

JEWISH LIFE IN THE ASHKENAZIC COMMUNITIES
OF GERMANY AND POLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY AS REFLECTED IN THEIR SUMPTUARY
STATUTES.

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DEDICATION

Dedicated in love and devotion to the
members of my family, whose inspiration
and encouragement have made the rabbinate
an imminent reality.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

A. SOURCES

In order to obtain material for the writing of this thesis, the usual methods were followed: of going to the library catalog, looking under "Sumptuary", examining the listed books, and from there going to each of the books suggested by each succeeding reading. We looked under such headings as Luxusenfaltung, Luxusordnung, Kleiderordnung, Sittenordnung, Gemeindeordnung, etc. To our chagrin and annoyance, obstacle after obstacle sprang up.

1) The material was not specific enough to be included under our title; 2) the locality was not sufficiently circumscribed to fall under our title; 3) the dates fell too far outside the seventeenth century, as prescribed by our subject; 4) the references were skimpy and inadequate; 5) the language was often incomprehensible, it being impossible to find many of the words even in dictionaries. These included German, Slavic, and bad mixtures of Yiddish and Hebrew. It will be noted that in many instances foreign words have been used as found in our references because no translation was found for the word although help was solicited to track down the Slavic terms, and a philological dictionary for German terms; or because the foreign word is more convenient than its translation, e. g., tchamra means "a coat with strings instead of buttons." An appendix will list all the words applying to clothes mainly, and to food, which are not commonly known. For only part of these have meanings been found. As Dubnow says (op. cit. , p. 341), "Many of the names [i. e., of clothes] are difficult to explain and it is necessary to seek them in specific archeologies of the literature

of Poland and Germany." 6) Many of the references applied only to usage and custom, not to the law of the community.

It then became a matter of seeking almost at random. We perused book after book, article after article that gave even the slightest indication of possible material, far surpassing in number those included in the bibliography. Without the aid of our referee we would have had only half as much material. Surprisingly, not one single work devoted to the subject of sumptuary laws in our period or locale was to be found, with the exception of an infrequent, short monograph.

A few words should, perhaps, be added in evaluation of our sources. It might also be advisable to append a list of some of the books that were used to no avail, so that another venturing into the same field will not suffer the same pitfalls.

The following were replete with material:

Balaban on the "Krakauer Judengemeinde-Ordnung",

Cahan on the sumptuary laws of Metz,

Dubnow's edition of **ספר חמדים**,

Grunwald's "Hochzeits- und Kleiderordnung der Hamburger Juden" and the "Mitteilungen",

Schudt's "Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten".

The remainder of the bibliography offered material, but not in too great abundance.

The following were among those used that yielded nothing directly related to the subject:

Berliner, Aus dem inneren Leben der Juden in Deutschland,
Vol. 7, VI;

Caro, J., Geschichte der Juden in Lemberg;

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וועטשטיין, ספוקסי הקהל בקראקא לקורות ישראל וחכמיו;
וועטשטיין, קדמוניות ספוקסמות יונים;
ס. י. פין, קריה נאמנה.

B. PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to gather the laws of the Jewish communities of Germany and Poland of the seventeenth century which pertain to luxuries in food and clothing. We had no interest in custom or superstition. We have not adhered absolutely to the seventeenth century but have, in some cases, gone into the latter few years of the sixteenth century and into the first quarter of the eighteenth; it is difficult in a historical dissertation to limit oneself strictly in time. On occasion, we have wandered beyond the

west border of Germany. We have, it is hoped, stayed reasonably close to the material allowed by the title.

C. PLAN

Now a word as to the plan. The chapter following this introduction will deal with the Jewish historical background of Germany and Poland in the seventeenth century, concerning itself much with communal organization. The third chapter will consist only of the laws of the food and clothing, with occasional comments scattered about. The remarks enclosed in brackets are ours; those in parentheses are taken from the source. In accordance with the wish of our referee, footnotes have been kept to a minimum and as many as possible will be included in the text proper. The meanings of those foreign words marked with an asterisk will be found in the Appendix; those whose meanings are obscure or unknown will remain unmarked.

The fourth chapter will consist of a general comparison of laws, a listing of the possible reasons for the laws, and a few general statements. With trepidation we embark on virtually unsailed seas and uncharted vastnesses to present our humble efforts in this much-neglected field.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. LITHUANIA AND POLAND

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in spite of disabilities, prejudice, and hatred, the Jews of Poland did manage to maintain a certain degree of respectability. This was because of their autonomy through the Kahal, organized and administered in accord with Jewish law. The government recognized the Jews as an "historic nationality" with an inner life of its own. The Jewish population was not officially included in any of the general urban estates nor was it subject to general Christian law in matters involving internal Jewish affairs. Such a position required a Jewish agency for the administration of Jewish affairs, thus the Kahal began to function.

The Kahal became legalized. The king took special interest in the autonomous organization because it was through the Kahal that taxes were collected from the Jews. Even after defeat by Sweden and the resulting anarchy delivered Poland into the hands of Peter of Russia at the close of the seventeenth century, the Jews were still expected to pay their head-tax through the Kahals. Often the money demanded could only be raised with great difficulty. On occasion a Kahal leader was sent to jail and the sum required was forthcoming to secure his release. The Kahal was politically desirable, too, because it was much easier for the king to deal with official representatives than with the mass of Jewry. By a law of 1551 under Sigismund Augustus, the Jews were entitled to elect their own rabbis and judges to control spiritual and judicial matters.

The elders with the sanction of the Kahal had the power to excommunicate, and their decrees were enforced if need be by the

king. The local officers of the king were to assist the rabbis and the elders in the execution of judgment. Such privileges and supplementary ones gave extensive autonomy to the Jews through the elective representatives of the community. The activities of the Kahal grew through the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Those cities and towns with Jewish populations had separate Kahal boards consisting of 10-40 members who were elected during Passover. At the head were the Rashim and Tobim who were in charge of general community affairs; and then the Dayanim and Gabaim who managed the synagogues, educational and charitable institutions. The Kahal through the Rashe Kehilloth was responsible for the collection of state taxes and their assessment, the care of synagogues, Yeshiboth, cemeteries, etc.; it organized community charity, commerce, handicrafts, and settled disputes with the Dayanim. The rabbi was independent only in religious matters, and even then an unusual scholar might contend with him authoritatively.

The Kahal supervised the Yeshiboth and selected the heads. Curricula were worked out. Laws were passed regarding the place of women and their education, but this is outside the province of our work.

Autonomy permitted the Jews to develop both intellectually and materially, and to gain some social prestige among their neighbors. They had time to give to study and they gave it freely. Rabbinic law became the guiding force in Jewish life and reigned supreme. It was the aim of the rabbis to make Talmudic law apply practically to all of daily life. By the middle of the seventeenth century, *the* Shulkhan Aruch was firmly established as authoritative.

Other branches of knowledge were neglected for the study of Talmud with the exception of medicine. Physicians had received a

secular education so they had some interest in philosophy and science. Up to the eighteenth century, a number of Jews went to Padua to study medicine. But the philosophy known to the Jews in Poland was handled in such a manner by the rabbis that it was quite innocuous. Cabbala did make progress beginning with the seventeenth century in the attempt to perform miracles that would influence natural phenomena. Several Cabbalists became rabbis of communities.

The Kahal also had authority over adjacent villages which had no separate Kahal organization of its own. The larger Kahal had under it smaller Kahals who were responsible to the parent body in the apportionment of taxes and in judicial matters.

The Vaad was the conference of rabbis and Kahal leaders which made provisions for all phases of religious, civil, and domestic life. It was the highest court of appeal in disputes between groups and communities, between individuals and Kahal boards. Beginning with the middle of the sixteenth century, the Vaad met at the time of the great fairs because there large numbers of Jews gathered. Lublin, as mentioned above, was the chief meeting place because it was the birthplace of Polish rabbinism.

By the latter sixteenth century, the assemblies became more frequent and regular and were attended by representatives of the principal communities of Poland. The Kahal then began to decide on the competency of rabbis and judges, granted permits for book publishing, etc. Occasionally they expressed approval of enactments of the Polish government as, e. g., the law which barred Jews of the Crown of Poland proper from farming state taxes and public revenues.

These conferences were attended by Greater Poland in which Posen was the largest community, Little Poland with Lublin and Cracow as the centers, Red Russia with Lemberg, Volhynia with Ostrog and Kremenetz, Lithuania with Brest-Litovsk. In Lithuania too, the Jews

always had some form of autonomy within the larger state, administered through the Vaad. When Lithuania withdrew about 1623, the Vaad was known as the Vaad Arba Arazoth, and a separate Vaad Medinath Lita was formed. The Council met once or twice a year in Lublin and Yaraslow (Galicia) alternately; usually in Lublin around Passover and in Yaroslaw before the Holy Days.

While the Vaad sometimes sent shtadlanim to the Polish government, their energies were directed mainly to the inner life of the communities. For example, a statute of 1607 was passed at the instance of the Vaad Arba Arazoth -- rules to foster piety and commercial integrity among Jews.

The individual Kahals had their own provincial assemblies which stood half-way between the individual Kahal and the general Vaads of Poland and Lithuania. The Vaad effected a spirit of discipline and obedience to law; it fostered education, and preserved Jewish integrity. It kept alive a public spirit and developed civic consciousness. This autonomy enabled Jews to continue their culture. There was a series of enactments with regard to education, one of which made Cheder attendance compulsory from the ages of 6 to 13.

The Vaad HaArazoth had no fixed name* until Lita broke away and then it was known as the Vaad Arba Arazoth for Poland. Before the break, Lita was included in all the names for the Vaad since they met in Lublin. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Lithuania was still included in what was known as the Shloshah Arazoth. This latter Vaad passed several enactments affecting taxes and their collection; another that there be a central Vaad responsible for all kehilloth belonging to the Aggudah. The government itself levelled a head-tax but a separate one was levied on the Jews of

* dp10 P. XII: לא היה לו קדש קבוע

Poland and Lithuania. These head-taxes developed from 1581 to 1631 when Lithuania and Poland had common political interests but they were separated in the collection of the taxes. Quotas grew from year to year so that by 1717 it was more than ten times as large as in 1590.

In 1586-92 the general meetings of rabbis and heads of schools were instituted to discuss and decide law cases. These supplanted the less formal meetings at the fairs of Lublin and Jaroslaw. Little Poland, Greater Poland, E. Galicia and Volhynia, and Russia united to meet at regular intervals and sent delegates who voted in the synod. They chose a president who directed discussion and drew up the reports. The synod or Vaad handled community disputes, religious and social regulations, helped distressed brethren, exercised literary censorship, etc.

Since Lithuania had a separate quota, separate arrangements had to be made for their collection so a separate Vaad was formed and thus it was that Lithuania broke off from Poland. In this Vaad were three Kehilloth, Brisk, Grodno and Pinsk, which included about fifty dependent towns under the name of "Vaad Hamedina" of Lita. In 1623 they gathered in Brisk for their first official meeting.

The heads of each of the three leading communities met and established Takkanoth in re taxes, business affairs, judicial matters, procedure of the Kehillah meetings, education, charity, etc. Each community had its own section to care for -- thirty subordinate towns for Brisk, seven for Grodno, eight for Pinsk. The second meeting was called in Brisk, too, in 1626.

At this meeting they were concerned mainly with the collection of taxes and the finances of the Medinah. Later meetings developed a parliament and supreme court to deal with all departments

of Jewish life ^{which} and lasted for 138 years. The delegates to the meetings were the Rashe ~~Medinah~~ and the community Rabbanim.

In 1653 Vilna asked for membership and it was granted but it was not until some thirty years later that they were granted equality with the other communities. In 1692 Slutzk joined and was recognized as a separate community. From 1691-1761 the Medinah consisted of five major communities.

It seems that around 1687 something happened, viz: the Vaad met in Zabłudowy and suddenly had to cease its work and finish it in Krinki in Grodno. It appears that they were afraid of an accusation against the officials and leaders of the Vaad, especially the rabbis. Whatever accusation was made, they went on record to make it the responsibility of the whole Medinah to answer charges if those charges were made while they were attending the meeting or were on their way to or from. ^{and back} The fact that they left Zabłudowy seems to indicate that there was sufficient grounds to fear the charges and, whatever they were, they were quashed only by the intercession of the Shtadlonim of Chomsk.

From 1623 to 1700 the Vaad met 27 times in general meeting and in the twenty years following held only small meetings for emergency purposes. There had been a meeting scheduled for 1702 in Zabłudowy but disorder in the government prevented it.

Nothing has been said about the political background in which the Kahal and Vaad organizations operated. This is important particularly because in 1648 and the following years the security of autonomous government for the Jew was seriously shaken. This was due to three factors: the economic class struggle, racial and religious antagonism, and the semi-barbarous tribes of Southern Russia. The kings and nobles had encouraged the economic activities of Jews whereas the guilds tried to hinder them. The Catholic clergy, as

ever, opposed the Jews and fired the zealous against them. The Jewish influence at the courts could not for long stem the tide of social and economic discrimination.

The general anarchy and weak central power in Poland prevented any concerted movement against the Jews, but the Jesuits were powerful, nevertheless, and did all they could to reduce the Jews to a pariah status.

Stephen Bathori, ruling Poland from 1575-86, had a fair and kindly attitude toward the Jews and vigorously opposed anti-Jewish riots. The tax-collectors were in many instances Jewish, so it was to the interests of the king and nobles to protect them. Under Sigismund III, protection was thus accorded to the Jew despite the fact that the king was a Jesuit and that a law was passed requiring the permission of the clergy for the building of synagogues.

The religious fanaticism of the clergy and the economic hatred of the townsfolk could not be so easily checked. In Posen there were regular attacks instigated by the magistracy and trade-unions. Jesuit scholars and students were among the rioters. The "Mirror of the Polish Crown" appeared in 1618, accusing the Jews of every known crime, libeling the Jews of Cracow in particular. Ritual murder trials and riots were the result. The tolerant Vladislav II vainly tried to undo the damage by ordering the confiscation of the slanderous book. Basic privileges and freedom in export trade were now granted the Jews, and the king was to decide about the erection of new synagogues. There was frequent abrogation and disregard of these rights. In 1633 the Jews of Vilna were barred from the trades of the Christian unions and the Warsaw diet in 1642 limited the profit Jews might derive from commerce. In 1636 and 1638, Jews were executed on ritual charges. In 1637 several Jews of Cracow were

killed in an attack on a trumped up criminal charge.

In the Ukraine the condition of the Jew, though not politically bad, was destined to become so. The Russian peasants chafed under their Polish masters, the absentee landlords who were Catholics. The muzhiks were Greek Orthodox and they hated Romanism, but above all they hated the Jews who served as the agents for their Polish masters. Besides the Russian peasantry who could be easily incited against the Jews, there were the Zaporoghian Cossacks, organized and warlike, to whom the peasants looked for help because of national and religious kinship.

The first outbreak occurred in 1637 under the Cossack Pavluk in which 200 Jews were slain and several synagogues were ruined. The real trouble began in the spring of 1648 when Chmelnitzki led his mad Ukrainian and Zaporoghian Cossacks against the defenseless Jewish townsfolk. The massacres continued throughout the summer and autumn. The marauders were able to defeat the Polish army on several occasions. The warfare lasted until 1651 during which time the cruelest barbarities were visited upon the Jews, tens of thousands losing their lives. At this time the Vaad Arba Arazoth attempted to restore Jewish communal life, but little was accomplished.

The treaty of peace was of little help to the Jew for the Cossack ruler allied himself shortly thereafter with Moscow. In West Russia and Lithuania from 1654 to 1656, the towns were pillaged and thousands of Jews were slain. Under Cossack occupation a riot took place in Vilna, many Jews were killed; the remainder fled or were banished by the greedy Czar Alexis Michaelovitch of Russia.

Meanwhile in Poland the Swedes had invaded and defeated the local army. The Jews were well-treated by the conquerors, and were forced to suffer for their friendliness by the Poles, as soon as the latter had regained their land.

The Cossacks continued their marauding in Lithuania until 1658 when order was restored at the cost of concessions to Russia and Sweden.

The number of Jewish victims of the period was from 100,000 to 500,000. Over 700 communities suffered, some of them disappearing completely, all of them decimated. Jewish refugees were to be found all over Europe and Asia.

Poland continued, however, to be the center of Judaism. King Casimir did much to compensate the Jews for their losses. They recovered their autonomy and gradually their economic position improved. In 1661 the Jews of Cracow received a charter of commercial rights. In Ukraina, dissension continued and Jewish misery persisted.

The liberalism of Casimir was shortlived, and the new king permitted the passing of financial and other statutory restrictions in 1670. Pogroms and student riots broke out in the streets of Cracow. For protection the rectors of Catholic schools received taxes from Jews. But even this could not prevent riots in Lemberg and two new ritual murder charges abetted by the clergy.

Occasional Christian defenders arose for the Jews. One Dominican general wrote against the foul slander of Jews, and John III of Poland fought the growing anti-Semitism and even granted greater autonomy to the Jews. Riots and desecration charges started but they were quashed by the liberal king. For a brief time the Jews prospered.

Jewish suffering started anew under John's successors. Efforts were even made to enslave the Jews. Jews were serfs to the "pan". Despite the injunction of the Warsaw diet of 1717 attacks were frequent. The close of the seventeenth century too was marked

by frequent riots and pogroms, the desecration of synagogues and cemeteries, and occasional expulsions. The atrocities were often instigated by the clergy, aided and abetted by the authorities.

B. GERMANY

The history of the Jew is largely one of suffering and struggle. In no country, perhaps, has his life been more bitter or more painful than in Germany, from medieval times until this very day. And the seventeenth century was but a prologue and an epilogue to the other centuries he lived in Germany.

There were four important Jewish communities in seventeenth-century Germany -- Worms with 1400 Jewish inhabitants, Vienna with 3000, Frankfort with more than 4000, and Prague with 10,000. Hamburg was a young and growing community at that time. Frankfort and Worms were the worst communities so far as persecution was concerned for there anti-Semitism was most intense and Jews were considered pariahs. Charles IV declared them to be his personal property. ^{in the 14th century} In Frankfort even permission to build a synagogue was denied the Jews. It was necessary for Jewish capitalists to obtain permission from the rulers before one could be erected.

Before we go into a detailed account, however, of the relations of the Jews to their seventeenth century German masters, let us view the internal organization of the Jewish community known as the "Gemeinde". Talmudic tradition was the basis for Jewish organization until the eighteenth century. The German communities, with the exception of Frankfort and Worms, all had such Gemeinde. The heads of the community, even as in later days, were the "parnassim." Next in power were the "tobim". These formed councils which ruled the com-

munity's internal affairs. The "stadlan", often the intercessor with officials, served on this council, especially in the smaller communities.

Powers of assessment and tax raising were in the hands of special commissions. Matters of law were decided by a salaried rabbi, Ab Bath Din. He would judge alone or along with representatives of the litigants, or if the case concerned persons outside the community appeal to rabbis or Yeshivot outside. This was possible because the Gemeinde often held periodic meetings to consider common problems and to create when necessary new communities in the smaller towns. At these meetings, similar to the Vaad of Poland and Lithuania, the wealthier communities had more authority but there were no real class distinctions. It is not until the close of the seventeenth century, that class fights, or elections on the basis of wealth or family-authority, took place. Frankfort is a notable example of this.

Besides the powers of taxation and administration, the "Gemeinde" had a great influence on the customs of its members and their economic life. Religious infractions could be as severely punished as civil ones, but punishment was limited to banishment, fine, and public penance. Government officials supported the Jewish judges in their decisions. As it had throughout the Middle Ages, the community took care of wandering beggars, erected and conducted schools and yeshiboth where needed.

The "Gemeinde" were not uniformly successful. In some places they suffered because of two evils, oligarchy and debts. These evils became malodorous by the close of the century, by which time the governments thought it necessary to take over the administration of the Jewish communities. The powers of the Jewish com-

munities that retained autonomy were greatly curtailed. Other than ritual matters only questions of dowry and inheritance came under the jurisdiction of the rabbis. The old distrust of secular judges gradually diminished by the turn of the century. Control of the communities passed into the hands of impartial officials, and the tendency had been during the following two centuries to dissolve the political corporation of the Jewish community completely.

Let us view now the more specific relations of the Jews to their Christian overlords.

The "Judenstätigkeit," law of Frankfort am Main, compelled the Jews to remain in their own quarters, prohibited them Christian servants or the right to walk two together, enforced the yellow badge, required silence in the ghetto, and the reporting of the presence of a stranger within their gates. (Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, vol. X, p. 30) They might not purchase food at the same time with a Christian. Their houses were distinguished by a special shield.

Business restrictions were equally oppressive but despite this the Jews were taxed disproportionately. The council of the town reserved the right of cancelling citizenship of any or all Jews. The magistrate could issue an order for banishment whenever the fancy struck him, which piece of legislation was urged by the citizenship at large and the guild members. The latter group was probably most instrumental in effecting such adverse legislation. The guilds had no direct contacts with the Jews, but they, like the Jews, were interested in securing and enlarging their own powers. The guilds in Frankfort sought the banishment of the Jews, but indulgences were bought from the rulers by heavy contributions.

The Jews were even able to obtain a letter stating that

they were not to be molested. Ignoring this ^{injunction} regal injunction, Vincent Fettmilch and a group of "Reformers," who were excluded from civic honors, decided to vent their wrath on the innocent Jews of Frankfort. Encouraged by the guilds, Fettmilch distributed propaganda against court injunction, gathered together a large band of malcontents and in September 1614 attacked the Jewish quarter.

The Jews were not organized for defense. The brigands plundered and desecrated sacred places. Jews were abused and imprisoned. Fettmilch took charge of the town council and the attack continued despite the efforts of the royal guard and the archbishop. Those Jews who had not fled were ordered to leave; 1380 sought shelter ~~from~~ ^{with} Jews and sympathetic Christians in nearby towns. For a year the reign of terror lasted; the magistracy and the emperor were powerless to help except for issuing statements of condemnation. The demands of the archbishop and landgrave for the arrest of Fettmilch and the return of the Jews were ineffectual.

In Worms, too, the turn of events was serious. Here the magistracy, rather than the guilds, urged banishment of the Jews. Dr. Chemnitz, a tricky Jew-baiting lawyer, accused the Jews of usury and brought about serious restrictive law against the Jews. The purchase of milk for children or groceries was prohibited. Offering large sums, stadlan LÖb Oppenheim sought intercession of the emperor, but only ineffectual proclamations were issued. For three months Jews were relieved when Elector Frederick of Pfalz kept Chemnitz in custody. Chemnitz was released on the promise of good behavior, but allying himself with the now hostile guilds, he forced the banishment of the Jews on April 20, 1615. The synagogue was devastated, their cemetery desecrated. In the nearby towns the banished Jews met their brethren exiled from Frankfort.

The chaos created by the anti-Semites did not last long. Ten days after the expulsion an imperial army moved into Worms. Chemnitz and his followers were imprisoned, but it was not until nine months later that the Jews were reinstated. Frankfort too was punished; Fetsmilch and his family were exiled, and the city fined. The Judenstätigkeit was removed -- but it was removed in name only.

The Jews were allowed to live in Frankfort for a period of three years at the expiration of which the right could be renewed. The Jewish population was not to exceed 500. Only six new families could enter in a single year and only twelve marriages might be performed annually. In addition to the excessive taxes, on marriage and inheritance likewise, the pasturing of cows and the purchase of milk were prohibited. Similar laws prevailed in Worms.

For large cash considerations, Ferdinand II gave the Jews of the two towns protection which stood them in good stead during the Thirty Years War. Rich Jews and "Hofjuden" enjoyed freedom and tried to gain favor for their brethren. This was true particularly in Vienna.

Vienna, the Catholic center of Europe, welcomed Jewish commercial and professional men because of their reputed wealth and skill. The emperor appointed many of them to offices and granted privileges to the Jewish community, such as permission to build synagogues and exemption from sharing war costs or quartering soldiers. The magistracy, less favorable, played the Jews off against the suspicious citizenry in an effort to extort money from the Jews. The Jews paid 20,000 florins for protection.

An incident took place which marred this tranquility. Lippman Heller, rabbi of the Vienna community, was reported for unjust division of taxes. Ferdinand II threatened severe punishment if such reports were again presented. The charges were not proved

but Heller's enemies then accused him of attacking Christianity. Heller was taken into custody in 1629. A commission of clergymen found him guilty, fined him \$12,000 and ordered his manuscripts destroyed. The fine was reduced and paid. Not satisfied, his accusers had Heller dismissed from office. An influential Jewish friend secured a place for Heller in Poland. Like all Jewish quarrels, the incident placed the Jews of Vienna in ill odor. Gregory VIII used it as a pretext to force conversionist sermons on the Jews of Austria. Failure to attend meant a fine.

Ferdinand II encouraged this act but it was not enforced because of bribery on the one hand and the war with Sweden on the other. Then, too, the Jesuits were more interested in the suppression of Protestants.

The records of the Thirty Years' War show no special suffering on the part of the Jew. There was an occasional accusation, of treason or ritual murder, but they were ignored by emperor and nobility. The Jews helped against Sweden by building fortifications and extinguishing fires. Ferdinand III prohibited banishment without imperial order and raised most of the restrictions. Much booty passed through Jewish hands. Within three years after the war the Jews were able to build a new synagogue. German refugees from Poland were welcomed by the Jewish community of Vienna.

Following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 conditions must not have been as serious as previously for no records of persecution until the expulsion from Vienna in 1670 are extant. This incident occurred at the instigation of Queen Margaret and the Jesuits. The Jesuits were influential, even in lay offices, and were constantly agitating against the Jews. The king too was pressed to sign the decree. Leopold I of Austria presented the case to his advisory board who expressed their opposition to the suggestion in 1669,

on the grounds 1) that the Jews had financial value, 2) that it was unjust. Count Jäger pointed out that the Jews were protected against banishment by the emperor. Despite the opposition, the king signed the proclamation of expulsion in February 1670.

Hoping to avert the decree, the Jews called attention to their imperial letters of freedom, to their gifts and services. Bishop Kollowicz and the Jesuits railed against the Jews; Leopold was adamant. The Jews turned to the influential Isaac Manoel Texeira for aid.

Texeira promised to do all he could. He wrote to Spain, to the queen of Sweden, to the Jews of Rome, and to Cardinal Cezzolino because since the death of the pope Catholic Christendom was without a head --- all to no avail. Leopold took charge of the Jewish property. Three hundred Jews made a final, but unavailing, plea to the emperor. All had to go but one specially favored family. Leopold commanded, however, that no bodily harm be done the Jews in dispossessing them. The Jewish quarters were named after the emperor; the synagogue was converted into a church. The magistracy signed a contract to protect the cemetery because of a large contribution by two rich Jews.

The exiles sought refuge in Hungary, in Venice, in Turkey, and particularly in Furth and other Hohenzollern territories. Frederick Wilhelm permitted fifty families to settle in Berlin. Ten families settled in Halberstadt. In Brandenburg the refugees were given special protection. Mayors and officials were warned to keep hands off. Taxes were imposed, but no body tax. Restriction could not be avoided. Jews might buy or build houses, for example, but they had to be sold to Christians after a short time. Services could be held, but no synagogues might be built. A Hebrew teacher and a

shochet was also permitted. Residence was permitted for twenty years after which time renewal was required. By the end of the century twenty additional families had found homes in Brandenburg.

In the latter seventeenth century, Vienna was not the only Germanic town where anti-Semitism threatened the Jewish community. About the time of the Viennese expulsion, the old blood accusation charge was made against the Jews of Metz. Louis XIV was fair to the Jewish community, but the German citizenry and the guilds sought to curtail their rights. They were not successful in inciting the officials against the Jews until a slain body was found in the woods. One Raphael Levi was charged with the crime; false evidence was brought, especially by proselytes; Levi was tortured and executed in January 1670. The accusations did not cease, however. Jona Salvador, a Figuerol merchant, tried to use his connections in Paris to help his coreligionists. The liberal Father Richard Simon wrote to the court showing how false the charges were. The court reconsidered its verdict and decided it should not have condemned Levi to death!

Not only did Simon write a defense of the Jews of Metz but, through his association with Salvador, he wrote extensively showing the Christian debt to Judaism. His books enjoyed wide circulation until official Catholicism ordered him to desist and to recant many of his statements.

The majority of Christian scholars, however, who studied Hebrew and Jewish literature, did it to show its inferiority to Christian and as a basis to ridicule Jews and their practices. Often these men wrote polemics against Jewry which were used to incite misled Christians to violence. Jews such as Isaac Viva and Isaac Cardoza wrote apologetic works in defense of the Jewish people in answer to these charges. That official Germany was not so ready to

believe these anti-Jewish accusations as heretofore is evident from public condemnation of this slanderous literature made by Prince Christian August of Pfalz-Sulzbach.

Three Germans who, nevertheless, used their knowledge of Hebrew to attack the Jews were Wulfer, Wagenseil, and Eisenmenger. Wulfer published a version of the "Alenu," which purported to be an attack on Jesus. Wagenseil, too, in his scholarly researches thought he came across Jewish writings that blasphemed Jesus. He urged that Jews be forced to take an oath not to blaspheme an object of Christian worship. But neither Wulfer nor Wagenseil were serious threats to Jewry. In fact, Wagenseil, despite his contempt for Jews, opposed brutal treatment of them, forcible conversion of them, or the pressing of the false blood accusation charges.

Eisenmenger, on the other hand, used his knowledge of Judaism to start the blood libels again. In his book entitled "Judaism Uncovered" he presented numerous blasphemies, showed that Jews were untrustworthy, and that rabbinical law ordered the death of Christians, etc. He quoted phrases out of context and misquoted Jewish sources to prove these calumnies. When a ritual murder charge was placed against Simon of Trent, the court, Wulfer and Wagenseil declared the charge false; but Eisenmenger insisted it was true.

Eisenmenger's slanderous book might have done untold damage had not the Hofjuden in Vienna, particularly Samuel Oppenheim, sensed the danger. Oppenheim, recalled in 1685 when Leopold I needed money, spent considerable sums of money winning over the courts, the Jesuits, and finally the king who prohibited its distribution. Most of the books were destroyed but a few circulated. Eisenmenger, impoverished, died of grief shortly afterward.

To Frederick I of Prussia, the Jews and their Schutzgeld were too important, so the book was not circulated there. Frederick

gave the thousand odd Jewish residents of Russia permission to buy and build houses and to build synagogues.

Here, too, accusations were made against the Alenu. The guilds, too, became active, but Frederick forbade attacks on Jews. He would not sanction forced conversion but expressed the proud wish that they might some day embrace Christianity. Although the Alenu charges at first had Frederick require its recitation aloud in the presence of the police, even this restriction was removed. The Jews under the liberal Hohenzollern could look hopefully to the future.

CHAPTER THREE - TAKKANOTH, REGLEMENTS,
ORDNUNGEN

A. LITHUANIA

The following laws of clothing are taken from the **opie**
שם ל' תל'ת and numbered as they are to be found in that volume.

Year **ת"ש**:

ה"פ. Officers who have charge over the women in every
Kahal should pay strict attention to poor women wearing large,
flaxen dresses which do not look white so that menstrual blood
doesn't make a clear stain and it is feared that she be not declared
unclean and she is unconscious of it; officers should make two white
dresses out of charity for every poor woman which she should wear in
her periods and in the days of her purity, and she is clean from her
blood.

ה"פ. One must not give to any bridegroom, be he poor or
rich, a **ל'ל'פ** shirt, nor a shawl, nor a hat of linen, as they used
to do formerly, for they are now distinctly forbidden. Even though
these garments had been made previously, they are not to be given.

ה"פ. A garment of velvet must not be worn by any Jew, man
or woman, rich or poor, an outer or under garment, be they new or
manufactured previously, even of kaspak.

ה"פ. A tuft on the veil may not be worn by ^{the}women, unless
she has it previously; then it may be worn on Shalosh Regalim but at
no other time. If she has not had this article previously, she may
wear it under no condition.

ה"פ. One may wear no kind of garment or veil or white

garment embroidered with pearls under any conditions; but a bertl* of pearls and jewelry may be worn by a young girl.

10p . Damask and atlas [a type of silk], if they are ל'ינדיל, may be worn by any one who has it previously on Shalosh Regalim and at the weddings of relatives; but one must not make any ל'ינדיל of damask and atlas, from now and henceforth, be it man or woman, rich or poor.

10p . Damask and atlas, if they are ל'גילגיל ל'מ, must not be made from now henceforth, except by a man who pays 2000 zehubim or above to the community tax; he may make [a garment of] damask and atlas ל'גילגיל ל'מ.

10p . He who betroths his daughter and requires the help of relatives, or gets help from charity, may not give his daughter any kind of silk garment.

10p . White garments upon which women lavish much money in making laces, which are most appropriate for the adornment of the skirt [part of the garment], it is decreed that the lace must not be wider than two (six) fingers wide; even if they had these garments previously they must not be worn [i. e., if the lace on the old dresses is wider than the prescribed limit].

10p . He who transgresses the sense of the laws with regard to the garments mentioned above shall be subject to heavy fine, which is to go to charity.

The ל'10p ceremony, referred to in 10p, is to indicate the acquisition of something; here, probably a wife.

אָנזיעהן is in TSP, if translated literally, makes no sense. "Anziehen", in German, means "to don, to draw on, to pull tight." It probably refers to a particular kind of atlas, the exact nature of which is not clear.

Year 1727.

27. With regard to the laws of garments and clothes, which were enacted in Ab at the Vaad of 1727 and have not been observed, it is further decided: All that has been explained there shall stand with the same strictness as above mentioned. As for velvet garments, they are absolutely forbidden; also garments of פליז and garments of gilded cloth. It is forbidden to make garments with open sleeves in which there is gold or silver. Also, one may not make a hat of sable.

28. The woman who has a veil with a tuft [previous to the passage of the law] may wear it on Shalosh Regalim but no more; also the escorts [at a wedding] and relatives by reason of their kinship. Who has no tufted veil may not make one, even imitation.

29. A woman who has a tufted veil may not decorate it with pearls or other gems, or rubies, or similar stones. This is absolutely forbidden.

30. Straksh* of silver or gold, even artificial, is forbidden on the upper garment; even a woman who already has such a garment must remove it from her garment.

31. New outer garments of atlas or damask may not be made from now henceforth except by those who give 4000 zehubim or over to the community taxes.

י"ג. He who gives his daughter in marriage and requires assistance from charity or relatives, according to the appraisal of the city officials [probably Jewish], may not make a dress of silk for his daughter.

י"ד. On a holiday, no one, man or woman, may receive relatives or friends in mantles of marten-fur, but must first go home after leaving the synagogue to change to another garment.

י"ה. Linen [i. e. laundry] of gilded or silver cloth are absolutely forbidden to be worn for a period of two years, except for a bride on the day of her marriage and the Sabbath of the wedding [probably preceding]; also the two best men on the Sabbath of the wedding have permission to wear such clothing.

י"ו. A woman, in the first year of her marriage, may wear such clothing as previously mentioned, on Shalosh Regalim.

י"ז - י"ח. Women may wear no golden chains or rings, nor pearls around their necks. Young women are forbidden to appear in public [wearing these], but a bertl of pearls is permitted even in public.

י"ט. Diadems of pearls are absolutely forbidden, even to little girls.

כ. * Tchemshk*, that one puts above the forehead, and also the garment known as טלית are forbidden. Also, all garments that are made in imitation of the Gentiles are absolutely forbidden.

כ"א. Shoes with eyes and with wooden heels are absolutely forbidden, to men and to women, to young men and young girls.

337. Gold rings are not to be worn except for two on week days, three on Saturday, five on holidays. Whoever violates any of the above Takkanoth with regard to clothing will surely be punished.

338. Also tailors who make clothes and garments included among those above forbidden, also artisans who make other of the forbidden articles, shall be punished with a heavy loss and with other punishments that shall be imposed upon them by the officials. The remainder of the Takkanoth regarding garments that have not been mentioned here shall stand as explained in the Takkanoth of the Vaad of **ה'תר"ט**.

Year **ה'תר"ט**.

339. For three successive years no garment of damask, atlas, taffeta, velvet, or gilded cloth, be it an outer or under garment, even a jacket, tchamra*, felt-coat, sleeves, or undershirts, be they old or new, are forbidden to rich or poor, young man or girl; no matter who they are, all are equal in this; except undershirts, hats, shlek, sleeves, and aprons are permitted among those mentioned, whether old or new, except aprons of taffeta and velvet; these are equal also among those forbidden, even old ones. Also double-taffeta, watered kanvitz, old or new, these are included in the above mentioned [forbidden garments], rich or poor, man, woman, or girl, outer or undergarment; but one garment, outer or under or kasakars may be made of double-taffeta or watered וולטאפ [canvass (?)], but no other kind of garment, and they are tabin*, which are thin, like שליכט, even though they are doubled in length, these are not to be included among the things prohibited above.

This Takkanah has caused considerable difficulty. The

translation seems to be fairly accurate but the sense is none too clear. Lengthy study of the passage fails to improve it.

TBN . Marten-fur and fox are also forbidden in any kind of garment, except the mantle [or petticoat] of a woman, to be used on Sabbath and holidays, of marten-fur around which there is beaver; and it is also permitted to make a collar of marten-fur and sable for jackets and tchamra*.

RBN . No chain-work embroidery of gold or silver may be made, even artificial, on any garment, outer or under, nor on jackets, tchamra, felt-coats -- on no garments nor on the sleeves, but on under-shirts it is permitted to make chain-work embroidery of silver and gold.

BN . Gilded cloth, silvered **בגדי** , spangled gret, shlek pendants of silver and gold, even artificial, are absolutely forbidden. No garment may be worn by any one if it has silver or gold thread, old or new, during the years prescribed [supra, **BN**] but it is permitted on under-shirts. All that which is forbidden above among linen garments are permitted for table or bed.

BN . Women may not wear gold chains or pearl necklaces, nor may girls wear these in public; but a bertl of pearls is permitted even in public [i.e., to the latter]. All that which is forbidden above among garments or linen clothes applies whether the clothes are old or new, belong to rich or poor, to man and woman, boy and girl---all are equal in this. Against all that is forbidden above, Joshua ben Nun [a local figure?] pronounced a Merem.

These are to last three successive years, to begin the year

following passage of the law so that all should have an opportunity to set their clothes in order before the beginning of the three-year period. In the convention during that period, those assembled may consider wearing all or part of the above-mentioned after the three-year period. If nothing is said regarding permission, the prohibition holds. Congregations and settlements must proclaim the stringencies of the prohibition so that people will be forewarned of the ban.

נבנ . Similarly, in every community and settlement, the leaders should oversee the proper enforcement with regard to kronen [diadems or lace], farbitz, that they may be worn as little as possible. Be very wary and see to it that women should not wear clothes like those of Gentiles.

The word kronen presents a slight difficulty. Kronen, in German, means "crown, diadem." But if we look in Takkanah נבנ , we find the phrase קרונן שקורין שמ"צ . Spitzen, in German, means "lace." If we could discover the meaning of farbitz, the parallel might give a hint; as it is, the word remains in doubt.

Year ג'ת .

נבנ . Concerning the provisions regarding garments which were made prohibitory in the Second Adar of ג'ת by a Herem, the enactment in accordance with strictness of the Herem there explained shall stand in its rigidity and stringency until Iyar, ג'ת; thenceforward the matter is left in the hands of the individual communities that gather with the Ab Beth Din, the Gaon, and other leaders; every community that has its own juridical organization should decide whether to be more lenient about the clothes or not, according to its own discretion and according to the trends of the

time. Thus, every community and its adjacent settlements should act in accordance with the decision of its court. However, sables and **spais** [probably the same as **spis**], velvet, gilded cloth, gold and silver thread are to remain under the above-mentioned prohibitions under any circumstances.

Year 1778.

1778. It is already an old enactment to be sparing in feasts and matters of clothes, therefore, the enactment is to be strengthened. Every community and its Ab Beth Din should make proper enactments to decrease [the expenditures on] feasts and clothes as much as possible. Particularly, the bridegroom-shirt, **toyn 1'ip**, is absolutely prohibited.

POLAND

The following laws are taken from Lewin's Landessynode.

Greater Poland consists of the land on both sides of the Warthe, including Posen, Gnesen, Kalisch, Sieradz, Lenczyce, Brzesz, and Wlozlawek.

Year: 6th of Adar, 1629.

P. 17, Law #14. Women may not wear velvet, atlas, taffeta as outer or under garments. Shorts of atlas are permitted, also neck-cloths, especially old ones, but new ones may not be made. Scarf-sleeves and scarfs are forbidden, even old ones. Old damask on outer garments is forbidden to women, but undergarments of damask are permissible. Scarf-sleeves of damask, even old, are forbidden; no one may make a garment of damask, outer or under, and no tailor may

accept work on a garment of atlas or damask even for officials.

Year: Nissan, 1610.

P. 86, Law #43. Garments of women and girls which are made in imitation of the Gentiles, having fringes (?), under or outer garments, bodices with pockets, cups, little fish [probably decorations], sleeves with buttons, any new article, even to little boys and girls---all are forbidden. Only bodices up to the neck are forbidden. Broad collars are forbidden to women but permitted to unmarried women and girls. Plaited blouses are forbidden to women and unmarried girls, even if they have had them for some time. Aprons of any kind of silk are forbidden.

Diadems of gold and silver or any kind of spangles are forbidden, be they old or new.

Linen garments sewed with silver or gold, at one time permitted to a bride at the Chuppa in the earlier Takkanoth, we now forbid.

Atlas, damask of all kinds, under or outer garments, jackets or sleeves, old or new, men and women, boys and girls, dyed or black, they are included under the prohibition against **אֶתְרוֹג** and **אֶתְרוֹג**.

P. 86. Yarmulkes and similar caps are forbidden from today henceforth even in one's house, but old ones are permitted.

Neck-cloths, even new, are permitted.

Old gilded bodices are permitted on Sabbath and holidays, but they can be hemmed only once; if hemmed more than once, it must be removed.

Double-taffeta, old or new, is permitted to those who pay a tax to the community treasury of 5000 zehubim or more. If they can wear the above, obviously, they can wear fine cotton or taffeta. But this can be hemmed on top and bottom only once. It is prohibited to do so in the middle of the garment or slantwise.

(3)
Old hemp is permitted on Yom Tob to him who pays a tax of 5000 zehubim but on Sabbath it is forbidden, to men and to women. On those Sabbaths in which two Sefer Toroth are brought out it is permitted. In any case, old wool or taffeta are permissible. On new clothes there is a tax. Old taffeta is permitted to him who pays 6000 zehubim for Yom Tob but not on Sabbath.

Very old hemp, if it is almost fallen apart and this is the only garment one has and another can not be afforded, and if it is not worthwhile to sell it, the lawmakers may permit it. But there must be no deceit and it should be recorded who is given such permission.

Plain taffeta aprons from Kitai are permitted, to those who pay 1000-5000 zehubim, to make two new under-garments and two cloaks for the wedding of a son or daughter; from 600-1000 zehubim, shawls [Umheil]; from 5 Groschen to 600, only one under-garment is permitted.

[Kitai is a town in which a type of taffeta was manufactured, so the material bears the name of the town, usually as יִטַּי.]

Maidservants are forbidden to make a new garment of new Kitai or taffeta. For one who already has such taffeta, it is permissible; but one may not buy old taffeta from another.

All silk garments made from today henceforth may be only from plain taffeta and Kitai, for men or women. Any material more expensive is prohibited.

All undergarments of Nerz, fur, cloaks with chain embroidery work, even slit sleeves may have no new hems put on; but around the arms it is permitted, also around the neck but not in the middle of the garment.

It is customary to hem night-caps once.

One may not buy more than one cubit of silk embroidery for ten adults.

Tails of marten-fur and Hüllen around the hem are forbidden to all and must be removed.

Gold and silver covers on the confinement bed are permissible for those who pay a tax on 5000 zehubim but this applies only to the women, and not to the daughters, who do not pay on this sum. It is prohibited to those who pay less than this.

Gilded furniture is forbidden to all, even to the wealthy in their homes. On the two nights of Passover gilded covers are permitted but only after returning from synagogue services.

One may not have more than one cubit of lace [קרנין] and mesh worth 15 Groschen, whether it is bought or worked out by one's wife, or whether it is received as a gift.

Dress shirts are subject to the old enactment. Women who get shirts to sew and other new garments to repair are obliged, under Herem, to come to the lawmakers and they will declare and

show what is prohibited and what is permitted.

New mantles of marten-fur are prohibited to men and women, except to him who gives 6000 zehubim or more as tax or 5000 as dowry; such a one can dress his son or daughter in new marten-fur during the wedding. Old marten-fur mantles are permissible for all, especially on Yom Tob, but it must be removed immediately after synagogue services; and one may not go into other homes wearing it.

Cloaks with collars and those having Nörz and marten-fur on the front of the lower part of the garment are subject to the old enactment. That which is on the extreme end of the garment, if new, is forbidden.

The train of a dress, if only two cubits high, is approved according to old law, but not more. Old ones are in order.

Hats of sable tails and marten-fur are forbidden to men, women, and youths even in the house, certainly in the synagogue, and absolutely in the street. Hats made of plumes and Nörz may be worn in the street. Hats of marten-fur are permitted in the house. [The two halves of this law are contradictory.]

All clothes prohibited here are prohibited in Schwersens, east of Posen, in the market of Gniesen.

As for clothes of travellers, according to old law, what is permissible for us is permissible for them on Sabbath and for weddings, but no more.

The "old law" referred to has not been identified.

The following are taken from Balaban's article on the Krakauer Judengemeinde-Ordnung in the eleventh volume of the Jüdische Literarische Gesellschaft. They are from the year 1595 on.

P. 102. Luxusgesetzen---Laws of Luxury.

Girdles of silver, white or plated, may be worn on Sabbath or week days in the Quarter, but outside the quarter they may not be worn, even white or a ^{ה'ה'ה} of silver; but a hat (^{ה'ה'ה}) of silver may be worn in the quarter but not outside under any circumstances.

Bodices, collars, friezed cloth, and Kriesen of silver, or gold, or Geflieder [Might this be the same as Gefieder -- plumage?], old or new, may be worn.

^{ה'ה'ה} without lace but with pearls must not be made or bought except by one who gives two gulden or more as a tax; that person may wear it for four years after marriage, but no longer --- the first year, every Sabbath and thereafter on Shalosh Regalim, the Sabbath of Channukah, Sabbath of Rosh Hodesh, and the Sabbath of Purim; on weddings, the mother, the sisters of the groom, the bride, the wives of the brothers of the bride and groom, their escorts; the godmother and the mother on the day of circumcision.

P. 103. ^{ה'ה'ה} and golden ends (?) without lace may not be worn at any time, not even on holidays, be they artificial, old or new.

Pillow cases and sheets with water-gilding, any kind of pillow cases of silver or gold, may not be used or spread except on Pesach on the couch, but under no other circumstances, even to make

an infant's bed on Sabbath or for the circumcision. But those who give ten g~~ul~~den as tax may use them, but she who gives birth on Sabbath may use them at the time of the circumcision and on the occasions above mentioned, but at no other time.

Chains, rings, פארגאנגליר (a type of chain), gulden [made up as bracelets], clasps, and golden ornaments may not be worn by a woman or girl except in the Quarter, if they weigh ten gulden. Outside the Quarter they may not be worn under any circumstances. The limit is a weight of ten gulden, over which they may not be worn even in the quarter, in one's house, even under one's clothes, neither on Saturday or on Yom Tob; only under circumstances mentioned above. Those who pay five zehubim may wear a chain under the overshirt so that it can not be seen.

Armbands may be worn by no one. A bride may wear any ornament for seven days before the wedding ceremony and thirty days after, and on the first week after the fulfillment of the marriage conditions.

P. 104. These Takkanoth hold until Rosh Hashanah of 1599. Thereafter, the Kahal can choose men, wise and intelligent, who will review the Takkanoth and add to them or decrease, according to the majority, and according to that which Heaven shows them. In the meantime, let no one transgress, under penalty; or if later, ^{ne}new ones are made, these laws remain as they are.

Tailors who make forbidden clothes will be fined and forbidden to ply their trade further.

A garment decorated with פארבטיקט or farbtikz

(aprons?) decorated with gold or silver, or those mixed with gold or silver are forbidden and may not be worn throughout the year; but aprons may be worn with one **שטרם**, but it must not be wider than one-quarter (of an ell?); and an overshirt may have one streim of one-eighth (of an ell?) broad; friezed cloth on the sleeves are permissible, but the folds of the sleeve must have no gold or silver.

Chains that go into the dress are all right, but the folds may be only of silk; and above this may be worn **קריינליך** of gold or silver; and those things mentioned above are permitted on Rosh Hashanah, Pesach, Shabuoth, Succoth, Channukah, Purim, four Parashas, and when a woman acts as an escort or takes a godmotherhood; but when a Christian holiday falls on a Jewish holiday, all these are forbidden.

P. 105. Pillow slips or sheets with gold or silver may not be made and those one already has are also forbidden, even on Pesach for the Seder. (Compare with law on P. 103, our p. 36.)

פרייט with golden facings or farbitkiz may not be worn, but on the side or in front one may make a small farbitkiz.

Bodices of gold and silver are forbidden throughout the year but sable coats may not be added by man or woman, not even a collar; also **מארדער** (Marder?) marten-fur and beaver are forbidden, unless one has these things previously. Marten-fur may not be made, unless one has had it before, or by one who pays three zehubim to tax fund.

Pearls are forbidden in caps but girls may wear caps with pearls, even with small puntalin (which are 1000 puntalin = 1 gold gulden), but larger ones are forbidden, and no cap may be worn with

gold chains; and under no circumstances with gems, under a penalty of five Adumim for those who continue to wear them. [The former portion of this law is not clear because of the word puntalin.]

Chain armbands may never be worn by man or woman, visible or invisible, except by a bride after the covering [of the head?] until after the seven days of the feast, and only one chain, under penalty of three zehubim.

No more than two rings may be worn during the week, four on Saturday, six on Yom Tob, but not precious gems, by man or woman, but a pregnant woman may wear one ring with a diamond to aid recovery. (Compare with Metz law #2, p. 37, our page 48.)¹ A breach is subject to a penalty of thirty Adumim.

Gold guilder bracelets may not be carried on week days even by girls, but on Saturday ten Adumim are allowed, and a bride may carry ten Adumim even on week-days.

P. 106. Neither married men nor boys may wear velvet hats worth more than five zehubim; nor are women's hats in excess of this amount permitted, under penalty. Those who buy more expensive ones shall sign it over to the poorhouse and lose it [the fine or the hat?]. The hat manufacturer shall be declared a transgressor, whether it be local or purchased elsewhere, he is to be punished [a Jewish merchant is to be presupposed].

METZ

The following are taken from Cahan's monograph on the community of Metz. Metz, though in France, we include because it is an Ashkenazic community. The laws cover the years 1690-97. The

government itself, under Louis XIV, had passed laws regarding food and clothing, so that the Jews were under two sets of laws.

P. 5. The government forbade the use of gold and silver cloth and velvet. The law against chiffon, gold and silver ornaments was renewed for eleven years, although Louis permitted their use to himself, his family, and to favored individuals. The Jews of Metz followed the example of the king and applied such laws to all except the officials who passed them. They tried to get ahead of the laws by wearing materials which might later be forbidden, e. g., cobwebby materials.

Laws of 1690, ordained by nine members of the Executive Committee:

1. On Saturdays and holidays women may wear no more than four rings. The godmother, i. e., the woman who arranges the marriage bed, and the women who lead the bride to the nuptial dais, the women who escort the bride to the synagogue on the Manne Sabbath,² and the young bride on the first Saturday following the marriage³ (Schenckwein Sabbath) may wear more than four rings. The godmother and mother, the women accompanying the bride to the synagogue on the day of the marriage, the bride herself on Schenckwein Sabbath could wear more than four rings. The women who accompany the bride under the nuptial dais are included from the time the bride's hair is cut⁴ to the time of the ceremony.

2. All diamonds, even artificial, are forbidden. All other jewels are forbidden to every one, even during religious ceremonies.

3. Sashes, chains of gold, gold coins, gems, pearls worn

on the neck, arms, ears, in the mouth, or anywhere on the body are absolutely forbidden. A betrothed girl may wear a gem given as a gift on the first Saturday before the wedding.

4. Bracelets of gold and silver, sashes embroidered in gold are forbidden except to the godmother, to those who accompany the bride to the synagogue on the morning of the marriage, to those who arrange the nuptial couch; they may wear them until they leave the synagogue. The bride may dress up [probably with these articles] for a whole day on the first Saturday after the marriage.

5. On Saturdays and holidays women may wear only ordinary clothes. Godmothers may not wear another's veil on the eve of circumcision or on Sabbath ⁵Zachor. Gold and silver veils are forbidden but on Sabbath ⁶Spinnholtz, the mother, mother-in-law, sister, sisters-in-law, grandmother, aunts, and uncles' wives are permitted silver and gold veils. Permission is accorded for the two days of marriage and extends to the women who accompany the bride to the synagogue and to the nuptial dais.

6. Veils with spangles or pearls are permitted only to the godmother, to the women accompanying the bride on the morning of the ceremony, and to the bride herself on the Sabbath following her marriage until leaving the synagogue. The women who conduct her to the nuptial dais have the same privilege but the veils must be removed when the bride's hair is being fixed until the return from the synagogue. The women who prepare the nuptial couch may wear veils of gold and silver, sashes embroidered in gold, and gold bracelets until leaving the synagogue; also, a woman whose son is a Bar-Mitzvah and who, on his account, is in the same class with those who prepare the nuptial couch.

7. Young girls are not allowed to wear spangles or pearls in their hair unless betrothed, but it is permitted on the first Sabbath after betrothal. If betrothed, they may wear these on Sabbath Spinnholtz, both large and small [i. e., spangles and pearls], but only until the dance begins. After the dance they must remove them. They must walk with this finery only along the Rhineport, at the end of the Jewish Quarter.

8. Pregnant women and young brides, during the week of marriage, may wear all the prohibited finery but they must not make themselves too conspicuous by sitting in doorways or windows.

9. Coiffures done in the manner of the Gentiles are forbidden. Girls less than eleven years of age may go bareheaded.

10. Ribbons of silk and taffeta other than black are forbidden. Those put around the head, even black, are forbidden. Braids of any material put around the head are approved. Black ribbons around the neck and around the hair [i. e., other than silk and taffeta] are permissible.

11. Knobs [in the hair] that young girls wear low on the neck, through which ribbons of silk or taffeta are drawn, colored or black, all are forbidden.

12. Pleated coats are forbidden to all women.

13. 'M1111'D is forbidden to all girls over eleven.

14. All brocades and materials of designed silk are forbidden except at religious ceremonies. These materials may be used for waists and sleeves.

15. Brocades of gold and silver, even for waists and sleeves, even for religious ceremonies, are forbidden to all women.

16. Laces, fringes of gold or silver, threads of gold on clothes, shoes, etc., are forbidden to all women. On the caps of boys and on the bonnets of girls and women, these are allowed. Young servants may not wear lace with gold, even artificial. All other lace is permissible on bonnets.

17. Slippers or shoes of any color except black or white are forbidden to all. Shoes of velvet or embroidered material are forbidden.

18. Aprons of mossons may not be ornamented with lace that is more than one-half of one-fourth of a Metz ell. This applies to all women even during family feasts and religious ceremonies.

25. All wigs longer than those worn by priests or abbots⁷ are forbidden to men and boys.

26. Bouttonieres made with silver thread are forbidden. Those already made at the time of the passing of the law are permitted until these clothes are worn.

The latter portion of this law is confused but this is the best that could be done with it.

27. Women's cloaks made with embroidery are not to exceed one-half of one-fourth of a Metz ell and a thumb. This type of coat may be worn only on Sabbath and holidays, also for religious ceremonies and family feasts. Spangles are always forbidden except for religious ceremonies.

30. Everybody except senators and their wives, their unmarried sons and daughters are bound by rules Numbers 1, 5, 9-14, 24, 25, 27, and the following:

Diamonds, gold chains, veils with spangles, embroideries with spangles and pearls, coiffures with ribboned top-knots, laces of gold, thread larger than one-eighth of an ell---all are forbidden to senators and their families, too. Brocades, gold sashes, gems, and pearls worn on the neck and arms are also forbidden.

31. During the week one may not wear silk, velvet, or taffeta in any type of clothing or of any color, but caps for boys and bonnets for girls may be of velvet or silk.

32. Those invited to a ball outside the Jewish quarter should not wear clothes other than those prescribed.

33. All women should walk in the street with open collars and must enter the synagogue with open collars. This rule is made and passed the first Sunday in Ellul, 1690.

The last rule may have been passed so that the law enforcers would be able to see whether forbidden jewelry was being worn.

Laws of the year 1691. Two bodies, one of twelve and one of nine, order these laws:

P. 25. If women wear large ornaments with fringes, lace and braid may be worn between these ornaments. Two types of lace are allowed. New styles are forbidden and the laws of Ellul, 1690 must be conformed with, subject to a fine of one ducat. This also applies to veils more elaborate than those included in the laws of

draperies or ornamented with lace other than allowed by usage.

Sable and other neck furs are forbidden, subject to one ducat fine. Young girls who have not yet begun to fast⁸ are the only ones allowed to wear furs.

Laws of the year 1692. These laws are passed by the community legislature on the advice of respected persons. A committee of nine passed on them.

P. 26. Jews are not allowed to make veils, bonnets, or cloaks with gold for non-Jews. Those who do so will have the clothing taken away from them and be fined one Reichsthaler to go to the poor, and the administration will compel them to withdraw from non-Jews.

The committee of twelve did not apply the fines of the preceding laws to women who prepare the marriage beds, lead the bride on Sabbath Manne, godmothers who escort the bride for the nuptial benedictions, from the day of the marriage to the following Saturday; nor to the mothers of Bar-Mitzwah boys. These women are permitted certain objects forbidden to others.

P. 27. The women above-mentioned abused the privilege [which necessitated the passage of a law] forbidding them to wear gilded veils, with or without decorations, or with pearls, even at religious ceremonies, for a period of one year; only veils of the simplest sort. These women could wear no more than nine (!) rings and no diamonds. At family gatherings, no Sabbath or holiday coats are to be worn.⁹ No gold sashes, sashes covered with jewels or brocades, or sibloness gifts¹⁰ are to be given on the eve of the marriage. Gold bracelets or necklaces are forbidden. No cloaks of brocade, or waists, or breast-cloths with sleeves, or sleeves alone

may be worn. No woman or girl could wear short aprons in imitation of the non-Jews.

P. 29. No scarlet cloaks (stylish at that time) nor bodices decorated with taffeta, nor dresses or coats decorated with taffeta are permitted.

These laws are to hold for one year. Exceptions are made occasionally. Each breach incurs a penalty of one ducat, besides disciplinary measures. The executive committee is responsible for enforcement.

These laws were published in the synagogue on the fourth Wednesday in January of 1692. The communal laws were generally read three times, on days when the Torah was read. Sometimes a crier was used in the Jewish quarter.

Laws of the year 1694. Revision of 1692 laws of clothing.

P. 30. A woman may wear no more than three rings on Saturday, four rings on holidays, and not more than one large one in each case. For religious ceremonies and family celebrations, four rings are permitted, two of them large, but diamonds, even artificial, are forbidden.

P. 31. Women must not wear coats and veils in synagogue, except girls under fifteen.

Women who wear bonnets to synagogue or on the street must not wear them on week-days decorated with flowers, gold or silver, or embroidered in gold or silver or spangles. The strings of women's bonnets and hair-knot ribbons, and strings under the brim of their hats must not be of gold or silver. In a word, bonnets ought to be

of simple materials. Brocaded bonnets of gold or silver, even on the under part of the bonnet may not be worn; **nor are transparent materials** to be worn on the underside of the **brim**. On Sabbaths and holidays, ribbons of gold or silver on bonnets are permitted but no spangles or brocaded gold or silver, **nor** ribbons brocaded with gold or silver, nor hanging knots. All women may wear bonnets of cheaper silk (mouseline) with unpleated lace and not larger than one-fourth ell.

P. 32. Law 6. Veils with spangles or pearls are absolutely forbidden.

8. The bride-to-be, young bride, and the pregnant woman should not be seen in her home in forbidden clothing even in the most obscure part of the home.

9. Head-dresses of the mode or invented at the moment are forbidden.

10. Knots and ribbons on clothes are forbidden, both in front and in back, even those attached to aprons. Boys and girls, too, may not wear ostrich plumes in their hats.

Young girls' bonnets with lace ribbons of silver are permitted. Bonnets of brocade of gold or silver, or materials of gold, silver, spangles are absolutely forbidden to all.

13. Entire costumes of brocaded gold or silver, or brocaded silk are forbidden. Jackets with sleeves of brocaded silk are permissible.

Hats with plumes or furs are forbidden to all women. Small skull caps with large ribbons are **forbidden**.

15. Skull caps of expensive materials are forbidden.

25. Legislators and doctors may wear wigs .

31. Clothing of violet or purple taffeta are approved but other shades are forbidden [Legislation on veils is here repeated].

Laws of the year 1697. P. 37. Clothing made with gold and silver or other luxurious materials, the sight of which offends Jews and non-Jews, is forbidden.

1. All are forbidden to wear clothes having gold, silver, or embroidered flowers. This applies to religious ceremonies and family feasts, too, and to clothes manufactured from that day on. Old fancy clothes may be worn on Rosh Hashanah.

2. No woman could wear more than three rings on Sabbath and no large ones. On holidays, four rings are permitted, including one large one. This latter applies also for family feasts but two large ones are permitted. Those who prepare the wedding couch or whose sons are celebrating Bar-Mitzvah may wear four rings, two of which are large. Diamonds, even artificial, are absolutely forbidden.

P. 38. 3. All women must wear veils before entering the synagogue.

Young brides of twelve to fourteen do not require a veil during the first year of marriage. Those fifteen years of age do not require one for the first three months of marriage.

All women may go without veils or cloaks to prayer on Saturday evening, on the eves of holidays, evenings of the week and Purim.

4. Bracelets of gold, ornamented silver, and brocaded gold sashes are absolutely forbidden to all women, including godmothers, wedding escorts, and the preparers of the nuptial couch, but they may

wear them to the door of the synagogue.

Those who accompany the bride to the nuptial dais, from the moment of the hair-cutting ceremony up to the nuptial benediction, the young bride for the whole Saturday following the marriage, and the mother of a Bar-Mitzvah may wear the above-mentioned until they reach the door of the synagogue.

5. On Saturday and holidays women may wear only veils of thin taffeta, their length and breadth to be regulated by the old laws. Godmothers, on the Saturday and evening preceding the circumcision, are similarly circumscribed. Veils of gold or silver are forbidden, except on Sabbath of Spinnholtz; but the mother, mother-in-law, sisters, sisters-in-law, grandmothers, aunts, and wives of uncles [of the bride] may wear this type of finery, just as on the two days of the marriage. Women conducting the bride to Manne or under the nuptial dais are included in this exception.

As for veils with spangles or pearls, these are forbidden to all women even for religious ceremonies and family feasts. Women who make such veils must conform to the rules. Those who disobey are to be fined ten Reichsthaler without any leniency, nor may they do such work any longer.

6. No young girl may wear her hair fixed with spangles or pearls except on the Saturday following betrothal, with or without a formal engagement, or on the Sabbath of the little Spinnholtz, up to the moment the dance is finished. Then they [the spangles] must be removed immediately.

As for pearls, they are always forbidden to young girls.

7. Women who have just been in confinement or a bride, during the seven days of marriage, ought not to be seen on the street

with finery or forbidden jewels, neither before the door of the house, nor in hallways, at windows, nor any place where she can be seen from outside.

8. All coiffures with top-knots with ribbon, and others that are high on the head, in imitation of non-Jews, are forbidden to all women. Young girls under eleven can go bareheaded.

9. Ostrich plumes and ribbons on hats are forbidden to all. Lace and silver ribbons are all right for young girls. Bonnets with spangles, pearls, or embroidery of gold and silver are forbidden to all, always.

10. Dressing gowns ornamented with lace are forbidden, but without lace they are permitted.

11. Brocades of gold and silver, gold and silver tissue, even for blouses and sleeves, are forbidden to all women, even at religious ceremonies and family feasts.

12. All lace embroidery, braid in gold or silver, even artificial, is forbidden to all, on coats, shoes, or other finery. On young boys' caps or certain bonnets of young girls, it is permissible.

Servants may not wear on their bonnets lace with gold or silver, even artificial. Other lace is allowed.

13. Shoes of blue leather, or any other shade except white or black, are forbidden. Also shoes of velvet or other such material or embroidered are forbidden.

14. On aprons and on moscons no lace higher than one-fourth ell with a bias is permitted. Women and young girls are included

even on religious ceremonies and family feasts.

19. Coats with gold embroidery are permitted; but with spangles or pearls they are forbidden to all women at all times. Coats with lace of more than one-quarter of an ell are permitted only during religious ceremonies and family feasts, under penalty of one Reichsthaler for each offense.

22. Men and women invited to a ball in the city must dress in accordance with the established rules.

23. Women should not go in the street with open collars or to the synagogue, subject to fine. (Compare with #33, our p. 44.)

24. Beauty marks are forbidden to all women, subject to fine for each offense.

25. The old rules against wigs stand. Wigs for men are forbidden. In case of illness, if a man appears before a notary public, the unmarried man may wear one.

26. Sashes, chains of gold, gold coins [made up as bracelets], gems, even artificial, pearls on the neck or arms are forbidden on all occasions. A betrothed girl, on the first Saturday [following the ceremony], may wear the jewels given her on the Saturday preceding the engagement, but not thereafter.

Persons who up to now have had permission to wear pearls in their ears may continue to wear them.

27. Veils with gold or thin taffeta, white or black, must not be more than six one-fourths of a Metz ell. The band embroidered in the front has a specified breadth; that in the rear is somewhat shorter. White and black veils may have two bands in front and three

in back. Those with gold may have only one band in front and three in back. The side may have only two pieces of lace made of thread.

This is not too clear but the text permits of no other translation.

45. Young girls may not wear the new mode of apron in imitation of the Gentiles, no matter what color. Girls may not wear ribbons of taffeta or other ribbons, of any color, in the form of waist-sashes; married women even less so. On ordinary aprons, girls may wear ribbons but they must be black, subject to fine.

GERMANY

The following laws are taken from Sulzbach's short article on clothing laws from seventeenth century Frankfort:

P. 211. Many warnings have been issued against the luxury of the state, of women and girls but few pay heed. Therefore, the president, the rabbi and his two assistants, in the presence of the head rabbi and his associates, agreed to announce:

P. 212. Every God-fearing woman or girl should be seen in the Jewish quarter or in the city dressed according to the following laws, which stand for two years:

1. No clothes embroidered in gold or silver.
2. No jewels or pearls except for one ring on each hand.
3. No clothes which immodestly expose the throat.
4. No flowers or plumes on the head.
5. No gold chains.
6. No medals.
7. No hats.
8. No gold watches.
9. No aprons or ribbons around the body.

A \$20 fine is to be imposed for violation of the above rules, one-half of which goes to the community chest and the other half to the hospital, and is to be ruthlessly enforced.

P. 213. The second offense incurs a fine and the accused is publicly proclaimed in the synagogue as a bold woman. The third offense incurs a fine and excommunication. These rules are to be strictly enforced so that offenses will not be committed. The help of the government can be enlisted.

The following are taken from Schudt's work, IV Theiles, die III Continuation, and apply to the Frankfort community:

P. 21. Laws passed on Thursday, 17th day of Tammuz, July 18th, 1715.

16. Children's clothes (i. e., new born babe) must cost no more than ten florin; the godfather's, five dollars.

18. With regard to the clothing of wives and young women, velvet and, of course, if silver or gold thread are used, those already made and especially those that are to be made are forbidden under penalty of expulsion. Under clothing of the same material is forbidden, those already made as well as those yet to be made, except to the mother of the groom and to the bride under the Chuppa.

19. Women's clothing for Saturday and holidays may be made of only one color and may cost no more than \$2.50. As for those already made, those that cost up to three and one-half florin may be worn on Sabbath even if it has more than one or two colors. Those that cost three and one-half florin to three dollars may be worn only on holidays. Those costing more than three dollars are prohibited.

20. On week days **no woman** may wear any silk clothes except hats and they must be of one color; and especially they may have no Schammerluck, night-gown of silk, also no Raffrock, or coats with flounces.

21. Bodices without sleeves and breast-cloths without sleeves may not be worn on the street by women.

22. Night-gowns with different flounces, night-gowns of silk of one color, or cartun, or fur caps are permitted in the house but not on the street. Night-gowns are forbidden **altogether** to young women, even in the house.

23. Short clothes are prohibited, under penalty of ban; also curls, Krollen (a type of curl), false hair, Flasberger, and powder for the hair. Fontange or night-clothes are forbidden to all women.

This law appears peculiar. To include clothes and cosmetics in the same law is a bit unusual. The latter portion puzzles us altogether.

24. In the future, women may wear shoes and slippers of black only, with no embroidery, or decorations. Those one already has are in order.

Note in the text: This law was passed to forestall the possibility of a Christian law to force Jews to wear one black shoe and one white or red, as did the Turks.

25. Under penalty of a ban, lace is not to be bought for more than one Florin for a Brabant ell [a costly lace], nor to be exchanged, nor two colors purchased at the same time, nor to buy lace along with other materials. No subterfuges are to be employed

to get around the law. In the future, no cowl may be worn with more than two Frankfort ells. Nor is it allowed to buy two laces totalling two florins if one of them costs more than one florin.

26. As for neck-cloths and aprons with lace, they may not be used even if they are old. But the lace can be cut off and used for a cowl even though it costs more than one florin for an ell; but there may not be more than two Frankfort ells in the cowl.

27. Golden veils are forbidden except on wedding days to the mother of the groom and the bride. No gold veil pins are to be used.

Text note: Jewish women used to wear hats with points to which the veils were attached by gold or silver pins, sometimes set with gems.

28. Gold chains, gold belts, Anhängen, or boxes [set?] with gems, especially pearls, ear-rings with gems are absolutely forbidden. Young women may wear no rings.

31. A young girl may not cover herself except with a cap with black lace, under a fine of four dollars.

32. No maid-servant, on Sabbath, holidays, or week-days, may wear silk clothes. Transgression incurs expulsion from the community.

34. Married and single men may on week-days wear no clothes lined with silk, much less silk clothing or coats, under penalty of twenty dollars.

35. On Sabbath and holidays married men may wear no Sabbath coat of silk, even though it was made previously, under penalty of

ban and a fine of **twenty dollars**. Single men, if they already have such mantles, may wear them, but new ones may not be made or bought, under the penalty mentioned. Even strangers may not wear them until they are members of the community.

36. Blunte [blonde?] or white wigs are forbidden, under penalty of ban.

38. Married and young men may wear no buttons of gold or silver threads on their clothes. On Sabbath young men may wear no gold cloth shirts, under ban and a ten dollar fine.

39. On week days no silk Talith may be worn under fine of two dollars.

These laws are to stand for twenty years. No partiality is to be shown to anyone.

The following are from Grunwald's Hochzeits- und Kleiderordnung, for the years 1715 and 1734. These laws apply to the communities of Hamburg and Altona.

#1, under section on clothing. No Falbladen are to be made on clothing in the future by women, young girls, or children; if any one deals again in this, he is liable to a twenty dollar fine. He who hides it is considered as though he himself broke the law.

2. Silver or gold cloth, or bordered with silver or gold; or lace or fine lace are forbidden to women and girls, from head to foot; but hats and furred caps which they have had previously they may wear; but no new hats or furred caps of silver or gold, under fine of twenty dollars. Lace on hats and breast-cloths are all right.

3. Women should wear hats and hoods only with a loop of

lace; but no double-high hoods, or Berlin hoods; no bands on them as tassels; also no bands with which to tie; only braid (or piping).

4. Silken night-gowns of two colors are forbidden to women, and girls, and children. Scarfs must also be of one color.

5. Night-gowns with lace or Falbladen are forbidden to women and girls.

6. Velvet for clothing, also for linings is forbidden to women and girls, except for black velvet, for that which the bride wears under the Chuppa, and cuffs on the clothes.

7. Platen and neck-cloths with lace are forbidden to women and girls, also to the bride on her wedding day; loose-fitting sleeves are also forbidden.

8. Diamonds, pearls, or gold, even artificial, are forbidden to women and girls; only one ring may be worn, but at the betrothal banquet and on the wedding day the bride may wear these.

9. Collars of sable or palatine of sable, marten-fur, or ermine are forbidden to women and girls.

10. Dammel-platen are forbidden to women but permitted to girls, but without silver or gold.

11. Women and girls may wear shoes and slippers of black leather only with no decorations on them; nor may the groom do honor to his bride on their wedding day except with shoes of this sort [probably as a gift]

12. Polish coats and Cantouchen, also coats with whale-bone used to stiffen the cloth, iron wire, or Town-bands, or any

other materials to stiffen the material are forbidden to women, girls, and children.

13. Neck-cloths sewed with silver or gold are forbidden to women and girls.

14. Women and girls may not go from one place to another, also not to Altona, if it is a work-day, much less on market day, without Regenkleid; nor on Sabbath or holidays, especially in public, much less to school, without Regenkleid; nor may one go more than three houses distant without them.

16. Palatin is forbidden to women and girls unless made of black velvet without tassels, also without silk, all the more without silver or gold.

17. Gold or silver bands on Fontangien and Illegen are forbidden to girls.

19. No three women or girls, much less a greater number, shall go for a walk in the evening without Regenkleid; nor on Sabbath or holidays are women or girls to gather together in front of a door.

20. Hats with tassels or feathers, of gold or silver even without tassels, bordered with silver or gold lace are forbidden to girls and children.

21. Women or girls who wear silk night-gowns even of one color, or plain night-gowns, or hats of gold cloth, or fur hats with silver or gold which they happen to have had previously may not be worn in the street without Regenkleid, or without a cover over their caps; nor may they sit before the door dressed thus.

22. Regenkleid with lace is forbidden to women and girls;

also the making of new silk.

23. No new fashions are to be introduced.

24. The godmother shall take the child to synagogue with two women and they should wear Regenkleid, even on workdays.

25. A servant girl must wear no gilded or silver lace on her hat, or silver cloth, and no Fontangien or Flegen, no silk clothes; nor may they have a new embroidered coat made, under penalty of one dollar.

26. Wives and children of doctors are also bound by these laws.

This is the only indication throughout these pages that a doctor had special privileges.

27. Silver and gold on the clothes of men and boys, and on their undershirts are forbidden; also buttons of gold or silver wire, gold cloth and velvet; also for lining; only black velvets and undershirts are permitted.

29. At all funerals, at the escorting of the dead, no women should go without a Regenkleid.

31. Women must not go to stores without hats.

32. Women and girls must not go to a wedding without Regenkleid and, of course, leave from there without them.

44. With regard to the law against diamonds, pearls, and gold the violator must pay a four dollar fine for the first offense, eight dollars the second time; the third time is at the discretion of those who have charge of enforcement.

45. Henceforth no clothes of two colors are to be made by women, only a dark musch or brown, under penalty of twenty dollars; whoever transgresses and conceals the fact is considered as though he violated a sacred thing.

Henceforth no one shall wear a rim over his Talith like those hung over the head in the synagogue, which the groom gives or makes; only white, of silver mohair with lace or fine lace of four fingers' breadth of gold, under penalty abovementioned. If the bride brings more than \$5000 then the groom may make it as he likes. [This is not entirely clear to us in spite of careful study.]

46. Whoever gives \$400 or less as dowry, his daughter may get no silk clothes from him. Those who are already betrothed and have already purchased these clothes should proclaim publicly that these had been bought before the law was passed, under penalty of ten dollars, with no compassion.

The following are from Grunwald's edition of Mitteilungen, Heft III. The laws are for the three communities of Hamburg, Altona, Wandsbek to the year 1726.

May 1718. #21. A woman in confinement is forbidden to put decorations in her room or around her bed of silver or gold ornaments, or to adorn herself with diamonds or pearls; furthermore, she must follow all the provisions of the community laws. Also, at such occasions, ^{besuchen} Kulosch must not be sent from relatives or friends to the confined woman, nor may she treat the women in the house with baked goods, cakes, and liquor; nor may she send cream or confections, under penalty of two dollars.

[The latter portion of this law is out of place and should be included later with the laws of banquets and food; but we did not like to split it up since it is included as part of one law].

#33. On Sabbath one may wear a black hat but no colored neck-cloth.

#183. The following are forbidden to married men: Velvet clothes or velvet facings on the coat, jeweled buckles, even with artificial gems, Pietten of fine lace, colored shoes or slippers.

They may wear collars and caps of black velvet, also buttons of silver thread in their clothes, and neck-cloths with fine lace.

If one buys his way into the community, or buys his way in on the condition that the above mentioned be allowed him, the elders may decide that he be excluded from this ordinance.

#184. Unmarried persons shall wear no silver or gold lace or fine lace on their clothes, except on the sleeves of the under-vest. Similarly, Handpietten are forbidden to married and unmarried. On the other hand, neck-cloths with fine lace are permitted to married persons.

#185. Women must wear no colored silk clothes except black, but it must have a wool base in which they make sleeves of silk material, but there is to be no silver throughout. With velvet or other frocks must be worn aprons which are one-quarter of a Brabant ell longer than the frock, and the frock must not be tucked up.

It is forbidden to wear gloves or muffs embroidered with gold or silver, or fine laces of gold or silver on their clothing; or braided white fine lace on the undershirt, also Forschelchen or aprons with fine lace, or covered with flower-work, buttons of solid or thread silver, except on the undershirt; caps embroidered with silver

or gold, shoes or slippers decorated with gold or silver or of silk material or with fine lace and ribbons; especially, no kind of colored shoes or slippers are to be worn, except black or shiny Cornetten, caps, fur hats with fur-work of any kind, or of silk, and thread caps (?), pearls or gold chains, or other jewelry of diamonds; similarly, semi-precious stones, ear-rings of pearls or diamonds or of semi-precious stones; diamond rings or rings set with semi-precious stones. (Two golden, plain Kugelringe but no more are approved.) Gold key-rings, fur collars of sable, marten-fur, or lynx, also scarfs with fine lace; silk, also ribbons woven with silver or gold on the aprons, or used to tie the apron, loose-fitting sleeves and Handpietten, also ribbons on the hands [wrists?]; but the arms must be covered and not exposed to sight. All kinds of sable, marten-fur, lynx on the outside, much less to line coats therewith; also Swedish frocks, Tabrettenzeug where the silk is mixed in (but Tabrett all of wool, lined in black, is permitted), colored east-Indian Ratten, and plain silk, also of black, buckles on the shoe set with diamonds or semi-precious stones, hose embroidered with gold or silver, black beauty-patch on the face, Mieren on the head, fringes on the coat --- all are forbidden to married and unmarried persons.

#186. Unmarried females must observe the same laws as the married except for the following: loose-fitting sleeves and Torschelchen with fine lace, but the arms must be kept covered.

Also forbidden are: gold and silver, white fine lace on the head (Hochpflege [a coiffure?] with Mieren is permissible), rings even of plain gold; night-dresses even without lace; a frock with more than one white lace around the neck.

Also forbidden are: to have the hair dressed (text note:

by a non-Jewess) on Sabbath and holidays, and curls (text note: of false hair). False hair may be worn. Further than this, the laws for married women are to be followed, except that unmarried women may wear Tabrett material and Swedish frocks, but not of taffeta or colored silk. They may wear a coat of taffeta. Maid-servants may never wear Tabrett.

#187. Men and women, married and unmarried, must not introduce new fashions, even those that can not be included here in the laws, under penalty of a fine if they persist.

#188. If any one from the Hamburg or Wandsbek community comes to our synagogue (i. e., Altona) or appears at public affairs (e.g., wedding- or circumcision-banquets) in his outfit and expresses himself against something enacted by us, that one may be shown out. To this end, such communities can have pointed out to them that they must also enforce regulations with regard to community clothes-laws, or they will not be invited to a public celebration in our community.

Bondy- Dworsky have this to contribute for the year 1601:

P. 1126, #984. Those commissioners appointed to control duties reported to the emperor, by order of the court: The commission has suggested renewed taxes on gold, silver, and furs on court attachés, tradespeople, and Jews by the next legislative assembly, for at least two years to prevent luxury in clothing, jewelry, food, and drink.

B. BANQUETS, GUESTS, FOOD

POLAND

This section deals with banquets, food, and gifts. The first is from the Pinkas.

Year 1737.

137. With regard to banquets: where people spend more than is necessary, every Kahal and community that has a rabbi is required to gather the leaders and the rabbi to oversee the number of invited guests as is fitting, for everyone according to his wealth and according to the occasion. No one may come to a banquet who has not been invited through the Shamash. In a community that has no rabbi, the nearest Beth Din should make provision.

Year 1740.

138. All Kahals are required within thirty days from the day [of final arrangements] to make proper and fitting inspection in order to reduce expenses, subject to penalty; the communities of every Rosh Beth Din are obliged to conduct themselves thus after the custom of their Rosh Beth Din. The legislators shall also see to it that the Shamash should not accept the list of invitees of a banquet until it has been signed by the legislators.

Year 1741.

139. All Kahals and communities are required to oversee and make proper provision to reduce the expense of banquets wherever possible; whether poor or rich, all are equal in that no more than fifty are to be invited to the wedding banquet, forty to the circumcision banquet, and relatives and relatives ineligible for testimony are included in these numbers. The Parnassim must impose a

punishment of Herem in superintending this provision and all its details which they decide upon with regard to banquets.

Year תשנ"ו.

הרנ. In addition to previous provisions, the following is also agreed upon: For the B'rith only twenty may be invited, including the rabbi, chazan, shamash, relatives, and relatives ineligible for testimony according to the Torah; to the wedding banquet only thirty may be invited at the time of the sermon, including those mentioned; to other banquets, only twenty including the above-mentioned. In every minyan there should be two poor.

We decree with all severity on the Parnas of the month that he be careful in his month not to sign a list for more. This is decreed for all community leaders, especially on the Parnas of the month. Who transgresses shall be punished very severely. This also applies to the shamash that he invite no more. Every leader and head that attends a banquet and sees that there are more than the fixed number is required to punish the transgressor who comes to the banquet without an invitation from the shamash.

הרנ. The banquet on the night before the Brith that happens to fall on a week-day is forbidden.

הרנ. Since it is a sin to be extravagant at wedding and rith banquets, it is decided not to make any wedding banquets on sabbath, but only on week days.

Year תש"ל.

הרנ. The maker of the wedding feast shall have only one banquet after the wedding ceremony and invite only forty people, exclusive of relatives ineligible for testimony by the Torah, best

men, members of the household whom the groom shelters, the rabbi, chazan, and shamash. Except for that banquet, none are to be invited through the shamash for any banquet. For the banquet before the ceremony, none in the house is to be invited except the young men, best men, and relatives of the first degree, and the members of the house whom the groom has given shelter.

חריג. For the Brith banquet only ten people may be invited (compare with **חרג**), exclusive of relatives ineligible for testimony by the Torah, the Mohel, Sandak, rabbi, chazan, and shamash.

חריג. Every maker of a wedding banquet is forbidden to give extras from his pocket to any banquet.

חריג. A Herem is to be declared against a shamash so that he will not deliver invitations for a banquet unless the list is signed by the Parnas of the month.

חריג. The Parnas must see to it that there are no transgressions. The Parnas who transgresses and signs for more than is allowed is as though he causes one to eat forbidden food; and the maker of the banquet is to be punished severely as one should be punished who causes another to eat a forbidden thing.

Year **תל"ג**.

חריג. Since it is fitting to reduce expenses of banquets, therefore, the provisions of the Vaad of 1670 shall stand, but this is to be added: Every banquet on the night of the ceremony and after shall have no more than a minyan, including even the groom, best men; excluding the **מזל"ק** and the musicians.

Year 1911.

צבא . Since we have already decreed that there is to be no marriage on Sabbath, now, according to the times, it is decided that weddings may be held on Sabbath [why?]. However, the sermon [by the groom] and the main portion of the feast should be on Friday evening and not on Saturday night at all. But on Saturday night there may be a minyan at the party, including relatives, but no more. Thus, the great rabbis at the heads of the Kahals are not included in this Takkanah.

The following are taken from Balaban's "Krakauer Juden-gemeinde Ordnung."

P. 93. #80. Laws to Combat Luxury.

Those who give up to ten large gulden inclusive may not invite more than 25 men and their wives, exclusive of the rabbis, chazan, one shamash, the darshan, wedding escorts, two servants, those who live in the house, and those who can not leave the house, e.g., the sick. Travellers are not included in this number, in addition, six young men and as many girls as one likes; all the guests may send fish. (Text note; p. 94: It used to be a custom for all guests to send fish; in order to restrict this, the sending of fish was limited to the near relatives and to the closest circle of friends.)

The shamashim were to inform the giver of the banquet of the laws pertaining thereto, how he is to conduct every detail.

Those who give more than ten to twenty large gulden inclusive could invite forty men and their wives, exclusive of those mentioned above, six young men, four servants, and any number of girls. Those who gave up to ten gulden exclusive may accept fish

only from relatives ineligible for testimony and wedding escorts. From twenty to thirty gulden, equal to one florin, exclusive, one may invite fifty men and their wives, exclusive of those mentioned above, twelve single men, two chazanin, two shamashim, five servants.

Those mentioned above may make no Gegenmahl¹² under any circumstances or by any trick, neither "server" or relatives, except sons, daughters, children-in-law and those who live with him in his house, but no one is to make estimates, even bride and groom, nor should he send invitations through the shamash as with other banquets.

From one florin to florins, 75 men and their wives may be invited, besides those excluded above, and all the chazanin and shamashim; and a banquet may be given on Sunday by those who pay two florins.

He who pays two to three florins may invite as many as he likes, but not a whole wedding, nor say **ווצרות**, and fish are forbidden. On the first day of the week he may ask relatives ineligible for testimony, those who live with him, rabbis, travellers, wedding escorts, servants, chazanin, and shamashim, but none of these may make estimates.

From three florins up, one may make a whole wedding and invite as many as one likes. If he makes a banquet on the night of the fifth day for the people whom he invites for Saturday, then **ווצרות** must be said on Saturday, and he takes **סנין ונלי"ה , הוצאה והכנסה** for two red zanubim, and may call up fifteen men to the Torah; fish are forbidden except to relatives ineligible for testimony and wedding escorts, **ונם חר"י בעל כהנא**; to the Gegenmahl as he likes.

[Text note 7, p. 95 - who gives two to three florin does as he likes but he does not have to make a "whole wedding"; more than three florin he must make a whole wedding, i. e., banquets on Thursday and

Sunday; in the synagogue, special Yozroth are recited and fifteen men are called to the Torah, mostly of the groom's and bride's family].

P. 95. Playing and dancing are forbidden at all weddings, rich or poor, under penalty of one-half dollar for all those attending who have it; those who don't have it are to be restrained [or seized?] and the tax taken. The tart (Text Note 2: A tart which the bride sends with a chicken Sabbath afternoon to the groom's home) must be in the house of the wedding before Sabbath, and it must not be carried on the street openly on Sabbath, with music or without, and women as is customary [for what?] under penalty of one zahub against the wedding escorts, one-fourth zahub for every escort or woman who follows along; youngsters must be spanked whether they belong to the householder or to some one else.

Escorts must send no cakes, as is customary, but are absolutely forbidden under penalty of one-half zahub for every escort.

No bride or groom should make estimates, whether they be of high standing, women, young men, chazanim, servants, cooks---no one, under a penalty in proportion to one's means.

P. 97, #87. Circumcision: Up to ten gulden inclusive, fifteen men and two servants may be invited, exclusive of the rabbi, one chazan, one shamash, travellers, darshan, Mohel, Sandek, those who live in the house, and those who can not leave the house.

Ten to twenty gulden inclusive, 25 men and the rest of the details as above, plus the chazan and the shamash.

Twenty gulden to one florin exclusive, 35 men and the remainder according to above prescriptions.

One florin to two florin, fifty men, four servants, two

chazanin, two shamashim.

Two florins up, as many as one likes.

Neither the Sandak nor the maker of the circumcision banquet may send cakes, under penalty of one-half dollar; nor **לחם** [a kind of food] are to be sent for the women who are at the Brith, as is customary.

P. 98. Nor may the mother, when she arises from her bed, send cakes, as is customary, nor relatives ineligible for testimony. Neither may cakes be sent to the confinement bed; nor may they be sent by relatives ineligible for testimony.

Bar Mitzvah: Those who have ten gulden or less should invite guests on Thursday so that fish can be received; and one should not invite a limited number. Similarly, in the case of the **פדיון הבן**, for those who give ten gulden or above. In the case of a wedding, Brith, Bar Mitzvah, Pidyon Ha-Ben, the shamash may not carry a list of invitees or do the inviting except as is proper according to the Takkanah, under penalty of the loss of his position. And he who makes the banquet may himself not invite through others, under penalty of one zahab; and the messenger should be seized and fined according to the decision of the Parnassim.

P. 99. **חובות** , e.g., circumcision, Pidyon Ha-Ben, and weddings, one may give one quart of wine or a pot of mead but no more. The maker of the banquet may not give more than one pot of wine or four pots of honey, under penalty of one dollar; but he who pays two zahubim to the tax-fund may offer what he likes. The Sandak should give one-half pot of wine and two pots of honey; the Mohel, one-half pot of wine.

P. 103. Garlands and fruits should not be sent by the groom to the bride except on the first Saturday after the 1st and on the Saturday before the wedding. No one may buy a garland for more than two large gulden, either in summer or in winter, under penalty of one-fourth dollar, which is to go to charity.

This law applies to everyone, native or stranger; outside the city limits the law is for a stranger who contributes less than two zahubim to the tax-fund. The slightest breach is subject to fine. The Parnas for the month is obliged to proclaim these in the synagogue in stubbornness (?).

P. 111. Recent mothers, and Sandaks may send neither cakes, nor beigel, nor W'pelp; only the midwives and the women who attended her, and no others, may send her W'pelp. When the woman gets up from confinement she also may not send any, nor may any one send them to her while she is abed except relatives ineligible for testimony.

In the case of Pidyon Ha-Ben and Bar-Mitzvah, those who give up ten gulden inclusive may receive fish; and invitations should be sent on Thursday so that fish can be sent; from ten gulden up to twenty, five additional may be invited. More than twenty gulden up to one florin, five more men and so on, adding five according to the amount one pays, but they may not receive fish or jellies except from close relatives.

The Kahal, through the Parnas of the month, should send pots of wine to an important guest. It is not to be sent in silver vessels, subject to penalty. One-half goes to the denouncer and one-half to the community.

These above Takkanoth were passed because of a present need.

Those that have not yet been passed because of lack of time are to be observed according to the old Takkanoth (1606).

POLAND

The following few laws are taken from Lewin's article in Volume II of the Jüdische Literarische Gesellschaft. They apply to the Vaad Arba Arazoth, for the year 1644.

P. 8. XXIV. He who pays a property tax up to three large gulden inclusive, may invite fifteen people, as contained in the Pinkas, exclusive of relatives of the first degree up to fifteen in number; from three to five gulden exclusive, thirty men may be invited, exclusive of first degree relatives. From five to twenty gulden exclusive, one may invite thirty, exclusive of second degree relatives [first degree relatives are taken for granted, we suppose]. In any event, there must be no fewer than three poor, besides poor relatives. From twenty gulden up, one may invite as many as one likes.

The following come from an article similar to the previous one, in Volume I of the same publication. Peculiarly, these apply to a later date.

ALI. Too much money must not be squandered for feasts.

It was decided at the market of Gr~~eg~~anitz-Lublin of 1659 that those who contribute two zahubim as tax could make a Brith banquet for fifteen men; four zahubim, twenty men; six zahubim, twenty-five men, included in this number being the rabbi, the preacher, chazan, shamash, besides the guests and young men who come to the community temporarily for lodging. Among every ten there should be one poor person.

For wedding feasts, each of the above classes may add five men. The Shamash is forbidden to accept a list of invitees unless it is sealed with the signature of the Parnas of the month in execution of his duties. Betrothal or Bar-Mitzvah feasts may not have more than a minyan.

AMSTERDAM

The following few are taken from ש"ס"ס and apply to the year 1672 on. They are from the Ashkenazic community in Amsterdam. The most interesting thing about this community was the intense dislike of the remainder of the Jews towards the Ashkenazic communities. Our study did not include this section of Jewry since it is a little too far west, beyond the territorial limitations of this work.

P. 177. יג. Banquets given in honor of a male son have no limitations on the number of guests.

יד. Whether the banquet is for a Brith or for a girl, no more than ten women are to be invited, including the Rebitzin, god-mother, wife of the Mohel, wife of the chazan, and wife of the shamash. In any case, no more than ten women may be invited altogether. If more are invited, whether by authorized list or verbally, a fine of one-half Reichthaler must be paid **for** each excess woman (a Reichthaler is equal to two and one-half gulden).

ט. The shamash must not accept a list of invitees to a Brith from the householder unless the Parnas of the month has signed previously, so that there should be no more on the list than mentioned above; likewise, the shamash must not invite verbally more than are on the list, but only those approved on the list by the Parnas. Violation incurs heavy fines.

22 . For weddings, one may invite as many as one wishes, men or women, whether it be a ^{רש} or ^{א'ר} wedding. Violation incurs a penalty of seven Bosh from men and four Bosh from women.

23 . She who has just given birth, who wishes to go to the ^{רש} , if she has borne a son, she may invite only ten women to go to the synagogue with her; if a daughter, twenty women may be invited.

24 . The godfather should not give more than one-half gulden; the Mohel and escorts the same amount.

METZ

The following are taken from Cahan's "Reglements."

Year 1690.

19. On the Sabbaths of Spinnholtz and Zachar, it is forbidden to place on the table more than six pieces [presumably silver] of plates and dishes, if there are not little sugar cups. Byzantine plates or flat plates on which to put fruit are not permitted, nor ewers from which to drink. Sabbath lamps of silver are not included among these, but no other vase on the mantel, highboy, or dresser may be added. Also, at the time of the circumcision or during the year, one should not display expensive plates.

Year 1692.

F. 27, 26. Three musicians are allowed but not more than four in the house of the newlyweds. The couple is not to be led in the streets with musicians.

Year 1694.

F. 33, 34. Invitations to Family Feasts.

For the circumcision feast one may invite a minyan besides the rabbi, relatives ineligible for testimony, administrators, legislators, and two poor people. For the marriage feast, two minyans may be invited besides the above mentioned, four poor people, an official, and shamash. For the feast on the eve of circumcision or the third day after circumcision, five persons may be invited besides the rabbi, etc., and one poor person. (Text note: the third day after the circumcision the Mohel came to see the child because of the fear of a hemorrhage. A dinner was given on that evening.)

To the feast on the day following the marriage or on the Saturday following, a minyan could be invited, not comprising the rabbi, legislators, and poor people.

F. 35. For the marriage, twenty may be invited **exclusive** of near relatives, legislators, leaders, and the rabbi. The children of the rabbi, leaders, and legislators are never included in the number of invitees.

Those not invited may not come to the ball. The man who is invited should not dance with his hat on.

The shamash may not deliver invitations until **two** of the administrators of the committee of nine have seen the list and he has signed it himself.

At the marriage feast of a servant, only ten men may be invited out as many women and children as one likes, and two single men, exclusive of close relatives, legislators and their families, the chief rabbi and his family.

Year 1697.

F. 41. 15. On the Saturdays of Spinnholtz and Zachar, no more than six pieces of silver are to be placed on the table, not

including small sugar bowls. (Compare Law #19 of 1690, our page 74) Byzantine dishes for fruits, or pitchers for drinking are not included in the above, and a few other small dishes. No other silver vase may be in the whole room, on the mantle, buffet, or serving table. This holds also for the circumcision.

16. No more than three musicians including the flutist may play. At the home of the young bride, four musicians are permitted. (Compare Law #26 of 1692, our page 74)

P. 43. 45. The shamash may accept invitations only if the list has been submitted for approval to the council of nine. The same holds for the chief rabbi.

To the marriage feast of servants, strangers in the city, ten women may be invited, ten men, ten girls, and ten boys exclusive of the chief rabbi, legislators, administrators, and their families. (Compare with Law #35 of 1694, our Page 75)

P. 46-7. At family feasts, on the Saturday of Spinnholtz, the day of circumcision, it is forbidden to men who lead their wives under the nuptial dais and to godmothers to distribute candies and sweets. The sending of biscuits, confections, and liquor is forbidden. Women who leave their couches [nuptial?] may distribute liquors and cakes.

Tips are not to be given to servants even on days when they are permitted -- on Channukah and Purim. [Does this mean altogether or just at these banquets?]

GERMANY

The following come from Schudt's work.

July 18, 1715.

P. 82. 1. At no hotel, whether one pays or it is free, whether the hotel gives the party or whether an individual gives the party, no matter who he is; or if it is a Si'd at the hotel, like that which the guardian of the poor makes at Christmas time, are Welsh rooster or hens to be served, tarts, pastries filled with meat, sweets, dried fruits, especially pyramids [a type of cake], fancy bread [geraspelt], under penalty of a ban. But if these meals are on Saturday night, almond-tarts, pastry-cakes are permitted. These prohibited articles are permissible for a new Parnas' dinner. (Text note; P. 83: The guardian of the poor gives a big banquet every year, which happens to fall on Christmas.)

Pastries may be eaten, as above mentioned, because they do not need to be served hot.

The Parnas, when newly elected, may give a dinner for the outgoing Parnas.

P. 84. 2. On the Saturday of Spinnholtz, when the bride and groom are together, there may not be food or sweets in excess of twelve dollars, under penalty of a ban and a fifty dollar fine.

3. On Spinnholtz no more than three silver vessels may be used, besides drinking cups, candelabrum, and a lamp, under penalty of twenty dollars.

4. At the "male-meal" not more are to be invited than the rabbi, Baumeister, teacher [the scholar of the community], friends, close relatives, chazan, and one shamash, under penalty of a ban and a fifty dollar fine.

P. 86. 5. To the Siflones banquet one may invite as many

as one likes, but not more than ten teachers, all outsiders.

6. On the wedding day, not more than ten strangers, exclusive of the rabbi, Baumeister, officers of the community, teachers, the judge and his associates, in accordance with the law permitting friends, close relatives, chazan, and shamash (#4).

7. If the total dowry amounted to 5000 florin, he [the groom?] may give shirts and collars to the rabbi and his father, his children (also step-children), his father-in-law, his sister-in-law, his uncles and relatives. To the shamash and scribe, he may give a collar but no shirt. [These, it is assumed, refer to the relatives of the groom. Antecedents of the pronouns are not clear in the text.]

To those who pay 5000 florin or over as dowry it is permitted to give collars but no shirts, to those mentioned above in addition to the judge, teachers, to their nieces and nephews, to the chazan who in the same week offers the prayer in the synagogue.

8. The Schenck-Wein banquet after Maariv shall be in accordance with the "male-banquet." The wine is not to be drunk in the synagogue.

9. No dishes [of food] are to be sent around except to the rabbi, close friends, and relatives who could not attend the banquet; also to midwives at the circumcision banquet.

10. At the Zachar banquet food and confections must not cost more than six dollars; and no godmother shall send out sweet-dishes except to the rabbi and midwives (Text note: It used to be the custom to send out confections and wine).

11. To the banquet on the night preceding the circumcision

only the godfather, the mohel, his father, his father-in-law, his brother-in-law, his brother. [Here again, we cannot be sure whose relatives are meant.]

12. To the circumcision banquet, in addition to those mentioned at the Wachnacht (Law #11 preceding) there may be invited the chief rabbi, teachers, Baumeister, the officials, friends, close relatives, the chazan, and one shamash.

13. The same law as above applies to the Bar-Mitzvah banquet as for the circumcision banquet; and after the Bar-Mitzvah banquet, the same as on the third day after the circumcision (See our page 75, Law #34. Evidently the law here is the same as the law for Metz. There is no law of this sort mentioned in Schudt).

14. In the case of gifts from the groom to the bride and vice versa, between the time of betrothal and marriage, no matter who, no gifts may be given exceeding thirty florin per 1000 florin given as dowry, except for the silver girdle. A gold girdle may not be given. At the occasion of the groom's sermon, he may get no gifts exceeding three florin for every 1000 florin given as dowry. This applies also to Einwurf¹³ under penalty of ban and a fifty dollar fine.

15. On fast and mourning days the groom and bride may not send food to each other, under a fine of ten dollars. Formerly the bride and groom used to send pastries and sweets to each other but this is now forbidden.

17. A stranger may have only wine; and wine may not be given away in the street out of a silver or golden cup, under fine of twenty dollars.

30. Not more than four musicians and entertainers may be engaged and they may play only until midnight.

The following are from Grunwald's "Hochzeits- und Kleiderordnung."

Laws applying to guests in the communities of Altona and Hamburg.

Year--Aug. 5, 1731.

1. To wedding feasts, the feast for relatives (the first day after the wedding) for wine-gifts, not more than nine pair of wedding people [guests?] may be invited.

To one of these three wedding feasts there may be invited the following, who are **not** included in the nine pair: one of the choir without the bass or soprano, the shamash, head of the court (or the rabbi of Altona) and his wife, the Parnas of the month, four people who lead the couple to the banquet, the parents of the couple, children and grandchildren, brothers and sisters of the parents, doctors, needy strangers, those who eat at the groom's table while studying (rabbis), six young men, six young women, four poor people.

The number is open to the capitalist whose capital amounts to 220,000. He who is estimated at a sum greater than this may invite twenty-five couple to the wedding, exclusive of nine young men, nine young women, six poor with their wives, two of the choir, the rabbi and his wives [why the plural?], shamash, and the other extras mentioned above.

So should the Parnas prepare for the wedding, or his assistant; so should he have freedom, in addition to the above numbered, to invite his colleagues who preside over the community with him.

As for those who own much property so that they support a school for rabbis in Hamburg; and those who in the future expect to support such a school, have unlimited right to invite those rabbis who seek their livelihood thus, and their wives. P. 3. But he who does not have quite so much wealth as this may not invite more than ten couples to any of the three wedding feasts, besides one choir-singer [chazan?], shamash, and those mentioned above.

Whoever holds the wedding in a place other than his own home must have it with a member of our community; and the one giving the feasts may invite no more than the above-mentioned number. To the second feast no young men or women are to be invited. To the circumcision feast no more than ten couple, including brothers and sisters and family relatives are to be invited. Not included are: grandparents, parents of the child, godfather, mohel and their wives, two poor and their wives, those who eat daily at his -- baal brith -- table, needy strangers, doctors, the instructor of children who offers up a prayer at the feast after the circumcision, midwife, chazan, and shamash.

This refers to fathers who have up to \$20,000, but if he has more he may invite ten more couple and two poor people. He who is not estimated at \$1000 may invite no chazan except as included in the permitted number.

4. In case of an accident in the family which is also having a circumcision, no chazan is to be invited, although he is to be included in the prescribed number, unless he is a relative. This also holds for Altona. Whoever has more than \$20,000 may invite chazanim, without bass or soprano; in Altona, with bass and soprano. [The significance of the Vorsänger, the base, and soprano is quite

lost to us.] No chazanim may strike up a tune at any feast in Hamburg **except** at the blessing for the food, under penalty of ten dollars, which is to be deducted from his salary.

Any one at all who attends a wedding or circumcision uninvited by the shamash or another designated official, that one should be banished and isolated, besides a fine, which applies to him who transgresses the ban.

No one who tenders a banquet has the right to invite one from another community by word of mouth nor through the shamash of another **community** because they do not have the same laws, incurring a ban, as above.

Everyone must observe these laws in all cases, except the chief judge, or the rabbi in Altona.

As for the shamash, he must swear to invite no more than is prescribed, with not the slightest deception. But if the shamash is needy so that he can't go himself, it devolves upon him who serves in his place to take the oath, and that he will not allow another to do the inviting.

5. This law **stands** for five years and no community may diminish thereupon under penalty of \$100 for the poor chest.

The following are from Grunwald's "Mitteilungen," the same citation as above.

#189. At a wedding banquet, on the first evening, twenty married couples are allowed, twelve young men, and twelve girls. On the evening of the wedding, forty couples, exclusive of the others just mentioned [in a paragraph not included in the text]. According to an old regulation, when the joint dowry is 1000 Reichstaler to

to 10000 Reichsthaler, for every 1000 Reichsthaler, two couples may be invited; and for every 10,000 Reichstaler over 10,000 Reichstaler, one additional couple. [This law is abrogated evidently.]

#190. In the case of a ~~172~~ wedding or circumcision, or when a stranger wants to have a wedding, not more than one-half the number mentioned in the previous paragraph, plus the chazan and his choir, may be invited.

#193. Addition of 1724: No unmarried persons may be invited on Sabbath before or after the wedding, except to the Knassmahl on Saturday before the wedding, when the groom gives the bride her presents. It may take place on Friday evening but in no case on Sabbath or on Saturday evening.

#220. (1724) At a betrothal, wedding, circumcision, Pid-yah Ha-Ben, or Zachar, in accordance with the customary banquets given before and after, no capons, confections, almond and prune tarts, etc., or excessively expensive food are to be set on the table. Nor shall such articles be sent to the homes of the guests. Only on Sabbath Zachar may raisins and sweets be distributed, in the customary manner.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.

1. A superstition of the Middle Ages about the efficacy of precious stones.

2. Manne banquet - two days before the wedding, presumably in commemoration of the law of "prima nocte" as applying to the Jews. This meal was a very joyous one.

3. Schenckwein banquet -- Held after the Sabbath, the first Saturday after the wedding. Here they drink wine that has been given the groom at the synagogue.

4. The woman had to have her hair cut one hour before the ceremony; or she braided her hair and hid it under her bonnet.

5. Zachar banquet -- The banquet given on the Friday evening preceding the circumcision.

6. Spinnholtz banquet -- Friday evening before the wedding for the closest friends of the couple. It was the custom to send sweets and foods to friends but at this time only the rabbi can receive them.

7. During the seventeenth century wigs for priests were originated.

8. At eleven years of age girls began to fast.

9. Jewish women had to have four changes of garments -- simple one for week-days, for minor holidays, Rosh Hodesh, Purim, Channukah, Hol Hamoed, Saturday, and major holidays.

10. Sibloness (or Siflones). **מנייתנות** or gifts. Wedding feast on the preceding evening. The belt is given to the bride; the groom gets a belt with a silver buckle or all silver. The bride's may be gold plated.

11. The community had a doctor in its service who was paid a

fixed fee to care for the poor though they were permitted their own clientele. Often the doctor was supported by a Christian clientele. (Cahan, p. 33, #25)

12. Gegenmahl - the groom's banquet, the meal which the parents of the groom give in repayment.

13. Einwurff - a basin into which friends threw gifts.

CHAPTER FOUR - COMMENTS

The first question that naturally arises after the perusal of this host of laws is: Why were they necessary? Not in all cases is an answer forthcoming; we shall have to speculate somewhat. A few general comments, however, might first be in order.

Clothing has occupied a primary place in the life of the Jews. We find admonitions that people must be careful of how they dress, especially scholars. One of the first fears that Jews had was that the type of clothing one wore might make one look too much like a member of the opposite sex; so laws were passed proscribing an exchange of clothing except for Purim masquerades, escapes, and for the protection of women (Abrahams, p. 297). Another precaution taken was against dressing in garb that was distinctive of a particular religion (Abrahams, p. 305; Roth, p. 359).

Abrahams (p. 295) believes that Jewish laws of clothing were a direct consequence of moral qualms, so, for example, gold trimmings were always disapproved since it was an indication of pride -- as was all luxury -- and this excited the envy of others. Jewish sumptuary laws, generally, were meant to discourage all luxury, in food as well as in clothing. There was an attempt, however, to keep women looking presentable (p. 299) even if the men were not quite so careful.

There was no distinctive Jewish dress until it was forced by law as, for example, the yellow badge and the "Judenhut" of Austria and Germany in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries (Abrahams, p. 319). It was due specifically to external causes. The laws which were passed by the Jewish community for itself rarely proscribed what Jews should wear but usually concerned itself with

what not to wear. It will be seen that in several instances, Jewish law coincided with civil law.

Kohut informs us that in 1612 a special law concerning clothing and weddings was passed in the electorate of Saxony. Later there were prohibitions of luxuries throughout the whole German empire. Civil and ecclesiastical powers made every effort to pass special laws against the Jews, from which the institution of "Juden-stättigkeit" resulted. Thus were badges introduced and special colored caps and hats (p. 584). In spite of strict laws against luxury in clothing, at wedding and other feasts, extravagance continued and women tried to surpass the men in pomp and ostentation. Schudt, too, says the Jewish laws of 1718 in Frankfort coincided with the Christian prohibitions (p. 78). We know also, from Cahen (p. 5), that Louis XIV passed sumptuary laws because of financial troubles, though he himself continued his extravagance. Whether Jewish laws were passed to coincide with the civil law, or whether there was an actual necessity therefor is conjectural. The likelihood is, however, that the Jews were offenders but no more so than their neighbors. It does appear that the Jewish communities were allowed to handle the situation for themselves without interference from the government.

Schudt suggests (though he strikes us as being a bit anti-Jewish in spite of his protestations to the contrary) that the Jews competed with each other in extravagance even though they could not afford it and went into debt (p. 78). Kohut seems to indicate the same charge was levelled against the populace in general, as indicated above. Since Jews had no laws, they went to great lengths to outdo one another. We may infer from this that complete autonomy was granted to Jews in their quarter because the government by this

time had passed such sumptuary laws.

Roth suggests (p. 358), as does Abrahams (p. 297), that Jews developed a penchant for Oriental dress and Oriental ostentation. The former has a very interesting comment that the insecurity of the life of the Jew made it necessary for him to enter certain trades so that he could easily carry his wealth with him -- jewelry, pawn-broking, second-hand dealing. He agrees, however, with Schudt that extravagance caused borrowing of money, neglect of taxes and household necessities (p. 363).

Let us now list the reasons for Jewish sumptuary laws.

1. Not to arouse the jealousy of the Goyim, with consequent persecution (Roth, p. 358). It was charged (Cahan, p. 27) that the Jews bought the most beautiful brocades and materials. When non-Jews learned that the gold on their veils was real they became more envious, even though they had felt the same way previously when they thought it was artificial.

2. Sometimes as a sign of mourning (Roth, p. 359). We find the same reason in the Pinkas, 1801 : "Because of the great troubles suffered by the Jews....." Again in the JLG, Vol. II, Law XXIV begins: "Because of the oppression of the poor and the cries of the needy...."

3. Dangerous to let the Goyim know how much wealth the Jews have, as would be evident from too elaborate clothing and feasts. This differs somewhat from the first suggestion. The first is merely jealousy. This means to suggest that plunder might result, increased taxation, and further restriction in Jewish business life.

4. Incurring of debt, non-payment of taxes, etc.

5. Religious reason -- troubles came because of extravagance (Schudt, p. 78). The fire of 1711 in Frankfort was directly attri-

buted to the love of luxury, and God had punished them. The laws were in the nature of penance.

6. Practical reason -- the majority suffered great loss from the fire so the rabbis did not want them to spend what was left on luxurious clothing.

7. Social reason -- There is a slight possibility that there was an attempt to maintain social distinctions, as has been suggested by writers on general sumptuary laws. It is more likely, however, that it was but a natural feeling that he who had more should be allowed to dress slightly better and to entertain somewhat more elaborately. The task was to hold expenses down within reasonable limits.

It will be noted that women are the object of greater concern than men. Perhaps the greater innate personal vanity of women required more restriction, but it is also a fact that the men of that time dressed with about the same elaborateness.

8. Imitation of Goyim. Cahan (p. 8) says that imitation offended the courts and roused the hatred of the general community. He suggests, too, (p. 10) that their emancipation caused some of this luxury because they were anxious to parade their newly won equality. There were a few flagrant offenders and the community at large expressed its disapproval of all Jews.

The constant repetition of laws, especially against velvet and jewelry, would indicate that violation was common. Some of the fines imposed for apparently insignificant offenses bears this out, e. ., Law #17, our page 79; Laws #2 and #4, our page 77. Similarly, where fines are less severe, it is to be assumed that the danger of transgression was not so great.

We proceed to a somewhat more detailed comparison of the laws of the various Jewish communities. We deal first with the laws within one community.

In Lithuania, velvet, atlas, and taffeta are legislated against repeatedly, in **13p**, **13p**, **1'w**, **13n**, which would indicate again that there was a constant danger of violation. Gold and silver in almost every form were proscribed, as ornaments, embroidery, even threads of these precious metals. Similar provisions were made against the wearing of even artificial gems, pearls, etc. Why pearls are always mentioned as separate from other precious stones we are unable to guess. Witness: **13p**, **bw**, **u'w**, **1bw**, **n'b'w**, **3w**,

13n, and others. Laces were subject to like prohibitions. The seriousness of transgression can be seen from the fact that in all cases fines are levied and, very often, excommunication is the penalty.

Similar restrictions are to be found throughout the Takkanoth of other countries. Poland, for example, is equally severe. Atlas and damask were prohibited, as seen in the "Landessynode," Law #43; also gold and silver in any form. Furs, here as in Lithuania, were forbidden. Metz is no different from the others in these respects. It is interesting to note that each community prohibits almost exactly the same articles of clothing.

Metz is more anxious to placate the Goyim than the others, at least it is so stated in so many words. This community is, however, a bit more lenient towards betrothed and newlywed couples than others. The difficulty is, however, that we may not have so complete a set of Takkanoth from the one community, so that our comparisons may not always be just. In only two laws (**13p** and **1'w**) regarding clothing does Lithuania give more leeway to the wealthier

man. In Poland we find only one such exception for the wealthier individual -- where gold and silver covers are permitted on the confinement bed. Nowhere does Metz make any exception for the rich in wearing clothing; the same can be said of Krakau, but Frankfort makes allowance for the newlywed children of wealthy parents. Not so Hamburg.

Metz evidently had problems not experienced by the others, for example, in the wearing of wigs. Young children are given greater consideration here than elsewhere.

In every community, the banquets are restricted in proportion to the wealth of the sponsor; also, in every community, each type of banquet is legislated for separately. In every case, the wedding banquet is given more latitude than the others. Poland allows a slightly greater expenditure of money than Lithuania, but less than Krakau and more than Metz, especially for the Brith.

In general we may say that the Takkanoth were meant to be observed, else there would have been no reason to re-enact them. The severity of the penalties and the positiveness in which the language is couched indicate clearly that they meant to tolerate no subterfuge or circumventing of law. Since the laws are so often similar, the same materials forbidden, the same delimiting of banquets, it seems safe to assume that the same general set of circumstances must have prevailed. Unfortunately, details of what those circumstances were are lacking.

GLOSSARY.

We include only those terms which are not generally known.

The first list is of words in Hebrew characters.

arm-bands	מגליך	eyes (cut outs in shoes)	אונ"ן
marten-fur	סרדיר		
lines embroidered in gold or silver	סמראקס	cuff, facings (Aufschlag)	אויף שלעק
tuft on veil	פלעק	type of silk or velvet	אמליס
scarf	סרפן	under shirts	אייפליך, הייפליך
trousers(usually)	פונטאליין	beaver	ניבר
shawl	פאשילה	ornament set with jewels	בערעל
felt coat	פילטשטאריק	ornament set in jewels, belts, etc. caps (Mützen)	בערעליך
also פולם שטארק		soaked in water	גיוועטערט (גיוועטערט)
chain-work em- broidery	פסמן	laundry	גרעס
friezed cloth	פריזליך	taffeta	גייסיק
jacket	קאסינקא	Essbett for Pesach	איסבט
wooden heels	קלעצליך	clasps	העכעליך
hemp, canvass	קנווס	hat (Kopfbedeckung)	וואצקי
shorts	קרוצקי	slit sleeves	ווליסטקי
fold, plait, frieze (Krausen)	קרייו	coat	פופצא, פופטאן
wreath, crown, garland	קרענצליך	taffeta	טאניסט
night caps	שלאף שויבן	taffeta	טנין, טנינק
		coat with strings instead of buttons	שטאמער
		forehead cloths (tesemka)	שעסעקס
		jewel	יוביל
		yarmulke	סמריאה

For the following we have found no meanings or the meanings found did not fit the text:

	קאסניק	פארמאנקיש	אויסגאזיל
lace	רוישיק	פינגוואט	ליים אונד שטרייפ
	שטיק (שטיג)	קאנוואס (קאנוואט)	סטארדני
	שלעכט (י)	קאניק	פארבטיקו (פארבטיקיו)
hat of fur	שלעק	קאטאקט	פארבטיג

We guess at the following:

equivalent to Kriesen.....	קריז
Geflieders suggested; no such word found. Possibly	
Gefieder---plumes, feathers.....	גייפלידער

The following is composed of German words only. The first section contains only those words whose meanings are fairly certain. As previously, those commonly known are not included.

Doppelkrausen (קריז)	..plaited blouses
Fischbeinrocke.....	coats stiffened by staves of whale-bone
Fransen.....	fringes
Galon.....	lace, gall on
Joppe.....	cutaway, jacket
Kanten.....	fine lace
Alunckern.....	tassels
Muhr- antel--seidene Nacht-Mantel	
Leipziger Lappen.....	fur hats with ointed front
Litze.....	braid, piping
Lieder (מירר)	..bodice
Mohr.....	mohair
Salatin.....	neck-fur
Pasteten.....	pastries filled with meat

Quasten.....tassels
 Riege.....loop
 Schärpenscarfs
 Schlingen.....mesh, loop
 Schweif.....train of a dress
 Spangen.....bracelets, buckles, clasps
 Tresseh.....lace-----"gelten als zeichen von vornehmheit
 und reichthum." (Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch)
 Wieren.....hat with ruffled white fine lace

We conjecture about the following:

Gemisöhlern.....undershirts
 Falbladen.....if the same as Falbel, it means "flounce"
 Flegen.....possibly "pflegen," to braid. The p often drops
 from words.
 Gerät.....laundry
 Hochpflege.....a braided knot high on the head
 "Hullen.....cloak or cap
 Kugelringe.....a piece of jewelry but nothing specific
 Parterre Kleider.....under clothing
 Plasterger.....is the same as Plästerchen, it means "beauty
 patch"
 Regenkleid.....obviously a rain-coat or something similar. It
 will be noticed, however, that such a garment
 seems ~~apropo~~ for the context on several occasions.
 Scherlen.....might be same as Schärpen. The interchange of
 p and f is common philologically.
 Schludder-Ärmeln.....The word Schlötter means loose-fitting. Grimm
 suggests schlotter as one of the principle parts
 of schluddern. It would then mean "loose-fitting!"
 Tabrettenzeug.....a kind of material but nothing specific.
 Umheil.....shawl

For these words we find no meaning:

Annäcker

Cantouchen

Cartun

Cornetten

Dammel-platen

Fontangien

Forschelchen

Nörz

Pietten, also Handpietten

Platen

Eleven

Raffrock

Ratten

Schammerluck