**The Sabbath Lamp**

***A History***

# Introduction

“When the lamp is lowered, worries are lifted.”

German Jewish proverb

The traditional Jewish view is that with the advent of the Sabbath (*Shabbat*), everyday cares and worries dissipate, and the special atmosphere of the day envelops us. The commencement of the Sabbath was symbolized in Ashkenazi[[1]](#footnote-1) Jewish communities by lighting the hanging Sabbath oil lamp, a brass, multi-spouted implement. The lamp remained in a raised position during the week, and on Friday afternoon, some 18 minutes before the commencement of the Sabbath at sunset, it was lowered to enable its lighting, and then, at the conclusion of the Sabbath, raised again. These lamps were one of the central ritual objects of European Judaism for many generations, and particularly for Jewish women, for whom candle-lighting was one of three commandments for which they were specifically obligated. Special lighting implements for the Sabbath also developed in other Jewish communities, and interestingly, these lamps have never been the subject of a monograph, perhaps because it was assumed that the lamp lit on the Sabbath was simply an everyday lamp used in the surrounding communities, much in the same way that the Kiddush cup was a silver goblet quite similar to those used in the non-Jewish surroundings.

The Jewish people have two well-known and well-researched lighting implements—the Menorah of the Tabernacle, and later, the Temple,[[2]](#footnote-2) and the Hanukkah lamp.[[3]](#footnote-3) The Menorah is described in detail in the Book of Exodus, and the Hanukkah lamp, in the Talmud. In contradistinction, the form of the Sabbath lamp is described neither in the Bible nor the Oral law. What does receive attention are the lighting materials required for lighting the Sabbath lamp. This work, the first of its kind, will focus on several primary questions:

Why did the kindling of the Sabbath lamp, which is not explicitly commanded in the Bible, become so important, and how was this codified in Jewish law? Is the Sabbath lamp a uniquely Jewish implement, or an import from the non-Jewish surroundings? Were there reciprocal influences between Jewish law and the prevailing material culture that influenced the development of Sabbath candle-lighting?

To address these questions, this research examines the development of the Jewish laws relevant to Sabbath candle-lighting (hereto referred to simply as candle-lighting); the history of both ecclesiastical and home lighting and their influence on the evolution of the Sabbath lamp; and most significantly, the relationship between the Jewish woman and candle-lighting. The research led to some new understandings of the development, depiction, and design of Sabbath lamps and raises questions about understanding halachic texts in light of material culture.

## 1.1 The Scope of the Research

The main subjects of this research are the Jews of Ashkenaz from the beginning of the 16th century until the beginning of the 20th century, simply because there are almost no extant Sabbath lamps that predate this period. While most of the material evidence dates from the beginning of the modern era, there are Jewish legal (*halachic*)writings pre-dating the authoritative codification of Jewish law, the *Shulchan Aruch* (1565) that are relevant to our discussion. For the first time, these writings will be examined in the light of material culture from those same periods. In addition, for the purpose of comparison, the research will also examine lamps used by the Sephardic and Oriental Jewish communities. In contrast to the European communities, there are significantly fewer material remains and written testimonies from the Oriental communities, and as a result, what evidence is available is much more recent. The comparison between these communities, with their different vessels, leads to an interesting reading of the interaction between *halacha* and material culture.

## 1.2 The State of the Research

In his article in *Mahanayim* in 1964, Y. L. Bialer,[[4]](#footnote-4) a Hebrew poet who became the curator of the Wolfson Museum of Jewish Art in Heichal Shlomo, wrote: “While Hebrew manuscripts and scrolls, spice boxes and Torah ornaments have been researched, up until now no research has been devoted to this honored object, the Sabbath lamp.”[[5]](#footnote-5) In fact, two earlier researchers did touch upon the subject. In 1944, the doyenne of Jewish art historians, Rachel Wischnitzer, wrote an article titled “The Sabbath in Art,” with a few lines devoted to the Sabbath lamp. Some 12 years later, Franz Landsberger wrote a more in-depth article about the vessels used on the Sabbath, including Sabbath lamps. Landsberger’s conclusion is one that researchers adopted thereafter—namely, that these implements, made by and large by non-Jews, were influenced largely by the non-Jewish environment and therefore had nothing intrinsically “Jewish” about them.[[6]](#footnote-6) Other researches include: an article about Sabbath lamps in the Prague Jewish collection;[[7]](#footnote-7) a catalog of hanging lamps by Adi Blumberg,[[8]](#footnote-8) based mainly but not solely on the collection of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem; and a discussion of a unique Sabbath lamp used by the Lelov Hassidim, by Bat Sheva Goldman-Ida in her doctorate.[[9]](#footnote-9) Only one work has been devoted to the candle-lighting implements of Oriental communities, an article by Esther Muchavsky-Shnapper on the lamps of the Yemenite Jews.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Not surprisingly, the lamps that have received the most attention are a group of elaborately adorned silver hanging Sabbath lamps made in Frankfurt am Main, that has been the subject of two articles by Guido Schoenberger; one by Vivian Mann; and one by Annette Weber. Of the medieval lamps, the lamp in the Erfurt Dom has received much scholarly attention. In 1982 a monograph by Hans Gerhard Meyer[[11]](#footnote-11) focused on this lamp, at that time part of East Germany, and claimed by the author to be a Jewish lamp. This latter research is a prime example of questionable historical reasoning—because the Jews used similar lamps in the 17th and 18th centuries, this 12th century example must be Jewish as well. This line of research has continued in recent scholarship on the lamp[[12]](#footnote-12) and that same reasoning has been applied to a Norman-era lamp found in England.[[13]](#footnote-13) The current research will examine these assumptions.

While there has been little research on Sabbath lamps, much has been written about the history of lighting. The Jewish laws relating to Sabbath candle-lighting have also been discussed, usually from the halachic point of view. Israel Ta-Shema dedicated two articles to this subject in the Middle Ages, but was unaware of depictions of candle-lighting in the manuscripts of the period.[[14]](#footnote-14) Moreover, he did not relate to the material culture of the time. The biggest example of his misreading of the halachic texts is his claim that most people used candles for the Sabbath lighting. This research shows his assumption to be untrue.[[15]](#footnote-15)

Works on nocturnal activity and culture in both the general and Jewish communities rarely touched on a discussion of the Sabbath implements. There are several studies by Elliott Horowitz on the nightlife of Italian Jews at the beginning of the modern period and a doctorate by Anat Kutner on the subject of the night in general in Jewish life.[[16]](#footnote-16) As we will see, nighttime activity was in general extremely limited until the mid-18th century when new lighting technologies began to develop which enabled the development of special activities that took place at night. These, however, were rare, partially because of the expense involved. Kutner’s dissertation does discuss somewhat the vessels for candle-lighting, but the subject was far from exhausted there.

Of the important work done on Jewish women by Abraham Grossman,[[17]](#footnote-17) Elisheva Baumgarten,[[18]](#footnote-18) and Yemima Chovav,[[19]](#footnote-19) among others, only the latter has dedicated a section in her work to Sabbath candle-lighting as reflected in rabbinical writings and in the special supplicatory prayers, the *tehinnot*, recited by women both before and after lighting. Baumgarten has discussed candle-lighting in the light of Christian religious practices, without focusing on the objects themselves.[[20]](#footnote-20) Chava Weissler dedicated an entire book to the subject of the *tehinna* texts, but none of these scholars related to Sabbath candle-lighting in the context of the material culture of the time, the *halacha*, and what was actually practiced.

## 1.3 The Structure of the Book

The first chapter will discuss the requirement to kindle the Sabbath light as codified in both Jewish and non-Jewish sources, beginning with the Romanperiodand continuing until rabbinic responses of the end of the 19th century. In this chapter we will follow the process of the “institutionalization” of Sabbath candle-lighting, whose original purpose was purely functional, namely, to provide light on the Sabbath, since it was forbidden to kindle fire on that day. This chapter provides a survey of halachic development, including a discussion of specific relevant halachic material, such as the obligation to recite a blessing when lighting, the number of lights, the place of lighting, and the connection of the commandment to women - all of which are relevant to understanding the evolution of the implement used for kindling the lights. This chapter is not meant to be a comprehensive study of the laws of candle-lighting, which is beyond the purview of this work and has been covered by many scholars,[[21]](#footnote-21) but rather to summarize the laws salient to the development of the vessels used for candle-lighting.

After the halachic discussion, the second chapter is a brief survey of the history of domestic lighting from the ancient world to the modern period. The history of domestic lighting will include a detailed discussion of the materials used for lighting in the home from the Middle Ages until the beginning of the 19th century, including the dramatic technological advances of the late 18th and 19th centuries, which followed a period of some 1000 years without development or change. We will discuss both the vessels and materials for lighting in both the general and Jewish cultures of the time. This chapter will include a discussion of the Mishnah, “*Bemah Madlikin*” from the Sabbath tractate that discusses the materials of both the fuels and wicks. This information will form the basis for understanding later halachic texts and discussions.

In the third chapter, we will discuss the lighting in ecclesiastical structures—both the synagogue and the church, from the Middle Ages until the beginning of the 19th century. This chapter is essential in understanding both the similarities and differences between domestic and public lighting and their impact on daily life, and is based on material evidence, written testimony and manuscript and printed book illustrations. This chapter will discuss medieval precedents of the Jewish Sabbath lamp, two that are extant and one is that has disappeared: the Erfurt and London lamps, and a lamp that was previously in Dijon, all of which have been identified as “Jewish lamps”.

The fourth chapter is divided into two; the first half will discuss the hanging Ashkenazi lamp, which most commonly was star-shaped, and made of brass with an even number of arms. A more luxurious form of the lamp, made of silver, will be discussed as well. We will examine the source of these vessels, in light of both the prevailing material culture and the requirements of halacha on the other.

The fifth chapter will discuss the implements used for Sabbath candle-lighting by Oriental and North African Jews. Since the period of the *Gaonim*, the halachic responsa of these communities have been less concerned with the materials used in lighting than their Ashkenazi counterparts, and there are thus fewer sources on this subject. In fact, the relative paucity of questions on this subject could be attributed to the easier access to suitable lighting oil in those communities. For instance, olive oil, the preferred oil according to the Mishna, was easily obtainable in Spain and later, Morocco. This chapter includes information on lighting in mosques, and will focus on the Sabbath lighting implements of the Jews of Morocco, for which there is the most documentation.

The sixth chapter will touch on the role of candle-lighting in the lives of Jewish women: Did Jewish women have agency when it came to the performance of the obligation to light the candles? What role, did candle-lighting have in the lives of Jewish women? Since practically all halachic writing until today, has been done by men, in this chapter we will try to uncover the world of women and candle-lighting as seen by women. This will be done by examining depictions of women lighting, along with the texts of the *tehinnot*, women’s memoirs, and other writings. The modern period is characterized by the transition from lighting with oil in hanging lamps to lighting with candles in standing candlesticks in certain locales in Europe and Morocco. Why are candles more prominent in Eastern Europe, for example? Another part of the chapter will discuss how technological changes influenced halachic writings of the 19th century.

The seventh chapter will consider the symbolism of candle-lighting: the meaning of light in Judaism will be briefly touched upon—as well as depictions of candle-lighting in both the art and literature of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. We will also make reference to the depictions of Sabbath candles on the gravestones of Jewish women. In all of these cases, we will discuss the themes and symbolism that emerge from these depictions.

## 1.4 Sources

My research began with the collection of information on existing implements for candle-lighting. However, the objects alone, while eloquent in and of themselves, needed more investigation, and for this I turned to ancient literature, rabbinic literature from the Mishnah and Talmud, the rabbinic authorities that preceded the codification of the *Shulchan Aruch* (*HaRishonim*) and those that came after (*HaAchronim*). In addition, I scoured the memoirs of both Jewish men and women, as well as Jewish literature. The scarcity of early objects led me to the writings of non-Jews who wrote about Judaism as well. There are no actual descriptions of the vessels used in lighting the Sabbath candles in *halachic* writings until the modern period.

Part of my research included the building of a database which included the documentation of some 400 objects from various collections, public and private. Some of the objects I documented myself in public collections, including the Israel Museum, the Wolfson Museum of Jewish Art at Heichal Shlomo, Ticho House, MUZA, the Eretz Israel Museum, and the Jewish Museum in New York City. Others I documented from existing catalogs, such as the collection of the Jewish Museum in Prague, the National Museum in Warsaw, the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt, the Musee d’art et d’histoire de Judaïsme in Paris, and other collections. I cataloged hanging Sabbath lamps from brass and silver as well as pairs of candlesticks made from the same materials. I also cataloged multi-branched candlesticks, and the lighting implements of the North African and Oriental Jewish communities, when possible. The tables in the appendix summarize this work. This database was extremely useful in ascertaining which types of lamps were the most common in terms of material, number of branches, size and iconography. The results anchored my conclusions more firmly.

# Methodological Problems

Several problems came up during the research, particularly with regard to the documentation and origin of the objects.

##  2.1 The Scope of the Halachic Literature

The halachic discussions of candle-lighting are very complex. Without relating to the halacha, it is impossible to discuss Jewish ritual objects. However, in the context of this work, it was impossible to summarize or even access all of the halachic writings, particularly the early ones. Moreover, halachic writing in general is characterized by a disregard for historicity or geography—even contemporary scholars summarizing early works rarely organize them by period or locale. Although I made every attempt to find the most salient texts, it is possible that something was omitted. The discussion of the purpose of Sabbath lighting is particularly complex-- according to the rabbis, halachic distinctions are made between three possible reasons for lighting: “Shalom Bayit—Domestic Harmony,” “Oneg Shabbat—the Joy of the Sabbath,” and “Honoring the Sabbath.” These distinctions influence how rabbinic scholars view candle-lighting and its importance, but the implications of their varying interpretations did not impact the design of the vessels for candle-lighting, and therefore were not discussed in depth. What did emerge from the research was that while candle-lighting had a very important functional role until the 19th century, the technological changes of that century transformed the functional role of candle-lighting into a more symbolic one, and that of the three “meanings,” “Honoring the Sabbath” may be the predominant reason for the continuance of candle-lighting today.

## 2.2 The Availability of Materials

A central problem of the research is the relative rarity of items—very few Jewish lamps have survived from the Middle Ages. There are two reasons for this. The first is that the multiple persecutions and expulsions of the Jews of Ashkenaz from the Middle Ages until the modern period resulted in the loss and destruction of much material. A first-person account comes from Rabbi Nathan Neta Hannover, witness to the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648 -1649, who wrote of his own family’s escape from the town of Zaslaw on the Sabbath preceding the Ninth of Av:

Immediately there was such confusion and panic among our brethren of the house of Israel that it is indescribable. Everyone threw from his cart silver and gold, vessels, books, pillows and bed covers in order to be able to escape more quickly, to save the lives of his family.[[22]](#footnote-22)

The second reason for the dearth of earlier lighting implements is that metal objects were often re-smelted and recast, (particularly brass, which was used in weaponry, such as cannons), which led to the confiscation of many brass objects, particularly in times of war.[[23]](#footnote-23) As a result, there are only two purportedly Jewish lamps extant from the Middle Ages—one in the Jewish Museum in New York City, and the second in a private collection in Switzerland. Even so, in the case of these two lamps it is very difficult to prove their “Jewishness.” Loss of Jewish material culture occurred at later dates as well. For instance, a rare and beautiful lamp dating from the 18th century, formerly located in the synagogue of Offenbach, Germany, was destroyed or lost during Kristallnacht in 1938. The body of the lamp can only be studied based on photographs that date from 1915. The other parts of the lamp that did survive were its oil spouts, bowl, and chain, today in the Jewish Museum in New York City. There is no question that other similar lamps were lost or destroyed over the generations.

**2.3 Insufficient documentation**

One of the largest problems in researching these implements is that many public collections, both in Israel and the United States, built their collections from donations from collectors, or from objects purchased from Judaica dealers, and not first-hand from the original owners. Such collections often include fakes or mislabeled objects. Another corollary problem is that many of the objects are made from brass, which is generally without hallmarks, as opposed to silver or gold. A third problem is the loss of documentation in many collections, which perhaps would have cast light on the origins of the objects.

## 2.4 Primary or Secondary Usage of the Objects

How can we know by looking at these hanging lamps or candlesticks if they were specifically used for Sabbath candle-lighting or for daily lighting in the synagogue? Without inscriptions, it is very difficult to determine. The existence of inscriptions on certain objects is likely to mean that the objects were donated for public usage, either to a synagogue or study hall, but it is also true that many lamps used in synagogues may not have had inscriptions on them, and were similar to those used at home.

## 2.5 False Assumptions

Researchers have assumed that two star-shaped lamps from the Romanesque period, one in the Cathedral at Erfurt, the other in the Museum of London, were Jewish, based on their shape. This *a priori* conclusion interfered with their iconographic analyses. In both cases a close examination of the works reveals Christian origins, and these lamps will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

## 2.6 Terminology

The linguistic field of the Hebrew word *ner* נר is extremely wide—it can mean a small oil vessel, a wick, a flame or a wax candle. For this reason, the usage of this word by the early halachic writers remains somewhat unclear. Sometimes, the rabbis use the term *ner* interchangeably with the words for candlestick (פמוט) or lampe (למפ”א), without distinguishing between them. A prime example is the Raviah, Rabbi Eliezer Ben Yoel Ha-Levi (1140-1225). He is one of the earliest rabbinic authorities to relate to the number of *nerot*, citing the necessity to light a minimum of two; the problem is: did he mean flames, candles, or lamps? To add to this confusion, the few early Hebrew Ashkenazi manuscripts that lighting for the Sabbath depict multi-spouted lamps.[Image] This question demonstrates at least one of the problems involved with understanding the rabbinic literature. The term *ner* therefore requires investigation in each and every context, in order to fully understand what was meant. We will see later that there were several terms used to refer to lighting implements, many of which could be interpreted in a variety of ways. Below is a list of terms used in the work:

*Spout*: a place for the wick, where the flame burns.

*Oil lamp*: a small ceramic vessel generally with one or more spouts.

*Menorah*: the lamp that stood in the Tabernacle and the Temple.

*Hanging lamp or star-shaped lamp*: a Sabbath lamp in the shape of a star with a number of spouts that were lit with oil.

*Float lamp*: a hanging glass bowl in which a layer of oil was poured over water and in which a wick floated.

*Hanukkah Menorah*: a lamp or candlestick with nine flames specifically used for lighting during the festival of Hanukkah.

*Candle*: an implement for lighting using wax (or another material) wrapped around a wick.

*Candlestick*: a metal implement for lighting wax candles. A candlestick can have several branches or be part of a pair.

The English term *candle-lighting* will be used to mean the kindling of the Sabbath lamp, whether by oil or by candle, because it has become an accepted usage. Where relevant to the discussion, a distinction will be made between the type of lighting implements used.

# Topics Not Included in the Research

Jewish lighting turns out to be a broad subject—besides Sabbath candles and Hannukah menorahs, there are Memorial or *Yizkor* candles, *Havdalah* candles and candles for the checking of *hamez,* the leavened bread, on the night before Passover. In the course of this research, it was impossible to relate to all of these kinds of Jewish lighting. Only in the case where the lamp was related to the Sabbath lamp (e.g., in the case of the *Ner Tamid* in the synagogue), or to the Jewish woman (as in the case of the Yom Kippur candle) did I discuss them in the current research.

The breadth of my subject also limited my discussions of other subjects—for instance, the history of lighting, which is a huge field and has been ably addressed by many researchers.[[24]](#footnote-24) I built on their conclusions in my understandings of the history of lighting and how it applied to Jewish implements.

Two other subjects which are very broad and not covered in their entirety are the laws of candle-lighting and the recitation of *tehinnot* both before and/or after candle-lighting. It was impossible in the course of this research to summarize the huge body of literature on candle-lighting in the halachic writings. Similarly, *tehinnot* need more research in their own right, even after the ground-breaking work of Chava Weissler. Just one example—there is no chronological list of all of the editions of the *tehinnot*, or of the prayer books in which they appear. I therefore included only a short discussion of the texts and their origins, where known.

My discussion of Sabbath candle-lightings in Jewish and Hebrew literary works from the 19th century on is also not meant to be comprehensive. Many excerpts from this literature on the subject have already been published by several researchers.[[25]](#footnote-25) I focused mainly on descriptions of candle-lighting from memoirs written by both men and women. These testimonies add a very important facet to the research. Here too, this source was not exhausted. The place of the Sabbath in these memoirs deserves its own study.

# Technical Notes

All the vessels studied were probably used both for Sabbath and holiday candle-lighting, unless otherwise specified. Where possible, authoritative translations of the original texts were used—if none existed, I translated them to the best of my ability. Rabbinic texts come from the Bar Ilan Responsa Project and *Sefaria*. Names of writers were taken from the catalog of the National Library in Israel, and all biographical material on the rabbis from the 2007 edition of the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. Transcription of Hebrew terms to English was based on the *Encyclopedia Judaica* as well.

It is my hope that the innovation of this work in examining a beloved Jewish object through the intersection between Jewish law, Jewish art, practice, and everyday life will open up new avenues for research into the material culture of Jewish life in general and in the lives of Jewish women in particular.

**Bibliography**

Agnon, Shmuel Y. “The Tale of the Menorah.” In *A City in its Fullness*. Translated by Alan Mintz and Jeffrey Saks, 44–56. Jerusalem: The Toby Press, 2016.

Baumgarten, Elisheva. “A Tale of a Christian Matron and Sabbath Candles: Religious Difference, Material Culture and Gender in Thirteenth-century Germany.” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (2013): 83–99.

Baumgarten, Elisheva. *Mothers* *and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Blumberg, Adi. *Hanging Sabbath Lamps.* Translated by Ariel Hurwich Braun. Jerusalem: Adi Foundation, 2001.

Braunstein, Susan. *Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps From The Jewish Museum: A Catalogue Raisonné.* New York: Jewish Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Bussert, Frank, Sarah Laubenstein, and Maria Stürzebecher, eds. *Erfurter Schriften zur jüdischen Geschichte [Translated Title].* Jena: Verlag Bussert & Stadeler, 2010-2020.

Chovav Yemima (Hebrew).

Dudová, Jaroslava. “Sabbatlampen aus Messingguss” [“Translated Title”]. *Judaica Bohemiae* 9, no. 1–2 (1973): 72–85.

Fine, Steven. *The Menorah From the Bible to Modern Israel.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Ganoz, Yitzhak. “Transliterated Title” [“The Motif of the Candle in Folklore and Hebrew Literature”]. *Yeda-Am* (1979): 28–44.

Goldman-Ida, Bat Sheva. “Transliterated Title” [“The Hasidic Ritual Object”]. PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007.

Grossman, Avraham. *Pious and Rebellious, Jewish Women in Medieval Europe/* Waltham: Brandeis, 2004.

Hanover, Nathan. *Transliterated Title* [*Abyss of Despair*]. Translated by Abraham J. Mesch. 1953 publisher of first edition; New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983.

Herzog, Isaac HaLevy. “Transliterated Title” [“The Form of the Menorah in the Arch of Titus,”]. In *Scritti in Memoria di Sally Mayer (1875-1953): Saggi sull’Ebraismo Italiano* [*Writings in Memory of Sally Mayer (1875-1953): Essays on Italian Jewry*], edited by Shlomo Umberto Nahon, page numbers of chapter. Jerusalem: Fondazione Sally Mayer, Scuola Superiore di Studi Ebraici, Milano, 1956.

Horowitz, Elliott. “Coffee, Coffeehouses, and the Nocturnal Rituals of Early Modern Jewry.” *AJS Review* 14, no. 1 (1989): 17–46.

 Horowitz, Elliot. “The Eve of the Circumcision: A Chapter in the History of Jewish Nightlife.” *Journal of Social History* 23, no.1 (1989): 45–69.

Kressel, G. *Transliterated Title* [*Cyclopedia of Modern Hebrew Literature],* vol. 1. Merhavya: Sifriat HaPoalim, 1967.

Kutner, Anat. (Hebrew).

Landsberger, Franz “The Origin of the Ritual Implements for the Sabbath.” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 27 (1956): 414.

Leib Bialer, Yehuda “Transliterated Title” [“The Sabbath Implements in Art”]. *Mahanayim* 85–86 (1964), 142–. [provide full page range of article].

Levine, Shalom Duber. *Kuntras Nerot Shabbat Kodesh* [*Pamphlet on Holy Shabbat Candles*]. Brooklyn: Balshon, 1975.

Meyer, Hans Gerhard. *Eine Sabbatampel im Erfurter Dom* [Translated Title] Hildesheim: Om, 1982.

Muchawsky-Schnapper, Ester. “Oil Sabbath-Lamps and Hanukah-Lamps of Stone from the Yemen.” *Journal of Jewish Art* 9 (1982): 76–83.

Museum of London. “Catalog number 1374.” [https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/33856.html date](https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/33856.html%20date%20)

Nacht, Yaakov Zalman Epstein, and Y. L Baruch, eds. *Sefer HaShabbat* [*Book of Shabbat*]. Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1980.

Narkiss, Mordechai. *The Hanukkah Lamp.* Jerusalem: Bnei Bezalel, 1939.

O’Dea, William. *The Social History of Lighting.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958.

Robins, F. W. *The Story of the Lamp*. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.

Ta-Shema, Yisrael. “Transliterated Title” [“Light of Honor”]. *Tarbitz* 35 (1976; repr. 1999): 129. Full page range of article.

Thwing, Leroy. *Flickering Flames A History of Domestic Lighting.* Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1958.

Verdiger, Yaakov. *Sefer Ner Shabbat* [*Book of Shabbat Candles*]. Bnai Brak: Institute for the Research of Prayer and Customs, 1975.

Yarden,Leon. *The Tree of Light: A Study of the Menorah, the Seven-Branched Lampstand.* London: East and West Library, 1971.

1. Ashkenaz is defined as the area where German Jews lived or where their customs were practiced. It included Alsace, Bohemia, Austria, and Northern Italy. See Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers* *and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The earliest research was done by the Chief Rabbi of Israel, Isaac HaLevy Herzog, “Transliterated Title” [“The Form of the Menorah in the Arch of Titus,”], in *Scritti in Memoria di Sally Mayer (1875-1953): Saggi sull’Ebraismo Italiano* [*Writings in Memory of Sally Mayer (1875-1953): Essays on Italian Jewry*], ed. Shlomo Umberto Nahon (Jerusalem: Fondazione Sally Mayer, Scuola Superiore di Studi Ebraici, Milano, 1956). page numbers of chapter. See also, for example, Leon Yarden, *The Tree of Light: A Study of the Menorah, the Seven-Branched Lampstand* (London: East and West Library, 1971). The most recent work is that of Steven Fine, *The Menorah From the Bible to Modern Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The first monograph was written by Mordechai Narkiss, *The Hanukkah Lamp*(Jerusalem: Bnei Bezalel, 1939). One example of a recent publication is Susan Braunstein, *Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps From The Jewish Museum: A Catalogue Raisonné*(New York: Jewish Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. G. Kressel, *Transliterated Title* [*Cyclopedia of Modern Hebrew Literature],* vol. 1, (Merhavya: Sifriat HaPoalim, 1967). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Yehuda Leib Bialer, “Transliterated Title” [“The Sabbath Implements in Art”], *Mahanayim* 85–86 (1964), 142. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Franz Landsberger, “The Origin of the Ritual Implements for the Sabbath,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 27 (1956): 414. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Jaroslava Dudová, “Sabbatlampen aus Messingguss,” [“Translated Title”] *Judaica Bohemiae* 9, no. 1–2 (1973): 72–85. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Adi Blumberg, *Hanging Sabbath Lamps,* trans. Ariel Hurwich Braun (Jerusalem: Adi Foundation, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Bat Sheva Goldman-Ida, “Transliterated Title” [“The Hasidic Ritual Object”] (PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007): 152–65. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Ester Muchawsky-Schnapper, “Oil Sabbath-Lamps and Hanukah-Lamps of Stone from the Yemen,” *Journal of Jewish Art* 9 (1982): 76–83. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Hans Gerhard Meyer, *Eine Sabbatampel im Erfurter Dom* [Translated Title] (Hildesheim: Om, 1982). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Frank Bussert, Sarah Laubenstein, and Maria Stürzebecher, eds. *Erfurter Schriften zur jüdischen Geschichte [Translated Title].* (Jena: Verlag Bussert & Stadeler, 2010-2020). More on this research will appear in Chapter Three. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Museum of London, catalog number 1374, [https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/33856.html date](https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/33856.html%20date%20) accessed March 21, 2024. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Yisrael Ta-Shema, “Transliterated Title” [“Light of Honor”], *Tarbitz* 35 (1976; repr. 1999): 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Ta-Shema, “Light of Honor,” 129 footnote 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Elliott Horowitz, “Coffee, Coffeehouses, and the Nocturnal Rituals of Early Modern Jewry,” *AJS Review* 14, no. 1 (1989): 17–46; Elliot Horowitz, “The Eve of the Circumcision: A Chapter in the History of Jewish Nightlife,” *Journal of Social History* 23, no.1 (1989): 45–69; and Anat Kutner (Hebrew). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Avraham Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious, Jewish Women in Medieval Europe* (Waltham: Brandeis, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children*, among other works. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Yemima Chovav (Hebrew). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Elisheva Baumgarten, “A Tale of a Christian Matron and Sabbath Candles: Religious Difference, Material Culture and Gender in Thirteenth-century Germany,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (2013): 83–99. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. A few examples: Yaakov Verdiger, *Sefer Ner Shabbat* [*Book of Shabbat Candles*] (Bnai Brak: Institute for the Research of Prayer and Customs, 1975); Shalom Duber Levine, *Kuntras Nerot Shabbat Kodesh* [*Pamphlet on Holy Shabbat Candles*] (Brooklyn: Balshon, 1975). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Nathan Hanover [sic], *Transliterated Title* [*Abyss of Despair*], trans. Abraham J. Mesch (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983, repr. 1953): 67–8. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Agnon describes this in his story: Shmuel Y. Agnon, “The Tale of the Menorah,” in *A City in its Fullness*, trans. Alan Mintz and Jeffrey Saks (Jerusalem: The Toby Press, 2016), 44–56. This is also mentioned by Rabbi Bluhm, in his responsa cited in the next chapter. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. William O’Dea, *The Social History of Lighting* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958); F.W. Robins, *The Story of the Lamp*) London: Oxford University Press, 1939); Leroy Thwing, *Flickering Flames A History of Domestic Lighting* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1958). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Yaakov Nacht, Zalman Epstein, and Y.L Baruch, eds. *Sefer HaShabbat* [*Book of Shabbat*] (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1980); Yitzhak Ganoz, “Transliterated Title” [“The Motif of the Candle in Folklore and Hebrew Literature”], *Yeda-Am* (1979): 28–44. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)