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SUMPTUARY LAWS OF THE JEWS FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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Preface.

This is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the subject. Such a treatment would require wider and deeper research than I have, for the purposes of this paper, been able to undertake. Practically no systematic work treating of the subject of "Sumptuary Laws of the Jews" has been done, at least not as far as I have been able to discover. The only material available are incidental references to such laws in such works as Israel Abrahams "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages", Giedemann's "Geschichte des Erziehungswesens" and some of the general works on Jewish history, and of course the Tekanoth themselves. The classification and translation of such of these Tekanoth as I could discover and an attempt to arrive at some general conclusions regarding them are the purposes of this study.

D.F.

Sumptuary laws are "such laws as limit or regulate the private expenditures of the citizens of a community". (1). But the term may be used in a wider sense and with a broader application. It sometimes refers to laws regulating the conduct of the individual members of the community where the question of expenditure is not necessarily or directly involved. There are many such laws, which are not strictly religious, political or criminal and which may be placed under the general heading of sumptuary laws. For example: the Methodist church strictly forbids card playing of any sort, even where there is no financial stake. Now such a prohibition is not in the strict sense of the word either moral or religious, altho it is eventually based upon such a consideration, and it comes properly under the category of sumptuary laws. The laws against the theatres during Cromwell's dictatorship and a large number of the so-called "blue laws" of the New England States also belong to this class. It is at times hard to tell just ~~when~~ where the strictly religious character of a law or ordinance ceases, while it goes over into the field of sumptuary law, and at times the terms overlap. This is particularly true of a good many church laws and enactments. Take for example the prohibition of Sunday baseball and other forms of amusement on Sunday. Such laws are of course based upon the idea of strict Sabbath observance and yet they are not of themselves religious laws and belong properly within the domain of our subject.

There are various reasons and principles underlying the making of sumptuary laws. These considerations may be of a political,

1) Encl. Brit. Vol. 22 p 624.

economic, moral or religious character. In a community where one man holds absolute sway, his position may be endangered by too lavish a display on the part of some of the ^{inhabitants} ~~citizens~~ of his realm. Too great a display of wealth and luxury may be the means of winning over to a usurper the allegiance of the mob, so the ruler finds it good policy to pass laws against the giving of expensive and gorgeous entertainments or the wearing of luxurious attire, things which are apt to attract the loyalty and love of the mob. Or the ruler may realize that too great an indulgence in the pleasures of dress or the table weakens the sturdy character and warlike nature of his people and so he may make attempts to check their indulgence in the practices which tend to weaken the fibre of his subjects. Julius Caesar, who passed many such laws hints at his philosophy on the subject when he praises the warlike spirit of the Gauls and attributes it to the fact that the merchants "least often resort to them and bring in those things which tend to weaken the courage".

Then again, such laws may be of purely an economic nature. Luxurious living may drain the industrial resources of a nation and and it is deemed advisable to place limits on private expenditure. Such laws are of course of little value in that they do not remedy the evil which they attack and are impossible ^{of} ~~in~~ enforcement. The moral basis of many such laws is clearly discernible. For instance, the Methodist enactments against dancing are based upon the theory that dancing may lead to sexual irregularity.

Sumptuary laws are widespread and extend from antiquity up to comparatively recent times. In fact many of the laws still upon the statute books of some of our own states are in reality surviv-

als of this ~~same~~ form of regulation, as witness the prohibition laws of Maine and other states and the "blue laws" above referred to. Among the laws of Solon, in Sparta, were enactments against extravagance in female attire, expensive doweries, costly banquets and gorgeous funerals. The Appian Law (215 B.C.E.) forbids women to wear ornaments weighing more than one half ounce in gold, dress of mixed colors or riding in carriages within one mile of the city limits, except to public religious services. The Orchian Law (187 B.C.E.) limits the number of guests at private entertainments. The Fannian Law (161 B.C.E.) fixes the maximum sum to be spent at entertainment and goes so far as to specify certain foods which are not permitted at the banquet. For instance no fowl is to be served except one hen and that one not fattened. In Mediaeval and Modern times we have the enactments of the various kings of Italy, Germany, Spain and Italy dealing with the same question. Edward IV of England attempted to regulate the dress of all ranks and gives his motives for such laws: "the commons of the realm, men as well as women, wear excessive and inordinate apparel to the great displeasure of God, the enriching of strange realms and the destruction of this realm".

*Solon
in Athens*

This phenomenon was especially evident in the life of the Jew who formed so distinct and isolated a group among the people with whom he dwelt. It lay in the very nature of Jewish congregational life in the Ghetto. The synagogue was the centre of Jewish life and it exercised a far reaching influence not only upon the religious life of the Jew but also upon his every day life and deeds. We are living under the laws and customs general to all the inhabitants of

the land can hardly grasp or fully appreciate how far reaching and deep was this influence, not only throught the middle ages but up to the end of the eighteenth century. "The mediaeval life of the Jew had for its centre the synagog.....The Jewish quarter seems to have grown up around the synagog, which was the centre of Jewish life, locally as well as religiously. This concentration round the synagog may be noted in the social as well as in the material life of the middle ages. The synagog tended with ever increasing rapidity, to absorb and to develop the social life of the community, both when Jews enjoyed free intercourse with their neighbors of other faiths, and when this intercourse was restricted to the narrowest possible bounds. It was the political emancipation, which the close of the eighteenth century witnessed, that first loosened the hold of the synagog on Jewish life." (1) The synagog was looked upon not only as a house of worship but as the proper authority for the promulgation and enforcement of whatever laws were necessary for the regulation and control of the ~~xxxx~~ lives of the members of the community. Only by completely cutting himself off from the community, a thing not easy to do, could the Jew escape the authority of the synagog. An investigation into the laws and ordinances promulgated by the congregations gives as as could nothing else, a deep insight into the communal life of the Ghetto Jew and the high degree to which such life was controlled and regulated, by the synagog. These congregational Tekanoth are a rich field for the student of Jewish life and its development during the period that Israel spent in the wilderness of the Ghetto.

1) Israel Abrahams: Jewish Life in the Middle Ages

Owing to the peculiar position which the Jew occupied, not only thru the Middle Ages but up to comparatively recent times, some of the motives underlying the making of sumptuary laws are quite different from those which induced the enactment of such ordinances among non-Jews, while in some respects the reasons are the same. "Similar regulations (laws limiting expenditure) were very frequently enacted, partly in the interest of thrift, partly to prevent envy, and partly to protect the poorer Jews from the humiliating necessity of foregoing the banquet altogether". (1). The fear of exciting the envy and hatred of the nonJewish world in the midst of which the Jew lived seems to have been a very important factor in the attempt to check extravagance and ostentatious show of every kind. There was an ever present danger that anything which would call the attention of the Gentile to his Jewish neighbor might work to the injury of the latter. The less conspicuous he rendered himself the better were his opportunities for a safe and peaceful existence. So we find running thru most of the Tekanoth this strain of "lest we arouse the jealousy of the Gentiles". To cite a few examples ~~here~~ the law is clearly dictated by the fear of stirring up the hatred of the Gentile: The congregation of Forli (1417) forbids more than three women and two girls from walking on the street together or from taking pleasure walks except on holidays, while the men are warned not to stand on street corners or to loiter in front of the Synagog in groups of more than six. (2) A Spanish Tekanah of the 15th century begins with the following significant words: "Inasmuch as there are dangerous customs by which women overstep the bond in their dress inthat they wear costly and luxurious dress....."

1) Abrahamson: Jewish Life in the U.A. p 145

2) Vogelstein & Reiger: Geschichte der Juden in Rom I. p328. & Große Jubelschrift p59.

....because of this extravagance the hate and jealousy of the Christians gets new nourishment and because they think our wealth the cause of their poverty they make stringent laws against us, we decree etc."(1). The Bologna and Forlì Tekamah(1416-1418) gives as the reason for certain dress ordinances "not to be too conspicuous in the eyes of the Gentiles"(2). A Tekamah of the Portugese community of Hamburg (1716) forbids Purim masking and parading of the streets with music "for by this means violence is stirred up against us and our condition is endangered"(3). A communal proclamation of the Hamburg-Altona community begins: "Because it is known that great danger ensues from the fact that women attend funerals, thinking it a great 'mitzva', but they do not know that they are blood spillers even as murderers are, therefore we forbid etc".(4). This same congregation in 1735 ~~forbids~~ limits the number of those attending a funeral "because too great a concourse, especially on Christian holidays hinders traffic on the streets and may stir up trouble"(5). The dress ordinances of Euerth (1786) has the following vigorous introduction: "Also because of this we are in fear and trembling lest we be despised by the Gentiles among whom we live in that they will say: 'These are the people of God, and they have left their own land. But instead of ^{wearing} the garments of the Exile, they ornament themselves more than we, which state of affairs is not in accordance with what is right', and they will suspect us of being powerful in wealth and in the abundance of all things. And what great anxiety there is in this!(6) And so in nearly every one of the Tekamah there is some reference, either express or implied, to the danger there lies in drawing the attention of the Gentile to the wealth

1) Jbb. d. d. Gesch. der Jud. III p 330 2) Graetz Jubelsch. p 58
 3) " der Jued. Lit. Gesell. VII p 196. 4) Mittheil. der
 Gesell. fuer Jued. Volkskunde 1911 p 126. 5) " 1903-4 p56.
 6) Jbb. der Jued. Lit. Gesell. VIII p 189.

and luxury of the Jew.

It is rather surprising to find little opposition to certain modes of dress merely on the ground that they are the garb of the Gentile. The doctrine of "Chukas ha Gov" seems to have played very little part in the passing of congregational laws regarding dress. If there were such motives underlying the Takanoths they are not expressed or even indicated. Occasionally for religious reasons, where the particular robe or garment had some special Christian or Mohammedan significance, such garb might be forbidden. "But the underlying principle with mediaeval rabbis was not that Jews must dress differently to others, but they were forbidden to use any article of attire which the Christian or Mohammedan wore as a token of faith. A similar remark applies to dressing the hair."⁽¹⁾ "In 1526 Elijah Mizrahi, whose rabbinical authority extended over the Jews of Constantinople forbade Jewish savants and their pupils to wear the cope thrown over their shoulders, because he considered the garment to belong to the category of a specifically Christian costume. But apart from the fact that Mizrahi's prohibition referred specially to the Sabbath, his decision was not unanimously shared, and the other authorities decided in favor of the cope."⁽²⁾ "Green veils were avoided by the Jews of Moslem countries, for these were the distinctive garb of the descendants of the prophet.....It remains to be pointed out that the best Jewish authorities maintained that "all colors not exclusively Mohammedan may be worn by the Jews"⁽³⁾. The ordinances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries nowhere, within the knowledge of the writer, enjoin any mode of conduct on the ground of "Chukas

1) Abraham: Jewish Life in the M. A. p283.
2) " " " " p284.
3) " " " " p285.

ha Goy". This fact deserves attention because in the European ghettos the Jews developed a distinctive mode of dress and there seems to have been a popular feeling that to dress like the Gentile was closely akin to apostasy. But the congregations did not in their official capacity find it necessary to enact laws against this breach of the popular custom and viewpoint.

A good many of the sumptuary laws of the various congregations are based upon purely moral grounds. It was felt that lavish display in matters of dress, particularly on the part of women was apt to lead to loss of restraint and then to actual immorality. And altho in the dress enactments this reason is as a rule not expressly stated one feels that it must have been in the minds of the congregational authorities when they legislated in regard to the matter. Mr. Abrahamson speaking of the Middle Ages says: "Jewish moralists and preachers shouted themselves hoarse in exhortations towards greater moderation. 'Jews should don humble raiment and not flaunt colored robes' was already a Jewish maxim in the thirteenth century. Even on the Sabbath when they may dress better, they should wear only simple garments of camelot'. Linen might be worn close to the skin only on Sabbath. On all other days a thick woollen garment was put on undermost".(1) Berliner, discussing the customs of the Jews of the same period says: "...especially all conspicuously gay colors were proscribed among the Jews. Such colors were looked upon as conducive to breaches of morality and hence the wearing of dark & stuffs was commanded".(2). The ordinance of the Puert

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- 1) Abrahamson: Jewish Life in the M.A. 2) Berliner: Aus dem Leben der Juden des Mittelalters p 643. 3) Jhb. der Jued. Lit. Gesell. VIII p 190.

congregation (1786), in the same manner forbids the wearing of ermine coats by women or girls "lest the daughters of Israel become unrestrained in the manner of the Gentile women". The same ordinance forbids the curling of the hair because "as one sin leads to another there may ensue an increase of Sabbath desecration".(1). A dress ordinance of the eighteenth century (Frankfurt) recognizes the same danger in permitting too lavish a display in dress and condemns the practice in the following words: "...the extravagant show and pomp of women and girls, and this sin was also the cause of our great loss in the destruction of the Temple, as Isaiah reproved them: 'Because the daughters of Zion went with outstretched necks etc.' And in this matter we have not yet turned from our error and this great sin is still hidden in our midst....and this frivolity increases from day to day".(2). Along the same line is the Chorem of 1733 enacted by the community of Eisenstadt and vicinity: "In the same manner clothes shall not made to be worn open at the throat or at the ^aback of the neck in a frivolous manner, not even by small girls and young maidens. But let them hold fast to the standards of the laws of Israel and Judaism to go in humility after the custom of our ancestors. Therefore it is decreed that whoever transgresses in this manner shall be placed under the ban of excommunication".(3).

Especially in the laws ordering the division of the sexes is the moral reason clearly evident. Not only in the synagogue, but also at the banquet and other festive occasions, such as weddings and circumcisions, attempts were made to keep men and women sepa-

1). Jhd. Jued. Lit. Gesell. VIII 190. 2) Der Israelit 1874 p576
~~3) Der Israelit 1876 pt. I p416~~
~~4) Der Israelit 1876 pt. I p416~~

rated. "If they did not pray together, neither did they play together." (4) To quote one or two of the ordinances which clearly illustrate this point: "To put a watch upon a watch, at a wedding men and women shall not be put together in one room, unless it be partitioned off by a curtain".(5) "In every place that you find restraint you will find holiness. But up to now there has been great frivolity in dancing. It is therefore absolutely forbidden for a dance to take place where men and women dance together."(6). In further, the Rabbi ordered a black slate to be placed in the women's synagog containing the following legend in "big letters" : "This slate has been placed here for the purpose of entering on it the names of those women, who are so bold that they dance with men, thus distinguishing themselves by their shamelessness from "virtuous women". (7). "A married woman or a widow shall not dance with men or with youths."(8).

Closely allied with these enactments separating the sexes were the ordinances forbidding women to be seen on the streets alone after dark or prohibiting them from entering strange houses without a proper escort.(9). The community of Eisenstadt enacted three such ordinances in an attempt to compel ~~unmarried~~ women to avoid suspicious conduct. "No one shall take into his house a servant who has a husband. And whoever transgresses this law shall be put under the ban of excommunication. With the exception that a married woman may be engaged as a wet nurse". We also serve warning that no married woman or maiden shall go to the house of a Gentile without a proper chaperone, and the woman not heeding this warning will be

4)Abraham: Jew. Life in the M.A. p 28. 5). Job. Jued. Lit.

Genell. VIII. p 190. 6)J.J.J.G. VIII 190. 7) " " " " 8.)Der Israelit 1876 pt. 1 p416. 9) Mitth. Ges. Jued. Volk. 42.

proclaimed as a frivolous woman". "We also warn every man that he shall investigate carefully in his household as far as he can if he suspects any sort of sinful thing in his man or maid servant to discharge them even in the middle of the term".(1).

Certain forms of pleasure are looked upon with distrust by many classes of people and are in many instances distinctly frowned upon. This is due to various reasons. Sometimes the distrust is based on the fear that indulgence in that particular form of pleasure may lead to frivolity, lack of responsibility and eventually to positive wrong doing. But in many cases it is based on the idea that life is a serious business, much too sombre and gloomy to be spent in such inconsequential and unprofitable a manner as the mere gratification of the desire for amusement. This attitude has come to be known as the Puritanic viewpoint, because it was the Puritans who carried it to its greatest extreme. It is especially against the theatre, dancing and card playing that this puritanic spirit vents itself. It finds concrete expression in the laws promulgated by some of the Christian sects, even of our own day, against indulgence in these forms of amusement. The Jew has had, on the whole, a sane and ^{religious} ~~orthodox~~ attitude towards life and its pleasures. It is true that in the Talmud attendance at athletic games was forbidden. But such prohibition was based on the practical consideration that these games were in Greek and Roman times of a religious nature and the audience by its very presence gave a certain amount of acquiescence to the religious rite which the game celebrated. There was also the further reason, that during the Maccabean period the Jew-

1) Israelit: 1876 pt I p 416.

ish youth taking part in the games often attempted by means of an operation to disguise the fact that they had been circumcised and thus avoid the discrimination which might be shown against them as Jews. Then the very fact that they had to appear in the arena naked naturally ~~forboded~~ the Jewish sense of modesty. So there was a good practical reason for forbidding any participation in the games. But against amusements as such there seems to have been no specific objections. It is therefore hard to understand the meaning of several of the congregational enactments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries against such indulgence. And yet there are such enactments as witness the following. "At the order of the congregational representatives dancing at weddings is forbidden for the future. This prohibition applies alike to men and woman, of whatever station they may be". (1). "Men and women are forbidden, on Sabbath or holidays, to go to an inn to drink there, or to attend bowling alleys, fencing schools or theatre.....or the opera. During Purim week or Chanukka week they may go to the opera." (2). ".....no one shall attend⁴ the comedy or play which are now here!" (3). This same ordinance also forbids going to the public baths.

Gaming was a vice which often had a strong hold on the Jew. It was always discountenanced by the authorities. Even in Mishnaic times the gambler was held in low esteem, so low in fact that his testimony was not accepted in a law suit. (4) In later times the congregations attempted to deal with the evil in the usual manner, the enactment of laws prohibiting it under severe penalties. Particularly true was this in Italy, where the Jews mingled freely

with (1) J. J. L. Gressell. VII p204. 2) Mitth. Jued. Volk. 1903-4 p 12.
3) " " " VIII p 184. 4) Mishna Sanhed. III.

with the non-Jews, and shared with them the pleasures of the gaming table. The *Statuta* of Bologna & Forlì (1416-1418) deals with the matter as follows: "Further we decree that from this day until the end of the term fixed (10 years) no Jew shall be permitted to harbor in his house gamblers, whether Jews or Christians; nor shall any Jew play with dice, cards or indulge in any other form of gambling, neither on his own behalf or for any one else, not with Jews nor Christians, not in his own house nor that of others. But playing with dominoes and dice together or chess without dice is permitted, provided the stake be not over four bolognini for each play. In days of fasting or illness cards are permitted to lighten the burden, provided the stake shall not be over one quattrino per player for each game".(1) Eisenstadt (1733): ".....all are forbidden to play cards except women confined with child. But on Chamuka even men may play. But under no consideration shall men and women, youths and maidens, even if related to each other, play together, under the penalty of excommunication."(2). Puerth (1764) "Participation in the lottery absolutely forbidden".(3) The congregation of Kuttienplan ~~of Kuttienplan~~ (1737) forbade card playing except on the days on which no "Tachnun" is recited or during illness.(4).

1) Graetz Jubelschrift 57. 2) Der Israelit 1876 pt. I p416
 3) Jhb. Jued. Lit. Gesell. VIII 189. 4) Mitth. Jued. Volks.
 1870 p 87.

Ordinances regulating dress.

Mekinah of Bologna & Forlì 1416-1418. (1)

In order that we may humble our hearts and bring humility in the midst of the people of God, and not to be too conspicuous in the eyes of the Gentiles, we decree that from this day until the end of the period above mentioned, no Jew or Jewess of the inhabitants of the above mentioned cities, or of the surrounding villages and burlets, any cloak which may lead to pride, but only black cloaks. ...and the sleeves shall not be worn slashed open. But such cloaks as have already been made (before this ordinance) which are of cloth other than black, may be worn; but the sleeves must be closed (i.e. not slashed open), and such cloaks shall not be open at the sides or back.

Further, no man or woman shall wear any cloak of sable, ermine brilliant color, red, changeable, cut low, or...(here is used the word paone which Giesemann transliterates "paone", the meaning of which is unknown to the writer). But if the garment be of any other texture it may be manufactured and worn, with the proviso that on such garment no cloth shall be put anywhere on the outside, of a texture different than the garment itself.

Further, all garments which have been made for women with the sleeves slashed, may be worn within doors at the will of the owner, but they shall not be permitted to wear them outside of the house nor shall they be seen in them at the doors of their houses, unless the sleeves shall first have been closed or covered with an

1) Große Jubellchrift p 58.

other garment so that they be not seen in the open.....

Further men shall not wear jackets of silk or velvet, for pride's sake, unless it be in a manner so as not to be visible on the outside. And in the same way, women shall not wear garments of silk or velvet, exposed to view, unless it be in a manner so as not to be seen on the outside. Further, they shall not wear a dress which has fringes exposed to view in any place except at the neck and the sleeve openings (i.e. at the wrist).

Further, no married woman shall wear a necklace about her neck and no gold hairnet, disclosed to view, upon her head. But brides are permitted to wear a gold hair net openly, without a covering for thirty days, but after thirty days they must put the covering on their heads. Further, the men shall not wear belts, exposed to view, outside of their houses, made of silver, if the silver weighs more than six ounces, nor shall such a belt be covered with velvet for pride's sake.

Further, ^{men} ~~women~~ shall not by way of ornament wear upon their fingers more than one gold ring. But that one ring they may wear on whatever finger of either hand they wish. Women shall not wear more than two rings at a time or three at the utmost.

And in the same way, they (women) shall not put on a belt or sash, exposed to view, the silver of which weighs more than ten ounces at the utmost.

Any one who transgresses any of these ordinances referring to dresses or ornaments, as mentioned above, whether man or woman, shall be compelled to pay a fine of ten bolagnini in silver or its

equivalent to the treasury of that city for every breach. And the men are liable for the fines of their wives. And if any one shall refuse to obey that congregation shall not be allowed to count him in as a member of the "minyon", nor shall it permit him to be called to the reading of the law, nor shall he be granted the honor of rolling up the scroll, till he turn from his wickedness.

Tekanah of Valladolid, Spain 1432. (1)

The last paragraph forbids in general, the wearing of glaringly conspicuous dress. "Let not the Jews forget that they live in times of oppression".

Spanish Tekanah of the 15th Century. (2)

Inasmuch as there are dangerous customs by which women overstep the bounds in their dress, in that they wear costly and luxurious clothes, i.e. rich stuffs, trains and ornaments of gold, silver and precious pearls etc., which cause much harm and evidence great expenditure. And the heads of the families sworn that because of this extravagance the hate and jealousy of the Christians gets new nourishment, and because they think our wealth the cause of their poverty they make stringent laws against us, we decree that with the exception of brides and women who have been married only one year, no woman shall wear: rich dresses of costly gold-embroidered, olivecolored, transparent fine linen, silk or fine wool, or on their robes trimmings of silk, brocade or olivecolored stuffs. No clumps of gold or pearls, no olive-colored headbands, no long trains, no cloaks with high collars, no robes of brilliant-

1) Grätz Geschich. VIII p 144. 2) Jhb. Geschich. Juden & Christenthum III p 331

ly colored stuffs, no wide sleeves. Silver clasps and brooches may be worn provided they do not weigh over four ounces each. In the same way, no Israelite over fifteen years of age shall wear a dress worked in gold, olive colored or made of silk, or a garment trimmed with gold or olive-colored stuffs. These may be worn to receive the King and queen, at dances or other public occasions. The separate communities may apply the law as they see fit or make new ones.

Ordinance of Metz-----end of 17th Century. (1)

All women must wear veils when they go to the synagog. Young brides aged twelve, thirteen or fourteen years, are excused from this law for the first year of their marriage; those who wed when fifteen years old, are free from wearin the veil for three months. At the service on Saturday evening, on the evening when the festival concludes, on week nights and on Purim eve all women are free to discard the veil. The same law applies to mantles.

Ordinance of Frankfurt-----18th Century. (2)

In no case shall women wear garments embroidered with gold or silver.

No Jewels or pearls, except one ring on each hand.

No dresses which frivolously expose the throat.

No flowers or feathers shall be worn on the head. Golden chains, medallions, hoods, golden watches, scarfs or ribbons around the body, all forbidden.

1)Abraham: Jewish Life in the M. A. 283.
2)Der Israelit: 1874 p 566.

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"Mekinah of Eisenstadt 1744. (1)

Clothes shall not be made to be worn open at the neck, either in front or at the back, in a frivolous manner, even by maidens and small girls. But let all hold fast to the standards of the laws of Israel and Judaism to go in humility after the custom of our ancestors. Therefore it is decreed that whoever transgresses in this respect shall be put under the ban of excommunication.

The wearing of crinoline skirts is forbidden under the penalty of excommunication.

Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbeck 1738 (2)

New fashions shall as far as possible be avoided.

No woman shall appear at the synagogue clothed in a crinoline skirt.

Married men are forbidden to wear: velvet clothing as well as velvet facing upon their cloaks, buckles set with even false jewels, colored shoes or slippers. But they may wear collars and caps of velvet, also buttons of dull silver on their clothing and neckerchiefs with lace edges. But if any one shall "buy himself into the community" with the stipulation that the above forbidden things are permitted him, the elders of the community may permit it.

Unmarried men shall not wear silver or gold braid or lace. But on the sleeve of a fur coat it is permitted. (handgeketten) are forbidden, the same as in the case of married men, while on the other hand, neckerchiefs with lace edges are permitted.

1) Der Israelit: 1876 pt. I p 416

2) Mitth. Jüd. Volk. 1911 p 125 1903-4 p 52-53.

Women shall wear no colored silk dresses(except black). The body of the dress must be of wool, while the sleeves may be of silk. But there shall be no silver trimmings thereon. On velvet or other skirts the apron shall be at least one quarter of an ell longer than the rest of the skirt, and especially must they not lift the skirt and tuck it in. Further they shall not wear gloves and caps embroidered with gold or silver, nor any kind of gold or silver braid upon their dresses, aprons worked in lace or ~~xxx~~ drawn work, buttons of hard or dull silver(except on fur coats), hoods trimmed with silver and gold, shoes or slippers embroidered with gold or silver, also those made of silk or with lace or ribbons, especially any kind of colored shoes or slippers, (except black or waxed), ~~coronet(?)~~ hoods and hoods of fur of any sort, also of silk and plumed hats, pearls or gold chains or other ornaments of diamond, even if the stones be false, pearl or diamond earrings(even if the stones be false), rings set with diamonds or false stones(2 gold band rings are permitted, but no more), gold key chains, fur collars of sable, marten or lynx, as also scarfs with lace work, silk and gold and silver worked ribbons on the aprons or as a sash around the ~~waist~~ waist,but the arms must be covered, any kind of sable, marten or lynx on the outside, and surely not as a lining on the inside of their skirts, also Swedish skirts(drawn work where silk is used as the body underneath, but wool drawwork lined with black stuff is permitted), colored East India cotton and smooth satin even black, clasps set with diamonds or even false stones,

stockings trimmed with gold and silver, bits of plaster on the face (beauty spots), hair ornaments and finally, any kind of fringe on the skirts (the last mentioned is forbidden to married women also).

Of the things here forbidden, the unmarried are permitted to wear: "schluder-Lelaves" and Forscheloh with lace edges, but their arms must be covered (they shall not be permitted to wear gold, silver or white lace on their heads), "Hochflage, naemlich mit Wieren" (a kind of hood with frilled white edges).

They are forbidden to wear rings, even of plain gold, evening cloaks even without lace, and on their coats more than one piece of white lace at the neck. On Sabbath and holidays they shall not have their hair dressed, and especially shall not wear curls (but false hair is permitted). They are permitted to wear "Tabrettzeug" and Swedish clothes, but not of Taffeta or colored silk. A taffeta coat is permitted. But ~~MAKING~~ servant girls are forbidden to wear Tabrettzeug (evidently a kind of imported cloth)

Should any one of the Hamburg or Wandsbeck community appear in Altona and in his dress or otherwise do anything contrary to our laws, he shall be cited to his own congregation, and it shall be asked to observe the same dress ordinance or else not be invited to come to Altona.

A full fledged member of this community and also a youth who has attained his thirteenth year, shall not appear in the synagog on Sabbath or holidays with any other than a black hat, nor shall the first mentioned appear at the synagog on the above mentioned days with a colored neckerchief. The elders of the community, as

well as the school and poor treasurers, shall refrain even on work-days from such dress. But an unmarried person shall be permitted to wear such dress even on Sabbath and holidays.

Further, a child (at circumcision) shall be moderately clothed. Any garments (worn by the child at circumcision) of gold or silver or trimmed with colored or white lace are forbidden and even the father of the child shall not on such occasion permit it to be dressed in silk. Under penalty of excommunication, at a circumcision, the child's dress shall consist of only the so-called Jewish swaddling clothes (Jüdischwindel), without any trimming of gold or silver or lace.

Takanah of Fourth 1786

(1)

Silver and gold trimmings are permitted only on hoods and on headveil(?) ("sternlich"), but otherwise forbidden whether on furs, collars, women's shoes or sandals, whether worked into the fabric, embroidered sewed on or in any other manner attached, even only a thread of gold or silver (because of the danger of arousing envy) whether on weekdays, Sabbath or holidays. And if some have such garments from a former day, they shall not wear them outside of the house.

No householder, whoever he may be, shall on the Sabbath, holiday or at a private festivity go to the synagogue without his synagogue mantle. Rich ~~garments~~ (some kind of outer garment) are forbidden to all men, whoever they may be, on all occasions.

White lace is permitted only on the hoods (of women) but otherwise forbidden under a penalty of 18 litres of wax. All household heads shall warn the members of their households in reference to this matter and watch carefully for any breach thereof. Newcomers are allowed to follow the custom of their former communities for a period of six weeks till they can have the local laws explained to them.

In rings earrings and belt buckles precious stones and jewels are permitted, but otherwise forbidden, e.g. in bracelets, even if such ornaments are borrowed ones (lest it ^{excite} ~~excite~~ envy). Also, women and girls shall not wear a watch on their dresses, as is done by the gentiles. A breach of this ordinance shall be fined 18 litres of wax. For offending ~~second time~~ second time the fine shall be doubled, and an announcement shall be made in both synagogues that such and such women have broken this law, in order that the daughters of Israel shall hear and not rebel again.

Jewish women and girls shall not walk on the streets clothed in ermine, lest the daughters of Israel become bold, in the manner of the Gentiles. The girls shall not go about with their hair curled for as one girl leads to another, there may ensue an increase of Sabbath desecration.

A woman who has no married sons, shall not before the end of twenty five years of married life, come into the synagog without cloak and head covering. But because in the past, women have greatly transgressed in this matter, the deputies of the congregation shall pay strict heed to this point, and as soon as one or more transgressors are discovered, such transgressors shall, without heed as

to family or station, pay a fine of six litres of wax for a first offense, and they shall also be warned that if they commit this breach again, they will be fined nine litres of wax.

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From the congregational minutes of Prostitz 1772 (1)

Because of the great troubles that have come upon us, let every one who fears God turn his attention to these words, examine his conduct and say: "Why hath God done this to us and why hath his great anger burned".....surely our sins have caused all this.... especially pride as shown in the garb of men and particularly women, who bedeck themselves with ornaments and beautiful garments, decorated with gold and silver and medallions, on the streets and in the market place and to this the prophet hath said: "Woe unto the daughters of Zion who go with outstretched neck etc.". And besides this is proper to mourn for Jerusalem in fitting dress. It is therefore decreed under the ban pronounced by Joshua ben Nun, that neither man nor woman shall wear any garment trimmed with silver, and surely not with gold. Even hoods of gold or silver, buckles brooches and the like shall be forbidden.

1) Ozer: Si'futh Vol. III part 2 p 16.

Laws limiting number of guests at weddings etc.

Bologna & Forli (1)

Because we have noticed that those having weddings and banquets are extravagant and spend more than is in keeping with their wealth and more than the wealthy of the Gentiles among whom we live and this is the cause of the waste of money, we decree that from the end of this month of Sivan (1416) to the end of the term (10 years), no Jew of the inhabitants of the communities above mentioned shall be permitted to entertain at any one wedding banquet more than twenty men, ten women, and five young women (unmarried). But relatives to the third degree, including the third degree, may be entertained in addition to the number mentioned.

We further decree that if the bride comes from another city upon a horse, she shall be escorted into the city by no more than ten male riders and four men on foot. But if she come in a boat the number accompanying her from the boat to the place where the wedding is to be held shall not exceed twelve Jews or Jewesses.

We further decree that at the circumcision banquet no Jew of the communities mentioned, shall be permitted to entertain more than ten men, and five women in addition to his relatives, male and female; relatives shall be reckoned to the third generation inclusive.

Whoever shall disobey one of these decrees and shall entertain men or women at the wedding or circumcision banquets to a number greater than above mentioned, shall be obligated to pay to the

treasury of the community a fine of one ducat for every man and woman exceeding the number allowed above.

Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbeck (1)

At a wedding feast, the first evening, 20 couples (man and wife), 12 youths and 12 unmarried women may be present, on the evening that the marriage is consummated in the place of twenty couples forty are permitted. This does not include, the chief rabbi and his wife, the assessors, the singers and the servants, but without their wives. In accordance with an older ordinance, if the dowry of the pair amounts to more than one thousand thalers up to ten thousand thalers, for every thousand thalers, two couples additional may be invited, and for every thousand thalers over ten thousand thalers one couple additional may be invited. For every couple over the number above mentioned a fine of eight marks shall be assessed to be paid into the poor exchequer.

The two parties to the marriage shall apportion the invitations in accordance with the amount of dowry on each side. At a circumcision the number remains in accordance with the older decree, (see the next) only that the number of the invited may be increased by half of the number there allowed. For every additional couple the fine shall be as above.

At a circumcision the following shall be permitted to attend: 30 men and ten women, besides the parents of the child, the grand-

1) Mitth. der Gesell. fuer Jued. Volksw. 1903-4 p54-62.

parents on both sides, the god-parents and those who attend to the ~~ext~~ circumcision with their wives. If an outsider (not the parents of the child) provides the banquet or if the guests pay for it out of their own purses, the attendance shall be limited to twelve men and six women, and in no case shall unmarried people be permitted. The god-parents, mohels, as well as strangers (those not belonging to the Hamburg-Handisback or Portugese congregations) are not included in the above number. Uninvited guests shall pay a fine of one reichsthaler.

(An older ordinance) At a wedding banquet or circumcision banquet invitations shall be extended to the following number: At the wedding of a so-called "Rosh haBajit" (members of the poorer classes), 15 married couples, and six each unmarried men and women. At the wedding of a contributing member 25 couples, and ten unmarried men and women, and for every thousand marks dowry on the part of the bride one pair additional may be invited. In this number are not included: The parents, brothers and sisters of the bridal pair, the chief rabbi, and the elders (for the month) if the congregation with their wives, the Chazan and sexton and finally the schoolmaster of the youth who delivers the oration. The latter class may also invite three learned men.

At a circumcision in the first mentioned class, ten couples and five poor or learned men without their wives, may be invited, and in the second class, five couples more than the fifteen couples. In this number are not included those mentioned in reference to weddings, the midwife, godfather and mohels with their wives. In the above are included only members of the community, among whom are counted the Portugese. But strangers who are here only temporarily may be invited in addition to the number above mentioned.

Congregational minutes of Muessekorf 1698-1770 (1)

Inasmuch as expenses at wedding feasts are increased to a greater extent than is fitting, it is decreed (1698): At the wedding of a son or daughter, where the dowry is between one hundred and two hundred thalers, the guests shall be limited to twenty householders, the caterer, officiating minister, parents of both parties and their brothers and sisters. If there be more than this number present the host shall be fined for every excessive guest. But outsiders may be invited as additional guests.

Portuguese Community of Hamburg 1658 (2)

At all weddings and circumcisions even when two take place at the same time, also at engagements and the evening preceding the circumcision, invitations limited to twenty men and twelve women. Relatives and necessary attendants not included in this number. Fine for breach of this ordinance fifty marks.

Miscellaneous laws dealing with expenses at weddings etc.

Spanish Takanah of the 15th century (3).

Because at betrothals, weddings circumcisions and other family celebrations extravagant expenses are made, we wish every congregation to deal with these matters in accordance with local conditions.

1) Jhb. Nord. Lit. Gesell. Vol. — 2)
3) " Gesch. der Juden und des Judenthums Vol. III p 332.

Hamburg Altona Congregation (1)

A woman confined with child is forbidden to have in her room or about her bed any kind of gold or silver ware nor shall she decorate her bed with valuable ornaments. Nor shall she put on her person diamonds or pearls, for she especially should in every respect obey the laws in reference to these matters. No collach (a kind of pastry) shall be sent her at such a time by her relatives or any of her friends. Neither shall she entertain women at her home with pastries or brandy, nor send them candies or other delicacies. Penalty for breach thereof, 2 reichsthaler.

The so-called "Rotten" of the bridegroom is forbidden under a penalty of four reichsthaler. The bridegroom shall not give a so-called "Vortheil" or a ball for the young people, whether it be on the Sabbath before or after the wedding, neither at the house of the groom or that of the bride, nor elsewhere. ^{Except} to the so-called knassmahl (betrothal banquet (?)) no unmarried folk shall be invited ~~except~~ and that too only if it takes place on Sabbath eve.

After a circumcision the godparents shall give no banquet for men and women. Also on the Sabbath evening before the circumcision no sweets shall be served for the entertainment of visitors, under a penalty of six reichsthalers.

The so-called leading out of the bride shall not take place. Also, a groom on the occasion of his betrothal, shall not give a ball, and throughout the year with the exception of the wedding no

1) Hith. der Gesell. über Jued. Volkssk. 1903-4 pp 2,10,52,54,64.

dance, under the penalty of four reichsthaler. A betrothal banquet is forbidden under the penalty of twenty reichsthalers.

It is prohibited under a penalty of twenty reichsthalers to give the bridegroom as a wedding gift anything besides a ring, talith and kittel. As a betrothal gift he shall not be presented with a so-called "Kleingeld" (an article of wearing apparel.. And the groom shall not present his bride with a book which has gold covers. A married woman shall not carry such a book.

At a betrothal, wedding or circumcision as well as by all banquets taking place before or after such events there shall not be served, caponized fowl, confections, almond and pruned tort "Plewen" and the like immoderately costly foods, nor shall such foods be sent to the homes of the guests. But on the Sabbath before a circumcision in compliance with the established custom, Raisins and sweets may be served. The one transgressing shall be put under the ban and fined at the discretion of the elders.

Fourth

(1)

Relishes are forbidden at weddings and at all other celebrations, no matter who the host be, and all sorts of fish shall be forbidden at all banquets except at Sabbath, holiday and other communal feasts. The penalty for infringement of the above shall be 18 litres of wax. Seltzer water also forbidden under the same penalty.

On the Sabbath that the mother first goes to the synagog (after confinement) she shall not be accompanied by a large concourse of women. On the Friday evening preceding, she shall send cake and whiskey to no one except the two kantors, not even to her par-

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ents, brothers or other relatives. Fine three litres of wax. Neither shall a bridegroom or confirmant send wine and cake to any one except the congregational officers and cantors. The recipient of such gifts shall also be fined.

On the Sabbath eve preceding a circumcision no felicities shall be served, no matter who the host be, and wine shall be served as follows: At the rich man's home four measures, at the home of the middle classed two measures, at the poor man's home one measure and no more. Penalty for infringement of the above, three litres of wax.

Laws to prevent crowding on the streets.

Bologna & Forlì (1)

Women shall not walk outside of their homes in groups of more than three women and two maidens unless it be to perform some meritorious act.

And they shall not go for pleasure walks on the streets and highways on any except festival days and then in the manner specified (in the preceding enactment). And husbands shall be liable for the transgressions of their wives to the extent of the fines mentioned in the matter of dress.

And men shall not walk on the streets in large crowds nor shall they loiter at the street crossings nor in front of synagoges in groups of more than six, unless it be for some meritorious purpose

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under whatever penalty the officers appointed by the congregation may see fit to fix.

Portuguese Community of Hamburg 1656 (1)

Altho it was by means of public proclamation forbidden to go about the streets masked on Purim, and the household heads were ordered to see that the order be carried out, yet this prohibition has been violated by many. So it is again proclaimed that no one of our congregation, whether man or woman, shall mask on the day or night of Purim, or parade the streets in masks or parade the streets with music, because such conduct may cause disturbances and our position be endangered.

Pleasure walks on the Jungfersteig, sitting on the public benches singing and other misconduct on Sabbath or Sabbath night is forbidden under a penalty of five pounds of wax. (2)

Hamburg Altona & Wandsbeck (2)

Because it is known what great danger ensues from the fact that women attend funerals, thinking it a great mitzva, but they do not know that they are bloodspillers even as murderers are, therefore the rabbis forbid all women of Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbeck to accompany a corpse even in front of their own homes. The female mourners shall go far from the men, to the rear gate of the cemetery. But in Hamburg the women may follow later in their carriages. A breach of this above punishable by a fine of two thalers and the woman transgressing in this way shall be publicly proclaimed as a bold woman.

Teachers shall not go out walking after Mincha.

1) Jhb. Jurid. Lit. Gesell. Vol. VII 196
2) Mith. Gesell. fuer Jurid. Volksh. 1911 pp136-7

At funerals the conveyances, which are used to accompany the body by both men and women and also the people who live in the neighborhood of the deceased and who assemble at the house of the deceased at times cause a great stir, which especially on Christian holidays hinders traffic on the streets and might lead to disorder. It is therefore decreed that only the presently existent two brotherhoods shall follow the body to the grave, but no new society shall be formed. Every one shall be permitted to join one of these societies without the payment of an admission fee. But only three carriages of these societies shall accompany the body and they shall take turns about, the one society furnishing two carriages and the other one and vice versa. These three conveyances shall ~~wait outside~~ ~~the city gate~~ shall go on ahead outside of the city gate and wait at the cemetery but not on the street. Those desiring to be present at the burial shall do likewise, but outside of these three conveyances no other conveyance shall accompany the body, with the exception of those who wish to ride in the hearse. These last mentioned may mount at the house or enter the hearse at the cemetery. The fine for infringement of this enactment shall be 2 reichsthalers.

It is strictly prohibited everyone, men or women, married or unmarried, to go driving in a chaise or gig on Sunday or other Christian holidays. This shall not be permitted even when those wishing to ride shall go to the gate on foot and there enter the chaise or gig. Riding in a gig and also horseback riding are generally forbidden. On Sunday and other Christian holidays pleasure driving on the Alster is forbidden. A breach shall be punished by a fine of

10 reichthalers and in addition thereto the imposition of the ban.

Laws in the interest of sex morality.

Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbeck (1)

A married woman or widow shall not without an escort be seen entering an unknown house under penalty of four reichsthaler for the married woman and two reichsthaler for the widow.

Fuerth (2)

Wherever you find a restraint on license you will find holiness. But up to the present there has been great frivolity in dancing and great expense has been needlessly incurred. It is therefore absolutely prohibited for a dance to take place where men and women dance together. It shall be permitted not on the day of the giving of the wedding gifts, the day of the wedding nor the night thereof, nor during the seven days of the wedding celebration; not at the home of a groom, at the house where a circumcision is taking place and certainly not at any other house. But at the home of the bride or in the banquet chamber during the banquet women and maidens may dance with each other. But no male shall be seen among them. But men may be invited to dance on the night of the wedding and women on the night of the gift giving. Those violating this prohibition shall be fined; also the host entertainers, musicians and all who help in the commission of the wrong.

1) Mitth. Gesell. fuer Jued. Volksk. 1903-4 p 49.

2) Jhb. Jued. Lit. Gesell. Vol. VIII 189.

To put a watch upon a watch, at a wedding men and women shall not be put together in one room, unless it be partitioned off by a curtain. Penalty for infraction of this rule 18 litres of wax. Caterer and host also penalized.

Eisenstadt. (1)

A married woman or a widow shall not dance with men or youths.

We also give warning that no married woman ^{or maiden} shall go the house of a Gentile without an escort. Any woman who does not heed this warning will be proclaimed a frivolous woman.

We also warn every woman and man to investigate carefully in his household as far as possible and if he suspects any sort of sinful thing in his maid or man-servant to discharge them even in the middle of their term.

Kittenplan (2)

If a married woman or maiden be found going unescorted to Plan or another village, then the father or husband shall pay a fine of one half litre of oil.

Eisenstadt (1)

No one shall take into his house a servant who has a husband. Whoever disobeys this law shall be placed under the ban of excommunication. Such a woman may be engaged as a wet nurse upon the payment of ten thalers to the authorities and ten thalers to charity.

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Laws against theatre-going, card playing etc.

Bologna & Forlì (1)

Further we decree that from this day until the end of the term (10 years) no Jew from any of the inhabitants of the cities which have congregations belong to the Roman federation shall harbor in his house gamblers, whether they be Jew or Christian. Nor shall any Jew play with dice, cards or indulge in other forms of gambling, whether for himself or others, with Jews or Christians, neither in his own house or the house of others. But playing with dominoes and dice together, and chess without dice is permitted, provided the stake shall not be over four Bolognini for each play. On fast days and days of illness cards are permitted to lighten the burden. But the stake shall not be over one quattrino for each player per game.

Portugese community of Hamburg (2)

At weddings no kind of dance shall be permitted to take place, wherefore we make the following announcement: By order of the authorities, dancing at weddings is for the future prohibited. This prohibition applies to men and women, no matter of what station in life. For a breach the host shall pay a fine of fifty marks.

Eisenstadt (3)

No one shall play cards, except women confined with child. On

1) Graetz Jubelschrift 57. 2) Jhb. Jued. Lit. Gesell. VII p204.
3) Der Israelit 1876 pt I p416

Chanuka even men may play. But men and women, youths and maidens, even if related are forbidden to play together under penalty of ex-communication.

Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbeck (1)

Men and women are prohibited, on Sabbath or other holidays, from ~~attending~~ going to the inn for the purpose of drink, or attending bowling alleys, fencing schools and theaters, under the penalty of four reichsthalers. Married and unmarried men shall not, under a like penalty attend the opera. (Later revision) No shall attend the opera except during the Purim or Chanuka-week. For an infringement of this law, such person, if he be a member of the community, shall not be permitted to receive any communal honor, and shall particularly be considered ineligible for the office of elder; and in addition to this shall be punished by fine and the reprimand and removal of the elders. Should a married woman or an unmarried person of either sex be guilty of transgressing in this manner, such person shall be fined and publicly reprimanded. Also at the discretion of the elders such person may be expelled from the congregation.

Under a penalty of 30 reichsthalers and a warning of the ban youths and maidens are prohibited from taking dancing lessons with a dancing master. This applies especially to servants of either sex.

Card playing and bowling are strictly forbidden, except during the Purim and Chanuka week, when it is permitted. Women shall re-

1) Mittheil. Gesell. Jued. Volk. 1903-4 pp 12, 13, 50

frain from all manner of gaming in the company of strange men, no matter of what station in life. A married woman shall not after evening prayer, be kept away from her home by gambling, under a penalty of four reichsthalers. Whoever acts against these ordinances shall be looked upon as one excommunicated and for a period of three years shall be barred from all communal honors and shall be ineligible for the office of elder in the congregation. The elders shall in addition, inflict *fines* and other heavy penalties.

Kuttenplan (1)

It has this day, at the full assembly, been decreed that neither man nor woman, little or big, whether in Kuttenplan or Plan, shall play cards except on those days on which no "Tachnun" is said, or when one has a blood-letting. The latter person may on the day of the blood-letting and the next day after, invite two others to a card game. Should any one either here or in Plan, disobey this ordinance, the following proclamation shall be uttered against him in the synagog: He shall not be permitted to take part in any rite at the synagog. Should any one be found playing cards during time for prayer (and thus miss the time for prayer), he shall pay a fine of one litre of oil. This is the decision of the entire congregation.

Merth (2)

Any participation in the lottery is strictly forbidden.

The congregation openly proclaims in the synagog that no one

little or big, shall attend the comedy or paly which is now here. Whoever disobeys will be fittingly punished.

Miscellaneous.

Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbeck (1)

A bar mizva shall not invite young folk to go with him to the synagog or to accompany him home from the synagog, fine 30 thalers. A bride shall not invite girls on the Sabbath or holidays after the betrothal meal, fine twenty thalers. The godfather shall not present the child with any garment except the circumcision swaddling cloth (without gold or silver trimmings or fringes).

Women shall not on "Simchath Thora" distribute delicacies in the synagog, neither at their own expense and surely not out of the congregation's funds. The latter punishable by a fine of 2 reichsthalers.

Merzth (2)

At the "Kerze" (a celebration held in connection with the circumcision), a good deal of ado has been made, which is not in keeping with the law. No woman shall hereafter come to the "kerze", except the wife of the "sandik", "mohel", daughters of the mother daughters of the godfather, their mothers and sisters, the midwife and the two women who prepare the "kerze". Fine for infringement, three litres of wax. These women shall not go thru the streets in a body, so as not to attract attention, nor after their return from the celebration shall they go to the home of the god-parents.

1) Mitth. Volksk. 1903-4 p 12.

2) Jhb. Nord. Lit. Gesell. Vol. VIII p 184.

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