]](#footnote-273)
* Forty-three-year-old Yehezkel Hatzkel Kohen was married for twenty years to Toive, and they had three children. Yehezkel took a young lover, twenty-three-year-old Bashe Boss, in their hometown near Kaunas and they went to Leeds. Toive asked Yehezkel to come back to her.[[274]](#footnote-274)
*
1. **Health Issues as a trigger for desertion**
* Kalman left his family in 1868, seeking cure for his health problem. After keeping in touch with family, he disappeared. He was found in Germany in 1875.[[275]](#footnote-275)
* Manish went from Grodno to therapeutic springs in Salzburg, and disappeared, again after early contacts with family.[[276]](#footnote-276) Izik Zeltzer from Ternopil also disappeared after visiting therapeutic springs.[[277]](#footnote-277)
* Yaacov Heschin left wife Nehama in Jerusalem to East Europe looking for eye cure. Nechama searched for him for a long time.[[278]](#footnote-278)
* Leibsch Weitzman from a small town near Radom suffered from epilepsy and looked for help in various places before disappearing.[[279]](#footnote-279)
* Shneor Asnitzki from Vyalikaya Byerastavitsa, Belarus left to find cure for health issues (unspecified).[[280]](#footnote-280)
1. **Converting after desertion.**

Yosef Heisler left wife in Tiberias to work in Berdychiv & Kiev. Wife was informed by the Kiev rabbi that Heisler converted in Kiev. She asked to find him and if found she will come to Kiev to receive a Get. Tiberias's rabbis claimed the Heisler falsely accused by his wife and by the Tiberias correspondent of *Ha-Magid*, David Fishman.[[281]](#footnote-281)

1. **Immigration as a factor for desertion**

 Agunot appear more in Eastern Europe than in other places Jews resided. This changed drastically since the early twentieth century, when it became more common in countries that were the destination of immigration.[[282]](#footnote-282)

**Table 4**: Immigration and desertion in Eastern Europe, 1851-1900.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Eastern European Agunot percentage | Known Agunot Cases | East European Agunot | Migration to Eastern Europe | Migration from Eastern Europe | Migration within Eastern Europe | Nonimmigrant Eastern Europe cases | Decade |
| 83.86 | 347 | 237 | 1 | 53 | 22 | 215 | 1851-1860 |
| 91.27 | 985 | 672 | 26 | 201 | 68 | 604 | 1861-1870 |
| 87.53 | 1235 | 789 | 24 | 268 | 61 | 728 | 1871-1880 |
| 90.81 | 1425 | 856 | 33 | 405 | 51 | 805 | 1881-1890 |
| 79.10 | 1407 | 604 | 15 | 494 | 39 | 565 | 1891-1900 |
| 86.65 | 5399 | 3158 | 99 | 1421 | 241 | 2917 | Total |

Total known Agunot migration cases in Eastern Europe 1,761 (37.64%).

 In the few cases we have the husband's version of desertion, immigration is the common reason given.

Desertion during Migration:

 Sometimes wives were abandoned during immigration, before arriving at the destination. Abraham Diamant**,** a Lithuanian young man, arrived in Janów, Poland with a seven-year-old child. He said that child was his son from his first wife. He Said that he lived in Palestine and came to Poland to collect money and he planned to return to Palestine. He married Sheindl, the slaughterer's daughter. They left for Palestine. When they arrived at Kraków, he sent he back to her father for the wintertime, and claimed he has some business in Kraków. The pregnant wife gave birth to a boy, and he sent her money from Kraków.[[283]](#footnote-283) A short time later he disappeared. Sheindl tried to trace him in Kraków but could not find him. In October 1865 he was apprehended in Hannover.[[284]](#footnote-284) Twenty-eight-year-old Betzalel Rozanski from Radom married an unnamed wife and went with here to Warsaw, where he stole her money, hundred and fifty silver Rubles and disappeared just six weeks after their wedding.[[285]](#footnote-285)

 Yesha’ia Goldberg married one wife in Ekaterinoslav. The newlyweds went to Hamburg, where he deserted her and left for London. The young wife found out that he already married to another wife in Breslau (Wrocław), and he returned to the Breslau wife, where he used the name Itzhak Hashkel.[[286]](#footnote-286)

 Aaron and Rachel married in 1887. They decided to immigrate to America and went through London. In London Rachel was deserted by Aaron and she returned to her family in Raseiniai, Lithuania.[[287]](#footnote-287)

 Mendil married Sheva. Two weeks after the wedding they went on their way to America. When the coupled arrived at Liepāja, Latvia Mendil disappeared with all money and belongings.[[288]](#footnote-288)

 Shimon Abramowitz and Fina Shtikler got married in 1893 and arrived at Kraków eight days after the wedding. They planned to go to London. Three days in Kraków Shimon pretended to take their belongings to the train station and disappeared.[[289]](#footnote-289)

Desertion after migration to another country:

* Shimon Frier immigrated from Galicia to the Netherlands and asked to remarry in Amsterdam without sending a Get to his wife in Galicia.[[290]](#footnote-290)
* Yosef Evianski left Russia in 1859, via Poland 1860, and ended up in Australia in 1869. His family manage to find him in Warsaw, but he escaped.[[291]](#footnote-291) Avraham Lasker from near Kalisz ended up in Australia.[[292]](#footnote-292) Daniel Zannenberg left wife Zelda in Łódź and joined his brothers in Australia. Since Daniel did not respond to her letters, Zelda published a public appeal to the brothers to convince him to send a Get. The brothers did not respond either.[[293]](#footnote-293) Nissan Pass from Romny, Ukraine left wife six months after the wedding. He left for Australia and the wife was informed on his whereabouts by his parents who received from him a single letter. Wife’s father asked assistance from the Jewish community of Melbourne.[[294]](#footnote-294)
* Avraham Simcha (also known as Abraham Rivlin) left Pinsk in 1851, went to London in 1856. His wife, Hannah, traced him in London and followed him there, requesting the assistance of the English Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler in receiving a Get. She found out that he pretended in London to be unmarried. She returned to Pinsk, waiting for the Get. He left for Australia.[[295]](#footnote-295) Zelig Rechter left Devora in Kraków and went to Melbourne. He wrote some letters to his father, who informed Devora that Zelig changed his name to Alex Richards. Two years after arriving to Australia Zelig was not heard from again.[[296]](#footnote-296)
* Lewis Gintzburg went from Bucharest to Kolkata. At first, he kept in touch with his wife and then disappeared.[[297]](#footnote-297) Laizer went to India via Alexandria, Egypt.[[298]](#footnote-298) Mendel Gayer from Kolomyia went to India, and corresponded with his father, but three years after arriving to Bombay, he stopped writing.[[299]](#footnote-299) Yekutiel, a teacher, deserted Mina and went to teach in Bagdad. Iraq, where he was found four years later.[[300]](#footnote-300)
* Moshe Dobevski came with his wife from Poland to Paris and after 22 months left her in Paris while returning to the Russian empire.[[301]](#footnote-301) Moshe Goldshtein came with Ester from Galicia, where they lived with Ester’s parents, to Paris, via Hague, Netherlands. Ester gave birth and they moved to Brussels. Ester was the bread giver of the family, selling illegal liquor. Ester and Moshe managed to escape the Belgian police and Moshe advised to move to Paris. Ester waited for her husband in Brussels train station for five hours, but he failed to arrive. Taking all her belongings and money he went to the Netherlands. She went to Paris and Rabbi Lubetski, the leader of the Russian synagogue in Paris published her story.[[302]](#footnote-302) Shmuel Katz from Plungė, Lithuania left wife after four years of marriage and two children and went to Paris.[[303]](#footnote-303)

 England was popular place for deserters:

* Twenty-eight years old Moshe Arie Treiman from Gmina Raczki, Poland deserted Etil and arrive at London in 1865. Etil tried to persuade him to returned, but two years later he left for Sweden. A friend living in Sweden send her the news.[[304]](#footnote-304)
* Zalman Endelman left for London to work with his brother Abba. For three years he corresponded with wife Yentl, and since 1864 stopped writing.[[305]](#footnote-305) Moshe Shmuelwitz from Tomaszów Lubelski left for London. He wrote his wife for three years and stopped writing. [[306]](#footnote-306)
* Leib Levinski left wife Tzirl in Warsaw and came to London in 1870. He wrote her a letter. She claimed he "wrote unwillingly, since he was forced to wrote it by someone she knew". After writing the letter he left London to unknown places.[[307]](#footnote-307) In 1879, The London Jewish religious judge (Dayan) Yaacov Reinowitz, gave Tzirl permission to marry (*Heter Agunah*). He relayed on her testimony that she was in Berlin in 1875 and was told that her husband died in the France-Prussia war in 1871.[[308]](#footnote-308)
* Yedidia Benyamin left his wife Ester in Poland for England. He sailed regularly between Liverpool and Hamburg. At first, he wrote to his wife but after a while stopped, sending her a false address. Ester asked Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler to assist, but he disappeared.[[309]](#footnote-309)
* Nachman Mendelkern (who called himself Friedlander when in England), left Miriam and five children and arrived at Hull, where he lived with another woman.[[310]](#footnote-310) Hertz Tabriski left Libe, came to Leeds, where he called himself Joseph Goldberg and married another woman.[[311]](#footnote-311)
* Beril left for London deserting Leah in Russia. He took with him two children from earlier marriage.[[312]](#footnote-312)
* Hirsch Rondzol departed from his wife Tzirl and left for London. When he left, he was twenty years old, and they were newlyweds. They wrote to each other during 1861. In late 1861 he asked her to send him money to pay for his returning voyage. She sent him 17 silver rubles, and in reply he offered that she would come to Birmingham, where he stayed. She agreed, and he stopped writing to her.[[313]](#footnote-313)
* Itzhak Yaacov left his second wife Glika in 1882 a few days after the marriage. He went to Riga where he returned to his divorcee. He proceeded with his first wife to London. Glika followed the couple to London and Manchester but failed to locate them. An advertisement attempting to find Itzhak Yaacov was published by Yehuda Alexander, a London bookseller, and a correspondent of Ha-Magid. [[314]](#footnote-314)
* Yaacov Bernshtein left Perl in Russia and went to Sunderland, England. She came, on his request to England, and later he abandoned her to America via Liverpool.[[315]](#footnote-315)
* Yehiel Shmigelski left wife Sheine in Grodno and moved to London. He claimed before the London Beit Din that he sent Sheine a Get, and he wished to marry another in London. Sheine denied receiving the Get and asked the London Beit Din to prevent Yehiel marrying another wife.[[316]](#footnote-316)

America was the favorite destination for deserters:

* Zalman Hersonska, sent only one letter from Chicago to his wife Hannah in Vilkaviškis, Lithuania.[[317]](#footnote-317) Yaacov Fogel left for Albany in 1856, and after writing a few letters, lost touch with his family.[[318]](#footnote-318) Moshe Watzshtein wrote a few letters from Chicago to his wife Hava in Kraków, but after a short time ceased writing.[[319]](#footnote-319) Itzhak Rotshtein left wife Sarah in Lipno, Łódź Voivodeship in 1867. He wrote to her for the first year and stopped writing.[[320]](#footnote-320) Avraham Zilberberg wrote regularly from Chicago to wife Peril in Warsaw before he stopped.[[321]](#footnote-321)
* Shlomo Barnet wrote regularly for eight years to Fruma in Višķi, Latvia, who knew his address in Boston, but stopped writing after a while. Fruma published the advertisement two years after she received his last letter.[[322]](#footnote-322) Shmuel Kahan from Warsaw went to America in 1868. For the first seven years he wrote to wife Leah from Detroit. In 1875 he stopped writing to Leah but kept on writing to his father. She pleaded for a Get.[[323]](#footnote-323)
* Itzhak Lichtenberg left Riba in Ciechanowiec, Poland to Boston in 1872. He wrote a letter in which he wrote he is headed to Kansas and stopped writing.[[324]](#footnote-324) Hayyim Tompowski wrote a few letters to his wife Eidl in Vilkaviškis, Lithuania, from New York & Nashville in 1873 but stopped writing.[[325]](#footnote-325) Avraham Horowitz from Kaunas stopped writing to his wife from Chicago, one year after arriving there.[[326]](#footnote-326) Kalman Eisenberg left Reiche Six months after they wed. Four months after arriving to America he sent a single letter and lost contact with Reiche.[[327]](#footnote-327)
* Yaacov Meirzohn left his wife in Poland and went to find work in Charleston, South Carolina (The advertisement stated Zidamerica, [South America] not South Carolina), where after sending a few letters, he disappeared.[[328]](#footnote-328) Israel Schnor left Bluma in Tarnów to Chicago and later Galveston, Texas. He wrote regularly from Chicago but stopped after getting to Galveston.[[329]](#footnote-329)
* Moshe Tanenbaum left Leah in Grodno and went to live with his brother Yaacov in Port Gibson, Mississippi. He wrote regularly to his wife and in 1860 went to Vicksburg, Missouri, and wrote to her again from St. Louis in 1866. This was the last time she heard from him.[[330]](#footnote-330) A similar case was that of Yaacov Itzhak Bernshtein and wife Gendil on his way from Zhytomyr to Chicago.[[331]](#footnote-331)
* Hirsch Rostischer emigrated to Philadelphia in 1882. Until 1884 he kept writing regularly to wife Libe, and once sent her twenty-five silver Rubbles. Since 1884 he stopped writing. In 1889 a letter including pictures of their children Libe sent to Hirsch was returned to her, since he was not found.[[332]](#footnote-332)
* Yehezkel Blank wrote regularly from New York to wife Feige in Warsaw after leaving in 1890 until 1899. He did not contact Feige for four years.[[333]](#footnote-333)
* Nathan Michalski left his wife in Kalisz. He wrote three letters from New York, Cincinnati, and Mount Vernon, and later stopped writing.[[334]](#footnote-334) Yesha’iahu Halbertal from Kudirkos Naumiestis, Lithuania went to America and wrote to his wife Henia, asking if she was willing to join him with their three children, but stopped writing after arriving to Syracuse, New York.[[335]](#footnote-335)
* Moshe Vaprianski from Teltz (Telšiai) kept in touch with wife Rachel, promising her that he intends to bring her to New York, but stopped writing about a year after arriving to America.[[336]](#footnote-336) Hayyim Heidelshtein send fifteen silver Rubles to Elke from Chicago but stopped writing home after a few months.[[337]](#footnote-337)
* Yosef Gazrski left wife Breine in Griva, Latvia, came to New York, wrote to Breine for two years and enclosed the sum of 25 silver Rubles in one letter, and after two years stopped writing.[[338]](#footnote-338) Dov Kliger of Grodno sent money from New York to wife Ester for five years, and suddenly stopped.[[339]](#footnote-339) Nathan Neta Rozner wrote for a few years to wife Minnie, and suddenly stopped writing.[[340]](#footnote-340)
* Itzhak (Izik) Katz left Poland to America in 1859 and had no connection with his family.[[341]](#footnote-341)
* Avraham Isar Shapira deserted Cherna. He went from Kaunas, Lithuania, to Manchester and later to North America.[[342]](#footnote-342)
* Yesha'ia Friedman left wife in Rietavas, Lithuania and traveled to Springfield, Illinois. When she located him and requested a Get, he asked her to send his a Get writ, since rabbis in America were not allowed to write Gets. Yesha'ia received the Get writ and ignored it altogether.[[343]](#footnote-343)
* An unnamed young man left for New York in 1876. His father gave his address to the deserted wife who requested a Get. He did not provide the Get and left New York to an unknown address.[[344]](#footnote-344)
* Shlomo Leib Rapoport left his wife in Ternopil in 1864 and went to New Orleans where he stayed for six years. In 1870 he returned and lived with his wife for four years. In the first year after second departure, he wrote to her, but from 1876 to 1878 he didn’t send letters. She asked him for a Get.[[345]](#footnote-345)
* Adolph Weiss left wife Rachel in Hungary and went to live with his brother in Chicago. He lived with his unnamed lover and when she asked him to return to Hungary he refused, stating that he will never return to Europe. When offered money to send a Get he agreed. The Get was not approved by the Hungarian rabbis, and she remain Agunah.[[346]](#footnote-346)
* Avraham Abush left a wife in Janów, Poland. He went to Scotland and ended up in New York, where he was spotted by a man from his hometown. He agreed to send wife a Get, but it was an incorrect one. The rabbinical authorities disqualified the Get, but Avraham disappeared and could not send a correct one. The belated advertisement was an attempt to locate him again.[[347]](#footnote-347)
* Yeshaya Mendelsohn deserted wife Hava in Panevėžys, Lithuania and arrive at New York. After two years he decided to marry a local girl. He asked Hava to agree to a Get and threatened that his will not return Hava’s dowry. She demanded alimony as well as receiving the dowry. For more than two years Hava remained an Agunah, and he returned her dowry but paid no alimony.[[348]](#footnote-348)
* Moshe (Morris) Papeertchik was found in Philadelphia six years after he disappeared and left wife Zlate and two sons in Płock. Zlate was the daughter of chief Jewish religious judge (Raba”d) of Płock. Zlate’s father and a rabbi from Philadelphia (unnamed) convinces Papeertchik to grant a Get. He agreed but left Philadelphia before signing the Get.[[349]](#footnote-349)
* Meir Tzigler married Leah Gensia they had two daughters in Vilnius. He immigrated to Chicago and changed his name to Meir Levin. She and the children found him in Chicago, but after a few months of living together he left for Jerusalem. She found out from the Jerusalem rabbis that he left Jerusalem as well. She was now an Agunah in a foreign country.[[350]](#footnote-350)
* Israel Lipner deserted Reizl and their two children in 1897 after nine years of marriage and left for America. Israel sent Reizl money in 1897 & 1898, and after moving from New York to Chicago he stopped writing and sending money. In 1907 she was still looking for him. His photo was published in the Yiddish American newspaper Forverts (Forwards) section known as “A gallery of disappearing husbands”, July 1909.[[351]](#footnote-351)



Lipner’s photo is on the right.

*Forverts*, July 18, 1909.

* Wolf Klatzkin left wife Hava and four children and came to New York. Two of the children passed away a short time after the desertion. Hava and her two remaining children followed Wolf to New York. Hava found out that he married another woman.[[352]](#footnote-352)
* Rarely deserters escaped back from America to Eastern Europe. Berl Blechrowitz and Zalte married in New York and five months after the wedding Berl left taking with him five hundred dollars.[[353]](#footnote-353)

Palestine, especially Jerusalem, was another favorite destination for deserters.

* Yosef left Sasi and emigrated from Russia to Palestine, claiming that he was looking for work.[[354]](#footnote-354)
* Eliahu Moshe deserted Sarah in Kherson, Russia to Jerusalem. He returned to Kherson for four months, then left again not to be found.[[355]](#footnote-355)
* Shalom Shachne left his wife in Russia and came to Safed, Palestine.[[356]](#footnote-356)

 Palestine was not just a favorite emigration destination. During the 18th and 19th century, people were sent from Palestine to collect money aiding the Jewish communities in Palestine. These people were known as “Messengers from the rabbis” (Shliach d’Rabanan). Some of them, like Yehuda Mossinezohn came to Poland, kept in touch for a short period with their family and deserted.[[357]](#footnote-357) Uri Orenshtein went from Jerusalem to Warsaw via Kaunas and disappeared.[[358]](#footnote-358)

 Shlomo Weinshtein pretended to be a messenger and even used a Sephardi name Alrabi, using Hebrew and Turkish forged papers. While in Kamianets-Podilskyi he married a young girl and within a few weeks deserted her.[[359]](#footnote-359)

 Eliezer Hacohen was a swindler pretending to be a messenger from Jerusalem and operated in Galicia (Austria). Hacohen also deserted his wife in Jerusalem. He was a part of a group of Sephardi Jewish swindlers, who left their wives in Palestine (Yosef Pondegilo came from Tiberias).[[360]](#footnote-360)

 Elderly women left husbands and came to Jerusalem to live at their old age, leaving husbands in the home country. Feigl died in Jerusalem in 1878, and the city’s rabbis couldn’t locate her husband. All they knew was that he lived near Odessa. Rabbi Salant published an advertisement looking for him in case he wished to marry again.[[361]](#footnote-361)

**Table 5**: America, England, Palestine [Eretz Israel] – main destinations for deserters

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Decade | To Palestine | From Palestine | England | America |
| 1851-1860 | 19 | 0 | 6 | 17 |
| 1861-1870 | 17 | 6 | 33 | 67 |
| 1871-1880 | 14 | 2 | 54 | 104 |
| 1881-1890 | 13 | 8 | 84 | 236 |
| 1891-1300 | 11 | 2 | 91 | 349 |
| Total | **104** | **18** | **268** | **773** |

 Some of the deserters kept in touch with their families, at least a short time after leaving to another country. Maybe these deserters did not plan to abandon their wives at the beginning of their journey. Avigdor Lemberg left Wyszków, Poland for Russia and wrote to his wife Hinda for three years, and suddenly stopped writing.[[362]](#footnote-362)

 Yohanan Friedman left Poland for Portugal but sent letters to his wife Rachel Leah.[[363]](#footnote-363) Yaacov Meir left Stanisławów to Romania and Hungary in 1851. In the first year he sent 15 Rubles to his wife but later gone missing. He was spotted in Hungary before 1859.[[364]](#footnote-364)

 Moshe Shivinski left his wife in Kaunas for London. For a while they were discussing wither to return to Russia or her migrating to London. After a while he decided to stay, and the reason he gave was that he might be persecuted by the government. He decided to desert and cut any connection to his wife.[[365]](#footnote-365)

 In many cases immigrant deserted did this to more than one wife. Serial desertion may be attributed to a certain type of personality and not merely related with immigration.[[366]](#footnote-366) Avraham Aaron was even accused that serial desertion was his profession.[[367]](#footnote-367)

 Mordechai Hayyimov (AKA Meir Edelmote) deserted Yehudit in Minsk, Belarus and after arriving to New York, married and deserted Milli Mizenthrop. The first desertion was reported in *Ha-Magid* 1876 & 1877, The second was reported by the American Yiddish Journal *Der Menshenfreind.[[368]](#footnote-368)*

 Menahem Mones Levin deserted two wives in Russia in 1877 and another two in France, before leaving for New York in 1878.[[369]](#footnote-369) Morris Friedman deserted two wives in Warsaw on his way to North America.[[370]](#footnote-370) David Perlman also deserted two wives (Rivka from Memel and another whose name is unknown from Slutsk) and Moshe Katznelbogen deserted two wives in France, heading for Russia.[[371]](#footnote-371) So did Gedalia Sway from Ekaterinoslav to America.[[372]](#footnote-372) Israel Ber Shapira deserted Pesia & Yente in Berdychiv while leaving for Iași, Romania.[[373]](#footnote-373)

 Heinrich Jean deserted two wives in Moscow and Vitebsk before emigrating to Argentina and deserting a third wife in Buenos Aires.[[374]](#footnote-374) Hirsch Lazerick deserted two wives in Kėdainiai, Lithuania, a third in Brest, and a fourth in London.[[375]](#footnote-375)

 Mordechai Belis left one wife in Poland and two in Russia, before leaving for India.[[376]](#footnote-376) Zalman Ber Momshewitz left five wives, four in Russia (near Kherson) and one in London.[[377]](#footnote-377) Hayyim Englander AKA Dr. Engel deserted four wives in London before leaving for Galicia, where he deserted Shmuel Weiss's daughter in Krakow and another unnamed woman.[[378]](#footnote-378) Zusmann AKA Dr. Weiss AKA Dr. Friedlander deserted a wife in Poltava before leaving for Germany where he did this again.[[379]](#footnote-379)

 Yosef Tzernin deserted two wives in Russia, and a third in England.[[380]](#footnote-380) Herman Hyman deserted Ester in Russia and Bertha in New York.[[381]](#footnote-381) Max Shwartz deserted three wives while traveling between Yampil Raion, Ukraine and Budapest.[[382]](#footnote-382) Zelkind Poivianski deserted one wife in Poland and two other in Russia before leaving for Germany.[[383]](#footnote-383)

 Immigration was used some time to cover attempt to leave to a near vicinity. Israel Ziskind (AKA Alexander Leviborovski) from Kutno informed his wife Idel, that he planned to move to America and left her and two children at her sister's house, promising to unite eventually in America. In fact, he went from Warsaw to south Russia.[[384]](#footnote-384)

 Though men’s voice can hardly be found in the documents, we can still offer some insights:

1. Immigration was a major factor of desertion. Thirty-eight percent of East European Agunot cases are immigration related as shown in table 4 above. But if we consider that desertion cases are only sixty-six percent of Agunot, this means that at least fifty percent of desertion were migration related.
2. Familial issues were important reasons for desertion. However, here we lack further information. Only in thirty percent of desertion we know the age of the husband. The wife’s age is known in less than five percent. Age at the time of marriage of husband is known in eight percent of the cases, while wife’s age is known in about two percent of the cases. Age difference is between husband and wife is known in one percent of cases, so is the parameter of first marriage. For about fifteen percent of the men, we know that it was their second marriage. We do not have such indication regarding women.
3. Health issues, especially mental health were also important factors, not so much in case of desertion, more in the case of giving or receiving a Get. According to the Jew law man cannot give a Get if he is severely (either physically or mentally) ill. Men could get out of undesired marriage. Women could not. This explained we most reported health issues in our sources were attributed to women. Women had hardly to gain form this dire straits. Men had much to win here.
4. One large group of deserters were army servants. These recruits were cut from the Jewish communities and from their family for lengthy periods. This was an important reason for desertion. Many army recruits deserted their wife or fiancée. Many of them, who served in more than one settlement, did not see eye to eye living all the time in the same town or shtetl with the rest of the community.

1. In answering why men used desertion so much Reena Friedman called it “poor men’s divorce”.[[385]](#footnote-385) I doubt that. Of course, desertion was more common among poor people, but as our analysis has shown people left while seeking work, but most work seekers did not disappear. Many of the deserters were middle class men and could afford divorcing. Quite a few of them worked in the rabbinical establishment: Rabbis, Cantors, Teachers (children’s teachers – Melamdim, as well as Yeshiva teachers), Butchers (Shohet), etc. Looking at the Agunah phenomenon from a class perspective is misleading.
1. See Elisheva Baumgarten, 'Review of "Lift Up Your Voice": Women's Voices and Feminist Interpretation in Jewish Studies', *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, vol. 6, 2003, p. 222-229 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Aginut in Hebrew means the state of being an Agunah. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Avraham ben Tzvi Teomim, *Sefer Hesed Le-Avraham*, second edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1898), part Even ha-Ezer, sign 58 & 61. (Hereafter, Hesed). In some cases, people who went abroad (Usually North America), were found, and gave a Get, but the Get was incorrect or improper. Shaul Yosef ben Arie Leibusch Natanzohn, *Sefer Shoel U-Meshiv*, sixth edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1889), signs 168, 169 & 171. (Hereafter, Shoel U-Meshiv, 6th edition). Others, like Meir Markowitz of Yelisavetgrad, claimed that the Get was signed and sent, but the wife might not receive it yet. *Ha-Zefira*, June 20, July 28, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *Ha-Melitz*, January 2, 1871. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *Ha-Melitz*, December 6, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Menahem Mendel ben Shalom Schneerson, *Sefer Tzemach Tzedek Shelot Ve-Teshuvot MiShulchan Aruch Even Ha-Ezer*, (New York, 1994), part 2, sign 145. (Hereafter, Tzemach). Israel Yaacov ben Meshulam Ya'avetz, *Teshuvot Ma'aris"h*, (Jerusalem, 1907), signs 37-42. (Hereafter, Ya'avetz). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. *Ha-Zefira*, August 16, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. *Ha-Melitz*, November 16, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. *Ha-Tzvi*, September 18, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. *Ha-Zefira*, February 20, & November 4, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. RGIA, Russian Church records, F.797, op. 90, d.47, II. 4-17 ob. ChaeRan Y. Freeze, *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia*, (Hannover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2001), 237-238. (herafter Freeze) [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Shlomo ben Yaacov Drimer, *Beit Shlomo*, vol.3, (Lemberg [Lviv]: Unknown, 1889), sign 140. (Hereafter, Beit Shlomo). See also the case of Pesia's husband, David Dov Berish ben Aaron Meisels, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot HaRaDa"D*, first edition (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1903), sign 20. (Hereafter, Rda"d) [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. As did Menashe. Hesed, sign 76, [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Beit Shlomo, sign 20. This was also referred to by Arie Leibush ben Eliahu Lifshitz, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Shem Arie*, Part 2: Even Ha-Ezer, (Vilnius, 1873), sign 95 (Hereafter, Shem Arie). & Avraham Shmuel Benyamin Sofer, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Tesuvot Katav Sofer*, (Bratislava, 1894), sign 90. (Hereafter, Ktav Sofer). This was not a unique case. See: Hesed, sign 55 & 74 [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Tzemach, sign 359. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. David Shlomo ben Yerahmiel Eibshitz, *Neot Deshe*, part 1, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Ha-Mossad Le-Hotza'at Sifrei Musar Ve-Hasidut, 1962), Sign 162. (Hereafter, Neot Deshe). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Eliahu Bechor ben Yosef Rafael Hazan, *Sefer Ta’alumot Lev*, (Livorno, 1893); part 3, sign 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. *Ha-Carmel*, May 2, 1861. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Uri Shraga Faivel ben Shmuel Toybsch, *Ori Ve-Ishe'y*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1886), sign 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Beit Shlomo, sign 88, & Shalom ben Shmuel Toybsch, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Tesuvot Sheilat Shalom*, second edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1885), sign 31 (Hereafter, Sheilat Shalom). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Rda"d, sign 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. *Ha-Magid*, August 11, 1880. *Ha-Zefira*, August 10, 1880. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. *Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, August 15, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. There were some unique cases. Arie Leib Bokaleer of Pidhaitsi received Heter Meah Rabbanim because his wife was a persona non grata in Austria and could not enter the country. Yeruham Yehuda Leib ben Shlomo Zalman Perlman, *Or Gadol*, (Vilnius, 1924), sign 25. (Hereafter, Or Gadol), & Yosef ben Zeev Kotokovsky, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Nachlat Yehoshua*, (Zhytomyr, 1900), part Even Ha-Ezer, signs 1-2. (Hereafter, Nachlat Yehoshua). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Frequently rabbis disagreed on awarding the permission. Hayyim ben Itzhak of Kaunas received permission from many rabbis, but rabbi Weiss raised some objections. Benyamin Arie ben Hayyim Tzvi Weiss, *Even Yekara*, second edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1894), part even Ha-Ezer, sign 5. (Hereafter, Even.). Rabbi Dov Rappaport objected altogether to give permission the husbands of sick wives. Dov Berish [Dobrisch] ben Shmuel Rappaport, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Derech Ha-Melech*, (London, 1903), sign 35 (Hereafter, Derech). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Itzhak Yehuda ben Hayyim Shmelkish, Beit *Itzhak, Helek Even Ha-Ezer*, (Przemyśl, 1901), part Gitin, sign 8. (Hereafter, Beit Itzhak). [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Hayyim Yehuda Leib ben Israel Litvin, *Sefer Sha'arei Deah - Sha'ar Yehuda*, (Przemyśl, 1884), sign 113. (Hereafter, Sha'rei Deah [Yehuda]). Another request regarding giving birth, Shalom Mordechai ben Moshe Schwadron, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ma'arsha"m*, (Jerusalem, 1974), vol. 5, sign 88. (Hereafter, Schwadron, vol. 5). Yehezkel also asked for permission to remarry since he had no children. Naftali Tzvi Yehuda Berlin, *Shu"t Meshiv Davar*, (Warsaw: Halter & Izenshtadt, 1894), vol. 2, sign 8. (Hereafter, Meshiv Davar). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Hayyim ben Arie Leibush Halbershtam, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Divrei Hayyim*, vol. 2, (Zhovkva, 1864), part Even ha-Ezer, sign 48. (Hereafter, Divrei Hayyim, vol. 2). The second case, Beit Itzhak, sign 13 & Shmuel ben Zeev Engel, *Shu"t Ma'arash,* (Jerusalem: Private print, 1980), part 4, sign 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Israel Yehuda ben Yosef Neiman, 'Shelot Ve-Teshuvot', *Sefer Machne Israel,* vol.2, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1886), page 184. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Tzvi Hirsch ben Mordechai Zeev Orenshtein, Sefer *Shelot Ve-Tshuvot Birkat Ratz'e*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1889), sign 95. (Hereafter, Birkat Ratz'e) [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Shalom Mordechai ben Moshe Schwadron, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ma'arsha"m*, (Jerusalem, 1974), vol. 6, 191. (Hereafter, Schwadron, vol. 6). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Rachel Manekin, *The Rebellion of the Daughters: Jewish Women Runaways in Habsburg Galicia*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. *Ha-Magid*, September 6, & October 18, 1871. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Both advertisements publish in: *Ha-Magid*, June 26, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. *Ha-Magid*, May 5, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Shoel U-Meshiv, 2nd edition, part 4, sign 63. Another case, Beit Itzhak, sign 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Moshe Shlomo ben Yehuda Lewinson, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Heshek Shlomo*, (Warsaw, 1888), part 3, addendum, sign 5 (last sign in the book). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. *Ha-Magid*, September 5, & November 15, 1860. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Shalom Mordechai ben Moshe Schwadron, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ma'arsha"m*, (Jerusalem, 1974), vol. 7, sign 64. (Hereafter, Schwadron, vol. 7). [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. *Kol Mevaser*, June 17, & 14, 1866. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. *Ha-Melitz*, November 1, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Itzhak Izik ben Meir Shor, *Sefer Mei Be’er*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1891), sign 56. (Hereafter, Shor). [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Shalom Mordechai ben Moshe Schwadron, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ma'arsha"m*, vol.6, Shalom Mordechai Schwadron [grandson] ((Ed.), (Jerusalem, 1974), sign 137. (Hereafter, Schwadron, vol. 6). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. *Ha-Zefira*, August 22, 1900. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. *Ha-Magid*, November 10, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Ha-*Magid*, November 29, 1876, Ha-*Lebanon*, November 22, & 29, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. *Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, July 15, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. *Ha-Magid*, August 12, 1863. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. *Ha-Melitz*, April 15, & 17, 1888. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. *Ha-Zefira*, January 22, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. *Ha-Zefira*, September 18, 1899. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Freeze, Marriage, 366, note 183. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. *Ha-Melitz*, June 10, 1879. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. *Ha-Zefira*, July 18, & 25, & September 4, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. *Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, February 2, & September 16, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. *Ha-Zefira*, June 24, July 1, & 29, 1879 [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. *Ha-Magid*, August 8, 1880. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Moshe Nathan ben Mordechai Rubinshtein, *Sefer Elef HaMagen*, (Warsaw, 1887), part 2, sign 19. (Hereafter, elef). [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. *Ha-Magid*, February 19, & 26, 1885. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. *Ha-Melitz*, November 7, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Eliezer Hayyim ben Avraham Deitch, *Pri Ha-Sadeh*, parts 1-2, (Paks: Meir Rozenbloom Segal, 1906), part *1, sign 87. (Hereafter,* *Pri Ha-Sadeh 1-2).* [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. *Ha-Lebanon*, February 11, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Rabbi Shmelkish reports on a wife leaving with a non-Jewish husband to America, Beit Itzhak, sign 33. The second case is described by Shmuel ben Zeev Engel, *Shu"t Ma'arash*, (Jerusalem: Private print, 1980) part 5, sign 94. (Hereafter, Ma'arash). [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Organization of Jews living in America who came from the same town in Eastern Europe and help immigrants arriving from the hometown to settle in America, [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. *Ha-Magid*, March 17, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. *Ha-Zefira*, February 11, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Menahem Shachne ben Simcha Dan Rotshveil, *Sefer Shem Tov*, (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1930), sign 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. *Ha-Magid*, December 12, 1889. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. *Ha-Magid*, December 8, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. *Ha-Magid*, June 21, & August 2, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. *Ha-Melitz*, February 14, 1899. *Ha-Zefira*, March 1, 1899. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. *Ha-Melitz*, March 16, 1885. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Mordechai Zeev Etinger [Itinge], *Sefer M'aamar Mordechai*, (Lemberg [Lviv]: E. Winiarz, 1852), Question 22 & Moshe ben Efraim Teomim, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Dvar Moshe*, first edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1864), sign 11. (Hereafter, Dvar Moshe). Another similar case, Beit Itzhak, sign 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Beit Shlomo, sign 7. Meshulam Issaschar ben Arie Leibsch Horowitz, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Bar Livay*, part 2, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1876), answer 4. (Hereafter, Bar Livay). Shalom Mordechai ben Moshe Schwadron, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ma'arsha"m*, (Jerusalem, 1974), vol. 2, signs 55, 91, & 150. (Hereafter, Schwadron, vol. 2). Shraga Tzvi ben Zeev Wolf Tanenbaum, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Neta Sorek*, (Mukachevo (Munkács), 1899), sign 22. (Hereafter, Neta). [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Shlomo Tzvi ben Natan Shick, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Rashb"an Al Even Ha-Ezer*, (Satu Mare [Szatmár], 1905), sign 13. (Hereafter, Rashb"an). Yaacov, ibid, sign 14. Klein, ibid, sign 15. The same was decided in the case of Shmuel Landsman of Budapest, by rabbi Deitch, Pri Ha-Sadeh 1-2, part 2, sign 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Bernard S. Jackson, '"Moredet": problems of history and authority', *Jewish Law Association Studies*, 12 (2002) 103-123. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Amram ben Itzhak Yaacov Bloom, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Beit Sha'arim*, parts 3, (Jerusalem: Machon Mishna Halachot Gedolot, 2001), sign 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Freeze, 240-241. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Hesed, sign 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Yaacov Zeev ben Avraham Kahana, *Sefer Toldot Yaacov*, (Vilnius, 1907), part Even ha-Ezer, sign 7, (Hereafter, Toldot Yaacov). Itzhak Elhanan ben Israel Isar Spector, *Teshuvot Rabenu Elhanan*, Amiram Mordechai Waldenberg (Ed.), (Jerusalem, 2010), signs 136-137. (Hereafter, Teshuvot Itzhak). [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Israel Yehosua ben David Trunk, *Sefer Shu"t Yeshu'ot Malko*, (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1927), part Even ha-Ezer, sign 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Moshe ben Efraim Teomim, *Sefer Orian Tilltai*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1880), sign 144. (Hereafter, Orian). [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Shaul Yosef ben Arie Leibusch Nathanzohn, *Sefer Shoel U-Meshiv*, first edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1866), sign 225 (Hereafter, Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition), sign 114. On Hava, Schwadron, vol.2, sign 159. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Toybsch, sign 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Moshe Shmuel ben Avraham Glazner, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Dor Revi'ee*, part 2, (Jerusalem, 1977), signs 37-38, & 43. (Hereafter, Dor Revi'ee, 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, sign 147. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Freeze, 118-119. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. The Twerski case (1893-1898), no. 740, rec. 1308, rec. 1310, rec. 3100, rec. 3385, rec. 3388, rec. 3429, rec. 5954, rec. 5972, & rec. 5975, Moshe Nahum Yerushlimski Archive. Schocken Institute, Jerusalem. Other rabbis referred to the case, see: Schwadron, vol 7, sign 95; Salant, sign 105. Eliahu ben Naftali Hirtz Klatzkin, *Sefer Dvar Eliahu*, (Lublin, 1915), part Imrei Shefer, sign 75. (Hereafter, Klatzkin). The case was covered by the Hebrew newspapers as well: *Ha-Melitz*, December 8, 1892. *Ha-Zefira*, April 13 & May 15, 1893. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. *Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, November 9, 1880. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. On the various positions of rabbis see chapter 4, below. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. *Ha-Melitz*, June 7, 1881, *Ha-Zefira*, January 20, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. *Ha-Melitz*, May 21, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. *Ha-Melitz*, May 29, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. *Ha-Melitz*, September 21, & 23, 1891, February 8, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. R' falsely accuse his wife as mentally ill, and rabbi Perlman denounced him. Or Gadol, sign 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Shoel U-Meshiv, 2nd edition, sign 116. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Shoel U-Meshiv, 2nd edition, part 3, sign 316. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Beit Itzhak, sign 17. Sha'rei Deah [Yehuda], sign 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Itzhak Meir ben Israel Alter, *Sefer Shu"t Ha"Rim*, Warsaw, 1882, part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 6. Another nameless case, ibid, sign 12. Another two cases of unnamed couple in a similar situation, Shem Arie, sign 7. An early case from 1856 see Beit Shlomo, signs 1, 3, & 4. A similar incident happened with Hayyim, Beit Itzhak, sign 1. Rabbi Yerushalimski reported on Moshe ba’r Aaron whose wife got ill in 1886, Moshe Nahum ben Benyamin Yerushalimski, *Sefer Be'er Moshe*, (Warsaw, 1901), (Hereafter, Be'er Moshe). Takanat Agunot, sign 14. Yerushalimski also referred to a case from 1888 and two cases from 1898. Ibid, part Heshiv Moshe, sign 3. ibid, Takanat Agunot, sign 9, 10-13. Ibid, sign 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Be'er Moshe, Takanat Agunot, sign 7. This case was much discussed. Itzhak Shmelkish, Rabbinical permission to remarry given to Kalonimus Kalman ben Zeev 1893. Moshe Nahum Yerushlimski Archive. Schocken Institute, Jerusalem, rec. 639. Hayyim ben Naftali Tzvi Yehuda Berlin, *Sefer Nishmat Hayyim - Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Barbaa Helki Shulhan Aruch*, part Even Ha-Ezer, Yaacov Kosovsky-Schhor (ed.), (Bnei Brak: Unknown, 2003), sign 12. (Hereafter, Nishmat Hayyim). Betzalel Zeev ben Hanoch Shafran, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot HaRaba"Z*, part 2, (Chernivtsi, 1930), part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 12. (Hereafter, Raba”z). [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Even, sign 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Moshe Tzvi ben Benyamin Zeev Fux, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Yad Rama*, (Oradea [Nagy-Várad],1940), part 2, sign 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Hayyim ben Shalom Toybsch, *Hayyim Shel Shalom*, part 2, (Drohobych, 1903), signs 49-50. (Hereafter, Hayyim shel Shalom). [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Hesed, sign 44. On the second case, Beit Itzhak, part Gitin, sign 5. The case was also discussed by Hesed, 43. Another similar case see, Beit Itzhak, sign 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, sign 120. A similar case brings Drimer, Beit Shlomo, sign 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Itzhak ben Naftali Tzioni, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Olat Itzhak*, (Vilnius, 1885), sign 191. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Moshe ben Yosef Shick, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Mahr"am Shick, on Even Ha-Ezer*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1880), sign 2. (Hereafter, Shick). & Schwadron, vol. 6, signs 141-142. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Ester, Orian, sign 108. Feige, Arie Leib ben Avraham Yosef Broyda, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Tesuvot Mitzpe Arie*, (Lemberg [Lviv]: Solot Press, 1880), part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 10. (Hereafter, Broyda). Petahia, ibid, sign 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Beit Itzhak, part Gitin, sign 67. Be'er Moshe, sign 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Arie Leibush ben Itzhak Horowitz, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Harei Besamim*, 5th edition, vol. 4, (Jerusalem, 1984), sign 25. (Hereafter, Harei Besamim) [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Meir Tzvi ben Gavriel Wittmayer, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ramat"z,* vol. 2, (Przemyśl, 1872), sign 5. On Axelrod see, Beit Itzhak, sign 18. Lifshitz case, Shor, sign 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Rafael Israel Isar ben Dov Shapira, *Sefer Ezrat Israel*, (Warsaw, 1891), signs 1-2. (Hereafter, Ezrat Israel). Hayyim ben Moshe Yaacov Rozman, *Sefer ohel Moshe*, (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1908), sign 2. (Hereafter, Rozman). [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Gershon ben Moshe Kurtzer, *Nachlat Yehoshua*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1934), part Even ha-Ezer, sign 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. *Havatzelet*, October 13, 1886, *Ha-Melitz*, October 28, 1886, *Ha-Zefira*, October 26, & December 3, 1886, *Ha-Yom*, October 19, 1886. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Issaschar Berish Dov ben Benyamin Groybert, *Divrey Issaschar*, (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1910), Signs 118-121. (Hereafter, Issaschar). [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Shalom ben Shmuel Toybsch, *Sefer Sheilot Ve-Tesuvot Sheilat Shalom*, second edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1885), sign 32 (Hereafter, Shailat Shalom). [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Yosef ben Zeev Kotokovsky, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Nachlat Yehoshua*, (Zhytomyr, 1900), part Even ha-Ezer, signs 3-4. (Hereafter, Kotokovsky). [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Beit Itzhak, sign 10 also reported by rabbi Hayyim Yehuda Leib ben Israel Litvin-Sossnitzer, *Sefer Sha'arei Deah - Sha'ar Ha-Hayyim*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1876), sign 79. Beit Itzhak cites similar cases, signs 14 & 21-22. Shprinze, Moshe's wife has been mentally ill for six years and could not receive a Get, Shoel U-Meshiv, 3rd edition, sign 141. Other part time illnesses, Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, sign 122 & Hayyim Elazar ben Tzvi Shapira, *Minhat Elazar*, Vol. 1, (Mukachevo (Munkács), 1902), sign 31, & Itzhak Elhanan ben Israel Isar Spector, *Sefer Eyn Itzhak*, vol. 1, (Vilnius, 1889), part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 5. Schwadron, vol. 2, sign 147. Schwadron, vol 7, sign 147. Meshiv Davar, sign 2. Mariy'a Halevy, part 2, sign 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Shmuel ben Yehuda Leib Mohaliver, *Shu"t Maras"h Mohaliver*, Yehuda Leib Maymom (Ed.), (Jerusalem, 1980), part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 1. (Hereafter, Mohaliver). [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Broyda, sign 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Even, sign 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Beit Shlomo, sign 95. Rabbi Teomin, Hesed, sign 50 also referred to this case. David Br”a encountered the same situation, Shoel U-Meshiv, 6th edition, sign 164. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Divrei Hayyim, vol. 2, sign 50, Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, sign 148 & Bar Livay, answer 16. And a similar case, Divrei Hayyim, 17. Hayyim Elazar ben Avraham Yehuda Wax, *Nefesh Haya*, (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1876), part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 44. Birkat Ratz'e, sign 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Itzhak Aaron ben Mordechai Zeev Etinger, *Sefer Shu"t Mariy'a Halevy*, (Lemberg [Lviv]: Solot press, 1893), part 2, sign 135 (Hereafter, Mariy'a Halevy). Yaacov Hayyim Zelig ben Yeheil Mechel Goldshlag, *Sefer Vayyehi Yaacov,* (Warsaw, 1909), sign 13. (Hereafter, Vayyehi Yaacov). Avraham Menahem ben Meir Shteinberg, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Mahaze Avraham*, part 2, (Brody, 1924), part Even ha-Ezer, sign 1. (Hereafter, Mahaze). Even, sign 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Shick, sign 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Benyamin David ben Shimshon Rafael Levin, *Shemen Sasson,* (Warsaw, 1905), signs 34-35, [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Shaul Yosef ben Arie Leibusch Nathanzohn, *Sefer Shoel U-Meshiv*, third edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1876), part 1, sign 73. (Hereafter, Shoel U-Meshiv, 3rd edition). Itzhak Gutman from Zhytomyr and Shmuel ben Nachman's wives also got frequently ill, Dvar Moshe, signs 39-41. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Harei Besamim, sign 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Neta, sign 113. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Mordechai Dov Ber ben Meshulam Twersky, *Emek She'ela*, (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1906), part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 2. An unnamed case in Hungary, Shalom Mordechai ben Moshe Schwadron, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ma'arsha"m*, (Jerusalem, 1974), vol. 1, sign 21. (Hereafter, Schwadron, vol. 1). The case of Yaacov Katz from Mukachevo, (Munkach), Ukraine, is very similar, Be’er Moshe, sign 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Divrei Hayyim, vol. 2, sign 41. Most of request for *Heter Meah Rabbnim* were denied. Other permissions to remarry was given only after long deliberations. Israel Isar Yehuda ben Nehemia Mallin, *Ezrat Yehuda*, (Warsaw, 1862). Signs 35-38. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Beit Itzhak, sign 15. A similar decision, ibid, sign 16. Shmuel Nadel’s case was very similar. Birkat Ratz'e sign 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. The incident where the man claimed he was tricked to marry is reported in: Yaacov Zeev ben Avraham Kahana, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot She'erit Yaacov*, (Vilnius, 1895), part Even Ha-Ezer, sign 12. Similar cases, Meshiv Davar, signs 3 & 7. The last case was also addressed by Eliahu ben Naftali Hirtz Klatzkin, *Sefer Dvar Eliahu*, (Lublin, 1915), sign 58. Another case from 1873, Mariy'a Halevy, part 2, sign 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Dvar Moshe, sign 79. Alter Grindgower also received the *Heter Meah Rabbanim*, ibid, second edition (printed together with the first edition), sign 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. Harei Beshamim, part 2, sign 72, & Aaron Kutna, *Mishchat Aaron,* (Paks, 1901), page 74. Other cases of alimony, Divrei Hayyim, vol. 2, sign 17, & Meshiv Davar, sign 1. Mordechai ben Juda from Kolomyia paid his mentally ill wife Breine, Menachem Mendel ben Yehezkel Font, *Sefer Avnei Tzedek Al Even Ha-Ezer*, (Mukachevo (Munkács): Blayer, 1886), sign 12. (Hereafter, Font, Avnei Tzedek). [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Pri Ha-Sadeh 1-2, part 1, sign 22 & Arie Leib ben Israel Horowitz, *Sefer Hay'ei Arie*, (Vilnius, 1907), page 187. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, part 3, sign 141. In an unnamed case, epilepsy was the cause of requesting permission to marry another wife, see: Divrei Hayyim, vol. 2, sign 51, Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, sign 260 & Avraham Naftali Hirtz ben Mordechai Yener, *Tzaluta De-Avraham*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1868). [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Tzvi Hirsch encountered a similar situation in 1857. Shaul Yosef ben Arie Leibusch Natanzohn, *Sefer Shoel U-Meshiv*, fourth edition, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1877), part 3, answer 107. (Hereafter, Shoel U-Meshiv, 4th edition). Another unnamed case, Schwadron, vol. 7, sign 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Font, Avnei Tzedek, signs 12 & 60. On stuttering, *Shoel U-Meshiv*, 6th edition, sign 138. The infectious disease case, Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, part 1, sign 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Elazar Horowitz, *Yad Eliezer [Elazar]*, (Vienna, 1870), sign 118. (Hereafter, Yad Elazar). On rabbi Horowitz see: Julie Lieber, 'Infidelity and Intimacy in Nineteenth-Century Vienna: Gender and Orthodoxy as Reflected in the Responsa of Rabbi Eleazar Horowitz', *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, 21 (2011), 24-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Pri Ha-Sadeh 1-2, part 1 sign 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Shoel U-Meshiv, 1st edition, sign 1, Beit Itzhak, sign 38 [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Aaron ben Elimelech Fried, *Sefer Shu"t Ma'aRa"P*, (Mukachevo (Munkács): Blayer, 1893), signs 38-39. (Hereafter, Ma'aRa"P). [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. *Shem Arie*, sign 10. So was Avraham Yaacov, *Meshiv Davar*, sign 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. *Beit Itzhak*, part Gitin, sign 19. Moshe Nahum ben Benyamin Yerushalimski, *Sefer Birkat Moshe*, (Lemberg [Lviv], 1886), sign 39. (Hereafter, Birkat Moshe). [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Yaacov ben Eliezer Widenfeld, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Kochav Mi-Yaacov,* Amended edition (Jerusalem, 1999), sign 40. (Hereafter, Kokhav). [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. *Ha-Zefira*, March 22, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. *Ha-Melitz*, April 24, 1890, *Ha-Zefira*, May 15, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. *Havazelet*, July 22, & 29, August 5, 12, 19, & 26, & September 15, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. *Shoel U-Meshiv*, 3rd edition, sign 41 & Toybsch, sign 14. The Zletshover case was advertised in *Ha-Magid*, January 11, & February 29, 1860. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. *Ha-Magid*, March 2, 1870, July 24, & October 16, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. *Ha-Magid*, February 8, & April 5, 1871. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. *Ha-Magid*, November 8, 1871. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Avraham Abali ben Hayyim Meir Zeev Zelfraynd, *Sefer Igra Dehsepedia*, (Mukachevo (Munkács), 1886), page 214 onwards. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. *Ha-Zefira*, March 27, 1892. January 26, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. *Ha-Melitz*, May 28, & June 22, 1883, *Ha-Zefira*, June 5, & 14, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. *Ha-Magid*, August 24, & 30, 1859. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. *Ha-Magid*, June 20, 1860. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. *Ha-Magid*, June 28, 1860. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. *Ivri Anochi*, January 21, & February 18, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Schwadron, vol. 2, sign 192 & Shmuel ben Zeev Engel, *Shu"t Ma'arash*, (Jerusalem: Private print, 1980), vol. 1, sign 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. *Ha-Melitz*, October 10, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. *Ha-Magid*, June 26, 1872, *Ha-Lebanon*, June 19, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. *Ha-Zefira*, December 22, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. *Ha-Magid*, April 3, 1862. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. *Ha-Melitz*, June 26, 1862. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. *Havazelet*, September 24, 1863. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. *Ha-Zefira*, October 23, 1899. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. *Ha-Magid*, May 5, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. *Ha-Magid*, June 3, & December 14, 1868. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. *Ha-Magid*, December 8, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. *Ha-Magid*, October 19, 1870, & January 51, 1871. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. *Ha-Magid*, March 21, 1860.April 17, 1860. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. *Ha-Magid*, July 24, & August 22, 1861 & August 21, 1862. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. *Ha-Carmel*, August 7, 1863. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. *Ha-Magid*, November 16, & 30, 1864. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. *Ivri Anochi*, June 23, & August 4, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. *Ha-Melitz*, October 24, & 28, & November 2, 1901. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. *Ha-Magid*, July 12, 1864. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. *Ha-Magid*, February 19, May 4, & August 15, 1883, *Ha-Zefira*, May 5, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. *Ha-Melitz*, September 22, & 29, 1864. *Ha-Magid*, September 28, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. Tzvi Arie Yehuda Yaacov ben David Dov Berish Meizlish, *Sefer Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Heduat Yaacov*, second edition, (Piotrków Trybunalski [Pietrokov], 1920), sign 8-9 [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. *Ha-Magid*, August 4, 1880. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. *Ha-Melitz*, June 28, 1881, *Ha-Zefira*, June 21, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. *Ha-Magid*, May 30, 1865. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. *Ha-Lebanon*, February 11, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. *Ha-Zefira*, March 11, 1902. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. *Ha-Lebanon*, July 8, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. *Ha-Zefira*, May 17, 1882, & August 7, 1883 [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. *Ha-Magid*, September 20, 1865. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. *Ha-Carmel*, July 8, & 18, 1866. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Robert E. Mitchell, 'Order and Disorder in Jewish Marriages, Families, Kinship Systems and the Immediate Built and Social Environments', in: Robert E. Mitchell (ed.), *Human Geographies Within the Pale of Settlement*, (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2019), 155-189. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. *Ha-Magid*, July 22, & 29, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. *Ha-Zefira*, May 25, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. *Ha-Zefira*, August 9, 1893. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. *Ha-Zefira*, December 1, 1900. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. *Ha-Magid*, July 30, 1873, May 26, & July 1, 1874, May 26, 1875; *Ha-Lebanon*, September 25, & October 21, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. *Ha-Melitz*, December 5, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. *Ha-Zefira*, May 14, 1878. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. *Ha-Zefira*, June 10, 1879. Katz, *Ha-Zefira*, June 27, 1882, July 31, 1883. Rubinski, *Ha-Melitz*, April 20, 1888. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. *Ha-Melitz*, May 24, 1886. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. *Ha-Zefira*, December 26, 1900. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. *Ha-Melitz*, January 1, 1890. *Ha-Zefira*. January 5, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. *Ha-Melitz*, July 12, & 17, 1895. *Ha-Zefira*. July 26, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. *Havatzelet*, August 17, & 24, September 8, 24, & 29, October 26, November 16, & 30, December 21, 1894, & January 11, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. *Ha-Carmel*, December 26, 1862. Moshe Flykevsi also left a month after the wedding, *Ha-Zefira*, May 15, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. *Ha-Tzvi*, March 20, April 10, 1885. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. *Ha-Magid*, August 14, 21, & 28, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. *Ha-Lebanon*, June 26, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. *Ha-Melitz*, July 25, & August 6, 1893 & *Ha-Zefira*, August 10, & 15, 1893. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. *Ha-Zefira*, July 5, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. *Ha-Melitz*, June 10, & August 28, 1879. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. A Cohen is not allowed to marry a widow, a divorcee, and a non-virgin. *Ha-Melitz*, July 11, 1895, *Ha-Zefira*, July 23, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. *Ha-Melitz*, September 12, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. *Ha-Zefira*, July 11, 1882. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. *Ha-Zefira*, October 17, 1887. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. *Ha-Melitz*, June 1, 1899. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. *Ha-Melitz*, June 6, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. *Ha-Zefira*, November 28, 1882. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia*, (Berkley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2002). Natan Meir, 'Charting the Outer Provinces of Jewry: The Study of East European Jewry's Margins', *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry,* 29 (2017), 89-104. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. *Ha-Melitz*, February 11, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. *Ha-Magid*, December 9, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. *Ha-Magid*, May 26, 1875. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. *Ha-Melitz*, May 22, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. *Ha-Lebanon*, July 5, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. *Ha-Melitz*, August 16, & October 14, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. *Ha-Melitz*, December 4, & 6, 1896 & January 20, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. *Ha-Melitz*, August 30, September 14, & 20, 1881, *Ha-Zefira*, September 13, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. *Ha-Zefira*, January 9, 1893. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. *Ha-Melitz*, December 17, 1886. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. *Ha-Melitz*, October 26, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. At least 250 Agunot were deserted by army recruiters. On the phenomenon see: Yohanan Petrovski-Shtern, *Jews in the Russian Army, 1827-1917: Drafted into Modernity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. *Ha-Magid*, May 28, 1885. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. *Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, December 15, 1881, May 5, 1882. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. *Ha-Zefira*, November 25, 1879, August 7, 1883, *Ha-Melitz*, August 1, & 3, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. *Ha-Magid*, September 2, 16, & October 7, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. *Ha-Melitz*, October 11, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. *Ha-Magid*, January 8, 1863 [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. *Ha-Melitz*, September 2, & 4, 1889. *Ha-Zefira*, October 27, 1889. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. *Ha-Melitz*, July 13, 1880. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. *Ha-Melitz*, April 19, 1866. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. *Ha-Zefira*, June 29, 1888. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. *Ha-Magid*, January 9, 1878. A Mamzer is a child born of a married woman and a man who is not her husband. This was, and still is, a main reason for an Agunah not to live with a man outside the marriage. If one is a Mamzer, he will not be able to marry according to the Jewish law. Aaron Rakeffet-Rothkof, 'Annulment of Marriage within the Context of Cancelation of the *Get*', *Tradition*, 15 (1/2), 173-185. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. *Ha-Magid*, January 12, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. Ha-*Magid*, June 28, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. Ha-*Magid*, July 12, & 26, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. *Ha-Lebanon*, August 9, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. *Ha-Zefira*, May 5, 1896. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. *Ha-Zefira*, March 21, 1899. [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. *Ha-Zefira*, July 29, 1896. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. *Ha-Zefira*, July 7, 1888. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. *Havatzelet*, August 19, & 29, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. *Ha-Magid*, January 12, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. *Ha-Magid*, May 25, 1864. [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. *Ha-Zefira*, March 6, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. *Ha-Magid*, August 10, September 7, & December 21, 1864, February 1, & June 21, 1865. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. *Ha-Zefira*, May 2, 1892. On the legal situation of Agunot arriving to France see: Géraldine Gudefin, 'Creating Legal Difference: The Impossible Divorce of Russian Jews in Early Twentieth-Century France', *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, 31 (2017), 11-36, & idem, 'Reforming Jewish divorce: French rabbis and civil divorce at the turn of the twentieth century (1884-1907)', in: Martine Gross, Sophie Nizard and Yann Scioldo-Zurche (eds.), *Gender, Families and Transmission in the Contemporary Jewish Context*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 50-61. Zvi J. Kaplan, 'The Throny Area of Marriage: rabbinical Efforts to Harmonize Jewish and French Law in Nineteenth-Century France', *Jewish Social Studies*, 13 (3) n.s, (2007), 59-72. Rabbi Judah Lubetski was the most important rabbinical authority in most cases of young women deserted in Paris. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. *Ha-Melitz*, May 29, & 30, 1889. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. *Ha-Magid*, February 14, 1889, & March 13, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. *Ha-Lebanon*, March 22, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. Börries Kuzmany, *Brody: A Galician Border City in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. *Ivri Anochi*, December 5, 12, & 19, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. *Ha-Magid*, September 2, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. *Ha-Zefira*, August 30, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. *Ha-Magid*, August 15, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. Ellie R. Schainker, *Confessions of the Shtetl: Convers from Judaism in Imperial Russia, 1817-1906*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017) & Idem, 'On Faith and Fanaticism: Converts from Judaism and the Limits of Toleration in Late Imperial Russia', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 17 (4), (2016), 753-780. [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. We have information on other deserters who converted from Christianity: Avraham Rosenthal also from Wallachia, *Ivri Anochi*, November 16, 1866. Avraham Weiss from Nitra province, Hungary, *Ha-Magid*, April 6, & May 18, 1870. Benyamin Wolf from Janów, *Ha-Melitz*, July 20, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. *Ivri Anochi*, July 27, 1866. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. *Ha-Zefira*, February 2, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. *Ha-Magid*, August 28, 1872, January 1, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. *Ha-Lebanon*, August 17, 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. *Ha-Magid*, December 2, 1868. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. *Ha-Melitz*, December 21, 1886. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. *Ha-Zefira*, August 12, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. *Ha-Magid*, February 5, 1868, June 30, 1869, & June 19, 1875. *Ha-Lebanon*, March 24, 1875. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. *Ha-Magid*, May 19, 1869, & Aaron Zelig ben David Tzioni, *Sefer Tzioni Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Ve-Hidushei Gfe"t*, (Vilnius, 1875), sign 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. *Ha-Zefira*, October 26, 1899. [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. *Ha-Zefira*, June 19, & 27, & July 7, 1883, March 10, 1885. *Havatzelet*, May 25, & June 8, 1883, February 6, & 18, & March 4, 1885, *Ha-Magid*, March 5, & June 18, 1885, *Ha-Melitz*, February 17, & 27, & June 15, 1885. Shmuel ben Tzvi Hirsch Salant, *Sefer Torat Rabenu Shmuel Salant,* vol.2, Nissan Aarom Tokinsky, (Ed.), (Jerusalem, 1998), Sign 96 (A). Moses Montefiore Census, 1875, no. 3330, <https://www.montefioreendowment.org.uk/census/> [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. *Ha-Magid*, July 28, 1875, *Ha-Lebanon*, July 7, 1875, *Ivri Anochi*, July 9, 23, & August 1, 1875. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. *Ha-Magid*, August 29, 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. *Ha-Magid*, April 23, & July 9, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. Haim Sperber, 'The Agunot Phenomenon from 1851 to 1914 - an introduction', *Annales de démographie historique*, 136 (2018/2), 107-135. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. *Ha-Melitz*, July 13, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. *Ha-Magid*, August 7, 1862, August 1, 1866; *Ha-Lebanon*, October 5, 1865. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. *Ha-Zefira*, July 12, 1893. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. Ha-*Magid*, August 30, 1876, July 23, 1879. Itzik Grondil from Białystok returned to his first wife, Ha-*Zefira*, August 23, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. Shoel U-Meshiv, 3rd edition, part 1, answer 207. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. *Ha-Melitz*, February 9, & April 5, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. *Ha-Magid*, December 21, 1893. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. *Shoel U-Meshiv*, 1st edition, sign 225, & Idem, *Sefer Shoel U-Meshiv*, second edition, Lemberg [Lviv], 1870, sign 13. (Hereafter, Shoel U-Meshiv, 2nd edition). [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. *Ha-Magid*, July 7, 1859, February 1, 1860 & May 19, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. *Ha-Magid*, July 10, 1862. [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. *Ha-Magid*, April 28, September 9, 1874, January 6, October 27, & November 3, 1875, & November 7, 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. *Ha-Magid*, March 2, 23, & 30, 1881. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. *Ha-Magid*, September 12, 1861, Yaacov Ha-Levi Sapir, *Even Sapir*, (Hebrew), (Lyck & Mainz: Mahzikei Nirdamim, 1868), vol. 1 page 144. New Zealand was also a popular destination for deserters like Shlomo Koifman from Warsaw. *Ha-Magid*, October 31, 1866. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. *Ha-Magid*, July 8, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. *Ha-Magid*, March 8, 1865. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. *Ha-Melitz*, March 21, 1867. [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. *Ha-Magid*, April 5, & June 28, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. *Ha-Magid*, August 9, 1865, August 15, & 31, September 26, 1866, January 13, March 11, October 20 & December 22, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. *Ha-Magid*, February 28, 1884, November 24, 1887 [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. *Ha-Magid*, June 19, 1884. [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. *Ha-Zefira*, December 19, 1882. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. *Ha-Magid*, March 20, 1867. [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. *Ha-Magid*, October 5, 1864. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. *Ha-Magid*, December 8, 1875. [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. *Ha-Magid*, January 15, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. *Ha-Magid*, May 14, 1879. On Reinowitz see: Eugene Newman, 'The Responsa of Dayan Jacob Reinowitz, 1818-1893', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 23 (1969-70), 22-33. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. *Ha-Magid*, June 23, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. *Ha-Melitz*, May 22, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. *Ha-Melitz*, April 23, 1895. [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Schwadron, vol. 1, sign 130. [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. *Ha-Magid*, March 6, & 13, May 1, 1867, *Ivry Anochi*, May 17, 1867. [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. *Ha-Magid*, August 1, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. *Ha-Magid*, November 16, & 22, 1859. Yehiel Abeles also kept writing to his wife when he arrived at Liverpool and then stopped writing. *Ha-Magid*, July 25, 1866. [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. *Ha-Melitz*, May 13, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. *Ha-Lebanon*, April 30, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. *Ha-Magid*, August 8, 1860. [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. *Ha-Magid*, March 20, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. *Ha-Magid*, May 5, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. *Ha-Zefira*, June 15, 1903. [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. *Ha-Magid*, August 29, 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. *Ha-Magid*, March 13, 1878. [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. *Ha-Magid*, June 16, 1874, September 19, 1877. *Ha-Lebanon*, November 17, 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. *Ha-Magid*, July 27, 1875. [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. *Ha-Zefira*, August 23, & October 18, 1876 & *Ha-Lebanon*, April 25, & May 2, 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. *Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, June 11, 1879. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. *Ha-Magid*, July 17, 1860 [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. *Ha-Magid*, August 29, 1877. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. *Ha-Magid*, August 19, 1863. June 17, 1871. [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. *Ha-Magid*, November 11, 18, & 25, 1863, September 12, 1866, & March 10, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. *Ha-Melitz*, July 22, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. *Ha-Zefira*, September 29, 1903. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. *Ha-Magid*, January 1, 1873, January 1, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. *Ha-Magid*, April 5, 1865. Yehoshua Rozenholtz emigrated from Kalvarija, Lithuania to St. Louis, Missouri, kept in touch with wife Tzipe for three and a half years and stopped writing. *Ha-Magid*, September 9, 1868 & December 14, 1870. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. *Ha-Melitz*, March 28, 1884, *Ha-Zefira*, March 18, & April 7, 1884. [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. *Ha-Zefira*, November 7, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. *Ha-Magid*, July 12, 1876. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. *Ha-Zefira*, June 18, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. *Ha-Zefira*, June 27, 1899 & *Ha-Melitz*, March 16, 1899. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. *Ha-Magid*, 21.9.1859. [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. *Ha-Magid*, September 13, November 29, & December 27, 1871. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. *Ha-Zefira*, July 27, 1875. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. Schwadron, vol. 2, sign 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. *Ha-Zefira*, December 17, 1878, May 13, 20, & 26, 1879. [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. Itzhak ben Tzvi Hirsch Hayoot, *Sdea Itzhak*, (Brody, 1910), sign 58. (Hereafter, Sdea Itzhak). Amram ben Itzhak Yaacov Bloom, *Shelot Ve-Teshuvot Beit Sha'arim*, parts 3-4, (Jerusalem: Machon Mishna halachot Gedolot, 2001), part Sugiot, sign 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. *Ha-Zefira*, September 18, & October 24, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. *Ha-Melitz*, May 27, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. *Ha-Zefira*, October 20, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. *Ha-Melitz*, June 9, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. *Forverts*, July 18, 1909. [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. *Forverts*, December 29, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. *Ha-Zefira*, January 7, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. *Ha-Magid*, April 17, & May 30, 1860. [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. *Ha-Magid*, July 7, 1861. [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. Schwadron, vol. 2, sign 90. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. *Ha-Magid*, April 6, & 20, 1864. [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. *Ha-Magid*, March 8, 1865. [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. *Ha-Melitz*, August 20, & 31, September 21, & 28, October 23, & November 21, 1883. [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. *Ha-Magid*, June 11, 1872. Hacohen had a wife and two daughters and tried to make a living in India as well. *Ha-Magid*, August 14, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. *Ha-Magid*, November 13, 1878, Orian, sign 134. [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. *Ha-Magid*, March 17, 1869. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. *Ha-Magid*, March 23, 1859. [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. *Ha-Magid*, July 19, August 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. Eyn Itzhak, sign 39. [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. Beverly Schwartzberg, "Lots of Them Did That": Desertion, Bigamy and Marital Fluidity in Late-Nineteenth-Century America', *Journal of Social History*, 37 (3) (2004), 573-600. Serial deserters who did not immigrate are referred to in chapter 1 above, note 15 onwards. [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. Yehuda Leib ben Hayyim Don Yihia, *Bikurei Yehuda*, part 2, (Tel Aviv: Private print, 1939, reprint of Ludza, 1930), pp 12-101. [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. *Ha-Magid*, September 9, & November 11, 1876 & January 31, 1877, *Der Menshenfreind*, January 17, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. *Ha-Lebanon*, February 1, & April 5, 1878 & *Ha-Magid*, January 1, 1878. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. *Ha-Zefira*, August 30, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. *Ha-Magid*, December 11, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. *Ha-Melitz*, February 25, & June 12, 1896 & *Ha-Zefira*, March 16, & April 28, 1896. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. *Ha-Magid*, August 20, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. *Ha-Magid*, April 24, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. *Ha-Melitz*, August 3, & 19, 1890. [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. *Ha-Melitz*, August 16 & October 14, 1894. *Ha-Melitz*, March 5, 1896; *Ha-Zefira*, January 28, & April 20, 1897, January 14, 1898, & October 30, 1900 [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. *Ha-Zefira*, June 7, 1886, *Ha-Yom*, May 18, 1886. *Ha-Melitz*, March 13, & 15, April 1, 4 & 28, 1887. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. *Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, August 7, 1891. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. *Ha-Melitz*, April 11, 25, May 13, July 1, August 11, 1892 & January 18, 1894. [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. *Ha-Melitz*, March 27, 1896. [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. *New York Times*, November 2, 1891. Solomon Ginsberg, who deserted two wives in Russia before arriving to New York, was also reported in the *New York Times*, April 4, 1892. [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. *Ha-Magid*, February 23, 1893, *Kol Mahzikei Ha-Dat*, February 23, 1893, [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. *Ha-Magid*, May 15, 1872. [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. *Ha-Magid*, April 1, 1874. [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. Reena S. Friedman, '"Send Me My Husband Who Is in New York City": Husband Desertion in the American Jewish Immigrant Community 1900-1926', *Jewish Social Studies*, 44 (1), (1982), 1-18 [↑](#footnote-ref-385)