1. Jewish woman
Late 18th century
The British Museum, T.D.
1946-2-9-01
Photo: courtesy of the Trustees
of the British Museum, London

Jewelry

Miriam Russo-Katz

Among the Sephardi communities of the Ottoman Empire jewelry was an important possession that accompanied a woman throughout her life. It served both to enhance and decorate her, and was usually an inseparable part of her costume. Jewelry indicated the social and economic standing of a woman and her family, and was considered as an asset in every sense. Certain items, for example, bespoke her status as a married woman, while their absence denoted widowhood.

The acquisition of jewelry began at birth when the infant girl was given her first pieces, which were for the most part considered amuletic. As a young girl she received additional modest items, but the greater part of her jewelry was bestowed upon her when she married. Then, in the period between betrothal and marriage itself, she received a substantial amount of jewelry both from her future husband and his family as part of the marriage agreements, and from her own father, as a wedding gift.

Testimony concerning one of the occasions when the bridegroom gave jewelry to the bride may be found in a seventeenth-century responsum of R. Yosef David of Salonika which relates that upon meeting his future bride for the first time, the prospective bridegroom presented her with coins which she either hung on her person for adornment or sold to buy a piece of jewelry.[1]

Additional jewelry was given to a woman on the Purim of the first year of her marriage, and after the birth of each child, as well as after a serious illness. These customs were current, of course, only among the better-off and well-established social strata. R. Eliezer de Toledo of Istanbul writes that on the first Purim after a woman's marriage it was customary for her family to send her gifts, each family according to its means: The wealthy sent their married daughters clothes or even jewels, and those with limited resorces sent sweets and cakes.[2]

Often jewelry was acquired as property rather than adornment, and as such was sold in time of need. For example, in a responsum by Yosef David from the seventeenth century concerning an inheritance dispute, the widow is quoted as claiming that the jewelry that she brought to her marriage as part of her dowry was not intended as decoration, as it was not worn by women of that town, but as a financial asset. For adornment she wore jewelry given to her by her husband.[3]

Throughout the centuries, in the various towns of the Ottoman Empire, the rabbis drew up regulations (*haskamot*) restricting women in the extravagant display of jewelry. It seems that the reason for these rulings was not only the quest for modesty, but also the desire not to attract the attention of the authorities and not to arouse envy and ill-feeling on the part of the surrounding population. It was also intended to avoid friction between the well-off and the needy within the community.

As early as 1554 the rabbis of Salonika promulgated regulations limiting the use of jewelry, and these were renewed every ten years: "We have agreed that no woman who has reached maturity, including married women, may take outside her home, into the markets or the streets, any silver or gold article, rings, chains or gems, or any such object except one ring on her finger. A woman may wear the rest in her home whenever she chooses..."[4] The existence of a similar regulation in Istanbul is reflected in a question put to R. Yosef Mitrani in the sixteenth century.[5]

Apparently these rulings were not strictly observed for in the course of time the rabbis frequently renewed them.[6] In the eighteenth century, Yiẓḥak Molkho, in his book of Ethics, writes: "In our city, Salonika, there is an age-old agreement that Jewish women shall not venture forth wearing any gold jewelry, except the necklace called *yadran*."[7]

To our knowledge no sumptuary laws were passed forbidding Jews to wear jewelry or in any way limiting its use (for the limitations imposed on various other items of dress, see "Costume").

Jewelry craft and trade

Following its conquest by the Ottomans in 1453, Istanbul became, under the patronage of the court, a center for goldsmithing. Through its expansion, the Empire was enriched by the silver and gold mines of the East and the Balkans, and many goldsmiths from Iran, Egypt, Bosnia and other Balkan centers were brought to Istanbul. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a distinct Ottoman style, influenced by both Islamic and Balkan traditions, began to emerge, touching even the provincial centers where local traditions were predominant.[8] But in the eighteenth century,

the strong European influence that began to be felt in all spheres of arts and crafts penetrated goldsmithing as well.

Armenians and Greeks working in Istanbul and Anatolia stood out among the jewelers of the Ottoman Empire, both in number and in their high professional standards. Many of them became famous as master craftsmen. Both peoples have a long-standing tradition in this domain, as can be seen in documents and travellers' descriptions from the sixteenth century onwards.[9] Armenian goldsmiths in Istanbul and Greek goldsmiths in Anatolia abounded in the nineteenth century, and, as far as we can tell, it was these craftsmen who produced the jewelry worn by Jewish women. We do not possess a clear picture of the part played by the Jews themselves in this craft.

A document dated 1526 in the Topkapi Palace archives, listing goldsmiths in the service of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, mentions a certain "Abraham the Jew the Foyaci" who specialized in laying gold and silver leaves under precious stones in order to accentuate their brilliance.[10] In this long list of craftsmen, many of them where from the different peoples of the Empire, he is the only Jew. Additional testimony, from a European diplomatic representative at Istanbul in the sixteenth century, indicates that Jewish goldsmiths from Rhodes settled in Istanbul and Salonika.[11] In the travel account of Evliya Efendi, written in the seventeenth century, we find a list of the Istanbul guilds, which suggests that Jews engaged chiefly in trades auxiliary to the fine metal crafts: the guild of silver and gold refiners (*kalijian*) incorporated two hundred registered members, all of them Jewish; the guild of preparers of acid solutions for refining metal (*tizabjian*) had one hundred members, most of them Jews; the guild of sweepers of the precious metal dust from goldsmiths' shops (*rumassiljian*) was entirely Jewish, while in the mixed jewelers guild, Evliya Efendi mentions only the "Jew with an earring" as among the outstanding crafstmen of the guild .[12] However, this information is too fragmentary to allow one to determine to what extent Jews were active as goldsmiths at the time.

Jews played a considerable part in the trade of jewelry and the raw materials used in its manufacture: gold and silver, precious stones and pearls. Various sources indicate that in the sixteenth century, Jews were already prominent in the importation of precious stones and pearls from the East, re-exporting them to Europe.[13] Evliya Efendi mentions the guild of pearl dealers (*lulujian*) at Istanbul, numbering one hundred men, all of them Jews, and owners of forty shops in the Bezesten quarter of the bazaar.[14] Tavernier, the seventeenth-century traveller, known as an expert and dealer in precious stones, mentions the Jewish pearl dealers of Istanbul in his written accounts.[15] He also speaks of the commercial ties existing between the Jews and the sultan's

2. "Jewish woman bringing her merchandise for sale to the women of the harem who are not permitted to go out"
1714
Etching after a drawing of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour
From: Ferriol, pl. 65
Israel Museum Collection, 33-1-40
Gift of Victor Klagsbald, Paris

3. "Jewish Money-changers"
Early 19th century
Color lithograph
(Tatikian Press)
Alfred Rubens Collection, London

palace in jewelry and other valuable metal craft objects. According to Tavernier, the keeper of the sultan's treasury held a biennial sale of pieces that were found unsuitable for palace use, and the buyers of these objects were Jews. He also writes of Jewish women peddlars who visited the palace to sell jewelry and other precious objects to the women of the harem (fig. 2).[16] Another source mentions that Jewish women acted as intermediaries between Jewish jewelry dealers and harem customers.[17]

Jews were also conspicuous in another sphere, which was directly associated with the jewelry trade. This was money changing (called *sarraf* in Turkish), an occupation that apparently remained in Jewish hands until the end of the eighteenth century, when it gradually came to be dominated by the Armenians.[18] The money changers also bought and evaluated pieces of jewelry, and sold the gold and silver coins that were sometimes used in making it (fig. 3).

Although the Jews continued to be prominent in the jewelry trade, the period between the eighteenth and early twentieth century yields little information about the part played by Jews in the making of jewelry, and that too is contradictory. However, it must be observed that the Turkish word for goldsmith – *kuyumcu* – is used both for the artisans and for the dealers in jewelry and other metalwork and this ambiguity may account for the apparent contradictions in the evidence.

The historian Galanté notes the withdrawal of Jews from artisanry during the eighteenth century, and offers evidence that Istanbul Jews did not engage in goldsmithing, watchmaking, and other crafts.[19] White, on the other hand, describing the jewelers in the Istanbul bazaar in 1844, claimed that the traders and polishers of precious stones were mostly Jews.[20] Frankl also mentions a large number of Jewish goldsmiths and stone-setters at that period.[21]

To all appearances, only a few Jews were employed as goldsmiths in Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The picture is similar in Izmir and Rhodes. Statistics of Jewish craftsmen in various Turkish towns collected by the Alliance Israélite Universelle at the end of the nineteenth century confirm this impression.[22] But Jews were prominent as owners of jewelry and other metal crafts shops. Some of these merchants placed their hallmark on the goods they sold, although they were made elsewhere. For instance, the mark of the traders Kazes and Tellias of Izmir appears on many silver objects from the beginning of the twentieth century. The Jews who did work as silversmiths or jewelers learnt the trade from Greek, Armenian and European craftsmen, and usually worked under them. Only a few were independent.[23]

The information regarding Salonika is somewhat fuller. The Salonikan historian Nehama, relying on a late eighteenth-century source, writes that Jews were experts in pearls and in setting precious stones, and had no rivals in these fields.[24] Informants of Salonikan origin also report that Jewish goldsmiths worked in the city until the end of Ottoman rule, making pieces of jewelry for Jews and non-Jews, as well as ritual objects. After the city was annexed to Greece in 1912, and especially after the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, the Jewish goldsmiths gradually disappeared and Greek craftsmen took their place.[25] On the other hand, a list issued by the Salonikan Chamber of Commerce in 1922 shows that most of the jewelry merchants in the city were Jews.[26]

The jewelry

Very little Ottoman jewelry has survived, having been for the most part melted down or broken up. The sultans themselves used to melt down gold and silver objects to mint coinage for their military ventures.[27] The few pieces remaining in the Topkapi palace treasury are mostly turban pins (*sorguç*), belts and buckles. In addition, examples of nineteenth-century women's jewelry set with diamonds have been preserved in private collections. Our knowledge depends almost entirely, therefore, on travellers' descriptions. The lack of serious research on the subject precludes even an attempt at a comparison between the jewelry surviving among Jewish women and that of Muslim and other women in the Ottoman Empire.

The jewelry of Jewish women from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century

The written and illustrated sources concerning the period between the arrival of the Spanish exiles in the Ottoman Empire and the middle of the nineteenth century are very sparse. In the responsa literature, especially in answers to questions concerning marriage gifts and inheritance, jewelry and materials from which it was made are occasionally mentioned. However, the shape and design of the jewelry pieces are seldom described. travellers' descriptions are also rare and fragmentary, and it is not clear whether the Jews described and depicted in them are of Spanish origin or belong to the Romaniote or other communities living in the Ottoman Empire before the arrival of the Spanish exiles.

In a woodcut of a Jewish woman from Edirne, appearing in the famous book by the geographer Nicolay published in 1568, the jewelry – a fine chain with a medallion and a heavier chain (fig. 5) – is seen quite clearly. Similar pieces can also be seen in two pictures of harem women and a picture of a European woman from Istanbul in the same book.[28] The difference lies in the women's clothes, not their jewelry. A

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hand-painted costume album dated 1587 contains figures of a woman called "Jewess from Constantinople" (pl. 33a) and of a non-Jewish woman, both wearing the same jewelry, the difference again being in the clothes.[29] Both women wear a choker around the throat, with a medallion attached, and two heavy chains. The necklace is made of gold, set with red and green stones, and resembles jewelry made in Istanbul at the time.[30]

The traveller De Bruyn, describing Jewish women in Izmir at the end of the seventeenth century, remarks that, "The pearls which they wear about their necks are so close to one another, and so thick, that one would be apt to think they were rivetted one into another."[31] His illustration (fig. 4) shows a woman also wearing two rows of pearls fastened to her head-coverings at the back, and pearl earrings.

Pearl ornaments on head coverings and pearl earrings also appear in figures of non-Jewish women of Istanbul and women of the sultan's harem by the same author.[32] (It is worth

4. Jewish Woman from Izmir
Late 17th century
Woodcut
From: Bruyn, pl. 19

5. "Jewish woman from Adrianople"
Detail
1568
Woodcut
From: Nicolay, p. 295

noting that pearl necklaces were also popular among the women of Izmir at the end of the nineteenth century.)

A picture of a Jewish woman in a late eighteenth-century album[33] (fig. 1) shows her wearing a choker with a medallion at the center, and a long chain almost reaching her knees; pins shaped like flowers and bouquets decorate her head-covering. This representation is important in that the pins and the long chain are very similar in appearance to jewelry that was still being worn by Jewish women in Turkey at the beginning of the twentieth century. Similar pieces of jewelry can also be seen in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paintings and engravings of non-Jewish women and especially women of the harem.[34]

Some of the jewelry described – the chains and pendant on the woman of Edirne, the chains worn by the woman of Istanbul and the pearl earrings by the woman from Izmir – can be identified as European.[35] It is possible that they originated in Spain, in the jewelry that the exiles brought with them to the Ottoman Empire. But it is also quite likely that they were adopted by Jewish women in the Ottoman Empire at a time when it was already open to European influence in many fields. This alternative assumption can be supported by the fact that the non-Jewish women described in the same books appear similarly adorned.

It is difficult to reach any definite conclusions on the basis of the scanty material at our disposal, or to conclude that certain pieces of jewelry were specific to Jewish women in this early period. It is very likely that they wore pieces conforming with contemporary fashion and that these were no different from those of urban Muslim women or women of non-Jewish minority groups.

Jewelry of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

The period from the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth is better documented. Apart from an abundance of travellers' descriptions, paintings and prints, there are also histories, memoirs by members of the communities, photographs, and, most important of all, surviving pieces of jewelry and firsthand testimony about them and their use.[36]

Of the surviving pieces of jewelry, however, few are intact. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the Sephardi communities underwent a process of modernization, which also affected costume and jewelry. With the transition from traditional to modern dress the older jewelry gradually changed, to be replaced by styles inspired by European fashions. As a result the traditional jewelry was sold or melted down, broken up and reconstituted in new designs, or assigned new functions. In addition, the wars that its existence, and the resulting economic crises, caused much jewelry to be sold or lost.

The commentary that follows is based chiefly on the jewelry that has survived and on information obtained concerning it. In the case of the items that no longer exist, our description relies on oral and written evidence, and sometimes on the fragments that have been found inserted into newer pieces.

It is important to note that the jewelry described belonged to urban women, and reflects an urban culture. It is made of precious materials – gold, diamonds, pearls and gold coins. Versions of these pieces can be found in the urban cultures of all parts of the Ottoman Empire, such as Algeria, Iraq and Tunis.

The jewelry known to us can be classified in the following groups:

1. Jewelry composed of chains, usually of gold.
2. Jewelry set with precious stones, usually diamonds.
3. Pearl jewelry.
4. Jewelry made of gold coins.
5. Belts and buckles.

1. Jewelry composed of chains

To this group belong the four most important and frequently found types of jewelry: bracelets, chokers, head adornments, and long necklaces.

Bracelets: *manía de čatón* or, sometimes, *manía de mentese* (hinged bracelets). Bracelets were among the most important items received by a bride, usually from her father. They were considered as prestigious items and marked her status as a married woman. They were given as a pair, and were worn on both wrists.

The bracelets known to us were made of 21-carat gold; however, there is evidence that versions made of silver as well as others set with diamonds or precious stones, existed. The bracelet consisted of parallel chains welded at each end to a flat plaque. The plaques were fastened together by pin and hinge – hence the name "hinge brancelet." Such bracelets (fig. 6) were widespread in Izmir, Istanbul, Salonika and Rhodes. Each plaque was decorated with a twisted thread down one border, and a strip displaying a stamped pattern down the other. These patterns varied, and might include flowers, palmettes, clover-leaf and geometrical motifs. The chains were set close together, and ranged from eight to twenty in number, determining the width of the bracelet. Two types of chains were current (pl. 34): a) Link chain, each link interlaced with the three adjoining links; b) Flower pattern chain: links made of wires twisted into a four-petalled flower with a ball in the center surrounded by a twisted thread. The flower shapes were joined by links.

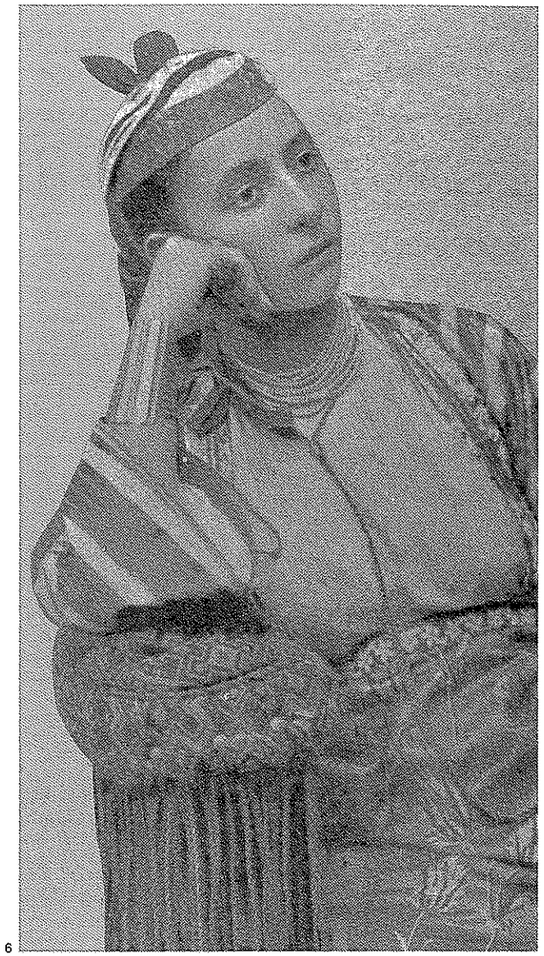
Similar bracelets, mostly of silver or gilded silver, were well-known among the non-Jewish rural populations of Anatolia and the Balkans. At the beginning of the twentieth century, bracelets of this kind were part of the popular costume in regions near Athens, in Attica and in Tanagra,[37] but the form and design of the lock differed from that of the bracelet used by Jewish women. In the Dodecanese Islands (which include Rhodes), a gold bracelet identical to the one in Jewish use was current before the beginning of the twentieth century.[38] The bracelets may have been brought at the time from the Dodecanese to Turkish towns, or copied by local goldsmiths.

The same kind of bracelet, differing slightly in design and decorative technique, was worn by Sephardi women living in Jerusalem. The plaques forming the lock on these bracelets were decorated with an engraved vegetal motif, very reminiscent of the design on a pair of finials from Jerusalem made in the tradition of Moroccan goldsmithing.[39] The bracelet chains are in the flower pattern (pl. 34b above), but the links are usually of smooth wire and the decoration on the flower shapes is more varied and includes little round and star-shaped discs. It may be assumed that these bracelets were made by local goldsmiths.

The *manía de čatón* bracelet was, it seems, already worn by Jewish women in the first half of the nineteenth century, as can be seen in a painting by Charles Gleyre dated 1838 (pl. 35), and a lithograph dated c. 1830 (fig. 7), where a Jewish woman of Izmir is shown wearing bracelets made of rows of chains with a plaque fastening. Similar bracelets appear in paintings and prints of harem women of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries,[40] and in two paintings entitled *Women of Athens* of 1819.[41] White, describing Turkish life in Istanbul (1844), also remarks that some Turkish women and almost all Armenian women, in Istanbul wore bracelets made of chains and flat plaques set with diamonds.[42] It seems, then, that the bracelet worn by Jewish women at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth was a variant of the type that existed throughout the region. It also appears that Greek and Armenian, though not Muslim women, wore this kind of bracelet at the time. In is not known, however, whether they were given as wedding gifts among Christians as they were among the Jews.

Choker necklace: The *ogadéro* (in Spanish meaning band for the throat, or "hangman's rope") was probably called thus because it hugged the throat, but it is also possible that the name is a corruption of the word *ogadór*, which means "necklace." The *ogadéro* was considered by Jewish women as uniquely theirs, and in fact it appears in pictorial representations of Jewesses and is attributed to them in the literature.

The *ogadór* is mentioned in a responsum from Salonika, dated 1808: "The above-mentioned Hakham Rabbi Masliah gave to his daughter *manilias* (bracelets) and also a gold



6. Jewish woman in traditional costume wearing bracelets (*manía de čatón*), a chain (*kolána*) and pearl necklace (*yadrán*)
Salonika
Postcard, Photo. Arch. 4549
Courtesy of David Recanati, Tel-Aviv

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ogadór and also a pearl *ogadór*, all as an outright gift."[43] Mary Adelaide Walker, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, remarks that the Jewish women of Salonika wore a wide gold choker necklace.[44] Galanté, writing about Jewish women's jewelry in Izmir and Rhodes, describes the *ogadéro* as a necklace of seven or ten gold chains.[45]

This necklace (fig. 9), which was part of the traditional costume of the Jewish women of Izmir, Rhodes, Jerusalem, and also apparently at an earlier period of Salonika, disappeared completely with the transition to European dress.

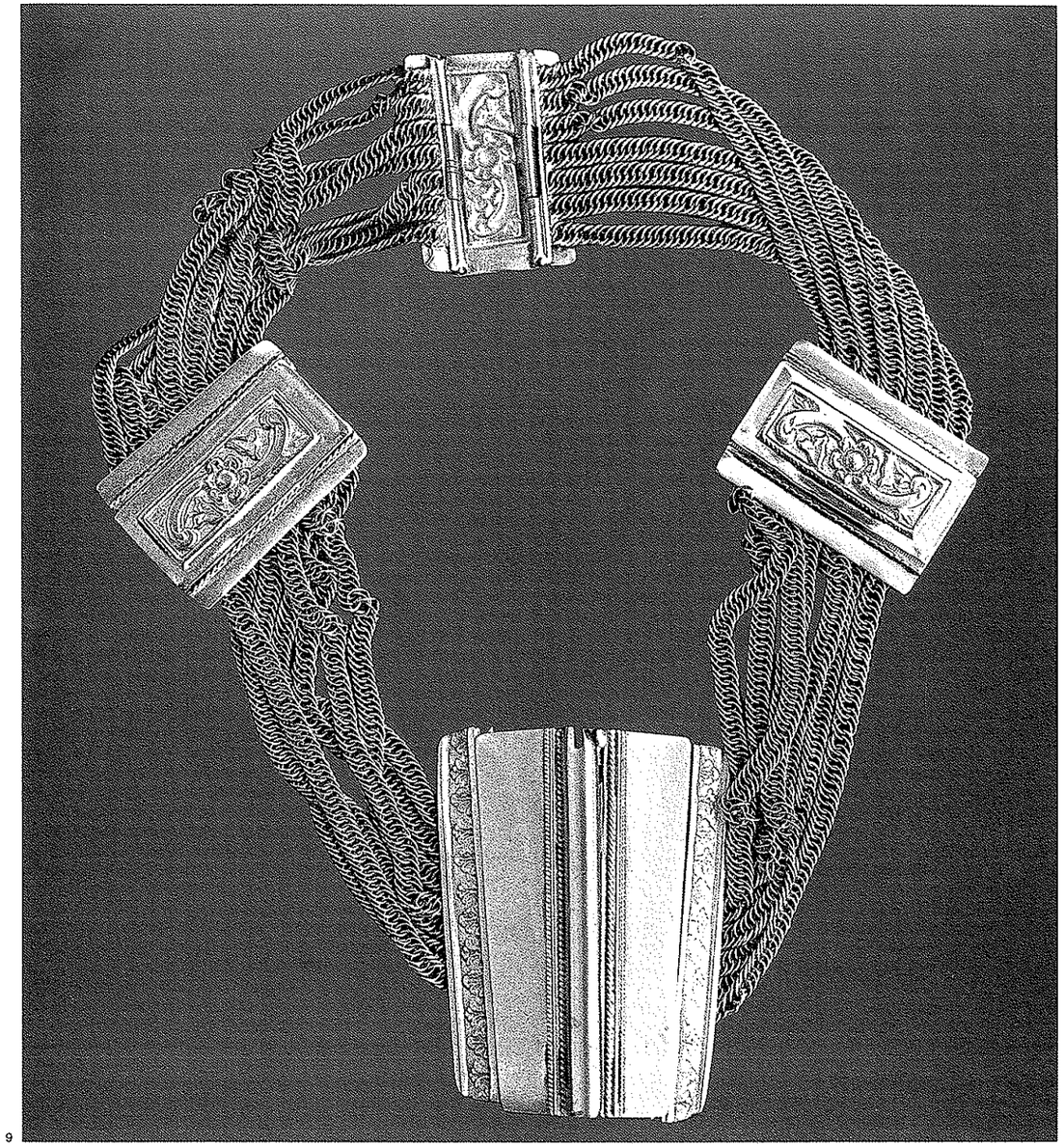
The *ogadéro*, considered the most important item received by a woman, was a distinguished ornament, and was usually given to her by her husband. It was expensive, and not everyone could acquire it. Women from Rhodes remembered the *ogadéro* as a piece of jewelry belonging to old women, who kept it as an asset in case they should need money to buy a grave allotment and a tombstone.

We know of only one intact *ogadéro*. originating in a small town near Izmir, and made of 21-carat gold. Very similar in form to the bracelet described above, it is composed of alternate chains and plaques and its lock resembles that of the bracelets. The chains are made of two interlinked rings, welded both to the plaques and to the fastening. Each plaque is composed of three parts to add flexibility. The central part of the plaque has a repoussé flower motif. Joining the parts of the plaque is a twisted wire decoration. The necklace was fastened in front (fig. 10).

7. "Jewish Woman in the House" wearing necklace (*ogadéro*) and bracelets (*manía de čatón*) (detail)
Izmir, c. 1830
Color lithograph (Tatikian Press)
Alfred Rubens Collection, London

8. "Jewish Woman from Smyrna in the Street" wearing a necklace (*ogadéro*) (detail)
Izmir, c. 1830
Color lithograph (Tatikian Press)
Alfred Rubens Collection, London

9. Necklace (*ogadéro*)
Izmir region, late 19th century
Gold, repoussé and stamped, chains
L. 40 W. 4.7
Private collection



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According to oral information, there existed another version of the *ogadéro* consisting only of chains and the fastening. In this type, the chains were made of the flower pattern, and were held together at several points by cross-links. Galanté mentions an *ogadéro* set with precious stones, which was called "*ogadero joyiri*."[46]

Early nineteenth-century depictions and descriptions suggest that the *ogadéro* was popular with Jewish women already by that time and perhaps even earlier. Our late nineteenth-century example is based on those earlier forms, and at the same time shows the changes made in the design of the necklace in the course of time.

Similarly constituted necklaces can be found in Greece and Anatolia among the popular jewelry of non-Jewish women,[47] and also in parts of central Europe. But they all differ in style, composition and the decoration of the separate parts from the type known among Jewish women.

Head Ornament: The name *lelál*, or *leláf*, is perhaps a corruption of the word *helal*, meaning new moon, or crescent. Rivka Alper, in her reminiscences of Jerusalem, confirms this assumption: "They used to wear above the brow the *helal* made of gold, shaped like the crescent moon at the beginning of the month, and from it hung at the left side of the head thin gold chains that covered the left ear, and lent charm and delicacy to the face."[48]

The *lelál* is also described in the reminiscences of Ya'akov Yehoshua. He says that the piece was made either of gold (*lelál-de-óro*) or silver (*lelál-de-pláta*);[49] The *lelál* was worn up to the end of the nineteenth century in the towns of West Turkey (pl. 37), and in Jerusalem it remained in fashion also in the first quarter of the twentieth.

Galanté describes the *lelál* as a forehead ornament, consisting of a bunch of seven to ten chains, the two ends being fastened to the *tokádo* (head-covering of women in Izmir and Rhodes, see "Costume").[50] We know of only one surviving piece of this kind, originating in Jerusalem (pl. 37b). It is made of 22-carat gold, and consists of two crescent-shaped pins, joined together by chains. The cresent pins have a circle on top consisting of an eight-petalled rosette. The crescent and circle design is made by a fine square wire over a fine network, a technique typical, it seems, of the Aleppo region.[51] The *lelál* has fifteen rows of chains of different lengths, the shortest on top and gradually increasing in length. The chains are made of interlaced links.

The crescent is a motif frequently found in Ottoman iconography. It is used in architecture, metal objects, jewelry, textiles and on ritual objects. It also appears on flags and banners. The crescent occurs on some pieces of jewelry worn by Jewish women, and also on Jewish ritual objects and textiles, sometimes alone and sometimes with the addition of a rose or star. At the beginning of the nineteenth century,

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10. Jewish woman in traditional costume (Sultana Ventura Algranati) wearing a necklace (*ogadéro*) and a belt with a metal buckle
Izmir
Photo. Arch. 5969
Courtesy of Sam Levy, Lisbon

11. Jewish woman from Bursa wearing a forehead ornament (*lelál*) (detail)
1873
From: Hamdy Bey, part III, pl. III

during the reign of Selim III (1789-1807), the crescent and star appeared for the first time as the official emblem on army and navy flags. This military emblem was adopted as the national flag on the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923.[52]

The *lelál* is similar in structure to jewels made of precious stones and pearls that decorated the head-covering (*hotoz*) of urban Ottoman women and was worn in the same way. To some extent it resembles popular jewelry in the Balkans and Anatolia, made of silver or gilded silver chains. It thus combines urban and popular elements, while retaining its uniqueness.

Chains: The many names for chains – *kadéna*, *kordón*, *kolána*, *filár* – may indicate that formerly each kind of chain had its own specific name. Besides, it is possible that different names were used by different communities. But today all these appellations indicate the same item.

Different varieties of chains were always very popular among Sephardi women. In paintings and drawings from earlier centuries women can be seen wearing such long chains, sometimes reaching to the knees (figs. 1, 6, 12). The wearing of such long chains continued into the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, although changes certainly took place in style and form. Photographs from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth show the chain attached to the belt, or draped and fastened to the dress to one side of the breast (fig. 12). In the 1930s married women were still given such long chains, and they wore them wound several times round the throat, in the current fashion. The chains were usually locally made, and only a few were imported from Europe. Some were also local copies of European patterns. They were made of gold in various designs and were from 175 to 200 cm in length (figs. 13, 14).

Double-link-chain. Round links of twisted wire, vertically linked in pairs (fig. 13).

Disc-chain. *Kadéna-de-púles*, made of pairs of rings linked together, with an oval disc welded on at each join at a slant (fig. 13).

Rope chain. Made of several plaited wires (fig. 14b).

Link-chain. Made of oval links of rounded wire, partly twisted to one side and interlinked. Chains of this kind, made of hollow wire, were imported from Europe (fig. 14b).

A small watch, or a pendant in the shape of a button or heart, a coin – *dukádo*, or a *Shaddai* was usually suspended from the chain. Some of the pendants were amulets.[53] Sometimes chains were named according to the attached accessory – for instance *sati kordón* – chain with watch.[54]

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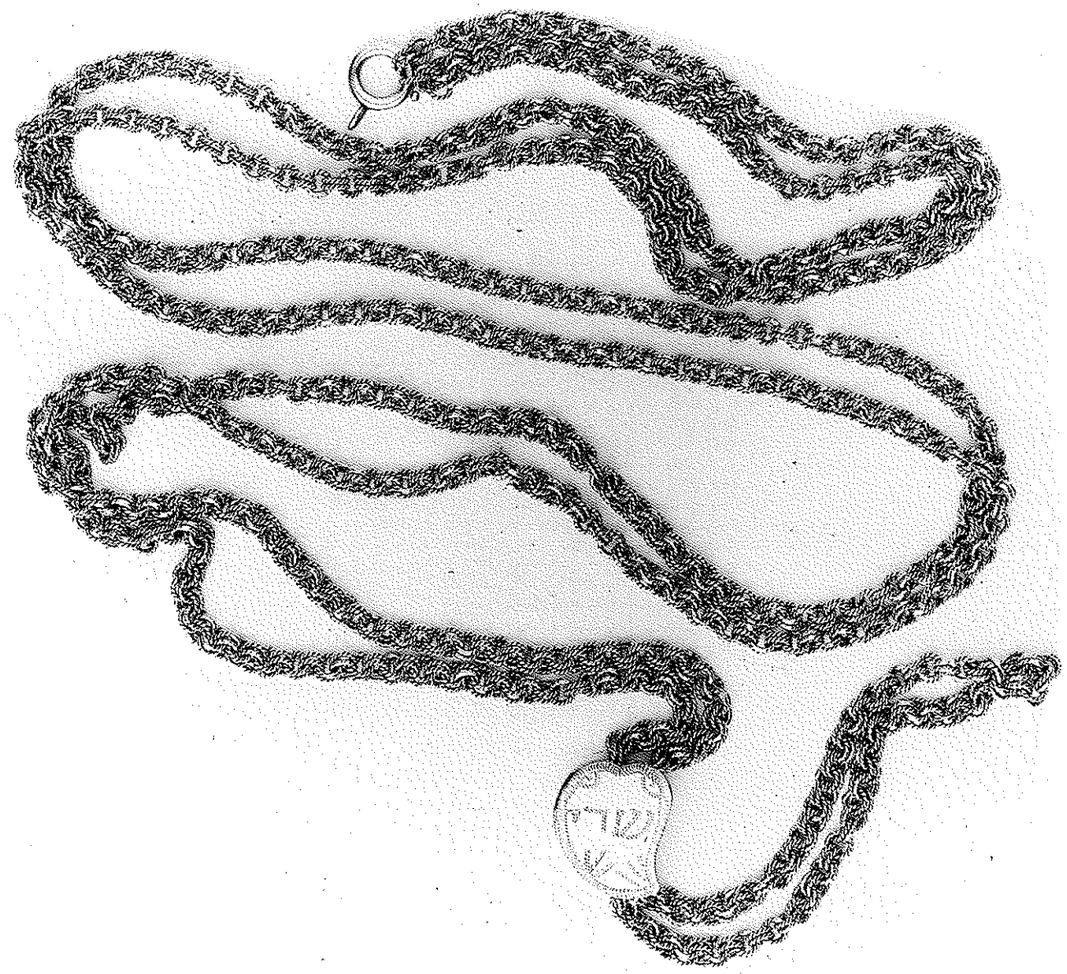
2. Jewelry set with diamonds

During the second half of the seventeenth century diamonds became increasingly important in Ottoman jewelry, gradually



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taking the place of the rubies and emeralds that had been abundant in earlier centuries.[55] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the European influence also penetrated the styles of locally made diamond jewelry. The diamonds used were the rose – cut diamond, cut so that the upper facet was arched and polished in the form of a rose – hence the name. These diamonds were set with their flat base concealed. Apart from the locally made pieces, European di-

12. Jewish woman in traditional costume wearing a chain (*kolána*), a pearl necklace (*yadrán*) and bracelets (*mania de čatón*)
Salonika, early 20th century
Photo. Arch. 4016
Courtesy of Nehama Nahmias, Jerusalem

13. Double link chain (*kolána*) and *shaddai* amulet
Early 20th century
Gold
Private collection

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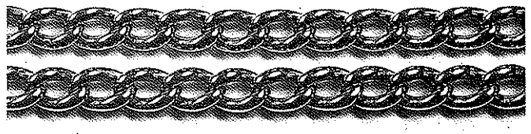
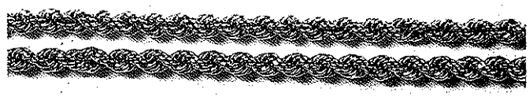




b

amond jewelry reached the Ottoman Empire towards the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the imports pieces were set with brilliants, and with them this setting technique began to be introduced into the Ottoman Empire, if only in a limited way. Brilliants are arched above, cut into a sharp cone below, and polished with many facets. The shape and the polish are designed to increase the brilliance of the stones. They are usually set in a frame so that the lower part of the stone remains exposed, thus enabling the maximum reflection of light. The volume and fine polish of these stones greatly increase their value.

Jewelry set with brilliants, whether local or European, was accessible to a limited social class, while jewelry set with rose diamonds, of traditional technique and local style, could be acquired by larger sections of the population. This division applied equally to the Jewish community.

We shall discuss here only the diamond jewelry traditionally worn by Jewish women – hatpins, rings and earrings.

Hatpins: The *rozéta* was a pin for decorating the *tokádo* – the velvet cap worn by married women of Izmir and Rhodes during the period of transition from traditional to modern dress (see "Costume"). The name *rozéta* arises from the shape of the pin, resembling a rose (*roseta* in Spanish) (fig. 16), although other shapes such as wreaths or flowering branches, stars, crescent moons and birds (pl. 38) were frequent. The *rozéta* was fastened to the center of the *tokádo*, close to the forehead, and symbolized the woman's married status. Widows removed the pin in token of mourning (fig. 15).

The source of the *rozéta* is the turban pin, the *hotoz iğnesi*, a piece of jewelry current among harem women and urban Muslim and Christian women. The *hotoz* (head-covering) was usually adorned with many pins in flower and garland shapes, set with diamonds and precious stones.[56] Jewish women of Istanbul and the surroundings also used to decorate their traditional head covering, the *halebi*, (see "Costume") with similar pins (fig. 1).[57] The *rozéta* pins worn by Jewish women in Izmir and Rhodes up to the twentieth century were often a modest version of these turban pins.

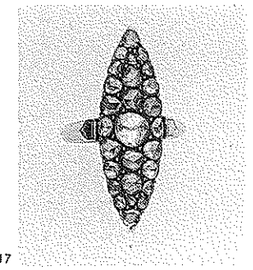
The *rozéta* was usually made of gold set with rose diamonds, sometimes with an added colored precious stone, and varied widely in quality. Some pins were of poor gold, up to 6 carats, or of silver or other metals, set with diamond chips, while others were of 18-carat gold set with stones of high quality. The pins were either cast or made of metal sheet. Sometimes enamelling was used in addition to the diamonds. The stones were rose-cut diamonds; not always symmetrically polished, and diamond chips. They were set in shallow hollows by the application of pressure, or in raised frames. It was customary to lay fine, shining leaves of metal (*foya* in Turkish) under the diamonds to bring out their brilliance. The technique was known in Ottoman goldsmith work from the

15

14a. Disc chain (*kolána*)
Early 20th century
Gold
Private collection
14b. Two types of chains: disc chain and cord chain

15. The Altalef family: married woman wearing *rozéta* and widow without *rozéta*
Izmir, early 20th century
Photo. Arch. 2735
Courtesy of the Altalef family, Yehud

16



17

18

beginning of the sixteenth century (see "craft and trade" above).

Another variation of the *rozéta* was the pin known as the "tremblers" (*titriyenler* in Turkish). These were larger pins, consisting of several parts, such as branches, flowers or birds, of which one or two elements were placed on a gold or brass hinge, and trembled with each movement of the head.

When the *tokádo* ceased to be worn at the beginning of the twentieth century, the *rozétas* were converted into pendants and brooches and thus a considerable number of them were preserved.

Rings: Two forms of rings set with diamonds are known to have been worn by Jewish women. The *alméndra* (almond in Spanish) is an almond-shaped ring current in the towns of Ottoman Turkey, in Rhodes and in Jerusalem. It was also known by the folk-name *skaraváto* (scarab or dung-beetle in Spanish), because of its shape (figs. 17, 18). The ring was usually made of gold, entirely set with diamonds (*diamántes*) and diamond chips. A row of larger stones was placed in the middle and was surrounded by a border of smaller, uniform stones. The type very much recalls the European "marquise" ring, which has a pear-shaped diamond at the center (figs. 17, 18).

The *rozéta* was a diamond ring shaped like a flower, current in Salonika. Made of gold, it had a large central diamond surrounded by smaller stones. At times a ruby rather than a diamond was set in the center.[58]

Earrings: Pendant diamond earrings (*arojáles de diamántes, skularíčis*) were very popular in all the Sephardi communities in Turkey and the Balkans, and also in Jerusalem. They were usually of gold set with diamonds. The diamonds were arranged in a perpendicular row, the smallest at the top and the largest at the base with the effect of heaviness at the bottom (fig. 20).

Another, tear-shaped form of earring was popular especially among the women of Salonika. At the center of the earring was a large diamond and around it a frame of small stones. In all forms of earrings the stones were set in a basket-like or petal-shaped frame.

Rings and earrings varied in quality of material and workmanship, from very fine to very poor.

3. Pearl jewelry

Pearl jewelry has a long tradition among Sephardi Jewish women. The pearl jewelry known to us from paintings and photographs as well as from oral and written testimonies dates from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries and includes necklaces and head adornments. However, no complete pieces exist – the necklaces were broken up and the pearls placed in modern settings.

Necklaces: A pearl necklace bore different names in different places. In Salonika and Yugoslavia it was called *yadrán*; in the towns of Ottoman Turkey it was called *gerdán* or *máso*; in Rhodes it was *manájo*, and in Jerusalem the names reflected the origins of the women who wore the necklace.

The Salonikan *yadrán* was of special significance since it was both an essential part of the traditional costume and a status symbol.[59] It was intended to adorn and also to some extent, to fill in the wide décolletage of the dress. It consisted of small baroque pearls, strung in closely-spaced rows of different lengths, the end of which were sewn to silk or brocade ribbons tied at the nape (figs. 19, 21, 22). Women who could not afford real pearls (*yadrán fino*) used imitations (*yadrán fálso*), and even wealthy women who owned the fine pearls, sometimes wore imitation strings around the house.

19

20

16. Brooch (*rozéta*)
Early 20th century
Gold, diamond chips
D. 3
Private collection

17. Ring (*alméndra*)
Izmir, early 20th century
Gold, diamond chips
L. 3
Private collection

18. Ring (*alméndra*)
Istanbul, early 20th century
Gold, diamond chips
L. 2 W. 1
Gad Nasi Collection, Herzliya
Courtesy of Morit

19. Jewish woman (Yaffa de Botton-Molho) in traditional costume wearing pearl necklace (*yadrán*)
Salonika, early 20th century
Photo. Arch. 3985
Courtesy of Raphael Molho, Jerusalem

20. Earrings (*arožáles skularičis*)
Istanbul
Gold, diamonds
L. 2
Gad Nasi Collection, Herzliya
Courtesy of "Morit"

21

22

The necklace called *máso* differed in form from the *yadrán.* It was made up of six to ten twisted rows, all similar in length, of small baroque pearls, which together composed the *máso* ("bunch" in Spanish). The rows of pearls were shoulder-length and were continued as a plaited tress of silk thread (*ibrişim*) which was knotted on the nape as a fastening.[60] The *manájo* worn in Rhodes resembled the Salonikan type of necklace.

Forehead and face jewelry: The *yedék* was popular among Salonikan women. It decorated the *mumí,* the everyday head kerchief, but was also sometimes attached to the *kófya*, the festive head-covering (fig. 21). In a photograph of a Jewish woman of Salonika in the album of Hamdy Bey (fig. 22), one can distinguish a piece of jewelry made of pearls on the head covering. In Jerusalem, women of Salonikan origin also wore the *yedék* on their *kófya*.

Besides what is seen in the photograph we have no accurate information about the shape of this piece of jewelry, except that it was made of rows of small baroque pearls and was worn over the forehead, attached to the head-covering on both sides. It was made at home by *enfiladéras*, women who specialized in threading pearls. These women also embroidered the pearl decorations on the square attached to the edge of the *kófya* (see "Costume").

Galanté mentions a forehead ornament made of pearls worn by women in Izmir and Rhodes,[61] but none of our informants remembered its existence.

The *lelál de pérlas* was known among Jerusalem Sephardi

21. Jewish woman of Salonika (Mazal-Tov Brakha Zarfati) wearing pearl head decoration (*yedek*), pearl necklace (*yadrán*) and chain (*kolána*)
Photo. arch. 5918
Courtesy of Victoria Filo, Kir'on

22. Jewish woman of Salonika wearing a pearl head ornament (*yedek*) (detail)
1873
From: Hamdy Bey, part I, pl. XXII

23. Muslim woman of Istanbul wearing pearl ornaments on her headdress (*hotoz*)
Late 17th century
Woodcut
From: Bruyn, pl. 35

24. Jewish woman of Bosnia in traditional costume, wearing pearl necklace (*yadrán*), coin necklace, chain (*kolána*) and forehead ornament (*frentéra*)
From: Levy, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien*, fig. 9

23

women, who were still wearing it at the beginning of the twentieth century. It consisted of two pins connected by rows of small baroque pearls, and it was similar in shape as well as in use to the gold *lelál* (see Chain Jewelry above). Its existence in the towns of Ottoman Turkey is confirmed by Garnett in her description of the head-coverings of Jewish women in Bursa.[62]

A long tradition of pearl jewelry also existed among non-Jewish urban women, especially in the sultan's harem. The custom of adorning head-coverings, mainly the large size *hotoz*, was very widespread (fig. 23).[63]

4. Jewelry made of gold coins

Coins were given as gifts on all occasions of significance in a persons's life. The use of gold coins, both *dukádos* and *dópias,*[64] in jewelry was current among Jewish women, and amuletic qualities were attributed to them. The coins were attached to a chain, or to another piece of jewelry. There was also jewelry made exclusively of coins, or coins together with gem-stones. Because of their greater value, Austro-Hungarian and other European coins, such as French ducats or Napoleons, were widely used in addition to the Ottoman coins.[65] But care was taken not to use coins with a cross motif. Necklaces made entirely of coins were current at the end of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century they disappeared almost entirely in the towns of Turkey, although they continued to be worn by Sephardi women in Bosnia.[66] The custom of adding one or two coins to a chain has survived in the entire region to this day.

Our knowledge of coin jewelry is based only on documents – oral, written and photographed, for no complete piece has reached us. Because of the value of the coins as legal tender, such jewels were the first to be sold in time of need.

Coin necklaces (*résta de dukádos*): These were widespread in Izmir and Salonika. According to Galanté, our only written source on Izmir, women wore them round the neck.[67] The *résta* of Salonika was composed of small ducats with a large Napoleon in the middle. These pieces were also worn on the forehead, over the head-covering.[68] A choker made of gold coins was also current among Sephardi women in Bosnia (fig. 24).

Forehead ornament (*frentéra*): This is also an ornament made of coins that was worn by Sephardi women in Bosnia (fig. 24). The piece consisted of a band on which rows of partly overlapping gold coins were sewn. The *frentéra* was placed on the forehead under the *tokádo* headgear so that the band was hidden and only the coins were visible. The *frentéra* was known also in Izmir, and there it is described as a band trimmed with coins, *dukádos*, worn over the *tokádo.* Yehoshua describes a similar jewel of gold coins worn by Jerusalem women, but he calls it *safa de oro.*[69]

24

Coin necklace (*gerdán-de-dukádos*): This type was common in communities of Western Turkey and Rhodes, but we have no precise description of it. It is known that it was composed of alternate coins and coral beads, thread on a very fine leather cord or a rounded velvet ribbon. Galanté remarks that the necklace was called *hamsah*, because it was made of five coins and five large coral beads.[70] This piece of jewelry was considered to be an amulet.

Apart from these pieces, coins were also used as pendants on chains, and even to make earrings and rings. The *arojáles-de-lwiji,* for instance, were earrings made of the *lwiji* coin.

The use of gold coins in jewelry was particularly popular in provincial towns and among lower-class non-Jewish women of the Ottoman Empire.[71] Coin jewelry is not mentioned in descriptions of the jewelry of harem women and women of the upper classes and such pieces are rarely seen in any of the many paintings and engravings.

5. Belts and buckles

Metal belts and metal buckles for belts made of cloth and leather were part of traditional Ottoman costume. Jewish women also included them in their outfits (pl. 39, 40). They were made of gold and silver and other metals, and were sometimes set with diamonds and precious stones.

Women's belts are described in many travellers' accounts and are represented in paintings (pl. 36). For instance, the resplendent belt of a Jewish woman of Istanbul is described by Pardoe at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "A broad girdle of wrought gold, clasped with gems; both the girdle and the clasps being between five and six inches in width."[72]

Belts were a part of the valuable gifts that a woman received on her marriage. An eighteenth-century Jewish marriage contract from Istanbul mentions a belt (*kuşak*) of gold, which the groom undertook to bestow on his bride.[73]

More belts and buckles were preserved intact than other pieces of jewelry, and many examples have reached collections. The belts and buckles are varied in shape, style and technique. Most of them are of silver or gilded silver, of popular local styles of the various regions, from Cyprus in the southeast to Bosnia in the west. The decorative motifs are floral, incorporating geometric designs.

Belts: These consisted of a strip made in one piece, or of little plaques joined together. They were fastened by means of a small buckle, usually in the shape of a butterfly, more or less as wide as the belt. Different techniques were used in making the belts – plaited silver wires, filigree, granulation, and enamel. Sometimes the filigree was laid over a sheet of tin to give it weight. Often the filigree itself was composed of several layers. Sometimes the belt was set with semi-precious or glass stones. Some types remained in fashion up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Jewish women of Izmir and Rhodes wore them over their dresses in the transition period between Ottoman costume and modern dress.

Buckles: These were intended for belts of woven or embroidered strips of cloth or leather. The buckles were made of a pair of discs, circular or almond-shaped, or else of three segments, the middle one perpendicular and the other two adjoining it on either side. The decorative techniques usually employed were filigree over a tin sheet, casting, punching, hammering, granulation and stamping. Sometimes more than one technique was used (pl. 39).

Another technique, specific to Ottoman goldsmiths, is also found in buckles. Jade plaques inserted into the metal buckle were engraved with a plant motif of branches, leaves and flowers: metal wires were inlaid in the engraving so as to form interlacings that joined flower to flower. The flower was made of a stone set in a metal leaf, hammered and raised in relief. The stones used were rubies, emeralds and other semi-precious stones. This technique was widespread in the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards, but the buckles made in this technique known to us date from the nineteenth century (pl. 39).

In conclusion, the jewelry of Sephardi women of the Ottoman Empire, from the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, was to a large extent influenced by the fashions current in jewelry among the non-Jewish urban population, fashions that originated in Istanbul, the capital. At the same time it shows characteristics borrowed from local popular styles, especially Greek folk jewelry. During the nineteenth century, the European influence which became increasingly widespread in the Ottoman Empire in all aspects of life, was also reflected in the jewelry worn by urban women of the Empire including Jewish women.

It seems that Jewish women adopted certain kinds of jewelry and went on wearing them even after they went out of fashion among the population as a whole,[74] so that a unique item became specific to them at certain periods. However, the necklace called *ogadéro* and probably the necklace of small baroque pearls, might have been characteristic of Jewish women only, for there is no evidence to show that they were worn by other women in the Empire. This topic calls for further investigation.

Women from the periphery of the Empire, from Bosnia to Jerusalem, wore the same kind of jewelry although the technique and details varied within every region.

Generally speaking all women wore the same items of jewelry, but the quality of the pieces reflected the means of the owner. Thus women who could not afford gold used silver, and substituted diamond chips for real diamonds. There is also some evidence of more luxurious jewelry, which has not survived. The small number of pieces that have been preserved and their comparatively modest quality is perhaps to be ascribed to the vicissitudes undergone by the Jewish communities during the periods discussed.

This survey is not intended as a definitive presentation, for many questions remain unanswered. Some solutions may be found through comparative research on the jewelry of non-Jewish women in the Ottoman Empire.

Translated by Mira Reich

Notes

1. Yosef David, *Petah Beit David*, par. 62.

2. Eliezer de Toledo, *Mishnat Rabbi Eliezer*, par. 40.

3. Yosef David, *Petah Beit David*, par. 65.

4. Danon, II, p. 254.

5. Yosef Mitrani, cited in Rozanes, vol. 3, p. 347.

6. Galanté, *Rhodes*, p. 57, n. 2 (citing the Rhodes community records): "Eskama en date de 1797 défendait aux femmes juives d'aller au bain parées de bijoux et de diamants."

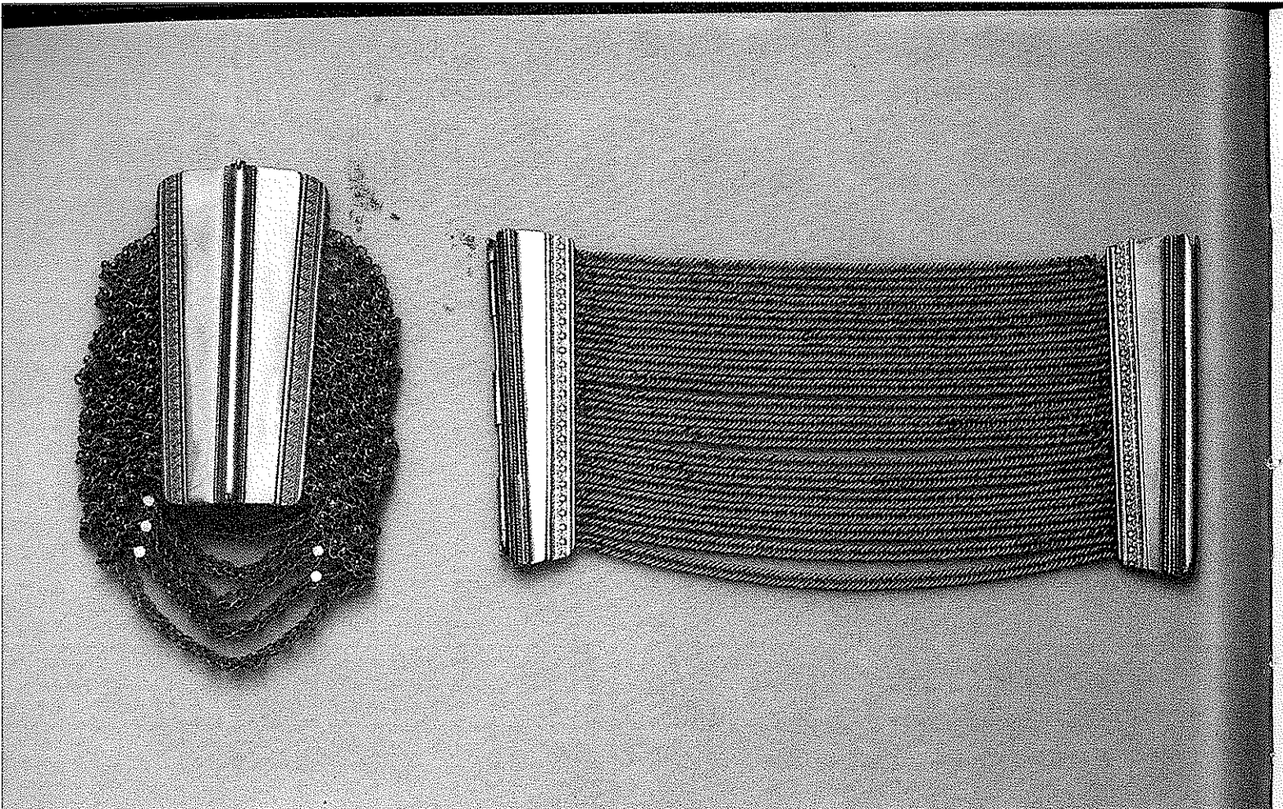
a

b

c

Plate 33

Pl. 33
a. "Jewish Woman of Constantinople"
1587
Watercolors
Manuscript RH 86/443 (587)
The L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, Jerusalem
b. "Married Jewish Woman" and "Jewish Widow"
Istanbul 1574
Watercolors
Courtesy of the Gennadius Library, Athens
c. "Jewish Woman"
c. 1780
Watercolors
Costume album
Recueil d'estampes du Roy de Pologne Classe des Costumes
Tome II, Contenant les Habillements et Costumes Turcs, T 171, no.285
Warsaw University Collection
Photo: Valdemar Yerke



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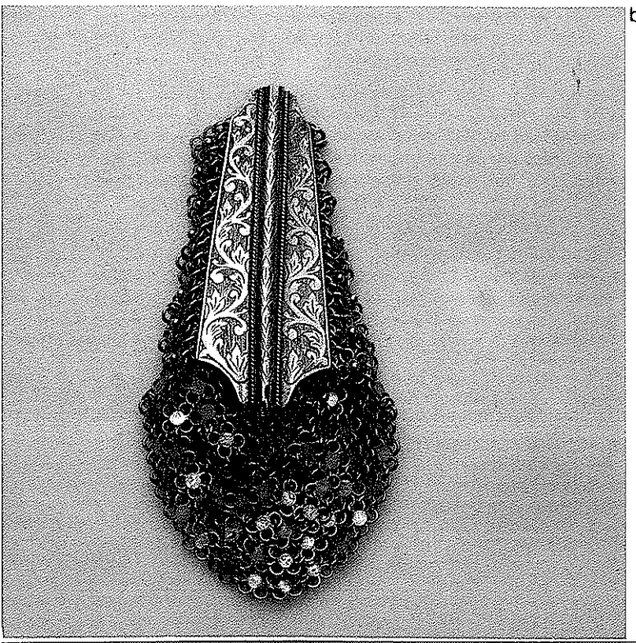


b

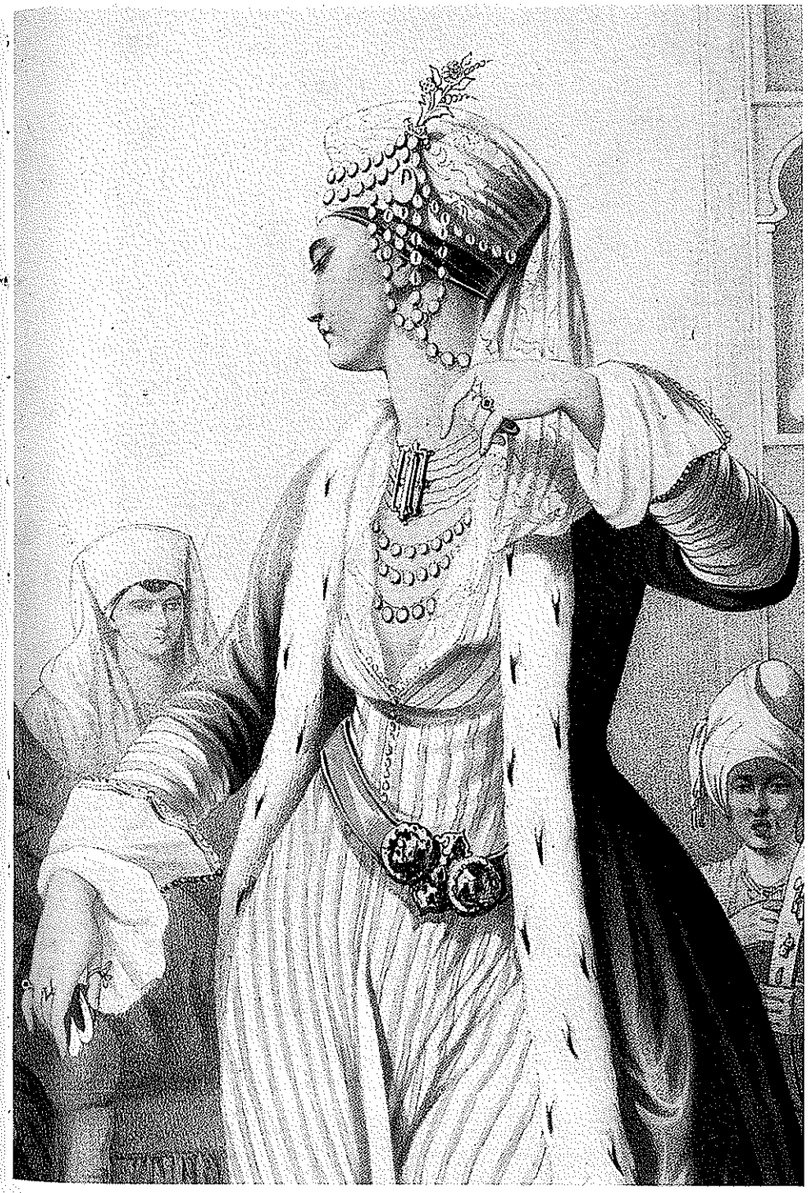
Pl. 34
a. Bracelets (*manía de čatón*)
Late 19th century
Gold, stamped
1. Link chains
L. 17 W. 8.2
Israel Museum Collection
202.83
2. Flower pattern chain
L. 20 W. 8.5
Israel Museum Collection,
1049.85
Purchased by courtesy of
Jacques Levy, Barcelona
b. Bracelet (*manía de čatón*)
Jerusalem, early 20th century
Gold, engraved
L. 18.5 W. 8.5
Private collection, Jerusalem

Plate 34

Pl. 35
"Jewish Woman of Smyrna"
1838
Watercolors
Artist: Charles Gleyre
Courtesy of the Musée
Cantonal des Beaux-Arts,
Lausanne

Plate 35

Plate 36



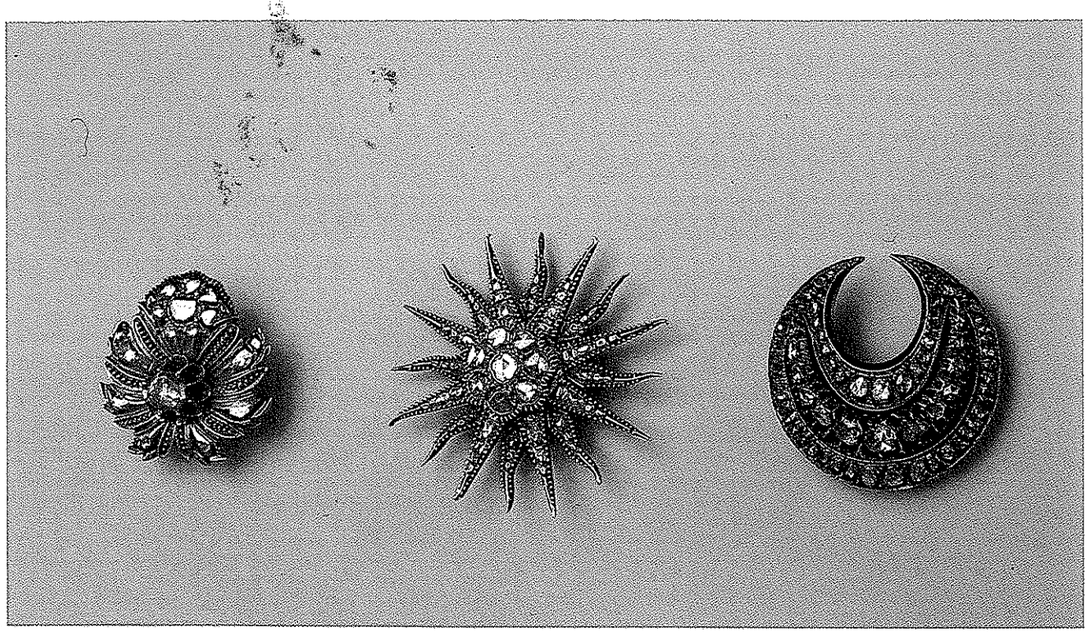
b

Plate 37

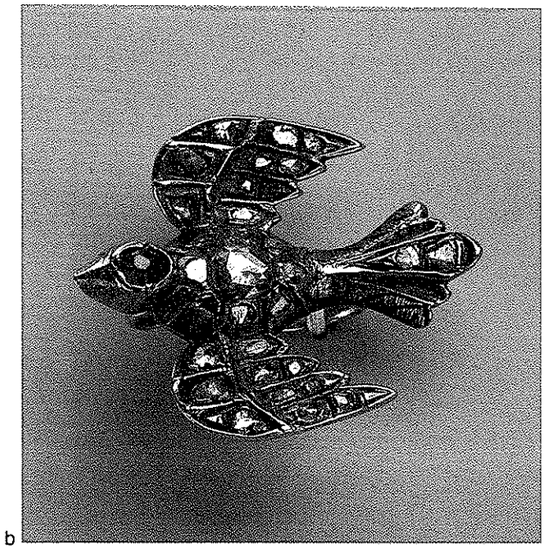
Pl. 36
"Jewish Woman in Ceremonial Costume"
1714
Hand colored etching, after a drawing of Jean Baptiste Vanmour
From: Ferriol, pl. 64
Israel Museum Collection, M871-5-51
Gift of Victor Klagsbald, Paris

Pl. 37
a. "Dance of the Fiancée – Jewish Wedding in Smyrna"
Woman wearing necklace (*ogadéro*), head ornament (*lelál*), forehead ornament (*frentéra*) and coin necklace (*résta de dukádos*) (detail)
Color lithograph
Artist: Camille Rogier
From: Camille Rogier, *La Turquie*, Paris 1847
b. Head ornament (*lelál*)
Jerusalem, early 20th century
Gold
Link chain
Private collection

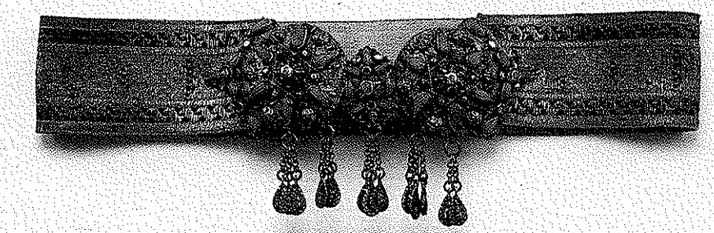
a

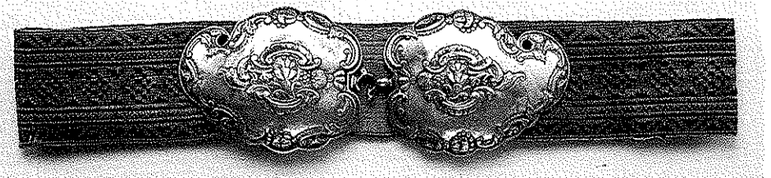


b



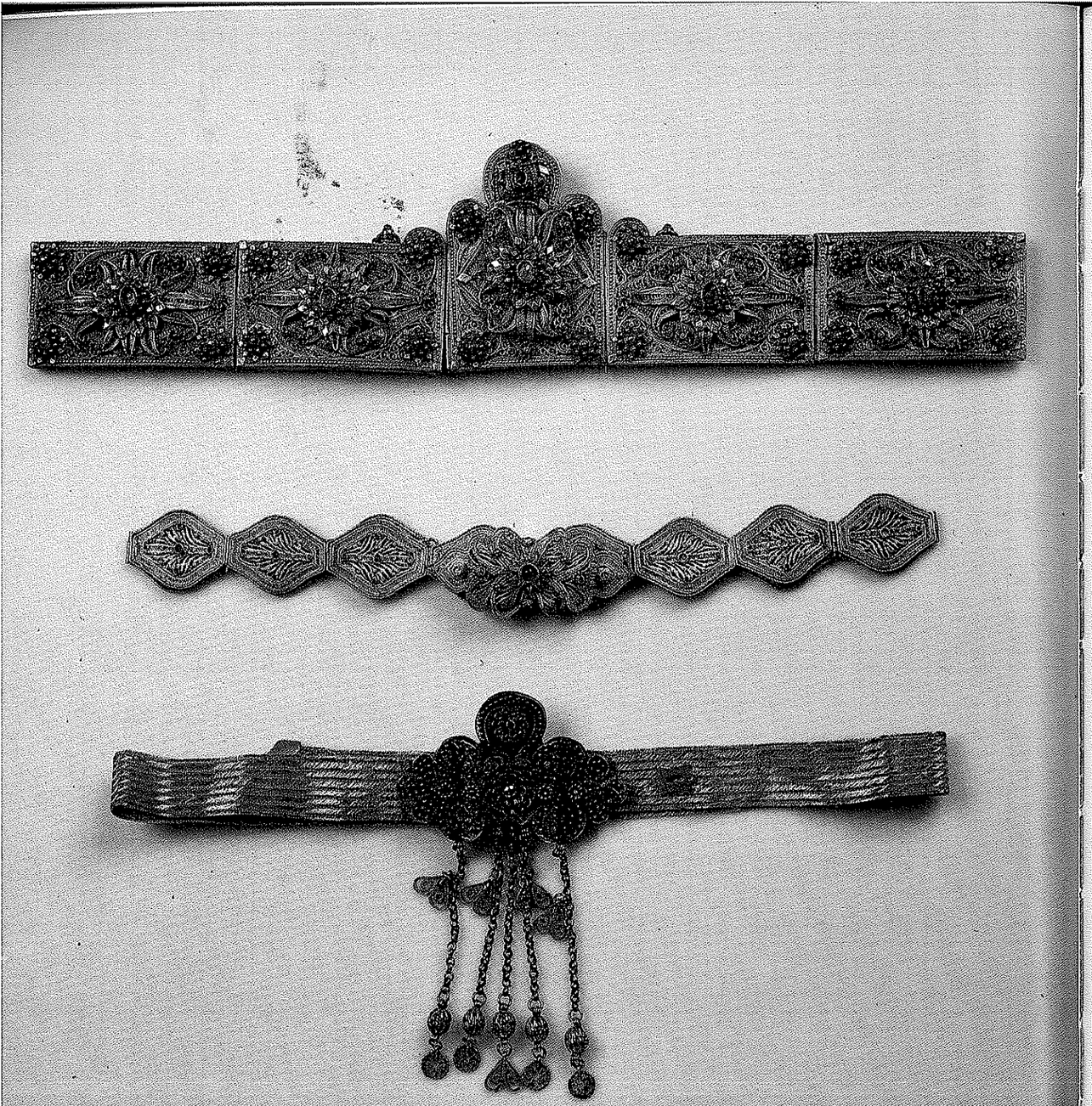
Pl. 38
Hat pins (*rożeta*)
Early 20th century
Gilt silver, diamonds and diamond chips
Crescent
D. 4
Israel Museum Collection, B87.339
Star
D. 4.7
Israel Museum Collection, B87.338
Violet
D. 3.1
Israel Museum Collection, 937.82
Bird
L. 2 W. 1.8
Israel Museum Collection, 109.85
Purchased by courtesy of Jacques Levy, Barcelona





Pl. 39
Belt buckles (from top to bottom):
Gilt silver, filigree on tin, granulation, enamel, gilt
L. 26.5 H. 13.5
Israel Museum Collection, 893.72
Purchased by courtesy of Baroness Alix de Rothschild, Paris
Gold, embossed, granulation, corals, turquoise, metal thread set in jade, rubies(?), emerald chips
L. 25.5 H. 16.5
Israel Museun Collection, 894.72
Purchased by courtesy of Baroness Alix de Rothschild, Paris
Gilt silver, filigree, corals, glass
L. 22 H. 7
Israel Museum Collection, 522.75
Purchased by courtesy of Baroness Alix de Rothschild, Paris
Silver, repoussé, punched and engraved
L. 22 H. 9
Israel Museum Collection, 1050.85
Purchased by courtesy of Jacques Levy, Barcelona

Pl. 40
Belts (from top to bottom)
Late 19th century-early 20th century
Silver, filigree granulation on tin, glass, partially gilt (section)
L. 50 H. 11
Israel Museum Collection, E632-2-50, 101/13
Silver, partially gilt, filigree, cornelian
L. 78 H. 5
Private collection
Silver, plaiting and granulation, glass
L. 100 H. 5
Israel Museum Collection, 471.67
Purchased by courtesy of Baroness Alix de Rothschild, Paris



7. Iẓḥak Molkho, *Orhot Yosher*, pp. 148-49.

8. Allan and Raby, p. 33.

9. Allan and Raby, p. 32; Atil, *Süleyman*, p. 117: "The last register drawn during the reign of Süleyman is dated 1566. It included thirty-nine goldsmiths, once again separated into Rumiyans, which constituted ninety percent of the society, with a small corps of Aceman."

10. Rogers, *Treasury*, p. 40.

11. Allan and Raby, p. 33, quoting Busbek.

12. Evliya Efendi (English edition), vol. 2, p. 191; (Turkish edition), vol. 2, pp. 224-25.

13. Shmuelevitz, p. 248; Rogers, *Treasury*, p. 45, who points out that even after the Portuguese came to dominate the Eastern trade in the sixteenth century, Jewish merchants continued to import precious stones from Europe to the Ottoman Empire.

14. Evliya Efendi (English edition), vol. 2, p. 189; shops dealing in valuable objects were concentrated in the Bezestan.

15. Tavernier, *Voyages*, pp. 241-42.

16. Tavernier, *Sérrail*, pp. 195; 299.

17. Allan and Raby, p. 32

18. Galanté, *Istanbul*, vol. 2, p. 28, citing Pertusier.

19. Ibid., p. 29, citing Pertusier.

20. White, vol. 2, p. 64.

21. Frankl (English edition), vol. 2, p. 141, enumerates about 150 goldsmiths and 200 setters of precious stones. These figures do not comply with other evidence concerning Istanbul in the nineteenth century.

22. Benbassa and Rodrigue, pp. 118-19; 122.

23. This impression is based on evidence collected in the course of fieldwork, especially the testimony of Ben Zion Biton, one of the last Jewish goldsmiths in Izmir.

24. Nehama, vol. 6, p. 293, after Felix Beaujour.

25. Ben-Sanji, p. 209. The 1936 list of Salonikan Jews' occupations mentions seventeen goldsmiths' workshops, but this information is not confirmed in any other source.

26. Toledano, p. 203.

27. Atil, *Süleyman*, p. 114; Allan and Raby, pp. 20, 21.

28. Nicolay, pp. 63, 65, 79, 189.

29. L. A. Mayer Museum of Islamic Art, Ms. no. RH86.443(587); see also Kurz, *Dresses*, p. 277, who says that the woman called "La Persiana" in this album is a European woman of the Pera quarter (the European quarter) of Istanbul.

30. Çağman, *Ottoman*, pp. 103-4.

31. Bruyn, p. 25.

32. Fig. 25 and De Bruyn, p. 38, pl. 35; p. 41, pl. 37.

33. Two further versions of this picture exist, one in the British Library, Ms. BL. 4907, f. 336; and the other in an album in the University Library, Istanbul, T.5502, f. 120b.

34. See, e.g., Tuğlaci, *Istanbul*, p. 116; idem, *Palace*, pp. 70, 154; Tuchelt, pl. 10(2); D'Ohsson, vol. 2, pl. 75.

35. Muller, p. 11, fig. 5; Stathos, p. 76, table 13.

36. *Survey of Sephardi Communities*.

37. Hatzimichali, vol. 1, pp. 25; 69; pls. 55, 91, 106.

38. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 358. The Jewish community of Rhodes was linked to the communities of Izmir and Anatolia, through trade and marriage, and it is quite likely that the bracelets reached Turkish towns in this way.

39. Israel Museum, no. 147/19. The Museum also possesses a Hanukkah lamp decorated with a similar motif (no. 118/240). I would like to thank Rafi Grafman who called my attention to this point.

40. Tuchelt, pl. 10 (2); Tuğlaci, *Palace*, p. 176, from Hobhouse; idem, *Istanbul*, p. 27, from Istanbul University Library no. T.5502.

41. By Louis Dupré, in Hatzimichali, vol. 2, p. 44, pl. 28.

42. White, vol. 2, p. 61.

43. Shelomo Binyamin, *Lev Shelomo*, par. 35.

44. Walker, p. 59.

45. Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 158; idem, *Rhodes*, p. 71. It should be noted that the descriptions of jewelry in these two books are almost identical, and it is now impossible to know if this identity existed in reality. In what follows we shall refer only to *Izmir*.

46. Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 158.

47. Gerlach, p. 66; pl. 33, no. 2; p. 186; pl. 93, no. 2; Delivorrias, p. 41, no. 59.

48. Alper, p. 87.

49. Yehoshua, vol. 3, p. 42.

50. Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 158.

51. My thanks are due to Rafi Grafman for his comments on this subject.

52. Ettinghausen, *Hilal*, pp. 381-84.

53. White, vol. 2, pp. 60, 61, mentions similar chains with pendants belonging to Ottoman women.

54. *Sati* is a corruption of the word *saatli*, meaning in Turkish "with watch."

55. Çağman, *Ottoman*, pp. 104-5.

56. Castellan, vol. 3, pp. 79-80; Desmet-Gregoire, pp. 201-2, n. 8, citing Lady

Craven, *Voyages de Milady Craven à Constantinople par la Crimée en 1786*, Paris 1789.

57. Pardoe, vol. 2, p. 370: "Her turban of the usual enormous size worn by all Jewish women ... so covered with gems that its pattern was indistinguishable."

58. White, vol. 2, p. 59, mentions a kind of ring called *gül*, which means rose in Turkish.

59. Garnett, vol. 2, p. 14: "Pearls are indeed a passion with Salonica Jewesses, who whatever their rank, spend all the money at their command on these ornaments for their heads and necks."

60. According to the goldsmith Ben Zion Biton of Izmir in the 1930s there was still a Jewish jeweler in Izmir, named Moshe Ganai, whose speciality was the making of pearl necklaces – "máso de pérla."

61. Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 158.

62. Garnett, vol. 2, p. 17.

63. Montague, p. 200.

64. The Sephardi Jews called all the different kinds of coins *dukádos*, and the coin whose value was twice that of the *dukádos* was called *dópia*. The gold coins, intended from the first for adornment, had the same name, their value was fixed according to weight, and, some say, also by their year of manufacture.

65. The ducat was a gold coin in use in Italy, Holland and other countries; the Napoleon was a coin of the period of Napoleon III. On some Napoleons the name Louis appears beside that of Napoleon, and these were called Lwiji in Ladino, and on others the name Napoleon III appears alone.

66. Levi, *Die Sephardim*, pp. 33-34.

67.Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 159: "La resta ou 100 ducas cousus sur un cordonnet, formait une espèce de collier, comme le filar."

68. Garnett, vol. 2, p. 14.

69. Yehoshua, vol. 3, p. 41.

70. Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 159; "La Hamsa est un mot arabe significant cinq, en raison de cinq ducats qui accompagnaient alternativement, cinq gros coraux, formant le tout, un magnifique collier."

71. D'Ohsson, vol. 2, p. 145.

72. Pardoe, vol. 2, p. 370.

73. Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, ms. 29186. My thanks are due to Dr. Leah Makovetzky who placed this document at my disposal; see also engagement writ from Jerusalem, cited in Morag-Talmon, *Families*.

74. Müller-Lancet, p. 47.

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1. Jewish couple in wedding costume
Ruschuk, early 20th century
Photo. Arch. 5288
Courtesy of the Siman-Tov family, Jerusalem

Marriage

Esther Juhasz

Marriage, besides being the central and most important event in adult life, has highly significant social implications, as it entails a change in a person's familial and economic status, standing in the community, place of residence, and so on. The wedding itself is the climax of a lengthy period of preparation, during which the families assemble various articles of property and display them for all to see during or around the actual marriage ceremony. For the student of material culture, therefore, both the preparations for the wedding and the nuptial ceremonies themselves are of considerable interest. Although we are concerned, of course, with the Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire, some attention must also be devoted to the background and contexts from which the wedding customs of this cultural group developed. First and foremost in this respect is the halakhic stratum which dictates the basic framework of the marriage ceremony. Immediately superimposed on this stratum, whose guiding principles are the same in all Jewish communities, is the stratum of custom and usage. This essentially constitutes the local interpretation of the halakhic stratum, shaped in each specific locality in the course of time and under changing historical circumstances. The details of such local customs reflect their respective period and milieu, thus creating different material expressions of the same religious laws. For example, in any Jewish wedding the groom leads his bride to the *ḥuppah* (bridal canopy), but the shape of the *ḥuppah* and the objects it is associated with are dictated by local custom and time-honored traditions. In the case of material objects, such as the bride's costume and the content of the dowry, their use and their context, the surrounding non-Jewish culture exerts considerable influence.

The specific flavor of marriage ceremonies in the Sephardi Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire is the result of the merging of the halakhic stratum with Sephardi customs and heritage, as well as customs appropriated from Ottoman non-Jewish society.

Our discussion will be based on information from various sources:

1. Interviews with members of Sephardi communities.
2. Written descriptions of Jewish weddings, mainly from Salonika, Istanbul, Bulgaria and Jerusalem. As it happens, a considerable number of descriptions originating in late nineteenth-century Jerusalem are available. However, though these descriptions reflect customs and objects relevant to the cultural sphere of the Sephardi communites in the Ottoman Empire in general, they may well have been influenced by contact with Ashkenazi communities.
3. In regard to local usage, we have drawn from the Sephardi responsa literature, mainly from the nineteenth century but also earlier. Halakhic discussions concerning *kiddushin*, *ketubbot* (marriage contracts), etc. often deal with wedding customs, traditions as to types of gifts, the content of the dowry, and the like.
4. Dowry lists, mainly from Izmir.
5. Travellers' accounts, generally of non-Jewish, Turkish, Armenian and Greek weddings – though Jewish weddings are also treated.
6. We have also relied on Sephardi romances and songs, particularly wedding songs, which refer to the customs and the objects used.

Shiddukhin (betrothal)

The *shiddukhin* ceremony was held after the two families had reached an agreement to marry their children; it parallels the Ashkenazi ceremony known as *tena'im* and the present-day engagement or betrothal ceremony, and is known under various names: *shiddukhin*, *kinyanim*, *kinyan*, *despozóryo*, *espozóryo* or *béza-máno* and in Istanbul *kiddushei sivlonot*. At this ceremony the families made the first public announcement of the impending marriage, and it was in the nature of a mutual commitment. Sometimes the actual date of the wedding was set at this time. However, the central element of the ceremony was an agreement, sometimes recorded in a contract known as *shiddukhin*, *kinyan* or *espozóryo*, as to the economic obligations undertaken by each family.[1] The agreement related to all property, whether in cash or in kind, contributed by each party. Another clause in the agreement might refer to the livelihood of the newlyweds after the wedding, the responsibility for supporting them in their first years of married life and their place of residence. According to custom, the bride and groom lived initially with the latter's parents and were counted part of their household. "And this includes the proviso that, when the time comes for the

betrothal to be concluded ... for his son ... and sometimes (the groom) would request to be supported for one or two years after the marriage, and this is known as *méza fránka* (table of freedom).''[2] The agreement stipulated certain sums of money, known as *medudim*, *ma'ot be'ayin*, *kontádo* or *kontánte* (cash that the bride's father was to deliver to the groom, and the dates of these transactions). These sums, added to the value of the trousseau, were later recorded in the marriage contract.

It was customary for the groom's father, or the groom himself, to buy the bride jewelry to the value of the *medudim*. For example, the custom in Istanbul was as follows: ''... And it is our accepted custom that the husband must make jewelry from the sum brought by the wife.... For what is given at this point is in respect of the *medudim* received from the bride's father and corresponding to this sum he makes golden jewelry and articles, etc.''[3] In a betrothal contract from Jerusalem we read: ''And in addition the above-mentioned groom's father, may God guard and keep him, has undertaken to give jewelry to the above-mentioned bride, may she be blessed above all women: a *yardán* (necklace) and a *kušak* (belt) and golden bracelets, to the value of at least five thousand *arayot* (name of the currency).... And in addition the father of the bride ... has undertaken to give her a dowry and bed linen (as stipulated), as guaranteed in a promissory note, to the value of at least five thousand *arayot* as *kontánte*, no less.''[4] The contract sometimes ends with a specification of the fine that would be imposed on whichever party violated the agreement.[5]

The betrothal was solemnized in a ceremony which consisted mainly of an act of *kinyan* (an act symbolizing acquisition of rights) and an oath. The rabbi or scholar who had mediated between the families proffered a handkerchief or scarf to the bride and groom, and they accordingly took an oath.[6]

During the betrothal ceremony, immediately thereafter and in the interim between the betrothal and the wedding proper, it was customary in all communities for the couple to exchange gifts, known variously as *doronot* or *sivlonot*. The custom was tantamount to a social obligation – failure to observe it or violation of its rules could cause disputes, which sometimes even resulted in cancellation of the marriage.

In regard to the *sivlonot* and their halakhic significance, the Istanbul community differed from the other Sephardi communities, as it adhered to the Romaniote usage. In Istanbul, acceptance of *sivlonot* was considered as possibly equivalent to *kiddushin* (consecration, the formal act binding the bride to her husband). Therefore, even if the wedding ceremony did not take place, a bill of divorce (*get arusah*) was necessary to dissolve the bond. Accordingly, it was forbidden to accept secret *sivlonot*, for fear of secret *kiddushin*, and the ceremony of *kiddushei sivlonot* was held publicly by a *ḥakham*, who would announce the delivery of gifts to the bride.[7] This usage was still current at the beginning of the present century. In 1902 the Istanbul rabbinate issued a decree *(mandamyénto)*, published in the press, concerning the custom of presenting gold rings as engagement rings. Prospective brides and their families were warned that acceptance of such a ring might be considered *kiddushin*; therefore, in order to prevent the creation of *agunot* (women unable to remarry through lack of a legal divorce), brides were requested not to accept such gifts directly from their fiancés, but only through a relative, to prevent unintentional *kiddushin*.[8]

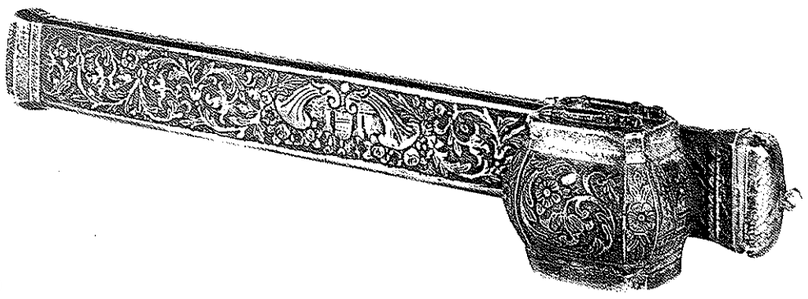
As we have stated, such measures were not adopted by other Sephardi communities, and neither was the *sivlonot* ceremony. A prospective bride whose engagement was cancelled did not need a formal divorce, even if she had received *sivlonot* from the groom. The *sivlonot* themselves were not bestowed as an outright gift, and the bride was obliged to return them if the engagement was cancelled.[9]

We have only sparse information as to the type of *sivlonot* customary in Istanbul, though they most probably consisted of jewelry. The responsa literature mentions, among other things, ''a purse of coins,'' ''silver lilies,''[10] ''gold bracelets'' and ''silver and gold articles and bracelets on her arms.''[11] According to a description dating to 1894, wealthy Istanbul families were accustomed to give jewelry as engagement gifts – earrings, bracelets and pendants. Less wealthy families gave perfumes and other cosmetics.[12]

In Izmir, Salonika and Bulgaria the groom's emissaries would give the bride a gift known as *nišan* (sign) or *béza máno* (kissing of the hand),[13] immediately following the *kinyan* ceremony. This gift was generally a gold coin, ring or other ornament, such as earrings, chains bearing watches or diamond rings.[14] During the period between the betrothal and the wedding the bride and groom exchanged gifts at appointed times.

The custom of bestowing gifts upon the bridegroom, current in Izmir in various social groups, is described in a question addressed to R. Nissim Abraham Ashkenazi in the mid-nineteenth century, in the context of a discussion of the obligations incumbent upon the bride's father: ''...For it is the custom in this city in regard to all grooms, that the father-in-law gives his son-in-law two gifts, one on Purim and one on the eve of the Day of Atonement. Hence any further betrothal is undertaken with this in mind. Moreover, the custom of the wealthy in regard to gifts is to give on Purim a large gilded *megillah* (scroll of Esther), made by a master scribe, and on the eve of the Day of Atonement they send a complete *kavhane* (coffee serving set), silver for things of silver, set with gold, to the value of more than a thousand *arayot*. And some, not of good repute, send half of the above-mentioned *kavhane*, and those of average means send a silver *eskriva-*

2. Dedication page of Esther Scroll
Late 19th century
Parchment, ink, watercolors, gold stamped paper
Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv



3. Pen case and inkwell
18th century
Silver, repoussé and engraved
The L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, Jerusalem, No. M251

niá (pen-case) gilded here and there" (figs. 2, 3, pl. 41).[15]

Yehoshua, in his memoirs, describes the engagement period as follows: "*Bogas* (gifts) were exchanged on festivals – trays filled with *maručinos* (almond cookies), *pedasos de joya* (jewelry) were sent from the groom's to the bride's house and vice versa, scrolls ornamented in silver and gold were sent as *mishloaḥ manot* on Purim, and the bride presented the groom with a gift of special significance – the *čitari*, choice cloth for a magnificent gown to be worn on the wedding day. The groom's gifts to the bride included all the fashionable jewelry to be found in the gold – and silversmiths' shops of the Old City – *mamías de plata* (silver bracelets). The bride sent the groom an *eskrivaniá* (pencase) made entirely of silver..."[16]

The dowry (*ašugar*)

One of the most important clauses in the betrothal agreement concerned the amount of the dowry that the bride would bring to the groom's home. The value of the dowry was determined by agreement between both pairs of parents.[17] The dowry consisted of all the property accompanying the bride from her parents' home, and could include things such as a house, shop, partnership in a business or the like,[18] and the money levied from her family. However, we shall be referring here chiefly to her trousseau, and all her personal possessions, consisting of her clothing, linen and various household objects (see below).

The amount of *medudim* and the value of the trousseau, together with an incremental amount promised by the groom and occasionally also a second increment (sometimes known as *mattanah*), were added to the figure recorded in the marriage contract. Upon dissolution of the marriage (whether by divorce or by the husband's death), the wife was entitled to the sum specified in the contract, augmented by the increments promised by the groom.[19] In some periods custom demanded such exorbitant dowry payments that some fathers were unable to comply. As a result, some communities, in Turkey and elsewhere, issued *takkanot* (enactments) limiting permissible dowry payments.

One such enactment, issued in Istanbul in 1726, restricted the amount of *medudim* and dowry in accordance with the father's property, as assessed for taxation purposes: "A rich man, up to five *levanim* (the name of a currency) of assessment, not inclusive, will give his son-in-law as *medudim*, also known as *kontante*, at most one thousand piasters.... And the dowry shall not comprise more than ten articles of clothing and three botunaduras(?) of gold and a golden girdle ... and a *mattanah* comprising twenty percent of the *medudim*."[20]

Some idea of the burden occasioned by the dowry and the concomitant monetary obligations is furnished by a poem composed at the beginning of this century in Salonika, by the popular rhymesters Gershon Zaddik and Moshe Kaziz:

Great is the burden of the dowry.
Young men are wont to exploit.
Those whose purse is empty
Are unable to marry.
Young men demand sterling and *lirot*
Arrogantly from the matchmaker.
They plant longing in maidens' hearts.
What bad luck – even water-drawers
Demand full *ašugar*
A chest and *toilette*.
Both rich and poor women
Exceed the bounds of reason,
They desire muslin with a ribbon,
An embroidered *combinaison*.
They demand curtains of tulle with screens,
And a cache-poussière to dance the lancers.
For bread and chickpeas they are insatiable.
What bad luck, says the assessor too,
At the sight of mantles and furs, costly embroidered cloaks.
They labor all their life,
Wasting away with their needles,
They are exhausted of blood, unable
To prepare everything as required.
Beds with bed-covers
Are demanded even by the porter,
Of good cotton, a set of
Linen drapes he requests.

Every youth sets his heart on a well-laid table,
A wealthy father-in-law,
He seeks a pure or beatiful [maid]
Though clothed in breeches.
Though unable to pay rent
Even for a small room, the wastrel,
Do you know what he strives for?
There is no profit, much labor is needed.
And sometimes a lazy person comes along
And demands payment of *bedel*.
Sons, cease your folly,

You do not know how to choose,
You have been sold for the price of a dowry,
You are enslaved to a woman.
Seek a worthy wife
Who will work well
With her needle and scissors,
Who knows how to support her household.[21]

Preparation of the trousseau

It was the father's task to draw up the financial agreement and arrange payment, the mother's to prepare the material content of the dowry – the trousseau. Preparation of a girl's trousseau began when she was a mere infant, as expressed in the Sephardi saying, "la ija en la faša l'ašugar en la kaša" ("The maid is in diapers and the dowry is already in the chest"). However, most of the articles, mainly the bride's clothing, were made or purchased in the time elapsing from the engagement to the wedding. Great significance was attached to each item and considerable time and labor invested in preparation of the trousseau. Sometimes the bride and her mother alone would embroider the trousseau; at times other adult relatives, including aunts and grandmothers, would render assistance. Rich families would commission a dressmaker and embroiderer to work in their homes; there were even special workshops, in which entire sets could be ordered – trousseau shops exist to this day in Turkey.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Istanbul was the fashion center of the Ottoman Empire, and rich Sephardim would come from all over the empire to purchase choice items for their daughters' trousseaus. With the advent of modernization some families began to order linen from Europe, particularly from such fashion centers as Paris. On the other hand, poor girls, some of whom worked for a living, were obliged to prepare their own trousseaus, for, as we learn from the above poem, even water-drawers demanded a full dowry. It was also customary for mothers to give their daughters articles preserved from their own trousseaus, so that various articles were handed down from generation to generation.[22]

Display of the trousseau

A few days before the wedding, the trousseau was displayed publicly in the bride's home.[23] This display was known as *ašugar* or *presyádo*. The trousseau was hung upon the walls, spread on tables and beds, or strung up on ropes across the house. The relatives of both bride and groom came to view the trousseau, express admiration for its beauty and richness and appreciation for the labor that it represented.[24] However, the main point of the display was to assess the monetary value of the trousseau. To this end, two or three community notables were invited to the home to serve as assessors (*presyadóres*). They examined each item, recording its description and value in a special list. In some locations it was customary to double the value of each item[25] or at least to add a certain percentage. This was the custom, for example, in Izmir: "It is customary in our city to record the sum of *medudim* precisely, no more and no less. But in regard to the value of the trousseau it is customary to add forty for each sixty, this being done in the family's honor, to increase the dowry money."[26]

These itemized trousseau lists were sometimes delivered to the groom's family for inspection, but after the inspection they were generally discarded. This may be learned from a relatively early source – the seventeenth-century halakhic work *Beit Yosef* referring to the custom in Safed: "...For in any case each item must be assessed singly, and then the assessments must be added up to obtain the total assessment, which is to be recorded in the marriage contract. The notebook (list) is delivered to the groom to ensure that no item or items have been omitted from what he was shown during the assessment; however, there is no need to preserve the notebook until such time as the woman should be widowed and exact payment of her dowry on its basis, for if that were the case the said notebook would have to be copied into the marriage contract.... However, once [the groom] has received the said property in his house the notebook is discarded, and one cannot find one case in a thousand of the notebook being preserved, if not by accident. Moreover, the matter of the notebook is the accepted custom of the Sephardim even abroad, wherever they reside."[27]

In some communities, such as Izmir, trousseau lists were recorded in the community books and the relevant amount entered into the marriage contract.[28] This custom, as current in nineteenth-century Izmir, is described by R. Nissim Abraham Ashkenazi: "For the community official writes the marriage contract on the sole basis of the *lista* (list), that is, the *roll* (scroll) that the official gives him from the bride's father, written and signed by the groom himself, and on the basis of the said *roll* the official determines the dowry payment undertaken by the groom in the marriage contract."[29]

At the head of the list, the various categories of payment were recorded: the *medudim*, the total assessed value of the articles and the two increments imposed on the groom. As described by R. Ḥayyim Palaggi: "... And he wrote her marriage contract in accordance with the custom of our city of Izmir, may God preserve her: *medudim* thus and thus, dowry thus and thus, increment and *mattanah* as is customary."[30]

Content of the trousseau

The trousseau consists of several major groups of items customary in all cases: the bride's clothing – outer clothes, *vestidos*, and underclothes, *čamašires*; bedclothes – mattresses, blankets, pillows and linen, *blankería*; various fabrics for household use – tablecloths, towels, curtains; and a chest. Interestingly enough, jewelry and household and kitchen utensils, though brought by the bride, were not listed as part of the trousseau.

Another source of information, besides lists and oral information, about the usual content of trousseaus in various communities is provided by local versions of the popular song "The Good Dowry."[31] In these songs the groom's mother asks the bride's mother what she has given (or will give) her

daughter as trousseau, and the bride's mother replies. There is no clear distinction between items included in the trousseau proper and other items which are merely gifts. All versions mention the bride's clothing, mostly with much emphasis on its large quantity, generally seven dresses. Some versions also mention jewelry: *yardán de pérlas* (pearl necklace), *manías de óro* (gold bracelets), *aníos de óro* (gold rings). Also mentioned are the trousseau chests – *baúles* or *sepétes*, as well as silver brought by the bride as a gift, such as *pirónes de pláta* (silver forks). One sometimes learns of the magnificent covers used later by the bride upon giving birth: "yo le di kama de sirma que se eche de buen parida" ("I gave her a bed and upon it a cover embroidered in gilt thread, in the hope that she give birth"). "Ya la di cama armada que le eche de bien cazada" ("I gave her a magnificent bed, that her marriage may succeed").[32] Though it is not known when these songs were composed, they evidently reflect an old tradition as to the content of the dowry, which has continued well into the twentieth century.

The modernization processes typical of the period in question have left their mark on the content of the trousseau. The dowry custom itself was not abolished, as it continued to fulfill a social need and was therefore maintained strictly, even to the present. Changes occur, however, of the various items in keeping with prevalent fashions. These changes do not affect the traditional classification of the trousseau into groups of items, but rather the nature and style of the individual items, the types of clothes and fabrics. Turkish names are gradually superseded by French ones (see the dowry poem above and the details below). The trousseau lists become more concise, with more stress on the total monetary value of the dowry as a whole and less on its details.

As mentioned, the trousseau included a considerable amount of clothing. This was intended to last the bride for much of her life, since before the advent of modernization, when costume followed local styles, the patterns of the various items remained the same, changing only quite gradually. Differences may be discerned mainly in the quality of the materials and the magnificence of the embroidery and decorative trimmings.[33]

The articles of clothing were listed in order of importance. The first was the *primér vestído*, the dress for the *kiddushin* ceremony.[34] This was followed by clothes to be worn on festive occasions (such as the day after the wedding) or on Sabbaths, when going visiting, when receiving guests, and so on. Up to a certain time (certainly not the same in all localities) the trousseau also included shrouds, *mortažas*, this being a woman's final garb: "And it was customary in years past to include shrouds as well in the dowry that a man gives his daughter."[35] In time, however, this custom died out.

The trousseau lists also include underclothes, in batches of six or a dozen. Here, too, there are indications of change and modernization. In earlier periods we learn of undershirts (*kamízas*) and underpants, made of the Turkish materials commonly used for that purpose – *pembezar*, *bürüncuk*, *hêlali*, *cözme* – all striped fabrics, generally undyed, made from various combinations of silk, linen and cotton threads; some of these materials were smooth, others were crêped, with hems decorated in the characteristic Turkish needle-lace – *oya*. The quality of the materials depended on the family's means.

In the transitional period, the materials used begin to change, and one finds *linó* (linen), *xasé* (cotton) and *batista* (batiste) as well as the items themselves: in addition to the previously mentioned items we read of pants (*pantalones*), brassieres (*bústo*), night-gowns (*chemise de nuit*), robes (*déshabillés*), undershirts (*kazáka*) and slips (*sayóla*). The underclothes were decorated with embroidery and lace and crochet ribbons, *kindimá* in the European style.

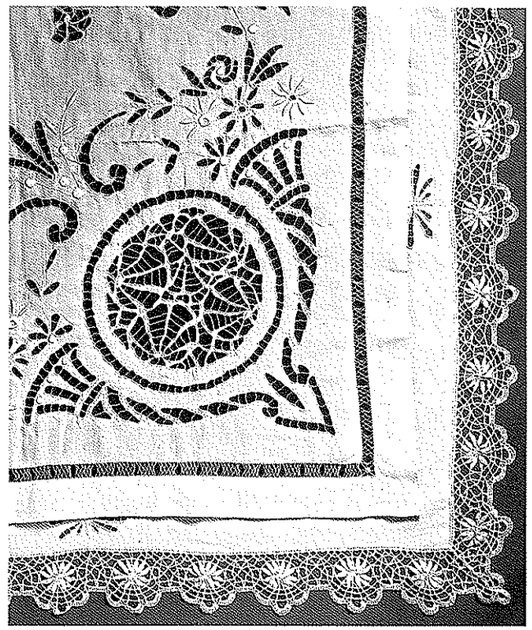
The second important group of items was that designated in the marriage contract as *shimmushei 'arsa*, i.e., bedclothes of all kinds: mattresses, blankets, pillows and linen.

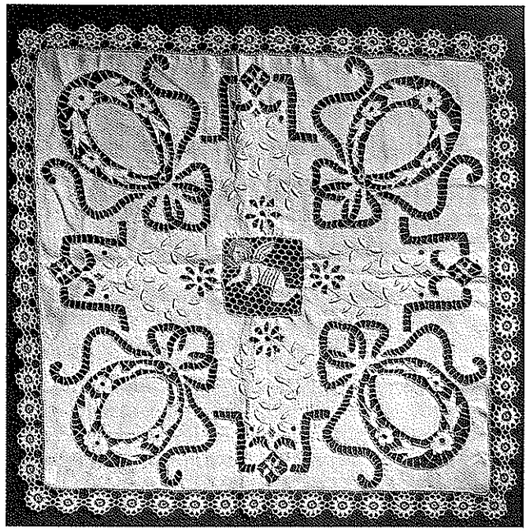
The mattresses (*kolčón*), blankets (*kólčas)* and pillows (*kavesáles, almoádas)* were all stuffed with wool or cotton and covered with cotton fabrics (*čit*).

Jews in Salonika used to hold a special wool-laundering day during the summer before the wedding. Relatives and neighborhood women would gather together and wash the wool used to fill the mattresses and blankets. The clean wool was hung out to dry and then delivered to a wool-beater for its final processing. These proceedings, which were considered one of the ceremonies prior to the wedding, were conducted with much festivity and singing.[36] Close to the wedding day, a special bed-linen-laundering day was also held; all the bed-linen was washed, starched and ironed.

The bed-linen – sheets (*savanás*) and pillow cases – was made of the same materials as underclothes. It, too, was first made of local materials (pl. 43), but as modernization set in more use was made of European fabrics. These were decorated in the new style of embroidery, which was taught *inter alia* in schools and workshops run by Alliance Israélite Universelle or copied from Italian and French magazines. The ornamentation consisted of crochet ribbons, à-jour embroidery, sometimes with the addition of ready-made lace ribbons (fig. 4).

A third group of trousseau items consisted of various fabrics for household use, chief among which was a set of bed-covers and elaborate pillows, decorated with metal-thread embroidery (*kaveséra*). These were intended for the bridal bed and the bed in which the future mother would lie after giving birth. This set was regarded as a *sine qua non* in any trousseau (see "Textiles").





4

4. Sheets and pillowcases
Cotton and linen, openwork embroidery and lace
Israel Museum Collection
292.75; 619.82; 620.82, gift of the Buciuk family, South Africa
593.84, gift of R. Gomel, Canada
637.82, gift in memory of Judith Russo, by her family

5. Set of dishes for serving sweets (*tavlá de dúlse*)
Izmir, 20th century
Regina and Joseph Sadi Collection, Bat Yam

6. Clogs (*galéčas*)
Wood, inlaid mother of pearl, velvet, metal-thread embroidery
Israel Museum Collection, 501.77
Gift of Joseph Soustiel, Paris

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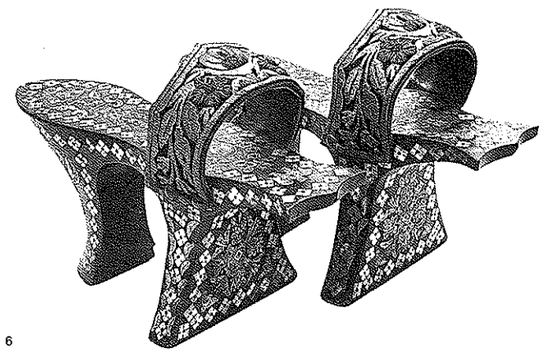

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Also included in this group were bed drapes (*kortínas*), adapted in modern times to European-style beds. These beds had an upper frame on which drapes were hung, resembling a closed tent (closing off the bed was particularly important during the period after childbirth).

Other items in this group were wrappers-tablecloths (*bógos*) and various covers (*urtís*) for chests, couches, etc. The most magnificent were made of silk and brocade (*selimiye, sevayi*), simpler ones of cotton. In addition, there were embroidered napkins and towels for ceremonial washing of the hands and for various festive occasions. These embroideries, known collectively as *čévres* or *antíkas*, were preserved by the families as valuables, and sometimes handed down as trousseau items from mother to daughter for several generations (see "Textiles").

The dowry also included a chest, known variously as *baúl, forsél, sepét* or *káša* (pl. 42a). It was used to keep the

bed-linen and the bride's clothing, to transport the dowry from the bride's home to that of the groom, and later as a cupboard in which the fabrics were stored, tied up in wrappers – *bógos*. The chests were of various types. The most common was a simple wooden chest, covered with plush cloth, velvet or carpet pieces and with tin cut in various patterns and decorated with hammered designs. More wealthy families used uncovered wooden chests, particularly of walnut *(káša de ǰéves*), or leather chests decorated with nails. Lists from Izmir, from the end of the 1880s and later, begin to feature, as well as (or instead of) chests, cupboards (*almáryo*), at times with mirrors in the European style which were fashionable at the time (*vis à vis*).

An obligatory item in any trousseau was a large carpet (*tapéte*), the type of which is usually specified: *alaǰa*, from Alaca, near Izmir; *tapéte trukmín*, Turkoman carpet; and so on. In later periods an important item of the dowry is a sewing machine (*mákina de kuzír*).

Apart from the trousseau itself, the bride also brought various gifts, depending on the local custom. In the present century, as far as we know, these bridal gifts consisted mostly of silver utensils for household use. The most common of these in Izmir was a serving set for sweetmeats (*tavlá de dúlse*), or silver utensils in European style. The bridal gifts might also include jewelry, presented by the bride's parents.

Following the assessment, the trousseau was carried to the groom's home with great ceremony, in a procession accompanied by music. The various items were arranged on trays and in baskets, so that they could be viewed by all. Detailed accounts of this procession, an accepted Turkish custom, are rendered in the travel literature of processions bearing the possessions of the sultan's bride.[37]

Ceremonies prior to kiddushin

Henna night

The ceremony known as Henna Night (*nóče d'alxénya* or *nóče de tafi)* is common among Muslims in general and Turks in particular; it was also practiced by Jews in Muslim countries. In the present, however, it has all but disappeared in Sephardi marriage ceremonies. The ceremony was held one evening, a few days before the wedding. Female relatives of both bride and groom would assemble and dye the bride's hair, fingers and nails (depending on local custom) with an orange-red dye prepared from the henna plant. This dye was supposed to beautify the bride and various magical properties were ascribed to it.

During the nineteenth century, it was apparently still customary to begin the Sephardi wedding festivities with the Henna Night. A description of the Izmir version of the ceremony is provided by Galanté: The groom sent a covered tray containing henna surrounded by slender burning candles. The henna was used to paint the fingers of the bride and her friends.[38]

The ceremony apparently survives today in Turkey in name only, in a gathering of the female relatives, one evening before the wedding, to shower gifts on the bride. Still known as Henna Night (though no painting of the bride is involved), the proceedings symbolize the bride's farewell to her childhood and her assumption of a new status.

Ritual immersion and the festivities at the hammam

According to the halakha, the bride is obliged to purify herself prior to the wedding, by immersion in a ritual bath (*mikveh*). In Turkey, to the best of our knowledge, Jewish ritual baths were generally installed in a special corner of the bathhouse (*hammam*).[39] Wealthy families apparently had ritual baths in their homes.

The ritual immersion took place one or two days before the wedding and was accompanied by a party at the *hammam*, with the participation of the women of the family. Wealthy families would rent the entire *hammam* for the day. The bride washed herself thoroughly, immersed herself in the *mikveh*, and was subsequently beautified and prepared for the wedding. Considerable time was spent at the *hammam*; refreshments were served and the proceedings were accompanied by singing and music.

Attias describes the ceremony in Salonika as follows: "On the day of immersion, the bride's family rented the entire bathhouse. The mothers of the bride and groom invited their friends to come to the bathhouse and join them in the festivities, and they too took the opportunity to bathe. Female musicians played, and everyone sang romances and songs in Ladino, appropriate for the occasion."[40]

Before the immersion, the groom sent his prospective bride a package (*bógo do bányo*) containing articles she would need in the bathhouse (pl. 42b), as well as coins, sometimes even gold coins, to pay for the party. This gift arrived wrapped in a wrapping cloth (*bógo*) made of costly material, which contained the necessary appurtenances: a set of elaborately decorated towels, embroidered at the borders with silk or metal threads, a large body-sized towel (*tuváža*), a smaller towel to cover the shoulders, and a square kerchief, embroidered around the borders in delicate needlework and trimmed with lace, in which the hair was wrapped after bathing (*tokadór de bányo*). In addition there would be a larger piece of material, silk or cotton, sometimes striped, in which the entire body was wrapped prior to immersion (*peştamal*). In later periods this was replaced by terry-cloth robes decorated with embroidery (*pelúdo*). The package also included a brass or silver bowl (*tása de bányo*) for rinsing the body, wooden clogs

inlaid with mother-of-pearl and adorned with an ornamental strip (*tákos* or *galéčas*) (fig. 6), combs, soaps, perfumes, and so on.[41] In Attias' words: "Once the groom had received the *ašugar*, he sent the bride a *boxcá*, that is, a gift, consisting of a bathing gown, towels, fragrant soap, ivory combs, a copper tray, bottles of perfume and the bathhouse fee – a golden ducat. To these were added candies and other sweetmeats."[42]

After her ablutions the bride was dressed in her finery and jewelry. If she had no jewelry of her own, she apparently borrowed some for the duration of the wedding.[43]

In some communities it was customary to throw sugar cubes into the water before the ritual immersion. In addition, marzipan cakes were put in the mouths of the unmarried girls. In Izmir, a round yeast cake (*róska*) was broken over the bride's head when she emerged from the ritual bath.

The marriage ceremony

Once all the preparations had been duly made, the marriage ceremony was held. According to Sephardi usage, the *huppah* – the bridal canopy – need not be erected in the open, and weddings were held mostly indoors – at the home of the bride or groom or in the synagogue. In some communities it was apparently customary to hold the ceremony at home and only later were weddings solemnized in the synagogue. Families whose living quarters were too small had recourse to the synagogue, and poorer families, unable even to pay for the use of the synagogue, held the ceremony in the central courtyard of the building (*kortížo*).

The most characteristic feature of the Sephardi wedding is the *talamó*[4U]*2R*[44] *– a specially built booth-like bridal canopy with three sides and a ceiling, made of costly drapes. one side of the canopy was attached to the wall, the others attached to poles. The groom, bride and parents sat in the talamó* according to a preassigned order, depending on local custom (figs. 7,8).[45]

In the synagogue, the *talamó,* which was usually decorated with flowers, was generally erected on the central *tevah*, which was surrounded with hangings, most often *parokhot*.[46] Sometimes, however, the *talamó* was put up in front of the Ark and the *parokhot* served as a backwall. Occasionally a special place was reserved for the *talamó* at the side of the Ark. The *talamó* was not a permanent structure, but erected anew for every wedding, though it was sometimes left in place for the entire week of the wedding.[47] "... the *ḥuppah* is made inside the groom's home. The *ḥuppah* consists of *parokhet* curtains from one of the synagogues, draped on ropes slightly removed from the wall, and the part of the wall behind the *ḥuppah* is also covered with a silk curtain. The bride and groom sit under [the *ḥuppah*]. The *ḥuppah* is not dismantled

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until after the seven days of the feast, and for the duration of those seven days the bride and groom sit under it."[48] As mentioned, the "building materials" were costly fabrics and, directly or indirectly, often originated in the bridal trousseau. At earlier times, for example, fabrics taken directly from the bride's trousseau were used for the *talamó:* "The bridegroom was twenty and the bride twelve. They stood up in their bridal garments under a tent-like structure supported by poles and made of cloths belonging to the bride's dowry."[49]

In the period under discussion, however, while it was customary to use *parokhot* for the *talamó,* these were also frequently made of trousseau fabrics, almost always gold-embroidered, donated to the synagogue by women on special occasions and converted into Ark curtains (see "Textiles").

In Salonika it was customary to erect a special seat of

8

honor, also called a *talamó,* on which the bride, her mother and future mother-in-law were seated before the wedding.[50] After the wedding ceremony and during the subsequent week it was used by the groom, his father and father-in-law when receiving their guests.

Although the couple stood beneath the *talamó,* the actual function of the *ḥuppah* proper was fulfilled by a new prayer shawl (*tallit*). The custom is described by Lunz: "This is the order of the *kiddushin.* When the groom and bride are brought under the above-mentioned *ḥuppah,* the groom wraps himself in a new fringed prayer shawl and pronounces the proper benediction and the *sheheḥeyanu* benediction. Thereafter the relatives grasp the four corners of the shawl and spread it like a canopy over the heads of the groom and bride. While doing so they recite the verse, 'So God give thee etc.'

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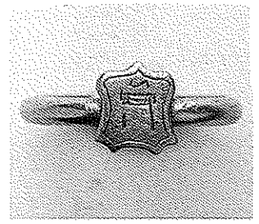

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7. Wedding in the synagogue
Small town near Izmir
Photo. Arch. 5973
Courtesy of Sarah Ben-Torah
Ventura, Jerusalem

8. Couple under the *talamó*
Jerusalem, family originally
from Izmir
Photo. Arch. 5971
Courtesy of Sarah Ben-Torah
Ventura, Jerusalem

9. The *kiddushin* benediction
Izmir family in Jerusalem
Photo. Arch. 5974
Courtesy of Sarah Ben-Torah
Ventura, Jerusalem

10. Wedding ring
1915
Gold, cast and engraved
Israel Museum Collection,
623.83
Gift of Jacques Hemsi, in
memory of his mother,
Sultana Cohen Hemsi

11. Wedding ring
Gold, engraved
Vicki Gineo Collection,
Jerusalem

12. Wedding
Izmir, 1910
Photo. Arch. 5075
Courtesy of Dorette Gabay,
Izmir

12

Plate 41

Plate 42

Pl. 41
Esther scroll with dedication and blessing to the groom
1862
Case: gold, filigree
Scroll and dedication page: parchment, ink, printed paper collage
L. 24 D. 3
The Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv

Pl. 42
Blanket and sheets
Silk, linen and cotton, lace trimming
Israel Museum Collection, 1051.85; 1053.85
1058.85 gift of Alia Ben-Ami, Jerusalem
87.88 gift of Graziella Cohen, Izmir
814.82 gift of Mathilda Gordon, in memory of her parents, Victor and Regina Pisanti, Izmir

Pl. 43
a. Dowry chest for the wedding of Regina Karo (RK)
Izmir, 1940
Wood covered with metal foil and cloth
Israel Museum Collection, 33.77
b. Wrapper for the ritual bath (*hammam*)
Wrapper and towels: silk, linen and cotton, metal-thread embroidery
Wrap: silk, metal-thread
Washing bowl: silver
Clogs: wood, inlaid mother of pearl
Israel Museum Collection, 905.82; 284.75
957.81 gift of Mazal-Tov Amon, through Eda Amon
501.77 gift of Joseph Soustiel, Paris
368.78 gift of Mrs. Bitran, Izmir
1048.85 purchased by courtesy of Jacques Levy, Barcelona


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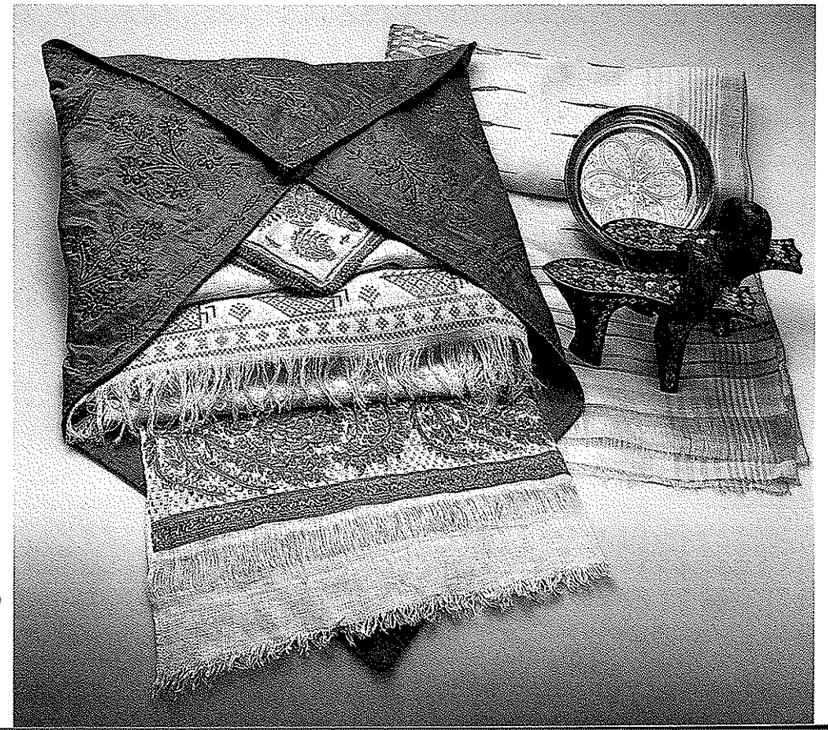
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Plate 43

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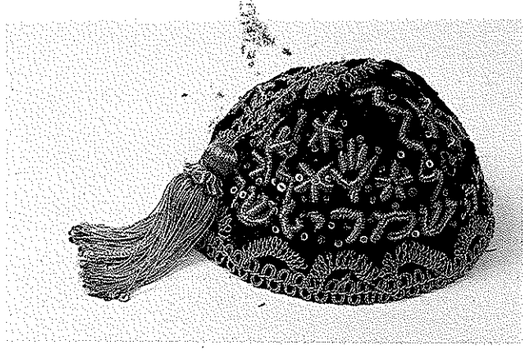

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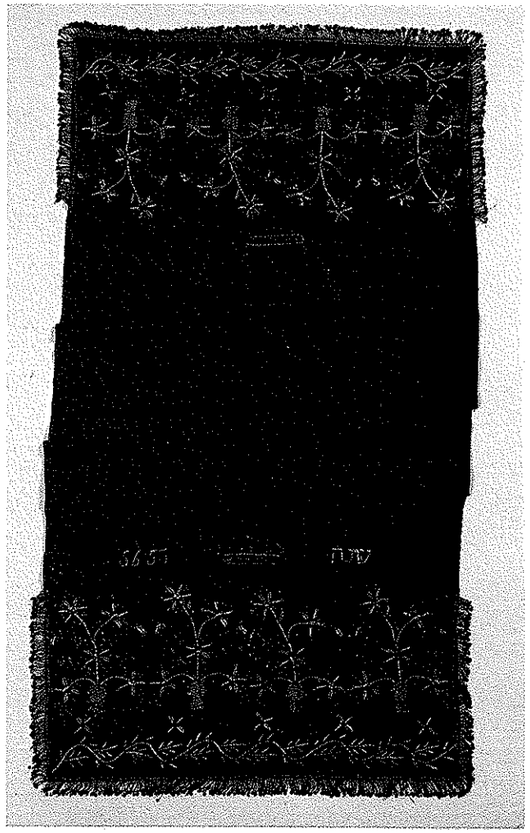

Pl. 44
a. Amuletic hat for circumcision
Izmir
Velvet, metal-thread embroidery
Ben-Torah Ventura Family Collection, Jerusalem,
b. Amuletic hanging for childbirth room
Akhisar, Izmir region, 1893
Silk satin, couched metal-thread embroidery
Israel Museum Collection, 495.77
Gift of Graziella Cohen, Izmir

Pl. 45
a. Amulet for woman in childbirth
19th century
Silk, metal-thread embroidery and lace
L. 16.5 W. 28.5
Jewish Museum Collection, New York,
F646
Gift of Dr. Harry G. Friedman
Photo: courtesy of the Jewish Museum, New York
b. Amuletic bands and kerchiefs for woman in childbirth (*tokadór de paríd*a)
Rhodes and Izmir, late 19th century
Cotton silk velvet, metal-thread and pearl embroidery
Israel Museum Collection
752.81 gift of Robert Hasson, Tel Aviv
524.76 gift of Rachel Cohen
645.82 gift of Perla Amon, Paris
537.76 gift of Rachel Kampeas, Kir'on

Pl. 46
a. Costume for a girl's name-giving ceremony (*fádas*)
Salonika, early 20th century
Silk, tulle, silk-thread embroidery
Israel Museum Collection, 779.81
Gift of the Salonika Jewry Research Center, Tel Aviv
b. Infant's circumcision costume
Istanbul, late 19th century
Hat: cotton and lace, metal-thread embroidery
L. 10
Four cornered garment (*tallit katan*)
Silk and brocade, metal-thread embroidery
L. 24 W. 20
Trousers: linen, metal-thread embroidery
L. 46 W. 28
Israel Museum Collection, 1034-6.80
Gift of Eda Amon, Istanbul

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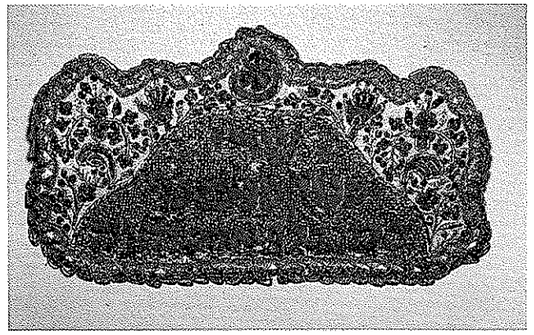

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Pl. 47
Infants' circumcision hats (from top to bottom):
Cotton, crochet, D. 16
Linen, silk- and metal-thread embroidery
D. 13.5
Linen, metal-thread embroidery
L. 12
Tulle, silk cord, coral
L. 17
Israel Museum Collection, 286.75; 285.75
644.82 gift of Ela Starck, Haifa
1039.85 gift of Esther and Yehoshua Kovo, Tel Aviv
Infants' circumcision coats made of parts of dresses (from top to bottom):
19th-20th centuries
Linen, metal-thread and silk-cord embroidery
H. 25
Bulgaria
Brocade
Metal-cord trimming
H. 23
Edirne
Brocade, metal-cord trimming
H. 23
Israel Museum Collection
1036.79 gift of Yossi Benyaminoff, New York
1120.85 gift of Rina Yudlewicz, Tel Aviv,
in memory of Moshe Hayim Samo
990.85 gift of Edmond Sidi, Ashkelon

Pl. 48
Jewish women with infant in cradle
Color lithograph
Artist: Camille Rogier
From: Camille Rogier, *La Turquie*, Paris 1847

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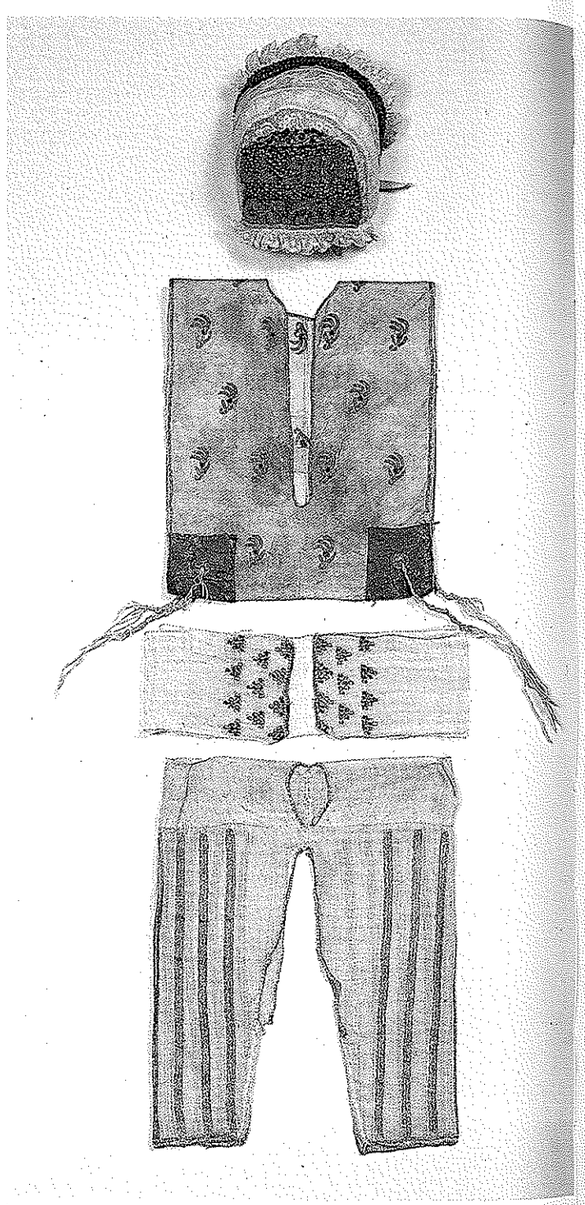

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Plate 46

Plate 47

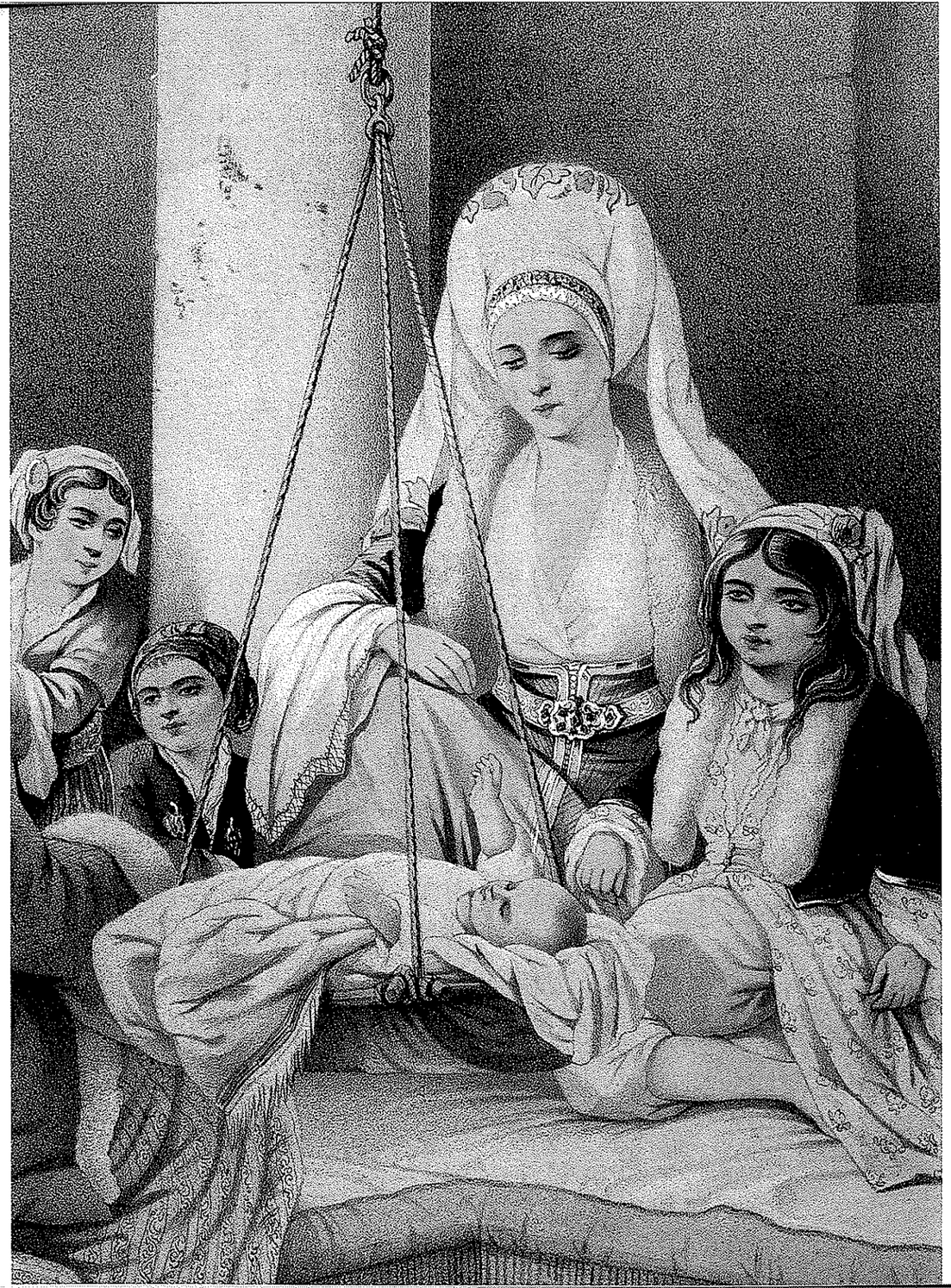

Plate 48

[Genesis 27:28 ff.].... And then the *kiddushin* take place as is the custom and the beadle breaks the glass in a small copper basin."[51]

The *kiddushin* were solemnized with a ring, generally of gold. Custom in Izmir prescribed a gold ring, which was transferred from the groom's right hand to that of the bride.[52] Some wedding rings had a flat upper surface, engraved with the Hebrew *he* letter and some were fashioned in the shape of two hands holding in the center (figs. 10, 11).

The seven wedding benedictions pronounced after the betrothal were sometimes said under the *talamó*, sometimes outside it.

Accompanying the marriage ceremony were various customs, intended to bring the young couple good luck. For example: "The groom throws rice and *konfites* (sugared almonds) and silver coins to the bride on her arrival."[53] Sometimes a marzipan cake (*kezáda*) was prepared and broken over the bride's head; the pieces were then eaten by all those present, especially single girls. After the ceremony, or after the week of the wedding celebrations, the bride was supposed to jump several times over a fish in a dish – as a fertility charm.[54]

The end of the ceremony marked the start of the week-long wedding festivities. On the first evening a banquet was held for all the relatives, accompanied by music. In Salonika and elsewhere musicians (*tanyedóres*) who played drums – known as *pandéro* – were commissioned to entertain the participants with song and dance, as per the popular saying: "no hay boda sin pandero" (There is no wedding without a drum) (fig. 13).

The wedding gifts The wedding festivities also included presentation of gifts, depending on local customs in the various communities. Gifts were presented to the bride and groom by the bride's parents, to the bride by the groom's parents, and by the other relatives and guests to the couple. Before the wedding the bride sent the groom a package (*bógo de nóvyo*) with personal items, such as clothing, a bag for his prayer shawl, a prayer shawl and fringes (*tallit katan*) – corresponding to the *hammam* package that the groom had sent the bride.[55]

During the wedding itself the gifts agreed-upon at the *shiddukhin* were presented. Sometimes the bride's family bestowed various gifts on her, mostly gold jewelry, before she left her parental home in the procession to the groom's home. Some Izmir families used to collect all the jewelry the bride had received from both families on a tray; later, when the couple returned from the *kiddushin* and wedding ceremony, after the breaking of the *kezáda*, the groom's mother would adorn her daughter-in-law.

Gifts presented by relatives were generally smaller pieces of jewelry such as earrings and rings, or household utensils

13. "Jewish Women Musicians in Salonika"
Early 20th century
Postcard
Gérard Lévy Collection, Paris

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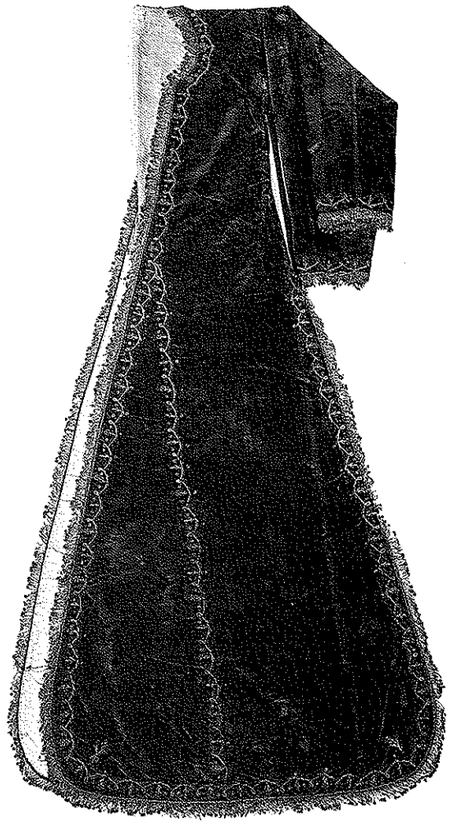

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such as mortars and pots, and sometimes also gold coins. In Salonika relatives put coins in a tray placed near the bridal chair. Later, the presentation of gifts was announced, and only guests bringing gifts were invited to the wedding feast that evening.[56] In Rhodes the women used to give the bride coins wrapped in paper, on which the givers' names were written.[57]

Costume of the bride and groom

Judging from most of the oral evidence and contemporary photographs, Sephardi brides at the beginning of the twentieth century, and even at the end of the nineteenth, wore white dresses in European style. In earlier periods, however, the bride wore a colored costume.[58] In Turkey, as in other societies, it was the custom to sew a very elaborate dress for the wedding and to use it thereafter as festive costume. In early periods this costume was the *entari*, known in trousseau lists as *primér vestído* probably embroidered with metal thread (figs. 14, 15). Attias mentions a rich bridal costume: "Rich brides brought with them a special costume known as the queen's clothes. This consisted of a silk *antari*, drawn and embroidered in *sirma* (gold thread), *clabedon* (thicker gold thread), *pipita* (small lentil shapes made of thin gilt metal) and *tertir* (coils of thin gilt metal thread), as well as a *sayo* (robe) of silk embroidered only in *sirma*."[59]

Between the custom of wearing the *entari* and the introduction of the white European dress there was a transitional stage, mainly at the end of the nineteenth century, during

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14. Bride's dress (*entari*)
Istanbul (or Bulgaria)
Silk, couched metal-thread embroidery, sequins
Israel Museum Collection, 1187.72
Gift of Alfredo and Henrique Rosanis, San Paolo, in memory of their father, Aron Rozanes, and their grandparents, Miryam née Cappon and Israel Rozanes

15. Bride's dress (*entari*)
Izmir, 19th century
Velvet, couched metal-thread embroidery
Israel Museum Collection, 547.85
Gift of Lydia Ben Mayor, Izmir

16. Bride's dress
20th century
Satin, couched metal-thread embroidery
Lent by Rojy Ben Joseph, Tel Aviv, L 76.11

which brides wore dresses decorated with couched metal thread embroidery, sometimes topped by fitting jackets (figs. 16, 17). These dresses were usually made of dark hued red, blue or purple velvet, or satin in pastel colors. (For a detailed account of embroidering techniques and styles see "Textiles"). Much of the surface of the dress was covered with designs, of two main types: lateral strips of recurring motifs, and a "tree of life" pattern, a vase or a plant in the lower part of the dress and spreading upwards symmetrically (the dress was therefore known in Turkish as *bindalli* – a thousand branches). The dresses themselves were cut in various patterns; some were in the Turkish tradition, while others, influenced by European fashions, had set-in sleeves, darts, pleats, and so on (fig. 16). In time, European designs and lighter colors prevailed increasingly, until the transition to the white European wedding dress was complete.

As mentioned, gold-embroidered dresses were fashionable in Turkey from the 1850s onward, particularly at the end of the century and were common among urban women – Muslim, Christian and Jewish – mainly in the context of weddings. They were worn by the bride, bridesmaids and relatives at the wedding itself and at the accompanying ceremonies.[60] As to Jewish women, it is not absolutely clear whether they used these dresses at the *kiddushin* ceremony itself, at the Hennah ceremony or on the morning following the wedding.[61] They were, in fact, probably worn in some or all of these contexts according to local custom.

Jewish brides, like their Turkish counterparts, received

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17. Bride's dress
Edirne, or Bulgaria, 19th century
Velvet, couched metal-thread embroidery
Israel Museum Collection, 108.85
Purchased by courtesy of Jacques Levy, Barcelona

18. Ceremonial costume
After the wedding, the bride wears a *bindal* dress
Ruschuk(?), early 20th century
Photo. Arch. 5289
Courtesy of the Siman-Tov family, Jerusalem

such dresses in their trousseaus, as part of a set of articles embroidered in the same style (bed-covers, pillows, tablecloths etc.). Most of these articles ultimately reached the synagogue and were converted into *parokhot*, Torah mantles, binders and the like.

It has been repeatedly asserted that Jewish women were always married in white, and indeed very few dresses of the above type have survived in their original form. However, the abundance of synagogue textiles made from dresses and their widespread distribution in the Turkish milieu lend credence to the hypothesis that at a certain period these dresses were in fact used as wedding costumes in certain social strata. Nevertheless, it is not inconceivable that dresses of this type were purchased specially for conversion into *parokhot*.[62]

The bride's headdress has frequently been described as a veil or scarf, but we have no information as to the type of scarf. In addition strings of thin metal, known as *briles* were attached to the bride's temples to adorn her face on either side.

For a description of a bride's costume in Salonika, from the early decades of this century, we turn again to Attias: "The wedding dress was made of white silk, decorated with muslin and lace, its hems dragging along the floor. Two broad strips of a thin, transparent veil hung from the head, in front and in back, covering almost the entire body down to the feet. The ends of the veil were wound around the head like an ornamental turban, around which were garlands of delicate white artificial orange blossoms, reserved especially for weddings. Two bundles of thin metal threads hung from the head, near the shoulders, down to the feet...."[63]

The bridal costume described in this passage seems completely European; the only vestiges of the traditional dress are the metal thread strings (*briles*). These are known from the costume of nineteenth-century Greek and Armenian brides.[64] The latter, too, continued to use such strings in combination with European-style bridal dresses.

Some accounts indicate that in certain communities – Salonika, Bulgaria and Jerusalem – the bride was brought to the *huppah* laden with jewelry.[65] In Salonika the bride wore the jewelry she had received as wedding gifts; sometimes, if she did not possess sufficient pieces of her own, jewelry was borrowed for the occasion.[66]

Of the groom's costume very little is known. At the end of the nineteenth century the groom apparently wore a European-style suit and a fez on his head. The following description comes from Istanbul in 1894: "...The groom entered, accompanied by the rabbi and by his relatives. Some of the men were dressed like him in full European costume, except for the fez, while others wore oriental robes in various colors...."[67] At earlier times the groom apparently wore a festive *čitarí,* made of costly cloth, which he may also have worn after his marriage. Yehoshua, in his memoirs of Jerusalem, states: "On the wedding day the groom appeared, wearing a tall tarbush, elegantly dressed in a *čitarí* and a glossy silk caftan...."[68]

After the wedding

The day after the wedding was known as *sébah*. That morning the bride was dressed for the first time in the costume of a married woman, with special emphasis on the headdress that covered her hair. In Salonika the bride was dressed by her mother-in-law in the *kófya*, the traditional garb of a married woman, which included a headdress known by the same name. In Izmir the most important part of the costume were the *tokádo* and the *rozéta* stuck in it, which were a gift from the groom; again, it was the groom's mother who attached these to the married woman's clothes.

Some informants say that on the *sébah* day the bride wore the second dress in the trousseau, the *fustán de sébah*. This might have been the velvet dress, embroidered in gold. More recently, in the 1930s and 1940s, it was customary for the bride to wear a delicate silk dress, a kind of robe, on the day after the wedding. That morning, once the bride had been proved a virgin, her father brought a tray of dainties – or fish. In Salonika the offering consisted of ring-shaped cookies (*róskas*) baked before the wedding. Sometimes the bride's mother sent the mother-in-law a gift on the same morning.

In some localities, such as Istanbul, it was customary after the bride had bathed in the *mikveh* for her parents to send her a gift "as a reward for her modesty": "...When the bride goes after the *huppah* to the [ritual] bath to bathe for her virginity,

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and as a reward for her modesty, insofar as she has remained a virgin and no man has known her, 'glorious is the king's daughter within the palace' [Psalms 45:14] – her mother and father lavish dowry and gift upon her...."[69]

The first Sabbath after the wedding was celebrated as "the bridegroom's Sabbath." Throughout the week, the Sabbath included, the groom came to the synagogue and was seated in a special canopied chair; he was also called to the Torah. Many Sephardi synagogues maintained a permanent canopied chair for grooms (see illustration of the groom's canopy in the Portugal synagogue at Izmir in "Synagogues," fig. 20). The young couple were considered bride and groom for the entire year following the wedding, and they received special gifts on festivals. In Istanbul it was customary to send them clothes, jewelry or sweetmeats on Purim, depending on the family's economic situation.[70]

As to Salonika: "In Salonika of old it was customary to refer to the young woman as a 'bride' for the entire first year of her marriage. This entitled her to various privileges, such as the special privilege of receiving gifts on Purim. On the Sabbath before Purim the 'bride' sent her mother and mother-in-law *plato de kofita* (a tray of *halvah*), and received in return a double portion; the same applied to other relatives who sent a silken *kófya*, *romania*, *sayo entari* or gold jewelry. Sometimes she was presented with a copper cooking pot, bowls, dishes, *tefsines*, and even a copper mortar and pestle for grinding coffee, laundry cauldrons, etc. All these gifts were meant to provide the young couple with all the household and kitchen utensils they needed. Naturally, every gift was accompanied by sweetmeats. Hence the term 'the bride's Sabbath' – the Sabbath on which it was customary to send the bride gifts."[71]

Translated by David Louvish

Notes

1. For a *shiddukhin* deed from Istanbul, eighteenth century, see ms. 29186, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, Letters and Deeds, p. 9a. I am indebted to Dr. Leah Makovetzky, who put this document at my disposal; she has also clarified various issues relating to the laws and customs of betrothal and marriage among Turkish communities and referred me to numerous relevant sources; see also Makovetzky (Bornstein). For a Salonikan *shiddukhin* deed, see Gulak, p. 9; for a Sephardi *shiddukhin* deed, see Adler, vol. 2, pp. 604-5; for *shiddukhin* deeds from Izmir, early twentieth century, see *Ashkenazi Collection*, file 32, etc.; for a deed from Jerusalem, dated 1850, see Morag-Talmon, *Families*, citing M. D. Gaon.

2. Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Tokhaḥat Ḥayyim*, vol. 1, p. 28, cited in Stahl, p. 143.

3. Shemuel ben Ḥayyim, *Shemen ha-Mishhah*, vol. 1, "Hilkhot Ishut," par. 95, p. 73b. The custom in Salonika was similar. See, for example, Yosef David, *Petaḥ Beit David*, par. 65, and also Ya'akov de Boton, *'Edut be-Ya'akov*, par. 34, p. 77.

4. *Shiddukhin* deed, Jerusalem; Morag-Talmon, *Families* (see n. 1, above).

5. Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Massa Ḥayyim*, par. 126, p. 27b. *Shiddukhin*: "... And if one party desires to cancel the betrothal, this side has to pay the agreed-upon fine to the other party...."

6. Izmir: Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 149; Bulgaria: Moskona, p. 126. The act of *kinyan* was performed only if the groom was away from the city for a protracted period.

7. For the custom of *sivlonot* in general, see Freimann, pp. 4-5 and in Istanbul, ibid., pp. 239-40.

8. *Il Tiempo*, no. 71, 2 June 1902, p. 782. I am indebted to Dr. Leah Makovetzky for referring me to this source.

9. As stated by Eliezer de Toledo: "But when the groom presents the bride with silver and gold jewelry as *sivlonot*, to adorn herself etc., this is not intended as an outright gift...." *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, vol 2, "Even ha-'Ezer," par. 40, p. 90.

10. According to Freimann, pp. 241, 248.

11. Bassan, *She'elot u-Teshuvot*, par. 96.

12. See Gerson (sec. V) (mentioned in Dumont, *Jewish Communities*, 9). My thanks are due to Dr. Weil, director of the Archives and Library of Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris, for putting this source at my disposal.

13. Kissing the hand and the subsequent presentation of gifts is also the usage among the Greeks and the Turks. The Greek bride-to-be kisses the hands of the groom's father after the betrothal ceremony; she then receives gold rings and fragrant leaves (Garnett, vol. 1, p. 75). Among the Turks, the bride kisses the women's hands during the women's celebration at the *hammam* and receives gifts (Castellan, vol. 2, p. 63). After the wedding night, too, the bride and groom kiss the hands of the latter's parents (Garnett, vol. 2, p. 489).

14. Izmir: Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 149; Salonika: Attias, *Romancero*, p. 39; Bulgaria: Mezan, pp.130-32.

15. Ashkenazi, *Ma'aseh Avraham*, "Even ha-'Ezer," "Hilkhot Kiddushin," par. 7, p. 153.

16. Yehoshua, vol. 3, p. 61. For another account of this custom in Jerusalem, see Gagin, *Keter Shem Tov*, par. 29, p. 621.

17. For the importance of the dowry, mainly as a means toward maintenance of economic status among Sephardi families in Istanbul, see Glazer.

18. For example, the regulations of an Istanbul guild in the eighteenth century mention that a member may present his son-in-law as *kontante* the right to become a member of the guild: "Moreover, he who brings his son-in-law, presenting him with a trade as *kontante*..." Barnai and Gerber, *Guilds in Istanbul*, Document no. 3, p. 217. In JTS Ms. 29186 (see n. 1), also from Istanbul, we read: "And he has undertaken to bring with him for his son-in-law a shop, known to him, in such and such a place, and to put him there to serve."

19. We shall not discuss here the various legal categories of property that the wife brings to her husband at marriage (*nikhsei melog*, *nikhsei zon barzel*), which differ in regard to ownership and responsibility. For an account of these questions see, for example, Sharshevsky, pp. 153-60.

20. "Regulation upon *medudim* in Constantinople," Rozanes, vol. 5. n. 5, pp. 436-37. Another regulation, issued at Rhodes in 1794, limits the value of the dowry to 2,500 piasters divided in the following manner: a *yardan* gold necklace, worth at most 1,000 piasters, 4 shirts, 4 dresses, 4 pairs of pants, 2 pairs of stockings, 2 pillows, 2 bed-covers, 2 mattresses, 4 handkerchiefs, 4 belts, a chest, a tablecloth, 4 napkins, a prayer bag (from "A Notebook of *haskamot*," Galanté, *Rhodes*, pp. 65-66).

21. Attias, *Cancionero*, p. 251, no. 108.

22. The custom is mentioned in a responsum of R. Shelomo Ha-cohen (Maharshakh), in Shelomo Hacohen, *She'elot u-Teshuvot*, vol. 2, par. 237, p. 169: "Reuben wed a wife and she bore him four daughters, all of whom came of age, and he married them in wealth and honor, as granted him by God. And when it was the turn of each maid to come to the husband of her youth, the mother agreed, knowingly and of her own free will, to give each of her above-mentioned daughters, in addition to the dowry bestowed on the latter by her father, bed-linen from her own dowry."

23. For a description of a display of this type in Jerusalem, see Yehoshua, vol. 3, p. 63. In Salonika: Attias, *Romancero*, p. 41. In Istanbul: Gerson, Section IV. Gerson relates that an additional display was held in the groom's home after the assessment. Among the Turks it was customary to hang the trousseau items in the nuptial chamber after the wedding and to exhibit them there.

24. This was the occasion for the singing of a special *romance*, praising the efforts of the girl who had prepared the trousseau: "Ajugar d'oro labrado." See Attias, *Romancero*, p. 207, no. 98.

25. This was the custom in Jerusalem; see Gellis, p. 343; *shiddukhin* deed from Jerusalem (n. 1, above).

26. Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Ḥayyim ve-Shalom*, vol. 2, par. 28.

27. Gellis, p. 344, from Yosef Caro, *Beit Yosef*, "Even ha-'Ezer," "Dinei Ketubbah," par. 2.

28. Dowry registers from Izmir, dating from the years 1857-1927, have been preserved in the *Ashkenazi Collection*. Most of the material cited below is based on a sample of these dowry lists. We have been unable to locate such a large group of lists from any other city. They may have existed, but have been lost together with the community records; alternatively, it was perhaps customary to record them on loose pages, which have not survived. A few lists have been published; see Krauss (from Vidin, seventeenth century); Schwabe (from Egypt, eighteenth century (?)).

29. Ashkenazi, *Ma'aseh Avraham*, "Even ha-'Ezer," "Hilkhot Kiddushin," par. 8.

30. Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Ḥayyim ve-Shalom*, vol. 2, par. 28.

31. For the various versions of this song, their sources and discussion of the subject, in general, see: Ma'oz, *Songs*, pp. 157-59, no. 1; Galanté, *Izmir*, pp. 348-49; Levi, *Chants*, vol. 3 (Edirne), pp. 95-99, nos. 107-10.

32. Levi, *Chants*, vol. 3, p. 96. no. 107; p. 98, no. 110.

33. For details of the various items of clothing, see "Costume," particularly with regard to Jewish women of Izmir and Salonika.

34. Cf. in the song: "...the silk dress first in the *ašugar*..." Attias, *Cancionero*, pp. 90-91, no. 26.

35. Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Ẓedakah Ḥayyim*, Homily. On Dress, p. 3. (My thanks are due to Mr. Dov Cohen for referring me to this source.) Another custom relating to shrouds: When a woman reached the age of 70, a celebration was held in her honor, to cut the shrouds. See, e.g., Moskona, p. 139. If the bride died shortly after her wedding day, it was apparently customary to wrap her in the wedding dress or to place the dress on her grave. For a hint of this custom, see Attias, *Cancionero*, pp. 90-91, no. 26.

36. Attias, *Romancero*, p. 40; Molho, *Usos*, p. 17.

37. For an account of such a wedding procession, see, for example, Pardo, vol. 1, pp. 494-97.

38. Galanté, *Izmir*, p. 149; and in Salonika: Molho, *Usos*, p. 25.

39. For an example from Izmir, see Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Ruaḥ Ḥayyim*, "Yoreh De'ah," par. 21, mentioning two ritual baths: "A *mikveh* in our city of Izmir, may God build it, Amen, in the bathhouse of Halil Effendi...And a *mikveh* in our city of Izmir... situated in a lane known as Musala, up the road leading to Bazariko, there is a bathhouse on the left, known as the bathhouse of Mufti Effendi, that was burned down in the great fire of the year 5601 [1841], and it has now been rebuilt, and there is there a *mikveh* of great antiquity."

40. *Zikhron Saloniki*, vol. 1, p. 172.

41. For an account of the custom in Jerusalem, see Yellin, part 2, p. 18.

42. Attias, *Romancero*, p. 42.

43. Molho, *Usos*, p. 26.

44. Almost every account, oral or written, of a wedding includes a description of the *talamó*. For an analysis of the term and its linguistic parallels in Jewish languages, see Yontan-Musnik, n. 13. In Spanish Morocco, the chair of honor prepared for the bride and groom is also known as *talamon*. See Ben-'Ami, pp. 30-31.

45. For the position of the *talamó* and of each of the participants in Bulgaria, see Mezan, pp. 137-38.

46. This was the case, for example, in Bulgaria; see Moskona, p. 122; Elyashar, *Benei Binyamin*, par. 39: "And this testimony of mine is reliable, for more than fifty years have I observed the custom of spreading the *parokhiot* for bridegrooms."; Yellin, part 2, p. 21.

47. For a description of a *talamó* in Salonika, see Attias, *Romancero*, p. 43.

48. Gellis, p. 336, citing *Sha'arei Yerushalayim*, Sha'ar 9.

49. Van Lennep, *The Oriental Album*, cited in Rubens, *Costume*, p. 37.

50. This seat is mentioned in the eighteenth-century book by Yizhak Molkho, *Orhot Yosher*, (chapter 8, p. 148), citing "early regulations" instructing the women seated on the *talamó to* wear a black overcoat (*ferace*).

51. Lunz, p. 18; for Salonika, see Molho, *Usos*, p. 28. For a description of *kiddushin* in Istanbul in 1891, see Gold, p. 11.

52. Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Massa Ḥayyim*, "Minhagim," par. 208, p. 60a; Shelomo Kimhi, *Yakhil Shelomo*, "Even ha-'Ezer," par. 33, p. 74b.

53. This was the case in Izmir; see Ḥayyim Palaggi, *Massa Ḥayyim*, par. 79, p. 52a; for Bulgaria, see Mezan, p. 139.

54. For example, Attias, *Romancero*, p. 44.

55. See Yehoshua, vol. 3, pp. 66-67. A *tallit katan* documented as a bride's gift to her fiance is in the collection of Yeshiva University, New York, no. T175.83. For a shirt embroidered by the bride for her fiancé, see Attias, *Cancionero*, p. 91, no. 26.

56. Attias, *Romancero*, p. 43; Molho, *Usos*, p. 31.

57. Galanté, *Rhodes*, p. 67.

58. For example, Brewer, p. 350. According to his description the bride in Izmir is dressed in colorful clothes, adorned with gold.

59. Attias, *Romancero*, p. 227.

60. Mickelwright, pp. 180-86, and see also Yener.

61. We have a record of two dresses of this type in the collection of the Israel Museum, both from Edirne, where they were worn as wedding dresses. For a dress in the Yeshiva University collection New York, No. T 126-77ab, from Gallipoli, see Mann, *Two Cities*, no. 186, p. 154. A similar dress, worn at a Sephardi wedding in Jerusalem, is described in Frankl, p. 253.

62. See Argueti, *Yerekh Ya'akov*, par. 1. R. Argueti was asked whether it was permitted to make a *parokhet* from a dress bought from a Muslim woman, who had worn it on Bairam, and he permitted it. I am indebted to R. Nissim Bekhar of Bat Yam who referred me to this source.

63. Attias, *Romancero*, p. 42.

64. An account of an Armenian bride in 1850 is cited by Mickelwright, p. 148, from a book by Paine. Here, too, the development was similar: the bridal dress and orange-blossom crown on the bride's head follow the dictates of Parisian fashion, the only remaining vestige of tradition being the veil made of "large strands of gold"; see also White, vol. 3, p. 211.

65. For Salonika, see Nehama, vol. 6, p. 396; Garnett, vol. 2, p. 28. For Bulgaria: Moskona, p. 129. For Jerusalem: Yellin, p. 21.

66. Molho, *Usos*, p. 26; in Bulgaria: Moskona, p. 129.

67. Gerson, section X.

68. Yehoshua, vol. 3, p. 68.

69. Eliezer de Toledo, *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, vol. 2, "Even ha-'Ezer," par. 46.

70. Ibid.

71. Attias, *Purim*, p. 158.

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