

JEWISH COSTUME – HISTORY AND INFLUENCES

Along with dwellings, furniture, tools, arms and other appliances for everyday use, garments and ornaments are integral parts of the material culture of a nation. Costume is an ethnic feature which is on one hand directly conditioned by the climate, and on the other hand, it is indirectly influenced by other forms of the existing cultural system. Besides its basic protective function, clothing has always been a status symbol through which religious views, as well as traditional and social relations have been reflected. Clothes have also been a reliable indicator of the community's attitude toward outside influences and its aesthetic ideals.

According to archeological findings, preserved engravings and Biblical testimonies, Jewish garments of the Talmudic times were of simple shapes and did not differ from those worn by the neighboring nations living in the countries within the same climatic zone.¹ The basic garments were known as: the *simlah* or *salmah*, the *ezor* and the *kethoneth*.

The *simlah* was actually a long piece of cloth, usually of rectangular shape. It was a simple cover which was draped over or wrapped around a person's body. Worn in such a way, the *simlah* resembled the Roman *pallium*. It also served as a blanket, while the Israelites used it as a food carry-on bag. The *simlah* was worn by most Middle Eastern nations due to its simplicity and variety of applications. The *ezor* was the simplest form of woven garment, while the *kethoneth* was of a better defined shape, usually made in the form of a Roman tunic with long or short sleeves.

The *kethoneth* came down below the knees or to the ankles, and was made of wool or linen, but could also be made of animal skins.

Wool, linen and skins were the three exclusive materials used to make clothes in the ancient times. Women and men alike wore the *simlah*. However, it is not certain whether the male and the female *simlah* differed in any way. According to Biblical references, women preferred ornamented mate-



rials, which might indicate the female *simlah* were made of printed rather than simple one-color materials. The women also used cosmetics and wore jewelry, mainly earrings, bracelets and rings.

Shoes (*nealim*, plural, Hebr.) from the Biblical and the Talmudic times were similar to modern-day leather sandals. The most ancient sandals were opened-toe, but those were later replaced by soft leather shoes which covered the whole foot. These shoes were made in Roman style and represented a cross between a sandal and a moccasin.

Three essential features that conditioned the appearance of the Jewish costume were the tassels – *tsitsith* (Hebr.), a special hair-do – *peoth* (Hebr.), and the rule of *shaatnez* (Hebr.), according to which wool and linen could not be used in the same garment. As it did not apply to the Priest's girdle nor the *tsitsith*, it is presumed that the *shaatnez* did not have any religious connotations and that it reflected the simple necessity to save materials used in clothes manufacture.

The tassels – *tsitsith* were arranged on the corners of the *simlah*, as well as on the corners of other garments (such as the overcoat). More importantly, they were a part of the prayer shawl which in time became an integral part of the ancient Jewish dressing code. Consequently, the tassels have been generally associated with the symbolism of the Jewish religion, even though they were a rather common garment decoration in all Middle Eastern countries of that time. The tassels were also used for a short period of time in early Christian communities. According to the *Talmud*, the *tsitsith* was a distinctive feature of the Jewish nation and a sign of religious and ethnic identification of the members of the Jewish community. According to the original manner in which they were manufactured, two basic types of tassels can be defined – the *tsitsith* made with three threads (associated with the Philistines) and the so-called *gedilim* (plural, Hebr.), made in the form of a cord with a large number of knots, typical of the Assyrian culture. (According to some evidence, *gedilim* is believed to have been a sign of high social status, and it was probably for that reason that certain magical connotations were associated with it.)

The special hair-do included locks – *peoth* (Hebr.) or *peyes* (Yiddish) – which ran down both sides of the face. *Peoth* is still worn by some Orthodox Jews, by the Chasidim in particular. However, the origin and the true symbolism of the *peoth* is not exactly known. In ancient times the Libyans and the Cretans used the same hairdo as well.

The period of Persian domination, from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC, marks the beginning of the Middle Eastern traditional costume. The primitive forms of clothing worn in more ancient times were replaced by sewed

garments – coats of varying length with sleeves, cloaks and overcoats. A special type of riding trousers was introduced at that time, obligatorily worn with boots and leather leggings. Heads were covered by high caps made of strong, tough cloth. This remained the typical costume of the entire population (Jews included) of the Persian empire. Even though it is not possible to make a detailed reconstruction of the dressing code of the Jewish community (which was a rather small minority group within the Persian empire) during the period of the early Diaspora, there is no reason to believe that it differed significantly from that of the rest of the empire. It is much more likely that the above described garments became exclusive symbols of the Jewish people only upon their return to Palestine.

During the 3rd century BC, the violent Hellenic conquest, led by Alexander the Great, ended in the capture of Judea and the establishment of the Greek rule which was to last for the next two hundred years. Two different civilizations were thus forced to live together, under the rule of the Ptolemies, and even more so under the Seleucids. During the two centuries of Hellenic occupation the Jews were exposed to constant and strong Greek influences in both religious and cultural spheres. However, despite the strong Greek influence, the basic religious beliefs and the everyday customs of the Jewish people remained unchanged. Changes did take place in other cultural and, especially, material aspects of life. The strong Greek influence was particularly manifested in the Jewish costume which, at least among the members of the high society, was completely transformed in accordance with the Greek style. The degree of acceptance of the Greek „fashion trend” within the Jewish society varied both socially and geographically. As the Jews in Palestine paid great attention to their religious and cultural heritage, it is quite plausible that they took much longer in accepting the „Greek fashion”. On the other hand, evidence of Greek assimilation was very much present among the Jews living in Alexandria, which was one of the most important cultural centers of those times. At any rate, by the time the Jews, led by the Hasmonean kings, finally defeated the Greek conquerors and freed themselves of the Hellenistic domination, they had already completely adopted the Greek costume. The Greek dressing code was also predominant in the period of early Christianity. The most typical ancient Greek garment was a tunic – *colobium* – a long, extremely simplified one-piece garment with openings for the head and the arms over which the *himation* was draped – an overcoat with the *tsitsith* tassels attached to its corners. The *colobium* was very similar to the more modern *dalmatica*, a tunic with very ample sleeves. Both garments were usually decorated with two vertical bands known as *clavi*, on both left-hand and right-hand sides, running down the entire tunic length, from shoul-

der to hem. The *dalmatica* and *clavi* were typical elements of the outfit worn by the early Christians.

The most relevant information explaining the origins of the Jewish costume and the reasons for adopting particular dressing styles throughout the ancient and the early Christian periods can be found in the *Mishna*, the *Midrash* and the *Talmud*.² Almost all the names of the garments come from Greek, Latin or Iranian and are simply transliterated into Hebrew. Quite understandably, it is difficult to extract from the Jewish costume items that could be definitely considered authentic and absolutely original when this „costume design amalgam” is taken into account. The coexistence of many different cultural systems in the same climatic zone, as well as continuous migrations of the population due to various historical reasons naturally led to accepting foreign influences in the dressing code. One of the examples of such „borrowings” of dressing styles, can be seen in the frescoes from the 3rd century synagogue at Dura-Europus. Dura-Europus was a Roman fortress used as a frontier defense base on the river of Euphrates which had been held by the Greek conquerors before the Roman invasion. The garments in the frescoes display a combination of Graeco-Roman and Iranian styles. The Graeco-Roman outfit consists of the *dalmatica* tunic with *clavi*, *pallium* (an overcoat) and sandals, while the Iranian outfit includes a tunic combined with trousers and boots or shoes. It cannot be said with certainty whether all these garments originated from the same period. (If they were indeed worn during the same period in history, they present very illustrative examples of the cultural diversity of multiethnic communities of the time.)

Head covers of any shape or form – caps, hats, turbans, etc. – had a dual function of protecting the person against the weather and as a status symbol. Hats have represented an important item of clothing in many civilizations. There is, however, not much evidence from ancient times about the way Jewish men covered their heads. If they actually used a cap (which is very likely due to the hot climate), it is not known whether it was a status or a religious symbol. In time, however, the situation changed considerably.

Jewish women obligatorily covered their heads, or more precisely their hair, from the times forgotten. Moreover, unlike virgins, for married women it was absolutely prohibited to appear in public with their hair uncovered. Jewish married women started wearing wigs in the Talmudic times; another custom, which was introduced later, required women to cut their hair, or, more precisely, to have their head shaved, on their wedding day. This latter custom was preserved among the ultra-orthodox Jews only. It is believed that the ritual in which the bride's hair was shaved off was in fact of pagan origin, since it had also been practiced in ancient Greece where woman's hair was dedicated

to goddesses in order to earn their grace. (The mystical treatment of human hair should be traced back to the beliefs of pagan societies in which hair was associated with the source of power or energy in human beings.)

Integral parts of the Jewish costume were the *tephillin* – two small leather boxes attached to long and thin leather thongs. Each contained four passages from the *Torah*. During prayers, these religious objects were attached, by thongs, to the forehead and to the left hand. In the Talmudic times, scholars and rabbis wore them throughout the day, and nowadays they are worn by the Orthodox Jews during morning prayers.

The most distinctive item in the Jewish costume has always been the *tallith* or *tales* – the prayer shawl. Although the *talith* has a very strong religious connotation, it is supposed to have been of secular origin, or more precisely, it must have been developed from a common garment, probably the *pallium* (an overcoat). In the Talmudic times, the *tallith* was an attribute of scholars who wore it over a long under-garment known as the *hhaluk* (Hebr.) which covered the whole body. As a rule, the *tallith* had the tassels – *tsitsith* over which the blessings were recited every day. Consequently, it can be concluded that the tassels – *tsitsith* presented the core of the religious symbolism, while the *tallith* was initially far less important. In this context, the *tallith* was acquiring the meaning of the religious symbol very gradually. In its final version, the *tallith* appears as the prayer shawl of the religious adult males, worn during regular and ceremonial prayers. The *tallith* is of rectangular shape, made of wool or silk, always of white color with blue or black stripes at both ends. The woolen prayer shawls are usually larger, sometimes reaching to the ankles. The top edge of the prayer shawl (the part which touches the neck) is covered by the *ata* – a ribbon woven with gold or silver threads and sewn along the shawl edge. According to some authorities, the *ata*, which was adopted later by all the Jewish communities, was of Sephardi origin. Four tassels – *tsitsith*, white or blue, hang from each of the corners of the *tallith*. The shawl corners (above the tassels) were decorated with small size applications. These applications could be made as separate, yet very decorative angular pieces of cloth in dark red, brown or violet, with gold or silver embroidery. Usually, however, they are of simple shape, made of the same material as the *tallith*.

The so-called *tallith katan* (small tallith, Hebr.) probably originated³ from the regular tallith. It was symbolically called the „four corners”, and it was first officially mentioned in the 14th century. The *tallith katan* is also of rectangular shape, but smaller and with an opening for the head. The *tsitsith* are attached to its four corners. Even today, the Orthodox Jews wear the *tallith katan* as a typical religious undergarment.

The *tallith* and the *kittel* (an undergarment for special celebrations, described in the chapter on wedding rites) are the only elements of the original Jewish costume which have been retained to the present day.

After the rise of Islam in the 7th century under the rule of the caliph Umar II the Jewish costume underwent significant transformations under the influence of the new cultural setting⁴. From that time on, gradually and with many variations, dress regulations have been introduced in order to distinguish, i.e., visually segregate the non-Muslims from the Moslem population. The non-Muslims were required to dress in particular colors, primarily in yellow, and to wear particular dress details.

During the 9th century, the Jews and the Christians alike were allowed to wear yellow mantles and cord-made belts only. Furthermore, it was the first time segregation of the non-Moslem from the Moslem population by means of two yellow applications sewed on the outer garment of the non Muslims. Head covers were an inseparable part of the costume of that time, but the Jews and other non-Muslims were allowed to wear yellow turbans only. Besides the turban a soft, tall and cone shaped Persian cap called *ka-lansuwa*, to which the same color restriction applied, was also very popular among men. Certain restrictions also applied to the equipment for the main „means of transportation” – the horse. Non-Moslem riders had to have a marked saddle and wooden stirrups.

Even though every act and requirement which results in segregation based on religious or national backgrounds is heinous, the above described facts from the early Islamic period appear benign in comparison with the paranoid restrictions introduced by the caliph of Egypt, al-Hakim, in the 11th century. In order to deceive his enemies, the caliph ordered all Non-Muslims to wear black turbans like the ones worn by the Muslims of that period. However, the restriction soon included their entire wardrobe. All non-Muslims had to be dressed in black, from head to toe: Jews were required to wear a block of wood carved to represent the golden calf around their necks, while Christians were obliged to wear large iron crosses.

During the following three centuries, all the main religious and ethnic distinctions were expressed by colors. At the end of the 12th century, the Jews, even those converted to Islam, were required to dress in blue, with wide long sleeves and long veils instead of turbans. By the 14th century, the distinctive colors were blue for Christians, red for Samaritans and yellow for Jews, while all of them had to wear cord-made girdles and cloth emblems. Besides wearing the appropriate colors, depending on their religious orientation, women also had to wear shoes in two colors – black and white, or black and red. It is important to point out that the social and political treat-

ment was not the same for all non-Muslims. Christians were treated with greater severity and cruelty, while Jews were treated with more tolerance, which was also reflected in the less stringent application of the dress code regulations for Jews.

Men of all confessions were allowed to wear turbans of the appropriate prescribed color and size. However, since the turban was the symbol of Mohammed, most non-Muslims preferred wearing the Persian *kalansuwa* which, gradually, assumed the shape of a tall and square cap.

A certain formal discrimination of the Jews living in Persia of the 16th and 17th centuries, was expressed through a regulation requiring all Jews to wear felt hats similar to those worn by slaves. Later on, in the mid-19th century, outfits became rather uniform, regardless of the religion. There was only one regulation left, requiring Jewish women to wear black veils instead of white ones when they appeared in public.

The Jews living in the powerful Ottoman empire received most favorable treatment,⁵ which was, among other things, was reflected in the variation of the Jewish outfit, parts of which gradually developed into particular dressing styles. In other words, throughout the Turkish empire there were no humiliating restrictions related to the non-Moslem dressing code, other than the usual restrictions with respect to the particular colors to be used for clothes (the most important was the rule that forbade wearing green). Certain differences in dressing codes among Jews living under the Turkish rule certainly existed, due to their constant migrations, different origins and diverse cultural traditions. The costume of the Sephardim who settled in the Turkish territory, after having been expelled from the Iberian peninsula at the end of the 15th century, differed from the that used by the native oriental Jews. Moreover, both groups dressed differently from the Ashkenazim, who formed a very small community in Turkey. Some European elements also had to be present in the Jewish costume of the Ottoman empire (according to some sources from the 17th century, following European influences, women wore jackets fitting tightly at the waist and trimmed with fur). However, judging by the illustrations from the 17th and 18th centuries, despite the presence of the European, predominantly Sephardi influence, along with the influence of the oriental Jewish dressing code, most of the Jews living in the Ottoman empire adjusted their dressing style to the broader cultural setting. If details and restrictions related to the color of their clothes were excluded, many Jews could hardly be distinguished from the Turks.

During the mid-17th century, the Sephardi immigrants took advantage of the limited freedom they were given in choosing their dressing style, and wore Spanish soft hats with pointed tops which distinguished them from the

oriental Jews who wore turbans. Also, they used a brimless hat around which they could wear a turban, thus accepting a part of the Turkish tradition.

During the 18th century, the Jews showed great affection for dark or black colors of their outer garments – caftans and jackets. Also they wore a peculiar hat which was a combination of the Spanish tall hat with the turban wrapped around it so that the hat top could be seen. The color of the turbans was usually violet, and they remained a part of the Jewish male outfit in Turkey until the end of the 19th century.

In comparison to the other parts of the Ottoman empire, it appears that the Jews, more precisely the Jewish women of Thessaloniki had the greatest freedom in developing their own dressing style. During the 19th century, they wore clothes of bright colors made of materials varying from printed cotton to silk brocade, depending on their financial situation. They mostly dressed in layers. They wore Turkish trousers – *dimije* – and two or three upper gowns, including a dark red long cloak, lined and trimmed with fur for outdoor wear. The married women mostly wore their hair in the back in a kind of bag attached to a cap. The cap covered the top of the head and a fine muslin kerchief was twisted around it. In public, they wore a veil which did not cover their faces. The bag itself, besides its practical function, also served as a decorative detail which was ornamented by beautiful shiny pearls. Rich and elaborate jewelry presented another integral part of the Thessaloniki Jewish women's dressing code.

The Sephardi Jews living in Serbia, Macedonia and Bosnia under the Turkish rule⁶ were given less freedom to use their imagination in designing their outfits. Their dressing style was conditioned by the restrictions introduced in the 7th century, and by the 16th century Edict issued by the sultan Murat IV. Despite the fact that over the centuries the dressing code requirements for the Jews living in the Ottoman empire became less stringent, the Jews from Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria continued to dress according to the rules much more severe than those from the other parts of the Turkish empire, some of which were even closer to Constantinople. (In fact, the Turkish rulers' tolerance toward material cultures of the non-Moslem population tended to decrease as the distance from the center of power increased.)

Like everywhere else, green colored garments were forbidden. A typical male Sephardi outfit consisted of a fez, trousers, girdle, waistcoat, long coat and shoes, i.e., slippers. The trousers were very loose, very wide in the upper part around the hips, with suspended pleats between legs ("suspended seat"), and they narrowed in the part under the knees. The trousers were always black, made of wool or linen and reaching to the ankles. A long belt, wrapped

several times around the waist to hold the pants, was made of silk, wool or linen. The jacket was short with wide long sleeves and small buttons in the front, made of fine cloth. A long opened coat with wide sleeves, lined with fur (if it was a part of winter outfit) was worn over the waistcoat. The fez was a symbol of an ethnic and religious status, but it could also represent a member of a specific profession. The fez was also made of fine cloth, and it was, in fact, a round-shaped cap, narrowed at the top, sometimes with tassels. The footwear included leather flat slippers, fitting tight to the foot. They resembled oriental slippers because of their open-heel and pointed tops.

The female Sephardi outfit consisted of a peculiar cap – *tukado* or *tukadu*, a long undergarment reaching to the ankles, an attractive *entari* and, on winter days, a furcoat. The *tukadu* was a firmly shaped round cap, decorated by strings of ducats called the *frontera*. It was usually made of brocade, with long black tassels in the back which imitated the woman's hair hidden under the cap. The *tukadu* remained in common use for a long time, up to the beginning of the 20th century. It was often worn in combination with the city style dress, which was adopted by the Sephardi women at the end of the 19th century. The *entari* was worn over the softly woven linen undergarment reaching to the ankles. The *entari*, reaching to the ankles as well, was bell-shaped and had a semicircular opening around the neck. It was open in front along all its length. The *entari* had long sleeves which were cut (open) from elbow to wrist on the inner side. This dress was usually made of brocade or velvet and nicely embroidered. The Sephardi ladies wore high shoes (very similar to the modern flat low boots) which were decorated in a similar way. The *entari* was made in black, red, violet or blue, and, judging by its shape and embroidery, it looked very elaborate and stylish. On winter days, the women wore open furcoats with wide sleeves over their *entaris*. As to jewelry, the Sephardi women living in Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia were especially fond of earrings. Other jewels (necklaces, bracelets, etc.) were seldom recorded in paintings or written documents, which does not mean, of course, they were not worn.

Another typical item in the Sephardi outfit were the amulets, which were shaped as to unite the aesthetic and the magical principles. The amulets were finely manufactured, usually in the form of a pendant, looking like jewels. However, their function was magical, and a mainly protective one at that, which shows their remote pagan origin. The amulets were believed to provide protection against evil spirits and spells, and to help people reach happiness or fight diseases or enemy. The amulets wore engravings in accordance with their purpose: different Jewish symbols (the *menorah*, the star of David, etc.), holy books quotations, or combinations of floral and other symbols.

During the Middle Ages, in Central and Western Europe, the Jewish costume developed under most contradictory circumstances.⁷ On one side, the Jewish dressing code developed in accordance with the broader cultural setting and under its strong influence, while on the other side, the setting itself restricted and limited its development, imposing regulations to make the Jewish costume different from that of the broader community. In the 13th century, for example, the Catholic church insisted on creating differences between Jewish and Christian outfits; in the 14th century, Juan I of Aragon introduced the law according to which the Jews had to wear long cloaks and yellow cloth emblems. During the 15th century, the laws related to the Jewish dress code became even more strict. The yellow emblem was a common sign worn by the Jews in mediaeval Spain, England and France. In Germany, the Jews were not obliged to wear the emblem, but they were visually segregated from the rest of the population by a special hat which was simply called *iheJudenhat* (the Jewish hat).

The *Judenhat* was very similar to the Persian *kalansuwa*, and it probably originated from it. A similar type of hat was also worn by Polish and Austrian Jews.

However, the most common feature of the mediaeval Jewish costume in Western and Central European countries was a large hooded cloak used to cover the whole body during the prayers.

This custom to completely cover one's body in order to concentrate on the prayer, originates from the Talmudic times. In course of time, the hood was replaced by the beret which continued to be the normal daily head-dress for the longest time, but which gradually became restricted to the synagogue use only.

During the 17th century, the cloak called the *sarbal* became a distinctive clothing item of German, Austrian, Hungarian and Swiss Jews.⁸ A specific type of *sarbal*, worn on *Sabbath*, was without an opening on the right-hand side – to remind the men not to do any other work on the *Sabbath* and to devote their time to spiritual education and prayers. At the same time, most Jewish men and women alike made elaborately pleated collars fitting tight to the neck a permanent item in their outfits. This type of collar was first used the Middle Ages and it remained in common use for a very long time. Another item „rescued” from the mediaeval times was the so-called „square veil” worn by Jewish women on the *Sabbath* and in the synagogue. It was a tightly fitting cap which covered the whole head. The „square veil” had two stiffly starched wings pointed toward the back of the head, and it was made of linen with two blue stripes which symbolized the Jewish religion.

In the 18th century, no significant changes were introduced to the Jewish outfit. The men wore black or dark colored cloaks, black hats and the above described white pleated collars. Nevertheless, due to contacts with the broader community, many started wearing silk coats and even wigs. One of the peculiar customs of that time was that men went to the synagogue in their slippers, symbolically stating that they were not in a hurry, and they felt comfortable. At that time, the „square veil” started losing its popularity, and it was gradually replaced by the more comfortable female cap with wide lace brim. Both men and women continued wearing the stiff pleated collars and dark or black cloaks over their dresses. For decoration, they used gold lace for the head, silver belts around the waist, jewels and similar details.

In Germany, the above described outfit was in use for the *Sabbath*, during the 19th century as well. However, like the rest of the population, the Jews also adopted some more convenient outfits for everyday activities. The men started wearing shoes with silver buckles, white or black silk socks, velvet knee breeches with silver buckles, colored waistcoats and tail coats with silver buttons, and green cloaks fastened in front by silver clasps.

The pleated collar was still in use. The men also wore berets over typical Jewish skull-caps (worn on the top of the head) known as the *kappel*. It is interesting that the beard, worn by the Jewish men throughout the history, came out of the fashion in the first half of the 19th century. It became especially common for the educated men to be clean-shaven. In the second half of the 19th century, however, the beard came into fashion again. The French Jews' outfits were similar to the Gentian ones, while the most independent were the Jews living in Holland and England. The Sephardim were the leaders in the free development of styles and absolute acceptance of the beauty ideals of the local community. This tendency had been already present among the Sephardim during the 18th century, so that the Sephardim from the Western European countries gradually became totally undistinguished from the Christians. The changes were also accepted by the Ashkenazim, though with much less flexibility, since they could not give up their attractive long beards and dark modest clothes.

The Jews from Eastern European countries adopted garments typical of Russian and Polish national costume.⁹ However, there also existed some specific items of clothing which defined the image of the Jewish population in those areas. These included typical head-dresses such as: *keppelche* or *yarmulka* – a skull-cap; *ushanka* (Russian) – a popular fur hat with ear flaps typical of the area; *spodic* – a high fur hat trimmed with velvet, and *kolpak* – identical to the *spodic* but made of sable. The Hasidim wore special types of hats: a silk skull-cap called *mosalka* and a fur hat called *duchowny* which

was reserved for scholars. The Jewish women also differed from the rest of the community by the way they dressed. The only „fashion borrowings” they accepted were certain decorative elements and head-dresses, such as lace caps and satin, silk or velvet ribbons with embroidery, which were worn tied around the head. Sometimes, the ribbons were made in the form of a diadem with pearls, or even more ostentatiously in the shape of a little crown. The richer ladies also used to decorate their ribbons with pearls or diamonds.

Although there existed some details which distinguished the rabbi's outfit from those of the other members of the Jewish community, there has never been a traditional rabbinical outfit.¹⁰ As the Jewish national costume has developed and changed under the influence of the prevailing cultural setting, the rabbinical dress style has been affected by those very same influences. The Ashkenazi rabies, maintaining „more rigid line” in their appearance, retained the strict rule to cover their heads, wearing beards and absolutely rejecting wigs (while they were still in fashion). The Sephardi rabies, in most cases, adopted conventional clerical clothes, and followed the dressing codes of the broader community.

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¹Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, pp. 5-28.

²Ibid, p. 16.

³Eugen Verber: Introduction to Jewish Religion, Beigrade 1993, page 26.

⁴Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, pp. 32-39.

⁵Ibid, pp. 40-57

⁶Jews in the Territory of Yugoslavia, exhibition catalogue, the Museum Showroom, Zagreb 1988; the chapter on Costume and Jewelry by dr Vidosava Nedomački, p. 105.

⁷Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, pp. 91-124.

⁸Ibid, pp. 154-188.

⁹Ibid, pp. 125-144.

¹⁰Ibid, pp. 190-194.